

"The man that says slaves be quite happy in slavery...is either ignorant or a lying person..." An Account of Slavery in the Marginal Colonies of the British West Indies.

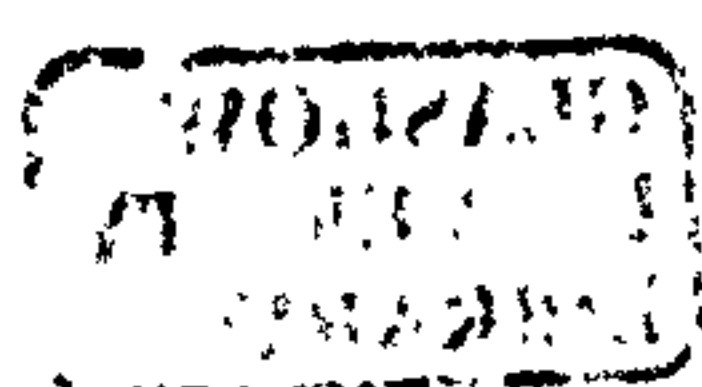
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Abstract

Broadly speaking, this study aims to refine the traditional interpretation of the term "marginal colony" in an effort to illustrate how economic developments in each of the Bahamas, the Caymans, Belize, Anguilla, and Barbuda during the last half century or so of formal slavery in the British Caribbean impacted upon the life and labour experiences of bondsmen and women in these territories. More specifically, the study attempts to define the "marginal slave experience" by examining the occupations of slaves in these territories, their living conditions and general treatment by their respective owners within the wider context of these experiences for slaves in the sugar colonies of the British West Indies. In so doing, the study seeks also to establish and account for the significant differences in the organization of slavery in the marginal territories of the region arising from the different economic function of that institution in those territories from that which prevailed in the sugar colonies of the British Caribbean.



Acknowledgements

The quotation used in the title of this thesis is taken from the recollections of Mary Prince (1831) about her life as a slave in the British West Indies during the closing decades of formal slavery in the region. Its significance for me is connected to a discussion about slavery in the West Indies that I had in October 1992 with a group of my Fourth Form History students at the John Gray High School in Grand Cayman during which it was suggested by several of them that as there were no sugar plantations in the Islands, slaves in Cayman must have "had it easy" compared to slaves in Jamaica, for example. At the time, the Cayman Islands National Archive had only recently been established, and there were no written accounts of slavery in the Cayman Islands with which to argue the point.

Out of that initial discussion eventually came the impetus for a research project on slavery in the Cayman Islands which I wrote as part of an M.A. in History/Heritage Studies from the University of the West Indies, Mona, in 1993-95. My supervisor for the project was Dr. Verene Shepherd and with a view to further postgraduate work, it was she who first suggested the possibility of extending my frame of reference to include other so-called "marginal colonies" in the British West Indies.

Since that time, and as I have carried out my research, I have similarly benefitted from the advice and help of individuals too numerous to mention by name. A particular acknowledgement must, however, be made to staff at the Public Records Office, the British Library, the National Library of Scotland, the Scottish Records Office, and the Gloucestershire Record Office. As well, I am grateful for the assistance of members of staff at the National Archives in the Bahamas, Cayman, Antigua, and Belize, and at the Anguilla Public Library. I am especially indebted to Don and Margaret Mitchell of The Valley in Anguilla who not only allowed a stranger unhindered access to a private collection that

has since become the basis of the Anguilla National Archive, but who also kindly put my father and I up in their home for a week in the spring of 1999.

The suggestions, criticisms and enthusiasm of my supervisors for the thesis, Dr. Michael French and Dr. Francis Lambert, have been appreciated over the last five years as have their efforts in helping me to maintain a sense of perspective about the project. The final version of the thesis would have been unimaginably different without their contributions, although I accept responsibility for any errors that may remain.

Above all, I am grateful to my family and friends for the support that only they can provide.

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INTRODUCTION: ON MARGINALITY

The "Marginal Colony" Defined

In his seminal work on slave populations in the British Caribbean, Barry Higman (1984) suggests that while there is no doubt that strongly contrasting studies of slavery in particular British West Indian (BWI) colonies have been produced over the years, few historians of British Caribbean slave societies have been concerned with internal diversity. On the contrary, and up until the time of his writing, he argues there had been a tendency among historians to assume a large degree of spatial homogeneity in their analyses of the nature of slave systems in the BWI. Thus David Lowenthal (1972) writes that most variations in slave treatment were in essence trivial or inconsistent, that the West Indian slave suffered much the same fate everywhere, and that any differences which did occur tended to reflect the character or circumstances of the slaveowners more than they did territorial distinctions.¹ In the same vein, Edward Braithwaite (1974) advances an analytical classification of Caribbean plantation societies and argues that processes observable in Jamaica applied to the British Caribbean as a whole.² Even where there has been an attempt to identify regional diversity within the British Caribbean as in Elsa Goveia's (1965) work on slave society in the Leeward Islands at the end of the 18th century, the author is careful to say that she regards these islands as "mature examples of the West Indian slave colony."³

In Slave Populations of the British Caribbean 1807-1834, Higman (1984) challenges this assumption of homogeneity about the nature of slave systems in the BWI. The primary aim of the text is to provide a demographic framework for comparative analyses of British West Indian slave populations, to establish what was typical of these populations after 1807, and in so doing, to draw attention to the diversity of slave experiences in the colonies of the BWI.⁴

In the course of his analysis, Higman develops his own system of classification of the colonial economies of the British Caribbean. Initially, it is a typology based primarily on the settlement histories of these colonies and predicated on the notion that the British invasion of the West Indies occurred in three distinct phases, that is, during the second and third quarters of the 17th century, in the 1760s, and at the turn of the 19th century.

In the first phase, settlements were established between 1625 and 1632 in St. Kitts, Barbados, Nevis, Antigua and Montserrat, in Jamaica in 1655, and more tenuously in the Virgin Islands, Anguilla, Barbuda, the Cayman Islands, the Bahamas, and British Honduras between about 1650 and 1685. The second phase of British settlement occurred during the 1760s when the islands of Dominica, St. Vincent, Tobago and Grenada were acquired through European treaties, in particular by the Peace of Paris concluded between Britain and Spain at the end of the Seven Years War in 1763. During the third phase of British colonization, Trinidad was taken from the Spanish in 1797, St. Lucia from the French in 1803, and Demerara, Essequibo and Berbice from the Dutch, also in 1803.⁵

As he moves on to consider in detail the types of economic activities engaged in by the settlers and their slaves in each of these colonies, Higman concedes that the phase-of-settlement classification he employs initially is shown to be inadequate. His analysis of the development of each colony's economic environment after early settlement makes it clear that for Higman, the principal factor underlying a more accurate typology of colonial economies in the British Caribbean was the relative dominance of sugar. Indeed, and uniquely among agricultural commodities, sugar gave its name to an economic revolution in the Caribbean during the 17th and early 18th centuries, a revolution which had six central elements to it. That is, a relatively quick shift from diversified agriculture to a sugar monoculture, from production on small farms to large plantations, from sparse to

dense settlements, from free to slave labour, from white to black populations, and from low to high value per capita output.⁶

Of the first-phase colonies, Anguilla, Barbuda, the Bahamas, the Cayman Islands and British Honduras (which grew no sugar for export) had a very different pattern of economic development from that of the sugar islands in the group where relatively high proportions of level, fertile land and moderate rainfall quickly transformed Barbados and the Leeward Islands into full-blown sugar colonies. There is also a case made for separating Jamaica from the other first-phase sugar colonies because the island, with its varied physical environments and the relatively slow movement of its frontier of settlement, was never as strictly monocultural as Barbados or Antigua, for example. Furthermore, his analysis of economic environments suggests to Higman that the second and third phase sugar colonies can be combined to form a single class, the "new sugar colonies", that is, those colonies settled and developed during what Richard Pares (1960) calls the "silver age" of sugar,⁷ a period in the mid to late 18th century when crop prices were high enough to transform the ceded territories (those acquired in 1763) from diversified agricultural economies producing cocoa, coffee and cotton into sugar colonies, although this transformation was nowhere as complete as it had been in Barbados and the Leeward Islands.

In an evolved typology, Higman thus classifies British colonial economies in the Caribbean into four groups as follows; old sugar colonies, new sugar colonies, Jamaica, and "marginal" colonies, that is, those territories that produced no sugar for export and which were therefore largely excluded from the imperial plantation economy.⁸

The Marginality Construct

Both marginality and the process of marginalization have been operative throughout Caribbean history and have been the focus of several works dealing with aspects of that history. Most of these studies present marginalization as the antithesis of

integration and have traditionally focused on relatively homogenous groups of people who constitute an underclass that remains unintegrated into the mainstream economy and/or alternately, those groups disadvantaged because of race, legal status, or gender.

In the majority of cases, marginalized groups studied in the Caribbean context to date have either been non-whites (slaves and free people of colour) or whites socio-economically closer to the lowest echelons of colonial society, such as the "Redlegs" of Barbados, for example.⁹ For her part, Verene Shepherd (1988) examines the white pen-keepers of Jamaica whom she suggests were marginalized because of the economic activity in which they were engaged. According to Shepherd, however important these livestock farmers became to the domestic economy, they were never successful in challenging the institutional arrangement of the sugar plantation society in Jamaica. Like other non-staple producers on the island, these pen-keepers were relegated to secondary roles and remained ancillary to the dominant export-oriented sugar sector.¹⁰

It is within this traditional interpretation of the marginality construct that the Bahamas, Anguilla, Barbuda, the Cayman Islands and British Honduras have been defined as marginal to the sugar plantation economies of the BWI. These territories are regarded as "marginal colonies" for the following reasons:

- (a) they were non-significant producers of sugar, that is, neither the Bahamas, the Caymans, Belize, Barbuda nor Anguilla grew sugar cane for anything other than local consumption.
- (b) these colonies generally occupied the marginal lands of the region in that with the exception of Belize, they are low-lying coral islands covered for the most part by scrub vegetation with interspersed pockets of porous, mostly infertile soils which generally receive less than 60 inches of rainfall a year.

- (c) none of the five territories under consideration produced major agricultural staples of their own and were therefore generally economically dependent on the dominant sugar colonies of the region.
- (d) as they were generally unsuccessful in gaining control over their own political affairs (the Bahamas was the only one of the five to establish and maintain a legislative assembly of its own), the Caymans, Barbuda, Anguilla and Belize were politically as well as economically marginalised from the imperial plantation complex as this existed in the sugar islands and mainland territories of the region.
- (e) with the absence of the cane fields in the marginal colonies, slaves in these territories were assumed to have escaped the harsh working conditions associated with those fields and to have been "better treated" by their owners than most traditional field slaves in the sugar islands of the region.¹¹ Indeed, in his research on post-emancipation developments in five Leeward Islands, Douglas Hall (1971) goes so far as to suggest that Barbuda, for example, "was a relatively happy place" for slaves on the island and intimates that the contented disposition of the slave population on the island had to do with the fact that Barbudan slaves "were not subject to the tyranny of the cane fields."¹²

Marginality Reassessed

Broadly speaking, the aim of this study is to refine the traditional interpretation of the term "marginal colony" in an attempt to illustrate how economic developments in each of the Bahamas, the Caymans, Belize, Anguilla and Barbuda impacted upon the life and labour experiences of slaves in these territories on the premise that more than anything else, it was the nature of local work (that is, the crops produced and the topography of the land on which they were grown) that determined the nature of the slave experience in a colony. More specifically, it is the task

of this study to attempt to define that experience for slaves in the marginal colonies of the BWI by examining the occupations of slaves in these territories as well as their living conditions and general treatment by their respective owners within the context of these experiences for slaves in the sugar colonies of the BWI where, as J.R Ward (1988) suggests, planters were attempting both to improve technology and ameliorate slave conditions in order to counter falling sugar prices and profits as well as abolitionist political pressures during the last several decades of formal slavery in the region. According to Ward (1988), amelioration as a professed policy of sugar estate management that aimed at yielding more sugar at a lower cost to the labour force was successful in terms of increased efficiency and better treatment of slaves,¹³ and in view of Hall's (1971) reference to the easing of slavery's rigours in Barbuda, is an apt contextual framework for this study as it aims also to establish and account for the significant differences in the organization of slavery in the marginal territories of the region arising from the different economic function of that institution in those colonies from that which prevailed in the sugar islands of the region.

As this is carried out, there is likely to be some reassessment of the marginality of these five territories to the sugar islands of the British Caribbean, that is, a refining of the concept of marginality which aims not to refute the idea that these colonies operated on the periphery of the plantation economies but to qualify some of the above mentioned criteria as part of an assessment of how these marginal colonies actually functioned in economic and social terms, as well as to outline other aspects of the settlement and economic histories of these territories that lend themselves to a unified study.

By way of illustration, and with respect to the *origins of the free populations* of the marginal colonies, for example, it is the case that for several of these territories, many of their first settlers had arrived via the sugar islands of the BWI where the drive to monoculture that saw the consolidation of smaller

holdings into large plantations beginning in the second half of the 17th century forced these settlers to look elsewhere for economic opportunities. In the case of the Bahamas, for instance, the initial impetus among settlers in Bermuda to migrate to Eleuthera in the early 1650s had been political and religious persecution but as the Bermuda connection faded towards the end of the century, increasing numbers of small-scale farmers, tradesmen and freebooters began to arrive in the islands of the archipelago from Jamaica. Others of these displaced individuals also moved to frontier settlements in the Caymans and Belize for which Jamaica had formal governmental responsibility. Similarly, many of the small-scale farmers, tradesmen and indentured labourers released from their terms of service who arrived in Anguilla in the latter half of the 17th century did so from other Leeward Islands such as St. Kitts and Barbados where developing monocultural economies forced them to consider alternatives on islands like Anguilla that were not particularly well suited to the cultivation of export staples, and which were therefore unlikely to be the targets of aggressive estate consolidation.

On a related note, while it was the ultimate objective of most planters in the sugar islands to retire to Britain leaving behind a well established estate that would yield a sufficient income both to support the absentee and his family and to defray the costs of management by local attornies, *absentee proprietorship* was not the norm among even the wealthiest of planters or woodcutters in the marginal colonies. While their holdings may have generated considerable earnings by local standards, the closest most cotton growers in the Out Islands of the Bahamas got to being absentee, for example, was to take a house in Nassau where they might spend the summer with their families before returning to their estates to supervise the planting of the next year's crop. Similarly, even the wealthiest cutters in Belize for the most part remained in the territory as their holdings did not generate sufficient enough earnings to enable them to lead the life of an absentee proprietor in England

or Scotland. Either by default or design, for most slaveowners in the marginal colonies, the West Indies was home.

In terms of qualifying the traditional criteria of marginal colony status in the British Caribbean, it is not strictly correct, for example, to speak of these territories as Higman (1984) does as being devoid of "major agricultural staples" of their own.¹⁴ While there is no doubting the fact that settlers in these colonies occupied the least arable lands of the region and that as a result they remained non-significant producers of sugar, there were attempts at *export agriculture* in several of the marginal territories which had profound implications for the life and labour experiences of slaves in these colonies. In the case of cotton in the Bahamas and Cayman, and of mahogany cutting in Belize, the development of an export-oriented sector of the economy coincided with the arrival in the late 18th century of emigrés and their slaves from other parts of the region. In the Bahamas and the Caymans, many of the newcomers (that is, the Loyalists and Mosquito Shoremen respectively) were experienced in the plantation tradition while in Belize, the influx of relatively large numbers of slaves from the Mosquito Shore in the 1780s greatly facilitated the transition from logwood to mahogany cutting in the Settlement.

To a lesser degree, and with some qualification, a similar process took place in Barbuda where prevailing economic circumstances (particularly the outbreak of the American War of Independence in 1776 that effectively cut-off supplies of mainland provisions on which Antigua had hitherto heavily depended) persuaded the owner of the island estate to diversify into crop farming for the subsistence of his slaves at Barbuda and those working his sugar estates in Antigua. The outbreak of the War had a contrary effect in Anguilla where the Royal Navy's blockade of the American mainland plunged into decline salt raking in the island, salt having been one of the main export "crops" of the territory prior to 1776. Thereafter, like planters in the Bahamas and Cayman when cotton went into decline in those islands during the early 19th century, settlers on Anguilla were

forced to return to more diversified farming and other subsistence activities, a reordering of economic priorities which had consequences for the lifeways of the enslaved populations of all these islands.

Methodology and A Note on Source Materials

In view of the economic and political marginality of the Bahamas, the Caymans, Belize, Barbuda and Anguilla to the sugar colonies of the region, it is perhaps hardly surprising that these territories have to varying degrees been excluded from the historiography of the British Caribbean. Among the marginal colonies themselves, the notable exception to this tendency has been in the case of the Bahamas (and to a lesser extent Belize) where historians such as Michael Craton, Gail Saunders and Howard Johnson, for example, have written extensively on both the general history of the archipelago and on the history of slavery in those islands.¹⁵ Indeed, for the purposes of this study, the Bahamas will serve as the archetypical marginal colony of the BWI alongside which the history and development of slavery in Belize, Cayman, Barbuda and Anguilla are to be considered. More specifically, comparisons are to be drawn between these territories and the Out Islands of the Bahamas as these are defined in the text, and where slaveowners struggled for most of the period of formal slavery to maintain the viability of their estates in difficult economic circumstances.

With respect to *source materials*, the position of the marginal colonies on the periphery of the imperial plantation economy has also ensured that, relatively speaking, the statistical data available on the enslaved populations of these colonies are less complete than those which have survived for the sugar islands of the region. To take one example, while Triennial Registration Returns of Slaves were made in most British West Indian colonies after 1817 as per the requirements of the Slave Registration Act, only one such Return was filed for each of Anguilla (1827), Belize and the Caymans (1834) while resident

managers at Barbuda generally compiled informal Slave Lists when called upon to do so by the Codrington attornies in Antigua. The situation in the Bahamas was less ad hoc, but given that the combined slave population of the marginal colonies as a group was never more than 3% of the British West Indian total at any time between permanent settlement and emancipation,¹⁶ mandated record keeping in these territories seems to have been rather less meticulous than it was in most of the sugar colonies of the region. That said, both the quality and quantity of locally produced records did improve beginning in the late 18th century when several of the marginal colonies experimented with plantation agriculture. As a result, most of the text of this study relates to the life and labour experiences of marginal colony slaves during the last several decades of formal slavery in the BWI, that is, from about the late 1770s through to emancipation in 1834.

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1. David Lowenthal. West Indian Societies (Oxford University Press, London, 1972), p.4.
2. Edward Braithwaite. Contradictory Omens: Cultural Diversity and Integration in the Caribbean (Savacou Publications, Kingstown, 1974), p.11.
3. Elsa Goveia. Slave Society in the British Leeward Islands at the end of the Eighteenth Century (Yale University Press, New Haven, 1965), pp.311-12.
4. Barry Higman. Slave Populations of the British Caribbean 1807-1834 (The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1984), pp.3-4.
5. Ibid., pp.43-44.
6. Barry Higman, "The Sugar Revolution" in *Economic History Review*, LIII, 2 (2000), pp.213-236.
7. Richard Pares. "Merchants and Planters" (*Economic History Review*, supplement #4, 1960), p.40.
8. Higman, Slave Populations of the British Caribbean, p.67.
9. The "Redlegs" of Barbados were white residents of the island who failed to meet the property qualifications attached to the franchise (i.e, the ownership of 10 acres of land) and were therefore unable to vote in Barbados prior to 1840. J. Sheppard. The "Redlegs" of Barbados: Their Origin and History (New York, 1977).
10. Verene Shepherd. "Livestock Farmers and Marginality in Jamaica's Sugar Plantation Society: A Tentative Analysis". (Paper presented at the 22nd Annual Conference of the Association of Caribbean Historians, April, 1990), pp.2-4.
11. Higman, Slave Populations of the British Caribbean, p.43.
12. Douglas Hall, Five of the Leewards, 1834-1870 (Caribbean University Press, Barbados, 1971), pp.59-60. It is an opinion that echoes an oft repeated insistence by slaveowners and colonial officials in at least two other of the marginal territories (the Bahamas and Belize) that slaves in non-sugar colonies were far more contented and therefore less prone to

resistance than their contemporaries on plantations in the sugar islands (see, for example, John Armstrong, A Candid Examination of the Defence of Settlers of Honduras, London, 1824: MC1019, Belize Archives Department, Belmopan). In the Caymans, it is an interpretation that continues to have its adherents among some of the older residents of the Islands, particularly those of white ancestry, and one which has, until quite recently, had a curious spin-off among younger generations of Caymanians. In a classroom discussion with my Fourth Form students at the John Gray High School on Grand Cayman in October 1992, it was suggested to me that as the Islands had not had sugar plantations, Cayman could not have been home to any "real" slaves at all. At the time, the Ministry of Education in the Cayman Islands had only recently adopted the CXC (Caribbean Examinations Council) syllabus and the comments were made as we discussed the work routine of field gangs on a sugar estate in Jamaica. Up until that point, the topic of slavery had been largely omitted from the academic curricula of Caymanian students.

13. J.R Ward. British West Indian Slavery, 1750-1834: The Process of Amelioration (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1988), pp.2 & 190.
14. Higman, Slave Populations of the British Caribbean, p.43.
15. See, for example, Michael Craton and Gail Saunders, Islanders in the Stream: A History of the Bahamian People, Volume I (University of Georgia Press, Athens, 1992), Howard Johnson, The Bahamas in Slavery and Freedom (Ian Randle Publishers Limited, Kingston, Jamaica, 1991), and, The Bahamas from Slavery to Servitude, 1783-1933 (The University Press of Florida, Gainesville, 1996).

Nigel Bolland and Assad Shoman have written extensively on the history of Belize. See The Formation of a Colonial Society, Belize from Conquest to Crown Colony (The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1977), and, Thirteen Chapters of a History of Belize (The Angelus Press Ltd, Belize City, 1994), respectively.

16. In 1834, the five marginal colonies to be considered here had a total slave population of 16,000 when the number of slaves in the British Caribbean exceeded 650,000. Based on the Registration Returns filed in 1834, the Bahamas accounted for 9,995 of these, Anguilla 2,260, Belize 1,895, the Caymans 985, and Barbuda 505.

SECTION I

THE HISTORY OF EARLY SETTLEMENT IN THE MARGINAL COLONIES OF THE BRITISH WEST INDIES

Given that the primary aim of this study is to examine and define the "marginal" slave experience in five non-sugar territories in the BWI, the main focus in discussing the history of early settlement in these marginal colonies is to outline the role of Europeans in first "discovering" and later settling these territories as each of the Taino, Arawak, Carib and Maya civilizations that had developed over centuries in the Caribbean region underwent tremendous disruption at the hands of these colonizers. With respect, however, that struggle is touched upon only very briefly in this study.

Indeed, the focus of the study is the slave experience of Africans and of their Creole descendants in several islands and one mainland territory in the British Caribbean. With the exception of the latter (that is, Belize), by the time English settlers arrived in the islands of the Bahamas, the Caymans, Anguilla and Barbuda during the 17th century, their indigenous inhabitants had all but disappeared from them, although early settlers on Barbuda and Anguilla had still to cope with sporadic Carib raids launched from neighbouring islands in which these "Indians" maintained a presence.

Generally speaking English settlers in the Caribbean in the 17th century had more to fear from their European rivals in the struggle to control territory for the benefit of empire. Indeed, in terms of understanding the context in which early settlement took place, it is important to bear in mind that the development of British colonies in the West Indies in general was affected by an alternating pattern of war and peace which characterised the history of the region in the 17th and 18th centuries. It is a matter of historical record that permanent settlements in the

five marginal colonies to be considered here grew up during a period that saw England engaged in wars more years than not, sometimes with Spain, nearly always with France, and on occasion, with her own colonies on the North American mainland. Thus, the War of the Spanish Succession (1702-1713) was followed by the Wars of "Jenkins Ear" and of the Austrian Succession (1739-1748), by the Seven Years War (1756-1763), by the American Independence and Maritime Wars (1775-1783), and finally by the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars (1793-1815).

The effects of these wars on the pattern of settlement in each of the marginal colonies will be touched upon in this section of the study as will a tendency towards accelerating progress in most of these settlements during the intervals of peace. Initially, for the purpose of organization and not necessarily of chronology, the settlement histories of the Bahamas, the Caymans and Belize will be considered together where the focus will be on the intervening years between the first tenuous landings of the English in the 17th century down to the 1780s when a series of relatively large scale migrations of settlers and slaves into these colonies marked the final phase of early settlement. The settlement histories of Barbuda and Anguilla as Leeward Islands will follow. The introduction of African slaves to these colonies by English settlers will be mentioned briefly in each case and discussed in more depth in subsequent sections. The purpose of this section of the study is simply to establish the historical context in which the institution of slavery became an integral part of the economic and socio-political fabric of the society that developed in each of the five marginal colonies of the BWI.

THE BAHAMAS

As suggested in the Introduction, the early settlement history of the Bahamas has been thoroughly chronicled by a host of authors including Michael Craton, Gail Saunders and Howard Johnson. Indeed, the history of the indigeneous peoples of the archipelago (the Lucayans), their first and ultimately fatal contacts with Columbus and the Spanish, the arrival in the Bahamas of the English, the history of Proprietary Government and buccaneering in the islands of the archipelago, of the Bahamas as a Crown Colony, and of the impact of the American War of Independence on the territory, are among the topics covered in the works of these and other authors concerned with the history of the Bahamas and her people between their "discovery" by Columbus in 1492 and the emancipation of slaves in 1834.

Developments in the Bahamas between the arrival of the first English settlers from Bermuda in 1648 and of Loyalist emigrés and their slaves from mainland America in the early 1780s suggest that the marginality of the Bahamas to the rest of the Crown's possessions in the British Caribbean was established very early in the history of the archipelago. Indeed, many of the original Eleutheran Adventurers gradually returned to Bermuda between 1652 and 1656,¹ although it is also the case that the scattering of colonists who remained in the Bahamas began to expand their settlements in the 1660s. For the purposes of this study, the economic activities of these early settlers hold the most significance. Thus, while northern Eleuthera continued to be the most important settlement, some of the pioneer colonists began to establish themselves on neighbouring islands such as Harbour Island and Spanish Wells, although they continued to use mainland Eleuthera for growing provisions, woodcutting, and running livestock. Some time around 1666, the nucleus of the future Bahamian capital was established 50 miles to the west of northern Eleuthera on an island later named New Providence, and within a few years, there were also settlers cutting wood on Abaco and Andros (see Map 1). By 1670, it is estimated there may have been

up to a thousand settlers in the Bahamas scattered over 200 square miles of land and 2,000 square miles of sea with the majority (about 500) living on New Providence.

In most years, and reflecting the geographic marginality of the islands themselves, settlers in the Bahamas in the 17th century barely managed to eke out an existence. Only by bitter trial and error did they discover that onions and some other European vegetables grew well in the sandy soils the best of which were found in pockets and potholes. Bananas, plantains and yams already introduced into the New World by the Spanish and the Portuguese were also grown in the Bahamas in the early years and were quickly followed by guinea corn, pigeon and black-eye peas and several varieties of root starch plants. By the third quarter of the 17th century, some indigo, tobacco and sugar cane were also being grown but for local consumption only.

Away from their crops, early Bahamian settlers and their slaves were involved in turtling, woodcutting, salt raking, they culled the shores for ambergris, they fished and hunted oil-bearing seals and whales, and they were involved in "wrecking". Of these activities, wrecking was potentially the most rewarding activity of Bahamian mariners and their slaves who were quite prepared to "sail close to either side of the narrow line between legitimate and illegal" in the salvage of a sunken vessel as it often represented more of a return than years of hard labour ashore.² In sum, and compared to the sugar colonies of the region where that crop was coming to dominate local agriculture, the Bahamian economy during the first phase of settlement was a necessarily diverse one in which owners and their slaves undertook a variety of activities to sustain themselves and the colony at large.

Given the poverty of the archipelago's natural resources and the fact that settlers there were without formal government, protection, or law, "sailing close to the line" was perhaps not an entirely unexpected development, and certainly not unique to the Bahamas as a marginal colony.³ At the same time, however, it spoke to the need for the islands to establish more local

structures of laws and courts, particularly towards the end of the 17th century as the Bermuda connection faded and as the population of the settlements grew, albeit gradually. At the very least, the more ambitious settlers on New Providence began to feel the need for magistrates to register property deeds, to settle disputes and to keep the peace. More established plantation colonies such as Jamaica already had these formal socio-political structures in place, and their establishment in the Bahamas were among the changes anticipated by the settlers who would benefit most from them when a proprietary form of government was set up in the islands in 1670.

Proprietary Government and Buccaneering in the Bahamas

From the standpoint of this study, what is significant about the development of the Bahamas under Proprietary Government until 1718 is that it was blighted from the very outset.⁴ By way of illustration, and as part of an ultimately unsuccessful attempt to drag the Bahamas out of its economic obscurity by introducing large scale agriculture in the islands of the archipelago that were believed could support it, ambitious preliminary estimates prepared for the Lord Proprietors called for three months subsistence for an initial settlement of 1,000 whites and 600 slaves, and forecast that hundreds more whites and some 8,000 more slaves would be needed over the next two years before a profit might be turned. In total, the costs of recruitment, transportation, subsistence, defence and public works to carry out the enterprise were estimated at a staggering £633,000.⁵ The reality for settlers in the Bahamas, however, was an almost complete failure on the part of the Proprietors to deliver on the promised investments or material support. During the first few years of their patent, for example, the Lord Proprietors in fact spent a grand total of £495 2s on the Bahamas,⁶ and at one stage, had so ignored the islands that Governor John Wentworth was forced to plead with Governor Thomas Lynch of Jamaica for the

most basic provisions as the settlements had received nothing from the Proprietors in two years.⁷

As if to indicate that the marginal status of the islands was unlikely to change very much in the near future, it was suggested to the governor of the Bahamas in 1675 by the Proprietors themselves that he might more profitably use the islands as a base to engage in an undercover trade with the Spanish colonies, a trade that both parties knew to be prohibited by English and Spanish law.⁸ Apart from what such advice reveals about the recalcitrance of the Proprietors to invest the required sums in the Bahamas, it helps to explain the appointment by the Proprietors of a succession of often incompetent and corrupt governors and agents whom they instructed to squeeze both the population and resources of the Bahamas to their economic advantage. For their part, it must be said that Bahamian mariners were quite prepared to engage in smuggling goods to and from nearby Cuba and Santo Domingo, and to plundering Spanish wrecks that had come to grief in Bahamian waters. At the same time, however, in encouraging closer and clandestine contacts with the Spanish, the Lord Proprietors were precipitating a dangerous conflict in that not only were Spanish *guarda costas* prepared to arrest Bahamian *contrabandistas* and protect Spain's interests at the sites of wrecks in the archipelago, but they also seized ordinary and legitimate trading vessels using the southern Bahamas on the grounds that as Spain had not formally relinquished her claim to the islands, these were Spanish territorial waters.⁹ Among marginal colonies, this was a pattern that was repeated in the Caymans and in the Bay of Honduras. For the Bahamas, Proprietorial suggestions to engage in illegal trade and its attendant consequences in large measure set the stage for the islands to become one of the most important bases in the Caribbean for buccaneering and its correlatives (privateering and piracy) during the late 17th and early 18th centuries.

While it is beyond the scope of this study to examine in detail the activities of individual governors of the Bahamas during the Proprietary period, it is important to look at the

pattern of economic development of the islands over the period, that is, the tendency of settlements in the Bahamas to alternate between bouts of obscurity-driven poverty and times of relative plenty during wider European wars when the islands of the archipelago served as excellent bases for privateers and/or buccaneers commissioned to attack enemy ships in the Caribbean theatre. Lying close to the main shipping routes, protected by dangerous reefs, and adequately if not abundantly provisioned and watered, the inlets and shoals of the Bahamas were ideally suited to hit and run attacks on enemy vessels, although the repeated failure of both the Proprietors and the Crown to provide Nassau with adequate fortifications and general defences left the settlement open to punitive French and Spanish raids which came in 1703 and again in 1706.¹⁰ So devastating were these attacks that when a John Graves left the Bahamas in 1706, he reported that the few survivors still in New Providence "lived scatteringly in little huts, ready upon any assault to secure themselves in the woods..." At the time, only 27 families remained on the island and there were fewer than 500 settlers and slaves dispersed within a 200 mile radius of Nassau, that is, on Eleuthera, Harbour Island, Exuma and Cat Island. There was virtually no semblance of law and order left in the Bahamas and Graves warned that so desperate had the inhabitants there become that "at the very best, they are ready to succour and trade with Pirates".¹¹

The Bahamas as a Crown Colony

There is plenty of evidence to suggest that is precisely what some Bahamians did,¹² and the appointment of Woodes Rogers as the colony's first Royal Governor in July of 1718 signalled the onset of a campaign to suppress piracy in the Bahamas. As well, Rogers was directed to establish effective government in Nassau, and to restore and expand the economy of the colony.¹³

It is a matter of historical record that Rogers and his immediate successors managed to carry out their instructions on

the first two counts but on the question of expanding the economy, however, they ran into familiar obstacles. Indeed, in spite of efforts to encourage new settlers and to expand Bahamian trade, the economy of the islands remained a petty one for most of the early and mid 1700s. The only new immigrants to come into the Bahamas during this period were Bermudans who arrived to take up lands that had been worked by their families in the past. The scale of trade with England remained small, the entire value of British imports into the islands in a typical year (1723) being calculated at only £2,320. Short-haul vessels from the Bahamas traded fruits and turtle meat for provisions as far north as the Carolinas while Bahamian mariners traded salt and brazilwood for sugar and rum in Jamaica.¹⁴

For the most part, and in keeping with its place on the periphery of the burgeoning sugar economies of the BWI, such a pattern of economic subsistence predominated in the Bahamas for the next half century or so. While there were improvements in the material conditions of some settlers, particularly the merchants and traders in New Providence, these were usually made when the islands rose to prominence as bases for privateers during European wars as they did during the Wars of Jenkins' Ear and of the Austrian Succession (1739-48), and the Seven Years War (1756-63). Each time, the declaration of hostilities brought depredations against Bahamian settlements by Spanish and/or French forces, followed in turn by the outfitting of privateer vessels in New Providence often crewed by local inhabitants, and whose activities thereafter usually kept the Vice-Admiralty court in Nassau busy.¹⁵

In keeping with the traditional cycle of "boom and bust" that characterized the Bahamian economy at the time, the treaties that formally ended each of these wars usually also brought a halt to the inhabitants' surge of good fortune, and the islands' return to relative obscurity during which there was a tendency for some settlers to emigrate to the American mainland, Bermuda or Jamaica during especially lean years until the outbreak of war again in Europe brought traders and mariners

flooding into New Providence. The Seven Years War (1756-63) is of particular significance in this respect as it is sometime during this conflict that the black population of the Bahamas overtook that of the whites. In part, this was the result of the importation of slaves into the Bahamas captured during the War. Indeed, a census taken in 1773 showed a total of 4,153 persons living in the Bahamas with 150 persons living in the Turks and Caicos. On New Providence, the white population had increased from 633 to 1,024 since 1731 (see Table 1.1) while the number of blacks (that is, free blacks and slaves) had more than quadrupled from 409 to 1,800 over the period. Put another way, whereas blacks had accounted for 39.2% of the New Providence population in 1731, by 1773, 63.7% of that island's people were blacks.¹⁶ There were also twice as many blacks living in the Out Islands as there had been in 1731, and overall, the proportion of the Bahamian population residing outside New Providence had risen from 25 to 34% since 1731. That there were 40 blacks on Cat Island and 24 on Exuma in 1773 may indicate that the first tentative steps were being taken in the development of the Out Island plantations. In spite of the absence of sugar and the fact that the Bahamian economy was weak and unstable, black slaves were increasing as a percentage of the archipelago's population, one of Higman's (2000) six central elements of the sugar revolution in the BWI, and a suggestion that plantation agriculture was possible in the Bahamas. Although it would be several years before full-blown plantations replaced subsistence cultivation in most of the Out Islands and in the Bahamas generally, it appears that by the early 1770s, settlers in the colony were in the preliminary stages of redefining their economic relationship with the rest of the BWI.

American Independence and the Loyalist Migrations

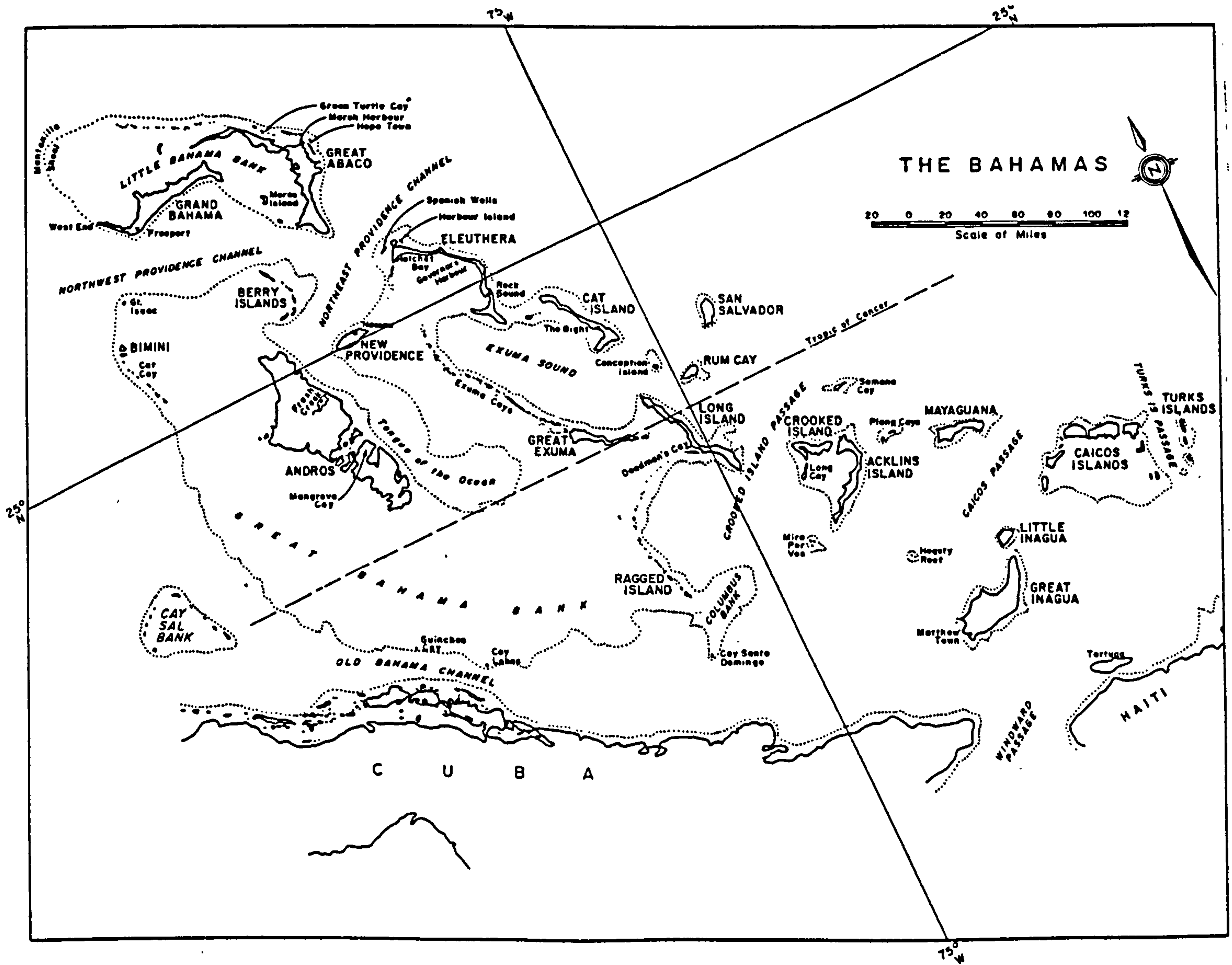
Once the War of American Independence had been declared, the significance of the conflict for the Bahamas in the long-term lay in the reaction of a group of Loyalists based in East Florida to

the occupation of the archipelago by the Spanish in the aftermath of the British defeat at Yorktown in 1781 which had effectively removed what little protection the Royal Navy had afforded the colony to that point. During the general peace negotiations which began in late 1782, it became clear that Britain would regain the Bahamas in exchange for handing over to Spain the territories of East and West Florida occupied by the British during the War. Recognising that their tenure in East Florida was thereby not to be extended, a group of Loyalists under Colonel Andrew Deveaux pre-empted the formal peace agreement signed in September of 1783 and seized the Bahamas for Britain, and for themselves.

While the details of the "Loyalist invasion" of the Bahamas in April of 1783 are a matter of historical record, what is of significance to this study is the overall impact Deveaux and the Loyalists who followed after him were to have on the politics and economy of the Bahamas. Within a year of Deveaux's expedition, the resettlement of American Loyalists and their slaves in the Bahamas had begun in earnest as had one of the most critical phases in the social history of the islands. Over the next several years, some 1,600 whites and 5,700 slaves were to arrive in the Bahamas, an influx that would treble the colony's population, raise the proportion of slaves and other blacks from just over one half to three quarters of the whole, and increase the number of permanently settled islands in the archipelago from three to twelve. These were key elements in the development of a plantation culture in the Bahamas that to some extent mirrored the changes forced upon those islands of the region caught up in the sugar revolution a century or so earlier, although in the case of the Bahamas, this was more a product of political forces than of economic opportunity.

The Loyalist migration also marked the end of the first phase of settlement in the Bahamas and as noted in the introduction to this section of the study, it is a convenient point at which to consider the early settlement histories of the two other British West Indian marginal colonies in the western Caribbean, namely that of the Belize territory and the Caymans.

MAP 1

The Bahamas

Source: Michael Craton, A History of the Bahamas. San Salvador Press, Ontario, 1986. Inside cover.

TABLE 1.1

THE POPULATION OF THE BAHAMAS, 1731

<u>Island</u>	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>	<u>Children</u>	<u>Negroes</u>	<u>Total</u>
New Providence	190	135	308	409	1,042
Harbour Island					
Eleuthera	66	55	181	44	346
<hr/>					
Total	256	190	489	453	1,388

Source: C023/2, October 14th, 1731, and Calender of State Papers (CSP) #298. Quoted in Michael Craton and Gail Saunders, Islanders in the Stream: A History of the Bahamian People, Volume 1 (University of Georgia Press, Athens, 1992), p.120.

REFERENCES

1. The early settlers on Eleuthera were often referred to as "Adventurers" given that the charter company formed in July of 1647 to finance the venture was called the *Company of Eleutherian Adventurers*. Many of the early settlers from Bermuda returned to that island from Eleuthera in the 1650s as the English Commonwealth asserted itself in Bermuda and conditions for Independents and Republicans improved there.
2. Craton and Saunders, Islanders in the Stream, p.86.
3. Ibid., p.80.
4. See, for example, Michael Craton, A History of the Bahamas, (San Salvador Press, Ontario, Third Edition, 1986).
5. Calendar of State Papers (CSP) 1669-1674, November 1st, 1670, No.312.
6. Craton, History of the Bahamas, p.67.
7. CSP 1669-1674, August 23rd, 1672, No.916.
8. CSP 1675-1676, May 17th, 1675, No.561.
9. Craton and Saunders, Islanders in the Stream, pp.96-97.
Spain did not in fact formally relinquish her claims to the Bahamas until 1783 when a Spanish occupying force was evicted from New Providence under terms agreed in the Treaty of Versailles.
10. Ibid., pp.102-103.
11. CO23/2 ff.76. John Graves: A Memorial or Short Account of the Bahama Islands (London, 1708).
12. Between 1697 and 1718, it is estimated that no fewer than twenty pirate captains were using the Bahamas as a rendezvous point, and that upwards of a thousand pirates comprising a dozen or so fluctuating crews were normally based in the Bahamas. Craton and Saunders, Islanders in the Stream, pp.110-112.
13. Within days of his arrival, Rogers declared martial law in the Bahamas, he set up a Council comprising six men of those he had brought with him and six of the principal citizens of Nassau who had not been pirates, and he appointed a range of

civil officials from Chief Justice down to Justices of the Peace. Fort Nassau was repaired and several guns mounted, the militia was reformed into three companies and all able bodied men were assigned to public works. During his second term as governor (1729-32), Rogers convened the colony's first representative assembly consisting of twenty four of the most substantial inhabitants not already on the governor's council; eight from Nassau, and four each from the western and eastern districts of New Providence, Harbour Island and Eleuthera. Craton and Saunders, Islanders in the Stream, pp.116, 134.

14. Craton and Saunders, Islanders in the Stream, p.132.
15. Between October of 1740 and March of 1748, for example, some 117 enemy prizes with a combined value estimated at at three quarters of a million pounds were condemned by the Nassau Court. Ibid., p.145.
16. C023/22 ff.59-72. Census of the Bahamas, 1773.

BELIZE

The history of Spanish contact with the indigenous Maya tribes of the Yucatán peninsula mirrored that of the Taino, Arawak and Carib peoples of the West Indies in that by the time British settlers began to move into the area during the second half of the 17th century, the Maya had suffered significant reductions in their numbers and by and large had retreated inland from their settlements along the coast.¹ For their part, the Spanish themselves had been forced to abandon their frontier posts in Bacalar (see Map 2) by 1648 and return to Merida (see Map 3) in what is today southern Mexico.

Early British Settlement

As in most of the marginal colonies of the BWI, a paucity of early records has largely obscured the precise origins of British settlement in the Bay of Honduras, although there is less doubt about the purpose of British settlement in the Bay, that is, the cutting and export of logwood.

To give its botanical name, *Haematoxylon Campechianum* is a dye-wood capable of producing various shades of black and grey, purple, blue, red and green, and it is this property that made logwood especially valuable to the British woollen industry in the 17th and early 18th centuries. Logwood cutting as an economic enterprise also distinguished the Belize territory from the other marginal colonies in that from the earliest days of settlement, a commercial or market economy based on a single "crop" was plausible. During this period, the two most important centers of exploitation were located in Campeache (or Campechy) around Laguna de Terminos (see Map 3) and along the Rio Hondo, Belize River and New River drainage systems in what is today northern Belize.

English interest in the dye-wood was first stirred by British buccaneers who roamed the coast of Central America raiding Spanish ships during the latter half of the 17th century.

Several of these freebooters recognised the value of logwood in these cargoes, particularly after the conquest of Jamaica in 1655 when there is evidence of the forming of loose partnerships between English merchants and these buccaneering crews for the express purpose of acquiring logwood from the Gulf of Honduras and the Bay of Campechy. The buccaneers did this either by liberating it from Spanish vessels, by raiding coastal settlements or by cutting logwood for themselves. In 1671, for example, Governor Lynch of Jamaica estimated that cutters based on the island in that year alone took some 2,000 tons of logwood worth £40,000 at the current Port Royal price of £20 a ton. In comparative terms, this was four times the value of the island's sugar exports for that year.²

While it is true that formally at least, buccaneering as a legitimate profession was proscribed by imperial edicts contained in the Madrid Treaties of 1667 and 1670,³ a combination of political influence and vacillating English colonial policy allowed buccaneering to continue as illustrated in the career of a John Coxon.⁴ Coxon was an English privateer turned buccaneer who appears to have spent at least three years prior to 1672 cutting logwood in Campechy and in the Gulf of Honduras. According to Gilbert Joseph (1989), and given Coxon's appreciation of the value of *palo de tinta* from his years as a cutter in the Bays, when Coxon returned to sea in 1679, he based himself in the Bays where he took logwood ships as prizes, raided logwood camps on the Gulf of Honduras, and/or cut logwood himself. In this way, buccaneering began to merge with logwood cutting between about 1670 and 1690.⁵ Indeed, Governor Thomas Modyford of Jamaica estimated that as many as 2/3 of English freebooters based in the West Indies in the early 1670s would enter the logwood trade in the Gulf of Honduras or elsewhere on the Spanish Main.⁶

Spanish Policy towards the Logwood Cutters

For men like John Coxon, the transition from plundering logwood ships to cutting the trees themselves in various parts of the Yucatán peninsula was not without its hazards. Apart from the often miserable working and living conditions endured by cutters in the marshlands of Campechy, there was the continuous threat of Spanish attack on the Bay-area logging camps, as happened in 1716, 1724, 1733, 1747, 1751 and 1779. Significantly for the Bay-area settlements, these attacks were never consistent or powerful enough to really threaten logwood cutting in the territory and once the Spanish forces had retreated, those loggers who had escaped the initial assault simply moved back in and resumed their cutting. As in the Bahamas, there was no attempt by the Spaniards to permanently occupy Belize.

The topography of the region and the distances involved also worked to the advantage of the loggers. From the outset, there was simply too much coast and not enough Spaniards to patrol it, never mind settle it. On occasion, Spanish forces were able to surprise and destroy the loggers' settlements as they did in 1716 with a coordinated attack on several camps at Laguna de Terminos that is thought to have forced many of the surviving cutters to move further south to the area around the Belize and New Rivers.⁷ For the most part, the Spanish failed to press the advantage and cutters in the Bays who were determined to stay in the area could pursue their lucrative trade if they were prepared to abandon their Works at short notice in the face of attack, and to bide their time until the Spanish withdrew to their bases in the Yucatán peninsula.

The Lifestyle of the Cutters and Early Settler Society

The process of logwood cutting and exporting in the 17th and early 18th centuries was relatively simple. The average tree was about 2 feet in girth and 20 feet high, it grew in thick stands in soft, spongy soils or in swamps near river banks and the

coast, and it could be cut into small pieces without affecting its value. Extracting logwood in the Bays merely involved setting up temporary shelters for a camp, cutting the most easily accessible trees, and then rolling them down to the river bank to be floated downstream either in dories or "bark logs" (floating cradles made of cabbage palm) to the coast where the wood was loaded aboard ships bound for Jamaica and on to England.⁸

Among the most vivid descriptions of early cutting are the observations of Captain Nathaniel Uring who was shipwrecked and forced to live for several months in 1720 with a group of logwood cutters on the Belize River in the north of the territory. According to Uring,

In the dry Time of the Year the Logwood Cutters search for a Work; that is, where there are a good Number of Logwood Trees; and then build a Hut near 'em, where they live during the Time they are cutting. When they have cut down the Tree, they Log it, and Chip it, which is cutting off the Bark and Sap, and then lay it in Heaps, cutting away the Under Wood, and making Paths to each Heap, that when the Rains come in which overflows the Ground, it serves as so many Creeks or Channels; where they go with small Canows, or Dories and load 'em which they bring to Creek-Side and they lade their Canows and carry it to the small Barcadares, which they sometimes fetch Thirty Miles, from whence the People who buy it fetch it...The Wood cutters are generally a rude drunken Crew, some of which have been Pirates, and most of them Sailors; their chief Delight is in drinking; and when they broach a Quarter Cask or a Hogshead of Wine, they seldom stir from it while there is a Drop left...they do most Work when they have no strong Drink....⁹

During the early years of the trade when the number of settlers in the Bays remained small and profits were fairly high, there was little need to regulate the occupation and disposal of land. A cutter would claim a limited area of land for use and when the timber in that location was exhausted, he moved on to fresh territory. While he was a cutter in Campechy in the late 1670s, for example, William Dampier (1717) describes a "consort-ship" that he entered into with other loggers where oaths were taken and each individual's obligations and rewards were precisely mapped out in advance.¹⁰ It is possible that such an early form of "location agreement" was transported south to the Belize territory with the refugee cutters from Campechy in 1716. Indeed, it may have formed the basis upon which the Baymen themselves developed some rudimentary rules of conduct that had come to be recognised by the mid 18th century as "the custom of the Bay", and which were officially promulgated into a series of resolutions dubbed "Burnaby's Code" in 1765.¹¹

Permanent Settlement in the Belize Territory

The drafting of Burnaby's Code in 1765 reflected a departure from the buccaneering traditions of the early cutters and a gradual evolution of scattered and seasonal logwood camps into settlements that had taken on some degree of permanence by the mid 18th century, and to which a more heterogenous and respectable group of settlers and merchants were drawn. Indeed, by 1779, there were an estimated 500 settlers and their slaves in the Belize territory. The character of the Bay was described as follows only a few days before St. George's Cay was captured by the Spaniards and the entire Settlement abandoned until 1783:

The English Settlers, with their Wives, Children and Domesticks, live on St. George's Key, where there is an exceeding good Harbour, at present defenceless... although this Key is the general place of residence of the Settlers, yet they have Plantations which

they visit occasionally, where they employ their Slaves in raising provisions and cutting Logwood... these Plantations extend along the banks of several Rivers such as Rio Honde, New River, Rowley's Bight, Northern River, Belize River, Chaboon River and Manatee Lagoon, for 100 miles and upwards...the Banks of the Belize in particular are settled above 200 Miles. The number of English on the Bay may amount to five hundred, 200 of which are able to bear arms; their Slaves of different Ages and Sexes to three thousand, of these there may be 500 to be depended upon...¹²

It should also be noted that by this time, logwood had largely been replaced by mahogany as the Settlement's primary *raison d'etre*. As Nigel Bolland (1988) notes, there had always been a limited demand for logwood in Europe amounting to about 4,000 tons a year, and as production in the Bays increased during the first half of the 18th century, it rose above demand which allowed London merchants to stockpile the wood and reduce the price paid to the cutters. In contrast, there was a great demand for mahogany to meet the needs of an expanding luxury furniture industry in England and by the early 1760s, Baymen were already sending their slaves to cut mahogany beyond the limits that would be imposed by the Treaty of 1763. Indeed, one of the reasons the Spanish attacked the Settlement in 1779 related to the persistent tendency of the Baymen to move their mahogany operations beyond the territorial limits defined in the 1763 treaty.¹³

For the most part, the Belize Settlement appears to have remained deserted after 1779 until a general peace between England and Spain was signed in 1783. By articles contained in the Treaty of Versailles, the permitted area for cutting logwood now had the Hondo and Belize Rivers as its northern and southern boundaries respectively while the New River was as far west as the cutters were allowed to establish their Works (see Map 2). The problem was that this area had in fact been logged for

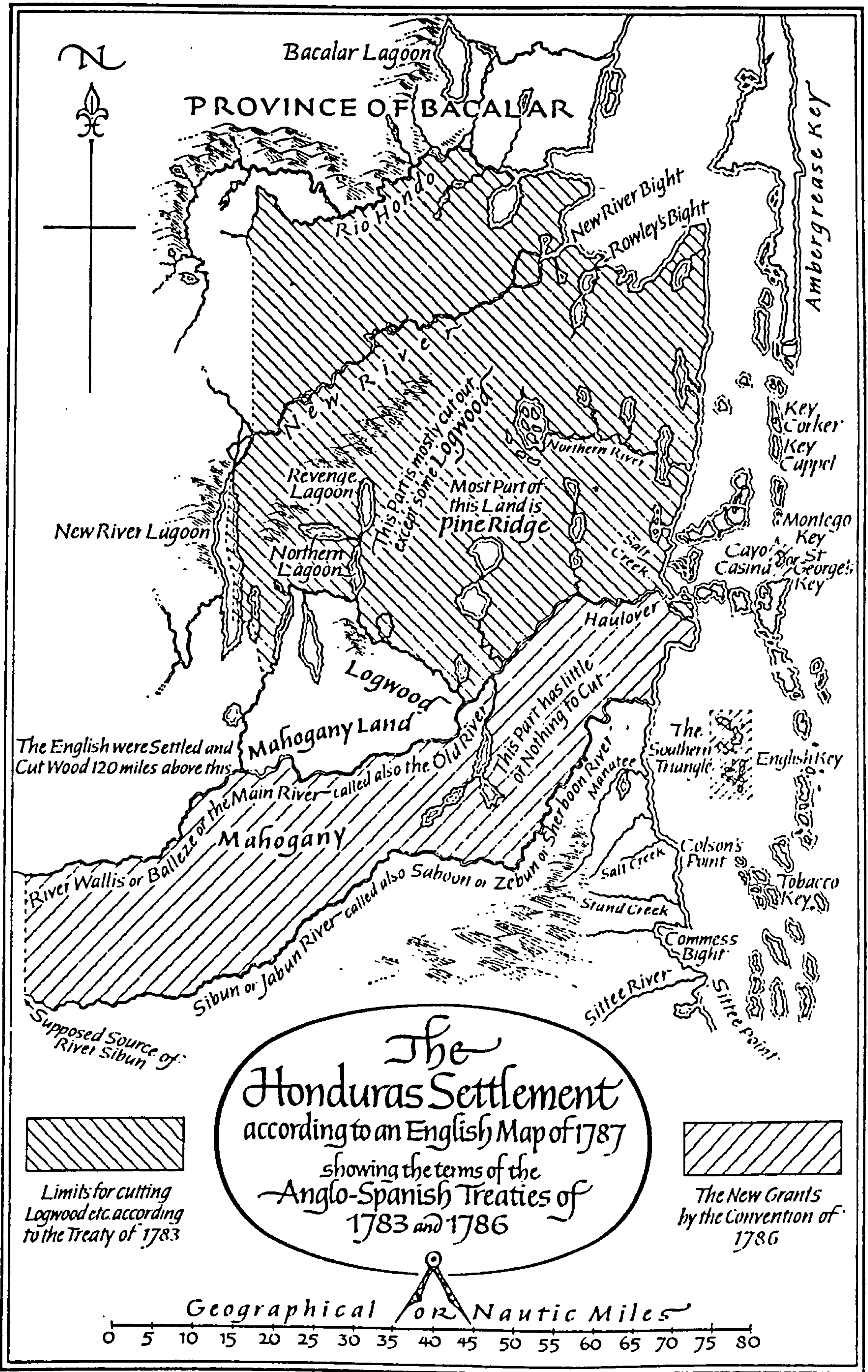
sometime previously and by 1783, it contained very little accessible timber. Accordingly, in 1783, the settlers who had returned to Belize from exile in the Bay Islands and Jamaica began almost immediately to petition the British government to press for further concessions from the Spanish which were eventually granted in an extension to the Treaty signed in London in 1786. The Convention of London recognised the *de facto* situation in Belize prior to 1779 and permitted the cutting of both logwood and mahogany as far south as the Sibun River (see Map 2) in an area referred to as the New Limits. The Convention also provided for Spanish Commissioners to examine the Settlement twice a year, and in prohibiting any fortifications, formal government and agricultural activities for any other than subsistence purposes, the Convention of 1786 was as emphatic as previous treaties in maintaining Spain's sovereignty in the Bay of Honduras.¹⁴ In some respects, it also preserved by treaty the marginal status of Belize where sugar had never been the basis of a developing commercial sector.

As a final point on the early settlement history of Belize, in return for the concessions made by Spain in 1786, the Convention of London specified that Britain should give up her claim to all other settlements in the area, most notably those along the Mosquito Shore and on Ruatan. As most of the Shore settlers and their slaves were moved to Belize, the evacuation was perhaps the most important event in the social history of the Settlement in the late 18th century. While it is true that after the peace of 1783, between five and seven hundred people "including several Loyalists from the American states" had settled in the Belize territory,¹⁵ the evacuation of the Mosquito Shore in 1787 saw the arrival in Belize of 2,214 refugees, three-quarters of whom were slaves. At the time, these newcomers were said to outnumber the original residents of the Bay by five to one,¹⁶ and as the institution of slavery is examined in more detail in the remaining sections of this study, the nature of the changes forced upon the economic and socio-political activities

of the Bay settlers by the Shore evacuation will be discussed. For the moment, however, and just as the Loyalist migration into the Bahamas marked the end of the early phase of that colony's settlement history, so too the Shore evacuation to Belize is an appropriate juncture at which to begin considering the early history of settlement in the other marginal colony in the western Caribbean, that is, the Cayman Islands.

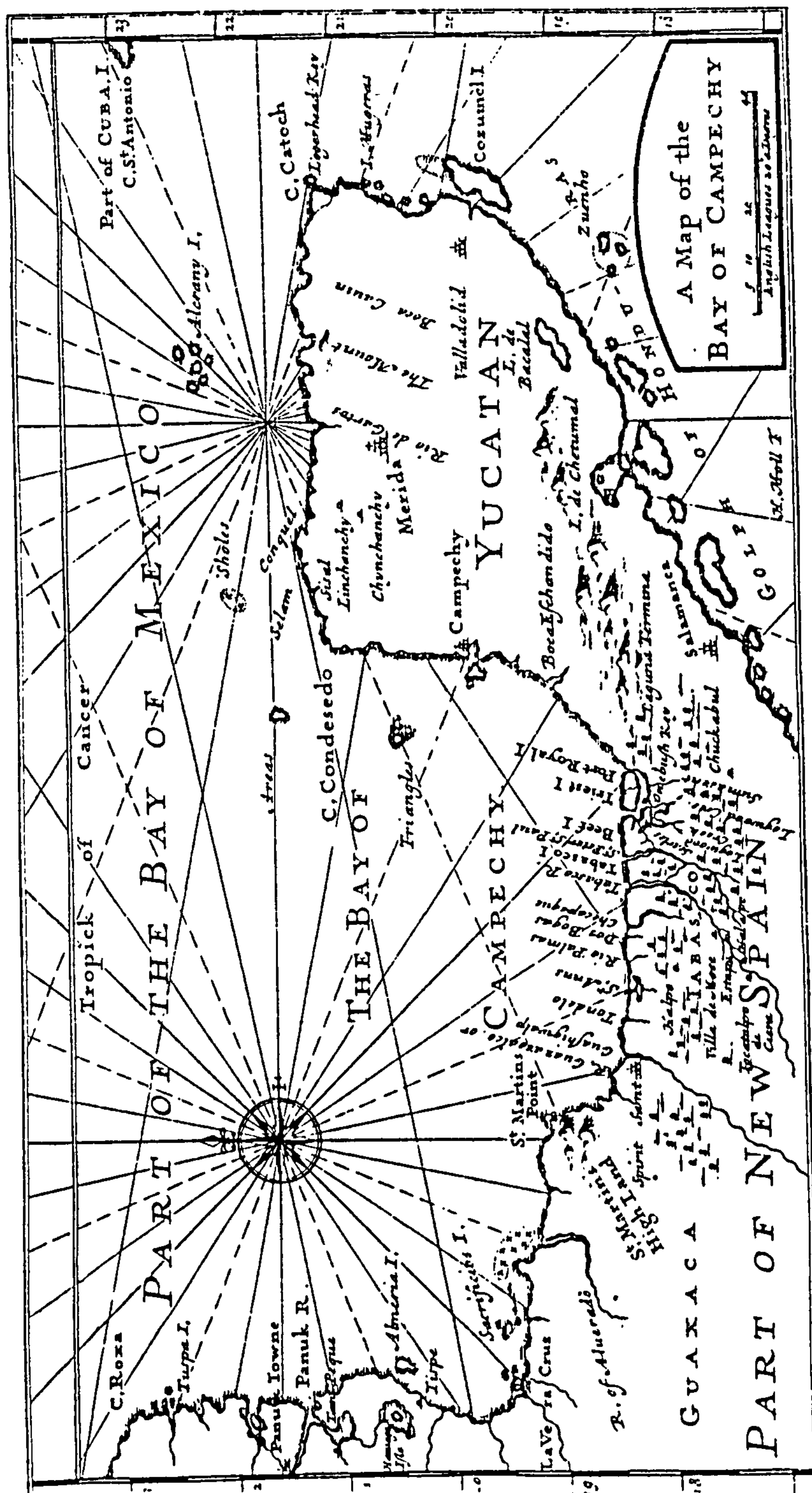
MAP 2The Belize Territory in 1787

Source: Narda Dobson, History of Belize. Longman Caribbean Ltd.,
Kingston, 1973. Page 83.



MAP 3The Bay of Campechy, 1717

Source: William Dampier. Dampier's Voyages: Two Voyages to the Bay of Campeachy, Volume II. E. Grant Richards, London, 1717. Preface.



REFERENCES

1. See for example, Assad Shoman, 13 Chapters of a History of Belize (The Angelus Press Ltd, Belize City, 1994), and O. Nigel Bolland, The Formation of a Colonial Society: Belize from Conquest to Crown Colony (The John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1977).
2. CO1/29, Thomas Lynch to Henry Slingsby, November 5th, 1672, ff103.
3. While signifying *de facto* English superiority over Spain, the Madrid Treaties of 1667 and 1670 conceded to the Spaniards the proscription of buccaneering as a legitimate profession. Henceforth, "in order to eliminate sources of conflict between the nations, and establish peace", all authorized depredations were to cease. After 1670, royal commissions were to be granted only for specific prizes in times of war and any unlicensed forms of naval plunder would be judged illegal and the offenders condemned as pirates. (Gilbert Joseph, "John Coxon and the Role of Buccaneering in the Settlement of the Yucatan Colonial Frontier." In Belizean Studies, Volume 17, No.3 (1989), p.5.
4. When Sir Thomas Modyford, a wealthy Barbadian planter, was appointed Governor of Jamaica in 1664, he was under strict instructions to suppress the buccaneers who had for some years based themselves in Port Royal. However, when the Second Dutch War (1665-67) broke out and he was advised that the Admiralty could not spare a fleet for the West Indies, Modyford opted to base the defence of the islands on the buccaneers whom he tried to organise into a regular striking force. Henry Morgan was one of the buccaneers thus recruited and over the course of the next several years, he was embarrassingly successful in carrying out raids on Spanish shipping and settlements in the Americas. As long as he and his men kept the enemy forces occupied, they relieved the threat to Jamaica. For his services, Morgan was eventually named Lieutenant Governor of the Island in

1677 while Modyford (arrested with Morgan in 1671 for violating the Treaty of 1670 and sent back to England to stand trial but pardoned) returned to Jamaica as Chief Justice, also in 1677. Clinton Black, History of Jamaica (Collins Clear Type Press, London, 1979), pp.63-73.

5. Gilbert Joseph, "John Coxon...", pp.10-12.
6. Carl Bridenbaugh and Roberta Bridenbaugh, No Peace Beyond the Line: The British in the Caribbean, 1624-1690, (Oxford University Press, New York, 1972), p.339.
7. Gilbert Joseph, "British Loggers and Spanish Governors: the Logwood Trade and its Settlements in the Yucatan Peninsula." Part II. In Caribbean Studies, Volume 14, No.2 (1974), pp.47-48.
8. Assad Shoman, 13 Chapters of a History of Belize, p.20.
9. Nathaniel Uring, A History of the Voyages and Travels of Captain Nathaniel Uring (J. Peele, London, 1726), pp.354-8.
The difficulties of life in the Bays has also been chronicled by the likes of William Dampier (1717) who relates how during the wet season, life in the loggers camps went on "three foot under water". He also provides several anecdotes about loggers who quite literally stumbled into the jaws of alligators; an Irishman out on a hunt for wild hog had his left leg nearly severed below the knee by an alligator he had disturbed while Dampier himself, "passing through a small Savannah about two or three foot deep" stumbled across an alligator "and fell down immediately". Dampier's cries for help were ignored by his colleagues who had run away into the woods at the sight of the beast, and although he did manage to escape with his limbs intact, Dampier was so frightened by the incident that he "never cared for going through the Water again as long as I was in the Bay".
William Dampier, Dampier's Voyages: Two Voyages to Campeachy (E. Grant Richards, London, 1717), Edited by John Masefield, Volume II, pp.91 and 196-7.
10. William Dampier, His Voyages to Campeachy, Volume II, pp.83-4

11. Assad Shoman, 13 Chapters of a History of Belize, p.57.
Burnaby's Code was in essence a primitive constitution and set of laws subscribed to by the inhabitants of the Bay. It included resolutions that attempted to define the technique of staking a claim to land in the Settlement as well as laws against cursing, swearing, theft and aiding runaway sailors. The Code also invested 7 inhabitants of the Bay with the authority to hold Courts of Justice to settle disputes. Thirteen householders were to be elected to serve as jurors by the majority of Baymen present at each assembling of the Court which was to sit every 3 months at St. George's Cay. As well, the Code also provided for the passing of other laws and regulations by the "Justices of the Bay in full Council", a provision that in effect institutionalized the power of the Baymen to make laws by majority vote in what came to be called the Public Meeting.
12. C0137/5. Unsigned letter to Governor Dalling, 3rd September, 1799.
13. C0123/2. Robert White to Thomas Townsend, 10th February, 1783. O. Nigel Bolland, "The Social Structure and Social Relations of the Settlement in the Bay of Honduras (Belize) in the 18th Century". In Colonialism and Resistance in Belize: Essays in Historical Sociology (Cubola Productions, Benque Viejo, Belize, 1988), pp.15-17.
14. Article 3 of the Convention of London, 1786. The Bay settlers were expressly forbidden to establish "any Plantation of Sugar, Coffee, Cacao, or other like Articles..". Quoted in Bolland, Formation of a Colonial Society, p.31.
15. C0123/5. Robert White to Lord Sydney, 28th May, 1787.
16. C0123/5. Letter by Superintendent Despard, 23rd February, 1787.

THE CAYMAN ISLANDS

Unlike the Bahamas and Belize, the history of the Caymans has been the subject of relatively few published works and what follows here is a brief attempt to narrow the historiographical gap.¹ As well, in examining the settlement history of the Cayman Islands, the aim is to define the colony's relationship with the rest of the BWI.

Early History and the Connection with Jamaica

The Cayman Islands entered recorded history on May 19th, 1503 when en route from Porto Bello to Hispaniola on his fourth and final voyage of "discovery", Christopher Columbus sighted Cayman Brac and Little Cayman. Once discovered and charted, the Caymans remained largely unexplored and unsettled until the 1590s when they began to develop as a resupply point for English vessels operating in the north-west Caribbean. In 1592, a Captain William King aboard the *Salomon* sailed from Jamaica and landed at Grand Caymanas "where we found no people, but a good river of fresh water and...three score great tortoises, two of which...fed 10 men for a day". King also noted in his journal that the doves, wild geese and other fowl in the island were a welcome addition to a seaman's diet.² The reputation of Grand Caymanas as a place where ships could obtain fresh water and provisions spread over the next half century and by 1643, a Captain William Jackson wrote that the island was "...much frequented by English, French and Dutch ships that come purposely to salt up the flesh of these tortoises...".³

Movement towards a more formal relationship between Jamaica and the Caymans began in 1661. In the royal instructions issued that year to Lord Windsor in London before he assumed the governorship of Jamaica in 1662, the Caymans were for the first time officially referred to as part of the territory of Jamaica. Forts were to be raised in the Caymans in order that these might preserve an "advantage towards the security and well settling of

our island of Jamaica", a circumstance that similarly governed the early relationship between Anguilla and St. Kitts, and between Barbuda and Antigua respectively.⁴

Tradition has it that the first European settlers in the Caymans were deserters from Venable's army in Jamaica, that two men named Bodden and Watler reached the Lesser Caymans from Jamaica sometime around 1658, and that they and/or their descendants were among the individuals in the Caymans granted an amnesty by the Governor of Jamaica in 1671.⁵ Most of the "soldiers, planters, privateers and inhabitants" who took advantage of the amnesty and returned to Jamaica had been encouraged to settle in the Caymans in the 1660s as successive governors of Jamaica sought to use the Islands as a buffer against Spanish attacks on Jamaica. For the next sixty years or so, the Caymans remained primarily a resupply point for buccaneers and freebooters who seem to have based themselves for the most part on Grand Cayman from which they could launch raids on vessels plying the main shipping routes between Central America, Cuba, Jamaica and Florida.

Permanent Settlements

On November 9th, 1735, an Issac Bodden (or Bawden) was married in Port Royal to a former widow named Sarah Lamar. In the Port Royal parish register, Issac is described as a mariner and both he and his bride are noted as being "of Caymanas". On the same day, a separate entry in the register records the baptism of their two sons, Benjamin Lock Bawden, born December 17th, 1730, and William Price Bawden, born November 11th, 1732.⁶ If we assume that these boys were born in the Caymans, then clearly Issac had been living in those Islands for a number of years. That his wife Sarah was a widow probably suggests that there were other inhabitants then in the Caymans as well.

The observations of George Gauld who carried out a hydrographic survey of the Caymans for the British Admiralty in 1773 would seem to bear these assumptions out. Appendaged to his

hand-drawn maps of the three Caymans are meticulous notes Gauld made about the history and settlement of Grand Cayman as told to him by settlers then on the island. In his notes, Gauld wrote of meeting Old Issac Bodden, a native of the island "now upwards of 70 years of age..." and almost certainly the same Issac Bodden who appears in the Port Royal parish register of 1735. Bodden himself had probably been one of several itinerant turtlers from Jamaica who sometime in the early 18th century decided that it was safe enough to remain permanently in the Caymans, and who according to Gauld established one of the first permanent settlements at a place called Old Issacs on the south-east shore of Grand Cayman near the present-day village of East End (see Map 4).⁷

The first documentary evidence of the early settlement of Grand Cayman confirms that if the area around Old Issacs was one of the island's first settlements consisting of more than one or two houses that were more or less permanently occupied, it did not remain so for very long. The evidence in question is contained in the patents to five grants of land in the Caymans made to a like number of individuals by the authorities in Jamaica between 1734 and 1742.

The patent for the first grant was drawn up on February 28th, 1734 and by it, 3,000 acres of land at Grand Cayman were given over jointly to Daniel Campbell, John Middleton and Mary Campbell. According to the land grant, the Campbell-Middleton holding incorporated a stretch of land on the North Sound running west from Red Bay Estates to the eastern outskirts of modern George Town, south to land east of Jackson Point and then east again to Red Bay Estates (see Map 4).⁸

Of the four remaining land grants made to individuals between 1741 and 1742, 1,000 acres of land were given to each of Samuel Spofforth, Murray Crymble, William Foster and to Mary Bodden. Two of these patentees, Spofforth and Crymble, were absentee merchants based in Bermuda and Jamaica respectively whose interest in land in the Caymans seems to have been largely

speculative while William Foster and Mary Bodden were themselves both directly involved in the Islands.

From the patents themselves, it appears that the 1,000 acres granted to Murray Crymble were located north of the Campbell-Middleton grant and traversed the neck of land between present-day George Town and West Bay (see Map 4). Samuel Spofforth's grant covered 1,000 acres on the north-west tip of the island and stretched from North West Point through Boatswains Point and as far east as Spanish Bay. William Foster's patent granted him title to land from the centre of George Town south through Jackson's Point (forming the western boundary of the Campbell-Middleton land) to South West Point near the western entrance to South Sound.⁹ The location of Mary Bodden's land is less certain, although because it did not abut the sea on any side, and because the surveyor was a Thomas Newland, George Hirst (1910) believed the grant to be in the vicinity of present-day Newlands, an area in the relatively fertile centre of the island between Savannah and Bodden Town.¹⁰

Apart from fishing and turtling, some of the clearest information on the activities of early settlers in Grand Cayman is found in the details of a commercial law suit brought against William Foster (to whom land would be patented in 1741) by a Benjamin Battersby filed at Spanish Town, Jamaica, in September of 1739 but covering the period from December 1734. On December 11th that year (1734), Foster and Battersby had contracted a "John Bodden of Grand Caymanas, Mariner.." to take "eight negro men slaves...the property of the said William Foster to the Grand Caymans in order to cut mahogany plank". Under the agreement, Bodden was to receive either one quarter of the mahogany plank or one quarter of the proceeds of the sale of the total.

For a while at least, the Foster-Battersby partnership worked well enough for William Foster to arrange for an additional 20 slaves and a skilled sawyer named William Proser to be sent over to Cayman. Sometime in 1737, the Foster-Battersby partnership was dissolved,¹¹ but the real significance of the details contained in the subsequent lawsuit is that they

illustrate the point that the economy of the Caymans during the early period of settlement was primarily an extractive one with small groups of slaves working the scattered timber cuts on the island, much as their contemporaries in Belize were cutting logwood along the rivers of that territory by the mid 18th century. In Cayman, as in Belize, sugar was not the basis of a gradually developing commercial sector and at this stage of its settlement history, the colony was still very much a marginal territory.

The Economy of the Caymans

Descriptive information about the society and economy evolving in Grand Cayman during the second half of the 18th century is available in the Remark Books kept by Royal Navy officers who often passed by the Caymans while on patrol or convoy duties.¹² Several of the Remark Book entries confirm many of Gauld's observations about life in the Caymans at that time and suggest that, as in the Bahamas, most early settlers in the islands lived for most of the year on the margins of subsistence. Thus, on May 26th, 1764, Captain George Watson aboard the HMS *Alarm* noted that at the Hog Styes, there were "a few poor cottages" and

16 familys in different Parts that subsists in Fishing and Cutting Mahogany. Small vessels from Jamaica brings them necessarys and carry off their produce...turtle in abundance...and one small schooner at the Place.¹³

Captain Robert Carkett aboard the HMS *Active* dropped anchor off Grand Cayman in 1765 (exact date not recorded) where he noted that there were about 20 families on the island most of whom were employed in cutting mahogany and fustic which they sent to Jamaica. Carkett observed three or four small schooners belonging to the island which he understood to be used in turtling and "sometimes to carry mahogany".¹⁴

The HMS *Adventure* commanded by Captain Thomas Fitzherbert visited the Caymans on several occasions between January 1768 and May 1769. Anchoring at "Georgetown", Fitzherbert wrote of

a great abundance of firewood to be cut very conveniently but fresh water is very scarce only got from two small wells. Poultry, Turtle, Fish, Yams Potatoes and Greens to be bought from the Inhabitants which are a few English...this Island produces Mahogany, cedar, dyewoods and cotton.¹⁵

By the time George Gauld arrived in the Caymans in 1773, there were 39 families on Grand Cayman "consisting of at least 200 white people and above same number of Negroes and Mulattoes" scattered over 4 settlements; 21 families lived in Bodden Town, 13 in the West End (the Hog Styes), 3 in East End, and 2 at Spotts (see Map 4).¹⁶ With respect to governance, the islanders had no legislature but

a chief, or governor, of their own choosing, and regulations of their own framing, they have some justices of the peace among them appointed by a commission from the governor of Jamaica (but) scarcely any form of civil government.¹⁷

Just as a relatively stable and expanding population in the Bahamas during the second and third quarters of the 18th century suggested that colonists there were taking the first tentative steps towards developing a plantation culture, so Gauld noted that settlers in Grand Cayman in the early 1770s were producing unspecified quantities of cotton, principally for export, while for their own consumption and to supply passing vessels, they grew corn, yams, sweet potatoes, plantains, melons, limes, oranges and other fruits and vegetables. Sugar cane was grown and converted to syrup for domestic use only. Gauld also noted that a few of the people of "considerable property" between them owned

about half a dozen sloops and schooners which were employed in turtling and "trafficking to Jamaica".¹⁸

Some indication of what it was that constituted this carrying trade between the Caymans and Jamaica during the middle years of the 18th century is contained in the Jamaican Shipping Returns (1680-1818) held at the Public Record Office in London. From these, there appears to have been an upswing in trade between Jamaica and the Caymans at the end of the Seven Years War (1756-63). Towards the end of February 1764, for example, several mahogany carriers arrived in Kingston from "Grand Caymanoes"; the 50 ton brig *Success* and a recently captured and renamed 30 ton sloop the *Eagle*, together unloaded 80 tons of timber at Kingston during the third week of February while their escort, a 40 ton sloop also named the *Eagle*, carried 30 tons of mahogany. In April of the same year, the 15 ton *Greyhound* came into Kingston from Grand Cayman with 15 tons of mahogany on board. Both the *Success* and the larger *Eagle* had sailed from Kingston in January 1764 bound for the Caymans with "dry goods" on board.¹⁹

Although settlers in the Caymans were exporting mahogany and cotton to Jamaica, their status as marginal colonists in the BWI is confirmed by the relatively limited quantities of these crops being shipped, and by the precise nature of the carrying trade with Jamaica. The Returns suggest that this "trafficking to Jamaica" observed by Gauld in 1773 was actually one leg of a triangular trade in mahogany, logwood and fustic between Jamaica, the Caymans and British settlements in Central America, in particular those at British Honduras (Belize) and along the Mosquito Shore. When the 30 ton sloop *Diamond* arrived in Kingston from Grand Cayman on March 30th, 1768, for example, she off-loaded 400 feet of mahogany, 260 pieces of timber and 2 tons of fustic, and then set sail almost immediately for Honduras in ballast.²⁰ The precise role of the Caymans in this trade is suggested in a memorandum and sketch map seized by the Spanish authorities in Cartagena from a Robert Hodgson Jr, the British Superintendant of the Mosquito Shore who had been captured en route to England in 1783.²¹ In an echo of the Lord Proprietors'

instructions to their governors in the Bahamas in the latter half of the 17th century, the memorandum contained a recommendation that the reciprocal trade between British and Spanish colonies was to be continued even though such a trade was not formally permitted by either country's laws. A crudely drawn sketch map enclosed in the said memorandum appears to illustrate that the Caymans were an important relay station in this indirect and essentially clandestine trade,²² a circumstance that may also explain why several of the ships arriving in Kingston from the Caymans during this period carried logwood, cocoa and sasparilla produced in Central America but not in the Caymans.²³

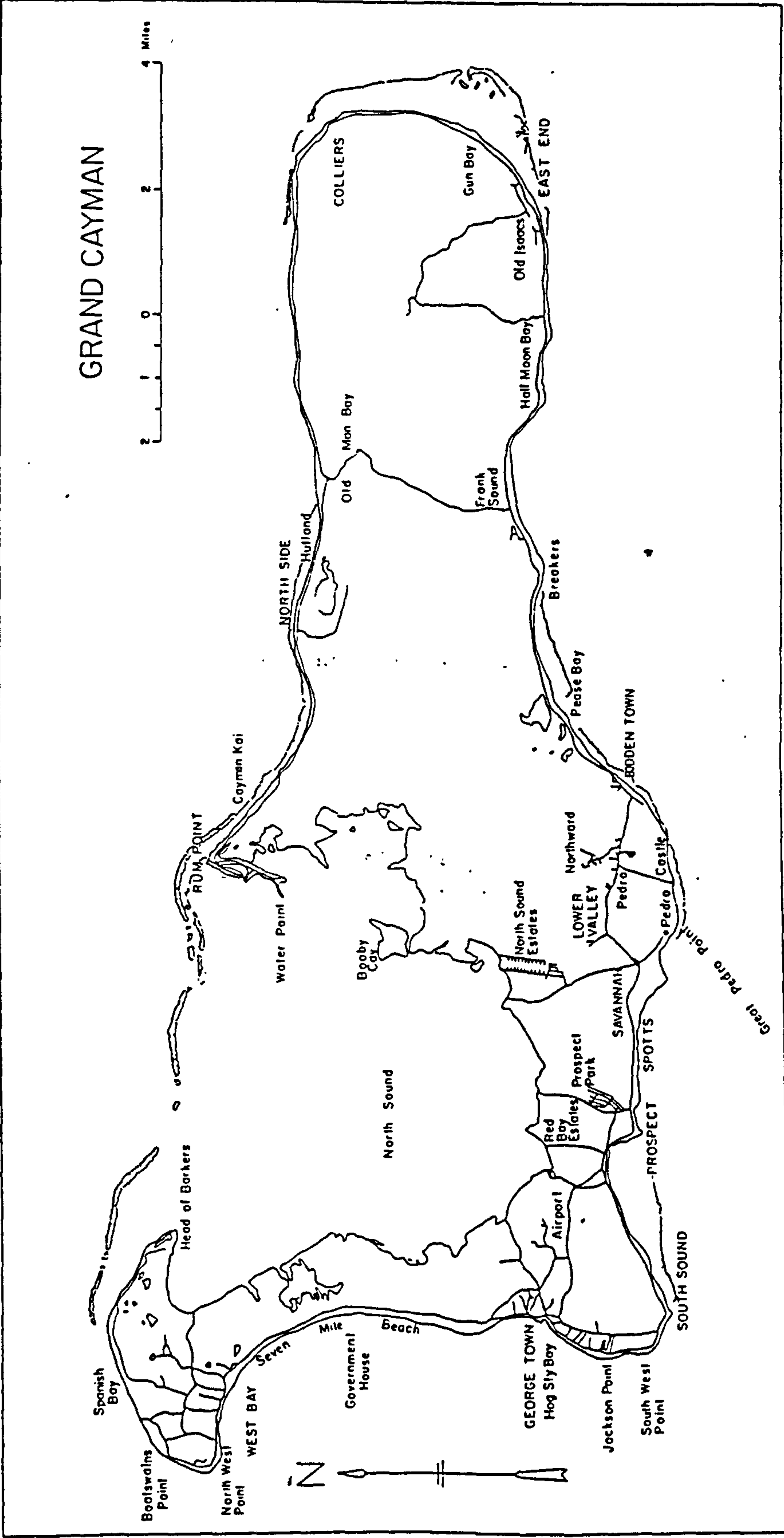
As a final point on the history of early settlement in the Caymans, the trade link with Central America was to have a direct impact on the size of population in the island. When the Mosquito Shore was evacuated by the British in 1787 under the terms of the Convention of London signed the year before, as noted, most of the Shore evacuees and their slaves departed for the Belize territory but some headed instead for the Caymans. An entry in the Remark Book of Captain John Hull aboard the HMS *Camilla* "standing off and on" George Town on August 17th, 1787 notes that

...about 300 people are lately settled on this island from the Mosquito Shore, and adjacent islands, who are making large plantations for Cotton.²⁴

While settlers in Grand Cayman had been growing cotton before the immigration of these evacuees and their slaves from the Mosquito Shore, their arrival coincided with the onset of a short-lived Caymanian slave plantation economy in the same way that Loyalist emigrés and their slaves from East Florida pioneered cotton plantations on several Out Islands in the Bahamas in the late 1780s. Given the aims of this section of the study, the arrival of the Shore evacuees in Cayman is also a convenient juncture at which to leave the history of early settlement in the Caymans and turn to that of the marginal colonies of the Leeward Islands, that is, of Barbuda and Anguilla.

