Colonial Matriarchs in the British Slavery Economy: Exploring the Socioeconomic Landscape of Mixed-Heritage Women in Jamaica from 1750 - 1850

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of Bournemouth University for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

30 July 2020

Bournemouth University

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Acknowledgement

A special thank you and sincere gratitude to my three supervisors Professor Sara Ashencaen Crabtree, Doctor Hyun-Joo Lim and Professor Jonathan Parker for your guidance, patience, support and understanding through some challenging times; you were with me all the way.

Thank you, Robin Michelsen, Graeme Elliott, Sherry Patten-Walker, my cousins who supported me throughout this study, and even on the last day– you were like the oars in this family boat.

Thank you, Professor Linda Sturtz who provided me, with original research on the study of Black River, Saint Elizabeth, it did not go to waste.

To the library staff at Bournemouth University (Jan and Michael especially!) – you were angels in finding books for me that could not be found elsewhere.

The James Bell Library (University of Minnesota - Ryan Greenwood and Margaret Borg) for providing me access to the original Woodart files, and Stedman diaries, journals and drawings; The National Archives in Kew, which became my office for a period of time; the East Sussex Records Office, National Archives of Scotland, Berwick-upon-Tweed Records Office; the Jamaica Archives Records Department, Registrar General Department – Michelle Williams, Mario Reynolds and Steve Campbell, and the University of the West Indies Library in Jamaica.

A special appreciation to Don Long for the Mimba (Louisa) and James Hart family, and Ann Hartley 3 x great-granddaughter of Elizabeth Anderson Wint-Cerf and family for their support in giving me permission to use their family data in my research.

Thanks to all the volunteers who indexed the digitised records on FamilySearch.org and Ancestry.com which made finding birth, marriage, and burial records so much easier.

My mind, body and spirit kept up the pace, thanks to my Yoginis for keeping me balanced, Rosy & Elizabet for your effervescent energy as Zumba instructors, and Lizzy Mineta for the times at the beach hut keeping me fed & sane. You all kept me teaching/dancing even when I was tired, thank you! Friends and family, thank you for your love and patience.

This study would not have been possible without the inspiration I got from my immediate family; my two sons and grandsons, and especially my girls! – Nicole, Naimah, Ameerah and Nevaeh. A special appreciation to my husband Dieter, for being my Research Assistant, for

taking me to archives and libraries, developing the database and for all your time being available to bounce off my thoughts, drafts, proof-reading and ideas.

And finally, all this would not be possible without divine inspiration and guidance from the unseen God and the universe who provided love and light to guide the way through this maze, much appreciation and gratitude. Namaste.

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Abstract

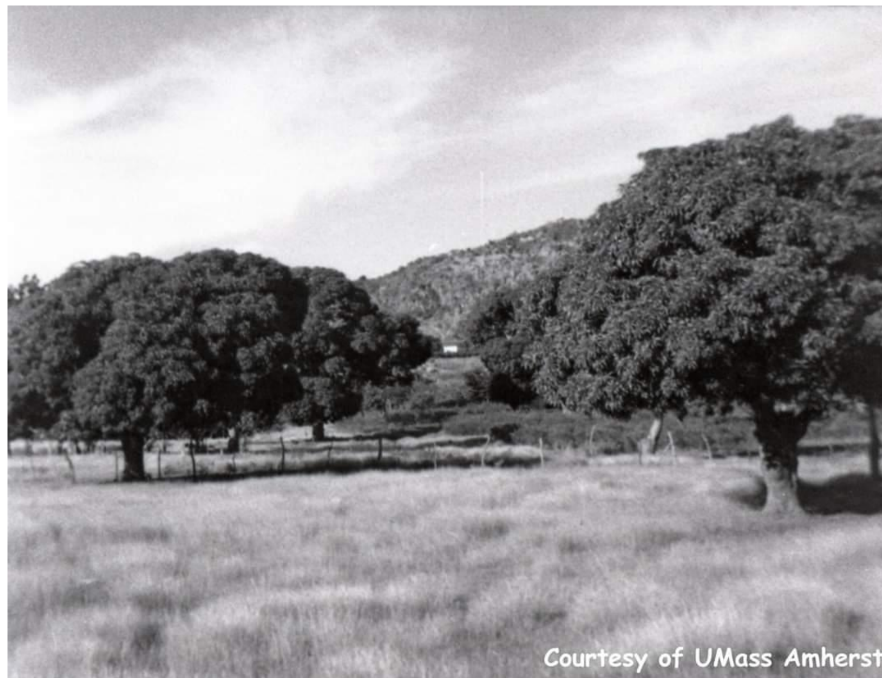


FIGURE 0-1: ST. ELIZABETH IN 1948. TAKEN BY JOSEPH OBREBSKI, A POLISH ANTHROPOLOGIST.

This thesis explores the lives of mixed-heritage women in Jamaica from the mid-eighteenth century to the emancipation period; the abolition of slavery in 1834 and the apprenticeship period to 1838. The study challenges the silence that pervades the lives of mixed-heritage people who lived within the window of the British colonial emancipation period and the existing perceptions of mixed-heritage women during the slavery period. Majority of historical texts are written and referenced from a colonial British, European or an American perspective, while Caribbean academics, writers and contributors to their history are devoid of similar exposure. Data derived from the slavery compensation claims focused specifically on the parishes of Saint Elizabeth and Manchester in Jamaica, where the human geography of my DNA coalesced. From the findings, it is argued that free mixed-heritage women were rational economic actors who controlled their free position within the Jamaican slave society.

Their principal concern was to establish and solidify relationships, family links in clan groups and friendships that enabled upward mobility, while retaining their freedom and that of their posterity.

'The Silences Framework' (Serrant-Green 2011) was applied as an overarching theorical framework alongside supporting theories of intersectionality, entitativity and rational choice. A reflexive approach with narrative inquiry, prosopography and archival research were applied in the examination of historical primary, secondary, and genealogical sources. The analysis blended interpretive analytical methods of narrative discourse in case studies, dramatic vignettes and dramaturgical storytelling that overall developed a better understanding of the period in which free people of mixed heritage lived. Although disadvantaged through the intersections of ethnicity, colour, social class, and gender, with all associated legal and societal restrictions, this research highlights and demonstrates the vital social and economic role mixed-heritage women played in the development of Jamaican creole society.

This study makes three major contributions to historical sociology knowledge: 1) provides new and evidenced knowledge of the extent to which Jamaican mixed-heritage women were property owners and enslavers prior to emancipation, 2) enhances academic historiography of enlightening arguments of the slavery period about mixed-heritage women from a Caribbean perspective rather than a colonial perspective and 3) provides a different sociological and cultural anthropological perspective of family development and kinship in a colonial Caribbean society.

A Note on Terminology and Style

This thesis refers to people's colour as the topic states and therefore language not considered politically correct today was used, but only used where appropriate to do so, for example in transcriptions. Throughout the thesis the terms Negro, Sambo, Mulatto, Quadroon, Octoroon, Mestizos/Mustee, or Mustafina was referred to when describing black people and the people of colour. The origins of people described as African or Creole (born in Jamaica), were based on recorders' entries in the registers.

