

Christine Eickelmann
David Small

August 2023

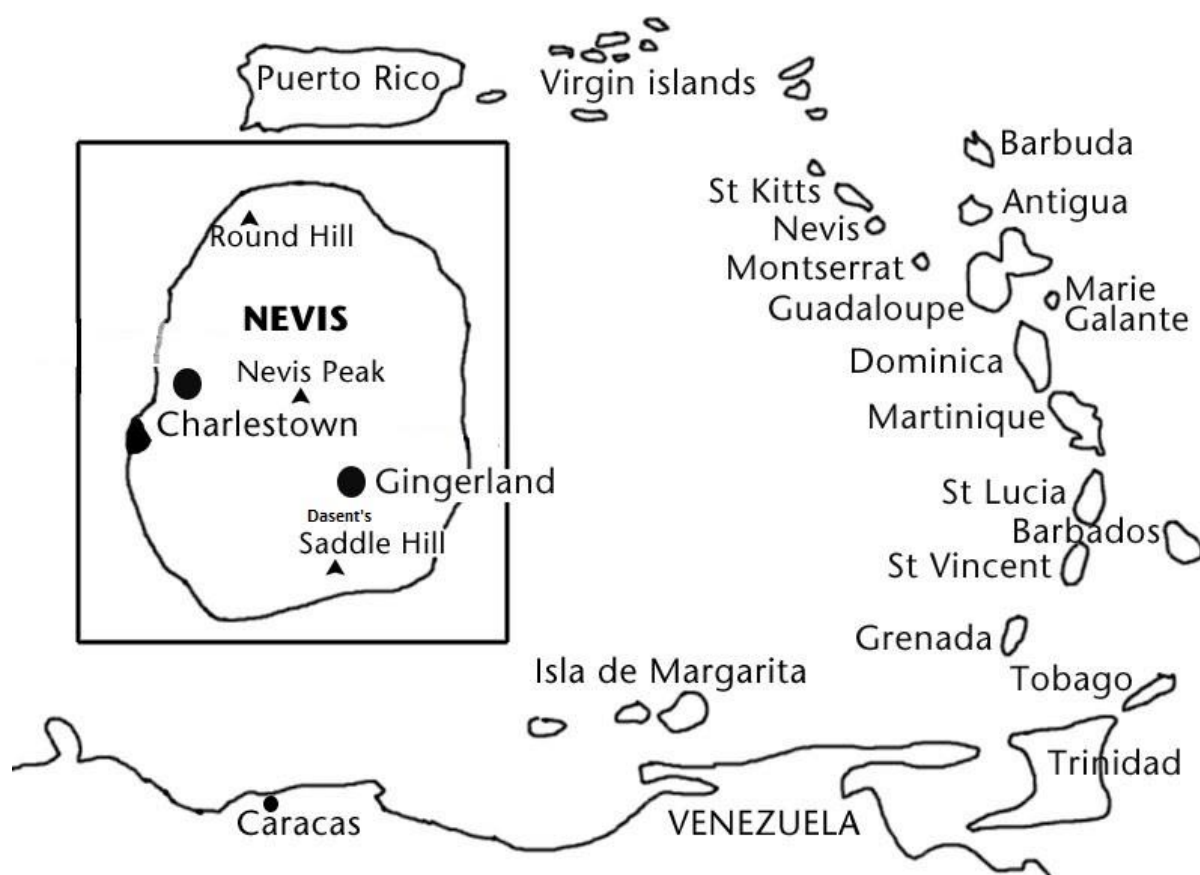
Dasent's Estate, Nevis, West Indies: Enslavement and Compensation

Dasent's Estate, Nevis, West Indies: Enslavement and Compensation

Contents

Part 1: Enslavement on Dasent's Estate, Nevis	2
Background	2
Introduction	4
Dasent's in the Nevis slave registers, 1817 to 1834	6
Names	7
Sex	8
Country.....	8
Colour.....	9
Reputed age	9
Occupations	9
The enslaved people on Dasent's, 1834	13
Going back in time	25
Relatives, friends and fellow workers, 1817-1834	30
The long 1820s: 'misery all round'	47
After 1834	52
Part 2: Compensation and the Pinney family	60
Introduction	60
Background	60
The Pinney fortune: income from the West Indies and from England.....	62
Mortgages, debts and compensation	62
Compensation and John Pinney's children	64
John Frederick Pinney	64
Elizabeth Baillie and Mary Ames.....	65
Charles Pinney, and Robert Edward Case	68
What happened to the compensation money?.....	71
John Frederick Pinney and his sisters	71
Robert Edward Case.....	73
Charles Pinney and the Great Western Cotton Works	74
Civic bodies and religious organisations	76

Charles Pinney's personal finances.....	78
'Determined to close our West India business'	78
How did compensation money benefit Bristol?	81
Bibliography	82
Appendix 1: Dasent's in numbers	87
Age groups in Nevis, on Dasent's, Montpelier and Mountravers, 1817	87
Age groups on Dasent's: males and females, 1817	88
Increase by births on selected plantations in St George Gingerland and St John Figtree, 1817 to 1822	89
Decrease by deaths on selected plantations in St George Gingerland and St John Figtree, 1817 to 1822	90
Additions and deductions on Dasent's by year, 1817 to 1834	91
Additions and deductions on Dasent's by gender, 1817 to 1834.....	92
Gender distribution on Dasent's, 1817 to 1834	93
Age groups on Dasent's, 1817 to 1834	93
Occupational distribution of enslaved people in Nevis and on Dasent's (including values), 1834	94
Values of people and land	95
Appendix 2: Successful Pinney compensation claims.....	96
Summary of compensation amounts.....	99
Appendix 3: Charles Pinney's investments	100
Commercial	100
Religious and charitable organisations	101
Political.....	102
Educational	102



The Eastern Caribbean with a map of Nevis showing approximate location of Dasant's¹

Part 1: Enslavement on Dasant's Estate, Nevis

Background

Nevis lies in the eastern Caribbean and is part of a group of islands known as the Leeward Islands. Geologically it is in the Lesser Antilles chain of partially submerged mountains that stretch from the South American mainland to Puerto Rico. Measuring only 36 square miles (93 square km),² Nevis is smaller than its nearest neighbour, St Kitts (St Christopher). Both islands are among the earliest colonies settled by English incomers, St Kitts in 1624 and Nevis four years later. In the 1640s planters in Nevis followed the example of St Kitts and began to switch from growing tobacco and indigo to planting sugar cane.³ When it became ever harder to recruit workers from Europe, planters sought to fill their need for labour by importing enslaved Africans. The first documented reference to the presence of Africans in Nevis comes from a will made in 1649 - a year after sugar was first mentioned.⁴

¹ Image from Christine Eickelmann and David Small *Pero, the Life of a Slave in Eighteenth Century Bristol* (Bristol: Redcliffe Press, 2004).

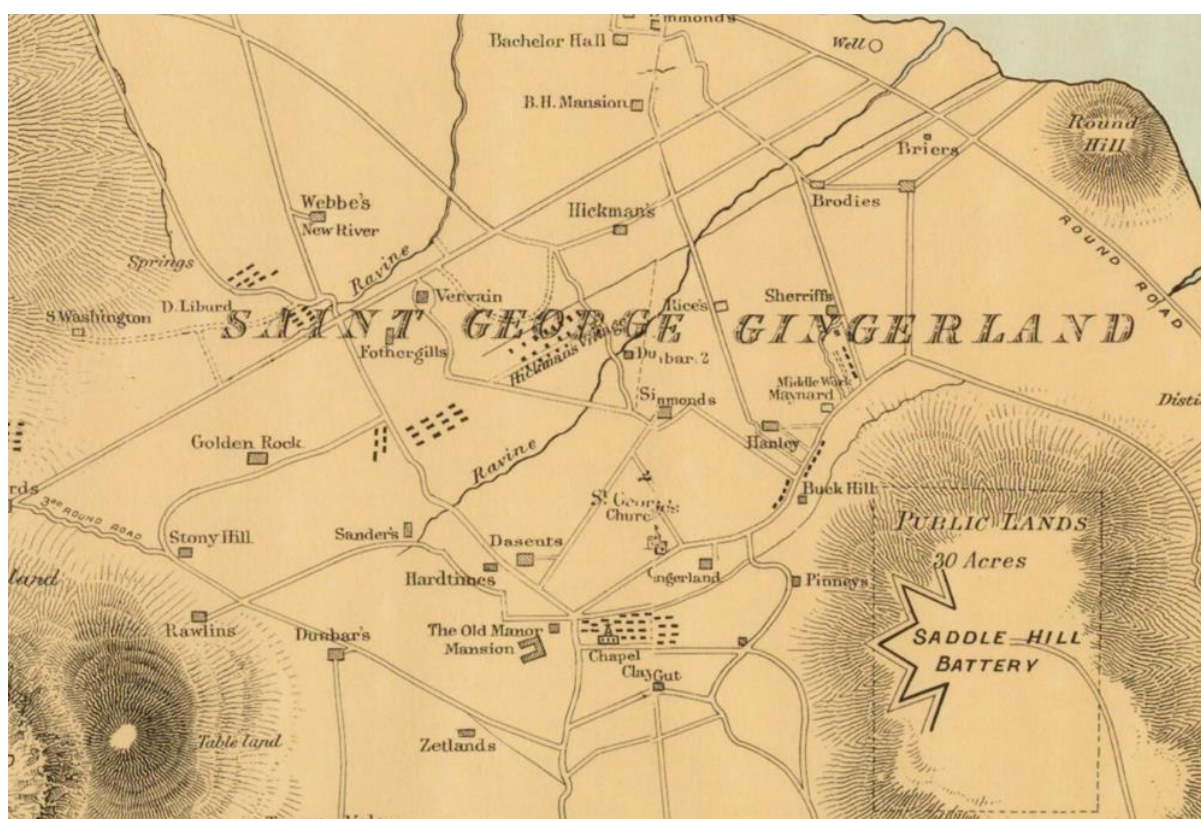
² Europa Publications (ed) *South America, Central America and the Caribbean* (London: Routledge, 1987); also David Watts *The West Indies: Patterns of Development, Culture and Environmental Change since 1492* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987) p4

³ Richard S Dunn *Sugar and Slaves The Rise of the Planter Class in the English West Indies, 1624-1713* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1972) pp122-23; Karen Fog Olwig *Global Culture, Island Identity - Continuing Change in the Afro-Caribbean Community of Nevis* (Chur: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1993) p20

⁴ VL Oliver *Caribbeana* (London: Mitchell, Hughes and Clarke, 1914) Vol 4 pp106-07 and Vincent K Hubbard 'Slave Resistance in Nevis' in *NHCS Newsletter* (November 1995 and February 1996)

The island is almost conical in shape. The highest elevation is the summit of Nevis Peak, an extinct volcano which rises to 3,232 feet (985 metres) above sea level. On the north it is flanked by Round Hill (1,014 feet, 309 metres) and on the south by Saddle Hill (1,850 feet, 564 metres). A forest of evergreen trees used to cover the island but by the 1680s much of the vegetation had been cleared for planting. Today, rainforest still covers the highest reaches.

Nevis is surrounded by both the Caribbean Sea and the Atlantic. The western, Caribbean Sea-facing coast is dominated by Pinneys Beach, a palm-fringed sandy beach that stretches for over three miles (five km). The eastern, Atlantic-facing shoreline is rugged with cliffs and rocky outcrops. Generally the land is bouldery, 'prodigiously rocky and stony'.⁵



Dasent's in the parish of Saint George Gingerland extracted from JAB Iles' 'Map of the Island of Nevis', 1871
Image courtesy of the Nevis Historical and Conservation Society

Administratively, the island is divided into five parishes. Their boundaries meet at the top of Nevis Peak and fan out almost like slices of pie towards the surrounding seas. Dasent's plantation lay in the parish of St George Gingerland on the eastern side. It was a small estate of roughly 80 acres situated close to the Anglican Church of St George Gingerland and south of what was the main island road. Dasent's was squeezed between Symond's estate to the southeast and Hendrickson's/Old Manor estate and Hard Times to the northwest. In the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century it was linked to Hickman's, further to the east, which unlike Dasent's, had access to the sea. Like other plantations on Nevis, its enslaved workers produced sugar, molasses and rum.

⁵ Calendar of State Papers 1734-1735 No 314; NHCS, CW Hutton *The Petrology of Nevis Leeward Islands, West Indies* (Overseas Geology and Mineral Resources Vol 52)

Introduction

Britain withdrew from the Transatlantic Slave Trade in 1807 but in the British colonies plantation slavery continued until August 1834. The Slavery Abolition Act 1833 provided for compensation to be paid to anyone who claimed enslaved people as theirs and, to finance this, the British government borrowed £20 million. Slaveholders who in August 1834 lost their free, forced labour were compensated; the 'free labour' received nothing and had to undergo an unpaid 'apprenticeship' until they became fully free on 1 August 1838.

The distribution of that compensation money has been, and is, the subject of much scholarly enquiry. One such investigation is co-ordinated by the Department of History at the University of Bristol through a project entitled 'Bristol, Capital and Enslavement'. This study is a contribution to that project.

While Bristol's involvement in the trade in enslaved Africans is well documented,⁶ so far no assessment has been made of the extent to which the city and its residents benefited from the compensation money that flowed into Bristol in the mid-1830s. The University's project originally aimed to, firstly, examine the impact the slave compensation money had on Bristol's built environment, its commercial and cultural institutions and, secondly, to investigate the enslaved people for whom Bristol residents claimed compensation. However, while the project developed, the first aim has been modified to leave out the impact and the legacy aspects and, instead, the project sought 'To investigate the lives and careers of those in Bristol who claimed ownership over the enslaved, and the resultant compensation.' The second aim of the project remained: to research 'the enslaved people associated with Bristol enslavers and help to tell their stories'.

The compensation payments rested entirely on the lives of enslaved men, women and children and, in order to emphasise the crucial role these people played, this study addresses the project's second aim first.

Among those who received money from the compensation fund were members of the Pinney family. Over several decades they ran a merchant house ('the House') in Bristol with several different partners; at the time in question Charles Pinney was in business with Robert Edward Case. One of the plantations for which Pinney & Case received compensation was Dasent's in the parish of St George Gingerland in Nevis. The company was paid £1,536:11:3 for the 88 enslaved people who lived on Dasent's on 1 August 1834 – the day slavery ceased and an apprenticeship period began.⁷ Although Charles Pinney's father had been a planter as well as a West India merchant, Pinney & Case were only briefly the owners of Dasent's. Instead, they were entitled to the compensation because a previous owner, Magnus Morton, had failed to repay a loan and, having re-possessed and then sold the property, the new owner, George Samuel Woodley Wattle, failed to pay the agreed purchase price.

⁶ For example, Kenneth Morgan *Bristol and the Atlantic Trade in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), Madge Dresser and Sue Giles (eds) *Bristol and Transatlantic Slavery* (Bristol: Bristol Museums & Art Gallery), Richard Kennett and others (eds) *Bristol and Transatlantic Slavery: Origins, Impact and Legacy* (Bristol: Bristol Books CIC, 2021). See also <https://discoveringbristol.org.uk/slavery/bibliography/>

⁷ Converting historic sums of money is not an exact science and it is possible to use different methods. The following gives some idea of the values as of 2021, the last year for which data is currently available. The final sums vary greatly, depending on which measure is being applied. Here are three examples: using the retail price index, £1,536:11:3 in 1835 was worth £161,000 in 2021 (Relative Price Worth = RPW); or £1,440,000 when using the average earnings figure (Wage Income Growth = WIG) and as much as £7,310,000, using the gross domestic product figure (Relative Output Worth = ROW).

Depending on the year in question and using the same measure (RWP), the calculations change, i.e. £1 in 1800 would have had a relative price worth of £85.90 in 2021 while £1 in 1835 would have been worth £105 in 2021. However, in order to calculate historic sums mentioned in this text quickly but very roughly, this is most easily done by multiplying each historic pound sterling sum by one hundred. For further information on the meanings of the different measures, see 'Relative Values UK' <https://www.measuringworth.com/calculators/ukcompare/>

The recipients of slave compensation are known, and their claims were recorded on forms and in ledgers which were deposited in The National Archives in London. Nowadays their names and details are easily accessible on a database created by the University College London's Centre for the Study of the Legacies of British Slavery. On that database the enslaved individuals for whom slaveholders were compensated are just numbers; their names and some basic details about them only emerge in the slave inventories on which the compensation claims were based.

Part 1 of this study is an attempt to go beyond the 'slave registers' and to put the names of these enslaved people into context so that they are remembered for the contributions they made to the development of Nevis and to the commercial interests of companies like Pinney & Case in Bristol. However, owing to a lack of sufficient contemporary records this study can only give brief snapshots in time. Nevertheless, it is an attempt to remember the people who have lived and worked on Dasent's and give them their place in history.

Dasent's in the Nevis slave registers, 1817 to 1834

Following the withdrawal from the Transatlantic Slave Trade in 1807, the trade between the islands continued until it became illegal in 1811. In order to monitor the enslaved people who were held legally, the British government required its colonies to establish regular inventories, with slaveholders producing lists of their people every three years. Nevis completed its first register in 1817 but delayed the next until 1822 and then followed with registers every three years until 1834. Some other colonies completed theirs at different intervals and in different years.

Nevis

An Alphabetical List and Return of all the Negro and other Slaves now resident on the Estate called DASENTS and belonging to or in the lawful possession of Magnus Morton Given in by me this ninth day of July one thousand eight hundred and seventeen Magnus Morton

No	Names	Sex	Country	Colour	Apprenticed Age
1	Andrew	Male	Creole	Black	Sixty five
2	Anthony	do	do	do	Sixty
3	Arthur	do	do	do	Six
4	Abba	Female	do	do	Forty six
5	Anne Monkers	do	do	do	Four
6	Batty	Male	do	do	Six
7	Bathia	Female	do	do	Thirty two
8	Bob	do	do	do	Twelve
9	Betty	do	do	do	Four
10	Brown James	Male	do	do	Three
11	Camborwell	do	do	do	Fifteen
12	Calia	Female	do	do	Forty two
13	Calypso	do	African	do	Forty four
14	Charlotte	do	Creole	do	Fifty five
15	Clementina	do	do	do	Eight
16	Christiana	do	do	Mulatto	Four
17	Christmas	do	African	Black	Forty six
18	Celia	do	Creole	do	Six months
19	Dominick	Male	do	do	Twenty eight
20	Duchworth	do	African	do	Thirty
21	Dick	do	Creole	do	Eight
22	Dominick (Female)	do	do	do	Ten
23	Ennah	Female	do	do	Forty eight
24	Diana	do	do	do	Thirty two
25	Doll	do	do	do	Thirty eight
26	Fanny	do	do	do	Thirty two
27	Friday	do	do	do	Fifty
28	Franky (old)	do	do	do	Seventy
29	Franky	do	do	do	Eight
30	Florella	do	do	do	Ten
31	George (maison)	Male	do	Mulatto	Six
32	Greeta	Female	do	Black	Thirty six
33	George	Male	do	Mulatto	Seven months
34	Henry	do	do	Black	Twelve
35	Heppy	Female	do	do	Sixty
36	Harriet	do	do	Mulatto	Twenty two
37	Hennetta	do	do	Black	Thirteen
38	Sammy	Male	do	do	Thirty five

Page 1 of the slave register for Dasent's, 1817; image courtesy of Ancestry.com⁸

⁸ Image from T 71/364 f118

Across Nevis 66 estates and 244 individual slaveholders completed their first 'Registry of Slaves' between May and July 1817.⁹ The first register was intended as a complete census of all the island's enslaved people. Subsequent registers, the triennial returns, were meant to list all the individuals who had been born, purchased, transferred, gifted or inherited during the intervening years, as well as those who had died, been sold or freed.

In the 1817 register the people then living on Dasent's were listed alphabetically - from Andrew to Wallace - with males and females together. In Nevis a preamble about the person in 'lawful possession' of the 'Negro and other Slaves' was followed by columns with 'Names', 'Sex', 'Country', 'Colour', and 'Reputed Age'. The slaveholder or their representative signed underneath or made their mark. All the Nevis registers followed the same format; other colonies used their own.

In total, 110 people lived on Dasent's in 1817: 15 boys and 15 girls under the age of ten, seven male and twelve female children and young people under the age of twenty, and 28 adult men and 33 women.

Names

Of the people on Dasent's only their plantation names are known; this was especially true of the Africans who were re-named when first purchased. While this process was demeaning and intended to emphasise their subjugation to the slaveholder's will, it is almost certain that everyone would have had at least one other, private name known to family and friends: perhaps their African name, a pet name, a nickname, or an alternative first name more to their, or their families', liking. People found many different (and sometimes very small but meaningful) ways to resist their enslavement.

It appears that at least some of the names of the plantation-born children will have been chosen by their parents, as the duplicates show. Among those who had identical names were five individuals called James, three called Jane and Thomas, and two each called Andrew, Dick, Lucy, Richard, Samuel and Sarah. Two women, Frankey and Sally, were distinguished from other young women with the same names by the prefixes 'Old' and 'Congo'. Allowing parents to choose their children's names was a 'privilege' or favour slaveholders could bestow without it costing them anything.¹⁰

The woman Monkey had the most degrading name; it was one that was shared among dozens of enslaved males and females all over the Caribbean. Sadly, her name carried on through her two daughters, Nancy Monkey and Anne Monkey (also Monkey's Nancy and Monkey's Anne). On the plantation was another female called Nancy, with the surname Maynard, and another Ann, Ann Hill.

As in the case of Monkey's daughters, in the register several children were distinguished from others with the same name by adding their father's or mother's name, such as Diana's Dominick and Mingo Stephen.

In the case of plantation-born children like Thomas Marriner it is almost certain that their surname was that of their father; among others a surname may have indicated that they had been acquired from another slaveholder. Surnames became increasingly common during the 1820s when enslaved children were being baptised in the churches. This is also evident on Dasent's: of the 44 children born on the plantation after 1817, four girls and eight boys had surnames (27 per cent), compared to

⁹ For Dasent's slave inventories 1817 to 1834 see The National Archives (UKNA), T 71/364 ff118-20; T 71/365 f66; T 71/366 f53; T 71/367 f45; T 71/368 f54; T 71/369 ff118-20. The 1817 to 1831 registers are on Ancestry.com; the 1834 volume can be found at the UKNA.

¹⁰ For more information about naming, see Jerome S Handler and JoAnn Jacoby 'Slave Names and Naming in Barbados, 1650-1830', *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Vol 53 No 4 (Oct 1996) pp685-728. See also Christine Eickelmann 'The Mountravers Plantation Community, 1734-1834' Part 2 Chapter 2 pp108-13 <https://seis.bristol.ac.uk/~emceee/mountraversplantationcommunity.html>

Much of the general information contained in this research on Dasent's is based on the detailed longitudinal study of the enslaved people and the managers and overseers who lived and worked on Mountravers plantation in Nevis.

14 out of 110 people (13 per cent) in the 1817 register when nine people shared the same family name, Parris.

Sex

Of all the enslaved people registered in Nevis in 1817, 48.8% were males (4,658 people) and 51.2% were females (4,917 people)¹¹ - a ratio which was typical for most colonies. On Dasent's, too, were more females; of the 110 people who then lived on the plantation fifty were males (45.5 per cent) and sixty females (54.5 per cent). By 1834 the numbers were reduced to 88 but the ratio remained the same: 40 males (46 per cent) and 47 females (54 per cent), with an additional infant of unknown gender.

The greater number of females, of whom at least half were of child-bearing age, would have made it possible to sustain the population through births alone - had it not been for an unexplained and unusually large reduction in numbers between January 1831 and March 1833.

Country

The main distinction was between creoles, i.e. the island-born enslaved people, and those born in Africa. Although some of the names suggest that people on Dasent's may have been purchased from slaveholders in St Kitts, no one was identified as originating from other colonies.

Of the 1,404 Africans registered in 1817 in Nevis, the parish of St George's Gingerland had the largest share with 291 individuals.¹² Of those, 14 were on Dasent's, which meant that about one in eight people were born in Africa. This was roughly in line with the rest of Nevis where one in seven people were identified as African.¹³

Since the trade in African captives had ended a decade before the first island-wide slave registers were compiled, the numbers of African-born people declined over time. Of the 14 individuals identified as Africans in 1817, by 1834 ten were still alive, two women and eight men.

The Nevis registers generally did not distinguish where in Africa people came from - unlike St Kitts where in 1817 many slaveholders took care to record people as African Minna, African Timmany, African Mandingo, Bambara African, etc. Since slaveholders had preconceived notions as to which region in Africa supplied the strongest or the most compliant workers, this greater emphasis on people's origin may have stemmed from a desire to keep track of particular traits displayed by certain groups.

There were also some people on Dasent's with names which were typical of someone born in Africa but they were not identified as such - among them Quaw, Minnah and Quashey (Kwasi). They may have been mis-identified as creoles but they could equally well have been island-born and given African names. Perhaps transcription errors had crept in; this happened on another plantation in Nevis where two out of ten individuals known to have been Africans were not identified as such in 1817.¹⁴

¹¹ Martin, Robert Montgomery *Statistics of the Colonies of the British Empire in the West Indies...* p87 Chapter X - Nevis

¹² BW Higman *Slave Populations of the British Caribbean* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1984) pp477-79 Table S4.4 Age Structure of Slaves by Sex, Birthplace and Parish: Nevis, 1817

¹³ BW Higman *Slave Populations of the British Caribbean* p463 Table S4.1 Age Structure of Slaves by Sex, Birthplace and Colony, 1813 to 1834 [1817 in the case of Nevis]

¹⁴ University of Bristol Special Collections, Pinney Papers, Accountbook (AB) 18: 2 November 1765; AB 15 Gingerland Plantation a/c; also AB 16 Smith & Baillies' a/c. Subsequent references to the Pinney Papers will be abbreviated to PP.

Colour

In 1817 about one enslaved person in six in Nevis was identified as 'coloured' which, compared to other islands, was relatively high.¹⁵ This reflected the fact that Nevis was an old plantation economy where mixing had occurred for longer than in the newer colonies.

16 people out of the 110 who lived on Dasent's in 1817 were mixed-race (14.5 per cent). This was almost the same as the island-wide ratio.

The term 'mulatto' was used to denote a person born to a black and a white parent – in the case of slave colonies usually a black mother and a white father. 'Negro' and 'black' described Africans, or those of full African descent, but 'negro' was also a word used for an enslaved individual. In Nevis the child of a mulatto and a white parent tended to be described as 'mestee', 'mustee', or 'mestize'; the child of a mulatto and a black parent as 'sambo'.¹⁶ Some colonies used different descriptions – all of which are today regarded as racist and seen as reminders of plantation slavery. However, with so little information available about these people every small detail becomes important and worth holding onto. In addition, these colour gradations provide valuable pointers to a person's lineage and identity and for these reasons must be included in this study in their original wording.

Reputed age

In 1817 only one plantation in Nevis (Mountravers) submitted a complete list of people's birthdates - with some going back to the 1760s. From 1822 onwards many slaveholders recorded the dates of births and deaths in their triennial returns but not all afforded their people this dignity.

Absentee owners expected their plantation employees to keep records of births and deaths but papers got lost or destroyed so that new managers had to guess people's ages again. Resident slaveholders may not have seen any need for keeping track of people's ages and since birth certificates were not required until 1837, establishing someone's age would have depended on the slaveholders' judgment. Alternatively, their age could be deduced from particular events which the enslaved person remembered, such as a very destructive hurricane. However, the cultural reference points used by those newly arrived from Africa would have meant little to the white slaveholders who often simply estimated their ages in multiples of five.

As evidence from other plantations shows, mistakes were made when determining someone's age. For this study, only people's 'reputed ages' in 1817 were available and so had to be taken at face value. In a few instances it has been possible to question the stated ages.¹⁷

Occupations

Unlike the slave registers for St Kitts and Trinidad, for instance, the Nevis registers did not list people's occupations. From another source, the valuation of everyone on Dasent's in 1793, only three emerged: that of a mason, a driver and a cooper. In addition to field hands a plantation the size of Dasent's with its 110 people had other specialist craft workers with specific roles. These

See also 'The Mountravers Plantation Community, 1734-1834' Part 2 Chapter 7 p809
<https://seis.bristol.ac.uk/~emceee/mountraversplantationcommunity.html>

¹⁵ BW Higman *Slave Populations of the British Caribbean* p150 and p152 Table 5.14 Per centage of Slaves Coloured (sic) by Slave-holding Size-group: Select Colonies, 1815-32

¹⁶ In Nevis the children of a mustee and a white parent (mesteeinos) were not free by law, as in Jamaica (MG Lewis *Journal of a Residence Among the Negroes in the West Indies* (London: John Murray, 1845) p55).

¹⁷ For further information about ages of plantation workers, see Appendix 1 to 'The Mountravers Plantation Community'
<https://seis.bristol.ac.uk/~emceee/mountravers~appendix1.pdf>

individuals were either trained by fellow workers or apprenticed to self-employed men – both black and white.

Generally in Nevis the field workforce was divided into three gangs. In the great gang were the most fit and able workers who undertook the hardest tasks: hoeing, digging holes for planting cane, cutting cane. Duties for members of the small gang, sometimes called the second gang, included staking the ground for holing, bundling the cut cane, carrying dung and feeding the cane into the mill rollers. The grass gang, sometimes also called the sheepmeat gang, accustomed young children to work. They picked grass for the animals, or did weeding between the canes and carried food and water to the field hands. This, as well as child-minding, was also a role for weak and aged adults.¹⁸

The occupations from Mountravers in 1765 give an idea of the types of roles found on a plantation that had about the same number of people as Dasent's in 1817. The numbers in each group would have fluctuated with the seasonal demands and how many people were available to do the work.

Distribution of activities among 108 enslaved workers on Mountravers, January 1765

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

19

¹⁸ For details of the sugar-making process, see 'The Mountravers Plantation Community, 1734 to 1834' Part 1 'Contexts'

¹⁹ PP, Letterbook (LB) 3: 'A List of Negroes'; see also Richard Pares *A West India Fortune* (London: Longman, Green & Co, 1950) p129

The age at which children began their working life varied. The Jamaican planter Thomas Roughley recommended that the third, or weeding, gang should consist of healthy children between five and twelve²⁰ while a medical man, Dr Robert Thomas, put the starting age at six.²¹ As the research into Mountravers has shown, the children's physical condition rather than a specific age appears to have determined when they began to work; on Mountravers the youngest worker in the weeding gang was an 11-year-old boy and the oldest were two 17-year-old youths. On the Stapleton plantation in Nevis a boy of eleven was the youngest of five males responsible for the livestock.

The manager's diary entries from Mountravers plantation give an idea of the daily activities of all the workers. He recorded that on one particular day two masons, assisted by seven people, were carting stones to the yard to pave the counting house (office). Several people were cleaning out the ashes from the copper holes which held the fires for boiling the raw cane juice. Another seven people then carted the ash with mules to the fields where the small gang spread it as fertiliser. Meanwhile, forty people in the great gang cleared 'woura off the Pond Piece'. Woura, the dried cane leaves, was used as fuel, to line the animal pens and for thatching enslaved people's houses. While these activities went on, four plantation coopers and three carpenters were out 'jobbing', another 14 people were employed as 'watches etc' and eight people did not work owing to sickness or pregnancy. Once women had given birth, they were allowed a period of 'lying in' before they had to resume their duties.²²

Anyone not needed on the plantation could be hired out to other employers. This could be a group of people assisting another plantation during crop time, or tradesmen who went to work for self-employed masons, carpenters or millwrights. Plantation midwives were called upon to support women giving birth and seamstresses found additional employment making clothes for special occasions. People might also be working in shops and stores, and labour was always needed on vessels to load and unload cargo. During slack times those who possessed skills could also work for themselves; musicians, for instance, could earn healthy sums performing at public balls or at private functions.²³ At times of war young men were also hired to the army and served elsewhere in the Caribbean.²⁴

An additional number of domestic staff worked in the houses of the plantation owners or the managers who tended to live on site. They employed personal attendants, cooks, seamstresses, laundry maids and stable boys. Often these jobs (as well as those of the tradesmen) were reserved for mixed-race people since they were not deemed fit for hard manual labour. However, once a plantation had enough domestics and craft workers, these mixed-race people became superfluous. As one planter remarked: 'it is more beneficial and advantageous' to the estate 'to have negroes employed on and worked with ... than mulattoes'.²⁵ By the early 1800s several planters actively sought to replace mixed-race people 'for other slaves or field negroes'.²⁶ Freed people could use this to their advantage: one woman arranged for four black individuals to be swapped for four mixed-race members of her family on condition that they be freed.²⁷ No doubt the four black people did

²⁰ Thomas Roughley *The Jamaican Planter's Guide; or a System for Planting and Managing a Sugar Estate: or other Plantations in that Island, and throughout the British West Indies in General* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, & Brown, 1823) p188

²¹ Sheila Lambert (ed) *House of Commons Sessional Papers of the Eighteenth Century* (Delaware: Scholarly Resources Inc, Irish University Press, 1975) Vol 71 pp252-66

²² PP, DM 1773 Diary of Plantation Work (Mountravers) 1798-1801

²³ For playing at a private function two violinists and a tambourine player received £1:13:0 Nevis currency (NE), and on two other occasions musicians got NE1:4:9 (PP, AB 17: 17 August 1769, 29 May 1770 and 1 March 1783). In the 1780s the musicians could have bought a goat or ten chickens for NE1.

²⁴ PP, AB 52 Negro Hire a/c; AB 52 TP Weekes's a/c and Government of Great Britain a/c; also AB 47 JPP's a/c, Negro Hire a/c and Cash a/c; NHCS Archive, RG 2.1 Extract from Minutes 5 January 1762; UKNA, CO 186/4: 3 March 1762

²⁵ Eastern Caribbean Supreme Court Registry, Nevis (ECSCRN), Common Records (CR) 1801-1803 ff417-19 and CR 1801-1803 ff368-70 Digitised by British Library Project EAP 794 <https://eap.bl.uk/collection/EAP794-1-1/search>

²⁶ ECSCRN, CR 1808-1810 f404; CR 1810-1814 ff571-72, ff572-73, ff575-76, ff573-74; f820

²⁷ ECSCRN, CR 1801-1803 ff510-12

not have a choice in this transfer which, for them, could have meant being parted from *their* families. Re-uniting one family at the expense of another highlights the contradictions and complexities which, at times, were part of slaveholding and enslavement.

