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BREADNUT ISLAND PEN:

THOMAS THISTLEWOOD'S JAMAICAN PROVISIONING ESTATE,

1767-1768

A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the Department of History

The College of William and Mary in Virginia

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts

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by

Amy B. Kowalski

1991

APPROVAL SHEET

This thesis is submitted in partial fulfillment of

the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

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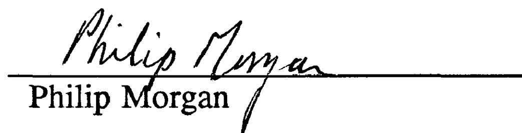

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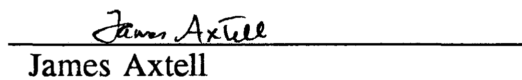

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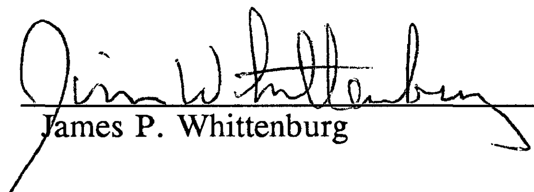

James P. Whittenburg

DEDICATION

To my parents, Betty and Stanley Kowalski, the two most unselfish people I know. Because of their loving and, not insubstantial, financial support, Mount Holyoke, William and Mary, and many of life's other adventures were made possible for me.

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The writer also wishes to thank Gregory J. Brown, David Muraca, and Andrew Edwards for so freely sharing their time and computer expertise, and to thank William Pittman for both his encouragement and the flexibility he allowed the author with her work schedule.

PREFACE

Thomas Thistlewood's diary, the primary source used in this thesis, covers the years from 1748 through 1786. Thistlewood began his diary two years before his arrival in Jamaica, and it is fairly complete for most of the time that he spent on the island. The following thesis, however, deals almost exclusively with the twelve months from September 1767 through August 1768 or Thistlewood's first full year spent on his new provisioning estate. This period was chosen specifically to coincide with Thistlewood's move to, and his development of, that estate. Thistlewood's entire diary is on deposit as part of the Monson MSS Collection, Lincolnshire County Record Office, Lincoln, England.

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to compare the task distribution, work routines, and quality of life of slaves on a mid-eighteenth-century Jamaican smallholder's estate with their contemporaries on larger sugar plantations. Most historical research has focused on the slaves of the sugar estates. Yet, approximately 25 percent of the rural slaves settled in the western half of the island belonged to the owners of livestock pens, provisioning estates, coffee or other small plantations.

This study focuses on the slaves owned by one smallholder, Thomas Thistlewood. His diary, from September 1767 through August 1768, was analyzed in order to locate his slaves within both the task-orientated and the social contexts of his estate. The slaves' daily work routines were also studied with respect to their place in the slave hierarchy of Thistlewood's estate as well as within the larger context of estate slaves on the island as a whole.

It was concluded that while the labor of the slaves who lived on the pens or provisioning estates was far from easy, there was a greater chance for these slaves to assume more varied and semi-independent tasks. Further, it was also possible for these slaves, because of their direct association with their owners, to enjoy personal privileges or freedoms which were probably not as common for the majority of slaves on the larger estates.

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BREADNUT ISLAND PEN:

THOMAS THISTLEWOOD'S JAMAICAN PROVISIONING ESTATE,

1767-1768

INTRODUCTION

To the earliest English colonists, Jamaica was a fascinating paradox. Lush and fruitful, with much more land than Barbados or the Leewards, the island looked welcoming to planters of all fortunes. But the calm blue sea of winter was shattered by fierce, destructive summer storms. Summers along the coast were hot, humid, and volatile. The lushness of the jungle at times only amplified its strangeness, infested as it was with insects, vermin, and disease.[1]

Situated about five degrees south of the Tropic of Cancer, Jamaica lies within the northern tropical belt. An island covered with hills and mountains, it has a climate tempered by elevation and a marine environment. The trade winds, an economic advantage in themselves, also supplied cooling breezes. Temperatures ranged from the seventies to the nineties, but in the mountains they could drop into the forties or fifties.[2]

Jamaica is about 145 miles long and fifty miles wide. Roughly equal in size to modern Connecticut, the island covers 4,450 square miles and is ten times the size of Barbados, St. Christopher, Nevis, Antigua and Montserrat combined.[3] Massive by Caribbean standards, small relative to the mainland, Jamaica consists of four distinct topographical areas which combine to form the natural beauty of the island. The low coastal plains surround the inland valleys which are rich in alluvial soil and so

welcomed by the planters. The limestone hills of the central region, often referred to as the backbone of the island, only point to the dramatic peaks of the Blue Mountains in the East. In fact, fewer than nine hundred square feet of the island are considered flat.[4] The Blue Mountains, geologically different from the limestone hills, rise to 7,402 feet.[5] In the mountains, the climate is mild and enjoyable. Unfortunately for the planters, the soil is infertile. Overall, however, Jamaica blossoms with more than two thousand varieties of flowering plants and, with few exceptions, tropical produce abounds. All of this is fed and replenished by more than a hundred rivers which flow through the island.[6]

The first known inhabitants of the island were the Arawak Indians, or rather a branch of the Arawaks called the Tainans. Arawaks can still be found in Venezuela and the Guianas, and it is from this region that the Tainans who settled Jamaica originally came. The Arawaks sailed dug-out canoes northward, settling, in turn, the islands extending from Trinidad to Cuba. Sometime around 1000 A.D. they arrived in Jamaica.[7]

Peace-loving and pleasure-seeking, the Arawaks were a gentle people. They enjoyed singing, dancing, smoking, and playing ball games.[8] When the Spanish came to stay around 1509, the Arawaks were unprepared and ill-equipped to defend themselves against another people who were "searching on one hand for gold and on the other for souls."[9]

Christopher Columbus discovered Jamaica on his second trip to the West Indies. After Hispaniola, Columbus sailed to Cuba where he learned from the

Indians the supposed source of "the blessed gold."[10] Columbus found the island of Jamaica on May 5, 1494. He described it as "the fairest island that eyes have beheld; mountainous and the land seems to touch the sky...all full of valleys and fields and plains."[11] The Indians of Cuba had been mistaken, however, and Columbus would not find gold there.

Not until 1510 did the Spanish establish their first permanent settlements in Jamaica. Eighteen years after Columbus began the first permanent settlement on Hispaniola and one year after Ponce de Leon settled Puerto Rico, Jamaica became the third Spanish settlement in the West Indies. For some unknown reason, the early settlements on the north side of the island were abandoned, and the capital of the settlement was moved to Villa de la Vega in the south by 1530. Villa de la Vega later became known to the English as Spanish Town.

At times, there was little to eat and epidemics plagued the young colony as did earthquakes, hurricanes and droughts. In spite of accusations of laziness, most settlers were busy. Some kept shops and tanneries; others built ships and made cloth for sails. The Spaniards also brought new fruit trees and food plants to the island. The banana, plantain, and some citrus fruits were introduced in an effort to supplement the island's food supply. Settlers grew sugar for local use. They also grew cotton, cocoa, tobacco, indigo, corn, yucca, and grapes from which they made claret. From all of this work came no great wealth.

The labor system on Jamaica proved to be less of a problem. Along with a land grant system, the government of the island allowed settlers to force Arawaks to

work for them. Consequently, most Indians were ill-cared for, overworked, and underfed. Many Arawaks died because of the treatment they received from the Spanish. Others died of starvation. The numbers of pigs, goats, and cattle brought in by the Spanish grew, and these animals ran wild, destroying the crops and food supplies of the Arawaks. Some Indians died from the new diseases, particularly smallpox, introduced by the Europeans. Still other Arawaks committed suicide or infanticide rather than live under such a system. Horror stories of the abuses suffered by the Indians were told even by the Spanish. Reportedly, Arawaks were killed simply for sport on Hispaniola.[12]

The Caribs, a fierce Indian group in the Caribbean, were also known to attack the Arawaks of Jamaica and other islands. Given time, the Caribs might have killed or driven off the Arawaks themselves. In fact, the Spaniards gave them no time, for within the first century of Spanish occupation, the Arawaks of Jamaica were extinct.

Until the end of the sixteenth century, only Spain had colonies in the West Indies. Other European countries had only pestered Spain with incessant raids and smuggling operations. The French as early as 1555, the Dutch, Italians, Portuguese, and English all plundered or illegally traded with the Spanish colonists. Later, these countries would vie for colonies of their own. The English began in Virginia in 1607, and then settled Bermuda. Guiana followed. Not until 1624, when Thomas Warner founded St. Kitts, did the English permanently settle in the West Indies.

Barbados quickly followed in 1627, Nevis in 1628, and Antigua and Montserrat in 1632. Jamaica would be next.

Under the Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell, the English developed a plan called the Western Design. This plan included taking over all of the Spanish territories in the West Indies. Not only had Spain and England been for the most part enemies, but commercial and religious interests were at stake as well. Specifically, England wanted to pay back Spain for deporting the English settlers on St. Kitts in 1629. Additionally, the English sought retribution for the countless attacks on their ships, as well as the impressment of their crews, by the Spanish. "Cromwell's design was in part an old-fashioned, Elizabethan-style, free-booting search for Spanish gold, in part a Puritan crusade against the bloody papists."[13]

In May 1658, the Spanish made an all-out attempt to drive the English from Jamaica. A small war raged for two years. Finally, in 1660 the Spanish withdrew from the island altogether. Jamaica officially became an English territory with the Treaty of Madrid in 1670. One remnant of Spanish occupation remained: the African slaves once held by the Spanish were left behind. These ex-slaves came to be known as Maroons and proved to be more than a passing problem for the new English settlers.

Unlike most of the other English colonies, Jamaica was a state enterprise from its conception. Under Cromwell and his Western Design, Jamaica was seen as an important supply base for England's ongoing feud with Spain. Since the Western Design went no further and Cromwell was replaced by Charles II, Jamaica took a

new turn as a state enterprise. Charles II and his councillors were instrumental in recruiting planters and investors who would make Jamaica profitable agriculturally.

The island which had been of little economic value to Spain, came to be the most valuable of all the English colonies. The English were no longer looking to the West Indies for gold. Compared to the other islands, however, Jamaica was rich in land. Twenty-six times the size of Barbados, Jamaica would in time prove to be England's largest producer of another source of great wealth--sugar.[14]

At first, the English took up where the Spanish left off. Cattle and hogs were kept, and cocoa, tobacco, indigo, and other tropical crops were grown. All of this produce could easily be sold in Europe or North America. Some sugar had been grown on Jamaica by the Spanish, but more importantly, the English who settled Jamaica came directly from Barbados where sugar had been under production for some time. The Barbadian immigrants, then, brought with them the knowledge of cane production and the processes which changed sugar into molasses, muscovado, and rum. It was not long before sugar became Jamaica's most abundant and valuable crop.[15]

But everything did not go smoothly for the English in Jamaica. Wars, disease, and natural disasters plagued the English as they had plagued the Spanish. Any war in Europe was a war in the Caribbean and an excuse to raid, loot, and pillage. Not everyone needed an excuse. Throughout this period, England had problems with France and Spain and with pirates of several nations. In the early years of English Jamaica, Cromwell's Navigation Act required that only English ships carry English

trade goods. This act also included the right to search vessels suspected of noncompliance. Other European countries passed similar acts. The result was piracy and smuggling on all sides.

Bubonic plague, smallpox, and influenza, a few of the worst killers on the European continent were to some extent avoided by the English settlers in Jamaica. Tuberculosis and venereal diseases were also less menacing in the tropics during the seventeenth century. Malaria, yellow fever, dysentery, dropsy, leprosy, yaws, hookworm, and elephantiasis, however, were present instead. The diet and living conditions of the colonists, and particularly of their slaves, only added to the problem.[16]

Hurricanes, droughts, and earthquakes plagued the English settlers as they had the Spanish. The most famous earthquake in Jamaica's history occurred in the seventeenth century. Port Royal, home of the infamous buccaneers and a thriving commercial center filled with warehouses, shops, and expensive homes, was destroyed on June 7, 1692. Of some 8,000 inhabitants, over 2,000 were killed when half the town plunged into the sea. As a result of earthquakes, hurricanes, diseases, buccaneers, Maroons, and endless wars with other European countries, not to mention problems with the policies of the crown toward the colonists, most small planters had left Jamaica by the close of the seventeenth century. Even some large plantation owners hired managers and returned to England.

However, if seventeenth-century Jamaica was a land of small planters, indentured servants and buccaneers, Jamaica in the eighteenth century was a land of

huge estates and armies of black slaves. In 1673, Jamaica had fifty-seven sugar estates. Cocoa, tobacco, and indigo were almost as important. By 1739, 430 sugar estates were found on Jamaica, and sugar had already become the main crop of the island.[17] Jamaica would become the largest sugar producer of all the English colonies and, for a time, the largest sugar producer in the world. A sugar colony like Jamaica could be one of a nation's most valued possessions.

Sugar production and processing in the eighteenth century required from the outset large amounts of capital and an equally large labor supply. By the end of the seventeenth century, Jamaica had a very small indentured servant population. In fact, the white population as a whole was in decline and would not again equal the 1673 total of 7,768 until the last quarter of the eighteenth century.[18] A list of 1,438 servants who sailed from Liverpool between 1697 and 1707 showed no one headed for Jamaica, while 41 servants were on their way to Barbados and the Leeward Islands.[19] The Jamaican planters needed a labor supply, and they appealed to the Royal African Company for slaves and credit. The company was unwilling or unable to provide sufficient amounts of either. Further, they complained that the Jamaican planters were already £110,000 in debt to the company.[20]

African slaves had been imported to the West Indies beginning in the fifteenth century. Jamaica, Puerto Rico, and Cuba had a few slaves before 1517. However, only after the Royal African Company lost its monopoly on the slave trade to the West Indies in 1698 were the Jamaicans able to buy on credit enough slaves for their estates. The slave population of Jamaica almost doubled, from 30,000 to 55,000,

between 1689 and 1713. By this time, Jamaica had passed even Barbados in the number of slaves and in the proportion of black slaves to whites. Jamaican slaves outnumbered their masters eight to one. Barbados, at the same time, had only a three-to-one ratio.[21]

Between 1700 and 1786, some 610,000 slaves were landed in Jamaica, of whom 160,000 were re-exported. In 1732 alone, 13,000 slaves were brought to Jamaica, but a yearly average was closer to 5,000.[22] The importance of Jamaica in the slave trade, as well as its geographic location, accounted for the island's role in the re-exportation of slaves to other English colonies.