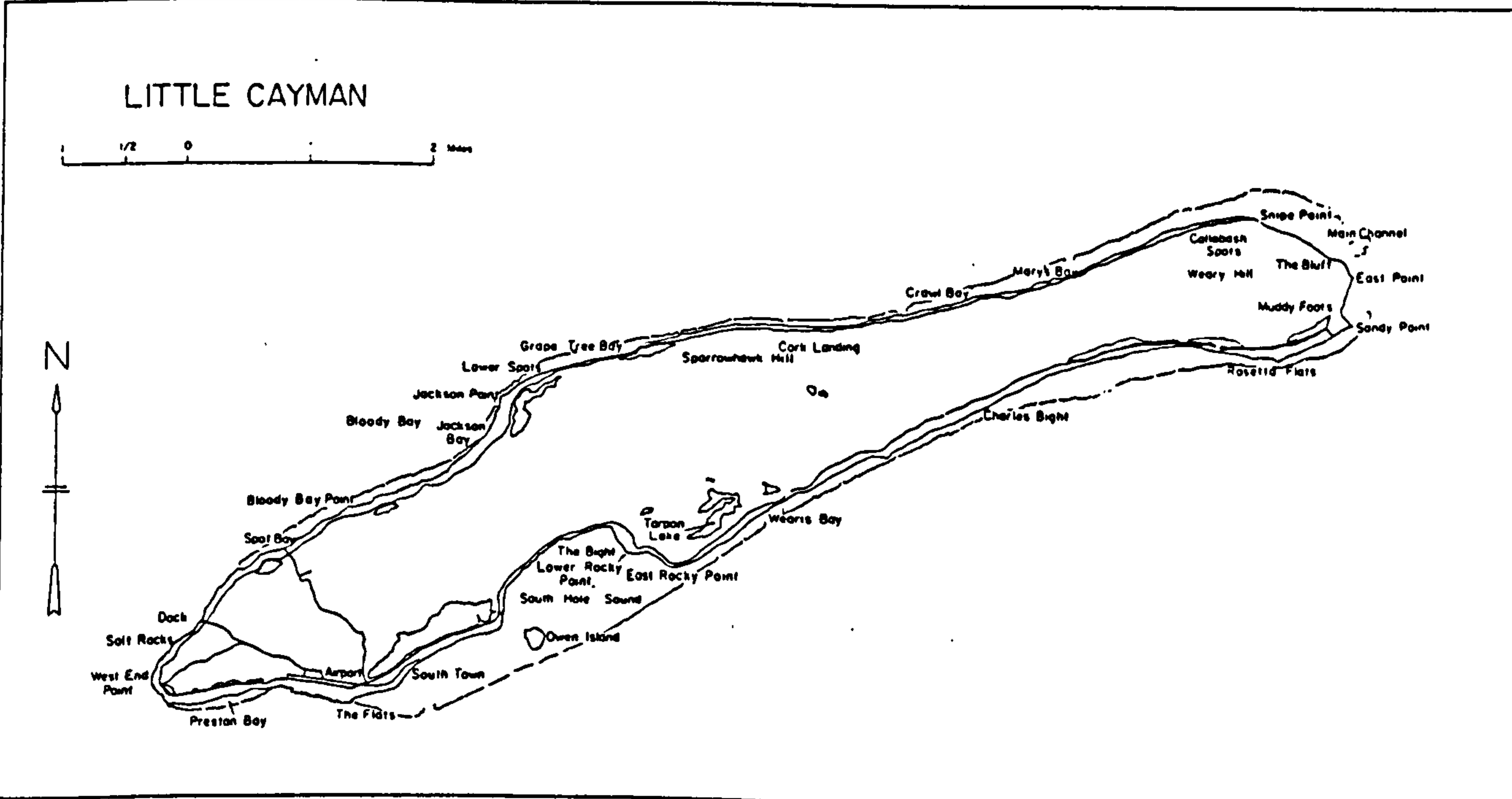
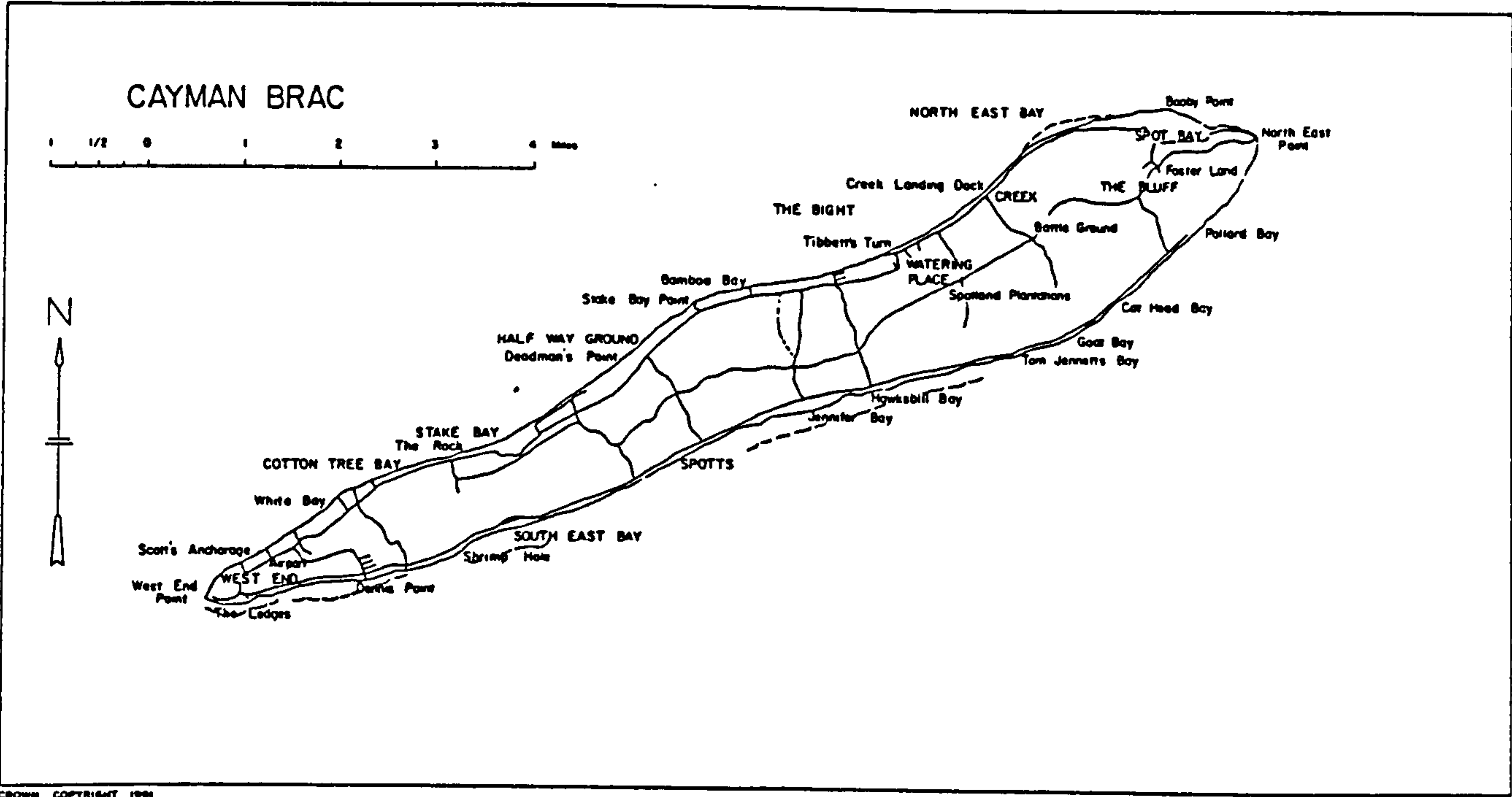
MAP 4The Cayman Islands, 1970

Source: Neville Williams. A History of the Cayman Islands.
Grosvenor Press, Portsmouth, 1970. Inside cover.



LANDS & SURVEY DEPT.

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1. To date, there are two published works on the history of the Cayman Islands, George Hirst, Notes on the History of the Cayman Islands (P.A Benjamin Manufacturing Company, Kingston, 1910), and Neville Williams, A History of the Cayman Islands, (Grosvenor Press, Portsmouth, 1970). Michael Craton is currently researching a history of the Cayman Islands set for publication by the end of 2001.
2. Ibid., -p.3.
3. Ibid., p.4.
4. George Hirst, Notes on the History of the Cayman Islands, (P.A Benjamin Manufacturing Company, Kingston, 1910), p.18.
5. CO 140/1 ff223-25.
6. Port Royal Parish Register, 1733-35. Copy held at the Cayman Islands National Archive (CINA): MSD 82/347.
7. George Gauld, Remarks on the Hand Drawn Version of his 1773 Map of the Caymanas, presented to the Board of the Admiralty, London, 1773. Copy held at CINA.
8. George Hirst, pp.38-40.
9. Michael Craton, Research into the History of the Cayman Islands, Draft of Chapter 5: The First Permanent Settlements, in Peace and War, 1734-1800, p.12-13. I was kindly given copies of Craton's work by Dr. Philip Pedley of the Cayman Islands National Archive on condition these are returned when I complete my study. Craton is aware that I have copies of his research work.
10. George Hirst, pp.53-55.
11. JA 1A/3, Chancery Court Liber 28, pp.344-52. Chancery Court Records of Jamaica, Jamaica National Archives. Copy held at CINA. From the records of the lawsuit, it appears that relations between the two merchants soured over a debt of £1,000. According to Battersby, sometime in 1737, Foster entered an undisclosed partnership with John Bodden, William Proser and certain local inhabitants on Grand Cayman to cut and plank mahogany. The basis of the law suit that ensued was

Battersby's determination to recover what he regarded as his share of the slaves, the saws and other supplies sent, of the mahogany trees cut and shipped after 1737, and the chance of patenting the land worked on Grand Cayman.

12. After 1761, and in addition to their normal ships logs, Royal Naval Captains were obliged to keep Remark Books while on duty in the various seas and oceans of the world. Copies of these Remark Books are held at the Hydrographic Office in London and the entries quoted here are from photostat reprints of those relevant to Cayman held at CINA.
13. Remark Books, Volume 2 (Aii), p42a, 36 and 47.
14. Ibid., p.264-5.
15. Ibid., p.342.
16. Gauld, Remarks on Map.
17. Edward Long, History of Jamaica, (T.Lowndes, London, MDCCLXXIV), Volume I, p.312.
18. Gauld, Remarks on Map.
19. CO 142/17 ff54-5, 18, 91-6.
20. Ibid., ff82-3.
21. Archives of the Indies, Simancas, Spain, Mapas, Planes y Dibujos, XI-165 (1783). From a report prepared for CINA by Frank G. Dawson based on his findings at the Archives of the Indies, Seville in 1995. CINA, MSD/1881, Acc.123,524.
Robert Hodgson Jr succeeded his father as Superintendent of the Mosquito Shore in or about 1776 and after his capture by Spanish forces in 1783, he agreed to perform the same role for Spain once the British evacuated the Shore as per the Treaty of Versailles.
22. Ibid. A copy of the sketch map taken from Hodgson during his interrogation in 1783 is held at the CINA but as per the original, it is of a sufficiently poor quality to prevent its inclusion in this study.
23. Craton, Draft of Chapter 5, p.24.
24. Remark Books, Volume 43 (Ac 5), pp.560-1.

BARBUDA

By 1640, English colonists had attempted to establish settlements in dozens of places in the Caribbean and, given the determination of the Spanish to drive them out of the region altogether, had learned that these settlements were most feasible in islands or mainland territories as far removed from contact with Spanish and/or indigenous population centres. It is therefore no coincidence that early English settlers opted for relatively secluded agricultural sites where they began as small-scale tobacco and cotton farmers on five of the most northerly islands in the Lesser Antilles, that is, in St. Christopher's (1624), Barbados (1627), Nevis (1628), Antigua (1632), and Montserrat (1632). According to Richard Dunn (1972), at the time of English interest in them, these islands were no more than convenient watering stations for trans-Atlantic vessels, their lands were fertile but mountainous and difficult to clear, they contained no gold deposits or logwood forests, and, as they were situated on the eastern edge of the Caribbean, these islands were in a poor position to allow trade or plunder on the Spanish Main. On the other hand, given the direction of the prevailing trade winds, Spanish forces in Havana and Cartagena rarely attacked these islands, a relative isolation that enabled the first English colonizers to gain a foothold in the region.¹

Early History

Like the Caymans and Anguilla, relatively few works to date have been published on the general history of Barbuda which necessitates a more detailed analysis of the island's early development as a marginal colony. Existing histories tend to focus on Barbuda under the proprietorship of the Codrington family who owned sugar estates in Barbados and Antigua for most of the period of formal slavery in the British Caribbean, and who used Barbuda primarily to supply these estates with livestock and

provisions.² As such, Barbuda appears to have had a more direct link to commercial sugar production in the BWI than any of the remaining marginal colonies. While both the quantity and quality of source materials on Barbuda over the period of the Codrington lease dictate that this study will similarly focus on slavery at Barbuda during the Codrington years, some consideration of the earlier history of the island is important for what it reveals about the nature of the relationship between Barbuda and the Leeward Islands generally, and Antigua in particular.

At the time St. Christopher's (or St. Kitts), Barbados, Nevis, Antigua and Montserrat were being settled by the English, the island of Barbuda does not appear to have been inhabited by any indigenous peoples, although Carib Indians may have planted crop gardens on Barbuda as they did on several unoccupied islands in the Lesser Antilles.³ For the English, Barbuda was too barren and rainless an island to tempt any permanent settlers, at least initially. Indeed, there is some doubt as to whether Barbuda was even included in the Crown grant of 1627 which confirmed the Earl of Carlisle as Lord Proprietor of "the English Caribbees", that is, of Barbados and the Leeward Islands.⁴ This did not prevent the Earl in 1628 from granting to one Thomas Littleton of St. Kitts a patent to plant Barbuda, or "Dulcina" as Littleton had christened the island in his application. Little is known about this first attempt at English settlement apart from its failure on account of the barren nature of the island's terrain and of the frequency of Carib attacks which together had persuaded the survivors of the pioneer settlement to depart for Nevis within a year or so of their arrival.⁵

Over the next thirty years, there were at least two additional efforts to colonise Barbuda launched from St. Kitts (in 1632 and 1650) and both of which ultimately failed for the same reasons Littleton's venture had in 1628-29. Indeed, the colonists in 1632 and 1650 had the particular misfortune to be caught up in a series of devastating raids launched by Caribs from Guadeloupe and Martinique as part of broader campaigns to drive Europeans in general from the Lesser Antilles.

A further attempt at permanent settlement on Barbuda came in April of 1663 when a Colonel John Collins petitioned the Crown for a grant of the island of "Burbooda", a "rock" at 17°N latitude that was "uninhabited and never of any profit to the Crown and unfit for any use but to graze some few cattle".⁶ On July 8th, 1663, Collins was granted the moiety of the profits of the island of Barbuda for a period of 7 years at the end of which his patent was to be extended for an additional 50 years "on payment of the yearly sum of 33s 4d to the King and his successors".⁷ At the end of the Second Dutch War (1665-1667),⁸ it was discovered that Collins had obtained his patent for Barbuda as a result of misrepresentation since the island had in fact been settled two years earlier by a Captain John Noye and 40 families under a commission from Colonel John Bunckley, Governor of Antigua, and dated January 26th, 1661.

Until Collins arrived on the island in 1664, the economy of Barbuda was a diversified one, the island having "...flourished under Noye producing indigo, cotton and cattle". On the strength of his patent having been issued by the Crown, Collins dismissed Noye and assumed control of the island. Accompanied by eight colonists of his own choosing, Collins seemed determined to remove most of the original settlers who had arrived with Noye and proceeded to kill their cattle, destroy their settlements and impose so "unconscionable taxes that they deserted as fast as they could".⁹

Collins himself was forced to desert the island in September of 1666 after several attacks by Carib Indians allied to the French who were themselves to launch a successful assault on Antigua in the fall of that year during the campaigns of the Second Dutch War. The significance of this particular conflict for Barbuda lies in the recognition by the colonial authorities in Antigua of the strategic importance of the island. Collins had asserted that his settlement and control of the island had been vital as Barbuda "was one of the chief places of rendezvous for the Indians when they warred with Antigua, Montserrat or Nevis",¹⁰ a fact that suggested to the colonial authorities in

Antigua that in any future hostilities between England and France and/or Spain, Barbuda could just as likely serve as a staging area for their operations against the same. Accordingly, on October 1st, 1668, Barbuda was granted to four leasees for a period of 32 years during which settlers were to be encouraged to establish themselves on the island and to defend it in the event of a Carib and/or enemy European attack.¹¹ At the very least, it was hoped that settlers on Barbuda could provide Antigua with a warning of an oncoming enemy assault.

Unfortunately, the records available do not shed a great deal of light on the precise activities of those settlers who arrived in Barbuda after the 1668 lease was issued. In April, 1671, there is a passing reference in correspondence between the then governors of Antigua and Barbados to the fact that Barbuda was "thriving" under the governorship of a Captain Campbell.¹² At the time, as it had during John Noye's administration in the early 1660s, Barbuda was being used to grow quantities of provisions, some indigo and cotton, and to raise cattle, both for the sustenance of the settlers themselves and for the ultimate benefit of the island's major shareholders. We know, for example, that at the time the original lease was renewed in 1684 to take account of a change in the names of the shareholders, those assignees employed to one of the original leasees, William Mildon, were using their holdings on Barbuda to provide stock animals for Mildon's estates on Nevis.¹³

One of the only indications of the number of settlers on Barbuda in the early 1680s is contained in a report received in July of 1681 by the Lords of Trade and Plantations from Sir William Stapleton, then Governor of Montserrat. In his report, Stapleton writes of an attack on Barbuda by Carib Indians from St. Vincent and Dominica in which 8 of the 20 residents on the island were murdered.¹⁴

Once the Caribs had left the island, settlers seem gradually to have returned to Barbuda to resume small-scale farming and stock raising. As noted, there were stock farmers from Nevis on the island again in 1684 by which time a Christopher

Codrington II and his brother John Codrington had purchased the lease on Barbuda from the original shareholders.¹⁵ Just as Mildon had done before them, the brothers Codrington seem to have been convinced of the potential for Barbuda to provide stock animals and some provisions for the family's existing sugar estates in Barbados and more particularly, for plantations they were in the process of acquiring in Antigua as they established themselves as planters in that island between 1680 and 1706.

The Codringtons and Barbuda

Under Letters Patent dated January 9th, 1685, King Charles II through Sir William Stapleton granted the island of Barbuda to Christopher and John Codrington for a period of 50 years commencing on that date. The grant was extended on June 5th, 1705 by Queen Anne for a period of 99 years in return for which Christopher Codrington and his heirs were to render onto Her Majesty annually "one Fat sheep if demanded".¹⁶ At the expiration of this grant in 1804, the Codrington family petitioned King George III for another renewal which was confirmed for a further term of 50 years to commence from June 5th, 1805 subject to the same rent stipulated in 1705.¹⁷ So it is that for much of the rest of its colonial history (or at least until 1870 when the family surrendered its lease), the island of Barbuda was controlled by the Codrington family and their trustees in Antigua.

The first Codrington to arrive in Barbuda was the John Codrington named in the family's original lease of the island in 1685. Together with several white settlers and their slaves, John Codrington moved to the island shortly after the patent was granted and lived there until his death in about 1688. By then, Barbuda was being used as a stock farm supplying the family's estates in Antigua and Barbados with horses and cattle. As well, there is a suggestion that the island served as a depository for Codrington slaves deemed no longer fit for field work on the family's sugar plantations in Antigua.¹⁸

Barbuda continued as a stock farm for the family's mainland estates in Antigua until March of 1710 when the consequences of England's opposition to France during the War of Spanish Succession (1702-1713) were visited upon the island. An Irish Catholic named John Birmingham (or Bermingham) who had defected to the French forces at Martinique earlier in the campaign, landed on Barbuda with a number of "British and Irish runnagadoes like himself" on the pretence they had been captured by the French and dumped on the island. By all accounts, Birmingham and his men were well received on Barbuda. At the first opportunity, however, Birmingham signalled "some French men lodged in the adjacent woods" and together, they seized the estate manager, blew up the island's main building complex and "carried off both white and black to Martinique".¹⁹

When William Codrington I assumed control of the family's estates in Antigua in 1710,²⁰ he was intent on re-establishing Barbuda as a stock and provision farm and over the course of the next several years, he refurbished the main buildings on the island and re-stocked the estate so that by 1719, there were 20 white servants and 92 slaves on Barbuda most of whom were employed in livestock farming and in growing provisions to sustain themselves.²¹

After William Codrington I left Antigua for England in 1717, developments on Barbuda from 1722 to 1839 can be traced through letters between the family and their attornies and managers in the Caribbean, correspondences that form the basis of a manuscript collection known as the Codrington Papers, and on which any assessment of slavery in Barbuda as a marginal colony must draw heavily.

The Economy and Administration of Barbuda

Most of the assessments carried out in the 17th and 18th centuries to determine the economic viability of Barbuda pointed to the potential for stock breeding on the island. Even in the rocky areas to the north and including Great and Little Goat

Islands (see Map 5: Great Goat Island forms the north shore of Cobb Cove), there was grazing sufficient enough for sheep and goats while parts of the Highlands and central plain had relatively good pasture for cattle, horses and mules.

Apart from stock farming on Barbuda, there were also some good stands of timber on the island's central plain, several saline flashes in marshes around the lagoon provided relatively large quantities of salt, turtles came ashore in the breeding season, and the lagoon and reefs which ring the island are home to great quantities and varieties of fish. The relatively fertile central plain to the east of Codrington village was used for growing provisions such as guinea corn, yams and potatoes which in a good year were supplied to the Codrington estates in Antigua, to markets in that island and on occasion to those on St. Kitts.²²

One other activity that occupied the estate manager and slaves at Barbuda from time to time was "wrecking", that is the salvage of vessels and/or their cargoes that had come to grief on the reefs that ring the island. Just as in the Bahamas, wrecking in Barbuda was a controversial if irregular source of revenue generation for the island but its significance ought not to be underestimated for in some years, as we shall see in Section II, wrecking accounted for a higher share of estate profits than any other single activity.

In terms of the *administration of Barbuda*, even among the marginal colonies of the BWI, the island was unique in that it was run as a single estate by managers (sometimes resident, at other times absent) employed by the Codrington trustees on the family's sugar plantations in Antigua. Following the management pattern established on the West Indian sugar plantations of absentee proprietors, Barbuda was run by a manager assisted by two or three white overseers based on the island. Originally compiled by Margaret Tweedy (1981), Appendix 1 is a list of the managers (sometimes referred to as "governors") of Barbuda during the period of the Codrington lease, and of the various attornies in Antigua to whom they were ultimately responsible. What changed

at various points was the degree of operational independence extended to the resident managers at Barbuda. While they were always subject to the final authority of the Codrington attornies in Antigua, particularly the attorney at Betty's Hope, some of the managers were allowed more autonomy in running the estate than others, a circumstance that impacted directly upon the labour experiences of Barbudan slaves, and upon the nature of the economic relationship between the island and the Antigua estates. A few examples will serve to illustrate the point.

When the Codrington family resumed direct control of Barbuda in 1761 at the end of a 15 year sub-lease of the island to two sugar planters in Antigua named Samuel Martin and William Byam,²³ the manager at Betty's Hope at the time was also made responsible for affairs in Barbuda. Until he returned to England in 1779, the post was held by one Samuel Redhead and his first task concerning Barbuda in 1761 was to appoint a resident manager for the island whose main responsibilities were to include the day to day running of the estate and the supervision of the work of the white overseers and slaves thereon.²⁴

In effect, this arrangement continued until 1783 but it posed several problems. As manager of Betty's Hope and leading attorney for at least 4 other estates belonging to the Codringtons in Antigua (that is, the Cotton, Garden, Cotton New Work and Clare Hall estates), Samuel Redhead had necessarily to devote more of his time and effort to supervising affairs in Antigua than those in Barbuda. He therefore depended heavily on the character of the resident manager in Barbuda and judging from some of his correspondence with Sir William, Redhead had difficulty both in finding competent men for the post and in persuading them to stay on. There were no fewer than three different managers on Barbuda between 1762 and 1763. The isolation of the island from Antigua seems to have been one cause of the high turnover in that two of the three managers married shortly after their appointments and as neither of their wives found Barbuda a particularly agreeable place, they were forced to resign.²⁵ Redhead hints at a second concern in a letter to Sir

William in July of 1771; having just dismissed a manager who had only been on Barbuda for 10 weeks, Redhead suggested that Sir William look for a suitable replacement in England and "send him over directly before he has contracted any acquaintance in this island (Antigua)".²⁶ It appears that several managers at Barbuda were trading in estate stock for their own profit by selling it to contacts in Antigua at well below market price and then receiving a share of the profits when the stock was sold on.

Redhead's successor was Richard Clarke whose appointment Sir William conceded in hindsight had been a mistake. Not only was Clarke accused of trading in Barbudan livestock for his own profit in 1781, he also undertook building schemes on the island without consulting Sir William, kept poor accounts of stores, and extended long credits to the estate's debtors, a practice to which Sir William was resolutely opposed.²⁷

His belief that Barbudan affairs had been mismanaged under Redhead and Clarke appear to have prompted Sir William to consider a change in the way the estate was administered and it was decided to separate Barbuda from Betty's Hope administratively to allow the manager on the island more independence. Ultimately, he was still responsible to the manager at Betty's Hope but it was felt that such a division of labour and its increased level of responsibility would encourage greater efficiency on the part of the Barbuda manager, and this in turn would be reflected in a higher rate of profit from the estate.²⁸

The man appointed as manager for Barbuda under these new arrangements in 1783 was Dennis Reynolds who had been on the island since 1779 where he had served as Richard Clarke's chief overseer. Retained on an annual salary of £175 sterling, Reynolds remained in Barbuda until 1794 and during his tenure, the estate declared an annual profit more years than not, although Sir William seems rarely to have been completely satisfied with the level of returns on his Barbuda investments. Full Accounts for Barbuda are available in the Codrington Papers from 1785 to 1792, and a general statement of profits (in Antigua pounds) realized from Barbuda across the seven year period is as follows;²⁹

General Statement of Profits from Barbuda, 1785-1792

1785-86	£ 6495 5s 6d
1786-87	6234 8s 0d
1787-88	5585 11s 0d
1788-89	3540 16s 7d
1789-90	3487 19s 5d
1790-91	2894 16s 2d
1791-92	3583 14s 3d

Short of natural disasters such as hurricanes and droughts, by the middle of the 18th century, most plantation owners in the BWI anticipated a return of about 10% per annum on their capital investments.³⁰ In 1792, it was estimated that the slaves and livestock at Barbuda were worth about £30,000 sterling,³¹ a 10% return on which amounted to £3,000 sterling, that is, about £5,250 Antigua pounds, a figure attained in 3 of the 7 years noted here.

Sir William was convinced that like his predecessors, Reynolds and his overseers, as well as the slaves on the island, were taking perquisites that cut into the levels of profit which might otherwise have been realized. Sir William believed, for example, that his slaves on Barbuda were trading in hogs and poultry which enabled them to buy rum from Reynolds whom he was convinced had his own agent in St. John's through whom he sold hogs, turkeys, turtle shell and coconuts.³²

On a tour of the family's West Indian properties in 1790-91, Christopher Bethell Codrington confirmed several of his uncle's suspicions about the situation in Barbuda, but wrote also of his "very good opinion of Reynolds having no one thing to say against him".³³ Christopher Codrington recognised that Reynolds probably was making money on the side, but conceded that such infractions were not surprising given the manager at Barbuda was under so little direct control that it was

impossible but to suppose that whoever lives there will make more money of the Proprietor than the Proprietor intends he should.³⁴

As long as these activities and profits made from them were contained on a relatively small scale, Christopher Codrington seemed prepared to tolerate them in order to retain the services of a competent manager.

When Christopher Codrington himself assumed control of the family's Antigua estates and Barbuda upon his uncle's death in 1792, he generally retained the existing management structure, although when J.L. Walrond, the estate manager at Betty's Hope since 1783 (see Appendix 1), was named attorney responsible for Barbuda in 1792, there was an attempt to reintegrate the island into the Antigua administration. Walrond felt that when Barbuda and the Antigua properties were under one and the same manager, produce from Barbuda was used first to meet the needs of the Codrington plantations. When the two entities were separated, as they had been under Reynolds, the resident manager at Barbuda was more inclined to send the livestock and provisions raised on the island to the market offering the best prices as he was more concerned with Barbuda making a profit than with the general prosperity of the Codrington estates as a whole.³⁵ During Walrond's tenure (1792-97) and that of his successor Samuel Athill (1797-1805), the resident managers at Barbuda were allowed to operate less independently from the Antiguan attornies than they had prior to 1792, and they did so on a reduced salary; when William Collins replaced Reynolds in 1793, he was retained on an annual salary of £100 sterling.

Christopher Codrington seems initially to have been persuaded of the merits of reintegration but by the time William Collins was dismissed in 1801 for selling not inconsiderable amounts of Barbudan produce for his own profit,³⁶ Codrington was reassessing the operational independence of Barbuda from the Antigua estates. He may also have been forced to give some thought to the terms and conditions of a resident manager's

employment in Barbuda; that a salary of £100 sterling a year was inadequate may in part explain why a suitable successor to Collins was not found until 1804. When John James was finally named manager at Barbuda that year, Codrington retained his services on a salary of £200 sterling a year plus a commission on sales and wrecks of 5% (later increased to 7%), a bonus that was hoped would discourage James from taking too many perquisites and focus instead on increasing the estate's profits. In 1805, Codrington also named James attorney for Barbuda.³⁷

These adjustments to the internal management of Barbuda seem not to have entirely overcome the estate's difficulties in turning what its' proprietor believed to be an acceptable level of profit. Throughout James' tenure as manager of the Barbuda estate that lasted until 1826, there are repeated references in Codrington's correspondence with James to the 'disappointingly low level of return on his investments in Barbuda. In spite of the fear of the Antigua attornies that under such a system Barbuda would be developed at the expense of the Antigua estates, the island in fact managed to supply these estates with quantities of livestock and provisions on a relatively steady basis up until the 1820s when the Leeward Islands as a whole began to experience general economic distress.

In sum, during the Codrington lease of Barbuda from the Crown, the island had a necessarily diverse economy that was to varying degrees integrated into that of the family's sugar holdings on Antigua. A broadly similar conclusion applies to the administration of the estate which even during its most autonomous phases was still linked to the Antigua plantations and where, as a result, "agent" problems were more accute than in other marginal colonies suggesting that forms of tenure and degrees of commercial activity both made some difference to economic structures in these territories. On the island itself, as in the Bahamas, the Caymans and Belize, relatively small groups of slaves carried out the range of labouring activities required to keep the estate viable and as we shall see in Section

II, were obliged to adopt work patterns not as far removed from those of their contemporaries on sugar estates in the British Caribbean as the term "marginal colony" might on first impression suggest. Before this, however, there remains the settlement history of Anguilla to consider.

MAP 5The Island of Barbuda, 1813

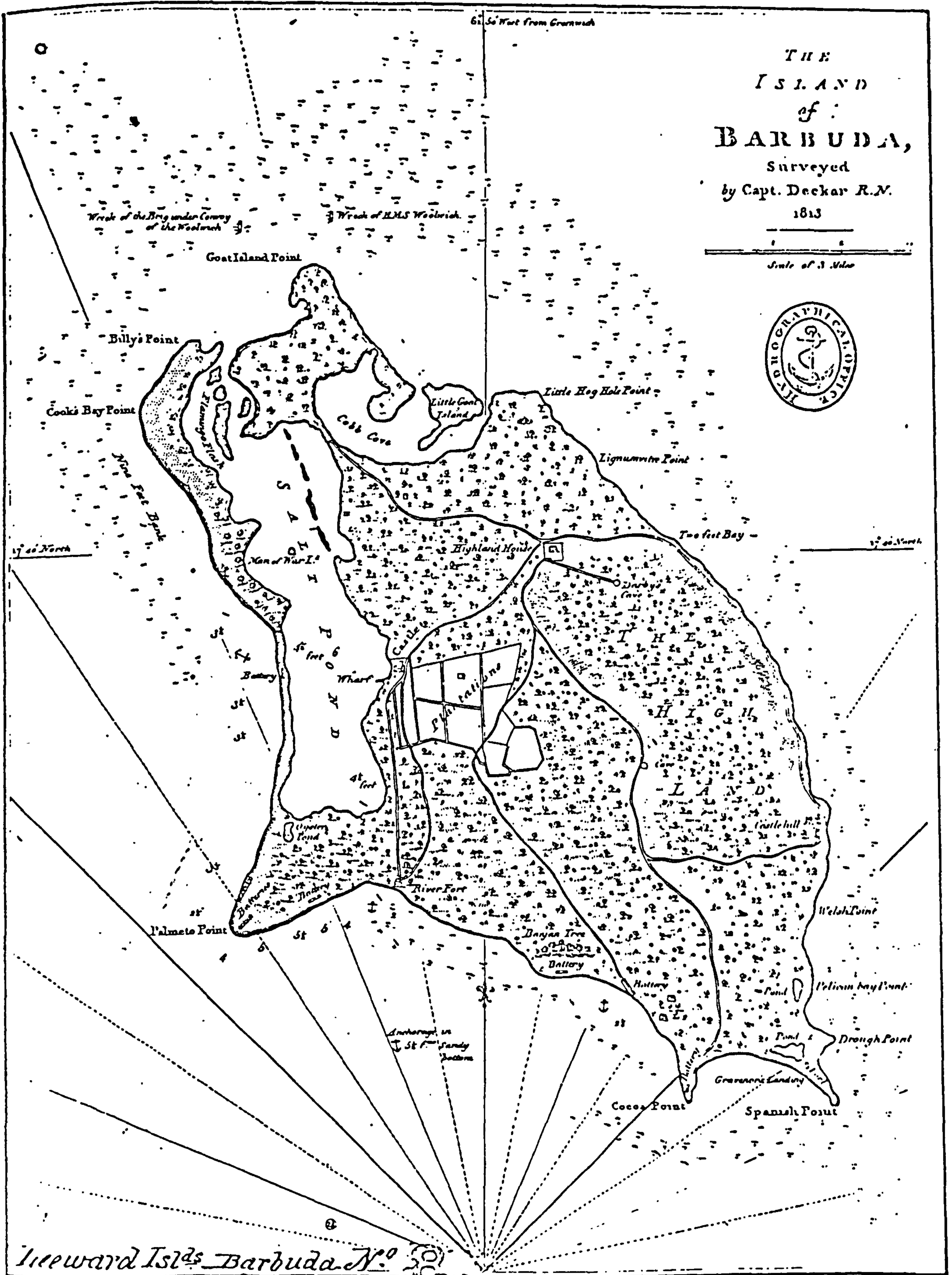
Source: C0700, MP/8 Antigua. Public Records Office, London.

THE
ISLAND
of
BARBUDA,

Surveyed
by Capt. Decker R.N.

1813

Size of 1 Vol



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(Note: in the following references, Sir William Codrington will be abbreviated SWC, Christopher Bethell Codrington as CBC)

1. Richard Dunn, Sugar and Slaves: The Rise of the Planter Class in the English West Indies, 1624-1713 (W.W. Norton and Company, New York, 1973), pp.17-19.
2. See Margaret Tweedy, A History of Barbuda Under the Codringtons, 1738-1833 (Unpublished M.Litt thesis, University of Birmingham, 1981), David Lowenthal and Colin Clarke, "Slave Breeding in Barbuda: The Past of a Negro Myth." In *Comparative Perspectives on Slavery in New World Plantation Societies*. Edited by Vera Rubin, Arthur Tuden, New York Academy of Sciences, 1977, pp.510-35.
3. Philip P. Boucher, Cannibal Encounters: Europeans and Island Caribs, 1492-1763 (John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1992), p.36.
4. In a dispute between Carlisle and the Earl of Montgomery in April of 1629 concerning the right of title over the island of "Barbudos" at 13°N latitude, it was determined that Barbuda at 17°N with which "Barbudos" might have been confused "was not intended nor desired in any patent or commission". CSP 1574-1660, April 18th, 1629, No.643.
5. Sir Allan Burns, History of the British West Indies (London, 1954, Revised edition, 1965), pp.194-95.
6. CSP 1660-1663, July 15th, 1663, No.438.
7. CSP 1667-1668, December 15th, 1668, No.514.
8. CSP 1667-1668, February 11th, 1669, No.763. The Second Dutch War (1665-1667) broke out as a result of English depredations against Dutch slave factories at Goree, Cape Verde and Cape Coast Castle on the West African coast in 1664. An English squadron had been despatched to the area by King Charles II in 1663 to protect the English slave trade there but Dutch hostility and their influence over local chiefs forced the English commander, Captain Robert Holmes, to attack the afore

mentioned factories thereby provoking larger Dutch reprisals that included the outfitting of a French squadron to attack English interests in the Caribbean. Issac Dookham, A Pre-Emancipation History of the West Indies (Collins Press, London, 1971), pp.32-33.

9. CSP 1667-1668, December 15th, 1668, No.1890 II, John Collins to Secretary Lord Arlington.
10. Ibid., No.1890 III
11. D1610 T9. Patent to Several Persons for Barbuda, October 1st, 1668. The four leasees were Samuel Winthrop, Joseph Lees, William Mildon and Francis Samson. Of the four, only Mildon seems not to have resided in Antigua where his partners were each involved in planting and politics; at the time the grant was issued, Winthrop was President of the Antigua Council, Lee was Secretary to the same, and Samson was Secretary to the Antigua Assembly.
12. CSP 1669-1674, April 10th, 1671, No.862, William Byam to William Lord Willoughby.
13. D1610 T9. Grant of the Island of Barbuda, 1684.
14. CSP 1681-1685, July 27th, 1681, No.189, William Stapleton to the Lords of Trade and Plantations.
15. Vere Langford Oliver, History of Antigua, Three Volumes (London, 1899), Volume III, p.253.
16. Douglas Hall, Five of the Leewards (Caribbean Universities Press, Ginn and Company Ltd., Newcastle, 1971), pp.59.
17. Ibid., pp.59-60.
18. D1610 C5. Benjamin King to Lady Codrington, December 27th, 1740.
19. CSP 1710-1711, April 26th, 1711, No.824, Lt. General Hamilton to Lord Dartmouth.
20. Upon his death, John Codrington's share of Barbuda was passed to his son William who also inherited one half of his uncle's share when Christopher Codrington II died in 1698. At the time of his father's death, William Codrington I was a minor and his interests were looked after first by his uncle until 1698 and then by his cousin Christopher Codrington III,

the son of Christopher Codrington II who had petitioned Queen Anne for renewal of the lease on Barbuda in 1705. Over the years and partly to settle debts, the remaining 25% share of Barbuda had been signed over by Christopher Codrington II in one eighth shares to three Antiguan planters, namely Vavasour Cage, Colonel Lambert, and William Harman (the latter two jointly). Before his death, Codrington also willed a share of the Island to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG). When he came of age and assumed control of the family's estates in 1710, William Codrington I managed over the course of the next several years to buy back these shares in the Island and thus establish the family as the sole proprietors of Barbuda.

21. D1610 C2. A List of what White Servants, Negroes, Cattle, Horses etc. I now have at Barbuda, July 27th, 1719.
22. D1610 C5. Benjamin King to Lady Codrington, December 27th, 1740.
23. The Codringtons sub-leased the island of Barbuda to two Antiguan planters for fifteen years between 1746 and 1761. I can find no expressed reason in the Codrington Papers I have so far reviewed to explain the decision to sub-let the island. It may have had something to do with an attempt at retrenchment by the Codringtons in the wake of a recession and prolonged drought which affected Antigua in the late 1730s, disasters that were compounded by the discovery of a major conspiracy among Antiguan slaves in 1736. As details of the plot emerged in a series of trials that took place after it was uncovered, many whites were reportedly quitting the island believing that "the Negroes will Accomplish their Designs sooner or later". See David Barry Gaspar, Bondsmen Rebels: A Study of Master-Slave Relations in Antigua (John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1985), p.40. I am not suggesting that the Codringtons were among these, but clearly the conspiracy served to worsen an unsettled situation that together with the drought and recession, may have persuaded the Codringtons to economise. The family might

have regarded the security of a fixed annual rent of £1,500 sterling as more preferable to uncertain returns on an estate that's main revenues were derived from supplying livestock to plantations that were being forced to scale down their operations by circumstances beyond their immediate control.

24. D1610 A5, 1779.
25. MF375 (GRO) Samuel Redhead to SWC, June 1st, 1762, and April 25th, 1763.
26. Ibid., July 30th, 1771.
27. D1610 C14/1. SWC to Richard Oliver, March 11th, 1783, and SWC to J.L. Walrond, November 4th, 1784. -
28. Ibid., SWC to Richard Oliver, January 23rd, 1783.
29. D1610 A6/1-7. In the Accounts for Barbuda, these figures are given in Antiguan currency and at the time, 175 Antiguan pounds were equivalent to £100 sterling.
30. In the 1650s, the pioneer sugar planters in Barbados probably made profits as high as 40 or 50 %, although these were the result of special circumstances, that is, the disruption of the plantations of Brazil by the outbreak of war between the Dutch and the Portuguese. By the late 17th century, the reduction of sugar prices through the normal process of competition seems to have brought West Indian profits down to more modest levels; based on a sample of plantations in Barbados, the Leeward Islands, Jamaica and the Ceded Islands between 1698 and 1834, J.R. Ward has demonstrated that planter's profits over that period averaged about 10%. J.R. Ward, "The Profitability of Sugar Planting in the British West Indies, 1650-1834". In Economic History Review Volume XXXI (1978), pp.197-213.
31. D1610 T9. The Case for a New Grant.
32. D1610 C14/2, SWC to CBC, November 14th, 1790, and December 31st, 1790.
33. Ibid., June 17th, 1790.

34. D1610 C14/2, CBC to SWC, July 15th, 1791. CBC noted for example, that Reynolds had slaves of his own at Barbuda and probably reared and sold livestock without paying any rent for their pasture.
35. MF375 (GRO) James Athill to CBC, May 13th, 1801.
36. Ibid.
37. MF375 (GRO) John James to CBC, September 25th, 1804, and August 2nd, 1805. Also D1610 A56/4.

ANGUILLA

Anguilla is the most northerly of the Leeward group located about 150 miles east of Puerto Rico and 70 miles north-west of St. Kitts.¹ Its early development has received little attention from historians and like the remaining marginal colonies excepting Belize, most of the island is covered with low scrub and is virtually devoid of topsoil apart from that which has collected in hollows of fissured limestone which supported crops of tobacco, cotton, and even sugar cane. At the same time, rainfall on Anguilla averages less than 30 inches per year making it one of the driest of Caribbean islands and in part explaining why Anguilla was perhaps the most geographically and economically marginal of the colonies being considered in this study, as we shall see. It is necessary first to examine the history of settlement in order to contextualize the marginality of Anguilla to other Leeward Islands in general and to St. Kitts in particular from which she was formally, if loosely, governed.

Early History

Originally, Anguilla, like Barbuda, was thought to have been a way station for groups of Amerindians en route to other islands in the Caribbean chain but more recent archaeological findings suggest that Anguilla had a sustained and continuous period of occupation by indigenous groups, possibly on account of the island's rich fishing grounds and the lure of salt from several naturally occurring ponds on the south-western shore.² Salt also attracted the first Europeans to Anguilla in the early 1620s when Dutch traders are believed to have erected a rudimentary fort on Sandy Hill Bay (see Map 6) in order to rake salt from nearby pans that reportedly contained "enough salt for two to three ships a year."³

According to Thomas Southey (1827), the first European attempt at a permanent settlement on Anguilla was undertaken in 1650 by English colonists from St. Kitts who may have had some

reservations about inhabiting an island "filled with alligators and other noxious animals, but the soil was good for raising tobacco and corn and the cattle multiplied very fast."

Southey notes that Anguilla, like the Caymans and Belize, "was not colonized under any public encouragement each planter laboured for himself, and the island was frequently plundered by marauders."⁴ Little is known about this first settlement, although Charles de Rochefort (1658) observed that

at the part where it is widest there is a lake around which a few English families settled for seven or eight years and where they cultivated tobacco, which is very prized by those who value that article of commerce.⁵

De Rochefort's account suggests that the first settlers at Anguilla probably lived in the area near Caul's and/or Long Ponds where they cultivated the pockets of "bottom" land at Sandy Hill and where there were several fresh water wells (see Map 6).

After a loss of population due to a Carib attack in 1656, colonists gradually re-established themselves on Anguilla within a few years. Over the next several decades, their numbers were augmented by a trickle of smallholders and indentured labourers whose terms of service had expired and who were being squeezed out of islands like St. Kitts, Nevis, and Antigua as the drive towards a sugar monoculture quickened during the last quarter of the 17th century.

Anguilla was formally brought under the protection of the English Crown in October of 1660 when Lord Francis Willoughby, Captain General of the Leeward Islands, commissioned a Colonel William Watts as Deputy Governor of St. Kitts and Anguilla "with power to choose councillors (and) convene a General Assembly."⁷ In a pattern that was to hold for much of the island's colonial history, Anguilla was the ignored partner in this first of several legislative unions with St. Kitts. No Council was appointed in Anguilla during Watts' six year term in office and

settlers on the island seem to have been left to their own devices with little input or regulation from St. Kitts. This neglect was in part a function of the geographical distance between the two islands, and of the need for Watts and his own Council at St. Kitts to devote much of their attention to local affairs, particularly to their relations with groups of French colonists who occupied the eastern and western sections of the island under a settlement negotiated in 1627.⁸

As in the rest of the Caribbean, local sources of friction were exacerbated by the outbreak of hostilities in Europe and in this respect, the Second Dutch War (1665-67) during which the French allied themselves to the Dutch against the English had particularly disastrous consequences for both St. Kitts and Anguilla. Under the terms of the partition agreed in 1627, each national group of settlers at St. Kitts was obliged to give the other 24 hours notice before launching an attack in the event of war between their respective mother countries. Shortly after the alliance between France and the Netherlands was drawn up in 1666, however, the French troops at St. Kitts attacked Watts' forces without warning in June of that year. Watts himself was killed in the engagement and his troops were defeated thereby forcing between five and eight thousand English settlers to flee the island to Virginia, Jamaica and Nevis while the French proceeded to land 300 men on Anguilla "where the colonists fired their own houses and took to the woods..."⁹

In the aftermath of the Treaty of Breda signed in 1667 which ended the War and by which the English regained their position in St. Kitts, settlers began to drift back to Anguilla. In September of that year, a Major John Scott visited the island and left it in "good condition" and by July of 1668, there were "200 or 300 people fled thither in time of war" making tobacco at Anguilla under the deputy governorship of a Captain Abraham Howell.¹⁰

By the last quarter of the 17th century, settlers at Anguilla had spread out from Sandy Hill Bay to other parts of the island,¹¹ where they probably grew tobacco on "plantations" that had more in common with those found in Belize than with estates

on the sugar islands of the Leeward group. Indeed, in 1676, the estates of planters in Anguilla were valued at only £1,000 in total while at each of St. Kitts and Antigua, the figure stood at £67,000, and at £384,000 in Nevis,¹² a circumstance that justifies the application of the term "marginal colony" to Anguilla.

Removal to Crab Island

Some indication of the severity of conditions for the settlers at Anguilla in the late 17th and early 18th centuries may be gleaned from their attempts on three separate occasions between 1683 and 1717 to remove to Crab Island, the most easterly of the Virgin Islands that lie approximately 100 miles to the north-west of Anguilla. In 1683, Governor William Stapleton of the Leeward Islands noted

I have been solicited by the inhabitants of Anguilla to let them settle Crab Island, the next island to Porto Rico, with a good soil and harbour. I refused for I feared that the Spaniards and cow-killers of Porto Rico might go and cut them off in one night..¹³

At the time of their petition, settlers at Anguilla were aware that Crab Island was unoccupied either by the Spanish or by the Danes who claimed sovereignty over it and several other Virgin Islands. There is evidence to suggest that a small group of Anguillian settlers led by Abraham Howell defied Stapleton's instructions and attempted to occupy Crab Island in 1683 but were persuaded to leave by a Danish captain and his troops sent out from St. Croix.¹⁴

Howell was back in Anguilla by 1684 where he continued to press successive governors of the Leeward Islands on the resettlement issue as colonists struggled to eke out an existence at Anguilla. In 1688, Governor Nathaniel Johnson who had succeeded Stapleton two years previously, reported that

several petitions have been presented to me by the poorer inhabitants of Nevis and by all the settlers at Anguilla and Tortola for liberty to go and settle Crab Island. Those at Anguilla want water and have suffered much of late from droughts. They produce nothing which pays revenue to the King and are daily leaving us for want of subsistence.¹⁵

Like his predecessor, Johnson refused the Anguillian petition, although he did allow "about 50 men to go to Crab Island" from Nevis "but granted them no commission."¹⁶ As in 1683, it seems that some planters from Anguilla made for Crab Island anyway but unfortunately

...were soon molested and all of them taken off by the Spaniards and carried to Santo Domingo where they were kept a considerable time as prisoners or rather as slaves for they were put to all hardships slaves usually undergo in these parts.¹⁷

In March of 1689, the HMS *Drake* was despatched to Santo Domingo to claim the prisoners taken during the Crab Island and Anguillian raids,¹⁸ but those who managed to return to Anguilla were forcibly removed to Antigua within 6 months to escape a French attack on the island arising out of a renewal of hostilities in Europe between France and England (1689-97).¹⁹ Anguilla was in due course captured by the French but retaken in November of 1689 by a Captain Edward Thorne and 100 men.²⁰

Amidst accusations by Nevisian planters of impropriety in transporting the Anguillian evacuees to Antigua rather than to Nevis where they might be better employed on plantations in that island,²¹ Governor Christopher Codrington of the Leeward Islands allowed the Anguillians to return home but in the dry years that followed, some of these settlers opted to migrate to the Virgin Islands. In 1694, for example, Southey (1827) records that

"some Englishmen with their families removed from Anguilla to the Virgin Islands where they made considerable improvements.²²

Removal to Crab Island specifically was raised for a third time in a petition by Anguillian settlers presented to Governor Walter Hamilton of His Majesty's Leeward Caribbee Islands in 1717. According to the petitioners, it was well known

...that for several years past the island of Anguilla hath been attended with insupportable droughts that the land of the same being very poor and barren by means whereof not capable of production sufficient for the inhabitants thereof to subsist on; many of them ready to perish and starve for want of food which we the said inhabitants to remove to the island commonly called Crabb Island and there to endeavour to cultivate the same in planting necessary food for our relief and sustenance rather than utterly perish...²³

At the time, the first official census taken at Anguilla counted a total of 1,309 persons on the island of whom 485 were whites and 824 were slaves spread across some 96 holdings.²⁴

As an aside to be taken up more fully in the next section of the study, the fact that slaves outnumbered whites on the island by almost 2 to 1 in 1717 may suggest that by the turn of the 18th century, a process of estate consolidation was underway on Anguilla as more established settlers moved into cotton farming just as their contemporaries in the Bahamas and Cayman would do more than half a century hence. In hindsight, this process of consolidation may have been one of the underlying motives behind the Crab Island petitions, that is, just as poor whites in the sugar islands were being forced to relocate to the marginal colonies as the lands they worked were incorporated into large scale sugar plantations, so some of these impoverished whites who had settled in Anguilla were persuaded by economic circumstances to move on to Crab Island.

As Governors Stapleton and Johnson before him, Hamilton rejected the third Crab Island proposal on two grounds. First,

...that it lyes so very nigh the island of Puerto Rico that nobody is Secure in his property, that the Negroes or other slaves may upon the least Disgust get over to that island where if once they get among the cow-killers there is no getting them again...

Secondly, and perhaps more significantly,

...I am informed by this delusion several of the poor inhabitants from all the other islands design to remove themselves thither...and tend much to the weakening of the other of His Majestys' chief islands who are already very thinly populated.²⁵

Just as Barbuda and the Caymans were regarded by colonial officials in Antigua and Jamaica respectively as buffers against Spanish assaults on these islands in the 17th century, so Anguilla seems to have been viewed as militarily important by successive Leeward Islands governors who regarded the island as part of a unified political empire, whatever its economic shortcomings. They could not, they believed, allow Anguilla to become a staging area for offensive operations by enemy forces be these Amerindian and/or European, a circumstance that may explain the determination of said governors both to reoccupy Anguilla each time English settlers were driven off it, and to resist repeated calls by some Anguillans not particularly interested in, or aware of, the geopolitical significance of their residence to remove to other islands.

Settlement at Anguilla in the 18th century

As ultimately unsuccessful as the Crab Island experience had been for those Anguillians who had attempted to remove to that territory, it did not deter other settlers from similar efforts after 1717. Over the next three years, for instance, at least two petitions were presented to Governor Hamilton by "the Inhabitants of Anguilla" seeking commissions to resettle at St. Croix and Tortola on account of the long spells of dry weather and the barrenness of Anguilla.²⁶ There was even an invitation by Woodes Rogers in 1718 for "the whole inhabitants of Anguilla" to settle in the Bahamas.²⁷ In each case, and given the desire of the Crown to preserve the territorial integrity of this part of the British Empire, the Lords of Trade and Plantations in London to whom Hamilton was obliged to forward these requests advised the Leeward Islands governor

to encourage the people of Anguilla to remain where they are till the method and mannner of the disposal of the late French lands be delivered by His Majesty.²⁸

The "late French lands" referred to here amounted to about 20,000 acres at St. Kitts ceded to the English by the Treaty of Utrecht (1713). As it happened, under the land disposal scheme agreed to in 1717 and eventually rolled out in 1721, more than 75% of the former French lands were taken up by sugar planters in St. Kitts and other Leeward Islands in lots of 100 acres or more.²⁹ At the time, such holdings were beyond the means of the majority of settlers at Anguilla who instead continued to press for the right to remove to the Virgin Islands. In June of 1720, for example, Governor Hamilton conceded that several of the inhabitants at Anguilla

have applied to me for patents for land in Tortola which I did not give them but have given grants for land until His Majesty's pleasure shall be known them..the island of Anguilla not affording sufficient to support themselves and their families.³⁰

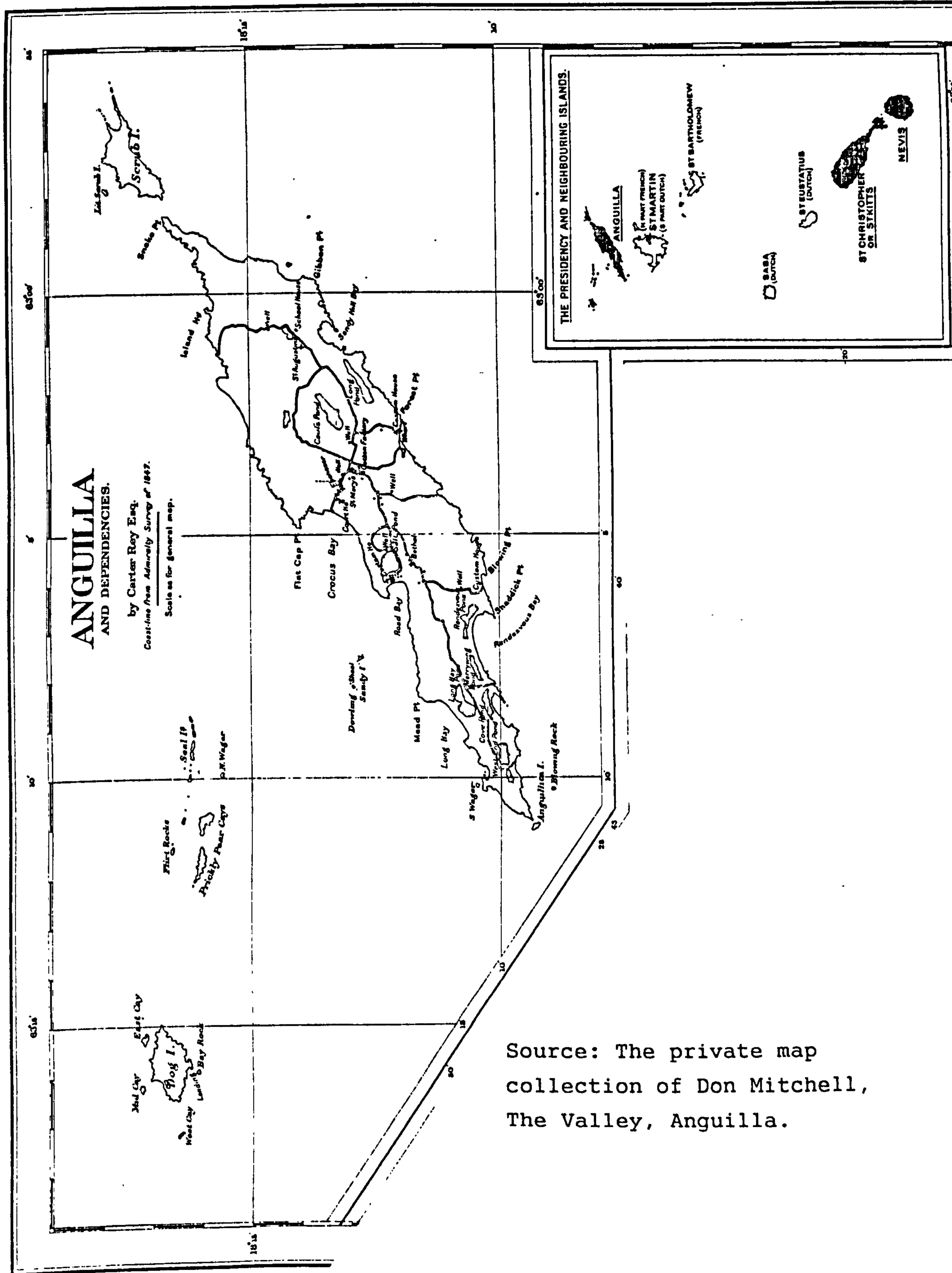
It is unclear exactly how many Anguillans took up lands in Tortola and other Virgin Islands after 1720, although population estimates for Anguilla given in July that year and in 1724 suggest that something of an exodus was underway, at least among whites on the island. Of 1,427 persons counted at Anguilla in 1720, 548 of these were whites who owned a total of 879 slaves between them; by 1724, there were only 360 whites and upwards of 900 slaves at Anguilla.³¹ Thus, in less than 4 years, almost one third of the free population of the island had removed to other territories. The significance of the increase in the number of slaves at Anguilla over the period will be discussed in the next section of the study. For the moment, given the generally poor quality of soils at Anguilla and the frequency of often prolonged droughts, it seemed likely that the drain of whites from the island was set to continue. Indeed, by September of 1734, it was reported that

Anguilla has not above a hundred effective men on it; about sixty have within a very few years left this island and have gone to settle in St. Martins, where they become Dutch, and on Sta. Cruz to cutt timber, where they are turning Danes...³²

The Anguilla-St. Martin connection was bolstered during the War of the Austrian Succession (1739-1748) when in 1744, the Deputy Governor at Anguilla, Arthur Hodge, led 300 volunteers in the island's militia on a successful expedition to capture the French side of St. Martin, an attack which the French themselves reciprocated a year later with a landing at Crocus Bay by a Monsieur de la Touche and 700 men.³³ On this occasion, the French

attack was repelled with heavy losses and in 1747, the inhabitants of Anguilla and those of them settled on St. Martin sent Deputy Governor Hodge to England with a petition to secure the French half of St. Martin for Anguilla in perpetuity.³⁴ Ultimately, they were to be disappointed as the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748 confirmed the French as joint possessors of St. Martin with the Dutch, although Anguillans then living on St. Martin appear to have been allowed to remain there.

As will be demonstrated in the next section of the study, several landowners on Anguilla during the 18th century had holdings in St. Martin also. Indeed, trade between the two territories, as well as that of Anguilla with other Leeward Islands and the American colonies, became one of the mainstays of the Anguillan economy through the rest of the 18th century. It was a trade that was disrupted by the outbreak of the American War of Independence in 1776 but one which appears to have recovered within a few years, that is, until a devastating attack on Anguilla by the French in November of 1796 during which the main settlements and the entire economic enterprise on the island were virtually destroyed. If it had not been the case up until 1796, in the aftermath of the French attack, Anguilla was confirmed as the most economically marginal of the five colonies being considered in this study.



Source: The private map collection of Don Mitchell, The Valley, Anguilla.

REFERENCES

1. See, for example, Dr. S.B. Jones, Annals of Anguilla 1650-1923 (Christian Journals Limited, Belfast, 1976), "Annals of Anguilla" is one of the few texts so far published on the history of the island. It was first printed in 1936 and was based on documents Jones had come across during his tenure as Medical Officer and Magistrate on Anguilla between August of 1918 and May of 1923.
2. In November 1979, a team of archaeologists, anthropologists and historians from the Virgin Islands Archaeological Society carried out a reconnaissance survey on the archaeological resources of Anguilla and found a total of 19 Indian sites on the island, three of which are considered to be of substantial regional importance. See "Preliminary Reconnaissance Survey Report of the Archaeological and Historical Resources of Anguilla, W.I." In The Anguilla Archaeological & Historical Society Review, 1981-1985 (The Valley, Anguilla), pp.17-27.
3. C. Goslinga, The Dutch in the Caribbean, 1580-1680 (The Netherlands, 1971), p.129.
4. Captain Thomas Southey, A Chronological History of the West Indies (London, 1827: Reprinted 1968, Frank Cass & Co. London), Volume I, p.329.
5. Charles De Rochefort, Historie Naturelle et Morales des Isles Antilles de L'Amerique (Rotterdam, 1658)
Quoted by Jones, Annals of Anguilla, p.13.
6. Southey, Chronological History of the W.I, Volume II, p.15.
7. CSP 1574-1660, October 27th, 1660.
8. The island of St. Kitts was formally partitioned in 1627 whereby the English received the middle portion of the island and the French the eastern and western extremities. The treaty also called for joint military action against the Carib Indians and the Spaniards. Richard Sheridan, Sugar and Slavery: An Economic History of the British West Indies, 1623-1775 (Caribbean Universities Press, 1974), p.151

9. CSP 1661-1668, June 6th, 1666.
10. Ibid, November 16th, 1667, and July 9th, 1668. According to Governor Willoughby of the Leeward Islands, Abraham Howell had been "elected" by the people at Anguilla in or about 1666 and it appears that Willoughby accepted the nomination by confirming Howell as Deputy Governor of the island sometime between 1666 and 1668.
11. Patent of Ensign Thomas Rumney from Abraham Howell, 1673.
Anguilla Archives:

a certain parcel of land or plantation situate lying and being in a place that is known and called by the name Blown Point Plantation, it being in breadth two and thirty man's land, that is to say all what land is at the head and foot in the same breadth, at the head bounded with the rocks and at the foot joining with Rendezvous Pond.

At the time of my visit to the island in 1999, the Anguilla Archives was actually the private collection of an Anguillan solicitor named Don Mitchell who has for a period of more than 20 years gathered every document relating to Anguilla he has come across. The above patent was contained in a hand-wrapped bundle of documents he found at the back of the Supreme Court Registry vault in The Valley during his tenure as the Magistrate and Registrar of the Supreme Court of Anguilla between 1976 and 1980. The documents themselves were in a very poor condition and over the course of several months, Mitchell copied them out by hand. More than 900 pages later, he had what would eventually become the cornerstone of a collection he has since dubbed the Anguilla Archives.

12. CSP 1675-76. Value of the Estates of Planters at the Leeward Islands, 1676.
13. CSP 1681-85, #1223.

14. CSP 1717-18, #593. The Danish Governor at St. Croix, Adolph Esmitt, filed a protest with Governor Hamilton of the Leeward Islands over the conduct of Abraham Howell and certain inhabitants from Anguilla who had established themselves at Crab Island illegally and who were forcibly removed by Danish troops from St. Croix.
15. CSP 1685-88, #1639.
16. Ibid., #1773.
17. CSP 1716-17, #118. The reference to "all of them" includes Tortolans, Nevisians as well as Anguillians who had removed to Crab Island without formal commissions.
18. Ibid.
19. Ibid., #548.
20. Ibid.
21. Ibid.
22. Southey, A Chronological History of the W.I., Volume II, p.165
23. CO152/12: Petition of 1717 to Settle at Crabb Island, from the inhabitants of His Majesty's Island of Anguilla.
24. CO152/12: Anguilla Census of 1717.
25. CSP 1716-17, #118, and CSP 1717-18, #40.
26. It is not clear from the petitions presented how many of "the Inhabitants of Anguilla" this included in that the documents were drawn up by an individual "on behalf of" said inhabitants.
27. CSP 1716-17, #651.
28. CSP 1717-18, #171.
29. Richard Sheridan, Sugar and Slavery, p.156-57.
30. CSP 1720-21, #107.
31. CSP 1720-21, p.115, and CSP 1724-25, #260.
32. CSP 1734-35, #83. The "hundred effective men" referred to here presumably were those who made up the local militia at Anguilla and not the total number of men on the island.
33. Sir Reginald St. Johnson, The Leeward Islands During the French Wars (London, 1933), Chapter 28.

34. Don Mitchell, Anguilla in the Archives, 1650-1750 (1986), p.64. He refers to the petition carried by Governor Hodge and presented to the King in 1747, as this appears in the Acts of the Privy Council, undated.

SECTION II

THE MARGINAL ECONOMIES OF THE BRITISH WEST INDIES

Having considered the early settlement histories of the five marginal colonies of the BWI, the task of this section of the study is to examine in greater detail the nature of the economies in each of the Bahamas, Cayman, Belize, Barbuda and Anguilla as part of the analysis of their marginality to the sugar islands of the region. As well, this section will continue to establish the context for a discussion in Section III of slave occupations in these colonies from early settlement through to emancipation in 1834.

As suggested in the Introduction, while the marginal colonies remained largely on the periphery of the sugar economies of the BWI and did not themselves produce sugar for export during the period of formal slavery in the British Caribbean, these territories did in fact produce major export staples of their own, albeit in most cases for a relatively short time. Both the Bahamas and the Caymans, for example, developed plantation cultures in the late 18th century adapted to local circumstances and based on cotton while Belize sustained a monocultural focus to its economy based on timber extraction until well after emancipation in 1834. In each case, such activities employed the majority of slaves in these territories for most of the year as long as the "crops" in question were sustainable. With some qualification, a similar process was observable in Barbuda for much of the period of the Codrington lease of the island where the majority of the estate's slaves were directly or indirectly involved in stock raising for the benefit of the Codringtons' Antigua plantations. The case for Anguilla is, as we shall see, rather less conclusive. Here, salt remained the focus of the island's economy through the late 18th and early 19th centuries but appears always to have been harvested alongside small crops

of cotton and sugar to render the island the most economically marginal of the colonies being considered in this study. It also illustrates the point made in the Introduction that there was a considerable degree of diversity within this group of colonies deemed "marginal" to the imperial plantation economies of the BWI. That is, both in terms of what these territories produced and how the nature of local work in each case shaped the labour experiences of slaves in these colonies.

On an organizational note, the economies of the Bahamas, the Caymans, Belize, Barbuda and Anguilla are to be discussed in this order. As in Section I, and in keeping with the notion of the Bahamas as the archetypical marginal colony, the nature of the economy of the archipelago (and to some extent that of Belize) has been detailed by established historians while analyses of the economies of the Caymans, Barbuda and particularly Anguilla have generally fallen into the historiographical gap mentioned in the Introduction, and which this study in part aims to redress.

THE BAHAMAS

As noted, up until the arrival of the Loyalists between 1783 and 1785, economic activities in the Bahamas were primarily extractive and for subsistence. The islands of the archipelago produced none of the labour intensive staple crops which required a closely supervised work force and which would have kept slaves in the Bahamas steadily employed. Instead, both the slaves and free inhabitants of the settled islands were engaged in fishing, turtling, some woodcutting, and in wrecking. In so far as it existed, agricultural production was generally geared towards subsistence and the small local market rather than for export.¹ Guinea corn, peas, beans, potatoes, yams, plantains and bananas were grown in relatively small quantities and together with fish, turtle, and conch they comprised the main diet of most of the early settlers and slaves in the islands.

In *A Short Account of the Bahama Islands*, William Wylly (1789) describes the state of the Bahamian economy prior to the coming of the Loyalists as follows;

The inhabitants were poor, and by no means numerous, their only property consisted of a few small vessels, and some negroes. Their occupations were confined to fishing, wrecking and woodcutting. Agriculture they had none, nor did they conceive the country capable of it. Their only produce was a little fruit, with some yams, cassada and potatoes. They raised no sheep nor horned cattle.²

As well, prior to 1783, there was some salt raked at Turks Island by the few resident inhabitants but as with other "crops" in the Bahamas, it was gathered primarily for local use and/or for sale to passing ships. Indeed, total exports to Great Britain in 1773/74 (one of the few years prior to 1783 for which such figures are available) amounted to £5,216 and is likely to have included wrecked goods, dye-woods and salt. Imports to the Bahamas for the same period totalled £3,581.³

As noted in the discussion on the early settlement history of the Bahamas, the arrival of American Loyalists in the colony after 1783 had profound implications for the economy of the islands. Aided by the Crown purchase of lands from the Lord Proprietors after 1784 and by the announcement of government grants of unoccupied lands to all would-be planters in September of 1785, there was a veritable explosion of land claims in the Bahamas between 1785 and 1790 which saw Loyalist immigrants establish themselves on hitherto unadopted lands in New Providence, Eleuthera, Abaco, Exuma, Cat Island, Long Island, Crooked Island, Acklins, San Salvador (Watlings Island), Rum Cay and Andros.⁴ As a result, the area of cultivated land in the Bahamas rose from 3,434 acres in 1783 to 16,322 acres in 1788.⁵ The Loyalists introduced cotton production on a plantation basis in 1784 and by November 1785, some 2,476 acres of land were under

sea island cotton (see Table 2.1), mainly on New Providence, Exuma, Abaco and Cat Island. The Bahamas produced 124 tons of cotton that year rising steadily to 219 tons in 1787, to 250 tons in 1788 and to 442 tons in 1790 by which time there may have been up to 12,000 acres of cotton under cultivation in the Bahamas.⁶

The rise in cotton production was reflected in the value of exports from the Bahamas; as early as 1787, the figure stood at £58,707 and while it probably included salt and wood cut during the clearing of land for plantations, this was more than an eleven fold increase in exports over those recorded in 1773/74.⁷

After 1790, growth in the cotton sector was slower and although there were good years in 1809 and 1810 when 509 and 602 tons respectively were exported to England, as early as 1788, cotton production in the Bahamas was beginning to fall short of expectations. That year, planters working the "cotton belt" of the central Bahamas forecast that 394 tons of fibre would be produced from 8,100 acres of land under cultivation but at the end of processing in 1788, the figure was closer to 250 tons.⁸ Initially, the drastic shortfall was attributed solely to the appearance of the chenille bug but by 1800 when most of the cotton plantations in the Bahamas were in a state of terminal decline, and reflecting on the sources of the collapse of their industry, 25 of the colony's leading cotton planters believed in hindsight that the failing state of the industry had as much to do with the inadequacy of Bahamian soils, the inexperience of growers that led to injudicious planting practices, and the general climate of the islands which frequently endure extended periods of dry weather.⁹

It was the first of these that posed the most serious threat to Bahamian cotton plantations. The problem was that soils in the archipelago are thin, scattered, and easily exhausted so that while first crops were often encouraging, productivity tended to decline fairly rapidly thereafter. The situation was made worse by the clearing of the land's natural cover to make way for the cotton fields in the first place, a process which abetted erosion and the leeching of what soils there were when the rains did

come. It is true that over 600 tons of cotton (worth about £75,000) were produced in the Bahamas as late as 1810 but such an output was achieved only through a steady increase in the area of land cultivated, and in spite of a declining yield per acre.¹⁰

The state of the Bahamian cotton industry at the turn of the 19th century was described by Daniel McKinnen, a British traveller who stopped at the islands while on a tour of the West Indies in 1802-03. He noted that although the Caicos Islands had the best soil in the archipelago and that cotton was still grown as a staple there in 1803, cotton production in fact had declined on most of the islands in the southern Bahamas. Crooked Island was a case in point. Between 1785 and 1790, Loyalist settlers had established 40 plantations on the island covering between 2,000 and 3,000 acres and employing about a thousand slaves.¹¹ When McKinnen arrived there in 1803, he

beheld some extensive fields originally planted with cotton but which from the failure of crops were now abandoned, and had become covered with a luxuriant growth of indigenous shrubs and plants...I found the plantations of Crooked Island for the most part deserted; and the proprietors who I visited were generally in a state of despondence...¹²

The situation that McKinnen observed in 1803 may be said to fit the "marginal model", that is, a period of relatively short-lived staple production based on a crop other than sugar which was both preceded and followed by more diverse economic activities.

To some extent, the decline of the Bahamian cotton industry underway by the turn of the 19th century was cushioned by the development of salt production. Apart from the salt pans on Turks Island which had been harvested annually by a few permanent inhabitants and by rakers from Bermuda since the days of early settlement, most of the islands in the Bahamas have small salinas or natural salt ponds from which sea water evaporates quickly

during the heat of the day to leave formed chunks of salt crystals. During the 18th and 19th centuries, these were used mainly in the preserving of meats and fish. Ever conscious of the need to keep their slaves working all year round, Loyalist planters in the "Salt Islands" of the Bahamas (that is, in Exuma, Long Island, Ragged Island, Acklins and Long Cay) realized they could take advantage of the low rainfall, the high temperatures and the sea-connected marshes and ponds that bordered many of their estates to produce salt and thereby provide their slaves with employment during breaks in the cultivation cycle, or during periods when agricultural crops failed completely. As a result, many of the more substantial planters such as Lord Rolle of Exuma developed salt ponds on their estates while some Loyalists such as Duncan and Archibald Taylor on Ragged Island went into salt production full-time as early as 1783.¹³

In 1802, an enquiry by the Bahamas Assembly into the state of the salt industry in the islands reported that there were 25 major salt ponds in the Bahamas (excluding those in the Turks and Caicos Islands) with a potential annual production of three million bushels worth an estimated £250,000.¹⁴ However, as with cotton, *actual* salt production in the Bahamas rarely reached even half these projected levels. As per Table 2.2 which shows the revenue collected from the duty levied on salt exported through Nassau and Exuma (by law the only Bahamian ports through which salt was to be cleared) between 1799 and 1806, slightly less than 800,000 bushels of salt were shipped from the Bahamas over the period. At roughly £12 per bushel, this represents about £94,000 worth of salt exported from the Bahamas between 1799 and 1806. While this figure was well below expectations, it is worth noting that these earnings, together with the amount of slave labour required to rake and ship the crop and to be examined in more detail in Section III, ensured that as cotton declined during the first decades of the 19th century, salt increased its relative value to the Bahamian economy.¹⁵

For those individual planters in the Out Islands of the Bahamas whose lands failed to incorporate naturally occurring

saline marshes or who could not come up with the capital required to establish and maintain relatively large-scale salt operations, the end of the cotton boom in the early 19th century forced many of them to resort to small-scale crop farming and stock raising on diversified holdings, activities in which most Bahamians had been involved prior to the Loyalist migrations in the 1780s. The listing of exports from the Bahamas for the years 1812-14 contained in Table 2.3 gives some idea of the range of goods produced during the immediate post-cotton era in the Bahamas as a whole. To be sure, it is likely that some if not most of these goods were produced before the Loyalists arrived en masse, and the pattern of production is probably consistent over the two periods. That is, and based on the gaps in production of certain commodities between 1812 and 1814, Bahamian settlers and their slaves grew and/or harvested what they could when they could. In the case of the years covered by Table 2.3, it may be that the War of 1812 between the new United States and the British North American colonies (Canada) led to heightened demand in those colonies for certain products such as salt, cotton and particular types of timber used in ship construction. The War may also explain the presence of relatively large quantities of crops such as coffee and sugar which appear in the Returns but which were not traditionally grown on the Bahamas (see Table 2.4) in that in these cases at least, the islands were being used to trans-ship said commodities by growers in other West Indian islands such as Jamaica, for example, who were keen to exploit shortages brought on by the conflict which interrupted traditional trading routes and supplies. That said, what is particularly significant about Table 2.3 for this study is the diversity of goods produced in the Bahamas in the post-cotton era.

Table 2.4 illustrates the degree to which this diversification had occurred for individual islands in the archipelago by 1832 when planters on virtually all the settled islands in the Bahamas were producing a variety of crops and raising stock for their own subsistence, to supply local markets, and for export either to Britain, to other colonies in the West

Indies and/or to those in North America. From Table 2.4, it appears that stock raising was of particular importance on New Providence, Rum Cay, Watlings Island, Exuma, Cat Island and especially Long Island while Eleuthera seems to have maintained its historical role as the most important island for crop growing in the archipelago. Cotton was still being grown on some of the islands but in most cases in markedly reduced quantities; the total harvest in 1832 was only 42 tons with the yield on Exuma, for example, just over a quarter of what it had been in 1785. Abaco had produced about 19 tons of cotton that year but none at all in 1832.¹⁶

The only Bahamian slave plantation for which some record of day to day activities has survived was probably typical of the Bahamas in this era when estates designed originally as monocultural cotton plantations had been forced by the collapse of that industry into a more diversified and subsistence-oriented form of operation. The Farquharson estate extended over about 1,500 acres on the eastern side of San Salvador (or Watlings) Island and while known for its stock, the estate also grew a quantity of guinea corn (mainly for subsistence), some peas, beans, yams, potatoes, cabbage, and as much cotton as it could. Owned and managed by Charles Farquharson who had obtained the original grant of land in 1803, the estate also produced its own lumber, thatch, rope and salt while fish were taken from Pigeon Creek (see Map 7). Stands of *lignum vitae* were culled when found and the slaves on the estate also tended cattle, pigs and sheep with any surplus sent to market in Nassau on one of two annual sailings by Out Island schooners to New Providence; between 1831 and 1832 (the years chronicled in the Farquharson Journal), there were at least 12 bales of cotton, 24 cattle and 70 sheep sent to Nassau.¹⁷

More attention will be focused on the Farquharson estate when the work of slaves in the Bahamas is considered in Section III of the study. For the moment, the Journal's significance lies in the degree to which the estate was probably representative of the pattern of economic activity on most of the

Out Island plantations in the Bahamas in the aftermath of the decline of cotton, and of necessarily diverse holdings in the marginal colonies generally excepting Belize. Indeed, with the failure of the experiment in cotton monoculture in the Bahamas, and in view of falling land values associated with it, the majority of Bahamians who could not afford to abandon their holdings altogether were forced into small-scale farming to meet their own needs and those of their slaves. In good years, these operations rose above subsistence level but, like the Farquharson estate on Watlings Island, such results seem rarely to have been sustained.

By the second decade of the 19th century then, the economy of the Bahamas had, as it were, come full circle from the days of bare subsistence among the early settlers through to the cotton boom of the late 18th and early 19th centuries, and then back to a predominantly subsistence-oriented mode of farming in the run-up years to emancipation. During this period, the ranks of small-scale Bahamian farmers were swelled by those failed cotton planters like Charles Farquharson who were determined to stay on their lands, or who, on account of declining land values, had little choice but to do so.

TABLE 2.1

AN ACCOUNT OF ALL COTTON PLANTATIONS IN THE BAHAMA
ISLANDS, 1ST NOVEMBER, 1785

<u>Island</u>	<u>Approximate Number of Planters</u>	<u>Number of Acres in Cotton</u>
New Providence	11	625
Eleuthera and Harbour Island	-	75
Exuma	12	921
Cat Island	3	280
Long Island	4	195
Abaco	7	380
<hr/>		
Total	37	2,476

Note: As per the above data, and notwithstanding the gap in planter numbers for Eleuthera and Harbour Island, the average size cotton holding in the Bahamas in 1785 was just over 60 acres.

Source: CO23/30. An Account of all Cotton Plantations in the Bahama Islands as of November 1st, 1785.

TABLE 2.2

ACCOUNT OF HIS MAJESTY'S REVENUE ARISING FROM DUTY
COLLECTED AT THE PORTS OF NASSAU AND EXUMA FROM
DECEMBER 25, 1799 - DECEMBER 25, 1806

<u>DATE</u>	<u>PORT</u>	<u>BUSHELS OF SALT</u>	<u>RATE OF DUTY %</u>	<u>AMOUNT</u>
				£ s d
25/12/1799 to	NASSAU	16,216	1/4 per bushel	16 17 10
25/12/1800	EXUMA	64,379	1/4 per bushel	67 1 3
25/12/1800 to	NASSAU	6,805	1/4 per bushel	7 3 0
25/12/1801	EXUMA	65,200	1/4 per bushel	67 18 4
25/12/1801 to	NASSAU	14,655	1/2 per bushel	30 19 4
25/12/1802	EXUMA	41,210	1/4 per bushel	49 3 7
		34,150	1/2 per bushel	71 2 11
25/12/1802 to	NASSAU	28,283	1/2 per bushel	58 18 6
25/12/1803	EXUMA	41,350	1/2 per bushel	86 2 11
25/12/1803 to	NASSAU	11,419	No duty	
25/12/1804		38,331	1/2 per bushel	79 17 2
	EXUMA	23,000	1/2 per bushel	48 2 6
25/12/1804 to	NASSAU	41,013	1/2 per bushel	85 8 11
25/12/1805	EXUMA	133,101	Not recorded	277 5 11
25/12/1805 to	NASSAU	56,191	1/2 per bushel	117 1 4
25/12/1806	EXUMA	168,702	Not recorded	351 9 3
Total:	NASSAU	212,983		396 6 1
	EXUMA	577,192		1,018 6 8
				<hr/>
				790 175
				1,414 12 9

Note: With respect to the amount of revenue raised per bushel, where there was a fraction of a penny recorded in the accounts, this was rounded up or down to the nearest penny.

Source: C023/51 ff.31-32.

TABLE 2.3

BAHAMA ISLANDS EXPORTS FOR THE YEARS 1812, 1813 AND 1814.

Exports from the Bahama Islands to Great Britain

<u>Species of Goods</u>	<u>Year 1812</u>	<u>Year 1813</u>	<u>Year 1814</u>
Ambergris	-	-	546 ounces
Cascarilla Bark	46,423 lbs	16,078 lbs	8,983 lbs
Cochineal	162 lbs	-	-
Coffee	103,169 lbs	479,064 lbs	189,151 lbs
Copper	-	2,361 lbs	2,000 lbs
Cortex, Elutheriae	2,324 lbs	28,816 lbs	4,755 lbs
Winteranus	125 lbs	-	1,162 lbs
Dry Goods	28 pkgs	17 pkgs	40 pkgs
Gunpowder	-	19 brls	-
Hides	994	1,453	3,197
Indigo	23,775 lbs	1,286 lbs	-
Lead and Shot	-	37 bxs	-
Limes	14 brls	-	14 brls
Lime Juice	40 gls	-	-
Oil, Castor	372 btls	48 btls 3 csks	48 btls
Spermaceti	-	-	34,100 gls
Pine Apples	900 dzn	-	-
Sasparilla	800 lbs	-	-
Skins, Goat	-	-	1,339 skns
Spirits, Rum	-	-	126 gls
Squills	850 lbs	600 lbs	-
Sugar	358 cwt	627 cwt	2,166 cwt, 15 brls
Sweetmeats	5 bxs	1 box	5 bxs
Tamarinds	1 box	-	120 lbs
Tortoise shell	894 lbs	932 lbs	133 lbs
	1 pnch		
Turtle	18,303 lbs	17,174 lbs	11,276 lbs
Turtle shell	-	268 lbs	-
Wine	-	1 hhd	1 pipe
Wood Braziletto	33 tns	53 tns	-
	4 cwt	10 cwt	
Cedar	80 lgs	9,228 ft 2 pcs	-
Fustic	502 tns	469 tns	436 tns
	2 cwt	10 cwt	18 cwt
Lignum Vitae	231 tns	249 tns	70 tns
	10 cwt	15 cwt	
Logwood	955 tns	944 tns	512 tns
	15 cwt	2 cwt	
Mahogany	111 pcs	13,925 ft	926 ft
Wool, Cotton	591,827 lbs	643,071 lbs	707,026 lbs
Merino		17,163 lbs	

Exports from the Bahama Islands to the British North American Colonies
and the British West Indies

<u>Species of Goods</u>	<u>Year 1812</u>	<u>Year 1813</u>	<u>Year 1814</u>
Bread and Flour	950 brls	1,770 brls	-
Coffee	7 Tierces	-	27 bags
	1 brl		
	30 bags		
Cordage	23.5 cwt	40 cwt	-
Dry goods	71 packages	-	-
Fish, Cod, wet	-	-	49 brls
Ginger	2 bags	-	-
Hats	25.5 dzn	-	-
Hides	453 No.	422 No.	-
Indigo	706 lbs	-	-
Iron	-	2.75 tns	-
Leather	-	-	135 sides
Lime Juice	-	-	6 casks
Linen: Canvas, Osnaburghs etc	3,421 pieces	-	-
Molasses	-	105 hhds	6 pnchs
		6 brls	
Oil: Castor	-	1 box	-
Spermaecti	-	-	59 casks
Onions	400 bunches	-	-
Pimento	6 bags	-	-
Pine Apples	100 dzn	-	-
Rice	-	202 casks	-
		600.5 cwt	
Salt of Bahamas	17,975 bshls	3,500 bshls	9,120 bshls
of Turks Isl.	Records		
	Destroyed	4,847 bshls	39,940 bshls
Saunders, yellow	6 pieces		
	120 feet	-	-
Spirits: Brandy	126 gls	-	-
Rum	121 pnchs	-	-
Sugar	-	-	25.5 brls
Tobacco	650 lbs	-	-
Turtle	500 lbs	-	-
Wine, French	-	-	20 bxs
			65 casks
Wood: Pine	51,286 ft	119,167 ft	-
Casks	-	3 No.	-
Cedar	1,765 posts	2,625 posts	-
	1,200 ft	6,283 ft	
Hoops	-	-	164 bndls
Lignum Vitae	2 tns	20.5 tns	-
Mahogany	3,644 ft	2,382 ft	-
Shingles	4,000 No.	-	-
Staves	2,968 No.	146,700 No.	77,525 No.
Timber, Boat	658 pcs	786 pcs	-

Source: Parliamentary Papers, 1816, Volume XIV, pp.455-57

TABLE 2.4

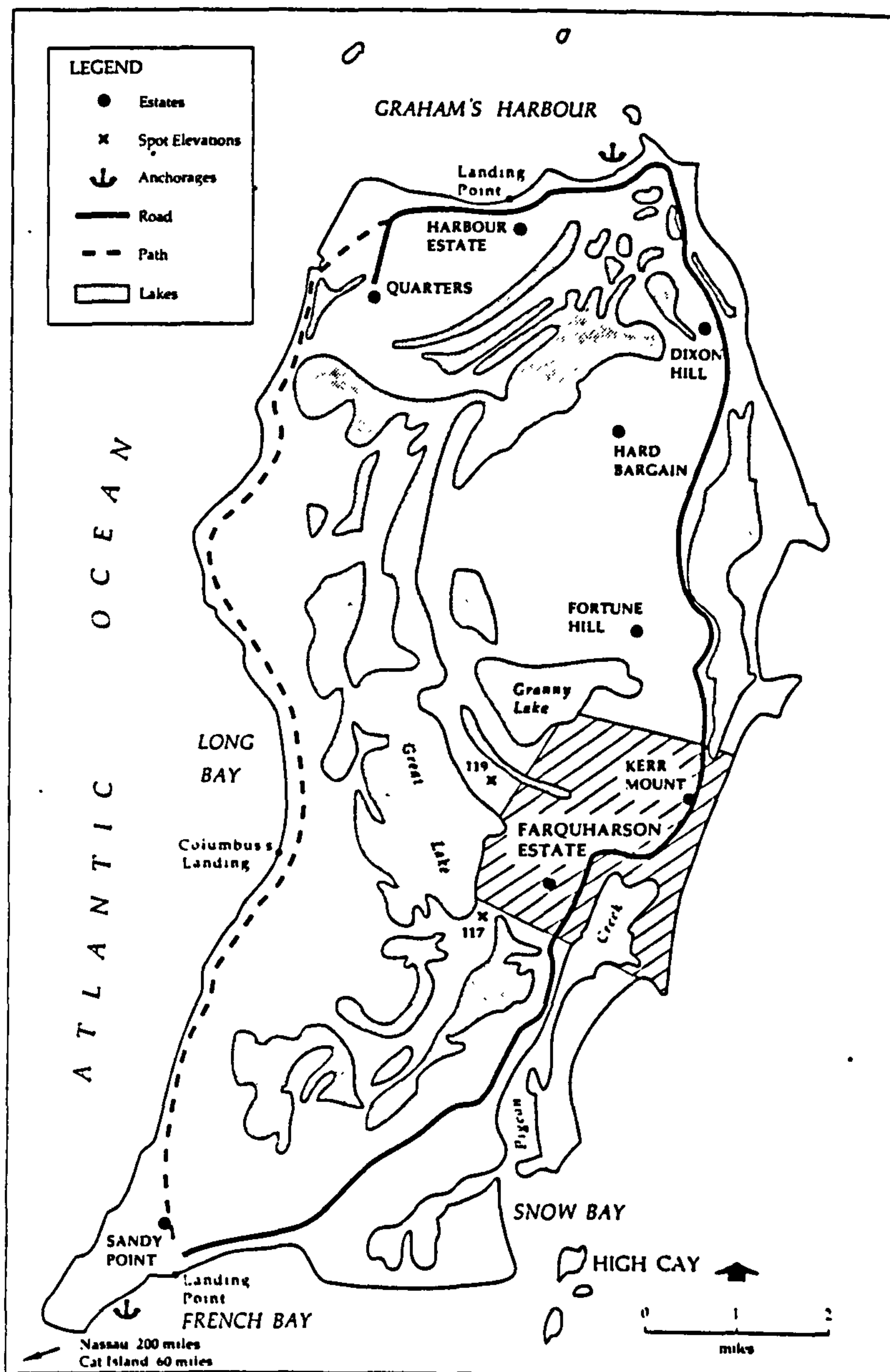
RETURN OF PRODUCE, STOCK, ETC, IN THE BAHAMAS, 1832

<u>ISLAND</u>	<u>H</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>S</u>	<u>SW</u>	<u>CN</u>	<u>Y</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>P</u>	<u>PL</u>	<u>O</u>	<u>CA</u>	<u>C</u>
New Prov.	200	300	1000	250	800	1700	3500	500	2000	15000	10000	-
Turks Isl.	175	240	100	50	1000	-	-	-	-	-	500	-
Caicos	120	300	700	100	500	300	50	-	1000	1000	700	-
Eleuthera	50	200	500	450	10000	70000	2000	40000	20000	8000	30000	4
Crooked Isl	45	350	400	200	2000	3500	1100	-	1500	1000	2000	5
Rum Key	150	250	1000	250	1700	2200	220	200	8000	700	1000	5
Watlings	140	150	1000	300	1500	1700	100	220	3000	600	500	-
Long Isl.	250	1000	700	400	1500	8500	200	200	7000	3000	700	11
Exuma	40	200	500	200	2500	4500	250	80	2500	1700	300	12
Heneagua & Mayaguana	10	25	50	100	1500	2700	70	45	1200	700	450	3
Grand Bahama & Berry Isl	10	50	100	200	4500	1700	80	25	2700	4500	1100	-
Andros	-	-	10	150	1700	2500	200	-	8000	1700	1200	-
Ragged Isl.	20	100	200	100	50	400	-	-	600	700	-	-
St.Salvador	120	550	1500	300	2000	1700	450	50	3500	6000	1700	2
Abaco	-	-	50	500	2200	20000	900	20	11000	8500	1000	-
Harbour Isl	60	50	50	200	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Totals:	H (Horses)	1,390	CN (Corn: Bushels)	33,450
	C (Cattle)	3,765	Y (Yams and Potatoes: lbs)	121,400
	S (Sheep and Goats)	7,890	B (Beans and Peas: Bushels)	9,120
	SW (Swine)	3,750	P (Pineapples: Dozens)	41,340
			PL (Pumpkins & Lemons)	72,000
			O (Ochras: lbs)	53,100
			CA (Cassada & Arrow Root: lbs)	51,450
			C (Cotton: Tons)	42

Source: R. Montgomery Martin, Statistics of the Colonies of the British Empire (London, 1839), p.110.