The enslaved people on Dasent's, 1834

Pinney & Case ('the House') received compensation for 40 men and boys, 47 women and girls and a very young child whose gender is not known. Their ages in 1834 are based on their 'reputed ages' recorded in the island-wide census taken in July 1817, except for those children born after July 1817 whose dates of births were recorded in the subsequent triennial returns. Unless stated otherwise, everyone's 'colour' was noted as black and they were creoles (island-born).

After the death of a previous owner, John Richardson Herbert, each person living on Dasent's in February 1793 had been appraised, and for those eleven people who had survived until 1834, their values are stated. People like Abba had endured the hard work on a Caribbean sugar plantation for over four decades.

Abba was in February 1793 one of only three women valued at £90, a relatively high amount.²⁸ If she was a fieldworker, she would have worked in the great gang or had additional duties, like that of a plantation midwife. She may also have been a domestic servant; they were generally valued more highly than others. In 1834 Abba was aged about 63.

Although identified as a creole, her name is that of girls born on a Thursday who, among the Akan people of present-day Ghana, are called Aba (also Yabba).²⁹

Christmas was an African woman. In 1817 her age was given as 46, the same as for Abba, Sampson and Nancy Maynard. She was not on Dasent's when everyone was appraised in 1793, suggesting she had been purchased as an adult some time after that date.

Given her name and that she was said to have been of similar age to several other Africans, it is possible that she had been transported on the *Hillsborough* which arrived in Nevis in November 1806. This was the last slaver to arrive in the island; just two months later, on 25 February 1807, the British Parliament agreed to the second reading of the Bill for the Abolition of the Slave Trade. The thirty-year campaign to press for a change in legislation finally made it illegal for any British subject or British vessel to trade in enslaved people.

Sampson, an African, was in 1793 listed among the 15 boys then on Dasent's and was valued at £65. Based on his estimated age in 1817 (46), in 1834 he was aged about 63.

His name may indicate that he possessed great strength, just like the biblical Samson.

Nancy (Nanny) Maynard, a mulatto,³⁰ was valued at £40 – the highest of all the 19 children on Dasent's in 1793. According to her 1817 age (46), she would then have been 22 and too old to have been considered a child. Ten years earlier, on Mountravers a mulatto girl aged about 16 was appraised at the same amount which may suggest that Nancy Maynard's age in 1817 was over-estimated by about six years. In 1834 she was probably in her late fifties.

²⁸ In the 1793 appraisal the values were stated in pound sterling (stg), as opposed to the local Nevis currency (N£). Abba's value of £90 translates into £11,200 in 2021, based on the relative price worth (RWP) (<https://www.measuringworth.com/calculators/ukcompare/>).

²⁹ Pers. comm., Revd Agyenim Boateng, 25 May 1999

³⁰ Although nowadays seen as racist and offensive, terms such as 'mulatto', 'sambo' and 'mestee' are used here in their original, historic sense in order to retain as much original information concerning individuals about whom little else is known.

Matthias. Since he was not listed in 1793 it is almost certain that he was acquired by Magnus Morton after he gained possession of Dasent's in 1797. In 1834 Matthias was in his early sixties.

Calia (Celia) may have been in her late teens when her value was set at £90. She was one of 46 women then on Dasent's, only four of whom were valued higher, £95 and £100. In 1834 she was in her late fifties.

Peter, an African aged about 57 in 1834, was in 1793 listed among the boys. Aged about 16 he was, like most of the boys, valued at £65.

Greeta. As a young woman she was appraised at £60 in 1793. Based on her estimated age in 1817 (46), she would have been a teenager who would normally have been listed among the girls. It appears, though, that girls (and possibly also boys) who already had children themselves were counted as adults, as was the case on Mountravers plantation.

Priscey (Presy) was one year younger than Greeta and, like her, one of the ten women who in 1793 were valued at £60. She had a 24-year-old daughter, Jenny, but Priscey may, of course, also have had other children. Priscey was 52 in 1834. Her name may have been a pet form of Priscilla.

Bathia (Matthia) was, like Greeta and Priscey, considered to have been worth £60. Given her estimated age in 1817 (32), she would have been only about eight years old when she was listed as a woman in 1793. It is likely that her age was under-estimated by five to ten years.

Fanny, also thought to have been 32 in 1817, was in 1793 listed among the women as well. The last of the women listed and valued at £65, she probably was the youngest of the women who had given birth at a very young age. Her age in 1817, therefore, was probably under-estimated by at least five years.

Wallace was in 1817 said to have been aged 32. Neither he, nor Duckworth or Rose, were listed in 1793 which means they were acquired some time afterwards.

Given the naval theme that appears to have emerged with Duckworth and Strachan, it is possible he was named after Sir James Wallace (1731-1803) who in 1782 had served in the West Indies under Admiral Rodney.

Duckworth, an African man, was in 1817 estimated to have been 30, two years younger than Wallace.

His name was that of an officer in the Royal Navy, Sir John Thomas Duckworth (1748-1817), who served in the West Indies in the early 1800s. He was Commander-in-Chief of the Leeward Islands Station from 1800 to 1801 and was back at St Kitts in January 1806. He is credited with having defeated the French at the Battle of San Domingo in February 1806. Since his name would then have

been in the news, it is possible that Magnus Morton acquired Duckworth in late 1806/early 1807 from the Liverpool slaver, the *Hillsborough*. He and Wallace would then have been aged around 20.

Rose was about the same age as Duckworth, around 47 in 1834.

Dominick (Dominico) was in 1793 listed among the children and appraised at £30. In 1834 he was aged about 45.

It is likely that Mingo Stephen, then eight years old, was his son and that Mingo, a pet form of Dominic, was added to the boy's name to distinguish him from another boy called Stephen.

Monkey was in 1793 listed among the children and at £10 of the lowest value and therefore most likely the youngest. On Mountravers ten years earlier black girls aged between two and three years were of similar value.

Monkey had two daughters: Anne Monkey and Nancy Monkey. In 1834 she was aged about 43.

Watty was the first among the children listed in 1793. According to his reputed age in 1817 (43), he would then have been aged about 19 – probably too old to have been considered a child. Through an apparent oversight there was no value attached to his name.

Kate, listed among the children in 1793, was appraised at £20. Ten years earlier six-year-old children living on Mountravers were valued at £20 which may suggest that she was born around 1787 rather than 1791, the year she would have been born according to her reputed age in 1817 (26).³¹

William Donius (Donus, Adonius) Parris. In 1817 he was one of eight people who were described as sambo. Seven of those had the surname Parris and almost certainly they were the offspring of Grace Parris, a mulatto woman.

Listed among the children as Donus, in 1793 he was appraised at £25. Mixed-race children and adults were generally appraised at a higher rate than black individuals which means that his value then was that of a six-year-old boy. This may suggest that William Donius Parris's age in 1817 (26) was under-estimated by about four years.

Sparrow, an African man, was aged about 43 in 1834.

Obins, an African man, was aged about 42 in 1834.

Strachan. Like Duckworth, he was named after a naval commander, Sir Richard John Strachan (1760-1828) who was successful in an important action after the battle of Trafalgar in October 1805. This

³¹ On Mountravers the appraisal in 1783 was recorded in Nevis currency. In 1793 the exchange rate was 175 per cent which meant £20 stlg was worth £35 Nevis currency, or N£ for short.

suggests that Strachan, an African man, arrived on Dasent's some time after news of the battle and Richard Strachan's subsequent honouring by Britain in January 1806 had reached Nevis.

In the early nineteenth century only three slaving vessels landed at Nevis. The *Ann* arrived in September 1803 and the *Hillsborough* in November 1805 and again in November 1806. The last group of Africans to arrive in Nevis were about one hundred people from the Congo River region. It is possible that Strachan and some of the other Africans living on Dasent's had been transported on the *Hillsborough*, or, less likely, on the *Liberty* which in 1807 was the last slaver to land legally acquired African captives at St Kitts.³²

Maxwell, an African man, was about 41 in 1834.

Pitt, another African man, was also about 41. Pitt, Strachan and Duckworth and also some of the other Africans may well have arrived on the same slaving vessel, the *Hillsborough*. It is very likely that Pitt was named after William Pitt the Younger who died in January 1806.

Roger, estimated to have been aged 24 in 1817, was about 41 in 1834.

Sally (Congo Sally) was an African woman aged about 37 in 1834. She was called Congo Sally, most likely to distinguish her from a young woman also called Sally who in the 1820s was transferred to Dasent's from another plantation.

Sally may well have arrived on the *Hillsborough* which in November 1806 brought to Nevis a cargo of Africans said to have originated in the Congo region.

Quashey was aged about 37 in 1834.

Sophy Parris, a woman described as a sambo, was almost certainly one of Grace Parris's daughters and the sister of other sambos with the surname Parris: James, William Donius, John, Nanno and Peggy – perhaps also of William who was much younger and of Joseph who was black. In 1834 Sophy Parris was aged about 37.

Lucy was aged about 35 in 1834.

Ritta was aged about 35 in 1834.

Kitty was aged about 34 in 1834.

³² Trans-Atlantic Slave-Trade Database Voyages 80281, 81843, 81844 and 82254 <https://www.slavevoyages.org/voyage/database> [accessed 9 July 2020; 24 November 2022]

Susannah was aged about 33 in 1834.

Jack Markham was aged about 35 in 1834. The Markhams were a St Kitts family, suggesting he may have come from the neighbouring island.

Henrietta was aged about 30 in 1834.

Bess was aged about 29 in 1834.

Henry was aged about 29 in 1834.

Murphy was aged about 27 in 1834.

Marianne (Mary Ann/e) was aged about 27 in 1834.

Clementina was aged about 25 in 1834.

Frankey was aged about 25 in 1834.

Mingo Stephen was aged about 25 in 1834. It is likely that Dominick, a black man aged 45 in 1834, was his father and that Mingo, a pet form of Dominic, was added to Mingo Stephen's name to distinguish him from another boy on Dasent's, also called Stephen. Both were born around the same time.

George Roach (Beach) was aged about 30 in 1834. The surname Roach was common in Jamaica and Barbados but not in Nevis – except for a girl on another plantation, Grace Roach. In the 1834 register George's surname was altered to Beach, a family name in use in Nevis at the time.

Dick was aged about 25 in 1834. It is almost certain that he was the Richard Dasent who in 1845 leased a plot of land that formerly had been a part of Clifton, Paynes and Morton's Bay plantation in the parish of St Thomas Lowland. He paid \$37.50 for three eighths of an acre (190 ½' x 96').³³

³³ ECSCRN, CR 1838-1847 ff604-05

The exchange rates for dollars (which were also in use at the time) to pound sterling or Nevis currency are not known.

Morton's (or Moreton's) Bay was named after Colonel Francis Morton. In the seventeenth century he sold his plantation to Michael Smith, and it remained in the Smith family for about a hundred years. The property was not linked to Magnus Morton's family (VL Oliver *Caribbeana* Vol 4 pp289-96 Smith pedigree).

Sharloe was aged about 24 in 1834. Among enslaved males the name Sharloe was unique to Nevis although males called Charlo could be found in St Kitts and some other islands in the Eastern Caribbean and a few called Sharlot in Jamaica. In Nevis the origins go back to Henry Charlot who, with his wife Ruth, in the late seventeenth century had a sugar plantation that later became part of the Mountravers estate owned by members of the Pinney family. The Charlots left Nevis for North America but their plantation remained known as Sharloe or Sharloes.

Penny was aged about 24 in 1834.

Jenny's Priscey, the daughter of Priscey, was aged about 24.

Arthur. Based on his age in 1817 when he was said to have been six years old, in 1834 Arthur was aged about 23.

It is likely that the younger a person was, the more correct their age would have been estimated in 1817 when their 'reputed age' was entered in the first slave register.

Batty was aged about 23 in 1834. It is likely that his name was short for Bartholomew.

Joseph was aged about 23 in 1834. However, rather oddly, a year earlier both he and Peggy had been listed in a document under 'girls' and 'boys', a category that usually would not have included adults over the age of twenty.

Peggy was aged about 23 in 1834.

Nancy Monkey (Monkey's Nancy) was about 22 in 1834 and **Anne Monkey (Monkey's Ann)** was about 21. They were the daughters of the woman Monkey. These sisters had, in effect, the same name since the pet form of Anne is Nancy.

Christianna, a mulatto, was aged about 21 in 1834. Her name was also that of the wife and daughter of Magnus Morton, a previous owner of Dasent's, and she may have been named after them.

James Bourin (Jim). With a 'reputed age' of three in 1817, in 1834 he was aged about 20. His surname suggests that he was either purchased from William Bowrin's plantation on the opposite side of the, or that a black man from that plantation was his father.

Sarah was aged about 20 in 1834. She may, possibly, have been the Sarah Moreton who, with her husband David, moved to 'Colquoun' in St Thomas Lowland. By then she would have had two daughters, Mary and Nancy. Her husband was a carpenter. Between 1846 and 1866 the couple had

eight more children (five sons and three daughters). Some time between 1854 and 1856, after their third son was born, they left Colquoun and moved to Cotton Ground.³⁷

Celia. A year earlier, in March 1833, when Celia was about 16 and Sarah about 19, Celia was listed as a woman whereas Sarah was listed under girls. This suggests that Celia by then had a child whereas Sarah did not.

Hester was born on 15 August 1817. In March 1833 when she was 15 ½ years old, she was listed among the women, suggesting that she had already given birth.

Lucy was born on 15 February 1818. Aged 15, in March 1833 she was listed under girls.

James Akers was born on 18 June 1818. His surname is that of a St Kitts planter family who also had a son called James (born c 1814).

Joe Freeling, a mulatto, was born on 4 September 1818. His surname was most unusual for Nevis – perhaps misheard for Furlonge, a Montserratian and Antiguan planters' name?

John Hanley was born on 30 April 1819. His surname was that of a planter family which included several males called John.³⁸

Ann Hill, a mestee, was born on 17 October 1819.

The wife of an earlier John Dasent (b 1692) was a Miss Hill,³⁹ and Hill was one of the children of John Dasent (b 1735) who, under President Herbert's will, were to continue living on Dasent's after the plantation was sold.⁴⁰ Given that as a mestee she was the child of a mulatto and a white parent, it is possible that Hill Dasent Esq was her father.

Hill Dasent later became a Justice of the Peace and Church Warden for St George and St John Figtree and was a member of Legislative Council.⁴¹

James was born in 1822 (no day or month).

It is likely that he was the labourer James Dasent who in 1882 bought a small plot of land in St George Gingerland from the owner of Stoney Hill Estate. Then aged sixty, James Dasent paid £17 stlg for a property that bordered roads on two sides. Among James Dasent's neighbours was Aaron

³⁷ Nevis Historical and Conservation Society (NHCS) Archive, Nevis, St Thomas Lowland Baptismal Records, 1827-1873 Numbers 771, 943, 1043, 1104, 1168, 1255, 1408 and 1511. See also numbers 1154, 1195 and 1344

³⁸ In March 1833 John Hanley was wrongly listed as John Stanley

³⁹ Sir Bernard Burke *Landed Gentry* (London: Harrison, 1871) 15th ed.

⁴⁰ Berkshire Record Office (BRO), Loveden Papers, D/ELV/26 Office copy of Nevis Chancery Court Bill of Complaint Magnus Morton Herbert vs Richard Dennistoun et al, 1824

⁴¹ UKNA, CO 187/33-35 and CO 187/40 Blue Books Nevis

Morton;⁴² he probably was Aaron who had been born in 1821 on Low Ground plantation. At that time Magnus Morton was managing the estate as executor of his cousin Martha Williams Hamilton.⁴³

The Stoney Hill Estate where James Dasent lived was adjacent to Magnus Morton's Hard Times, and his purchase is an example of how once thriving sugar plantations were being parcelled up to make way for small plots of land on which islanders could build houses, grow food and keep small domestic animals. It also shows that people generally tended to stay in their old neighbourhoods.

Lewis was born on 9 December 1822.

Flora was born on 12 March 1824.

Jack Joliffe was born on 1 April 1824.

His surname was that of Andrew Jolliffe, a 'planter' – more likely a manager or overseer. Judging by bequests Andrew Joliffe made in his will, he operated in the vicinity of Dasent's plantation; he left his house and a plot of land to the free woman Louisa Joliffe and her mother Bess Dasent. Andrew Joliffe died aged 56 in 1828.⁴⁴

Mary Liburd was born on 7 April 1825. She probably was the older sister of Thomas Liburd and Jem Liburd. Her surname was that of a planter family. At that time there were at least two other females called Mary Liburd in Nevis.

Daisey Philips was born on 18 August 1825. The surname Philips is very much associated with several English mariners from Bristol (George, James, Thomas, William Edward) who freed several enslaved people.

Andrew was born on 29 November 1825. Then called Andrew Dasent, he may well have been among more than one hundred members of the Anglican congregation who in April 1863 signed a letter thanking Revd Walter Fawkes Maynard for carrying out parish duties and assisting the 'worthy Rector the Rev Joseph Herbert Pemberton'.⁴⁵

Bell was born on 20 December 1825.

Patty was born on 1 June 1826.

⁴² ECSCRN, CR 1877-1899 f65-6 No 1569

⁴³ UKNA, T 71/365

⁴⁴ Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies at Rhodes House, Oxford (BLO), Box MSS. W. Ind. S. 24 (b) Typed Manuscript

⁴⁵ Suffolk RO (SRO), Ipswich, Maynard Papers, HA 178-1/57 'Address of thanks from the inhabitants of the parish of St George's Gingerland, island of Nevis, to Rev Walter F Maynard ...'

Thomas (Thomas Liburd) was born on 21 March 1827 and probably was a brother of Mary Liburd, born in 1825, and Jem Liburd, born in 1829. Thomas Liburd was also the name of a planter, magistrate and member of the Assembly.

In 1863 two men called Thomas Liburd joined many others in the parish of St George Gingerland in signing a letter expressing gratitude to the clergyman Revd Walter Fawkes Maynard who had assisted an elderly colleague.⁴⁶

Thomas Liburd may have been among almost six hundred inhabitants who signed a memorial to King Edward VII regarding the economic distress people experienced in Nevis. The timing of their appeal may be important; they petitioned the King a year after Queen Victoria died - perhaps the inhabitants of Nevis felt that they had better chances of redress from the new King.

Reminding the King that their forebears had been enslaved people, the petitioners began their appeal with 'We the undersigned your Majesty's most humble, dutiful and loyal subjects the peasantry and agricultural owners and descendants of the emancipated slaves of the Island of Nevis in the Leeward Islands send greetings to our Lord the King and showeth...'. Citing low incomes, they asked for his Majesty's help with taxes, improving the island's health care and getting additional financial support. The petitioners also sought his support in getting a share of uncultivated land for growing subsistence and export crops.⁴⁷ The question of landownership which was central to the economic woes experienced by the descendants of enslaved people was not resolved and was again raised when a Royal Commission investigated the social and economic conditions in the West Indies in the late 1930s – one hundred years after Emancipation. The commissioners recommended that share cropping should be replaced by land settlement which 'should itself be based on a system of mixed farming with sugar cane as the chief crop.'⁴⁸ Without land of their own, many people were unable to sustain themselves - neither could they keep animals and grow their own food, nor could they grow crops for sale. For many emigration was the only way out of poverty.

Nanny Bennett was born on 8 October 1827. Her surname was a common one in Nevis, particularly among the free population.

Milley was born on 13 December 1827.

Davy was born on 28 January 1828

Amelia was born on 4 April 1828.

Jem (Jim) Liburd was born on 7 June 1829. He probably was a younger brother of Mary Liburd and Thomas Liburd.

⁴⁶ SRO, Maynard Papers, HA 178-1/57 'Address of thanks ...'

⁴⁷ UKNA, CO 172/276 Memorial to King by JC Taylor, Pollards Village, and over 570 others, 8 April 1902

⁴⁸ Gordon Clark Merrill *The Historical Geography of St Kitts and Nevis, British West Indies* (Mexico: Instituto Panamericano de Geografia e Historia, 1958) p98

Under the terms of the Slavery Abolition Act 1833 all children under the age of six were automatically free on 1 August 1834. While Jem and the other children born after him were free, his older siblings and their families had to undergo an apprenticeship period until 1 August 1838.

In practise this meant that children under the age of six were no longer entitled to receive plantation allowances of food and clothing, or medical care. Mothers were supposed to meet their children's needs and if women were unable to do so, the children could be contracted to work on the estate until they reached the age of 21. Whether this issue arose and whether it was enforced on Dasent's, or indeed elsewhere, is not known.

Christian was born on 10 October 1829. Although hers is now more commonly used as a masculine name, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries many girls were called Christian.

Siah Huggins was born on 3 October 1829.

Then in his early seventies, he may have been the Josiah Huggins who in April 1902 was among hundreds of others who signed the memorial to King Edward VII. In it the inhabitants appealed for help in their economic distress.⁴⁹

Jane was born on 2 March 1830.

John Thomas was born on 6 September 1831. Presumably he was given an additional name, Thomas, to distinguish him from the 12-year-old John Hanley.

Kitsey was born on 14 October 1831.

Eleanor was born on 14 March 1832.

Martha was born on 20 March 1832.

Samuel was born on 20 March 1833.

Sarah was born on 23 August 1833.

Walter was born on 21 August 1833. At eleven months old he was not the youngest of the 88 people for whom the House received compensation. That was an unnamed baby who was born after the final list was taken on 7 February 1834 and before 1 August 1834.

⁴⁹ UKNA, CO 172/276 Memorial to King by JC Taylor, Pollards Village, and over 570 others, 8 April 1902

It is not known how many of these people survived their four-year apprenticeship period until full freedom was granted on 1 August 1838.

Going back in time

These 88 men, women and children lived on Dasent's in 1834. Almost exactly one hundred years earlier, in 1735, the name Dasent was for the first time linked in the Nevis records with enslaved people when John Dasent Esq made available 99 'negro work days' for a public building project: erecting a fortification at Saddle Hill which lies in the same parish as the plantation.⁵⁰ Since plantations were required to supply a proportion of their labour force to work on communal ventures, such as building roads or maintaining ponds, this would suggest that John Dasent had a sizeable property in 1735. In 1755 he (or his nephew or great nephew of the same name) paid a local head tax on 141 enslaved people. His plantation was then among the 27 larger estates with over one hundred people.⁵¹

The last Dasent to have been a planter appears to have been John Dasent who died in 1787, having also been a Chief Justice. Several generations of the Dasent family held the positions of Attorney-General, Chief Justice and Assistant Judge⁵² and were, like many planters, actively involved in the two houses of the local Legislature, the Assembly and the Council.⁵³

In 1773 John Dasent sold to John Richardson Herbert, the President of the Council, two small estates in the parish of St George Gingerland with eighty enslaved people.⁵⁴ Presumably this was the property called 'late Dasent's' which was included in an inventory of possessions made after President Herbert's death. Since Herbert had owned very extensive property, four instead of the usual three men were charged with the task of appraising everything. Valuing possessions was not an exact science but the men chosen to compile inventories were experienced planters and knew the market price of everyone and everything on a plantation. If they disagreed, they took an average of their valuations.

On 8 February 1793 the valuers wrote down their assessments of the 113 enslaved people then on Dasent's. Of the 26 men, 46 women, 15 boys, 7 girls and 19 children the mason Anthony was most expensive, worth £140, while one man and three women who had leprosy were listed as of no value. Another woman with leprosy was still able to work and therefore worth £70 which was the going rate for a middling field worker. In all, the 113 people were worth £6,535 stlg, or on average about £58 stlg each.

The appraisers also itemised the equipment used in the production of sugar and rum: wire strainers, skimmers, ladles and sugar coolers. They listed cattle cane carts and horse dung carts, as well ropes, wheel barrows, spare cart wheels and the plantation animals: horses, asses, mules, sheep and cattle. A devastating hurricane had hit Nevis in 1772 and John Dasent's property had been among those badly affected - 'His boiling house down and every out house down' -⁵⁵ but by 1793 the estate had two boiling houses, two cattle mills and a still house loft. On the land were also a stable, a small dwelling house – probably the manager's – and a sick house which on some plantations doubled up as a prison.

⁵⁰ UKNA, CO 186/2 Council; Assembly; Council in Assembly, 1730-1756

⁵¹ Another 32 plantations paid tax on between 50 and 99 enslaved people and 58 owners paid tax on between ten to 49 people (PP, Dom Box R).

⁵² Hazel Lake *Sugar Planters in Little Parndon* (Harlow, 2002) p28; Sir Nicholas Harris Nicolas *The Dispatches and Letters of Vice Admiral Lord Viscount Nelson* Vol 1 (London, 1845) pp224-25 Nelson to Prince William, 26 April 1787

⁵³ UKNA, CO 155/5 Minutes Council; Assembly 1713-1715; Calendar of State Papers 1732 pp40-1, CO 185/4 MS 1735-1749; CO 186/6 Minutes of Council and Assembly 1765-1781; NHCS Archive, GE/N3 Anon *Symonds Estate*

⁵⁴ David Small 'Montpelier Estate, St John Figtree, Nevis: Contrasting Legacies on a Sugar Plantation' p25 fn88 <https://seis.bristol.ac.uk/~emceee/montpelierhistory.pdf>; see also ECSCRN, CR 1783-1785 ff144-47

⁵⁵ Anon, *An Account of the Late Dreadful Hurricane, which happened on the 31st of August, 1772. Also the Damage done on that Day in the Islands of St. Christopher and Nevis, Attempted to be Ascertained. By the Editor.* Printed and sold by Thomas Howe, Basseterre, by Mr John Anderson junior in Nevis and Mr David Crawford in St Eustatia, 1772

and Dear.⁵⁹ To make matters worse, smallpox and a virulent fever spread through the island and killed many.⁶⁰ Three children died on Dasent's not long after the appraisal was completed, among them a boy called Welcome who died of smallpox. He may have caught the virus from other patients, but he may well have been inoculated unsuccessfully with live smallpox matter. These inoculations had been practised in Africa and China for centuries and in the West Indies since the 1720s.⁶¹ Just a few years after Welcome died, an English doctor, Edward Jenner, discovered that spreading matter from cowpox protected better against smallpox and was safer than inoculations.⁶² Jamaica very quickly introduced a plan for vaccinations.⁶³

In August 1793 another severe hurricane hit Nevis, causing much destruction.⁶⁴ Hurricanes not only damaged the sugar mills and the boiling houses but also the enslaved people's homes which tended to be located on marginal land that was unsuitable for growing crops. Some of the better-off – the tradesmen, the drivers and sugar boilers – had small wooden houses with wooden shingles; the others lived in dwellings made of wattle and daub which were thatched with cane leaves. They could be rebuilt quickly but this was an added burden on top of repairing other plantation structures and carrying out the work which the annual cycle of sugar production demanded.

In May 1797 Dasent's came into the possession of Magnus Morton through a deal he struck with John Richardson Herbert's daughter, Martha Williams Hamilton, and her husband.⁶⁵ Magnus Morton, who was Herbert's nephew and Mrs Hamilton's cousin, many years later added the surname Herbert according to John Richardson Herbert's wishes.⁶⁶

Morton already owned Hard Times, a plantation which bordered Dasent's to the north, and it appears that at some stage he moved some of his people from Hard Times onto Dasent's and erected houses on about two acres of land that lay between the ghuts (ravines).⁶⁷

Apparently immediately after acquiring Dasent's Magnus Morton and his wife left for England. He had married Christianna,⁶⁸ the daughter of the planter George Forbes, shortly after John Richardson Herbert had died. In Bristol Mrs Pinney found a house for the Mortons to rent; the two families had long known each other. Back in the 1770s Morton's father, together with John Richardson Herbert, had borrowed £1,200 from John Pretor Pinney,⁶⁹ repaid it and then his son borrowed the same sum not long after he got married.⁷⁰ By then Pinney senior was in partnership with his eldest son, John Frederick; Charles Pinney, the youngest, was then still a toddler.

Mrs Pinney knew what kind of accommodation would appeal to the Mortons: a fashionable address - 24 The Mall, Clifton – with dining and drawing rooms, four good bedchambers, four garrets for the servants, and 'proper offices' (toilets). At five guineas a week the house came with linen and Queensware for the table. Each servant - a cook and a housemaid – cost an additional five shillings a

⁵⁹ UK Hydrographic Office, Taunton, *Remark Book 39* (AC1) Remarks by HMS Sloop *Fairy*, Francis Laforey Commander, anchored Charlestown Road 27 February - 1 March 1793

⁶⁰ JAH Evans, 'Nathaniel Wells of Piercefield and St Kitts: From Slave to Sheriff' *Monmouthshire Antiquary*, 18 (2002) pp91-106 (p96) quoting NLW Bodryddan Correspondence Vol 1 West Indies 29 May, 23 August, 7 September and 17 December 1793 (for small pox, hurricane and fever 1793); also PP, LB 12: John Pinney, Bristol, to Richard Pew, Shaftesbury, 28 November 1793

⁶¹ JR Ward *British West Indian Slavery 1750-1834 – The process of Amelioration* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988) p164

⁶² Ian Dawson and Ian Coulson (eds) *Medicine & Health through Time* (London: John Murray, 1996) p116; Kendall A Smith 'Edward Jenner and the Small Pox Vaccine' *Frontiers in Immunology* (May 2011) <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC3342363/> [accessed 19 October 2022]

⁶³ BW Higman *Slave population and economy in Jamaica 1807-1834* (Jamaica: University of the West Indies Press, 1976) p115

⁶⁴ The National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth, Bodrhyddan MSS 2: Frances Daniell to the Revd the Dean of Asaph, 7 September 1793 (transcribed by Brian Littlewood); Robert F Marx *Shipwrecks in the Americas* (New York: Bonanza Books, 1983) p267

⁶⁵ For details, see David Small 'Montpelier Estate, St John Figtree, Nevis'

⁶⁶ BRO, Loveden Papers, D/ELV/26 Office copy of Nevis Chancery Court Bill of Complaint ... 1824; ECSCRN, Book of Wills, 1787-1805 ff151-66; LB 55 Pinney Ames & Co to Mrs CM Herbert, 2 Green Park Place, Bath, 6 June 1820

⁶⁷ ECSCRN, CR 1858-1859 ff91-94 Indenture C Pinney/EH Case and PT Huggins, 12 and 13 February 1845

⁶⁸ VL Oliver *Caribbeana* Vol 5 p226 The Herbert pedigree states 1792, not 1793

⁶⁹ PP, Miscellaneous Volumes, Notebook 7 Bundle T

⁷⁰ PP, Catalogue 4 Add. Pinney Materials DM 1173 Dom Box 4 1880-1894, Volume of Deeds, Bonds etc p8

week.⁷¹ Gentlefolk like the Mortons always travelled with their own personal attendants from Nevis, and they would have taken someone from Dasent's or Hard Times with them. These servants brought with them the latest news and gossip to people from Nevis who lived in Britain - like the Pinneys' black servants Pero Jones, Fanny Coker and Christianna Jacques. Morton may well have taken as his manservant the mulatto James Parris whom his father had gifted to him when both were boys – Magnus Morton junior and James, or 'Jemmey', Parris.⁷²

In 1804 the Mortons were staying in London⁷³ and it is possible that they only returned to Nevis in May 1814 when a friend noted Morton's arrival.⁷⁴ Later that year Morton freed James Parris's daughter Nancy Parris. Complying with local legislation, Morton presented her to three magistrates who had to assess whether she would be capable of earning her upkeep.⁷⁵ This law was put in place to prevent irresponsible slaveholders from freeing the 'unfit or lepers' without providing for their future upkeep.⁷⁶ The manumitter had to deposit a security with the island's Treasury for those deemed incapable of maintaining themselves – mostly young children. The magistrates were satisfied that Nancy Parris could work, and Morton freed her on 1 September 1814. A day later he sold her the 'negro woman' Ritta for £132 Nevis currency (N£).⁷⁷ Nancy Parris neither freed, nor registered her in 1817. Either Ritta died, or she was among the many people who was allowed to live in semi-freedom – neither considered by her buyer as her property, nor legally freed.⁷⁸

The war with France had continued, at sea and on land. Islands were attacked, fought over, captured and sometimes re-taken until peace was finally declared in 1815. Meanwhile supply shortages were such that on some plantations enslaved people received no allowance for several months yet they still had to do hard physical labour, from dawn till dusk, six days a week. The 'alarming scarcity of provisions' finally forced the Legislature to purchase food and distribute it to enslaved and poor free people.⁷⁹

What had begun in 1791 as an uprising by enslaved people on St Domingue ended in 1804 with the Republic of Haiti being established - the first independent black state outside Africa. This victory gave enslaved people everywhere a sense of pride as well as hope. All over the Caribbean people were conspiring, rebelling, fighting for their freedom - sometimes just on one or two plantations, sometimes on a larger scale.⁸⁰ In Britain, meanwhile, the abolitionists' long campaign ended in the Parliament passing the Act for the Abolition of the Slave Trade which came into effect on 1 May 1807 and made it illegal for British citizens or British vessels to transport captured Africans. The Act, however, did not stop the trade in enslaved people between the Caribbean islands and, to end the

⁷¹ PP, LB 12: John Pinney to Magnus Morton, 19 July 1797

⁷² ECSCRN, CR 1776-1777 ff261-62

⁷³ PP, LB 19: Pinney to M Morton, Devonshire Street, Portman Place, (?date) 1804

⁷⁴ BLO, MSS W. Ind. S. 24 (b)

⁷⁵ In 1827 Morton freed another Nancy Parris (born 1824), the daughter of Peggy Parris.

⁷⁶ Thomas Cochrane MD *Answers to the Fifth Table of Queries published by the Society in London, instituted for the purpose of effecting the Abolition of the Slave Trade* (Edinburgh: D Willison, 1789) reprinted in John Oldfield (ed) *The British Atlantic Slave Trade* (London: Routledge, 2003) Vol 3 pp141-76

⁷⁷ ECSCRN, CR 1814-1817 ff93-5 and ff95-6

Using the Nevis currency/pound sterling conversion rate in force in 1814, N£132 was then worth £66 pound sterling. Based on the retail price index calculation, £66 had a relative price worth (RPW) of £4,910 in 2021.

By way of comparison and using the same way of calculating (RPW), in the first quarter of the nineteenth century a plantation manager in Nevis earned between N£250 and N£350 a year (worth in 2021 £10,900 to £15,300 sterling); an overseer N£100 to N£150 (£4,370 to £6,550 sterling) (<https://www.measuringworth.com/calculators/ukcompare/>).