The constant need for slaves was due in part to the disproportion of the sexes imported. Only about a third of the slaves in Jamaica were women.[23] This figure, obviously, had a profound impact on the rate of natural increase of the slave population. Combined with the grinding, repetitive toil, rampant diseases, and malnutrition of the slaves on the sugar estates, slave women there had fewer children than did slave women on other types of estates. The greater the production of sugar on an estate, the lower the birth rate.[24] Slaves, therefore, had to be continually imported.

The average size of a Jamaican sugar plantation was about eight hundred acres, but some ranged into the thousands.[25] Here the work day began at five in the morning and lasted until eight at night. The harvest seasons were the most back-breaking in both the difficulty and amount of work that had to be done.[26] The field slaves had to clear brush, dig trenches, set out the cane shoots, and weed,

harvest, and transport the cane to the master's factory. In the sugar factory, slaves were needed to run the mill, boil the sugar, and finally cure and distill it. Some white servants were hired as overseers or bookkeepers.

The Jamaican sugar planters grew far richer than their contemporaries on the mainland. In fact, the wealth of these West Indian planters became legendary. The Jamaicans, as a rule, were said to have lived fast, played hard, and died young. Most did not think of themselves as Jamaicans; they were Englishmen, and few were said to have wanted to stay in the Indies any longer than necessary. The goal of most planters seemed to be to make a lot of money quickly and then return to England. If a planter was lucky, he would have a younger brother, son, or trusted servant to manage the estate in Jamaica while he retired to England. From the slaves' perspective, conditions were often marginally better when the owner was a resident on his own estate. The owner might also benefit because he was better able to look after his own property. Sabotage or neglect could ruin a plantation in a very short time.

Characterized as crude but hospitable, Jamaican planters were individually oriented and had little or no public spirit. The social graces were known, but book learning, especially in the arts and literature, was not emphasized. A printing press did not appear on the island until 1717, and schools were rare. Some planters sent their children back to England for an education, but beyond a point it was not stressed.[27] Food, drink, and games, on the other hand, were in abundant supply.

A sugar planter might not know his annual income, but he could generally expect a 10-15% yield on his capital investment.[28] Planters often mortgaged to their next year's income. This system of debts was not a problem unless sugar prices fell, and a one-crop economy always presented risks.

Most eighteenth-century white settlers were either planters or merchants, of English, Scottish, Irish, or Jewish descent. Jewish settlers had come to Jamaica before the English but their numbers were small. Wealthy merchants, they were nonetheless socially and politically excluded. With a few notable exceptions, the Irish were both indentured servants and Roman Catholics. This combination separated them from the general English population. The Scottish came to Jamaica only after 1707, when Scotland became part of Great Britain. Jealousy on the part of the English caused them to downplay the successes of both the Scottish merchants and planters on the island. Not surprisingly, the English dominated the island politically, socially, and economically.

The black population on Jamaica was made up of slaves, Maroons, free blacks, and mulattoes. The free blacks were few and had probably gained their freedom by rendering special service to their masters. Mulattoes, mostly the products of planters and their slave mistresses, were more common. They were often trained as skilled artisans, and small amounts of property were sometimes willed to them by their fathers. Occasionally, by a special act of the Assembly, some mulattoes were granted the full rights of British subjects.

Even in the first half of the eighteenth century, Jamaica was not an easy place to live. The tensions between European countries always echoed in the Caribbean. The War of Spanish Succession in 1702, which pitted France and Spain against England and the Netherlands, was only the beginning of a century of intermittent warfare in the West Indies. Even though the major fighting was done on the continents, the islands were greatly affected. Allies changed from time to time, but the fighting continued. Between 1739 and 1763, war raged almost continually and warships and privateers roamed the Caribbean.

The large number of slaves and consequent fear of slave revolts were also constants. Jamaica had experienced slave revolts as early as 1678, and they continued throughout the eighteenth century. Some revolts were localized. Others, such as Tacky's Rebellion in 1760, were well-planned and widespread. Disease and natural disasters took their toll as well. Malaria, especially among newcomers, increased the mortality rate dramatically. Yellow fever was less discriminating and affected creole and newcomer alike. Hurricanes were often followed by droughts. Crops were destroyed, and food was scarce.

The dominant mono-crop system of eighteenth-century Jamaica had created many economic and social problems, not the least of which was the island's inability to feed its own people. The scarcity of food was due, in part, to the lack of food crop cultivation on the island itself. While there had always been a variety of plantations and pens on Jamaica, most of the land was taken up by sugar production and so was not used to grow food. Too much, then, depended on the importation

of food and on favorable sugar prices. Trade was easily interrupted, and storms could wipe out what comparatively little foodstuff was grown there. As the eighteenth century progressed, more emphasis was placed on plantations that grew crops other than sugar and, in particular, crops for human consumption. Thomas Thistlewood started such a plantation in 1767.

CHAPTER I

THOMAS THISTLEWOOD

Thomas Thistlewood, the son of a yeoman farmer from Lincolnshire, England, and a bachelor of twenty-nine, arrived in Jamaica in 1750.[29] He quickly became the estate manager of a livestock pen called The Vineyard. Located in St. Elizabeth parish, on the southwestern end of the island, the pen was considered to be on the Jamaican frontier. Here, along with the pen's forty-six slaves, Thistlewood spent his first year on the island.[30]

In December 1751, Thistlewood moved on to become the overseer of Egypt Plantation, a sugar estate in neighboring Westmoreland parish where he took charge of as many as 125 slaves.[31] Thistlewood's relationship with the owner of Egypt, a man referred to only as Mr. Cope, was decidedly that of employer/employee. One of their disagreements even convinced Thistlewood to leave Egypt and secure employment on another plantation. After six months away from Egypt, however, and a conciliatory letter from Cope, Thistlewood returned.[32] During his sixteen-year tenure at Egypt, Thistlewood was able to use his earnings to purchase his own land, bordering Egypt, and slaves as well. Finally, in September 1767, Thomas Thistlewood moved to his estate, called Breadnut Island Pen, where he remained until his death, nineteen years later, in 1786.[33]

According to Edward Long, Thistlewood's contemporary, Westmoreland parish in 1768 (Thistlewood's first full year on his own estate there), contained 69 sugar estates; 96 "other settlements" which were understood to include coffee as well as other plantations, pens, and provisioning estates; 15,186 slaves and 13,750 head of cattle.[34] Thistlewood, as the owner of one of the 96 "other settlements," became a member of the smallholder class, who along with the pen keepers, enabled Jamaica to maintain a limited, yet important degree of diversity. These smallholders were the settlers the British government had encouraged to immigrate to the islands, and who, in terms of their numbers and influence, were most successful on Jamaica.[35] In fact, considering the dominant sugar culture, the contributions of the smallholders, agriculturally as well as socially, were significant.[36]

Approximately 25 percent of the rural slaves, settled in the western half of the island, belonged to these same smallholders.[37] The routines of the smallholder's slaves involved less regimentation and more diversification than was true of the routines followed by the slaves on the neighboring sugar estates, where a greater degree of occupational specialization was the norm. Further, occupational specialization on the sugar estates led to a stronger slave hierarchy as well as a more rigidly defined routine and a decidedly seasonal work pattern.[38] So, while the labor of the slaves who lived on the pens or the provisioning estates was far from easy, there was a greater chance of these slaves assuming more semi-independent tasks.[39] Finally, the distribution of the slave population found the higher concentrations of slaves on the monocultural sugar estates and the smaller numbers of slaves on the

most diversified estates.[40] For this reason, among others, pens and smaller estates also provided a better chance of contact and interaction between the slaves and their resident owner and his family.[41]

The Pen, as Thistlewood referred to his new home, was one of these provisioning estates. Here, Thistlewood, or rather his slaves, produced a wide variety of fruits and vegetables which were then sold or traded at market or with other nearby plantations. Kidney beans, lima beans, broccoli, cauliflower, cabbage, lettuce, celery, Indian kale, eggplant, black-eyed peas, English peas, horse radish root, cucumbers, papaya, alligator pears, forbidden fruit, and watermelon, as well as thyme, dill, sage, rosemary, mint, tobacco, cocoa, and coffee were all listed as having been grown in Thistlewood's "garden."[42]

Thistlewood also listed the livestock on his estate. While relatively few in number, they included cows, horses, ducks, turkeys, chickens, and other fowl.[43] At the very least, these animals could have been used to cut the estate's own supply bill--including that for milk and eggs. At their best, they were sold as a supplement to Thistlewood's other earnings.[44]

In addition to the various fruits and vegetables and the livestock raised on the estate, fish, crabs, and wild fowl brought Thistlewood money as well. Thistlewood's slaves, Lincoln and later Chub, fished the pen's duck pond: salted mudfish was a very tradable item. The slaves also trapped crabs, another tradable commodity, in specially made crab baskets.[45] Additionally, Lincoln, and even Thistlewood, shot Cuba Teal as well as various types of ducks, coots, and other wild birds at the same

duck pond. Again, wild fowl was highly marketable. Occasionally, Thistlewood and Lincoln hunted on Egypt, leaving, of course, a fair share of the game for Mr. Cope and John Hartnole, Cope's new overseer.

Thistlewood also found other ways to make money from his land. He was able to process lime at his limekiln.[46] This lime was then used in the mortar needed by Thistlewood to build his own estate. More importantly, in economic terms, the lime was also necessary in the processing of sugar, and so was essential to the biggest money-making ventures on the island.[47]

Additionally, Thistlewood's slaves spent a good deal of time harvesting and replanting logwood.[48] This type of tree was originally imported from Honduras in 1715, but it soon ran wild throughout St. Elizabeth and Westmoreland parishes.[49] Parts of the harvested logwood trees were used to make clothing dyes, especially a reddish purple or black.[50] The dyes were exportable to New England, as well as to England and the continent.[51] Other parts of these trees were sometimes used to make fences and hoops, and even medicine.[52]

Finally, Thistlewood sold the other thing that he owned, the labor of his thirty or so "jobbers".[53] These slaves were not listed with his twenty-seven estate slaves who served as domestics, field slaves, and a few specialized workers such as Lincoln and Chub who were, from time to time, also hired out as jobbers.[54] When a labor shortage was identified by neighboring estate owners and overseers, Thistlewood's jobbing gang was hired out to fill the void. Most likely these slaves were hired out to the various sugar estates in the area. Once on the sugar estates, the jobbers were

often given the most strenuous and time-consuming tasks to perform.[55] As sugar was such a labor-intensive crop, Thistlewood probably has little trouble keeping his jobbing gang employed. In addition, jobbers were also known to have been hired out to maintain public roads, to clear forests, or to perform other tedious, labor-intensive tasks.[56]

Basically, then, Thomas Thistlewood was an astute businessman. Not only did he keep thorough, accurate books, but he had also learned the value of diversification. Whether he dealt in produce, wild game, lime, logwood, or slave labor, he had learned how to take advantage of all the resources that surrounded him--both in nature and in custom.

On the one hand, while Thistlewood's estate ledgers appear to have been well-ordered, the dynamics of his interpersonal relationships with his slaves were not as cut and dried. As Thistlewood discovered shortly after his arrival on Jamaica, each slave had his or her own personality which had to be accommodated if he was to be at all successful. In fact, Thistlewood, although always in control of the ultimate power, engaged in a long and trying struggle to work out the best balance of give and take, in order for him, as the slaves' master, to receive the most cooperation and work from his slaves. Each slave was an individual, and over time Thistlewood learned how to deal with certain personalities. He learned when to ignore a slave who neglected his work, when to take away the privileges of another, and when, in his judgement, to physically punish another.[57] Thistlewood worked out his own

system of privileges, rewards, or punishments in order to maintain his balance of power.

Within weeks of Thistlewood's arrival at The Vineyard, he had his first real taste of the alienation and the necessary compromises inherent in his daily relations with his slaves.[58] Six weeks after coming to The Vineyard, Thistlewood noted, "have Seen no White Man, Since Mr. Plaster went, now above a fortnight."[59] His alienation from other whites was obvious from the start. The compromises which were necessary for Thistlewood to maintain both a working, and to some extent a social, relationship with his slaves took longer to work out.

At first, Thistlewood followed the lead of the other white slaveholders he had observed on the island. He tried to assert his authority without delay by meting out punishments.[60] During his first week at The Vineyard, Thistlewood had his driver, Mulatto Dick, whipped with nearly three hundred lashes for, as Thistlewood wrote, "his many Crimes & Negligences."[61] Robin, a runaway from The Vineyard, was also severely punished.[62] These punishments continued throughout Thistlewood's time at Breadnut Island Pen.

Thistlewood had Sally, who was primarily a field slave at the pen, put into a collar and chain and then branded on her cheek. Sally was punished because she had not returned home immediately after she had completed an errand in Savannah la Mar. Another slave found her and returned her to Thistlewood that same evening.[63] The next day Thistlewood noted with interest, though seemingly with no remorse, that Sally's "private parts is tore in a terrible manner which was discovered

this morning by her having bled a great deal where she'd lay in the bilboes last Night being threatened a good deal she at last confessed that a Sailor had laid with her while away. Mr. Say's Vine undertook to doctor her."[64] Thistlewood's indifference to the fact that he had threatened "a good deal" a woman who had been very badly hurt was underscored by his lack of concern that she had been injured possibly through no fault of her own. Thistlewood said that Sally had "laid" with a sailor. He did not seem to care if it had been with her consent or not.