Where all people either black or of varying fusions of colour are described as a single group, they are referred to as Mixed heritage and black or abbreviated as MH&B in tables and charts.

'Mixed-heritage' and 'mixed heritage' are consistent with English grammar and used both ways in the thesis, such as, mixed-heritage people or people of mixed heritage. 'Mixed-heritage' is used when it precedes the noun and therefore both words are used as a single adjective to describe the noun. Mixed heritage is used when mixed is the adjective and heritage the noun.

The Jamaican creole language 'patois' is sometimes used and a translation, if necessary is provided. The topic: 'Yu do mi good yu do yu'self, yu do mi bad yu do yu'self' – Elizabeth Hart means; When you do bad/good deeds you are only doing it to yourself.

Preface

Finding peace, tranquillity, and an ease of mind for writing when I am by an expanse of water is exhilarating to my bones, whether that is on the seashore, on the beach, by a fishing village or in a spa swimming pool. However, I rarely go into the sea water and spent hundreds of pounds paying for swimming lessons until my teachers became my friends. I can save myself from drowning, but there is a deep fear being inside the water, while having an even deeper respect for the sea just being beside it. My doctor claimed I had 'ancestral or genetic DNA memory', and I was remembering something from my ancestors who may have lived by the waters many years ago. My doctor was right, my DNA proved that my ancestors were from the seashores, and my ancestral journey took me to those spaces of fear and discomfort in an emotionally charged study of slave society.

Born in London, then raised in Jamaica since childhood, I subsequently returned to the UK in my mid-twenties. I consider myself British-Jamaican as I equally straddle both cultures. I position myself as a British, black multi-disciplinary academic woman, with a mixed-heritage multi-diasporic Jamaican ancestry, writing from a reflexive interpretivist cultural context. This is not an autobiography or an autoethnographic study. There is no doubt that challenges cross the varied disciplines of my writing, which can be open to interpretations, as they may differ from the historians, sociologists and anthropologists who have written on these genres over many years. Not only have my earlier ancestors and my parents of the Windrush era experienced significant events of Caribbean human geography, but my own experience of emigration from London to Jamaica and back, allows me to be part of a diasporic movement from the Motherland to an ex-colony in the early 1970s, returning to Britain at the end of the

Thatcher era. The political, economic, and social experiences of Britain intermingled with eighteen years of Jamaican experiences, plus the data on real people who lived in the British colonial Jamaican 18th and 19th centuries, many whom were my ancestors, influenced my views and interpretations of the period under study. Most Jamaicans who emigrated to England, never returned to Jamaica after their diasporic move for education and economic purposes (Hall and Schwarz 2018). Some as children like me, who were born in England, were repatriated to Jamaica by our parents who chose to return in the early 1970s for us to be educated by the existing British colonial education system. At the same time, those with opportunity were still deserting the island for economic reasons. Did Enoch Powell's 'Rivers of Blood' incendiary speech in 1968 have an impact on our parents' decisions to leave Britain?

After the 1958 Notting Hill riots between white British working class and West Indian immigrants, multiculturalism became more entrenched in post-war London. However, there were many skirmishes around Britain's urban cities and especially London where my parents both worked, with unwarranted arrests of black men, and brewing trouble leading up to Powell's racist provocative rhetoric (Modern Records Centre 2020). Their reflexive thoughts of negative experiences as Windrush immigrants, led to excessive worry and fear of living in an increasingly politically motivated racist British society. They would not have wanted to inflict the perceived lack of equality of future opportunity on their four young children, who were all five years old and under at that time. Mother, being very fair skinned, had 'privileged' experiences in Jamaica, where skin colour or pigmentocracy as coined by Alejandro Lipshutz (1944) was embedded across the Americas including Jamaica, a legacy from slave society based on the Spanish lineal descent of colour (Telles, Flores et al. 2015). My parents never held detailed discussions with us about those challenging days, except for minimal information when the newscast on television aroused a response. However, they both

stressed how important it was for me as ‘the black child’ to be educated, an awareness I had since I was four years old, when I was told ‘if you don’t learn to read, you’re going to Jamaica to weed people’s banana walk!’ By 1969, my father had purchased two properties in Jamaica and sold our multi-storey house in London, a house that had been a haven for many Jamaican family members. In January 1971, our family sailed from Southampton, the same port where many Jamaicans had first arrived in Britain, as we emigrated to Jamaica.

Not having lived through the slavery period does not preclude me from reflexively writing about it, as the data provided, linked with the oral history of my great-grandmother, grandmothers, and my parents, enabled me to take an epistemological interpretivist position. A position in which I explored my ancestral roots and identity through critical reflexive lenses, with an enhanced awareness of knowledge. This was mostly gained through my ancestral past, derived from data on enslavers and enslaved people, living together in a slave society from which my family developed as mixed-heritage people. As the Comaroff (2016) writing of the descriptive and prescriptive voices in their study of the American South posit, ‘each is a reflection on the contemporary order of things approached from a primarily African … (in my case including British-Jamaican) vantage, one, as it turns out, that is full of surprises and counter-intuitives, one that invites us to see familiar things in different ways’ (Comaroff and Comaroff 2016, p.2).

Academics, my students, and family have asked: Why did I want to perform this type of research and place myself in the path of criticism? Contradictory messages from my family history within the parishes where my family originated, the silences when questions were asked, always singled me out due to the difference in my skin tone compared to my siblings, provided the reason to explore slave society, with a family history angle, that will only

enhance rather than hinder my identity and my culture. When I started family research, I was seeking my enslaved black family – people who looked like me, but instead, I found that my maternal 3rd great-grandparents were enslavers through to my 8th great-grandparents in the late 1600s. It became more confusing on my maternal grandmother's family, as the enslaved and enslavers intermarried. My father's maternal and paternal side of the family also had enslaved and enslaver mixed marriages, with kinship ties into my mother's family, thus exposing consanguineous relationships. My emotions were shattered and I stopped the research for almost a year, a definite feel of mental and bodily change (Ahmed 2014, p.2). I felt very confused, angry, I had lost some of myself but could not explain what part. I felt bereavement and sadness but not sure for whom – myself, the enslaved people? As a black woman, where did I fit in this story? Had I lost my identity? Do I now choose sides in the family because of my colour? Why do I even have these thoughts? I began to realise why I was treated differently from my siblings and they may have never noticed as I was the eldest, however, by then both my parents had passed away, and I was constantly told by family not to hurt myself or the family as I was going to find out more than I bargained for. Hubbard et al. (2001) states: 'unless emotions in research is acknowledged, not only will researchers be left vulnerable, but also our understandings of the social world will remain impoverished' (Hubbard, Backett-Milburn et al. 2001). My own children and their posterity needed to understand the underlying silence that pervaded our family, with the many idiosyncratic actions that raised eyebrows when certain stories were retold with a 'what did you mean?' followed by silence. The risk was great, criticism from the black community for airing events that were best hidden was possible, as local government officials of the Jamaican Parish of St Elizabeth had retaliated in 2006 to participate at the commemorations of the abolition of the slave trade 200th year anniversary in 2007 (Myers 2006). As I searched for existing literature