⁷⁸ For someone who had lived as a free woman but had not been manumitted, see Black Polly's biography No 261 in 'The Mountravers Plantation Community, 1734 to 1834' Part 2 Chapter 4

⁷⁹ UKNA, CO152/98 Extracts from Letters from (JW Tobin) of Nevis, 1 August 1811; CO 186/10 Minutes of the Legislative Council; Assembly 1812-1815

⁸⁰ David Geggus, 'Slave rebellion during the Age of Revolution' in *Curacao in the Age of Revolutions, 1795-1800* Wim Klooster and Gert Oostindie (eds) (Leiden: Brill, 2011) pp23-56 (Appendix 'Slave Rebellions and Conspiracies, 1776-1848')

inter-island trafficking, in 1811 the British government passed further legislation.⁸¹ Despite the threat of draconian fines, some years later a custom official and a Chief Judge were among those said to have been involved in illegally importing forty to fifty people to Nevis.⁸²

As a way of monitoring those held legally and to encourage slaveholders to improve conditions, the British government required its colonies to establish regular inventories. Initially introduced in Trinidad in 1813 and in St Lucia in 1815,⁸³ in Nevis the first registers were compiled in 1817.

⁸¹ Emily Haslam, 'Redemption, Colonialism and International Criminal Law: The Nineteenth Century Slave-Trading Trials of Samo and Peters' in *Past Law, Present Histories* ed by Diana Kirkby (Canberra: Australian National University E-Press, 2012); also Michael Fry *The Scottish Empire* (East Lothian: Tuckwell Press, 2001) p80

⁸² Lowell J Ragatz *The Fall of the Planter Class in the British Caribbean 1763-1833, a study in social and economic history* (New York: Octagon Books, 1971) p388

⁸³ Eric Williams (comp. and ed.) *Documents on British West Indian History, 1807 to 1833* (Port of Spain: Trinidad Publishing Co, 1952) p59, quoting UKNA, CO 295/28 Order in Council, 26 March 1812

Relatives, friends and fellow workers, 1817-1834

The 88 people for whom the House received compensation did not exist in isolation. They had friends and fellow workers and perhaps lived with others with whom they had shared that awful passage across the Atlantic. Some had mothers and fathers, children, siblings, aunts and uncles and perhaps even grandparents - either on Dasent's or elsewhere in Nevis (or, of course, in Africa). Away from Dasent's they would have been part of other networks. Nevis was small enough for people to have been able to visit neighbouring plantations, and slaveholders accepted a certain amount of absenteeism – as long as people returned on their own accord within a reasonable time. Plantation workers attended dances, went to market on Sundays and once churchgoing was encouraged, the people from Dasent's became part of the local congregations. The Anglican Church was within easy walking distance, as was the Gingerland Methodist Church. In the mid-1820s its congregation consisted almost entirely of enslaved people.⁸⁴ Although most of the population had embraced the Christian faith, African beliefs and African forms of worship were still very much alive decades later.⁸⁵

Babies were born, people died - plantation populations were in constant flux. An outbreak of smallpox or other diseases could quickly reduce the number of able-bodied workers which then put pressure on the remaining workforce until replacements arrived. After acquiring Dasent's Magnus Morton had bought several Africans and others but after 1817 the only additions were two young men and a young woman he transferred from his cousin's estates, Clarke's or Montpelier and Low Ground, and from his other property, Hard Times.

45 children are known to have been born on Dasent's between 1817 and 1834 but almost certainly this figure is too low. More children would have been born who died very young; infant deaths often went unrecorded because some slaveholders did not see the need to list children who did not exist on the day of registration. As yet there was no legal requirement for the parishes to document all deaths and people were still being buried on plantation land, or underneath houses and in yards.

Of the 113 people who had been valued in 1793, 33 survived until 1817. Of those, 17 died between 1817 and 1831 and another four may have died between 1831 and 1834. Eleven men and women (representing ten per cent of the 1793 population) had survived on Dasent's since 1793 and were alive in August 1834.

A small number of people were freed. It is striking that six of the seven individuals sold for manumission were mixed-race. Between 1817 and 1834 no owners of Dasent's freed anyone for 'love and affection' or similar expressions of devotion used at the time; all seven had to buy their freedoms by paying certain sums to the respective owners.

Another nine people were sold not to themselves but to other slaveholders: three to a free mixed-race woman, one to Magnus Morton's daughter-in-law, and a mother and her three children were sold to, and then freed, by the children's father. One man was sold to Trinidad, in effect sent into exile, or, as it was phrased in another case, 'banished to Trinidad'.



⁸⁴ Anon *The Missionary Register for 1827* (London, 1827)

⁸⁵ Revd John Horsford *A Voice from the West Indies, Being a Review of the Character ...* (London: Alexander Heylin, 1856) pp290-91

The following people were on Dasent's in 1817 but either died, were sold or freed before 1834.

Tatto (Tattea, Tattoo) was in 1793 one of six men who were valued at £100. If his estimated age in 1817 was correct, he would then have been in his mid-forties. Aged about 70, he died on 1 December 1817, the first to die after the register was completed. In the next register which recorded his death his name was written as Tattoo. It is likely that he was an African man and that his name derived from him having been tattooed. Body adornments such as tattoos and scarification are often mentioned in historic records.

Nancy, an eight-year-old girl, died not long after Tatto, on 11 December 1817.

Quaw. If his estimated age in 1817 (40) was correct, in 1793 he would have been about 16 when he was valued at £75. Although he had an African name, he was not listed as such in 1817. Quaw died on 18 October 1818.

Camberwell died on 6 January 1819 aged about 17.

Harriet (Harriett). On 28 August 1819 Magnus Morton sold the mulatto woman Harriett and her three mestee children to their father, Thomas Marriner junior. **Jane** was nine years old, **George Marriner** eight years and **Thomas Marriner** nine months.

Harriet is one of the few women from Dasent's known about in any detail and it is therefore worth exploring her story and that of her family. It is possible to follow her through the documents relating to Jane Marriner (who freed her) and so discover something of these women's lives.

Thomas Marriner junior, the man who bought Harriet, already owned several enslaved people. He was called a planter but he did not appear to own a plantation; he was a manager or an overseer.⁸⁶ He paid £200 stlg⁸⁷ for Harriet and his children which would have been a manager's income for a year or more. However, not long after buying his family he died. He was buried at the beginning of January 1820.⁸⁸

Thomas Marriner junior died without having made a will and his mother Jane petitioned for his effects. Three years earlier she and Thomas had done the same after her husband, also called Thomas, had also died intestate. Her husband's assets had been appraised and, as was often the case, his enslaved people accounted for the greater part of his possessions, N£400 out of N£720.⁸⁹ In her son's case, they accounted for a third - N£480 out of N£1,300. Another N£770 was tied up in three valuable consignments of merchandise, two barrels of sugar, as well as pine boards and shingles.⁹⁰ The items suggest he might have intended to set Harriet up in business selling the merchandise and perhaps build a house for his family. If his mother owned or rented a plot in Charlestown, he could have put a building on her land as was customary.

⁸⁶ For details about recruitment, pay and the work of plantation managers and overseers, see 'The Mountravers Plantation Community, 1734-1834' <https://seis.bristol.ac.uk/~emceee/mountraversplantationcommunity.html> Part 3 Chapter 1

⁸⁷ ECSCRN, CR 1817-1819 ff460-61

⁸⁸ BLO, Box MSS. W. Ind. S. 24 (b) Typed Manuscript

⁸⁹ ECSCRN, Book of Wills, 1805-1818 ff332-34

⁹⁰ ECSCRN, Book of Wills, 1819-1830 ff67-72

Presumably Harriet and her children moved to Charlestown to live with Mrs Jane Marriner. It would have been a busy household. Jane Marriner had five surviving under-age children, and she had her husband's and her son's enslaved people, 14 in total. There were two mulatto women in their 20s, a black woman, an African man, six children and Harriet's four mestee children. This included Marianne whom Magnus Morton had sold to Thomas Marriner junior a day before the slave inventories were supposed to have been completed in July 1817. This meant Morton did not register the girl in 1817 but Thomas Marriner junior did, together with Alphonzo, an African man. Proudly he had noted his daughter's age. Marianne was 5 years 7 months 29 days old.

Her father had paid N£60 for her in 1817⁹¹ but when Marianne was valued in 1820, she was said to have been worth only N£50, the same as her brother George. Their sister Jane, although a year older than George, was valued at N£40 and Thomas at N£20. Their mother, Harriet, was valued at N£120⁹² - the same as a black woman from St Kitts, Ritta Marr, together with her young son Andrew. They were among those who had belonged to Thomas Marriner senior; these people were worth another N£264: Leannah and her five-year-old son Edward, and Bob and Christiana. It is evident from these sums that a lot of money was tied up in enslaved people. Jane Marriner had inherited valuable assets from her husband and son.

Just before Christmas 1824 Jane Marriner, as the administratrix of Thomas Marriner the Younger, freed Harriet with her four children 'for and in consideration of the good and faithful services'. Oddly, the boys but not the girls were freed with their surnames. Three magistrates assessed that Harriet was able to support herself and the older children but for the six-year-old Thomas a bond for N£270 was 'filed with the Registrar's office'.⁹³ It is not known whether Mrs Marriner or Harriet lodged the bond.

While Harriet and her children lived as freed people, they escaped being sold and possibly being separated from each other. Mrs Marriner sold some of the others whom Harriet would have known well: Christiana was sold to an unmarried middle-aged woman and Ritta Marr and her son Andrew were sold to Trinidad. This suggests that the widow had found the behaviour of Ritta Marr or her son (or perhaps both) so intolerable that she wanted to banish them from Nevis.

More straightforward were the transfers of four of the males whom the widow Mrs Marriner gave to her four children - her sons William, George Thomas and Edward and her daughter Jane who was married by then.⁹⁴ These four had been entitled to inherit after the death of their older brother and by 1828 they were old enough to complete their own triennial returns. Since enslaved people were possessions and possessions belonged to husbands, in Jane's case hers had to be registered by her husband.

While her children swapped their people and acquired some more, by 1831 Mrs Marriner had only Leannah left and also had in her possession Alphonzo, her son's African man. He was a cooper and valued at N£200. Mrs Marriner would have been only too aware that coopers were in great demand

⁹¹ ECSCRN, CR 1817-1819 ff40-1

⁹² ECSCRN, Book of Wills, 1819-1830 ff67-71

⁹³ ECSCRN, CR 1823-1829 Vol 2 ff261-62

The British government had asked its colonies for information on manumissions, and it was noted that on 21 December 1824 three magistrates freed a female and her four children. The ages which were given (28, 12, 13, 14, 15 years) roughly correspond to the ages in Dasent's 1817 register but Thomas Marriner's age should have been six instead of 12 years (Slave Population: Papers and Returns presented to the House of Commons, 6 June 1825 pp671-72 Enclosure No 3: A Return of the Number of Manumissions ... in Nevis from 1 January 1821 to 30 November 1825 Digitised by the Hathi Trust <https://www.hathitrust.org/about>).

See also a document of 1831 where Jane, then called Jane Parris, was once more presented to three magistrates who confirmed that 'she would not likely become chargeable to any parish or to the Publick of this island' and was freed accordingly, with the date wrongly given as 19 March 1821 (ECSCRN, CR 1831-1835 ff26-7).

⁹⁴ BLO, Box MSS. W. Ind. S. 24 (b)

on plantations and 'will always bring good hire'.⁹⁵ Renting Alphonzo out for a year would have given her an income of perhaps N£30.⁹⁶ Coopers were also needed on the merchant vessels to trim water casks and carry out other repairs;⁹⁷ for highly skilled or urgent jobs a cooper could earn as much as N£1:10.0 a day.⁹⁸ Another way of making money was to teach others the craft which would bring in about N£10 a year.⁹⁹ If Mrs Marriner could spare Leanorah, hiring her out as a domestic would have earned her about N£20 a year.¹⁰⁰ In some instances the enslaved person was given a share of the money.

Mrs Marriner could not afford to keep Alphonzo and, no doubt, very reluctantly she sold him to William Thomas Nicholson, a medical doctor from a Nevis planter family. Mrs Marriner was in debt and her affairs were such that Leanorah was sold at a Marshal's Sale where Dr Nicholson also purchased her. It is very likely that the two-year-old sambo girl whom Dr Nicholson registered in 1834 was Leanorah's child with Alphonzo.¹⁰¹ Leanorah's son Edward from another relationship was with Mrs Marriner's daughter until he was swapped.

With her source of income gone and without any enslaved people of her own left, the widow Mrs Marriner may well have had to rely on her children for support. Having already buried her husband and at least two children, her son George Thomas Marriner, a merchant, died in August 1835 at the age of 30. Six weeks later Mrs Jane Marriner of Charlestown also died aged 53.¹⁰²

The mother and son whom Jane Marriner had sent to Trinidad - Ritta Marr and Andrew – both survived until 1834 when they worked as labourers on a sugar plantation in the Naparima area.¹⁰³

The last reference to the woman Harriet from Dasent's was from 1824 when she was freed with her four children, and it is not known what happened to her, or her daughters Marianne and Jane. Her son George Marriner was until 1864 the poundkeeper for the parish of St Thomas Lowland and became a member of the vestry for the parish.¹⁰⁴ He must have acquired freehold land since only freeholders could stand for, and vote in, annual elections for the vestry board. This body managed parish affairs and wielded a considerable amount of power at local level. Property-owning freeholders could also shape island-wide politics because they were entitled to vote for members of the Assembly. Since people had been disenfranchised for so long, it is surprising that relatively few citizens were involved in political affairs; in the 1861 election only a third of registered voters took part.¹⁰⁵

George Marriner died at the age of 52 and was buried on 29 October 1865. He had lived at Morton's Bay in the parish of St Thomas Lowland.¹⁰⁶

⁹⁵ BULSC, Pares Notes, PN221, quoting LB 6 1783-1788 p258 John Pretor Pinney to Wm Coker, 24 October 1787

⁹⁶ PP, AB 20 Sarah Maynard's a/c (also p168 Sarah Maynard's a/c)

⁹⁷ PP, AB 1790 1 May 1790 - 30 July 1794 p29 Charles Maies for the Nevis a/c; also AB 39 Ship Nevis a/c

⁹⁸ PP, AB 20 Edward Jones' a/c

⁹⁹ PP, AB 30 1 March 1790; AB 43 Cash a/c; also AB 39 Plantation a/c 1790

¹⁰⁰ PP, DM 1173 Nevis Ledger (Mt Zion) 1789-1794 f85 Negro Hire a/c; also AB 39

¹⁰¹ Leanorah, Alphonzo and the sambo girl Caroline were among twelve people for whom William Thomas Nicholson received £234:3:0 compensation (UKNA, T 71/369 and T 71/1039 Nevis Claim No 10).

¹⁰² NHCS Archive, St Paul's Burials, 1837-1840 No 670 and 674

Jane Marriner's sons Edward and William received compensation for one and two persons each, £11:19:4 and £31:18:2. Her daughter Jane's husband, William Roper, claimed compensation for four people on behalf of their under-age son but, in order to pay off a debt, Roper had to assign the money to the free woman Hester Smith (UKNA, T 71/1039 Nevis Claims Numbers 219, 220 and 238).

¹⁰³ In 1825 Ritta Marr worked as a domestic and her eight-year-old son Andrew as a mule boy on Mount Stuart sugar plantation (UKNA, T 71/512 and T 71/519 Trinidad Slave Registers 1825 and 1834). William Meikleham did not receive the compensation for Mount Stuart; £2,140:8:5 went to one George Cole to repay a mortgage (Trinidad Claim No 1785 on UCL, Centre for the Study of the Legacies of British Slavery <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/>).

¹⁰⁴ UKNA, CO 187/33-35, CO 187/39-40 Blue Books Nevis

¹⁰⁵ UKNA, CO 187/35 Blue Book Nevis

¹⁰⁶ NHCS Archive, St Thomas Lowland Burials, 1827-1954

Harriet's other son, Thomas Marriner, became a shopkeeper in St George Gingerland where in the late 1840s he bought land to the northeast of Old Manor estate. His plot bordered the public road and a property called 'Gingerland Shop'.¹⁰⁷ Like his brother George, Thomas Marriner was a vestryman for his local parish as well as the poundkeeper. No salary was attached to this job; owners paid a fee when they collected their animals from the pound. In 1866 Thomas Marriner was still a poundkeeper and had been elected to the Nevis Assembly.¹⁰⁸ In his late forties he had become one of the influential people in Nevis.

In 1871 Thomas Marriner sold part of his land. For £30 he sold it to a neighbour, Sophia Hendrickson, who, with another neighbour, was going to construct a bridge of 'rubble masonry for the conveyance of provisions as may be reaped from the said land'. The old estates became fragmented as people bought and sold sections for their own use: to live on the land and to grow food. Thomas Marriner signed the indenture, as did Elizabeth Marriner – presumably his wife. In 1881 he added to his landholdings by bidding at an auction for 45 acres known as Sherriffs. He paid £211 stlg and was still able to lend £96 stlg to the planter William Dore, taking as security Dore's house and furniture at Fenton Hill. By then Thomas Marriner was described as a planter although in the following transaction he was called a merchant. The last reference to him is from 1891: Dore had not yet repaid all the money and Thomas Marriner assigned the debt to John Joseph Wilson, a writing clerk.¹⁰⁹ The economic situation was such that many people defaulted on loans and mortgages. Debt affected everyone in Nevis – including small property owners like Thomas Marriner.

Jellick. Given that her age was said to have been 40 in 1817, she would only have been in her mid-teens in 1793 when she was valued at the relatively high amount of £90. Listed among the woman, it is very likely that she had a child when she was very young. Jellick died on 9 November 1820.

Jane, born on 24 October 1820, died on 8 April 1821 aged only five months.

Hessy's 'reputed age' in 1817 was 60. When she was valued at £90 in 1793, she would have been in her mid-thirties. Hessy died on 30 April 1821.

Minnah was also estimated to have been 60. Her value in 1793 was only £60. The entry 'Minah (boy)' suggests she had given birth to a boy. Although not identified as an African, her name suggests she may have been from, or shipped from, Elmina in present-day Ghana. Minnah died on 3 September 1822.

Toney was a driver in 1793 and valued at £100. Drivers were the intermediaries between the white managers and overseers and the workforce. In the mornings drivers allotted the day's tasks to the workers and in the evening reported back on sickness, absences or anyone slacking. They ensured that good discipline was maintained at all times, using physical punishment, either by striking people with their bare hands or with whips. In Nevis they were only allowed to give a certain number of lashes; for the more serious misdemeanours they had to inform the manager who could then order them to carry out further punishments. Drivers may have been in situations where they had to

¹⁰⁷ ECSCRN, CR 1847-1858 ff175-78

¹⁰⁸ UKNA, CO 187/34-35, CO 187/38, CO 187/40 Blue Books Nevis

¹⁰⁹ ECSCRN, CR 1877-1899 ff223-25 No 1688; ff18-9 No 1533 and ff22-3 No 1535

chastise their wives, children, or elderly parents but they may also have been able to protect their families from the most gruelling work. Drivers and their families benefitted from privileges such as better housing and greater food and clothing allowances.

As the long arm of their owners' authority, drivers were accused of becoming oppressors themselves. It is not known how they were chosen – for instance, if anyone volunteered. One planter said that he selected his drivers not just for their physical fitness but also for their smartness, 'otherwise the other slaves would have no respect for him.'¹¹⁰ Chosen for their abilities and in a position of trust, they could also act as intermediaries in disputes and lobby for improved conditions. If they failed in their duties, they were always in danger of being punished themselves.

Once past his prime, an elderly driver was employed as a watchman – as a principal watch if he was still fit enough, or as an assistant once he lost his strength. Toney became one of the watches who were responsible for the security of the whole plantation: the cane fields, the manager's or owner's house, the stables, the yard with the stores full of supplies and tools, as well as the village with the enslaved people's houses. He was a watchman during a difficult time in Nevis when food shortages combined with expectations about imminent freedom led to thefts, burglaries and arson.

While carrying out his duties as a watchman Toney was murdered. He died on 29 September 1822 aged about 70. His death was reported to the next meeting of the Legislature, and the planter Edward Huggins senior moved that a reward of \$100 was offered from the public purse to catch the killer.¹¹¹ It appears that no culprit was apprehended.

George was one of three mestees on Dasent's in 1817. Aged five, he died on 19 November 1822.

Mushell died on 3 December 1822 aged about 45. His name (also Moushel, Moushal) occurred in Nevis and the Eastern Caribbean rather than in Jamaica. Its origin is not known.

Mickey. Given his estimated age in 1817 (40), in 1793 he would have been only aged about 16 when he was valued at £110 – the same as adult men who worked in the great gang. Mickey died on 26 December 1822 aged about 45.

Friday was valued at £75 in 1793 and listed among the women. She died in 1822 (no day or month given) aged about 55.

Rachel (Rachael) was valued at £70 in 1793 and listed among the women. She died in 1822 (no day or month given) aged about 43.

Philip died on 31 December 1822 aged about 13.

Oronooke, an African woman, died on 23 March 1823 in her mid-forties.

¹¹⁰ George F Tyson and Arnold R Highfield (eds) *Kamina Folk – Slavery and Slave Life in the Danish West Indies* (US Virgin Islands: Virgin Islands Humanities Council, 1994) p176 and p9

¹¹¹ UKNA, CO 186/12: 30 October 1822

Oronooke's name was more commonly given to males who were named after a literary figure, the black prince Oronooko – the central character in Aphra Behn's novel *Oronooko: or the Royal Slave*. First published in the 1680s, it later became a popular play which was performed in London.¹¹² A slaving vessel also carried the name.¹¹³

Ellen, born on 20 October 1821, died on 13 May 1823 aged one year and seven months.

Pompey was named after the classical Roman statesman. In 1793 he was one of only five men valued at £110, suggesting that he worked in the number one field gang which did the heaviest work on the plantation. Pompey died on 3 September 1823 aged about 56.

Louisa died on 6 December 1823 aged about 24.

Primus was among 38 males and 13 females who were exported from Nevis to Trinidad between 1 January 1821 and 1 January 1826.

Slaveholders in Nevis used to sell anyone they considered too troublesome or who had committed a crime to North America or to Jamaica – never to be seen again. However, since Trinidad had become a British colony and was being settled and in need of workers, a new market had opened up for slaveholders to dispose of their unwanted people. They could only do this by applying for a licence since inter-island trading had been outlawed, and Primus was exiled on the same day, 23 June 1824, as two Africans. The others were Jack Kelly, then in his early forties, and Peggy Service who was aged about 30. Primus may well have known Jack Kelly since he had lived on Hard Times, Magnus Morton's other estate that bordered Dasent's. Peggy Service had originally worked on Matthew Wallace's plantation and, after Wallace died, was sold to Magnus Morton who first put her on his cousin's Montpelier plantation but then sold her to the free woman Ann Dillon Nisbet. Presumably Miss Nisbet had not paid the purchase price in full so that Magnus Morton was named as Peggy Service's official 'Exporter'.¹¹⁴

In Trinidad Primus was sold to Cipriano Cipriani to work on a cocoa and sugar plantation, 'Ortina lately called Accone' in the quarter of Maraccas. He was one of 35 people, among them creoles from Antigua, Barbados, St Vincent but also Africans. Reflecting its recent settlement history, in Trinidad Africans made up just over half the enslaved population, a much higher proportion than in Nevis.¹¹⁵

Almost all enslaved people in Trinidad were registered with family names and, for some inexplicable reason, Primus's second name was 'Paddy'. Aged 26, he was working as a labourer. He was of small stature, 5'1", but what really marked him out was that 'A piece of his ears [was] cut off.'¹¹⁶ Having part of an ear removed suggests that this was a legal mutilation carried out with the approval of the island's Legislature since in Nevis slaveholders had 'full power of corporal punishment, according to the Nature of the Crime, but no Power of Life or Limb'; dismemberment had to be ordered by a

¹¹² Peter Fryer *Staying Power, The History of Black People in Britain* (London: Pluto Press, 1984) p145

¹¹³ Sheila Lambert (ed) *House of Commons Sessional Papers* Vol 67 p264

¹¹⁴ Slave Population: Papers and Returns presented to the House of Commons, 6 June 1825 pp669-70 Enclosure No 2: Account of Slaves Exported from Nevis, under licence, from 1 January 1821 to 1 January 1826

¹¹⁵ In Nevis 14.5 per cent of the enslaved population was identified as African; in St Kitts it was slightly higher at 16.1 per cent and higher still in St Lucia (21.4 per cent in 1815), Jamaica (37 per cent), St Vincent (38.8 per cent) and Trinidad (54.4 per cent in 1813) (BW Higman *Slave Populations of the British Caribbean* p116 Table 5.7 'Slave Sex Ratios and Per Centages African and Colored by Colony, c 1817 and c 1832').

¹¹⁶ UKNA, T 71/513 Trinidad Slave Register 1819

judge. It is not known what crime Primus was supposed to have committed; in the neighbouring colony of Montserrat, for instance, whipping and having one ear cut off was the punishment for concealing 'Staves, Clubs or mischievous weapons and Stolen Goods'. If the maiming had been done by Morton or his managers Primus had no redress. A few high-profile cases of wanton cruelty did attract the attention of the law and those slaveholders had to face the Court of King's Bench and Common Pleas¹¹⁷ but generally they tended to evade justice. Nevis had no legal mechanism for protecting enslaved people until the British government required its colonies to appoint a Protector of Slaves as part of amelioration measures that were introduced in the 1820s. Instead of saddling one person with such an unpopular task, Nevis made 'the magistracy their protectors *ex officio*'. In theory this meant that enslaved people could choose whom to turn to but, since all magistrates were planters or at least slaveholders, these were all people who had been used to act as judge, jury and punisher.

It appears that Primus was also proving too difficult for Cipriano Cipriani. Cipriani sold him to Christophe Geofroy (Geoffroy) who had lately purchased La Plaisance sugar plantation in South Naparima. This meant that not only did Primus have to move from the northern hills to the lowland area in the south of the island, but once more he had to adapt to a new environment and establish himself among his fellow workers. La Plaisance with its 57 people was smaller than Dasent's.¹¹⁸

In January 1834 Christophe Geofroy recorded four deserters.¹¹⁹ It is very likely that Primus was among them.

Calypso, an African woman, died on 7 August 1824 aged about 61.

Calypso was named after a figure from Greek mythology. Names borrowed from Greek or Roman legends were not as popular in Nevis as in some other colonies. In St Croix, for instance, a planter remarked that *most* names were 'heathen, such as Catto, Diana, and Jupiter',¹²⁰ and while he may have exaggerated, many slaveholders did give their people classical names. Pompey, the commonest, was in mid-eighteenth century England virtually synonymous with a black servant.¹²¹

Marote was African. Her 'reputed age' in 1817 (30) would have meant she was only six years old when in 1793 she was valued at £65 and listed among the girls. On Mountravers adult women in their twenties were in 1783 valued at a similar amount which suggests that her age was underestimated by at least ten years. Marote died on 24 September 1824, probably in her forties.

The name was quite common among enslaved people and may, possibly, have been an alternative spelling of Mawaté, which among the Bassari of Togo is a name given to the fourth-born child.¹²²

Parine, born on 25 November 1823, died on 26 October 1824. She was eleven months old.

¹¹⁷ Sheila Lambert (ed) *House of Commons Sessional Papers* Vol 70 p83 and Vol 69 pp356-62 1789 Evidence to the Slave Trade Enquiry

¹¹⁸ UKNA, T 71/517 Trinidad Slave Register 1831

¹¹⁹ UKNA, T 71/519 Trinidad Slave Register 1834

Christophe Geofroy made two claims for slave compensation: claim 1795 for La Plaisance for 13 enslaved people (N£679:7:3) and claim 1796 for 47 enslaved people (N£2487:7:1) (<https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/>).

¹²⁰ GF Tyson and AR Highfield (eds) *The Kamina Folk* p13

¹²¹ Peter Fryer *Staying Power* p24

¹²² Julia Stewart *1001 African Names* (New York: Kensington Publishing Corp, 1996) p152

Jeffery's Maria, a mulatto, was valued at £20 in 1793 and listed among the children when she probably was about one to two years old. This would mean that her age in 1817 (24) would have been under-estimated by a year or two. Her name suggests that her father was a man called Jeffery – possibly even Peter Jeffery, the owner of Spring Hill plantation. Her brother was Jeffery's Richard, listed before Maria in 1793. Jeffery's Maria died on 14 January 1825.

Sue, a sambo, left Dasent's on 16 May 1825 when she was aged about 13. She was sold to Mrs Elizabeth Mary Morton Herbert, Magnus Morton's daughter-in-law. She already owned a 12-year-old black girl, Caroline - a gift from Edward Huggins senior, Mrs Herbert's previous father-in-law.¹²³ Mrs Herbert's first husband, John Huggins, had died in a duel in 1822.¹²⁴

Having lived in Gingerland, a rural parish, Sue moved to Charlestown, the island's capital, where Mrs Elizabeth Mary Morton Herbert lived with her second husband, Magnus William Morton Herbert. Within months of Sue being in that new household the young Mr Herbert died.¹²⁵ Mrs Herbert was pregnant then; her son Magnus Forbes was baptised the following year.¹²⁶ After she had acquired Sue, Mrs Morton purchased a young mulatto man, William Trinney, from Magnus Morton's Hard Times estate and then a black man, Mike, from her previous father-in-law, Edward Huggins senior.

Having been widowed twice, Mrs Herbert did not marry again. As was customary for people embarking on a long journey, she made her will in October 1834 and shortly afterwards left Nevis for New Haven, Connecticut. Several people from Nevis had gained a foothold there, among them members of the Huggins, Maynard and Hanley families. At least two freed young women from Nevis are known to have gone to New Haven as servants, and it is very likely that Mrs Herbert took Sue with her to attend to her and her son. Elizabeth Mary Morton Herbert died not long after arriving in New Haven.

Her compensation of £68:12:2 for her four people, among them Sue, was paid to George Samuel Woodley Wattle and his wife Fanny¹²⁷ - Mrs Elizabeth Mary Morton Herbert's sister – in their roles as her executor and executrix. In her will Mrs Herbert had left the compensation money to her sister.¹²⁸

Phibba, was in 1793 listed among the women and valued at £100. Next to her name was written 'girl', suggesting she may have given birth to a girl. Phibba's name is of Akan origin, meaning 'born on a Friday'. She died on 15 October 1825 aged about 63.

Old Frankey. In 1793 when she was perhaps in her mid-forties, she was valued at only £20 – the same as some of the young children. It is likely that she suffered from a long-term illness or disability but, assuming her reputed age in 1817 (60) is correct, she died in her late seventies on 19 October 1825.

¹²³ Caroline had originally been a gift to Elizabeth Mary Morton Herbert from her father, Joseph Webbe Stanley. In 1822 the girl been registered by her then husband, John Huggins junior. After his death Caroline became his father's property and his father, Edward Huggins senior, made Caroline over to Mrs Herbert. For more information about Joseph Webbe Stanley and his family see The Mountravers Plantation Community, 1734 to 1834' Part 3 Chapter 3.

¹²⁴ David Small and Christine Eickelmann 'A Nevis 'Legend' Revisited: the Huggins-Maynard Duel of 1822' [https://seis.bristol.ac.uk/~emceee/hugginsmaynardduel.doc\[1\].pdf](https://seis.bristol.ac.uk/~emceee/hugginsmaynardduel.doc[1].pdf)

¹²⁵ PP, LB 60: George Bucke, Nevis, to Pinney Ames & Co, 3 January 1826; BLO, Box MSS. W. Ind. S. 24 (b)

¹²⁶ NHCS Archive, St Paul's Baptisms, 1824-1835 No 200

¹²⁷ UKNA, T 71/1039 Nevis Claim No 163; T 71/1387 Amended Awards: Nevis 1837-1841

¹²⁸ ECSCRN, Book of Wills, 1837-1864 ff17-18

Nanno Parris, a sambo, was recorded as freed in 1825 when she was aged about 37. Rather oddly, only the year, not the exact date, was noted in the 1828 triennial return, and so far no manumission document has been found. It is very likely that Nanno Parris's freedom was never properly documented but that she was allowed to live in a state of semi-freedom, which in Suriname was recognized as 'piekie-njan' (freed but not legal).¹²⁹ Many people in Nevis apparently were 'free but not manumitted', as staff from the Colonial Office found when they checked the records of manumissions against the triennial returns. They estimated that by 1826 in Nevis '... near double the number of slaves have been actually manumitted that are not considered so in the eye of the law.'¹³⁰ With fees having risen to about N£8 the high cost was one restraint but in Nanno Parris's case it is more likely that she came to an agreement with George Bucke, a planter Magnus Morton had appointed as his attorney before he left for Europe.¹³¹ Perhaps Nanno Parris had paid him some money, or she was willing to buy her freedom in other ways. Given that planters deemed mixed-race people unfit for heavy plantation work, Bucke may well have considered this mixed-race woman surplus to requirements.

It was George Bucke who noted Nanno Parris's manumission in the first triennial return he submitted on Morton's behalf, and it may not be a complete coincidence that at the same time Bucke also recorded the death of a namesake of Nanno Parris's. This was Nanno, an African woman in her forties whom Bucke had bought for himself and registered in his own right in 1825. It is possible that Bucke had conveniently mixed up the two women in order to befuddle the Registrar of Slaves. Absentee planters often complained about managers and attorneys cheating them. This may have been one such case.

John Parris, a sambo, died on 23 January 1826 aged about 33.

Sophesa (Sophissa) died on 27 June 1826 aged about 23. The origin of her name, which was most rare, is not known.

Bob had originally been attached to Martha Williams Hamilton's 'Clark's or Montpelier' estate which she had inherited from her father, John Richardson Herbert. Mrs Hamilton had died in 1819 and some years later, on 1 July 1826, Magnus Morton transferred Bob to Dasent's. On the same day he also transferred **Mary's Sally (Sally Vaughan)**, a mulatto, who had lived on Martha Williams Hamilton's Low Ground estate, another property she had inherited.

These were unsettling and unsettled times, and Bob and Mary's Sally may have got involved in the riots in Charlestown that were taking place in July 1826. Perhaps it is no coincidence that both she and Bob were sold on 25 July 1826. In the Bill of Sale her name was given as Sally Vaughan – either her father's surname or that of a previous slaveholder. The free mestee woman Ann Dillon Nisbet (Nesbitt) paid N£200 for both. They were in their prime; Bob was 21 and Mary's Sally 24.¹³² Having worked on plantations, they now had to adjust to living in someone else's household and being accountable to a mixed-race woman.