Sally's punishment seemed all the more severe when compared to the treatment other slaves received from Thistlewood. At one point, Thistlewood ignored or put up with his hired slave carpenter's attempts at work slow downs or even walkouts.[65] Further, Thistlewood merely refused to allow another slave to continue to go fishing when he thought that that slave had abused the privilege by using the time for his own ends.[66]

However, without counting the number of times that Thistlewood punished his slaves, either by withholding something of value to the slave or by physically assault, it is significant that Thistlewood used coercion and threats, backed up by slaves like Sally who had been made an example, to maintain his authority. Also highly significant was the way in which Thistlewood recorded these punishments in his journal with as much offhandedness as what crops had been planted, or what routine the slaves had followed that day. All of these entries were routine: quite simply, they were products of the same system.

Sex, on the other hand, seemed to be a celebrated break in Thistlewood's routine. In his sexual relationships, Thistlewood learned how to cajole with gifts and privileges. Even Thistlewood's journal reflected this difference. He faithfully recorded every sexual encounter, as he faithfully recorded all other transactions, routines, and events in his life, but there was a difference. Thistlewood used an inverted triangle of x's as a way of setting off each record of a sexual encounter. Further, he often coded the details of each encounter in a sort of dog-Latin. He recorded who his sexual partner had been, who her owner was if she was not his slave, and very often the location and time of day, either as A.M. or P.M., of their encounter. Thistlewood might also have included how much money he had given each woman for her "services". On occasion, cryptic phrases gave more details.

Throughout his years on Jamaica, it is obvious that Thistlewood had engaged in a great number of sexual encounters. In fact, his promiscuity led to his acquiring more than one form of venereal disease. However, it is perhaps more than coincidental that on the same day Thistlewood remarked that he hadn't seen a white man in over a fortnight, he began to sleep with his slaves.[67] Thistlewood then began a practice that he would continue throughout his life.

Marina, "a Congow", was Thistlewood's first and favorite sexual partner while at The Vineyard. In return for her favors, he gave her clothes, trinkets, and money.[68] Before he left The Vineyard, Thistlewood even paid the slave carpenter there and Mulatto Dick to build a house for his favored Marina. Additionally, he supplied her

with rum, sugar, beef, and pepper pot so that she could host a house-warming party for her friends.[69]

Monogamy, however, was not in Thistlewood's sexual vocabulary. In fact, while Marina was Thistlewood's favorite, he did not limit his attentions to her. Thistlewood was sexually involved with other slave women at the same time, and sexual intimacy was not always a guarantee of prosperity or good will. Juba, for instance, was a creole house servant who had sexual relations with Thistlewood. She was whipped, nevertheless, for stealing corn and was later put out into the fields for "persistent lying and slackness."[70]

All told, Thistlewood had sexual relations with eleven of the eighteen slave women under his control and with two women from other estates while he was at The Vineyard.[71] The locations of these encounters were not confined to his house or even the nearby outbuildings of The Vineyard. Instead, they spilled over to the open fields of the slave huts themselves.[72] This pattern also appears to have continued in his encounters at Breadnut Island Pen.[73] Apparently, Thistlewood did not use force in any of these sexual encounters. While he did direct most of his attentions towards the "unattached" Vineyard slave women, however, Thistlewood's selectiveness did not eliminate or even lessen the sexual tensions and jealousies of The Vineyard's male slaves.[74]

While at Egypt Plantation, Thistlewood again had sexual relations with a number of slave women. Again, he had his favorites. Jenny, one of these women, seemed to have been connected with Thistlewood's contraction of a bad combination

of venereal diseases. As a result, Thistlewood was forced to take four months sick leave from Egypt.[75]

In July 1753, however, during his second year at Egypt, Thistlewood began to have sex with a housemaid named Phibbah.[76] The fact that Thistlewood had known Phibbah since 1752 when he had suspected her of being involved in a plot to murder him, in the end, made little difference.[77] Phibbah became Thistlewood's last "favorite". Together, they conceived one stillborn child and one son, "Mulatto John", and, for all intents and purposes, Thistlewood came to see Phibbah as his "wife".[78]

However, Phibbah was not his legal wife. He did not even own her. So, when Thistlewood left Egypt for Breadnut Island Pen in September 1767, Phibbah had to remain behind. During this period of separation, Phibbah often came to the pen in the evening, spent the night with Thistlewood, and left again for Egypt early the next morning. Each time, Thistlewood carefully noted when Phibbah came and when she left. He wrote, "About 5 this morning, Phibbah went away", and "About 8 this Evening Phib Came."[79] Seemingly, these notations were made more out of a sense of loss and gain than as a planter tracking a slave's time.

Finally, on November 9, 1767, Thistlewood recorded a transaction that would mean an important change in their living arrangement. Thistlewood wrote that, "Mr. Cope [Phibbah's owner and Thistlewood's former boss] Condescended to hire me Phib at £18 per annum: to go to my place next Monday.[80] They would then live together until Thistlewood's death in 1786.[81] Thistlewood was eventually able to

purchase Phibbah from Cope. On his death, Thistlewood's will granted Phibbah her freedom and a substantial bequest as well.[82]

Whatever the real relationship between Thistlewood and Phibbah, it was not monogamous. In the last four months of 1767 alone, Thistlewood recorded that he had had sex with seven women other than Phibbah on nine separate occasions. This pattern continued even after Phibbah had moved to the pen.[83] During the first twelve months on his estate, Thistlewood noted that he had had sex with ten women other than Phibbah on at least twenty-five occasions.[84]

Thistlewood had sex with one woman, Frombe, on the same day that he had had sex with Phibbah.[85] He also had sex on more than one occasion with Mirtilla, a woman who often delivered gifts between Thistlewood and Phibbah while Phib still lived at Egypt. On one occasion Thistlewood wrote of an encounter with a slave woman who was making a delivery of rice. "A.M. Cum Abigail, belonging to Mrs. Baley...in Mr. Say's land, over against my Negroe ground...gave her 4 bitts and for [the] rice a bitt.[86] In another case, Thistlewood noted, almost offhandedly, that one of his sexual encounters took place on Phibbah's land. "A.M. Cum Clara /from Egypt/ sup ter in the westernmost Rock hole, in the Negroe gd. /Phib. ground/ gave ditto: a bitt."[87]

Interestingly enough, Thistlewood also recorded the number of times that he had had sex with Phibbah, but he was often less informative about location and details. "In the morning" or "At Night" replaced the A.M. or P.M. designations of his encounters with the other slaves and suggested that Thistlewood and Phibbah shared

the more intimate act of sleeping together, as well as that of having sex. Thistlewood did keep track of the numbers, however. At the end of the year, along with all of the other accounts and totals, along with the number of bitts acquired selling sugar beans or Indian kale, Thistlewood stated, "At Night Cum Phibbah: equals 87 times this last year."[88]

While it was clear that Thistlewood was never monogamous, it became equally clear that he was more permanently attached to Phibbah than he had been, or ever would be, to any other woman--black or white. They shared a son, and, even though Phibbah was black and a slave, they worked together and came to share some of the responsibilities of running his estate. It was even quite possible that Thistlewood and Phibbah shared a loving and somewhat committed relationship within the boundaries of a slave society.

CHAPTER II

PHIBBAH:
THE MISTRESS

The Jamaican meaning of the terms "mistress" and "housekeeper" came to be synonymous over time.[89] On the estates where there was no white woman in power, such as the wife or daughter of the resident owner, the female "housekeeper" or "mistress" was most often in charge of the domestic affairs for the overseer or owner.[90] Often, in addition to their "housekeeping" services, these slave women were expected to fulfill a sexual role.[91] Most of these domestics were of mixed black and white ancestry and so were referred to as creoles, coloreds, or mulattoes.

While their close proximity to the white masters gave them little room for some of the personal independence that the field slaves enjoyed, the domestic slaves, like Thistlewood's Phibbah, were understood to hold the highest position in the slave hierarchy.[92] The domestics' labor was less strenuous and their food, clothing, and material well-being were often better as well. Additionally, the favored domestics, the "mistresses" or "housekeepers," possessed real, though unofficial, authority and were considered to be "very useful in overlooking the others in their master's absence."[93] Finally, for those women domestics who were also the owner's mistresses, the chances of manumission for themselves and their children were appreciably

greater.[94] This scenario was certainly true for Phibbah, Thistlewood's housekeeper and mistress.

Over time, Phibbah earned a certain amount of Thistlewood's trust. This trust allowed her mobility and, together with her own skills, earned her a degree of economic independence.[95] Phibbah's sewing skills, used to make clothing for both the slaves and white men, and industriousness continued to earn her money throughout her time at Egypt and Breadnut Island Pen.[96]

Eventually, Phibbah acquired more than one plot of ground, and the produce grown on her land brought her more money.[97] By the time Phibbah moved to Breadnut Island Pen, she owned at least one horse, a sow and four pigs, fowl, and probably at least one cat.[98] In fact, she owned so much that when she did move to the pen, Thistlewood sent his bateau to Egypt, along with Lincoln and Pompey, to bring home the "many things belonging [to] her."[99] She had money in pounds sterling, and it is quite possible that Phibbah even owned her own slave.[100]

Most of Phibbah's possessions seemed to be in direct contrast to the Jamaican slave codes of the time. These slave codes, at least those enacted between 1655 and 1788, "were largely confused, vague, in parts, [and] even contradictory."[101] As such, the laws were often ignored in practice. For example, until 1826, it was technically illegal for a slave to own any property, but most white masters, by custom, turned a blind eye to the average slave's few belongings.[102] Some basic supplies, such as salted herrings or salted meat, clothing, cooking pots, and the tools used in the slaves' daily labors, were given to the slaves by their white masters.[103] The slaves with the most

prestigious positions or those favored by the owners, were often given extra portions or even better quality provisions.[104] For instance, on Christmas Day, 1767, Thistlewood "gave Cumberland, Lincoln, and Abba each a bottle of Rum and the rest [of the slaves] 3 bottles amongst them.[105] Cumberland, Lincoln, and Abba were three of the most skilled or valuable slaves on Thistlewood's estate.

Other supplies or provisions were sometimes stolen from the masters by the slaves. Although an estate owner obviously was displeased with a slave who stole from him, the certainty of its occurrence was usually accepted as a part of the system. The white masters at least recognized the slave's rationalization for this thievery. The whites realized that, for the slaves, "To pilfer from their masters they consider as no crime, though to rob a fellow-slave is accounted heinous...[because] 'What I take from my master, being for my use, who am his slave, or property, he loses nothing by its transfer.[106]

The slaves were also allowed to keep the produce from the provisioning grounds they worked and the profits from the handicrafts they produced on their own time. A few slaves even owned their own poultry or hogs, and all of these possessions were generally accepted.[107] Further, even though the Jamaican slave codes were very specific in their prohibition of any slave's ownership of horses, mules, cattle, fresh meat, and firearms, these laws were often largely ignored, except in the cases of horses and firearms which represented mobility and power.[108] In his journal, Thistlewood referred to "Rachael's Cow" and "dick's Steer" and even allowed Lincoln to keep a Cuba Teal he had shot with Thistlewood's gun.[109] Additionally,

Thistlewood often sent Phibbah fresh fowl during their separation.[110] Even though Phibbah's holdings went far beyond that of the average slave, even to the point of owning her own horse, all of her illegal possessions were also ignored by Thistlewood.

Further, throughout the English Caribbean, coins were difficult to come by and rum or sugar were often used in place of hard money. John Stewart, in his *Account of Jamaica*, first published in 1808, found that "The want of specie is here [on Jamaica] a very serious evil."[111] Edward Long, another contemporary, noted that the slaves had "the greater part of the small silver circulating among them."[112] Phibbah seemed to be no exception, and Thistlewood constantly borrowed money from her. On one occasion he wrote that Phibbah gave him "£7:8:g as a present" and on another he received "£1:6:3 in Silver."[113]

Finally, if Phibbah did own her own slave, then she truly was one of the slave elite.[114] Again, although the practice of slaves owning slaves was technically illegal and so not encouraged, it was also at times overlooked. In the end, the slave codes were probably ineffective because they were written as *ad hoc* solutions to what had already been established by custom.[115] Certainly, Thistlewood and his contemporaries were not ignorant of these laws. As a juror and a plaintiff, as well as a fairly well-read man who interacted quite frequently with other informed, influential men, Thistlewood would have known these laws.[116] Yet he and others chose to ignore them when it was convenient.

The estates these men ran were communities, ruled by force, fear, and even at times by brutality, but they were communities of a sort nonetheless. Exceptions were made and sometimes lines were crossed in order to keep the necessary balance which involved both the compromises and the alienation Thistlewood first encountered at The Vineyard.

Phibbah, shared a certain amount of "unofficial" power and authority with Thistlewood on Breadnut Island Pen. Their intimate relationship, as well as Phibbah's physical move to the pen, allowed her to become Thistlewood's confidant. Socially, Thistlewood treated Phibbah differently from his other slaves. After a visitor from Paradise Estate had come to "dine" with Phibbah and Thistlewood, Thistlewood noted in his journal that, "P.M. We walked about etc....at Night Cum Phib."[117] This unusual comment by Thistlewood seemed more reflective of courtship and companionship than exercise or inspection of his estate. Later in the year, Thistlewood remarked, "Phibbah and me Sat up till past 10 O'Clock, to see the Mars...through my...Telescope."[118] Thistlewood did not share his interests with any other slaves. His beloved telescope was special, as it seems was this late night rendezvous.

Phibbah was also involved in running the estate. Thistlewood conferred with Phibbah in some of his decision-making at the pen.[119] Further, because she was recognized as his "official" mistress and the mother of his child, Phibbah had a certain amount of power of her own. Even before Phibbah moved to the pen, she sent slaves to and from Breadnut Island Pen on her personal errands.[120] While at the

pen, Phibbah had the same power. Thistlewood noted specifically when "Phibbah sent Sally...forenoon to Sav[annah] la Mar for a bitts worth of Bread."[121] On another occasion, Thistlewood recorded the purchase of butter for the estate, something he normally did, "For Butter 10 bitts, but Phib[bah] paid for it."[122] This transaction was taken as an acceptable if not ordinary extension of their relationship by Thistlewood, but their relationship, and their exchange system, seems unusual.

Phibbah and Thistlewood shared many things and were dependent on one another for various needs. They had a family and they shared its responsibilities. Phibbah and Thistlewood gave each other gifts and supplemented each other's basic possessions. Phibbah was a slave and Thistlewood was her master, so there was never any real equality in idea or fact. However, what they did share was deeper and more complex than a common exchange of goods.