to explain what I was finding on my mixed-heritage ancestry, History as a discipline provided some information, but left me with more questions, and not enough answers to quench the thirst for information I was seeking. The data I was finding from family history had provided background and context for a far more intriguing study. Torn between whether to go ahead with the study or bury the evidence was a constant struggle, until the need to know grew stronger than the silence that pervaded the family. Even though I am a black woman, I still needed to recognise my cultural position as a British born, Jamaican raised, born from a mixed-heritage family, thus expecting that there may be some tension from the community (Serrant-Green 2002). Despite the trepidation, my desire to progress the study grounded my ontological position as a constructivist learner who was driven to integrate new knowledge and understanding about the origins of my Jamaican parishes, my relatives and where they came from, and in addition, the epistemological Criticalist perspectives of power relations that existed within these communities among the women. The deciding factor came after receiving the results of several DNA tests that indicated the varying heritages inherited through my genes – more than six African nations, Scottish, English, Welsh, Irish, Swedish, German, Swiss, Portuguese, Spanish, Jews both Sephardim and Ashkenazi, there was no choice but to position myself squarely in the study. These DNA results were common across the entire St Elizabeth and Manchester parishes in Jamaica as will be explored later. Our bodies tell the stories of the people who came to Jamaica, due to British colonialism and slavery. Interpreting the controversial issues found in slave society and genealogical data influenced a critical exploration, which has significance for educators, society, and genealogical study. Research for this study helped to illuminate my culturally situated values on enslavement in the family and how they influenced the emergence of the research design once they were found in Parliamentary government papers. Archival searches with reflexivity

enabled me to expand an awareness of my researcher's epistemological position, which provided meaning in a Criticalist and interpretive study, and a more pressing need for Britain to provide reparations to the ex-colonies. The capitalist demands of colonial Britain had created societies depleted of a true narrative of slave society, an ingrained segregation of black and people of colour still present within today's Jamaican society, and Caribbean societies deprived of educational infrastructure on the islands for the use of all ages of society (Hall and Schwarz 2018).

The many cases evoked deep emotions. While standing outside on the peripheral edge of my study, I felt shielded and safe. Once I was inside the study, I was on the ship, I was in the house and in the field, I was a concubine and a wife. I gave birth to enslaved babies while experienced being free and fighting for my children to be whitened to avoid returning into slavery. Every piece of data gave a different analysis, a different angle, and towards the end I designed a blue ribbon, signifying the desire to be free with a weaponised body as a resistance tool against the patriarchal oppressors.

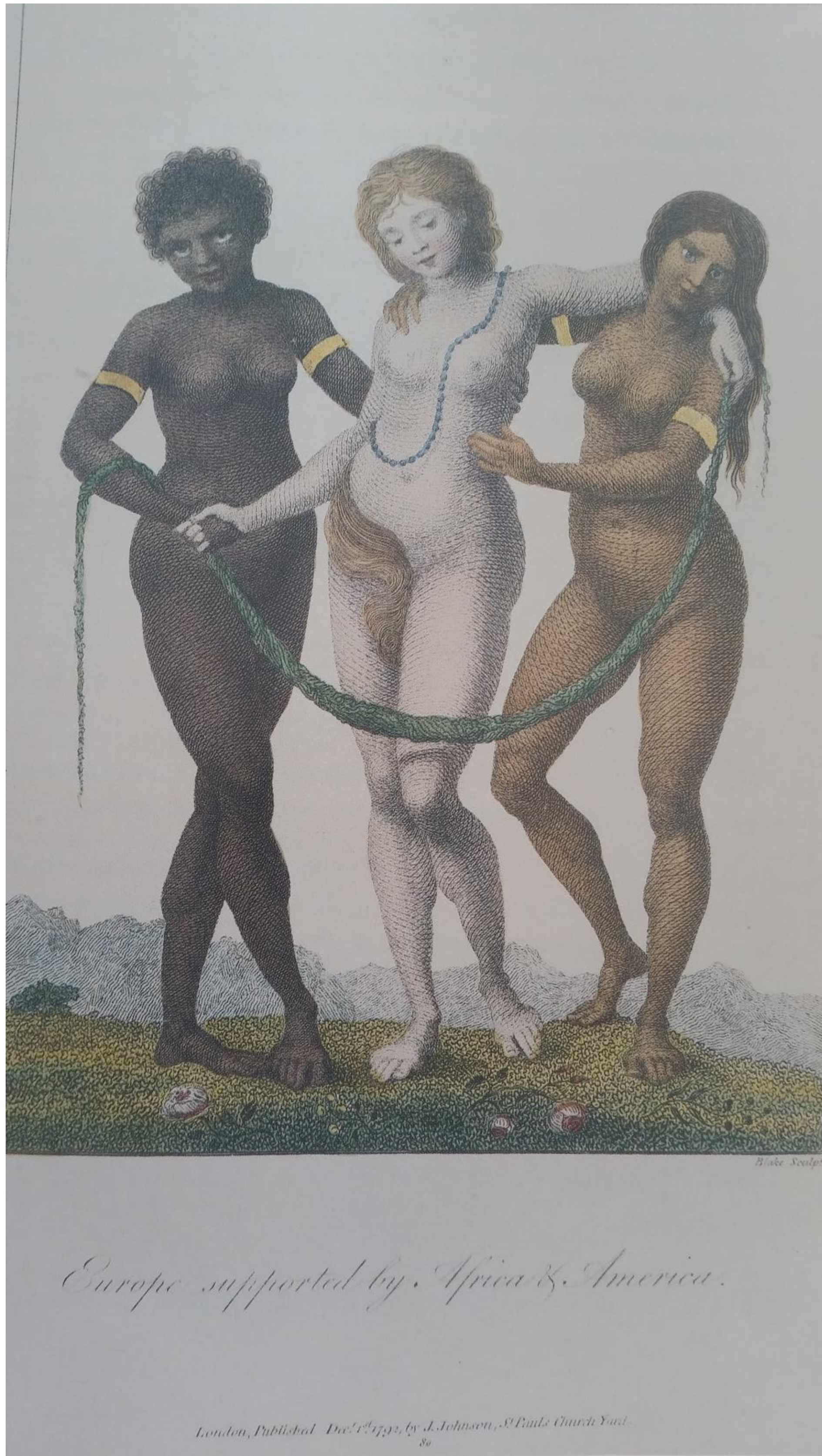


FIGURE 0-2: FROM JB STEADMAN DIARY. USED WITH PERMISSION FROM THE JAMES BELL LIBRARY, UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA.