¹²⁹ Rosemary Brana-Shute 'The Manumission of Slaves in Suriname, 1760-1828' (doctoral thesis, University of Florida, 1985) pp150-51; also Ph A Samson, 'De Status Van Piekie-Njan' *De West-Indische Gids*, 34 (1953) pp 51-5 [accessed 22 April 2022]

¹³⁰ UKNA, CO 239/13 Colonial Office Correspondence January to June 1826: 10 February 1826 (No 7)

¹³¹ Planters leaving Nevis would appoint an attorney who tended to be a trusted friend or fellow planter. In this context attorneys were not legally trained.

¹³² ECSCRN, CR 1823-1829 Vol 2 f468

Ann Dillon Nisbet was well-to-do. In 1817 she had started off with three people, one of whom was an African man her mother had given her,¹³³ but with births and purchases she ended up with 14 adults and children for whom she received £248:18:2 compensation.¹³⁴ These included Bob and Sally Vaughan.

Miss Nisbet acted as a trustee for the manumission of a woman and her four children and, as was required, gave security for the three children (including a 13-year-old girl) who were too young to work and in case their mother and older brother were unable to support them. Magnus Morton and his son Magnus William Morton witnessed this transaction.¹³⁵ Ann Dillon Nisbet was also a landowner; in the parish of St John Figtree she possessed a property called Coles Land,¹³⁶ part of which she sold to Caesar Herbert, a carpenter she had acquired from Magnus Morton.¹³⁷ Both Caesar Herbert and Peggy Service, a woman she also had purchased from Morton, had lived on Montpelier plantation. Although Magnus Morton was named as the exporter, it was Miss Nisbet who sold Peggy Service to Trinidad. She left at the same time as Primus from Dasent's and Jack Kelly from Hard Times. Having worked on Marcel Pierre Begué's Suzanna plantation, Peggy Service died before 1831.¹³⁸

Ann Dillon Nisbet remained unmarried but the people to whom she left her house and land in St John Figtree may have been her children. She had two more properties: one in another parish in Nevis and another in Basseterre, the capital of the neighbouring island, St Kitts. She died in 1847.¹³⁹

It is not known what happened to Bob and Sally Vaughan after 1834.

Robert. Having sold Bob and Sally Vaughan to Ann Dillon Nisbet, a year later, on 19 September 1827 Morton also sold Robert to Ann Dillon Nisbet. Described as a 'negro boy', he fetched N£100.¹⁴⁰ Robert, then aged about 21, was alive in 1834 and one of the 14 people for whom Miss Nisbet received compensation.

James Parris junior was freed when he was in his mid-forties. Originally registered as a sambo, the investigating magistrates noted him as a mulatto. On 18 October 1827 James Parris paid N£100 to gain his freedom and, since he was able to support himself, the magistrates did not require a security. Magnus Morton's attorney George Bucke oversaw the manumission which was witnessed by two free people, Ann Dillon Nisbet and the planter Laurence Haddock Prentis.¹⁴¹ They also witnessed Nancy Parris's manumission on the same day.

Nancy (Nancy Parris), a mulatto born on 9 January 1824, was the daughter of Peggy Parris. Nancy, then called Nancy Parris, was freed on 18 October 1827 on payment of N£30. The receipt did not specify who paid this money to Magnus Morton. Separately from the purchase money, a security of

¹³³ ECSCRN, CR 1810-1814 f608

¹³⁴ UKNA, T 71/1039 Nevis Claim No 25

¹³⁵ ECSCRN, CR 1817-1819 ff127-28

¹³⁶ ECSCRN, CR 1823-1829 Vol 2 f543

¹³⁷ ECSCRN, CR 1838-1847 ff542-44

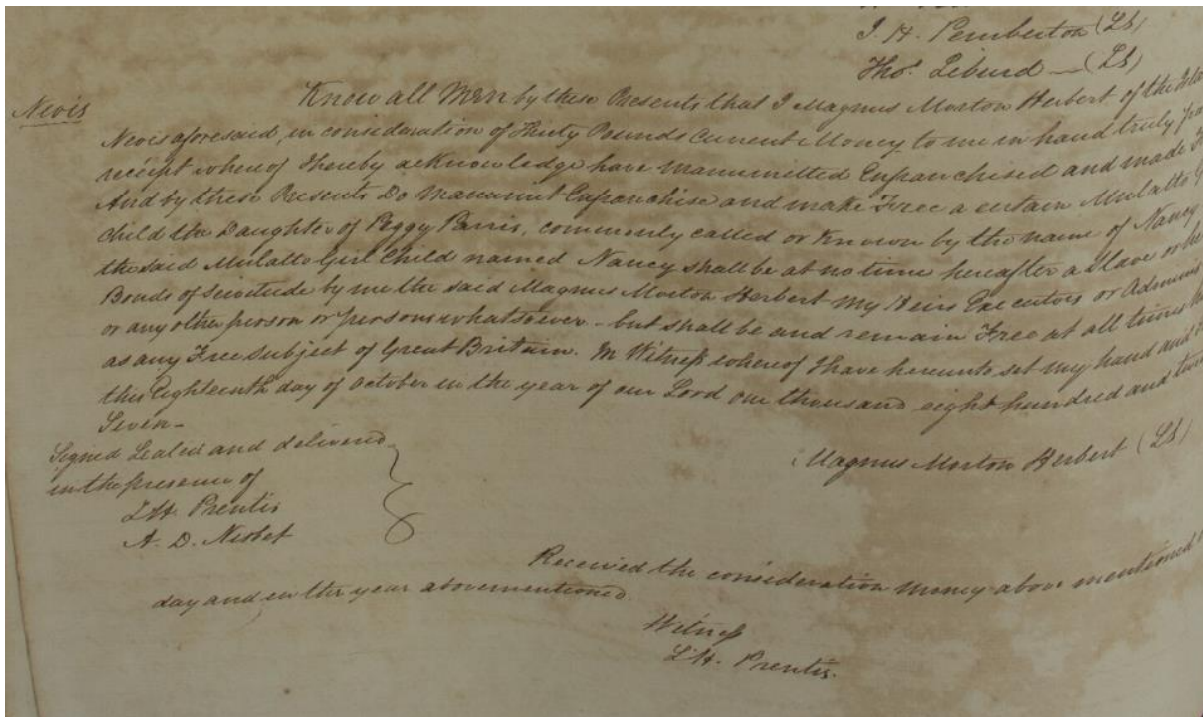
¹³⁸ UKNA, T 71/517 Trinidad Slave Register 1831

¹³⁹ ECSCRN, Book of Wills, 1837-1864 ff294-96

¹⁴⁰ ECSCRN, CR 1823-1829 Vol 2 ff515-16

¹⁴¹ ECSCRN, CR 1823-1829 Vol 2 ff519-20

NE100 had to be lodged with Registrar's Office since Nancy was not yet four years old and unable to earn her upkeep. Nancy was freed on the same day as James Parris junior.¹⁴²



Nancy Parris's manumission document
 Image courtesy of the Eastern Caribbean Supreme Court Registry, Nevis
 and the British Library Endangered Archives Programme EAP 794¹⁴³

Nevis – Know all Men by these Presents that I Magnus Morton Herbert of the Island of Nevis aforesaid, in consideration of Thirty Pounds Current Money to me in hand truly paid and receipt whereof I hereby acknowledge have Manumitted Enfranchised and made Free And by these Presents Do Manumit Enfranchise and make Free a certain Mulatto Girl child the Daughter of Peggy Parris, commonly called or known by the name of Nancy and the said Mulatto Girl Child named Nancy shall be at no time hereafter a Slave or held in Bonds of Servitude by me the said Magnus Morton Herbert My Heirs Executors or Administrators or any other person or persons whatsoever – but shall be and remain Free at all times hereby as any Free Subject of Great Britain . In Witness thereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal this Eighteenth day of October in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twenty Seven

Signed Sealed and delivered
 in the presence of
 L.H. Prentis
 A.D. Nisbet

Magnus Morton Herbert (LS)¹⁴⁴

Received the consideration Money above mentioned on the
 day and in the year abovementioned.

Witness
 LH Prentis

¹⁴² ECSCRN, CR 1823-1829 Vol 2 ff520-21

¹⁴³ Image from ECSCRN, CR 1823-1829 Vol 2 f520

¹⁴⁴ LS meant locus sigilli, Latin for 'the place of the seal'.

Two freedpeople witnessed Nancy Parris's manumission: Laurence Haddock Prentis and Ann Dillon Nisbet

Charlotte. Listed among the women, in 1793 she was valued at N£85. She probably was then in her early thirties. Charlotte died on 26 February 1828 aged about 65.

Little Willock was born on 22 January 1819. Aged almost nine, he died on 6 January 1828. He may have been named after the agent for St Kitts, Alexander Willock. In the 1780s his main role was to defend the slave trade against the abolitionists.¹⁴⁵ Willock was an Antiguan surname.

Andrew. In 1793 he was a cooper by trade and, with the sugar boiler, at £120 the second highest valued man then on Dasent's.

Coopers were indispensable on a plantation. They built the wooden hogsheads in which sugar was shipped to England and much of the equipment needed on a working farm: trays, pails, sledges and wheelbarrows and the wooden vessels of all shapes and sizes used for storing everything from butter to nails: boxes, crates, casks, tierces and puncheons. They mostly worked with imported materials – staves from North America and iron hoops from England – and they tended to work indoors which set them apart from other workers.

Their work required a good knowledge of how different types of wood behaved in different circumstances. During the sugar-making process coopers played a vital role in a plantation producing the 'fine bright straw coloured' sugar that fetched the highest prices. They had to make the hogsheads in such a way that the molasses could drain freely through the wooden staves because if much remained at the bottom, the sugar was too dark and of inferior quality.

Coopers were highly skilled, and their skills were much in demand. During crop time more than one was needed on large plantations;¹⁴⁶ during slack periods they were hired out to the captains of merchant vessels to carry out repairs. The craft of coopering required judgment, physical strength and a good eye. The coopers' importance (as well as their training) was reflected in their high value.

Andrew died on 21 March 1829 aged about 77.

Grace Parris was valued at £70 in 1793. Worn out from hard work and childbearing, in 1817 her age (60) was probably over-estimated by about ten years. She died on 16 July 1829.

Undoubtedly the six people with the surname Parris who were identified as sambos were her children: James Parris junior, Nanno Parris, William Donius Parris, John Parris, Peggy Parris and Sophy Parris. The black man Joseph Parris who was freed in 1831 may also have been her son.

Leah. When appraised in 1793, she must have suffered from ill health because her value of £40 was well below the average for women (£54). She died on 21 September 1829 in her early 70s.

Dinah was valued at £100 in 1793 when she was aged about 24. She died on 6 September 1830 aged about 61.

¹⁴⁵ Lilian M Penson *The Colonial Agents of the British West Indies: A Study in Colonial Administration, Mainly in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Frank Cass, 1971) Appendix II and p213

¹⁴⁶ PP, WI Box D: Wm Coker, Nevis, to JF Pinney, 21 October 1762

Charles, born on 4 January 1831, was still alive on 18 March 1833 but died before 7 February 1834. He was between two and three years old.

Joseph Parris. Unlike the sambos on Dasent's with the surname Parris, Joseph Parris was black. Fathered by a different man, he may have been another child of the black woman Grace Parris who died in 1829.

Aged 28, Joseph Parris was freed on payment of N£100. On 13 August 1831 Morton's attorney George Bucke presented him to three magistrates who confirmed that he was able to earn his upkeep and that no bond was required. Bucke's nephews Edwin Walter Baker and Henry Wilkinson Baker witnessed the manumission.¹⁴⁷

Peggy Parris, a sambo, was freed on 17 March 1832. In her late 30s she was manumitted with her children **Samuel** (born 11 February 1821), **Maria** (born 9 May 1828) and **Richard** (born 25 December 1829). They were eleven, eight and two years and ten months old. A fourth child, her daughter Nancy (born in 1824), had already been freed in October 1827, on the same day as James Parris junior. A sambo in his forties, he may have been Peggy Parris's brother. Although Samuel, Maria and Richard had been identified as mulattoes in the 1817 slave register, in the manumission document they were described as sambo children.

Peggy Parris 'was troubled with the Malady called the Rose' (shingles?) which affected her ability to work and support herself and the two younger children, Maria and Richard. Consequently, security of N£75 was required. This relatively low amount was provided by William Huggins, a planter,¹⁴⁸ who committed himself to keep her and the children 'in medical attendance and medicine and in necessary and sufficient food'. Huggins signed the undertaking to support Peggy Parris in front of a magistrate, George Bucke who, in another role, was Magnus Morton's attorney. Contrary to Morton's instructions, he had handed Dasent's over to Peter Thomas Huggins - the attorney for Pinney & Case. The second magistrate to approve Peggy Parris's manumission was Peter Thomas Huggins; the third was George Samuel Woodley Wattley who was to buy Dasent's a year later. That these men with close connections to Dasent's oversaw the manumissions may have been a coincidence but it certainly would not have been in their own interests to keep a woman with a long-term health condition and two mixed-race children on the plantation.

Having received William Huggins's assurance to support Peggy Parris and her children, the three investigating magistrates confirmed that their manumissions could go ahead. The final step in them gaining their freedom was Charles Pinney and Robert Case given them 'their full and absolute freedom manumission and emancipation from every tie of Slavery and Servitude for ever'. They had, in effect, 'granted bargained sold and confirmed' their freedom on payment of only N£85, or £42:10:0 stlg.¹⁴⁹ Since no receipt was attached it is not known whether William Huggins or Peggy Parris actually paid the money. The document was witnessed by Edward Huggins junior - Peter Thomas Huggins's brother who later went to New Haven where he died.¹⁵⁰ The planter William Huggins and his wife also left Nevis for New Haven to settle in Connecticut.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁷ ECSCRN, CR 1831-1835 ff82-3

¹⁴⁸ This William Huggins may have been the man who in the late 1820s was working on the Stapleton's estate as a manager or overseer (Hamilton College Papers pp295-96; reference courtesy of Vincent Hubbard, 18 March 2004).

¹⁴⁹ The exchange rate in the 1820s and 1830s was 200 per cent (ECSCRN, CR 1823-1829 Vol 2 ff661-69; UKNA, T 71/1616, CO 187/9 Blue Book Nevis 1835)

¹⁵⁰ Memorial in St George's Church, Gingerland, Nevis

¹⁵¹ National Archives and Records Administration, Film M575, Reel 5. Contributed and transcribed by Mary Koelzer, member of the Immigrant Ships Transcribers Guild, 25 January 2000 <http://istg.rootsweb.com/v3/1800v3/lewis18330718.html> [accessed 11 July 2002, migrated to Ancestry]

Peggy Parris and her children were freed by Charles Pinney and Robert Case during the time Dasent's was briefly in their company's possession.¹⁵²



An indenture dated March 1833 contained the names of 83 people but another 18 men, women and children who had been alive in January 1831, were missing in 1834.

It is very likely that Morton had taken 14 of these 18 from Dasent's to bring up the number of people assigned to his main creditor to 140 when there were only 126 people on his other estate, Hard Times.¹⁵³

The other four people left unaccounted for were likely to have died. While one man, Anthony, probably died of old age, some, or all, of the four people may have died from cholera which had arrived from North America some time in 1832. The outbreak came after Nevis had experienced a very difficult decade and, weakened from overwork and under-feeding, many people died. Some of those who died may have been buried in the now abandoned cholera cemetery adjoining the Gingerland public cemetery.¹⁵⁴

The following are the 18 people who were alive in January 1831 but missing from the records in 1834.

Anthony, a mason, was in 1793 said to have been worth £140. He was the highest valued man on Dasent's but by no means the highest valued mason in Nevis. Masons could fetch £200 or more.

The work of the masons was varied and many of the structures they built can still be seen today: the churches, windmills, boiling houses with their chimneys, the great houses, bridges, cisterns and the walls that have survived successive hurricanes. Masons could turn arches, created the boiling benches which held the coppers for boiling sugar, they built steps, paved floors inside buildings, erected gravestones and set them safely into the ground. No doubt Anthony worked on the windmill which was built on Dasent's during Magnus Morton's ownership¹⁵⁵ but he would have done many other jobs. The structures, once erected, had to be maintained or, after hurricanes, repaired. There was always work to keep the masons busy.

On large projects masons worked in teams, often together with the carpenters, and carried out the designer's instruction to produce fine buildings. Masons often had attendants who hewed and sorted the stone. They handled a great quantity of heavy material; in one year one mason and his team had laid 5100 headstones and 60 firestones. Generally, masons worked unsupervised and when they were rented to other employers they received an allowance for purchasing their own food. This afforded them a degree of independence other plantation people usually did not have. Working out also gave them an opportunity to acquire new skills, make new friends and share news. Given that they had a leadership role and were used to a certain amount of independence it is not surprising that masons were often at the forefront in uprisings.

¹⁵² ECSCRN, CR 1831-1835 ff125-28

¹⁵³ Magnus Morton had assigned 140 people to the London merchant John Blackburn (PP, Dom Box I i/123: Charles Pinney, Plymouth, to Mrs Pinney, 2 October 1831).

¹⁵⁴ It is also possible that the cholera graveyard in Gingerland was only established during an outbreak in the 1850s when cholera again claimed many lives.

¹⁵⁵ For details of the work involved in building a windmill in Nevis see 'The Mountravers Plantation Community, 1734-1834' Part 2 Chapter 4 Oroonoko's biography No 313.

As a mason Anthony had a lucrative skill. If he hired himself out on Sundays, his day off, he could earn in the region of N£30 to N£40 a year. Taking on an apprentice could bring in an annual fee of N£15.¹⁵⁶ Being able to earn their own money enabled some to purchase their freedom and masons, in turn, were among the early freedmen who acquired their own enslaved people.

Based on his reputed age in 1817 (60), in 1831 Anthony was in his mid-seventies.

Jacob was an African man. Said to have been aged 45 in 1817, this meant that he would have been 21 when he was valued at £65 in 1793 and listed among the boys. In 1831 he was in his late fifties.

Doll According to her estimated age in 1817 (38), she would have been only about 14 years old when in 1793 she was listed among the women and valued at £70. It is possible she had already given birth. In 1831 she was in her early fifties.

Jemmy (Jim, Jimmy) was valued at £35 in 1793. A decade earlier this would have been the value of a black boy aged about 12, confirming that his 'reputed age' in 1817 (35) was correct. In 1831 he was in his late forties.

Diana (Dianah) was listed among the children and valued at £25 in 1793. Ten years earlier on Mountravers this had been the value of a girl aged about seven which confirms Diana's reputed age in 1817 (32). In 1831 she was in her mid-forties.

Jeffery's Richard, a mulatto, was valued at £30 in 1793 and listed among the children. His appraisal was consistent with that of an eight-year-old mulatto boy on Mountravers. This would mean that in 1817 his age (25) was under-estimated by about seven years. In 1831 he was in his early forties. Jeffery's Maria, also a mulatto, was his sister.

Betty was in 1831 aged about 24.

Diana's Dominick was in 1831 aged about 24.

Floretta was in 1831 aged about 24.

Plassey was in 1831 aged about 24.

William Parris, a sambo, was in 1831 aged about 22.

¹⁵⁶ PP, AB 39 Cash a/c and 1790 Plantation a/c

Stephen was in 1831 aged about 22.

Thomas was in 1831 aged about 22.

James Parris, a sambo, was before 1 January 1825 transferred from Magnus Morton's Hard Times estate. In 1831 James Parris was aged about 22.

Listed on Hard Times in 1817 as 'Parris James (S Kellys)' it appears that his mother was Sally Kelly, also a sambo. Then aged 54, she was alive on Hard Times in 1834.

Juliette was aged about 20 in 1831.

Nanno was aged about 20 in 1831.

Jim, born on 15 November 1822, was eight years old in January 1831.

Dick, born on 14 September 1828, was two years old in January 1831.

The long 1820s: 'misery all round'¹⁵⁷

The 1820s began with everyone having to deal with the after-effects of a major hurricane which in 1819 had destroyed buildings, food crops and the ripening sugar canes. The situation was made worse by trade with North America being disrupted which caused such shortages that Nevis was in 'a state of distress',¹⁵⁸ needing food, building materials and horses and cattle.¹⁵⁹ Within a year another 'gale of wind' passed through the island,¹⁶⁰ followed by a long dry spell that lasted into the middle of 1821 and killed newly planted canes¹⁶¹ so that the next crop was extremely poor and on some estates failed altogether.¹⁶² Planters, having lost their income, were unable to raise credit to feed their people: these terrible conditions exceeded 'all former times'.¹⁶³ Some planters managed to buy expensive cornmeal¹⁶⁴ while others gave their workers cash allowances instead of provisions.¹⁶⁵ Had it not been for the sea sustaining the inhabitants with 'the fish that [was] daily caught round the island' half the population, so it was said, would have died of starvation.¹⁶⁶

A planter's prophecy that discontent would follow starvation proved correct;¹⁶⁷ the hungry people became 'very clamorous' and, on at least one estate, refused to work.¹⁶⁸ Elsewhere they carried out robberies and destroyed canes. An old resident remarked that the cane breakers that year were more destructive than he could 'ever remember'.¹⁶⁹ Without canes there was no sugar industry and breaking or torching cane fields were recurring acts of resistance with their own symbolism: people sought to destroy the very roots of the whole hateful enterprise. Those who were charged with protecting that enterprise were implicated – people like Toney, the watchman on Dasent's, who was murdered.

Like many other planters in Nevis, Magnus Morton found himself in trouble with his estates. In July 1822 he wrote to the House about debts of about £2,500 and of there being little hope of settling those, given the 'ruinous crops' that year.¹⁷⁰ He had already sold several people, thereby raising N£260,¹⁷¹ but this approach would go nowhere near clearing his debts. In October he directly asked the House for assistance. He owed around £14,000 stlg to the London merchant John Blackburn and around £5,000 to others, including the House (£1,607 in 1820).¹⁷² To extricate himself from the debt, he offered Blackburn's securities, which he would transfer, and offered a mortgage on Dasent's with about one hundred people, the sugar works and a sufficient quantity of stock. In the 1790s there had only been two animal mills on the plantation but since then Dasent's had also acquired a windmill.¹⁷³ Meanwhile a few other planters were beginning to invest in steam engines for grinding the canes.¹⁷⁴

¹⁵⁷ PP, Dom Box C2-8: JC Mills to Charles Pinney, 21 July 1822

¹⁵⁸ UKNA, CO 186/12: 24 September 1819

¹⁵⁹ UKNA, CUST 34/511 Items 3, 54 and 67

¹⁶⁰ BLO, MSS W.Ind. S.24 (b): 28 August 1820

¹⁶¹ PP, Dom Box C1-7: JC Mills to Charles Pinney, 18 June 1821

¹⁶² PP, Dom Box C2-8: Wm Laurence, Nevis, to Charles Pinney/RE Case, 18 March 1822, enclosed in a letter from RE Case to Charles Pinney; PT Huggins to Charles Pinney, 12 April 1822

¹⁶³ PP, Dom Box C2-8: JC Mills to Charles Pinney, 21 July 1822

¹⁶⁴ PP, LB 28: Charles Pinney, to Samuel Laurence, 25 June 1822

¹⁶⁵ PP, LB 56: Mills & Galpine, Nevis, to Pinney Ames & Co, 29 January 1823

¹⁶⁶ PP, LB 56: PT Huggins, Nevis, to Pinney Ames & Co, 19 July 1822

¹⁶⁷ PP, LB 56: Mills & Galpine to Pinney Ames & Co, 23 April 1822

¹⁶⁸ PP, LB 56: Mills & Galpine, Nevis, to Pinney Ames & Co, 13 October 1822

¹⁶⁹ PP, LB 56: JC Mills, Nevis, to Pinney Ames & Co, 13 December 1822

¹⁷⁰ PP, LB 56: MM Herbert to Pinney Ames & Co, 20 July 1822

¹⁷¹ NE stands for Nevis currency.

¹⁷² PP, Cat 3 Dom Box B-3 Bundle 6: West Indies affairs after the death of John Pinney (no date): Memo of mortgages in the West Indies 'extracted from the books of John Pinney Esq. dec'd'; PP, Dom Box C-1 Bundle 6: RE Case, Bristol, to Charles Pinney, Nevis, 15 September 1820

¹⁷³ PP, LB 56: Magnus Morton, Nevis to Pinney & Co, 15 October 1822; see also R Pares *A West India Fortune* p296

¹⁷⁴ David Small 'Stationary Steam Engines on Sugar Plantations in the Caribbean: 1816 to 1846' <https://seis.bristol.ac.uk/~emceee/steam.pdf>

Weakened from lack of food, people fell ill, and the last months of the year were 'most sickly throughout the island'. By the end of 1822 the situation had become critical. That year eight people had died on Dasent's, compared to seven in the previous four and a half years. One planter estimated that a third of the estates had not given their people any food for a fortnight and, fearing that many would starve to death,¹⁷⁵ several planters got together and sent a vessel to Barbados to pick up stores.¹⁷⁶ Magnus Morton mentioned this when he wrote again to ask the House about bills for N£150 and N£100 'for the purpose of purchasing provisions for the immediate wants of the negroes under my care.' It was hoped this would avert 'the dreadful evil of famine'¹⁷⁷ but it did little to alleviate the situation; 'the distress for want of provisions was greater than was ever known before'.¹⁷⁸ In April 1823 the Legislature belatedly put in place legislation that required an estate to make securing food a priority over repaying any mortgage.¹⁷⁹

Not long after around ten thousand enslaved people had taken part in a major rebellion in Demerara, officials from Britain toured the islands, interviewing legislators and judges about the laws and conditions respecting the enslaved people.¹⁸⁰ Planters had always resented any metropolitan interference and did not welcome the requests from London for statistical information and London's dispatches with directives to change laws. In May 1823 abolitionists first proposed the gradual abolition of slavery to the British parliament, raising everyone's hopes in the Caribbean.

The year 1823 had begun with another drought, and there was no wind to power the windmills. The island was also short of cattle to work the animal mills, and horses to pull the carts. To make up for the shortcomings, people had to work even harder although by the autumn there was at least a plentiful supply of provisions.¹⁸¹ The trade embargo with North America which had worsened the shortages had finally been lifted. After a short crop¹⁸² it rained constantly, and the wet weather brought more sickness to the island.

The following year the late canes were 'very bad', too,¹⁸³ and the next harvest was poor again.¹⁸⁴ Then came a 'severe gale':¹⁸⁵ ships were lost, powerful winds injured many windmills and broke old canes.¹⁸⁶ 'Incessant rains' that started in September 1825 lasted until January the following year and brought with them another 'very sickly' season. In Nevis many people died from fevers - including, it appears, Magnus Morton's son.¹⁸⁷ In 1826 the weather turned 'favourable' but the fevers prevailed among the enslaved people in a way they had not done in the past.¹⁸⁸ When a 'violent influenza' and also chickenpox spread throughout the island, on some estates so many people fell ill that work stopped altogether.¹⁸⁹ Sickness was followed by unrest to the point where, for the second time in three years, the Council asked the Governor in St Kitts to send 'a few more troops' and munitions.¹⁹⁰

¹⁷⁵ PP, LB 56: Mills & Galpine, Nevis, to Pinney Ames & Co, 29 January 1823

¹⁷⁶ PP, LB 56: GC Forbes, Nevis, to Pinney Ames & Co, 14 December 1822

¹⁷⁷ PP, LB 56: MM Herbert to Pinney Ames & Co, 2 December 1822

After Mary Ames's husband's death in 1820, Charles Pinney, and Robert Edward Case were the only surviving members of the company Pinney, Ames & Co (LB 57: Pinney Ames & Co to GC Forbes, 3 December 1822).

¹⁷⁸ PP, Dom Box C3-17: PT Huggins, London, to Charles Pinney, 11 February 1823

¹⁷⁹ NHCS Archive, RG 1.23 Nevis Council Minutes, 1823-1827: 26 April 1823

¹⁸⁰ UKNA, CO 318/64 and CO 318/65 Third Report of the Commission of Enquiry into the Administration of Civil and Criminal Justice in the West Indies: Antigua, Montserrat, Nevis, St Kitts, and the Virgin Islands

¹⁸¹ PP, LB 56: JC Mills, Nevis, to Pinney Ames & Co, 1 October 1823 (second letter)

¹⁸² PP, LB 56: PT Huggins, Nevis, to Pinney Ames & Co, 5 May 1823

¹⁸³ PP, LB 58: JC Mills, Nevis, to Pinney Ames & Co, 7 August 1824

¹⁸⁴ PP, LB 58: PT Huggins, Nevis, to Pinney Ames & Co, 28 May 1825

¹⁸⁵ BLO, MSS W.Ind. S.24 (b): 2 June 1825 and 26 July 1825

¹⁸⁶ PP, LB 58: Samuel Laurence, Nevis, to Pinney Ames & Co, 30 July 1825

¹⁸⁷ Magnus William Morton Herbert died in December 1825 (PP, LB 60: George Burke, Nevis, to Pinney Ames & Co, 3 January 1826).

¹⁸⁸ PP, LB 60: JC Mills to Pinney Ames & Co, 10 February 1826

¹⁸⁹ PP, LB 60: JC Mills, Nevis, to Pinney Ames & Co, 17 April 1826 and GC Forbes, Nevis, to Pinney Ames & Co, 22 April 1826

¹⁹⁰ NHCS Archive, RG 1.23 Nevis Council Minutes, 1823-1827: 10 July 1823 and UKNA, CO 186/13: 6 April 1826

Just as 'free persons of colour and slaves' had in 1815 rioted together,¹⁹¹ in July 1826 they rioted for two or three weeks and did not disperse when ordered by the Director of Police. Instead, they threw stones at him. Thefts, burglaries and robberies occurred, and parties of thirty to forty people raided vessels anchoring offshore. One night the crowd torched a cane piece on a plantation near Charlestown, the island's capital, which prompted the Council to offer a reward of N£100, or the informant's freedom.¹⁹² Although during the 1820s some fires occurred during periods of drought, it is very likely that pasture land and the sugar works on three other plantations were deliberately set alight. On one estate in St Thomas Lowland fire destroyed the works, the store house and liquor lofts and flames damaged the roof of the sick house.¹⁹³

Months of drought followed;¹⁹⁴ crops failed.¹⁹⁵ Another hurricane caused considerable damage throughout the island¹⁹⁶ and was followed by an earthquake, the second in over a year.¹⁹⁷ Nevis was, once again, 'visited with a most malignant fever' and although it 'swept off persons of all ages and colours',¹⁹⁸ on Dasent's no one died that year. Older folks said that this was the worst situation they could 'ever remember'.¹⁹⁹

In 1819/20 Charles Pinney had visited Nevis for several months and in 1828 he was back in Nevis for an extended visit to see to his company's and his family's business affairs. He experienced at first hand the 'Long continued spell of dry weather' which, he predicted, would much shorten the crops and injure the next one.²⁰⁰ Added to the drought was 'a cruel blight' that destroyed all orange and lime trees.²⁰¹

Pinney would have been aware how the cost of running a plantation had risen since his father's time in Nevis. The price for oak staves, for instance, the raw material imported from North America for making the barrels for transporting sugar, had risen almost seven-fold in about seventy years.²⁰² Other imports also cost more so that by the 1820s plantation expenditure had doubled whereas the produce fetched less: sugar was back to its 1750s level and rum was 15 per cent lower.²⁰³ With profitability dropping, many estates in Nevis were pushed below the margins of viability.