MAP 7

San Salvador, 1832

Source: Michael Craton and Gail Saunders. Islanders in the Stream: A History of the Bahamian People, Volume I. University of Georgia Press, Athens, 1992. Page 336.

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2. William Wylly, A Short Account of the Bahama Islands (London, 1789), p.5.
3. Ibid., p.7. According to Wylly, there were no accounts kept of Bahamian imports from and exports to countries other than Britain in 1773/74. The figures available for Britain that year do not mention what items were included in either imports or exports. Total values only are given.
4. Michael Craton and Gail Saunders, Islanders in the Stream, p.191. The purchase by the Crown of lands from the Lord Proprietors was completed by March 14th, 1787. The total payment was £26,000.
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9. CO23/39, ff.167-211: Questionnaire and Answers sent to Planters, May 7th, 1800.
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THE CAYMANS

From the earlier discussion on the settlement history of the Caymans, it seems clear that in some respects, the economy of these islands developed along similar lines to that of the Bahamas. Until a relatively short-lived experiment with cotton plantation culture got underway in Grand Cayman in the 1780s, settlers and their slaves in the Caymans were mainly involved in subsistence farming, fishing, turtling, wrecking, and in woodcutting. In the case of the latter, we have seen that while the stands of trees lasted, the cutting of mahogany generated not inconsiderable revenues for entrepreneurs like William Foster. At the same time, and compared to those which took place in Belize, for example, logging operations in the Caymans were relatively small-scale enterprises in which the slave cutters had necessarily also to devote some of their time to growing provisions for their own subsistence, and for that of their gang bosses like John Bodden.

For the most part, and with the exception of mahogany cutting, the economy of the Caymans appears to have retained a primarily subsistence focus through much of the 18th century. To revisit the Remark Books kept by those Royal Navy captains who stopped at the Caymans while on patrol and/or convoy duties, Robert Christian aboard the *HMS Active* noted that on Grand Cayman in 1765

Salt provision none to be gott Fish and Turtle in great plenty some few refreshments at certain Seasons of the Year Yames, Plantons, Potatoes, Lymes, fowls and Hoggs...As to Trade but little, there is about 20 Familys in the Island most of there Employment is cutting mahogany, Fustick and &c. which they send to Jamaica.¹

When he arrived in the Caymans in 1773, the naval hydrographer George Gauld observed that

...for their own consumption, and to supply the Vessels that pass by, they raise Indian Corn, yams, sweet potatoes, pompions, plantains, melons, besides Limes, Oranges and most kinds of fruit and vegetables that are to be found in Jamaica. The Sugar Cane like wise grows very well, of which they make as much syrup as serves for their own use...There are plenty of goats on the Island but neither sheep nor black Cattle, and only two horses.²

It has already been noted that at the time of Gauld's stay in the Caymans, Grand Cayman was producing "...a great quantity of Cotton which is their principle article of export, besides Turtle..."³ Unfortunately, Gauld is silent on exactly how much cotton settlers in Cayman were exporting to Jamaica but in providing his own estimate of the island's population and more particularly a description of where they lived, the hydrographer at least hinted at the location of the main growing areas on Grand Cayman at the time. According to Gauld, there were 39 families in all resident on the island, 21 of whom lived "at the South Side, which we have called Bodden Town, 13 at the West End commonly called the Hogsties, 3 at the East End, and 2 at Spot's Bay."⁴ Significantly, when Edward Corbet was despatched from Jamaica by Governor George Nugent to compile the islands' first official census and to make general observations on the state of the Caymans in June of 1802, the population had more or less doubled since 1773 while its distribution had remained generally the same. Thus, Bodden Town was still the largest settlement with 24 white and 8 free-coloured families totalling 374 persons (including slaves) in all; there were 211 persons living at Georgetown (the Hogsties) spread across 17 white and 5 free-coloured families while 3 white families lived at Spotts, there were 7 at South West Sound, and 2 each at Prospect and Little Pedro totalling 212 persons altogether (see Table 2.5).⁵

Since 1773, settlers on Grand Cayman had also moved into West Bay and Northside but the bulk of the population was living on and working the land in the centre of the island, that is, on an 8 by 2 mile swathe of land east of George Town and through Prospect to Bodden Town where, according to Corbet in 1802,

the soil is good and altho' interspersed with Rocks, is capable of producing Cotton and probably Coffee,... yams, plantains and &c. From Prospect to George Town and across the Island to the northside the soil near the Coast is black...and now produces Cotton, Sugar Canes, Corn and ground provisions...⁶

Corbet was unable to determine "with any degree of certainty" the acreage of land under cultivation in Grand Cayman at the time of his visit but the settlers with whom he spoke estimated they produced about 30 tons of cotton annually.⁷

It appears that Edward Corbet had arrived in the Caymans when a cotton "boom" (at least by local standards) was well underway in the islands. As in the Bahamas, the single most important event which had precipitated this experiment with plantation agriculture had been the arrival in the Caymans of a relatively large number of immigrant settlers and slaves, most of whom had experience with plantation agriculture. As noted, these migrants had come to the Caymans from the Mosquito Shore territory which they had been obliged to abandon under the Convention of London signed in 1786. Colonial Office records confirm that between February and May of 1787, at least 3 groups of evacuees arrived in Grand Cayman from the Mosquito Shore aboard the schooners *Nancy* and *Phoenix* which carried 26 persons (of whom 24 were slaves) and 31 persons (24 slaves and 7 free) respectively, and on an unnamed vessel owned by Joseph Wood that left Pearl Lagoon on May 30th, 1787 with 80 persons aboard including Woods' entire family and 40 slaves.⁸ There were almost certainly other slaveowners and would-be planters to arrive in the Caymans from the Shore; as we have seen, in August of 1787,

Captain John Hull noted that about 300 people from the Shore had lately settled in Grand Cayman, of whom approximately 50 were free persons and the remaining 250 were slaves.⁹ While these numbers were small in absolute terms, given Gauld's estimate of "at least 200 white people and above the same number of Negroes and Mulattoes" in 1773, the new arrivals in Grand Cayman had effectively increased the island's free population by as much as 60% and probably doubled the number of slaves in the colony. Like the Loyalists in the Bahamas where there was land available, the Shoremen who arrived in Grand Cayman in 1787 seem similarly to have been encouraged to take up most of the unworked lands in the colony that were most suited to planting and thereafter, they sought to establish estates primarily for the production of sea-island cotton.

Although there do not appear to have been any systematic records kept of the quantities of goods and provisions produced in the Caymans at the time, the information contained in the Jamaican Shipping Returns relating to these islands are particularly full for a 30 month period between January 1802 and July 1804 during which 25 vessels varying in size from 14 to 85 tons were engaged in trade between Grand Cayman and the Jamaican ports of Kingston and Montego Bay. There are 46 inward Caymanian entries in the Jamaican port books covering the period and cotton almost invariably formed the bulk of the inward cargoes; in all, 18 ships made 30 return voyages to Jamaica from Grand Cayman carrying a total of some 200,000 lbs of cotton fibre suggesting an annual Caymanian output of about 40 tons a year in the early 1800s when the plantations in Cayman were probably close to peak levels of production. The balance of these cargoes comprised turtle and relatively small amounts of mahogany cut and planked in the Caymans, together with sasparilla, fustick and cocoa brought in from Central America. Very occasionally, the inward cargoes to Jamaica included "wreck goods" from vessels that had come to grief in Cayman waters. By way of illustration, in January 1804 for example, Captain John Smith brought the schooner *Eliza* into Kingston from the Caymans with 2 cannons, 15 bags of

cotton, 32 mahogany logs, and 500 pieces of tortoise shell on board.¹⁰

As far as the outward cargoes from Jamaica to Grand Cayman over the same period are concerned, these tended to reflect the demands of an increasing population and of an expanding plantation economy. The items most commonly listed were "dry goods" (iron pots and crockery, oznaburgh, crocus sacking, soap, candles, and clay pipes), "provisions" (usually flour, butter, and salted fish) and puncheons or kegs of rum. Broadly typical of these outward cargoes was that aboard the *William and Mary* which cleared Kingston for Cayman on March 3rd, 1803; owned and captained by James Watler of Caymanas, the 36 ton schooner had a consignment of 21 barrels of flour, 7 barrels of tar and pitch, 5 barrels of salt, 4 boxes of soap and candles, 3 firkins of butter, 2 boxes of clay pipes, 2,972 lbs of mixed provisions, and 2,250 board feet of pine planking, probably for house construction.¹¹

The *William and Mary* also carried "9 Negroes" who were listed in the manifest like any other item of cargo. According to Michael Craton (1998) this entry, and others like it in the Shipping Returns for 1802-04, may be significant in terms of what it reveals about the strength of the Cayman economy and of the degree of optimism among cotton planters on the island at the turn of the 19th century. Between January 1802 and July 1804, some 153 slaves were conveyed from Kingston to Grand Cayman on 14 separate voyages, always in small groups numbering from 4 to 25. These "new" slaves were likely to have been paid for either in produce already consigned or on credit for goods to be sent later. If these slaves were mostly adult males (they were described neither by condition, age nor sex in the Shipping Returns) and recently arrived in Jamaica from Africa, their average unit price would have been about £100 Jamaican currency. For Cayman cotton growers, £15,300 for these slaves alone must have represented a considerable investment and may reflect high expectations of profit among the main planters on Cayman.¹²

Unfortunately, it is not known to whom these slaves were delivered once they were off-loaded in the Caymans. However, to revisit the census drawn up by Edward Corbet in 1802, if we assume that most of these slaves were bought by the major slaveowners listed in the census, it is possible to calculate the average size of cotton holdings in Grand Cayman at the time plantations on the island were either at or close to their optimum levels of production. In June of 1802, Corbet counted 545 slaves in Grand Cayman, 313 of whom were the property of 10 white owner families living in the central "cotton belt" between George Town and Bodden Town. Thus, at Bodden Town, John Bodden Snr. and William Bodden owned 51 slaves each, Joseph Bodden 37, Waide Watler Snr. 31, at Spotts another William Bodden owned 21 slaves and William Eden 9, at Prospect Thomas Thomson owned 56 slaves and Waide Watler Jnr. 17, while at George Town, John Drayton owned 23 slaves and Rachel Rivers 17. The only free person of colour in the Cayman cotton belt to own what might have constituted a small working gang was John Tatum of Bodden Town who had 10 slaves.¹³ Contemporary estimates of the amount of arable land in the 8 by 2 mile central belt approach 1,200 acres which in turn suggests that at the peak of the cotton "boom" in the Caymans at the turn of the 19th century, there may have been less than a dozen plantations on Grand Cayman averaging approximately 100 acres in planted cotton and worked by labour units of about 30 slaves each.¹⁴ As in the Bahamas, slave imports to Cayman appear to have increased the holdings of a small number of planters, and as such, illustrates the capacity for cotton, even in a weak economy, to create relatively large-scale ownership and operations.

Like the Bahamas also, cotton plantations in the Caymans seem to have declined as rapidly as they developed, and for similar reasons. Competition from cotton growers in the American South, insect infestations and exhausted Caymanian soils together made it necessary for plantation owners in the Caymans to reorganise their slave labour force and to diversify into more provision farming and stock raising for export to Jamaica and to

supply passing ships. Unfortunately, here again precise figures to chart the relative success or failure of this attempt at diversifying the Cayman economy are not available, although the fragmented Jamaica Shipping Returns for the decade between 1808 and 1818, for example, record a sharp decline in the number of vessels regularly engaged in the Cayman-Jamaica trade.

Presumably, less cotton to export meant that fewer ships were needed for the carrying trade while those vessels that continued to call at Kingston from Cayman carried reduced cargoes. Broadly typical of these were the consignment of 80 bushels of corn, one bag of cotton, 31 barrels of ginger and 2 tons of logwood along with a quantity of "wreck goods" landed at Kingston in November of 1817 by the *William and Mary* out of George Town.¹⁵

With the end of the experiment in plantation culture in the Caymans by the second decade of the 19th century, it seems that, like Charles Farquharson on San Salvador Island in the Bahamas, land owners in Grand Cayman who had previously concentrated the efforts of their slaves on growing sea-island cotton for export had been forced to turn their estates into more diversified holdings where the focus was on the cultivation of crops which had a proven track record in the Caymans, and which George Gauld had observed growing on the island in 1773. As we shall see in more detail in Section III of the study, the pattern of ownership of slaves does not appear to have changed significantly with diversification, and the 80 bushels of corn in the above noted cargo of the *William and Mary* suggests that in some years at least, agriculture in the Grand Cayman post-cotton was practiced on a more than strictly subsistence level. That said, however, the observations of a Captain J.W. Carter who called at Cayman in December of 1819 are indicative of the general malaise that had beset the Cayman economy by the end of second decade of the 19th century. In his Remark Book, Captain Carter aboard the HMS *Wasp* notes that "...Turtle, ground provisions and fruit may be obtained here but not very plentifully..." Significantly, Carter makes no mention of cotton, or of logwood and/or mahogany, and he observes that "...This Island is depending on Jamaica..."¹⁶

TABLE 2.5

A GENERAL ACCOUNT OF THE NUMBER OF INHABITANTS IN THE
ISLAND OF GRAND CAYMANES, DISTINGUISHING THEIR COLOUR,
PLACE OF RESIDENCE &c.

<u>Place of Residence</u>	<u>Whites</u>			<u>People of Colour</u>		
	No. of Families	No. in All	Slaves	No. of Families	No. in All	Slaves
At East End	1	3	0	2	7	1
Frank Sound	1	5	1	2	7	0
Bodden Town	24	104	233	8	21	16
Little Pedro	2	4	9	0	0	0
Spotts	3	20	36	0	0	0
Prospect	2	20	73	0	0	0
South W. Sound	7	29	21	0	0	0
George Town	17	90	95	7	7	17
West Bay	8	24	25	0	0	0
Boatswain Bay	0	0	0	3	19	13
North Side	1	10	3	2	12	2
Total	66	309	496	22	73	49

Note: There were also 2 free Negroes living in George Town and 4 free Negroes at Boatswain Bay.

Source: Edward Corbet's Report and Census of 1802 of the Cayman Islands. In Our Islands' Past, Volume 1 (Cayman Free Press, 1992)

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2. George Gauld, Remarks on His Map of the Caymans, 1773.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Edward Corbet's Report and Census of 1802 on the Cayman Islands. In Our Islands' Past, Volume 1 (Cayman Free Press, 1992), p.21.
6. Ibid., p.5.
7. Ibid.
8. CO123/6, ff.83-84, August 10th, 1787. We know from CO137/86 (A List of the Settlers, their Slaves &c on the Mosquito Shore, 16th October, 1786) that Joseph Wood of the District of Bluefields owned 40 slaves at the time.
9. Remark Books, Volume 43 (Ac.5), ff.560-61.
10. CO142/13-29. Jamaican Shipping Returns, 1680-1804.
11. CO142/21, ff.67-68, March 3rd, 1803.
12. Michael Craton, Draft of Chapter 6, p.18.
13. Edward Corbet, Report and Census of 1802, pp.10-19.
14. Craton, Draft of Chapter 6, p.19.
15. CO142/26 ff.91 and CO142/27 ff.47.
16. Remark Books, Volume 43 (Ac.5), ff.438-39.

BELIZE

At the time of the arrival of the evacuees from the Mosquito Shore in 1787, the economy of the Belize territory had undergone a marked transformation since the days of early settlement. Prior to the Spanish attack on St. George's Cay in 1779 which forced the abandonment of the Settlement until 1783, the *raison d'etre* of the Belize territory had been logwood cutting. As we have seen, logwood was the main reason cutters had arrived in the territory after their eviction from the Bay of Campeachy in 1717, and the primary reason they remained in Belize in spite of repeated Spanish attempts to drive them out of the area altogether.

As long as the European demand for dye-woods remained high, logwood cutting continued to be a fairly profitable if risky venture for settlers in the Bay area. By 1751, for example, it was reported that about 8,000 tons of logwood worth an estimated £160,000 sterling had been cut in the Bay of Honduras the previous year.¹ Nonetheless, and as has been noted in the description of the early settlement history of the territory, by the time the Spanish conceded the *de facto* right of British cutters to fell logwood in Belize by the Treaty of Paris in 1763, logwood production in the Bay area was actually in decline.

The difficulties facing the logwood trade in the mid 18th century in Belize have also been mentioned, as has the eagerness of British settlers to re-establish themselves in Belize in 1783 on account of the fact that by 1779, the territory had acquired a new *raison d'etre*, that is, the cutting and export of mahogany to meet the demands of a growing luxury furniture industry in England. Indeed, as early as 1765, mahogany accounted for a quarter of the total value of exports from the Belize territory; over a 6 month period between March 25th and September 25th that year, for example, there were loaded in the Bay

7,449 Tons of Logwood and 401,231 feet of Mahogany which at £7.10 per Ton for Logwood and ten pence per foot for Mahogany, the Current prices those commoditys bear at present in London, amount to near Seventy three Thousand pounds Sterling.²

By the 1770s, mahogany had become the Settlement's most important export even though cutting it was not officially permitted until the Convention of London in 1786. Based on the information contained in Table 2.6, at the beginning of the 19th century, mahogany exports from the Belize territory averaged about three and a half million feet annually while logwood exports continued the decline that had set in during the 1760s; apart from a relatively good year in 1799 when 2,712 tons were shipped out of the Bay, cutters in Belize averaged just over 1,500 tons of logwood exports annually up until 1806 when there is a twelve year gap in the records. Such a gap notwithstanding, it is clear from Table 2.6 that *haematoxylon campechianum* never regained the importance it had held in Belize in the mid 18th century.

The shift from logwood to mahogany cutting in the territory had important socio-political as well as economic consequences for those settlers who returned to the area in 1783, and for those who joined them in 1787 from the Mosquito Shore. As noted in the discussion of the early settlement history of Belize, when the Convention of London was negotiated in 1786, Spain agreed to permit the cutting of both logwood and mahogany in the New Limits of the Belize territory (that is, as far south as the Sibun River). In return, Britain was to give up her claim to all other settlements in the Bay area, most notably those that had been established along the Mosquito Shore and at Ruatan. At the time, the Colonial Office in London believed it only prudent that the majority of those settlers forced to evacuate the Shore be encouraged to move to Belize where they could be given land in the recently acquired New Limits of the territory. Accordingly, when the first Superintendent of the Bay Settlement at Belize arrived there from Jamaica in 1786 (Lieutenant Colonel Edward

Despard had been appointed in 1784), his chief responsibility was to enforce the terms of the Convention, but he was also specifically instructed to give priority to accomodating

the late inhabitants of the Mosquito Shore who may arrive at the Honduras Settlement...with lands in the additional District in preference to all persons whatever.³

Unfortunately for Despard, and for most of the Shore evacuees, these instructions did not take into account the fact that certain of the wealthier and more established Baymen had for several years been sending their slaves into these lands between the Belize and Sibun Rivers to cut mahogany, albeit illegally. Indeed, as the first of the Shore evacuees began to arrive in the Belize territory in early July 1787, Despard had already been advised by the "Old Baymen" who were aware of his instructions that "every logwood and Mahogany tree therein (that is, the Old and New Limits) are private property". According to Despard, by 1787, 30 settlers in the Belize territory had

divided the whole of the old District among them and will not suffer no interlopers there...Until the late Convention, the Cutting Mahogany was always held even by the Old Baymen to be contrabrand, and, therefore, they cut it when ever they could find it; and they now claim all the wood they can find in or near the Places which they formerly held in this illegal manner...Messrs Hoare, O'Brien, McAuley, Bartlett, Potts, Meighan, Armstrong, Davis, Tucker and Sullivan and Garbutt...alone possess at least nine Parts in twelve of the present augmented District.⁴

In this context, the Superintendent's attempts to carry out his instructions inevitably brought him into direct conflict with the Old Baymen, that is, the "Principal Inhabitants" of the Bay

who claimed the right to govern themselves by their Public Meetings and elected Magistracy, and who preserved in these bodies the authority to allocate lands in the territory. In such a conflict, Despard was handicapped by the ill-defined nature of his own authority in that on account of its recognition of ultimate Spanish sovereignty over the Belize territory implicit in the terms of the Treaties of 1763 and 1783, the British government was reluctant to assign a level of authority to its representative that could be interpreted as a creation of formal government.⁵ The result was a lack of clear delineation in the respective authority of the Public Meeting and that of the Superintendent which effectively meant that Despard lacked the power to put into effect the instructions he had received regarding the disposal of lands in the Settlement. As long as the extent of his own executive authority remained unclear, Despard was not in a position to challenge the determination of the Old Baymen in the Public Meeting to maintain the power to allocate territory in the New Limits, that is, to concentrate in their own hands most of the additional 2,000 square miles of land that had been made available under the Convention of 1786.

Accordingly, in a series of new laws or "resolutions" passed by the Public Meeting sitting at the Court House at Belize Point on July 25th, 1787 just as the last of the Shore evacuees were arriving in the Settlement, the Old Baymen who constituted that body sought to amend the "location laws" of the Belize territory as defined in Burnaby's Code in 1765 so as to protect their own claims to land in the Settlement as a whole against the poorer of the newcomers from the Mosquito Shore:

Resolved, That no person who is not actually possessed of four able negro men slaves, shall be entitled to a Mahogany Work in any of the Rivers without leave first had and obtained by a majority of the Magistrates in open Court; Provided always that nothing herein contained shall in any wise affect persons who formerly resided, or do now

possess or Occupy Works, in Honduras...and that every freeholder is entitled to a Logwood Work... Resolved, That three miles in a straight line be considered a Mahogany Work; and that each and every ten able negro men slaves or servants, indented for two years or upwards, be a gang sufficient to establish such Works, which, however if not actually possessed, occupied and worked... within six months from the time of its location, to be deemed an unoccupied and dormant work to all intents and purposes.⁶

Superintendent Despard was in no doubt as the aim of these resolutions. In a letter to Lord Sydney of the Colonial Office on August 17th, 1787, Despard observed

how hard it would be upon many of the Inhabitants who have arrived from the Mosquito Shore, numbers of whom are very poor, but who with one or two Negroes, together with their own labour might support themselves and their families, with some degree of comfort, by cutting Mahogany. Besides the partiality of this law to rich people, I must observe that whatever it may have been formerly, the cutting of Logwood is at present very far from being profitable ...the resolution respecting the distribution of Mahogany grounds...would most effectively exclude the new settlers from any participation of the advantage arising from Mahogany cutting.⁷

This was the rub. As Nigel Bolland (1977) has suggested, the resolutions passed by the Public Meeting prevented at least two thirds of the heads of families recently arrived from the Mosquito Shore from engaging in the Settlement's principal economic activity.⁸ It is difficult to be precise about numbers as a comprehensive listing of which of the 1,677 slaves belonged

to the 537 free persons who accompanied them from the Shore is not available,⁹ although we do know from a list compiled by Superintendent Despard of 1,420 Shoremen who required a supply of provisions in October 1787 that 903 of these were slaves and 517 were free persons. Among the latter, 215 were described as "Heads of Families" of whom just 19 owned almost half (445) of the slaves on Despard's list. Another 8 free persons possessed 259 slaves in all while more than half (112) of the heads of families listed owned no slaves at all. Forty two of them possessed a total of 102 slaves between them, and most of these owned no more than 2 slaves individually.¹⁰ Presumably, the remaining 20 free persons not accounted for in Despard's list owned the remaining 774 slaves between them and did not on this occasion require a supply of provisions.

The situation facing the majority of Shore evacuees, as well as those resettled Baymen who did not own the requisite number of slaves to be allowed to cut mahogany, was exacerbated by the fact that agriculture had been specifically prohibited by the Convention of 1786. To be sure, small plots of corn and other subsistence crops had been cultivated by settlers and slaves in the Bay since the earliest days of logwood cutting. As noted, by 1779, these "plantations" extended along the banks of several rivers in the territory on which settlers employed their slaves in raising provisions and cutting logwood. After 1786, however, attempts to cultivate even these small plots for subsistence were discouraged by Spanish Commissioners who visited the Settlement twice a year to enforce the terms of the Convention. In this they were aided, however reluctantly, by Superintendent Despard whose instructions obliged him to enforce said terms and against whom a complaint was made in October of 1787 that he

went in his own Person and made our Negroes at our Upper Works dig up by the Roots everything that grew in a very large plantation which was on the North Side of the Belize River.¹¹

Similar complaints about the actions of the Spanish Commissioners were received in 1788 from settlers who were concerned not only by the loss of provisions but also about the discontent that the rooting up of cultivated plots might have on slaves in Belize.

It appears...that the Spaniards have lately cut down the Plantation Walks and Provision Grounds of the Settlers particularly in the New River upon which the individuals residing there have at all times had their Chief or Sole dependence. This has greatly injured the Owners, and given great disgust to the Negroes employed in that River, whose subsistence depends on their little Plantations...¹²

The Baymen were worried that the "Negroes disgust" would be a prelude to their desertion, an aspect of slavery in Belize that is to be considered in more detail in Section IV of this study. A decision by the Spanish Crown in 1789 to allow each settler in Belize "to mark out a proper plot of Ground to serve as a Garden... where he may sow Garden Stuff, Potatoes, Indian Corn, Roots and Vegetables for his Consumption" did improve the situation but significantly, no settler in Belize was "to cultivate commercial products, such as Sugar, Indigo, and others..."¹³

For the majority of white and free-coloured settlers in Belize, the cumulative effect of these restrictions on commercial agriculture and on mahogany cutting in the late 1780s through to emancipation in 1834 was to force them into near total economic dependence upon the wealthier group of Baymen who, by virtue of their control of the Public Meeting and Magistracy, "owned" most of the land in the territory. It was a situation that to some extent mirrored the predicament of small-holders in the sugar islands of the British Caribbean during the period of estate consolidation in those islands as the drive to a sugar monoculture accelerated in the late 17th and early 18th centuries, and which had forced some of them to relocate to the

marginal colonies in the first place. Indeed, so discontented with their situation had some of the late inhabitants of the Shore become by early 1789 that they contemplated a proposal submitted by Colonel James Lawrie to remove "to the Grand Caimans with nine months provisions".¹⁴ Lawrie had been the Superintendent of the Shore at the time of its evacuation and had visited the Caymans to which, as noted, several Shoremen and their slaves had successfully migrated in 1787. Ultimately, Lawrie's proposal was rejected as those "not qualified to cut Mahogany or Logwood" in Belize were of the opinion that "the Island of Grand Caymans has no sufficient Protection and is subject to many inconveniences..."¹⁵ As a result, it seems they stayed on in Belize although it is unclear from the sources how this particular group of Shoremen sustained themselves and their families thereafter. Presumably, they either contented themselves with small-scale farming and/or hired their slaves out to the principal mahogany cutters in the Bay (see Table 2.7).

As a final note on the economy of Belize, and like the Bahamas and Cayman, the Settlement grew no sugar for anything other than local consumption and its' slave workforce compared to that of a sugar island like Jamaica, for example, remained small and was deployed in relatively small groups. As such, Belize remained a "marginal" territory up to and beyond emancipation in 1834. At the same time, however, Belize was in several respects an atypical marginal colony in that for the duration of formal slavery in the BWI, the economy of the Settlement was based primarily on the exploitation of a single commercial "crop" and export staple (timber) that hinged both upon the control of land in the form of up-river forest concessions, and the possession of slave labour by the major cutters in the territory (see Table 2.7). This was particularly the case during the transition from logwood to mahogany cutting in the Bay in the last quarter of the 18th century, although it is important to bear in mind that this change-over was not as completely "transforming" in the Settlement as the switch from tobacco and cotton to sugar had been in those islands of the British Caribbean subjected to the

sugar revolution a century or so earlier. In Belize, while mahogany cutting dominated the economy for the last several decades of formal slavery in the region, the scale of operations based on a "crop" that grew in scattered stands and took years to regenerate once felled, the limited profitability of such enterprises and the relatively short length of the mahogany "boom" together ensured that even the major cutters in the Bay continued to harvest logwood when they could, a circumstance highlighted in more detail in Section III of this study.

TABLE 2.6

EXPORTS OF MAHOGANY AND LOGWOOD FROM BELIZE, 1798-1830

<u>Year</u>	<u>Mahogany</u> (in 1000 ft)	<u>Logwood</u> (in tons)
1798	1,347	1,114
1799	3,355	2,712
1800	3,102	1,612
1801	3,061	1,216
1802	4,646	1,348
1803	4,582	1,544
1804	-	-
1805	2,434	1,268
1806-18	-	-
1819	6,142	2,112
1820	5,692	1,895
1821	4,234	1,830
1822	-	-
1823	4,250	3,562
1824	5,574	4,391
1825	5,083	4,166
1826	6,386	2,602
1827	6,905	1,853
1828	5,462	1,278
1829	4,631	1,767
1830	4,557	2,696

Sources:

- 1798-1802: "A Short Sketch of the present situation of the Settlement of Honduras.." CO123/15. March 31st, 1803.
 1803, 1819-21, 1823-30: Quarterly Returns of Exports from Belize in CO123/15, 16, 28-31, and 34-42.
 1805: General Montessor to Governor Coote, October 22nd, 1806, CO123/17

Quoted in Nigel Bolland, The Formation of a Colonial Society: Belize from Conquest to Crown Colony (Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1977), p.159.

TABLE 2.7

POPULATION OF THE BAY SETTLEMENT, BY PROPERTY,
OCCUPATION, AND COLOUR, 1790

His Majesty's Subjects who occupy the district allotted for cutting wood in the Bay of Honduras by the Definitive Treaty of 1783 and the Convention of 1786, may be classed in the following manner:

Description	Number
1. Cutters and Exporters of wood possessed of considerable property	13
2. Cutters of wood possessed of less property	34
3. Cutters of wood possessed of small property	24
4. Traders and Housekeepers	24
5. Tradesmen and Housekeepers	18
6. People of small property in the service of Wood Cutters, and employed as Clerks, Overseers, and Masters of Droggers	12
7. People of no property, and employed by Wood Cutters and others as Clerks, Masters of Droggers Tradesmen and Labourers	37
8. Housekeepers of very little property, principally Refugees from America, who support themselves and families by raising Vegetables, hunting and fishing	14
9. Turtlers residing in the district, possessed of Boats and Nets fit for carrying on the business, and who employ servants	8
10. Turtlers of no property, of no fixed place of Residence and employed by the Master Turtlers among the Keys and Reefs along the Coast	63
11. People of mixed Colour possessed of no property, and of whom, about one third are Wood Cutters of the 2nd class, but not enumerated here	16
12. People of mixed Colour, possessed of no property, and employed by Wood Cutters and others, as Tradesmen, Fishermen and Labourers	24
<hr/>	
Total	287

It is believed that there may be about Fifty British Subjects in Honduras not enumerated in the above Statement, consisting of Turtlers, Fishermen and free Negroes, many of whom have no place of fixed Residence, and are possessed of no property.

The number of Slaves in Honduras, may be estimated at Two Thousand, and are principally in the possession of the 1st, 2nd, 3rd and 11th Classes and are indeed their most valuable property.

Source: CO123/9. Quoted in Bolland, Formation of a Colonial Society, p.47.

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1. CO137/59. Letter from Robert Hodgson, April 10th, 1751.
2. CO137/62. Joseph Maud to Governor Littleton, October 7th, 1765.
3. CO123/29. Lord Sydney to Edward Despard, June 26th, 1787.
Enclosed in Superintendent Arthur to Lord Bathurst, September 13th, 1820.
4. CO123/5. Edward Despard to Lord Sydney, February 23rd, 1787,
and CO123/6 Despard to Sydney, October 31st, 1787.
5. Nigel Bolland and Assad Shoman, Land in Belize (Institute of Social and Economic Research, UWI, Mona, 1975), p.13.
6. Laws of Honduras, 1806-1810. General Registry of Belize.
7. CO123/5. Edward Despard to Lord Sydney, August 17th, 1787.
8. Bolland, The Formation of a Colonial Society, p.33.
9. CO123/6. Colonel James Lawrie to Evan Napean, January 26th, 1788.
10. CO123/5. "Return of Such of the Inhabitants from the Mosquito Shore as His Majesty's Superintendent has found it necessary to issue a further supply of Provisions to."
August 24th and October 20th, 1787.
11. CO123/5. George Dyer to Evan Napean, October 18th, 1787.
12. CO123/6. Mr. White to Evan Napean, September 18th, 1788.
13. CO123/7. Count de Floridablanca to Anthony Merry, May 30th, 1789.
14. GD461/89. The Lawrie Papers, Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh.
15. GD461/90.

BARBUDA

As suggested in Section I, and as demonstrated in research carried out by David Lowenthal and Colin Clarke (1977) and by Margaret Tweedy (1981) on the history of Barbuda under the Codringtons, after the island was permanently settled in the 1660s, it was used by its lease holders primarily to graze livestock. Over time, many of the stock animals became feral and a pattern was set that persisted through the years of the Codrington lease, that is, a mainly wooded island with wide expanses of scrub vegetation and some pasture supporting thousands of semi-wild sheep, goats and cattle together with smaller numbers of pigs, deer, mules and horses. Beginning in the mid 18th century, a nucleus of cultivated land with some fenced pastures that enclosed a few domestic animals and relatively small acreages of cotton and provision crops was developed on the eastern shore of the lagoon. Generally speaking, however, and for most of the period of the Codrington lease, crop raising was of secondary importance as the mainstay of the Barbudan economy was stock raising supplemented by fishing and turtling, wood cutting and the salvage of vessels that had wrecked on the reefs which ring the island.¹ Each of these activities is to be considered in turn as the economy of Barbuda is examined in more detail.

Stock Rearing on Barbuda

As noted, from the time of its early settlement, Barbuda was principally of value to its leasees as a stock rearing estate. All sugar plantations in the West Indies needed draught animals and/or manure for their cane fields and as the arable land on an estate was most productively employed by growing sugar, any surplus land that could support livestock, however inadequately, was an asset to its owner. From their determination to secure a renewal of their Barbuda lease in 1705 and again in 1804, it would appear that the Codringtons recognised the value of the island to their Antiguan sugar estates in this regard and over

the course of their tenure as leasees, oxen, mules and horses were dispatched from Barbuda in numbers for draughting work on the Codrington plantations in Antigua while varying quantities of sheep, goats and cattle were sent over as food for the Codrington employees, and occasionally for their slaves. As we shall see, a significant quantity of Barbudan stock was also sent over for sale outside the family's estates, that is, either to named traders in St. John's or for open sale in local Antiguan markets. There were also supply contracts with the naval station at English Harbour and with the military hospital in St. John's. On occasion, when pasture was in short supply on the Antigua estates, cattle were sent over to graze at Barbuda, usually in the enclosures near the main building complex east of the lagoon. There were, for example, 29 "reduced" oxen from Betty's Hope in these enclosures in 1792. As well, the Antigua estates were often supplied with dung from Barbuda for use in the cane fields as these were readied and planted with the next year's crop, Clare Hall estate in 1829, for instance, being described as "absolutely cover'd with Manure brought from Barbuda..."²

As most of the stock animals on Barbuda were allowed to roam wild in the wooded land on the central plain and in the Highlands, it was not always possible for the estate's managers to record the precise number of stock animals on the island at any given time. Judging from the estimates which do appear in correspondences from these managers, it seems that the numbers of cattle, sheep and goats on Barbuda varied considerably over the course of the Codrington's lease of the island from the Crown. For instance, when the family resumed direct control over Barbuda in 1761 after sub-letting it to Martin and Byam in 1746, there were 1,093 head of cattle, 1,253 sheep and 1,500 goats listed in the *Appraisal at Barbuda of Livestock Etc*, up from 504, 330 and 130 respectively recorded in 1746.³ There are few figures available for the period of Samuel Redhead's administration (1761-1779) but when Dennis Reynolds was appointed manager at Barbuda in 1779, he estimated that there were only 356 sheep and 15 goats on the island. By 1783, Reynolds claimed that Barbuda

was home to 4,000 sheep and 600 goats. In 1786, he suggested that the number of sheep and goats on the estate had increased to 8,000 and 2,000 respectively, spectacular results that Reynolds claimed were due to his restocking the island, to improvements in the breeds, and to the fact that sheep lambed twice a year in the West Indies. At the time, he also estimated that there were about 1,000 head of cattle on the island.⁴

Of perhaps more significance than absolute numbers of livestock reared on Barbuda during the period of the Codrington's tenure are the relative values to the estate of the different kinds of stock that were raised there as these values shed light not only on the structure of the economy of the island, but also on the functional link of Barbuda to the Codrington plantations on Antigua. The information contained in Tables 2.8, 2.9 and 2.10 has been extracted from the Barbuda Island Accounts across several years for which these were maintained on a relatively systematic basis and submitted at regular intervals to the Codrington attornies at Betty's Hope for final approval.⁵

From the data recorded in each of the Tables, it is clear that cattle were generally the most profitable of stock animals raised on Barbuda and supplied either as meat or for draughting purposes to individuals and/or estates in Antigua. As per Table 2.9, of the stock sold from Barbuda between 1779 and 1782, cattle accounted for £11,036 1s 9d, or 46% of total stock sales of £24,207 5s 6d generated during that period. At 39% of total sales (that is £8,910 19s 9d), horses were the second most profitable stock animal sent over from Barbuda while sheep accounted for 12% (or £2,900 9s 6d) of total sales between 1779 and 1782. Turtle sold in Antigua during the period raised £1,254 19s 17d for Barbuda (about 4% of total stock sales) while the amount generated from the sale of veal was an almost negligible £107 15s 9d, a circumstance that perhaps explains why veal as a distinct commodity rarely appears in subsequent Island Accounts. It might be worth noting that the relatively high value of horses to Barbuda over the period may have reflected a disruption of traditional supplies from the American mainland as

a result of the War of Independence. Barbudan horses were not popular as mounts or as stock animals with the Antiguan gentry on account of their generally small size and lean appearance, a circumstance which may also explain why the horse trade from Barbuda seems to fall off between 1785 and 1790 (Table 2.9) and between 1806 and 1814 (Table 2.10). Presumably, with the War over and some aspects of trade normalized, it was again possible to import more sturdy animals. Indeed, over the period covered by Tables 2.9 and 2.10, the trend was for Barbudan managers to concentrate on cattle and especially sheep.

One of the more salient points about the sale of stock from Barbuda that is brought out in Table 2.8 and sustained through the data in Table 2.9 is that managers at Barbuda, at least in the late 19th century, seemed more concerned to sell the estate's stock animals on the open market in Antigua than to supply them to the Codrington estates in that island. Between 1779 and 1782 for instance, of 2,357 units of stock sent over from Barbuda, 2,261 of these were supplied to the open market and to individual contractors in Antigua while only 96 units of stock recorded (virtually all cattle and mostly working oxen) were sent to the Codrington sugar estates on the island. It is a trend that continued between 1786 and 1790 (Table 2.9) and indeed between 1806 and 1814 (Table 2.10) when 94% (or 8,269 of 8,805 units) and 89% (or 6,158 of 6,881 units) respectively of the total number of stock animals sent over from Barbuda were sold on the open market.

One possible explanation for this tendency to concentrate on open market sales rather than on intra-estate transfers of stock during the period covered in Table 2.8, for example, was the outbreak of the American War of Independence in 1776 which had precipitated general shortages of livestock (and other commodities) in the British Caribbean generally. It may be that successive managers at Barbuda during the war years were either instructed or decided unilaterally to exploit the gap in the local market, and to continue doing so after the war ended in 1783. Sir William Codrington's concern that his Barbuda

investments turn a steady profit has already been noted. Besides, with respect to the transfer of cattle, by the mid to late 19th century, the Codrington estates on Antigua were for the most part optimal enterprises and as such, they required a relatively fixed number of working oxen each year. From the Island Accounts available, on average, between 30 and 40 working oxen a year were sent over from Barbuda to Betty's Hope, Cotton, Garden and/or Cotton New Work. With respect to sheep, during the period covered by Tables 2.9 and 2.10, there were on average between 40 and 50 animals a year sent over from Barbuda to the Antigua estates, probably to be slaughtered and served up to the white employees there. In this context, once the estates' quotas had been filled, it made only practical sense for managers at Barbuda to send any surplus animals raised there over to Antigua so they might be sold on the open market in St. John's, a state of affairs that confirmed both the marginal and functional roles of Barbuda. That is, although the estate did not itself grow sugar for export, uniquely among the marginal colonies of the BWI, the island was partly integrated into the "sugar economy" that operated on the Antigua estates belonging to the Codrington family, a circumstance which led to practical differences in both the types of economic activity and, as we shall see in the final section of this study, in the social arrangements of slaves on the island vis á vis their contemporaries in the other marginal colonies.

Crop Farming and Various Commodities

It is the geographic marginality of Barbuda (that is, the shallow and porous soils, the low annual rainfall and the flat lie of the arable land on the central plain that tends to flood with sea water during severe gales) which may explain why there is little evidence of crop cultivation on any scale for other than local consumption on the island before about 1779. In 1742, for instance, about 80 acres of brushwood and trees near the Castle were cleared and planted with cotton and corn, but in December of that year, the estate manager had to report that

worms has destroyed the entire cotton crop.⁶ During their sub-lease of the island from the Codringtons between 1746 and 1761, Martin and Byam seem to have concentrated almost entirely on stock rearing,⁷ and with the exception of some guinea grass and hay grown for the livestock and the planting of provisions by Barbudan slaves for their own use and that of their overseers, Samuel Redhead appears to have done much the same. Indeed, when Governor Burt of Antigua visited the island in 1777, he described Barbuda as being "almost in a State of Nature", very little of the island being cultivated.⁸

With the appointment of Richard Clarke and Dennis Reynolds as resident manager at Barbuda in 1779 and 1782 respectively came instructions from Sir William to experiment with growing a variety of crops on the island. It was suggested to Richard Clarke, for example, that he try as provision crops yams, eddas, Guinea corn, Barbuda beans, pigeon peas and cassava.⁹ As with stock rearing on the island, the aim in planting provision crops on Barbuda was both to sustain the local slave population and to reduce the necessity of throwing cane land into provision grounds on the Antigua estates. At the time, planters in Antigua and the Leeward Islands generally were also faced with severe restrictions in supplies from the American mainland upon which they had depended heavily before the outbreak of the War of Independence. Clarke appears to have had some early if limited success with corn in particular as entries in the Barbuda Accounts between October 1st and December 31st, 1781, for example, confirm that among other supplies sent to the Antigua estates that year were 60 bushels of "Great" corn and 36 bushels of Guinea corn to Betty's Hope, and 12 bushels of Guinea corn to each of Cotton New Work and Clare Hall estates.¹⁰

Dennis Reynolds continued the focus on food crops and added cotton on the suggestion of Sir William. In 1786, Reynolds informed his employer that some 500 acres of land on Barbuda was under cultivation just east of the Castle on the central plain; 300 of these acres were enclosed pasture, 40 had been planted with Guinea grass, 10 with yams, 80 with Guinea corn and 70 with

cotton.¹¹ By the time Christopher Bethell Codrington toured the estates in 1790, some 138 acres on Barbuda were under cotton and 139 had been planted with provision crops.¹²

The data relating to "Sundry Items" in Table 2.9 gives some indication of the degree to which the experiment with growing provision crops on Barbuda was a success, at least with respect to Guinea corn, the main dietary staple of slaves in the Leeward Islands generally. As noted, and to some extent the reverse of the situation regarding stock rearing on the island, crops seem to have been grown on Barbuda primarily to support the Codrington slaves employed on that estate and on those in Antigua. As per Table 2.9, relatively little of whatever "surplus" corn and salt harvested in Barbuda between 1785 and 1790 was supplied to the open market in Antigua. Using comparative units of measure, 22,080 of 29,724 gallons of corn (or 74%) and 5,744 of 6,680 gallons of salt (or 86%) despatched from Barbuda during those 6 years was supplied directly to the Antigua estates where, in the case of corn, it was likely used to supplement the quantities of that crop grown by slaves on provision grounds on those estates and/or imported from elsewhere.

Whatever successes were achieved in raising crops on Barbuda, it should be noted that these were never on a scale large enough to provision all the Codrington's Antigua estates. We know from a Sketch of the Codrington Estates in 1810, for example, that Betty's Hope was able to grow sufficient corn to feed its 348 slaves for 22 weeks. To provision his slaves for the remaining 30 weeks of the year, the manager at Betty's Hope had to purchase most of it on the open market as he received only 1,328 bushels of corn from Barbuda during 1810.¹³ Indeed, in the opinion of Christopher Codrington who toured Barbuda and the family's other properties on behalf of his uncle in 1790,

it is not worth even trying the experiment of planting anything there but what is necessary for the subsistence of the Negroes.¹⁴

Insect infestations together with periodic and sometimes prolonged droughts seemed to occur on Barbuda with a regularity that prompted one manager to write that "we cannot calculate on having more than one good year out of three." In 1815, John James wrote of the almost complete failure of the corn crop on Barbuda that year; from one 200 acre plot of corn, for example, the slaves were able to harvest no more than 240 bushels and from another of 70 acres, not more than 45 bushels of corn.¹⁵ Considering that one planted acre was expected to yield on average 14 bushels of corn,¹⁶ the shortfall in 1815 was not insignificant. Neither was it a one-off as on several occasions during the early 19th century, resident managers at Barbuda had to import provisions from Antigua to ward off starvation among the estate's slaves. In April of 1800, for instance, Samuel Athill at Betty's Hope was obliged to ship grain to Barbuda on account of the dry weather affecting the island at the time. Included in similar consignments landed in Barbuda between July and December of 1829 were 138 bushels of corn purchased in the month of December alone.¹⁷

In addition to crop farming on Barbuda, and as demonstrated by Margaret Tweedy (1981), there was a variety of commodities produced on the island during the Codrington lease which either made small regular contributions to the economy or which were tried for a few years and abandoned. In addition to salt, the more significant of these were lime and leather. Lime burning was developed on Barbuda primarily for use in the construction and maintenance of estate buildings both on Barbuda and on the Antigua plantations. From the Barbuda Island Accounts for the period between July 1785 and December 1790, for example, just over 171 puncheons of lime (approximately 10,260 gallons) at an average of £1 6s a puncheon were sent over to the Antigua estates. Rarely does Barbuda lime appear to have been sold on the open market.¹⁸

Leather is noted regularly in the Barbuda Accounts only after 1785. The hides of Barbuda cattle, deer and goats were tanned by skilled slaves on the island and were sold in small

quantities in Antigua or supplied to the Codrington estates there either in dried form or fashioned into harnesses and bridles. Most of the leather sent over from Barbuda between 1785 and 1790 was supplied to local markets in Antigua; only 30 mule/horse collars and 11 hides were sent to the Antigua estates over the six year period while 71 mule/horse collars, 32 hides and 15 mule/horse saddles were sold to private individuals in Antigua.¹⁹

Transport, Boat Building and Salvage

Whatever stock was reared, crops grown or commodities produced on Barbuda, their value to the Codrington estates generally depended upon the availability of regular transport to Antigua. Before the island was sub-leased to Martin and Byam in 1746, the manager there (Colonel Benjamin King) seems to have provided a vessel himself and billed the estate for its use. When he resumed direct control of the island in 1761, Sir William purchased a sloop of his own to ferry goods and supplies between Barbuda and Antigua and for the duration of the Codrington lease, the estate was provided with transport in this way on a fairly regular basis. On occasion, vessels were purchased outright, but beginning in the 1770s, boat building was carried out on Barbuda itself.²⁰ As in other enterprises undertaken on the island, slaves provided the labour required to both construct and maintain such vessels, and from 1783 onwards, shipwrights or ships' carpenters appear regularly as a category in the Slave Lists for Barbuda.²¹

Slave carpenters in Barbuda also built and maintained smaller boats used to transport goods from one part of the island to another, or to take relatively light loads across to Antigua. These boats were shallow-draughted for use in the lagoon and were built in Barbuda almost entirely from wreck materials. John James claims to have commissioned the first of these in 1809, and by 1833, there were 8 such vessels operating in Barbudan waters, the largest able to carry about 10 tons of cargo.²²

On a related note, Barbudan vessels and crews also took part in the salvage of wrecked goods from ships that periodically ran aground on the island's reefs. Weather permitting, when a vessel struck a reef in Barbudan waters, it was the general practice of the resident manager to send slaves skilled in such operations out to the wreck site in boats to attempt to rescue any survivors and to begin the task of salvaging the ship's cargo. More often than not, it was a risky and expensive undertaking as not only were male slaves despatched to a wreck site diverted from their normal tasks for days and occasionally weeks at a time, but Barbuda often had to provide the survivors with shelter, clothing and food until arrangements could be made to transport them to Antigua.

Generally, the Vice-Admiralty Court in St. John's awarded the salvors one third of the value of a recovered cargo as compensation for their efforts but as Table 2.11 illustrates, salvage awards to Barbuda often varied quite considerably. Unfortunately, it is not always possible to determine from the Barbuda Accounts the relative value of salvage awards to the economy of the estate as these awards seem not always to have been included in the annual calculations of profit and/or loss by the attornies at Betty's Hope. Part of the reason for this may simply have been the irregular nature of the awards in that there were sometimes several years between the wrecks of vessels in Barbudan waters. When they did occur, the revenue from the sales of goods salvaged from stricken vessels were set aside in a Salvage Account, as they were between 1779 and 1782, and illustrated in Table 2.12. In this case, £5,986 12s 6d was raised from the sale of wreck goods at public auction in Antigua, a sum that amounted to less than 25% of the revenue generated by the sale of stock from Barbuda over the same period (see Table 2.8). This was not an insignificant sum of money by any means, but as with the Account of Wrecks at Barbuda from 1809-1811 (Table 2.11), there were years between 1779 and 1782 when very little revenue was earned by the estate from the attendance to stricken vessels. In 1781, for instance, the sale of Barbudan sheep alone

generated more than twice the £319 17s 3d received by the estate from the sale of goods belonging to the *Duke William* at public auction that year in Antigua.

At the very least, and as illustrated by the data contained in Table 2.13 which shows the respective incomes from the sales of stock and of wrecked goods from Barbuda between 1785 and 1790 and between 1806 and 1814, it is not difficult to understand why both the Codringtons and their attornies at Betty's Hope regarded salvage awards from Barbuda as an irregular, if welcome, source of estate revenue. Simply put, the nature of the wrecking business determined that it was not a facet of the Barbuda economy on which they could depend heavily from one year to the next. Indeed, in at least three of the years covered by Table 2.13, no income at all was generated from the sale of wreck goods from Barbuda while in others (1788-90, for example), it was almost negligible.

In sum, it appears that Barbuda departed slightly from the marginal norm during the period of formal slavery in the BWI. That is, although the island did not produce sugar for export, the information here presented offers a picture of integration (albeit modest) to a wider economy, that of the Codrington family's sugar estates on Antigua, a circumstance that we shall see in the next section of this study had a direct impact on the labouring experiences of slaves on the island.

In the following Tables relating to Barbuda, the annotation "To Antigua" is taken to mean Barbudan stock and/or produce supplied to contractors, private individuals and/or to plantations in Antigua other than those belonging to the Codrington family. Barbudan stock and produce supplied "To The Estates" went either to Betty's Hope, Garden, Cotton, Cotton New Work, or Clare Hall, that is, estates on Antigua that were owned by the Codringtons and run by their representatives/attornies on the island.

TABLE 2.8

SALES OF STOCK FROM BARBUDA, 1779-1782

Date	To Antigua						To The Estates
	Cattle	Horses	Sheep	Turtle	Wood	Veals	
1779							
May to June	0	5	0	18	0	0	No records of stock sent.
July to Sep	0	12	43	31	3	0	
Oct to Dec	55	12	96	21	116	11	
Total	55	24	139	70	119	11	
1780							
1/1 to 31/3	93	11	2	9	139	1	No records of stock sent.
1/4 to 1/7	114	33	18	75	199	1	
1/7 to 1/10	68	8	1	26	197.5	1	
1/10 to 31/12	124	12	8	2	160.5	0	
Total	399	64	29	112	696	3	
1781							
1/1 to 1/4	74	17	51	9	216.5	0	16 working oxen: Betty's Hope 6 Cotton 4 Garden 0 New Work 6 Also, 1 gelding to Garden
1/4 to 1/7	89	22	87	52	211	0	
1/7 to 1/10		No records available					
1/10 to 31/12	44	9	141	12	189.5	0	
Total	207	48	279	73	617	0	
1782							
1/1 to 1/3	40	26	36	4	357.5	0	79 cattle sent over: 73 working steers, 3 cows and 3 calves
1/3 to 30/6	47	24	122	41	370	0	
1/7 to 1/10	23	14	156	22	360	0	
1/10 to 31/12	28	17	138	5	263	0	
Total	138	81	452	72	1350.5	0	
Total Stock	799	222	899	327	2782	14	95 cattle 1 gelding
Total Values	Cattle	£ 11,306		1s 9d	Not stated		
	Horses	8,910		19s 9d			
	Sheep	2,900		9s 6d			
	Turtle	1,254		19s 7d			
	Wood	7,679		6s 0d			
	Veals	107		15s 9d			
	24,207		5s 6d				

Source: Barbuda Island Accounts, 1779-1795, MF439 GRO
(Only those Accounts from 1779-1782 are actually stated)

TABLE 2.9

ACCOUNT OF STOCK AND SUNDRY ITEMS SENT OVER FROM BARBUDA,
1785-1790

Year	Livestock Sold in Antigua						Livestock Supplied to the Antigua Estates					
	T	C	S	H	M	G	T	C	S	H	M	G
1785	48	51	303	0	0	0	5	2	26	0	0	0
1786	104	87	1031	26	4	276	8	53	40	1	4	0
1787	43	104	763	10	0	59	3	44	123	3	11	0
1788	39	84	1548	14	0	564	2	41	12	0	15	0
1789	34	27	703	1	3	279	0	52	17	5	12	0
1790	59	2	1921	11	0	71	0	53	0	0	0	4
Totals	327	355	6269	62	7	1249	18	245	218	9	42	4

(Key T: Turtles, C: Cattle, S: Sheep, H: Horses, M: Mules, G: Goats)

Year	Sundry Items Sold in Antigua					Sundry Items Supplied to the Antigua Estates				
	Firewood Chords	Corn Pnch	Bshl	Salt Pnch	Bshl	Firewood Chords	Corn Pnch	Bshl	Salt Pnch	Bshl
1785	57	0	609	0	25	2	12	0	12	72
1786	74	0	178	0	45.5	4	17	219.5	4	92
1787	150	5	131	0	13.5	4	87	1094.5	4	105
1788	99.5	0	0	0	33	4	30	351	5	118.5
1789	165.5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	90.5
1790	397	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0
Total	943	5	918	0	117	16	146	1665	32	478

Units of Measure

- 1 Bushel (Bshl) - a dry measure of about 8 gallons.
- 1 Puncheon (Pnch) - a liquid measure of between 70 and 120 gallons (as 1 hogshead is equal to about 60 gallons, and the term hogshead is used interchangeably with puncheon in the Barbuda Accounts, 1 puncheon is taken here to mean a measure of about 60 gallons).
- 1 Chord - a measure of wood equal to about 128 cubic feet.

1785-1790	Sold at Antigua	Supplied to the Antigua Estates
Firewood	120,704 cubic ft	2,048 cubic feet
Corn	7,644 gallons	22,080 gallons
Salt	936 gallons	5,744 gallons

Source: Barbuda Island Accounts, 1785-1790, MF 426, GRO.

TABLE 2.10

ACCOUNT OF CATTLE AND SHEEP SENT FROM BARBUDA, 1806-1814

Year	Destination	Oxen	Cows	Wethers	Ewes	Rams	Total Cattle	Total Sheep
1806	To Antigua	20	35	647	182	17	55	846
	To Estates	21	12	22	20	0	33	42
1807	To Antigua	17	7	502	33	0	24	535
	To Estates	31	0	57	0	0	31	57
1808	To Antigua	24	50	603	0	0	74	603
	To Estates	30	0	0	0	0	30	0
1809	To Antigua	13	53	416	5	10	66	431
	To Estates	11	6	110	0	0	17	110
1810	To Antigua	104	39	638	0	0	143	638
	To Estates	41	0	60	0	0	41	60
1811	To Antigua	83	61	556	0	0	144	556
	To Estates	27	1	50	0	0	28	50
1812	To Antigua	113	0	782	0	0	113	782
	To Estates	30	0	60	0	0	30	60
1813	To Antigua	31	17	409	12	12	48	433
	To Estates	16	0	58	0	0	16	58
1814	To Antigua	58	33	518	51	7	91	576
	To Estates	0	0	60	0	0	0	60
							984	5,897
1806-1814		To Antigua		To the Estates				
Cattle		758		226				
Sheep		5,400		497				
		6,158		723				

Note: Between 1806 and 1814, there were only 15 horses sent "To Antigua" from Barbuda. The Accounts do not show any horses sent to the Codrington estates on the island over the period. With respect to relative values of cattle and sheep, these are not recorded in the above Table as it appears in the Island Accounts. However, in 1806, on average, cattle from Barbuda were selling for £35 per unit, and sheep for £2 per unit in Antiguan markets.

Source: Barbuda Island Accounts, 1806-1814, MF426, GRO

TABLE 2.11

ACCOUNT OF WRECKS AT BARBUDA, AUGUST 1809 - JANUARY 1811

		£	s	d
1809	August: Brig <i>Friends</i> (salvage at 15%)	3,369	3	7
	December: Ship <i>Farmer</i> (salvage at 33.3%)	608	17	6
1810	January: Ship <i>Julia</i> (salvage at 35%)	1,170	1	1
	Schooner <i>Meried</i> (salvage at 30%)	171	13	0
	Ship <i>Kingston</i> (salvage at 40%)	568	13	0
	June: Ship <i>Unicorn</i> (salvage at 33.3%)	523	11	0
	August: Brig <i>Adventure</i> (salvage at 25%)	1,360	11	10
1811	January: Schooner <i>Union</i> (salvage at 40%)	413	3	4
	(including materials at 33.3%)	101	0	8
		8,281	15	8
	Less freight paid on the <i>Friends</i> and <i>Union</i> cargoes	256	0	0
		8,025	15	8

Source: RP2616/20 A56/12, Codrington Papers, British Library

TABLE 2.12

SALVAGE ACCOUNT OF GOODS WRECKED AT BARBUDA

		£	s	d
1779	By sundry persons for Sales of Goods saved from the Spanish Brig Sancta Rita (the last of which Goods were sold at Public Auction by Thomas Winter this Month)	841	7	8
1780	By Amount of Sales of Goods saved from Ship Ceres sold at Public Auction, 1/2 of which awarded by 3 Magistrates amounting to	1,074	13	3
	By Ditto of Sales of Goods saved from Ship Fortuneteller sold at Public Auction 1/2 of which awarded by 3 Magistrates	101	12	10
	By Ditto of Sales of Goods saved from the Dutch ship Hooger Wert part sold at Public Auction 1/2 of which allowed by the Captain in behalf of his Owners	196	11	1
	By Ditto of Sales of Goods saved from the Dutch ship Young David part sold to sundry persons and part at Public Auction 1/2 of the whole of which allowed by Mr. J. Smith, Attorney to the Captain	1,830	16	9
1781	By Ditto of Sales of Goods belonging to the Ship Duke William, exclusive of the part of her cargo that were Kings Stores, sold at Public Auction, 1/2 of which awarded by 3 Magistrates	319	17	3
1782	By Ditto of Sales of Goods saved from the Ships Venus, Burke, Aurora (belonging to Bristol) sold at Public Auction, 33 and 1/3 of which awarded by 3 Magistrates	1,182	7	5
	By Ditto for Sales of Goods saved from the Portuguese Snow Telemacho belonging to the Vessel and to the cargo and sold at Public Auction, 33 and 1/3 of which allowed as award of 3 Magistrates	439	6	4
		<hr/>		
		5,986	12	7

Note: Where fractions of a penny have appeared in the above sales, these have been rounded up or down to the nearest penny. The difference in the sum total from the original entry amounts to 1/2 a penny.
The entries used in this table are those appearing on the Credit side of the Accounts Ledger

Source: Barbuda Island Accounts, 1779-82, MF 439, GRO.

TABLE 2.13

THE RESPECTIVE INCOMES FROM STOCK AND WRECKS AT BARBUDA
1785-1790 AND 1806-1814

Year	Income from Stock			Income from Wrecks		
	£	s	d	£	s	d
1785-6	5,463	7	0	122	0	6
1786-7	5,718	6	0	-		
1787-8	5,724	10	8	846	17	9
1788-9	4,079	9	6	68	9	2
1789-90	2,057	3	9	88	18	10
Total	23,044	0	11	1,126	6	3
1806	5,441	11	8	4,128	6	1
1807	3,648	2	0	657	9	3
1808	4,300	15	4	293	10	0
1809	3,663	11	9	5,143	2	2
1810	7,860	3	10	2,624	9	6
1811	6,487	19	1	1,714	14	0
1812	6,367	15	5	-		
1813	3,531	15	6	4,902	16	1
1814	4,542	15	1	-		
Total	45,844	9	7	19,464	7	1

Source: D1610 E16, D1610 A6/1-13, D1610 A56/4, D1610 A56/14-18,
D1610 A56/20-22. GRO

REFERENCES

1. David Lowenthal and Colin Clarke, "Slave Breeding in Barbuda: The Past of a Negro Myth." In Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences, Volume CCXCII, June, 1977, p.512.
Margaret Tweedy, "A History of Barbuda Under the Codringtons, 1738-1833". Unpublished M.Litt thesis, University of Birmingham, 1981. In terms of the content of these works, the Lowenthal and Clarke paper concentrates on one very specific feature of the slave population of Barbuda, that is, the tendency of slaves on the island to increase their numbers naturally. Tweedy's work on the other hand is a more general discussion of the history of the island under the Codringtons. While I have incorporated aspects of both these works into this study, I have endeavoured to examine in more detail the structure of the economy of Barbuda in terms of the marginality construct and how this determined the labour experiences of slaves on the island estate.
2. D1610 E23, Account of Mares, Geldings and Mules on Barbuda, 1792. D1610 C29, CBC to R. Jarritt, December 16th, 1828.
3. RP2616/32 E16 (Codrington Papers, British Library, London)
4. MF375 (GRO), Dennis Reynolds to SWC, May 5th, 1783, and April 4th, 1783. Also December 29th, 1783.
5. It appears that the submission of Barbuda Island Accounts by successive resident managers to the Codrington attorneys at Betty's Hope depended very much on the characters and record keeping skills of these managers. There are years when such Accounts seem not to have been submitted at all. As well, one manager did not necessarily retain the classification system used by his predecessor so that in some years cattle, for example, are listed as such while in others, they are divided into "oxen", "cows", "heiffers" and/or "working steers". Sheep are sometimes divided into "wedder sheep", "ewes" and "rams" while other managers preferred to use the generic term. Similarly, some managers separated "hawksbill" from "green" turtles while others did

not. In compiling the Tables that follow, I have used as broad a classification of stock animals as the data allow, although there are circumstances when the distinction between "oxen" and "cattle", for example, is worthwhile maintaining.

6. MF375 (GRO), Simon Punter to Lady Codrington, December 31st, 1742.
7. D1610 E16, An Account of all the Stock sold at Barbuda, 1746-1755.
8. CO152/57, Governor Burt to Lord Germain, November 10th, 1778.
9. D1610 C10, Richard Clarke to SWC, March 14th, 1780.
10. RP2616/20 A52.
11. MF375 (GRO), Dennis Reynolds to SWC, April 1st, 1786.
12. D1610 C20/2, CBC to SWC, September 12th, 1790.
13. D1610 C20/2, CBC to SWC, June 19th, 1790.
14. MF426 (GRO), Sketch of the Codrington Estates, 1810-11.
15. RP2616/3 C24, John James to CBC, February 17th, 1815.
16. D1610 C24, John James to CBC, April 4th, 1809.
17. RP2616/20 A52.
18. MF426 (GRO), D1610 A6, Annual Accounts, 1785-1799.
19. Ibid.
20. D1610 C10, Richard Clarke to SWC, October 10th, 1780.
The Codrington Estates at Antigua paid £990 for the *Robert* in 1795, and £400 for the sloop *Sam* in 1797 (D1610 C23. Langford Hodge to CBC, September 14th, 1815). In a letter to SWC dated October 15th, 1780, Richard Clarke refers to the loss of a small schooner "which some years ago was built at Barbuda.." (D1610 C10).
21. D1610 E17. List of Negroes on Barbuda in 1783, 1805, 1814 and 1817.
22. D1610 C24. John James to CBC, April 4th, 1809, and MF375 John Winter to CBC, November 7th, 1833.

ANGUILLA

There is unfortunately a dearth of information about the first generation of English settlement in Anguilla. Very few 17th century records survive in the government archive at the Valley and most of these relate to the period after 1670.¹ As noted in the first section of the study, what bits of information there are on the early Anguillan colonists indicate that they were subsistence tobacco farmers at a time when tobacco was beginning to decline in the Leeward Islands generally and on St. Kitts in particular from where the first Anguillans are believed to have emigrated.

Tobacco had originally been grown by the indigenous peoples of the region and was ideally suited to the early Leeward Island colonists who could cultivate it on a small scale and without a significant outlay of capital. The drive to a sugar monoculture well underway in Barbados by the 1640s only gradually spread to the Leeward Islands where the majority of inhabitants in the middle years of the 17th century were small farmers who lacked the capital, credit and entrepreneurial confidence to pour thousands of pounds into slaves, land and sugar works. Many of these obscure men were former indentured servants who established themselves as subsistence farmers after their terms of service had expired and who were only able to build up their estates in piecemeal fashion. As a result, early Leeward Island colonists for the most part tended to be overlooked by investors and by merchants who preferred to sell their African slaves and European goods to established planters in Barbados where sugar production was a proven success.

A few planters in St. Kitts started growing sugar in the late 1640s but even by the outbreak of the Second Dutch War in 1666, the majority of English acreage on the island was still divided into 10 or 12 acre tobacco farms owned by former indentured servants who did not possess any slaves.² In the decade following the Treaty of Breda in 1667, planters in the Leeward Islands generally began to turn their attention to cane

production as demand for sugar increased in Europe and as intense competition from tobacco planters in Virginia eventually destroyed that industry in the eastern Caribbean. During the 1670s, for example, as the pace of consolidation of small holdings into larger estates quickened in these Islands, at least 4,000 slaves were imported into St. Kitts, Nevis, Montserrat and Antigua where the enslaved population more than doubled in six years from 3,184 in 1672 to 8,449 in 1678.³

It is not at all clear whether any of these slaves were moved on to Anguilla as long as tobacco remained the primary crop grown on the island. A "Description of the Caribbee Islands" in 1671, for example, lists 500 "men able to bear arms" at Anguilla but no slaves while an estimate of the population of the Leeward Islands by Governor Stapleton in 1678 counted 550 whites at Anguilla but makes no mention of any slaves on the island.⁴ Indeed, one of the first pieces of documentary evidence we have of slaves working in the territory is contained in the aforementioned census of 1717 in which a total of 485 whites and 824 slaves were enumerated at Anguilla.⁵ By this time, tobacco appears to have been largely replaced by cotton at Anguilla where it was being grown on "plantations" of the sort conveyed by Abraham Howell to Thomas Rumney in 1673, and by the same to John Lake in 1684.

Some idea of the average size of these holdings appears in a certificate of conveyance received by a Thomas Connor from Abraham Howell in 1695. Connor's land was located in "the Valley Division of the above mentioned Island" and was divided into two parcels,

Ye First, bounding North with common path and Daniel Bryan, East with the land of Mrs. Ruth Howell and Richard Welch, West with the land that did formerly belong to Owin Carty, now in the possession of Mary Rowane, running South to the extent of the neighbouring plantation.

Ye Second, lying in Stony Valley at the head line of John Harrigan () North West to the other neighbouring plantations bounding () North East side with the land that did formerly belong to () now in the possession of Captain George Leonard, on the South () side with the land of Daniel Bryan, all of which land contains by estimation forty acres be it more or less, all of which land he is in possession of...⁶

While it may be overstating the case to suggest that, as in the Bahamas and the Caymans in the 1780s, a plantation culture based on cotton had developed in Anguilla at the turn of the 18th century, sufficient enough quantities of the crop were being grown by planters on the island to allow for some export, albeit on a limited scale. In a report by the Surveyor General of Barbados and the Leeward Islands to the Council of Trade and Plantations in 1712, for example,

Anguilla and Spanish Town make 50 to 60,000 ginned cotton wool per annum, the greatest part whereof is carried to St. Thomas (Danish), Statia and Saba (Dutch) where they purchase necessaries for themselves and negroes, in prejudice to the fair British traders in these parts...⁷

Also, the lists of inward-bound cargoes to Antigua contained in that island's Shipping Returns for the first two decades of the 18th century confirm that between 1704 and 1715, for example, vessels from Anguilla were unloading unspecified quantities of raw cotton and hammocks as well as livestock, provisions and occasionally tobacco and turtle (see Table 2.14).

Though it is not mentioned in the above Returns or in the Surveyor General's Report, salt was also being raked by colonists at Anguilla in the first quarter of the 18th century as it had been since the earliest days of settlement. As noted in

Section I of this study, Anguilla has several naturally occurring salt ponds in the centre and south-western parts of the island in particular where former coves have been cut off from the open sea by sand bars. As in the Bahamas, these ponds rarely dry out completely and the salt forms in a crust over the mud at the bottom of the ponds as the brine is concentrated by evaporation. References to salt production at Anguilla in the available 17th and early 18th century records are silent on the actual quantities of the crop raked by settlers and slaves on the island. In an undated memorandum concerning the Leeward Islands sent to the Board of Trade in 1773/74, however, it is noted that about 50,000 bushels of salt were produced at Anguilla that year,⁸ while in "some favourable seasons" in the early 1820s, salt was "sometimes gathered in as great a quantity as from 50 to 70 and even 100,000 Barrels of three Bushels per Barrel..." Most of the Anguillian salt crop alluded to here was sent "to various parts of America from whence they are supplied with Provisions..."⁹

The memorandum to the Board of Trade in 1773/74 also refers to "500 Bails of Cotton," to "about 500 small Hogsheads of Sugar, (and) 100 Hogsheads of Rum" manufactured annually at Anguilla.¹⁰ The cultivation of sugar at Anguilla appears to have first been undertaken around the time of the third attempt by some of the island's settlers to remove to Crab Island in 1717. The years of prolonged drought that had preceded Abraham Howell's final bid to settle at Crab Island came to a temporary end in 1720 and by 1724, a small amount of sugar was being grown on Anguilla. On July 12th that year, for example, Governor Hart of the Leeward Islands notes that the manufactures of

the islands of Anguilla, Spanish Town and Tortola... are sugar, molasses and cotton of which they produce but very small quantities and those they generally dispose of to the Dutch at St. Eustatius and the Danes at St. Thomas for what necessaries they want...¹¹

By 1743, Anguilla, Spanish Town and Tortola were reported to be producing about 1,000 hogsheads of sugar and a million lbs of cotton annually between them.¹²

That sugar was being grown at Anguilla by the second quarter of the 18th century is also confirmed in the wills of several prominent Anguillans of the period. When Deputy Governor John Richardson had his last will and testament drawn up in 1738, for instance, it was his wish that

my mill, stills, boiling house and still house with all the necessaries and utensils thereto belonging shall be and remain where they now are for the benefit of my...son and grandson and their heirs... as long as they plant canes to make rum and sugar.¹³

When William Gumbs Snr. died at Anguilla in 1749, he left his eldest son, also named William,

all my dwelling houses, outhouses and storerooms situated upon my place of residence with my coppers and mill willing that whatever products of cane are reaped from my other lands shall not be debarred of the privileges of being made of by the said coppers or mill if by these to whom underwritten it is willed shall be desired.¹⁴

We know from a conveyance of land by a Thomas Hughes to an Elizabeth Rogers in 1739 that William Gumbs Snr. owned lands at Crocus Bay,¹⁵ but he appears also to have accumulated property on nearby St. Martin where, as noted, some Anguillans had moved after their attack on that island in 1744. According to the above will, Gumbs left to his son Jacob

my land in the Dutch part of St. Martin which he now lives on, but the Negroes, mill, coppers and still to be valued and the said Jacob Gumbs shall be made equal with every child...¹⁶

When the appraisal alluded to here was finally carried out in 1754, the estimated value of the estate of William Gumbs Snr. confirms that sugar holdings at Anguilla were relatively small scale operations. Indeed, the total value of his sugar works was less than £500 (see Table 2.15), and this included two dwelling houses and estate livestock.¹⁷

Unfortunately, it is not clear from the above appraisal or from any other of his papers that have survived how much sugar on average was grown on Gumbs' lands in an average year. However, there is some indication of this for the estates of other planters on the island in 1765 contained in the *Customs Declarations for the Export of Sugar from Anguilla* that year. Thus,

I Benjamin Gumbs do swear that the following two Hogsheads of rum and eight barrels of muscovado sugar which are intended to be shipt on board the Sloop Dispatch...and bound for Georgia are of the growth, produce and manufacture of the said Benjamin Gumbs' plantation in the Parish of Spring Division in this island...(May 3rd, 1765)

I Thomas Hodge do swear that the fifteen Hogsheads of muscovado sugar which are intended to be shipt on board the Briganteen Abraham...and bound to Great Britain are the growth, produce or manufacture of said Thomas Hodge's Plantation in the Parish of the Valley Division in this island...(May 24th, 1765)

That year, Gumbs and Hodge declared at least a further 6 barrels and one hogshead of sugar respectively produced on their lands in

the Valley and Road Divisions of the island and bound for "Virginea".¹⁸

While it is the case that both Gumbs and Hodge stood to benefit from under declaring the amount of sugar they intended to export, the list of vessels' cargoes clearing Anguilla between April and July of 1787, for example, suggest that the sugar harvest at Anguilla that year was a small one, relatively speaking (see Table 2.16). Assuming the cargoes of sugar had in fact originated at Anguilla, at least 329 hogsheads had thus far been produced from the previous year's cane harvest, that is, approximately 2,940 cwt of sugar at a time when exports of the crop from St. Kitts alone, for instance, were averaging greater than 180,000 cwt per year.¹⁹

Judging from the Customs Declarations at Anguilla in 1765 and from the conveyance of land to Thomas Connor noted earlier, it seems that the "plantations" of those settlers at Anguilla who cultivated sugar in the 18th century actually consisted of separate parcels of "bottom" land in different parts of the island and from which the harvested cane was brought to a centrally located mill of the type appraised on the estate of William Gumbs Snr. in 1754. The same presumably would have held for cotton growing at Anguilla where, as on the Farquharson estate in the Bahamas, dedicated fields were set aside for the crop where the soil cover allowed and from which the picked cotton was carried to a central ginning shed to be processed either for local use or to be exported.

On a related note, it may be that the afore mentioned decline in the number of white inhabitants and the increase in number of slaves at Anguilla reflected in the Census Returns for 1720 and 1724 were in part a consequence of certain of the wealthier settlers on the island buying up those "bottom" lands in the colony best suited to the cultivation of sugar and/or cotton, that many of those Anguillans who removed to Crab Island unsuccessfully in 1717 and who then migrated to other Virgin Islands in the first half of the 18th century, were at least in part forced out by a process of estate consolidation that had

been carried out on a much larger scale in the sugar islands of the British Caribbean.

If this was in fact what happened in Anguilla as the more established settlers there switched from tobacco to cotton and sugar in the second quarter of the 18th century, it begs the question as to where planters like William Gumbs Snr. and Thomas Hodge, for example, obtained the capital to buy up parcels of land across the island, to import slaves, and to purchase the equipment to process sugar. While it is the case that the sugar works belonging to William Gumbs Snr. was worth under £500 in 1754, the value of his entire estate was set at "two thousand and twenty two pounds ten shillings current money" as he also owned 42 slaves worth £1,585, a considerable holding by marginal colony standards.²⁰

At least part of the answer to the question of source capital (though not necessarily in the particular case of William Gumbs Snr.) may lie in a tendency noted in the earlier quoted Surveyor General's Report of 1712 for some settlers at Anguilla to trade illegally with merchants at St. Thomas, Statia and Saba "where they purchase necessaries for themselves, and Negroes, in prejudice to the fair British traders in these parts."²¹ As early as 1687, a Captain George St. Loe had described in detail the success of settlers of the Leeward Islands in defrauding the royal revenue by trading with the Dutch whose ships

go to Statia to wait for the planters to send their sugar which they punctually do and not through English merchants (their creditors for some thousands) who cannot get a pound of sugar for them. Most of the islands have too many bays and inlets for Customs house officers to check the shipping off of the sugar ...Once loaded, the Dutch ships sail for Holland without paying the King a penny of duty. Brandy and wine are also smuggled into the islands from French St. Christopher...²²

More to the point, and not unlike the tendency of some settlers in the Bahamas to "sail beyond the line" when the opportunity presented itself, in 1701, Governor Christopher Codrington described Anguilla (and Spanish Town) as

an intermediate mart or repository of prohibited goods from St. Thomas and Curacao. I know two or three little scoundrels have got ten thousand pounds a man by the trade and still continue..²³

While the relatively small quantities of sugar produced by individual planters at Anguilla were ideally sized to be smuggled out of the colony, there was also a legitimate side to the carrying trade in which several settlers at the island were involved. It has already been noted, for example, that vessels from Anguilla were landing local cargoes of cotton, livestock and provisions at Antigua in the early 1700s, and that certain of the island's inhabitants were cutting dye-wood and building timber in the Virgin Islands in the 1730s. Table 2.17 illustrates that Anguillan registered vessels in the last quarter of the 19th century were also involved in bringing finished goods into the island which locally based merchants, who may also have been planters in the Belize tradition, would have then sold on to other settlers on the island.

However valuable such a trade was to individual settlers at Anguilla, it is important to bear in mind that it was one aspect of a necessarily diverse economy. As in the Bahamas, the Caymans and Barbuda, the generally poor quality of Anguillan soils and the high incidence of prolonged droughts forced settlers who opted to remain on the island to plant what they could when they could for their own subsistence and in good years, to trade any surplus for other necessities in neighbouring islands. The value of legitimate exports from Anguilla for the period between January 1787 and January 1788 (see Table 2.18) gives some indication of the diversity of the island's economy in the years preceding the earlier noted French attack in 1796 during which

most of the main settlements on the island and the entire economic enterprise of the colonists were virtually destroyed.

The invasion itself took place during one of several campaigns against British interests in the West Indies as the Revolutionary Wars intensified in Europe. The French landed 400 men at Rendezvous Bay on the south shore of Anguilla in early November 1796 and over the course of the next several weeks laid waste to the island. On November 27th, an English force brought up from Antigua attacked one of four French vessels at anchor in Sandy Hill Bay and sunk a second off St. Martin which signalled the beginning of the French retreat from Anguilla.²⁴ -

As marginal an existence as settlers on that island led before 1796, conditions in the aftermath of the French attack were such that "very many of the inhabitants...emigrated with their slaves and property" to St. Bartholomew. Those who stayed on at Anguilla had little choice but to attempt to re-establish their holdings and to do so without the aid afforded other English islands devastated in the French campaigns. Whereas "British capital in search of productive employment soon restored the losses sustained by Grenada or St. Vincent..." for example,

the small extent of Anguilla, the minute subdivision of property and the soil being subject to long droughts prevented British merchants from investing Capital necessary to give the due effect to productive industry and support it during hard Seasons.²⁵

Nonetheless, by the second decade of the 19th century, planters at Anguilla were again producing "sugar, salt, yams, potatoes, and a small quantity of cotton..." According to a report on the State and Condition of Anguilla commissioned in 1824,

the sugar in a favourable season amounts to 300 or 400 tierces of 800 lbs each; the salt under the same circumstances to 300,000 bushels, and these may be considered as almost the only articles of exportation.

At the time, provisions grown on the island were consumed locally "and the cotton is of a very trifling amount." Imports into Anguilla "are to a very small extent; a few barrels of flour and corn-meal, with the lumber indispensable for their crop and scanty repairs, constitute the whole of them."²⁶

A year earlier, less than 200 casks of sugar "of a very indifferent quality" had been produced at Anguilla,

the whole of which has not been adequate for the home consumption of a population in all of 3,080 souls 2,400 of whom are slaves.

According to the principal settlers on the island, "not three months Provisions (were) raised for the consumption of the Inhabitants and their slaves..." that year and even though upwards of 70,000 barrels of salt were raked at Anguilla in 1823, "we have no means of disposing of this salt but to the United States of America with whom it is in great request..."²⁷ but with whom the Anguillans (and British West Indian colonists generally) were prohibited from trading directly following the War of Independence.

Indeed, in this and at least two further petitions drawn up by the settlers at Anguilla in the 1820s, several requests were made of the British government to confer free port status on Anguilla to allow for the export of salt to the United States as salt had become the only real export crop of any value to the island during the closing decades of formal slavery in the British Caribbean. While a proclamation allowing for the export of salt from Anguilla in foreign vessels was eventually issued by Governor William Maxwell of St. Kitts, Nevis, Anguilla and the Virgin Islands in July of 1824,²⁸ the imposition of "a Duty of

Two Pence Sterling Money of Great Britain for each and every Barrel containing Three bushels of Salt" did little to alleviate the harshness of economic conditions at Anguilla which continued to be plagued by droughts and poor crop yields down to and beyond emancipation in 1834, circumstances that greatly impacted upon the life and labour experiences of the slave population of the colony, and the focus of the remaining sections of the study.

For the moment, however, and in conclusion, although it is the case that for a period of time modest crops of sugar were grown in Anguilla for export as well as for local consumption, the economy of the island was never monocultural. Indeed, it was the geographic marginality of the island that dictated a diversity of economic enterprises based on a range of crops, and which confirmed Anguilla as possibly the most marginal of the territories excluded from the sugar revolution in the British Caribbean.

TABLE 2.14

AN ACCOUNT OF THE IMPORTS MADE BY SUNDRY VESSELS FROM ANGUILLA
TO THIS ISLAND (ANTIGUA) BETWEEN JUNE 6TH, 1704 AND
DECEMBER 25TH, 1715.

Date	Vessel	Master	Burthen (tons)	Built	Registered	General Cargo
<u>1704</u> 12/6	Rose	Simon Rogers	10	Plantation	Nevis	Cotton wool, hammocks.
18/8	Recovery	Peter Lynch	15	Foreign	Antigua	Cotton, cocoa
<u>1706</u> 18/1	Anguilla Merit	Charles Kigan	8	Plantation	Antigua	Livestock
24/1	Lark	Samuel Skinner	35	Plantation	Bermuda	Coconuts
<u>1707</u> 22/9	Great Britain	James Atkinson	15	Plantation	Antigua	Cotton, yams
31/12	Elizabeth and Mary	Paul Rowan	14	Plantation	St. Kitts	Cotton, hammocks
<u>1708</u> 20/1	Great Britain	James Atkinson	15	Plantation	Antigua	Yams
25/3	Caesar	John Trott	28	Plantation	Antigua	Yams
4/4	Ann	John Kenny	14	Plantation	Antigua	Yams
17/5	Content	R. Richardson	10	Plantation	Antigua	Livestock, yams, hammocks
2/9	Content	R. Richardson	10	Plantation	Antigua	Hammocks, livestock
22/9	Content	R. Richardson	10	Plantation	Antigua	Hammocks, livestock

Date	Vessel	Master	Burthen (Tons)	Built	Registered	General Cargo
<u>1712</u> 26/10	Sea Flower	John Downing	2	Plantation	Nevis	Cotton, stock, hammocks
15/12	Sea Flower	William Downing	2	Plantation	Nevis	Hammocks, turtle
5/12	Elizabeth and Ann	John Kenny	15	Plantation	Antigua	Livestock
<u>1713</u> 16/3	Sea Flower	Hugh Fleming	5	Plantation	Nevis	Livestock, hammocks
<u>1714</u> 11/5	Susanna and Mary	William Downing	5	Plantation	Antigua	Hammocks, livestock, tobacco
6/7	Sea Flower	William Beal	2	Plantation	Nevis	Hammocks, livestock
<u>1715</u> 4/7	Elizabeth Sarah	John Downing	5	Plantation	Nevis	Hammocks, livestock
7/7	Content	Florentius Cox	10	Plantation	Antigua	Hammocks
17/10	Mary	Thomas Hodge	5	Plantation	Nevis	Provisions, hammocks

Note: From 1712 onwards, "Of What Place" is added to each of the Vessel Returns and with the exception of the *Elizabeth and Ann* on December 5th, 1712 and the *Content* on July 7th, 1715 which are out of Antigua, the remaining vessels are based at Anguilla.

Source: C0157/1: Shipping Returns for Antigua.

TABLE 2.15

A LIST OF THE APPRAISEMENT OF THE ESTATE OF WILLIAM GUMBS ESQ.
DECEASED THE 1ST JULY, 1754.

	£	d
1 copper and 2 furnaces	40	
2 scummers and 1 ladle old	1	10
Boiling House and 3 coolers	50	
1 still worm and kitchen worm tub	95	
Mill	80	
1 old mare	10	
1 house	10	
a white faered horse	20	
1 mare	14	
1 mare and foal	16	10
a house	100	

Negroes

	£		£
Tower Hill	50	Toney	30
Bristol	42	Fortune	15
Limbrick	33	Cudgoe	24
Venter	34	Adam	100
France	45	Scipio	70
Will	46	Jim	65
()	()	Prince	60
()	30	Old Harry	65

Negro Boys

Mathew	50	Cambridge	45
Catou	41	Peter	34
Quachey	34	Abraham	33
Amboy	33	Tony	25
Fontu	20	Trouble	15
Harry	15		

Women

Sarah	15	Harry	40
Mimboe	40	Susannah	45
Morotor	10	Bess	35
Liddy and child	60	Cubbo	40
Nan	42	Dina	40
Cattalin	12	Present	25
Bella	10	Moll	12
		Henrietta	25

Source: Appendage to the Will of William Gumbs Senior, 1748,
Anguilla Archive.

TABLE 2.16

A LIST OF VESSELS CLEARED OUTWARDS AT THE PORT OF ANGUILLA
FROM APRIL 1ST TO JULY 5TH, 1787.

Date	Vessel	Tons	Registered	Packages & Contents of Goods	Where Cleared
3/4	Two Sisters	61	Bermuda	20 pnchs rum, 9 barrels & 1 tierce sugar, 20 whole & 38 half bbls flour, 3 old anchors	Bermuda
4/4	Ranger	60	St. Kitts	5 bales cotton, 53 tierces & ditto bbls sugar	St.Kitts
11/4	Ranger	60	St. Kitts	3 bales cotton & 63 tierces of sugar	St.Kitts
23/4	Ranger	60	St. Kitts	3 bales cotton & 65 tierces of sugar	St.Kitts
24/4	Charlotte	57	Antigua	34 tierces sugar	Antigua
5/5	Ranger	60	St. Kitts	58 tierces sugar	St.Kitts
8/5	Hawke	62	Bermuda	11 hhds & 10 bbls sugar, 11 hhds rum & 100 (?) yams	Bermuda
9/5	Edward	271	Lancaster	36 hhds & 79 bbls sugar, 116 bales cotton & 2 casks indigo	Lancaster
18/5	Ranger	60	St. Kitts	55 tierces sugar	St.Kitts
29/5	Ranger	60	St. Kitts	68 tierces sugar	St.Kitts
31/5	Ally	69	St. Kitts	50 tierces sugar	St.Kitts
2/6	Eclipse	105	St. Kitts	25 (?) boards, 6 (?) staves, and 10 (?) shingles	St.Kitts
5/6	Molly	96	Lancaster	120 bales cotton, 101 hhds and 18 bbls sugar & 1 pnch rum	Lancaster
16/6	Ranger	60	St. Kitts	17 hhds & 20 bbls sugar, & 16 bales cotton	St.Kitts

Source: CO157/1: List of Vessels Cleared in the Naval Office, Anguilla Commencing the first Day of April 1787.