1. Introduction

This thesis as a scholarly discourse has enabled a study of two parishes in colonial British Jamaica to be explored from modern lenses, while demonstrating to the reading world how significant and important to the development of modern society these findings are. The period 1750-1850 marked a turbulent period in human lives in British colonial history in the Americas; a time when the colour of one's skin and social class separated human beings as property from their freedom as individuals (Harris 1993).

Free mixed-heritage women in the Jamaican Parishes of St. Elizabeth and Manchester played a substantial role in the colonial history and development of Jamaica in the mid eighteenth and nineteenth century, yet their lives, roles and economic contribution remain hidden in the historical texts or written out of it. As a free liminal people on the periphery of an enslaved society, these women enhanced their lives, those of their posterity and the communities. Despite the limitations, exclusions, and restrictions they encountered from the rigidly developed administrative structures, colonial government and intersectional rules of a dominant male oriented capitalist society, the women's presence in the Slavery Compensation claims was significant regardless of how many enslaved people they owned. However, a silence pervades about their contribution, despite the seemingly bleak role they played as enslavers. Their presence highlights the rational choices they made to participate as economic equals in a gruesome system, in which most free mixed-heritage people mainly owned enslaved domestic servants, and many were given enslaved people as gifts. The parishes of St Elizabeth and Manchester, two neighbouring administrative subdivisions of Jamaica, in total represented about 1/8th of the Jamaican population at the time with claims

and awards for 38,833 enslaved people (see Table 5-9 in chapter 5) (Oxford University 2013, Tomlin-Kraftner 2014, p.188).

This thesis explores the lives of free mixed-heritage women in these parishes who owned and managed enslaved people towards the end of slavery, and appeared as claimants, counterclaimants, or awardees in the Slavery Compensation Claims and Awards 1834 of which Jamaica received over £6m of the total £20m paid to slave owners of the British Empire at the time of emancipation. To provide an understanding of their lives during this pre- and post-emancipation period, several components have been examined in-depth. These include an examination of their relationships, consumption patterns, how they acquired property, analysis of their wills/ deeds, the submitted slave registers and their petitions to the slavery compensation commissioners. These will form an interpretive narrative of their lives and participation during slavery. The Anglican Church's births, marriages, and deaths records were examined to identify individual ethnicity as described in the records according to the categories of the Spanish lineal descent and to ascertain the relationships between individuals to determine family relationships and clan groups. The research rationale, arguments, aims, and objectives are fully explored in 1.5 below.

There was a need to write reasonable judgemental analysis about the past without being too subjective considering I was a descendant of some of these women. As I contended with sensitive topics such as ancestors' past lives, human geography of the diasporas within my DNA, and colour privilege, the person who most fitted that context was Lady Maria Nugent who also travelled from a few places to Jamaica as depicted in her journal. She was the wife of Governor General George Nugent who served as the governor of Jamaica between 1801-1805 and her journal entries form a backdrop to the narrative writing and interpretive study

of the period (Woodfine 2006). Although she wrote from a white privileged social class, she 'hung out' many times at night in her bedroom with mixed-heritage and black women while getting undressed, which enabled visualisation through her eyes of events throughout the period, but with deep critical analytical lenses from an academic perspective. Lady Nugent regularly travelled across the island staying at homes in every parish, as her husband inspected and improved the army conditions across the island. From her eyes, every parish was scrutinised; the aesthetics, ecology, politically, legally, religiously, environmentally, and especially socially and culturally, as she expressed her opinions quite openly. She wrote about where she went, who she met, what she ate, and especially the behaviour patterns and features of the people she met from lords and ladies to the enslaved people including their children. This style of interpretive narrative writing captures the essence of 'standing in Lady Nugent's shadow', with more content from the literature provided by the primary writer historians of the period Edward Long, Rev George Bridges, Thomas Thistlewood, Mrs Carmichael, and William Gardner. Barry Higman (2012) in quoting Philip Woodfine (2006) posited of Lady Nugent's journal:

> 'The best of these texts detail everyday experience with an immediacy and purported veracity …. even more seductive, they are marked by a willingness to generalise about the components of a culture in ways that provide readymade models and assessments for an interpretative historiography… Compared to the barren records of financial history or the turgidity of legal documentation, journals are more likely to deliver the apposite aphorism and candid confession that can be immediately deployed in a telling turn of phrase...' (Woodfine 2006, Higman 2012, p.1).

Lady Nugent's journal prepared the way for interpretive writing as she wrote at the beginning of the nineteenth century and Mrs Carmichael wrote of her travels in the Caribbean between 1820-1826. No diaries existed for these mixed-heritage women for us to know their daily lives but that does not exclude them from history pages, as their wills, deeds, applications, and letters to the colonial administrators provided a depth of information relating to their lives during the emancipation period. It was important that the study remained true to the social realism of the period including the varied dramatic episodes which unfolded from the documentation during the compensation claims period. High stress, conflicts, family feuds played out on government documents with many ending in the British courts.

1.1. The Request That Changed a Society

Referring to the registration of the genetic colour accuracy of his parishioners in 1816, Rev Thomas Stewart's (1817) response to the governor's request for the first triennial slavery returns (1817-1832) for the parish of St Elizabeth was:

'I have also to observe, that as the clergyman has no other resource for information, but the account that is given him, often by illiterate and ignorant people…., it cannot well be expected that the register should be in all respects correct.' (Stewart 1817, p.202).

In this letter, Stewart made four points very clear - the parishioners he dealt with daily were mainly illiterate, ignorant, they could not get their colour accurate, and the registers were mostly inaccurate. Rev Stewart was overseeing an Anglican Church in St Elizabeth, Jamaica, a parish that at that time had the highest rate of mixed-heritage people on the island of Jamaica

(Higman 1984, Tomlin-Kraftner 2014). Rev Stewart had the responsibility of baptising the parishioners including the enslaved people. He would have assigned a colour as racial classification to all babies, children, teenagers, and adults presented to him for baptism, their seal of identity based on the Spanish lineal descent followed by a certificate stating their type of freedom, whether they were born free or manumitted. There were two types of legislation for free people. If born free, the trial was by jury as it would be for white people, whereas, manumitted free people were tried in slave courts (Heuman 2014). However, Rev Stewart had the power to make a final decision about a person's colour status, which could change the course of their life and, position that person's identity closer to white, or legally white with all privileges of being free in a white colonial slave society, where being white was a form of property (National Archives 1785, National Archives 1791-1797, Journalist 1823, Harris 1993, Petley 2005, Livesay 2010, Burnard 2012). Slave laws were enacted by the political system in Great Britain and needed complete agreement with the colonial political leaders to institute them. Belief in the system of enslaving African and Creole people was crucial to exacerbate enslavement's continuance. Elsa Goveia was convinced that without a belief in the system of enslavement, the laws would have been impossible to be established (Goveia 1970, pp. 75-76). There were rarely reluctant enslavers. The Slave Registration Act 1816 enforced all enslavers to register their enslaved people, and this came into force June 1817. The slave registers for his parish, were submitted to Rev Stewart by either the owners, their overseers, or representatives, and provided details such as names, colour, place of birth, race, age, the name of the mother of the children, and how they belonged to the owner or changed ownership either through death, purchase, will or deed. The process of keeping official records was crucial and captured the names of an enslaved person against their owners and any subsequent additions, including purchases and births (with name of mother), and

reductions including sales and deaths (with cause of death). This converted what was previously a covert, undocumented, but legal industry, into a formal administrative and management process. Arguably, this process was the precursor to emancipation and compensation, as the recorded audit trail validated the subsequent compensation claim of the number of enslaved persons per owner. With this new administrative process, movement of enslaved people in wills and deeds, manumission records showed where enslaved people were and who they belonged to in real life or in death. Through the Slavery Compensation Awards, each applicant was identified along with the names of the enslaved people from their submitted registers. This became an administrative ordeal politically, legally, economically, socially, and spiritually with much emotional upheaval for everyone involved and completely changed slave society. This will be further discussed later in the thesis.