During Phibbah's and Thistlewood's separation in September, October, and early November 1767, the exchange of good was especially apparent because of Thistlewood's meticulous account of what came into and went out of the pen. Hardly a day went by, sometimes less than a day, without Thistlewood recording something that Phibbah brought or sent to him. She might have sent him a pumpkin, some alligator pears, a pineapple, a bitt's worth of bread or butter.[123] Less frequently, though still consistently, Thistlewood recorded, "Sent to Phib at Egypt, by Sally, 4 capons and some...fish."[124] Again, some direct exchanges were obvious. "Phib sent me 8 Crabbs: I sent her a roast Teal."[125] Occasionally, a more personal note was included along with the details of the exchange. "Hear Ph[ibbah] has got the

toothache badly, she sent me a yam by Damsel and 5 Crabbs. I sent her some Indian Kale."[126]

Some of Phibbah's more menial tasks were taken care of by Thistlewood's other slaves. He had others weed Phibbah's ground.[127] On separate occasions, Thistlewood sent Lincoln to pick up Phibbah's horse, her pigs and, together with Pompey, her other belongings at Egypt. [128]

Further, Phibbah acted as intermediary or arbitrator in a dispute between some of the other slaves. Thistlewood did not question Phibbah's account.[129] Phibbah also had the prestige to act as Thistlewood's emissary and surrogate in certain cases involving the other slaves. Thistlewood stated matter-of-factly that "Phibbah went to Egypt to examine into Silvia's Conduct in regard to the Stock".[130] Even in economic dealings strictly between Thistlewood and Phibbah, Phibbah seemed to be allowed to use her own judgment and her honesty was not questioned. While Thistlewood carefully recorded, with some amount of disgust, the fact that Lincoln had only brought in six of the seven Cuba teal that he had shot, Thistlewood did not question Phibbah's integrity.[131] "Phibbah gave me £6 for [cloth] etc. She sold of mine having...Saved away Cloathing [for] herself."[132]

Phibbah also had a great amount of mobility, a sign of power in itself. While Thistlewood noted the tickets, or slave passes, he gave to other slaves, Phibbah seemed to come and go of her own accord.[133] She traveled back and forth to Egypt and even to Savannah la Mar to visit with Mrs. Sarah Bennett, a white woman and

the mistress of Paradise Pen, the estate where her son Mulatto John boarded while away at school.[134]

Additionally, Phibbah had several visitors who came to the pen specifically to see her. Some visitors came purely for social reasons, others came to sew with Phib.[135] As acknowledgement of her position, Mrs. Bennett's husband, Samuel, sent Phibbah, not Thistlewood, some corn.[136] Although not legitimate acknowledgement of Phibbah's position, Phibbah's exchanges with the Bennetts, both socially and materially, seems to suggest acknowledgement of Phibbah's "unofficial" position of authority.

If Phibbah had so much money, power, and authority for a slave, if she owned a horse, another slave, and had access to money, why did she not buy her own freedom or that of her son? No definite answer will ever be found. Only Thistlewood kept a journal, and only through his eyes can Phibbah be seen. Even though Phibbah was one of the more privileged slaves, she was like most other slaves in that she did not keep her own written account of her life. It might have been possible for Phibbah to have bought her own freedom. Strangely enough, it is likely that for economic reasons, slaves like Phib "preferred to remain technically enslaved to their white masters."[137] Perhaps the known way of life with Thistlewood was preferable to life on her own in a slave society. Thistlewood treated Phibbah and their son as well as a slave mistress could expect. Phibbah's material needs were met. She was allowed a good deal of freedom and given responsibilities. She was also given a certain amount of status as well as Thistlewood's protection, which was

not unimportant. Without some amount of protection, a black man or woman's "freedom" could be useless in eighteenth-century Jamaica. For whatever reason or combination of reasons, Phibbah did not buy freedom from either Cope or Thistlewood. Like other slave mistresses, however, she was manumitted in her owner's will. Phibbah had played a valued role in Thistlewood's life, and in return, when he was no longer around, she was given her freedom. In the end, the power and the customs of the white masters played a part in Phibbah's freedom. While affection may have been a factor, fairness played no part.

CHAPTER III

PHIBBAH AND MULATTO JOHN: THE ILLEGITIMATE FAMILY

Strong religious and moral influences were lacking on the island of Jamaica throughout the colonial period and are often blamed for the breakup of the institutions of marriage and family on the island.[138] The scarcity of white, single women added to the problem. Further, even if a white man, not of the planter class, was fortunate enough to marry one of these women, he would be less likely to secure employment on some of the island's estates. The families of these white men were seen as encumbrances by the employers.[139]

A marriage between a white man and a black woman was, with very few exceptions, unthinkable. At the very least, such a marriage placed "an indeniable stain on the character of a white man."[140] A few couples accepted those terms, the majority seemed to chose a non-legal form of cohabitation.[141] Still, the very fact that any marriages between blacks and whites occurred seems to suggest " that the 'apartheid' system was not, perhaps, as rigidly applied at this important personal level as the stereotype of the situation would lead one to expect."[142] So, while there appears to have been a difference between the stereotypical expectations and the

possible realities of a few, legal marriages between blacks and whites in eighteenth-century Jamaica were, for most, simply out of the question.[143]

Nevertheless, according to one slaveholder, who lived in Jamaica between 1759 and 1774, "It was the greatest disgrace for a white man not to cohabit with some woman or other."[144] Into this void stepped the slave mistress. In fact, these slave women were credited with having helped to form both "a cultural and genetic bridge between the slave quarters and the white men's compound."[145]

Throughout the island, the sexual relationships between black women and white men contributed to the integration of the Jamaican society as a whole. Thistlewood's sexual intimacies with his female slaves, and with Phibbah in particular, worked to break down some of the barriers between a white master and his black slaves. Through these sexual relationships and intimacies Thistlewood came to know and understand his slaves and they him. Thistlewood not only fathered a child in one of these relationships, but he then actually assumed the role of father. He was not alone among his contemporaries.

In fact, one of the unavoidable realities of the sexual relationships between masters and slaves was the children. Part black, part white, they were both a problem for, and a bridge between the two colors of the island's social, political, and economic superstructure.[146] The very existence of these children played havoc with the work and social divisions set up to organize the island.[147] Conversely, they also formed a kind of "social cement" which, for good or bad, bound blacks and whites together.[148]

The children who were born because of these relationships came to make up the "colored middle class" which functioned between the world of the white master and the world of the common black slave.[149] These children of the white men and slave women were often given the more prestigious jobs on the estates as domestics and craftsmen.[150] Over time, these three groups were said to be held together, not only by an interdependence, but by a strange mixture of "fear, hatred, sex, grudging respect, and occasional affection."[151]

True affection, if only seen occasionally between white fathers and mulatto children, was certainly seen in the relationship between Thistlewood and his son, Mulatto John. However, if a contemporary of Thistlewood's was correct, affection between white fathers and their illegitimate slave children was more common between the wealthy white men and their mulatto children than might be suspected. According to John Stewart, who was both distressed and indignant, the white Jamaicans' "spurious issue he doats on with as parental a fondness as if they were the offspring of a more virtuous and tender union...This is the way in which nine-tenths of the male inhabitants of Jamaica live."[152]

While it was true that most of the "colored" or "mulatto" children on the estates who remained working slaves were provided with the high-status jobs, the girls became domestics and the boys craftsmen, a few of the more fortunate children were freed from work and given an education.[153] An education in Jamaica was no common occurrence. One of the greatest voids identified in eighteenth- century Jamaica by both contemporaries and later scholars was the absence of public

schools.[154] The wealthy Jamaicans, along with their mainland colonial counterparts, were able to send their children to England for a "proper" education.[155] Some wealthy Jamaicans even sent their mulatto children to England for such a purpose.[156]

For the children who remained on the island, however, an education was more difficult to obtain. Not until 1807 was the Jamaican Free School Bill passed. Until then, education had been viewed as a "private," not a "state," affair, and as such only those who could afford the price of a private tutor or the tuition for a private school were allowed an education.[157] Even as late as 1828, thirteen out of twenty-one parishes were without public schools because the funds were so slow in coming from the government.[158] Private schooling, for those who could afford it, was still available.[159]

While the free children of color "had very little share in the island's public and charitable education system," at any time, they were not admitted to most schools until 1815. The colored children who had white fathers with money and were willing to help were sometimes more fortunate in securing an education.[160] This situation was certainly the case for Thistlewood's son, John.

Mulatto John, born in 1760 and a young boy at the time of Thistlewood's move to Breadnut Island Pen, was sent to Savannah la Mar to receive an education at Thistlewood's expense.[161] John boarded in Savannah la Mar with Mr. Samuel Bennett and was instructed by a schoolmaster, Mr. Daniel Hughes. Thistlewood recorded payments to both in pounds and in tradable items such as fresh fowl and produce. He did so very matter-of-factly as he recorded his other business

transactions. Thistlewood never hinted of any displeasure at the expense of John's schooling, nor did he seem to send John away to appease some kind of guilty conscience.[162] Thistlewood seemed to have a real affection for his son. A tangible sign of that affection was the education that he provided for him. Not only did Thistlewood pay for John's education, but by sending him to school he also excused John from any slave labor. This freedom was no small gift.

Thistlewood paid for other little "fatherly" things as well. Very often, when John was home for a visit, Thistlewood slipped his son a bitt or two along with an occasional book to help with John's education.[163] Thistlewood sent John a present "to give his Schoolmaster at Breaking up for Christmas."[164] He gave eight yards of cloth to a slave woman, as a father would pay a part-time nanny, with appreciation because "She looks after John, a good deal."[165] Thistlewood had Cumberland, his hired slave carpenter, build a bed stead for John.[166] Earlier, he had given Phibbah the material to make John a mattress as well as four of his own pillow cases.[167] Thistlewood even mentioned John sleeping in his house on his visit home.[168]

Thistlewood made sure that John came "home" to his estate for different weekends, holidays such as Christmas and Easter, and just "to see his Momma."[169] In all probability, John's visits were also arranged to see his father as well. Further, Thistlewood made sure that John was escorted, usually by his personal slave Jimmy, whenever he traveled back and forth to school. Very often Thistlewood noted that his son was given the use, the luxury, of a horse.[170] John's use of Thistlewood's horse, like Phibbah's ownership of a horse, was a sign of prestige.[171]

Prestige for himself and Mulatto John was something that Thistlewood desired. Thistlewood made a point of citing the example of another white man and his educated and genteel mulatto children, who he said "live all together in great harmony."[172] Another sign of this prestige was mobility, and Mulatto John, like his mother, seemed to enjoy a fair amount. Like Phibbah, John had friends whom he visited and those who came to visit him.[173] Thistlewood noted in a rather fatherly fashion that "This morning Billy...come to the penn to see John but he is not come home this week."[174] Billy, apparently a schoolmate of John's, did come home with John one weekend to spend the night with his friend.[175]

Thistlewood was also concerned about his son's health.[176] In fact, his concern for his son could have been influenced by the rather numerous sicknesses and deaths that Thistlewood observed around him. During his first twelve months at the pen, September 1767 through August 1768, Thistlewood recorded at least twenty-five different entries describing the illnesses of his slaves.[177] At least five of those entries involved more than one slave and some listed as many as eight.[178] Four other journal entries related the sicknesses of Thistlewood's friends and acquaintances.[179] Thistlewood made no fewer than nineteen entries which reported his own ill health.[180] These illnesses involved everything from colds and fevers to stomachaches, toothaches, sore backs and legs, venereal diseases and one "illness" due to a pregnancy. These ailments were all treated, if they were treated, by a generic cure-all known as a "ward's pill," a vomit, a bleeding or by some combination of these remedies.[181]

Then there was the deadly smallpox. Thistlewood recorded seven cases during his first year at the pen.[182] At least three of the twenty-eight deaths that Thistlewood noted were due to smallpox.[183] Two of the people who had died of smallpox had even been inoculated against it.[184] For obvious reasons, smallpox was greatly feared. Thistlewood even mentioned that Peggy, one of his slaves who had contracted smallpox and had been moved to a specially built hut, after suffering for a week was "much afraid of dying...but I hope not [in] much danger [of that]."[185] Thistlewood did not seem as concerned with his possible economic loss as he seemed moved by a common fear. Interestingly enough, only two births were noted by Thistlewood that same year.[186]

Thistlewood's concern for his son's health led him to have John inoculated against smallpox. Even with the questionable and controversial results of the inoculation, as well as the prejudices against vaccinations in general, at least it provided a chance.[187] Thistlewood had John brought home from school and then sent to Paradise Estate where Dr. Pugh inoculated him on January 10, 1768.[188] For this service, Thistlewood paid Dr. Pugh £4:10:0.[189] Twenty-one days later, Thistlewood wrote, "little Mulatto John...now seems to be going to have the Small Pox."[190] On February 20th, John was reported "well of the Small Pox", and nine days later he was sent back to school.[191]

Although Mulatto John survived his encounter with smallpox, his father's fears for his health were justified. In 1780, at the age of twenty, Mulatto John died.[192] He predeceased both his mother and father.[193] Mulatto John may have been freed as

early as 1763. However, if he was not freed then, in all likelihood, he would have been manumitted as his mother had been in his father's will. According to the statistics, "Miscegenation was not only the most obvious route to a relatively easy life [for both the slave mother and child] but also, in a few cases, to manumission."[194] Additionally, John would probably have shared in his father's estate, as had other illegitimate mulatto children of white fathers with some wealth.[195]

Thistlewood had shown too much interest and affection for John not to have provided for him at Thistlewood's death. All along, Thistlewood had done what he could for his son. He was concerned for his health and he saw to his education. He even slipped his son spending money. Thistlewood spent time, attention, money, and even affection on John. While it may have been true of the larger picture that "miscegenation was tainted by privilege, not dignified by love," Thistlewood seemed to have loved John as a father loves a son.[196] Thistlewood was probably not the only exception.