TABLE 2.17CLEARING BOOKS OF ST. CHRISTOPHER FOR JANUARY 12TH TO
APRIL 5TH, 1784.

Date	Vessel	Tons	Registered	General Cargo	To Where
20/1	William	30	Anguilla	9 bbls beef & pork, 4 kegs herring, 4 ferkins butter, 1 bbl rum, 1 cask porter	Anguilla
23/1	Flying Fish	25	Anguilla	60 bbls pork, 30 bbls beef, 20 bbls flour, 20 ferkins butter	Anguilla
5/2	Flying Fish	25	Anguilla	60 tierces rice	Anguilla
12/2	Flying Fish	25	Anguilla	2 crates earthenware, 10 pnchs & 20 bbls porter, 30 boxes candles, 8 trunks dry goods	Anguilla
16/2	Ranger	30	St. Kitts	10 bales oznaburges, 10 pnchs porter, 10 tierces butter, 10 trunks shoes, stockings etc.	Anguilla
20/2	Flying Fish	25	Anguilla	1 tierce & 12 bbls beef, 2 pnchs bottled liquor, 12 boxes 5 trunks 1 bbl 1 case containing dry goods, 1 chest hardware, 40 kegs jam, 11 boxes glass	Anguilla
24/2	Bumper	25	Anguilla	2,000 feet lumber	Anguilla
23/3	Agnes	15	St. Kitts	30 bbls herring, 40 boxes candles, 10 firkins butter, 40 bbls flour, 20 casks & 3 boxes dry goods	Anguilla
25/3	Copenhagen	18	Anguilla	165 barrels beef	Anguilla

Source: CO243/1: Copy from Naval Office Clearing Books for 12th January to 5th April, 1784, St. Christopher.

TABLE 2.18

THE VALUE OF EXPORTS FROM ANGUILLA TO GREAT BRITAIN BETWEEN
JANUARY 5TH, 1787 AND JANUARY 5TH, 1788.

<u>Quantity</u>		<u>Value</u>		
		£	s	d
Rum	106 (pnchs)	9	5	6
Sugar	2,129 (hhds)	3,333	7	3
Cotton	109,407 (lbs)	9,117	5	0
Indigo	301	9,716	6	0
Fustic	12	72	0	0
Mahogany	1,219	129	10	0

Note: The units of measure do not appear in the Board of Trade estimates. Those noted in () are units that have been used elsewhere in the Anguilla records. This is the first and only reference uncovered to the export of indigo, fustic and mahogany from Anguilla and it is not clear whether these were harvested on the island or brought in from other islands through trade.

Source: CO318/1. Board of Trade estimates of the exports from Anguilla from January 1787 to January 1788.

REFERENCES

1. At the time of my visit to Anguilla in April of 1999, the building which is to house the Government Archive had only just been completed at The Valley. Don Mitchell was in the process of preparing his private collection to be moved into the new building where it will form the basis of the Anguilla National Archive. Previously, responsibility for archives management has been the remit of the Head Librarian at the Anguilla Public Library. As far as he can remember, Mr. Russell Reid has never had a budget for archives but is hopeful that the new building is a sign of things to come.
2. Richard Dunn, Sugar and Slaves, pp.121-122.
3. C.S. Higham, The Development of the Leeward Islands under the Restoration, 1660-1688 (Cambridge University Press, 1920), pp.145, 154.
4. CSP 1669-74 and 1677-80, #741.
5. Anguilla Census of 1717, CO 152/12.
6. Certificate of Conveyance to Thomas Connor by Abraham Howell, 1695, Anguilla Archive. The () represent indecipherable words in the original text.
7. CSP 1711-12. Extract from the Report of the Surveyor General of Barbados and the Leeward Islands to His Majesty's Commissioners of Customs.
8. CO152/4, ff.75. Unsigned Memorandum to the Board of Trade concerning the Leeward Islands, 1773/74.
9. CO239/11. Inhabitants of Anguilla to James Colquhoun, October 25th, 1823.
10. CO152/4, ff.75. Memorandum to the Board of Trade.
11. CSP 1724-25, #260 (viii).
12. CO5/5, ff.202. Robert Dinwiddie to Newcastle. The amounts of sugar and cotton are not broken down according to island. Spanish Town is another of the Virgin Islands.
13. The Will of Governor John Richardson, 1738. Anguilla Archive.
14. The Will of William Gumbs Senior, 1748. Anguilla Archive.

15. Conveyance of Land by Thomas Hughes to Elizabeth Rogers, 1739. Anguilla Archive.
16. The Will of William Gumbs Senior. Anguilla Archive.
17. Ibid. By comparison, it cost Sir William Codrington more than £4,000 to build a new sugar works at Betty's Hope in 1780. MF426 (GRO), Copy of the Account of the New Building with a Sketch Map of the Hire of Masons, 1780.
18. Customs Declarations for the Export of Sugar at Anguilla, 1765. Anguilla Archive.
19. Richard Sheridan, Sugar and Slaves (Caribbean Universities Press, Kingston, 1974), pp.159. Regarding the calculations of sugar produced at Anguilla, the total number of tierces, barrels and hogsheads of sugar contained in the Shipping Returns (Table 2.16) was converted first to gallons, back to hogsheads and then to cwt. That is, 1 barrel was taken to measure 30 gallons, 1 hogshead 60 gallons, 1 tierce (a third of a barrel) 10 gallons. One hogshead of sugar was taken to weigh approximately 1,000 lbs and there are 112 lbs in a cwt. A total of 19,470 gallons of sugar cleared Anguilla between April and July of 1787, that is, 329 hogsheads or 2,940 cwt of sugar.
20. Appraisal of the Estate of William Gumbs Senior, 1754. Anguilla Archive.
21. Census of Anguilla, 1717, CO152/12.
22. CSP 1685-87, #1281.
23. CSP 1700-01, #997.
24. Katherine Burdon, A Handbook of St. Kitts-Nevis (The West India Committee, London, 1920), p.225.
25. CO239/11. James Colquhoun: Memorandum Relative to the Papers from Anguilla, 1822.
26. Parliamentary Papers (PP) 1826, Volume XXVI: Copy of the Report Made by the Commission sent from St. Christopher's to Anguilla to inquire into the State of the Community of the latter Island, December 1st, 1824. Held on microfilm at the University of Glasgow, Scotland.

27. C0230/11. Petition to James Colquhoun by the Inhabitants of Anguilla, October 25th, 1823.
28. C0239/10. Proclamation by Governor William Maxwell concerning the granting of free port status to Anguilla, dated July 14th, 1824.

"The man that says slaves be quite happy in slavery...is either ignorant or a lying person..." An Account of Slavery in the Marginal Colonies of the British West Indies.

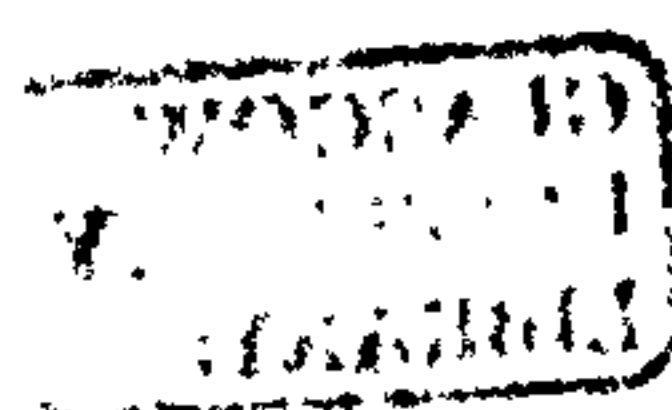
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SECTION III

SLAVE OCCUPATIONS IN THE MARGINAL COLONIES

Having considered the settlement and economic structures of the marginal economies in each of the Bahamas, Cayman, Belize, Barbuda and Anguilla, the aim here is to examine exactly what these slaves were doing on a day to day basis on holdings in the marginal colonies of the BWI on the assumption that slave experiences were determined significantly by the nature of the work regime of the particular type of holding on which the slaves themselves were deployed. As Robert Fogel (1989) and Mark Smith (1998) have suggested for slaves on the American mainland, the slave experience of British West Indian bondsmen and women was both geographically and crop specific.¹ The context for the discussion here remains that of the labour experiences of West Indian slaves employed on sugar plantations in the region.

In terms of the format of this section of the study, there are some preliminary observations about the work of slaves in the BWI as a whole which incorporate brief analyses of the hierarchy of slaves on sugar estates in the West Indies, their hours of work and the seasonal demands placed upon them, and the occupational allocation of slaves in the BWI. A detailed analysis of the occupations and labour routines of slaves in each of the marginal colonies will follow.

Firstly, a note on source materials. The most comprehensive data available on the occupational distribution of the Caribbean slave population as a whole are those generated as a by-product of the financial compensation paid to slaveowners at emancipation in 1834. Among the most inclusive sources of data on the demographic features of that population are those contained in the Returns produced as a result of the registration of slaves by their individual owners in most British West Indian colonies during the last decades of formal slavery in the region, a

legislated process that was intended to identify slaves brought to the West Indies in the illegal Atlantic slave trade that continued after British abolition in 1807.

The first Order in Council in Parliament to require the registration of slaves in a British West Indian colony was drafted for Trinidad in 1812, although the campaign for general registration was delayed until 1815 while the legislative assemblies in the colonies themselves voiced objections to what they regarded as Parliamentary interference in their internal affairs. Thus Jamaica and Barbados passed Slave Registration Acts in 1816 and the other colonies in 1817 while the Bahamas delayed until 1821, Anguilla until 1827 and the Caymans and Belize until 1834. Barbuda was recognised as an adjunct to the Codrington estates on Antigua and the Act for that island passed in 1817.²

The main purpose of the compensation data¹ was to classify the slaves belonging to individual owners in each colony and the classification in turn was used to value their slaves on the average prices paid for them between 1823 and 1830. Generally, West Indian slaves were classified after an inspection tour by Assistant Commissioners of Compensation, except in the Bahamas where in order to avoid the cost of visiting the scattered islands on the archipelago, the occupations listed in the Slave Registration Returns of July 1834 were used. In the case of the Caymans which were never visited by the Commissioners and thereby excluded from the formal process, a Jamaican attorney named James Minot undertook the registration of the islands' slaves at the behest of the Governor of Jamaica in April of 1834. Minot also completed a Return of all the sales of slaves carried out in the Caymans between January 1st and December 1st, 1830.

While it is the case that there are shortcomings with the information contained in the Returns of Registration and of Compensation,³ for all their inadequacies and variations, they remain invaluable to any research concerned with the occupational and demographic experiences of West Indian slave populations. Indeed, they have been used extensively by historians examining those experiences for slaves in the sugar colonies of the region.

Clearly, and as far as the marginal colonies themselves are concerned, there are other sources of information available and where practical, information contained, for instance, in Colonial Office correspondence, in travellers' diaries and in surviving estate journals for at least three of the marginal colonies are to be used to complement the data contained in the Returns. The overall aim is both to describe and account for the labour experiences of slaves in the marginal colonies of the BWI during the 18th and 19th centuries on the premise that it was normally the nature of local work (that is, the type and variety of crops produced together with the topography of the land on which they were grown) that more than anything else determined the nature of a slave's experience in a colony.⁴

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE WORK OF SLAVES IN THE BWI

As we consider briefly the work of slaves in the British Caribbean, it is important to bear in mind that the vast majority of bondsmen and women in the region were employed in *rural* activities. The shift from diversified agriculture to a sugar monoculture, from production on small farms to large plantations, from sparse to dense settlements, and from free to slave labour which characterized the "sugar revolution" in the 17th and early 18th centuries ensured that of a total of 663,760 slaves enumerated in the BWI as a whole in 1834 (see Table 3.1), 85% of these slaves were listed as *praedial slaves*, that is, those employed in agriculture and/or the extraction of other produce from the land. Significantly for this study, such a primarily rural focus of the enslaved population of the BWI was also reflected in the occupational data collected for the marginal colonies where, with the possible exceptions of Nassau and Belize Town, urban areas in these territories contained relatively small proportions of their enslaved populations. Indeed, only 15% of the 985 slaves recorded in Minot's Returns in 1834 lived and worked in George Town, Barbuda had no urban centre to speak of,

while in Anguilla, 90% of the 2,260 slaves listed in 1834 worked on small agricultural holdings outside The Valley.⁵

The data collected in 1834 for compensation and registration purposes for the majority of colonies in the British Caribbean also reveals that the differences among the sugar colonies in terms of the distribution of their respective slave populations between occupations were surprisingly slight. Even the marginal colonies do not appear to deviate markedly from the norm with the exception of Belize owing to that territory's unique concentration on woodcutting, the almost complete urban focus of its female slave population, and as suggested in Section II, because plantation agriculture was prohibited in the Settlement. At the colony level then, the similarities in occupational structure were more striking generally than the differences and given the overall aims of this section of the study, it is appropriate to now describe both the nature of the work performed by, and the physical demands placed upon, slaves on different types of rural holding in the British Caribbean generally.

Field Slaves

These slaves were the backbone of virtually every type of rural enterprise in the British West Indies. In 1834, they accounted for about 60% of the slave population (see Table 3.1). Field slaves living on sugar estates in the Caribbean were generally divided into 3 or sometimes 4 gangs depending on their age and strength, and the tasks assigned to each gang was graded accordingly. Only a brief description of the field gangs will be attempted here as the marginal colonies for the most part were made up of relatively small holdings and tended not to employ the gang system to the degree it was used on large sugar plantations in the British Caribbean. At the same time, it is a useful benchmark against which to compare the nature of the work performed by slaves in these marginal colonies as well as the physical demands placed upon them by their owners.

On sugar estates, *first gang* slaves were required to prepare the soil, plant and manure the canes, cut them when they were mature, and to perform manual labour in the mill during crop season. In most colonies, cane land was prepared for planting by the digging of cane holes approximately 4 to 5 feet square to a depth of 6 to 12 inches. The holes were intended to shelter infant cane plants from the wind and from water erosion, and to concentrate fertilizer when it was applied.⁶ Describing the holing of a cane piece in St. Kitts in the early 19th century, James Stephen (1802) noted that

the slaves of both sexes, from twenty, perhaps to fourscore in number are drawn out in a line, like troops on a parade, each with a hoe in his hand, and close to them in the rear is stationed a driver, or several drivers, in number duly proportioned to that of the gang.

Wielding a cart whip, the drivers urged the holers forward so that the line worked in equal time and with equal effect. There was "no breathing time, no resting on the hoe, no pause of languor" allowed to individual slaves.⁷

Cane-holing was generally regarded as the heaviest work required of field slaves on sugar estates in the Caribbean where pressure on the first gang was increased by the fact that the task often overlapped with the reaping of the previous years' crop. On most planting estates in the BWI, some attempt to reduce the overlap was made by having one half of the new cane land holed by so called "jobbing gangs", although this meant that slaves belonging to the jobbers were regularly employed in the heaviest work on the estates.

The work involved in planting and manuring was relatively lighter than cane-holing and was often shared by the second and third field gangs. The planting of between 350 and 400 canes by a single slave was regarded as a day's task while dung was either carried to the fields in baskets from the estate cattle pens or

livestock were simply penned on the holed land to provide a random spread of manure.

During crop season, first gang field slaves were required to cut the mature cane using a bill or cutlass, to assist the carters in transporting it to the mill, and to perform a variety of manual tasks in the sugar factory itself where they made up most of the firemen and mill feeders. It was not unusual during crop season, particularly on large estates, for a field slave in the first gang to cut cane during the day and perform manual labour in the mill at night.⁸

Most of the *second gang* slaves on sugar estates in the West Indies were adolescents who performed a variety of lighter field tasks. Using hoes and cutlasses, they were required to mold, weed, "trash" and "clean" the canes, the effort involved again varying with the stiffness of the soil. On some estates, they planted food crops and carried manure to the cane fields, often in baskets on their heads which in Barbados, for example, reportedly weighed 80 lbs each.⁹ During the crop season, second gang slaves removed trash from the cane fields for use as fuel in the factory complex where they were also expected to carry crushed cane stalks to the trash house, to dry them and eventually to take them to the furnaces.¹⁰

The *third gang* comprised mostly children and their tasks overlapped with those of the second gang. On large plantations where such a gang was distinguished from the second, it was assigned the specific task of gathering grass for the estate livestock and carrying it to the pens.

As well as the field gangs proper, other estate slaves were employed in carrying drinking water for the field labourers and cooking their food as well as minding the children of mothers assigned to the field gangs. Slaves generally were also employed in labouring tasks other than those relating to the cultivation and processing of crops. Most of these were done out of crop season and involved building stone wall boundaries under the direction of estate masons, cutting wood for the construction

and/or repair of estate buildings, and maintaining both estate and public roads.¹¹

Domestics

After field slaves, domestics made up the second most numerous occupational category of slave populations in the British Caribbean, that is, about 10% of slaves employed on rural and urban holdings during the Registration period (see Table 3.1). Domestics were employed in providing personal service to their owners and/or to other free supervisory people on an estate. On large plantations, they worked almost entirely within the great house complex and rarely had dual occupations that involved work in the fields or in the factory. Indeed, demotion to such duties was usually regarded by their owners and by domestic slaves themselves as a most serious form of punishment.

Domestic slaves provided a wide range of productive functions on plantations in the BWI. They made bread and butter as well as beds, and female domestics in particular were sometimes also expected to provide sexual services for their owners. The Registration Returns filed by slaveowners after 1815 distinguished only a small number of specialist domestics of whom cooks and washerwomen were by far the most numerous on rural holdings. Butlers, footmen and housekeepers were comparatively rare on plantations in the BWI while nurses attended the free children of their owners in the great house. Domestic slaves were sometimes appointed to wait on free overseers and on estate managers, and occasionally on slave drivers.

There is little doubt that the tasks performed by domestic slaves in the BWI were less physically demanding than those of field slaves but any assessment of the degree of difficulty of their work must take into account that the domestic slave in the British Caribbean was subject to a more constant, often brutal supervision than field slaves generally as they worked directly under the eye of a master or mistress.¹² In the event that the

latter suspected sexual improprieties between her husband and a domestic slave in her charge, generally poor treatment of a such a slave by her mistress was often made far worse.

Skilled Tradespeople

The most common skilled slaves on rural plantations were carpenters, coopers and masons. The sugar estates of the British Caribbean also employed specialist rum distillers and sugar boilers, although these slaves often worked as field labourers out of crop. As a group, "tradesmen" made up just over 5% of registered slaves in 1834 (see Table 3.1), although the proportion of skilled tradespeople was larger on sugar plantations than on other types of rural enterprise because of the importance of their manufacturing functions and because of the scale of operations involved. That said, there is no clear relationship between the proportion of skilled slaves and slaveholding size as many of the smaller units in the Caribbean employed at least one or two specialist tradesmen.

Carpenters and masons were largely responsible for constructing and maintaining the sugar factory buildings, great houses, workshops, hospitals, livestock pens, bridges, aqueducts and walls found on most large plantations in the region. They sometimes built slave houses or barracks, carts and boats for estate use, as well as functional pieces of furniture. The work of slave coopers on large holdings in the Caribbean was even more specialised as they were confined to making casks for sugar, rum, molasses, coffee and other produce.

Drivers and transport workers were also included among the ranks of the skilled slaves on rural holdings in the BWI. Drivers were the non-labouring slaves on an estate who directly supervised the field slaves to ensure they kept up a certain rate of labour and performed their tasks in an acceptable manner to "massa", although they were not widely used on small agricultural holdings where the owners themselves or their white overseers performed most of the supervision directly.¹³ Generally speaking,

on rural holdings of more than 50 slaves, a small proportion of bondsmen were also employed as specialist transport workers, that is, they moved goods within the boundaries of the plantation and carried produce and imported supplies to and from the wharves.

Hours of Work and Seasonal Demands

Most slaves in the West Indies were forced to work set hours, although the actual number of hours a slave spent at work on any given day varied according to his/her occupation as well as to the pattern of work organization and the seasonal demands of the holding on which he/she was employed.

Generally, slaves worked from sunrise to sunset but these were flexible limits, particularly during the crop season. At one extreme, sugar factories in Jamaica and in some of the Leeward Islands operated around the clock for 6 days in the week during crop time. Here the slaves were organized according to system of "spells". In the "long spell" practiced in Jamaica until the 1830s, slaves in the mills worked from midday until about 4:30 a.m the next morning when they had a break for 2 hours. They then worked until dark and were turned out again at daylight the following day. This system meant periods of up to 30 hours of continuous labour for male and female alike with a total of 96 hours of actual work time in a 6 day week.¹⁴

The "double spell" system of work was in fact more common in Jamaica than the long spell. As described by James Wildman (1832) before the Select Committee on the Extinction of Slavery, the double spell was

the alteration of 12 (hours) out of 24, and 18 out of the 24 that the slave on the estate, who works from sunrise to sunset, goes to the boiling house at 6, and continues till 12 on Monday night; he then goes off, performs his usual day's work on Tuesday, is all Tuesday night in bed, and then on Wednesday night, after his field labour, he comes on at 12 o'clock and

works 18 hours in that 24, so that is an alteration of 12 hours and 18 hours of every four and twenty during crop.¹⁵

While the double spell system did limit the period of continuous labour to 18 hours, it still meant 3 night shifts and a total work time of 90 hours in a 6 day week. Whichever spell system was used on an estate, it continued throughout the crop season, that is, for up to 6 months a year.

In those colonies such as Barbados and Antigua where sugar factories rarely worked around the clock, most slaves finished work by about 9 p.m in the crop season. The outer limits of a slaves's day in such colonies were 5 a.m and 10 p.m, although allowing for meal breaks, the average slave worked at least 75 hours in a 6 day week.

Generally, the length of the crop season depended on the amount of cane to be processed, the efficiency of the factory's technology, and on weather conditions which not only affected the cane yield but also interrupted cutting and milling operations. The sugar harvest in the British Caribbean generally took place between January and June. On small estates, and in drought years, the crop was often completed by May but where the cane yield was heavy and/or cutting was interrupted by rain, it might continue into July. On most of the islands in which it was grown, cotton was usually harvested in the first half of the year.

Out of crop, field slaves typically worked 12 hours a day in Jamaica and 10 hours a day in most of the British colonies in the eastern Caribbean apart from Barbados where it was closer to 9 hours. As during crop time, hours of work also varied for individual slaves out of crop. The hours described above applied generally to the first and second field gangs and to other able manual labourers on the sugar estates. Mothers and children at the breast were allowed to turn out two or three hours later than the 5 a.m start expected of the main body of gang labourers. Children employed in the third gang also tended to work shorter hours. It is likely that the hours of skilled slaves out of crop

were also less than those of field slaves, although there is little evidence to support this. Mechanics in the Bahamas in the 1820s, for example, were said to work an average of 8 or 9 hours a day but it is not clear how typical this was of Caribbean slave colonies in general or whether this pattern was confined to the marginal colonies of the region. The number of hours that field labourers in these colonies were expected to work is also uncertain, but it is likely that they were at the very least similar to those of slaves on sugar estates out of crop.

As a final point on the general working hours of rural slaves in the British Caribbean, by the end of the 18th century, most slaves in the West Indies were not required to perform labour for their owners on Sundays or over the Christmas holidays. The custom in most colonies was to give the slaves from 2 to 4 days off at Christmas while some owners also gave Good Friday and Easter Monday as well. Where they were required under the provision ground system to produce much of their own food, slaves were usually granted more "free" days than in those colonies where the slaveowners distributed regular allowances. Even then, the days were "free" only in the sense that the slaves were not required to work in gangs under the driver's lash. As well, a small number of additional days each year were lost to West Indian planters through bad weather.

In summary, while it is difficult to make precise statements about the number of hours worked by slaves in the British Caribbean, what is clear is that rural slave labour across the colonies placed heavy physical demands on the slaves themselves, particularly during the crop season but also out of crop when the land had to be prepared and maintenance on the estate buildings and roads had to be carried out.

Occupational Allocation

The heaviness of rural labour depended not only on the nature and duration of the tasks required of slaves on the estates of the West Indies, but also on the strength of those slaves allocated to particular occupations.

The general principles used by slaveowners in determining the occupational allocation of their slaves on rural holdings were fairly standard throughout the British Caribbean. Thus, females were generally excluded from skilled trades other than sewing and they rarely worked in fishing or transportation while males were excluded only from washing and sewing. Colour was less exclusive than sex, but generally coloured males were allocated either to skilled trades or domestic work while coloured females were assigned mainly to domestic occupations.* Ethnic origin was only of minor significance. Within this framework, occupational allocation also depended on age. Children between 5 and 12 years old generally worked in the third gang where they served their labouring apprenticeship while the second gang comprised children and adolescents aged between 12 and 18 years, mothers of suckling children, and weak or infirm adults most of whom were over 40 years of age. The first gang was made up of the strongest slaves between 18 and 45 years old. Domestics began work at an early age while skilled tradespeople, transport workers and fishermen were usually drafted from the field gangs and domestics during their teens. Drivers only gradually emerged from the first gang and most of them not until they were over 35 years of age.

To return to Barry Higman's (1984) phase of settlement typology noted in the Introduction to this study, in third phase colonies such as Trinidad and St. Lucia, for example, field labour accounted for the majority of rural slaves between the ages of 10 and 60 years while in Barbados, slaves tended to enter (and leave) the fields at earlier ages; more than 40% of Barbadian slaves in 1817 were in the field by age 9 and more than 70% by age 14. As well in the sugar colonies, a larger proportion of females than males over 20 years old worked in the fields

until they were about 50 years of age. Such a concentration of females in field labour does not necessarily mean that they outnumbered males in the field gangs in absolute terms. Where the sex ratio (that is, male to female) was relatively high as in third phase sugar colonies, males continued to dominate the field labour force. Where the sex ratio was low, as in Jamaica, females did attain a numerical superiority in field gangs after 1807. The important point to bear in mind, however, is that females were always over-represented in the field gangs of the British Caribbean as a proportion of the total slave population.

Females also dominated among house slaves in rural slave populations. In general, 70% of rural domestics were females. In third phase sugar colonies such as Trinidad, a large proportion of domestics were young (that is, between 10 and 14 years) but this was a result of a tendency for many young slaves in these colonies to spend a few years in domestic work before being drafted into field work or into the skilled trades.

The skilled trades were the near exclusive preserve of male slaves. While they tended to be quite young, skilled male slaves were older than male field labourers and domestics, and they increased as a proportion of the slave population with age. Skilled slaves were usually drawn from the field gangs as they entered their late teens and normally served a lengthy period of apprenticeship.

It seems that birthplace was the least significant of the demographic factors determining occupational allocation, and it is the reason that such considerations are largely omitted from this study. Thus, while planters did generally regard Creole slaves (that is, those born in the West Indies) as more "intelligent" than African born slaves, this was felt to give them an advantage only in the skilled trades. In other occupations, however, birthplace seems not to have mattered in terms of the allocation of slaves to particular tasks on rural holdings in the British Caribbean.¹⁶

TABLE 3.1

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF SLAVES IN THE BWI, 1834

Category	Total
<i>Praedial Attached</i>	
Head People	25,646
Tradesmen	18,732
Inferior Tradesmen	5,997
Field Labourers	239,775
Inferior Field Labourers	131,625
<i>Praedial Unattached</i>	
Head People	1,771
Tradesmen	1,640
Inferior Tradesmen	642
Field Labourers	22,094
Inferior Field Labourers	10,670
<i>Non Praedial</i>	
Head Tradesmen	4,142
Inferior Tradesmen	2,430
Head People on wharves, shipping, etc.	3,317
Inferior People on wharves, shipping, etc.	3,921
Head Domestic Servants	29,134
Inferior Domestic Servants	40,585
<i>Other</i>	
Children under 6 years of age	90,580
Aged, Diseased, Non-effective	29,984
Runaways	1,075
Total	663,760

Note: These figures are taken from the Compensation Returns filed by the Assistant Commissioners of Compensation in 1834. No classification was made for the Cayman Islands.

Source: T.71/851. Quoted in Barry Higman, Slave Populations of the British Caribbean (Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1984), p.551.

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1. Robert Fogel, Without Consent or Contract: The Rise and Fall of American Slavery (W.W. Norton and Co., New York, (1989), p.41, and Mark Smith, Debating Slavery: Economy and Society in the Antebellum South (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1998), p.43.
2. Barry Higman, Slave Populations of the British Caribbean, pp.6-11.
3. As the Registration Returns were essentially the creation of separate colonial Acts, the data and the format in which it was recorded vary quite widely from one colony to the next. Further variations relate to differences between slaveowners in terms of the amount of information they volunteered within the limits imposed by the Acts. Higman maintains that such variations often resulted from the ignorance of the slaveowners themselves and/or their slave informants, and that there is little evidence of any deliberate and systematic distortion of the data.
4. James Walvin, Questioning Slavery (Routledge, London, 1996) p.14.
5. Higman, Slave Populations, pp.64-66.
6. Richard Sheridan, Doctors and Slaves (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1985), p.149
7. James Stephen, The Crisis of the Sugar Colonies (London, 1802), pp.10-11.
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9. Sheridan, Doctors and Slaves, p.150.
10. Higman, Slave Populations, pp.166-67.
11. Ibid., pp.158-68.
12. Ibid., pp.172-73.
13. Ibid., pp.168-69.
14. Ibid., pp.182-83.

15. PP 1831-32 XX (721). Report from the Select Committee on the Extinction of Slavery throughout the British Dominions. With Minutes of Evidence, Appendix and Index. Evidence of James Wildman, pp.523-25.
16. Higman, Slave Populations, pp.178-99.

THE WORK OF SLAVES IN THE MARGINAL COLONIES

THE BAHAMAS

To reiterate a point made in the Introduction to the study, as we consider the work of slaves in the marginal colonies of the BWI, it is important to bear in mind that the Bahamas in many respects was the archetypical "marginal" colony against which the labour experiences of slaves in the four remaining marginal territories are to be compared and where appropriate, contrasted. It is also the case that to a greater degree than in the Caymans, Belize, Barbuda or Anguilla, an analysis of the work of slaves in the Bahamas is complicated by the fact that at any given time, the slave population of the colony was distributed over several islands at different stages of economic development. In Section II of the study, a distinction was drawn between the Agricultural and Salt islands of the Bahamas in the aftermath of the arrival of American Loyalists and their slaves in the late 18th century and it is a distinction that is to be maintained as slave occupations in the Bahamas are described in more detail in this section of the study. As these are considered, it is necessary also to have some idea of how the slave population of the Bahamas was in fact distributed across the islands of the colony during the period, that is, between the arrival of the Loyalists in 1785 and full emancipation in 1834.

Fortunately for this study, a detailed if incomplete population census was carried out in the Bahamas in 1810 (see Table 3.2) and provides a relatively clear picture of the distribution of all sections of the population (slave and free) across the islands of the archipelago at the time cotton was going into decline, a distribution which to some extent also reflects the location of the cotton plantations themselves. By 1810, it is clear from Table 3.3 that about one third of the total population of the Bahamas lived on New Providence. Of a total of 6,084 persons on the island, there were 3,190 slaves, 1,820 whites and 1,074 non-white free persons counted in the

census. By the end of the first decade of the 19th century, slaves thus made up about 52% of the New Providence population and outnumbered by 5 to 3 whites on the island. On the other hand, only about 28% of all Bahamian slaves listed in 1810 (3,186 of 11,477) lived on New Providence compared to 43% (1,820 of 4,232) of Bahamian whites.

The only other islands in the archipelago with a comparable balance of population to New Providence were the Turks Islands where of a total of 1,935 persons enumerated in 1810, 68% (1,308 persons) were slaves and 28% (540 persons) were whites. As noted in Section II, by the time the census was carried out in 1810, the remaining Out Islands of the Bahamas had become separable into the old established islands, with a relatively high proportion of whites and comparatively few free coloureds and blacks, and those islands settled mostly by Loyalists after 1785 where black slaves heavily outnumbered both whites and non-white freemen. Thus Eleuthera, Harbour Island and Abaco together contained just under 1,800 slaves and some 1,500 whites, or 52% and 44% respectively of the total population of the old established islands. Those Out Islands settled by Loyalists after the American Revolution (that is, the Exumas, Cat Island, Long and Ragged Islands, San Salvador, Rum Cay, Andros, Crooked and Acklin's Islands, Inagua and the Caicos Islands) contained approximately 45% of the total number of slaves (5,192 of 11,477) in the Bahamas in 1810 with only 385 whites and 240 non-white freemen. Slaves thus accounted for about 89% of the population of the newly settled Out Islands and whites only 8%. Put another way, by 1810, slaves in these islands outnumbered whites by 13 to 1 while the ratio in the old established islands was about 1 and 1/2 slaves to each white.¹

As noted above, the census carried out in 1810 marked something of a watershed in the economic history of the Bahamas generally. By the end of the first decade of the 19th century, cotton was in decline and those Loyalist planters in the archipelago who elected to stay on their estates were in the process of turning their lands over to more diversified forms of

agriculture. Notwithstanding those Bahamian slaves who were either manumitted or re-exported to other British colonies as a direct consequence of the shift away from monoculture in the Out Islands of the archipelago,² it is possible to examine the extent to which the decline in cotton impacted upon the general distribution of Bahamian slaves after 1810 by examining the colony's Slave Registration Returns filed for 1822, 1825, 1828, 1831, and 1834.³

The total number of slaves in the Bahamas for each of these years and their distribution across the islands of the archipelago are illustrated in Table 3.3. Over the registration period, New Providence was home to approximately 25% of Bahamian slaves, down only slightly on the figure for 1810 (28%). The old established islands of Eleuthera, Harbour Island and Abaco accounted for 20% of Bahamian slaves registered between 1822 and 1834, up 4% on the figure for 1810. Relatively speaking, the most pronounced shift in the slave population of the Bahamas across the Registration period seems to have occurred for the newly settled islands where, reflecting the decay of the plantations, on average 7% fewer slaves per triennial year than those enumerated in 1810 were counted in those islands between 1822 and 1834.

Given that the total number of slaves in the Bahamas remained relatively stable across the registration period (that is, averaging between nine and ten thousand enumerated slaves per triennial year), it seems from Tables 3.2 and 3.3 that the decline in cotton underway by the end of the first decade of the 19th century did not lead to statistically significant shifts in the distribution of slaves across the islands of the archipelago. To be sure, individual islands such as the Exumas, San Salvador and Crooked and Acklin's Islands lost several hundred slaves between them after 1810 but generally, the distribution of slaves appears to have remained fairly constant as planters in the Out Islands switched from cotton to more diversified forms of agricultural production. In simple terms, New Providence and the old established islands could only absorb

a relatively fixed number of surplus Out Island slaves and, as we shall see in Section IV of the study that deals with the lifeways of Bahamian slaves themselves, it often proved difficult for slaveowners in the Out Islands to encourage their bondsmen to move between family estates on the same island never mind to move them to another island altogether. As the occupations of slaves in the Bahamas are considered in more detail shortly, it will also become clear that the decline in cotton had a more pronounced effect on what activities Bahamian slaves engaged in on a day to day basis than on their general distribution through the islands of the archipelago, suggesting perhaps that in the long-term, and unlike sugar, cotton was never a powerful enough force to shape slave use decisively

As far as the size and number of slave holdings in the Bahamas is concerned, these are represented for 1834 in Table 3.4 which illustrates that Bahamian slave holdings were generally of modest size compared with those in the sugar colonies of the region. By 1834, there were altogether only 24 Bahamian holdings of more than 50 slaves which accounted for just over 25% of the colony's total slave population compared, for example, with the 75% of bondsmen who lived on holdings of a similar size in Jamaica.⁴ From Table 3.4, there were only 9 Bahamian holdings of more than 100 slaves in 1834 and of these, only 3 counted more than 150 slaves each, that is, these units accounted for less than 1% of the enslaved population of the Bahamas. In Jamaica in 1832, almost 50% of that island's bondsmen were held in units of more than 150 slaves.⁵ At the other end of the scale, 48% of all Bahamian slaves in 1834 (4,834 of 9,989) were found in 402 holdings of between 6 and 30 slaves with another 1,904 (19%) spread across 238 units of between 6 and 10 slaves each.

The remaining 1,420 bondsmen listed in Table 3.4 were registered in groups of 5 or fewer (14% of the total) and were divided into 710 holdings averaging just 2 slaves each. These holdings were found in all the islands of the archipelago but were concentrated on the old established islands where most of the slaves in these units were probably domestics. Most of the

larger groups of slaves in the Bahamas (that is, those in units of 6 to 10 and higher) were found in the newly settled islands. Of 9,989 slaves listed in the Return of 1834, for instance, 4,470 of these worked on 769 holdings in New Providence, Eleuthera, Harbour Island and Abaco, an average of about 6 slaves per unit, whereas in the remaining islands, 5,519 bondsmen were divided across only 389 holdings, an average of 14 slaves per unit.

As a final point on the general distribution of the Bahamian slave population, the Registration Returns recognised 7 slave work categories apart from the "None" that designated slave children under 6 years of age and/or slaves too old or too sick to work, and the small categories of "Sundry" and "Unknown". The 7 work categories appear in Table 3.5 which also illustrates the average age of domestics, field labourers, mariners, salt labourers, drivers and overseers, nurses and midwives, and craftsmen in the Bahamas as a whole in 1834. Taken together with Tables 3.6 and 3.7 which illustrate the occupational distribution of slaves in the Agricultural Islands of the Bahamas by sex and colour in 1834, it is possible at this point in the study to begin to examine both the occupational allocation and the specific tasks of slaves in the Bahamas as they reflected the traditional hierarchy of slaves in the British Caribbean, that is, to examine bondsmen in the Bahamas as field slaves, as domestics and as skilled tradespeople.

From the data contained in the above Tables, it appears that slaveowners in the Bahamas generally used the same principles as their counterparts in the sugar colonies of the region to define the occupational allocation of their *field slaves*. In 1834, and as per Table 3.5, just under 50% of slaves in the Bahamas for whom an occupation was listed that year (3,500 of 7,468) were registered as field slaves. While the figure is below the 60% of slaves so registered for the BWI as a whole in 1834, field labour in the islands of the archipelago accounted for the majority of rural slaves between the ages of 10 and 60 years. Approximately 40% of slave children for whom an occupation is listed in Table 3.5 (368 of 903) were in the fields by the age of 10 while the

fact that nearly 64% of slaves over 60 years were still in the fields at that age suggests that in the Bahamas, as in the marginal colonies generally, there were few alternative occupational opportunities for aging labourers.

There was also little difference in the concentration of males and females in field work in the Bahamas as a whole where the sex ratio was low.⁶ To preserve the economic distinction noted earlier, female slaves held only a very small numerical superiority in the fields over male slaves in the Agricultural Islands (see Table 3.6) and were only slightly outnumbered by males on such holdings in the Salt Islands. Given that salt work was more significant as an occupation in the Bahamas than in the sugar islands where it rarely appeared as an occupational category, if salt workers are included as field slaves, however, male slaves in the Bahamas by 1834 (2,094 in total) outnumbered their female counterparts (1,949) in this occupational category, but only slightly, that is, by less than 4%.

More than sex, colour seems to have been at least as significant as age in determining which slaves were sent to the fields in the Bahamas. In both the Agricultural and Salt Islands, coloured slaves ("Mulatto" in Tables 3.6 and 3.7) were less likely than blacks to end up in the fields and/or the salt pans. As in the sugar colonies of the BWI generally, field slaves in the Bahamas were most often black, particularly in the Salt Islands where male bondsmen dominated in the salt industry. Here, coloured males were least often to be found employed in the ponds followed by coloured females, black females and black males (see Table 3.7).

In terms of the specific tasks of field slaves in the Bahamas, Loyalist slaves in the Out Islands of the archipelago would have been worked hard by their owners to clear the land for cotton plantations and thereafter have been subjected to an estate regime at least as demanding as they had known on the American mainland but arguably less so than that experienced by their contemporaries in the sugar colonies of the British Caribbean. During the planting period on the largest estates,

Bahamian cotton slaves were loosely organised into gangs or teams of labourers who, like those slaves observed holing a cane piece in St. Kitts by James Stephen in 1802, moved through the cotton fields in procession. A typical planting gang consisted of 5 types of hands led by plowmen and harrowers who ridged and broke up the clods of earth in the cotton piece. These were followed by drillers/holers who dug the cotton holes at prescribed intervals into which droppers planted seeds. Finally, rakers covered up the holes. On smaller holdings in the Bahamas, and as we shall see in the specific case of the Farquharson slaves on San Salvador, there was a doubling-up of tasks during the planting process which continued into the period of cultivation when field hands were generally divided into two groups, that is, into a hoe gang and a plow gang. The hoe hands were first into the cotton piece where they chopped out the weeds and pruned the excessive sprouts of the cotton plants. The plow hands followed behind tilling the soil near the rows of cotton plants and then tossing it back around the base of the cotton bushes. At each stage of the planting and cultivation of cotton, where they were employed, drivers and/or overseers moved back and forth between the gangs of field slaves inspecting the quality of their work and prodding each to keep pace with the other.⁷ On family-sized holdings (that is, units employing between 6 and 10 slaves), this task was more likely to have been undertaken directly by the owners themselves. At harvest time, cotton growers in the Bahamas usually assigned all of his/her field hands to picking and cleaning the cotton, tasks that while tedious did not involve the intensity of effort required of slaves engaged in the virtual year-round gang labour of sugar production.

At the same time, however, it should be remembered that cotton production under Bahamian conditions was always hard work for the slaves, particularly as the yield per acre under cultivation began to decline in the late 1790s. The poor quality of Bahamian soils and the widespread prevalence of the chenille bug meant that the density and productivity of cotton bushes on the majority of Out Island plantations was usually low, a

circumstance that would have forced field slaves on these estates to cover an increasing area in order to meet production targets. Also, the preference of Bahamian planters for long staple Anguilla cotton that grew all year round meant an almost continuous season with one harvest in February and another in early summer. Indeed, at peak production in the early 1790s when about 450 tons of cotton were being harvested from 12,000 or so acres, there may have been up to 3,000 slaves in all working the islands' cotton fields for 9 months in the year with the most monocultural of estates employing up to two thirds of their labour force either in the fields or at the ginning sheds.⁸

As cotton declined into the 19th century (there were virtually no pure cotton plantations left in the Bahamas by 1810), planters wishing to avoid the collapse of their estates were forced to diversify into salt production, stock raising and/or growing provisions to supply local markets and those in Nassau. The extent to which this diversification had taken place on the various islands of the archipelago by 1832 has already been noted. What remains to be considered here is the manner in which estate owners on these diversified holdings deployed their slaves over the course of any given year, a task greatly facilitated by the contents of a journal relating to the operation of an estate belonging to the afore mentioned Charles Farquharson of San Salvador Island and covering the period between January 1831 and December 1832.⁹

Unusually for the Bahamas but typical of small holdings in the marginal colonies generally during the period immediately preceding emancipation, the Farquharson plantation was still being directly managed by its owner and his family. Some mention has already been made of the diversity of agricultural activities on the estate, and Table 3.8 illustrates the employment classification of the Farquharson slaves in 1834. As in most of the other Agricultural Islands in the Bahamas at emancipation (see Table 3.6), the majority of slaves enumerated were field labourers among whom female field hands were numerically superior, if only slightly, to male field slaves on the estate.

By the early 1830s, the production of cotton on the Farquharson estate had so declined that most of the crop was grown on a single piece known as the Blanket Field, although in July of 1831, 12 slaves were also "gon to planting Cotton in last year's New Field.."10 That year (1831), there were two relatively short periods of concentrated picking by the entire labour force, that is, during the first week in February before the cutting and harvesting of the main Guinea corn crop, and during the last week in June following the main harvest of peas and Indian corn.¹¹ There were also several weeks of intermittent picking on the estate, usually by a few hands at a time of what was called "one-one cotton", that is, cotton bushes planted not in rows but haphazardly in the Blanket Field. As the slaves picked the last of the second growth cotton in late June, it was the practice of the most experienced hands to take out some of the oldest bushes and plant fresh seeds. Thereafter, maintenance of the Blanket and New Fields by all or some of the estate's slaves was restricted to weeding and trimming in the manner described earlier and until the crop was again ready for harvest.

As the cotton fibre was picked, it was placed in sacks and carried to the Cotton House for ginning and baling, processes that employed only those slaves not needed elsewhere on the estate between March and May for the first crop, and between July and September for the second. Of 16 slaves working out on April 22nd, 1831, for example, only 4 hands were "picking Cotton in house" while the other 12 slaves "commenced felling a piece...for Guinea Corn". Occasionally, and usually on rainy days, larger numbers of slaves ginned and baled cotton as they did on the 27th of April, when heavy showers that morning "and some light scuds afterwards" meant that "the people all home hand picking Cotton in the House all day".¹² The finished bales (there were only 12 counted in 1831-32) were then shipped to Nassau in June and/or November, that is, either before or after the traditional West Indian hurricane season.

With the decline in cotton, and apart from stock raising, most of the labour of the Farquharson slaves for most of the year

was taken up by corn production which by 1830 had come to dominate the economies in most of the Out Islands of the Bahamas. As mentioned, Charles Farquharson grew two main types of corn on his estate and of these, Guinea corn was the most important on account of its greater resistance to drought, to insect infestations, and because it grew more quickly than local varieties.¹³ On the Farquharson estate, corn was planted in 4 or 5 large pieces in annual rotation to check the impact of soil exhaustion, that is, each year at least one of the established fields was either left fallow or planted in Guinea grass while a new corn piece was prepared. The field that the 12 slaves mentioned above were set to work felling on April 22nd was such a piece created out of virgin bush and which took up the labour of most of the estate slaves for several weeks through until May 13th. The piece was burned over two weeks in mid June but was not planted until July of the following year.¹⁴

There were two planting and reaping seasons for corn on the Farquharson estate. The first crop of Guinea corn was usually planted between April and June with the second in August or September while virtually all the Indian corn was put into the ground between May and July. In the best soils on the estate, slaves planted the corn at one foot intervals in holes that they had prepared earlier with dung carried to the fields in carts and baskets. Like cotton, corn was normally planted in rows about three feet apart, although it was sometimes also put in among the cotton bushes in the Blanket Field.¹⁵ Two or three seeds were usually dropped into each corn hole and for the rest of the cultivation period, the Farquharson slaves transplanted excess shoots, they weeded and watered constantly, and they re-dunged the pieces when necessary.

The main Guinea corn crop was usually ready for harvest in mid to late January and was immediately followed by the first crop of Indian corn. In both cases, the timing of the harvest was critical within a few days and for the slaves, this was the most intensive period of work in the year. The main Guinea corn harvest of 1831, for example, began on Wednesday, January 19th

when all the able bodied slaves were turned out into the Well or Corn House Field where they worked for 2 days before being joined by 11 slaves sent over by Prince Storr of the Sandy Point estate (see Map 7)

to return the work for the time our people was there cutting Corn on the last days of the old year and the first days of the New Year which was 8 working days of Eleven hands.¹⁶

Working about 12 hours a day, the slaves finished cutting and trashing the cobs in Well Field on Saturday evening and after a rest day on Sunday, began "cutting Corn in the Big Field" at daylight on Monday the 24th. They lost the afternoon to rain but resumed cutting the Big Field on Tuesday morning and finished it by Wednesday night. On Thursday the 27th, all hands were turned out into the Sage Field (the last of the Guinea corn pieces) in which they cut and stacked corn for two full days. On the evening of the 28th, Charles Farquharson noted in his Journal that he had

Got 273 Bags of Corn out of the Well Field

" 210 Do. " " " " " Big Field

" 200 " " " " " Sage Field

which makes 683 Bags, which at half a Bushel

each Bag makes 341 and 1/2 of clean Corn.¹⁷

For the next week while the stacked corn cobs were left in the fields to dry, all the estate's slaves were set to work picking cotton. On Saturday, February 5th, two men were sent to clear the paths leading from the corn pieces and on the Monday following, having borrowed a horse from each of Sandy Point and Dixon Hill (see Map 7) to augment 4 of his own, Farquharson set "all the able hands" to bring in the corn from the fields. For the next 4 days, the corn was carried on horseback and on the heads of slaves into the estate's lower barn where it was shucked as quickly as possible by slaves not needed in the fields.¹⁸

Although it is the case that cotton and corn production took up most of the working time of slaves on the estate, the Journal also sheds light on the variety of other tasks that Charles Farquharson demanded of his field slaves in an effort to keep them as continuously at work throughout the year as conditions on San Salvador allowed. For example, in October of 1831, "Employed 7 men cutting thatch over the Creek to thatch the Gin Circle...", "Employed...4 men mending up Brush fences...", "Employed the men thatching one side of Maria's house..." while in November, "...10 hands gon over the lake to carry out some Lignumvitae from the lake side to the Beach or seaside...", "Employed 6 hands making wall on the uper side of Harcules field...", "Employed some of the men boating some of Miss Sarah Lowther's things on board the Sloop and a few Bags of Corn and Fodder for the Stock with some other things...", and "Employed the men thatching the Negro House at Kerr Mount..." Additionally, we know from an entry in December of that year that Farquharson was concerned his slaves also fulfill his obligation to maintain the public road which ran past his property; on December 8th, the men were set to work weeding on "the Public Road from Fortune Hill line gate to Kerr Mount Well" while on the 9th, all "able hands" worked on "puting a covering of dirt on the Cacey Bridge at the head of the Creek..."¹⁹

One other task assigned to the Farquharson slaves that is mentioned only once in the Journal but which had greater significance for field slaves in other islands of the Bahamas was salt raking. On the morning of August 8th, 1831, Farquharson sent his men and "some of the women" to "rack salt at Kerr Mount pond."²⁰ The Journal contains no description of exactly what the Farquharson slaves did at Kerr Mount pond but fortunately, more specific details of the tasks of salt slaves in the Bahamas are mentioned in the observations of Daniel McKinnen (1823) as he toured the islands of the archipelago in 1803, and in the account of her own life given by Mary Prince (1831), a Bermudan slave who spent 10 years working in the salt ponds on the Turks Islands at the turn of the 19th century.²¹

As noted in Section II, while the main salt pans in the Bahamas were developed on the Exumas, Long Island, Acklins and Ragged Island, only in the Turks Islands was the industry virtually a monopoly. According to McKinnen, the two principal ponds in the Turks Islands "lie at that which is called Grand Turk, and at a smaller island called Salt Key on the south side of it."²¹ Grand Turk itself is about 12 miles long and on average 2 miles wide. At the time of McKinnen's visit, the main salt pond on the island was "considerably more than a mile in length", although there were smaller pans found on the eastern side of the island "from whence some small quantity of salt is obtained."²² When he arrived in Grand Turk in May of 1803, McKinnen was advised that there were "about 18 white heads of families and forty slaves" more or less permanently resident on the island who were augmented each year by "a number of periodical visitants from the Bermudas come over for the purpose of raking..." Two hundred of these visitors had arrived by February 1803, although McKinnen was informed that they sometimes numbered between one and two thousand. Once the rakers and their slaves were enumerated at the beginning of a season, allotments of the ponds were made and "staked off to each person in proportion to the number of hands given in to be employed in raking salt for the ensuing season."²³ The pans which the rakers laid out on Grand Turk were not all of equal dimensions but in the Turks Islands generally, McKinnen believed they were usually less than 60 feet square from which some 500 bushels of salt might be extracted in a good year.

The salt ponds in the Turks Islands are naturally occurring phenomena in which salt begins to crystallize early in the year as temperatures increase and as long as dry weather prevails. The main tasks of slaves working in the ponds during the reaping season that usually commenced in February was to break up the solid cakes of salt either with shovels or their bare hands, to load the chunks of salt into wheelbarrows or onto wooden rafts, and to push these through the ponds to the shore where the salt was raked and allowed to dry. According to McKinnen, it was a

process greatly facilitated "by making small pans which as the salt is taken out may be replenished with brine from the pond" by means of a machine "like the wheel of a water-mill...turned by a handle (that) throws the water from the pond into a gutter from which the pan is conveniently and readily supplied..."²⁴

A single slave labouring in the salt ponds on Grand Turk was expected to rake between 40 and 60 bushels of salt in a day,²⁶ and judging from the account of Mary Prince (1831), it may be that the least fortunate and hardest worked of field slaves in the Bahamas were those employed permanently in the salt ponds of the archipelago. According to Prince who had been a domestic slave in Bermuda before being sold to a raker in Grand Cay, on her very first day,

I was given a half barrel and a shovel, and had to stand up to my knees in the water from four o'clock in the morning till nine when we were given some Indian corn boiled in water...We were called again to our tasks, and worked through the heat of the day ...we came home at twelve ate our corn soup...and went back to our employment till dark at night. We then shovelled up the salt in large heaps, and went down to the sea where we washed the pickle from our limbs, and cleaned the barrows and shovels from the salt.²⁶

Barring inclement weather, this routine would have continued daily for the duration of the reaping season, that is, until the rains came on usually in September or October.

On Grand Cay, as on the Farquharson estate on San Salvador, slaveowners in the Bahamas clearly felt it necessary to keep their bondsmen as continuously employed year-round as local conditions allowed. Once the reaping season was over in Grand Cay, for example, Mary Prince notes that

another of our employments was to row a little way off from the shore in a boat, and dive for large stones to build a wall round our master's house. This was very hard work and the great waves breaking over us continually, made us often so giddy that we lost our footing, and were in danger of being drowned.

After the "diving season" was over,

we were sent to the South Creek, with large bills, to cut up mangoes to burn lime with. Whilst one party of slaves were thus employed, another were sent to the other side of the island to break up coral out of the sea.²⁷

While Prince does refer to herself as being in a "gang of slaves" on Grand Cay,²⁸ it is not clear from her account or from the observations of Daniel McKinnen whether salt slaves in the Bahamas were organized into clearly defined work gangs. Given both the average size of allotments in the Turks Islands and of slave holdings in the Bahamas generally, it is likely that salt labourers on Grand Cay were at best as loosely organized into work gangs as field slaves on the Farquharson estate on San Salvador.

As a final point on the activities of field slaves in the Bahamas who were valued on average at £35 per head in 1834,²⁹ salt slaves accounted for 60% (797 of 1,311) of bondsmen for whom an occupation is listed in the Salt Islands in 1834 (see Table 3.7), and of these, the slaves who carried out the most burdensome of tasks in the salt pans as these were described by Mary Prince were those aged between 16 and 49 years (80% of salt slaves in 1834). Those slaves under 15 and over 50 years of age respectively were most often engaged in relatively lighter tasks associated with raking the salt once it was ashore and in cutting palmetto thatch to cover the salt once it had dried. Like their contemporaries in the field gangs on the Agricultural Islands,

coloured slaves in the Salt Islands made up only a small proportion (less than 11%) of the salt gangs during the last decades of formal slavery in the Bahamas; of a total of 797 salt slaves registered in 1834, only 57 were Mulatto (see Table 3.7). In a reverse of the pattern noted among field slaves in the Agricultural Islands, on the Salt Islands of the Bahamas males outnumbered females in the salt gangs but only slightly, that is, there were 14% more males than female salt slaves listed in 1834, a reflection perhaps of the even more limited occupational alternatives for male slaves in the Salt Islands than those which existed in the Agricultural Islands of the archipelago.

In most respects, the demographic characteristics of the *domestic* slave population of the Bahamas were broadly similar to those of domestic slaves in the British Caribbean as a whole accounting for approximately 20% of slaves in 1834. It may be significant that this was roughly double the number of slaves so registered for the British Caribbean as a whole in so far as in the Bahamas by 1834, there were diminishing opportunities for owners to place their slaves in the fields. Domestic labourers in the Bahamas thus comprised the second largest occupational category after field slaves (see Table 3.6), they were predominantly female (81% or 605 of 745 domestics enumerated in the Agricultural and Salt Islands in 1834: see Tables 3.6 and 3.7), and a relatively high proportion of Bahamian domestics were young, that is, under 15 years of age (42% of those registered in 1834: see Table 3.5). As in the sugar islands of the region, the latter was a result of the tendency for many young Bahamian slaves to spend several years in domestic service before being drafted either into the fields or the skilled trades. In 1834, a head domestic slave was valued at £45 and an inferior domestic at £19.³⁰

One respect in which the occupational criteria for domestic servitude of slaves in the Bahamas ran counter to the wider West Indian case was colour. Whereas in the sugar islands of the region to be a non-black slave multiplied the chances of becoming a domestic, in the Agricultural and Salt Islands of the Bahamas,

85% (or 636 of 745) of both male and female domestics slaves enumerated in 1834 were black (see Tables 3.6 and 3.7). Indeed, the proportion of mulattos among the slaves listed as domestics in these islands (14%) was only slightly higher than in the population at large (9% or 695 of 7,241 slaves counted: see Tables 3.6 and 3.7). Generally speaking, what this might suggest about occupational allocation in the Bahamas is that most slaveowners in the archipelago, unlike many of their contemporaries in the sugar islands, did not regard coloured slaves as an intermediate class but rather tended to group all non-whites together. Not insignificantly, this was the custom among slaveholders in America from where many of the Out Island planters had originally come after 1785.³¹

In terms of tasks undertaken by domestic slaves in the Bahamas, these were similar to those expected of domestics in the wider Caribbean. Thus male domestics in the Bahamas worked as butlers, coachmen and grooms while female domestics tended to serve as maids, cooks and laundresses. There were 11 domestics on the Farquharson estate in 1834 (see Table 3.8) but the Journal does not detail any of the household chores assigned to them. On the other hand, before she was sent to Grand Cay to rake salt, Mary Prince had been a domestic slave in Bermuda where her mistress had taught her "to do all sorts of household work; to wash and bake, pick cotton and wool, and wash floors, and cook..." She was also expected "to milk eleven cows every morning before sunrise (and) to take care of the cattle as well as the children..."³² Most of the Bahamian slaves registered as nurses or midwives in Tables 3.6 and 3.7 were also likely to have performed household chores, particularly those who served as wet nurses and child minders. The majority of slave nurses were black and female, although there were 14 males listed in this category in the Agricultural and Salt Islands in 1834, all but two of whom were coloured. As a group, most male nurses were "slave doctors" whose task it was to assist white medical practitioners on many of the estates in the Caribbean.³³ At least a few of the slaves registered as nurses in the Bahamas would also have been expected

to engage in light agricultural tasks such as weeding or, like Mary Prince, tending livestock.

Skilled slaves in the Bahamas accounted for less than 3% of the archipelago's enslaved population in 1834 (see Table 3.5) down slightly from the 5% of slaves so listed for the BWI as a whole. As noted earlier in this section, in part at least, this was the result of a difference in the scale of operations between the marginal and sugar colonies of the British Caribbean as well as the reduced variety of manufacturing functions open to marginal colony slaves not concerned with the production of sugar for export. That said, however, and like their counterparts in the sugar islands, skilled slaves in the Bahamas were predominantly male (96 of 106 tradespeople listed in Tables 3.6 and 3.7), and the majority of these (52%) were aged between 30 and 49 years. The 72 skilled slaves aged between 11 and 24 years in Table 3.5 (about a quarter of the total) were likely to have been apprentices who would eventually have gone on to become tradesmen in their own right given the opportunity. Unusually for the Caribbean generally, most skilled slaves in the Bahamas, like domestics, were black (93% of those enumerated in the Agricultural and Salt Islands: see Tables 3.6 and 3.7).

As per the Registration Returns filed for the Bahamas in 1834, the category "tradesmen" included carpenters, masons, butchers, tailors, bakers, blacksmiths, coopers, mechanics, tinsmiths, basketmakers, seamstresses, sugar makers, and wine and liquor corks. On average, tradesmen in the archipelago were valued at £65 on the eve of emancipation.³⁴ While there were no skilled tradespeople listed in the Farquharson Return of 1834, some of the estate's field slaves doubled-up as carpenters and/or masons when the need arose. As we have seen, on October 12th, for instance, 4 men were sent to work "mending up Brushfences...", while on the 15th, repairs were carried out to "Mistresses shed and the one side of the roof which the Hurricane tore up a good deal last year..." On October 20th, the slave Jack is noted as being "at Carpenter's work..." while on November 9th, 1831, "Alick gon to wall building..." Five days later, 6 male slaves

were sent to finish the wall while Alick returned to making castor oil in the ginning shed near the main house.³⁵

Though a separate occupational category in the Returns, mariners were also regarded as specialized slaves in the BWI and their ranks in the Bahamas comprised sailors, droghers, pilots, fishermen, stevedores, and shipbuilders as well as those slaves involved in wrecking, woodcutting and turtling. Slave mariners in the Bahamas accounted for just under 6% of the total enslaved population (see Table 3.5), they were exclusively male and mostly black with more than 80% of Bahamian mariners aged between 16 and 49 years. No slave mariners appear on the Farquharson Return for 1834 but in October of 1831, several slaves on the estate were allowed to go fishing while in March of the following year, three slaves (Alick, Bacchus and Peter) accompanied James Farquharson and John Dixon to the site of a wreck off Graham's Harbour from which "they got nothing but some blocks and a few pieces of rope of very little value."³⁶

As a penultimate note on slave occupations in the Bahamas, it was mentioned earlier in this section of the study that in the BWI generally, slave *drivers* were not widely used on small agricultural holdings where the owners of the estates themselves or their white overseers performed most of the supervision directly. This was certainly the case on the Turks Island holding in which Mary Prince raked salt and where the work of the slaves was overseen by her owner's son, a Master Dickey.³⁷ On the Farquharson estate, most of the supervisory duties were similarly performed either by Charles Farquharson himself or by his son James, although in their absence from the fields, the aforementioned Alick and Bacchus seem to have assumed the role of chief drivers. Where categorized drivers were used in the Bahamas, they comprised the smallest occupational group of slaves in the colony (see Table 3.5) and were valued in 1834 at £80 each.³⁸ More than 80% of drivers enumerated in 1834 were over the age of 39, all but one of the 70 listed in the Agricultural and Salt Islands were male, and the majority of these (65) were black. As per Tables 3.6 and 3.7, 82% of drivers registered in

the Bahamas in 1834 were employed on diversified holdings in the Agricultural Islands of the archipelago where, like Alick and Bacchus on the Farquharson estate on San Salvador, they would almost certainly have been expected to perform labour themselves as well as to supervise the field gangs when required.

To return to Mark Smith's (1998) earlier noted point about the geographic and crop specificity of slave experiences in the Americas, it is clear that while there was relatively little variation in the broad occupational categories of slaves in the sugar and marginal colonies of the region, the day to day labour experiences of slaves in the Bahamas were characterized by the diversity of economic enterprises in which they were necessarily engaged by their owners, at least in the long term. As we have seen, and while cotton was king in the archipelago, for example, the preference of Bahamian planters for long-staple Anguilla cotton which grew year round meant the majority of field slaves were labouring in the islands' cotton fields and/or ginning sheds for up to 9 months a year. With the decline in cotton by the end of the first decade of the 19th century, the primary focus of field slave labour in the Bahamas shifted to corn production which, like cotton, was grown virtually year-round on the Farquharson estate, for example, but which also generally required less maintenance during the growing period and thereby freed slaves up to undertake a variety of other tasks on the estate. To a greater degree than cotton, it seems, corn in the Bahamas demanded a less intensive work pattern and pace from slaves engaged in its production, just as cotton production itself required less of field slaves than sugar production. Indeed, only in the case of dedicated salt slaves like Mary Prince was there the type of singular task focus and intensity of effort more common among field slaves in the sugar islands during crop time, for example. Otherwise, field slaves, domestics and even tradesmen in the Bahamas were expected to perform whatever tasks deemed necessary by their owners to sustain the viability

of the estates on which they were employed. That is, there was a greater degree of occupational fluidity among the categories of slaves in the Bahamas than that which was usually required of their contemporaries on estates in the sugar colonies of the BWI.

TABLE 3.2

THE POPULATION OF THE BAHAMAS, BY ISLAND, 1810

Island	Whites			Slaves			Free Nonwhites			Total
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	
New Prov.	-	-	1,820	-	-	3,190	-	-	1,074	6,084
Harbour Isl.	324	337	661	271	268	539	26	26	52	1,252
Eleuthera	302	274	576	557	541	1,039	79	64	143	1,817
Abaco	-	-	250	-	-	150	-	-	10	410
Exumas	60	36	96	681	580	1,261	21	34	55	1,412
Cat Isl.	30	24	54	354	308	662	31	27	58	774
Long & Ragged Islands	83	58	141	379	355	734	30	37	67	942
San Salvador	12	9	21	233	253	486	2	3	5	512
Rum Cay	7	0	7	102	75	177	0	0	0	184
Andros	-	-	10	100	80	180	-	-	-	195
Crooked & Acklins Isls.	19	4	23	547	595	1,142	27	26	53	1,218
Inagua	1	0	1	17	11	28	0	0	0	29
Caicos Islands	19	13	32	275	247	522	3	3	6	560
Turks Islands	290	250	540	741	567	1,308	32	55	87	1,935
Total	2,232		4,232	6,095		11,477	829	786	1,615	17,324
		2,000			5,382					

Note: The figure for Total Whites in New Providence includes 100 "foreigners".
The population figures for Abaco and Andros are based on enumerations carried out in 1807.
The Total figures for the White and Free Nonwhite populations of the Bahamas are estimates only as the individual returns for several of the islands were approximated for the purpose of compiling the census.

Source: C023/59. Quoted in: Michael Craton and Gail Saunders, Islanders in the Stream: A History of the Bahamian People, Volume 1 (University of Georgia Press, Athens, 1992), p.261.

TABLE 3.3

THE SLAVE POPULATION OF THE BAHAMAS, 1822-34.

Island	1822	1825	1828	1831	1834
New Providence	2,935	2,392	2,462	2,490	2,250
Eleuthera	1,241	1,223	1,158	1,252	1,283
Harbour Island	458	414	426	467	511
Turks and Caicos	1,946	1,401	1,411	1,443	1,376
Long Island	618	563	544	617	611
Cat Island	713	636	482	555	663
San Salvador	355	288	342	329	357
Rum Cay	229	469	530	568	647
Exumas	701	736	706	780	868
Crooked & Acklin's Islands	917	537	488	454	568
Inagua	51	52	39	49	50
Abaco	217	284	315	366	395
Andros and Berry Islands	173	130	149	120	103
Grand Bahama	33	29	83	131	138
Spanish Wells	38	28	45	34	38
Ragged Island	80	51	74	113	144
Total	10,705	9,233	9,254	9,768	10,002

Source: Extracted from the Register of Return of Slaves, 1822-34,
Department of Archives, Nassau.

TABLE 3.4

THE NUMBER OF SLAVE HOLDINGS, BY SIZE AND ISLAND, 1834.

Holdings by Numbers of Slaves in Holding

Island	1-5	6-10	11-20	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-100	101-150	151-200	Total Slaves
New Prov.	306	81	30	10	4	1	0	0	0	2,145
Eleuthera	89	37	24	3	4	1	2	1	0	1,369
Harbour Isl.	66	28	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	506
Turks & Caicos	91	21	13	8	6	0	3	0	1	1,355
Long Island	34	18	10	3	2	2	0	0	0	597
Cat Island	10	3	6	2	0	0	2	2	0	654
San Salvador	1	1	0	1	1	1	2	1	0	390
Rum Cay	10	2	2	1	3	0	3	1	0	721
Exumas*	13	10	4	7	1	0	1	1	0	906
Crooked & Acklin's Isl.	11	7	5	4	2	0	2	0	1	473
Inagua	4	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	49
Abaco	42	16	5	3	0	1	0	0	0	411
Grand Bahama	12	4	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	151
Spanish Wells	3	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	39
Ragged Island	11	4	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	134
Andros & Berry Islands	10	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	89
										9,989
Total Holdings:	710	238	117	47	26	6	15	6	2	
Average Number of Slaves per Holding:	2	8	15	25	35	45	75	125	175	

(Exumas*: The Rolle Estate on Exuma employed 330 slaves in 5 settlements)

Source: Register of Returns of Slaves, 1834, Department of Archives, Nassau. Extracted from: Craton and Saunders, Islanders in the Stream (1992), p.282.

TABLE 3.5

SLAVE OCCUPATIONS BY AGES, BAHAMAS, 1834

Occupation	Age									All Ages
	0-10	11-15	16-24	25-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	Over 60	Unknown	
None	2,420	15	2	2	2	2	14	76	0	2,534
Domestic	450	402	440	141	231	162	109	66	2	2,003
Field	368	536	758	292	543	410	319	273	1	3,500
Mariner	9	58	219	85	94	79	30	11	0	585
Salt Worker	15	85	309	97	190	131	59	28	2	916
Driver/ Overseer	1	0	4	10	20	23	13	9	0	80
Nurse/ Midwife	54	13	0	0	1	6	10	10	0	94
Trade/ Craftsman	2	15	57	33	53	48	27	30	0	265
Sundry	1	0	1	1	1	3	3	1	0	11
Unknown	3	0	2	1	5	2	1	0	1	14
Total										10,002

Source: Register of Returns of Slaves, 1834. Department of Archives, Nassau. Extracted from: Craton and Saunders, Islanders in the Stream (1992), p.286.

TABLE 3.6

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF SLAVES ON THE AGRICULTURAL
ISLANDS OF THE BAHAMAS BY SEX AND COLOUR, 1834

Occupation	Males			Females			Total Black	Total Mulatto	Total
	Black	Mulatto	Total	Black	Mulatto	Total			
None	672	99	771	703	101	804	1,375	200	1,575
Domestic	104	10	114	346	50	396	450	60	510
Field	1,369	93	1,462	1,385	96	1,481	2,754	189	2,943
Mariner	180	17	197	-	-	-	180	17	197
Salt	73	8	81	37	3	40	110	11	121
Driver/ Overseer	54	3	57	1	-	1	55	3	58
Nurse/ Midwife	12	2	14	60	7	67	72	9	81
Trade/ Craftsmen	56	4	60	4	-	4	60	4	64
Sundry	-	-	-	3	-	3	3	0	3
Unknown	7	-	7	4	-	4	11	0	11
Total	2,527	236	2,763	2,543	257	2,800	5,070	493	5,563

(Agricultural Islands: Eleuthera, Long Island, Cat Island, Watlings Island/
San Salvador, Rum Cay, Exuma, Crooked Island, Inagua, Abaco, Andros, Berry
Islands, Grand Bahama)

Source: Register of Returns of Slaves, 1834. Department of
Archives, Nassau. Quoted in: Gail Saunders, Slavery in
The Bahamas, 1648-1838 (The Nassau Guardian, 1985), p.134

TABLE 3.7

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF SLAVES ON THE SALT ISLANDS
OF THE BAHAMAS BY SEX AND COLOUR, 1834.

Occupation	Males			Females					
	Black	Mulatto	Total	Black	Mulatto	Total	Total	Total	Total
							Black	Mulatto	
None	141	40	181	149	37	186	290	77	367
Domestic	18	8	26	168	41	209	186	49	245
Field	93	1	94	84	4	88	177	5	182
Mariner	29	4	33	-	-	-	29	4	33
Salt	423	34	457	317	23	340	740	57	797
Driver/ Overseer	10	2	12	-	-	-	10	2	12
Nurse/ Midwife	-	-	-	7	2	9	7	2	9
Trade/ Craftsmen	36	4	40	-	2	2	36	6	42
Sundry	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unknown	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	1
Total	751	93	844	725	109	834	1,476	202	1,678

(Salt Islands: Turks and Caicos, Acklin's, Long Cay, Ragged Island)

Source: Register of Returns of Slaves, 1834. Department of Archives, Nassau. Quoted in: Gail Saunders, Slavery in The Bahamas, 1648-1838 (The Nassau Guardian, 1985), p.135

TABLE 3.8OCCUPATIONS OF THE FARQUHARSON SLAVES,
SAN SALVADOR ISLAND, 1834

Occupation	Males	Females	Total
Effective Field	9	12	21
Inferior Field	6	4	10
Head Domestic	-	4	4
Inferior Domestic	3	4	7
Under six years	4	5	9
Aged, etc.	-	1	1
Total	22	30	52

Source: Registers of Returns of Slaves, 1834. Department of Archives, Nassau. Extracted from: Craton and Saunders, Islanders in the Stream (1992), p.340.

REFERENCES

1. Craton and Saunders, Islanders in the Stream, pp.259-60.
2. Under the 1806 Act to Prevent the Importation of Slaves, slaves could be carried from one colony to another in the BWI under licence from the Governor, Collector, or Chief Customs Officer of the exporting colony after the owner had posted a bond for each slave. Over 22,000 slaves were shipped between the various British West Indian colonies in the 23 years after the abolition of the African slave trade in 1807. In aggregate terms, the number of slaves involved in the traffic between 1808 and 1830 amounted to only 3.4% of the total slave population in 1817; the Bahamas exported 3,121 slaves over the period, or about 5% of her slave population in the 22 years between 1808 and 1830. David Eltis, "The Traffic in Slaves between the British West Indian Colonies, 1807-1833" in Economic Historical Review, Vol.XXV (1972), pp.56-59.
3. Under the Triennial Slave Registration Act passed by the Bahamas Assembly in April of 1821, slaveholders in the colony were required to submit a list of their slaves to the Registrar of Slaves in Nassau every three years, beginning in 1822.
4. Barry Higman, Slave Population and Economy in Jamaica, 1807-1834 (The Press, University of the West Indies, Jamaica, 1995 edition), p.69.
5. Ibid.
6. As per the Compensation Returns of 1834 (Department of Archives, Nassau), there were 4,888 male and 5,113 female slaves registered in the Bahamas. Praedial Attached Field Labourers accounted for the largest single category of the 10,001 total with 2,668 slaves enumerated, of whom 1,292 were male and 1,376 were female.
7. Robert Fogel and Stanley Engerman, Time on the Cross: The Economics of American Negro Slavery (W.W. Norton and Company, New York, 1974), p.203-04. The description of cotton planting

contained in the text is that which occurred on plantations in the American South, techniques with which most of the Loyalists who arrived in the Bahamas after 1785 would have been familiar.

8. Craton and Saunders, Islanders in the Stream, p.192.
9. Charles Farquharson (1760-1835) was a Loyalist of Scots extraction who obtained one of the original grants of land on San Salvador in 1803. Initially, his estate covered 200 acres between the Great Lake and Pigeon Creek on the eastern side of the island. As his white neighbours gave up the struggle to farm the island's meagre soils, Farquharson gradually extended his estate until it totalled 1,500 acres.
10. A Relic of Slavery, p.27.
11. Ibid., pp.5-6, 23.
12. Ibid., pp.12-13.
13. Michael Craton and Gail Saunders, "On Slavery's Margins: The Farquharson Estate, San Salvador, Bahamas, 1831-32." In Slavery and Abolition: A Journal of Comparative Studies (London), Volume 12, September 1991, pp.56-7.
14. A Relic of Slavery, pp.12-15, 72.
15. Ibid., p.20.
16. Ibid., p.3. Prince Storr was the black owner of the Sandy Point estate on the south west shore of the island and a neighbour of Charles Farquharson.
17. Ibid., p.4.
18. Ibid., pp.5-6. The estate's corn was shucked either by beating the sacks with flat wooden paddles or by rubbing the cobs together and picking out the weevil infested-kernels by hand. If properly dry, the corn could be stored for up to three years in barrels or sacks, although it was normally needed before then. The dry cobs were kept for fuel and the chaff was fed to the estate's chickens and pigs. Craton and Saunders, Islanders in the Stream, p.347.
19. A Relic of Slavery, pp.36-48.
20. Ibid., p.29.

21. Daniel McKinnen, A Tour through the British West Indies, p.124.
22. Ibid., pp.124-25.
23. Ibid., pp.125-26.
24. Ibid.
25. Ibid., p.124.
26. Moira Ferguson, A History of Mary Prince, A West Indian Slave, Related by Herself, (The University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, 1993), pp.61-2.
27. Ibid., p.63.
28. Ibid.
29. Compensation Returns, Bahamas, 1834 (Department of Archives, Nassau).
30. Ibid.
31. Craton and Saunders, Islanders in the Stream, p.282.
32. Ferguson, A History of Mary Prince, pp.56-7.
33. According to Alexander Barclay, a pro-planter writer, every estate in the BWI had a "hospital doctor" and a sick nurse; "the former is an intelligent man (most commonly of colour) who, acting for years under the direction of the white doctor, acquires a sufficient knowledge of common complaints of the negroes, to be capable of administering some simple medicines in cases of slight indisposition". Alexander Barclay, A Practical View of the Present State of Slavery in the West Indies (London, 1826), p.321.
34. Compensation Returns, Bahamas, 1834.
35. A Relic of Slavery, p.38-43.
36. Ibid., p.55. James Farquharson was the son of Charles Farquharson and his common-law wife Kitty Davies or Dickson, a coloured woman who was also the mother of John Dickson, a planter neighbour and owner of Dixon's Hill on the north east shore of San Salvador.
37. Ferguson, A History of Mary Prince, p.65.
38. Compensation Returns, Bahamas, 1834.

THE CAYMANS

As demonstrated in the first section of this study, the enslaved population of the Caymans was on a continuum that saw slaves imported from Jamaica in small numbers to cut mahogany on Grand Cayman during the early years of permanent settlement. Once the timber was virtually exhausted and the most arable land in the central belt of the island cleared, slaveowners in Cayman, as in the Bahamas, turned their attention to planting cotton. For nearly 30 years beginning in the late 1780s, the Caymans were for all intents and purposes a plantation colony, that is, up until about 1815 when the end of the cotton boom forced a return to diversified agricultural holdings from which the majority of Caymanian slaveowners struggled in most years to subsist.

A brief attempt was made in Section II of the study to clarify the distribution and size of slaveholding units in the Caymans at the turn of the 19th century when the first official, if incomplete, census of the islands' population was carried out by Edward Corbet in 1802. At the time, the dozen or so plantations established along the central belt of Grand Cayman averaged less than 100 acres of planted cotton each and were probably close to their peak levels of production. As noted, each of these estates was worked by a labour unit of about 30 slaves while most of the remaining slaveholders in the Caymans in 1802 owned an average of only 6 slaves each. Up until the development of a plantation economy on the island, slaves on Grand Cayman had almost always been owned in small groups as evidenced in the Battersby-Foster partnership in the 1730s under which John Bodden was dispatched to the island from Jamaica with 8 slaves to cut mahogany.

From the observations of George Gauld in 1773, it seems that most of these family-sized holdings were concentrated in the centre of Grand Cayman between the "Hog Styes" and Bodden Town, that is, in the same general area that would become Cayman's cotton belt in the 1780s. Indeed, from Gauld's estimate of just over 200 "Negroes and Mulattoes" in 1773, the number of slaves in

Cayman increased to 545 in 1802 and to 985 by 1834,¹ the bulk of whom continued to live and work on holdings in the fertile central belt of the island even after the demise of the cotton economy by the end of the second decade of the 19th century. As in the Bahamas where slave owners faced a similar predicament at approximately the same time, the collapse of cotton in Grand Cayman seems not to have radically altered the geographic distribution of slaves across the island, if only because there was little demand for "surplus" slaves in the circumstances.

As best as we can tell, nor does the collapse of cotton appear to have altered significantly the pattern of ownership of Caymanas slaves. Of the 985 slaves in the Caymans in 1834, we know from James Minot's Return that only 6 slaves belonging to William Page of Little Cayman did not reside on the main island. The 979 slaves on Grand Cayman were distributed among 120 different owners of whom only a dozen held more than 20 slaves, 3 had more than 40, and only one owned more than 50 slaves. Fifty seven slave holders in the Caymans owned 5 or fewer slaves, 6 owned 5 slaves, 10 owned 4, another 10 three, 11 holders owned 2, and 20 a single slave each. The average size labour unit in the Caymans in 1834 comprised 8 slaves.² By comparison, in 1802 there were 68 slaveowners enumerated by Edward Corbet of whom 9 held more than 20 slaves, 5 had more than 30, and 3 owned more than 50 slaves each. Forty one slave proprietors in the Caymans in 1802 owned 5 or fewer slaves, 10 owned 5 slaves, 3 owned 4, another 5 three, 8 proprietors owned 2 slaves, and 15 a single slave each.³ As noted, the average size labour unit in the Caymans in 1802 comprised 6 slaves, comparative figures which suggest that the pattern of ownership of slaves in the colony does not appear to have altered significantly with diversification forced upon slaveowners in the islands after the collapse of cotton around 1815.

As far as the specific occupational distribution of slaves in the Caymans is concerned, the only census carried out in the islands during the period of formal slavery that charts the ratio of enslaved males to females in the Caymans, their age groupings

and their respective occupations is contained in the Caymanas District Returns filed by Minot in 1834, and reproduced in Table 3.9. The Returns used the proforma classes established by the Slave Registration Act of 1817, that is, bondsmen in the Caymans were listed either as Praedial Attached (those employed on lands owned by their masters/mistresses), Praedial Unattached (those hired out for field work by their owners), or Non Praedial slaves (those who lived on agricultural holdings but served in their owners' households). On Grand Cayman, of 236 ordinary field labourers enumerated in 1834, 90% of these (213) were still living and working in the island's central belt and were assessed at an average value of £64 sterling. One hundred and seventy of 178 "Inferior field labourers" were also enumerated in this area and valued at £33 each. Interestingly, there were no Praedial Unattached slaves registered in the Caymans at all in 1834 which at first glance suggests that the practice of owners hiring out their slaves was relatively uncommon in the island. Based on evidence shortly to be presented, however, it is more likely that said owners simply listed their jobbing gangs as Praedial or Non Praedial bondsmen on account of the short-term duration of such arrangements in the Caymans.⁴

The majority of the 162 "Head Domestics" and of the 156 "Inferior Domestics" listed in 1834 were enumerated in the Bodden Town and Prospect areas where on average, they were valued at £60 and £30 respectively. Fifty six percent of "Head Tradesmen" (that is, 9 of 16 listed) in the Caymans in 1834 were owned by slaveholders in Prospect while most of the 22 "Inferior Tradesmen" listed on the island were registered in the Bodden Town and Prospect districts. The 16 "Head Tradesmen" counted (mostly carpenters and sawyers) were the most valuable of Caymanian slaves in 1834 at an average of £74 sterling while the 32 "Inferior Tradesmen" (mostly mariners) were valued at an average of £66 sterling.

That no slaves at all were listed at Frank Sound, East End or North Side where Corbet had found at least a few in 1802 (see Table 2.5) indicates that by 1834, the slave population on Grand

Cayman was even more concentrated in the central belt of the island than it had been at the turn of the century. As per the 121 individual Caymanas Returns filed by Minot, there were still no large slaveholdings in the West Bay district and only a few in the George Town area, a circumstance which may suggest that, along with South West Sound where no slave tradesmen and only one mariner were enumerated in 1834, these areas were dominated by the poorer class of whites and/or free coloureds on the island.

In 1834, as in 1802, the most cultivated area of Grand Cayman continued to be the swathe of land between George Town and Bodden Town with the latter being the most heavily populated area for slaves on the island; 9 of the 12 largest slaveholdings in 1834 were located in Bodden Town where Minot enumerated 43% (425 of 979) of all Caymanian slaves. Field labourers in this district accounted for a higher proportion of slaves (44%) than in any of the other Cayman districts and of 48 skilled slaves enumerated by Minot in 1834, there were 20 tradesmen and 9 mariners in Bodden Town alone.⁵

With respect to the sex ratio of the Caymanas slaves, we know from a brief account of the population of Grand Caymanas recorded on April 1st, 1826 that of 889 slaves counted on the island that year, 467 were male and 422 were female.⁶ In 1834, 490 (50%) of the 979 slaves registered by Minot on Grand Cayman were male, which makes the Cayman slave population a very balanced one indeed and suggests that Cayman owners purchased their slaves in almost equal proportions either by choice to encourage high rates of fertility, or because African females were cheaper in Jamaica than males and generally as suited to the type of field work expected of them in Cayman.⁷ In 1834, there were almost as many females as males of working age on the island (that is, 409 to 442 of slaves over 6 years of age). Of 414 Cayman slaves listed as *field hands* in 1834, 128 or 31% of these were females, a figure broadly in line with what was found in the Bahamas, and in most other colonies in the BWI. A relatively high number of slaves in the Caymans were enumerated as *domestics* (338 or 35% of the total population) and 75 (22%) of these were

males. As in the Bahamas, the domestic slave ranks in the Caymans were filled overwhelmingly by females and the high number of children under 15 years of age counted as domestics in 1834 suggests that slave children in the island were usually brought up by their mothers either in or close to their owners' home before being sent into the fields or to learn a trade when they reached adolescence.

Skilled slaves in the Caymans accounted for a smaller proportion of the island's total enslaved population than in the Bahamas, for example. In the Returns of 1834, 32 slaves were listed as fishermen or mariners and only 16 as carpenters, sawyers, caulkers, coopers and mechanics, that is, 48 of 985 slaves enumerated, or just under 5% of the enslaved population. To be sure, as in the Bahamas and the marginal colonies in general, the skilled trades in Cayman were the exclusive preserve of male slaves but the opportunities for such preferential employment in the Caymans were likely to have been restricted by the tendency of poor and/or non-slave owning whites in these colonies to pursue these jobs for themselves.⁶ Significantly, and reflecting the complete decline of plantation agriculture in the Caymans by 1834, there was not a single slave *driver* listed in the Minot Returns.⁹ As on the Farquharson estate in the Bahamas, most slaveowners in the Caymans tended to supervise their slaves themselves or on occasion, to use "seasoned" slaves in the role.

In terms of the tasks undertaken by slaves in the Caymans during the first phase of permanent settlement, that is, prior to 1787, these were most similar to the employments of bondsmen in Belize before the expulsion of loggers from that territory by the Spanish in 1779. For example, once they had arrived in the Caymans from Jamaica, the slaves belonging to Battersby and Foster were set to work clearing brush and logging trails near the Campbell-Middleton holding before cutting down any mahogany trees they could find. Once these were on the ground, they were cross-cut and squared into manageable sections and dragged to the shipping points, initially on North Sound. Like slave cutters in Belize, logging slaves in the Caymans were moved about in gangs,

although given the scale of operations on the island, there is unlikely to have been the degree of specialization among the Caymanas cutters that developed in the Belize territory after 1783.

As noted in Section I of this study, mahogany slaves in the Caymans were also expected to sustain themselves and a good part of their time was given over to clearing and tending provision grounds near their transitory base camps, and to fishing. As we shall see shortly, this is the pattern that developed among the cutting gangs in Belize, and one that continued until the stands of mahogany in Cayman were exhausted.

By the time George Gauld arrived in the islands in 1773, the 200 whites and "above same number of Negroes and Mulattoes" he observed on Grand Cayman were producing cotton for export and growing provision crops for local consumption and to sell to passing ships.¹⁰ The arrival of the Shore evacuees and their slaves in Cayman in 1787 quickened the pace of development of cotton plantations on the island and while there is no equivalent of the Farquharson Journal for the Caymans, it is reasonable to assume that slaves there were engaged in broadly similar activities to those forced upon their contemporaries in the Bahamas and described in detail earlier. Thus, *field slaves* in the Caymans would have carried out virtually all the labour activities associated with cotton planting and cultivation up until about 1815, and thereafter, those required of field slaves working on diversified food producing holdings which accounted for about 80% of slaves in the Caymans in 1834.¹¹

As on the Farquharson estate, field slaves in the Caymans were also expected to fulfill their owners' obligations to clear and keep open public roads bordering their respective lands. Until the end of the 18th century, the only "roads" linking the various settlements in Grand Cayman were bridle or footpaths with most of the movement of goods and people between these settlements taking place via coastal droghers. The growth of the local economy on the back of cotton in the late 18th century meant increased traffic between estates in the central belt and

the island's main deep water port at George Town, as well as the anchorages at Bodden Town and Prospect. Accordingly, in 1800, the Senior Magistrate on Grand Cayman, William Bodden Snr.,

proposed to the Inhabitants to have the roads opened and kept open by persons possessing Negroes working an allotment of time on such road, which was done.

In October of 1803, the same William Bodden "employed a Jobbing Gang and had a road cut back of the S.W. Sound Bay, the said Bay being the road before that time."¹² The jobbing gang itself belonged to Thomas Thomson of Prospect who at the time was the largest slaveowner in the Caymans. As noted in Section II, and according to Corbet's census in 1802, Thomson owned a total of 56 slaves.