The historiography of the period highlights the negative connotations attached to mixed-heritage people, as they were regularly vilified. Therefore, Rev Stewart had no hesitation in critiquing his parishioners in documents to the governor of Jamaica and British Houses of Parliament. Why was there such animosity towards the free people of colour? Why was the colour of an individual important during both registrations? Why was the church given this important role in the development of slave society? These questions will be dealt with later in the thesis.

1.2. The Research Challenge

Today, we live in very interesting times for mixed-heritage studies as we see it played out in real life across the world wherever people of mixed heritage reside, even inside the Royal

family with Meghan Markle. Many researchers, literary and erotic writers have attempted to bridge the gap between mixed-heritage and white people in books, films, but rarely mention positive tales or re-enactments of the mixed-heritage woman. She was always seen as 'less than' her white counterpart or being the heroine that dies, is raped or not receiving 'that' which she has desperately sought. Colonel Munro's mixed race daughter Cora in Last of The Mohicans, was a soothing, supportive, strong, motherly, and selfless sister to Alice, rather than being an equal sibling. Cora was firm, with a strength for herself, Alice and Major Duncan Heyward who was supposed to be protecting and escorting them, while Alice who was white, was weak, weepy, and prone to anxiety attacks. Their father knew of Cora's defiant attributes and nobleness, while Alice was jealous of her wit and tenacity. Duncan praised Cora for her fortitude and undisturbed reasoning, realising that it was difficult for her to sacrifice her life to degradation, as she pondered the proposal of concubinage to save them. Much praise was heaped on Cora, but no thought for her vulnerabilities in the danger they were experiencing. The narrative ignored Cora's femininity, giving her attributes that made her appear as 'superwoman' in their crises. In addition, Cora was stripped of equality in sisterhood, leaving her many times in a motherly role. Alice received all the hugs and comfort, but no mention of reciprocal gestures. Those emotions are silenced. Cora, although a courageous heroine of the narrative died sacrificing her life for them. In Jane Eyre's narrative of the unfortunate Bertha Mason Rochester, depicted as the creole Jamaican and tragic rejected wife whose husband unwittingly married 'a crazy woman' for her wealth, locked her away in a deserted attic on his return to England. Academic critics religiously revive Bertha's story due to the nuanced description of Bertha being a white creole, but really a woman of mixed heritage who was legally white, just like Jean Rhys herself, who was sympathetic to Bertha Mason in her novel 'Wide Sargasso Sea' (Rhys 1966, p.ix). The ill-treatment of lonely, silenced

imprisonment, reference to her hair and skin tone, dis-empowered by her 'long suffering' husband, all point to colonial slavery style treatment of free black and mixed-heritage women. Rhys thought 'latent racism' was central in Jane Eyre regarding the depiction of Bertha Mason as a creole Caribbean woman. To resolve this injustice, Rhys gave Bertha a life prior to her unfortunate marriage as Antoinette Cosway in Wide Sargasso Sea a mystical narrative, a way of releasing the 'screaming silence', with high drama and feminine exoticism, but details a woman that was sane prior to emigrating to England, thus shifting the cause of her craziness to being imprisoned in England (Howells 1991, pp. 107-108). The creole woman marginalised in Jane Eyre, became the central figure of Wide Sargasso Sea, thus reversing the roles and giving Bertha/Antoinette a separate space of being and breaking the silence that enshrouded her life. Although a few writers such as Maryse Condé in 'I, Tituba Black Witch of Salem' (Condé 1992) have broken the silence around hidden black and mixed-heritage women in history, these are only a few portrayals of such women hidden in silence who are released from that cage of non-existence. The historical or erotic literature, journals, and study texts disregard mixed-heritage women, and they are often described as concubines, prostitutes, expensive, wanton, in some quite misogynistic texts that were against miscegenous relationships.

Free mixed-heritage people, especially the women of mixed African and mixed European heritage played a substantial role in the colonial history and development of Jamaica in the mid eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Higman 1973, Bush 1981, Heuman 1981, Higman 1989, Beckles 1999, Shepherd 1999, Welch and Goodridge 2000, Lambert 2001, Moore, Higman et al. 2003, Mair 2006, Livesay 2009). Their identity across the stratum of the Spanish lineal descent of colour from mulatto through to legally white, gave them an advantage in manoeuvring the difficult and challenging terrain of colour prejudices, social stratification,

patriarchal domination, and the political establishment (see Figure 1-1). Although they experienced restrictions and intersectional disadvantages from the rigidly developed administrative systems, rules and structures instituted by male oriented Plantocrats and a colonial government that excluded these women, they found a way to bond as a society. This thesis highlights how mixed-heritage women were able to strategically manoeuvre their society as a liminal people, through their ownership of property, meaningful relationships, kinship ties and development of clan community groups, despite the 'screaming silences' (Serrant-Green 2011) that pervaded their participation in the very society they were building. Their participation remained hidden in the historical texts or written out of it. Rev Stewart's negative connotations, about his parishioners and other negative historiography encouraged the questions of who these people in St Elizabeth and the neighbouring parish of Manchester were. The narratives of encountering these mixed-heritage women through wills, deeds, the letters in the Slavery Compensation claims, highlights the social, cultural, economic spread of power across generations of families. Power in death within these documents spread across many years, with specific instructions that gave the impression they never thought slavery would ever be abolished. The administrative documentation of Jamaica's £6m of the £20m compensation for the owners of enslaved people was inundated with letters from family, debtors, and counterclaimants. The parliamentary returns included names of some of my mixed-heritage ancestors as beneficiaries of these claims and owners of enslaved people.