While no legal definition of "family" could be applied to the relationship of Thistlewood, Phibbah and Mulatto John--their only legal tie was that of slaves to their master--they were still a family. While they lived together, Phibbah and Thistlewood shared a very intense personal as well as sexual relationship. They shared many things and were dependent on one another for various needs. They had a son and they shared the responsibilities of raising him. Thistlewood did what he could financially for John, but there was a personal aspect evident in Thistlewood's journal as well. Thistlewood gave John and Phibbah material things, but he also

gave them freedom from monotonous, back-breaking physical labor, as much freedom of movement as he could, his house to live in, and his protection as well. Phibbah and Mulatto John were Thistlewood's family, and he seemed genuinely to care for them. Phibbah and Mulatto John were slaves and Thistlewood was the master, and while there was never any pretense of equality between them, these three people did live, love, and share their lives together--whether it was legal or not.

CHAPTER IV

ABBA:
A DOMESTIC

Twenty-seven of Thistlewood's slaves, six of whom were probably children, lived on Breadnut Island Pen for most of his first year there.[197] Also at the pen were slaves whom Thistlewood had hired from other estates to fulfill specific vacancies in his own labor force. Each of these slaves, by virtue of the jobs they performed, fell into one slot or other of the basic threefold division of the Jamaican slave hierarchy: domestics, skilled slaves, and field slaves.[198] Obviously, there were subdivisions. Thistlewood owned or employed slaves from each of the divisions in order to run his provisioning estate.

Jamaica, notorious for its huge slave population, was equally notorious for an unusually large percentage of domestic slaves.[199] Thistlewood's small provisioning estate had its domestics, too. Phibbah, after she moved to the pen from Egypt, was technically still a domestic slave. She did continue to sew for Thistlewood and for others off the estate. However, she probably did not perform the more mundane tasks of cleaning, cooking, or washing by herself, if she performed them at all. Instead, Phibbah probably oversaw the other slave or slaves who performed those duties. Abba was probably one such slave.

Thistlewood did not often mention Abba in his journal. When he did it was clear that she, as was true of domestics in general, was a valued slave. Thistlewood had purchased Abba in 1758, so she and her three children were listed along with his other twenty-three estate slaves.[200] As it was not uncommon for domestics, like Phibbah, to be hired out by the year or for a shorter period of time, it was no surprise that Thistlewood also mentioned some payment "for Abba's wages".[201] Typically, Thistlewood had hired her out to another planter and was paid for her services.[202]

Abba's responsibilities at Breadnut Island Pen were obvious because of the equipment that Thistlewood provided for her. Abba was given "a large New Wash tub marked T, two new pails, a wodden board or bowl[?] and four calabashers."[203] The ironing table, made by the slave carpenter, was probably also made for Abba's use as Thistlewood once noted that "Silvia [was] here to day [from Egypt], learning of abba to Iron Cloaths."[204]

Unlike Phibbah, or some of the other slave women on the estate, Abba did not seem to have been involved in a sexual relationship with Thistlewood. While domestics were often the objects of the master's sexual attentions, Thistlewood made no mention of any sexual encounter with Abba during his first year at the pen. As Thistlewood seemed to have been obsessed with recording every sexual relationship, it seems unlikely that he would have excluded details of this relationship if one had existed.

Still, Abba was given special rewards. Thistlewood noted, "Gave abba a pint of Rum, She having begged hard for a little."[205] No similar request was either mentioned or seemingly granted by Thistlewood. Similarly, Abba was the only woman who was given her own bottle of rum at Christmas.[206]

Several references were made by Thistlewood to "Abba's house". In fact, hers was the only house, besides Thistlewood's, to be specifically mentioned in his journal that year. Cumberland, the slave carpenter, along with the field slaves spent a good deal of time both collecting the materials and then actually boarding and thatching Abba's house.[207] Further, Thistlewood mentioned Abba as one of Phibbah's reliable sources in a dispute between the slaves and as one of the slaves included in a discussion of one of Thistlewood's discoveries on the estate.[208] Abba was also noted as one of the few slaves who conducted business off the estate "at the Bay".[209]

Of further significance was that not once during the first twelve months at the pen did Thistlewood mention any form of punishment for Abba. Apparently, Abba had performed her tasks to Thistlewood's satisfaction. She, unlike most of Thistlewood's slaves, gave him little if any trouble. At least for the first year at the pen, Abba seemed to exhibit no outward signs of resistance to her life as a slave, and while not compensated for her diligence, she did benefit, to a small degree, from Thistlewood's reward system.

CHAPTER V

DAMSEL:
TO MARKET

Damsel was another of Thistlewood's slaves whose work provided her with some advantages unknown to the common field slave. She, too, was a domestic, but her primary responsibility was the sale of Thistlewood's produce in the market at Savannah la Mar and with other estates. While Damsel probably did share in the additional provisions given to the domestics or the craftsmen, her work for Thistlewood also gave her mobility, some independence from Thistlewood's supervision, and connections in the marketplace.

Much of the produce and wild game that Thistlewood sold or traded was arranged between estates by verbal or written requests for specific items.[210] Damsel was one of Thistlewood's slaves who completed these transactions.[211] Most of the time she simply traded the produce or fowl. Occasionally, she carried Thistlewood's personal correspondence or other items such as his gun lock which needed to be taken to Mr. Hayward's for repair.[212] Damsel also carried goods back and forth between Phibbah and Thistlewood before Phibbah moved to the pen in late November.[213] Primarily, however, she was Thistlewood's connection to the more

formal marketplace in Savannah la Mar. As such, Damsel had to have been a trusted slave.

Slave women on the island were the chief higglers or marketeers, and Damsel was trusted to haggle for the highest prices for Thistlewood's fruits and vegetables, eggs and wild fowl.[214] She was also trusted to bring all of the money earned back to Thistlewood. In return, Thistlewood, while he carefully recorded the money that she gave him, did not seem to question the amount received. Very matter-of-factly he wrote, "damsel sold at Sav[annah] la Mar for me, 14 Eggs 2 bitts, Indian Kale 2 bitts, Cabbage & Savoys 3 bitts makes 7 bitts & equals 89 bitts in all."[215] Wherever Damsel went for Thistlewood, she was trusted with goods, money, and her own mobility.

Other than Phibbah, Damsel probably had more freedom of movement than did any other slave on Thistlewood's estate. She traded frequently between estates and back and forth into Savannah la Mar, a fair-sized town by eighteenth-century Jamaican standards. Because of her mobility, Damsel was also very often independent of white supervision. In some ways, Damsel's work provided her with more daily independence than did that of either Thistlewood's driver or his hired slave carpenter, and she certainly had less supervision than Abba. Freedom of movement and lack of supervision could have been a dangerous combination for a slave to possess. Again, Thistlewood must have trusted Damsel and she must have proven herself to be reliable, because nowhere in his journal for the first year at the pen did Thistlewood mention any form of punishment for Damsel.

Significantly, no mention was made of any sexual encounters between them either. Damsel, then, was probably one of only about three of Thistlewood's slave women who were not sexually involved with him.[216] So, while Thistlewood never specifically mentioned any extra provisions or material rewards for Damsel, her work did allow her freedoms which the other slaves did not enjoy. She had a certain amount of freedom of movement, freedom from supervision, and, apparently, freedom from Thistlewood's sexual attentions.

Damsel enjoyed one other benefit from her job. Through her connections at the market in town, she had the opportunity to make money for herself. If she was industrious and enterprising, she could have purchased her own "rewards". Since Thistlewood did not record any of Damsel's personal transactions or possessions, it would be impossible to know what she acquired for herself at the market. However, with the number of slaves who were known to have used the public markets for personal gains, it would be foolish to discount the possibility of Damsel's personal involvement.

Damsel could have been like many other slaves who, in addition to buying and selling goods for their masters at the markets, bought and sold their own goods.[217] At the public markets many industrious slaves sold the excess produce they had grown on their provisioning grounds. They could then keep their earnings or spend whatever part they chose on other provisions, such as salted beef or fish, which might not otherwise be available to them.[218] They could also choose from a wide variety of fresh fruits and vegetables. Pigs, goats, and chickens, tobacco, rum, and even

sugar, some of it stolen, was available as well.[219] Even items given to the slaves by their masters as part of their allowances, such as cooking pots, herrings, or corn, were for sale.[220]

The markets where the slaves traded were located not only in the towns but in rural areas as well. Small villages, ports, larger estates and even mere cross-roads served to unite buyers and sellers.[221] The markets in the larger towns, however, attracted many slaves, some of whom had traveled up to twenty-five miles to trade their goods.[222] Slaves, who traded seriously in the markets between 1758 and 1774, were estimated to earn an average of four bitts a week.[223] Potential earnings continued to rise throughout the eighteenth century.[224] These markets throughout the island, though eventually slave dominated, had already come to be an essential element in Jamaica's domestic economy as a whole.[225]

While the markets were important to the economy of the island both for the blacks as well as the whites, the Sunday markets were also important to the blacks for social reasons.[226] Here the slaves could mingle, gossip, and flirt. Slaves met slaves from other plantations. They saw relatives and old friends. The social element, the human interactions in the marketplaces, must have been very alluring and exciting for those involved.

Damsel's work for Thistlewood exposed her to all of the economic and social opportunities of the marketplace. Involved in more than just the Sunday markets, she bartered and traded for Thistlewood throughout each week, and her connections were widespread. In theory, Damsel's potential for interaction, socially as well as

economically, was great. The specifics of the actual material or social benefits she acquired will probably never be known, but her freedom of mobility which allowed her access to these other benefits was probably carefully protected. Damsel had obviously earned Thistlewood's trust, and it was to her advantage, as one of the more privileged estate slaves, to keep it.

CHAPTER VI

LINCOLN: THE DRIVER

Lincoln was a slave specialist on Thistlewood's estate. Primarily the driver, the hunter, and for awhile, the fisherman on Breadnut Island Pen, Lincoln too shared in the special privileges reserved for the slave elite. Lincoln, however, was owned by Thistlewood and thus commanded a higher status in the slave hierarchy of the pen than would be true of other specialists, like Cumberland, that Thistlewood hired.

As a part of the small provisioning estate, Lincoln was given various tasks to perform which were outside the realm of his normal duties. He was set to work manning the bateau, transporting things for Phibbah, taking Mulatto John for his small pox inoculation, and picking up Thistlewood's new windsor chairs from Savannah la Mar. Lincoln also carried messages for Thistlewood, returned runaway slaves, built a dam, and retrieved a submerged canoe.[227] Again, like Cumberland, his routine was diversified and much of his work was done independently of his white master.

Lincoln was most often mentioned in Thistlewood's journal because of his job as the estate's hunter. From September through August, except when Lincoln was hired off the estate or ill, Thistlewood recorded almost daily the various wild fowl

that Lincoln had shot.[228] Cuba teal, red-headed coots, white belly'd ducks, grey ducks, and divers were the most common types of birds that Lincoln brought to Thistlewood.[229] Lincoln shot at least two and as many eleven wild birds in a day.[230] Slave hunters were said to be "in general excellent marksmen at a standing shot, their eye quick, and sight so clear, that they seldom miss...[even though] their vision...is the worst possible for the regular position of anything."[231] Exaggeration and prejudices aside, Lincoln's abilities were not questioned. The wild birds that Lincoln shot could then be sold or traded by Thistlewood, for whom they were undoubtedly a good source of income.[232]

Lincoln almost always hunted by himself on the estate.[233] Once in a while he hunted on Egypt.[234] Thistlewood also hunted wild fowl and occasionally went with Lincoln.[235] However, much of the time that Lincoln spent hunting, he spent alone.

Lincoln's and Thistlewood's relationship was not without its clashes, however. Lincoln, like Cumberland, showed signs of rebelliousness. Thistlewood noted when Lincoln kept for himself one of the birds that he was supposed to turn over to Thistlewood.[236] In addition to the sale of produce from the slaves own provisioning grounds, it was not unheard of in eighteenth-century Jamaica for slaves "to support themselves...by fishing, collecting and selling wood, grass, &c and such as are tradesmen, by the sale of various articles which they make."[237] Lincoln, too, might have profited from this system.

Lincoln's work as the estate fisherman also had been conducted semi-independently of Thistlewood's supervision. In fact, much of a fisherman's job was done in relative isolation from both owner and fellow slave. As with the wild fowl, Thistlewood recorded when Lincoln brought in the fish he had caught on a daily basis.[238] Sometimes these fish were used for Thistlewood's dinner, but more importantly they were used as another marketable commodity. Fish caught on the estate grounds, mostly mudfish, earned Thistlewood a fair amount of money.[239]

After the first week in December Thistlewood took steps to replace Lincoln in his job of estate fisherman.[240] Apparently Thistlewood came to believe that Lincoln was taking advantage of his unsupervised position. On December 9th, Thistlewood noted, "did not send Lincoln a fishing again, as he spends the whole Forenoon and brings next to nothing, a few small drummons or Loggerhead."[241] In his typical style, Thistlewood had not made any previous commentary which suggested that Lincoln had begun to bring any fewer or less desirable fish. Thistlewood simply replaced Lincoln with Chub, a slave who had been responsible for tending the horses.[242] The only prior clue that Thistlewood was considering this change was recorded on December 8, 1767, the day before Thistlewood wrote of his displeasure with Lincoln's work. He noted, "Wrote to Mr. John Hartnole [at Egypt] by Chub, whom I have sent to go awhile with Ningale[?] a Fishing to learn how to strike and sit fish potts etc."[243] Chub's job tending the horses had also been a semi-independent job for a slave, but he had proven himself to be less than reliable. Thistlewood whipped Chub for his "Neglect" and had even replaced him in that

position with Maria, another estate slave.[244] Thistlewood's choice of replacement for Lincoln, then, seems questionable. Still, because of Thistlewood's displeasure with Lincoln's work, Lincoln had been removed from one of the more desirable positions on the estate.