Domestic slaves in the Caymans would similarly have been charged with the duties expected of their contemporaries in the sugar islands of the region, although given the small size of the average Cayman holding, there was a tendency for domestic slaves in these units to double-up as field labourers during planting and crop time, as they did on the Farquharson estate in the Bahamas and as Mary Prince had done in Bermuda before being sent to work in the salt ponds at Grand Cay.

The tendency to double-up occupations was almost certainly also true of *skilled slaves* in the Caymans where, as noted, the opportunities for male slaves to graduate from the house or field into a trade were relatively limited. In view of this, it is likely that those slaves listed in the Returns of 1834 as carpenters, for example, may only have escaped the fields for short periods at a time, that is, and like some of the men on the Farquharson estate, when a roof or a plantation boundary wall needed repairs. In some cases, as in that of the 23 year old slave named Edward belonging to John Drayton (see Appendix 2), slaves skilled as carpenters in the Caymans were allowed to combine this trade with another, Edward being listed in 1834 as a fisherman also. On the other hand, a number of slave carpenters

in the Caymans may have been allowed to ply their trades more or less permanently, at least during the boom years of cotton when locally-based vessels carrying the raw cotton to Jamaica would have required steady maintenance and/or repair. For example, as an apprentice, Alexander Maxwell, a 50 year old slave carpenter also belonging to John Drayton of George Town (see Appendix 2), may have been involved in the building and periodic repair of his owner's schooner, the *Polly and Betsy*, a 36 ton vessel registered in Montego Bay but built in the Caymans at the turn of the century.¹³ In 1802, Corbet mentioned the presence at George Town of 8 or 9 Caymanian owned and operated vessels ranging from 20 to 50 tons engaged in the trade with Jamaica,¹⁴ and upon which slave carpenters employed at various yards around the harbour are likely to have carried out repairs and general maintenance work.

Presumably, slaves working as stevedores would have been responsible for helping to load and unload these vessels at George Town, and at Prospect and Bodden Town. There were no "Head People employed on Wharfs, Shipping or other Avocations" registered in the Returns of 1834 but a total of 22 "Inferior people of the same Description" were listed in Minot's District Returns of whom 9 were enumerated at Bodden Town and 7 at Prospect (see Table 3.9).

Skilled slave labour in Grand Cayman was also used in the construction of plantation houses on the island. Very few, if any at all, would have merited the nomenclature "Great House" as this was applied to the main residence of planters on the more substantial sugar estates in Jamaica, for example. Indeed, Nathaniel Glover, an American planter and slaveowner who arrived in the Caymans in 1831, described most houses in the colony as "rude structures...generally put up to suit the convenience of the proprietor without any regard to position or formality..." As to the specifics of their construction, Glover noted that

mahogany of iron posts of eight to nine inches square were let into the ground from four to six feet and crossed with wallplates of mahogany well secured. In the centre of each end of the building were placed also in the ground much longer posts, called the main crutches, which served to give the pitch to the roof; across these crutches ran a beam called the ridge pole, which supported the rafters; to the rafters were tied long slender sticks called wattles about three inches apart, then to these wattles were tied the palm leaf which made a neat airy roof though impenetrable by the rain; the sides were then wicker worked and plastered with lime leaving vacancies for doors and windows. To form the floors macadamised rocks were filled in, and then overlayed with lime plaster. These buildings were generally from thirty to forty feet in length and from twenty to twenty-five in breadth, and from the floor to the ridge pole about twenty feet...¹⁵

By local standards, the most impressive of estate houses was Pedro Castle built by William Eden in the 1780s at Great Pedro Point about 3 miles west of Bodden Town. Originally a two-storey "manorial" style home with a gable roof and outside stairway, Pedro Castle was inherited by Eden's son (also called William) whose great granddaughter, Ms. Carrie Hurlstone, recalls her grandfather telling her that the house was built by slaves, some of whom were buried in a grave yard on the left side of the road "after you pass the old castle."¹⁶

It is likely that slave labour (skilled and unskilled) was also used in the construction of two forts on Grand Caymanas during the second half of the 18th century, one at Prospect the other at George Town. The latter, Fort George, is reputed to have had walls three feet thick, although in 1802, Corbet noted that it was "not very well constructed and in which is mounted three

Guns, four or six pounders, but which are by no means well equipped."¹⁷

As a final note on the tasks of skilled slaves in the Caymans, several of the 22 slave mariners listed in the Returns of 1834 were likely to have been turtlers. The eight or nine vessels Corbet observed in harbour in George Town in 1802 were primarily turtle boats that sailed between Grand Cayman and the turtle grounds off the coast of Cuba. Once back in Cayman, the turtles were off-loaded and kept alive in "Crawls made in the sea" until they could be sold to passing vessels en route to Europe or America.¹⁸ If the pattern observed in the Bahamas is anything to go by, some of the men who crewed these and other Cayman-based vessels were slaves owned either by the master of a particular boat or by his employer. Alternately, slave mariners were hired out by their owners. That slave mariners were listed as "Inferior Tradesmen" by their owners in the Returns of 1834 may suggest that where they were taken on board the turtle boats, coastal droghers or the larger Cayman-based vessels that traded with Jamaica, white boatowners and captains did not accord them preferential status as, for example, the Codringtons did their own slave mariners in Barbuda. That is, slave sailors in Cayman were unlikely to have crewed a vessel on their own, and certainly not one captained by a slave, as we shall see they did at Barbuda in the case of a slave sailor named Humanity, for example.¹⁹

In conclusion, it seems that as in the Bahamas, and with the possible exception of slave mariners and turtlers, bondsmen and women in the Caymans were expected to perform a variety of tasks to match the diversity of economic enterprises on which they were employed. Such a fluidity of occupational boundaries in the Cayman case was likely aided by the compactness of the main crop growing area in the centre of the island both before and after the cotton boom that occurred between about 1780 and 1815. Indeed, it was the concentration of the most arable land in this central belt that may also explain why it was that trends in slave

numbers, the average size of holding, the geographic distribution and sex ratio of the enslaved population on Grand Cayman did not alter significantly as the colony shifted from cotton planting to diversified agriculture during the second decade of the 19th century.

TABLE 3.9

CAYMANAS RETURNS OF THE TOTAL NUMBER OF SLAVES IN EACH OF
SIX NAMED DISTRICTS, ACCORDING TO THE SEVERAL CLASSES
AND VALUES THEREOF, 1834.

Praedial Attached

	District	No. Slaves	Value £ s d
<u>Head People:</u>	None listed		
<u>Tradesmen:</u>	None listed		
<u>Inferior Tradesmen:</u>	None listed		
<u>Field Labourers:</u>	Little Caymanas	4	221 8 7
	Bodden Town	97	5,752 16 1
	West Bay	19	1,176 9 4
	S.W. Sound	24	1,456 15 5
	Prospect	61	3,583 3 5
	George Town	31	3,064 12 1
Total District Returns:		236	15,255 4 11

Inferior Field Labourers:

	Little Caymanas	1	48 4 3
	Bodden Town	93	2,859 16 9
	West Bay	7	259 5 5
	S.W. Sound	11	391 15 7
	Prospect	41	1,691 8 2
	George Town	25	726 5 7
Total District Returns:		178	5,976 15 9

Praedial Unattached

There were no Praedial Unattached slaves listed in any of
the Caymanas District Returns filed by James Minot in 1834.

Non Praedial

	District	No. Slaves	£	Value s	d
<u>Head Tradesmen:</u>	Little Caymanas	-		-	
	Bodden Town	4	282	2	9
	West Bay	-		-	
	S.W. Sound	-		-	
	Prospect	9	697	16	9
	George Town	3	211	14	2
Total District Returns:		16	1,191	13	8

Inferior Tradesmen:

	Little Caymanas	-		-	
	Bodden Town	16	1,077	7	9
	West Bay	-		-	
	S.W. Sound	-		-	
	Prospect	12	785	14	0
	George Town	4	280	14	2
Total District Returns:		32	2,143	15	11

Head People employed on Wharfs
Shipping or other Avocations :

None listed

Inferior People of the same Description

	Little Caymanas	1	71	8	7
	Bodden Town	9	530	14	1
	West Bay	-		-	
	S.W. Sound	2	141	15	8
	Prospect	7	512	9	9
	George Town	3	212	1	4
Total District Returns:		22	1,468	9	5

Head Domestic Servants:

	Little Caymanas	-		-	
	Bodden Town	72	4,111	16	4
	West Bay	7	415	5	7
	S.W. Sound	14	919	19	10
	Prospect	42	2,775	3	9
	George Town	27	1,647	2	3
Total District Returns		162	9,869	7	9

Non Praedial (continued)

District	No. Slaves	£	Value s	d
<u>Inferior Domestics:</u>				
Little Caymanas	1	35	14	3
Bodden Town	63	2,132	9	0
West Bay	11	421	5	2
S.W. Sound	11	413	15	6
Prospect	40	1,679	5	2
George Town	20	685	2	4
Total District Returns:	146	5,367	11	5
<u>Children Under Six Years of Age on the 1st August, 1834:</u>				
Little Caymanas	1	30	7	1
Bodden Town	67	1,334	3	8
West Bay	8	197	17	0
S.W. Sound	14	318	11	3
Prospect	50	1,150	8	1
George Town	16	378	4	0
Total District Returns:	156	3,409	11	1
<u>Aged, Diseased, or otherwise Non-effective:</u>				
Little Caymanas	-	-	-	-
Bodden Town	4	30	11	11
West Bay	-	-	-	-
S.W. Sound	3	12	17	1
Prospect	3	18	11	4
George Town	4	19	19	11
Total District Returns:	14	82	0	3
<u>Total of Each Return:</u>				
Little Cayman	8	407	2	9
Bodden Town	425	18,111	18	4
West Bay	52	2,470	2	6
S.W. Sound	79	3,655	10	4
Prospect	265	12,894	0	5
George Town	133	7,225	15	10
Total District Returns:	962	44,764	10	2

Note: It is not clear why the total number of slaves recorded here fails to match the 985 listed in Minot's summary of his Report (T71/243 ff.133-34).

Praedial Attached Slaves were those employed on lands owned by their masters/mistresses, Praedial Unattached Slaves were those hired out for field work by their owners, while Non Praedial Slaves were those who lived on agricultural holdings but served in their owners' households.

Source: T71/734: Caymanas District Returns, ff.3-12.

REFERENCES

1. T71/743, Microfilm Copy, Cayman Islands National Archive.
2. T71/243, Microfilm Copy, CINA.
3. Ibid.
4. In contrast, hiring-out arrangements in Jamaica, for example, could last up to a year and longer, particularly in the case of jobbing gangs which toured the estates of the island at crop and harvest times and which were employed by plantation owners to ease the field demands placed upon their own slaves so that these might be deployed elsewhere on the estate.
5. T71/243, Microfilm Copy, CINA.
6. CO137/181 ff.403.
7. Michael Craton, Research into the History of the Cayman Islands, 1998: Draft of Chapter 5, p.29.
8. Ibid., Chapter 6, p.76.
9. T71/243, Microfilm Copy, CINA.
10. George Gauld, Remarks on Map.
11. Barry Higman, Slave Populations of the British Caribbean, p.49.
12. National Library of Jamaica, Nugent Papers, (MS.72) 297N: William Eden et.al. to Nugent, December 20th, 1804.
13. Neville Williams, A History of the Cayman Islands, p.35.
14. Ibid., p.5.
15. Nathaniel Glover arrived in the Caymans in 1831 as American Consul at George Town. The letter from which the description of house building in the Caymans is taken was quoted in a communication dated April 14th, 1841 sent by a Mr.E. Lockyer, a missionary, to his principals in London. The letter also appears in E.F. Aguilar and P.T. Saunders, The Cayman Islands: their Postal History and Postmarks (F.J. Parsons Ltd, Folkestone, England, 1962), pp.8-14.

16. Ms. Carrie Hurlstone is the granddaughter of Joseph Eden, one of two "coloured boys" adopted by William Eden the younger and to whom Pedro Castle was jointly bequeathed when he died. Ms. Carrie (born in December, 1910) was interviewed by the Cayman Islands Memory Bank on March 16th, 1992 and her recollections about slave involvement in the construction of Pedro Castle appear in the transcription of that interview held by the Memory Bank at CINA.
17. Edward Corbet, Report and Census of 1802. p.4.
18. Ibid., p.5.
19. D1610 A6/11, September 28th, 1796, GRO.

BELIZE

The Belize territory was unique even among the marginal colonies of the BWI in the sense that for the duration of the period of formal slavery in the Bay Settlement, there was only one "industry" in which bondsmen imported into the territory were employed, that is, timber cutting. As noted in Section I, the initial *raison d'être* of British settlement in the Bay of Honduras in the early 17th century was the cutting and export of logwood which continued until a depression in that trade in the early 1770s prompted a switch to mahogany cutting, an enterprise legalized by the Convention of London in 1786, and one which remained the basis of the primary export of Belize until well after emancipation in 1834.

With respect to the pattern of settlement and the distribution of slaves in Belize prior to the Spanish attack on St. George's Cay in 1779, as also noted, most of the British settlers in the territory lived on the Cay itself but employed the majority of their slaves on "plantations" and logwood Works scattered along the banks of several rivers on the mainland.¹ When British loggers and their families were allowed to return to the Bay area en masse in 1783 by articles contained in the Treaty of Versailles, most of them settled in what became known as Belize Town at the mouth of the Belize River from where they continued to deploy their slaves inland in search of timber.

It has already been suggested that the shift from logwood cutting to mahogany extraction in Belize in the 1780s brought with it changes in the economic as well as political organization of the Settlement. Whereas the extraction of logwood was a relatively small-scale operation in which a white settler could cut logwood "with a single Negro...",² because the mahogany tree was larger, it grew further inland and in a more scattered pattern than logwood, mahogany cutting required larger amounts of capital, land and labour. Indeed, the results of several censuses carried out in the territory post-1779 suggest that following resettlement in 1783 and the arrival of the Mosquito Shore

evacuees in 1787, slave ownership in Belize was concentrated in the hands of a small group of settlers who controlled most of the largest mahogany works in the territory as well as the Public Meeting and Magistracy by which Belize was locally governed.

In the census carried out in October 1790, for example, of 2,656 slaves enumerated (see Table 3.10), 1,085 of these (40%) were distributed across 20 estates, most of which were found in the Belize River valley and along the hundreds of smaller rivers and creeks in the north of the territory. By Jamaican standards, these estates were relatively small with only one (that of James Pitt Lawrie) having more than 100 slaves. Each of the remaining 19 estates possessed at least 30 slaves, the approximate optimum size of comparable units in the Caymans, for example. Most of the largest slaveowners in Belize in 1790 were white males (including the "Old Baymen" Messers Hoare, O'Brien, McAuley, Bartlett, Potts, Meighan and Tucker mentioned by Superintendent Despard in his despatch to Lord Sydney in 1787), although "coloured men" such as Jonathan Card and Stephen Winter possessed more than 30 slaves each. James Pitt Lawrie was himself a "Free man of Colour". At the other end of the continuum, 35 of the 159 free "Heads of Families" enumerated (20%) possessed no slaves at all, and another 18 of these owned less than 3 slaves each, that is, below the minimum number of 4 slaves required by the earlier noted resolutions of 1787 to be allowed to cut mahogany in the territory. In sum, one third of the free heads of families enumerated in Belize in 1790 could not legally engage in the Settlement's principal economic activity.

This was a pattern that was to continue through to emancipation, and beyond. Of 244 free heads of families registered in the Bay Settlement in 1816, for instance, 11 of these (4%) owned 1,013 slaves or 37% of the total (that is, 2,742 bondsmen: see Table 3.11) for an average sized holding of 90 slaves; 108 free heads of families owned 185 slaves between them for an average of 2 slaves per holding while 125 (5%) owned no slaves at all. The census of 1820 counted 2,563 slaves in Belize (see Table 3.11) owned by 211 slaveholders for an average of 12

slaves per unit, although the 5 largest holdings accounted for 669 slaves or 26% of the Belize total.³

The nature of timber extraction in the Bay Settlement during both the logwood and mahogany periods resulted in a unique demographic feature of the territory's enslaved population, that is, and unusually for the British Caribbean as a whole, there was a very clear sexual division of slave labour in Belize where male bondsmen (numbering 1,194 in 1834) were by and large set to work in timber extraction while slave women (728 in 1834) were concentrated in domestic work and in "making plantations". By comparison, and as we have seen, such occupational rigidity was atypical of both the sugar islands and the other marginal colonies in the region. As per Table 3.12 which illustrates the occupations of Belizean slaves in 1834,⁴ although some male slaves did work on "plantations" in the Settlement, most of these (30 of 37 enumerated out of a total of 1,194 males) were over the age of 50 and/or infirm while there were no female slave woodcutters at all registered in 1834. Indeed, the arduous nature of timber extraction in Belize seems to have persuaded slaveowners in the territory to concentrate their efforts on the purchase of male slaves; in the years between 1745 and 1834 for which figures are available, female slaves of working age were outnumbered by their male contemporaries at least 2 to 1 in the territory (see Table 3.11).

As the occupations of slaves in the Bay Settlement are considered, it is clear from Table 3.12 that in contrast to the situation in the rest of the British Caribbean including the marginal colonies, "cultivation formed no part of the leading pursuits of the British settlers at Honduras",⁵ and the nomenclature *field slave* is taken here to mean the majority of slaves who worked as woodcutters in the timber cuts of the territory. As well, skilled slaves in the Bay Settlement were employed in trades directly related to timber extraction and their roles as carpenters, boatmen and cattlemen will be considered along side those of woodcutters. For their part, domestic slaves in Belize seem to have performed the duties

required of their contemporaries in the wider Caribbean, as they did in the Caymans and the Bahamas.

Following the resettlement of Belize in 1783, most male slaves in the territory were employed as *woodcutters*, primarily in the extraction of mahogany which accounted for over 75% of all male bondsmen aged 10 years or older for whom an occupation was listed in 1834 (see Table 3.12). Just under 90% of all male slaves in the physically mature age range of 20 to 49 years (546 of 610) were employed in woodcutting in Belize which also absorbed 70% of male slaves over the age of 50 years (160 of 228 enumerated). As in the Bahamas and Cayman, there were few alternative occupations for aging labourers in the Belize territory. Indeed, after woodcutting, the most viable alternative for elderly male slaves in the Settlement was "making plantations" where "plantation" referred not to the large estate common in the sugar islands of the Caribbean but to small plots of vegetables, corn, and other subsistence crops grown for the most part on land belonging to their owners; 46% of male slaves over 50 years of age and not employed as woodcutters were registered as plantation men in 1834.

At the other end of age continuum, most young male slaves in Belize for whom an occupation was listed in 1834 (that is, those aged 9 years and younger) were attached to domestic units until the majority of them were assigned to the Settlement's mahogany Works as apprentices in their early teens. As in the Caymans and the Bahamas, a few of these young male slaves were apprenticed into the skilled trades, that is, they became assistants to carpenters, boatmen and to cattlemen either in Belize Town or upriver in the mahogany Works. Taken together, these trades accounted for just over 4% of the enslaved male population (53 of 1,194) in the Belize territory with carpenters and their apprentices as the single largest skilled occupational category outside woodcutting.

An average sized mahogany holding in Belize in the late 18th century covered a large area incorporating some 3 miles of river frontage and anything up to 8 miles or more in depth depending on

the existence of a river or creek at the back of the Work. As we have seen, no resident of Belize not actually possessed of at least "four able negro men slaves" was entitled to a mahogany Work in the territory,⁶ although from the following comprehensive description of mahogany extraction in Belize at the turn of the 19th century, most woodcutting gangs were comprised of at least 10 slaves. According to Captain George Henderson (1809) who was stationed in Belize with the Fifth West India Regiment at the time,

There are two seasons for the cutting of mahogany: the first commencing shortly after Christmas, or at the conclusion of what is termed the wet season, the other about the middle of the year. At such periods all is activity and the falling of trees, or the trucking out of those that have been fallen, form their chief employments. Some of the wood is rough squared on the spot, but this part of the labour is generally suspended until the logs are rafted to the different rivers' mouths. These rafts often consist of more than two hundred logs, and are floated as many hundred miles....The gangs of negroes employed in this work consist of from ten to fifty each; few exceed the latter number. The large bodies are commonly divided into several small ones, a plan which it is supposed greatly facilitates labour... The mahogany tree is commonly cut about twelve feet from the ground, and a stage is erected for the axe-man employed in levelling it... The logs of mahogany are generally brought out by cattle and trucks to the water side, or to the Barquadier...which has been previously prepared by the foreman of the work for their reception. When the distance is great, this is a labour of infinite and tedious difficulty. As soon as a sufficient number to form a raft is collected, and the waters

have gained the necessary height, they are singly thrown from the banks, and require no other aid or guidance than the force of the current to float them to the booms, which are large cables placed across the rivers at different eddies or falls. Here they are once more collected; each party claiming his own from the general mass, and formed into separate rafts for their final destination. Sometimes, more than a thousand logs together are supported by the booms...⁷

It is clear from Henderson's account that those slaves listed as woodcutters in the Register of 1834 actually had distinct occupations once they had arrived at a mahogany Work as part of a timber gang. There was, for example, the highly skilled and dangerous job of the *axmen* who felled trees by swinging heavy axes in tandem on a temporary platform constructed around the base of the tree about 12 feet above the forest floor. Most slave axmen in Belize worked singly or in pairs rather than in a gang and given that the largest mahogany trees were between 6 and 8 feet in diameter at the base, their work required great physical strength and technique developed over time.

Enslaved axmen in Belize would almost certainly have been differentiated by skill from other slaves in the timber gang whose task it was to trim the trees once these were down and to clear the track along which the logs were trucked to the rivers' edge during the dry season (April and May). On occasion, these roads sometimes stretched up to 10 miles inland from the river banks. These slaves were also the ones responsible for roughly squaring the mahogany logs once these had been floated downstream and retrieved from the boom at the rivers' mouth.

Cattlemen employed in a mahogany Work were required to feed and work the cattle used in trucking the huge trunks to the rivers' edge while a few slaves (probably youths and occasionally women) prepared the food and generally looked after the gang's provisions brought up from Belize Town or grown in small garden plots adjacent to the Work.

From this description of the tasks of timber gangs once they had reached the up-country concessions, it seems that these were more specialized than those expected of field gangs on sugar estates in the British Caribbean where the majority of slaves were engaged in unskilled field labour with the hoe. Indeed, the Belize gang systems were essentially different from those employed on sugar estates in the region. Here, and as we have seen, the gang system incorporated slaves from childhood through to relatively old age, women were usually at least as common in the field gangs as men, and their collective work regimes were more fixed and arguably more intensive than those demanded of timber slaves by their owners in Belize.

The success or failure of the work of an entire timber gang in a season depended on the skill of a slave *hunter* whose chief occupation was to locate the stands of mahogany and to guide the rest of the gang to them. According to Henderson (1809),

About the beginning of August, the hunter is dispatched on his errand...He cuts his way through the thickest of the woods to the highest spots, and climbs the tallest tree he finds, from which he surveys the surrounding country. At this season, the leaves of the mahogany tree are invariably of a yellow reddish hue, and an eye accustomed to this kind of exercise can discover, at a great distance, the places where the wood is most abundant...⁸

Once he had located a stand of mahogany, a hunter had also to cover his tracks carefully in order to protect his find from rivals until he could bring the rest of the gang up to the site. As Nigel Bolland (1978) suggests, a "considerable" mahogany cutter in Belize thus depended not only on his hunter's skill in finding the mahogany but also upon his sense of loyalty in reporting his discovery,⁹ circumstances that contrived to give slave hunters in Belize a considerable degree of independence and to make them the most highly valued slaves in the territory;

Henderson (1809) notes that "a negro of this description is often valued at more than five hundred pounds."¹⁰ At the time, a "seasoned" male slave in Belize was worth between £200 and £300 while the average price paid for a slave in the territory in the 1820s (including children and the aged and infirm) was approximately £120.¹¹

Outside of the occupations directly connected with timber extraction in the Settlement, slaves in Belize were engaged primarily in domestic work and the cultivation of provisions. Of 605 female slaves for whom an occupation was listed in 1834, 125 of these (20%) were enumerated as "Housemaid/Servant or Domestic", all but 6 of whom were aged 10 years and older. However, with the exception of 11 slaves listed as "Plantation Women" (about 1% of the total), 30 listed as "Drudge" and 9 as "Other", every female slave registered in Belize in 1834 performed domestic duties of one description or another. Indeed, domestic work accounted for over 90% of female slaves in the Bay Settlement in 1834. As per Table 3.12, washerwomen comprised the largest single domestic work category with 160 females so listed (26% of the total), all of whom were aged 10 years and older. There were 117 cooks (19%), 53 seamstresses (9%) and 45 chambermaids (7%) registered in the territory in 1834. The majority (85% in each case) of female slaves listed as cooks, washerwomen and housemaids/servants were in the physically mature age range of 20 to 49 years while most of the waiting girls and chambermaids were under the age of 19, a circumstance that suggests the latter served as apprenticeships from which young female Belizean slaves were selected in their late teens for more physically demanding labour as cooks, washerwomen and house servants.

The cultivation of provisions for local consumption had been a custom of Belizean slaves since the earliest days of settlement. Like John Bodden's mahogany gang on Grand Cayman in the 1730s, slaves employed in logwood cutting in Belize in the 17th and 18th centuries were required to supplement often irregular supplies from Jamaica with locally grown produce. As

noted, by 1779, these "plantations" extended along the banks of most of the main rivers in Belize where logwood was being cut. The switch to mahogany following the slump in the logwood trade did not in itself alter these arrangements in the long term, although as noted in Section II, there is evidence to suggest that until a compromise was arrived at in 1789, the Spanish Commissioners who visited the Settlement twice a year to enforce the terms of the Convention of 1786 actively discouraged even the cultivation of subsistence plots in the territory. After 1789, each settler was allowed "to mark out a proper plot of Ground to serve as a Garden...where he may sow Garden Stuff, Potatoes, Indian Corn, Roots and Vegetables for his Consumption..."¹² The extent of the plantation grounds in Belize is unclear, although Henderson (1809) mentioned that "Every Settlement at Honduras has its plantain walk (with) the pineapple and melon being commonly interspersed between the rows of plantains..."¹³ What is clear is that the 48 plantation men and women listed in the Slave Register of 1834 (about 2% of the territory's enslaved population) were required by their owners to work such grounds, although these were also often cultivated on the initiative of Belizean slaves themselves. According to one settler in 1788, for example, slaves in the Belize territory were

...ever accustomed to make Plantation as they term it, by which means they support their Wives and Children, raise a little Stock and so furnish themselves with necessaries etc...¹⁴

From this observation, it seems that as well as slaves listed as plantation men, many of the woodcutters returning to Belize Town at the end of a mahogany season got involved in "making plantations" in order to provision themselves and their families during the forthcoming season. Thus, as in the Bahamas and Cayman, there was a tendency for some slaves in the Belize territory to double-up their tasks as and when required.

This is certainly the impression conveyed by the contents of a *Collective Journal of Transactions and Occurences in the Business of Mahogany and Logwood Cutting* kept by the aforementioned James Pitt Lawrie of Rowley's Bight in the Bay of Honduras, and covering the period between the 13th of February and the 26th of June, 1789.¹⁵ At the time of writing, Lawrie owned a total of 107 slaves comprising 41 men, 18 boys, 34 women and 14 girls (ages not specified). The primary mahogany Work on which Lawrie's slaves were then employed was called Mount Pleasant from which felled logs were floated downstream to a second and smaller Work closer to the coast at Rowley's Bight referred to in the Journal as Sea Side. This was where most of the mahogany logs were cross-cut and squared before being loaded aboard one of several privately-owned schooners for transport to Belize Town where it was in turn loaded on to ocean-going vessels for export.

To take the two most busy of the four months covered by the Journal, in April and May of 1789, a total of 287 mahogany logs and 27 "plank" were trucked out of Mount Pleasant and rafted downstream to Sea Side. Several loads of logwood were also sent down (there is no mention of what quantity of logwood constituted a single load) over the two month period during which only 4 mahogany logs were trucked out of the Work at Sea Side itself. All of the heavy labour at both Mount Pleasant and Sea Side (that is, the trucking, cross-cutting and squaring, and loading) was carried out by male slaves on the "estate" who appear to have worked in gangs that were sent back and forth between the two Works depending on the tasks required. On Monday the 20th of April, for example, "Chelsea's gang" was "backing Logwood" at Sea Side which had been received from Mount Pleasant that day. The gang continued "running Logwood" for the next 3 days and on Friday the 24th were required to load it aboard "the Nancy Schooner and Boat Welcome..."¹⁶ Evidently, it took 2 days to load the logwood during which some of the slaves at Sea Side "down the Boat Welcome and cleaned her bottom..." On Sunday May 10th, Lawrie notes that "Chelsea's Gang given over cutting Logwood to

be employed them falling Trees..." while at Mount Pleasant "arrived Skibereen and Gang to work here..." Skibereen's gang had come up from Sea Side and for the rest of the month, they were employed at Mount Pleasant cutting paths to the wood and trucking out logs, squaring, and assembling rafts to be floated downriver to Sea Side. It is never clear from the Journal exactly how many slaves made up either Chelsea's or Skibereen's gang, although on Sunday May 24th, Lawrie records that he sent from Mount Pleasant the "Driver Quamina and 15 Men and 5 Women to the Sea Side to work..." Four more "hands" were sent down to Sea Side the next day where they spent the rest of the month "loading the schooner...Cross Cutting and Squaring, falling Trees and Cutting Paths."

Outside of any domestic duties they may have performed at Sea Side and Mount Pleasant (and these are never detailed in the Journal), it is the last of the above activities that involved female slaves on the Lawrie estate. For instance, while all the men at Sea Side were sent up to Mount Pleasant on the 10th of April, "the Wenches" remained behind to cut "a new main Path at the back of the Houses..." Female slaves may also have been among the "plantation people Planting Yams in new Ground" at Mount Pleasant on Thursday the 14th of May, and were certainly "making plantations" at that Work for most of June once all the available mahogany had been felled and trucked out of the Work. Indeed, on Monday June 15th, Lawrie notes that his "People in Plantation putting up propping Sticks for Yams, Women howing ground for rice." Corn, cucumber, turnips, peas, beans, mustard, beet and cabbages were also being grown at Mount Pleasant by the "plantation people" in June of 1789.

As a closing note on slave occupations at Belize, most of the supervision of the Lawrie estate's timber slaves seems to have been carried out either by James Lawrie himself, by a Logwood Cutter named Jasper Beazly or by the "Driver Quamina" (a male slave) referred to above. In the inventory of the estate which appears at the end of the Journal, three hunters are named (Dublin, Asky and Tureen) and these were the slaves tasked with

locating the stands of mahogany. The only other reference to the work of a *skilled* slave in the Journal (that is, outside of those involved directly in woodcutting) appears on the 13th of April when Lawrie records that a carpenter (probably a slave named Peter) was "employed Stocking the Sloops Anchor..."¹⁷ No slaves on the estate were specifically listed as boatmen but it is likely that at least a few of the male slaves belonging to James Lawrie helped their owner sail the *Nancy* and the *Welcome* to and from Belize Town. They would certainly have been aboard the estate's pitpans and shallow-draughted dorries as these followed the log rafts downstream from Mount Pleasant to Sea Side, in order to lift them off any snags encountered en route.

As in the Bahamas and the Caymans pre and post cotton, the geographic and "crop" specificity of timber in Belize directly impacted upon the type of work regime endured by slaves in the Settlement compared to that of their contemporaries labouring in the sugar colonies of the BWI. It is clear from the Lawrie Journal, for example, that woodcutting slaves were expected to move between their owner's timber concessions as and when required and were as a result less fixed to their place of work than sugar slaves. The nature of timber cutting in Belize also ensured that the timber gangs were generally smaller and more specialized than sugar gangs and that slave woodcutters endured a less intensive labour regime. This is not to say that their tasks were less arduous, only that the compulsion to labour for timber slaves in Belize seems not to have been as constant as it was for sugar slaves in the BWI generally.

TABLE 3.10POPULATION OF THE BAY OF HONDURAS BY LEGAL STATUS AND SEX,
OCTOBER, 1790.

	Free		Slaves
	White	"Coloured" or Black	
Men	174	120	1,019
Women	46	132	515
Children	41	119	418
Total	261	371	2,024

Source: CO123/9: "General Return of the Inhabitants in the Bay of Honduras...", October 22nd, 1790.

TABLE 3.11

SLAVE POPULATION OF THE BELIZE TERRITORY, 1745-1832

Year	Male	Female	Children	Total
1745	-	-	-	120
1779	-	-	-	3,000
1790	1,091	515	418	2,024
1803	1,700	675	584	2,959
1806	1,489	588	450	2,527
1809	-	-	-	3,000
1816	-	-	-	2,742
1820	1,537	600	426	2,563
1823	1,440	628	400	2,468
1826	1,373	577	460	2,410
1829	1,113	486	428	2,037
1832	895	435	453	1,783

Sources:

- 1745: CO137/48. Inhabitants of the Bay of Honduras to Major Caulfield, June 8th, 1745.
- 1779: CO137/75. Unsigned letter to Governor Dalling, September 3rd, 1779.
- 1790: CO123/9. "General Return of the Inhabitants of the Bay of Honduras...", October 22nd, 1790.
- 1803: CO123/15. "A Short Sketch of the present situation of the Settlement of Honduras...", Superintendent Thomas Barrow, March 31st, 1803.
- 1806: CO123/17. Brigadier General H.T. Montresor to Governor Eyre Coote, October 22nd, 1806.
- 1809: CO123/18. "Remarks upon the Situation Trade etc..." Superintendent Thomas Barrow, May 1st, 1809.
- 1816-1832: Censuses of the Slave Population at Belize, General Registry of Belize, Belize City.

Extracted from: Nigel Bolland, "Slavery in Belize". In Journal of Belizean Affairs (January, 1978), p.7.

TABLE 3.12

MALE SLAVE OCCUPATIONS BY AGE, BELIZE, 1834

Occupation	0-9	10-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	Over 60	Total
None	140	1	-	-	-	-	3	144
Woodcutter	1	88	158	144	244	121	39	795
Waiting Boy	56	42	2	-	-	-	-	100
Labourer	-	2	4	2	9	13	8	38
Carpenter/ Carpenter's Boy	-	5	12	5	5	2	1	30
Plantation Man	1	2	-	-	4	11	19	37
Sailor/Boatman	-	3	3	3	-	3	1	13
Cattleman	-	3	3	1	1	1	1	10
Footman	5	3	1	-	-	-	-	9
Washerwoman	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Housemaid/Servant or Domestic	-	2	-	-	-	2	-	4
Chambermaid	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Cook	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Seamstress	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Drudge	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Other	-	2	4	2	3	1	2	14
Total								1,194

FEMALE SLAVE OCCUPATIONS BY AGE, BELIZE, 1834

Occupation	0-9	10-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	Over 60	Total
None	122	1	-	-	-	-	-	123
Woodcutter	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Waiting Girl	40	14	1	-	-	-	-	55
Carpenter	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Plantation Woman	-	-	3	2	1	1	4	11
Sailor/Boatman	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Cattleman	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Footman	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Washerwoman	-	9	52	37	47	14	1	160
Housemaid/Servant or Domestic	6	48	47	10	6	4	4	125
Chambermaid	2	30	12	1	-	-	-	45
Cook	-	4	34	38	28	9	4	117
Seamstress	10	17	18	6	2	-	-	53
Drudge	-	2	3	3	8	9	5	30
Other	2	-	2	1	1	3	-	9
Total								728

Source: Slave Register, 1834, Belize Archives Department.

REFERENCES

1. CO137/5. Unsigned letter to Governor Dalling, September 3rd, 1799.
2. CO123/5. Superintendent Despard to Lord Sydney, August 17th, 1787.
3. CO123/11. "List of the Inhabitants of Honduras, 1790". Censuses of 1816, 1820, Belize Archives Department, Belmopan.
4. As noted in the Introduction to the study, the only comprehensive occupational data available on the slave population of Belize is that found in the single Registration Return filed for the territory in 1834 as part of the process of detemining the amounts of compensation due to slave owners in the Settlement at emancipation.
5. Captain G. Henderson, An Account of the British Settlement of Honduras (London, 1809), p.39.
6. CO123/5. Laws of Honduras, 1806-10. Belize Archives Department, Belmopan.
7. Henderson, An Account of the British Settlement of Honduras, pp. 46-7, 50-1, 53-4, 74-5.
8. Ibid., p.47.
9. Nigel Bolland, "Slavery in Belize". In Journal of Belizean Affairs (January, 1978), pp.9-10.
10. Henderson, An Account of the British Settlement of Honduras, p.47.
11. Bolland, "Slavery in Belize", p.24.
12. CO123/7. Count de Floridablanca to Anthony Merry, May 30th, 1789.
13. Henderson, An Account of the British Settlement of Honduras, p.42.
14. Codd to Earl Bathurst, March 8th, 1823. AB R.4, Belize Archives Department, Belmopan.

15. GD461/27. The Lawrie Papers, SRO, Edinburgh. James Pitt Lawrie was the son of the Superintendent of the Mosquito Shore (Colonel James Lawrie) at the time of that settlement's evacuation in 1787 under the terms of the Convention of London (1786). Lawrie had longstanding connections with settlers in the Belize territory and migrated there with his family and slaves in 1787.
16. James Pitt Lawrie owned a half share in the schooner *Nancy* and owned the *Welcome* outright. GD461/27.
17. GD461/27.

BARBUDA

Among the marginal colonies of the BWI, Barbuda itself was unique in that for all intents and purposes, the island was managed and operated as a single estate for the duration of the Codrington lease. Originally established to provide the family's sugar plantations in Barbados and more particularly Antigua with livestock, managers at Barbuda gradually diversified the operation in the aftermath of the American War of Independence until limited quantities of provision crops were also being supplied to the Antigua estates as well as to local markets in St. John's.

In terms of their absolute numbers at Barbuda, Table 3.13 illustrates the estimated slave population of the island between 1761 and 1832, virtually all of whom lived in the estate's only settlement at Codrington village on the low-lying central plain near the main estate buildings on the eastern shore of the lagoon. As noted in earlier sections of the study, most of the work of slaves on Barbuda was also carried out in this general area, although estate slaves involved in stock raising were required periodically to roam the Highlands in search of animals to be brought down to the enclosed pastures near the village so that these might be readied for shipment to Betty's Hope. Similarly, slave sailors at Barbuda spent a good deal of their time away from the island while those bondsmen involved in turtling, fishing, and in wreck salvage left the confines of the estate for shorter periods as required.

As in the Bahamas and the Caymans, the slave population at Barbuda from the second half of the 18th century onwards was a relatively balanced one with males generally outnumbering females in the years covered by Table 3.14, for instance, by less than 4% of the total. In this period, as previously, field work accounted for the majority of slaves on the island with 52% of bondsmen enumerated in 1805 employed in the "plantation" grounds and enclosed pastures to the east of the village. For reasons to be examined in Section IV of the study, this figure (which includes

"Second Gang" slaves as well as "Grass Pickers") fell to 40% in each of 1814 and 1817 but field work continued as the primary occupation for the majority of slaves on Barbuda through to emancipation in 1834.

In keeping with the pattern established in the Bahamas and the Caymans, and in those sugar islands of the British Caribbean where the sex ratio was low, female slaves dominated the field gangs in Barbuda. For instance, the Slave Lists for 1805, 1814 and 1817 (Table 3.14) record that twice the number of women as men were attached to the estate's Great Gang which was made up primarily of black slaves aged between 16 and 58 years. Sixty one of 86 field slaves registered in 1817 were female among whom 37 were black and 24 coloured. Of 25 male slaves counted in the Great Gang that year, 22 were described as black. There were 25 slaves counted in the Second Gang in 1817 which consisted mostly of adolescents aged between 12 and 18 years, and where the ratio of male to female was more evenly balanced than in the Great Gang; there were 12 male and 13 female Second Gang slaves listed in 1817. Again, most of these were black (8 males and 9 females). There were 44 slaves in all in the Grass Gang in 1817 which accounted for the majority of slaves on Barbuda aged between 9 and 14 years, and in which there were 22 males and 22 females enumerated with nearly twice as many blacks (29) as coloureds (15) in the Gang.¹

As far as the work carried out by *field slaves* in Barbuda is concerned, it is important to bear in mind that, as in the Bahamas and the Caymans post-cotton, the variety and scale of crops grown on the island meant that it was often difficult for the resident manager and his overseers to establish a fixed pattern of work for field slaves on Barbuda. Also, and as noted in Section II, the field work of slaves on the estate might be interrupted for several days and/or weeks at a time if a ship ran aground on one of the island's reefs and a significant enough number of field slaves were required for salvage operations both on and off shore, or alternately, if these slaves were needed to round up livestock for transport to Antigua.

That said, and as intimated in the above mentioned Slave Lists, it appears that slaves employed in agricultural labour on Barbuda were at least loosely divided into 3 gangs. The first and second of these performed the most arduous tasks on the island and we have some indication of their routine over a 3 month period contained in a Journal kept by William Collins, the resident manager from 1793-1801 (see Appendix 1), showing the *Employment of the Negroes in the Island of Barbuda during February, March and April, 1797*. Though Collins does not record the precise numbers in each of the 3 gangs, we know from a list of "Negro Employments" compiled by Christopher Bethell Codrington in January of 1791 that there were then on Barbuda 17 "Field Negroe men from 20 to 40 Years", 43 "Field Negroe women from 20 to 48 Years", and 6 "Field Negroe Girls of 15 to 17 Years". There were also 20 girls and 16 boys from 8 to 13 years of age "pushing cotton, weeding, carrying grass for the Stable and c."²

In February of 1797, of 24 work days in the month (that is, excluding Sundays when "All hands in their Grounds"), the Great Gang spent about three quarters of its time in the fields where the work was varied and included weeding, gathering and tying corn, threshing, making ricks and preparing other acreages for the crop. As well, on different days, the Great Gang raised stones for the masons, drove sheep and on Thursday the 16th, careened a sloop in the lagoon for repairs. In March, about half the working days were spent on tasks in the fields while the remaining days were taken up with driving sheep, erecting and repairing fences, cutting wood, filling in a lime kiln, cutting wattles, raising stones and fishing. In April, the Great Gang spent more than half its working days in the field where they weeded (on one occasion for 5 consecutive days) and dug holes for planting corn and yams. The remainder of their time was again given over to repairing fences that enclosed the pasture east of the village, to raising stones, and cutting and cording wood.

Over the three month period, the Second Gang helped the first to gather and tie corn but at other times appear to have worked separately. In April, for example, they spent only 7

working days in the fields where they husked and winnowed corn with the Great Gang but spent much of the rest of their work days performing a variety of tasks for the island's slave craftsmen; 7 days were spent attending the masons with sand, for instance, 3 days were given over to carrying lime from the kiln and another 3 days to helping at the tanning pits located near the Castle just west of Codrington village.

The third field gang (the Grass Gang or Grass Pickers) were meanwhile engaged in relatively light tasks such as drawing water for the stock in the various enclosed pens, taking general care of the domestic cattle in these enclosures, watching over and lightly weeding the provision plantations, carrying grass to the stable at the Castle, and picking cotton.³

For the Great Gang, the physical demands of their tasks were often augmented by the need to travel considerable distances (mostly on foot) to carry out their work. In March of 1797, for instance, slaves in the Great Gang were directed to cut wood first in the Highlands and then at Coco Point on the south-east shore of the island (see Map 5). From Codrington village, it is a 5 mile hike along a track to the Highland plateau and 4 miles to the woodland at Coco Point, daily round trips of approximately 10 and 8 miles respectively. Once at these locales, the slaves were instructed to cut the wood and then to ferry it back to the landing stage at the wharf near the Castle where it was loaded aboard one of the island's shallow-hulled droghers for shipment to Antigua.⁴ It was these distances that Barbudan slaves were obliged to traverse in order to complete the wide variety of their tasks that prompted Dennis Reynolds to ask Sir William Codrington for more slaves in 1786;

...such an extensive Island as this is where there is so much work to be done on diff't parts must be very laborius to a small Gang of Negroes such as I have here now.

It is not clear how many field slaves Reynolds had under his charge at the time, although in 1783 there were 27 male and 53 female "field Negroes" from 15 to 40 years of age at Barbuda. For the record, Sir William did not act upon Reynolds' request and no slaves were imported into Barbuda in 1786, or indeed in most years through to emancipation.⁵

Field slaves, particularly adult males, were also obliged to take part in salvage operations when vessels ran aground on one of the island's reefs. As these wrecks usually occurred in bad weather and often at considerable distances from the shore, salvage operations at Barbuda were by their nature dangerous undertakings for the slaves (and whites) involved. For instance, a Barbudan slave was drowned at the *Sancta Rita* in 1776,⁶ and 4 slaves were killed during the salvage of a brig in 1805.⁷ There was also sometimes much work to be done before the actual salvage got underway. To attend to one wreck in 1817, for example, the boats had to be carried 3 miles overland and then rowed several miles to the actual wreck site.⁸ In 1821, John James oversaw the salvage of a vessel wrecked 7 miles offshore which entailed he and his slave salvors having to sleep at sea in the boats for a week.⁹ One of the most vivid descriptions of the difficulties encountered by Barbudan salvors was also given by John James and involved the wreck of the HMS *Woolwich* off the north coast of the island during a severe gale on September 11th, 1813. The *Woolwich* and the brig *Vine* for which she was providing escort cover both ran aground about a mile and a half offshore and the salvage operation lasted 3 days. For two of those days, the sea was so heavy that

it was with great difficulty we could keep the boats a long side, she was Nearly full of Water when we got to her, and is now gone to pieces. The Lumber Vessel (the *Vine*) was two Miles from the shore, and so surrounded with Rocks that whenever the Sea became

rougher than usual, we were obliged to quit her, we had ten miles to Row Morning and Evening to and from them...¹⁰

While Samuel Redhead claimed to have used 70 slaves from Barbuda in the salvage of the *Sancta Rita* in 1776, it is not always clear from the records available how many Barbudan slaves were involved in the salvage of wrecks generally as this would have depended not only upon the distance of a wreck from the shore but also upon the degree of Barbudan involvement in the salvage operation itself. There were occasions, for example, when damaged ships were refloated and/or their cargoes recovered by Royal Navy vessels stationed at English Harbour in Antigua, or when the circumstances of a wreck were such that the stricken vessel's own crew were able to play a major role in the salvage. In one such operation in 1812, for example, the crew of the brig *Opossum* managed to recover most of the ship's cargo themselves, although the vessel's captain did acknowledge the assistance he had received from an overseer and 30 hand-picked slaves from Barbuda.¹¹

As in much of the rest of the BWI, *domestic* work was virtually the only alternative occupation open to female slaves on Barbuda wishing to escape the fields. However, given that there were rarely ever more than two or three overseers working under a solitary resident manager on the island, it would have been difficult for female slaves thus inclined to obtain a domestic position on Barbuda. Indeed, only one slave was employed as a domestic in 1766, there were 7 listed in 1783, 9 in 1805, 5 in 1814 and 10 in 1817, accounting for between only one and three percent of the total slave population between 1783 and 1817. Of the 7 domestics enumerated in 1783, 4 were women aged between 40 and 60 years charged with "Washing and Cooking for White People" while 3 "negro boys" aged between 12 and 15 years were described as "Waiting on white people". As per Table 3.14, and with the exception of 1805 when all domestics listed were females, there were usually at least 2 males employed as

domestics on Barbuda, most often as house servants. In 1817, of 10 domestics listed, only 2 were black.

While their duties do not feature in the Journal kept by William Collins in 1797, most of the domestics on Barbuda were employed as cooks, housemaids and laundresses to the whites resident on the island, and in some instances, were likely also to have been expected to perform sexual services for them.

The ranks of the *skilled* trades in Barbuda were dominated by coloured male slaves usually aged between 30 and 49 years, although 9 of the 39 skilled slaves enumerated in 1783, for example, were 55 years of age or older. Indeed, one of the seine-knitters, Fanty Cuffee, was "a negro about 70 years" and described as a "very good old man" while all 4 slaves "Drawing water for the wild stock at different catching pens" that year were between 60 and 70 years of age. In the period covered by Table 3.14, there were 15 categories of skilled slaves working on Barbuda accounting for between 15 and 18% of the island's enslaved population. Apart from the 2 female drivers listed in 1814 and 1817 (one directed the Second Gang, the other the Grass Pickers), the only other services performed by non-field and/or domestic female slaves at Barbuda were midwifery and nursing, skilled occupations to which female Bahamian slaves, for example, were similarly confined.

If we regard "Shipwrights" as ships carpenters (as the compilers of the Lists for 1814 and 1817 appear to have done), then carpentry accounted for the single largest group of skilled slaves on Barbuda during the early 19th century. This had also been the case in 1766 when 5 of the 19 skilled slaves listed that year were "House Carpenters", and in 1783 when 7 of the 39 skilled slaves enumerated were registered as "Shipwrights" (5) and "House Carpenters" (2).¹² The rise to prominence of shipwrights on Barbuda can be explained by the earlier noted increase in boat building on the island that began in the 1770s to meet the demands of transporting stock and crops to Antigua which had hitherto been carried out by private contractors whose rates Sir William regarded as inflated.

During the period of the Codrington lease, there were several other slaves on Barbuda prized for their specialized skills by the resident manager and his overseers. As we have seen, though they had only a limited application in the marginal colonies generally, *drivers* do appear in the Slave Lists for Barbuda. Two of these (Benny and Scipio) feature on the List for 1766 when they were valued at £165 and £90 respectively. A mustee slave named Dickson and Phil Bear, a black slave, were drivers in 1783. Each was allowed one slave woman to do his washing and another as a cook. Three drivers (Johnny Beazor, Bernard, and Uness) were listed in 1805 when they were all in their 40s and appear again in 1814 along with 3 hunters. Johnny Beazor and Bernard were listed in a category "Head Men and Hunters" in 1817. The two female drivers listed in 1814 (Quasheba and Kate's Margaret) were black and aged 54 and 35 years respectively. Quasheba was still the driver to the Second Gang in 1817 but a black slave named Catherine had replaced Kate's Margaret as driver to the Grass Gang.¹³ Like most other elite slaves, the drivers and/or headmen who appear in the available Slave Lists were of Barbudan stock and in the cases of Johnny Beazor and Bernard, had worked their way up the slave hierarchy to become drivers. Johnny Beazor was an infant in 1766 and appears to have been a seine-knitter before he became a driver while Uness was a stable hand in 1783 and described then as a "Negro about 30" and a "remarkable cliver man for breaking in wild horses."

At approximately the same level on the slave hierarchy as the drivers in Barbuda were the slave *huntsmen* whose value on an estate concerned primarily with stock rearing was considerable. There were 5 hunters at Barbuda in 1766 among whom Tom Beazor was the most highly valued at £180. Beazor was still a huntsman in 1783 when he was "about 60 years" but was at the time listed as a junior to one John Bailey, the only other hunter named at Barbuda that year. Then aged 32, Bailey was a mulatto slave regarded by Dennis Reynolds as a "valuable good man" and he remained in his position as senior huntsman until his death in 1818 aged 66 years.¹⁴

The most common method of rounding up cattle on Barbuda was mentioned in a description of a bull-hunt led by John James in 1813. According to a Captain Greville who documented the adventure, once a full grown bull had been separated from the herd by two slave hunters,

...the bull generally made at a furious rate for the thickest parts of the wood followed by myself and motley companions. The hunters carried long ropes before them and whenever they could get sufficiently near to the bull, they skillfully threw them over the animal's horns, and not infrequently seized the creature by the tail, and by a sudden peculiar jerk, succeeded in turning the bull over...the cattle, when wanted for exportation or consumption are caught as above described, and lashed to the horns of the tame oxen, who never fail, sooner or later, to conduct them to head quarters without any assistance.¹⁵

As most of the stock at Barbuda were allowed to wander over the island in search of pasture in all but the wettest of months when they might be brought down to the enclosed pens near the village, slave hunters at Barbuda "rode the range" in virtual cowboy fashion taking general care of the stock and on the look out for trespassers and rustlers come over from Antigua.¹⁶ Along with other skilled slaves on the island, they might also be obliged to assist in salvage operations when stricken vessels ran aground off the coast.

On Barbuda, there were other skilled slaves specifically involved with the care of the island's stock. Four "Grooms" appear on the Slave List of 1766, for example, and there were 3 "Cattlekeepers" and 4 slaves "Drawing water for the wild stock at the different catching pens" in 1783. On occasion, certain categories of skilled slaves at Barbuda had their ranks added to in order to cope with increased demand. There were, for example, 2 principle "Stable boys" listed in 1783 but "when there are a

number of young horses in the stable there are more negroes taken on." Similarly, there were 3 principle "Turtlers" named at Barbuda that year but "in the season for turtling there are 12 more negro men sent out under those." All the slaves mentioned here were male, most were Barbudan-born, and virtually all of them black, a circumstance which may suggest that like Bahamian slaveowners in the Out Islands of that archipelago, the resident managers at Barbuda paid less attention to the hierarchy of colour among slaves on the estate than their contemporaries in the sugar islands of the region.

One other group of skilled slaves at Barbuda for whom this also held true were the sailors who worked on the vessels that ferried supplies, produce, livestock and people between the island and Antigua, and which also transported sugar between the Codrington estates and St. John's at crop time. No slave sailors were listed at Barbuda in 1766, 2 were included by Dennis Reynolds on the List of 1783, 15 appear on the 1805 List, 11 in 1814 and 12 in 1817.¹⁷ Part of the reason for the variation in the numbers of slave sailors at Barbuda after 1783 may be explained by their work-related absence at the time the above Lists were compiled. For example, the slave Humanity who was regarded as the chief Barbudan sailor in 1782,¹⁸ does not in fact appear in the Slave List for 1783 but is on the Lists for 1805, 1814 and 1817.¹⁹

Whereas most of the skilled slaves on Barbuda appear to have been born on the island (there were no recorded bulk purchases of slaves for Barbuda after the Codringtons resumed direct control of the estate in 1761), several of the Barbudan-based slaves who worked as sailors had been brought in from outside. In July of 1788, for instance, two slaves named Simon and Will were bought in Antigua and sent to Barbuda as sailors, there were four more purchased for Barbuda in 1796 and two others in 1799.²⁰ Together with their Barbudan-born colleagues, these slaves either worked aboard the droghers that ferried light loads across to Antigua and to different parts of Barbuda itself, or aboard the sloops that carried heavier cargoes between the two islands. The

estate's sailors would almost certainly have also been involved in wreck salvage at Barbuda. Generally, there seem to have been at least two sloops in use at any one time at Barbuda and each was crewed by 6 to 8 slaves. When he is first mentioned in the Codrington Papers in 1782, Humanity was the captain of one of these sloops, the *Forager*, and he appears in subsequent Slave Lists as "captain" or "chief sailor" aboard the principle Codrington sloop at the time the various Returns were compiled.

All the Barbudan sailors listed in these Returns were male, most were black (including Humanity) and with the exception of the chief sailors/captains, most were aged between 30 and 49 years, that is, the same age grouping as most of the Great Gang slaves on the island. This is no coincidence as apart from manning the vessels at sea, slave sailors at Barbuda doubled as stevedores and were also responsible for loading and unloading the cargoes, a particularly demanding task in the case of hogsheads of sugar when these were moved between the Antigua estates and St. John's.

In conclusion, in terms of placing Barbuda within the context of the labouring experiences of marginal colony slaves, as in the Bahamas and the Caymans, for slaves on Barbuda, these were characterized by the diversity of economic enterprises undertaken on the island at the behest of managers desperate to keep the estate viable. As we have seen, while the primary economic focus of the island was stock raising, the geographic marginality of the estate ensured that the scope for this activity was relatively limited and required the Codrington slaves to engage in as diverse a range of tasks as those expected of the Farquharson slaves on San Salvador, for example. At the same time, however, the pattern of slave ownership on Barbuda was clearly atypical of the marginal colonies generally as was its integration into the Codrington sugar estates on Antigua, circumstances that to some extent ensured a degree of regularity of work for slaves on the island as well as a lack of geographic

mobility given the estate's commitments to the Antigua plantations. As such, Barbuda itself illustrates a diversity of economic function within the marginal group of British West Indian colonies.

TABLE 3.13

THE SLAVE POPULATION AT BARBUDA, 1761-1832

Year	Population
1761	214
1774	287
1783	250
1790	246
1804	314
1805	334
1807	340
1814	367
1817	392
1821	411
1824	423
1828	466
1831	503
1832	492

Source: These figures are extracted from estimates provided by resident managers and agents to 1804, and from Slave Lists and/or Registration Returns between 1805 and 1832 as these appear in the Codrington Papers.

TABLE 3.14

SLAVE POPULATION AT BARBUDA, 1805-1817

Occupations	1805		1814		1817	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Hunters/Drivers	5	-	6	2	4	2
Shipwrights	4	-	7	-	7	-
Carpenters	4	-	6	-	4	-
Wheelwrights	4	-	5	-	4	-
Rope & Sail Makers	3	-	2	-	2	-
Masons	3	-	3	-	4	-
Doctors/Nurses/ Midwives	2	-	2	3	2	3
Saddlers & Collar/ Shoemakers	4	-	4	-	3	-
Tanners	3	-	2	-	3	-
Seine-knitters and Turtlers	2	-	3	-	2	-
Blacksmiths	2	-	2	-	2	-
Coopers	-	-	1	-	3	-
Watchers/Water Drawers	-	-	7	1	7	1
Grooms	4	-	4	-	4	-
Sailors	15	-	11	-	12	-
Great Gang	32	76	24	56	25	61
Second Gang	11	12	18	16	12	13
Grass Pickers	15	17	15	20	22	22
Children (2wks-6yrs)	33	27	43	54	74	39
Domestics/ Housepeople	-	9	2	3	3	7
Old and Infirm	9	13	5	34	5	31
Scorbutic	2	1	-	-	-	-
Total	157	155	177	189	201	179

Notes: There were 22 "Antigua Negroes" also listed in 1805, that is, slaves sent over to Barbuda from the Codrington estates on Antigua, usually as a form of punishment.

In 1814, "Other" slaves listed included 1 Thrasher, 1 Constant gunner, 2 Shepherds, and 2 Attendants to Young Children.

In 1817, "Other" slaves listed included 1 Thrasher, 3 Gunners, and 3 Attendants to Young Children.

Source: RP2616/1. Slave Lists 1805, 1814, 1817. Antigua and Barbuda Archives, St. John's.

REFERENCES

1. RP2616/1, Lists of Slaves at Barbuda, 1766, 1783, 1805, 1814 and 1817, Antigua and Barbuda Archives, St. John's. The Slave Lists for 1805, 1814 and 1817 are used here because they are the only ones to list field slaves at Barbuda according to gang. The Lists for 1766 and 1783, for example, simply record the total number of field slaves on the island at the time.
2. MF375 (GRO), CBC to SWC, 1791: List of the Employment of Negroes on Barbuda.
3. MF375 (GRO), William Collins to CBC, May 1st, 1797.
4. Ibid.
5. MF375 (GRO), Dennis Reynolds to SWC, April 1st, 1786.
RP2616/1 Slave List for 1783, Antigua and Barbuda Archives.
6. CO152/57, Burt to Germain, October 24th, 1777.
7. MF375 (GRO), James Athill to CBC, August 12th, 1805.
8. MF375 (GRO), John James to CBC, August 12th, 1817.
9. Ibid., August 12th, 1821.
10. D1610 C24, John James to CBC, November 25th, 1813.
11. Ibid., August 10th, 1812.
12. RP2616/1, Lists of Slaves at Barbuda, 1766, 1783, 1805, 1814, 1817, Antigua and Barbuda Archives.
13. Ibid. In the interim between the compiling of the respective Lists, Kate's Margaret appears to have taken ill as in 1817 she was listed among the Old and Infirm slaves on the estate.
14. Ibid.
15. R.N. Greville, "A Description of Barbuda". In V.L. Oliver, A History of Antigua, Volume I (London, 1899), p. CLXIX.
16. Trespassing by groups of young men from Antigua who landed at Barbuda to cut and remove timber, rustle livestock, and to poach turtles, fish, deer and other game developed into quite a serious problem between 1761 and about 1790. Sir William favoured strong measures to counter the trespassers telling the manager of Barbuda in the 1780s to cut and

destroy their turtle nets, damage their boats and if they persisted, to "wound them with shot." D1610 C14/1, SWC to Dennis Reynolds, September 4th, 1785.

17. RP2616/1, Lists of Slaves at Barbuda.
18. D1610 A54, December 9th, 1782.
19. RP2616/1, Lists of Slaves at Barbuda.
20. D1610 A6/4, A6/11, A6/15.

ANGUILLA

While there may have been at least a few slaves at Anguilla during the earliest days of permanent settlement by English emigrés from St. Kitts, it appears that slaves were initially imported into Anguilla in significant numbers only during the last quarter of the 17th century when tobacco was being replaced as the mainstay of the island's economy by cotton and sugar. As we have seen in Section II, and even by marginal colony standards, neither of these crops was ever produced in great quantities by planters in the colony but together with salt raking, small-scale livestock raising and the cultivation of provision crops, such diversified agricultural holdings accounted for the majority of slaves at Anguilla from the late 1670s through to emancipation in 1834.

One of the earliest indications of the size of the average slave holding on the island is contained in the *List of Inhabitants at Anguilla* drawn up in October of 1716 and which formed the basis of the first official census taken on the island a year later (see Table 3.15). According to the census, there were 824 slaves at Anguilla in 1717 spread across a total of 96 holdings for an average of 9 slaves per holding. At the time the census was carried out, only 2 slaveowners on the island possessed more than 30 slaves each and the largest of these, Captain George Leonard, owned 41 slaves and was Deputy Governor of the colony. Six planters at Anguilla owned between 20 and 30 slaves each while 22 proprietors owned from 10 to 20 slaves. More than half the number of slaveowners on the island in 1717 (59 of 92) held less than 10 slaves each of whom 25 owned fewer than 5 slaves, 10 owned only one bondsman while 4 settlers were possessed of no slaves at all, a pattern of ownership that broadly fits the marginal model as this has so far been developed.

Unfortunately, the census of 1717 is silent on the ratio of male to female slaves at Anguilla as are the earlier noted estimates for 1720 and 1724 when 879 and 900 slaves respectively were enumerated in the territory. Indeed, the first indication of

the sexual balance of the island's overall slave population appears in the *Collective Census of Anguilla* carried out in December 1819 when of a total of 2,388 slaves counted, 1,073 were male and 1,315 were female (see Table 3.16). As in the other marginal colonies of the BWI excepting Belize, it appears that the enslaved population at Anguilla was a relatively balanced one at the turn of the 19th century which suggests that in Anguilla, as in the Caymans, for example, planters purchased their slaves in roughly equal numbers because females were cheaper and as generally suited as males to the type of field work expected of them in Anguilla, and/or because they wished to encourage high rates of fertility among their slaves. Indeed, the enslaved population at Anguilla in 1819 was a relatively youthful one with almost as many children (1,101 boys and girls) as there were adult slaves (1,287) in the colony.

It is difficult to gauge an idea of the average sized slave holding in 1819 as it is not clear from the census taken that year how many of the free coloureds and blacks on the island owned slaves themselves. When a report into the *State of the Community of Anguilla* was commissioned in 1824, however, there were 225 proprietors on the island who owned 2,451 slaves between them for an average of 11 slaves per holding. One planter held 274 slaves on his estates, another owned 111 bondsmen while 6 possessed between 50 and 100 slaves each. Sixteen proprietors owned from 20 to 50 slaves, 30 between 5 and 20, and 47 from 2 to 5 slaves each. Seventy six slaveowners (one third of the total) at Anguilla in 1824 held no more than 2 bondsmen each while the remaining 48 whites and/or free coloureds and blacks owned no slaves at all.¹

Although it is unfortunate that the 1824 Report gives no precise indication of whether the principal owners at Anguilla (that is, the 8 proprietors who owned more than 50 slaves each) used their respective slaves as a concentrated group, the authors of the Report write of "the means of cultivation being diffused.. and divided into small parcels *with such very few exceptions...*"² Taken together with the nature of the economy at Anguilla

discussed in Section II of the study, this would seem to suggest that while said owners deployed their slaves in a series of small-scale operations, the work carried out by these slaves for their proprietors would have been a distinctly different experience for those slaves had they worked for a smaller proprietor in the sense that, as in the Bahamas and the Caymans during the cotton period and at Belize during the mahogany years, such slaves at Anguilla were more likely to have worked in gangs, for example, and been subjected to a more rigorous work regime.

Such a work hypothesis is reflected in the occupational data available for Anguilla where, as in the Caymans and Belize, these are known definitively for one year only when a single Registration Return was filed for the colony in 1827 under articles contained in the colonial Registration Act of 1817. The individual Returns are summarized in Table 3.17 and together they form the basis of the following assessment of the work of slaves at Anguilla during the last several decades of formal slavery in the British Caribbean.

As in the other marginal colonies of the BWI, *field slaves* accounted for the clear majority of bondsmen in Anguilla. Of a total of 2,503 slaves registered in 1827, for example, some 1,023 of the 1,680 bondsmen for whom an occupation was listed were enumerated as field slaves (61%), and the majority of these (55%) were female. The subdivision of this category of slave at Anguilla into field hands and "cultivators" to some extent mirrored the classification of field slaves at Belize into ranks of woodcutters and "plantation men/women" where "cultivators" at Anguilla were employed primarily on provision grounds while field slaves worked the acreages of cotton and sugar on the island, and raked salt. As in Belize, however, it is unlikely that these sub-categories of field hands at Anguilla were mutually exclusive.

Although it is the case that pockets of "bottom" land occur naturally all across the island, it seems from the census of 1819 that the majority of "plantations" at Anguilla were found in the Spring and Road Divisions of the island, that is, in the central

and south-western sections of the colony where upwards of two thirds of the slave population was enumerated that year. If the conveyance of land in two separate parcels to Thomas Connor by Abraham Howell in 1695 (see Section II) reflected the general size of estates on the island, then the average "plantation" at Anguilla during the 17th and 18th centuries incorporated less than 50 acres of scrub and "bottom" lands which may not necessarily have been adjoined and on which cotton and/or cane were grown alongside provision crops with some pieces set aside for livestock grazing. The earlier noted output of sugar from the estates of Thomas Hodge and Benjamin Gumbs in 1765 would seem to confirm the relative small size of Anguillan "plantations", as does the appraisal of a Jonathan Fleming's estate in 1803 that included a "present crop of yams to plant 15,000 holes" and "16 acres of cane at £10 an acre..."³ Crops of pigeon peas, Indian corn, plantains and sweet potatoes are also mentioned in several documents relating to land conveyances and wills in the Anguilla Archive.

Unfortunately for this study, there is no equivalent of the Farquharson or Collins Journals for Anguilla and we are left to speculate that the tasks of the majority of field slaves on the island must have been at least broadly similar to those assigned to their contemporaries on San Salvador island and on the Codrington estate that was Barbuda, with the added obligation of having to plant and harvest small acreages of sugar cane. As on the Farquharson estate in the Bahamas, and at least until the French attack of 1796, field slaves at Anguilla worked as continuously year-round as local conditions allowed and in loosely organised gangs where the more physically mature male and female slaves on an estate were charged with the heavier tasks of clearing and preparing land for planting while second and grass-gang slaves weeded and maintained the fields and drew water for livestock. All but the very youngest of slaves on an Anguillan estate were involved in harvesting provision crops, picking cotton and/or cutting cane before carrying it to the nearest ginning shed or sugar mill for processing.

From the contents of Table 3.16, it would appear that for a time at least, slaves at Anguilla worked alongside indentured labourers in their owners' fields where the tasks inherent in planting and picking cotton would not have varied significantly from those carried out by slaves on the Farquharson estate. The preparation of land for planting cane in the British Caribbean was also described at the outset of this section of the study. Apart from a question of scale, cane-holing in Anguilla was carried out as it was in the sugar islands of the region, although the poor quality and dryness of soils at Anguilla meant that rather than relying on "ratoon" or second growth crops, landowners on the island had to replant their entire cane pieces each year. During the crop season, field slaves at Anguilla were required to cut the cane using a bill or cutlass and to trim off the tops for livestock fodder as they moved through a cane piece. Once on the ground, the canes were tied into bundles and carried to the nearest mill either on the slaves' heads or in carts drawn by working cattle. As in the sugar islands of the region, field slaves at Anguilla would also have worked in the mill where they fed cut canes to the rollers by hand and dried cane trash to the furnaces which heated the boiling pans of sugar. As well, they performed the heavy work of carrying buckets of sugar from the coolers and moving hogsheads of sugar and molasses weighing up to a ton from the boiling house to the curing house. In a good year when more than enough sugar was produced to meet local needs, the task of loading these hogsheads aboard vessels for shipment would also have fallen to first-gang field slaves on the island where, according to the Report of 1824, there were still 11 small sugar estates in operation

making on an average about 50 casks, each of 1,000 lbs in weight, little or none of which is regularly exported, but finds its way to the Swedish island of St. Batholomew in open and unlicensed boats...⁴

During the crop season, and on those estates where such a distinction was drawn, second and grass-gang slaves carried out a range of lighter field tasks such as weeding and removing trash from the fields for use as fuel in the boiling house. They also helped transport the cane to the mill and carried crushed cane stalks to the trash house where these were dried and taken on to the furnaces. Some of the second gang slaves in particular were likely also to have been employed in carrying drinking water for the heavy labourers, in cooking their food and in looking after the young children of mothers who were working in the fields.⁵

As on Turks Island in the Bahamas, most of the tasks associated with salt raking at Anguilla were also carried out by field slaves, although poor whites and/or free coloureds and blacks on the island appear also to have been given the opportunity to rake salt for themselves and to sell it on to the "big landowners."⁶ For as long as salt had been raked at Anguilla, the salt ponds on the island were regarded as common property where "every one may take as much of it as he can get."⁷ According to one account of salt raking at Anguilla, on the day the reaping season commenced,

a signal gun would be fired and labourers and slaves would be sent to reap the salt for the benefit of the free who were entitled to take as much salt as they wished. At 2 pm, the official reaping would cease after which time the workers were authorized to continue collecting salt for their own needs until dark...⁸

Like their contemporaries on Grand Quay, Anguillan field slaves worked knee-deep in the island's several ponds where they were required to break off chunks of crystallized salt with shovels and/or their bare hands and to lay these "up in stacks on the shore" which were then covered "with branches of tier-palm" until the crop could be loaded aboard ships for export.⁹

From the records that are available, it is not clear whether any slaves at Anguilla were as permanently attached to the salt pans on the island as Mary Prince was to those on Grand Quay, for example. Given the small size of the average holding at Anguilla, it is more likely that slaveowners on the island simply drafted some of their slaves into salt work as required and once the reaping season was over, returned them to the fields where they resumed their normal tasks.¹⁰ As on the Farquharson holding in the Bahamas, Anguillian slaveowners recognized the need to keep their bondsmen and women as continuously at labour as possible throughout the year suggesting that their work patterns were broadly similar to those of slaves on the San Salvador estate as they were moved between the salt pans, the cotton fields, crop and cane pieces.

The relatively small size of holdings at Anguilla also ensured that proprietors on the island pressed at least a few of their *domestic slaves* into salt raking and/or crop harvesting, particularly those for whom domestic work was part of the "seasoning" process before they were old enough to be turned out into the fields on a more or less permanent basis. There were 368 domestic slaves enumerated at Anguilla in 1827 accounting for 15% of the island's total enslaved population. Female slaves comprised 86% of domestics at Anguilla and most of these were assigned general household duties of the type Mary Prince described during her time as a domestic in Bermuda, that is, washing and baking, cleaning, cooking and minding their owners' children. As in the BWI generally, there was some specialization among domestic slaves at Anguilla with 151 of their number (41%) registered as house servants, house boys, cooks and washers among whom washers (72 in total) were the largest single category of specialized domestic on the island.

With respect to *skilled tradespeople* at Anguilla, these accounted for 7% of slaves on the island for whom an occupation was listed in 1827. As in the other marginal colonies of the region, males completely dominated the skilled ranks outside of seamstressing which was carried on exclusively by female slaves.

Carpenters and masons together accounted for the largest group of skilled slaves on the island with 42 of 128 (39%) so listed. Sugar workers (boilers, coopers and distillers) comprised the second most numerous group (20%) reflecting an emphasis upon sugar cultivation not immediately apparent in any of the other marginal colonies. As noted, most of this production took place on the larger estates at Anguilla where the gang system is most likely to have been employed and where the number of slave drivers registered in 1827 (9, all male) approximated the number of sugar "plantations" observed in the colony less than three years earlier.

In the Return of 1827, stockkeepers (57), transport workers (14), fisherman (25), sellers (3) and nurses (9) were registered as separate occupational categories from skilled tradespeople and for the most part, their ranks were similarly dominated by male slaves. Only as sellers and nurses were slaves exclusively female, although they also played a limited role as watchmen and stockkeepers.

As a final point on the work of Anguillian slaves, it is a reflection of the economic marginality of the island that by the end of the 18th century, not all of this was necessarily carried out within the confines of the colony itself. There is some evidence to suggest, for example, that particularly after the devastation of the French raid in 1796, proprietors at Anguilla came increasingly to depend upon the practice of hiring out their slaves to planters and traders in neighbouring islands so as to avoid the costs of maintaining their slaves, and to provide themselves with a source of income at a time when their estates were in disarray. Indeed, in 1824, it was estimated that no more than 1/8 of the island was under cultivation of any sort.¹¹

Essentially, the motives of Anguillian planters at the time were the same as those of slaveowners in the long settled islands of Barbados and Dominica, for example, who moved thousands of their own bondsmen to the newly acquired colonies of Trinidad and Demerara in the early 19th century. In the case of Barbados, soil exhaustion by the late 1790s meant that production in that island

had fallen to one hogshead of sugar per slave whereas in Trinidad the figure was 3 to 4 times greater, and the value of slaves in that island correspondingly higher.¹² As we have seen, the soils at Anguilla had never been especially fertile and the destruction of most of the economic enterprise of the island such as it was in 1796 only exacerbated an already difficult situation, and seems to have persuaded some proprietors in the colony to hire out their slaves for extended periods. The precise number of Anguillan slaves involved in this traffic is not entirely clear as many of them were moved illegally, that is, they were smuggled to neighbouring islands so that planters at Anguilla were able to avoid having to post the bond required for each slave moving between one British colony and another.¹³ There were, for example, only 7 slaves (all domestics) officially exported from Anguilla between January 1st, 1825 and August 16th, 1830,¹⁴ but S.B. Jones (1936) notes that in the early decades of the 19th century,

coopers, sailors and masons as well as field labourers (were) going as far as St. Batholomew, Trinidad, St. Croix and sending their earnings to pay for the privilege of working abroad or of purchasing their own or their relatives freedom.¹⁵

Indeed, there are several late 18th and early 19th century documents in the Anguilla Archive that relate to the purchase of freedom by Anguillan slaves who had returned to the island after years of "hire-out" in other colonies in the eastern Caribbean. In some cases, these slaves were also able to arrange for the manumission of their spouses and children who had remained in the island during their absence. For these slaves, it is clear that the structure of the economy at Anguilla ensured that their tasks had much in common with those expected of bondsmen and women working on diversified agricultural holdings in the Bahamas, the Caymans and Barbuda.

TABLE 3.15

ANGUILLA, NOVEMBER 22ND, 1717: A TRUE LIST OF THE INHABITANTS
OF THE ISLAND AND THEIR NEGROES

	Men	Women	Children	Negroes
Captain George Leonard	1	1	4	41
Arthur Hodge	2	1	4	14
John Wignall	1	1	-	4
Bezeliel Rogers	1	2	-	16
Isaac Thibou	1	1	1	3
Samuel Downing	1	2	6	11
Peter Rogers	1	1	1	12
John Rogers	1	1	6	29
Charles Kegan Snr.	3	4	-	5
Jeremiah Martin	1	1	5	5
Patrick Young	1	-	-	1
Timothy Connor	1	1	5	1
Paul Rowan	1	2	-	15
William Beel	-	1	-	1
Joesph Newton	-	1	4	11
Peter Downing	-	3	3	20
Thomas Gumbs	-	2	4	25
William Chalwill	-	2	2	18
John Paine	1	1	3	6
Charles Kegan Jnr.	1	1	2	3
John Harragan	1	1	1	8
Cornelius Harragan	2	2	6	4
John Chapman	1	1	2	4
William Howell	1	1	4	13
Abednigo Pickring	1	1	4	10
John Morgan	1	1	4	5
John Rumney	1	1	4	7
Edward Coakley Jnr.	-	1	3	5
Richard Richardson	1	1	2	14
Rebecca Arter	-	4	1	8
Edward Coakley Snr.	1	3	2	12
John Downing	1	1	1	3
Thomas Hughs	2	2	5	6
Robert Lockam	3	1	3	3
Jacob Howell	1	3	-	16
Thomas Richardson	1	2	2	8
James Richardson	1	1	2	3
John Thomas	1	1	3	14
Peter Fraise	1	-	-	5
Hugh Flemming	1	-	-	8
Phillip Leonard	2	1	2	-
Darby Carty	3	2	1	6
William Coakley	1	1	6	18
John Powell	2	2	5	4

	Men	Women	Children	Negroes
Thomas Rumney Snr.	1	2	-	8
Thomas Rumney Jnr.	1	3	5	-
Thomas Hodge	-	3	5	16
James Glass	1	1	-	-
Bryant Moonoha	2	3	5	3
Richard Robarts	1	1	6	6
William Robarts	1	1	7	1
John Bryant	1	1	3	6
Rowland Williams	-	3	1	6
Thomas Lake	1	1	5	6
Richard Richardson Jnr.	1	1	1	7
William Gumbs	-	1	3	7
Thomas Howell	1	3	6	25
Michael Rowan	1	2	1	15
John Richardson Snr.	1	2	1	1
Thomas Loyd	1	1	3	4
Benjamin Lake	1	2	1	14
Samuel Floyd	-	2	2	6
David Derrick	1	3	2	7
Abraham Howell	-	1	1	10
Abraham Downing	1	1	2	11
Richard Downing	1	1	3	7
Bezaleel Howell	-	2	4	20
Thomas Flanders	1	2	-	9
Edward Leonard	2	1	1	1
George Leonard	2	2	5	2
Isaac Adderly	1	1	2	5
John Conner	4	4	-	3
Henry Hodge Jnr.	1	1	3	18
John Hodge	1	1	-	1
Peter Hodge	-	1	3	3
Thomas Rogers	2	3	4	30
Oliver Downing	3	2	-	8
Benjamin Rogers	1	1	-	6
Henry Hodge Snr.	-	-	-	6
Susan Manning	-	1	-	1
Edward Welch	2	2	-	6
Henry Leonard	2	1	3	14
Jacob Arundel	1	3	-	3
Mary Watson	-	1	4	1
Benjamin Arundel	-	1	1	3
Samuel Kentish	1	-	-	1
John Lake Snr.	1	5	-	9
John Lake	-	2	-	4
Abraham Arundel	1	2	5	5
Daniel Bryant	1	2	2	10

	Men	Women	Children	Negroes
Jeremiah Richardson	1	2	5	12
John Richardson	1	2	7	27
William Farrington	1	3	5	6
Alice Hoyet	-	2	-	2
Abraham Wingood	-	1	1	4
Total	96	97	154	824

Note: There is no indication of family grouping in the census or of the sex ratio of the enslaved population.

Source: C0152/12, ff.67 (iv)

TABLE 3.16

COLLECTIVE CENSUS OF ANGUILLA, 30TH DECEMBER 1819

	Whites				Free Coloured and Black				Slaves			
Division	M	W	B	G	M	W	B	G	M	W	B	G
<hr/>												
Valley	19	42	12	12	17	24	19	14	115	118	134	140
Spring	44	64	45	30	18	35	28	28	186	193	201	221
Road	26	36	16	19	25	50	43	26	226	286	211	194
Total	89	142	73	61	60	109	90	68	527	760	546	555
<hr/>												
Free Coloured and Black									60	109	90	68
White									89	142	73	61
Total									676	1,011	709	684

Aggregate of Inhabitants 3,080

Key: M Men W Women B Boys G Girls

Source: PP 1826 Vol.XXVI, Copy of the Report Made by the Commission sent from St. Christopher's to Anguilla to inquire into the State of the Community of the latter Island (December 1st, 1824), pp.354-55.

TABLE 3.17

OCCUPATIONS OF SLAVES AT ANGUILLA BY SEX, 1827

Occupation	Males	Females	Total
<i>Field Labourers</i>			
Field	412	503	915
Cultivator	45	61	106
Water Drawer	-	2	2
Total	457	566	1,023
<i>Drivers</i>			
Driver	9	-	9
Ranger	1	-	1
Total	10	-	10
<i>Domestics</i>			
Domestic	35	182	217
House Servant	7	43	50
House Boy	2	-	2
Cook	5	21	26
Washer	-	72	72
Drudge	1	-	1
Total	50	318	368
<i>Skilled Tradespeople</i>			
Carpenter	22	-	22
Mason	20	-	20
Cooper	16	-	16
Sugar Boiler	7	-	7
Distiller	2	-	2
Blacksmith	1	-	1
Shoemaker	17	-	17
Apprentice Shoemaker	2	-	2
Basket Maker	1	-	1
Apprentice Basket Maker	2	-	2
Tailor	11	-	11
Seamstress	-	27	27
Total	101	27	128
<i>Transport Workers</i>			
Sailor	11	-	11
Boatman	3	-	3
Total	14	-	14
<i>Fishermen</i>	25	-	25

Occupation	Males	Females	Total
<i>Stockkeepers</i>			
Stock Minder	15	6	21
Stock Boy	6	-	6
Shepherd	8	3	11
Herdsman	1	-	1
Cattle Keeper	10	1	11
Groom	5	-	5
Turkey Minder	-	2	2
Total	45	12	57
<i>Watchmen</i>			
Watchman	9	-	9
Ground Minder	2	4	6
Total	11	4	15
<i>Sellers</i>			
Sellers	-	2	2
Huxter	-	1	1
Total	-	3	3
<i>Nurses</i>			
Sick Nurse	-	1	1
Dry Nurse	-	1	1
Midwife	-	6	6
Child Minder	-	1	1
Total	-	9	9
<i>Sick or Disabled</i>			
Infirm	8	5	13
Invalid	2	3	5
Diseased	2	2	4
Distempered	1	1	2
Blind	-	3	3
Total	13	14	27
<i>Runaway</i>	1	-	1
<i>None</i>			
None	392	393	785
Infant	12	17	29
Superannuated	2	-	2
Exempt	3	4	7
Total	409	414	823
TOTAL	1,136	1,367	2,503

Source: T71/261, Registration Returns, Anguilla, 1827

REFERENCES

1. PP 1826, Vol.XXVI, Copy of the Report Made by the Commission sent from St. Christopher's to Anguilla, pp.344.
2. Ibid.
3. Dr. S.B. Jones, The Annals of Anguilla, pp.22.
4. PP 1826, Vol.XXVI, Report into the State of Anguilla, pp.358.
5. Barry Higman, Slave Populations of the British Caribbean, pp.167.
6. Hanmar Dickson, The Salt Industry in Anguilla (Undated, copy at Anguilla Archive, The Valley), p.8.
7. Henry Nelson Coleridge, Six Months in the West Indies in 1825 (John Murray, London, 1832), p.218.
8. Hanmar Dickson, The Salt Industry in Anguilla, pp.8-9.
9. Henry Coleridge, Six Months in the West Indies, p.218.
10. Unlike the Registration Returns for the Salt Islands of the Bahamas in 1834, there were no designated salt slaves mentioned in the Return for Anguilla compiled in 1827 which suggests that field slaves on the island were drafted into salt work during the reaping season and returned to their owners' estates once salt had been collected and dried.
11. PP 1826, Vol.XXVI, Report into the State of Anguilla, p.356.
12. David Eltis, "The Traffic in Slaves between the British West Indian Colonies..." pp.55-56.
13. Under the Act to Prevent the Importation of Slaves (1806), any slave carried from one British colony to another under licence from the Governor, Collector or Chief Customs Officer of the exporting colony was to have a bond posted by his/her owner in that colony. Eltis, "The Traffic in Slaves", p.56.
14. PP 1831-32, Vol.XLVII, ff.120, Return of Slaves Exported from the Bahamas between January 1st, 1825 and August 16th, 1830.
15. Dr. S.B. Jones, The Annals of Anguilla, p.17.

HOURS OF WORK AND SEASONAL DEMANDS

Up until this point in the study, and largely for organizational reasons, the settlement histories, the nature of the economies and the work of slaves in each of the Bahamas, the Caymans, Belize, Barbuda and Anguilla have been considered separately as the traditional interpretation of their marginality to the sugar plantation economies of the BWI has been examined, and where the evidence suggests, refined. Thus, and as demonstrated, while there is no doubting that these colonies were insignificant producers of sugar and that they generally occupied the least arable lands of the region, on the question of whether or not any or all of these territories produced major agricultural staples of their own, however, the traditional interpretation of the marginal status of Belize and, at least for a quarter of a century or so, of the Bahamas and the Caymans, is found wanting. Timber extraction and cotton production in these colonies respectively lessened their degree of economic dependence upon the sugar islands of the region as long as these "crops" remained commercially viable. In so doing, these industries occupied the majority of slaves in these territories for most of the years in which such "crops" remained the primary economic focus of these colonies, that is, timber and cotton became major export staples for these territories.

To continue with the issues raised in the Introduction to the study in terms of defining the marginality construct as this relates to the colonies being considered here, and with respect to the issue of whether or not the absence of commercially viable cane fields in the marginal colonies meant that slaves there were "better treated" by their owners than field slaves in the sugar islands, methodologically, the hours of work and seasonal demands together with the incentives to labour and the living conditions of marginal colony slaves that comprise the balance of this study are now to be considered jointly, that is, these facets of slave life across the marginal colonies are to be examined in these territories collectively rather than individually.

As noted at the beginning of this section of the study, while it is the case that most slaves in the West Indies were obliged to work set hours, the actual number of hours an individual slave spent at work on any given day varied considerably according to his/her occupation as well as the pattern of work organization and the seasonal demands of the estate on which he/she was employed.

On a sugar estate such as Betty's Hope in Antigua, for instance, field slaves cut and gathered canes for the mill from just after day break until about 9 p.m on 6 days out of 7 during the crop season, that is, from January to June. Here the outer limits of a slave's work day were about 5 a.m and 10 p.m which, allowing for meal breaks, meant that the average bondsman on a sugar plantation like Betty's Hope worked at least 75 hours a week during the busiest period of the sugar cycle. Out of crop, field slaves in the BWI typically laboured for between 10 and 12 hours a day during which they were expected to carry out repairs and maintenance work on the estate's buildings and machinery, and to generally prepare the estate for the following year's crop.

From the primary source material available on the work of slaves in the marginal colonies of the BWI, it is not always apparent precisely how many hours a day on average a bondsman in either the Bahamas, Cayman, Belize, Anguilla and/or Barbuda was expected to work. The authors of the Farquharson, Lawrie and Collins Journals, for example, are vague about the actual length of the work day for slaves on their estates, although we have some indication of this for those slaves attached more or less permanently to the salt ponds on Turks Island in the Bahamas. There, Mary Prince maintained that she was in the salt ponds by four o'clock in the morning where she worked until about 9 a.m when the gang broke for a short breakfast consisting of "some Indian corn boiled in water." Within the hour, the gang was "called again to our tasks" and worked through until about noon. According to Prince, "we came home at twelve; ate our corn soup...as fast as we could, and went back to our employment till dark at night."¹ Assuming the salt gangs on Grand Quay were

allowed no more than 1 to 2 hours for lunch, salt slaves like Mary Prince were required to work for between 12 and 15 hours a day during the reaping season. If we consider that occasionally, she was obliged also to labour "all night measuring salt to load a vessel; or turning a machine to draw water out of the sea for the salt making..",² it becomes apparent that at least during the reaping season, dedicated salt slaves in the Bahamas were worked for as long, and arguably as hard, as more traditional field slaves at crop-time on estates in the sugar colonies of the BWI.

Perhaps one of the only other groups of marginal colony slaves for whom this maxim held true were the woodcutters of Belize who after the switch from logwood to mahogany cutting in the Settlement in the late 1770s, were obliged to spend from 7 to 10 months a year in the timber cuts during the logging season, and where they were often worked through the night clearing paths and trucking out logs to the river's edge in order to avoid the stifling daytime jungle heat. As we shall see shortly, although there is some suggestion that timber cutting in Belize by the early 19th century was task-based rather than a gang labour system in the sugar sense, any control over the work pace that the timber slaves had was usually mitigated by slave "captains" who supervised the woodcutters when their owners left the timber works much as slave drivers did field hands in the cane fields of the British Caribbean. As suggested in Section II, and while it lasted in the Bahamas and on Grand Cayman, slaves caught up in the short-lived cotton boom in these islands would also have been expected to work for between 10 and 12 hours a day for up to 9 months of the year as there were normally two crops of cotton sown annually in these territories.