The appointed administrators had extracted the monetary data and had discarded the rest of the qualitative paperwork in vaults. The drama unfolding from this paperwork provided details for this study in unpacking invaluable details underpinning the compensation financial data. Identifying powerful displays of emotions in the letters of mixed-heritage people, especially the women who displayed resistance against relatives of their deceased

spouses on behalf of their children. These records highlighted other means of resistance displayed by these women against the patriarchal system, to maintain financial stability in their family, which was crucial for their survival. Foucault posited, 'where there is power, there is resistance' (Foucault 1990, p.95). This was their opportunity to tell their story, as they were empowered in their applications to seek the compensation and to join the throng of applicants in the British colonies, notably the rich white male planters.

1.3. The Researcher Insider- Outsider Position

As the researcher in this study, the debate on inside-outsider position can be daunting as the participants are deceased, lived in another period, different society and had a different way of life. It is challenging to place oneself in a slavery situation, as the enslaver or the enslaved, especially because there were no diaries to know their daily life experiences. We do know how they lived and how they strategically managed their bequests, and we have the administrative data from the Slavery Compensation Claims to help gauge their lives. This section is about my role as the researcher and where I sit within this study. My researcher's role can change dependent on the situation, as these women, including relatives were deceased, and the period was during slave society (Arthur 2016). From a critical theorist standpoint, the political, social and cultural period was different from the era in which I live, and as the researcher, I could change my role from being inside the study to 'shielding' myself on the outside, while being the ontological objectivist measuring the statistical data for rational choices (Merton 1972, Hechter and Kanazawa 1997). Using the concept of 'status sets' as utilised by Merton (1972) and Milligan (2016), I identify myself as a British born black

woman, in a white/black mixed marriage, first generation university educated academic, born of Windrush generation Jamaican parents. My values as the researcher also shaped the nature of the enquiry, as I reflexively critiqued my current society, slave society and culture. The latter being a challenging terrain especially from the past. I am the researcher and 'the listener', as defined in the 'Silences' framework of Serrant (2011) which is discussed later in the thesis. How as a black woman, was I going to approach a research on my community, my family with such a sensitive topic, especially when some family members were so secretive? What am I making better? What was my insider-outsider research positioning in the study? Although progressing a research in a community, I consider myself a part of (Oliver 2020), I still needed to accept that the field of research in slave society could create discomfort, especially due to the wide-view concept of 'white' people (perpetrator of slavery) versus 'black' people (victims and enslaved). My research was looking at the 'grey' areas, mixed-heritage people on both sides of slave society. As the 'participants' in my study were all deceased, their legacies still needed respect and careful approach, especially my family. However, was I going to 'screen myself' completely out of the study or 'sanitise' my presence as Hubbard et al. (2001) stated? Or was I going to completely situate myself squarely in a study of a period in which I never lived? McNess et al. (2013) argued for the insider-outsider researcher relationship to be revisited and updated, as sometimes a researcher, can situate themselves on both sides, as she explained: '….there is a need for an updating and re-envisioning of the way in which we conceptualise being an insider or an outsider in the research process' (McNess, Arthur et al. 2013, p.297). The tensions of both can be resolved in a way that Milligan (2016) described as an 'Inbetweener' researcher, a concept that recognises that the researcher can make active attempts to place themselves in between in the study (Milligan 2016, p.248). This was done creatively as an 'insider', and an

‘inbetweener’. As the ‘inbetweener, I shifted between being inside the study to the peripheral edge, just like looking through the glass of the hospital neonatal unit. As an ‘insider’ and ‘listener’, using the Silence Framework, I worked, heard, voiced, and empowered ‘the silences’ in the study, which will be detailed later in the thesis.

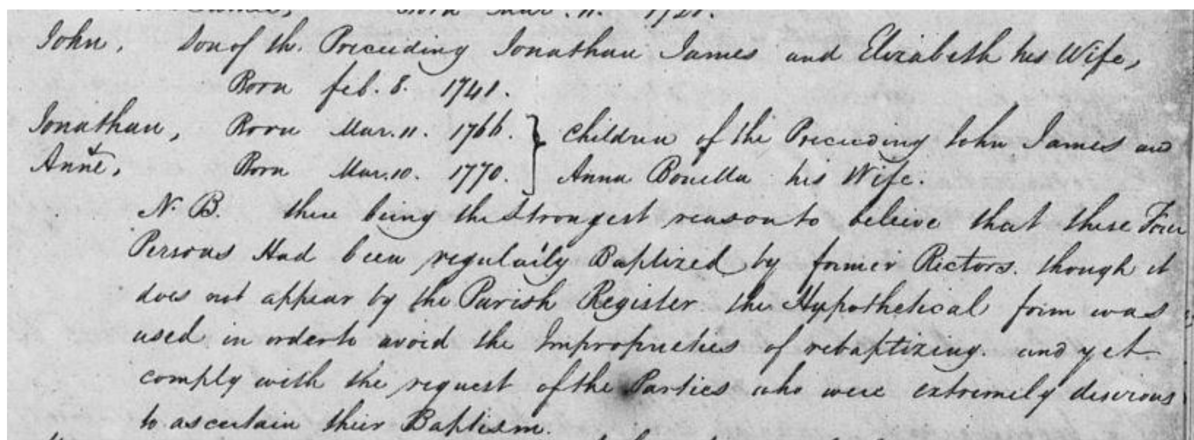
1.4. Background to The Research

1.4.1. Mixed-Heritage Groups

British colonial slavery created a Diaspora of Africans transplanted into Caribbean communities outside of their natural birth environments. Enslaved people transported from Africa to the Caribbean as property, represented a free labour-force creating wealth for British patriarchal planters who had invested in the islands (McMahon 1839, Pringle 1869, Dunn 1972, Ragatz 1977, Williamson 2005, Williamson 2008). Unfortunately, initially, no considerations were made for the middle group of people, those of mixed heritage, the result of procreation between free and enslaved black women and white planters initially, followed by the Creole mixed-heritage people.

Free people, both black and of mixed heritage were divided in classes; those who were manumitted from slavery, those who were born free and those who became legally entitled to same rights and privileges as white people, through the private acts of Assembly signed by the King (Long 1970). To be regarded as white, the mixed-heritage person had to be above three steps removed from their African ancestor. Everyone had to be baptised before they could receive any of the assigned privileges and have a certificate to prove it. The entire nation was categorised according to their colour and/or level of mixed heritage based

on an adapted version of the Spanish/Portuguese lineal descent (see Figure 1-1) and their colour was generally assigned by the rector at baptism. During the early 1800s when mixed-heritage people were multiplying on the island; the Church of England rectors were sometimes nonplussed as to what colour to assign at visibility level when a person was presented for baptism. Appearances could be deceiving, and he often upscaled one's colour on the record with written comments such as, 'thought to be mustee – white', or 'future offspring will be white' to justify their decisions, when indeed the rest of the siblings were quadroons or octoroons. The rectors were sometimes vocal as mixed-heritage people were also re-baptising their children until the rector applied the right colour (see below). The James family were scrutinised by the rector who tried to perform his job, while expressing that he thought they had been baptised many times. In general, in British colonies like Jamaica, a mustee was legally white, unlike America where the 'one-drop rule' regarded everyone with any black blood as black (Jordan 1962, Long 1970, pp. 260-261, 320-321).