Still, Lincoln's duties were no less numerous. In addition to his positions as hunter and fisherman, Lincoln's primary job was to serve as Thistlewood's driver. In early September, Thistlewood recorded in his journal that "Lincoln got me some good mudfish for dinner after he had set the Nigroes to work etc."[245] This journal entry was the only explicit account of Lincoln directing Thistlewood's other slaves during this first year. However, there were other indirect references that suggested Lincoln really was Thistlewood's "driver".[246]

When Thistlewood hired out eleven of his field slaves to work on a nearby estate, Lincoln was one of those slaves.[247] However, it does not seem likely that Lincoln received a demotion to mere field slave. Instead, it is more probable that Lincoln was sent along as the driver of the group. When the slaves returned, over four months later, Thistlewood noted, "My Nigroes all come home from Captn Forest's except Lincoln whom, it seems is in the canoe."[248] Thistlewood seems to have tolerated the liberty Lincoln had taken, while Lincoln seems to have enjoyed the convenience of a canoe and the liberty of time to assert his status as a privileged slave. Later the same day, Thistlewood wrote, "At Noon Lincoln Come home having been in...[the} Canoe."[249] Through this one subtle power play on Lincoln's part, Thistlewood was forced to compromise in order to maintain the ultimate control and

continue to receive the most cooperation from his slaves. Lincoln, on the other hand, had asserted himself while remaining within the system.

Lincoln did take liberties with his time and with Thistlewood's property. On at least one occasion that Thistlewood knew of, Lincoln had kept a bird that he had shot.[250] He also took his time coming home from Captain Forrest's estate. When Thistlewood sent Lincoln and Cudjoe to look for his bateau, the two slaves stayed out overnight and returned the next day without having found the boat.[251] Lincoln lost his job as estate fisherman because Thistlewood thought he wasted too much time.

Still, Lincoln was one of Thistlewood's valued slaves and as such was given rewards and additional rations by Thistlewood. He gave Lincoln his old coat and hat.[252] During the first year on the estate, Lincoln was the only slave mentioned in Thistlewood's journal, besides Mulatto John, to receive any of his owner's personal belongings. When Lincoln was sick for over a month, Thistlewood tried to give his slave what treatment he could. He even sent Lincoln, on a horse with Jimmy, to Egypt to be bled.[253] Lincoln was also the only slave to whom Thistlewood gave a "Ticket" or slave pass for purely social reasons. Other tickets had been given during the year, but they were given to allow the slaves to complete work for Thistlewood. On Christmas Eve 1767, however, Thistlewood "gave Lincoln a Ticket and leave to go to Mr. Tennisons near Richmond Estate in hanover [parish] to see his countryman Will."[254] Lincoln was also one of only three slaves to receive a full bottle of rum at Christmas.[255]

Lincoln gave "presents" to Thistlewood as well. On his days off Lincoln brought fish and wild fowl for Thistlewood. Some days he brought both. Even after Thistlewood had replaced Lincoln as the estate fisherman, Thistlewood noted that "Lincoln made me a present of some mudfish."[256] He did so on more than one occasion. While helping to dig the duck pond, Lincoln unearthed an old white Indian ax which he also presented to Thistlewood.[257]

While Lincoln may have taken the easy way out of work, or kept some of the wild game he had killed for himself during the first year at the pen, it is interesting that Thistlewood never mentioned any form of physical punishment for Lincoln. While at least six of Thistlewood's other slaves had been whipped or placed in the bilboes for "lying" or "neglect", and even Jimmy, Thistlewood's thirteen year old African house boy, was whipped and made to wear a collar on more than one occasion.[258] Lincoln, however, seems to have been exempted from some of the more severe forms of punishment.

Thistlewood had the ultimate control over Lincoln's life, but Lincoln had some power as well. Lincoln and Thistlewood's relationship was, at some level, give and take. Thistlewood had to compromise in order not to alienate Lincoln totally and to keep Lincoln as a cooperative, productive part of Breadnut Island Pen. In turn, Lincoln, while never openly rebellious, was nonetheless covertly and subtly defiant. He seems to have been constantly testing the perimeters of his enslavement while remaining within the system as one of Thistlewood's most trusted slaves. It was a complicated, complex, and ever-changing role to play.

CHAPTER VII

CUMBERLAND: HIRED SLAVE CARPENTER

Of the three ways in which the white masters hired out their slaves, or hired slaves to work on their own estates, Thistlewood was involved in them all. Not only did he hire out his jobbing gang to work on other estates, he hired out his own field slaves on a daily basis as well. Secondly, Thistlewood hired skilled workers, in one case the slave masons, to work on his estate on a daily or piece-work basis. He also allowed Phibbah to hire out her skills as a seamstress in a similar fashion. Lastly, skilled slaves, such as Cumberland the slave carpenter, Phibbah his domestic, and possibly even Abba, another domestic, were hired by Thistlewood on a yearly basis.[259]

Throughout his first year at Breadnut Island Pen, Thistlewood remarked with great frequency about the comings and goings of his slaves and other slaves on his estate. Socially, slaves from other estates came to visit slaves on Thistlewood's estate and vice versa. Mirtilla, one of Thistlewood's slaves, visited her "husband" driver Johnnie at Egypt.[260] Coobah, another of Thistlewood's slaves, also spent some of her nights at Egypt and then returned to the pen in the morning.[261] Lincoln was allowed to visit a countryman on another estate which was located in a different parish.[262]

Old Quashie came to visit Phibbah at the pen, and Phibbah and Mulatto John travelled back and forth to Egypt quite frequently.[263]

Thistlewood's slaves moved between estates for work purposes as well. Cumberland worked for Thistlewood during the day, but he returned to his owner's estate at night. Thistlewood hired out his field slaves to help eliminate Captain Forrest's labor shortage--and to make money for himself. Further, he allowed Phibbah to hire out her sewing skills, which made even more money for Thistlewood.

Conversely, Thistlewood hired slave masons and a carpenter to perform tasks that his own slaves were unable to complete. As a small estate owner, Thistlewood would have had little cause, or perhaps too little money, to own these highly skilled slaves for himself. After his pen had been established and construction was complete, Thistlewood's primary labor needs would be for less skilled field slaves to cultivate his garden, look after his stock, chop his logwood, or work at his limekiln. Lincoln, in addition to his duties as driver, hunted for Thistlewood and Chub fished. Both men would have been helpful in procuring marketable provisions for Thistlewood's other slaves to sell.

While many of the common field slaves on the plantations aspired to the ranks of the domestics or the household slaves, the positions of the estate craftsmen or specialists were also enviable.[264] Just as the domestic slaves were predominately creole, colored women, the slave craftsmen were predominately creole, colored men.[265] Their prominent place in the slave hierarchy was secure, and as a part of the plantation elite, craftsmen, too, were given certain privileges. Along with those

privileges however, followed the old problems of adaptation to the system of slavery itself.[266]

On the sugar estates, the distillers, boilers, coopers, carpenters, coppersmiths, millwrights, wheelwrights, blacksmiths, and bricklayers were the craftsmen who kept the sugar works in production. Because of their skills, these craftsmen, like the domestics, were provided with better or additional rations and supplies. At Christmas, Thistlewood gave Abba, the domestic, Cumberland, the carpenter, and Lincoln, the hunter, a bottle of rum each while the rest of Thistlewood's slaves were expected to share three other bottles.[267] The fact that most of Jamaica's craftsmen until the 1780s were white indentured artisans who often earned more than the estate bookkeepers, played a definite part in providing the slave craftsmen with the additional supplies.[268] One contemporary and prejudiced observer was even willing to admit that "Many of then [blacks] are wonderfully ingenious in making a variety of articles...and such as are properly brought up to any trade, show a skill and dexterity in it but little inferior to the civilized European."[269] It made sense, then, for the estate owners to provide the slave craftsmen with extra provisions as it was still more economical than hiring a white man to perform the same job.

The slave craftsmen, by virtue of their jobs as carpenters, master mechanics, coopers, masons, distillers, fishermen, pilots, woodsmen, and hunters, were often out of the range of the constant white scrutiny with which the domestics had to contend.[270] Their work, while essential to the construction, maintenance, production,

and economic well-being of the estates, was often carried out in semi-isolation, or at least somewhat independently of the white master or overseer.[271]

Further, these slave craftsmen, because of their skills and the semi-independent life they led on the plantations, were often fairly successful in maintaining their freedom if and when they chose to runaway.[272] They were among the first of the slaves to take European first and surnames, as well as those who were the first to attain church baptisms and even formal marriages.[273] In short, they were quick to acculturate.

Even with all of these trappings and privileges, the craftsmen, unlike the domestics, often shared the "confidence" of the common slaves.[274] This situation may have existed, in part, because of certain craftsmen's traditional reputations in Africa.[275] Also, carpenters and blacksmiths, in particular, were able to carry their skills back to the slave quarters. Carpenters were able to make traditional furniture, instruments, and masks for the slaves' personal or communal use.[276]

Of these craftsmen, carpenters were also one of the most valuable to the estate owner.[277] The carpenter's job on the sugar estates required the most flexibility and the greatest range of skills and tasks.[278] He had to construct and maintain most of the buildings which were made of wood--wood being the cheapest and most available building material on the island. This job alone took up much of his time. Additionally, he made boxes, replacement parts for mills, various tools and other useful items such as weather vanes and coffins.[279] As such a valuable part of the estate, a good slave carpenter commanded a very high price. Even an average

carpenter was more expensive to purchase than a head driver.[280] A head carpenter might cost up to £300, which by the late eighteenth century could have purchased four healthy male field slaves.[281] The slave carpenter, along with the cooper, mason, and coppersmith, was not only valuable for the work that he performed on his home estate, he had the added value of the money he could bring in from work done on other plantations. All of these craftsmen could have been hired off the estate at daily, weekly, or yearly rates by their owners, or they were allowed to "job" off on their own and then pay their owner a given weekly amount.[282] Not only were these arrangements profitable for the owners, but the craftsmen ended up with quite possibly the greatest amount of freedom and mobility of any of the slaves on the otherwise tightly controlled sugar estates.[283]

Thistlewood hired some slave masons to underpin his house and shed. The masons worked for Thistlewood for two Sundays, the traditional free day for slaves. They were paid directly by Thistlewood, a total of forty bitts and a bottle of rum at the completion of their job.[284] Only two references were made of these masons in Thistlewood's journal. They came, completed their job, were paid for two days' work and left. Cumberland, the slave carpenter whom Thistlewood had hired on a yearly basis, on the other hand, was referred to almost daily in Thistlewood's journal.[285] Not only did Thistlewood record Cumberland's daily work schedule, but he inadvertently left some hints of Cumberland's personality as well.

As with most slave carpenters, a large part of Cumberland's year with Thistlewood was spent constructing or repairing estate buildings and structures.

Cumberland, quite literally, helped Thistlewood build Breadnut Island Pen. The diversity of his skills enabled him to construct or refinish most of Thistlewood's house. From making the joists, to shingling the roof, Cumberland built the shed room.[286] He plained and feather-edged the boards, made window frames and shutters, boarded Thistlewood's house inside and out, made plain doors as well as a double door and a folding door, put up Thistlewood's bookcase, built shelves in a couple of rooms, and put locks in the two doors of the south room.[287] Cumberland painted the southeast room a "Mahoggony Colour" and the study a "Wallnutt Colour."[288] He painted the bookcases and the liquor case as well.[289] He scraped white wash from the posts of Thistlewood's house and then painted his porch, bridge rails and the posts, as well as the rails and palisades lining the garden, a "Stone Colour."[290]

Cumberland worked, on and off, from September through the first part of November building the "garden" fence and palisades which enclosed most of the area used to grow the provisions that Thistlewood traded and sold.[291] Cumberland constructed a bridge over the trench into the garden, took down an old pigeon house, reboarded Abba's house and built another small outbuilding.[292] Additionally, he made posts for the path to the lime kiln, as well as a water trough for Thistlewood's fowl and a shelf where the hens could lay their eggs.[293]

Thistlewood also noted the occasions when Cumberland was "doing Sundrie Small Jobbs" around the estate or when he completed small, yet important, short-term tasks like building a "Ironing Table", a bed stead for Mulatto John, or replacing

the broken ram-rod of Thistlewood's long gun with a new one made of pitch pine.[294] Occasionally, Cumberland was sent to transport some of the supplies he needed.[295] Thistlewood even sent Cumberland over to Egypt to repair Mr. Hartnole's parlor floor.[296] Yet, with all of his skill as a carpenter, Cumberland was still a slave working on a small provisioning estate. As such, he was also expected, at times, to help Thistlewood's slaves complete a variety of tasks that had to be done.

When most of Thistlewood's slaves were hired out to another estate, Cumberland was used to help with even the more menial jobs. Cumberland, along with Dick, rowed Thistlewood in his bateau, butchered a young hog, carried messages for Thistlewood and helped the other slaves carry bundles of leaves back to Breadnut Island Pen.[297] As a carpenter and a slave, these were the tasks that Cumberland performed for Thistlewood. As a person, Cumberland proved to be, on more than one occasion, a source of Thistlewood's frustration.

At times, Cumberland made more work for Thistlewood and even caused some destruction of his property. The fastidious and organized Thistlewood noted Cumberland's "mistakes" with disgust. He wrote, "Took the boards out of the Piazza where Cumberland had imprudently laid them, and whose weight sank the piazza somewhat and piled them up in three square piles out of doors."[298]

Thistlewood also noted with displeasure an instance when he had to give his slaves free time because Cumberland, for whatever reason, had not completed his work to the point where the other slaves would be able to assist him. In short, Cumberland was responsible for a work stoppage. Thistlewood noted "Negroes, but

out of work before Noon, as Cumberland had not got the shed room ready."[299] The next day, Cumberland was still working on "putting up the shed room posts."[300] By the third day, Thistlewood was completely disgusted with Cumberland, and with rare personal commentary, Thistlewood wrote, "Cumberland, he having put up the posts and plates wrong had them to take down and put up again. Cumberland is very Stupid."[301] This personal attack on Cumberland was uncharacteristic of Thistlewood. Normally, Thistlewood, the obsessive recorder, did just that--he recorded. His journal entries, whether they contained work schedules, jobs completed, items traded, dinner parties attended, slave punishments, or even sexual encounters, expressed very few, if any, emotions or opinions. On only one occasion during Thistlewood's first year at Breadnut Island Pen did he express something that was a personal interjection in his journal. That occasion was the death of his very close friend.[302] Cumberland, then, must have genuinely frustrated the seemingly unshakable Thistlewood.