Some time after September 1826 Magnus Morton left Nevis for Europe, this time for good. By June 1828 he was in France while his wife was in Bath. Gossip from Bristol had it that all was not well in their marriage. Mrs Morton did not wish to see her husband.²⁰⁴

It appears that instead of giving Morton a mortgage, with Dasent's and its people as security (as Morton had initially suggested), the House had extended their loan which meant that Morton had to pay interest until he was able to repay the capital sum in full. He was in arrears – and not just with

¹⁹¹ Court of General Sessions 1815-1850 ff10-11

¹⁹² UKNA, CO 186/13: 20 and 15 July 1826

¹⁹³ BLO, Box MSS. W. Ind. S. 24 (b) Typed Manuscript (21 April 1824, 12 February 1825, 19 September 1827, 16 December 1828 and 25 March 1829); PP, LB 60: JC Mills, Nevis, to Pinney Ames & Co, 27 September 1827, LB 62: Pinney Ames & Co to JC Mills, Nevis, 21 November 1827; LB 62: Pinney Ames & Co to Charles Shearman, Solicitors, London, 6 February 1829

¹⁹⁴ PP, LB 60: PT Huggins, Nevis, to Pinney Ames & Co, 5 March 1827

¹⁹⁵ PP, LB 60: JC Mills to Pinney Ames & Co, 15 March 1827

¹⁹⁶ BLO, MSS W.Ind. S.24 (a): 17 August 1827 and LB 60: PT Huggins, Nevis, to Pinney Ames & Co, 4 September 1827

¹⁹⁷ BLO, MSS W.Ind. S.24 (b): 30 November 1827

¹⁹⁸ PP, LB 61: Robert Russell, Falmouth to Pinney Ames & Co, 7 February 1827

¹⁹⁹ PP, LB 60: Walter Bucke, Nevis, to Pinney Ames & Co, 29 June 1827 and PT Huggins, Nevis, to Pinney Ames & Co, 4 September 1827

²⁰⁰ PP, Dom Box L-2 Bundle 28: Charles Pinney, Nevis, to JF Pinney, 16 April 1829

²⁰¹ PP, Dom Box I i-11: Charles Pinney, Nevis, to Mrs Pinney, undated but 1829/30

²⁰² R Pares *A West India Fortune* p91

²⁰³ JR Ward *British West Indian Slavery* pp43-5

²⁰⁴ PP, Dom Box C-2 Bundle 13: RE Case to Charles Pinney, Nevis, 7 June 1828

the Bristol firm – so that by August 1831 he owed the House £2,167 plus interest of £460.²⁰⁵ Before he left Nevis Morton had appointed George Bucke to act on his behalf and had given instructions not to hand over Dasent's. However, somehow Peter Thomas Huggins, Pinney & Case's attorney, managed to persuade Bucke to give up the estate, and in October 1831 Huggins took possession of Dasent's for the House.²⁰⁶

Charles Pinney commented that estates were not profitable unless planters lived on them and even then required a 'perfect knowledge of plantership' as well as great economy. This may have been squarely aimed at Morton.²⁰⁷ Horatio Nelson, who had married a Nevis woman and a distant cousin of Morton's, had thought of Morton in his younger days as 'a blockhead'.²⁰⁸

Now in possession of Dasent's, Pinney & Case were required to pay off Morton's judgment creditors - the largest sum involved was over £200²⁰⁹ but the House did not intend to keep the plantation. The partners talked of selling the property for £2,500 with eighty to ninety people valued at £1,400 to £1,500, either to the person then in control of Hard Times, or to Peter Thomas Huggins.²¹⁰ Charles Pinney much preferred Huggins. He already owned the old Pinney plantation in Nevis, Mountravers, and had bought from the Pinneys several mortgaged properties. Charles Pinney judged him capable and reliable²¹¹ and thought Dasent's would make a good addition to Huggins's nearby Golden Rock estate.²¹² However, Huggins did not want to commit himself and Pinney & Case sold Dasent's to George Samuel Woodley Wattlely. In March 1833 the partners handed over the property with 83 people: 24 men, 29 women, 7 boys, 4 girls, 8 male infants, 11 female infants. Not included in the deal were five children who had been born since the previous March although they did appear in the following triennial return.²¹³

Recently appointed as an Assistant Judge of the Kings Bench and Common Pleas,²¹⁴ George Samuel Woodley Wattlely was about to marry Fanny Laurence Stanley, the daughter of a Nevis planter.²¹⁵ Wattlely apparently was a newcomer to the plantation business and by buying Dasent's he began married life deeply in debt.²¹⁶ Soon he would have to deal with a visitor from Bristol whom the House charged with recovering outstanding monies.²¹⁷ Wattlely had not paid the purchase money, £3,000, and interest accrued all the time.²¹⁸ When he was appointed as one of three official 'appraisers of slaves' as part of compensation process in Nevis, he was paid a hundred Guineas for his services – no doubt a welcome addition to his finances but nowhere near enough to pay off his debts.²¹⁹

²⁰⁵ ECSCRN, Court of King's Bench and Common Pleas, 1822-1841 ff52-3 Judgment at the suit of John Frederick Pinney against Magnus Morton Herbert, 11 March 1830 for £2,160 stlg; also PP, AB 69: Pinney & Case Accounts Current 1814-1839; WI Box 1823-1825 August 1831 Covenant Agreement MM Herbert

²⁰⁶ PP, Dom Box I-1 Bundle 12: PT Huggins to JF Pinney, 2 October 1831 and R Pares *A West India Fortune* p296

²⁰⁷ PP, Dom Box I i/123: Charles Pinney, Plymouth, to Mrs Pinney, 1 June 1831

²⁰⁸ George PB Naish (ed) *Nelson's Letters to his wife and other documents 1785-1831* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul in conjunction with the Navy Record Society, 1958) pp220-21 Nelson to wife, 25 August 1795

²⁰⁹ PP, AB 69: Pinney & Case Accounts Current 1814-1839

²¹⁰ PP, LB 63: Pinney & Case to Charles Shearman, London, 24 September 1831

²¹¹ PP, LB 63: Pinney & Case to PT Huggins, 9 March 1832

²¹² PP, LB 63: Charles Pinney to PT Huggins, 2 June 1831

²¹³ ECSCRN, CR 1831-1835 ff251-68 Indenture 18 and 19 March 1833

²¹⁴ UKNA, CO 186/14: 17 January 1833

²¹⁵ NHCS Archive, St Paul's Marriages, 1826-1842 18 July 1833

For more information about Fanny Laurence Wattlely's family background, see The Mountravers Plantation Community, 1734 to 1834' Part 3 Chapter 3 'The creole, Joseph Webbe (Joe) Stanley, 1805-1807'

²¹⁶ ECSCRN, CR 1831-1835 ff260-67

²¹⁷ PP, LB 63: Pinney & Case to Robert Claxton, 21 October 1833

²¹⁸ PP, Dom Box R-6, Compensation File; PP DM 1705, Pares Notes microfilm, pp1532-50 quoting UKNA, T 71/1237, 1039, 1295, 1301, 1261, 1266, 1225, 1227, 1340, 1369, 1038; House of Commons, Accounts and Papers, Vol xlvi, 1837-1838 Session

²¹⁹ UKNA, T 71/1616 Office of Auxiliary Commissioners, Nevis, to London, 23 July 1834

The 1820s had been tough in Nevis. The early 1830s brought more earthquakes, a cholera outbreak that killed many, and there was more arson so that carpenters were in short supply due to 'the dreadful destruction of houses in this city [Charlestown] by Incendiaries'.²²⁰ A fire at New Year's night in the parish of St Thomas Lowland²²¹ happened at the same time as about 60,000 enslaved people had risen in armed rebellion in Jamaica, demanding more freedom and wages for their work. Their uprising was brutally suppressed but it provided the final push for Britain to accept that change had to come. The demise of the once powerful pro-slavery lobby following the 1832 parliamentary election made it possible for Parliament to pass the 1833 Slavery Abolition Act.

Unrest in the colonies and efforts by abolitionists in Britain – the push and pull in the history of British Caribbean plantation slavery since the 1780s – almost ended two centuries of misery and exploitation. Enslaved people rejoiced on 1 August 1834 but, depending on their occupations, they still faced either four or six years of semi-enslavement during an apprenticeship period.



It is possible that Magnus Morton's attorney never had to answer about handing over Dasent's to the creditors: in May 1833 George Bucke died, in his sixties, after a fall from his chaise.²²² Magnus Morton, by then called Magnus Morton Herbert, died in Brussels in October 1834.²²³ His wife, Christiana Morton Herbert, died the following year in London.²²⁴

²²⁰ PP, LB 63: Pinney & Case to PT Huggins, Nevis, 5 November 1831

²²¹ BLO, Box MSS. W. Ind. S. 24 (b) Typed Manuscript

²²² BLO, Box MSS. W. Ind. S. 24 (a) 13 May 1833

²²³ VL Oliver *Caribbeana* Vol 5 p229 Herbert pedigree quoting GM 1835 p446

²²⁴ UKNA, PCC PROB 11/1845/354 Christianna Morton Herbert's will

The amounts awarded varied between the colonies. Among the Leeward Islands, the people in Nevis were valued the highest at £39. Elsewhere, the lowest average value per person was £27 in Bermuda and the highest £120 in Honduras. This was closely followed by £114 in British Guiana and £105 in Trinidad. The size of the slave populations, the severity of the working conditions in each colony and the scarcity of labour determined the value awarded per person.²²⁷

Since Wattley owed Pinney & Case £3,000 unpaid purchase money plus interest, the House submitted a counter claim and was awarded £1,536 compensation. It was recognised that this was 'in part-payment of a price already agreed upon'.²²⁸

OFFICE OF THE COMMISSIONER OF THE WEST INDIES
No. 25, Great
No. 84

Nevis

PARTICULARS OF CLAIM.

Name and Description of Claimant. Domicile of Slaves.

Counter Claim

*Charles Pinney & Robert Edward Case
of the City of Bristol, Counter Claimants
for £3000 & Interest, unpaid purchase
Money.*

Counter claim for Dasent's submitted by Pinney & Case
Image courtesy of the Special Collections of the University of Bristol Library²²⁹

The slaveholders and the merchant houses who had supplied them with credit enjoyed their pay-outs but those who had worked for nothing received nothing. Now called apprentices, they still did not receive any wages - indeed, some historians have claimed that by having to serve an 'apprenticeship', this 'was effectively a way of making the slaves themselves pay for their own emancipation'. It has been estimated that 'West Indian slaveowners received almost half of the

²²⁷ For an excellent analysis of the complexities of distributing the £20 million fund, see Ingrid Jeacle *Calculating a life: classification, valuation and compensation in the British abolition of slavery* Emerald Insight (20 October 2022) <https://www.emerald.com/insight/0951-3574.htm>

²²⁸ R Pares *A West India Fortune* pp313-31; PP, Dom Box R-6, Compensation File; PP DM 1705, Pares Notes microfilm, pp1532-50 quoting UKNA, T 71/1237, 1039, 1295, 1301, 1261, 1266, 1225, 1227, 1340, 1369, 1038; House of Commons, Accounts and Papers, Vol xlvi, 1837-1838 Session

²²⁹ PP, Dom Box R-6

value of their slaves in the form of apprenticeship labour'.²³⁰ While their economic status did not improve the quality of the apprentices' lives, their new civil status brought only limited improvements.

At the behest of the British government, the colonial legislature was required to put in place legislation intended to protect the apprentices. The Legislature in Nevis did so but at the same time built in get-out clauses for the former slaveholders who were then called 'employers'. The Legislature laid down minimum food allowances and daily fines for employers who 'wilfully' neglected to issue the required amounts but for the apprentices it would have been near impossible to prove 'wilfulness' to the magistrates who were the same men who had made the laws. The pool of whites who constituted the Legislature as well as the judiciary was very small indeed, and the freedmen among the members were implicated in that they, too, had apprentices and owned land.

Land on which to live, grow food and keep animals was the key to independent survival but Nevis had very little unused land. Foreseeing that people would want their own plots, the Legislature passed new legislation so that magistrates could remove anyone they deemed to be squatters, and squatters could be punished with up to three months in prison.²³¹

Physical punishment also continued although this was now supposed to be recorded. During the first year, 178 female and 107 male apprentices are known to have been imprisoned or flogged (men only). Floggings continued but, as time went by, they declined in frequency. In the two years after August 1835 a higher proportion of apprentices in Nevis were subjected to floggings than, for instance, in Dominica or Jamaica which in recent times had seen big uprisings. Banishment to another colony such as Trinidad took on a different dimension when Courts sentenced at least ten Nevis-born men to be transported to Australia for crimes such as theft, burglary and piracy – either for a limited period or for life.²³²

Apprentices wishing to leave the island had to fulfil new bureaucratic requirements, such as getting their employer's written consent and travelling with a passport issued by the government, and they could still be sold – except that it was their 'unexpired apprenticeship' which was transferred, not the person. They could also buy their own freedom, now under more favourable conditions,²³³ but in reality in Nevis only between thirty and fifty apprentices took up this opportunity in the four years leading up to August 1838.

Originally Parliament had envisaged that agricultural apprentices would undergo a six-year period of apprenticeship and domestics four. Unsurprisingly, this disparity caused conflict and the apprentices were having none of it – indeed, they wanted their freedom straight away. In the 1820s enslaved workers had torched cane fields and sugar works and in the 1830s apprentices were using the same tactics. In 1836 and 1837 fires destroyed a part of Charlestown and at least five estates suffered damage, among them Peter Thomas Huggins's. He declared that his losses were 'severe'. To catch the culprits, the Legislature offered rewards of N£50, and/or 'exemption from further servitude'.²³⁴ Following the unrest in Nevis and other colonies the British Parliament reduced the apprenticeship

²³⁰ Ingrid Jeacle, *Calculating a life*, quoting RW Fogel and SL Engerman, 'Philanthropy at bargain prices: notes on the economics of gradual emancipation', *The Journal of Legal Studies*, Vol 3 No 2 (1974) pp377-401 (p396)

²³¹ *Report from the Select Committee on Negro Apprenticeships in the Colonies* (London: House of Commons, 1837) Vol 3

²³² 'Beyond the Pale' World Immigrants to Van Diemen's Land before 1900 c/o Julie Gough, Tasmania <https://vdlworldimmigrants.wordpress.com/listing-of-people/> [accessed 10 January 2021]

²³³ WA Green *British Slave Emancipation, the Sugar Colonies and the Great Experiment 1830-1865* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976) pp121-22, citing Memorandum 13 March 1833 in CO 318/117

²³⁴ PP, LB 66: Pinney & Case to WM Mills, 1 June 1837, and LB 66: Pinney & Case to PT Huggins, 2 June 1837

Other planters who are known to have suffered losses were Walter Maynard Mills, who was the Commissioner for Slave Compensation, Josiah Webbe Maynard and Walter Maynard Pemberton. A piece of cane on Jones's Estate was also set alight.

period for agricultural workers to four years and on 1 August 1838 everyone could finally celebrate Emancipation.

The first years of freedom were not easy. Drought had destroyed much of the crop in 1837²³⁵ and was followed in 1838/39 by more drought²³⁶ and 'a malignant yellow fever' which killed many inhabitants.²³⁷ The following decade, too, started badly with much dry weather, resulting in another very poor harvest - just when the sugar market experienced a boom.²³⁸

Believing they had no future in Nevis, many people emigrated. Agents from Demerara and Trinidad recruited those willing to take their chances. In return for free passage, accommodation, food, clothing and wages they contracted themselves to work for employers for several years and in effect became bondsmen and bondswomen once more. Tied to their employer, they were vulnerable to exploitation in an unfamiliar environment. Between 1835 and 1842 almost 300 people left the island for Demerara²³⁹ and by 1846, more than 2,600 had gone to Trinidad – about a quarter of the population of Nevis.²⁴⁰ This large-scale emigration explains to some extent why a number of people disappeared from the local records.

Such outflow of able-bodied workers with a get-up-and-go attitude had a big effect on Nevis. For two centuries planters had exploited people for their free labour and now they found themselves in urgent need of hands. Any outbreak of disease, such as a 'tropical fever', added to this shortage, leaving planters struggling to take in the crops.²⁴¹ Growing cane and making sugar was labour intensive; ten years earlier about half the plantation population in Nevis had been employed as field hands. Dasent's was then better stocked with about two thirds of its inhabitants working the land but it is not known how many of the labourers remained on Dasent's after 1838.

Wattley had 'made nothing of Dasent's'²⁴² and by February 1845 still owed the House the remainder of the purchase money, £1,735 including interest, even after the house had received the compensation. The net proceeds of a consignment of 12 hogsheads of sugar to Bristol reduced Wattley's debt to £1,526²⁴³ but Charles Pinney did not want to wait any longer. Following the death of his business partner, Robert Edward Case, Pinney was determined to contract his West India concerns and once more tried to involve Peter Thomas Huggins in centralising his firm's accounts in Nevis.²⁴⁴ After negotiating with Huggins about him buying up Wattley's debt on Dasent's,²⁴⁵ Huggins finally relented and made an offer on the property itself. He had reckoned that 'by good management' he could recoup the money in five to six years but predicted that in five years there would be so much East Indies sugar that West India property would be worthless.²⁴⁶ Despite his earlier misgivings and no doubt somewhat reluctantly Huggins signed the contract with Charles Pinney and Edward Howe Case - Robert Edward Case's son who acted as his father's executor. In a typically complicated deal the sale of Dasent's was linked to another outstanding Nevis debt of

²³⁵ PP, LB 66: Pinney & Case to PT Huggins, 15 May 1837, and Dom Box I ii-24: RW Claxton to JF Pinney, 19 April 1837

²³⁶ Somerset Archives and Local Studies Centre, DD\CH/81/2: Dr WM Mills to ES Bailey, undated but between July and October 1839, letter forwarded by ES Bailey to James B Coles, Taunton

²³⁷ SOAS, Wesleyan Missionary Archives, MMS/W.Indies correspondence/Antigua/FBN21 Items 54 and 60: List attached to file with 1839 Ant (Courtesy of Margaret Stacey)

²³⁸ PP, LB 67: Job Ede, Southampton, to John Frederick Pinney, 23 September 1840

²³⁹ Karen Fog Olwig *Global Culture, Island Identity - Continuing Change in the Afro-Caribbean Community of Nevis* (Chur: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1993) p95, citing Methodist Missionary Society Archives, London: Correspondence West Indies General, 1803-1857, mf 566: 23 September 1836 and Bonham C Richardson *Caribbean Migrants - Environment and Human Survival on St Kitts and Nevis* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1983) p88

²⁴⁰ Douglas Hall *Five of the Leewards 1834-1870* (Barbados: Caribbean University Press, 1971) p41

²⁴¹ PP, LB 68: Charles Pinney to PT Huggins, 1 February 1844, 16 September 1844, and Pinney & Case to PT Huggins, 1 October 1844

²⁴² R Pares *A West India Fortune* p313

²⁴³ ECSCRN, CR 1858-1859 ff91-116

²⁴⁴ PP, LB 68: Pinney & Case to PT Huggins, 1 June 1844

²⁴⁵ PP, LB 67: Pinney & Case to PT Huggins, 21 October 1841 and 15 October 1842

²⁴⁶ PP, Dom Box C-3: PT Huggins to Charles Pinney, London, 6 January 1842

£1,443 which Huggins also purchased in exchange for paying £1,000 stlg upfront and making over his quarter share of the Bristol ship, the *Earl of Liverpool*, 'and in all her tackle and appurtenances'; Charles Pinney already owned the remaining three quarters of the shares. Intended for trade with the Americas, just then the *Earl of Liverpool* was on her way back from China.²⁴⁷ Since the harvests had been so poor, vessels which normally would have delivered plantation supplies and picked up plantation produce were diverted to different trade routes.

Now Dasent's was in Peter Thomas Huggins's hands. The older folk on Dasent's would have remembered the events some decades ago when he, his brother Edward and their father, Edward Huggins senior, had taken a gang of workers to the market in Charlestown to have them publicly and very brutally flogged – including a pregnant woman. One woman died later. Huggins senior was acquitted by a rigged jury but news of the case spread to Britain and contributed to the debate about the abolition of slavery in the colonies. The men and women who had been so violently assaulted were from Mountravers plantation which Charles Pinney's father had not long before sold to the Hugginses.

A hurricane in 1848 caused damage to the works at Dasent's; repairs were completed by May the following year. Shortly afterwards another hurricane swept through the island. The repairs on Dasent's and his other estates were costly, and Huggins found it difficult to get credit to pay the labourers - particularly after the collapse of the West India Bank in which he had invested. To solve the problem of paying wages he tried sharecropping. The exact conditions he applied are not known but the principle was that the land remained in the owner's hands and that he supplied the cost of stocking it while the labourers brought their own tools – hoes and cutlasses - and worked for free until the land was harvested, with a share of the crop replacing the labourers' wages.²⁴⁸ One problem with sharecropping was that the landowner made the decisions on what to grow and that he, or his representative, still oversaw the work – just as in the days of slavery. The experiment failed. Huggins blamed the labourers: 'I have done all in my power to keep the estates in some sort of cultivation by giving out the lands to work for shares but I find the negroes are too lazy to work them properly.'²⁴⁹

Outsiders formed more positive views of Nevis and its inhabitants. A missionary commented on the fact that 'several adults' (some 'not less than 50 years of age') were among over 400 pupils eagerly learning to read in the Sunday School in Charlestown,²⁵⁰ and another observer found the islanders 'well ordered and peaceable people' who were 'more than commonly united in a community of interest.' They were building better houses either near the old ones or on detached pieces and although they were 'not highly prosperous', few suffered real poverty. They were thrifty; many had joined a benefit society.²⁵¹

By the end of 1848 Huggins, who lived in a trophy house he had begun building on Mountravers in the 1830s, was in arrears with Charles Pinney to the tune of over £1,500.²⁵² Pinney was not willing to lend any more money and told him 'to open a credit with some other mercantile house'.²⁵³ Huggins,

²⁴⁷ ECSCRN, CR 1858-1859 ff91-116

For Peter Thomas Huggins's shares in the *Earl of Liverpool*, see also Grahame E Farr (ed) *Record of Bristol Ships 1800-1838 (Vessels over 150 tons)* (Bristol: Bristol Record Society, 1950).

²⁴⁸ Richard Frucht 'A Caribbean Social Type: Neither "Peasant" nor "Proletarian"' *Social and Economic Studies*, 16 No 3 (1967) pp295-300 (p297)

²⁴⁹ PP, Dom Box I ii: PT Huggins to Charles Pinney, 12 May 1849

²⁵⁰ SOAS, Wesleyan Missionary Archives, MMS/W.Indies correspondence/Antigua/FBN21 Item 23: Revd John Bell, Gingerland District, Nevis, to Mission House, 8 April 1839 (Courtesy of Margaret Stacey)

²⁵¹ John Davy *The West Indies, Before and Since Slave Emancipation Comprising the Windward and Leeward Islands' Military Command; Founded on Notes and Observations Collected during a three Years' Residence* (London: W & FG Cash, 1854) p481 and p483

²⁵² PP, LB 69: Charles Pinney to PT Huggins, 5 December 1848

²⁵³ PP, LB 68: Charles Pinney to Thomas Huggins, 31 December 1847, and LB 69: Charles Pinney to PT Huggins, 31 March 1848, 15 July 1848, 15 August 1848, 15 September 1848

For the post-Emancipation period in Nevis see 'The Mountravers Plantation Community, 1734-1834' Postscript, Mountravers after 1834

who had been doing business with the House for decades, was shocked by the rejection at such a difficult time. He, like many planters, was used to borrowing money when times were good – often they were over-stretching themselves with too little collateral to secure their loans. Huggins claimed he was so hard up that he had to withdraw his son from his medical studies and his family had to go without ‘necessaries’.²⁵⁴ One man’s necessities may well have been another man’s luxuries.

Although news of the hurricane in 1848 had stimulated a ‘lively demand’ on the sugar market,²⁵⁵ the general trend in profitability was downwards. Sugars produced in the Caribbean had in 1846 lost their long-held monopoly when Britain allowed in foreign-produced sugar.²⁵⁶ Now the old sugar producing colonies had to compete with products from several other countries: European beet sugar, East Indian cane sugar and slave-produced sugar from Cuba, Brazil and other foreign plantations. When in 1851 the British government reduced protective duties, all these sugars had to compete with each other, and Nevis, one of the oldest sugar colonies, could no longer compete. In addition to suffering from labour shortages the island’s soil was exhausted. The combination of both meant that the product that came onto the market was no longer of first grade quality.²⁵⁷ One indicator of this slump is the cost of valuing the sugar for shipment. For insurance purposes a hogshead was in 1840 valued at £40; by 1848 this had dropped to £13²⁵⁸ and by 1855 it had fallen to between £9 and £10.²⁵⁹

By the mid-1850s Peter Thomas Huggins had become lame and frail and was no longer personally overseeing the work on the estates but rented them out to members of his family. His son Peter rented Dasent’s.²⁶⁰ Almost to his dying days Huggins continued to grumble about labourers not wanting to work or working half a day for a whole day’s pay.²⁶¹ After suffering a long and painful illness,²⁶² aged seventy Peter Thomas Huggins died²⁶² on 4 February 1857.²⁶³

In his will Huggins had left Dasent’s to his son Thomas in trust and then to Thomas’s younger brother Peter.²⁶⁴ Nothing is known about their management of Dasent’s; Thomas died in 1869 aged 49 and Peter in 1874 aged 42.²⁶⁵ When he died, he owed the Colonial Bank over £900²⁶⁶ and had many other debts. This became apparent when creditors applied for the sale of Dasent’s to the West Indian Incumbered Estates Commission.

As early as the 1850s the Colonial Office had set up the West Indian Incumbered Estates Commission to deal with the sale of debt-ridden estates which normally would not have been sold because of the legal encumbrances which often accompanied West Indian property – among them mortgages, multiple annuities and complicated trust arrangements. Creditors could apply for an estate to be sold and commissioners in Britain who worked with commissioners in the colonies assessed the estate which was then sold on behalf of the Commission with an indefeasible title. The aim was to attract new capital and investment to the ailing colonies.

²⁵⁴ PP, Dom Box I ii: PT Huggins to Charles Pinney, 30 May 1849

²⁵⁵ PP, LB 69: Charles Pinney to PT Huggins, 30 September 1848

²⁵⁶ Robert Livingston Schuyler ‘The Abolition of British Imperial Preference, 1846-1860’ *Political Science Quarterly*, 33 No 1 (March 1918) pp77-92 (pp77-8)

²⁵⁷ PP, LB 68: Pinney & Case to PT Huggins, 15 October 1845

²⁵⁸ R Pares *A West India Fortune* p200

²⁵⁹ PP, Dom Box E-4: PT Huggins to Charles Pinney, 27 December 1855; also Michael Craton *Searching for the Invisible Man – Slaves and Plantation Life in Jamaica* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1978) p24

²⁶⁰ PP, Dom Box E-4: PT Huggins to Charles Pinney, 11 Sept 1856

Peter Huggins was, like his father, called Peter Thomas Huggins

²⁶¹ PP, Dom Box E-4: PT Huggins to Charles Pinney, 9 June 1855

²⁶² PP, Dom Box I ii: T Huggins, EJ Huggins, CP Huggins and PT Huggins to Charles Pinney, 28 February 1857

²⁶³ NHCS Archive, St Thomas Burials, 1827-1957 No 657 and RG 9.1 Gravestone inscription, St Thomas Lowland Cemetery

²⁶⁴ ECSCRN, Book of Wills, 1837-1864 ff431-52

²⁶⁵ NHCS Archive, RG 9.1 Gravestone Inscriptions, St Thomas Lowland Cemetery

²⁶⁶ ECSCRN, Court of Queen’s Bench and Common Pleas 1869-1874 f108

On 6 May 1880 the Incumbered Estates Commission sold Dasent's for £1,400 stlg to the merchant firms Thomas Daniel & Co of London and Thomas Daniel & Sons of Bristol. The estate then measured about 78 acres. The conveyance was executed in Nevis in September 1884.²⁶⁷ Not only had sugar prices collapsed but so had land prices. An acre at Dasent's then cost about £18 stlg; a hundred years earlier an acre had been valued at £80 stlg.²⁶⁸

At some stage the Nevis planter Henry Wilkin acquired an interest in Dasent's. In his will of 1882, he left shares of two thirds and one third to his 'natural' children, the widow Matilda Emma Sampson and the planter William Henry Harper Wilkin. They were supposed to pay annuities from Dasent's and three other estates to what appear to have been members of the wider family. Having failed to do so, this led to a petition for sale being filed in October 1889 to the Incumbered Estates Commission.²⁶⁹ However, this petition was withdrawn after the participants reached a compromise agreement. In their agreement Dasent's and another estate, Clay Ghut, were regarded as one property measuring about 350 acres. Between the merchant firms acquiring Dasent's and the property being in the hands of the next owner part of the estate must have been sold off because Dasent's, which had in 1793 measured about 78 acres, by 1893 measured only about 55 acres.²⁷⁰



Plan of Old Manor Estate into which part of Dasent's was incorporated, May 1893

Image courtesy of the Eastern Caribbean Supreme Court Registry, Nevis
and the British Library Endangered Archives Programme EAP 794

²⁶⁷ UKNA, CO 441/3/6 West Indian Incumbered Estates Commission: Papers, Proceedings, Statements to Colonial Courts, etc. Nevis; ECSCRN, Court Records, Court of the Commissioners for the Sale of Incumbered Estates in the West Indies (Nevis) 1872-1887; CR 1877-1899 f162 No 1649

²⁶⁸ Using the relative price worth calculation, this translates into £9,980 and £1,910 respectively.

²⁶⁹ UKNA, CO 441/24/2 West Indian Incumbered Estates Commission: Papers and Correspondence: Wilkin (deceased): Clay Ghut, etc. Nevis No 208

²⁷⁰ ECSCRN, CR 1877-1899 f280 No 1745, 8 September 1892

Despite the petition having been withdrawn in March 1892, by May 1893 Dasent's had been sold off and incorporated into the much larger Old Manor estate (the old Hendrickson's plantation) which had been purchased by Joseph Briggs.²⁷¹ He was a cousin-once removed of Sir Thomas Graham Briggs, a planter from Barbados who had purchased many debt-ridden estates in Nevis, bringing with him new agricultural practises and much-needed capital.²⁷²

Exactly one hundred years earlier, on 3 February 1793, appraisers had taken 'The Inventory & Appraisalment' of Dasent's, itemising all the enslaved people, the utensils and equipment, the buildings and the land. By May 1893 Dasent's had been integrated into Old Manor. Dasent's had ceased to exist as a separate entity.²⁷³



While it has been possible to tell the story of Dasent's estate, the stories of the 88 enslaved people for whom Pinney & Case received compensation could be told only partially. It is hoped that through this study they will at least be remembered.

Christine Eickelmann, April 2023

²⁷¹ ECSCRN, LTRB 1 f137

²⁷² John Alexander Burke Iles *An Account Descriptive of the Island of Nevis, West Indies* (Norwich: Fletcher & Sons, 1871).

After Sir Thomas Graham Briggs died in 1887, Joseph Briggs took on the management of his estates. For the precise relationship between the cousins see Joseph Foster's *The Peerage, Baronetage, and Knightage of the British Empire for 1881*.

²⁷³ No doubt Joseph Briggs had planned to invest money and make the larger estate work more efficiently but within seven years Old Manor was, once again, in possession of overseas capital. It was said that Briggs had managed the estate badly and had overstretched himself by borrowing too much money. By August 1900 the registered owner of Old Manor was a London firm of chartered accountants, Gillespie Brothers & Co. They appointed an attorney to manage and superintend their estates in Nevis, including Old Manor (ECSCRN, CR 1900-1905 ff5-9).

Part 2: Compensation and the Pinney family

Introduction

The compensation Pinney & Case received for Dasent's was one of several awards. Most of these had complicated histories that went back to Charles Pinney's father, John Pretor Pinney, and the deals he made during his lifetime. To understand the complexities of the family's finances, the second part of this study explores the background to their wealth which was founded on John Pinney's time as a planter on Nevis and his work in Bristol as a West India merchant. The growth in his finances was largely due to money he lent in mortgages and bonds; two thirds of the money which John Pinney left to his children stemmed from these activities in the West Indies; the rest came from his properties and investments in England.

After John Pinney died his son Charles took over the running of the company, with Robert Edward Case as his partner. It is not clear how Pinney and Case treated, and then distributed, the compensation money, nor is it easy to separate Pinney's personal dealings from the financial interests of the company. This makes it impossible to tease out particular investments that were directly linked to the compensation money. The closest to direct investments appear to have been the £12,000 the firm invested in the Great Western Cotton Works in Bristol and Charles Pinney's personal subscription of £20 towards building the new Assembly Room, the Victoria Rooms – now part of the University of Bristol's estate.

When Charles Pinney withdrew from the West Indies in the late 1840s, his fortune amounted to £65,000; by the time he died in the late 1860s this had grown to £78,000. He benefited from investments he had made in British and, later, foreign infrastructure projects. Some of the money would have come from the compensation awards, some of it from his other business interests.

Background

In 1834, at the time slave compensation was being calculated and shortly to be distributed, John Pretor Pinney, the second founder of the family fortunes, had been dead for sixteen years. Direction of the firm lay in the hands of John Pinney's youngest son, Charles, and Robert Edward Case who had begun as the firm's clerk but was now a partner.

The firm had gone through various iterations since it was founded in 1783 in Bristol as Pinney & Tobin by John Pinney and his friend and fellow planter from Nevis, James Tobin. Several sons of the two families had been partners in the firm but they had, by 1834, either died or, in the case of John Frederick Pinney, lost interest. At that point, in 1819 the firm became Pinney, Ames & Co. Prior to the abolition of slavery the old partnership was dissolved in 1831 and Pinney & Case was formed.²⁷⁴

The firm had in the previous fifty years acted as sugar factors for planters in the West Indies, handling consignments of sugar, receiving and dispatching orders for plantation supplies in the firm's vessels, managing the financial affairs of planters, lending them money and taking mortgages on plantations and enslaved people as collateral.

²⁷⁴ For further details on the various iterations of the firm see Richard Pares *A West India Fortune* (Longman, Green & Co, 1950) Ch viii; also University of Bristol Special Collections, Pinney Papers (PP), LB 63: Pinney & Ames to Elton, Baillie, Ames and Co, 25 April 1831.

It is worth bearing in mind that, while there were other partners from time to time, the firm was effectively the business of John Pinney. The firm's accounts are incomplete but Richard Pares in *A West India Fortune* calculated that of the £12,000 capital used to found the firm in 1784 John Pinney put up £7,700 and the rest, put up by James Tobin, came effectively in the form of a loan from Pinney.²⁷⁵ Before 1783, while he was in the West Indies, Pinney had sometimes loaned money to fellow planters, and it became an important part of the business of the firm. These sums could be in the form of mortgages or bonds; they sometimes followed on from debts on current account. Some of the mortgages were held by the firm and some by Pinney himself. It seems that in 1817, shortly before he died, Pinney held mortgages on property in the West Indies amounting to £127,539 and the firm had mortgages of some £45,000.²⁷⁶

All of Pinney's sons and at least one of Tobin's were concerned in the firm at one time or another. Pinney's youngest daughter Mary was married to one of the firm's partners, Jeremiah Ames, and, long after his death in 1820, for a short period from 1837 she held stock in the firm. The firm also held a current account for her elder sister Elizabeth. She was involved in slave compensation but it is unclear whether she held any of the firm's stock. When John Frederick Pinney lost interest and resigned as a partner in 1819 he transferred his initial £10,000 of capital to his youngest brother Charles but he retained his own personal involvement in a number of estates in various Caribbean islands. Charles's stock amounted to £32,000 in 1831. Case had no capital at the beginning but became a partner on the basis that he would reinvest his earnings from the firm in a 'Stock Account' which amounted to a little over £9,000 in 1837.²⁷⁷

In the 1830s Pinney & Case were principally concerned with managing a withdrawal from any involvement in West Indian estates to their and the family's best advantage. Members of the family had their own personal financial interests in the form of mortgages and loans made to planters. The firm likewise held mortgages, as did the partners as individuals themselves. So it was a complicated picture that Charles Pinney and Robert Case were trying to manage in a West Indian sugar economy that was in serious decline.