On diversified holdings in the Bahamas, Cayman, Anguilla and Barbuda, the work day for slaves began at sunrise and normally lasted until mid-afternoon with a break for a meal midway through the day. On the Farquharson estate on San Salvador where the main buildings were located along a ridge west of Pigeon Creek (see Map 7), most of the main fields were close enough for the slaves to be able to return to their quarters for the meal. With

the official work day over by about three o'clock, Charles Farquharson allowed his slaves a couple of hours to work in their provision grounds and/or to tend their stock before dark.³ This was certainly the practice on most plantations in the Bahamas by the early 19th century where slaves "with ease complete their task of labour for the day by three or four o'clock in the Even after which they employ themselves in their own grounds..."⁴ On the odd day each month that it rained at San Salvador, the Farquharson slaves were excused from labour in the open fields and where possible, were instead assigned tasks either undercover or near the estate buildings. On May 14th, 1832, for instance, Charles Farquharson "employed the women weeding about the yard and the men brushing and mending up walls in the intervals between the shours in the forpart of the day..."⁵ Similarly, at least one of the resident managers at Barbuda (John Winter) developed lime burning in the early 19th century as a useful way of employing slaves on the island when the weather was unfavourable for tending livestock and crops.⁶

For those slaves in Grand Cayman obliged to clean the public roads that bordered their owners' holdings, an Act passed by local Magistrates in 1832 but reflecting common practice in the colony for some years before stipulated that on the two occasions each year when the work was to be carried out (that is, on the second Monday in February and August for a total of 3 days at a time), the Waywardens appointed to superintend the task

shall be on the Roads with the Slaves ready to begin their Work by eight O'Clock in the Morning...and to work them until five O'Clock in the evening... allowing them within that time two hours for their meals.⁷

On a related note, one of the most significant features of the way in which the labour of slaves employed in agricultural activities in the marginal colonies was organized was their owners' use of the *task system* in which slaves were assigned

specified jobs measured in terms of distance, area, or volume. The precise origins of the task system are not entirely clear, although Barry Higman (1984) believes it may have first emerged in the marginal colonies where, particularly in the aftermath of the collapse of the cotton economy in the Bahamas and Cayman, for example, planters were anxious to reduce their costs of supervision while at the same time maintaining the productivity of their slaves.⁸ On his visit to Crooked Island in 1803, Daniel McKinnen (1823) observed that the labour of slaves on the island

is allotted to them daily and individually, according to their strength, and if they are so diligent as to have finished at an early hour, the rest of the day is allowed to them for amusement or their private concerns.⁹

Such "concerns" included the slaves working in their garden plots and/or provision grounds, and therein lay one of the other attractions of the task system for marginal colony planters, that is, it allowed them to shift some of the burden of slave maintenance to these provision grounds and thus to the slaves themselves.

Although McKinnen (1823) does not describe what constituted a task on the estates he visited at Crooked Island, in 1815, William Wylly noted that on plantations in the Bahamas generally,

the tasks are one fourth of an acre in extent, they are usually marked out by permanent stations in every field, and two, sometimes four Slaves (but in general more than one) are put into each Task, at the discretion of the Driver, according to the actual state of the field.¹⁰

Admittedly, the task work system is not obvious from the contents of the Farquharson Journal or indeed on the timber Works belonging to James Lawrie in Belize, although some of the work of

mahogany cutters was said to be on a task basis in the Settlement by the 1830s, that is, for those slaves involved in cutting a path along which the felled logs were to be trucked, a task was the clearance of 100 yards of underwood.¹¹ Similarly, the Collins Journal of slave activities at Barbuda in 1797 makes no mention of tasks in this context. On an estate where the tending of livestock was the principal focus of the enslaved population for most of the year, the system may have had only limited practical application, that is, it was probably used when the slaves were set to gathering fire wood and to planting the relatively small acreages of crop land east of the Castle complex for the benefit of the Antigua estates, and to meet their own requirements. In Anguilla, those slaves who worked in the cotton fields and in the salt ponds were also likely to have been tasked on a daily basis but it is difficult to confirm this from the available sources. We do know from McKinnen's observations that on Grand Quay in the Bahamas "a single labourer may rake from forty to sixty bushels of salt in a day", and that a female slave on Acklin's Key "gathered in between forty and fifty pounds (of cotton) for each day's work",¹² and it may be that broadly similar task limits were set for Anguillian slaves in good harvest years.

Apart from detailing the labour activities of slaves on holdings in the marginal colonies, what is clear from the above Journals is that work was assigned to slaves on these estates every day of the week apart from Sunday and throughout the year with exceptions at Christmas, "crop over" and on certain special occasions such as the funerals of prominent slaves. For example, on the Farquharson estate for which the chronicle of daily activities is the most complete of the three (it is the only journal to more or less cover a full year), "most of the people" were given the day off on August 14th, 1831 to attend the funeral of Old Corker, a slave on the neighbouring Sandy Point estate who had died the previous afternoon. Over Christmas the following year, the Farquharson slaves were given 4 days holiday between the 24th and 27th of December during which, as we shall see

shortly, extra provisions and clothing were handed out, and some of the slaves "gon abroad to see some of their friends..."¹³

As on the sugar islands of the region, Sunday appears to have been the traditional day-off from prescribed duties for slaves in the marginal colonies. At Barbuda, for example, William Collins noted that on Sundays, "all hands in their Grounds" while on San Salvador, Sundays were entirely omitted from Farquharson's daily chronicle of slave activities, suggesting that slaves on this estate were likewise allowed to attend to their own affairs on that day. When logwood had been the *raison d'être* of the Bay Settlement, the loggers and their slaves "laboured hard five Days in the Week; and on Saturdays went to the Savannahs and killed Beeves", an activity that according to William Dampier (1676), also stretched into Sunday.¹⁴ While mahogany was king at Belize, Sundays was the day set aside at Rowley's Bight for the distribution of weekly food allowances, although during the logging season partly covered by the Lawrie Journal in 1789, it was not unusual for slaves at the Sea Side Work to spend at least part of the day loading schooners with logwood. Sunday seems also to have been the day that James Lawrie moved his slaves and equipment between his Sea Side and Mount Pleasant Works as required.¹⁵

The Journals also reveal how important it was for a marginal colony slaveowner to keep his/her slaves continuously at work throughout the day, week, month and/or year in a system as close to gang labour as conditions on his/her estate allowed. Indeed, excepting Belize and the Salt Islands of the Bahamas where the economies were essentially monocultural, the very nature of operations on diversified holdings in the marginal colonies generally meant that it was often possible for slaveowners to fill the interim periods between crop cycles. On the Farquharson estate in the 1830s, for example, the slaves were switched back and forth between the corn and cotton pieces as required with periodic instructions to repair fences and roofs, to maintain both estate and public roads, to tend to livestock, to load and unload visiting sloops, and to rake salt. The limited scale of

crop and provision growing on Barbuda meant that resident managers there obliged slaves on the estate to similarly combine their agricultural and pastoral duties with tasks normally associated with out of crop-time on sugar plantations such as Betty's Hope. Thus, on the 16th of February, 1797, when the first corn harvest at Barbuda that year was being taken in, William Collins noted

Part of the Men threshing Corn the rest taking the Sloop Christopher out of the lagoon....Second Gang husking Corn.¹⁶

Even in Belize where the majority of able-bodied male slaves in the Settlement were engaged for most of the year in logging, once the Mount Pleasant Work was cleared and the last 7 logs trucked out on the 29th of May, 1789, most of Lawrie's woodcutters were drafted into planting yams, rice and corn alongside his "plantation men and women" for the entire month of June.¹⁷ Similarly, on Anguilla and on those Agricultural Islands in the Bahamas where it was raked, some traditional field slaves were employed in the salt ponds on those islands while the season lasted before being returned to their owners' fields.

Uniquely among the marginal colonies, in organizing the tasks of slaves at Barbuda, resident managers had also to bear in mind that the "seasonal" demand for the labour of the island's slaves at times reflected that of the Codrington estates on Antigua. If fire wood and/or draught cattle were required for the sugar mill at Betty's Hope, for example, or extra provisions for that estate's slaves during crop-time, then Barbudan field slaves were put to work to meet those requirements. The demand for the labour of *skilled* Barbudan slaves was at times also determined by the needs of the Antigua estates; in the first quarter of 1813, for example, the island's principal sloop and her slave crew were so fully engaged in transporting sugar from the Codrington estates to St. John's that she only visited Barbuda once.¹⁸ On other occasions, the extra-curricular demand for slave labour on

Barbuda was determined by opportunity in that not only had the salvaged cargo of the HMS *Woolwich* to be brought ashore in 1813, it had also to be carted to the Castle complex for storage and the surviving crew (about 120 men and boys) were accommodated and fed on Barbuda for more than a month. Some supplies such as bread were brought in from Antigua but the crew were also "regularly supplied with a pound of (local) fresh meat per man every day since they have been on shore."¹⁹

Strictly speaking, one of the only occupational groups of slaves on estates in the British Caribbean who may have escaped the vagaries of seasonal demands upon their labour were *domestic slaves*. On the other hand, where domestic slaves were employed in the marginal colonies (and most slaveowners in these territories seemed to have engaged at least one domestic servant), they were expected to provide almost constant personal service and as such, their hours to some extent mirrored those of field slaves in these colonies, particularly where they were obliged to "double-up" as field hands during crop-time. Although the above Journals make no mention of either the hours or tasks expected of domestics in the Bahamas, Belize or Barbuda, while she served as a domestic slave in Bermuda before her sale to a salt raker on Turks Island, Mary Prince (1831) recalled that

My mistress often robbed me too of the hours that belong to sleep. She used to sit up very late frequently even until morning; and I had then to stand at a bench and wash during the greater part of the night, or pick wool and cotton and often I have dropped down overcome by sleep and fatigue, till roused from a state of stupor by the whip, and forced to start up to my tasks.²⁰

In summary, the overriding impression gleaned from the source materials which detail the labour activities of slaves in the marginal colonies generally is that the cycles of planting, harvesting and processing which were spaced out over much of the

year kept the majority of slaves on estates in these colonies busy for most of the year. Even in Belize and the Bahamian Salt Islands where the economies were more or less monocultural, the interim periods for slaves were filled by the perennial tasks of weeding, picking "one-one" crops, clearing new fields, building walls, repairing fences and estate buildings, maintaining vessels, fishing, cutting wood, wreck salvage, burning lime and/or tending stock. Generally speaking, while some of these tasks were as physically demanding as those assigned to the majority of sugar slaves in the British Caribbean, most were less intensive although it is clear that in order to sustain a diversified holding such as the Farquharson estate on San Salvador or the Codrington estate on Barbuda, the slaves on these estates were worked hard by their owners/managers and for relatively long hours, particularly during crop-time when, as on the sugar plantations of the region, time was of the essence if the crop in question was not to be spoiled and the estate was to remain viable for another year. At the same time, and with the exception of the timber cuts in Belize and the salt pans of the Bahamas where the work of slaves was at least as arduous as that demanded of sugar slaves, the scale of operations in the marginal colonies generally ensured that "crop time" in these territories was less focused and less intensive than on sugar estates in the region, although the "driving" element seems to have been similar to that found in the sugar colonies of the BWI.

REFERENCES

1. Ferguson, A History of Mary Prince, p.62.
2. Ibid., p.63. On such days, Prince and the rest of the slaves in the gang "had no sleep...but were forced to...go on again all next day the same as usual."
3. Michael Craton and Gail Saunders, "On Slavery's Margins..." p.55.
4. CO23/59: A. Murray to the Earl of Liverpool, April 18th, 1812
5. A Relic of Slavery, p.64.
6. D1610 C24, John Winter to Christopher Bethel Codrington, April 9th, 1831.
7. C0137/193, ff.280-81, September 20th, 1832.
8. Higman, Slave Populations, p.179.
9. Daniel McKinnen, A Tour through the British West Indies in the Years 1802 and 1803, pp.172-73.
10. CO23/63: Report by William Wylly to the House of Assembly, Nassau, December 26th, 1815, ff.37-41.
11. Memorandum to Superintendent, October 26th, 1833, Supreme Court Registry of Belize.
12. McKinnen, A Tour through the British West Indies, pp.124, 183
13. A Relic of Slavery, pp.30, 82-3. "gon abroad" probably to neighbouring estates on the island as by the 26th, "all of them at home in the evening and had a grand dance and keep it up until near daylight."
14. William Dampier, Dampier's Voyages: Two Voyages to Campeachy Volume II, p.181.
15. GD461/27, The Lawrie Papers, SRO, Edinburgh. MF375 (GRO), William Collins to CBC, May 1st, 1797. A Relic of Slavery.
16. MF375 (GRO), William Collins to CBC, May 1st, 1797.
17. GD461/27.
18. D1610 C24, John James to Christopher Bethel Codrington, April 30th, 1813.
19. Ibid., November 25th, 1813.
20. Ferguson, The History of Mary Prince, pp.56-7.

INCENTIVES TO LABOUR

The labour of slaves in the British Caribbean generally was extracted by their owners using a combination of negative and positive incentives that included physical coercion, the imposition of extra tasks, the withholding of material goods, free time and/or "indulgences" together with the granting of special allowances and even occasional monetary payments. As in the sugar colonies of the region, the particular combination of such negative and positive incentives by slaveowners in the marginal colonies depended on the occupations of their slaves, the manner in which work was organized on their holdings, and upon the individual character of "Massa" and/or "Mistress".

For the most part, and because many of the negative incentives to labour in the marginal colonies are to be considered in more detail in the final section of the study that deals with the living conditions and treatment of slaves in these territories, the focus here will be on the positive incentives held out by owners like James Lawrie and Charles Farquharson to their slaves in order to encourage their labour.

Generally speaking, and as noted earlier, whereas it was the wish of slaveowners to persuade their bondsmen that negative incentives such as physical coercion were dependent on the behaviour of the slaves themselves, the provision of rewards and indulgences was to be viewed by the slaves as following from the generosity of their owners. As such, and in theory at least, special allowances of material goods, holidays and the inherent paradox of cash payments for services rendered, were to be regarded by the slaves who received them as privileges and not as rights less their value as positive incentives to labour be diminished. In practice, this was a distinction that became increasingly blurred in the marginal colonies, particularly during the late 18th and early 19th centuries as slaveowners in these territories struggled to keep their estates viable and to ensure that their slaves were occupied year round.

On one hand, there were certain "traditional" allowances bestowed upon slaves at Christmas or for jobs particularly well done. In Belize, for instance, it had become customary by the late 18th century for owners in the Settlement to grant their slaves a "fortnight's holyday" at Christmas,¹ and it has already been noted that slaves belonging to Charles Farquharson on San Salvador were given 4 days holiday over Christmas in 1832. According to Farquharson, this was also the time of year when extra allowances of meat and drink were handed out. Thus, on December 24th,

we killed a hog weighing 120 lbs and a young heifer weighing 260 lbs...the hog and the half of the beef 130 lbs served out to the people which came to 4 lbs of pork and 4 lbs Beef to each share allwing the children half a share each, and a Bottle of rum to each of the grown hands and a large cup full of sugar to each, and a half to each child...²

Earlier in the year, all the slaves on the Farquharson estate had been given the first Saturday off in March "in return for Sunday 5th Feby that they went to Sandy Point to bring some of the light luggage home..."³ Similarly, in July of 1831, one part of the estate's field gang was excused from weeding Guinea Corn in the Big Field on the second Saturday of the month (the 9th) "having gained a day this week by extra work."⁴

Individual slaves on the estate seem also to have been accorded certain privileges for their work in that only Alick, Bacchus and Alexander, three of the most senior slaves on the estate who occasionally acted as drivers when either or both Charles and James Farquharson were absent, were allowed to go fishing.⁵ For a time at Barbuda, to "haul the seine" was a privilege similarly reserved primarily for the head slaves on the island,⁶ while at his Clifton estate on New Providence, William Wyllly allowed his driver and the principal herdsman at Tusculum

a brood mare each, for the purpose of enabling them the more frequently and expeditiously to ride over the pasture grounds and other Lands. They are not to sell those mares, but are entitled to their increase...⁷

Outside of such "customary" indulgences, Mary Turner (1995) describes an evolving tradition of labour bargaining that took place between owners and their bondsmen from the early days of formal slavery in the Caribbean, of a context in which managers and slaves were continuously enmeshed in the exchange of goods and cash for services, and in which slaves used every opportunity they could to claim extra rewards for extra service. For example, resident slaves on plantations in Jamaica were commonly required to train new Africans brought on to the estates as part of the "seasoning" process and for which in return they claimed and won the right to use these new arrivals on their own provision grounds. Turner (1995) suggests that such labour bargaining was generated by the need of slaves as workers to secure their subsistence which together with clothing, shelter and in some cases medical attention, comprised their basic "wages" in kind. At issue between slaves and owners in such a context was always the question of how much "wages" for how much work. For the owners, wages in kind were to be kept as low as possible for the slave population as a whole, although they did recognise the need for reward differentials to reflect the skills and responsibilities of their slaves in the division of labour that was dictated by the nature of plantation production in the Caribbean. Thus, so called "confidential" slaves (drivers and headmen) and skilled tradespeople managed eventually to win outright cash payments for their work in the form of bonuses which often also served in the last resort as protection money against sabotage in the production process.⁸ As we have seen at Barbuda and on the Farquharson estate in the Bahamas, for example, these slaves also won payments in goods or "free" time for extra hours spent on the job and/or for tasks fulfilled.

As far as the marginal colonies are concerned, the issue with respect to this custom of receiving payments for their labour is the prevalence of such practices vis á vis the sugar colonies of the British Caribbean. In the specific case of Jamaican sugar slaves being given "free" time to work on their provision grounds, Richard Sheridan's (1993) research on the demographic, medical and economic history of the island led him to question whether slaves were given ample time away from plantation labour to cultivate these grounds, whether they had the energy to grow food for themselves and their families, how much time was needed to walk to and from these grounds and the markets where any surplus produce might be sold, and whether the provision ground system was adapted to the needs of the aged, infirm and young slaves. Between the particularly onerous time and labour demands placed upon slaves during the 4 to 6 months of the sugar harvest that often included Sunday labour for field slaves (the only day they had to tend their provision grounds and take any produce to market), the not inconsiderable distances walked by some slaves to their grounds (up to 15 miles where planters had purchased separate areas for such grounds), and the tendency of the work regime on a sugar estate to squeeze every possible degree of labour from vulnerable and "healthy" slaves alike, Sheridan (1993) intimates that in general in Jamaica, the potential for this particular form of "payment" as an incentive to slaves for their labour was restricted.⁹

In the marginal colonies during the last decades of formal slavery in the BWI, it appears that prevailing economic circumstances in general and the labour regime to which slaves in these territories were subjected in particular afforded them greater opportunities to take advantage of other than "customary" indulgences offered up by their owners. In the specific case of their provision grounds, marginal colony work patterns discussed earlier implied that slaves in these territories had more time for their provision grounds than their contemporaries labouring on sugar estates in the region. To take the issue of cash payments, we have seen in Barbuda that in order to avoid the high

cost of independent contractors ferrying goods to and from the island, beginning in the last quarter of the 18th century, the Codringtons purchased and built vessels of their own for that purpose and crewed them with their own slaves. Although based in Barbuda, these slave sailors were often engaged on the Codrington sloops for months at a time and therefore had limited access to the garden plots and provision grounds that were accorded other slaves on the island, and which were to assume added significance for their subsistence in the aftermath of the American War of Independence. In lieu of these grounds, the Codrington attornies provided slave sailors at Barbuda with weekly monetary allowances so as to enable them to sustain themselves nutritionally, and in a broader sense, to compensate these slaves for not being able to grow crops and raise livestock of their own for sale to passing ships or in the market in St. John's, as was the wont of other slaves on the estate.

In addition to these regular cash payments, slaves skilled as sailors at Barbuda were also paid cash for Sunday work droghing hogsheads of sugar between the Antigua estates and St. John's, and for loading cargo salvaged from wrecked vessels. According to the Barbuda Accounts for January to December 1787, for instance, on the 19th of July and 28th of August that year, Humanity and his crew received £1 4s 9d for "Sunday work heaving down" while entries from the 3rd of July to the 25th of September confirm that the same crew received an allowance of 21s between them every two weeks. As captain/chief sailor at Barbuda at the time, Humanity himself was paid a weekly allowance of 8s 3d,¹⁰ even when he was ill for 6 weeks in 1798.¹¹

There are other entries in the Barbuda Accounts which confirm that by the fourth quarter of the 18th century, some slaves on the island were receiving cash payments as a matter of custom. There are, for instance, several references to slave carpenters earning cash for repairs carried out to the island's sloops. On September 14th, 1814, for example, cash was paid to slave carpenters for carrying out extensive repairs to the *Robert* which had been driven on shore during a gale on the 17th of July.

Some 270 feet of plank, 10 lbs of nails and 139 slats of cordage were used in the repairs.¹² Barbudan slaves skilled as grooms were paid an extra allowance when they accompanied animals to Antigua, and a slave named Old Benny was paid 8s 3d for killing one hundred feral cats on the island in 1787.¹³

At Anguilla in the 1820s, skilled slaves on the island were similarly receiving cash payments for regular work as a matter of course. According to the Commissioners who visited the island from St. Kitts in 1824 to report into the state of the community at Anguilla, slave carpenters, mariners, blacksmiths, coopers, sawyers, porters, cart and millwrights were each receiving "1 dollar, equal to 4s 6d sterling, with food" per diem while "Females employed as Housemaids" and as "Washerwomen" received "4 dollars per month, equal to £12 per annum". "Able-bodied Negroes employed in Agriculture" at Anguilla were believed to receive "one half dollar per diem, with food."¹⁴ In the Bahamas by the end of the second decade of the 19th century, slave mechanics were being paid 6s 3d sterling per day, sailors approximately \$10 a month while domestic slaves were receiving an average monthly rate of \$5. At the time, slaves engaged in general labourer in the Bahamas were on 1s 7d per day,¹⁵ while drivers on William Wylly's estates on New Providence were given

an allowance of twelve guineas a year, each, in quarterly payments, in addition to the usual plantation provisions and clothing...only when no overseer is employed.¹⁶

Significantly, and to a greater degree than their contemporaries on the sugar estates of Jamaica, for their part, field slaves on Barbuda were sometimes able to earn money for labour on customary free days and through the sale of surplus crops and livestock from their provision grounds and garden plots. The extent of these allotments will be outlined in the next section of the study, but beginning in the last quarter of the 18th century when concerted efforts to grow crops on the

island were undertaken on the instructions of Sir William Codrington, it became the practice of the resident manager either to purchase any surplus directly from the slaves or to allow it to be shipped to Antigua for sale in the market in St. John's. Traditionally held on Sundays, the market was located "at the southern extremity of the town" where "an assemblage of many hundred negroes and mulattoes expose for sale poultry, pigs, kids, vegetables, fruit and other things..."¹⁷ The amounts that were earned by Barbudan slaves in this way were sometimes considerable; between April of 1832 and January of 1833, for example, John Winter purchased £121 15s 3d worth of poultry and hogs from his slaves and estimated they had the opportunity to sell double that amount in St. John's and to vessels that came to Barbuda for the purpose of buying stock.¹⁸

To some extent, a similar arrangement had been in place in Belize since the early days of logwood cutting in the territory. As we have seen, the small plots of corn and other subsistence crops tended by the first settlers had by 1779 evolved into "plantations" that extended along the banks of the Settlement's rivers on which logwood was being cut. The temporary proscription of commercial agriculture imposed under the Convention of London in 1786 disrupted but did not eliminate these "plantations", and by the early 19th century, a slave in Belize was allowed

to cultivate the soil to any extent for his own immediate profit, indeed his industry is always encouraged by the Owner, who purchases a large portion of the produce of his labour...

He was also permitted "to saw boards, build Canoes, and flat bottomed boats, called here Pitpans, (and to) raise stock."¹⁹

It is important to bear in mind that the process here observable in the marginal colonies, that is, the movement of slaves in these territories from the early days of growing provisions in order to feed themselves and their owners to being allowed to sell surplus crops and livestock to these same owners

and/or on the open market, and to being paid cash for some of their labour, was a gradual one. Indeed, Nigel Bolland (1995) has suggested that the transition from slave labour in its purest state to what in effect was a type of wage labour where "wages" took the form of bonuses either as gifts/incentives or as cash payments, lasted about a century in the BWI as a whole.²⁰ As noted earlier, at issue between slaves and their owners for the duration of this transition was always the question of how much "wages" for how much work, and foremost among the factors which influenced the answer to this question in the marginal colonies of the region were the particular character of slavery in these territories and the nature of the their respective economies. To complicate matters as well as highlight the diversity within the marginal group, the fact that these economies were not entirely as homogeneous as the collective term "marginal colony" might otherwise imply meant that the degree to which this transition took place often varied from one colony to the next.

To take the Bahamas as a point of departure, it has already been established that the arrival of the American Loyalists in 1783 and the advent of cotton production on a plantation basis in 1784 extended commercial agriculture to the Out Islands of the archipelago. In turn, this created a demand for labour which existing slaveowners in the Bahamas could exploit by renting out their surplus slaves. To be sure, and as demonstrated earlier, many of the emigré Loyalists brought their own slaves with them to the Bahamas, but as the following advertisements from a contemporary Bahamian newspaper illustrate, some cotton planters in the colony evidently preferred to rent gangs of slaves on a long-term basis rather than to purchase them outright. In the *Bahamas Gazette* of August 8th to 15th, 1789, for example,

Wanted on Hire for Six Months

Six able Field Slaves to be employed on a Cotton Plantation on Andros Island, for the whole Term. Good Treatment, liberal Wages and punctual Payment may be depended upon. Apply to

Thomas Forbes

Who wants for a Plantation on Exuma, from ten to fifteen able Negroes for the same Term, and on the same Conditions as above mentioned.

On November 16th, 1790, the same Thomas Forbes placed the following advertisement in the *Gazette*;

Wanted Immediately

From ten to fifteen good taskable Hands for six months from the 10th to 18th of next month, or sooner if offered, for which the subscriber will give at the rate of £8 sterling each for 6 months. They are to be worked at Exuma but the subscriber will stand the risk and expense of sending up and bringing them back to their place of abode if required.²¹

Initially, "self-hire", that is the practice of slaveowners in the Bahamas allowing some of their slaves to seek their own employment in return for a mutually agreed sum to be paid to them at regular intervals, was carried out on a relatively limited scale. With the collapse of the cotton boom by the early 1800s, however, slaveowners in the Out Islands began to experience difficulties in finding profitable employment for all of their slaves, a circumstance that was reflected in a work regime on even the most diversified of holdings such as the Farquharson estate where, as noted, most of the slaves completed their tasks by mid-afternoon and were given the rest of the day to tend their provision grounds. The response of many Bahamian slaveowners to

this diminishing demand for their slaves' labour was to permit them to hire-out where this was feasible, and in a pattern described in the following memorandum drafted by the colony's House of Assembly in 1823;

A crop of cotton or provisions being raised...the slaves are frequently sent, for the season, to rake and manufacture salt at the ponds; from thence they are, in due time, called back to the fields, the provision grounds, or the orchards or gardens where fruits are raised for exportation. The produce has next to be taken to market, and a portion of the same gang become sailors for the occasion, and at other times through the year, fishermen, wreckers...and even domestic servants.²²

Outside of the Bahamas, self-hire seems also to have been practiced to varying degrees in the Caymans where, for example, in October of 1803, the Senior Magistrate at Grand Cayman hired a jobbing gang from Thomas Thomson to cut a road along South West Sound Bay, and where those slaves employed on the turtling boats, as in the Bahamas, "were generally allowed certain proportions of the Profits of each Cruise or Voyage..."²³ Domestic slaves in the Caymans seem also to have been able to hire themselves out, and/or at least to accrue cash by selling surplus crops and livestock. The Elizabeth Jane Trusty whose Registration Return is included in Appendix 2 had once been a slave herself, that is, she belonged to Mary Thomson (the wife of the above mentioned Thomas Thomson) of Prospect from whom she purchased her own manumission on the 20th of March, 1809 for the sum of £5 "current money of Jamaica".²⁴ In a similar vein, within 2 months of her own manumission in February of 1833, a former "negro woman slave named Clemontina alias Sarah Webster" was able to purchase the manumission of her daughter Elizabeth Judy from George Merren and his wife "for and in consideration of the Sum of Forty-five pounds current money of Jamaica."²⁵ In each of

these cases, the money was delivered cash in hand by Trusty and Webster who seem to have raised it by their own efforts, that is, as wages for regular labour paid by their owners, by hiring-out to a third party on a short term basis, and/or by selling whatever surplus crops and stock they may have been able to produce on their respective grounds.

Hire-out seems also to have been fairly widespread in Belize by the end of the 18th century, particularly among owners who did not possess either the land or the required number of slaves to operate a mahogany Work in the territory. According to the Minutes of the Settlement's Quarterly Court held at Belize Town in September of 1792, at the time, the rates of hire for cutters in the Bay were set at "Three pounds ten shillings each Wood at Cash price/Month..."²⁶ It is unclear what portion of this was received by the slave cutters themselves but the fact that 27 of a total of 141 manumissions effected in Belize between January 1st, 1821 and December 31st, 1825 were paid for by the slaves in question would seem to suggest that, like Elizabeth Trusty and Sarah Webster in Grand Cayman, some bondsmen and women in the Belize Settlement were able to accrue relatively substantial sums of cash for their labour.²⁷

At Anguilla, we have seen how some field slaves were drafted into the island's salt ponds during the reaping season where they were allowed to continue labouring after the end of the official work day at 2 p.m and to sell what salt they were able to collect on their own time to the "big landowners".²⁸ It may be that, as in the Bahamas, for example, some of these slaves were hired-out by their owners for the purpose of salt-raking, although it is difficult to confirm this from the available sources. On the other hand, and particularly after the devastating French attack on the island in 1796 during which most of the island's estates were destroyed thereby immediately rendering a great many slaves surplus to requirements, slaveowners began to hire their slaves out to planters and traders/merchants on other islands for extended periods. As noted, some of these Anguillan slaves ended up in the cane fields on islands as far south as Trinidad while

others worked as masons, carpenters and field hands on islands nearer to Anguilla and with which she had historical ties such as St. Bartholomew, St. Croix and St. Martin. Unfortunately, there is to date no available information on the specific earnings of these slaves or on the proportion of these earnings which they were obliged to pay their owners for the privilege of being able to hire-out. However, that some of these slaves were left a margin for savings is borne out by their ability at the end of their periods of hire to return to Anguilla and to purchase their freedom and/or that of their wives/partners and children. On the 19th of August, 1828, for example, a William Brookes, mason by trade,

for and in consideration of the sum of one hundred pounds current gold and silver money of said Island to me in hand paid by Judith Richardson, a black woman Slave of mine, who I purchased of Margaret Richardson also of said Island as per Bill of Sale dated 26th May 1827 the receipt whereof I do hereby acknowledge have granted bargained and sold ...the said Judith Richardson her freedom.²⁹

As a final note on the incentives offered to marginal colony slaves for their labour, there were also less than legitimate accommodations arrived at between owners/managers and slaves arising out of what Hilary Beckles and Karl Watson (1987) have described as a concessionary approach to labour relations.³⁰ Most of these arrangements will be discussed in more detail in the next section of the study that deals with slave resistance in the marginal colonies, but they merit some attention here as they were likely to have been important in preserving the status quo on Barbuda, for example, and on other relatively isolated marginal estates such as the Farquharson holding on San Salvador where slaves heavily outnumbered their white and/or coloured owners. It has already been noted, for instance, that several managers at Barbuda engaged in back-door sales of estate

livestock to slaves on the island as well as to their own contacts in Antigua. Also, some of these managers and those slaves involved in salvage operations were alleged to have liberated certain items from the recovered cargoes of stricken vessels before turning these over to the Vice-Admiralty Court in St. John's. This was one of the charges levelled against Samuel Redhead, for example, by the Spanish government in its protest over his handling of the salvage of the *Sancta Rita* in 1776.³¹ Certainly, the pilfering of wrecked goods by slave salvors either on site or when these washed ashore would have been virtually impossible to prevent completely and seems to have been tolerated by even the most scrupulous of resident managers as an acceptable trade-off for enlisting the help of slaves in what was often a hazardous undertaking. It appears that as long as such indulgences were maintained on a relatively small scale, they were regarded as an indirect incentive to the labour of slaves at Barbuda given that stamping out the practice entirely was simply not feasible.

A similar sort of accomodation is likely to have been worked out in Belize between the Settlement's major cutters and their slave hunters whose task it was to locate the stands of mahogany in increasingly remote areas of forest and to lead the rest of the timber gang to them. According to Henderson (1809), once a huntsman had found a large body of wood,

it becomes a contest with his conscience, whether he shall disclose the matter to his master, or sell it to his neighbour...³²

Every slave huntsman in the territory knew that the success of a season's logging depended on his skills, that a failure or betrayal on his part could virtually ruin his owner. These were circumstances that not only made him the most valued of slaves in Belize, as we have seen, but would also have put him in a position to be able to extract concessions from his owner that might otherwise not be extended to him. Thus, as well as the

considerable independence that he was allowed in order to carry out his tasks, that is, he was able to go into the jungle on his own for long periods of time without any direct supervision, a slave huntsman in Belize was sometimes able to secure additional perquisites from his owner to encourage his fidelity. At Rowley's Bight in 1789, for example, Dublin and Tureen, two of three "captains" belonging to James Lawrie are the only slaves in the Work who were allowed to go hunting for meat which they appear to have been also permitted to keep for themselves.³³ Thus, like the slave boilers on a sugar estate in the BWI, enslaved huntsmen in Belize were in a position to extract bonuses from their owners which served in the last resort as a form of insurance against sabotage in the production process.

In summary, where positive incentives were offered to marginal colony slaves, the critical factors in their success were the elasticity of a work regime that did not demand as intense a degree of labour from its slaves as the regime in place on a sugar island such as Jamaica, for example, and the adaptability of slaves (skilled and unskilled) in the marginal colonies to turn their hands to a variety of tasks in order to eke out a living. It was an adaptability that may have been one of the defining features of slavery in the marginal colonies and a reflection of the relative small-scale of estates in these territories on which occupational boundaries were comparatively, and necessarily fluid. Indeed, although a lack of quantitative data makes it difficult to be precise about the prevalence of these incentive practices in marginal colonies compared to the sugar islands of the region, it does seem that the flexibility of both the work regime and the slaves themselves in the marginal territories gave rise to a situation in which such practices were more common on holdings in these colonies than on British West Indian sugar estates generally where, as Sheridan (1993) has demonstrated with respect to slave provision grounds on Jamaican

estates, the intensity of labour demanded of an average sugar slave restricted his opportunities to use the grounds to earn

a little money by which he is enabled to indulge himself in fine clothes, on holidays, and gratify his palate with salted meats and other provisions that otherwise he could not obtain...³⁴

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22. House of Assembly to Governor Lewis Grant, January 1st, 1823, Votes of the House of Assembly of the Bahama Islands, 1821-24, Department of Archives, Nassau.
23. CO23/63, William Wylly, (December, 1815). Enclosure in Charles Cameron to Earl Bathurst, January 24th, 1816.
24. George Hirst, Notes on the History of the Cayman Islands, p.147. Trusty's certificate of manumission is quoted verbatim by Hirst and is one in a series of primary source documents that Hirst came across during his tenure as Commissioner in the Caymans. As a footnote to the case of Elizabeth Jane Trusty, once freed, she appears to have settled in South Sound and became involved in the slave business herself; between 1818 and 1826, Trusty is named in four transactions that we know of in which she paid out a total of £260 for the manumission of two slaves belonging to other owners and received £110 for the freedom of three of her own slaves (Hirst, pp.146-56). As noted, in 1834, she filed a Return with James Minot in which she registered a total of 7 slaves.
25. Public Records Records, 1810-89, ff.68. CR/1/1 microfilm at CINA. Sarah Webster was freed by her owner (a Mary Bodden of Spotts) on account of her faithful service and effected the purchase of her daughter in April that year.

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27. PP 1826-27, Volume XXII, ff.82-84, A Return of the Number of Manumissions effected by Purchase, Bequest or otherwise in Honduras from the 1st of January 1821 to the Period making the Return, say 31st December 1825.
28. Hanmar Dickson, The Salt Industry in Anguilla, p.8.
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30. Hilary Beckles and Karl Watson, "Social Protest and Labour Bargaining: The Changing Nature of Slaves' Responses to Plantation Life in Eighteenth Century Barbados." In Slavery and Abolition, A Journal of Comparative Studies (Volume 8, Number 3, December 1987), p.275.
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SECTION IVTHE TREATMENT OF MARGINAL COLONY SLAVES

In discussing the treatment of marginal colony slaves over the half century or so preceeding emancipation in 1834, this section of the study will examine two aspects of the lifeways of these slaves. Firstly, day-to-day living conditions of bondsmen and women in the Bahamas, Cayman, Belize, Barbuda and Anguilla will be considered within the context of the experiences of their contemporaries in the sugar colonies of the British Caribbean. Secondly, the treatment of marginal colony slaves by their white and free-coloured owners will be considered in terms of the punishments visited upon these slaves for violations of laws and custom, that is, the negative incentives to labour held out by these owners, and mentioned only briefly in Section III of the study. The resistance of marginal colony bondsmen and women to the system that governed their lives will also be discussed in terms of the impact such activities had on the general relationship between owners and slaves in these colonies. The overall aim is to determine whether the absence of cane fields in these territories did in fact mean that marginal colony slaves were "better treated" than their contemporaries in the sugar islands of the region.

LIVING CONDITIONS

In examining the living conditions of slaves in the marginal colonies, consideration will be given to the quantity and quality of their food, clothing and housing as these were made available by their respective owners and by the efforts of the slaves themselves. The impact of these material provisions together with that of the general working conditions of marginal colony slaves as outlined in Sections II and III of this study will also be examined in terms of the degree to which these collectively affected the *family structure* of slaves in each of the Bahamas, Cayman, Barbuda, Anguilla and Belize. The above indices have been selected primarily because they are essentially measurable and, as such, allow us to continue to attempt to define the marginal colony slave experience within the context of the experiences of sugar slaves in the BWI.

Food

Generally speaking, slaveowners in the BWI recognised two systems of feeding their bondsmen, one at the expense of the master/mistress and the other by the labour of the slave. In the first case, slaves were fed imported foodstuffs, they were required to grow food on their owner's land as a routine part of estate labour, they were supplied with cash to buy food, and/or they might be expected to depend on a combination of the above. On the other hand, slaves were fed by their own labour when they cultivated in their own time land that was not needed for the production of export crops. Under what came to be called the provision ground system, slaves were usually allowed to plant what they wanted and were not supervised with any surplus above family requirements sold/bartered in local markets for additional food, clothing and/or household furnishings.¹

In practice, these were not mutually exclusive systems and in terms of establishing a basis for comparison, the "sugar model" of food supply was a combination of these methods

at different points along the slavery continuum. Thus, whereas owners in Jamaica, for example, relied heavily on the provision ground system to feed their slaves, planters in Barbados turned away from dependence on provision grounds and imported foodstuffs after a series of destructive hurricanes in the 1780s, and instead adopted the ration-allotment system. Here, slaves were subsisted mainly on food rations that were grown on the estates and/or imported, and which were distributed by estate owners and managers. According to Richard Sheridan (1993), the system required the supervised labour of slaves on both the cane fields and those planted in crops. In the case of the latter, "at least 1/3 of the labour of all slaves on every estate" in Barbados was annually expended in raising provisions,² thereby removing slaves in the colony from the rigorous labour regimen of the cane fields for a greater length of time than their contemporaries in Jamaica, for example. Barry Higman (1984) suggests that in the case of Jamaica and in other sugar colonies where it was used, the provision ground system was an added imposition for slaves in those territories who were not compensated by extra "free" days.³

For their part, slaveowners in the marginal colonies of the region depended on a combination of methods to provision their enslaved populations. During the early days of settlement, for example, woodcutters and their slaves in the Caymans and Belize, small-scale tobacco and cotton farmers in Anguilla and the stockmen of Barbuda grew their own root crop provisions but depended also on imported foodstuffs such as wheat flour and preserved meats (usually salted or pickled) brought in from their respective "mother" colonies. Most of these foodstuffs had been initially imported from mainland Britain and/or her North American colonies as planters in the sugar islands of the BWI began to concentrate their resources on producing and exporting that staple.

Among those marginal colonists who enjoyed a staple crop economy for a time, slaveowners in the Bahamas, for example, continued to use a combination of methods to provision their slaves. During the cotton period in the Bahamas when the labour

of the majority of slaves in the islands was concentrated for most of the year on planting, harvesting and processing the crop, Bahamian slaves were fed primarily at their owners' expense. According to custom (but not law until 1796), adult slaves were generally issued with 6 to 8 quarts of corn or rice per week and were allotted "small portions of land" on which to grow their own provisions. They were "allowed the Sunday only for themselves" on which to work these grounds, although like the actual quantities of allowances issued, this depended on the "generosity or good Nature of the Master."⁴

For at least one group of slaves in the Bahamas, the provision of food was almost entirely undertaken at the expense of their owners. Salt slaves such as Mary Prince at Turks Island had virtually no access to garden plots and depended on rations of Indian corn which seem mostly to have been "pounded in a mortar and boiled in water" to make a corn soup called *blawly*. Occasionally, when Prince and her gang were sent to the South Creek "to cut up mangoes to burn lime with",⁵ they may have been able to collect some of the fruit for themselves and even to fish, but for most of the reaping season, dedicated salt slaves in the Bahamas appear to have had considerably fewer alternatives to rationed allowances than slaves on more diversified agricultural holdings in the colony.

In Belize, the only marginal colony that had a staple "crop" economy for virtually the entire period of British settlement, owners relied upon a combination of methods to feed their slaves. As noted, slaves in the territory were in the habit of "making plantations" from the earliest days of settlement. In the Belize context these "plantations" were relatively small plots of vegetables and ground foods that by 1779 extended along most of the Settlement's main rivers where logwood was being cut.⁶ The majority of these "plantations" were worked by slaves at the behest of their individual owners to feed other bondsmen on the particular holding, but there were also "plantations" in the Settlement on which slaves grew provisions purely for their own

subsistence and from which they produced food for sale in the markets at Belize Town.

In the first case, we have seen that the "plantation people" on the Lawrie estate at Rowley's Bight spent most of the logging season in 1789 planting yams and plantains at both the Sea Side and Mount Pleasant Works for the benefit of all the Lawrie slaves. On each Sunday during the period covered by the Journal (February to June, 1789), Lawrie distributed these plantains and yams as part of weekly allowances to his slaves which also included unspecified quantities of flour and either beef, pork or herring brought up from Belize Town.⁷

One of the only indications as to the possible quantities of these allowances is contained in the observations of Captain George Henderson who visited the Bay in the early 1800s. According to Henderson (1809), each slave in the Settlement was allotted 5 lbs of Irish salt pork per week and 1 lb of flour per day, as well as a "gill" (1/4 pint) of rum "during the days that the work is carrying on".⁸ There is no mention of rum in the Lawrie Journal (though 43 gallons of gin had been served to the estate's slaves since the previous March), but Henderson's estimates shed some light on what most working slaves in Belize were consuming in normal circumstances on a weekly basis at the turn of the 19th century.

As far as slaves at Belize having access to their own provision grounds is concerned, it has already been noted that bondsmen in the Settlement were

ever accustomed to make Plantation as they term it, by which means they support their wives and children, raise a little Stock, and so furnish themselves with necessaries etc.⁹

That some of these "plantations" were encouraged by owners in Belize eager to reduce their overall slave maintenance costs is supported by an observation made in 1806 that

the slaves have pieces of ground allotted them for cultivation, which enables the most industrious to make an agreement with their Masters in lieu of Provision.¹⁰

Unfortunately, the extent of such grounds in Belize is not immediately obvious from the sources. Although Henderson (1809) did mention that at the time of his visit "Every Settlement at Honduras has its plantain walk...", and that the banks of the Sibun River were "thickly studded with plantations",¹¹ he makes no mention of the actual size of these allotments. On the other hand, when each settler at Belize was given official permission by the King of Spain in 1789 "to mark out a proper plot of Ground to serve as a Garden...where (he) may sow Garden Stuff, Potatoes, Indian Corn, Roots and Vegetables for his Consumption..."¹², the limit of these garden grounds was said to have been fixed at 500 yards, that is, until 1796 after which time the Spanish officials appointed to monitor the precise quantity of land so used no longer visited the Settlement, and the plantations were unrestricted. Indeed, according to a *Report of the Commissioners to investigate the claims by which all land and Works are held in the Settlement of Honduras* drawn up in July of 1820, after 1796, "the Settlers located whatever grounds they pleased for the culture of Provisions", and that no "Regulation has ever been made for limiting the extent of this species of Property".¹³

To move on to the "less staple" phases in the economic development of the marginal colonies, with the decline of cotton underway by the first decade of the 19th century, slaveowners in the Bahamas were forced to consider alternative ways of occupying their increasingly underemployed slaves. In this regard, we have seen the shift to more diversified forms of holding in the Agricultural Islands of the archipelago, a development that brought with it a determination on the part of most owners to shift some of the burden of the costs of slave maintenance on to the slaves themselves, that is, to their provision grounds. On

one of three estates in New Providence belonging to William Wylly in 1818, for example, each male slave and his wife on the Clifton plantation were required to plant 2 acres of provisions to supplement weekly allowances distributed by their owner. That year, there were 22 family allotments at Clifton totalling 60 acres between them, and on which was grown a variety of crops including corn, yams, potatoes, pumpkins, peas, beans, okra, melons, plantains and bananas. According to James Rutherford, the overseer at Clifton, the grounds were kept in good order and nearly all of his employer's slaves had poultry and more than half of them owned hogs that were "to be sold off when fit for the spit, only one excepted, which may be reared for pork if confined to a pen."¹⁴

According to the *Regulations for the Government of the Slaves at Clifton* issued by Wylly in 1815, as well as their grounds, his bondsmen also had "half an Acre...annexed to each house as the property of the occupant for the time being" which was to be used to supplement their regular allowances.¹⁵ As far as the allowances themselves were concerned, under the Consolidated Slave Act for the Bahamas passed into law in May of 1797, slaveowners in the colony were required to provide each of their slaves over the age of 10 years with 21 pints of flour and 7 quarts of rice, or 56 lbs of potatoes every week, with half as much for those under 10 years of age. In lean years when there was a scarcity of provisions and it became necessary to reduce the weekly allowances issued to his slaves, Wylly insisted that

all the deficiencies are immediately to be made up, in money, to labouring hands, according to the current price of guinea corn in Nassau.

As well, those of his slaves who were unable to raise their own provisions through disability or infirmness were to receive full weekly allowances.¹⁶

Like most marginal colony slaves employed on a task system of labour by the turn of the 19th century, Wylly's bondsmen were

free to work their own grounds whenever their prescribed duties were finished, that is, usually from mid-afternoon till dark on most weekdays including Saturdays. Although Wylly claimed first rights on "all hogs, pigs, poultry, and eggs which the people may have for sale, and for which he is to pay the Nassau prices",¹⁷ as long as their grounds were in good order, and they had provisions to sell, the Wylly slaves could get permission to go to market in Nassau on Saturday afternoons in order to sell whatever surplus they had accrued over family requirements, an arrangement that linked these slaves to the cash economy and conferred a degree of autonomy. Indeed, so keen was Wylly to encourage the productivity of his slaves and to shift some of the burden of their maintenance to the provision grounds that he also allowed the use of his boat to transport to Nassau produce too heavy to send the 12 miles by road.¹⁸

In the more remote Out Islands of the Bahamas such as San Salvador and Crooked Island, for example, most planters similarly used a combination of regular allowances and provision grounds to feed their slaves. At the same time, the participation of these slaves in the archipelago's main market at Nassau was more problematic given the distances involved and the irregular nature of the droghing services between these islands and New Providence.¹⁹ On the Farquharson estate on San Salvador, for instance, though there is no mention of specific slave allowances in the Journal, most of the Indian and Guinea corn grown on the estate was intended for the sustenance of its slaves and stock; of 341 and 1/2 bushels of clean corn harvested in January 1831, for example, only 18 bushels that we know of were sent to Nassau on the 24th of November. The rest was consumed locally, either by the Farquharsons themselves, their slaves and/or livestock.²⁰

The fact that some of the fields on the estate bore the name of slaves belonging to Charles Farquharson (Allan's Field, Cato's Field, and William's Field, for example) may indicate that like the "Negro Grounds", these were provision allotments from which the Farquharson slaves supplemented their allowances. This certainly seems to have been the case on the neighbouring Fortune

Hill estate where on the 28th of February, 1831, "Scipio and Frank Bracking there own Corn as Miss Sarah Lander there owner intends carrying them to Nassau."²¹ Several of Farquharson's slaves were allowed to go fishing, as they did on Friday 2nd December, 1831 when "Employed all hands weeding...

except Rachel sick and Alick and Bacchus haweling the sean, along with the yard boys March and William and little Alick..."²²

Outside of special allowances at Christmas, Farquharson "gave the people half a sheep and 2 flasks of rum to make them a supper" on the 29th of January, 1831 on account of their efforts during the corn harvest that month. Less than a week later, an injured cow was slaughtered and "given to the people (who) found her in the woods with her hind leg Broken...as it was Impossible for her ever to get well again..."²³

As we have seen in Section II for Barbuda, slaves belonging to James Moss on the Perseverance estate on Crooked Island were able to supplement their allowances by selling surplus provisions to their owner and to other proprietors on the island. In April of 1815, for example, Henry Moss observed that he had occasionally purchased "Hogs, Poultry & c" from the Perseverance slaves who seem also to have sold "Pigs, fowls, Eggs, Pumpkins & c" to passing ships calling at Crooked Island such as the *Bridgetown* captained by Andrew Duncan, and for which at the time "he paid them about thirty or forty Dollars."²⁴

Like their contemporaries in the Bahamas, the majority of slaves in the Caymans both during and after the Islands' experiment with cotton plantations appear to have received allowances from their owners and worked grounds either attached to the cotton estates or located in the eastern districts. Exactly what quantities of provisions were issued to Caymanas slaves is unclear from the sources while the sorts of allowances seem consistent with those issued in other marginal colonies. In 1773, for example, George Gauld observed that

for their own Consumption, and to supply Vessels that pass by they raise Indian Corn, yams, sweet potatoes, pompions, plantains, melons, besides Limes, Oranges and most kinds of the fruits and vegetables that are to be found in Jamaica.²⁵

From Jamaica itself, the Shipping Returns of outbound cargoes from Kingston to Grand Caymanas between 1788 and 1804, for example, included varying numbers of "barrels of provisions", flour and of herring, at least some of which were likely to have ended up in slave pots alongside locally caught fish and perhaps even turtle.²⁶

The extent of the provision grounds at Grand Cayman is similarly unclear from the sources. Writing in 1841, Nathaniel Glover noted that when he had arrived in the island 10 years previously, "the negroes provision grounds lined each side of the road" between George Town and Bodden Town,²⁷ and there were also grounds further east. By one account, at the time of emancipation, slaves in the Bodden Town area had long been accustomed on the Friday of each week to travel through Frank Sound and East End to "one of the main grounds...up near Gun Bluff" (Gun Bay) from which they brought down "the weekly supply of provisions...",²⁸ an observation that continues to have currency even today among many Caymanians whose families originally came from the eastern districts but who now live in George Town, for example, and have "grounds" in East End to which they return on weekends to tend their fruit trees and vegetable gardens (see Map 4). The harvest is usually brought home and/or given to neighbours. Some of these weekend farmers "run cows" on their grounds as well. To return to the slavery period, that some slaves also worked grounds attached to their owners' estates is confirmed in the will of a Thomas John Yates and his wife Elizabeth Mary who in 1835 granted

Charles Yates alias Charles Crimin all and singular the lands, grounds and plantations he might and did possess while he was our slave.²⁹

With respect to the feeding arrangements for slaves at Barbuda, Sir William Codrington's earlier noted directive to Richard Clarke in 1779 that he experiment with growing a variety of crops on the island to counter the knock-on effects of a severe down-turn in trade brought on by the American War of Independence, was not as radical a change of economic priorities as it might first appear.³⁰ At the time, most slave houses on Barbuda had adjoining gardens in which poultry and pigs were reared and some vegetables grown. As well, slaves on the estate had for some years been working their own provision grounds in different areas of cleared woodland, mostly on the central plain in the general area that Richard Clarke began "commercial" planting in 1779, and which according to Clarke's successor as manager at Barbuda, occupied the "richest and best soils" on the island.³¹

Ideally, the Codringtons hoped that the acreages planted in yams and Guinea corn by Clarke and his successors would in part help to sustain the estate's slaves and as noted in Section II, to send over to the family's Antigua plantations surplus crops of yams and corn in particularly good harvest years. For the purposes of this study, the fact that Antigua and other sugar islands were themselves moving into domestically grown foodstuffs ensured that Barbuda remained "marginal" as a supplier to the family's Antigua estates until emancipation in 1834.

Between their garden plots and provision grounds, and apart from those bondsmen skilled as sailors, Barbudan slaves were generally expected to produce at least as much of their own food as sugar slaves on Jamaican plantations under the provision ground system. Although it is difficult from the available sources to judge the percentage of "own" food production by Barbudan slaves compared to those on a sugar estate, to reiterate a point made earlier, the significant difference between the two

types of colonial economy is that marginal colony slaves were likely to have had more adequate time to work their grounds than sugar slaves generally. As well, there is evidence scattered throughout the Codrington Papers to indicate that the resident manager at Barbuda also distributed rations of corn meal, rice and flour from Antigua on a more or less regular basis, allowances that were usually increased in lean years when the island's crops failed through drought, hurricane and/or insect infestation.

At the same time, however, it is more difficult to determine what slaves on Barbuda were actually eating on a daily or weekly basis. In May of 1824, adult slaves on the Codrington sugar estates in Antigua were receiving weekly allowances of 30 lbs of yams, eddas or potatoes, or 12 pints of grain or flour, 1 and 1/4 lbs of salted or pickled fish, and probably 1 pint of molasses and a 1/2 pint of salt.³² It is likely that the diet of adult slaves on Barbuda was at the very least comparable to this in "normal" times, although they were given no salted fish because "they could get fresh fish whenever they liked", or at least when it was convenient.³³ Indeed, in 1824, John James informed his employer that slaves at Barbuda were sometimes able to "haul the seine" for 3 or 4 days when the fishing was good, and at other times once every 2 or 3 weeks.³⁴ As well, slaves at Barbuda were sometimes allowed to take wild hog and goat meat,³⁵ and more covertly, they developed a habit of poaching sheep and cattle that successive managers on the island were never able to completely break. As late as 1831, for example, R. Jarritt noted

Barbudan Negroes...ramble through the Woods, all hours of the night, taking anything that comes in their Way, either Deer, Sheep or Cattle as required.³⁶

The provisioning of slaves at Anguilla appears to have followed a broadly similar pattern to the one common in Barbuda and the remaining marginal colonies after the "staple" phase of their economic development, that is, most slaves in the colony

relied on a combination of allowances from their owners and on ground provisions they were obliged to cultivate themselves in pockets of "bottom" land attached to the holdings on which they were employed. As on the Farquharson estate in the Bahamas, it seems that the ground provisions thus produced (mostly yams and potatoes) made up part of the slaves' rationed allowances along with flour and corn meal imported from St. Kitts and other Leeward Islands.³⁷ Anguillian slaves, like their contemporaries in Barbuda after the outbreak of the American Revolution, "have no allowance of fish, or of other salt provisions."³⁸ Presumably, they were expected to catch their own fish when and if they could, and to preserve it and other "provisions" using locally available salt.

According to the Commissioners who visited the island in 1824 to enquire into the state of the community there,

as long as the ground provisions hold out they (the slaves) are fed, and we believe abundantly, from that source.³⁹

The problem in Anguilla in the aftermath of the outbreak of the American Revolution was that the supply of ground provisions on the island was often, and sometimes severely, interrupted by droughts and hurricanes as well as by man-made disasters such as the French raid in 1796. The devastation of that particular attack was compounded through much of the early 19th century by a series of protracted droughts that prompted settlers at Anguilla to petition successive Governors of the Leeward Islands for relief, usually in the form of a request to extend the opening of Anguilla's ports to foreign vessels. In July of 1822, for example, the Board of Council at Anguilla petitioned Governor Charles Maxwell at St. Christopher "to open the ports to vessels of foreign States...for the period of Six Calendar Months" so that the inhabitants of Anguilla might gain relief from the "long continued dry weather" that had caused the failure of "the Fruits

of the Earth", but had at the same time "afforded an abundant Crop of Salt."⁴⁰

On this occasion, the petition was granted but a request in February of the following year to extend the opening of the ports for a further 6 months on account of the drought "having continued with little intermission" suggests that the subsistence crisis at Anguilla in the early 19th century was a long-term problem.⁴¹ When Henry Coleridge visited the island in 1825, for example, he observed that the 2,338 slaves then at Anguilla

suffer a good deal from want of certain and adequate provision, and the mode of meeting the scarcity (is) by giving them one, two, or three days liberty to seek it anywhere.⁴²

As late as May of 1832, the Board of Council at Anguilla successfully petitioned the Governor of the Leeward Islands to be allowed to trade with "neighbouring foreign ports" (St. Martin and St. Bartholomew) for a period of 6 weeks in order to alleviate "the extreme distress under which the inhabitants of that Island are labouring in consequence of the excessive drought which has prevailed there for a very long time", and to acquire the extra provisions and lumber for the harvest of the year's salt crop.⁴³

Among the marginal colonies of the BWI, it appears that Anguilla was at the lower end of the spectrum of food provisioning for its enslaved population, at least during the last several decades of formal slavery in the region. At the other end of the spectrum, and especially after the failure of the export economy in the Bahamas and Cayman, for example, most of the work of slaves was tasked on a daily basis leaving time for other activities that almost certainly included working on their grounds where these were located either within or near estate boundaries. As we have seen, this was the pattern on William Wylly's Clifton estate in the Bahamas. Thus, and akin to the "sugar model" of food supply in most British West Indian

colonies, by the turn of the 19th century, slaves in the marginal colonies were fed through a combination of the provision ground and ration-allotment systems as these have been detailed by Sheridan (1993) for estates in Jamaica and Barbados respectively. Having, as it were, begun from a different economic system, by the beginning of the 19th century, slaveowners in most of the sugar and marginal colonies of the British Caribbean seem to arrive at the same point with respect to the provision of food for their slaves.

Clothing

From the late 17th century onwards, as with food, colonial governments in the sugar islands enacted a series of Slave Laws that included clauses establishing minimum standards of clothing, and which in theory at least, applied also to bondsmen labouring in the marginal colonies of the region. That is, excepting the Bahamas where the legislature in Nassau passed its own laws for the protection and benefit of settlers in the archipelago. At the same time, however, it is not always clear that these provisions were observed in practice.

During the early days of Loyalist expansion in the Bahamas, for example, slaves were to be "in general Clothed by their Masters and Lodged and secured against the inclemency of the Seasons."⁴⁴ By the Consolidated Slave Act of 1797, "clothing" was more narrowly defined as consisting of "two suits" thereof to each slave per year.⁴⁵ On the Farquharson estate in 1831/2, apart from "a handkerchief to all grown people...and a good westcot to each of the men" at Christmas,⁴⁶ slaves on the estate were expected to make up their own clothes from annual issues of coarse linen cloth, usually Osnaburg. In November of 1831, for instance, Charles Farquharson noted in his Journal that he handed out approximately 200 yards of cloth to his slaves, that is, 6 yards to each of 25 men and women, and between 1 and 5 yards to each of 20 younger slaves/children according, it seems, to their

sex and ages.⁴⁷ As part of the *Regulations for the Government of The Slaves* at his Clifton and Tusculum estates on New Providence in 1815, William Wylly noted that for "some years since",

Two suits of Oznaburgs, or some other coarse linen; and one suit of woollen, are to be allowed, annually to each slave, of whatever Age. A blanket once in three years, and the women receive an additional blanket, and a straw bed, at each time of lying in..⁴⁸

Similar allowances were made for slaves at Belize who "received two suits of fatigue, or working clothes, usually of Oznaburgs" each year,⁴⁹ and for Barbudan slaves who in theory at least fell under the provisions of the Slave Laws of the Leeward Islands. In 1798, for example, these required that on January 1st and August 31st each year, owners issue their adult female slaves with a wrap of woollen cloth and an Osnaburg petticoat while males were given a woollen jacket and a pair of Osnaburg trousers.⁵⁰ By the second decade of the 19th century, and like their contemporaries belonging to Charles Farquharson on San Salvador, slaves on the Codrington estates were receiving annually 6 yards of Osnaburg to be fashioned into clothing as they saw fit, along with 4 yards of blankets and one cap. Slave children and infants on the estates were given "smaller amounts."⁵¹ Certain of the elite slaves at Barbuda were issued with additional clothing allowances; for example, the Barbuda Accounts record purchases of sailors' uniforms at irregular intervals consisting of shirts and trousers. In the early 19th century, at least between 1807 and 1814, the uniform provision was regularized and each of the slave sailors aboard the Codrington vessels also received a new blue jacket every year.⁵² For their part, slave hunters at Barbuda in 1824 were observed to "wear a leathern cap, a belt around their shoulders with a long clasp knife stuck in it, and a rude kind of half-boots."⁵³

One of the added difficulties faced by Barbudan slaves in respect of their clothing allowances was that these were not

always despatched from Antigua on time, or even regularly. The allowances were supposed to be delivered to Barbuda in February of each year but in 1818, for instance, John James complained to Christopher Bethell Codrington that his slaves had not received any issues of clothing since 1815, and it appears that once these were delivered the following year, no more material was sent to Barbuda until 1821.⁵⁴ In the meantime, slaves on the island had either to make do with whatever clothes they had managed to fashion from their previous allowances, or more generally, the majority of Barbudan slaves were forced to dress as immodestly as their contemporaries on the Antigua estates. Here, it was not unusual for field slaves to wear only "a piece of woolen cloth, called a babbaw, which goes round the waist..." while they worked,⁵⁵ and for children to go naked until they reached 14 or 15 years of age. As there does not appear to have been any provision for footwear, most marginal colony slaves also went shoeless most of the time.

Quite apart from the problems posed by the irregularities of delivery in the case of Barbuda, even where the above noted clothing allowances were issued to marginal colony slaves on an annual basis, these were meager quantities and suggest that the slaves were very poorly clothed for much of the year. Indeed, given the nature of their tasks and the general climate of the region in which their clothing usually rotted, it is perhaps hardly surprising to learn that slave woodcutters in Belize may in practice have worked virtually naked in the timber cuts and saved what clothes they did have for special occasions such as coming down to Belize Town at Christmas and/or at the end of a logging season. The same may have held true for those Barbudan slaves involved in fishing and in salvage operations offshore, and for significant numbers of Anguillan slaves during the early decades of the 19th century when the island was plagued by a series of economic crises. Indeed, the Commissioners visiting the island from St. Kitts in 1824 noted that "we do not believe that it is the custom to give the slaves any clothing."⁵⁶ Prior to this, at least the minimum provision have been made by Anguillan

slaveowners for clothing their slaves as the Clearing Books for outward-bound vessels from St. Kitts during the first 4 months of 1784, for instance, record bales of osnaburgs amongst the general cargoes of Anguillian-registered schooners on their way to that island.⁵⁷

For marginal colony slaves living on relatively isolated estates, or on remote Out Islands in the case of the Bahamas, any deficiencies in their clothing allowances were compounded by a lack of opportunities for them to make money with which to purchase additional clothing for themselves. Perhaps the clearest illustrations of this on the holdings so far mentioned were the Turks Island salt ponds on which Mary Prince was employed at the turn of the 19th century, and the Farquharson estate on San Salvador where slaves were for the most part outside the market/cash economy that existed on New Providence and on some of the older established islands in the archipelago. Even at William Wylly's Clifton plantation on New Providence itself, it is not clear that the majority of his slaves grew enough of a surplus on their grounds to be able to make worthwhile the 12 mile journey to market in Nassau. Similarly, not all the Codrington slaves at Barbuda were necessarily in a position on a regular basis to sell surplus crops and livestock to passing ships and/or to a compliant resident manager such as John James, particularly during the "hungry times" brought on by drought and/or hurricanes, and in the early decades of the 19th century when, as noted in Section II, the slave population at Barbuda was increasing naturally and thereby making greater demands upon whatever crops were grown on the island. Indeed, in 1831, John Winter complained to his employer that

Were the Negroes 350 instead of 500 they would produce 10 times what they do now...210 young Negroes are not able to do anything towards supporting themselves...⁵⁸

Even those marginal colony slaves who were paid "wages" for their labour did not always find the process of converting these "wages" into extra allowances a straightforward one. At Belize, for example, Henderson (1809) observed that for those slaves in the Settlement who were paid compensation for Saturday labour,

though it be paid at the nominal rate of 3s 4d per day, seldom actually amounts to any thing like so much; it being in most instances accounted for in slops, trinkets, or liquors, of the most inferior kind; and which in no doubt are given out in this way at a profit of more than 200 per cent besides, the principal number of the persons engaged in the cutting of mahogany being also in trade, of course the above is provided for in the way of business.⁵⁹

The point is that the opportunities for earning compensation for additional and/or even regular work did not necessarily guarantee that these slaves could purchase extra clothing, particularly where, as in Belize, the owners for whom they cut timber also controlled trade in the Settlement and therefore had the opportunity to cheat their bondsmen by compensating for overtime work in kind rather than in cash.

As a final note on the clothing of marginal colony slaves, perhaps the only group of bondsmen and women outside members of the skilled elite who may have been relatively well outfitted on a day to day basis were domestic slaves attached more or less permanently to their owners' households. Here, as in the sugar islands, and depending on the wealth and general demeanour of one's master or mistress, a domestic might expect to receive cast-offs from his/her owner when these became available. Extra clothing was probably more forthcoming to those female domestics who provided sexual as well as house-keeping services for their male owners and/or estate managers. That said, however, and like their contemporaries on many of the sugar estates in the region,

the majority of slaves in the marginal colonies seem to have been provided with little more than the bare minimum of clothing.

Housing

As minimalistic as the provision of clothing in the Slave Laws of the BWI in the 18th and 19th centuries, even less attention seems to have been paid to slave housing. Indeed, slaves on rural holdings in the British Caribbean generally were required to build their own shelter with a minimum of intervention by the planters, and on most sugar estates in the region, owners simply set aside a tract of land for the village site and allowed the slaves to locate and construct their houses as they wished using whatever resources were locally available.⁶⁰

As in the sugar islands of the BWI, most slave houses in the marginal colonies through to emancipation were built using wattle and daub (a composite of sand and lime) with thatched palm or grass roofs. The structures were usually free-standing and generally between 15 and 20 feet in length and as wide comprising one or two rooms depending on how many slaves were in residence. The houses themselves were prone to catch fire, they were poorly water-proofed and were often badly damaged or flattened completely by storms and hurricanes that tend to strike the Caribbean fairly regularly between June and November each year.

Descriptions of slave houses in the marginal colonies appear only rarely in the source materials available but they confirm that by the 19th century in the Bahamas and Barbuda, for example, stone was also being used as a construction material. On the estates belonging to William Wylly in New Providence,

every man, upon taking his first wife, is entitled to a well built stone house, consisting of two apartments, and is to have a sow pig and a pair of dunghill fowls as a donation from the proprietor.⁶¹

Archaeological work carried out on San Salvador island in the late 1980s uncovered a total of 15 buildings comprising part of the slave quarters on the Farquharson estate. These houses had walls of cut stone which were plastered inside and out, and inlaid with at least one and often 2 doors and up to 7 windows. Most of the buildings were free-standing and several of these had stone walls around them forming a fenced-in yard. Four of the houses contained fireplaces and all but 2 of the 15 buildings examined had more than one room. The slave quarters were located about 800 feet north of the estate's main house,⁶² and several entries in the Farquharson Journal for 1831/32 confirm that they were roofed with palmetto thatch collected and fitted by slaves on the estate.⁶³

At the Sandy Point plantation in the south-west corner of the island, 12 slave houses examined by archaeologists in 1987 were more crudely constructed of uncut rocks piled rather than mortared together like those on the Farquharson estate to the north. The interior walls, however, appear to have been plastered and the roofs were almost certainly thatched. The houses were laid out somewhat haphazardly along a ridge about 300 feet to the east of the estate's main house. It is not clear whether any of the quarters at Sandy Point had fenced-in yards of their own.⁶⁴

One of the few references in the Codrington Papers to slave housing at Barbuda is an indirect one contained in a complaint made by John Winter in 1834 that several slaves on the island had lately refused to build stone houses or repair and occupy those which were already built, preferring instead their "wattled houses."⁶⁵ Most of these were located in a village near the lagoon on its eastern shore a relatively short distance from the estate's main building complex that contained the Castle (manager's residence and a storage facility), the stables, tanning house, workshops for the various craftsmen, and an enclosed pen large enough to hold 200 head of cattle. A letter to Sir William Codrington in 1780 from a visitor to the island suggests that the complex also contained houses for the "first carpenter" and principal huntsmen on the island.⁶⁶ Those

slaves who tended the estate's goats and sheep on pasture in the Highlands lived in wattle and daub huts on the plateau while other slaves employed as watchmen often spent long periods living in lean-to huts adjacent to a series of defensive batteries scattered along the island's southern coast (see Map 5).⁶⁷

Given the continual shifting of the production units from one location to another in Belize as the timber sources became exhausted in one area, a similar sort of temporary accomodation was usually thrown up by slave cutters in the territory while they were up-river in the timber Works. More permanent structures, that is, wattle and daub and/or wooden huts which housed the cutters' families and other slaves not directly involved in timber extraction, were located on their owners' lands in and around Belize Town or adjacent to the Settlement's "plantations" scattered along the banks of its main rivers. This appears to have the case on the Lawrie estate at Rowley's Bight where the slaves' "main" houses were built at Sea Side and those cutters up-river at Mount Pleasant lived in a temporary camp until the Work had been cleared of logwood and mahogany.⁶⁸

References to the housing of slaves on Cayman and Anguilla are almost entirely absent from the source materials. In both cases, slaves brought in to work the relatively small-scale cotton plantations in the fourth quarter of the 18th century were likely to have lived in estate units around the focus of an owner's house and continued to do so when, as in the Bahamas, the local economy moved on to more diversified forms of subsistence agriculture at the turn of the 19th century. Wattle and daub were used in the construction and repair of these houses with thatch as the primary roofing material.

As far as the furnishings of slave houses in the marginal colonies were concerned, these were sparse with the most common item being a bed of some sort. On his Tusculum and Clifton estates in New Providence, as we have seen, William Wylly issued his slave women with "an additional blanket and a straw bed at each time of lying in",⁶⁹ though in most cases, slave beds were simply rough planks upon which were sometimes placed crude

mattresses of plantain leaves or corn husks. In those houses belonging to drivers and to tradesmen, particularly carpenters, other items of furniture sometimes included tables and chairs or benches. For the majority of slaves whose wattle and daub houses would not have contained fireplaces, virtually all of their cooking was done outdoors over open fires in the "yard" and using iron cooking pots and spoons/knives provided in some cases by their owners but also fashioned or bartered for by the slaves themselves.

One of the only exceptions to the general pattern of marginal colony slave housing described here occurred on some of the Salt Islands in the Bahamas where, for example, Mary Prince describes having to live in barracked accommodation for the duration of her enslavement on Turks Island. According to Prince,

We slept in a long shed, divided into narrow slips, like the stalls used for cattle. Boards fixed upon stakes driven into the ground, without mat or covering, were our only beds.⁷⁰

In terms of preparing food, the barracked quarters had no kitchen attached and, as noted, salt slaves at Turks Island seem to have had their first and second meals of the day cooked for them in order to minimize the interruptions to the labour routine. They were, however, responsible for preparing their own suppers over fires in the yard after "our masters gave us each our allowance of raw Indian corn."⁷¹

While she had been a domestic slave in Bermuda before her sale to a Turks Island salt raker, Mary Prince had lived in the main house itself where, in keeping with her mistress' expectations of constant personal service, she spent most nights on a blanket "spread for me in the passage before the door of Mrs. I_____'s chamber."⁷² It is unclear from the source materials whether domestic slaves attached directly to their owners' houses

in the marginal colonies generally lived in such close proximity, or whether the relatively short distance between the slave quarters and the main house on the Farquharson and Sandy Point estates, for example, precluded such arrangements. Alternately, domestic slaves in the marginal colonies who did "live-in" may have been given a room at the back of the house or off the kitchen in the yard so they could be summoned quickly as and when required.

Housing and Family Formation

For this study, one of the most significant findings to come out of the archaeological work carried on at San Salvador island in the 1980s is the suggestion that slaves on the Farquharson and Sandy Point estates lived in houses which could have held a single family.⁷³ As noted earlier, the incidence of family formation among marginal colony slaves is the other aspect of their day-to-day living conditions that is to be considered in this section of the study. More generally, the aim is to examine the link between family formation and another defining feature of marginal colony slavery, that is, that the slave populations of the Bahamas, Cayman, Anguilla and Barbuda (but not Belize) were among the only enslaved populations in the British Caribbean for which rates of positive natural increase were consistently recorded in the late 18th and early 19th centuries.

In terms of the general context of family formation among slaves in the BWI, like the institution of slavery itself, slave family structure in the BWI evolved along a continuum and in spite of stresses placed upon it by a number of inherently destabilizing features of that institution. These included the continued importation into the West Indies of mostly young adult males, the ruthless separation of kin through indiscriminate sale or removal, and the overwhelming authority of the slaveowner which tended to reduce the traditional dependence of children upon their parents.⁷⁴ Indeed, from the very beginning, slavery

was hostile to family life. In the early days of settlement, it was difficult for newly arrived Africans so recently and violently removed from their extended kinship ties in West Africa to re-establish even the most elemental of family relationships in the Caribbean. Very few Africans carried members of their immediate or extended family and kinship groups into slavery with them and for the first generation of displaced Africans in which males greatly outnumbered females, it was often almost impossible for them to find wives or partners, particularly where they were put to work on small farms or isolated plantations spread over several islands in what is geographically speaking a vast region. Yet, wherever possible, slaves in the BWI did attempt to recreate kinship links and to adapt them to their specific situation so that by the early 18th century, a distinct slave community had begun to emerge in each of the settled islands in the BWI. Here, in the absence of true kin, second generation slaves had developed what Barbara Bush (1990) describes as "fictive kin networks" in which, according to Bryan Edwards (1801), older and established slaves of both sexes "adopted" young Africans who came eventually to regard their carers as parents and "venerated them as such." Within a relatively short time, the newcomers had become integrated into slave society and were "well established in their families, their houses and provision grounds."⁷⁵

That said, the high rates of mortality common during the general "seasoning" process and the continual shifting of slaves as the frontier of settlement expanded in the British Caribbean meant that the establishment and expansion of kinship networks among successive generations of West Indian slaves was more difficult than Edwards' observations might suggest. Indeed, as first Barbados followed by the Leeward Islands and Jamaica became dominated by sugar plantations in the late 17th and early 18th centuries, Michael Craton (1979) has suggested that West Indian slave families were probably at a low point of integration as the slave trade intensified and planters came increasingly to disregard the social arrangements of their slaves.⁷⁶ Enshrined in custom but not yet in law, such arrangements were relegated to

what slaveowners at the time conceived to be the demands of the slave system, that is, to facilitate the planting of as much sugar cane on as much land as they could lease or purchase outright. In the process, whatever kinship networks West Indian slaves had managed to establish to that point were often broken up as slaves were indiscriminately bought and sold by and to owners seeking to optimize the output of their holdings.

Towards the end of the 18th century, slavery in the BWI entered its final phase as the profits realized from sugar plantations in the region began to level off and the prices of slaves to rise in the expectation of an end to the trade itself which came eventually in 1807. With the legal supply of new Africans effectively cut-off, those slaveowners in the British Caribbean wishing to keep their estates viable were forced to consider methods of raising the low level of fertility among their existing slave populations, and the encouragement of family life was seen by some owners as one possible solution. The aforementioned Slave Laws enacted in the late 18th century to establish minimum standards of clothing and food for bondsmen in the BWI were in fact parts of a broader range of ameliorative legislation designed to improve the general conditions of labour for slaves in the region. The provisions granting proper food and clothing to slaves in the Bahamas by the Consolidated Slave Act of 1797, for example, were accompanied by those that protected aged and infirm slaves against abandonment, that entitled slaves to enjoy certain holidays, and which in theory protected all slaves against physical abuse.⁷⁷ In 1824, each of these provisions was written in to the first of a trilogy of statutes that comprised the Amelioration Acts (the others were enacted in 1826 and 1830) and which contained provisions legalizing slave marriages and prohibiting the breakup of slave families. Specifically, ministers of religion were authorized to marry slave couples with the permission of their owners, or to perform "mixed" marriages of slaves and free persons of colour while husbands and wives and their children under the age of 14

belonging to the same owner could not be separated by sale or transfer.⁷⁸

What the proponents of such legislation hoped to encourage among slaves in the BWI was the establishment of family units to boost fertility levels based on the convention of monogamy which prevailed in Europe at the time, that is, where "family" was defined as a nuclear, co-residential unit comprised of two legally married partners either with or without children. As we shall see, while this form of family organization did exist among slaves in the BWI, the very nature of slave systems operating in the region prior to the period of ameliorative legislation had in fact persuaded slaves to adopt more flexible concepts of "family" and of "marriage". The earlier noted development of fictive kin among early generations of slaves is a case in point and demonstrates a certain elasticity of the concept of family in which, as far as the slaves themselves were concerned, a household grouped around a grandmother, mother and child that did not necessarily contain a married pair, for example, was in the circumstances as viable a domestic unit as one that did. Even here, there was a distinction in West Indian slave societies between the extended family household which is a co-residential unit and the true extended family based on a complex non co-residential kinship network. By the same token, "marriage" between slaves implied a stable but not necessarily life-long partnership between 2 adults who may or may not have lived in a continuously co-residential unit.⁷⁹

To return to the information relating to the material living conditions of marginal colony slaves so far presented, it is important to bear in mind that whatever the basic structure of the individual slave family on a particular holding, it was the house and the yard they occupied together with the grounds to which they had access that were fundamental to the integration of the wider slave community on the estate. According to Barbara Bush (1990), the houses, yards and grounds in any slave village served as the focal points of family activity for slaves,⁸⁰ and were places often outside the immediate gaze of their owners

where strong intra and inter-familial relationships developed that were critical to the ability of slave families to withstand the pressures placed upon them by the regimes under which they laboured. Indeed, it was the very structure of these regimes that to a great extent determined how much time and effort slaves in the West Indies were able to devote to these focal points of their respective communities, and by extension, to their families. Clearly, as intimated, the social arrangements of slaves in the Caribbean were put under enormous pressure as the sugar revolution intensified in the 17th and 18th centuries, pressure that was relieved to some extent as slavery entered its final phase in the early 19th century. There were thus, it seems, two proprietorial approaches to the family arrangements of slaves in the sugar colonies and the balance of this part of the study will examine how far this was relevant to the marginal colonies of the region. To do so, it is necessary to examine the incidence of family formation among slaves in each of the Bahamas, Cayman, Barbuda, Anguilla and Belize within the context of the labour regimes to which they were subjected as these were described in Section II, and to explore the connection between the incidence of family formation and natural increase among these slave populations. That is, in so far as the sources allow, and it should be pointed out that most of these are extracted from general Slave Lists and from the Registration Returns filed by West Indian slaveowners during the decades immediately preceding emancipation. The shortcomings of these Returns have already been highlighted and these notwithstanding, their utility lies in the fact that some slaveowners in the British Caribbean during the Registration period listed their bondsmen in such a way as to indicate family relationships.

To take the *Bahamas* as the archetypical marginal colony first, the Registers of Returns of Slaves for the territory between 1822 and 1834 contain evidences of family and household patterns for some groups of slaves in the archipelago. One of the largest of these comprises a sample of 26 slave holdings in the Return of 1821-22 analysed by Michael Craton (1979) and

consisting of a total of 3,011 slaves drawn from 11 different islands at a time when the enslaved population of the Bahamas approximated 12,000. Of the 26 holdings in the sample, 20 of these were Out Island estates with a total of 2,643 slaves for an average of 132 slaves per holding. The remaining 6 holdings were established in New Providence and Eleuthera with a total of 367 slaves between them and an average of 61 slaves per holding. As per Table 4.1, some 85% of the slaves included in the sample were living in some type of family when the Returns were filed in 1822. Just under 55% of the 3,011 slaves listed were found in simple nuclear families (that is, Man, Woman, Children), though the figure climbs to 71% if Types 2 (Man, Woman) and 5 (Three-Generation Groups, that is, extended simple families where grandparents lived with parents and their children) are also included. Only 13% of the slaves listed in the sample lived in a single parent household, that is, Types 3 (Woman, Children) and 4 (Man, Children) while 15% of slaves listed in the sample do not appear to have lived in any recognizable family grouping.⁸¹

In terms of its wider significance for the marginal colonies, one of the most interesting features about the sample examined by Craton (1979) is that conditions in the Out Islands of the Bahamas seem to have been more conducive to stable family formation than those which prevailed in the older and more established settlements on New Providence and Eleuthera. In these longer settled islands, many of the holdings were too small to include whole families which led to the choosing of mates from other holdings in "visiting unions" between males and females on different estates. As Craton (1979) suggests, this tendency was not only possible on the small contiguous units common in these islands but it was also probably desirable in order to avoid too close a consanguinity among slaves employed on these holdings. Such conditions led to a disruption of conjugal patterns with many male mates absent or only temporary and female-headed households the most common type of family grouping in the older settled islands of the Bahamas.⁸²

In the Out Islands of the archipelago where estates tended to be larger and their slave populations more isolated and perhaps of necessity more cohesive, the choice of mates was more limited and as a result, family relationships were likely to be more permanent. This seems to have been the case on the Farquharson estate on San Salvador, for example, where the slaves remained a tightly-knit group for most of the Registration period. In 1822, Charles Farquharson owned a total of 35 slaves of whom 27 lived in nuclear families that accounted for all of the children on the estate. As per Table 4.2, there were 43 slaves on the estate in 1825, 37 of whom were listed in simple nuclear families, 4 slaves lived without spouses (Jack, Peter, Charles and Tina) while the parents of 2 children born that year (Juliann and Sue) were not indicated in the Returns. Significantly, there were no women listed alone with their children in 1825.

By the time the final Registration Return was filed for the Farquharson estate in 1834, there appears to have been some decline in the predominance of the nuclear family. That year, there were 52 slaves counted on the estate, 19 of whom belonged to 4 nuclear families. Another 4 households were headed by a single parent (14 slaves in all), one of which was the result of the purchase of a mother and her 3 children in 1825 (see Table 4.2) and the other from the sale in 1832 of the chief driver Alexander (Alick) leaving his first wife Eliza and their 3 children behind.⁸³ Apart from these two specific instances, the decline in the number of nuclear family households may have been an indication of the growing shortage of acceptable (that is, non-incestuous) partners on the Farquharson estate. In 1834, 3 adult slaves lived on their own, and there were 16 children living apart from their immediate families on the estate, seemingly in single-sex groups and probably because of space constraints given the earlier noted solid construction and close proximity of one slave house to another that prevented their expansion to contain the enlarged families.⁸⁴

In spite of this diffusion of family types on the estate over the period between 1822 and 1834, what is significant for this study is that the majority of the Farquharson slaves were living in relatively stable families of one form or another, and that as Charles Farquharson seems to have purchased only 4 slaves after 1822, the rise in slave numbers on the estate over the Registration period was almost entirely the result of natural increase.

Broadly similar incidences of family formation and natural increase have also been recorded for the Rolle slaves on Exuma in the central Bahamas.⁸⁵ By the time the first triennial Return of Bahamian slaves was drawn up in 1822, there were 254 slaves on the Rolle holdings at Exuma, 86% of whom lived in some type of family group. As in the more general sample of Bahamian holdings examined by Craton (1979), the majority of Rolle slaves, 46%, lived in simple nuclear families, a figure that rises to 65% if Types 2 (Man, Woman) and 5 (Three-Generation Groups) are included (see Table 4.1). Within this grouping, approximately 12% of Rolle slaves lived in extended simple families (Three-Generation Groups) while nearly 14% of slaves on the estate lived in non-family groups. As the Rolles do not appear to have purchased any slaves on the Nassau market after they established their holdings on Exuma in the mid 1780s with 150 slaves brought with them from East Florida, the significance of such familial organization among their slaves is borne out in the augmentation of their numbers from 254 in 1822 to 376 in 1834 by natural means.⁸⁶

The ability of both the Farquharson and Rolle slave populations to sustain themselves naturally is in keeping with the situation in the Bahamas generally where Barry Higman (1984) has demonstrated that between 1822 and 1834, the archipelago's slaves were increasing their numbers by natural means at a rate of 19 per thousand of population per year. As we shall see, it is a rate that is matched by other marginal colony slave populations (excepting Belize) and, significantly for this study, one that is far in excess of anything recorded for the sugar colonies of the

British Caribbean where slave populations generally experienced rates of natural decrease for most of the Registration period,⁸⁷ and where the incidence of family formation among slaves in these colonies tended to be relatively low. By way of illustration, in a sample of 1,296 slaves working in Trinidad in 1813 examined by Barry Higman (1978), only 19% of bondsmen and women on holdings in the sample lived in simple nuclear families (Man, Woman, Children). As per Table 4.3, the figure only climbs to just over 30% if Types 2 (Man, Woman) and 5 (Three-Generation Groups) are also included. Sixteen percent of slaves in the sample lived in single parent households (Types 3 and 4) while 51% do not appear to have belonged to any recognizable family group. At the time, Trinidad as a whole was recording annual rates of natural decrease among its slaves in excess of 6 per thousand of population.⁸⁸

Turning to the *Caymans*, it ought to be made clear from the outset that it is difficult to trace the incidence of family formation from this colony's Returns as males were listed separately from females in every one of the 121 holdings for which a Return was filed in 1834. As a result, marital and family relationships between slaves on holdings in the territory are not as clearly delineated as they are in some of the Bahamian Returns, for example. A similar deficiency occurs in the District Lists compiled by Edward Corbet in 1802 and in the even more limited census carried out in 1826. Also, the pattern of natural increase among slaves in Cayman is not entirely certain as there is a lack of continuous registration data for the island.

That said, however, there are indications in the slave lists returned for some Cayman holdings in 1834 that simple nuclear families were relatively common on these estates. In the Return of Slaves in the possession of one Susannah Collins of South West Sound, for example, the group of 7 slaves owned by Collins (see Appendix 3) comprised a field slave named Lewis (aged 45) and a domestic named Cinda (35) along with 5 children (all domestics) who were likely theirs, that is, Peter (7), Ned (14), Lowden (4), Juliet (17) and Lydia (6). The family

make-up of those slaves belonging to Grace Hydes of West Bay whose Return was highlighted in Section III of the study (see Appendix 2) is more difficult to determine but the 2 children on the holding, John (7) and Venus (10), may have been the offspring of Thomas Lendor Hydes, a field slave aged 40, and either Rosannah (44) or Chloe (38), also field slaves. If Thomas and Rosannah were partners, then Phoebe (25) and Patricia (24) may have been their older children, or were possibly members of an extended family, that is, the younger sisters of either Thomas, Rosannah or Chloe.

An example of a nuclear family with a member of the previous generation also resident (that is, a Three-Generation Group) appears to have occurred among slaves in the possession of Mary Bodden of George Town (see Appendix 3). Here, the field slave Trelawny (28) and the domestic Caroline (24) were probably the parents of Fortune (4), Lavina (7), and Juliet (6) while the field slave Mocho (50) was perhaps the father of either Trelawny or Caroline and grandfather to their children.