John, Son of the Preceding Jonathan James and Elizabeth his Wife,
Born feb. 5. 1741.
Jonathan, Born Mar. 11. 1766. } Children of the Preceding John James and
Anne, Born Mar. 10. 1770. } Anna Bonella his Wife.
N.B. there being the Strongest reason to believe that these Four Persons Had been regularly Baptized by former Rectors, though it does not appear by the Parish Register the Hypothetical form was used in order to avoid the Improprieties of rebaptizing, and yet comply with the request of the Parties who were extremely desirous to ascertain their Baptism.

FIGURE 1-1: THE RECTOR HAD THE 'STRONGEST' REASON TO BELIEVE THE JAMES FAMILY HAD BEEN REBAPTISED

	Black	Mulatto	Quadroon	Octoroon	Mustee	White
White	Mulatto	Quadroon	Octoroon	Mustee	White	White
Mustee					Mustee	White
Octoroon				Octoroon		Mustee
Quadroon			Quadroon			Octoroon
Mulatto	Sambo	Mulatto				Quadroon
Black	Negro	Sambo	Mulatto	Mulatto	Mulatto	Mulatto

Figure 1-2: Matrix describing 'Colour' definitions adopted by the Caribbean Colonies based on the Spanish lineal descent

Mixed-heritage people multiplied very quickly. White women were scarce on the islands; many wives never accompanied their husbands and rape was rife among the planters and their operational management teams (Bush 1990, Burnard 1998, Hall 1999, Burnard 2004, Burnard and Little 2007, Sherwood and Sherwood 2007, Sherwood 2016). Free black, mixed-heritage and enslaved women filled the gap of loneliness, lust, revenge, lechery of very young girls, and power for the soldiers, planters, their white workers, government officials, and even visitors for an overnight stay (Stedman 1988, Burnard 2004). Although laws to protect children under 10 years old and enslaved women against rape were enacted since 1823, those laws were rarely enforced (Anon. 1827, pp. 42-43).

Legal illegitimacy existed for white male apprentices and indentured servants who had 'no marriage' clauses written into their contracts and had no choice but to live in a concubinage relationship with their illegitimate children. Rev. Dr John Stephen, rector of Nassau, in 1816 wrote to the Attorney and Solicitor General in London on behalf of the Caribbean, but his plea fell on deaf ears. With conviction and soul, he implored them for marriage to be legalised among the enslaved and free people of colour, and defiantly said; 'familiarity with vice never fails to blunt the moral feeling' (Stephen 1816). Living in

concubinage had become norm and the parishioners never thought of living any other way, as disobedience to the rules resulted in additional years added to their apprenticeships and losing years to regain their long-awaited freedom (Long 1972, Stedman 1988, Jordan 2005, Oldfield 2007, Jordan and Walsh 2008). However, real, and long-term relationships also existed, as well as small numbers of legitimate marriages, which resulted in a reasonable number of white fathers manumitting their children and the mothers from slavery. Many fathers bequeathed property in the form of enslaved people, land and cattle to these women and children, making the children initially unwitting enslavers, until the children grew up to realise the economic value of slavery (Elliott Esq 1810). Nevertheless, this 'free' position for the mixed-heritage women came at a price. The homogenous negative historiography from history to fiction, combined with the perceived notion about the characters of mixed-heritage women during the long eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, side-lined these women to the margins of history and into silence. Regarded as mere sexual beings, promiscuous, expensive to maintain, prostitutes and other negative connotations attached to them, created an image of desperation, oppression, and social exclusion (Bush 1981, Heuman 1981, Welch 1997, Welch 1999, Welch and Goodridge 2000, Besson and Olwig 2005, Foster 2007). Some of these women chose to morph into the white community by reinventing themselves and passing as white, some married white men and others left the island (Tomlin-Kraftner 2014).

1.4.2. Addressing Race in The Context of Mixed-Heritage Women

Within the study of slave society, history, sociology, and sociocultural anthropology merged to develop a better understanding of mixed-heritage women. Although the women were focused on raising their families, and securing their future, their economic activities during

the long eighteenth century up to and after the abolition era, needed further scrutiny. The acceptance of slavery ancestry took some time to process, however, I needed to explore a deeper study on the free mixed-heritage women who populated my family history as enslavers. As the character Aramis said, “The greatest mystery of life is finding out who we truly are" (The Man in The Iron Mask, 1998). I situated myself inside this study as I wanted to explore my identity, the culture, society, and period in which this study took place, as it was necessary not to be a detached observer but the ‘listener’ (as required of Serrant’s (2011) silence model) of my ancestral history as it unfolded. Considering I had progressed the genealogical research, I needed to delve deeper into history and explore slave society as a reflexive researcher. A part-autoethnography was my first choice method, as it connects the researcher’s social history, ethnic background including personal and emotional life within the social and cultural context, explicitly informed by social science concepts and perspectives (Ellis and Bochner 2000). Norman Denzin (2013) collated a clarification of terms relating to autoethnography in which self-narrative featured recurrently, and Carolyn Ellis posited: ‘… I am the person at the intersection of the personal and the cultural…’ (Denzin 2013, p.19). Although those terms resonate with this thesis as autoethnography, I needed to be more present in the study as a reflexive researcher, developing a more reflexive historical sociological study. This would allow me to fully interpret, self-narrate, innovatively shape, create, and construct a gendered study, which allowed the data its own space to tell its story with critical analysis, but with voice, feelings and emotions (Bourdieu 1990, Hertz 1997, Etherington 2004, Hunt and Sampson 2006, Dean 2017).

It is important to ascertain my choice of the terms mixed, heritage and race. In this thesis, the word ‘race’ relates to the black and white people who lived in a colonial slave society on either spectrum, having separate rules and regulations with mixed-heritage people

in the middle (Jordan 1962, Zack 1993, Knight 2010). Racist language was used to denigrate black people who they called 'Negro' referring to pure African born or creole people born in Jamaica who were not mixed with white blood. Being 'mixed' relates to people who identified with the Spanish lineal descent of colour and was used to legally identify themselves within a slave society. This identifier was important for those people and they took offence if they were described a shade darker than they really were, thus a desire to upscale to white and reject their black heritage, even if it meant re-baptising themselves and their children several times. Racism was rife, as Edward Long, Samuel Estwick as planter historians and many others indoctrinated the British public and indeed the world with their racist rhetoric (Fryer 1992). Long's claim that black people were inferior to white people still impact stereotypes and prejudices today in the twenty-first century as we can see with the death of George Floyd and many others in the USA. Miscegenation was a strong motive for racism and prolonging the enslavement of black people, by using religious reasons was only a way for the planters and those with invested interest to capitalise on human suffering and safeguard their profits, plantations and grow rich in the tropics.