One aspect of the background to Bristol's involvement in the slave economy, which is tangential here but worth exploring in another study, is the networking of members of the merchant, banking and business community through Freemasonry. Charles Pinney (initiated in 1814) and Robert Edward Case (in this lodge from 1815) were both members of the same Royal Sussex Lodge of Hospitality in Bristol.²⁷⁸ Charles's brother, John Frederick (1818), was a member of the Lodge of Regularity in London.²⁷⁹ No evidence has been found yet that their father was a member. But James Tobin, John Pinney's founding partner in the firm, was a member from January 1790 of the Royal York Lodge in Bristol. Other members of wealthy merchant and business families in Bristol joined the same lodge at roughly the same time. These included George Webbe, a younger member of the planter family on Nevis, Stephen Cave, Thomas Southey (uncle of the poet), William Paty, the architect who designed Pinney's 'Georgian House', several members of the Harford family, John Gordon and others.²⁸⁰

²⁷⁵ R Pares *A West India Fortune* p175

²⁷⁶ R Pares *A West India Fortune* p178

²⁷⁷ R Pares *A West India Fortune* pp181-84

²⁷⁸ Ancestry.co.uk 'England, United Grand Lodge of England Freemason Membership Registers 1715-1921: United Grand Lodge of England, 1813-1836 > Register of Admissions Country and Foreign 'C', #291-418 f42 'Royal Sussex Lodge of Hospitality Bristol'

²⁷⁹ Ancestry.co.uk 'England, United Grand Lodge of England Freemason Membership Registers 1715-1921: Grand Stewards Lodge, 274 London 'A' f198 Lodge of Regularity'

²⁸⁰ Ancestry.co.uk 'England, United Grand Lodge of England Freemason Membership Registers 1715-1921: Moderns Grand Lodge 1768-1813, Register of Admissions Country and Foreign vol ii f350 'The Royal York Lodge, Bristol'

The Pinney fortune: income from the West Indies and from England

While considering how members of the Pinney family and firm came to be paid compensation it is worth noting that although the West Indies, their sugar plantations and the sugar trade were very important in the Pinney finances they were not the only source of wealth. Pares calculated that the Pinney fortune amounted to some £340,000 when John Pinney died in January 1818. Of this, £120,000 came from mortgages on lands in England (£63,220), other debts in England, lands and houses he acquired after 1783 (not counting those he had inherited) and investments in public funds such as Treasury bonds.²⁸¹

Nevertheless, roughly two thirds of the family's fortune was based on their connections with the West Indies and the business of slave-produced sugar. This is illustrated by the fact that the purchase of the Pinney family home in Bristol, now the Georgian House Museum, was funded by debts owed by planters and merchants in Nevis. John Pinney noted the following in a memo to himself in 1784, together with a list of bonds totalling £1,500 sterling:

Resolved, that the several outstanding debts, in the Island of Nevis, hereinafter particularised, as they are received, be laid apart, and considered as a fund, to purchase a house in the airy part of Bristol, or elsewhere, for my residence.²⁸²

Mortgages, debts and compensation

When slavery was abolished in 1834, each of the surviving children of John Pinney was involved in at least one West Indies estate. For one reason or another the two surviving sons, John Frederick and Charles, were concerned in many estates. The distribution of all of these to some degree depended on the settlement of John Pinney's affairs, both by agreements made before his death and by his will. Those estates for which the Pinney family members and the firm were able to make successful compensation claims are shown in Appendix 2.

There were two reasons for many of the successful claims. Some related to mortgages lent for the purchase of an estate. Hendrickson's/Old Manor on Nevis was one example where John Frederick Pinney had lent the money. Other estates like Dasent's were simply a case where the purchase price had not been paid, or not paid off fully. The debts were often of long duration and grew partly because of the collapse in sugar prices at the end of the Napoleonic wars. For these reasons, and with drought and disease in the 1820s considerably affecting output, the interest due was added to the debt inexorably. In addition, some of the already indebted planters ran current accounts with the firm for their supplies and were unable to meet their expenses out of production.

In cases like Dasent's and Stoney Hill on Nevis it was the firm of Pinney & Case which was awarded the compensation. The firm was also handling claims for other people and occasionally for members of the family. As was usual, Pinney & Case charged commission for their services.²⁸³ The compensation for Dasent's amounted to £1,536.²⁸⁴ On this the firm charged 2½ per cent commission of £40. Taking into account interest due on the mortgage account, and even after George Wattley

²⁸¹ R Pares *A West India Fortune* pp321-22

The difficulties of translating historic sums into modern values have been noted in fns 7, 28 and 77 above. This study is using 'Measuring Worth' (<https://www.measuringworth.com/calculators/ukcompare/>). Applying the relative price worth (RPW) calculation, John Pinney's total worth when he died in 1818, £340,000, would have been equivalent to £26.4 million in 2021. Of this latter sum, roughly £17.1 million would have been derived from slavery-based activities in the West Indies and £9.3 million from assets and income in England.

²⁸² PP, AB 22 (C3) Estates in England 1783-1797 f10 dated 1 May 1784

²⁸³ In March 1836 the firm was handling ten compensation accounts, some for other people, some involving members of the Pinney family, to the tune of about £21,300 (PP, AB 69 Compensation Account 1 March 1836).

²⁸⁴ Compensation figures have been rounded down to the nearest pound.

had assigned the compensation money to Pinney & Case, according to the firm's accounts Wattley still owed £1,818 at the beginning of August 1836.²⁸⁵

In several cases claims were linked where an owner against whom a claim was made owned more than one estate. The affairs of George Webbe on Nevis were horribly complicated but he owed a bond for a considerable sum to the firm which then made successful claims on both his Stoney Hill and Batchelor's Hall estates. Similarly, John Frederick Pinney was able to claim for a mortgage against both estates of the Parson family in St Kitts and in Montserrat.

²⁸⁵ PP, AB 69 GS Wattley Mortgage, Account Current with Charles Pinney and Robert Edward Case

Compensation and John Pinney's children

It is not the intention here to explore the compensation arrangements for every estate in which the Pinneys were involved but to explore a number of them to see what issues they raise about how the Pinneys became associated with these estates, how far they were involved in financing them, what problems this caused and how the compensation money was distributed.

John Frederick Pinney

John Frederick, Pinney's eldest son, was born on Nevis in 1773 and two thirds of the Pinney's principal plantation, Mountravers, was entailed to him. He visited the island in 1794 with his father when he came of age and took charge of his inheritance. However, he showed little interest in the business, tried to sell the estate in 1802 and succeeded for a large sum of money in 1808. He joined the firm as a partner in 1803 but his participation was notional, and he withdrew as soon as he decently could after his father's death in 1818. His father had complained to him in 1798 about his levity and 'folly', and the lack of 'a judicious arrangement of ... [his] personal expenses'. He had noted in particular 'an ignorance of his own affairs' and 'an inattention to figures' and had warned his son that 'ruin will be the consequence'.²⁸⁶ John Frederick's wife, Frances Dickinson, who was clearly a more perceptive and effective figure, also complained about his 'aversion to looking over the books'.²⁸⁷

However, as the eldest son he inherited from his father many of the financial interests in various estates around the West Indies, the management of which was a task for which he was unsuited.²⁸⁸ For instance, instead of negotiating with a debtor he would hold out for every penny he was owed, and when trying to sell estates on Nevis he would cling on to an impossible asking price - even as land values were in freefall.

In the 1820s John Frederick Pinney had possession of three estates in St Croix on which his father had lent eye-watering sums of money but since St Croix was Danish no claims for British compensation could be made.²⁸⁹ Most of the claims were based on mortgages owed with interest and the engagements were usually of long standing, often originally entered into by his father. As seen in the table in Appendix 2, he was the principal beneficiary in successful claims on five estates in five different colonies: as owner of Richland Park Estate on St Vincent, Hendrickson's/Old Manor in Nevis, two linked claims on St Kitts and Montserrat relating to their dealings with the Parson family and a claim which was assigned to him on Mocha plantation in Demerara/British Guiana. He was also concerned in an initially successful joint award with his brother Charles on Colhoun's Estate (later called Bowrin's) arising from the wholly mismanaged affairs of the MP William McDowall Colhoun. This was a claim from which he did not in the end benefit.

On one additional estate, Parris's on Nevis, the compensation was awarded to Peter Thomas Huggins. He had bought the estate from John Frederick in 1830 as it was contiguous to Mountravers, his principal estate and the one which Huggins's father had bought in 1808 from the Pinneys. The £2,434 compensation money received for the 138 enslaved people on Parris's was paid to Pinney shortly afterwards to pay off the agreed sale price of £5,250.²⁹⁰ This was also the pattern for Huggins's dealings with Charles Pinney in the case of Clarke's Estate on Nevis and for the Maynards

²⁸⁶ PP, Dom Box S-1 John Pinney to John Frederick Pinney, 7 August 1798

²⁸⁷ PP, Dom Box C2 Bundle 11 Mrs Frances Pinney to Charles Pinney, 13 June 1826

²⁸⁸ For a copy of Pinney's will see ECSCRN, Book of Wills, 1805-1817 ff384-88

²⁸⁹ The estates were Mount Pleasant and Solitude, Windsor Forest and Peter's Rest, all sold in 1845 when John Frederick Pinney died.

²⁹⁰ For the sale agreement see ECSCRN, CR 1829-1830 vol 2 ff176-205

concerning Symonds and other estates.²⁹¹ In total, including Parris's, John Frederick received £14,492 for 721 enslaved people.

Elizabeth Baillie and Mary Ames

In 1797 Elizabeth Pinney married Peter Baillie, the son of Evan Baillie, the Bristol West India merchant, slave trader and banker. Evan was also MP for Bristol from 1802 to 1812 when he retired to Dochfour, a large estate near Inverness in Scotland which he had inherited from his brother. Peter was a partner in the Old Bank in Bristol and Evan Baillie contributed £10,000 to their marriage settlement, with John Pinney providing another £5,000. The couple lived in 6 Berkeley Square in Clifton which John Pinney bought for them and where they had four children. Elizabeth's husband died in 1811, confirming in his will the £15,000 settled on his wife and adding another £5,000.²⁹²

Mary Pinney, the youngest surviving Pinney daughter, and seemingly the liveliest as a child, was born in Park Street in Clifton. In 1806 she married Jeremiah Ames, the eldest son of the Bristol banker Levi Ames. Almost certainly the marriage settlement would have been similar to her sister's. The couple lived in Harley Place in Clifton but had no children. Jeremiah died in 1820 and Mary, finding little consolation in Clifton, moved to Bath.

John Pinney was always concerned for the welfare of his children and either in addition to the marriage settlements or to support them financially he made particular provision for them before he died. These arrangements do not appear in his will and do not include details for his eldest son since he was the principal beneficiary in the will. There are two versions of these arrangements, one dated May 1815 and the other August 1815.²⁹³ They differ a little in some of the details. An example of this is that Pretor, the middle son who suffered from physical and mental health problems, was, in the May version, given the £12,000 mortgage on Edward Parson's estate on St Kitts but this did not appear in the later document, and by the 1820s it was in the hands of his brother John Frederick.

The August document shows that Pinney secured £10,000 for each of his daughters, independent of their husbands,²⁹⁴ on three mortgages on Nevis estates: James Tobin's mortgage of April 1789 for £10,000 secured on Stoney Grove estate and 179 enslaved people and the £12,000 mortgage of Henry Rawlins (of St Kitts) on Symonds estate. In addition, the sums were secured on a £5,000 mortgage from John Hendrickson on Hendrickson's (later Old Manor) estate.²⁹⁵ The trustees for these arrangements were family members Charles Pinney and John Ames.

Mary Ames was an Evangelical Christian and was friendly with William Wilberforce's wife Barbara. While Elizabeth Baillie seems to have taken her lead from Mary, the two sisters paid some attention to what was happening with at least Stoney Grove and Symond's. Charles Pinney and the firm took possession of Stoney Grove in 1823 when Captain George Tobin RN gave up the estate to them. It was in very poor shape and the enslaved population had suffered from poor managers, absentee owners and the droughts, disease and hunger that plagued the island at that time. The firm put considerable money into supporting the plantation, bringing in a new manager and investing in a new, steam-powered mill and works.²⁹⁶

²⁹¹ R Pares *A West India Fortune* p317

²⁹² PP, Dom Box U for marriage settlement dated 8 May 1797 and will proved 3 April 1812

²⁹³ PP, AB 66 (G Ledger) 1813-1818 'Younger Children's Account' 1 May 1815 and PP, Dom Box P Instructions from John Pinney to James Parson, August 1815

²⁹⁴ £10,000 would have been equivalent to £8,610,000 in 2021

²⁹⁵ In the May document the second mortgage was not on Symonds estate but on Peter's Rest in St Croix and there was no third mortgage on Hendrickson's.

²⁹⁶ For further information on the state of Stoney Grove and efforts to improve its management, see D Small *Stationary Steam Engines on Sugar Plantations in the Caribbean: Nevis 1816-1846* pp17-28 <https://seis.bristol.ac.uk/~emceee/steam.pdf>

Mrs Ames intervened with her brother Charles and prevented a sale around 1831 when the firm was thinking of accepting an offer for Stoney Grove from Walter Maynard of Nevis. She explained her decision to oppose accepting Maynard's offer of £12,000 to her nephew William Pinney in 1843. The principal cause arose from Maynard's 'character being generally considered cruel towards his treatment of his slaves and that his habit of feeding them amounted to nearly starvation'. She had checked this with someone who knew him well.²⁹⁷

In 1835 Walter Maynard Mills bought the plantation, excluding compensation, for £5,000, of which only £1,000 was paid down, the rest to be paid off at 5 per cent per annum interest. Compensation of £3,572 on 209 enslaved people was paid to Pinney & Case acting as trustees for Mrs Ames and Mrs Baillie; this was noted in the estate accounts.²⁹⁸

Several points are worth noting. Stoney Grove was still in debt to Pinney & Case on its current account. Also, the compensation money was only part of the calculation for the purposes of securing £10,000 for the two sisters and was notionally put into a trust fund which was divided between them. Also, the purchase price of £5,000, which itself was a radical reduction on the £12,000 offered previously by Maynard, was still not paid off in 1842 and, according to Pares, only £4,333 was ever received.²⁹⁹

An initial mortgage on Symonds Estate in St George Gingerland on Nevis arose from John Pinney's time and his need to buy out other mortgages to protect his initial investment. The estate, also known as Mount Sion, was not badly run from the late 1790s when it was in the possession of members of the Rawlins family of St Kitts, principally Henry Rawlins. At that time, it was linked to another of their possessions - a small estate nearby of 54 acres called Vervain/Vervine. Mortgages to John Pinney were consolidated in 1801 in a mortgage from Rawlins to Pinney for £15,000, of which £12,000 remained in 1815. Arrears of interest were a principal cause of continued debt which even increased on the estate's current account when it came back into the Pinneys' possession in 1821. Stable management and organisation allowed the firm to agree a sale of the estate in 1829 for £10,000 to Walter and James Maynard, £1,000 of which was for Vervain. The Maynards paid only £1,000 down. An appraisal at the time showed that Symonds amounted to 176 acres of cane land and 250 acres of pasture. It seems odd that the sisters demurred on selling Stoney Grove to Walter Maynard but two years earlier had agreed on selling Symonds to him. It may be that Elizabeth Baillie, who was taking the lead on this estate, made less effort to question her brother Charles's advice to sell. Given the date of the sale, slave compensation was not included in the deal.³⁰⁰

Compensation of £2,349 on 144 enslaved people was paid to Charles Pinney acting as a trustee for the two sisters, and a slightly lesser sum for Symonds estate only, was credited to their Trust account in March 1836. They were, however, still owed nearly £5,000 on Symonds and the firm over £600 on Vervain - even after compensation was factored in.³⁰¹

Looking at the extent to which the two sisters benefitted financially from the compensation process is instructive. They had £22,000 of mortgages on Symonds and Stoney Grove settled in a Trust account for them in 1815 to secure £10,000 each. Into this fund they were due to receive interest on the mortgage, individual payments from the owners in reduction of the principal debt, proceeds from the sale of sugar and other produce and, when the time came, money from the compensation

²⁹⁷ PP, Dom Box I ii/30

²⁹⁸ PP, AB 71 f13 Stoney Grove in account current with Pinney & Case 1835-1836. The figures vary slightly from those given in R Pares *A West India Fortune* p315 because interest was calculated on the compensation.

²⁹⁹ R Pares *A West India Fortune* Table XI p315

³⁰⁰ For details on Symonds Estate see R Pares *A West India Fortune*, particularly pp261-62, 276-78, 300-03, 313-17; also PP, WI Box O-4 Deeds and Papers in relation to Symonds and Vervaine estates sold to Walter and James Maynard Esq 16 December 1829

³⁰¹ PP, AB 71 ff26-27 Trust Account in respect of Stoney Grove and Symonds

fund. However, the estates usually were in arrears to the firm on their current accounts for supplies, freight, insurance and so on. When the firm took possession of the estates in 1821 and 1823, under the direction of Charles Pinney, it invested money in building works (in the case of Stoney Grove) and getting the plantations in order. While the sisters had been getting regular payments of interest twice a year from 1818 to July 1822, these stopped, and from then on they received nothing until May 1836.³⁰² At that point the compensation money for the two estates was divided between them. Pares calculated that from £16,572 recovered from the two estates, the sisters received only £6,775 – a long way short of the £20,000 which had been settled on them. The reason Pares gave is that the firm repaid itself every penny it was owed on the estates.³⁰³ In fairness, Charles Pinney seems to have recognised the danger that they would not receive any money. In November 1828 he gave Mary Ames £4,209 'in lieu of her Securities in Nevis which I fear are worth nothing'.³⁰⁴ It is likely that he did the same for her older sister.

Hendrickson's was the other estate on which John Pinney's settlements for his daughters were secured. Pinney had a long connection with this property because it was part of the Gingerland estate which he inherited in 1762, reconfigured and sold in several parts while he was living on the island. It eventually was bought in 1794 by John Hendrickson. By 1818 Pinney had two mortgages on the property, one of £3,000 (in 1790) and another of £5,000 (in 1804). Pares stated that even the Pinneys were not clear why the debt kept mounting. One of the problems was that the estate changed hands at least five times and each new regime contracted separate debts on their current accounts. The estate passed back and forth between the Hendrickson, Laurence and Hanley families, and the lack of stability had a disastrous effect on the enslaved population. Charles Pinney had to buy cornmeal for the people to prevent starvation in mid-1822.³⁰⁵ The estate was severely undermanned with a 'miserable' gang of 77 people when in 1823 John Hanley returned the estate to Samuel Laurence.³⁰⁶ In 1828 the Laurence family gave up possession of Hendrickson's to John Frederick Pinney who held the mortgages.

There is no mention of the sisters, Mrs Ames and Mrs Baillie, in all these dealings, so there must have been some deal within the family to consolidate the financing of the estate in the hands of their brother. Against the advice of Charles Pinney, John Frederick took two other steps. In 1828 he transferred at least 36 enslaved people from Symonds estate to Hendrickson's and later that year he sold the latter estate to Edward Huggins junr. John Frederick held a mortgage of £10,000 on the estate which Charles was convinced would not be paid off. He thought Huggins junr to be boastful and of an expensive turn, albeit a good planter. In May 1835 Huggins put in a claim for compensation on the enslaved people on the estate. John Frederick, at the same time as submitting a counterclaim, wrote to Edward Huggins junr saying that he had heard that Huggins was getting compensation money to the tune of £7,000 and offered to give up any claim he had on the estate for an immediate payment of £7,300.³⁰⁷ At this point Hendrickson's was called Old Manor Estate.³⁰⁸ Thus an estate which owed at least £12,000 to the Pinneys (excluding arrears of interest), and once had probably been worth a good deal more than that, was sold to Edward Huggins on the basis of a £10,000 mortgage which John Frederick was willing to knock down to £7,3000 – an illustration of the collapsing value of estates and the Pinneys general anxiety to repatriate their money to Britain.

³⁰² PP, AB 69 Elizabeth Baillie interest account on Trust securities

³⁰³ R Pares *A West India Fortune* p330

³⁰⁴ PP, AB 76 'Contingent Fund' 1 November 1828

³⁰⁵ PP, LB 28 Charles Pinney to Samuel Laurence, 25 June 1822

³⁰⁶ PP, LB 56 Mills & Galpine to Pinney, Ames & Co, 18 March 1823. LB 56 and LB 57, but also others covering the 1820s and early 1830s, make frequent mention of the condition of the estate and the negotiations about its future.

³⁰⁷ PP, Dom Box lli/22 JF Pinney to Edward Huggins, 14 September 1835

³⁰⁸ PP, LB 66 Pinney & Case to Claxton & Woodcock, St Kitts, 15 May 1835. JF Pinney had been advised to delay putting in a counter claim for Edward Huggins's people on Hendrickson's – the estate which was sold to Huggins and under mortgage to Pinney 'now called Old Manor'.

In the end, there was a three-way arrangement of the affairs of Edward Huggins junr concerning different estates. John Frederick Pinney got the compensation for 142 enslaved people on Hendrickson's, Edward Huggins junr got the compensation for Eden Brown Estate and the firm of T & J Daniel of Bristol received the money for Indian Castle Estate. Even so, this arrangement was not sorted out until after Edward Huggins's death in 1840. Pares stated that of the £12,000 owed, excluding arrears of interest, the Pinneys actually received £5,000 (or half the agreed sale price) plus the £2,566 compensation, amounting to 63 per cent of what cumulatively the various planters owed them on this estate.³⁰⁹

Charles Pinney, and Robert Edward Case

After John Frederick Pinney resigned as a partner, Charles Pinney ran the firm of Pinney, Ames & Co with the chief clerk Robert Edward Case. Although Jeremiah Ames died in 1820 it was not until 1831 that the partnership was dissolved and the new firm of Pinney & Case was formed. At that point Charles's stock in the company amounted to £32,000. Case had no capital at the beginning but became a partner on the basis that he would reinvest some of his earnings from the firm in a 'Stock Account' which by 1837 amounted to a little over £9,000.³¹⁰

In the dealings with planters generally, and over compensation, it is not always easy to separate the personal dealings of Charles Pinney from the financial interests of the company. However, in John Pinney's 1815 distribution of mortgages for the security of his children, Charles had been given the £5,000 mortgage on West Farm estate on St Kitts. He counterclaimed for compensation on the basis that £2,677 was still owed and was awarded £1,270 for 74 enslaved people.³¹¹ Similarly he had been given an annuity of £200 on Colhoun's estate on Nevis on which his brother John Frederick held a mortgage of £8,000 from John Pinney's time. Trustees on behalf of Charles were awarded the compensation of £2,416 on 134 people – the award was to pay the annuity to Charles for life and then pay off John Frederick's mortgage. As it turned out, John Frederick died before his brother. Apart from the compensation award for Dasent's which has already been raised, the other large award³¹² to Pinney & Case was on George Webbe's estates on Nevis, Stoney Hill and Bachelor's Hall. These plantations illustrate some of the problems for planters and merchants. The Webbes were a large, well-connected family on Nevis in the eighteenth century and were old friends of John Pinney. James Tobin's wife, Elizabeth was the daughter of George Webbe senior (d. 1790) who lived in Redland in Bristol from the 1780s at the same time as the Pinneys and the Tobins.

In 1803 George Webbe's son, George Webbe of Flushing in Cornwall (d. 1827), still owed £2,500 from £5,000 secured on one or other of the estates in Nevis.³¹³ This financial business probably went back to the time of his father. How these debts to merchants increased rapidly if they were not paid off is illustrated by the following: around October 1836 Pinney & Case drew up a neat draft of the counterclaim they put in on the Webbe estates. The debt had turned into (or always was) a bond which had grown from George Webbe of Flushing owing £2,500 in 1803 to £4,900 in 1827 shortly after he died. With four years arrears of interest this grew to £5,880 in 1831 and, after another five and a half years of arrears, to £7,225 in October 1836.³¹⁴

³⁰⁹ For R Pares on Hendrickson's see *A West India Fortune* particularly pp249-50, 307, 312-13 and 315

³¹⁰ R Pares *A West India Fortune* pp181-84

³¹¹ For the various changes in ownership from 1817 see the *Legacies of British Slavery* database <https://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/estate/view/3470>

³¹² There were two small awards, Nevis claims 155 and 156, where the two Pinney brothers and Case were assigned the compensation money as creditors of members of the Galpine family. Mills & Galpine were merchants on Nevis who had gone bankrupt.

³¹³ PP, Catalogue 4 entry re Dom Box 4 1880-1894 Vol of Deeds, Bonds etc p12

³¹⁴ PP, WI Box 1829-1836

The Webbe family were simply unable to pay off any of the principal or any of the arrears despite having, on occasion, some good crops. Case noted 142 hogsheads of sugar sent by George Cavell Webbe (son of the deceased George Webbe of Flushing) in 1829. However, he commented that Webbe kept drawing bills on the firm that just about equalled the £2,800 he earned from the sugar sold. In this way he never got to paying off the debt and it kept growing inexorably.³¹⁵ As a result Pinney & Case were awarded £2,114 for 126 people on Stoney Hill and £3,471 for 210 people on Bachelor's Hall.

This did not meet the total sum due. For some reason Peter Thomas Huggins allowed himself in 1846 to be persuaded by Charles Pinney to have the remaining debt of £1,443 on the bond transferred to him. This was presumably on the basis that Huggins on the island would have a better chance of getting paid than Pinney in Bristol. From then on George Cavell Webbe's debt was inextricably tied to a debt of £797 which Huggins owed to Pinney. The letters of this period were full of hopes that Webbe would be able to pay off his debt to Huggins so that Huggins could pay Pinney. These hopes were generally dashed.

A hurricane in 1848 blew down the sugar works all around the island, including Webbe's and the works on one of Huggins's estates. By 1850 Webbe had lost his job as Chief Justice of the island and was reduced to the position of jobbing lawyer. In 1856 he had got himself the post of island Treasurer and was living in town with his large family. Huggins reported 'I believe his estates are gone to ruin, the buildings all nearly down and the lands nearly out of cultivation.'³¹⁶ Other estates on the island were in a similar position, the weather was often foul, sharecropping was becoming more usual, people were emigrating to find better paid work and cholera had killed many. The island was awaiting someone to invest in it, or for the government to provide a solution to the stultifying problem of planter debt which prevented sales of indebted estates and therefore access to fresh money and new ideas.

Webbe's debt encapsulates many of the issues raised by compensation. The business of producing sugar brought with it appalling costs for the enslaved people. But financially it was largely not profitable after 1815 when land values and sugar prices collapsed and when competition from other areas of the world and from European sugar beet made it more difficult to sell at a price which would allow some margin. Planters in debt for relatively small sums found it very difficult to pay even the interest so that the debt kept growing. The Webbe example demonstrates that most of the compensation money went to merchants in Britain, not the planters. Pares pointed out that Webbe with over 300 enslaved people got none of the compensation.³¹⁷ But, even after compensation was paid, the Pinneys were still owed money into the mid-1850s by one impecunious planter or another.

One other estate should be mentioned. Clarke's plantation on Nevis lay immediately to the north of Mountravers which was the main estate and residence of Peter Thomas Huggins. Huggins hoped to achieve economies of scale by effectively working both estates together, particularly using the steam-driven mill he had installed at the works he had completely rebuilt expensively at Pinney's Yard on Mountravers. He bought Clarke's from Charles Pinney for £12,500 in February 1830 at the same time as he bought Parris's from John Frederick Pinney.³¹⁸ The compensation money of £2,710 on 148 people on Clarke's was awarded to Huggins as the 'owner'; the money was collected from the Compensation Commission by Charles Pinney.³¹⁹ Pinney & Case received commission on

³¹⁵ PP, Dom Box C2 Bundle 13 Letters from Case to Pinney, 3 April and 17 September 1829

³¹⁶ PP, Dom Box E4 Huggins to Pinney, 28 September 1856

³¹⁷ R Pares *A West India Fortune* p317. According to UCL, *Legacies of British Slavery* database George Cavell Webbe succeeded with two small claims on two and eight people respectively. These may have been enslaved house servants, possibly related to his wife.

³¹⁸ ECSCRN, CR 1829-1830 ff206-10, 211-44, 246-65. We are very grateful to the late Bill Pinney for this and other sources concerning Clarke's and Parris's.

³¹⁹ See UCL, *Centre for the Study of Legacies of British Slavery* database Nevis claim 133 <https://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/25119>

handling this and other compensation monies awarded to Huggins or members of his family.³²⁰ Charles Pinney had counterclaimed for a mortgage of £10,500 but withdrew this since he and Huggins had already agreed how this sale would be paid for - that is with the compensation monies which the firm was handling for Huggins. Here is another example, like Parris's estate, where the compensation money went almost straight to the merchants rather than the planters. On this deal Charles Pinney got most (but not all) of what he was owed by Huggins. It should be noted, however, that previously the Pinneys had already written off at least £7,000 on the Clarke family, in order to try and keep them going and in possession of their estate. Later the Pinneys put more money into getting the estate in some sort of shape to sell once the Clarke family had been forced by debt to hand over possession to them.³²¹

³²⁰ Under 'other monies' should be mentioned two complicated claims for compensation on Golden Rock (claim 36, £4,096 on 222 people) and New River (claim 97, £2,694 awarded on 178 people) estates on Nevis. Although it appears that Edward Huggins junr, Charles Pinney and Robert Edward Case were the awardees, in fact they were acting as trustees. The compensation was invested in 3 per cent Consolidated Funds because the beneficiary, Peter Thomas Huggins, was only a tenant in tail for life. The money was eventually paid over to Huggins in 1841 – see PP, LB 67 Pinney & Case to various bankers and solicitors, October 1841.

³²¹ For the story of the estate and its enslaved population see D Small and C Eickelmann *A History of Clarke's Estate on Nevis: From Sugar Plantation to Luxury Four Season's Resort* <https://seis.bristol.ac.uk/~emceee/clarkeshistory.pdf>

What happened to the compensation money?

Using the Pinneys and their firm as an example, it is worth examining what happened to the compensation money, what it was used for and whether it had any material role in helping to develop Bristol and the surrounding area. This can be done to some extent by looking at the individual members of the family, where they were and what their financial accounts suggest they might have done with the money.

Two thirds of the money which John Pinney passed on to his children derived from the brutal business of slave-produced sugar on plantations which the Pinneys helped to supply and finance and on which Pinney held mortgages that produced substantial interest. Although the figures varied per year, it appears that in 1815-1816, for instance, a total of between £6,000 and £9,000 of Pinney's (net) income derived from the West Indies and £4,452 (gross) income came from investment in England. The interest achieved on money lent in mortgages and bonds was one of the main reasons for the growth in his fortune. From 1789 he added at least £1,500 per year to his capital and on average £7,000 in the last four accounting years of his life. By contrast, he complained that his main plantation Mountravers was losing money by the time John Frederick sold it in 1808.³²²

John Frederick Pinney and his sisters

John Frederick Pinney's money came largely from his father's involvement in this business. He chose to live mostly in London where he had what Pinney considered to be an expensive lifestyle. His wife Frances was the daughter of another West Indian planter and had a marriage settlement from her father. They lived in a new London house at 30 Berkeley Square in central Mayfair from 1824 when it was built, and his family continued to live in it until at least the 1890s. He owned other property in the West Country as well: a country house at Burton Pynsent in Somerset, which his father helped fund, and his parents' country house at Somerton Erleigh which he inherited and used as a country retreat after their deaths. He continued to own three estates in St Croix which were sold for £15,300 after his death in 1845. Pares estimated his fortune when he died at about £160,000.³²³ He benefitted from about £14,500 of compensation 'awards'.

It is not known with any certainty what John Frederick did with the compensation money but he lived expensively and had to provide for two daughters and one son. He moved between his house in London and his properties in Somerset and Dorset and was helped by his frustrated brother Charles and, to a limited extent, the firm. He does not seem to have held any property in Bristol or to have been interested, or involved, in the affairs of the city.

When John Frederick died, he left his daughters £15,000 each. His son William was trying in the early 1830s to become the MP for Lyme Regis, succeeding for the first time in 1832. In order to improve his chances his father bought a large property, land and houses in Lyme. Over the years the elections were marred by mutual accusations of corruption and these led to him being unseated in 1842. William Pinney was a reform-minded Whig and in 1837 he counter-charged that his Tory opponent was responsible for flogging female slaves on his estates in Barbados.³²⁴ Meanwhile his sister Anna Maria Pinney and Caroline Dickinson, a relative of his mother, Frances Pinney, both campaigned for the ending of slavery in the United States.³²⁵

³²² R Pares *A West India Fortune* pp324-28

³²³ R Pares *A West India Fortune* p329

³²⁴ <https://victoriancommons.wordpress.com/2015/11/29/mp-of-the-month-william-pinney-and-another-kind-of-slavery-election/>

³²⁵ 'The Mountravers Plantation Community, 1734-1834' <https://seis.bristol.ac.uk/~emceee/mountravers~postscript.pdf> Postscript, Mountravers after 1834

Neither John Frederick nor his two sisters were really engaged with Bristol. Elizabeth, married to Peter Baillie, had £20,000, settled on her in her own right, including two marriage settlements, one of which was for £10,000 from her husband's wealthy family. That family was heavily involved as merchants, slave traders and plantation owners in the West Indies. The young couple had a house at 6 Berkeley Square in Bristol, bought from John Pinney, which Elizabeth kept after her husband's death in 1811 but which she leased out until her death. She and her husband had four children, two girls and two boys, all born in Bristol. While her husband was alive, they divided their time between Bristol, London and her father-in-law's estate in Scotland. The eldest boy, Evan, after the death of his father, succeeded his grandfather in the Dochfour estate near Inverness in 1835.³²⁶ In 1826 Elizabeth's daughter Jane married a well-known, aristocratic Baptist minister, Baptist Wriothely Noel with whom she had eight children. His ministry was in and around Walthamstow and Hornsey, and Elizabeth either lived with them or close by for the rest of her life. She was buried in Hornsey in 1852. The firm had effectively two accounts for her: one was a personal account; the other was concerned with the Trust securities on Stoney Grove and Symond's estates which she shared with her sister.

From the accounts it seems likely that the compensation money on the two trust estates was aggregated with other sums of interest and then paid to the sisters. The aim was to provide for them a sum of £10,000 each over time. Since the compensation did not equal that sum, they were also still paid additional sums of interest on the debt. For instance, as well as the compensation for the Symonds estate their Trust account was getting quite large, but irregular, interest payments from the Maynards. These were in the order of £400 and £800. On 7 April 1837 each of the sisters was credited in the Trust account with £3,471 interest which is in the same region as Pares calculated they each got in the end from these two estates.³²⁷ Perhaps, in addition should be added to this the £4,209 given in 1828 by Charles Pinney to Mrs Ames (and probably Mrs Baillie) in lieu of what he considered to be their risky securities.

Mrs Baillie, however, had other sums coming into her personal account. In 1836 she had half yearly sums of £54 on 'stock' which could suggest she had £2,000 of stock in the firm. John Frederick was paying her £80 interest annually for a loan secured on Windsor Forest estate in St Croix, and she received two payments totalling £238 from her husband's family firm, the West India merchants Evan Baillie Sons & Co.

There is no evidence, apart from the house in Berkeley Square, that Mrs Baillie was spending or investing her money in Bristol or the West Country. Her personal accounts were addressed to her in Walthamstow; it is likely she was renting a house for some of the time, rather than living with her daughter's family. Her expenditure, noted often as cash, amounted to a little over £2,000 a year and included sums of £130 paid quarterly to her son-in-law, the Baptist minister, and smaller sums to support the lifestyles of her sons Evan and John Frederick.³²⁸

The story of Mary Ames is very similar to that of her sister. Her husband died young in 1820; they had no children. Within a year of being widowed and feeling melancholy in Bristol, she moved to 4 Cavendish Place in Bath where she lived for the rest of her life as a tenant. Her payments of interest and compensation monies from the two estates were the same as her sister's. She also seems to have had a house in Berkeley Square, Clifton – number 16 which she rented out and for which she ran a small current account with Pinney & Case. Her main personal account seems to have been elsewhere. Since she married into the Ames banking family, she may have run this with the

³²⁶ For the Baillies of Dochfour see *Baillie of Dochfour and Redcastle* in 'Landed Families of Britain and Ireland' <https://landedfamilies.blogspot.com/2018/02/321-baillie-of-dochfour-and-redcastle.html>

³²⁷ PP, AB 71 Pinney, Ames & Co and Pinney & Case 1818-1838, Interest Account Stoney Grove and Symonds estates ff29-31

³²⁸ PP, AB 69 Elizabeth Baillie of Walthamstow in Account Current with Pinney & Case f160, f135 et al

Bristol Old Bank. Jeremiah Ames was a partner in Pinney, Ames & Co so she may have inherited stock in the firm from him.