In the tradition of the Farquharson estate on San Salvador, a Return of Slaves in the possession of the afore mentioned William Eden Snr. of Pedro Castle indicates that on larger self-contained holdings in Cayman, it was possible for slaves to create stable nuclear and extended family households within the same ownership group. Of 23 slaves listed in Eden's Return of April 2nd, 1834, for example, there are 10 slaves with the surname Eden spanning 3 generations. The oldest of these was a field slave named Rosetta (45) who appears to have been the mother of 4 other Edens on the estate; Sarah Susannah (27), Murray (29), Martha (21) and Susannah Dorothy (18). Between them, these second generation Edens in turn may have produced 4 children of their own by the time the Return was filed, that is, William Smith (6), Joseph Eden Fonseca (3), Peter (1) and Judy (1), all domestics (see Appendix 3).

While we cannot discount the possibility that Murray and Sarah Susannah Eden were husband and wife rather than brother and sister and that the above children were their offspring, the fact

that less than half the slaves owned by William Eden Snr. bore his own surname may suggest that here was a case involving miscegenation rather than of slaves simply adopting the surname of their owner.⁸⁹ As noted in Section II, William Eden the elder had a son, also named William, and an adopted "coloured" grandson named Joseph to whom Pedro Castle was successively bequeathed, and it is possible that Joseph Eden Fonseca and the above grandson were one and the same. Even if this was not so, the fact that there are today many non-white Edens in Grand Cayman suggests that miscegenation has played a role in this family at some stage. Indeed, according to the late Ormond Panton, a lawyer and prominent Caymanian politician in the 1950s and 60s, although some Caymanians will tell you "I ain't descended from no pirate or no black people...", in fact "...almost every Caymanian you see walking the road today has some black person walking behind him somewhere..."⁹⁰

It may be that a similar circumstance underlay the relationship between Joseph Daniel Ebanks as owner, his female slave Emma (38) and the young fisherman on the holding named Robert, aged 11 (see Appendix 2). Returns like this in which a mother is listed singly with children were not uncommon in Cayman, although Emma and slaves like her could alternately have had a regular partner from a neighbouring estate, particularly in areas like Prospect and Bodden Town where, as demonstrated in the Corbet Census of 1802, slave holdings were located in fairly close proximity to one another along the central agricultural belt of the island.

Another indication of family formation among slaves in the Caymans is suggested by the willing of slaves in gender pairs as, like other property in the colony, they were passed on from one generation of owners to the next. For example, in her will dated October 20th, 1821, Rachel Rivers, widow, bequeathed to her son William Page Rivers

one Negro Man Slave named Aimwell and one Negro Woman Slave named Emily with her future Issue and Increase, also my Dwelling House, furniture, Out houses, Utensils, Plantations, and also two thirds parts of my Cocoa Nut-Trees...⁹¹

By her will dated March 31st, 1823, Rachel Jarret Watler of Bodden Town left the bulk of her estate lands and buildings to her children Elizabeth Catharine, Thomas Egbert and Joseph John Alexander "in equal shares", but left to her grandson Alexander Watler

two Slaves, that is to say, One Male and One Female ...to have and to hold the same to him and his heirs lawfully begotten for ever...⁹²

When Thomas Thomson of Prospect drew up his will on May 9th, 1811, he bequeathed his "plantations" in three equal shares to his wife and 2 sons but divided his slaves almost equally between his wife, his 2 sons and 6 daughters. Thus, to his "well beloved Daughter Susanna" went

Four Negro Slaves Named Jack, Delville, Harriet and Orphelia...to...Elizabeth Four Negro Slaves Named Andrea, Ned, Celia, and Cuba...to...Catherine Mary Four Negro Slaves Named Harry, Ben, Bella and Zadia ...to my well beloved Son Thomas Four Negro Slaves Named Daniel, Anthony, Juliet and Priscilla...to... Rachel Ann three Negro Slaves Named Hector, Cudjoe and Fanny...to...Sophia Partridge Four Negro Slaves named Hazzard, Douglas, Sam and Daphney...to...Maria Dorothy Four Negro Slaves Named Sawney, Simon, Mary and Olivia...to my well beloved Son Robert Knowles Five Negro Slaves Named Prince, Trim, Stephon, Satira and Clarissa....

In each case, as was the custom in the BWI generally, "the future Issue Offspring and Increase of the Female Slaves" were given to their new owners, and significantly, the property

which I have herein Willed and bequeathed to my well beloved Wife and well beloved Children above and before named, Shall not be separated, but shall remain jointly together for the purpose of maintaining and Cloathing my well beloved Wife, and ...Children above and before named, until my well beloved Children so named shall marry or arrive at the Age of Twenty-one years...⁹³

Once his children did so, Thomson and the other owners mentioned here seem to have expected that their slaves thus divided would form the nucleus of separate holdings established by their children, or at least merge into those of other slaveowners on the island as and when each of the children married into their respective families.

Unfortunately, the precise rate of natural increase among slaves at Cayman is as difficult to determine as the incidence of family formation on account of the lack of continuous Registration data for the colony. That said, we do know that by 1826 the number of slaves in Grand Cayman had risen to 889 from 545 counted by Edward Corbet in 1802. While it is not known definitively how many of these additional slaves were imported during the last quarter of the 18th century as Cayman settlers continued to develop cotton "plantations" on the island (the Shipping Returns for 1781-1798 record about 200 slaves brought in from Jamaica over the period), it is the case that in the 5 years before the census of 1826 was taken, there had been 133 births among slaves on Grand Cayman compared with 56 deaths. That is, a rate of natural increase of about 17 per thousand of population per year, a rate not that far removed from the one recorded in the Bahamas over the Registration period.⁹⁴

Tracing the incidence of family formation among slaves at *Anguilla* is handicapped by the fact that as in the Caymans, and as per Appendix 4, none of the proprietors filing Registration Returns for the island in 1827 appear to have noted the marital and/or family relationships that may have existed between slaves on their respective holdings. Indeed, in only 2 of the 212 Returns filed that year were some slaves registered with surnames, and as a result, we are left with only circumstantial evidences of family formation among Anguillan slaves contained in these Returns.

To take the Return filed by Coakley Lake, for example, it is possible that in the group of slaves brought onto his holding as a result of his marriage with Margaret Richardson, Tom (aged 53 and a cultivator) and Priscilla (57, cattle minder), both black, were the parents or even grandparents of Liddy (28) and Mariachy (16), a cultivator and domestic respectively. The connection between some of the slaves belonging to Robert Carter is less tenuous in that Deborah (29 and 1/2) was likely the mother of Rosallie (10 and 1/2), Phoebe (7 and 1/2) and Adelaide (5 and 1/2) as each was part of a single lot transfer arising from Carter's marriage to Elizabeth Gumbs. That Adelaide was listed as a "Sambo" slave may indicate that her father was not the father of Rosallie and Phoebe, both of whom were black, that is, Deborah had entered a second relationship with a coloured/mulatto slave either before or after her relocation to Robert Carter's estate. If Charles (2 and 1/2) and Dianna (5 months) were also Deborah's children by the same slave, then he may have been a bondsman on a neighbouring estate as no such coloured male slaves were listed in Carter's Return in 1827.

Where it is possible to speculate about the relationships between slaves on individual holdings in Anguilla, Returns in which a mother is listed singly with children were not uncommon in the colony during the Registration period. Among the slaves belonging to William Gumbs, for example, Deborah (aged 28 and 1/2) and Rebecca (1 and 1/2) purchased together from Benjamin Gumbs were almost certainly mother and daughter as were Minner

(21) and Lucy Ann (1 and 1/2) registered by Elizabeth Romney in 1827 but hired out from Mary Romney sometime before the Return was filed. Of 3 slaves listed on Margaret Harris' holding, Eve (24) and Nancy (2) had been hired out from the estate of Ino Harris, although Nancy had died by the time the Return was filed.

If, as it appears, the amelioration laws regarding the sale or transfer of slaves in the BWI were being observed by some owners in Anguilla in 1827, then a similar relationship may have existed between at least 3 of the 4 slaves gifted by William Carty Snr. to Anna Marshall Carty, that is, Jenny (13), Jacob (10) and/or Prince (also 10) were the likely children of Antionette (31) while their father(s) either worked on a neighbouring estate or, as we have seen was commonplace in Anguilla after the French attack of 1796, on another Leeward Island on self-hire.

As on several holdings in the Bahamas and Cayman, it was possible for some slaves at Anguilla to create relatively stable nuclear and extended families within the same ownership group. Of a total of 10 slaves registered by John Gumbs, for example, among those classed as "Testamonetary Gifts" from Benjamin Gumbs Snr., if Catherine (aged 76) was the matriarch of the family and either Jim (39) and/or Edward Warner her sons, then Thomas Benjamin (10), Maria Louisa (6) and John Edwards (2 and 1/2) may have been her grandchildren as a result of a union between Jim or Edward and Nanny (33). That Edward and the rest of the family bar Jim were mulatto slaves may indicate his provenance over that of Jim who was black. On the same holding, Pammy, a Sambo domestic aged 27 years may have been the mother of George William, also a Sambo and aged 2 and 1/2 years. Ann Elizabeth (1 and 1/2), a mulatto, may have been Pammy's child as well by a different father, possibly John Gumbs himself. Indeed, as on the Farquharson estate on San Salvador or the William Eden holding in Cayman, instances of miscegenation were not unusual in as tightly-knit a community as Anguilla where, for example, in his last will and testament drawn up in 1830, Colonel Benjamin Gumbs had no ambivalence about mentioning those of his slaves who had children for him by name

as he provided for their freedom and left property to them and their mothers at his death. Among the most prominent of these was a slave woman named Nanny who from her nomenclature had probably been a child-minder in the main Gumbs household at some point, and who was herself mother to 5 children by Colonel Gumbs, that is, Richard, Ann, Tabitha, Elizabeth and Sarah, each of whom is mentioned in the Will.⁹⁵

As in the Caymans, the wills of other Anguillans give some indication of family formation among their slaves. In the last Will and Testament of Governor John Richardson drawn up in 1730, for example,

I give unto my granddaughter Mary Richardson daughter of my deceased son John Richardson one negroe man to be brought out of my Estate at her day of Marriage together with one negroe wench name Present now on my Estate to have and to hold the said negroes to her the said Mary Richardson and the lawful begotten heirs of her body...

To a Mrs. Catherine Red "in consideration of several good deeds done for me", Richardson left

...one negroe Man and one negroe wench fit to be put to the wash tub to be brought out of my Estate together with all the Profits and increase of Said negroes.⁹⁶

Similarly, in 1766, William Gumbs left to his youngest daughter Elizabeth Gumbs

three negroes named () Franky and Kate and also old Katherine to look after her until she be of age of twenty one years to be married.

To his second son William Gumbs, he left "three negroes (), Mingo and Minna."⁹⁷ In each of the above cases, the legators seem to have intended that slaves willed to their respective children in gender pairs would form the nucleus of a separate slave holding set up by them and/or their respective spouses if and when they married.

The incidence of family formation among slaves at *Barbuda* is also difficult to trace through the Slave Lists compiled by various managers on the estate as these do not place the island's slaves into households but according to occupations thereby making it virtually impossible to assess the degree of family persistence across the years covered by the Lists. On the other hand, as in Cayman and Anguilla, there is a certain amount of circumstantial evidence available in the Codrington Papers which suggests that most Barbudan slaves lived in relatively stable families of some description, that is, in simple nuclear and/or extended family groups, or in households headed by a single parent. Alternately, as on the Farquharson estate in the Bahamas, some adult slaves at Barbuda would have lived on their own within the confines of the estate.

One of the only Slave Lists drawn up for Barbuda to give any indication of family grouping among bondsmen on the island is that of 1783 in which members of the same family worked alongside each other in several of the established trades. Fortunately, it is possible to trace this connection through subsequent Lists, and while it was not unusual for such a pattern to emerge on sugar estates in the British Caribbean generally, the interesting thing in Barbuda is that this family link sometimes ran to three generations. For example, Joe Mopps, "about 44 years of age", was listed as a house carpenter in 1783 and again in 1805. His son Johnny, "about 18 years of age", was listed as his apprentice in 1783 and father and son were still working together as house carpenters in 1805 by which time Little Joe Mopps (aged 19 and Johnny's son) had joined them as an apprentice carpenter. Johnny Mopp (50) and Little Joe (31) were still working as carpenters in 1817 while the elder Joe Mopps, then aged 78, was included in the

estate's list of "Old and Infirm" slaves. He died sometime between 1828 and 1832. Scattered throughout the above Lists are several female slaves bearing the surname Mopps (usually listed as Washers), and though the precise nature of their relationship to any or all of the males mentioned here is not clear, some of them were likely to have at the very least been members of the same extended family.

A similar connection of a family to a particular trade at Barbuda was established by the Baileys whose patriarch, Will Bailey, was listed as an apprentice shoemaker as early as 1766 and who continued to work as a shoemaker, saddler and/or collarmaker at least until 1817. By 1805 when Will Bailey was 54 years old, he had been joined by his son, Little Will (32) who continued in the trade with his father until sometime between 1815 and 1817 when, "aged about 44 years", he joined the ranks of the island's Hunters and Gunners who manned the defensive batteries mentioned earlier as and when required.

Family continuity of some kind can also be traced through the wheelwright and shipwright/carpenter trades at Barbuda as well as among those estate slaves skilled as tanners for whom a surname and a three generation link with animal hides was established as early as 1766. That year, Will Tanner was working in the tanning pits where he had apprenticed his son Quaw (about 15) by 1783. A second son, Little Will Tanner (36), had joined his father and brother (then aged 82 and 34 respectively) in the pits near the Castle by 1805 and the 2 brothers were still in the trade when the Slave List of 1817 was compiled. By this time, Old Will Tanner had died but a grandson, Will Tanner Jnr. (aged 14) was serving as an apprentice to his father and uncle.⁹⁸

Some indication of family formation among slaves at Barbuda is contained in various correspondences between estate managers and the Codringtons over the issue of slave removals from Barbuda to the Antigua plantations during the last several decades of formal slavery in the British Caribbean. As we shall see later in this section of the study, slave transfers from Barbuda to Antigua were primarily intended to resolve disciplinary problems

among slaves on the island estate but limited removals for Antiguan plantation labour were also attempted during the late 18th and early 19th centuries. Between October 1st and December 31st, 1781, for example, the Barbuda Accounts were credited with £1,000 and £360 for the transfer of "30 little Negroes" to Betty's Hope and "11 little Negroes" to Cotton New Work respectively.⁹⁹ The removal to Betty's Hope involved young Barbudan slaves between 8 and 15 years of age who were transferred in 2 lots of 18 and 12 slaves each. According to Richard Clarke, one of Sir William's attornies in Antigua at the time (see Appendix 1), he had induced the parents to part with their children entirely

by persuasion and fair promises such as a little gratuity to themselves and clothing their children as soon as they come over here...¹⁰⁰

Indeed, the Barbuda Accounts for the period show that £33 was distributed among the parents of the children sent to Betty's Hope and £19 16s to the families of the 11 "little Negroes" sent to Cotton New Work.¹⁰¹

In spite of Clarke's concern to illustrate to his employer that the transfer was entirely voluntary, whether or not the parents concerned had any choice in the matter or that their children went willingly is unclear from the sources. Certainly, as we shall see, the attitude of Barbudan slaves to attempts to remove them to Antigua in the late 1820s were uncompromisingly negative. What is clear, however, and this goes back to a point made in the introduction to this section of the study regarding the connection between stable family formation and rates of natural increase among marginal colony slave populations, is that the transfer of Barbudan slaves to Antigua in 1780/1 related directly to that population's seeming inability to increase its numbers as prodigiously as it had before 1774 and as it did after 1790 (see Table 3.13). On one hand, and bearing in mind an earlier point about there being no bulk purchases of slaves by

the Codringtons after the resumption of their lease in 1761, in little more than 8 months, Barbuda's enslaved population was deprived of a significant number of its children and adolescents some of whom would have come into their own child-bearing years between 1783 and 1790. More importantly, the removal of some of their children to the Antigua estates seems to have persuaded slave parents and parents-to-be on Barbuda to refrain from having children, at least in the short term, and the end result was a period of relative stagnation in the tendency of Barbudan slaves to increase their numbers naturally over the period of the Codrington lease.

Thus, in terms of relatively stable family formation among slaves at Barbuda, not only was it essential for them to have generally tolerable working and living conditions, but they had also to have a measure of control over their own lives and those of their children as well. Indeed, the fact that certain skilled slaves at Barbuda were able to arrange for their sons and grandsons to be apprenticed to their own trade is almost certainly a sign not only of the existence of family groups but also of the stability of slave families and residence at Barbuda, a circumstance that several estate managers believed was entirely the explanation behind relatively spectacular rates of growth recorded for the enslaved population of Barbuda from the late 1780s onwards (see Table 3.13). Noting the disparity between births (53) and deaths (17) at Barbuda over a 3 year period from May of 1828 to May of 1831, for example,¹⁰² John Winter informed Christopher Bethell Codrington

The reason why your slaves here increase more than almost any other Island is easily accounted for. They all Live in one Village immediately around my dwelling. They are obliged all to be home at nights, no *drinking, singing or dancing* allowed - only during the Xtnas Holidays. The Women are nearly three to two Men, the latter as soon as they arrive at the stage of Maturity nearly all get married,

the Women being in great Measure prevented from prostituting themselves and injuring their Constitutions by bad practices, bring forth strong healthy athletic children, which are taken care of ...We do not lose one infant in twenty births.¹⁰³

The contrast between such a low mortality rate and that more common in the sugar islands of the British Caribbean is striking. In Jamaica, for example, Barry Higman (1973) has demonstrated that between 25 and 50% of all babies born to slave mothers on sugar plantations in that island died within 9 days of birth.¹⁰⁴ The significance of the comparison with Barbuda is broadened if we consider the impact of such levels of mortality on rates of natural increase among British West Indian slave populations as Higman (1984) has calculated these for most colonies during the Registration period. At Barbuda, the birth rate over this period varied between 26 and 43 per thousand of population and the death rate stood at approximately 10 per thousand per year to give a rate of natural increase ranging from between 16 and 34 per thousand of population. By comparison, most of the sugar islands of the BWI over the Registration period recorded more slave deaths than births and experienced annual rates of natural decrease ranging from between 1 and 5 per thousand in Jamaica and Antigua, for example. The contrast with Barbuda is even more marked in the case of the "new sugar colonies" such as Trinidad and Demerara-Essequibo where rates of natural decrease in some years of the period reached 18 per thousand.¹⁰⁵

The point to be made here for Barbuda is that, as in the Bahamas and probably Cayman and Anguilla, there seems to have been a direct correlation between relatively high levels of natural increase, the incidence of family formation and the development of the material means to support children through to adolescence among the estate's enslaved population within the context of an economic and labour system that was less intense than that which generally prevailed on sugar estates in the British Caribbean. This is not to suggest that the labour regime

at Barbuda was not demanding of slaves on the estate, only that as in the Bahamas, Cayman and Anguilla, the pattern of work and residence on the island afforded these slaves relatively greater opportunities than the majority of their contemporaries on sugar estates to develop and support stable families, if only in most years on a subsistence level.

As we shall see in the second half of this section of the study as patterns of slave resistance in the marginal colonies are considered, whether or not slaves in these territories took advantage of these opportunities and conditions to attempt to raise their children into adolescence depended more on the slaves themselves than on the legislative efforts of slaveowners to promote increased levels of fertility among their bondsmen and women. For the moment, however, that such conditions were at least in part necessary for the slave population of a marginal colony to sustain itself naturally is borne out in the case of *Belize* after the switch to mahogany cutting in the territory in the late 1770s.

On one hand, there is evidence to suggest that in spite of long periods of enforced separation brought on by the majority of able-bodied male slaves having to spend 7 to 10 months a year up-river in the timber Works, at least some slaves in the Settlement were in fact able to establish relatively stable families within and between individual ownership groups. As in the Bahamas and Cayman, some slaveholders in Belize in 1834 filled out their Registration Returns in such a way as to indicate family relationships where these were known to exist. Indeed, several of these Returns suggest that some Belizean slaves lived in simple nuclear and extended family groups of one type or another.

To take the latter first, in the case of Mary Hemmings who in 1834 owned a total of 7 slaves, for example, 6 of these made up "The Family of Fatima" (see Appendix 5). Fatima herself was a black domestic aged 67 years and the mother of Billy (42) and Ben (33) Hemmings, both mahogany cutters. Two of Fatima's grandchildren, Jack (19) and William (16) were also listed in the

Return, although their mother had died by the time it was filed. Presumably, Mary Hemmings had owned her as well. It is not clear from the Return who Jack and William's father was, perhaps because he belonged to another owner, he had run away, or like their mother, was deceased. They did, however, have a half-sister on the estate named Eleanor (22) by a different father.

In the List of Slaves belonging to Francis Fort, all 9 bondsmen and women registered on his holding on June 7th, 1834 comprised a single family, that of Betty Fort, a black slave aged 47 and a washerwoman. Francis Fort owned 7 of Betty's children, namely George (25), Maria (22), James (20), Nancy (18), Daniel (15), Harry (13) and Richard (7), as well as one of her grandchildren, Francis (1 and 1/2), the son of Betty's eldest daughter Maria. As on the Hemmings estate, the father(s) of these children either did not belong to Francis Fort or was (were) deceased by the time the Return was filed.

As in the Bahamas, Cayman and Anguilla, other Belizean slaves appear to have been able to form relatively stable nuclear families within the same ownership group and in which the periodic absence of partners in the timber cuts had to be accommodated. Of the 10 slaves registered as belonging to Nathaniel Hulse on June 9th, 1834, for example, 3 of these were listed singly and the remaining 7 slaves were spread across 2 families. That of Robert Willis, a mahogany cutter aged 25 years, included his wife Tabia Hoare (30), cook, and 3 of their children, Sarah (6), John (4) and Maria (1 and 1/2), each of whom took the name Hulse indicating that they had likely been born on that particular holding.

In the Return filed by John Samuel August on June 14th, 1834, 17 of his 40 slaves were listed singly while the remaining 23 were accounted for by 6 families. Four of these, that of Charles August (45), Simon Farrier (32), Taylor August (40) and George August (30), all mahogany cutters, were simple nuclear families, although only Taylor August and his wife Margaret (45) had children on the holding, David (18), Abel (16), Middleton (12), Sophia (10), William (8) and Nelson (4). Of the other 2

families on the August estate, Henrietta Potts (20) was a single parent with 2 sons, Charles (3) and Hamlet (an infant), and the family of Mary Ann Maskall (20) was an extended one of sorts that included her sister Frances (17), her 2 brothers, John (14) and Edward (9), as well as 2 of her nephews, James (2) and Alfred (an infant), both sons of Frances. There were 2 male cutters also named Maskall included in the "General List of Male Slaves" on the estate but it is unclear from the Return whether either or both of them were related to Mary Ann and her family. At any rate, as both were black, neither of them were likely to have fathered Frances' children who were both listed as mulatto slaves. On the other hand, given their ages, their colour and the fact their mother had arrived on the holding within the previous 7 years, it is possible that James and Alfred were the products of a union between Frances and John Samuel August himself.

A similar type of accomodation may have occurred on the estate belonging to William Burn who owned 2 slaves named Sam and Jane Burn aged 44 and 49 respectively together with 5 of their children, Billy (24), Johnny (22), James (9), Anne (20) and Rachael (10). Jane Burn seems to have had an older daughter named Betsey (27) as a result of a previous relationship, and William Burn owned 3 of her children as well; William (8), Anne (6) and Charlotte (5 months). Their father is not listed in the Return, although the fact that Betsey and her children were mulatto while her half-sisters and brothers were black may suggest that, as on the Eden holding in Cayman, this was a case of miscegenation, possibly involving William Burn himself either as Betsey's father or as the father of her children.

As on the Hulse estate where an enslaved washerwoman named Margaret Myvett (21) was listed alongside her son Joseph (1 and 1/2), on other holdings in Belize during the mahogany period, slave women were listed singly with their children. For example, among 86 of the Settlement's slaves who petitioned His Majesty's Superintendent at Honduras for their freedom in 1822 on the grounds that they were either "native Indians of this Continent, or their descendents" and therefore illegally enslaved, were

"Peggy and her Children" (7 in all, one aged 24 and the rest under 21) belonging to the estate of J. Potts and Catherine Ferral, "Eady and two small Children" belonging to Archibald Colquhoun, and "Nancy and Child", the property of J.C. Altereith.¹⁰⁶ In the "Inventory and Appraisement of the Goods and Chattels, rights and Credits of Francis Meany late of this settlement" drawn up on May 10th, 1813, for instance, 4 of the 8 "Negro Women" belonging to the estate were listed with their children alongside "a Girl named Bella" (see Appendix 6). It is not clear from the inventory itself whether these women had formed liasions of some description with any of the 7 male slaves also appraised on the estate. The same is true for those female slaves belonging to James Lawrie at Rowley's Bight. In the "List of Negroes" appendaged to his *Journal of Transactions and Occurences in the Business of Mahogany and Logwood Cutting* for February to June 1789, Lawrie records 16 mothers among his 34 adult female slaves, and their children "comprized in foregoing List." Every one of the 32 slave children on the Lawrie holding (18 boys and 14 girls, no ages given) was accounted for by these families which were at least nominally single-parented but some of which probably also included individuals from among the 41 adult male slaves on the holding.¹⁰⁷

Where Belize differed from the other marginal colonies of the BWI in respect of stable family formation is that here, this did not ensure that the enslaved population of the territory could sustain itself naturally. We have already seen that more than a thousand slaves evacuated from the Mosquito Shore accompanied their owners to Belize in the late 1780s, and these were augmented by hundreds more who were imported into the territory in the run up to the abolition of the trade in 1807 as the demand for mahogany increased. Yet, as Tables 3.11 and 3.12 suggest, the arduous and physically demanding nature of the work in the timber cuts meant that slaveowners concentrated their purchasing efforts on male slaves thereby creating an imbalance in the sexes in the Settlement where males generally outnumbered females by at least 2 to 1 after 1790. The relative isolation of

the timber Works up-river from Belize Town where most of the Settlement's female slaves were employed as domestics/plantation people seems to have compounded an already problematic demographic situation in that for those slaves who were able to form families of their own, over the years covered by Table 3.11, only in 1832 were there more slave children than women in Belize suggesting that rates of reproduction among slaves in the territory were low. Indeed, Higman (1984) believes that, uniquely among the marginal colonies of the BWI, Belize seems likely to have experienced negative rates of natural increase for most of the Registration period,¹⁰⁸ a circumstance that an accounting of the slave population of the Bay Settlement contained in Table 3.11 appears to confirm.

Thus, in contrast to the situation facing slaves in the remaining marginal colonies where their numbers generally increased or at least held steady over the Registration period, the nature of the work regime in Belize, the unique sexual division of labour in the timber cuts, together with the extreme physical demands placed upon slave woodcutters in the Settlement combined to make conditions in the territory far less conducive to the ability of slaves there to reproduce themselves by natural means. In this respect, among the marginal colonies of the BWI, Belize may have had more in common with the sugar islands of the region where, although some slaves were able to form families of their own, the demands of an intensely monocultural economy were such that new-born slaves had less of a chance of surviving to adolescence and adulthood than their contemporaries in the Bahamas, Barbuda, the Caymans and Anguilla.

TABLE 4.1

HOUSEHOLD PATTERNS IN THE BAHAMAS, 1822

<u>FAMILY TYPE</u>	<u>26 BAHAMIAN HOLDINGS</u>			<u>ROLLE SLAVES, EXUMA</u>		
	Total Slaves	Number of Units	Percent of Total in Type	Total Slaves	Number of Units	Percent of Total in Type
1. Man, Woman, Children	1,629	308	54.1	110	26	46.6
2. Man, Woman	178	89	5.9	14	7	5.9
3. Woman, Children	377	95	12.5	40	12	16.9
4. Man, Children	16	3	0.5	11	2	4.7
5. Three-Generation Groups	358	46	11.9	29	5	12.3
6. Men Alone, or Together	264	-	8.8	11	-	4.7
7. Women Alone, or Together	173	-	5.8	9	-	3.8
8. Children Separately	16	-	0.5	12	-	5.1
Totals	3,011	-	100.0	236	-	100.0

Source: Registration Returns of the Bahamas, 1822. Extracted from Michael Craton, "Changing Patterns of Slave Families in the British West Indies." In Journal of Interdisciplinary History, X:1 (Summer, 1979), p.9.

TABLE 4.2

SLAVES IN THE POSSESSION OF CHARLES FARQUHARSON OF SAN
SALVADOR ISLAND, 1822-34.

NAME OF SLAVE	AGE IN				
	1825	1828	1831	1834	
Dennis	38	41	44	47	
Cloa	39	42	45	48	
Charles	53	56	59	62	
Rachel	39	42	45	48	
March	19	22	25	28	
Sally	18	21	24	27	
John	1	4	7	10	
Isaac	9	12	15	18	
Jacob	3	6	9	12	
George					(Died 1822)
Maria	49	52	55	58	
Harry	38	41	44	47	
Mary	40	43	46	49	
William	21	24	27	30	
Catherinell	14	17	20	-	
Mary Ann	12	15	18	-	(Sold 1832)
Liddy	10	13	16	19	
Soffey	8	11	14	17	
Betty	5	-	-	-	
Cloa	1	4	7	10	
Charlotte	-	-	-	-	(Manumitted 1824)
Patty	-	8	11	14	
Suky					(Died 1823)
Bacchus	27	30	33	36	
Flora	27	30	33	36	
Diana	10	13	16	19	
Nanny	7	10	13	16	
James	3	6	9	12	
Margaret	9 mths	4	7	10	
Alexander	25	28	31		(Sold 1832)
Eliza	24	27	30	33	
Lucy	6	9	12	15	
Alexander	4	7	10	13	
Samuel	2	5	8	11	
Cato	33	36	39	42	
Cumba	32				(Died 1825)
Betsy	6	9	-	15	

NAME OF SLAVE	AGE IN			
	1825	1828	1831	1834
Jack	33	36	39	42
Peter	31	34	37	40
Charles	38	41	44	(Died 1832)
Tina	51	54	57	60
Julianne			5	8 (Born 1825)
Sue			5	8 (Born 1825)
Agnes			4	7 (Born 1826)
Cicely			4	7 (Born 1826)
Charles		1		(Born 1827, Died 1830)
Harry		1	3	6 (Born 1827)
Richard		1	3	6 (Born 1827)
Matilda			33	36 (Bought 1825)
Terace			15	18 (Bought 1825)
George			7	10 (Bought 1825)
Rachel				(Bought 1825, Died 1826)
Amelia			3	6 (Born 1828)
Silvester			2	(Born 1829, Died 1832)
Johnston				4 (Born 1829)
Rose				4 (Born 1829)
Louisa			1	(Born 1830, Died 1833)
Douglas			1	(Born 1830, Died 1832)
Ritty				(Born 1831)
Philip				3 (Born 1831)
Janey				2 (Born 1832)
Beck				1 (Born 1833)
William				1 (Born 1833)
Phoebe				1 (Born 1833)
Edmond				1 (Born 1833)

Note: The spacing between groups of names indicates family/slaves living on their own. The parents of those children born after 1825 (beginning with Julianne) were not indicated in the Returns.

Source: Registration Returns, Bahamas, 1822-34. Extracted from Michael Craton and Gail Saunders, Islanders in the Stream: A History of the Bahmian People, Volume 1 (University of Georgia Press, Athens, 1992), p.338-39.

TABLE 4.3

HOUSEHOLD PATTERNS IN TRINIDAD SAMPLE, 1813

<u>FAMILY TYPE</u>	<u>TRINIDAD SAMPLE</u>		
	Total Slaves	Number of Units	Percent of Total in Type
1. Man, Woman, Children	248	63	19.1
2. Man, Woman	110	55	8.5
3. Woman, Children	186	62	14.4
4. Man, Children	22	7	1.7
5. Three-Generation Groups	42	8	3.2
6. Men Alone, or Together	a total of 661 slaves in the sample (51%) lived on their own/ in no recognizable family group		
7. Women Alone, or Together			
8. Children Separately			
	1,296	-	98.0 (2% Unknown)

Source: Extracted from Michael Craton, "Hobbesian or Panglossian? The Two Extremes of Slave Conditions in the British Caribbean, 1783-1834." In William and Mary Quarterly Volume 35, No.2 (1978), p.340.

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1. Richard Sheridan, Doctors and Slaves, pp.154-55.
2. Ibid., pp.174-78.
3. Higman, Slave Populations of the British Caribbean, p.188.
4. C023/28, 31-34, Dunmore's Answers to Questions 5-8, 12, 13, 17, July 30th, 1788, published in *British Sessional Papers, Accounts and Papers, 1789, Part III*. Quoted in Craton and Saunders, Islanders in the Stream (1990), p.206.
5. Ferguson, The History of Mary Prince, pp.62-63.
6. C0137/75, Unsigned letter to Dalling, September 3rd, 1779.
7. GD461/27, The Lawrie Papers, SRO, Edinburgh
8. Henderson, An Account of the British Settlement of Honduras, pp.66-68.
9. C0123/7, Richard Hoare to Robert White, August 8th, 1788.
10. C0123/17, Montessor to Coote, October 22nd, 1806.
11. Henderson, An Account of the British Settlement of Honduras, p.42. The area mentioned here continues to supply markets in what is today Belize City with agricultural produce.
12. C0123/7, Count de Floridablanca to Anthony Merry, May 30th, 1789.
13. C0123/29, *Report of the Commissioners to investigate the Claims by which all land and Works are held in the Settlement of Honduras*, enclosure in Superintendent Arthur to Earl Bathurst, September 13th, 1820.
14. C023/67, ff.164, 166, enclosure in William Munnings to Earl Bathurst, September 9th, 1818, and "Regulations for the Government of the Slaves at Clifton and Tusculum" issued by Wylly in 1815, C023/67/147, quoted verbatim in Saunders, Slavery in the Bahamas, 1648-1838, pp.229-31.
15. Ibid.
16. Ibid.
17. Ibid.
18. C023/67, ff.165, William Wylly to James Rutherford, August 24th, 1818.

19. For the slaves in New Providence and nearby islands, Nassau was the main market for any surplus produce and/or stock they might raise. In Nassau, the market was actually held throughout the week and not just on Sundays as was the case in most sugar islands in the BWI. Johnson, The Bahamas in Slavery and Freedom (1991), p.18.
20. A Relic of Slavery, pp.45, 62.
21. Ibid., p.9. Miss Sarah Lander/Launder/Lowther was the proprietor of the Fortune Hill estate and a neighbour of Charles Farquharson. It appears she gave up Fortune Hill and moved to Nassau in 1831.
22. Ibid., p.47.
23. Ibid., p.4-5. There is some doubt as to whether the cow in question was in fact injured accidentally or was a victim of sabotage by slaves interested in adding some meat to the day's pot. As we shall see, rustling was not uncommon at Barbuda and may also have been practiced from time to time by some of the Farquharson slaves.
24. C023/67, enclosure in William Munnings to Earl Bathurst, August 10th, 1818.
25. Gauld, Remarks on Map (1773).
26. C0142/21, Jamaica Shipping Returns, 1788-1804, ff.12-15.
27. Nathaniel Glover, Letter enclosed in Mr. E. Lockyer to his principals in London, 1841. Quoted in Aguilar and Saunders, The Cayman Islands: Postal History and Postmarks (1962) pp.8-14.
28. Reverend Thomas Redpath, The Great Crocodile, (1949), pp.333-34. Redpath was a Presbyterian minister who arrived in Grand Cayman in 1896 and had pastoral responsibility for Bodden Town and the eastern districts, including North Side. The Great Crocodile is a recount of his experiences in Cayman between 1896 and 1908 when he returned to Jamaica.
29. Hirst, Notes on The History of the Cayman Islands, p.179.
30. D1610 C10, Richard Clarke to SWC, March 14th, 1780.
31. MF375 (GRO), Dennis Reynolds to SWC, April 1st, 1786.

32. MF375 (GRO), John Osborne to CBC, May 12th, 1824, and Barry Higman, Slave Populations of the British Caribbean, (1984), p.205.
33. D1610 C11, John Lindsay to SWC, June 12th, 1779.
34. D1610 C24, John James to CBC, September 7th, 1824.
35. Ibid.
36. MF375 (GRO), R. Jarritt to CBC, November 14th, 1831.
37. PP 1826, Vol.XXVI, Copy of the Report Made by the Commission sent from St. Christopher's to Anguilla, p.334.
38. Ibid., p.345.
39. Ibid.
40. C0239/8, Board of Council at Anguilla to Governor Maxwell, July 22nd, 1822.
41. C0239/8, Board of Council at Anguilla to Maxwell, February 8th, 1823.
42. Coleridge, Six Months in the West Indies in 1825 (1832). p.218.
43. C0239/29, Nicolay to Goderich, May 2nd, 1832.
44. C023/28, ff.31-34, Dunmore's Answers to Questions 5, 7-8, July 1st, 1788. Quoted in Craton and Saunders, Islanders in the Stream (1992), p.206.
45. Consolidated Slave Act of the Bahamas, 1797, Clause 13, Department of Archives, Nassau.
46. A Relic of Slavery, p.83.
47. Ibid., p.46.
48. C023/67, ff.147, "Regulations for the Government of The Slaves at Clifton and Tusculum", 1815.
49. Henderson, An Account of the British Settlement at Honduras, p.57-59.
50. PP 1803-04 (119), Leeward Islands Slave Law, 1798.
51. MF375 (GRO), John Osbourne to CBC, May 12th, 1824.
52. D1610 A54.
53. Coleridge, Six Months in the West Indies in 1825, p.268.
54. D1610 C24, John James to CBC, September 5th, 1818 and November 16th, 1821.
55. Vere Langford Oliver, History of Antigua, Volume I, p.145.

56. PP 1826, Vol. XXVI, Copy of the Report Made by the Commission sent from St. Christopher's to Anguilla, p.345.
57. C0243/1, Clearing Books of St. Kitts, January 12th to April 5th, 1784.
58. D1610 C20, John Winter to CBC, April 10th, 1831.
59. Henderson, An Account of the British Settlement at Honduras, pp.57-59.
60. Sheridan, Doctors and Slaves, p.165.
61. C023/67, ff.147, "Regulations for The Government of The Slaves at Clifton and Tusculum..."
62. Kathy Gerace, "Early Nineteenth Century Plantations on San Salvador, Bahamas: The Archaeological Record." In Journal of the Bahamas Historical Society (Vol.9 #1, October, 1987), pp.18.
63. A Relic of Slavery, pp.40, 46, 78.
64. Grace Turner, "An Archaeological Record of Plantation Life In The Bahamas." In Journal of the Bahamas Historical Society (Vol.14, #1, October 1992), p.36, and Gerace, "Early Nineteenth Century Plantations on San Salvador...", p.16.
65. C07/39, enclosure in MacGregor to Secretary of State for the Colonies, May 5th, 1834. According to John Winter, the slaves' obstinence resulted from their being denied certain privileges formerly accorded to them including the use of the estate's "Carts to carry materials and also lime necessary for the repairing and building of their houses."
66. D1610 C13, Henri de Ponthieu to SWC, 1780.
67. MF375 (GRO), Dennis Reynolds to SWC, March 1st, 1787.
68. GD461/27, The Lawrie Papers, SRO, Edinburgh. On the 16th of March, 1789, the slaves at Sea Side were "employed cutting a new main Path at the back of the Houses..."
69. C023/67, ff.147, "Regulations for The Government of The Slaves at Clifton and Tusculum..."
70. Ferguson, The History of Mary Prince, p.62.
71. Ibid.
72. Ibid., p.54. The surnames of some of her owners are deleted from the original text.

73. Gerace, "Early Nineteenth Century Plantations on San Salvador...", p.20.
74. Barry Higman, "Household Structure and Fertility on Jamaican Slave Plantations: A Nineteenth Century Example." In Hilary Beckles and Verene Shepherd, editors, Caribbean Slave Society and Economy (Ian Randle Publishers Limited, Kingston, Jamaica 1991), p.250.
75. Bryan Edwards, "The History, Civil and Commercial, of the British Colonies in the West Indies." Quoted in Barbara Bush, Slave Women in Caribbean Society, 1650-1838 (Heinemann Publishers, Kingston, 1990), p.105.
76. Michael Craton, "Changing Patterns of Slave Families in the British West Indies." In Journal of Interdisciplinary History (Vol.X:1, Summer, 1979), p.30.
77. Consolidated Slave Act of the Bahamas, 1797, Department of Archives, Nassau.
78. Amelioration Act of the Bahamas, 1824, Department of Archives, Nassau. The Leeward Islands Melioration Act of 1798 contained similar provisions regarding slave marriages and the separation of families. PP 1830, Vol.XXI, Slave Laws in the West India Colonies, ff.431-34.
79. Bush, Slave Women in Caribbean Society, pp.85-86.
80. Ibid.
81. Craton, "Changing Patterns of Slave Families in the BWI", pp.6-11.
82. Ibid., p.11.
83. A Relic of Slavery, p.64.
84. Craton and Saunders, "On Slavery's Margins: The Farquharson Estate, San Salvador, Bahamas, 1831-32." (1991), p.54.
85. Denys Rolle arrived in the Bahamas in 1784 with 150 slaves from East Florida and settled on Exuma where he patented three tracts of land totalling 7,000 acres in the middle and at opposite ends of the island. Like other Loyalists, the Rolles planted cotton until the chenille bug and soil exhaustion combined to put an end to the experiment. Thereafter, the Rolles diversified their Exuma holdings and

- moved their slaves into growing provisions, salt raking and stock raising. Gail Saunders, Bahamian Loyalists and Their Slaves (London, Macmillan Caribbean, 1983), pp.20-21.
86. Michael Craton, "Hobbesian or Panglossian?", p.343.
 87. Higman, Slave Populations of the British Caribbean, p.310.
 88. Ibid., and "African and Creole Family Patterns in Trinidad." In Journal of Family History, Volume 3, 1978, pp.163-80.
 89. Craton, History of the Cayman Islands, Draft Chapter 6, p.34.
 90. By the same token, there are many non-white Boddens, Ebanks and Watlers in the Cayman Islands today. The quote by Ormond Panton is taken from David Martins, A Special Son: The Biography of Ormond Panton (Pansons Limited, Grand Cayman, 1992), p.21.
 91. The other third of Rivers' "Cocoa Nut-Trees" went to her granddaughter Susanna Rebecca Rivers. Public Records Records, XH/5/1 CINA, ff.42.
 92. Ibid., ff.57.
 93. Ibid., ff.16-17.
 94. C0137/181, ff.403, Census of the Population of the Caymans, 1826. Copy at CINA. C0142/20-24, Shipping Returns for the Caymans, 1781-1807.
 95. Will of Colonel Benjamin Gumbs, Antigua Registry, 1830, Copy in Anguilla Archive.
 96. Will of Governor John Richardson, Antigua Registry, 1739, Anguilla Archive.
 97. Will of William Gumbs, Antigua Registry, 1766, Anguilla Archive.
 98. RP2616/1, Antigua and Barbuda Archives, Slave Lists for Barbuda, 1766, 1783, 1805, 1814 and 1817.
 99. RP2616/20 A52, Barbuda Accounts, British Library.
 100. D1610 C10 (GRO), Richard Clarke to SWC, October 15th, 1780.
 101. D1610 A5 (GRO), Accounts for Betty's Hope and Cotton New Work, 1781
 102. Ibid., A List of Slaves at Barbuda in July of 1832.
 103. D1610 C30, John Winter to CBC, April 10th, 1833.

104. Higman, "Household Structure and Fertility on Jamaican Slave Plantations...", In Beckles and Shepherd, p.270
105. Higman, Slave Populations of the British Caribbean, pp308-10
106. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, Slave Trade 75, Report of the Commissioners of Legal Inquiry on the State of the Indians at Honduras, July 1828, pp.587-99.
107. GD461/27, The Lawrie Papers, SRO, Edinburgh.
108. Higman, Slave Populations of the British Caribbean, p.307.

RELATIONS BETWEEN OWNER AND SLAVE IN THE MARGINAL COLONIES

Having considered the living conditions of slaves in the marginal colonies of the BWI, the balance of this section of the study will focus on the remaining indices of their treatment as these were outlined in the introduction to this section, that is, in terms of the punishments visited upon slaves in these territories for violations of law and custom, of the ways in which slaves in the marginal colonies endeavoured to resist the system that governed their lives, and collectively, what these said about the changing nature of the owner-slave relationship in the marginal colonies during the closing decades of formal slavery in the British Caribbean.

However varied the nature and scale of economic enterprises in the marginal colonies from those which were established in the sugar islands of the region, marginal colony slaveowners were possessed of certain typical proprietorial attitudes towards their bondsmen and women in that, for example, they were at least as insistent as their contemporaries in the sugar colonies that their slaves were humanely treated. Recalling his tour of the family's estates on Antigua and Barbuda in 1790-91, for example, Christopher Bethell Codrington wrote of his Barbudan slaves that he could

speak to their Comforts and Happiness from my own
Observations on the Spot where I have lived one
of three white Men with 250 or 260 Negroes.

In 1826, he further claimed that his slaves at Barbuda were

more happy, better fed and clothed and in all
respects better off than the generality of
Peasants even in this land of Liberty.¹

Several of the resident managers at Barbuda were also persuaded that slaves on the island estate were content with their lot and

considerably less prone to disorder and serious disobedience than their contemporaries in the sugar islands. John James, for example, felt safe enough during his tenure on Barbuda to sleep by the side of his horse in the open woods surrounded by more than a hundred slaves and to "frequently leave my Wife and Daughters there without a fastening to the House." James also observed that

there are some good headmen on whom I can depend, with these I have only to give an order which is never disobeyed.²

In Anguilla, where as late as 1829 the Board of Council had still not managed to "enact any Law for the Amelioration of the Slaves" on account of the refusal of the House of Assembly at St. Kitts to legislate for the colony, the Lieutenant Governor of the island at the time insisted that such laws were entirely unnecessary anyway as he did not believe

there is an Island in the West Indies in which the Slaves are more comfortable and which their treatment is in all respects more humane than in this.³

Several years earlier, Henry Coleridge (1832) on a visit to Anguilla from St. Kitts in 1825 had come to a similar conclusion upon observing

a parcel of laughing, lazy, good-for-nothing women, who were assembled in the evening on a grassy space where four tracks met, for the purpose of talking, at all events, as much as possible, and then of drawing water at the public well.⁴

On the other side of the Caribbean, Daniel McKinnen (1823) on his tour of the Bahamas in 1802 observed that the slaves in those islands "discover, in general, more spirit and exertion than in the southern parts of the West Indies." At the time, McKinnen was visiting a small ship yard on the south side of Crooked Island where "the head carpenter was a negro" and where

two of his young apprentices, negro boys, had entered with such zeal and emulation into the employment, that Stealing at their leisure hours into a secret part of the wood, they had laid the plan of a boat, and nearly finished it in a very good style...⁵

McKinnen was convinced that such an enthusiasm for their labour among Bahamian slaves was due in large part "to the circumstances in which they are placed", that because

the master also frequently superintends them himself...it rarely happens that they are so much subject to the discipline of the whip as where the gangs are large, and directed by agents or overseers.⁶

Broadly similar observations were made by Captain G. Henderson (1809) at the turn of the 19th century in Belize where he claimed that

in no part of the world where slavery prevails, can the condition of beings so circumstanced be found of milder or more indulgent form. The labour they undergo bears no proportion to that which they sustain throughout the islands...⁷

It was a view echoed by Superintendent George Arthur shortly after he arrived in the Bay in 1816, and where he found

all the Slaves are most abundantly fed by their Proprietors on the best Salted Provisions...the Men and Lads work on account of their Owners five days in a week (and) the Women are only employed in domestic purposes, and, if they have young Children, no work whatever is required of them by their Masters.

Indeed, Arthur went on to concede that although he had arrived in the West Indies 3 years previously "a perfect Wilberforce as to Slavery", at Belize he had

in no part of the World seen the labouring class of People possessing anything like the comforts, and advantages of the Slave Population of Honduras.⁸

For this study, what is of particular interest about the opinions of George Arthur on the treatment of Belizean slaves is that over the course of his tenure as Superintendent of the Bay (1816-1823), these underwent so radical a revision that by 1820 he was making "some observations upon the extreme inhumanity of many of the lower class of Settlers residing in the Town of Belize towards their Slaves." At the time, Arthur was investigating the causes of a slave insurrection that had occurred on the Belize River some months earlier and which he concluded "had originated from the harshness with which some of the Slaves had been treated." Arthur had hoped that "the consequences on that occasion would have had the beneficial tendency of exciting a greater degree of humanity towards these unfortunate people", but instead he was persuaded that year to proclaim the Consolidated Slave Law of Jamaica to be in force in Belize on account of "the increasing severity and cruelty which are now practised with impunity" by slaveowners in the Bay.⁹

While the Settlers themselves believed that their Superintendent had altered his opinions in order to pander

"to a powerful party at home, whose interest and influence were necessary to his elevation..",¹⁰ it may be that in condemning as cruel the treatment of slaves in Belize, Arthur had incorporated into his observations one important aspect of the situation ignored in the relatively simple conclusions arrived at by slaveowners and travellers like Christopher Codrington and Daniel McKinnen respectively, that is, the slaves' own perceptions of their condition, of the meaning that the slaves themselves attached to their status and treatment. Indeed, once he had proclaimed the Consolidated Slave Law of Jamaica to be in force in Belize, Arthur was astonished by the number of slaves "who came forward in a few days" with accounts of "the fraud and injustice which had so long been secretly practised towards them."¹¹ As we consider these and their corollaries in the marginal colonies generally, it will become clear that Arthur's latterly formed opinions seem to have more accurately reflected the situation on the ground in these territories even during the amelioration period when the enactment of certain protective measures in law for the benefit of slaves did not necessarily mean compliance on the part of their owners.

Owner attitudes towards the treatment of their slaves

As in most of the sugar islands of the BWI, there are records relating to incidences of overtly harsh treatment of slaves by their owners in several of the region's marginal colonies. Direct slave testimonies of such treatment are rare in the general Caribbean context, although in the case of the marginal colonies, Mary Prince at Turks Island, for example, draws attention to the "cruel manner" in which their owner, Mr. D_____, used to treat a salt slave named Old Daniel. According to Prince (1831), Daniel was lame in the hip

and could not keep up with the rest of the slaves; and our master would order him to be stripped and laid down on the ground, and have him beaten with a rod of rough briar till his skin was quite red and raw. He would then call for a bucket of salt, and fling it upon the raw flesh till the man writhed on the ground like a worm, and screamed aloud with agony...

Old Daniel's wounds never healed and Prince recalled often seeing them "full of maggots, which increased his torments to an intolerable degree."¹²

Among Prince's gang of salt slaves at Grand Quay, there was also an old woman named Sarah "who was nearly past work...and not quite right in the head", and who on one occasion "did not wheel the barrow fast enough" to please Master Dickey, the overseer. Dickey

threw her down on the ground, and after beating her severely, he took her up in his arms and flung her among the prickly-pear bushes, which are all covered over with sharp venomous prickles. By this her naked flesh was so grievously wounded, that her body swelled and festered all over, and she died a few days after.

Neither of these incidents were aberrant occurrences for the slaves at the Turks Island salt ponds. Indeed, Prince (1831) writes of routinely being put in the stocks and severely flogged "if we could not keep up with the rest of the gang of slaves", that Mr. D_____

has often stripped me naked, hung me up by the wrists, and beat me with the cow-skin...till my body was raw with gashes.¹³

While it is the case that Prince's narrative of her life as a slave in Bermuda, Turks Island, Antigua and finally England was intended as propaganda for the anti-slavery movement in Britain (Thomas Pringle who employed Prince after she ran away from her owners in England and who published her *History* in 1831 was Secretary of the Anti-Slavery Society), Moira Ferguson (1987) notes in her Introduction to Prince's narrative that Pringle's own testimony about the authenticity of the account contained in the Preface to the *History* seems credible. As well, Ferguson points out that the pro-slavery advocates who campaigned against Prince during the public controversy that erupted following the publication of her *History* in 1831 queried only the intensity of the cruelty Prince alleged and not the account itself.¹⁴ That said, the fact remains that Prince's narrative is a rare piece of Caribbean historiography.

Far more common and therefore more widely representative than such first-hand accounts of their treatment by slaves in the marginal colonies are indirect evidences contained, for example, in court records of proceedings against individual owners charged with cruelty to their slaves. In Belize, one of Superintendent Arthur's motives in deciding to enforce the Consolidated Slave Law of Jamaica in the Settlement in September of 1821 lay in the circumstances surrounding the trial in October 1820 of a free woman of colour named Duncanette Campbell on charges of excessive cruelty towards one of her slaves named Kitty, a trial which Arthur had felt compelled to attend upon hearing of the details of the case. From the records of the trial, there is no indication of how many slaves Campbell owned in total. According to the testimony of the "medical gentleman" who had examined Kitty by order of the magistrates hearing the case, he

observed the scores of several wounds which appeared to have been recently inflicted with a whip or cow-skin; they were chiefly upon the shoulders, but there was also a considerable number on the left arm, the neck and the face...

one of the stripes had divided the ala of the left ear, another had wounded the left eye ball; both eyes were much swelled and inflamed, and her whole countenance was so much disfigured that it was sometime before I could recognise her.

The police officer who had originally served the bench warrant against Campbell recalled that when he had arrived at her dwelling, he found Kitty

at the foot of a bed, with a pair of handcuffs on, and chained round the legs with a double padlock bound round so close that she could not stand or move...I tried to lift her up but she could not stand; she informed me that she had been in this situation for six weeks.

In keeping with the legal prohibition on slave testimony common through the colonies of the BWI, Kitty gave no evidence at the trial. In her defence, Duncanette Campbell maintained that the gentleman with whom she lived for many years "had instigated the slave (Kitty) to neglect her business, disobey her orders, and to behave with the greatest insubordination." In mitigation, Campbell insisted that although "the circumstance for which she had now chastised her was the only misconduct of which she had ever been guilty", as Kitty was her own property she therefore "had the right to punish her as she thought proper." The four magistrates hearing the case appear to have agreed as in their instructions to the 12 man jury, each of whom were slaveowners themselves, the only point for their consideration was to be whether a greater number of lashes than the 39 permitted by law had been inflicted in this case. As it turned out, the jury did not, and Campbell was acquitted after a deliberation lasting less than 5 minutes.¹⁵

Arthur's belief that the enforcement of the Consolidated Slave Law of Jamaica in Belize was necessary until local laws were enacted to better protect slaves in the territory was reinforced by the outcome of the trial in August 1821 of a Dr. Manfield Bowen on charges of illegally punishing several of his slaves. According to the affidavit relating to one of these, a domestic named Peggy whom Bowen had accused of "having made away with some handkerchiefs committed to her care to dispose of", Peggy

was tied up by order of her owner and severely flogged, and then handcuffed and shackled, placed in an old store infested with vermin...after being in this situation for five days and nights (she) was liberated on Sunday about mid-day; on the following morning she left her owner's house to make her complaint and seek redress. For this... she was again seized upon, tied down on her belly to the ground, her arms and legs being stretched out, and secured to four stakes with sharp cords, and...in the heat of the sun, exposed before the men (Bowen and his brother) in a perfect state of nature, she was again severely flogged...upon her back and posteriors, and...again confined in handcuffs and chains, subsisted on...twenty plantains and two mackerel per week for above 14 days. Occasionally...(she) was led out by day, and chained to a tree in the yard, and there compelled to wash...

At the same sitting of the Belize Court, Bowen was also charged with "loading, or causing to be loaded, with irons, two negro men slaves named Guy and Robert" who like Peggy were periodically brought out from their confinement in the old store room and

"being fastened with their faces downwards to four stakes placed in the ground for that purpose, and then and there most severely whipped, and beat with a cat..."¹⁶

The precise reasons for the confinement of Guy and Robert will be discussed later in this section. For the moment, in addition to the details of the punishments the defendant was alleged to have visited upon his slaves, the significance of the trial of Manfield Bowen, like that of Duncanette Campbell, lies in the window these hearings open on the state of relations between owners and slaves in Belize during the final and supposedly ameliorative decades of formal slavery in the British Caribbean. Accordingly, it is no coincidence that in his defence during the trial, Bowen is careful to concentrate the minds of the jurors (themselves slaveowners) on the crimes that Peggy and her contemporaries were accused of committing.⁷ In cross-examining a witness named John Henderson, his own clerk, for instance, Bowen does not dispute the severity of Peggy's treatment but focuses on her theft of the disputed handkerchiefs and of her having absconded for 2 days upon her initial release from the old store room. Indeed, Bowen's only clarification of the circumstances surrounding the actual flogging of Peggy was that her clothes were in fact placed between her legs "so as to preserve decency."

For its part, the prosecution in the case conducted by the King's Advocate in the Belize Settlement focused the attention of the jurors on the severity of the punishments inflicted by Bowen upon his slaves. In building his case against Bowen, the Advocate asks each witness called to clarify what details he/she could about the place and circumstances of confinement as well as the punishments meted out by the defendant. The only exception to this was the Advocate's questioning of his final witness, an inhabitant of the Settlement "upwards of thirty-two years" named James Hyde through whom the Advocate sought to establish whether the Consolidated Slave Law of Jamaica was in force in Belize "for the protection of the slave population." According to Hyde's

best recollection, it was, but he could not be sure that the Law had "ever been acted upon by any jury in this country."¹⁷

Significantly, the Advocate never challenged the "slave as property" argument enshrined in the Consolidated Law and upon which Bowen built his defence. For Bowen, like Duncanette Campbell before him, in point of law, an individual's right to treat his/her slave as property was inviolate and pre-empted any benevolent considerations that might be extended to slaves by libertarians such as George Arthur who were more inclined to regard slaves as subjects. Indeed, the ameliorative measures put into place at the turn of the 19th century to improve the general conditions of labour and life for slaves in the British Caribbean did not fundamentally alter the position of these slaves in law, and Manfield Bowen as a magistrate of the Bay Settlement recognized this. So too did his colleagues on the Bench where before the trial had even begun, "the majority of the three magistrates" who would hear the case had made it clear to Arthur that they doubted whether the offence could be considered a breach of any law "or whether there had been any further punishment inflicted by Mr. Bowen than an owner was justified in giving his slave..."¹⁸ In light of this, Superintendent Arthur cannot have been entirely surprised at the verdict of not guilty reached by the 12 man jury in the Bowen case.

It should be pointed out that not all cases involving cruelty to slaves in the marginal colonies entirely absolved slaveowners of harshly treating their bondsmen and women. Five years before the Campbell and Bowen trials in Belize, for example, a Michael Carty was convicted of cruelly punishing "a young negro female, his property" named Quasheba. In evidence given by a J.B. Rabateau at the Court House, Belize River's Mouth, on August 29th, 1816, Carty lay the slave girl

on the ground, her two hands were tied to her feet, and a stick run under her knees and above the elbow bend on the arm, and laying on her back perfectly naked, and he, Mr. Carty, was flogging her with a

cat; after flogging her some time on her buttocks, he came round and struck her ten or twelve stripes over her breast and face.

According to Rabateau, Carty flogged Quasheba "in the same position and manner" twice more on the day in question. There is no mention in the correspondence relating to the trial what offence Quasheba had committed or any precise indication of why Carty was convicted while Campbell and Bowen were not, apart from the fact that unlike Peggy, Guy and Robert, Quasheba was actually brought before the magistrates and officers of the court and examined in person. The minutes of the Meeting of the Magistrates confirm that Quasheba "...appeared to have been much flogged, and her wrists much cut, apparently from having been tied, and had a large cattle-chain fastened about her neck with a padlock." The severity of her injuries to which they bore witness themselves may have convinced the magistrates on this occasion to find for the prosecution, although from the sentence imposed on Carty, it cannot have weighed too heavily on their consciences as slaveowners themselves. Indeed, Superintendent Arthur was clearly disappointed that the defendant was only fined "Fifty pounds Jamaica currency," and felt strongly enough about the leniency of the sentence to direct the Bay Settlement magistrates "to withdraw from this person the licence they had granted him to keep a grog-shop." Arthur also pressed the Law Officers of the Crown in London on whether he had the power as Superintendent to manumit Quasheba. Unfortunately for her, he did not, the Law Officers maintaining that Carty was "indictable only for the cruelty committed; that she is his property, that there is no power to take her away, consequently none for her manumission..." Disturbingly, and like Peggy after her, Quasheba "...was doomed to remain the slave of this cruel wretch, still more exasperated against her than ever."¹⁹

Arguably more severe than the outcome of this trial for the defendant was that of Henry and Helen Moss of Crooked Island in the Bahamas who in July of 1826 were jointly charged with

"excessive cruelty" towards a slave in their possession, a "negro girl named Kate, aged 16." At their trial in Nassau, the Moss' maintained that Kate had been guilty of theft and of

actual and open defiance of the authority of her owners, as well as a resolute rejection of all kind of work, even to the mending of her own clothes..²⁰

Accordingly, the Moss' confined Kate "for the period of seventeen days and nights in the stocks without intermission" during which she was repeatedly flogged and had red pepper (capsicum) rubbed in her eyes. Over one four day interval, for example, Kate was flogged and peppered twice by the estate's cook (18 and 12 lashes respectively), she was given 6 lashes by one overseer, 18 by another and 2 dozen lashes by her own father, also a slave belonging to Henry Moss. After her release from the stocks, Kate was turned out into the fields where she was again flogged, this time by one of the drivers on the estate, and where she died about noon on the second day.²¹

Originally, the Moss' were charged with murder but as the grand jury returned "Not Found" on that indictment, the Attorney General of the Bahamas "preferred two other bills for misdemeanours, one against Mr. Moss the other against Mr. Moss and his wife." A verdict of guilty was returned on both these indictments and the Moss' were sentenced to "imprisonment in the common gaol at Nassau for five calender months, and Mr. Moss to a fine of £300 over and besides the costs of prosecution."²²

Aside from the details of the cruelty visited upon Kate by her owners, for the purposes of this study, it is interesting to note the reaction of some of the Moss' contemporaries to the sentence handed down by the Nassau Court. On May 14th, 1827, Governor Lewis Grant was presented with a petition to remit or shorten the term of the Moss' imprisonment on the grounds that, and echoing the defences of Campbell and Bowen in Belize, they had done nothing but "properly chastise the girl for gross misbehaviour without an idea that her health would or could be

seriously affected by the chastisement." Among the 28 signatories on the petition were 9 Members of the Bahamas Assembly and the foreman of the jury that had convicted the Moss' in the first place. Accompanying the petition were 11 separate character references drawn up on behalf of the Moss' by other residents or visitors to Crooked Island testifying to the general "humanity and kindness" of the defendants to their slaves, evidences which suggest that among slaveowners in the Bahamas at this late stage on the slavery continuum, proprietorial rights to slaves in the colony continued to supercede ameliorative considerations when it came to the treatment of those slaves by their owners. Indeed, what is significant about these trials in which marginal colony owners were found guilty of ill treating their slaves is that the offence was regarded in law as a *misdemeanour* punishable in most cases by a fine. Occasionally, particularly where death or serious mutilation had resulted, the defendants risked imprisonment but in those instances where such a sanction was applied, as in the Moss case, it tended to be for a relatively short period of time. Certainly, and as we shall see, the sentence bore no relation to that meted out by the courts in these territories to slaves found guilty of assaulting their owners, either physically and/or verbally.

For the purpose of appeasing their egalitarian critics in Britain itself, one other significant aspect of these trials from the point of view of slaveowners in the Caribbean was their relatively low incidence. Between 1800 and 1811 in the Bahamas, for example, there were only 11 prosecutions brought against owners for cruelty towards their slaves of which less than half resulted in convictions,²³ while in Belize in 1824, the "principal Settlers" of the territory maintained that it was almost impossible

for us to bring documentary evidence to prove that persons have been punished for cruelty amongst us since crimes of that description are so seldom heard of in our Settlement, that scarcely any traces of such practices can be found on the records.²⁴

In these circumstances, slaveowners in the marginal colonies were encouraged to extend their earlier noted insistence on humane treatment of their slaves to an assertion of good relations between themselves and their slaves generally. Thus, and echoing the sentiments expressed by Christopher Codrington at Barbuda in 1791, the settlers at Belize claimed in 1824 to "hold our Slaves here merely from the affection they bear their Owners", that unless their slaves were governed "with mildness, kindness and liberality", the Settlement "would be in a moment deserted, and the Settlers ruined" given the encouragement held out by neighbouring Spaniards to Belizean slaves to desert, and to the geography of the territory itself which made their recovery in the circumstances highly improbable.²⁵

Further evidence of the "contentment and good conditions of the Slaves of this country" cited by the Settlers at Belize was the conduct of their bondsmen during the the Spanish attack on St. George's Cay in 1798. According to the Baymen,

our Slaves armed themselves...under their respective Owners, cheerfully and manfully fought for and defended their Masters' lives and their Masters' property; with patience they bore the fatigues of military duty, and with a gallantry unparalleled they beat off an enemy double their number.²⁶

In a similar vein, many Loyalist planters in the Bahamas believed that their slaves would fight to defend their masters and their estates during the Revolutionary Wars that broke out in 1793. At the time, Denys Rolle at Exuma, for example, argued that slaves

in the underdefended Out Islands of the archipelago should be armed to deter attacks by French raiders on the grounds they would defend their owners' land as if it were their own. Rolle also maintained that such suitably armed slaves would feel they were protecting their own wives and children as well as certain "riches gained by extra labour."²⁷ This was exactly the point, and one to which we shall return shortly. For the moment, however, what is significant about owners' claims that their slaves in the marginal colonies gave them "affection" and "devotion", that relations between masters/mistresses and slaves in these territories were mostly characterized by good comradeship, is that the slaves themselves did not necessarily share their owners' view of the situation. Certainly, bondsmen and women like Old Daniel and Sarah at Turks Island, for example, and Kitty, Peggy and Quasheba at Belize cannot have been of the opinion that they were benignly treated by their respective owners or possessed of any kind of fidelity towards them. On the contrary, it appears that in most of the above cases, the marginal colony slaves in question were punished for reacting in a specific way *against* the very individuals who personified the system that governed their lives. Indeed, in view of the dearth of slave testimonies by marginal colony slaves about the meaning they attached to their assigned status and treatment, it is the reactions of these slaves themselves to the conditions of their bondage that need now to be examined in order to more comprehensively determine how they were treated, that is, to look at the patterns and forms of resistance adopted by slaves in the marginal colonies of the BWI.

Slave attitudes towards their treatment: resistance

For David Barry Gaspar (1996), broadly defined, the term *resistance* applies to any slave behaviour that cannot be equated with cooperation with slavery. As such, it is a concept that spans a wide continuum of slave actions from open rebellion and physical violence, for example, through to running away,

industrial sabotage and the feigning of illness and malingering. As well, slaves in the British Caribbean developed a variety of stratagems to resist the cultural hegemony of the master class including the formation of strong families and the evolution of as separate a culture as possible in the slave quarters and provision grounds.

As these are considered in this section of the study, it is important to bear in mind that as the continuum of active slave resistance evolved in the BWI, there were qualitative differences that emerged between individual slave acts and those that were collective or at least had collective potential.²⁸ It is a distinction that has a particular significance for the marginal colonies of the BWI where for the duration of formal slavery in the British Caribbean, there were no mass uprisings by slaves in these territories on the scale of Tacky's Revolt in Jamaica in 1760, for example, or Bussa's Rebellion in Barbados in 1816, the Demerara Revolt in 1823, or the Baptist War in Jamaica in 1831/2.²⁹ Indeed, where collective actions were pursued by bondsmen and women in the marginal colonies, these tended to be isolated incidents confined to individual estates or groups of slaves. In the Bahamas as the archetypical marginal colony, for example, one of the first such documented incidents took place in the immediate aftermath of the Loyalist immigrations in 1783-85 and concerned a group of "black Loyalists", that is, former American slaves who had escaped to the British during the War of Independence on the promise of freedom and who had subsequently agreed to emigrate to the Bahamas with their "employers" to avoid re-enslavement after the War was over. Most of the black Loyalists who arrived in the archipelago in 1783 landed at Abaco as "apprentices" to the white slaveowners whom they accompanied from New York and East Florida. Once in the Bahamas, however, the black Loyalists found their claims to freedom challenged by resident whites long inclined to regard all blacks as actual slaves and themselves in need of field labourers and domestics in order to work their expanding cotton holdings. That such a mix of conflicting expectations at Abaco would produce social friction

sooner or later was almost inevitable, and in November of 1787, a group of about 30 armed black Loyalists and disgruntled slaves fled into the bush in the centre of the island from where they launched a series of hit-and-run attacks on estates and small holdings in the south of the island. Within a month, a militia of white settlers

having come up with the Negroes had killed, wounded and taken most of them Prisoners, three of the latter they immediately executed.³⁰

As far as the records reveal, the next documented act of collective resistance among a group of Bahamian slaves does not seem to have occurred until 1828 when slaves on the Steventon estate belonging to the Rolle family at Exuma refused to go into the fields and take up their assigned tasks. Significantly, this was actually one of several major disturbances in the Out Islands of the archipelago during the years immediately preceeding emancipation in 1834. As the courses of each of these localized rebellions have been well documented elsewhere,³¹ only their main developments will be highlighted here.

The immediate causes of the Exuma revolt in 1828 related to a proposal by Lord Rolle to move his slaves to Trinidad in the face of severe losses sustained by his Bahamian holdings generally in the wake of the collapse of cotton in the archipelago. The reaction of the Steventon slaves to the proposal was to down their tools for 3 days, to hold meetings in their quarters, and on the evening of the third day, to march on the overseer's house where, significantly, they offered no physical violence but insisted that

they want the land to maintain themselves,..that they won't be flogged by any white man, neither will they remove from this place.³²

A detachment of the Second West India Regiment stationed in Nassau landed at the Steventon estate in early Decemeber and the immediate crisis was averted peacefully as the slaves agreed to return to their regular labour on the condition they not be removed to Trinidad, and that their clothing allowances be issued after an 18 month lapse.

It was a proposal by Lord Rolle's agent in Nassau to remove 9 of the ringleaders of the original protest along with their families to Grand Bahama in 1829 that renewed the crisis at Exuma. Though they were promised money for their crops and were to be allowed to carry their livestock with them, the 20 or so slaves in question refused to board Lord Rolle's sloop on the appointed day and troops had again to be despatched to Exuma where they enforced the transfer.

The following year, Rolle's agent in Nassau drew up plans to relocate a further 27 of his employer's slaves to Cat Island where they were to be rented as a jobbing gang to a local planter. As per the Consolidated Slave Act of 1797, care was taken to ensure that no husbands and wives or any of their children under 14 years of age were to be separated in the transfer, but the slaves themselves were given only 3 days warning of the move and just one weekend to pick their crops and sell their livestock. No less averse to being removed from their lands on this occasion than their contemporaries in 1828, and aware of their particular fate, 44 of the selected slaves fled into the bush on Exuma under the leadership of a creole slave named Pompey and remained at large for 5 weeks while their provisions lasted. In one form or another, "Pompey's Revolt" at Exuma lasted for another 2 months and incorporated a flight to Nassau by the rebels on a stolen salt boat to put their case to the governor, detention in the Nassau workhouse upon their arrest in the capital's harbour, a trial on charges of running away together with a public flogging on being found guilty, and an eventual return to Exuma where the remainder of the Rolle slaves appear not to have carried on their prescribed labour for the duration of the disturbance.³³

There were several other disturbances in the Bahamas in the run-up to emancipation, most notably among slaves belonging to Joseph Hunter at Cat Island in 1831, to Charles Farquharson at San Salvador in 1832, and to William Johnson at Eleuthera in 1833. The latter incident involved complaints by Johnson's slaves of his failure to issue food and clothing, and followed the established pattern of his slaves refusing to work and military intervention to compel them to do so. In both the Hunter and Farquharson incidents, however, complaints about poor treatment were compounded by episodes of violence in which on the Hunter estate, for example, a slave driver fired a gun at his owner during a riot brought on by a dispute over the allocation of days-off at Christmas. For his actions, the slave driver in question was hanged and 6 of his accomplices were likewise sentenced to death, although they were later set free by the Governor of the Bahamas to stave off a threat of full scale rebellion by the general body of slaves at Cat Island.³⁴

On the Farquharson estate in February of 1832, a "mutiny" erupted when James Farquharson struck a slave named Isaac for "mounting the Mule at the wrong side." When confronted by Isaac's brother, Alick, over "what right he had to beat Isaac so", James gave Alick "a Tape" with a walking stick whereupon

Alick returned the Blow with his heavy Bludgeon and repeated his Blow twice at which time after the third blow Matilda came up to him and laid hold of his stick and prevented him from repeating his blows.

In his Journal, Charles Farquharson noted that "had he not being prevented his (Alick's) intention was to kill James if he possibly could." At this point,

the whole gang came into the yard like so many furies threatening vengeance against James merely for his switching Isaac.

In spite of attempts "to reason with our people in the morning", the mutiny continued into the next day with "every Black soul on the plantation that could walk with the exception of 2 old women and the driver" going about with clubs and sticks in their hands. Most of the slaves were "very noisy and repeated a great deal of the threats and abuse that they used the night befor..."

By the afternoon of the third day of the disturbance, most of the slaves had returned to the fields to resume the corn harvest, a reflection of their need to ensure the estate's supply of provisions was kept up for their own benefit rather than a compulsion to labour by their owner. The ringleaders of the mutiny (Alick, Peter, and Bacchus) were taken to Nassau for trial in the third week of March and sentenced to hard labour in the workhouse there. Peter and Bacchus returned to San Salvador in May of 1832 but Alick was left in Nassau where, as noted in Section III, his wife and child were sent from the estate to be sold with him.³⁵

A similar instance of confrontation between owner/manager and his slaves took place at *Barbuda* in 1832. At roll call "of the working part of the gang" on the morning after the customary issue of weekly food allowances to the estate's slaves on the 24th of August that year, John Winter (see Appendix 1) was approached by one of the gang "in a very insolent manner demanding his allowance" and that "he would not go to work without it." Winter assured the slave that a member of his family had been given the provisions in question but

he threw himself into a great rage eciting the whole gang to mutiny declaring I had starved them to feed the Antigua Negroes and sent them the best provisions.

According to Winter, "this raised a great noise in the gang" and while attempting to confine the "abusive" slave, "he struck me a severe blow in the Loins and another in the face." As the gang refused to assist Winter in arresting the slave who had assaulted

him, the manager sent to Antigua for troops who were able within a few days to restore order on the estate and to secure the offending slave as well as those of his contemporaries whom Winter identified as ringleaders of the disturbance. These were "sent...together with their familys to (the) Antigua properties, nineteen in number..." and by early September, Winter was able to report that "all is peaceable and the negroes at their work."³⁶

At Barbuda, this episode was one of only two documented incidents during the period of the Codrington lease in which slaves on the estate offered physical violence to whites on the island. The other had occurred some years earlier in December of 1745. The immediate causes of the revolt appeared to relate to the overbearing conduct of the resident manager (a Mr. McNish) towards the slaves in general, and to the mutilation of 2 of these slaves for sheep and cattle rustling in particular. By one account, on December 22nd, 1745, an unspecified number of aggrieved slaves marched on the Castle complex where they murdered McNish and which they proceeded to occupy. Alarmed at the circumstances of his employee's death and at the fact the rebels were in possession of the estate's store of arms and ammunition, the Codrington's principal attorney for Antigua and Barbuda at the time, Colonel Benjamin King, requested that troops be despatched to the island from Antigua to restore order. This was done, and the ringleaders of the revolt were burned alive in front of the Castle.³⁷

The available records are generally silent on the existence of slave plots and/or disturbances in the *Caymans* between their early settlement and emancipation, while at *Anguilla*, one of the only passing references to such an incident is contained in correspondence between the Leeward Islands government and London relating to the Antigua crisis of 1736 during which an island-wide conspiracy among slaves to revolt was unearthed.³⁸ According to Governor Matthew in his *Account of the Negro conspiracy not only in Antigua but other Islands*, that

the contagion has spread farther among these Islands than I apprehended is discovered By an enclosed affidavit of John Hanson, it actually has taken Effect in St. Bartholomew, and it is discovered in Anguilla & St. Martins.³⁹

At St. Bartholomew, "the negroes there were rose in rebellion and had killd Eleven men of the white Inhabitants" while at St. Martins, "...eight of the Conspirators are Securd and are to be Executed." It is not clear from the affidavit given by Hanson how many slaves were involved in the rising at Anguilla only that he had heard that slaves on the island were "to join those of St. Martins the 26th of December."⁴⁰ Whether the rebellion actually took place at all given that the St. Martin revolt was contained and suppressed is also unclear, although Hanson's affidavit does confirm that slaves in the colony were at the very least restive.

Further definitive evidence of the resentment of marginal colony slaves towards the system and individual owners who governed their lives is contained in the records relating to slave disturbances in *Belize*, although as in the case of the Bahamas, the course of each of these incidents has been well documented elsewhere and only their main developments need be highlighted here.⁴¹

It was during the economic crisis of the late 1760s/early 1770s that white settlers in the Bay had first to contend with a revolt by slaves in the territory. At the time, the logwood trade was severely depressed and had not yet been replaced by mahogany. As we have seen in Section II, in order to compensate for its falling value, cutters in the Bay sought to increase the amount of logwood exported thereby putting added pressure on the labour of Belizean slaves at a time when the cutters themselves were having difficulty in securing adequate supplies of provisions from merchants in Jamaica and England to whom they were becoming increasingly indebted. For some groups of slaves in the Settlement, the combination of increased work and decreasing provisions appears to have breached the accomodations worked out

between their owners and themselves as to what constituted acceptable limits on their hours, tasks and levels of provisioning, and they rebelled at least 3 times between 1765 and 1773. The first two revolts occurred along the New River (see Map 2) in 1765 and 1768 and involved about a dozen and two dozen slaves respectively. In both cases, the uprisings petered out after the armed rebels had carried out depredations against several logwood camps on the River before deserting to the Spaniards.⁴² The revolt in 1773, however, was more serious in the sense that it involved a larger body of slaves, it lasted about 5 months, and was only put down with the help of a naval detachment sent over from Jamaica.

The rebellion itself began in May of 1773 on the Belize River where about 50 slaves armed with muskets and cutlasses attacked 5 settlements/timber Works "and murdered six White Men." A local militia was organized from St. George's Cay to go after the rebels, 14 of whom surrendered in late June while the rest headed north in an attempt to reach the Spanish outpost at Bacalar (see Map 2). As the surviving rebels moved through the Belize River valley, trade in the Settlement came to a virtual standstill as cutters along the territory's other rivers retreated to the relative safety of St. George's Cay. According to one report,

the Inhabitants are in a very bad situation; they have neither Arms nor Ammunition and those that are here are obliged to keep Guard for fear of the Negroes on the Kay.

A detachment of troops from Jamaica was ordered to Belize in August to put down the revolt but in October, 19 of the rebels were reported to be still trying to reach Spanish territory. At least 11 of these made it to Bacalar after a skirmish with the Jamaican-based troops, and by the end of the month, the revolt had more or less run its course.⁴³

There were two further reported slave insurrections in the Belize territory prior to 1834 and these occurred during the superintendency of George Arthur, that is, in April of 1819 and as noted earlier, a year later in April of 1820. The first of these involved "some parties of misguided men, who have collected on the Banks of the Rio Nuevo",⁴⁴ and the second "a considerable number of Slaves (who) had formed themselves into a Body in the River Belize..." and on the Sibun.⁴⁵ In both cases, troops were despatched upriver from Belize Town to dislodge the rebel slaves, although during the 1820 revolt, Arthur also declared martial law to be in force in the Settlement. From the records that are available, it seems that, like the insurrections in 1765-1773, once the rebels had committed "various depredations", they retreated into the bush and the revolts petered out as the survivors made for the relative safety of Spanish territories to the north and south. Indeed, by May of 1820, Arthur had issued a proclamation ending martial law as "there no longer exists any Combination amongst the Slaves in the River Sibun."⁴⁶

As serious as these disturbances were for owners and/or their representatives in the marginal colonies, open rebellion and widespread plots by slaves in these territories were the exception rather than the rule. After 1745 in Barbuda, for example, there were no documented slave disturbances on the estate between the resumption of the Codrington lease in 1761 and the late 1820s/early 1830s while in the Bahamas, a similar time span of relative calm was punctuated only by the short-lived rising of black Loyalists on Abaco in 1787. That this particular revolt and its corollary in Barbuda were short-lived incidents relates to one of the prime reasons for the rarity of collective physical resistance in the marginal colonies generally, that is, that the local geography of these territories (excepting Belize) was simply not conducive to guerrilla activities and general uprisings. As James Walvin (1996) has suggested about some of the sugar islands such as Barbados where most of the natural forest cover had been removed to make way for cane fields by the end of

the 17th century, there were no havens in the marginal colonies where large groups of rebellious slaves could run to, gather, and fight from.⁴⁷ Indeed, the very features of these territories that rendered them economically marginal to the plantation islands of the BWI also ensured that Barbuda, Cayman, Anguilla and most of the islands that make up the Bahamian archipelago afforded few, if any, natural refuges for slaves intent on a mass uprising. In contrast, Jamaica, for example, was ideal guerrilla territory as evidenced by the activities of the Maroons on that island through much of the 18th century.⁴⁸

At the same time, the local geography of these marginal colonies in part at least forced an evolution in the strategies of resistance from the rising of the Barbudan slaves in 1745, for example, to forms of localized resistance short of actual overt action, an evolution which ensured that perhaps to a greater degree than in most of the sugar islands of the BWI, resistance by marginal colony slaves to their bondage generally and to instances of what they perceived to be harsh treatment in particular, was rarely a violent phenomenon. What happened to those slaves involved in the murder of Mr. McNish at Barbuda in 1745, and reinforced by the executions of black Loyalists at Abaco in 1787 and by the hanging of the slave driver on the Hunter estate at Cat Island in 1831, would have persuaded their contemporaries that they had to be cautious in their open defiance of the system that governed their lives. This is not to say that marginal colony slaves did not harbour deep-seated grievances about their lives as bondsmen and women, only that they grew to accept that there were limits to what they could do about them. Yet, at the same time, and as we consider the forms of resistance mentioned at the outset of this part of the study, it is clear that these limits were flexible and that, as Barbara Bush has suggested (1990), forms of resistance short of outright rebellion in the British Caribbean generally were often more effective in chipping away at the fabric of slavery.⁴⁹

As in the sugar islands of the region, most forms of resistance short of open rebellion in the marginal colonies were simple and relatively unspectacular cases of non-cooperation. They were also mostly individual acts. In a descending typology of resistance, after revolt, running away or *marronage* was perhaps the most effective means of opposition to slavery as it deprived owners of their primary economic and productive assets. It is difficult to determine variations in the extent of *marronage* across the British West Indian colonies as the term "runaway" was not uniformly applied by slaveowners in the region. While some slaves left their estates for a few days at a time to visit relatives or friends without any real intention of attempting to escape permanently, others hoped to do exactly that which often meant escaping completely from the particular colony in order to lessen the odds of recapture. In some cases, *marronage* thus had only a temporary effect on the slave labour force and as Barry Higman (1984) has demonstrated during the Registration period, for example, owners applied variable rules in listing runaway slaves as losses to their populations. In several cases, for instance, slaves who had been absent for less than 5 years were still regarded by owners as their legitimate property and were often listed in the Registration Returns with their original occupations rather than as "runaways". Other owners registered slaves lost to their estates only when they had given up any hope of recapturing them. So it is then that the Registration Returns used extensively in Section II of this study almost certainly understate the numbers of slaves who were runaways at any particular date, and those who were listed as such were likely to have been long-term and successful maroons.⁵⁰

The difficulties of definition notwithstanding, among the marginal colonies as a group, runaways seem to have been a particular problem for owners in the Bahamas and Belize. According to the Registration Returns filed for the Bahamas in 1822, 1825, 1828 1831, and 1834, a total of 234 slaves in the archipelago were listed as runaways, that is, less than 2% of the colony's enslaved population in the "busiest" year, 1825, when

142 runaways were registered, and less than 0.5% in each of 1828 (37 runaways), 1831 (33) and 1834 (22). As per Table 4.4, most listed slave runaways in the Bahamas over the Registration period were male (70%) and black (91%), and given the problems of definition noted above, had almost certainly absented themselves for several years. Indeed, in the Returns filed in 1825, for example, many of the runaways listed that year had been missing since 1822 or before while in 1834, several slaves were listed as "run away from the owner's plantation in 1832, still absent."⁵¹

Outside of the Registration Returns, a more anecdotal source of information on absconded slaves in the Bahamas is contained in 463 surviving runaway advertisements published in local newspapers between 1784 and 1834.⁵² These are particularly useful for this study in that they give some indication of the types of slaves who ran away and the patterns of flight of the 629 Bahamian slaves so advertised over the 50 year period. A detailed collation of the advertisements by Godwin Friday (1984), reveals that 383 (83%) of these runaways were single slaves, 295 of whom were male and 88 female. The remaining 246 runaways comprised 80 cases of slaves who fled in pairs or groups of whom 193 were males and 53 were females. In at least 30 of these cases, the slaves who ran did so in family groups; there were, for example, 19 instances of husband and wife absconding together, 8 of whom fled in nuclear family groups while the remaining 11 were unaccompanied by children. As well, there were 12 single mothers who ran away with one or more of their children, probably to join a partner or a larger family grouping on neighbouring estates where proprietors who did not own large numbers of slaves themselves were more tolerant of "visiting unions."⁵³

The slaves who absconded on their own and/or in non-family groups were more likely to be running away in a stricter sense and they included those slaves who had particular reasons for not wanting to assimilate into the Bahamian slave system such as the black Loyalists who fled into the bush on Abaco in 1787, and newly imported Africans such as those appearing in the following advertisement in the *Bahama Gazette* on June 13th, 1789;

Ten Dollars Reward

Run Away from the Subscriber's Plantation on Long Island about the 20th of July last, two Negro Men Slaves. George, a stout well made Man, about 19 years of age, 5 feet 9 inches High, has a pleasant Countenance, and remarkable fine teeth. Tony, about the same Age and Height, rather slender made, but active, has a downcast look and filed teeth. Neither of them could speak English, and had on when they went away Oznaburg frocks and Trowsers, and round Hats. From their Huts being frequently discovered on the North side of the Island, since their Elopement, at the Back of Settlements where Negro Fields are, there is every reason to believe some Encouragement must be shown them.

*Forbes and Stevens.*⁵⁴

As we have seen in the case of the Pompey Revolt at Exuma in 1829/30, other slaves in the Bahamas absconded in protest over sudden changes in working conditions and accepted customs on their estates while those slaves allowed to engage in self-hire individually or as part of a jobbing gang were always likely to be tempted to stay away longer than they should, or in the particular case of Nassau, to lose themselves in the slave and free-black settlements "Over-the-Hill" that had grown up with the expansion of the town after 1785 to accomodate the influx of Loyalists, and which were virtual "no-go" areas for whites.⁵⁵ Other runaways were able to take advantage of offers to "harbour" them by less scrupulous owners for whom paid labour was more cost effective than the outright purchase of slaves.

Most self-employed runaways in the Bahamas were field labourers, although a detailed analysis of 412 of the runaway advertisements by Roderick MacIntosh (1984) reveals that 98 of these (24%) indicated a trade or occupation for the runaway. Foremost among these were carpenters (24 of the 98), particularly

ships' carpenters such as the slave featured in the following advertisement, dated June 28th, 1799;

Run away of the 18th instant, immediately after receiving his wages for some days hire, from Mr. Richie, which he carried off, a Negro Man named Dick, belonging to the subscriber, a Ship Carpenter by Trade, and well known about town. He frequently saunters about the Western Suburbs, there is reason to suspect that he is occasionally employed there. Ten Dollars reward will be paid on his being secured in Gaol. The same sum will also be paid for information that will lead to the Conviction of any person harbouring or employing him.

*Timothy Cox, Nassau.*⁵⁶

The second largest occupational grouping among runaways in the sample were those who made their living from the sea. There were 16 runaway sailors, a caulker and sawyer, a sail maker and several harbour slaves/stevedores advertised in the Nassau newspapers over the period. A common strategy adopted by these maritime maroons was to put to sea in a small boat in the hope of making it to one of the more deserted Out Islands or of hailing a larger vessel en route to Cuba, the closest foreign landfall from most Bahamian islands and an island where, like those Spanish territories bordering Belize, the local authorities offered asylum to runaway British Slaves. On August 16th, 1798, for example,

Run away from the Subscriber's Plantation on Crooked Island...two Negro Men, Israel about 22 years of age, 5 feet 8 inches high, a yellowish complexion, speaks good English and has been accustomed to the Sea...Bacchus, about 27 years of age, 5 feet 11 inches high, a jet black

Complexion, speaks good English. The above Negroes went off in a small two oared poplar canoe, with a white bottom, black sides, and red gunwales. It is supposed that they would endeavour to get on board of some Vessel going through the Crooked Island Passage. Should that be the Case, the Subscriber hopes the person who took them up will return them to him at the aforesaid Island...a liberal reward will be given, and all reasonable charges paid on delivery of the Negroes.