The larger question that remained, then, regarded the source of Cumberland's "mistakes." Was Cumberland really stupid, or was he just rebellious and independent? Cumberland, on occasion, came to the pen late.[303] Other times, he did not come at all.[304] Days later Thistlewood would note when he had heard that Cumberland was sick or lame.[305] While it was possible that Cumberland was, in fact, physically ill, it was equally possible that he used sickness as a convenient excuse to avoid work. A different manifestation of Cumberland's rebelliousness could have been seen in at least one fight in which Cumberland, as noted by Thistlewood,

sustained some injuries.[306] Possibly, Cumberland had some strong opinions or a distinct personality which may have gotten him into trouble.

Cumberland could have been stupid, but more likely he was independent and rebellious. Obviously, only Thistlewood's side of the story remains. However, all of the varied work that Cumberland did accomplish for Thistlewood, as well as the fact that Cumberland had been trained as a carpenter to begin with, suggests that he was not stupid. The possibility remains that he played dumb and did it well. Cumberland's attempts at estate sabotage, his work slowdowns or stoppages, his illnesses and his destruction of Thistlewood's property are all classic signs of rebellion. His involvement in a fight might also indicate some spark of personality, some independence that might not reflect a slow or stupid person.

One other factor should be considered. Thistlewood hired Cumberland from a Mr. North for £20 a year.[307] With the price of slave carpenters so high, Cumberland would seem like somewhat of a bargain. This rate could have been due to Cumberland's lack of skill, or perhaps his services were seemingly inexpensive because he was less "dependable" as a slave. It is possible that Cumberland was a skilled slave who was used to some privileges and who understood the system well enough to "safely" assert himself on occasion. Cumberland may have chosen to deal with his place in the middle between slave drudgery and semi-independent living by playing the stereotypical "Quashie." By playing dumb and slow, and even unreliable, Cumberland worked out his own system of adapting to a life within the system of slavery.

CHAPTER VIII

CUDJOE AND THE FIELD SLAVES

The majority of the slaves on Thistlewood's estate, the majority of Jamaican slaves in general, worked in the fields.[308] At any given time, as many as seventeen slaves, both men and women, were used by Thistlewood to carry out the heavy, physical labor necessary to produce the fruits and vegetables, lime and logwood which kept the estate economically viable.[309] The field slaves' work was physically demanding, but their tasks, on Thistlewood's small new estate anyway, were varied. New land had to be cleared, new buildings constructed and crops planted or attended. Logwood had to be planted or harvested and the lime kiln attended. Depending on the season or Thistlewood's priorities of the day, the field slaves were given any number of tasks to complete.

These field slaves, according to the slave hierarchy, ranked below the domestics and the craftsmen. They were given only the most basic supplies by their masters. Thistlewood was no different in this regard. His field slaves received clothes, cooking pots to be shared, six herrings each a week--occasionally twelve, and "3 bottles [of rum] amongst them" at Christmas.[310] They were given no more and no less than was customary. However, field slaves had one advantage, over the domestics at least. The field slaves often had more personal freedom, within the

framework of their duties, than did the domestics who were more often under the watchful eye of the master or mistress.[311]

Thistlewood knew each one of his slaves personally, even his field slaves, because Breadnut Island Pen was such a small estate. Thistlewood knew what he could expect from each individual. He was both owner and overseer. However, Thistlewood was also involved with many different enterprises and social excursions, and often left his field slaves to work with very little supervision.

Typically, for field slaves on a small estate, Thistlewood's slaves enjoyed a more varied routine than did field slaves on the larger estates, particularly on the sugar estates. The first year at Breadnut Island Pen, however, afforded Thistlewood's field slaves with an even more diversified work schedule. The estate itself needed to be cleared, and outbuildings and fences constructed.

To begin with, Thistlewood's slaves had to move all of his belongings from Egypt to the pen.[312] The rest of that autumn they spent weeding, planting, and trenching the garden. The slaves cleared and burned bush, dug a pond, built a lime kiln, and spent more time working in the garden. Around Christmas and through the beginning of the new year, the field slaves were busy chopping and hauling logwood, as well as carrying lime and chopping thatch for Abba's house. All the while they were still tending the garden. Some slaves constructed an arbor in the garden. Others looked after the lime kiln. A few slaves dug post holes for Thistlewood's shed room. A few others helped the hired slave masons underpin Thistlewood's house. The field slaves also harvested scotch grass which was then sold at the market in

Savannah la Mar, helped with the thatching of the fowl house and other outbuildings, and even rowed Thistlewood in his bateau for business or pleasure.

At one point in the year, however, the routine for many of Thistlewood's field slaves was greatly changed. On January 31, 1768, Thistlewood hired out eleven of his slaves to his old acquaintance, Captain Forrest. As many as fourteen of Thistlewood's slaves spent all or part of the next months at Captain Forest's estate. Essentially, these field slaves became jobbers, an even less enviable position than that of field slave. Notoriously, jobbers were the hardest worked and the least cared for of all the slaves. Separated from their owner, who at least had an economic stake in their health and well-being, jobbers were often driven hardest, fed the least, and left to find their own shelter.

While Thistlewood kept a few field slaves at Breadnut Island Pen to work in the garden and take care of the other small jobs around the estate, he earned three bitts a day for each of his slaves who worked at Captain Forrest's. During this time Thistlewood even mentioned working along with his few remaining slaves. He wrote, "Dick, Maria, Coobah & myself employed planting the English Peas all day."[313] Most of Thistlewood's slaves remained at Captain Forest's until June 6, 1768. One slave who returned earlier, possibly with reasons of his own, was Cudjoe.

Only one week after Thistlewood's slaves began to work for Captain Forrest, Thistlewood noted that "Cudjoe Come home ill of his old complaint".[314] Apparently Cudjoe had survived a bout with small pox late in 1767.[315] The following day, with no further explanation, Cudjoe was one of three slaves that Thistlewood flogged for

"misdemeanors etc."[316] Nevertheless, when Thistlewood sent Dick, Coobah, and Maria to Captain Forest's that same day, Cudjoe remained at the pen. Thistlewood set him to work in the garden. The following monday, Thistlewood noted that Cudjoe was "yet at home taking physic etc."[317] No further mention was made of Cudjoe's illness, but he was allowed to stay at the pen. Throughout the rest of February and into March Cudjoe worked in the garden with the few slaves who had remained behind. On occasion, he even helped Cumberland with the carpentry work.[318] By the end of March the field slaves at the pen were carrying logwood while still working in the garden.

Almost daily Thistlewood noted what tasks Cudjoe was assigned. Often, "Cudjoe etc d[itto]" replaced "Nigroes d[itto]", and most often he was the first field slave mentioned in the work assignment. Cudjoe had become either the leader of the slaves left in the field or the most closely watched.

Thistlewood's gang of field slaves returned to the pen on June 6, 1768. Cudjoe had never returned to Captain Forrest's. Whatever Cudjoe's "old complaint", it seems probable that Cudjoe, employing whatever means he possessed, was able to secure his own ends.

Soon after the other field slaves returned, Thistlewood no longer specified "Cudjoe etc d[itto]", but returned to "Nigroes d[itto]". On occasion, Cudjoe was sent with Lincoln to find Thistlewood's bateau or to retrieve an old canoe, but Cudjoe seemed to have slipped back into the group.[319] Still, he seems to have won a battle of sorts. Even though Cudjoe was just a field slave, Thistlewood seems to have given

into Cudjoe's desire to stay at the pen. For whatever reason, maybe Cudjoe did not like Captain Forrest's overseer, some of the other slaves, the way he was being treated, or the work he was made to do, but Cudjoe was able to use an illness, real or imagined, to change his work and living situation. His "illness" was a successful rebellion of sorts. Cudjoe could have earned three bitts a day for over four months for Thistlewood. Instead, for whatever reason, whether Cudjoe really was sick or just because it was less trouble in the end, Thistlewood allowed him to change an economic arrangement.

Cudjoe, although possibly the boldest, was probably not the only one of Thistlewood's field slaves to use illness as an escape from a particular task or from work in general. At least twenty-five journal entries made by Thistlewood during the first year at the pen had remarks about complaints or actual slave illnesses.[320] Some of those entries concerned more than one slave.[321]

On Monday, February 15th, Thistlewood noted that Mirtilla, another field slave sent to work at Captain Forrest's estate was "at home with a sore back." On a different Monday in May, Thistlewood noted that still another field slave, Sukey, was also at the pen because of a sore foot.[322] Towards the end of that same month, Thistlewood wrote that "Only Seven Nigroes at ...[Captain Forrest's] as Solon, Sukey, Pheobe and Pompey are all at home with Sore leggs...[and] Mirtilla laid up with a boil."[323] If these complaints were real, then working on a jobbing gang really was much harder work, because nowhere else during the year did Thistlewood record so many slave disabilities at one time. If the disabilities were not real, then jobbing

might have increased the desire to fake an illness, which in itself could be just as telling about the conditions. In any case, Cudjoe seems to have gotten out, even at the expense of a whipping, while the getting was good.

Even if some of the complaints were exaggerated, Thistlewood's field slaves obviously favored whatever work they had to face at the pen over what they were assigned at Captain Forrest's. At the very least, the slaves seemed to favor the familiarity of their home on the pen. The familiar was preferable to the foreign. Thistlewood's slaves knew what to expect from him.

Thistlewood did whip his field slaves, both men and women, and he did have sex with the women.[324] Sukey, Mirtilla, Sally, Nanny, Peggy, Maria, Franke, and Cubbah all had at least one sexual encounter with Thistlewood.[325] Still the common understanding, the familiarity of the relationship between Thistlewood and his slaves had been established. The known probably seemed more controllable to both sides.

CONCLUSION

Thistlewood's slaves represented a microcosm of the Jamaican slave hierarchy of domestics, craftsmen, and field slaves. Their tasks and work routines were less regimented and more varied and independent of their white master than those of their counterparts on the large sugar estates. Further, because the slave communities on the pens and the more diversified estates were smaller, these slaves had direct and daily interaction with their owners. This interaction could be both a benefit and a burden to all parties.

For the slaves, the close contact meant that they were seen as individuals by their owners and were probably more often recipients of his rewards or privileges. Phibbah and Lincoln were both involved in an exchange of gifts with Thistlewood and were also the two best examples of slaves who received privileges from Thistlewood. On the other hand, the women on the small estates were also convenient objects of sexual attentions, and people of both sexes were nearby to receive punishment or abuse from a displeased owner.

Nothing could be as clear-cut and stereotypical as is portrayed in textbooks, however. The slaves were often influential in controlling the day to day life on their small estates. As Thistlewood discovered shortly after his arrival in Jamaica, each slave had his or her own personality which had to be accommodated if Thistlewood

was to be at all successful, politically and economically, within the small community he owned. He could not afford to ignore the idiosyncrasies of his slaves. In fact, although Thistlewood ultimately held the power, he was constantly engaged in a long and trying struggle to work out the best balance of give and take, in order to receive the most cooperation and work from his slaves.

Thistlewood walked a finer line, as did most resident owners of small estates, than was probably imagined. The success of his estate, to a large extent, rested in the dynamics between Thistlewood and his slaves. Illnesses, work slowdowns or stoppages, playing "Quashie," and sabotage were all tactics effectively used by Thistlewood's slaves to further their own ends. Cumberland, Thistlewood's hired slave carpenter, seemed to have mastered many of the tricks which allowed him to control his own schedule while leaving Thistlewood to lament over lost time and delayed work routines. Lincoln, the driver, and Cudjoe, a field slave, were also practiced in the art of defiance, and all of Thistlewood's slaves engaged in some of these acts of subterfuge at one point or another.

Additionally, the sexual control that Thistlewood had over his slave women was complete if not always clear. Sexual intimacies between masters and slaves were often forced but were occasionally based on mutual attraction. It seems that out of Thistlewood's sexual relationship with one slave, Phibbah, there developed a two-way relationship based on true affection. Further, this affection created a child who was truly loved by both of his parents.

The sexual intimacies shared by masters and slaves often produced children who, while legally recognized as slaves, formed a bridge between the two worlds of free whites and black slaves. Usually these children were given the higher status jobs of craftsmen or domestics on the estates, and these jobs provided them with a better social and economic standing within the community. Other more fortunate "mulatto" children were acknowledged, educated, freed, and provided for, in some varying combinations, by their fathers. A few, like Thistlewood's son Mulatto John, were even raised in a fairly recognizable family situation. But whether these children were wanted or acknowledged, they played a role in weaving together the lives of the blacks and the whites on the island.

As mid-eighteenth century Jamaica was not economically and geographically comprised only of sugar estates, the island's cultural identity was also not completely dominated by the white minority. In the big political picture of the island, the free, white, male colonists of English descent had complete control, but not all aspects of life were controlled by the dry legalities of mid-eighteenth-century Jamaica. On the smaller, day-to-day level, the relationships and lives of blacks and whites, men and women, were very much connected.

Each of Thistlewood's slaves took some control of his or her daily life at the pen. Though it was unlawful, Phibbah owned property, a slave, and a horse, and controlled fairly substantial amounts of money. Lincoln, along with other slave hunters, carried a gun on a regular basis. Slaves bartered for possessions at the

markets, and Mulatto John was loved, educated, and acknowledged by his white father.

In reality, slavery was a given and slaves were beaten, raped, and worked to death. However, a closer look at Jamaican society shows that there was a subtler, richer texture to their world as well. Not unlike today, fear, hostility, love, greed, and self-interest were all part of the everyday lives of these people. In fact, while life on Thistlewood's estate and on the island as a whole unquestioningly favored free white men, it was not as simple as black and white.

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175. *Ibid.*, 8/21/1768; 8/22/1768.

176. *Ibid.*, 12/30/1767.

177. *Ibid.*, 9/3/1767; 9/15/1767; 9/28/1767; 10/17/1767; 10/26/1767; 10/30/1767; 10/31/1767; 11/13/1767; 12/30/1767; 1/1/1768; 1/23/1768; 2/5/1768; 2/15/1768; 3/2/1768; 3/15/1768; 5/21/1768; 5/23/1768; 6/6/1768; 6/15/1768; 6/21/1768; 7/13/1768; 7/19/1768; 8/1/1768.

178. *Ibid.*, 2/5/1768; 2/15/1768; 5/23/1768; 8/1/1768.