Important to her were her Evangelical beliefs, and her friendship with William Wilberforce's wife Barbara would have drawn her into that circle - despite her connections with slavery. She took a lively interest in, and pushed for, the creation of schools for the children of enslaved people on the Nevis plantations with which she was connected.

In 1815 there were no schools on Nevis for the education of enslaved people but on three estates Methodist preachers were allowed to offer religious instruction. The first chapel where enslaved and free people could worship together was on Thomas John Cottle's Round Hill estate and opened in 1824. By 1826 it also had a school and there were some Sunday schools in every parish. The second plantation chapel to open, in 1828, was on Peter Thomas Huggins's Mountravers, the old Pinney estate. This too had a school attached, supported to some degree by Charles Pinney and enthusiastically by Mary Ames who campaigned within the family to see others opened on Stoney Grove and Symonds.³²⁹

Her one involvement in Bristol that is known about was in promoting this education. In 1828 she was on a committee forming a Bristol branch of the newly established London-based 'Ladies Society for the Early Education of Negro Children'. The local committee included members of other families involved in the West Indies: Vaughan, Daniel, Harford, Kington and Mrs Batson Taylor.³³⁰ The aims and attitudes of the London 'Ladies Society for Promoting the Early Education and Improvement of the Children of Negroes and of People of Colour in the British West Indies' were explained in their 1825 founding prospectus. They included the need to remove 'ignorance and depravity' since enslaved people were said to have been unable to do this themselves. Even their happiness needed improving; it was 'rather the happiness of the inferior animals, than that of rational and immortal beings'. The prospectus noted that there was no provision for instruction in morality and religion but that 'instructed negroes have invariably been found the most faithful to their masters'. The Society's aim was to establish schools or to help already existing schools.³³¹

Apart from her involvement in this group, a flavour of how her personal funds were deployed comes from an account probably drawn up by Charles Pinney in the 1860s. It shows that her income per annum was nearly £2,000 drawn from 3 per cent Consolidated Funds, India stock, Mersey Dock bonds, Canada bonds and various railway bonds.³³² Mary Ames died in Bath on 25 January 1878, 58 years after the death of her husband.

Robert Edward Case

Although Case was not a family member he was intimately concerned with their affairs through his role in the firm. He joined the firm well before John Pinney's death; Peter Thomas Huggins later remembered how he had first met him when 'he was then but a boy like myself'.³³³

In 1818 Case married Mary Howe and £3,000 was settled on her. Like Robert Howe and William Claxton, who were named as trustees in his will, Case was a Freemason in one of the Bristol Lodges

³²⁹ PP, Dom Box C2 Bundle 13 Mary Ames to Charles Pinney, 20 August 1828. She was not happy about the sale of estates before asking about the moral character of the purchasers and only after 'we had made every exertion of our part for their moral and temporal improvement by placing religious agents to manage them, affording them religious instruction and by establishing the lawful observance of the Sabbath Day'.

³³⁰ PP, Dom Box C2 Bundle 13 Mary Ames to Charles Pinney, 18 November 1828

³³¹ PP, Dom Box R-4

³³² PP, Dom Box E5 Bundle 33

³³³ PP, Dom Box I ii/27: PT Huggins, Nevis, to Charles Pinney, 24 June 1844

and had been since at least 1810.³³⁴ He played a central role in the working life of the firm of Pinney, Ames & Co when it was established in 1819. Charles Pinney regarded him as a man of 'integrity, intelligence and good qualities' and essentially left him to handle much of the business from at least 1828 until Case died in 1844.³³⁵ In the process he built up his stock in the firm which amounted to over £9,000 in 1837. Both he and Charles Pinney appear to have invested as individuals in Clark, Maze & Co, or the 'Great Western Cotton Company'.

Although Case was involved in compensation claims in various roles as trustee for other people, he and Charles Pinney, as a firm, were awarded £7,483 compensation for 449 enslaved people, most of them on three estates. It is not at all clear how the distribution of that money was organised – whether it became part of the earnings of the firm and therefore a matter of division according to the relative amounts of stock each investor held in the company. It may have been invested and therefore become part of the general business of the firm, the profits from which the partners benefitted according to their share of the stock. A Robert Edward Case also got compensation as an individual of £124 for five enslaved individuals in the parish of Hanover on Jamaica. UCL's *Legacies of British Slavery* database suggests it is the same Case.

His wife Mary died before him. On his death in 1844, Case left his stock in Pinney & Case to his eldest son Edward Howe Case, together with his share in the Great Western Cotton Works and his house at 4 Grosvenor Place, Clifton. To his daughters Mary Elizabeth and Fanny (a minor) he left £1,500 each in 3 ½ per cent Consolidated Funds in trust, presumably the money from his wife's marriage settlement.³³⁶

Unfortunately for the daughters their brother was not as careful or as clever with money as their father. Not long after he inherited his father's shares in the Cotton Works Edward Case was seeking to sell them. Charles Pinney became concerned about his financial affairs, particularly his speculating in railway stocks and endangering the little money his sisters had. Case was advised to call his creditors together; Pinney was not prepared to bail him out and indicated that he was willing to lend him £100 to emigrate to Australia where young men of ability were wanted.³³⁷ All was not entirely lost, for the sisters at least, because in 1863 Charles Pinney noted that Fanny Case was 'interested' in trust money under her father's will for a £2,000 bond in the South Wales Railway Co.

Charles Pinney and the Great Western Cotton Works

While Case ran the firm in Bristol, Charles Pinney was living in Nevis from 1828 to 1830, trying to settle and sell estates and call in debts. He was effectively directing the process of negotiating his own and the firm's gradual withdrawal from involvement in the West Indies while realising the maximum they could from the estates and the enslaved people they held.

Before he went to the Caribbean he had enquired about the possibility of marrying William Wilberforce's daughter Elizabeth and been rejected by her family after much soul searching on the grounds of his connection with slavery.³³⁸ Active politically as a Whig, he was a Common Councillor in Bristol from 1822 and was in favour of electoral reform. On the other hand, in the bitter 1830 General Election, like many other members of the West India interest, he opposed Edward Protheroe, the candidate in favour of the abolition of slavery.

³³⁴ AC Powell and J Littleton *A History of Freemasonry in Bristol* (Bristol: Bennett Brothers, 1910) pp819, 823 and 868

³³⁵ PP, LB 68 P&C to PT Huggins, 1 June 1844 and 10 June 1844 to Walter Maynard

³³⁶ PP, Dom Box T-1, will proved May 1844

³³⁷ See for instance PP, LB 33 Charles Pinney to Case, April 1849 and LB 34 Charles Pinney to Evans & Clode, 10 July 1852

³³⁸ See PP, Domestic Wake Thring Papers Box S-4-21 for further details

After he returned to Bristol, in March 1831 he married Frances Mary Still of Wiltshire, and at the same time was supervising the construction of Camp House, his new home in Clifton.³³⁹ In the autumn of 1831 he was elected Mayor of Bristol, and on 29 October, soon after taking office, three days of rioting broke out in the city over the lack of progress on electoral reform. Pinney was subsequently put on trial for neglect of duty but acquitted.³⁴⁰

It is undoubtedly true that their wealth - which was based on the exploitation of enslaved people - allowed Pinney and other men involved in West Indies businesses to attain political power and status. It is difficult, however, to identify how specific compensation sums were used to benefit the city of Bristol and its hinterland, or to expand its economic potential. One example is the opening of the Great Western Cotton Works. There were a few cotton mills in Bristol from at least the 1790s but a report by the Chamber of Commerce in 1828 and the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835 gave impetus to the idea of expanding cotton production in the city. The former concentrated on the advantages of Bristol: the Floating Harbour and good communications by water, local coal and water for steam power and the advantage of importing and exporting cotton as part of a general cargo trade. The latter emphasized the need for change and development to secure the city's economic future.³⁴¹

Several proposals for a new factory for cotton production were produced in 1836 but negotiations ultimately led to the announcement in April 1837 of a partnership between prominent local merchants and the Manchester cotton manufacturer JB Clarke under the company name of Clarke, Acramans, Maze & Co. A site had been bought in St Philips along the Feeder Canal and three steam engines had been ordered. The weaving room was to hold a thousand power looms.³⁴² Charles Pinney and Robert Edward Case were among the original fifteen 'proprietors'/investors. The view of historians, including Richard Pares and SJ Jones, has been that slave compensation provided some of the money for investment in this new industry. The timing of it is one issue – many of the compensation payments were awarded or released in 1836 – and the other lies in the original deed of partnership setting up the company. Of the fifteen investors, ten were involved in the West Indies as Bristol-based planters, merchants or bankers. George Henry Ames, for instance, had multiple compensation awards in four different Caribbean islands plus British Guiana; Philip Miles had multiple awards in Jamaica, as did Thomas Kington.³⁴³

Charles Pinney was one of the Committee members which ran the firm. He and Robert Edward Case 'advanced' the firm £3,000 on 15 December 1837, £3,250 five days later and a further £3,250 the next month. Pares stated that the two partners invested £12,000 between 1837 and 1839.³⁴⁴ Pinney & Case were also importing bales of cotton and selling them on to the works – for instance 911 bales in May 1838.³⁴⁵ Pinney still had £3,500 invested in the company in 1847. He finally sold his shares and retired from the company in 1859. Case had died by then and his son Edward very quickly sold his shares, keen to realise the money.³⁴⁶

For a century the Great Western Cotton Works were important for the economic development in East Bristol. They helped spread industrial expansion along the Feeder Canal. In 1840 the company employed 923 people: 609 girls, 113 boys, 17 women, 184 men. Nine years later the workforce had more than doubled. Most of the raw cotton came from the southern states in the USA which meant

³³⁹ Signed and dated 1831 and built by the architect Charles Dyer (Historic England). The house is now known as Engineers House.

³⁴⁰ For transcripts of Pinney's letters on the riots see PP, Dom Box R-5

³⁴¹ SJ Jones 'The Cotton Industry in Bristol' in *Transactions and Papers (Institute of British Geographers)* 1947 pp65-72

³⁴² SJ Jones 'The Cotton Industry in Bristol' p73

³⁴³ Bristol Archives, Great Western Cotton Company, 12142/1 Deed of Partnership, 28 February 1837

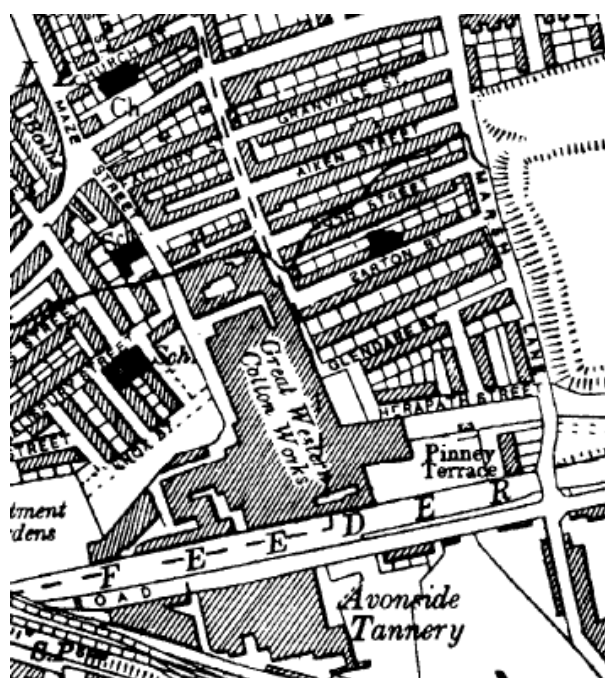
³⁴⁴ £12,000 in 1839 would have been roughly equivalent to £1.12 million in 2021, using relative price worth as a measure.

³⁴⁵ PP, AB 69 Clarke, Maze & Co in account current with Pinney & Case f23; R Pares *A West India Fortune* p331

³⁴⁶ Bristol Archives, Great Western Cotton Company, 12142/14 Assignment of shares and formation of new partnership, 27 April 1859 and 12142/7 Deed of Release, 8 October 1844

that some work in Bristol depended not on an enslaved workforce in the Caribbean but on enslaved people in America. Cotton workers in the city suffered real hardship when cotton imports were interrupted during the period of the American Civil War between 1860 and 1865.³⁴⁷

The six storey works dominated the skyline of Barton Hill, and housing and a community grew around the factory. Both the company and the community decided that another church was needed to support people in the area and £2,700 was raised to build St Luke's. The Great Western Cotton Company provided £1,000, Charles Pinney £500 and another investor, Peter Aiken, the rest. The foundation stone was laid on 24 May 1842 on a gala day with a large procession. Initially the church housed a school in the crypt with a Master and Mistress teaching the three Rs to children, as well as to adults. As local housing developed, the names of some of the original investors in the company were memorialised in the area in Aiken Street, Bush Street and Pinney Terrace.³⁴⁸



Site of Great Western Cotton Works, Barton Hill, Bristol, also showing St Luke's Church and surrounding housing³⁴⁹

His contributing to the building of St Luke's was an example of Charles Pinney's focus on religion and education.

Civic bodies and religious organisations

The same people who were involved in the Great Western Cotton Works were involved in other public developments around Bristol at about this time. In June 1837 Charles Pinney paid £20 as a first instalment of a subscription for the building of a new 'Assembly Room'.³⁵⁰ This was the Royal Victoria Rooms in Clifton, the foundation stone for which was laid, with great municipal fanfare and civic pride, on Queen Victoria's birthday, 24 May 1838. There was much speechifying on the subjects

³⁴⁷ SJ Jones 'The Cotton Industry in Bristol' p76

³⁴⁸ SJ Jones 'The Cotton Industry in Bristol' p78

³⁴⁹ Extract from a composite 6-inch Ordnance Survey plan, date unclear, in SJ Jones 'The Cotton Industry in Bristol' pp65-72

³⁵⁰ PP, AB 69 Charles Pinney in account current with Pinney & Case, 21 June 1837. He was also a member of the Alfred Club in London which seems to have been dominated by clergy and lawyers – see same account dated 7 January 1838.

of religion, the monarchy, British benevolence and the hope for commercial success. The success of the maiden voyage of the steamship *Great Western* in crossing the Atlantic was marked by showing its flag which had recently been in New York. At least five of the West Indian investors in the Cotton Company were among the Committee of the Assembly Rooms. Thomas Daniel, one of the most 'compensated' of the Bristol West Indians, was the President.³⁵¹ The prominent involvement of men with West Indian businesses in these public ventures causes no surprise since they were some of the wealthiest people in the city.

Pinney was very actively involved in Bristol's civic life. His diary for 1850 shows an exhausting list of meetings he attended, many of which he chaired. The focus of some of the organisations overlapped between local politics, civic responsibilities and business. He was a member of the Society of Merchant Venturers and an Alderman. He attended meetings of the Committee of Colston's Hospital, the Blind Asylum, the National School Committee and a Clifton Down Committee. In 1850 a Health of Towns Committee meeting which he attended was discussing a surveyor's report on the state of Bristol's sewers.

Pinney showed most enthusiasm for numerous religious organisations, among them:

- Lord's Day Observance Society
- Church of England Scripture Readers' Society
- Church of England Young Men's Society
- Pastoral Aid Society

He showed particular concern for Protestant evangelism amongst the Irish and was a member, or attended meetings, of the following:

- Church Education Society for Ireland
- Hibernian Committee
- Bristol Protestant Institute
- Church Missionary Association Committee

On 21 February 1850 he attended a meeting at the Assembly Rooms in Bath 'in support of the Society for Sending Ministers and others into different parts of Ireland in consequence of the extraordinary conversion from Popery recently in that island'. There were reports of 'the anxiety of the Irish to hear the gospel and the wonderful conversions in consequence'. Later that year, on 6 May, he hosted a meeting in Camp House of the Ladies Auxiliary to the Bristol and Clifton Association for promoting the Moral and Religious Improvement of Ireland.

A flavour of his personal views comes from notes he made for forthcoming speeches. In a speech given to the Irish Church Missionary Society 16 June 1853 he demonstrated a view reminiscent of many planters in the West Indies:

While England and Scotland being Protestant, have remained in a peaceable and flourishing condition Ireland, mainly Popish, had been disorderly and impoverished...England and Scotland [were] blessed with the pure Gospel...national prosperity was concurrent with the national confession of a true faith.³⁵²

³⁵¹ *Bristol Mercury* 26 May 1838. We are most grateful to Ruth Hecht for an image of this newspaper entry.

³⁵² PP, Dom Box S-3-3 Volume of notes for speeches

Not content with 'improving' the moral and religious upbringing of the Catholic Irish, Pinney also supported the Bristol Auxiliary of the Society for promoting Christianity Among the Jews.³⁵³

Charles Pinney's personal finances

Pares calculated that in 1847 Charles Pinney's fortune amounted to £65,000, equating to what he got out of the West Indies in one way or another. This was a bit over a third of what his brother John Frederick's wealth amounted to and a great deal more than his sisters' shares of the Pinney fortune. Over the next twenty years Charles Pinney's wealth grew to £78,000. The growth in his fortune represented what he did with his finances after withdrawing from the West Indies.³⁵⁴

Of the £65,000 originating in the West Indies roughly about £12,000 represented his share of the compensation - his own compensation and his share of the firm's. Although it is impossible to identify particular sums, some of the compensation will have ended up invested in the Great Western Cotton Works. Beyond that, on the whole, he looked for investment opportunities in infrastructure such as docks, canal and railway company shares. They tended to be in Britain until 1853 when he began to look abroad.³⁵⁵ A few were more local to the West Country. For instance, in 1849 he had shares in a company concerned with the river Avon, also the Kennet and Avon Canal Company and the Wiltshire, Somerset and Weymouth Railway, the latter amounting to £1,200. But he also had shares in the Great Northern Railway, the London and Northwestern and in Liverpool Docks as well as railways in Wales and Northumberland.³⁵⁶ In 1852 he was trying to sell £13,400 worth of stock in various railway companies, including the Bristol and Exeter railway. He said he wanted to invest in guaranteed securities 'where the interest will not vary'.³⁵⁷ The following year he was looking at investing in the Cincinnati and Mariette Railway and Canada bonds. In 1861 he had shares in the Bristol Steam Navigation Company. After his death members of the Pinney family were investing in shares and bonds in India and Canada as well as Wales in the 1870s and 1880s.

'Determined to close our West India business'

There is no question that the Pinney family over nearly a century and a half did very well out of the business of sugar produced by enslaved people and all the associated opportunities as planters, shippers and merchants. As Pares has pointed out, an early Pinney, Azariah, landed in Nevis with £15 in 1685. In 1783, when his descendant John Pretor Pinney returned from Nevis to settle in the West Country, he was worth around £70,000. By the time he died in 1818 the Pinney family fortune amounted to something like £340,000 - of which roughly £220,000 was directly connected to slavery, slave-produced sugar, property, mortgages on plantations and debts in the West Indies.³⁵⁸

The main concern of Pinney himself and, after his death, of his youngest son Charles - the principal actor in the family's financial affairs - was to extract the family from all involvement in the Caribbean and to relocate any of their money remaining there to Great Britain. This necessitated calling in mortgages and debts due, taking control of estates whose owners could not pay and selling those properties. All this, however, was happening when many planters were themselves in debt and thus

³⁵³ Thomas Garrard, Samuel Griffiths Tovey (ed) *Edward Colston, The Philanthropist, His Life and Times* (Bristol, 1852); PP, Domestic Green Box File 1 Diary for 1850; PP, LB 34 and Cat 4 Misc Vol and Items cont'd, preliminary listing, now in boxes Domestic Green Box File 1 and other sources; *The Twentieth Report of the Sunday School Society for Ireland for 1810 (-1837)*; Joseph Bettey (ed) *Historic Churches and Churchlife in Bristol* (Bristol: Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society, 2011). See also 'The Mountravers Plantation Community, 1734-1834' Postscript, Mountravers after 1834 p1255 and fn81

³⁵⁴ R Pares *A West India Fortune* p329

³⁵⁵ PP, LBs 33-36 have many references to these investments; PP, Dom Box K-1 contains bundles of receipts and vouchers; see also PP, Dom Box B5 Bundle 5; refer also to account books relating to similar dates.

³⁵⁶ PP, LB 33

³⁵⁷ PP, LB 34 Charles Pinney to Messrs Stokes and Hughes, London, 13 January 1852

³⁵⁸ R Pares *A West India Fortune* pp320-21

not able to buy the estates of which the Pinneys had taken possession. In addition, planters and the Pinneys faced the possibility of Emancipation and with it the complete loss of one of their 'assets', their enslaved workforces.

A route out of this situation was provided by the £20 million compensation paid to planters for the loss of this asset. Compensation provided money which made possible, on a large scale, the transfer of property from a planter or merchant who wanted to get out of the business to someone, like Peter Thomas Huggins on Nevis, who wanted to stay and expand their operation. It also made possible at least a part repayment of debts. In the case of the Pinneys the process involved getting both the purchase money for the estates they controlled and the compensation where they could claim it successfully.

Basing the following calculation on a table of debts, sale prices and compensation produced by Pares³⁵⁹ and including only the estates and debts where the Pinney claims were successful, the Pinneys were owed £97,104. (For a list of the estates and successful claims see Appendix 2.) The Pinneys and Case managed to realise £38,771 from the sale of these estates and received £34,416 in compensation for 1,882 enslaved people.³⁶⁰ The total received was therefore £73,187 which amounted to a write-down of nearly 25% on the initial debts.

These figures need to be treated with some caution, as Pares has pointed out. The initial figure for what they were owed is misleading since it does not include the arrears of interest, nor were intermittent payments by some planters always included in what the Pinneys ultimately realised in the sale of a particular estate. As noted before in the case of Clarke's, money that had already been written off in supporting an estate or owner was also not included in the losses. Also, in most cases the economic situation in the islands required a discount on their initial demands for repayment of debts. In addition, the figures quoted above omit the cases where the Pinneys might have a legitimate claim for compensation based on a debt but it was ultimately unsuccessful because a stronger claim took precedence. Pares added the caution that planters and merchants were not compensated for loss at the then current values. He noted that in the cases of Stoney Grove and Symonds the Pinneys only got 40 per cent of what they claimed.³⁶¹ Nevertheless, the family and firm did manage to extract 75 per cent of what they were owed from the Caribbean on those successful claims.

Of course, extraction of wealth was what this was all about. The compensation process could be said to have smoothed over planter opposition to Emancipation and therefore helped in making it happen. However, the enslaved people were not compensated for the labour they had provided, nor the many injustices done to them. Compensation helped the sale of estates from some planters trying to get out from under their particular mountain of debt to another planter who might have a hope of making a go of producing sugar. However, the process did almost nothing to improve the dreadful conditions on the estates or the economic position of the islands.

The example of the Pinneys suggests also that the idea of planters being richly compensated is misleading. As Pares indicated, planters were able to make a claim, but it was the merchants holding the mortgages in Britain who got the money – planters like George Webbe with 300 enslaved people on Nevis got almost nothing. Trustees and widows with annuities were displaced by a prior mortgage, first mortgages were more secure than second mortgages. Creditors local to the island, some of them owed thousands of pounds, got very little.³⁶²

³⁵⁹ R Pares *A West India Fortune* Table XI p315

³⁶⁰ The compensation of £34,416, notionally paid in 1836, might have been worth in the region of £3.45 million in 2021, using the relative price worth as a measure.

³⁶¹ R Pares *A West India Fortune* pp313-16

³⁶² R Pares *A West India Fortune* pp317-18

In Nevis free black people were able to claim from the compensation fund for their enslaved people but, given the hardships everyone experienced during the 1820s, they, too, may have had creditors waiting to have their loans returned.³⁶³

³⁶³ The freed population of Nevis and its slaveholding is the subject of a current study by Christine Eickelmann

How did compensation money benefit Bristol?

What was done with the money which flowed back to Britain and, taking the Pinney family as an example, to what extent did it benefit Bristol and the West Country? It is impossible to be precise about any figures or to track any particular tranche of money to some identified investment. John Frederick Pinney is likely to have spent his money on his expensive London lifestyle and sometimes living as a country gentleman in Somerset. A good deal of money was spent on the Lyme Regis constituency in Dorset where his son William became an MP. Almost none of it will have been invested in the cultural or economic life of Bristol.

John Pinney had made provision for a marriage settlement of £10,000 each for his two daughters. From the compensation on Stoney Grove and Symonds estates they received about £3,500 each and Charles Pinney may have contributed something more from his own, or the firm's, coffers. However, they were not poor. Each of them had an income of about £2,000 a year. Elizabeth would have had extensive support from the very wealthy Baillie family and her focus was on her daughter's family in Walthamstow. Her children and grandchildren, in particular, variously inherited significant estates in Scotland and married into the minor aristocracy in England.

Mary Ames lived in Bath. She probably visited Bristol quite often and had a house in Berkeley Square but there is no evidence that her money was employed in the city. She probably supported Evangelical causes wherever the notion took her.

The example of Charles Pinney and Robert Edward Case is different. Their investment in the Great Western Cotton Works, along with other merchants, came just when compensation awards had been announced. In compensation alone Charles Pinney and the firm together were awarded nearly £14,000. They are known to have invested about £12,000 in the Cotton Works. It is again impossible to track any individual sum from compensation award to investment, but money was available and Charles Pinney was clearly looking for opportunities to invest. It is reasonable to suppose a link in a general way. As identified before, there were some investments by Charles Pinney in one or two local canal and railway companies, but these went together with similar investments all over the country and, later, abroad. Bar his involvement in a subscription supporting the building of the Royal Victoria Rooms there is no evidence, as yet, for his investment in other large-scale, prestige Bristol or West Country projects.

Charles Pinney's money allowed him to bring up his family in the comfort of Camp House. It also meant he could pursue his commitment to civic duty and he could concentrate on support for evangelising organisations. These had a particular emphasis on what he clearly considered to be the benighted Catholics in Ireland and Jews everywhere. For him the enslavement of people in the West Indies was fading into the past.

David Small

22 June 2023

Bibliography

Archive of the Nevis Historical and Conservation Society (NHCS)

GE/N3 Anon, *Symonds Estate*

RG 1.23 Nevis Council Minutes, 1823-1827

RG 2.1 Extract from Minutes, 5 January 1762

RG 9.1 Gravestone inscription, St Thomas Lowland Cemetery

St Paul's Baptisms, 1824-1835

St Paul's Marriages, 1826-1842

St Paul's Burials, 1837-1840

St Thomas Lowland Baptismal Records, 1827-1873

St Thomas Lowland Burials, 1827-1954

Berkshire Record Office (BRO)

Loveden Papers, D/ELV/26

Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies at Rhodes House, Oxford (BLO)

Box MSS. W. Ind. S. 24 (b) Typed Manuscript

Bristol Archives

Great Western Cotton Company, 12142/1, 7 and 14

Eastern Caribbean Supreme Court Registry, Nevis (ECSCRN)

Digitised by British Library Project EAP 794 <https://eap.bl.uk/collection/EAP794-1-1/search>

Common Deed Records Books (CR)

Books of Wills

Court of King's Bench and Common Pleas

Court of the Commissioners for the Sale of Incumbered Estates in the West Indies (Nevis) 1872-1887

Land Title Register Book (LTRB) 1

School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London (SOAS)

Wesleyan Missionary Archives, MMS/W.Indies correspondence/Antigua/FBN21

Somerset Archives and Local Studies Centre

James B Coles Papers, DD\CH/81/2

Suffolk RO (SRO), Ipswich

Maynard Papers, HA 178-1/57

The National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth

Bodrhyddan MSS 2

The National Archives (UKNA)

Colonial Office: Extracts from Letters from (JW Tobin) of Nevis, 1 August 1811 CO 152/98; Minutes Council; Assembly Nevis 1713-1715 CO 155/5; Memorial to King CO 172/276; Nevis Acts MS 1735-1749 CO 185/4; Minutes Nevis Council; Assembly; Council in Assembly; Nevis Sessional Papers 1730-1833 CO 186/2, 4, 6, 10, 12-14; Blue Books Nevis 1835-1866 CO 187/9, 33-35, 38-40; Correspondence January to June 1826 CO 239/13; Despatches; Order in Council 1812 CO 295/28 Third Report of the Commission of Enquiry into the Administration of Civil and Criminal Justice in the West Indies: Antigua, Montserrat, Nevis, St Kitts, and the Virgin Islands CO 318/64 and CO 318/65

Board of Customs Papers (Nevis) 1819-1822 CUST 34/511

Office of Registry of Colonial Slaves and Slave Compensation Commission: Slave Registers Nevis 1817-1834 T 71/364-69; Amended Awards Nevis 1837-1841 T 71/1039, 1387; Slave Registers Trinidad T 71/512, 513, 517 and 519; In-Letters: Grenada, Dominica, Nevis, Virgin Islands, St Lucia 1834-1837 T 71/1616

Prerogative Court of Canterbury Wills Register PROB 11/1845/354

West Indian Incumbered Estates Commission: Papers, Proceedings, Statements to Colonial Courts, etc. Nevis CO 441/3/6; Papers and Correspondence: Wilkin (deceased): Clay Ghut, etc. Nevis CO 441/24/2

UK Hydrographic Office, Taunton

Remark Book 39 (AC1) Remarks by HMS Sloop *Fairy*, Francis Laforey Commander, anchored Charlestown Road 27 February - 1 March 1793

University of Bristol Special Collections (for specific volumes refer to footnotes)

Pinney Papers (PP)

- Account books (AB)
- Letterbooks (LB)
- Domestic (Dom) Boxes
- Domestic Green Box
- West Indies (WI) Boxes
- Miscellaneous Volumes
- Volume of Deeds, Bonds etc
- Catalogue 4

DM 1773 WI Loose Materials, Nevis: Diary of Plantation Work (Mountravers) 1798-1801

DM 1173 Nevis Ledger (Mt Sion) 1789-1794

DM 1705 Pares Notes microfilm PN221

Books

Anon *An Account of the Late Dreadful Hurricane, which happened on the 31st of August 1772. Also the Damage done on that Day in the Islands of St. Christopher and Nevis, Attempted to be Ascertained. By the Editor.* (Basseterre: Thomas Howe, Basseterre, 1772)

Betty, Joseph (ed) *Historic Churches and Church Life in Bristol* (Bristol: Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society, 2011)

Burke, Sir Bernard *Landed Gentry* (London: Harrison, 1871)

- Chartrand, René and Lee Johnson *British Forces in the West Indies 1793-1815* (London: Osprey Military, 1996)
- Church Missionary Society *The Missionary Register for 1827* (London: R Watts, 1827)
- Cochrane, Thomas MD *Answers to the Fifth Table of Queries published by the Society in London, instituted for the purpose of effecting the Abolition of the Slave Trade* (Edinburgh: D Willison, 1789) reprinted in John Oldfield (ed) *The British Atlantic Slave Trade* (London: Routledge, 2003) Vol 3
- Craton, Michael *Searching for the Invisible Man – Slaves and Plantation Life in Jamaica* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1978)
- Slave Population: Papers and Returns presented pursuant to address to the House of Commons, 6 June 1825* (London: Colonial Office, 1826)
- Davy, John *The West Indies, Before and Since Slave Emancipation Comprising the Windward and Leeward Islands' Military Command; Founded on Notes and Observations Collected during a three Years' Residence* (London: W & FG Cash, 1854)
- Dawson, Ian and Ian Coulson (eds) *Medicine & Health through Time* (London: John Murray, 1996)
- Dunn, Richard S *Sugar and Slaves The Rise of the Planter Class in the English West Indies, 1624-1713* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1972)
- Europa Publications (ed) *South America, Central America and the Caribbean* (London: Routledge, 1987)
- Farr, Grahame E (ed) *Record of Bristol Ships 1800-1838 (Vessels over 150 tons)* (Bristol: Bristol Record Society, 1950)
- Fry, Michael *The Scottish Empire* (East Lothian: Tuckwell Press, 2001)
- Fryer, Peter *Staying Power, The History of Black People in Britain* (London: Pluto Press, 1984)
- Garrard, Thomas; Samuel Griffiths Tovey (ed) *Edward Colston, The Philanthropist, His Life and Times* (Bristol, 1852)
- Geggus, David 'Slave rebellion during the Age of Revolution' in *Curacao in the Age of Revolutions, 1795-1800* Wim Klooster and Gert Oostindie (eds) (Leiden: Brill, 2011) pp23-56 (Appendix 'Slave Rebellions and Conspiracies, 1776-1848')
- Green, WA *British Slave Emancipation, the Sugar Colonies and the Great Experiment 1830-1865* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976)
- Hall, Douglas *Five of the Leewards 1834-1870* (Barbados: Caribbean University Press, 1971)
- Haslam, Emily 'Redemption, Colonialism and International Criminal Law: The Nineteenth Century Slave-Trading Trials of Samo and Peters' in *Past Law, Present Histories* ed by Diana Kirkby (Canberra: Australian National University E-Press, 2012)
- Headlam, Cecil and Arthur Percival Newton (eds) *Calendar of State Papers Colonia, America and West Indies Vol 39, 1732* (London: HMSO, 1939)
- Higman, BW *Slave Populations of the British Caribbean* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1984)
- Higman, BW *Slave population and economy in Jamaica 1807-1834* (Jamaica: University of the West Indies Press, 1976)
- Horsford, Revd John *A Voice from the West Indies, Being a Review of the Character ...* (London: Alexander Heylin, 1856)
- Kennett, Richard and others (eds) *Bristol and Transatlantic Slavery: Origins, Impact and Legacy* (Bristol: Bristol Books CIC, 2021)
- Lake, Hazel *Sugar Planters in Little Parndon* (Harlow, 2002)