*John Mowbrey.*⁵⁷

To pick up on an earlier point, it may well be that the enthusiasm of the two young slaves whom Daniel McKinnen observed building a vessel on the sly at Crooked Island in 1802 was actually based on a hope of emulating such maritime maroons.

According to the advertisements examined by MacIntosh (1984), masons, plasterers, wall-builders, cart drivers, wood cutters, a butcher, barbers, a tailor and a shoe maker also absconded as did several female slaves employed as washers, seamstresses, ironers, cooks and vegetable sellers along with at least 3 bondswomen who appear to have attempted to support themselves during flight through prostitution.⁵⁸

For the purposes of this study, the significance of such data lies in the numbers and occupational cross-section of marginal colony slaves who attempted to escape their bondage by running away. That nearly a quarter of the 412 slaves examined by MacIntosh (1984) were skilled slaves in whom their owners had placed a degree of confidence and, as noted in Section III, had usually offered extra incentives to their labour suggests that these bondsmen and women were not necessarily any more content with their lot as slaves than their contemporaries who were assigned field work. At the very least, they seem to have been no less inclined to run if the opportunity to do so arose which in turn suggests that however generous and humane slaveowners viewed

their treatment towards their confidential slaves, some of these did not regard this as particularly benign or believe that their status as skilled slaves was any kind of guarantee against malevolence on the part of their owners.

Broadly similar conclusions can be drawn about runaways in most of the other marginal colonies. Although it is the case that there is not this kind of demographic and occupational detail about slave runaways in the records pertaining to *Belize* where no such slaves were noted in the single Return filed for the Settlement in 1834 (see Table 3.12), that Belizean slaves did abscond, and in numbers, is in part confirmed in a series of complaints made by settlers in the Bay from the last quarter of the 18th century onwards about the practice of Spaniards in the neighbouring territories giving asylum to their runaway slaves. Indeed, more than 2,000 Belizean slaves may have slipped into these territories in the immediate aftermath of the Spanish attack on St. George's Cay in 1779, and thereafter, it was the deliberate policy of the authorities in Bacalar to promise freedom to Belizean runaways in order to destabilize the Settlement by luring away its essential labour force.⁵⁹

As we have seen in the rebellions of 1765-1773, most Belizean slaves who decided to run in the 18th century headed north to cross the Rio Hondo as the Spaniards had outposts just across the river at Bacalar (see Map 2). This escape route was still being used in 1792 when a cutter named Thomas Potts noted that the "Desertion of our Negroes to the Spaniards which increases daily & that of late to such an alarming degree" threatened "the total ruin of the Trade of this Settlement." Indeed,

It is but a Week ago since a whole Gang about Twelve in number...Deserted in a Body to the Spaniards, got safe in to the Look Out & were as usual joyfully received...⁶⁰

In 1793, a group of 24 slaves from the Bay reached Bacalar,⁶¹ and in 1813, 15 slaves belonging to a Thomas Paslow reached the Spaniards north of the Hondo having escaped on account of their "ill-treatment and starvation."⁶²

When the Bay Settlement expanded to the south and west after the Convention of London was signed in 1786, slaves working the timber cuts in these "New Limits" who fled their bondage opened up other escape routes south through the bush to Petén, a town at the head of the Belize River, or by boat along the coast to Omoa and Truxillo in what are today Guatemala and Honduras respectively. According to Superintendent Edward Codd in March of 1823, for example, and echoing the cross-section of runways in the Bahamas,

...thirty nine of the very best Negroes have absconded without any apparent cause, no severity, no punishment that I can learn has been inflicted, but they have secretly left their Homes, and it appears to be the general feeling that it arises from the effects of so many persons standing up for their freedom who have been for so many years their fellow slaves.⁶³

The "many persons" referred to here by Codd were former Belizean slaves (about 120 in total) whom he believed had absconded to Petén during the Spanish attack of the Bay Settlement in 1798, and who

frequently make secret visits to the Settlements on the River, from Petén where they communicate with the Negroes there and often rob...⁶⁴

In 1825, "19 Slaves have left their employments up the River Belize in a body, and taken the road to the Town of Petén...and 13 to Omoa."⁶⁵

Some indication of the overall number of Belizean slaves who had absconded from the Bay around the time of Superintendent Codd's assessment appears in a census of the Settlement taken in 1826 in which 215 of a total of 2,410 slaves counted that year (9%) were listed as "runaways". It is unclear from the Return how many of these were male and female, how many were long-term runaways, or whether they had fled in family groups or as individuals. What is clear, however, is that even by marginal colony standards, a relatively high percentage of Belizean slaves fled their bondage. In this they were aided by the organization of timber extraction in the Bay which, as noted in Section II, left small groups of often nominally supervised slaves with a great deal of local knowledge and experience in traversing the bush scattered in remote parts of the territory. Yet, as Nigel Bolland (1977) has suggested, and even though geographical conditions in the Bay would have favoured the slaves should they have opted to engage in as protracted and organized a guerrilla war as the Maroons of Jamaica, for example, the isolation of one timber Work from another inhibited communications between these groups and thus hindered the coordination of a large scale insurrection.⁶⁶ Indeed, as we have seen, most of the rebellions that did occur in Belize during the 18th and early 19th centuries were localized incidents and even the revolt of 1773, while relatively widespread geographically, does not appear to have been a *mass* uprising in terms of the number of slaves involved.⁶⁷ As well, the objectives of the rebel slaves in each of these actions had more to do with making it to the relative safety of the surrounding Spanish territories than with overthrowing the master class in Belize itself. In one sense, there was no real imperative for Belizean slaves to revolt when freedom could be obtained by crossing over the unguarded borders of the Settlement, or by slipping away into the bush of the interior where, as Superintendent Arthur noted in May of 1820, for example, "two slave towns appear (to have) been formed in the Blue Mountains to the northward of the Sibun..."⁶⁸

Among the remaining marginal colonies, only in *Anguilla* does the option of running away seem to have been taken up by a small percentage of the island's enslaved population. No runaways appear in the available Slave Lists for *Barbuda* and neither Edward Corbet nor James Minot registered any runaways at *Cayman* in their Returns for the island, although there is oral testimony to the presence of two such slaves at Cayman Brac when permanent settlers arrived there from Grand Cayman in 1833. According to Mr. Nolan Foster, one of the slaves found on the Brac was from Cuba and the other from Grand Cayman, and both had reached the island in boats they had stolen.⁶⁹ At *Anguilla*, as per Table 3.17, there was only one runaway slave (a male) listed in the Return of 1827, but between that year and 1831, some 83 slaves (3.3% of the population) absconded from estates on *Anguilla*, 61 of whom were male and 22 female.⁷⁰

That *Anguillian* slaveowners had trouble with runaways prior to 1827 is confirmed, for example, in correspondence between successive Leeward Island governors and London as early as 1750/51 when the then Lieutenant General of these Islands wrote to his opposite number in Puerto Rico to protest over the asylum offered by the Spanish authorities to slave runaways from the British territories in the north-west Caribbean. According to Gilbert Fleming, and

relating to the reception of our Runaway Negroes at Porto Rico, ...It is a matter of great importance, They often escape thither from Antigua, St. Christopher, Nevis and Montserrat, and so frequently from Tortola, *Anguilla* and Spanish Town as to induce the Inhabitants to abandon them.

Just as the Spanish authorities based in the territories that bordered the Belize Settlement sought to undermine Bay-area cutters and loggers, so those at Puerto Rico recognised the value in destabilizing British settlements on neighbouring islands by

encouraging their slave labours to desert. Indeed, His Excellency Don Augustine Pareja seemed only too "pleas'd" to inform Fleming

concerning the Runaway negroes which go to (our) Island only in search of the Catholick Religion that in virtue of a Royal Order from His Catholick Majesty they become free.

Fleming's observation that "not a single Slave has deserted us in search of the Catholick Religion or of Christianity of any Denomination whatsoever" appeared to carry little weight with Pareja or his successors at Puerto Rico.⁷² Indeed, in 1754, George Thomas, His Majesty's Governor of the Leeward Islands, informed the Lord Commissioners for Trade and Plantations in London that his counterpart in the Virgin Islands had recently filed a protest with the Governor of Puerto Rico about "some Negroes run away from Tortola to that Island." According to Thomas,

I have Complaints of the same kind from Anguilla, and the Negroes at St. Christophers, from the Freedom offer'd them at Porto Rico, have lately made some bold and dangerous attempts to get there.⁷³

Unfortunately, neither Fleming nor Thomas detail how many Anguillan slaves were on the run to Puerto Rico at the time of their writing, and it appears that runaway slaves continued to pose problems for their owners at Anguilla throughout the period of formal slavery in the British Caribbean. As late as 1822, for example, Governor Maxwell of the Leeward Islands complained to London of "the want of a Registry Law" in Anguilla which meant local slaveowners had immense practical difficulties in recovering their bondsmen from neighbouring islands who had either absconded there or been allowed to work in these colonies on self-hire in the aftermath of the French attack on Anguilla in 1796, and who were reluctant to return once their contracts had

expired. According to Maxwell, without "an Office of Registry" in the colony, Anguillian slaveowners felt that "their property is at present held by a very slight tenure."⁷⁴

Occasionally, such was the hostility of Anguillian runaways towards the slave regime on the island that they aided and abetted the attempts of foreign powers to attack the colony. Just as during the Spanish assault on St. George's Cay in Belize in 1779 when among the Spaniards "there were several negroes in arms, who had formerly run away from the inhabitants of the Bay...",⁷⁵ in September of 1758, "two Negro men namely Pero and George belonging to this island" were brought before His Majesty's Council on charges of assisting a French privateer in a raid on Anguilla some months earlier. According to the Minutes of the Court, Pero and George

in a felonious and treasonable manner fled from this island to the French in time of War between the Crowns of England and France and likewise endeavouring to pilot and did assist the said Subjects of the Crown of France to land on the said Island Anguilla to distress the said English inhabitants of said Island.

Both slaves were found guilty and sentenced to death, George "by burning of his body until it be dead", and Pero "by hanging by the neck until he be dead."⁷⁶

As we have seen in the Bahamas, there were cases of local runaways at Anguilla who managed to remain at large on the island itself for several weeks and even months at a time. In July of 1824, for example, the Customs Officer at Anguilla described the murder of

an unfortunate Negro Boy who being in a State of Starvation was caught stealing in the ground of a Brown Man and having been taken from thence by a party of Negroes to give information on the

haunts of some runaways was next day found dead in the Road with his hands bound and mutilated in a shocking manner.⁷⁷

Precisely where runaways hid out on Anguilla is not clear from the records, although as in the Out Islands of the Bahamas after the decline of cotton in the archipelago, they may have occupied estates abandoned following the French attack in 1796, or like George and Tony on Long Island in 1789, located themselves close to the working estates that remained in the Spring and Road divisions of the island, and/or to slave provision grounds where they were able to stay in touch with their kin groups as well as feed themselves while on the run.

In other instances, local runaways in Anguilla were sometimes harboured by individuals in need of their short-term labour but unwilling or unable to pay the going rates for "jobbers". At a meeting of His Majesty's Council on November 14th, 1769, for example, an Andrew Johnston was charged and convicted "for harbouring and entertaining" an unspecified number of slaves belonging to Benjamin Gumbs Esq., slaves who "at that time run away for several days befor."⁷⁸

For other bondsmen and women at Anguilla, running away in a stricter sense, that is, for any other reason than to visit kin on neighbouring estates, was not their preferred option for resisting the system by which they were enslaved. Indeed, as Barry Higman (1984) has noted, the vast majority of West Indian slaves remained slaves until death,⁷⁹ and for these, a day-to-day variety of resistance carried on within the general confines of the holding on which they lived and worked were the most likely avenues of protest. Thus, although a "Negro man named Exelious, the property of Edward Gumbs" had "made his elopement for some months past", the main charges levelled against him at his trial before the island's Council on September 20th, 1774 were that Exelious was "suspected and accused for burning a piece of canes" belonging to his owner, and that he "has kill'd and destroyed many stock in this island of which being very hurtful and

injurious to many poor familys."⁸⁰ In a similar vein, John Hughes' "Negro girl Sukey" was brought before the Council in 1758 on charges of "stealing goats and fowls and other small stock to the value of 50 pound currency", a "Negro man call'd Mushell" belonging to a Joseph Lake was found guilty that same year of "stealing sugar out of the house of Richard Rogers" and sentenced to 39 lashes, while in June of 1759, William Gumbs brought charges against an unnamed male slave belonging to George Madona for breaking into his store and stealing goods to the value of £30. Seven years earlier, "Anthony a Negro belonging to Thomas Flanders and Jeofrey a Negro belonging to Peter Harrigan" were jointly charged with breaking into a store house owned by Nicholas Dunbairn "and taking out of said Store House several barrells flower which are his proper goods."⁸¹

Instances of day to day resistance were also recorded among the enslaved population of the *Caymans*, although these only date from about 1816 onwards when local magistrates on Grand Cayman constituted themselves as a Slave Court, seemingly in response to growing levels of unrest among the island's slaves. The first recorded slave trial was held on September 23rd, 1816 and concerned "a negro man Slave named Primis belonging to William Bodden Senior." According to the minutes of the trial, on September 15th, 1816,

Primis did...enter the Kitchen (or Cook Room) of Mr. James Coe Senior, and did then and there bury within the said kitchen, an egg, for purposes unknown, but supposed to be for the purposes of that diabolical Art termed Obeah.⁸²

For most planters in the BWI, there was a strong association between obeah and slave rebellion, and the 12 man jury, all whites and slaveowners themselves, found Primis guilty "of the practice of Obeah" and sentenced him "to be transported from this Island, never more to return upon it during life, under pain of Death."⁸³

It is not recorded to which territory Primis was shipped but it was probably also the destination for "a Negro Man Slave named Hannibal" found guilty of "pretending to Obeah" in August of 1826. More seriously, Hannibal was also indicted

for abusing and using threat towards his Mistress Mrs. Elizabeth Rivers (and) for assaulting and using violence to his said Mistress.⁸⁴

Among the most significant slave trials recorded at Cayman took place in October of 1820 in which "a Negro Wench...named Celia (Long) the property of Thomas K. Eden" was brought before the Court on charges of "uttering seditious words, tending to stir up a revolution of the Negroes." According to a trial witness named Sarah Harbourn, Celia had come to her house and asked her if she had heard "any late news relative to the freedom on the Negroes." When Sarah replied that she had not, Celia claimed that she herself had heard from a crewman aboard the schooner *Mackerel* docked in George Town that in a few months the slaves "would be free and then would not be subject to the control of a Master." Celia went on to claim that "there were some papers sent from Jamaica relative to their freedom but that they were destroyed" by Caymanian "Buchras" intent on keeping their bondsmen and women enslaved. According to Sarah Harbourn, Celia thought this a ridiculous thing for slaveowners in the Caymans to do as once the decree was made "let two Negroes go to their houses with Machets they would run." Celia herself had little to offer in her own defence and on October 12th, 1820 she was found guilty of sedition and

adjudged to receive fifty lashes on your bare body in some public place at Georgetown this day.⁸⁵

Considering that at the time, the number of lashes for all slaves in the BWI found guilty of crimes for which flogging could

be prescribed was limited to 39, the savage punishment imposed upon Celia by the jury of 12 white slaveowners belies the claim that masters and mistresses in the Caymans were benign proprietors. As well, her case, like those of other marginal colony slaves so far mentioned in this section of the study, illustrates the falsity of the claim that these slaves were quiescent and generally content with their lot. As in Anguilla, this was also true of slaves in the Bahamas, Belize, and Barbuda whom the evidence suggests likewise practiced a variety of tactics short of open rebellion in their challenge to the domination of "massa". Routine acts of non-cooperation such as the feigning of illness, the exaggeration of injuries, abuse and insolence towards overseers/managers, and the damaging of tools, crops and work animals were critical components of the effort of slaves in these territories to chip away at the fabric of their bondage by imposing their own pace upon economic activities on the holdings on which they were employed.

On the Farquharson estate in San Salvador, for instance, in most of the months covered by the Journal for 1831-32, there were usually at least 2 members of the estate's principal work gang off sick each week with the worst period occurring in the second week of February 1832 when "5 or 6 still sick with colds and fever." According to Farquharson, "as soon as one goes out another comes in and sometimes 2 comes in for one that goes out to work."⁸⁶ Traditionally, February in the north-west Caribbean is one of the dampest and coolest months of the year and in this case at least, the illnesses could have been genuine given the earlier noted minimum standards of bedding and clothing provided for the estate's slaves. In other instances recorded in the Journal, however, the veritability of a slave's being excused from his/her duties on sickness grounds is more open to question. That same month, for example, during the altercation between James Farquharson and Alick over the beating of Isaac for mounting a mule on the wrong side, Charles Farquharson was surprised at the ferocity of Alick's attack on his son given that Alick

had been or pretended to be sick and had been laid up in the kitchen for a week befor and was blooded for a pain, or pretended pain in his brest this morning.⁸⁷

If Farquharson was correct and Alick had been feigning illness, it may sound extreme to allow himself to be "blooded" to complete the illusion but as Barbara Bush (1990) has demonstrated in the case of certain enslaved women in the Caribbean, occasionally, slaves went so far as to mutilate themselves in order to avoid work.⁸⁸ Thus, it is possible that "Peter who has been in the house all the week with a lame foot by the scratch of a rock on the ankle", that "Mary home with a swelled hand being stuck by a splinter of wood" (9 days), and that "Chloe home with a sore foot being snaged with a piece of wood" (4 days) were instances of self-inflicted and/or at least exaggerated injuries so that these slaves might be excused from their assigned tasks. There is no way to be sure, of course, but it is interesting to note that Chloe was also "home sick with Toothache" for 2 days in July 1831, "home sick" for 3 days the following month, and again in November for another 2 days.⁸⁹

Apart from the "great deal of threats and abuse" voiced by the Farquharson slaves against their owner at the time of the "mutiny" in February of 1832, there are several other recorded instances of insolence by slaves on the estate which suggest that those levelled during the above disturbance were not aberrations. Indeed, Charles Farquharson believed the real cause of Alick's attack on James Farquharson

was James having spock very sharply to Lisy in the kitchen Alick's wife a few nights befor on her refusing to come into the house and put oil in the lamp.

A year or so earlier, Farquharson had

attempted to correct Katherine for a good deal of impudence which she gave me yesterday morning. But was prevented by Alexander, Bacchus and Harry in a very threatening manner.⁹⁰

At Belize, and to return for a moment to the Manfield Bowen trial in September of 1821, what is of particular relevance here were the reasons for Robert and Guy's detention by the magistrate. In evidence given by Frederick Bowen who managed a mahogany Work belonging to his brother, when he returned to the Work from Belize Town in August that year (1821), he "found that the gang in general had refused to do their duty for some time past..." During the course of his enquiries,

the greater part of the gang surrounded me, with this man Robert at the head of them swearing that unless I granted him, and all hands, liberty to go to Belize, they would take to the bush. I endeavoured to remonstrate with him, as being an unfit character to appear on such a mutinous occasion, he having either been sick or skulking for a great length of time...

After a shoving match between Bowen and Robert, the latter was "secured in a chain round his leg in my house" at which point "the whole of the gang entered my house, and swore that unless I released him from chains I should put all of them in." Outnumbered and "likely to be overpowered", Bowen was persuaded to free Robert and the following morning,

I gave the negroes, one and all, permission to take the crafts for the purpose of proceeding to Belize.

One suspects that Frederick Bowen had little choice, although he did report the incident to his brother and believed it was the reason for Robert's imprisonment by Manfield Bowen.

In evidence given by John Colquhoun, Kings' Advocate, at the Bowen trial,

on the 4th of September (1821), the negro Guy was put for sale at the Court House under my directions; the bidding was much contested, and at last he was knocked down to Dr. Bowen for £275...

However, when Guy learned whom his new owner was to be, "he said he would not belong to the doctor...that if he did not sell him to somebody else, he would lose his money in that he would go into the bush..." Accordingly, Bowen placed Guy in chains "until he could find another master who could give him his money back again."⁹¹

Though the consequences of their insolence were more serious for Robert and Guy than for the two Farquharson slaves at San Salvador, what is significant about these acts of day-to-day resistance in general is that, like open rebellion and running away, they were the result of deliberate choice and calculation on the part of the slaves involved, a premeditation they would have carried into acts of industrial sabotage which were often difficult for owners to separate from genuine accidents. Thus, as noted earlier in this section, just as there was some doubt as to whether the Cow Sucky found in the woods by the Farquharson slaves with a broken hind leg during the first week in February of 1831 was entirely the victim of an accident, so in August of the same year "one of our young Cows got her leg Brock in the sage field had her killed and given to the people." Two weeks previously,

our oldest Mare Colt Blass fell into a Cavehole in the sage field and skined her right forleg and right hind leg very Bad the bone showing bare for some

Inches on the forpart of the hind leg, got her home but it is very doubtful if she ever gets the better her Bruses.⁹²

In other cases such as sheep and cattle rustling at Barbuda, the distinction was arguably less blurred. While it is true that from the way the incidents are reported in the sources it is difficult to determine whether the slaves involved were stealing the animals for meat themselves or were killing stock as an act of wanton sabotage, the fact is that any effort on the part of Barbudan slaves to target the estate's main economic activity can only be interpreted as an act of defiance. It was certainly regarded as such by Richard Clarke when in 1779 several Barbudan men were discovered destroying 30 sheep, and by Dennis Reynolds who reported a similar incident in 1787. As if to emphasize a point made earlier, Reynolds was particularly disturbed at the involvement of one of the drivers of the great gang, a mulatto named Dickson, in whom he had up until that point placed a great deal of confidence.⁹³

The punishments meted out to Barbudan rustlers confirm the seriousness with which their activities were viewed by resident managers on the estate. Sir William Codrington's comments in a letter to James Walrond (see Appendix 1) in 1787 suggest that Dickson and his collaborators were flogged before Dickson himself as ringleader was sent to Jamaica where he was put up for sale.⁹⁴ Those slaves involved in the 1779 incident were transferred to the Antigua estates, deportation from Barbuda being viewed as entirely necessary "as their example might be fatal there" and that "the threat of such removal will be the best means of punishment for those who behave ill."⁹⁵ Evidently not, as two Barbudan slaves caught killing sheep were sold in St. Kitts in 1783,⁹⁶ and as we have seen, R.Jarritt was still having problems with resident poachers as late as 1831.

The issue of slave removals from Barbuda has been visited earlier in this section of the study with respect to family formation among the island's slaves, and it is appropriate to

examine it again within the context of the final aspect of slave resistance on marginal colony estates here to be considered, that is, to look at how far slaves on these estates were prepared to go in order to protect the family life they had managed to establish in their quarters and provision grounds on these estates as part of a broader effort to resist the cultural hegemony of the master class.

The afore mentioned transfer of 30 "little Negroes" to Betty's Hope in 1781 was a precursor to attempts by several of the Codrington attornies in Antigua from the early 1800s onwards to persuade their employer to move his surplus slaves from Barbuda to the Antigua estates where the abolition of the trade in 1807 had aggravated the manpower deficiencies that the 1781 transfer had been designed to alleviate but ultimately did not. Indeed, as Richard Clarke had pointed out in 1781 after the initial transfer was completed, "such is the weak state of your plantations that they would require 100 (more) Negroes to work them properly and effectively."⁹⁷ Although Christopher Codrington himself seems to have been opposed in principle to the long-term fixing of Barbudan slaves on the Antigua plantations as he believed that "this would be attended with so much hardship towards the Barbudan Negroes...",⁹⁸ he was first and foremost a man of business concerned about the large number of his slaves at Barbuda who could not be usefully employed there. Thus, in January of 1809, Codrington proposed a compromise in which Barbudan slaves were to be sent over to Antigua "to be employed as Task Gangs..." and to be allowed to return to Barbuda once their jobs had been completed.⁹⁹ Yet even such a temporary relocation of Barbudan slaves to help out on the Antigua estates as required seems to have met with only limited success. Not only were managers like John James opposed to the scheme on the grounds he would never know how many men he might have at Barbuda for the work to be done there,¹⁰⁰ but, and this is the key point, the slaves at Barbuda themselves generally refused to leave the estate. In 1826, for example, J. Osborne (see Appendix 1) accompanied John James to Barbuda in the hope of "inducing some

of the Negroes" to come to the Antigua estates. James, who by this time had been transferred to Clare Hall, managed to muster the slaves and got "Nearly through the Women when they all declared they would not leave the Island unless compelled by force." Osborne went on to concede that

No promises that either Mr. James or myself could make them had the least effect...even binding ourselves to allow them to go over once every year was treated with contempt.¹⁰¹

The reaction of the slaves to such proposals was based partly on experience. On those occasions previously when some Barbudan slaves had been coerced into removing to the Antigua plantations, the results were catastrophic and the slaves at Barbuda knew it. Of the 30 slaves transferred to Betty's Hope in 1781, for example, only 11 appear to have still been alive in 1793.¹⁰² Writing to his employer in 1810, John James noted that he "lately had an opportunity of seeing with what reluctance the Negroes would leave Barbuda." A month before, 24 Barbudan slaves had been sent over to Antigua and "many of them had died, some Girls were sent back not being able to stand the work in Antigua." Indeed, James observed that the best of the removed slaves, "a young Man about 22 years old, is already dead."¹⁰³

As far as the Codrington attornies and managers were concerned, the "reluctance" of Barbudan slaves to take up even task work on the Antigua estates could be explained in terms of their unfamiliarity with the intensity of plantation labour there as well as certain environmental differences between the two islands. According to R. Jarritt (see Appendix 1), for instance,

...they are used to live much on fresh meat which they do not get here...when here they cannot stop in their houses at night, but are foraging at all

hours, and the Air is very different to Barbuda, being damp and chilly, they often take violent colds, and fall into dropsy.¹⁰⁴

More fundamentally, however, from the point of view of the slaves themselves, just as their contemporaries on the Rolle estates at Exuma would resist attempts to relocate some of their number to Grand Bahama and Cat Island in 1829 and 1830 respectively, the slaves at Barbuda in 1826 defied the efforts of James and Osborne to remove them to Antigua as they viewed such a relocation as a direct threat to the lifeways they had managed to establish within the context of their enslavement at Barbuda. As we have seen, slaves on the island had over the years developed families and established at least nominal titles to their quarters and provision grounds, they were accustomed to certain allowances and in some cases privileges, and more generally, they had developed what David Barry Gaspar (1996) describes as a fine sense of the limits of proprietorial demands that their owner and his managers could place upon them.¹⁰⁵ In short, Barbudan slaves drew a line between what was reasonable and what was not, and as far as they were concerned, a voluntary transfer to one of the Antigua estates fell outside the boundaries of the accommodations that had been reached between successive managers and generations of slaves on the island during the years of the Codrington lease.

To revisit an earlier point, it was precisely this sense of attachment among some slaves at Belize that prompted them to sign up for the defence of the Settlement in 1796. They did so not out of a sense of loyalty to their owners but because they feared losing what they had already gained, and in this respect, Lord Rolle at Exuma in 1793 had been partly correct when he suggested slaves in the Out Islands of the Bahamas should be armed to deter foreign raiders. That is, these slaves would defend their wives and children and certain "riches gained by extra labour" if these were threatened by French forces. The problem for owners like Rolle and his contemporaries in the marginal colonies generally was that their slaves sometimes applied the same logic to similar

threats from these owners themselves as they did, for example, at Steventon in 1828-30 and at Barbuda in 1826 and 1832.

To return to the issue of slave removals at Barbuda, it is the case that Barbudan slaves were not always entirely successful in resisting attempts to relocate them to the Antigua plantations. Indeed, as Margaret Tweedy (1981) has demonstrated, there were a total of 52 slaves sent over to the Antigua estates between 1817 and 1832 of whom only 11 managed to return to Barbuda during the period.¹⁰⁶ Twenty seven of the deportees were men, the majority of whom were aged between 17 and 27 years, there were 11 women aged between 16 and 29, and 14 children aged 13 years and under. From the point of view of the general body of slaves on the island, it may be significant that most of the men sent over during the period seem to have been discovered killing sheep or committing some other form of misdemeanour such as stealing material intended for clothing. That is, they were caught carrying out offences for which a punishment in the form of deportation to the Antigua estates seems to have been viewed by both owner and slave as reasonable in the circumstances, particularly if, as it appears, the wives and children of these men were allowed to accompany them. To be sure, although it is clear from an observation by John James in 1818 that these slaves were "very loath" to leave Barbuda,¹⁰⁷ their removal for mostly *individual* offences appears to have been a trade-off accepted, if grudgingly, by the general body of slaves on the estate in exchange for being allowed to continue to fashion as much of a life of their own as possible at Barbuda. A similar accommodation was evidently reached on the Farquharson estate in 1832 when the ringleaders of the mutiny were transferred to Nassau for trial.

In the wider context of slave resistance at Barbuda and in the marginal colonies generally, it seems that as long as resident managers/overseers observed established limits on hours and tasks and continued to supply the allowances and indulgences to which slaves in these territories had grown accustomed, they were prepared to carry out their prescribed duties if not with enthusiasm then at least at a steady pace, particularly as their

own survival often depended upon it. Like Charles Farquharson in the Bahamas, or James Lawrie at Rowley's Bight in Belize, relatively successful managers at Barbuda such as Dennis Reynolds and John James recognised the limits of their authority on the island and the delicate balance between their own dependence on the estate's slaves and their dependence upon them for food and clothing, and to be left as alone in their quarters and provision grounds as local circumstances allowed. Indeed, it was precisely when such a balance was thrown off that slaves on these holdings became "troublesome" as they did in 1828-30 at Steventon in the Bahamas over the question of relocation, in 1832 at Barbuda regarding the issue of provisions, and during the "mutiny" on the Farquharson estate at San Salvador that year in response to what the slaves themselves regarded as James Farquharson's heavy-handed approach to disciplining Isaac for a relatively minor infraction. In these instances, just as slaves on Cat Island in 1831 had managed to secure clemency for 6 of the accomplices of the executed driver on the Hunter estate, it was the tacit threat of violence by the general body of slaves on these holdings that worked to restore the balance of accommodations that had been arrived at between owner and slave before the disturbances had broken out.

TABLE 4.4

RUNAWAYS IN THE BAHAMAS, 1822-1834.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Sex</u>		<u>Colour</u>		<u>Total</u>
	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>	<u>Black</u>	<u>Mulatto</u>	
1822-25	84	58	132	10	142
1826-28	29	8	32	5	37
1829-31	31	2	31	2	33
1832-34	20	2	20	2	22
Total	164	70	215	19	234

Note: Many of the runaways listed in the Returns for 1825 had in fact absconded in 1822 or earlier. The same is true for the remaining Returns, that is, slaves listed in one registration year had been at large since the previous one had been compiled.

Source: Registration Returns for the Bahamas, 1825, 1828, 1831 and 1834, Department of Archives, Nassau.

REFERENCES

1. D1610 C33. CBC to Earl Bathurst, April 2nd, 1826.
The "land of Liberty" referred to here was England.
2. D1610 C24. John James to CBC, September 7th, 1824.
3. CO239/23. William Carty to James Colquhoun, December 15th, 1829. Although the House of Assembly at St. Kitts had agreed in 1825 to allow a representative from Anguilla to sit in the House, the Assembly itself refused to meet the expenses of doing so, and for enforcing any laws they might pass for Anguilla.
4. Coleridge, Six Months in the West Indies in 1825, p.212.
5. McKinnen, A Tour through the British West Indies in the Years 1802 and 1803, p.172.
6. Ibid., p.173.
7. Henderson, An Account of the British Settlement at Honduras, pp.59-60.
8. CO123/25. George Arthur to Earl Bathurst, November 7th, 1816.
9. CO123/29. Arthur to Bathurst, October 7th, 1820.
10. Armstrong, A Candid Examination of the Defence of the Settlers of Honduras, p.4. The Settlers in the Bay believed that Arthur had allied himself with a group of abolitionists in the British Parliament and with an MP named Brougham in particular after he launched an attack on slavery in the Bay during a parliamentary debate in May of 1823.
11. PP 1823, Volume XVIII, Correspondence Relating to the Condition and Treatment of Slaves at Honduras, 1820-23. Extract of a letter from Colonel Arthur to Earl Bathurst, January 10th, 1822, p.366. Though Arthur conceded that "many of the representations I could well suppose were unfounded, and others exaggerated...those which bore the stamp and plain character of plain truth, were still sufficient to create alarm..."
12. Ferguson, A History of Mary Prince, p.64.
13. Ibid., p.65, pp.62-3.
14. Ibid., p.25.

15. PP 1823, Volume XVIII, Correspondence Relating to the Condition and Treatment of Slaves at Honduras. Extract of a letter from Arthur to Bathurst, October 7th, 1820, p.352-53.
16. Ibid. Extract of a letter from Arthur to Bathurst, September 28th, 1821, p.354-55.
17. Ibid., p.362-63.
18. Ibid.
19. PP 1818, Volume XVII, Treatment of Slaves in the Colonies, Correspondence, Honduras, Copy of a letter from Lieutenant Colonel George Arthur to Earl Bathurst, October 21st, 1816, pp.601-7.
20. PP 1829, Volume XXV, Copy of Information Received by His Majesty's Government relative to the Cruelty perpetrated by Henry and Helen Moss of Crooked Island in the Bahamas, on a Female Negro Slave. Copy of a Despatch from Governor Grant to Earl Bathurst, May 18th, 1827 (enclosure #2), p.4.
21. Ibid., Evidence of John Delancy, p.9.
22. Ibid., Copy of a Despatch from Mr. President Munnings to Earl Bathurst, April 5th, 1827, p.3.
23. CO23/59. An Abstract of Prosecutions commenced and carried out in the General Court of these Islands between January 1800 and June 1811, ff.40. Upon their conviction for cruelty towards their slaves, the guilty owners were obliged to pay a fine and/or to "give Security for (their) good Behaviour for 12 months."
24. Armstrong, A Candid Examination of the Defence of the Settlers of Honduras, p.11.
25. Ibid.
26. Ibid.
27. CO23/32, ff.261-3. Quoted in Craton and Saunders, Islanders in the Stream, p.207.

28. David Barry Gaspar, "The Sense of Their Slavery: Slave Women and Resistance in Antigua, 1632-1763." In David Barry Gaspar and Darlene Clark Hine (editors), More Than Chattel: Black Women and Slavery in the Americas (Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1996), p.220.
29. See Michael Craton, Testing the Chains: Resistance to Slavery in the British West Indies (Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 1982).
30. CO23/27. Governor Dunmore to Shelburne, December 28th, 1787.
31. See Craton and Saunders, Islanders in the Stream, for example
32. CO23/78. Thomas Thompson to Taylor, November 28th, 1828.
33. For a full discussion of Pompey's Revolt, see Craton and Saunders, Islanders in the Stream, pp.383-5.
34. Gail Saunders, Slaves Resistance in the Bahamas, A Paper delivered to the Bahamas Historical Society, February 23rd, 1984, p.27. Hunter had decided to give his slaves the Saturday before Christmas as a holiday instead of the Wednesday following, although by law the slaves were entitled to Christmas Day and two working days holiday. During a confrontation in the yard between Hunter and his slaves who were mostly armed with machetes and clubs, Dick fired a musket at his owner after Hunter had shot at him with a pistol and missed. Dick also missed and fled into the bush where he was shortly arrested.
35. Relic of Slavery, pp.50-1, 64. James Farquharson was the coloured son of Charles Farquharson and as such, the slaves seem not to have regarded him as highly as his white father.
36. MF375 (GRO). John Winter to CBC, September 26th, 1832.
37. D1610 C17. Dennis Reynolds to SWC, March 24th, 1788, and MF375 (GRO), Colonel Benjamin King to SWC, March 29th, 1746 and September 19th, 1746.
38. See David Barry Gaspar, Bondsmen and Rebels: A Study of Master-Slave Relations in Antigua.
39. CO152/22 W88. Letter from Governor Matthew, January 17th, 1736.
40. CO152/22 W91. Affidavit of John Hanson, December 23rd, 1736.

41. See, Craton and Saunders, Islanders in the Stream, and Bolland, The Formation of a Colonial Society, for example.
42. Bolland, The Formation of a Colonial Society, p.74.
43. Sir John Alder Burdon, Archives of British Honduras (London, 1935), Volume I, pp.121-24. Extracts from reports on the revolt of 1773.
44. CO123/28. Colonel Arthur to Earl Bathurst, April 1st, 1819.
45. CO123/29. Colonel Arthur to Earl Bathurst, May 16th, 1820.
46. CO123/33. Proclamation Ending Martial Law in the Belize Settlement, May 22nd, 1820.
47. James Walvin, Questioning Slavery, p.121.
48. Ibid. Jamaica was the scene of persistent rebellion in the 18th century characterized initially by Maroon settlements, that is, settlements of runaway slaves in the Blue Mountains and Cockpit Country, both of which were virtually impenetrable to British troops. Indeed, unable to destroy or overwhelm them, the British had to concede Maroon independence in a treaty of 1739, violations of which led to frequent clashes between the Maroons and colonists through much of the 18th century.
49. Barbara Bush, Slave Women in Caribbean Society, p.51.
50. Barry Higman, Slave Populations of the British Caribbean, pp.386-7.
51. Registration Returns, Bahamas, 1825 and 1834. Department of Archives, Nassau.
52. Under the Slave Act of 1767, slaveowners in the Bahamas were obliged to advertise their runaways "in the usual public places", that is, at Vendue House on Bay Street in Nassau. After the *Bahama Gazette* first appeared in 1784, it became customary for owners to post runaway advertisements in the paper which they had to do with 14 days of the slave's absconding. The Department of Archives in Nassau has nearly complete runs of the *Gazette* on microfilm, and of a sister publication, the *Royal Gazette* (1804-1813).

53. Godwin L. Friday, "Fifty Years of Freedom: Slave Runaways in the Bahamas, 1784-1834," unpublished M.A paper, University of Waterloo, 1984. Quoted in Craton and Saunders, "Seeking A Life of Their Own," p.8.
54. *Bahama Gazette*, June 6th-13th, 1789, Department of Archives, Nassau.
55. Craton and Saunders, "Seeking a Life of Their Own," p.12. In the early years of slavery, most town slaves had lived in their owners' yards but with the expansion of Nassau in the wake of the Loyalist immigrations, most of these slaves took up residence in settlements just over the hundred-foot ridge that ran along either side of Government House, that is, "Over-The-Hill".
56. *Bahama Gazette*, June 28th, 1799.
57. Ibid., July 16th, 1798.
58. Dr. Roderick J. MacIntosh, "Trades and Occupations of Runaway Slaves in the Bahamas, 1784-1834." *Journal of the Bahamas Historical Society*, 1984, pp.10-12.
59. Bolland, The Formation of a Colonial Society, p.77.
 When St. George's Cay was attacked on September 15th, 1779, the Spaniards captured about 100 white residents and between 200 and 250 "House Negroes" who were marched to Merida in southern Mexico. Another 50 Baymen and about 250 slaves were reported to have arrived at the islands of Ruatan and Bonacca in early October. CO123/2. Robert White to Lord Shelburne, 2nd July, 1782, and Robert White to Lord North, 8th April and 11th December, 1783. It is not known definitively what became of the remaining 2,500 or so Bay-area slaves who were upriver at the time of the raid and who never appear to have been accounted for, at least not by their owners. It is possible that as news of the attack filtered upriver to them, these slaves took the opportunity to escape their bondage, and could therefore represent the single largest group of slave runaways in the history of the British Caribbean.
60. CO123/23. Letter from Thomas Potts, May 28th, 1792.

61. CO123/13. Memorandum of Benjamin Garrett and Charles Armstrong, late of Honduras Bay, to Henry Dundas, June 11th, 1793.
62. Manuel Melendez to Manuel Artazo, March 15th, 1813. In "An Inventory of the Manuscript Collections of the Middle American Research Institute (New Orleans, 1939), quoted in Bolland, The Formation of a Colonial Society, p.78.
63. Miscellaneous Despatches, National Archive of Belize, Superintendent Edward Codd to Earl Bathurst, March 8th, 1823, 4C ff.56-60.
64. CO123/36. Codd to Earl Bathurst, February 18th, 1825.
65. CO123/36. Magistrates of the Bay to Codd, January 28th, 1825.
66. Bolland, The Formation of a Colonial Society, pp.81-2.
67. By comparison, Tacky's Revolt in Jamaica in 1760 may have involved as many as 30,000 slaves. Craton, Testing the Chains, p.125-39.
68. PP 1823, Volume XVIII, Condition and Treatment of Slaves at Honduras, Colonel Arthur to Earl Bathurst, May 16th, 1820, p.351.
69. Nolan Foster, Interview with the Cayman Islands Memory Bank, March 1st, 1991, pp.14-15.
70. T71/261-2, Anguilla.
71. CO152/45. Gilbert Fleming to Earl of Holderness, December 14th, 1751.
72. Ibid., Fleming to Don Augustine Pareja, May 21st, 1751.
73. CO152/45. George Thomas to the Lord Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, February 6th, 1754.
74. CO239/8. Governor Maxwell to Earl Bathurst, January 20th, 1822. There is no indication of how many slaves were involved.
75. CO137/76. "An Account of the Spaniards Landing at St. George's Key", Edward Hill, October 11th, 1779.
76. Deeds and Wills, Anguilla Archive. Minutes of a Meeting of His Majesty's Council, September 19th, 1758, p.566-7. During the Seven Years War, Anguilla served as a base for British

privateers and had a Court of Vice-Admiralty established there for the adjudication of captured vessels and cargoes. As such, the colony was a prime target for French raiders.

77. CO239/11. James Hay to Henry Branwell, July 20th, 1824.
78. Deeds and Wills, Anguilla Archive. Minutes of a Meeting of His Majesty's Council, November 14th, 1769, p.238. Johnston was sentenced to 6 weeks in "the common gaol" and made to pay the costs of prosecution amounting to 3 12d.
79. Higman, Slave Populations of the British Caribbean, p.379.
80. Deeds and Wills, Anguilla Archive. Minutes of a Meeting of His Majesty's Council, September 20th, 1774, pp.133-4. Exelious was sentenced to be deported.
81. Ibid., pp.573, 480, and unnumbered.
82. Hirst, Notes on the History of the Cayman Islands, p.204.
83. Ibid. "Obeah" was a term applied by the whites to the pagan religious practices of the slaves. Obeah was worked by individual priests who dealt in magic, poisons, herbs and folk medicine, and who were highly secretive. In the minds of most planters, there was a strong association between obeah and slave revolts as its practitioners were believed to wield a great influence over their fellow slaves and were thus accused of many subversive activities including incitement to revolt. Under the Consolidated Slave Act of Jamaica of 1792, for example, any slave convicted of pretending to obeah to promote rebellion was to "suffer death, transportation, or such other punishment". Barbara Bush, Slave Women in Caribbean Society, pp.73-4.
84. Hirst, Notes on the History of the Cayman Islands, pp.207.
85. Ibid., p.205-6.
86. Relic of Slavery, p.49.
87. Ibid., p.50.
88. Bush, Slave Women in Caribbean Society, p.62. Bush quotes the case of a female slave belonging to Monk Lewis in Jamaica who was set upon by two other slave women and injured, and who turned her injuries to good use. After a week in the estate hospital, she was found unfit for work

on the day she was to report. According to Lewis, "as her wounds were almost well, she had tied pack thread around them so as to cut deep into the flesh, and rubbed dirt into them, and in short, had played such tricks as nearly to produce mortification in one of her fingers." Matthew "Monk" Lewis, Journal of a Residence Among the Negroes of the West Indies (London, 1845), p.92.

89. Relic of Slavery, pp.22, 14, 6, 27, 29, 42.
90. Ibid., p.51, and p.15
91. PP 1823, Volume XVIII, Conditions and Treatment of Slaves at Honduras. Proceedings of the Special Court held at the Court House, Belize, in Honduras on September 25th, 1821, pp.366-7.
92. Relic of Slavery, pp.26 and 28.
93. D1610 C10. Richard Clarke to SWC, December 1779, and Dennis Reynolds to SWC, March 24th, 1788.
94. D1610 C14/1. SWC to James Walrond, December 24th, 1787, and D1610 C10, Richard Clarke to SWC, December, 1779.
95. D1610 C10. Richard Clarke to SWC, December, 1779.
96. D1610 C17. Dennis Reynolds to SWC, November 24th, 1783.
97. D1610 C10. Richard Clarke to SWC, June 29th, 1781.
98. D1610 C27/2. CBC to Langford Hodge, June 21st, 1809.
99. D1610 C27/1. CBC to John James, January 15th, 1809.
100. D1610 C24. John James to CBC, April 26th, 1810.
101. MF375 (GRO). James Osborne to CBC, June 8th, 1826, and D1610 C24, John James to CBC, February 2nd, 1826.
102. D1610 E5. List of Slaves at Betty's Hope, 1793. It is assumed that the slaves with the surname "Barbuda" were in fact from that island, and there were only 11 such slaves listed in the Return for Betty's Hope in 1793.
103. D1610 C24. John James to CBC, April 26th, 1810.
104. D1610 C24, R. Jarritt to CBC, November 14th, 1831.
105. David Barry Gaspar, "The Sense of Their Slavery", in More Than Chattel, p.228.

106. Margaret Tweedy, A History of Barbuda Under the Codringtons, 1738-1833, pp.239-41.
107. John James to CBC, September 7th, 1824. Letter kept at Dodington House, the Codrington family home in Gloucester. Quoted by Margaret Tweedy, p.240.

SECTION V

CONCLUSION

Broadly speaking, the aim of this study has been to attempt to refine the traditional interpretation of the term "marginal colony" in order to illustrate how economic developments in each of the Bahamas, the Caymans, Belize, Anguilla and Barbuda impacted upon the life and labour experiences of bondsmen and women in these territories during the last half century of formal slavery in the British Caribbean. Within the wider context of such experiences for slaves in the sugar colonies of the region, the premise of the study has been that more than anything else, it was the nature of local work (that is, the crops produced and the topography of the land on which they were grown) which determined the nature of the slave experience in territories that for most of their respective colonial histories remained on the periphery of the plantation economies of the BWI but which were sometimes regarded as politically or strategically useful by the authorities in those colonies. In doing so, this study has also sought to bring together the diverse literature on the marginal colonies of the region.

In terms of the traditional marginal colony criteria outlined by Barry Higman (1984) and detailed in the Introduction to this study, while it is the case that the Bahamas, the Caymans, Belize, Barbuda and Anguilla remained non-significant producers of sugar throughout their respective colonial histories, that they generally occupied the least arable lands of the region, and that these territories were generally unsuccessful in gaining control over their own political affairs, at the same time, this study has demonstrated that most of these colonies did in fact produce major agricultural staples of their own. Significantly, the production of these "crops" occupied most of the slaves in these territories for most of the year as long

as the period of staple crop production lasted, and during which they lessened their economic dependence on the dominant sugar colonies of the region.

As well as qualify the marginality of these territories, this tendency towards staple crop production gives rise to a distinctive "marginal model" of economic enterprise in which a period of relatively short-lived staple production based on a crop other than sugar and characterised by elements more traditionally associated with the sugar revolution, was both preceded and followed by more diverse economic activities. That is, and particularly in the case of cotton production in the Bahamas and the Caymans and of mahogany cutting in the Belize Settlement, there was a relatively quick shift from production on small farms to large plantations, from free to slave labour, from white to black populations, and from low to high value per capita output, at least by local standards.

The fact that Barbuda deviated from the marginal norm in terms of the island's integration into the wider economy of the Antigua estates owned by the Codringtons, and that on account of the extreme geographic marginality of the island, Anguilla sustained a necessarily diverse economy for most of the period of colonial settlement, together illustrate a degree of diversity within the marginal colony group. It is this diversity of economic function that not only counters a perception of homogeneity about the marginal group of colonies, but also helps to account for the diversity of slave experiences within the marginal colonies themselves.

Thus, and as the study moved from a consideration of the structure of the marginal economies of the Bahamas, the Caymans, Belize, Anguilla and Barbuda to an analysis of slave occupations therein, it has been shown that bondsmen and women in these territories were expected to perform a variety of tasks to match the diversity of economic enterprises pursued. Indeed, and to a greater degree than most of their contemporaries on monocultural sugar estates in the British Caribbean, there was a fluidity of occupational boundaries in the marginal colonies that was aided,

for example, by the compactness of the main growing areas in the Caymans and the Bahamas where there was little change either in slave numbers, the average size of holdings, or in the geographic distribution and sex ratio of the enslaved population when these colonies shifted to diversified agriculture from cotton in the early 19th century.

To some extent, such a fluidity of occupational boundaries was even more marked in Anguilla and Barbuda where the extreme geographic marginality of these islands forced local proprietors to move their slaves back and forth between a variety of economic enterprises over the course of a year. During the last several decades of formal slavery in Anguilla, for example, field slaves were as likely to be involved in the cultivation of relatively small crops of tobacco, cotton and sugar as they were in the harvesting and raking of salt. As well as additional duties relating to stock raising, boat building and wreck salvage, their contemporaries at Barbuda on occasion were subjected to the added burden of having the pattern and intensity of work on the island determined by the estate's structural integration into the Codrington family's sugar plantations on Antigua. Indeed, the evidence presented in the study suggests that it was precisely the adaptability of bondsmen and women to turn their hands to a variety of tasks that was one of the defining features of marginal colony slavery.

Just as the work of slaves in Anguilla and Barbuda illustrates the diversity of economic function within the marginal group as well as within the wider context of slave occupations in the sugar islands of the region, so the geographic and "crop" specificity of mahogany cutting in Belize ensured that compared to sugar slaves, the Settlement's timber slaves were less fixed to their place of work, the gangs were generally smaller and more specialized than sugar gangs, and the compulsion to labour in the timber cuts was less constant than it was for slaves working in the cane fields of the British Caribbean.

As demonstrated in the text of the study, this is not to say that the tasks of Belizean slaves in particular and of marginal colony slaves in general were less arduous than those of sugar slaves. Indeed, in terms of their hours of labour and seasonal demands, the cycles of planting, harvesting and processing kept the majority of marginal colony slaves busy for most of the year during which they were worked hard by their owners for relatively long hours, especially at crop time. At the same time, however, and with the exceptions of the timber cuts in Belize itself and the salt pans of the Bahamas, the scale of operations and the elasticity of the work regime generally ensured that "crop time" in these territories was less focused and less intensive than on sugar estates in the region where, as Ward (1988) suggests, ameliorative pressures were easing the rigours of slavery during its later years.

With respect to the treatment of marginal colony slaves, while there seem to have been little qualitative differences between the experiences of marginal and sugar slaves in terms of the provision of their food, clothing and housing, the structure of the work regime in the Bahamas, the Caymans, Anguilla and Barbuda appears to have afforded slaves in these territories greater opportunities to devote more time to their families than was usually the case for slaves in the sugar colonies of the region. This was borne out in the high incidence of relatively stable family formation among slaves in the marginal territories and, more significantly, in the ability of these populations to sustain themselves by natural means. As demonstrated in the case of Barbuda and of the Bahamas (and probably of Cayman and Anguilla), there was a direct correlation between relatively high levels of natural increase, the incidence of family formation, and the development of the material means to support children through to adolescence within the context of an economic and labour system that was less intense than that which generally prevailed on sugar estates in the British Caribbean. That is, the pattern of work and residence on estates in the marginal colonies afforded slaves there greater opportunities to develop and

support stable families than most of their contemporaries on sugar estates in the region, or for that matter, in Belize. Indeed, and in the context of this study's aim to demonstrate diversity within the marginal group itself, the situation in Belize is the exception that proves the rule. Here, the nature of the work regime in the Settlement, the unique sexual division of labour in the timber cuts together with the extreme physical demands placed upon slave woodcutters in the territory was far less conducive to the ability and willingness of slaves there to reproduce themselves entirely by natural means.

As far as the final aspect of slave treatment is concerned, that is, of the relations between owner and slave in the marginal colonies, generally speaking, these cannot be said to have been qualitatively "better" than those which existed between the majority of owners and slaves in the sugar colonies of the region. To be sure, while open rebellion and widespread plots among British West Indian slaves generally were the exception rather than the rule over the period of formal slavery in the region, the influence of local geography that rendered the Bahamas, Cayman, Anguilla and Barbuda economically marginal to the sugar islands in the first place also ensured that this type of overt resistance was even less common in these territories. Indeed, and with the exception of Belize, the paucity of natural havens in the marginal colonies where large groups of rebellious slaves could run to, gather, and fight from, forced an evolution in the strategies of resistance among marginal colony slaves ever conscious of the fact that there were limits to what they could do to defy "massa".

That said, and as demonstrated in Section IV of the study, none of this suggests that slaves in the marginal territories were any more content with their lot as bondsmen and women than their contemporaries in the cane fields of the British Caribbean. From the evidence presented, the majority of slaves in the Bahamas, the Caymans, Barbuda, Anguilla and Belize engaged in various forms of day-to-day, if unspectacular, resistance in an

effort to chip away at the fabric of the innately oppressive system that governed their lives. In conclusion, and to come full circle, the relative uniqueness of their experiences as marginal colony slaves would not have given them any cause to disagree with Mary Prince's assertion that "The man that says slaves be quite happy in slavery...is either ignorant or a lying person..."

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

Appendix 1 is a list of the estate managers at Barbuda and of the attornies at Antigua in the employ of the Codrington family during the period of their lease of Barbuda from the Crown, that is, up until shortly after emancipation in 1834. The list was originally compiled by Margaret Tweedy (1981) and is extracted from her unpublished M.Litt. Thesis, A History of Barbuda Under the Codringtons, 1738-1833, University of Birmingham.

A List of Managers at Barbuda and Attornies at Antigua during the
period of the Codrington Lease

Managers at Barbuda

Thomas Beech	Dates uncertain, but he had left the island by 1741.
Simon Punter	Dates uncertain, but he was manager at Barbuda in 1742 and 1743.
Mr. McNish	Dates uncertain. Murdered by estate slaves in December, 1745.
	Between 1761 and 1779, there were several managers at Barbuda supervised by Samuel Redhead who moved to the island himself in 1771.
Dennis Reynolds	Principal overseer on Barbuda from 1779 to 1782, and resident manager there from 1782 to 1793.
William Collins	Succeeded Reynolds as manager in 1793 but was dismissed in 1801.
John James	Manager from 1804 to 1826. Named attorney for the estate in 1805. Transferred to Clare Hall as resident manager and attorney for that estate in 1822, and from where he managed Barbuda in absentia.
John Winter	Manager from 1827 to 1836. Named attorney for Barbuda in 1830.

Attornies at Antigua

Colonel Benjamin King	Attorney for Antigua and Barbuda from 1740 to 1751. After Barbuda was sub-let to Martin and Byam in 1746, his duties were restricted to the Antigua estates.
Samuel Redhead	Manager at Betty's Hope and principal attorney for Antigua from 1751 to 1759. Attorney for Barbuda, 1761-1779.
Richard Oliver	Assistant attorney at Antigua, 1779-81. Named attorney for Antigua and Barbuda from 1781 to 1783.
Richard Clarke	Manager at Betty's Hope and principal attorney for Antigua and Barbuda, 1779-1782
Langford Lovell	Attorney at Antigua with special responsibility for Barbuda, 1783-1792.
J.L. Walrond	Manager at Betty's Hope, 1783-1797. Attorney responsible for Barbuda, 1792-1797
Samuel Athill	Attorney at Antigua, 1794-1805. Manager at Betty's Hope with responsibility for Barbuda from 1797 to 1805.
Samuel Martin	Attorney at Antigua from 1809 to 1811.
Langford Hodge	Attorney at Antigua from 1811 to 1816.
J. Osborne	Principal attorney at Antigua, 1816-1828.
R. Jarritt	Principal attorney at Antigua, 1828-1835, and for Barbuda from 1828 to 1835.

APPENDIX 2

The following Returns of Slaves in the Island of Grand Caymans have been selected from the 121 Returns filed by slaveowners in the colony in April of 1834. The primary aim here is to convey some idea of the average size and type of slave holding in the Caymans during the last decades of formal slavery in the British Caribbean. All 121 of the Caymanas Returns were filed on April 2nd, 1834 and witnessed by James Minot, an attorney sent over from Jamaica to determine the average value of slaves in the Caymans for the purposes of compensation.

A Return of Slaves in the Island of Grand Caymans
in the possession of *John Drayton esquire as owner* on
the *second* day of April, in the year of our Lord, 1834.

Names	Age	Occupation
Alexander Maxwell	50	Carpenter
Cuffy	45	Field
Jack	50	"
Daniel	26	"
Edward	23	Fisherman & Carpenter
Lewis	11	Domestic
John	36	Field
Jenny	55	Domestic
Sylvia	49	"
Beneba	23	"
Cecilia	14	"

I *John Drayton* do swear that the
above list is a true, perfect and complete list and return
to the best of my knowledge and belief in every particular
therein mentioned of all and every slave and slaves
possessed by *me as owner* considered as most permanently
settled, worked or employed, in the island of Grand Caymans,
on the *second* day of April, 1834, without fraud, deceit
or evasion, So Help me God.

(signed) *John Drayton*

Sworn to before me this *second* day of April, 1834

(signed) *James Minot Jr.*

Source: T71/243 ff.49.

A Return of Slaves in the Island of Grand Caymans
in the possession of *Grace Hyde as owner* on
the *second* day of April, in the year of our Lord, 1834.

Names	Age	Occupation
Thomas Lendor Hyde	40	Field
John Hyde	7	Domestic
 Rosannah Hyde	 44	 Field
Phoebe Hyde	25	"
Venus Hyde	10	Domestic
Patricia Hyde	24	"
Chloe Hyde	38	Field

I *Grace Hyde* do swear that the
above list is a true, perfect and complete list and return
to the best of my knowledge and belief in every particular
therein mentioned of all and every slave and slaves
possessed by *me as owner* considered as most permanently
settled, worked or employed, in the island of Grand Caymans,
on the *second* day of April, 1834, without fraud, deceit
or evasion, So Help me God.

(signed) *The mark of*
X
Grace Hyde

Sworn to before me this *second* day of April, 1834

(signed) *James Minot Jr.*

Source: T71/243 ff.25.

A Return of Slaves in the Island of Grand Caymans
in the possession of *Elizabeth Jane Trusty* as owner on
the *second* day of April, in the year of our Lord, 1834.

Names	Age	Occupation
Sam	45	Field
John	43	"
Gordion	36	"
Dennis	42	"
Waterman (?)	1	
Sally	24	Field
Penny	5	

I *Elizabeth Jane Trusty* do swear that the
above list is a true, perfect and complete list and return
to the best of my knowledge and belief in every particular
therein mentioned of all and every slave and slaves
possessed by *me as owner* considered as most permanently
settled, worked or employed, in the island of Grand Caymans,
on the *second* day of April, 1834, without fraud, deceit
or evasion, So Help me God.

(signed) *The mark of*
X
E.J. Trusty

Sworn to before me this *second* day of April, 1834

(signed) *James Minot Jr.*

Source: T71/243 ff.31.

A Return of Slaves in the Island of Grand Caymans
in the possession of *William Bodden Senior* as owner on
the *second* day of April, in the year of our Lord, 1834.

Names	Age	Occupation
Dick	50	Field
Anderson	45	Field
Bob	11	Domestic
Mary	45	Domestic

I *William Bodden Jnr. Son of William Bodden Senior*
now off the island do swear that the
above list is a true, perfect and complete list and return
to the best of my knowledge and belief in every particular
therein mentioned of all and every slave and slaves
possessed by *William Bodden Snr. as owner*
considered as most permanently settled, worked or employed,
in the island of Grand Caymans, on the *second* day of
April, 1834, without fraud, deceit or evasion, So Help me
God.

(signed) *William Bodden Jnr.*

Sworn to before me this *second* day of April, 1834

(signed) *James Minot Jr.*

Source: T71/243 ff.14.

A Return of Slaves in the Island of Grand Caymans
in the possession of *Joseph Daniel Ebanks as owner* on
the *second* day of April, in the year of our Lord, 1834.

Names	Age	Occupation
Robert Ebanks	11	Fisherman
Emma Ebanks	38	Field

I *Joseph Daniel Ebanks* do swear that the
above list is a true, perfect and complete list and return
to the best of my knowledge and belief in every particular
therein mentioned of all and every slave and slaves
possessed by *me as owner* considered as most permanently
settled, worked or employed, in the island of Grand Caymans,
on the *second* day of April, 1834, without fraud, deceit
or evasion, So Help me God.

(signed) *The mark of*

X

Joseph Daniel Ebanks

Sworn to before me this *second* day of April, 1834

(signed) *James Minot Jr.*

Source: T71/243 ff.23.

APPENDIX 3

Selected Registration Returns, Grand Cayman, 1834. Together with some of those which appear in Appendix 2, the Returns included here were selected in order to convey some idea of the possible incidence of family formation among slaves on holdings in Grand Cayman during the last decades of formal slavery in the British West Indies. Each Return was filed on April 2nd, 1834 and witnessed by James Minot.

A Return of Slaves in the Island of Grand Caymans
in the possession of *Susannah Collins as owner* on
the *second* day of April, in the year of our Lord, 1834.

Names	Age	Occupation
Lewis	45	Field
Ned	14	Domestic
Peter	7	"
Lowden	4	"
Cinda	35	Domestic
Juliet	17	"
Lydia	6	"

I *Susannah Collins* do swear that the
above list is a true, perfect and complete list and return
to the best of my knowledge and belief in every particular
therein mentioned of all and every slave and slaves
possessed by *me as owner* considered as most permanently
settled, worked or employed, in the island of Grand Caymans,
on the *second* day of April, 1834, without fraud, deceit
or evasion, So Help me God.

(signed) *The mark of*

X

Susannah Collins

Sworn to before me this *second* day of April, 1834

(signed) *James Minot Jr.*

Source: T71/243 ff.71.

A Return of Slaves in the Island of Grand Caymans
in the possession of *Mary Bodden as owner* on
the *second* day of April, in the year of our Lord, 1834.

Names	Age	Occupation
Mocho	50	Field
Trelawny	28	Field
Caroline	24	Domestic
Fortune	4	"
Lavina	7	"
Juliet	6	"

I *Mary Bodden* do swear that the
above list is a true, perfect and complete list and return
to the best of my knowledge and belief in every particular
therein mentioned of all and every slave and slaves
possessed by *me as owner* considered as most permanently
settled, worked or employed, in the island of Grand Caymans,
on the *second* day of April, 1834, without fraud, deceit
or evasion, So Help me God.

(signed) *The mark of*
X
Mary Bodden

Sworn to before me this *second* day of April, 1834

(signed) *James Minot Jr.*

Source: T71/243 ff.96.

A Return of Slaves in the Island of Grand Caymans
in the possession of *William Eden Snr. as owner* on
the *second* day of April, in the year of our Lord, 1834.

Names	Age	Occupation
Peter Brooks	63	Fisherman
Murray Eden	29	Field
Wiltshire Boyd	15	"
John Coffie (?)	10	Domestic
Richard Bird	7	"
Thomas Berry	7	"
William Smith Eden	6	"
William Lesquire	5	"
Joseph Eden Fonseca	3	"
Peter Eden	1	"
Bathsheba	47	Field
Rosetta Eden	45	"
Mary Ann	42	Domestic
Beneba	32	Field
Sarah Susannah Eden	27	Domestic
Martha Eden	21	Field
Susannah Dorothy Eden	18	Domestic
Anna Bird	12	"
Mary Campbell Bird	10	"
Lettica Bird	3	"
Betty Bird	1	"
Judy Eden	1	"
Louisa	2	"

I *William Eden Snr.* do swear that the
above list is a true, perfect and complete list and return
to the best of my knowledge and belief in every particular
therein mentioned of all and every slave and slaves
possessed by *me as owner* considered as most permanently
settled, worked or employed, in the island of Grand Caymans,
on the *second* day of April, 1834, without fraud, deceit
or evasion, So Help me God.

(signed) *William Eden Snr.*

Sworn to before me this *second* day of April, 1834

(signed) *James Minot Jr.*

Source: T71/243 ff.26.

APPENDIX 4

Registration Returns, Anguilla. The following Returns of slaves belonging to Anguillian owners have been selected in order to give some idea of the possible incidence of family formation among slaves on Anguillian holdings in the last decade of formal slavery in the British Caribbean. Each of the *Triennial Returns of Slaves B* were filed in 1834. The *Original Return A* that appears on each Return is a reference to the first Registration of Slaves at Anguilla carried out in 1827.

Triennial Return of

Name & Description of Person Making The Return	Names	Sex	Colour	Reputed Age	Country
				Per Original Return A	
John Gumbs, Proprietor	Pammy	Female	Sambo	27 years	Anguilla
	George William	Male	Sambo	2.5 years	Anguilla
	Ann Elizabeth	Female	Mulatto	1.5 years	Anguilla
	Nanny	Female	Mulatto	33 years	Anguilla
	Thomas Benjamin	Male	Mulatto	10 years	Anguilla
	Maria Louisa	Female	Mulatto	6 years	Anguilla
	John Edwards	Male	Mulatto	2.5 years	Anguilla
	Edward Warner	Male	Mulatto	36 years	Anguilla
	Jim	Male	Black	39 years	Anguilla
	Catharine	Female	Mulatto	76 years	Anguilla

Source: T71/262 ff.29.

Slaves B

Usual Employment	# of Slaves at Last Return	Cause of	Increase	Cause of	Decrease
	-				
Domestic		Originally reg.	1		
Domestic		by wife	1		
Domestic		Birth	1		
Domestic		Testamonetary	1		
Domestic		Gifts from	1		
Domestic		Benjamin Gumbs	1		
Domestic		Snr.	1		
Shoe Maker		"	1		
Field		"	1		
Domestic		"	1		
Per Last Return	-	Increase	10	Decrease	-
Add Increase	10				
	10				
Deduct Decrease	-				
Total	10				

Triennial Return of

Name & Description of Person Making The Return	Names	Sex	Colour	Reputed Age	Country
				Per Original Return A	
Coakley Lake, Proprietor	Sebastian	Male	Black	31 years	Anguilla
	Plato	Male	Black	19 years	Anguilla
	Liddy	Female	Black	21 years	Anguilla
	Tom	Male	Black	53 years	Anguilla
	Priscilla	Female	Black	57 years	Anguilla
	Marichy	Female	Black	16 years	Anguilla

Source: T71/262 ff.63.

Slaves B

Usual Employment	# of Slaves at Last Return	Cause of	Increase	Cause of	Decrease
	1				
Cultivator		Purchase from	1		
Cultivator		M.R Payne	1	Sale to B.	1
Cultivator		Marriage with	1	Richardson	
Cultivator		Margaret	1		
Cattle Minder		Richardson	1		
Domestic		"	1		
Per Last Return	1	Increase	6	Decrease	1
Add Increase	6				
	7				
Deduct Decrease	1				
Total	6				

Triennial Return of

Name & Description of Person Making The Return	Names	Sex	Colour	Reputed Age	Country
				Per Original Return A	
Robert B. Carter, Proprietor	Deborah	Female	Black	29.5 years	Anguilla
	Rosallie	Female	Black	10.5 years	Anguilla
	Phoebe	Female	Black	7.5 years	Anguilla
	Adelaide	Female	Sambo	5.5 years	Anguilla
	Charles	Male	Sambo	2.5 years	Anguilla
	Dianna	Female	Sambo	5 mths	Anguilla
	Robert	Male	Black	5 mths	Anguilla
	Brandy	Female	Black	26.5 years	Anguilla
	Cathy	Female	Black	16.5 years	Anguilla
	Simmca	Male	Black	2.5 years	Anguilla
	Diane	Female	Black	2.5 years	Anguilla

Source: T71/262 ff.82.

Slaves B

Usual Employment	# of Slaves at Last Return	Cause of	Increase	Cause of	Decrease
	-				
Domestic		Marriage	1		
Domestic		with	1		
Domestic		Elizabeth Gumbs	1		
Domestic		"	1		
Domestic		Birth	1		
Domestic		"	1		
Domestic		"	1		
Domestic		Bt from Heirs of	1		
Domestic		Arthur LLOYD	1		
Domestic		Bt from Heirs of	1		
Domestic		Dorcas Gumbs	1	Death	1
Per Last Return	-	Increase	11	Decrease	1
Add Increase	11				
	11				
Deduct Decrease	1				
Total	10				

Triennial Return of

Name & Description of Person Making The Return	Names	Sex	Colour	Reputed Age	Country
				Per Original Return A	
William Gumbs, Proprietor	Minnah	Female	Black	64.5 years	Anguilla
	Sheely	Female	Yellow	50.5 years	Anguilla
	Bice	Female	Black	40.5 years	Anguilla
	Bickey	Female	Sambo	20.5 years	Anguilla
	Dublin	Male	Black	51.5 years	Anguilla
	Richard	Male	Black	21.5 years	Anguilla
	Deborah	Female	Black	28.5 years	Anguilla
	Rebecca	Female	Black	1.5 years	Anguilla

Source: T71/262 ff.86.

Slaves B

Usual Employment	# of Slaves at Last Return	Cause of	Increase	Cause of	Decrease
	-				
Field		Testamentary	1	Sale to Mary	1
Field		Gifts from	1	Gumbs	
Field		Benjamin Gumbs	1		
Field		Snr.	1		
Carpenter		"	1		
Field		"	1		
Field		Purchase from	1		
Field		Benj. Hodge	1		
Per Last Return	-	Increase	8	Decrease	1
Add Increase	8				
	8				
Deduct Decrease	1				
Total	7				

Triennial Return of

Name & Description of Person Making The Return	Names	Sex	Colour	Reputed Age	Country
				Per Original Return A	
Margaret Harris, Proprietor	Eve	Female	Black	24 years	Anguilla
	Nancy	Female	Black	2 years	Anguilla
	Maria	Female	Black	2 years	Anguilla

Source: T71/262 ff.98.

Slaves B

Usual Employment	# of Slaves at Last Return	Cause of	Increase	Cause of	Decrease
	-				
Domestic		Heirship from	1		
Domestic		est.of Ino Harris	1	Death	1
Domestic		Birth	1		
Per Last Return	-	Increase	3	Decrease	1
Add Increase	3				
	3				
Deduct Decrease	1				
Total	2				

Triennial Return of

Name & Description of Person Making The Return	Names	Sex	Colour	Reputed Age	Country
				Per Original Return A	
Anna Marshall Carty, Proprietor	Antionette	Female	Black	31 years	Anguilla
	Jenny	Female	Black	13 years	Anguilla
	Jacob	Male	Black	10 years	Anguilla
	Prince	Male	Black	10 years	Anguilla

Source: T71/262 ff.109.

Slaves B

Usual Employment	# of Slaves at Last Return	Cause of	Increase	Cause of	Decrease
	-				
Field		Gift from	1		
Domestic		William Carty	1		
Domestic		Snr.	1		
Domestic		"	1		
Per Last Return	-	Increase	4	Decrease	-
Add Increase	4				
	4				
Deduct Decrease	-				
Total	4				

APPENDIX 5

Registration Returns, Belize. The following Returns of slaves belonging to owners in Belize have been selected in order to convey a clear idea of the incidence of family formation among slaves on holdings in Belize in the months preceding emancipation in 1834. Unusually for marginal colony holdings, the majority of slaves in the Belize Settlement were registered by their owners in family groups.

Mary Hemmings

Names	Surnames	Colour	Employment	Age	Remarks
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List of the Family Slaves belonging to Mary Hemmings

The Family of Fatima

Fatima	Hemmings	Black	Domestic	67	-
Billy	Hemmings	Black	Mahogany Cutter	42	Son of Fatima.
Ben	Hemmings	Black	Mahogany Cutter	33	Son of Fatima.
Jack	Hemmings	Black	Mahogany Cutter	19	Grandson of Fatima, his mother dead.
William	Hemmings	Sambo	Waiting Boy	16	Grandson of Fatima, his mother dead.
Eleanor	Hemmings	Sambo	Chambermaid	22	Sister of Jack and William by a different father.

General List of Male Slaves

Lewy	Hemmings	Black	Mahogany Cutter	47	-
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The Total Number of Slaves Returned and Registered as belonging to Mary Hemmings are Seven.

15th May, 1834

James MacDonald

Registrar

Francis Fort

Names	Surnames	Colour	Employment	Age	Remarks
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List of the Family Slaves Belonging to Francis Fort

The Family of Betty

Betty	Fort	Black	Washerwoman	47	-
George	Fort	Black	Mahogany Cutter	25	Child of Betty.
Maria	Fort	Black	Sempstress	22	Child of Betty.
James	Fort	Black	Mahogany Cutter	20	Child of Betty.
Nancy	Fort	Black	Housemaid	18	Child of Betty.
Daniel	Fort	Black	Plantation	15	Child of Betty.
Harry	Fort	Black	Plantation	13	Child of Betty.
Richard	Fort	Black	Waiting Boy	7	Child of Betty.
Francis	Fort	Black	Nothing	1.5	Son of Maria and grandson of Betty.

The Total Number of Slaves Returned and Registered as belonging to Francis Fort are Nine.

7th June, 1834

James MacDonald
Registrar

William D. Burn

Names	Surnames	Colour	Employment	Age	Remarks
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List of the Family Slaves Belonging to William D. Burn

The Family of Sam

Sam	Burn	Black	Butcher	44	Cohabits with Jane.
Jane	Burn	Black	Washerwoman	49	Wife of Sam.
Betsy	Burn	Mulatto	Housemaid	27	Daughter of Jane.
Anne	Burn	Black	Cook	25	Daughter of Sam & Jane
Rachael	Burn	Black	Housemaid	10	Daughter of Sam & Jane
Billy	Burn	Black	Cattleman	24	Son of Sam & Jane.
Johnny	Burn	Black	Cattleman	22	Son of Sam & Jane.
James	Burn	Black	Waiting Boy	9	Son of Sam & Jane.
Anne	Burn	Mulatto	Waiting Girl	6	Daughter of Betsy and Granddaughter of Jane.
William	Burn	Mulatto	Waiting Boy	8	Son of Betsy and Grandson of Jane.
Charlotte	Burn	Mulatto	Nothing	5 mths	Daughter of Betsy and Granddaughter of Jane.
Catherine	Burn	Black	Nothing	10 mths	Daughter of Anne and Granddaughter of Jane.

General List of Male Slaves

Charlie	Burn	Black	Cattleman	30	-
Jose	Lamb	Black	Mahogany Cutter	29	Purchased from C.J DeBruin within 7 years

William D. Burn

The Total Number of Slaves Returned and Registered as belonging to William D. Burn are Fourteen.

3rd June, 1834

James MacDonald
Registrar

Source: T71/251, ff.143.

Nathanial Hulse

Names	Surnames	Colour	Employment	Age	Remarks
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List of the Family Slaves Belonging to Nathanial Hulse

The Family of Robert Willis

Robert	Willis	Black	Mahogany Cutter	25	Husband of Tabia Hoare & purchased within 7 years from Provost Marshall General.
Tabia	Hoare	Black	Cook	30	Wife of Robert Willis.
Sarah	Hulse	Black	Waiting Girl	6	Child of Robert Willis & Tabia Hoare.
John	Hulse	Black	Nothing	4	"
Maria	Hulse	Black	Nothing	1.5	"

The Family of Margaret Myvett

Margaret	Myvett	Black	Washerwoman	21	Purchased within 7 yrs from Hannah Myvett.
Joseph	Hulse	Black	Nothing	1.5	Son of Margaret Myvett

General List of Male Slaves

Robert	Eve	Black	Mahogany Cutter	50	Purchased from Estate of William S. Eve within 7 years.
Pope	Hulse	Black	Footman	16	Purchased from George Westly within 7 years.

Nathanial Hulse

Names	Surnames	Colour	Employment	Age	Remarks
General List of Female Slaves					
Sarah	Locke	Mulatto	Housemaid	12	Purchased within 7 yrs from Provost Marshall General.

The Total Number of Slaves Returned and Registered as belonging to
Nathanial Hulse are Ten.

9th June, 1834 James MacDonald
 Registrar

Source: T71/251, ff.163.

John Samuel August

Names	Surnames	Colour	Employment	Age	Remarks
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List of the Family Slaves belonging to John Samuel August

The Family of Charles

Charles	August	Black	Mahogany Cutter	45	Married to Rosette.
Rosette	August	Black	Cook	47	Wife of Charles.

The Family of Simon

Simon	Farrier	Mulatto	Mahogany Cutter	32	Married to Sarah.
Sarah	Farrier	Black	House Servant	26	Married to Simon.

The Family of Taylor

Taylor	August	Black	Mahogany Cutter	40	Cohabits with Margaret
Margaret	August	Black	Washerwoman	45	Wife of Taylor.
Daniel	August	Black	Mahogany Cutter	18	Son of Margaret.
Abel	August	Black	Mahogany Cutter	16	Son of Margaret.
Middleton	August	Black	Mahogany Cutter	12	Son of Margaret.
Sophia	August	Black	Waiting Girl	10	Daughter of Margaret.
William	August	Black	Waiting Boy	8	Son of Margaret.
Nelson	August	Black	Nothing	4	Son of Margaret.

The Family of George

George	August	Black	Mahogany Cutter	30	Cohabits with Sally Peachie.
Sally	Peachie	Black	Cook	35	Wife of George.

John Samuel August

Names	Surnames	Colour	Employment	Age	Remarks
The Family of Henrietta					
Henrietta	Potts	Black	Washerwoman	20	-
Charles	August	Black	Nothing	3	Son of Henrietta.
Hamlet	August	Black	Nothing	infant	Son of Henrietta.
The Family of Mary Anne					
Mary Anne	Maskall	Black	Housemaid	20	Purchased from William Maskall within 7 yrs.
Frances	Maskall	Black	Chambermaid	17	Sister of Mary Anne.
John	Maskall	Black	Mahogany Cutter	14	Brother of Mary Anne.
Edward	Maskall	Black	Waiting Boy	9	Brother of Mary Anne.
James	Maskall	Mulatto	Nothing	2	Son of Frances and nephew of Mary Anne.
Alfred	Maskall	Mulatto	Nothing	infant	Son of Frances and nephew of Mary Anne.
General List of Male Slaves					
Bristow	-	Black	Mahogany Cutter	35	-
John	August	Black	Mahogany Cutter	35	-
Primus	-	Black	Mahogany Cutter	55	-
Polydrie	-	Black	Mahogany Cutter	60	-
Frank	-	Black	Mahogany Cutter	40	-
Harry	August	Black	Waiting Boy	14	Purchased from Provost Marshall General within 7 years.
Peter	Baker	Black	Mahogany Cutter	24	Purchased from William Maskall within 7 yrs.

John Samuel August

Names	Surnames	Colour	Employment	Age	Remarks
General List of Male Slaves					
Edward	Maskall	Black	Mahogany Cutter	25	Purchased from William Maskall within 7 yrs.
Cherry	-	Black	Mahogany Cutter	43	"
Duncan	-	Black	Mahogany Cutter	44	"
Nicholas	-	Black	Mahogany Cutter	18	"
Ned	Maskall	Black	Mahogany Cutter	40	"
Simon	Broaster	Black	Mahogany Cutter	36	-
Ned	Waldron	Black	Mahogany Cutter	34	-
Andy	-	Black	Mahogany Cutter	37	-

General List of Female Slaves

Rose	August	Black	Washerwoman	35	-
Sarah	Eve	Black	Cook	37	-

The Total Number of Slaves Returned and Registered as belonging to John Samuel August are Forty.

14th June, 1834

James MacDonald

Registrar

APPENDIX 6

The following extract is taken from the inventory and appraisement of the estate of Francis Meany of the Belize Settlement. Apart from the values placed upon the slaves belonging to Meany, the extract is useful in so far as it illustrates that it was not unusual for bondswomen in the Settlement to be listed singly with their child/children.

EXTRACT FROM THE INVENTORY AND APPRAISEMENT OF THE GOODS AND
 CHATTELS, RIGHTS AND CREDITS OF THE LATE FRANCIS MEANY OF
 THE BELIZE SETTLEMENT, 1813.

	£	
A Dwelling House and Lot of Land South Side Belize	500	
a Negro Man named Jemmy	350	
a " " " John	350	
a " " " Hamlet	280	
a " " " Adam	250	
a " " " Tom	100	
a " " " Port Royal	80	
a " " " Caesar	30	
a Negro Boy named Tom	<u>150</u>	1,590
a Negro Woman named Kitty & 2 Children . Sutherland & Jane, an Infant	350	
a Negro Woman named Franky and her Child named Adam	220	
a Negro Woman named Hannah	10	
a Negro Woman named Peggy and her Child named Nancy	300	
a Negro Woman named Nancy & her Son Peter	350	
a Negro Woman named Sylvia & Children Charles and Lucy	400	
a Negro Girl named Bella	200	
a Negro Woman named Betsy	150	
a Negro Woman named Harriette	25	
a Negro Woman named Abba	<u>10</u>	2,015

Recorded from the Original this 31st day August, 1813

Keeper of Records.

Source: Private Records 1813-1814, ff.54, Belize Archives
 Department, Belmopan.

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Wylly, William. A Short Account of the Bahama Islands. London, 1789.

2. *Unpublished Works.*

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Tweedy, Margaret. "A History of Barbuda Under the Codringtons, 1738-1833." Unpublished M.Litt. Thesis, University of Birmingham, 1981.

MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

The Bahamas

1. Colonial Office Records, Public Records Office, London and/or microfilmed copies thereof held at the Department of Archives in Nassau. The Colonial Office Records contain official despatches and enclosures sent from the Bahamas as well as various memoranda by Colonial Office officials.

CO23/2-79: Original correspondence from 1708 to 1828.

CO123/7-67: Original correspondence from 1789-1818.

CO137/75: Original correspondence dated 1779.

2. Calendar of State Papers contained in bound volumes at the University of Glasgow, Scotland. The CSP predate the establishment of the Colonial Office and similarly contain original correspondence from the Bahamas comprising official despatches and reports as well as memoranda by British and Colonial government officials.

CSP 1669-1674, 1675-1676.

3. Parliamentary Papers. A collection of British parliamentary reports submitted to the House of Commons between 1801 and 1900. The PP accessed for this study are on microfilm at the University of Glasgow, Scotland.

PP 1829, Volume XXV, Copy of Information Received by His Majesty's Government relative to the Cruelty perpetrated by Henry and Helen Moss of Crooked Island in the Bahamas on a Female Negro Slave.

PP 1831-32, Volume XLVII, A Return of Slaves Exported from the Bahamas between January 1st, 1825 and August 16th, 1830.

4. Newspapers. Microfilm copies of issues of the *Bahamas Gazette* are available at the Department of Archives, Nassau. First published by a Loyalist named John Wells in August 1784, the Department of Archives has a near complete series of issues of the *Gazette* from 1784 to 1857.

5. Department of Archives, Nassau. Miscellaneous documents that include copies of:

Votes of the House of Assembly of the Bahama Islands, 1821-1824.

Consolidated Slave Act of the Bahamas, 1797.

Amelioration Act of the Bahamas, 1824.

Registration of Slaves Returns, 1822 to 1834.

Belize

1. Colonial Office Records, Public Records Office, London and/or photocopies thereof held at the Belize Archives Department, Belmopan.

CO1/29: Original correspondence dated 1672.

CO123/2-36: Original correspondence from 1783-1825.

CO137/59-76: Original correspondence from 1751-1779.

T71/251: Registration of Slaves Returns, Belize, 1834.

2. Parliamentary Papers.

PP 1818, Volume XVII, Treatment of Slaves in the Colonies, Correspondence, Honduras.

PP 1823, Volume XVIII, Correspondence Relating to the Condition and Treatment of Slaves at Honduras, 1820-23.

PP 1826-27, Volume XXII, A Return of the Number of Manumissions effected by the Purchase, Bequest or otherwise in Honduras from the 1st of January 1821 to the Period making the Return, say 31st December 1825.

3. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh. The NLS has a series of 95 bound volumes containing British Parliamentary Papers Relating to the Slave Trade and the Abolition of Slavery in the West India Colonies.

Slave Trade 75, Report of the Commissioners of Legal Inquiry on the State of the Indians at Honduras, July 1828.

4. Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh. Among its collections, the SRO holds the private papers of the family of Colonel James Lawrie, Superintendent of the Mosquito Shore, and cutter in Belize following the evacuation of the Shore in 1787-88.

GD461/20-103: The Lawrie Papers.

5. Belize Archives Department, Belmopan. Miscellaneous documents that include:

Grand Court Records of Belize, from 1790 onwards.
The Laws of Honduras, 1806-1810, formerly held at the General Registry, Belize City.

The Cayman Islands

1. The Cayman Islands National Archive, Grand Cayman.

Uniquely among the national repositories accessed during my research, CINA has managed to microfilm the majority of documents relating to the Islands currently held in their original form in repositories such as the Public Records Office in London and the National Library of Jamaica, for example. Those used in this study include:

CO137/181: Original correspondence dated 1826.
CO142/17-24: Original correspondence from 1781 to 1807.
T71/243: Registration of Slaves Returns, 1834.

Port Royal Parish Register, 1733-35, National Library of Jamaica.

George Gauld's Remarks on the Hand Drawn Version of his 1773 Map of the Caymanas as presented to the Board of the Admiralty, London, 1773.

Chancery Court Records of Jamaica, Jamaica National Archives.

The Remark Books of Royal Naval Captains from 1761 onwards, held at the Hydrographic Office in London.

The Nugent Papers, National Library of Jamaica.

Public Records Records, Caymanas, 1810-1889.

Archives of the Indies, Simancas, Spain: Mapas, Planes y Dibujos, 1783.

- 2 The Cayman Islands Memory Bank, Grand Cayman. Housed at CINA, the Memory Bank is a collection of transcribed interviews with elderly Caymanians on their memories of growing up in the Islands.

Transcripts of interviews with Ms. Carrie Hurlstone, March 16th, 1992, and Mr. Nolan Foster, March 1st, 1991.

Barbuda

1. Colonial Office Records, Public Records Office, London.

C07/39: Original correspondence dated 1834.

C0152/57: Original correspondence dated 1777.

2. Calendar of State Papers, University of Glasgow.

CSP 1574-1660, 1660-1663, 1667-1668, 1681-1685, 1710-1711.

These volumes contain references to the early history of Barbuda which has to date largely been unchronicled.

3. The Codrington Papers. The single most valuable manuscript collection relating to the history of Barbuda. The original Codrington Papers are part of a private collection that is not currently available to the public. Microfilm copies of the Papers are, however, available at the Gloucestershire Record Office, Gloucester, and at the British Library in London. As well, The National Archives of Antigua Barbuda in St. John's has original copies of Slave Lists for Barbuda as compiled by managers on the estate during the period of the Codrington lease of the island from the Crown.

Anguilla

1. Colonial Office Records, Public Records Office, London.

CO152/4-22 and 45: Original correspondence from 1751-1774.

CO239/8-29: Original correspondence from 1822-1832.

CO243/1: Original correspondence dated 1784.

T71/261-262: Registration of Slaves Returns, 1827 and 1834.

2. Calendar of State Papers, University of Glasgow.

CSP 1574-1660, 1660-1668, 1669-1674, 1675-1676, 1667-1680, 1681-1685, 1685-1689, 1689-1692, 1700-1701, 1711-1712, 1716-1717, 1720-1721, 1734-1735.

3. Parliamentary Papers, University of Glasgow.

PP 1803-1804, 119, Leeward Islands Slave Law, 1798.

PP 1826, Volume XXVI, Copy of the Report Made by the Commission sent from St. Christopher's to Anguilla to Inquire into the State of the Community of the latter Island, December 1st, 1824.

PP 1830, Volume XXI, Slave Laws in the West India Colonies.

4. Anguilla Archives, The Valley, Anguilla. At the time of my visit to Anguilla in 1999, the Archives were actually the private collection of an Anguillan solicitor named Don Mitchell. Mr. Mitchell has since been named to the Bench of the Eastern Caribbean Supreme Court and has turned his collection over to the Anguilla Public Library. The Archives consist of Court Records, Kings Bench and Common Pleas, Vice-Admiralty Records, Council Minutes and Deeds from 1740.
5. Supreme Court Registry of Anguilla, The Valley.

Deeds and Wills, December 1826 to January 1844.

Miscellaneous

PP 1831-32 XX (721). Report from the Select Committee on the Extinction of Slavery throughout the British Dominions. With Minutes of Evidence, Appendix and Index. Evidence of James Wildman, pp.523-25.