179. *Ibid.*, 11/19/1767; 11/22/1767; 11/30/1767; 4/11/1768.

180. *Ibid.*, 9/1/1767; 9/11/1767; 10/29/1767; 12/28/1767; 1/1/1768; 2/10/1768; 3/20/1768; 4/17/1768; 4/19/1768; 4/27/1768; 6/1/1768; 6/5/1768; 6/13/1768; 7/3/1768; 7/8/1768; 8/1/1768; 8/3/1768; 8/24/1768; 8/29/1768.

181. *Ibid.*, 10/30/1767; 11/19/1767; 11/30/1767; 1/23/1768; 6/15/1768; 6/19/1768.

182. *Ibid.*, 11/30/1767; 1/24/1768; 1/30/1768; 2/17/1768; 3/28/1768; 5/14/1768; 5/23/1768.

183. *Ibid.*, 9/30/1767; 10/24/1767; 11/17/1767; 12/25/1767; 1/27/1768; 3/15/1768; 3/16/1768; 3/18/1768; 3/31/1768; 4/9/1768; 4/18/1768; 5/1/1768; 5/2/1768; 5/12/1768; 6/17/1768; 7/1/1768; 7/2/1768; 7/6/1768; 7/13/1768; 8/7/1768; 8/11/1768; 8/13/1768; 8/25/1768.

184. *Ibid.*, 12/25/1767.

185. *Ibid.*, 1/25/1768; 1/31/1768.

186. *Ibid.*, 9/18/1767; 10/5/1767.

187. Brathwaite, p. 283.

188. Thistlewood, 1/9/1768; 1/10/1768.

189. *Ibid.*, 3/8/1768.

190. *Ibid.*, 1/31/1768.

191. *Ibid.*, 2/20/1768; 2/29/1768.

192. Philip Morgan, personal correspondence.

193. Craton, 1982, p. 42.

194. Craton, 1978, pp. 149-152.

195. Brathwaite, p. 172; and Craton, 1978, pp. 262 and 269-270.

196. Craton, 1978, p. 168.

197. Thistlewood, 1/1/1768.

198. Patterson, p. 58.

199. *Ibid.*

200. Thistlewood, 1/1/1768; and Philip Morgan, personal correspondence.

201. Higman, p. 41.

202. Thistlewood, 1/9/1768; and Philip Morgan, personal correspondence.

203. Thistlewood, 9/7/1767; 9/14/1767.

204. *Ibid.*, 9/4/1767.

205. *Ibid.*, 10/9/1767.

206. *Ibid.*, 12/25/1767.

207. *Ibid.*, 12/15/1767; 12/22/1767; 1/4/1768; 1/5/1768; 1/9/1768; 1/29/1768; 2/22/1768.

208. *Ibid.*, 4/11/1768; 5/30/1768.

209. *Ibid.*, 5/30/1768.

210. *Ibid.*, 9/25/1767; 10/9/1767; 10/24/1767; 11/9/1767; 11/27/1767; 12/12/1767; 12/15/1767; 3/8/1768; 5/18/1768; 5/24/1768; 6/8/1768; 6/24/1768; 6/25/1768; 8/2/1768; 8/4/1768; 8/10/1768.

211. *Ibid.*, 9/3/1767; 9/23/1767; 11/18/1767; 11/20/1767; 11/28/1767; 12/7/1767; 12/9/1767; 12/17/1767; 12/21/1767; 1/6/1768; 1/25/1768; 1/28/1768; 4/6/1768; 4/12/1768; 4/23/1768; 5/18/1768; 6/29/1768.

212. *Ibid.*, 12/21/1767; 4/23/1768; 5/21/1768; 5/23/1768.

213. *Ibid.*, 9/5/1767; 9/8/1767; 9/14/1767; 9/15/1767; 9/16/1767; 9/23/1767; 9/27/1767; 10/28/1767.

214. *Ibid.*, 10/3/1767; 11/14/1767; 11/26/1767; 11/28/1767; 12/1/1767; 12/2/1767; 12/3/1767; 12/7/1767; 12/9/1767; 12/15/1767; 12/31/1767; 4/25/1768; 5/4/1768; 6/21/1768; and Philip Morgan, personal correspondence.

215. *Ibid.*, 9/30/1767.

216. *Ibid.*, 9/11/1767; 9/25/1767; 10/9/1767; 10/18/1767; 10/27/1767; 11/3/1767; 11/13/1767; 12/12/1767; 12/24/1767; 1/1/1768; 1/11/1768; 1/20/1768; 3/7/1768; 3/15/1768; 3/21/1768; 4/4/1768; 5/1/1768; 5/31/1768; 6/2/1768; 6/18/1768; 6/22/1768; 6/27/1768; 7/1/1768; 7/22/1768; 8/4/1768; 8/12/1768.

217. Higman, p.40.

218. Patterson, p. 217.

219. *Ibid.*, pp. 227-228.

220. *Ibid.*

221. *Ibid.*, p. 226.

222. *Ibid.*

223. *Ibid.*, p. 228.

224. *Ibid.*

225. *Ibid.*, p. 224.

226. *Ibid.*, p. 225.

227. Thistlewood, 9/3/1767; 9/7/1767; 9/22/1767; 10/7/1767; 10/9/1767; 11/14/1767; 11/16/1767; 11/23/1767; 11/24/1767; 11/27/1767; 1/9/1768; 1/11/1768; 1/20/1768; 8/15/1768; 8/26/1768.

228. *Ibid.*, 9/27/1767; 10/21/1767; 11/6/1767; 12/18/1767; 1/2/1768; 8/2/1768.

229. *Ibid.*, 9/27/1767; 10/21/1767; 10/24/1767; 11/6/1767; 11/9/1767; 11/26/1767; 11/27/1767; 11/28/1767.

230. *Ibid.*, 9/27/1767; 10/22/1767; 11/4/1767; 11/6/1767; 11/9/1767; 12/1/1767; 12/2/1767; 12/3/1767; 12/19/1767; 8/2/1768; 8/26/1768.

231. Long, Volume II, p. 408.

232. Thistlewood, 12/5/1767; 12/8/1767; 12/28/1767; 12/31/1767.

233. *Ibid.*, 9/27/1767; 10/3/1767; 10/21/1767; 10/24/1767; 10/29/1767; 11/4/1767; 11/6/1767; 11/9/1767; 11/13/1767; 11/27/1767; 11/28/1767; 12/1/1767; 12/2/1767; 12/3/1767; 12/4/1767; 12/5/1767; 12/7/1767; 12/8/1767; 12/9/1767; 12/10/1767; 12/11/1767; 12/12/1767; 12/14/1767; 12/16/1767; 12/19/1767; 12/28/1767; 1/2/1768; 1/13/1768; 8/2/1768; 8/26/1768.

234. *Ibid.*, 10/24/1767.

235. *Ibid.*, 11/9/1767; 11/26/1767; 8/3/1768.

236. *Ibid.*, 12/20/1767.

237. Stewart, p. 233.

238. *Ibid.*, 9/4/1767; 9/6/1767; 9/7/1767; 9/9/1767; 9/10/1767; 9/12/1767; 9/13/1767; 10/7/1767; 10/19/1767; 10/20/1767; 10/23/1767; 10/25/1767; 11/1/1767; 11/2/1767; 11/4/1767; 11/7/1767; 11/9/1767; 11/15/1767; 11/22/1767; 11/23/1767; 11/29/1767; 11/30/1767; 12/5/1767; 12/6/1767; 12/7/1767; 12/8/1767; 12/9/1767.

239. *Ibid.*, 9/4/1767; 12/31/1767; 8/28/1768.

240. Thistlewood, 12/9/1767.

241. *Ibid.*, 12/9/1767.

242. *Ibid.*, 9/14/1767 through 9/26/1767.

243. *Ibid.*, 12/8/1767.

244. *Ibid.*, 9/21/1767; 9/28/1767.

245. *Ibid.*, 9/4/1767.

246. Philip Morgan, personal correspondence.

247. Thistlewood, 1/31/1768.

248. *Ibid.*, 1/31/1768 through 6/6/1768.

249. *Ibid.*, 6/6/1768.

250. *Ibid.*, 12/19/1767.

251. *Ibid.*, 8/1/1768; 8/2/1768.

252. *Ibid.*, 9/5/1767; 5/8/1768.

253. *Ibid.*, 6/15/1768 through 7/6/1768; 7/13/1768.

254. *Ibid.*, 12/24/1767.

255. *Ibid.*, 12/25/1767.

256. *Ibid.*, 9/12/1767; 9/26/1767; 9/27/1767; 10/24/1767; 8/7/1768; 8/14/1768; 8/28/1768.

257. *Ibid.*, 9/22/1767.

258. *Ibid.*, 9/21/1767; 12/15/1767; 2/9/1768; 4/13/1768; 5/21/1768; and Philip Morgan, personal correspondence.

259. Higman, p. 41.

260. Thistlewood, 12/15/1767.

261. *Ibid.*, 2/7/1768; 2/8/1768; 2/12/1768; 2/15/1768.

262. *Ibid.*, 12/24/1767.

263. *Ibid.*, 11/18/1767; 1/3/1768; 2/14/1768; 2/27/1768; 3/23/1768; 4/6/1768; 6/5/1768.

264. Patterson, p. 62.

265. Craton, 1982, p. 45.

266. *Ibid.*

267. Thistlewood, 12/25/1767.

268. Brathwaite, p. 144.

269. Stewart, p. 237.

270. Brathwaite, pp.160-161.

271. *Ibid.*

272. *Ibid.*

273. Craton, 1982, p. 45.

274. *Ibid.*

275. *Ibid.*, p. 46.

276. *Ibid.*

277. Brathwaite, pp. 154-155.

278. Craton, 1978, p. 227.

279. *Ibid.*

280. *Ibid.*, p. 228.

281. *Ibid.*

282. Brathwaite, p. 155.

283. *Ibid.*

284. Thistlewood, 1/10/1768; 1/31/1768.

285. *Ibid.*, 1/1/1768.

286. *Ibid.*, 9/4/1767; 3/24/1768; 5/23/1768; 5/27/1768; 5/30/1768; 6/18/1768; 6/20/1768; 6/21/1768; 6/22/1768; 6/25/1768; 6/27/1768.

287. *Ibid.*, 11/11/1767 through 11/20/1767; 11/23/1767; 12/14/1767; 12/21/1767; 12/22/1767; 12/28/1767; 12/30/1767; 1/4/1768; 1/7/1768; 1/11/1768; 2/1/1768; 2/8/1768; 2/11/1768; 3/5/1768; 4/25/1768; 5/16/1768; 7/7/1768.

288. *Ibid.*, 4/14/1768; 4/18/1768.

289. *Ibid.*, 4/16/1768; 4/19/1768.

290. *Ibid.*, 3/31/1768; 4/1/1768; 4/11/1768; 4/12/1768; 4/13/1768.

291. *Ibid.*, 9/7/1767 through 9/25/1767; 9/28/1767; 10/3/1767; 10/5/1767; 10/10/1767; 10/19/1767; 11/15/1767.

292. *Ibid.*, 11/6/1767; 11/9/1767; 11/10/1767; 1/30/1768. 3/9/1768; 3/14/1768.

293. *Ibid.*, 8/8/1768 through 8/15/1768; 8/19/1768; 8/20/1768; 8/29/1768.

294. *Ibid.*, 10/1/1767; 10/19/1767; 2/19/1768; 3/17/1768; 3/21/1768; 3/22/1768; 3/23/1768; 7/12/1768.

295. *Ibid.*, 2/8/1768; 4/6/1768; 6/29/1768.

296. *Ibid.*, 9/26/1767.

297. *Ibid.*, 2/2/1768; 3/4/1768; 3/8/1768; 3/14/1768.

298. *Ibid.*, 9/9/1767.

299. *Ibid.*, 1/17/1768.

300. *Ibid.*, 1/18/1768.

301. *Ibid.*, 1/19/1768.

302. *Ibid.*, 5/13/1768.

303. *Ibid.*, 10/26/1767.

304. *Ibid.*, 2/3/1768; 2/4/1768; 7/18/1768; 7/25/1768; 8/1/1768.

305. *Ibid.*, 2/5/1768; 7/19/1768.

306. *Ibid.*, 9/14/1767.

307. *Ibid.*, 1/1/1768; 2/11/1768.

308. Brathwaite, pp. 152-153.

309. Thistlewood, 9/2/1767; 9/9/1767; 9/14/1767; 9/17/1767; 9/23/1767; 10/1/1767; 10/4/1767; 2/29/1768; 3/21/1768; 7/2/1768; 7/19/1768; 8/8/1768; 8/15/1768.

310. *Ibid.*, 9/29/1767; 12/25/1767; 2/14/1768.

311. Patterson, pp. 57-58.

312. Thistlewood, 9/1/1767.

313. *Ibid.*, 2/3/1768.

314. *Ibid.*, 2/8/1768.

315. Philip Morgan, personal correspondence.

316. Thistlewood, 2/9/1768.

317. *Ibid.*, 2/15/1768.

318. *Ibid.*, 2/17/1768.

219. *Ibid.*, 8/1/1768; 8/2/1768; 8/3/1768; 8/15/1768; 8/26/1768.

320. *Ibid.*, 2/5/1768; 5/2/1768; 5/5/1768; 5/23/1768.

321. *Ibid.*, 5/5/1768; 5/23/1768.

322. *Ibid.*, 5/2/1768.

323. *Ibid.*, 5/23/1768.

324. *Ibid.*, 9/21/1767; 12/15/1767; 2/9/1768; 7/15/1768; 8/23/1768; 8/24/1768.

325. *Ibid.*, 9/11/1767; 9/25/1767; 10/9/1767; 10/18/1767; 10/27/1767; 11/3/1767; 11/13/1767; 12/12/1767; 12/24/1767; 1/11/1768; 1/20/1768; 3/7/1768; 3/15/1768; 3/21/1768; 4/4/1768; 5/1/1768; 5/31/1768; 6/2/1768; 6/18/1768; 6/22/1768; 6/27/1768; 7/1/1768; 7/22/1768; 8/4/1768; 8/12/1768.

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