- Lambert, Sheila (ed) *House of Commons Sessional Papers of the Eighteenth Century* (Delaware: Scholarly Resources Inc, Irish University Press, 1975) Vols 67, 69-71
- Lewis, MG *Journal of a Residence Among the Negroes in the West Indies* (London: John Murray, 1845; in edition with Fortunato Prandi *Memoirs of Father Ripa*, John Murray, 1844)
- Martin, Robert Montgomery *Statistics of the Colonies of the British Empire in the West Indies, South America, North America, Asia, Australasia, Africa and Europe; comprising the area, agriculture, commerce, etc. ... from the official records of the Colonial Office* (London: WH Allen & Co, 1839)
- Marx, Robert F *Shipwrecks in the Americas* (New York: Bonanza Books, 1983)
- Merrill, Gordon Clark *The Historical Geography of St Kitts and Nevis, British West Indies* (Mexico: Instituto Panamericano de Geografia e Historia, 1958)
- Morgan, Kenneth *Bristol and the Atlantic Trade in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993)
- Naish, George PB (ed) *Nelson's Letters to his wife and other documents 1785-1831* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul in conjunction with the Navy Record Society, 1958)
- Nicolas, Sir Nicholas Harris *The Dispatches and Letters of Vice Admiral Lord Viscount Nelson Vol 1* (London, 1845)
- Oliver, Vere Langford *Caribbeana* (London: Mitchell, Hughes and Clarke, 1910-1919) Vol 4 and Vol 5
- Olwig, Karen Fog *Global Culture, Island Identity - Continuing Change in the Afro-Caribbean Community of Nevis* (Chur: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1993)
- Pares, Richard A *West India Fortune* (London: Longman, Green & Co, 1950)
- Penson, Lilian M *The Colonial Agents of the British West Indies: A Study in Colonial Administration, Mainly in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Frank Cass, 1971)
- Powell, AC and J Littleton *A History of Freemasonry in Bristol* (Bristol: Bennett Brothers, 1910)
- Ragatz, Lowell J *The Fall of the Planter Class in the British Caribbean 1763-1833, a study in social and economic history* (New York: Octagon Books, 1971)
- Richardson, Bonham C *Caribbean Migrants - Environment and Human Survival on St Kitts and Nevis* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1983)
- Richardson, David *The Bristol Slave Traders: a Collective Portrait* (Bristol: Bristol Branch of the Historical Association, 1985)
- Roughley, Thomas *The Jamaican Planter's Guide; or a System for Planting and Managing a Sugar Estate: or other Plantations in that Island, and throughout the British West Indies in General* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, & Brown, 1823)
- Stewart, Julia *1001 African Names* (New York: Kensington Publishing Corp, 1996)
- Tyson, George F and Arnold R Highfield (eds) *Kamina Folk – Slavery and Slave Life in the Danish West Indies* (US Virgin Islands: Virgin Islands Humanities Council, 1994)
- Ward, JR *British West Indian Slavery 1750-1834 – The process of Amelioration* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988)
- Watts, David *The West Indies: Patterns of Development, Culture and Environmental Change since 1492* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987)
- Williams, Eric (comp and ed) *Documents on British West Indian History, 1807 to 1833* (Port of Spain: Trinidad Publishing Co, 1952)

Other sources

- Ancestry.co.uk 'England, United Grand Lodge of England Freemason Membership Registers'
- Brana-Shute, Rosemary 'The Manumission of Slaves in Suriname, 1760-1828' (doctoral thesis, University of Florida, 1985)
- Bush-Slimani, Barbara 'Hard Labour: Women, Childbirth and Resistance in British Caribbean Slave Societies', *History Workshop* No 36 (Autumn 1993) pp83-99
- Eickelmann, Christine 'The Mountravers Plantation Community, 1734-1834'
<https://seis.bristol.ac.uk/~emceee/mountraversplantationcommunity.html>
- Evans, JAH 'Nathaniel Wells of Piercefield and St Kitts: From Slave to Sheriff' *Monmouthshire Antiquary*, No 18 (2002) pp91-106
- Frucht, Richard 'A Caribbean Social Type: Neither "Peasant" nor "Proletarian"' *Social and Economic Studies*, 16 No 3 (1967) pp295-300
- Gough, Julie 'Beyond the Pale' World Immigrants to Van Diemen's Land before 1900
<https://vdlworldimmigrants.wordpress.com/listing-of-people/>
- Handler, Jerome S and JoAnn Jacoby 'Slave Names and Naming in Barbados, 1650-1830' *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Vol 53 No 4 (Oct 1996) pp685-728
- Iles, John Alexander Burke *An Account Descriptive of the Island of Nevis, West Indies* (Norwich: Fletcher & Sons, 1871)
- Jeacle, Ingrid *Calculating a life: classification, valuation and compensation in the British abolition of slavery* Emerald Insight (20 October 2022) <https://www.emerald.com/insight/0951-3574.htm>
- Jones, SJ 'The Cotton Industry in Bristol', *Transactions and Papers (Institute of British Geographers)* No 13 (1947) pp61-79 <https://doi.org/10.2307/621146>
- Kingsley, Nicholas *Baillie of Dochfour and Redcastle* in 'Landed Families of Britain and Ireland'
<https://landedfamilies.blogspot.com/2018/02/321-baillie-of-dochfour-and-redcastle.html>
- Report from the Select Committee on Negro Apprenticeships in the Colonies* (London: House of Commons, 1837)
- Samson, Ph A 'De Status Van Piekie-Njan' *De West-Indische Gids*, 34 (1953) pp 51-55
- Schuyler, Robert Livingston 'The Abolition of British Imperial Preference, 1846-1860' *Political Science Quarterly*, 33 No 1 (March 1918) pp77-92
- Small, David 'Montpelier Estate, St John Figtree, Nevis: Contrasting Legacies on a Sugar Plantation'
<https://seis.bristol.ac.uk/~emceee/montpelierhistory.pdf>
- Small, David 'Stationary Steam Engines on Sugar Plantations in the Caribbean: Nevis, 1816 to 1846'
<https://seis.bristol.ac.uk/~emceee/steam.pdf>
- Small, David and Christine Eickelmann *A History of Clarke's Estate on Nevis: From Sugar Plantation to Luxury Four Season's Resort* <https://seis.bristol.ac.uk/~emceee/clarkeshistory.pdf>
- Small, David and Christine Eickelmann 'A Nevis 'Legend' Revisited: the Huggins-Maynard Duel of 1822' [https://seis.bristol.ac.uk/~emceee/hugginsmaynardduel.doc\[1\].pdf](https://seis.bristol.ac.uk/~emceee/hugginsmaynardduel.doc[1].pdf)
- Small, David and Christine Eickelmann 'Clifton Estate, Nevis: An Account of Absence of Ambition'
<https://seis.bristol.ac.uk/~emceee/cliftonhistory.pdf>
- Smith, Kendall A 'Edward Jenner and the Small Pox Vaccine' *Frontiers in Immunology* (May 2011)
<https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC3342363/>
- The Victorian Commons <https://victoriancommons.wordpress.com/2015/11/29/mp-of-the-month-william-pinney-and-another-kind-of-slavery-election/>
- Trans-Atlantic Slave-Trade Database <https://www.slavevoyages.org/voyage/database>
- UCL, Centre for the Study of the Legacies of British Slavery <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/>

Appendix 1: Dasent's in numbers

Age groups in Nevis, on Dasent's, Montpelier and Mountravers, 1817

Age group in years	Nevis-wide total in %	Dasent's in %	Montpelier in %	Mountravers in %
		1817 population: 110	1817 population: 185	1817 population: 159
0-4	11.1	5.5	10.8	12.6
5-9	10.8	21.8	8.6	7.6
10-14	11.0	9.1	11.3	9.4
15-19	7.7	8.2	8.1	8.8
20-24	8.1	9.1	6.5	11.9
25-29	8.5	9.1	3.8	9.4
30-34	8.5	6.4	3.8	8.8
35-39	8.0	4.5	8.1	7.5
40-44	7.1	9.1	9.2	5.6
45-49	5.1	5.5	6.5	1.3
50-54	4.6	1.8	10.2	3.8
55-59	2.4	1.8	3.8	1.9
60-64	3.0	4.5	7.5	7.5
65-69	1.4	1.8	1.1	0.6
70 +	2.6	1.8	0.5	3.1
Unknown	0.1	0	0	0
Total	100	100	99.8	99.8

The age profile of people on Dasent's was generally similar to that of the island-wide enslaved population. Dasent's had a larger under-19s cohort than both the island-wide average and two sample plantations, Martha Williams Hamilton's Montpelier and Peter Thomas Huggins's Mountravers (44.6 per cent as opposed to 40.6, 38.8 and 38.4 per cent). In the middle age range (20 to 49) Dasent's 43.7 per cent came close to the island-wide average of 45.3 per cent and Mountravers' 44.5 per cent, with Montpelier's people aged 20 to 49 constituting only 37.7 per cent. Montpelier had the largest number in the highest age range (50+), 23.1 per cent, while Dasent's was with 11.7 per cent below Mountravers (16.9 per cent) and the island-wide average of 14 per cent. Overall, the age groups on Dasent's were well spread.

Age groups on Dasent's: males and females, 1817

Age group in years	Males	Females	Total	Per centage of the total
0-4	2	4	6	5.5
5-9	13	11	24	21.8
10-14	4	6	10	9.1
15-19	3	6	9	8.2
20-24	5	5	10	9.1
25-29	7	3	10	9.1
30-34	3	4	7	6.4
35-39	1	4	5	4.5
40-44	5	5	10	9.1
45-49	2	4	6	5.5
50-54	1	1	2	1.8
55-59	0	2	2	1.8
60-64	1	4	5	4.5
65-69	2	0	2	1.8
70 +	1	1	2	1.8
Total	50	60	110	100

In 1817 a quarter of all people on Dasent's were girls and young women under 19. This gender and age balance suggests that over the coming decades the numbers of people would increase, or at least stabilise.

In 1817 the average age of females in 1817 was 26.3 years, of males 24.5 years.

Increase by births on selected plantations in St George Gingerland and St John Figtree, 1817 to 1822

Plantation	Parish	% of males, 1817	% of females, 1817	Total number of people, 1817	Number of births, 1817-1822	Increase of total in %	Average annual increase, 1817-22 in %
Saddle Hill,	StJF	57.1	42.9	56	10	17.88	3.57
Montpelier	StJF	44.3	55.7	185	29	15.68	3.14
Richmond Lodge	StJF	45.9	54.1	85	12	14.11	2.83
Clay Ghut	StGG	44.5	55.5	164	18	10.98	2.2
Dasent's	St GG	45.5	54.5	110	12	10.9	2.18
Cane Garden	StJF	53.5	46.5	99	10	10.1	2.02
Cox Heath	StJF	45.3	54.7	128	12	9.38	1.88
Prospect	StJF	56.7	43.3	120	11	9.16	1.83
Hard Times	StGG	50.4	49.6	137	12	8.8	1.76
Bush Hill	StJF	63.5	36.5	96	8	8.33	1.67
Low Grounds	StJF	49.4	50.6	154	12	7.79	1.56
Golden Rock	StGG	55.7	44.3	255	16	6.27	1.25

³⁶⁴ St JF = St John Figtree; St GG = St George's Gingerland

On Dasent's the rate of increase through births was roughly the same as on two other plantations with a similar gender profile (Clay Ghut and Cox Heath) but not as high as on Richmond Lodge or Montpelier. Apart from gender and age, many other factors would have contributed to this, including whether the plantation had a resident proprietor and their financial situation, the composition of the workforce and the work regimes, as well as food allowances, housing conditions, medical provisions and what one historian has called a 'willingness to procreate'.³⁶⁵

³⁶⁴ UKNA, T 71/364 and T 71/365

³⁶⁵ Barbara Bush-Slimani 'Hard Labour: Women, Childbirth and Resistance in British Caribbean Slave Societies', History Workshop No 36 (Autumn 1993) pp83-99 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4289253> [accessed 1 February 2023]

Decrease by deaths on selected plantations in St George Gingerland and St John Figtree, 1817 to 1822

Plantation	Total number of people, 1817	Number of deaths, 1817-1822	Decrease, 1817-1822 in %	Average annual decrease, 1817-22 in %	Total number of people, 1822
Saddle Hill, StJF	56	3	5.36	1.07	63
Dasent's, StGG	110	8	7.27	1.45	110
Golden Rock, StGG	255	24	9.41	1.88	244
Low Grounds, StJF	154	15	9.74	1.95	149
Richmond Lodge, StJF	85	10	11.76	2.35	(88)
Hard Times, StGG	137	17	12.4	2.48	121
Cane Garden, StJF	99	13	13.13	2.63	96
Cox Heath, StJF	128	17	13.28	2.66	122
Montpelier, StJF	185	25	13.51	2.7	184
Bush Hill, StJF	96	14	14.58	2.92	90
Prospect, StJF	120	18	15	3	113
Clay Ghut, StGG	164	26	15.85	3.17	(155)

Figures in brackets are totals which have been corrected because the number given in the slave register was incorrect, or no total was given and had to be determined from the increase and decrease. In addition to deaths, some plantations lost people through sales, transfers, gifts and absconders.

Despite eight people dying between 1817 and 1822, Dasent's loss through deaths was smaller than most other estates in this sample. In the absence of plantation records regarding labour regimes, food allowances and food growing opportunities, as well as medical and postnatal care, it is not possible to determine why this was the case.

Additions and deductions on Dasent's by year, 1817 to 1834

	Additions: number of people		Deductions: number of people		
	Born	Transferred	Died	Sold or transferred	Sold to be manumitted
9 July to 31 December 1817	1		2		
1818	4		1		
1819	3		1	4	
1820	2		2		
1821	2		2		
1822	3	1	8		
1823	1		4		
1824	3		3	1	
1825	4		3	1	
1826	1	2	2	2	
1827	3		0	1	2
1828	4		2		
1829	4		3		
1830	1		1		
19 January 1831-18 March 1833	7		4 ?	14 ?	5
29 March 1833-7 August 1834	2		1		
Total	45	3	35 + 4?	9 + 14?	7

In one year alone, 1822, eight people died which was many as had died between 1817 and the end of 1821. However, despite such a loss, until the end of 1830 the 36 children who had been born would have outweighed the 34 deaths and just about kept the plantation population stable. By 1834, however, transfers, sales and manumissions had reduced the total number to 87. Had there not been these extra decreases, unlike many other estates in Nevis Dasent's could have maintained its population.

Additions and deductions on Dasent's by gender, 1817 to 1834

Year	Males			Females			Total males and females
	Additions	Deductions	Total	Additions	Deductions	Total	
1817			50			60	110
1817-1822	6 born	3 died 2 sold	51	6 born	5 died 2 sold	59	110
1822-1825	4 born 1 transferred	6 died 1 sold	49	3 born	9 died	53	102
1825-1828	2 born 1 transferred	1 died 2 sold 1 freed	48	6 born 1 transferred	4 died 2 sold 2 freed	52	100
1828-1831	5 born	2 died	51	4 born	4 died	52	103
1831-1834	4 born	1 died + ? others ? transferred	40	4 born	? died ? transferred	47	87

The largest loss of life among males and females occurred during the period 1822 to 1825 which in Nevis was marked by many natural disasters, much sickness and starvation.

Gender distribution on Dasent's, 1817 to 1834

Year	Males	Percentage of males	Females	Percentage of females	Total number
1817	50	45.5	60	54.5	110
1822	51	46.4	59	53.6	110
1825	49	48	53	52	102
1828	48	48	52	52	100
1831	51	49.5	52	50.5	103
1834	40	46	47	54	87

During the period 1817 to 1834 the gender distribution remained roughly the same at 45.5/46 per cent among the males and 54.5/54 per cent among the females. Dasent's had a higher share of females than the Nevis-wide average of 51.3 per cent (in 1817).³⁶⁶ The island's share was typical for most colonies.

Age groups on Dasent's, 1817 to 1834

Approximate age in years	Number of males and females, 1817	Percentage of the total (110)	Number of males and females, 1834	Percentage of the total (87)
0-9	30	27.3	21	24.1
10-19	19	17.3	12	13.8
20-29	20	18.2	20	23
30-39	12	10.9	9	10.3
40-49	16	14.6	16	18.4
50-59	4	3.6	4	4.6
60+	9	8.1	5	5.7
Total	110	100	87 + 1 born (gender not known)	

By 1834 those children and young people who had been aged 19 or younger in 1817 had by 1834 become adults of prime working age and therefore formed a stronger and more capable workforce than had been on Dasent's in 1817. In 1817 this group had represented about 40 per cent of the total number; by 1834 those aged 20 to 49 made up about half.

³⁶⁶ Table S1.1 Registered and Mean Slave Populations by Colony and Sex, 1813-34 gives different figures from those in other tables and have been ignored (Higman, *BW Slave Populations of the British Caribbean* p413). The figures were those given in Table S4.4 (p477).

Occupational distribution of enslaved people in Nevis and on Dasent's (including values), 1834

	Number of people, Nevis	% of total of 8,837 [8,815]	Number of people, Dasent's	% of total of 88	Value per person/£ sterling
<i>Praedial attached</i>					
Head People	276	3.1	4	4.5	21:10:9
Tradesmen	319	3.6	1	1.1	24:14:7
Inferior tradesmen	42	0.5	0	0	0
Field labourers	2,986 [2976]	33.8	32	36.4	22:14:9
Inferior field labourers	1,510	17.1	24	27.3	15:19:1
<i>Praedial unattached</i>					
Head people	7	0.08	N/A		
Tradesmen	16	0.2	N/A		
Inferior tradesmen	3	0.03	N/A		
Field labourers	104	1.2	N/A		
Inferior field labourers	46	0.5	N/A		
<i>Non-praedial</i>					
Head tradesmen	88	1			
Inferior tradesmen	25	0.3			
Head people on wharfs shipping and other allocations	498	5.6			
Inferior do.	112 [108]	1.3	4	4.5	19:18:10
Head domestic servants	909 [903]	10.3	8	9.1	19:18:10
Inferior do.	304	3.4	2	2.3	11:19:4
<i>Other</i>					
Children under 6	1,263 [1261]	14.3	13	14.8	3:19:9
Aged, diseased or otherwise non-effective	329	3.7	0	0	0

367

In terms of employment, in 1834 Dasent's had more head people among the field workers and more men involved in shipping than the island-wide average but fewer domestic servants and markedly fewer tradesmen. This put pressure on the owners to hire additional skilled men during peak times and afforded them less income through hiring out surplus plantation masons, coopers and carpenters during slack periods. More importantly, the enslaved tradesmen had fewer opportunities to earn extra money and to benefit from working away from the plantation.

The number of children under six was about the same as the island-wide average while, rather unusually, Dasent's had no 'aged, diseased or otherwise non-effective' people.

³⁶⁷ Higman, Barry *Slave Populations of the British Caribbean* p550 Table S7.1 Occupational Distribution of Slaves, as Classified for Compensation, 1834 (Nevis), and PP, Dom Box R-6: Loose sheet 'Compensation' (Mountravers and Clarke's). The figures in square brackets are those given in HoCAaP 1837-1838 Vol xlviii: Chadwyk-Healey mf 41.389 p357: Nevis. 'Praedial attached' people were those who worked on the land of their owners, those working elsewhere were classified as 'praedial unattached'.

Values of people and land

Year	People			Land			Equipment, stock, buildings, etc £ stlg	Total for people, land, equipment etc. £ stlg
	Total number	Average per person £ stlg	Total £ stlg	Acres	Average per acre £ stlg	Total acres £ stlg		
1793 Valuation	113	c. 58	6,535	73	80	5,840	2,691	15,066
1831 Sales offer	80-90	c. 15-19	1,400-1,500	73	14-15 *	1,000-1,100		2,500
1833 Sale	83			73				3,000
1834 Compensation	88	c. 17	1,536					N/A
1880 Sale	N/A			78	18 *			1,400

* Includes equipment, stock, buildings, etc.

Some figures are approximate due to currency conversions.

Nothing demonstrates the depletion of the value of West India property better than the price per acre which in almost one hundred years had dropped from £80 stlg to just below £18 stlg.

Appendix 2: Successful Pinney compensation claims

This table records the successful compensation claims made by members of the Pinney family and Robert Edward Case for themselves, or for the firm of Pinney & Case (P&C). To these are added two estates where the compensation was awarded to Peter Thomas Huggins but was paid over to one or other Pinney – Clarke's and Parris's.³⁶⁸

Notes:

- *JPP* – John Pretor Pinney
- *CP* – Charles Pinney
- *JFP* – John Frederick Pinney – CP's elder brother
- *MA and EB* – Mary Ames and Elizabeth Baillie, JPP's daughters
- *REC* – Robert Edward Case (partner in Pinney & Case)
- *PTH* – Peter Thomas Huggins
- *EH junr* – Edward Huggins junior (PTH's son)

Claim No.	Estate	Owner or in possession	Enslaved people	Claimant	Sum awarded £	To whom awarded	Reason for claim or other comment
398 St Kitts	West Farm	John James Amory	74	John James Amory	1,270	CP	CP counterclaim as mortgagee. Pinneys had receivership in the 1820s. ³⁶⁹
87 Nevis	Dasent's	GSW Wattlely	88	GSW Wattlely, owner-in-fee	1,536	CP and REC	Counterclaim by CP and REC re £3,000 unpaid purchase money plus interest. Wattlely assigned the claim to P&C.
38 Nevis	Stoney Hill	George Webbe, tenant for life	126	George Webbe, tenant-for-life	2,114 + £100 to GW Parson	CP and REC plus GW Parson	Counterclaim by P&C re bond of late George Webbe ca 1822 owed to P&C; GW's will 14 October 1826 left his estates to his nephews in trust for his natural sons GC Webbe and Charles Webbe. ³⁷⁰
39 Nevis	Bachelor's (Batchelor's) Hall	George Webbe, tenant for life	210	George Webbe	3,471	CP and REC	Same basis of claim as Stoney Hill.

³⁶⁸ Information drawn from R Pares *A West India Fortune Table X1*; PP, Dom Box R-6; Parliamentary Papers – House of Commons 1837-1838 session, vol xLviii, 'Sums of Money Awarded for Slavery Compensation' Nevis Lists A and C, Chadwyck-Healy microfiche 41.389 and 41.391; UCL *Centre for the Study of Legacies of British Slavery* database <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/search/>

³⁶⁹ PP, AB for 1824-1827; LB 62; BULSC Dom Box R-6 for absconders notice 1835; UK NA, T 71/1225

³⁷⁰ PP, Dom Box E 3/20 and Dom Box I ii/34

Claim No.	Estate	Owner or in possession	Enslaved people	Claimant	Sum awarded £	To whom awarded	Reason for claim or other comment
155 Nevis	In St Paul's parish	Margaret Galpine	14	JFP, CP and REC	211	CP and REC and JFP	Attorneys and assignees for M Galpine. 24 February 1836 M Galpine's son FJ Galpine wrote to Commissioners to assign compensation to JFP, CP and REC on 25 people. ³⁷¹
156 Nevis	In St Paul's parish	FJ Galpine	11	JFP, CP and REC, attorneys and assignees of FJ Galpine	151	JFP, CP and REC	As above. ³⁷²
129 Nevis	Colhoun's (later sometimes called Bowrin's)	Job Ede	134	Job Ede as owner-in-fee	2,416	Arbitration award to George Pollard, REC and George Law as trustees for CP and JFP	CP counterclaim for annuity of £200; JFP counterclaim for £8,000 mortgage. ³⁷³
480 St Vincent	Richland Park	JFP, owner in possession	86	JFP	2,239	JFP	As owner in possession. ³⁷⁴
41 Nevis	Old Manor, previously called Hendrickson' ³⁷⁵	EH junr	142	EH junr	2566	JFP	Complicated claims: JFP got compensation for mortgage on Old Manor, EH junr for Eden Brown, T and J Daniel for Indian Castle; JFP moved some enslaved people from Symonds to Hendrickson's. ³⁷⁶
751 St Kitts	Parson's	Rev WW Parson and GW Parson,	136	WW Parsons and GW Parsons	2,185	JFP	JFP counter-claimed as mortgagee. ³⁷⁷

³⁷¹ See sources suggested in D Small *Montpelier Estate, St John Figtree* <https://seis.bristol.ac.uk/~emceee/montpelierhistory.pdf>

³⁷² Mills & Galpine went bankrupt in the 1820s, owing Pinneys over £4,000 (R Pares A West India Fortune p276).

³⁷³ R Pares A West India Fortune ch 11 Appendix. CP's claim took priority for his life and JFP died before him and so JFP got nothing.

³⁷⁴ See re-assignment of ownership and debts 22 August 1823 (DM 792, PP, Dom Boxes I i/12-14 and I ii/22)

³⁷⁵ 1835 JFP told to delay putting in counter claim for Edward Huggins's people on Hendrickson's – the estate which was sold to Huggins and under mortgage to JFP now called Old Manor (PP, LB 66: Pinney & Case to Claxton Woodcock, St Kitts, 15 May 1835).

³⁷⁶ See R Pares A West India Fortune ch 12; <https://seis.bristol.ac.uk/~emceee/montpelierhistory.pdf>; PP, WI Box 1823-1825 re 1828 JFP to EH junr; also Box L2/28; LBs 56 and 57 re action to avoid starvation 1820s; estate owed £12,000

³⁷⁷ See R Pares A West India Fortune; UK NA, T 71/1227

Claim No.	Estate	Owner or in possession	Enslaved people	Claimant	Sum awarded £	To whom awarded	Reason for claim or other comment
		mortgagees in possession					
116 Montserrat	Parson's		165	JFP, mortgagee in possession	2,100 (6/7)	to JFP as mortgagee plus £351 to Rev WW Parson and GW Parson	The claims on Parson's on St Kitts and Montserrat were linked and based on the mortgage.
635 British Guiana/ Demerara	Mocha	SW Gordon	54	JFP and CP	2,968	JFP and CP as executors to Gordon	Claim assigned by Gordon to JFP. ³⁷⁸
1 Nevis	Stoney Grove (previously owned by James Tobin)	CP and REC as trustees for Mary Ames and Elizabeth Baillie	209	CP and REC	3,572	CP and REC as trustees for MA and EB	JP settled original mortgages on Stoney Grove (James Tobin) and Symonds in trust on his daughters MA and EB. They also had joint mortgage on Peter's Rest, St Croix. ³⁷⁹
92 Nevis	Symonds/ Mount Sion	W and J Maynard as tenants in possession	142	W and J Maynard	2,349	CP	Counterclaim by CP for his sisters' trust See Stoney Grove above. ³⁸⁰
133 Nevis	Clarke's	PTH	148	PTH	2,710	PTH	PTH as owner; counterclaim by CP (withdrawn) re mortgage of 10,500 plus interest. ³⁸¹
136 Nevis	Parris's	PTH	138		2,434	PTH	PTH owner in fee. ³⁸²
131 Jamaica	Hanover Parish	REC	5		124	REC	Unknown.

³⁷⁸ R Pares *A West India Fortune* re Peter de Nully; PP, Dom Box C1 Bundle 6 March 1820

³⁷⁹ R Pares *A West India Fortune* ch 12; sources in D Small *Stationary Steam Engines in the Caribbean: Nevis 1816-1846* <https://seis.bristol.ac.uk/~emceee/steam.pdf> p17; Estate Accounts PP, AB 71; accounts for Mary Ames and Elizabeth Baillie 1818-1837 PP AB 72; AB 66 f87

³⁸⁰ R Pares *A West India Fortune* ch 12; Accounts for Symonds and Vervain's Estates 1821-1836 PP AB 71; PP, WI Box O-4

³⁸¹ CP sold estate to PTH in 1829 for £12,500. PTH still owed £10,500 (R Pares *A West India Fortune* p317).

³⁸² Estate sold to PTH 1830 by CP for JFP (owner): background R Pares *A West India Fortune* ch 12 and Christine Eickelmann *The Mountravers Plantation Community, 1734 to 1834* <https://seis.bristol.ac.uk/~emceee/mountraversplantationcommunity.html> ch 7

Summary of compensation amounts

Charles Pinney	£6,396 for 356 enslaved people (West Farm, Colhoun's, Clarke's)
John Frederick Pinney	£14,492 for 721 enslaved people (Richland Park, Old Manor, Parson's/St Kitts, Parson's/Montserrat, Mocha, Parris's)
Mary Ames and Elizabeth Baillie	£5,921 for 351 enslaved people (Stoney Grove, Symonds)
Charles Pinney and Robert Edward Case as Pinney & Case	£7,483 for 449 enslaved people (Dasent's, Stoney Hill, Bachelor's Hall, M and FJ Galpine)
Robert Edward Case	£124 for 5 enslaved people (Hanover Parish, Jamaica)
Total for Pinney family members and RE Case	£34,416 for 1,882 enslaved people

Appendix 3: Charles Pinney's investments

The following list refers to enquiries to, investments in, or selling shares in, companies for himself and sometimes for others, including his nephew William Pinney and possibly Mary Ames. Putting aside the Great Western Cotton Works, since the investments refer to the late 1840s and 1850s, it is not known whether any of them involved compensation money.

Commercial

- 1837 Proprietor of, and shareholder in, **Great Western Cotton Works**, Barton Hill
- 1849 **Great Northern Railway**
- **London and North Western**
- **Liverpool Docks Trustee** (a dividend on £13,000 of stock)³⁸³
- Speculating in **cotton** (3-400 bags)
- **River Avon** shares (£3,850 involving Evan Baillie and others)³⁸⁴
- **York, Newcastle and Berwick Railway** (£1,200)
- **Newport and Pontypool Railway**
- **Monmouthshire Railway and Canal Co**
- **Wiltshire, Somerset and Weymouth Railway**
- **Midland Railway**³⁸⁵
- 1828 On Board of Management of the **National Loan Fund Life Assurance Society**
- 1849 Trustee of **Bristol Savings Bank**³⁸⁶

1852 Charles Pinney wanting to sell stock worth ca £13,400 in the following railways:

- **Bristol and Exeter**
- **Great Northern**
- **South Eastern**
- **Manchester, Sheffield and Lincolnshire**
- **York, Newcastle and Berwick**
- **Great Western Railway**³⁸⁷
- December 1852 Buying **Canada bonds**³⁸⁸
- 1853 Enquiring about investing in the **Cincinnati and Marriette Railway**
- **New Brunswick and Nova Scotia Land Company Bonds**³⁸⁹
- March 1856 **Aberdare Railway stock**
- **Taff Vale Railway**³⁹⁰
- ca December 1859/January 1860 **North Eastern Railway**

³⁸³ PP, LB 33 June 1849

³⁸⁴ PP, LB 33 July 1849

³⁸⁵ PP, LB 33 10 October 1849

³⁸⁶ With many thanks to Ruth Hecht who in her study on *The Claxton Family of Bristol and Slavery* quotes *Bristol Mercury*, 6 May 1828 and *Bristol Times and Mirror*, 3 February 1849

³⁸⁷ PP, LB 34: Charles Pinney to Messrs Stokes and Hughes, London, 13 January 1852

³⁸⁸ PP, LB 34

³⁸⁹ PP, Dom Box K-1 Bundles of receipts and vouchers

³⁹⁰ PP, LB 35

- **Edinburgh, Perth and Dundee Railway**
- **Oswestry and Newtown Railway**
- **South Devon Railway**³⁹¹

- April 1861 **Bristol Steam Navigation Co.**
- December 1861 **Manchester, Sheffield and Lincolnshire Railway**

- February 1863 **Rhymney Railway**

- November 1864 **Cambrian Railway**

- February 1865 **London & Southwestern Railway** (? ex North Devon Railway)³⁹²

In the 1870s and 1880s the Pinney family were still much involved in investing in overseas and British railway stocks as well as India bonds:

- 1879 **Great Indian Peninsular Railway**

- 1885 **Bengal Railway annuities**

- 1886 **India stock**

- 1887 **Canadian railways**

- 1888 **Welsh railways**³⁹³

Religious and charitable organisations³⁹⁴

Charles Pinney was a keen and very active member and supporter of a number of religious and charitable organisations:

- 1822 President of the **Anchor Society**, Bristol
- **Bristol Auxiliary of the Society for promoting Christianity among the Jews**
- the **Bristol and Clifton Association for Promoting Moral and Religious Improvement of Ireland** (Having supported the conversion of enslaved people to Christianity he found a new cause and turned his attention to converting Irish Catholics to Protestantism)
- the **Bristol Protestant Institute**
- the **Church Education Society for Ireland**
- the **Church Missionary Association**
- the **Church of England Scripture Readers Society**
- the **Church of England Young Men's Society**
- the **Hibernian Committee**, including the Bath English and Irish Ladies' Association
- the **Lord's Day Society**
- the **Pastoral Aid Society**
- the **Protestant Association of Bristol**
- the **Calvin Translation Society**

³⁹¹ PP, LB 35

³⁹² PP, LB 36

³⁹³ PP, Dom Box B5 Bundle 5

³⁹⁴ Most of the organisations and meetings attended are taken from Charles Pinney's diary for 1850 (PP, Domestic Green Box File 1)

- subscribed to the **Christian Examiner**
- he made his home, Camp House, available for a meeting of the **Ladies Auxiliary to the Bristol and Clifton Association for Promoting the Moral and Religious Improvement of Ireland** (actively involved as Committee member since at least 1829 in the Clifton and Bristol branch)

Other groups and organisations which concerned themselves with personal and public health issues (among them the state of Bristol's sewers):

- the **Committee of Colston's Hospital**
- the **Committee of the Blind Asylum**
- the **Health of Towns Committee**
- **Royal Jennerian Society (member 1827)**
- **President of the Missions to Seamen**

Political

Charles Pinney is best-known as **Mayor** during the 1831 Bristol Riots but also served in other roles:

- Common Councillor (1822-1835)
- Councillor in the **Bristol Corporation**
- served as **Sheriff** (1823-1824)
- Alderman of **Clifton ward** (1835-1853)
- member of the **Society of Merchant Venturers** and President 1844-45

Educational

Charles Pinney was involved with his sisters in their efforts to establish chapels and schools on several plantations in Nevis but he was also interested in education in Bristol:

- the **National School Committee**
- helped to establish a **Mechanics' Institute** in Bristol (1825)³⁹⁵

³⁹⁵ Oxford DNB, Elizabeth Baigent 'Charles Pinney, 1793-1867'; Thomas Garrard, Samuel Griffiths Tovey (ed) *Edward Colston, The Philanthropist, His Life and Times* (Bristol, 1852); PP, LB 34 and Cat 4 Misc Vol and Items cont'd, preliminary listing, now in boxes Domestic Green Box File 1 and other sources; *The Twentieth Report of the Sunday School Society for Ireland for 1810 (-1837)*; Joseph Bettey (ed) *Historic Churches and Churchlife in Bristol*. See also 'The Mountravers Plantation Community' Postscript, Mountravers after 1834 p1258 and fn82