The term heritage was chosen as it refers to the coalescence of inherited cultures within my families' DNA and how we celebrate that culture as Jamaicans wherever we are. Family Search, the family history organisation (www.familysearch.org 2019) quotes heritage as: 'a person's unique, inherited sense of family identity: the values, traditions, culture, and artifacts handed down by previous generations…. Some families define their heritage primarily as their ethnic, cultural, or national identity' (Morton 2019).

The study of the inhabitants from the parishes my ancestors evolved was explored on a micro socioeconomic level. Considering the women were recorded as baptising enslaved

people, it was logical to find them recorded in British government administrative paperwork as owners, a concept which I found difficult to accept initially. Kathleen Butler's extant study paid minimal attention to the slavery compensation awards records but she geared her study towards the economics of slavery, comparatively with Barbados (Butler 1995). Nick Draper, the most recent researcher in the use of the Slavery Compensation records, analysed specifically those awardees of the compensation across the British colonies but touched minimally on people of colour (Draper 2010).

The Slavery Compensation awards were fiercely debated in Britain by the proslavery groups and the cash poor landowners who needed payment for the enslaved people they owned in Jamaica and were about to be freed. The enslaved people were jubilant, the landowners wanted to recoup their money, the creditors, and mortgagers needed to be repaid. The British government negotiated with the Rothschild Bank a contract of approximately £20m in compensation for all their colonies, less than half the estimated value of the enslaved people, of which Jamaica received £6m (Draper 2010, Tomlin-Kraftner 2014), to be paid effective 1 August, 1835. Towards the end of slavery, everyone with invested interest in the enslaved people before they were freed, wanted to benefit financially from the British Compensation Award of £20m. This study is therefore underpinned with the Slavery Compensation Claims of 1834. When Prof Hilary McD Beckles (2013) introduced his book on '*Britain's Black Debt*' regarding reparations for British Caribbean slavery, he listed all who benefitted from the slavery 'juggernaut' including businesses, banks, kings, and queens. That list ended with 'and in the end, the men and women in the street' (Beckles 2013). This thesis refers to those free mixed-heritage and black people who were the free, ordinary men and women living in society, contributing to a microeconomic capitalist system via their pens or smallholdings, and exploited enslaved people for free labour. They too were claimants and

beneficiaries of compensation from the £20m slavery compensation awards from the British government, a process that started prior to the abolition of slavery, during the apprenticeship system, emancipation era and after the abolition of slavery and apprenticeships. The study does highlight that many of those beneficiaries of mixed heritage never received the claim, someone collected the money in London, but the money never arrived in Jamaica or to the parishes under study.

1.5. Situating the Reflexive Self as Listener Amidst The 'Screaming Silences'

In part, this thesis represents a reflexive genealogical research and observance of family records, while representing my black identity in a worldwide family of mixed-heritage people. This represents part rationale for this study. These highlight the enslaver and enslaved relationships in the development of my mixed-heritage family within the traditional parish of St Elizabeth and the newly formed parish of Manchester in Jamaica, during the 1750-1850 in British colonial slavery. The parishes of Clarendon and St Catherine also form parts of the study but not in detail. In this section I will explore my childhood, reflect on the 'screaming silences' pervading family life, being born in England but raised in Jamaica, which was the opposite of what families were doing during the early 1970s, most were heading to England and the United States of America. This thesis aids contemporary people of mixed heritage in terms of their identity, their heritage and education of the younger generation who are living in a modern diaspora.

1.5.1. A Worldwide Family History in Jamaica

Both my parents shared with me genealogical data about our family, but they dismissed and evaded any questions about slavery when I asked as a teenager in Jamaica. On returning to the UK, life enabled opportunities to further explore those early childhood questions, thus genealogical research synced into my academic investigations of consumer behaviour, conspicuous consumption, and hedonism. The genealogical data of family members mentioned by my parents, led me to African, Jewish, and Scottish ancestry, and discoveries of free mixed-heritage women as British colonial enslavers. This insight only fuelled my desire to gain knowledge about the family's past and inspired several DNA tests, the results of which identified no major surprises. However, I was surprised by the number of African and European nations represented in my DNA, alongside Portuguese, Spanish and Jewish DNA. Also present were all the British nations: Irish, Scottish, Welsh, and English heritage.

Oral history passed down to my mother by her paternal grandmother Priscilla who raised her, ensured we knew about our Scottish heritage. My great-grandmother Priscilla Elizabeth Elliott nee Elliott was born on the 7th of Nov 1868, just a little over 30 years after the abolition of slavery. Priscilla was born into a consanguineous family and married Bernard Havelock Elliott, her first cousin, who was also born into the same consanguineous family. My grandfather Frederick, knew all four of his grandparents as they all lived close by, were all Elliott from birth and all considered white within the Jamaican community. My mother met her own mother as a teenager aged about 13 years old when her grandmother Priscilla, who raised her, died, and realised for the first time that her mother was a black woman (my grandmother's genealogy has since proved she belonged to the Powell family of St Elizabeth). My mother called her 'Aunt Lena' and told us to do the same. She never called her mother as there was no bonding between them.

My father's maternal grandmother Anna Ford McFee born in 1878 raised him, and being a midwife, she told him many family stories of her Jewish grandfather's Levy family as she travelled on her midwifery duties to see family in Mandeville, Manchester and in St Elizabeth. Her mother, Jane Levy Harvey (b. 1860) was the last child and daughter of Joseph Levy (born London, 1805-1891) and Mary Hopwood (St Elizabeth 1812-1877). These two parishes with the parish of Clarendon hold strong cultural constructs within my DNA and both my parents were also related from St Elizabeth. This led to research questions of consanguineous/ endogamous family structures and kinship clans. The reality is, there is no Jamaican DNA, thus the appropriateness of the Motto 'Out of Many, One People' (Richardson 1983). The Diasporas and human geography enabled people of African, British, European and Jewish ancestry to meet on Jamaican soil, forge relationships and created a creole Jamaican people with shared culture, food, sports, religion, beliefs and a strong interest in kinship ties which shaped our diasporic habitus (Ang 2018). Genealogy is not a new hobby for Jamaicans. Rev George W. Bridges, the curate for Manchester and St Elizabeth, who baptised the majority of my ancestors between 1817-1823 in both parishes, conceded, 'the Creoles are particularly tenacious of their genealogy; the meanest and the most ignorant preserve with conscious pride that inestimable treasure' (Bridges 1826, part iii, p.447). Over 57,448 people tested via AncestryDNA (seen 19 July 2020); white, black, and mixed heritage from across the world, with almost 9,000 of those who share a DNA match to mine. They have so far been identified as being from the same DNA community in St Elizabeth and Manchester 'South Central Afro-Jamaicans'. This is the same geographical area as this study and a gathering point of DNA unity. The existence of both enslavers and enslaved people within my DNA, the genealogical data, and our oral family history, made me as a black woman, a full product of British Colonial

Slavery with too many nations in my DNA to state exactly where my identity is situated, except to call Jamaica my ancestral home.

1.5.2. Early Childhood in the UK

Oral history, when heard often as a child, can be funny, strange, remembered in varying degrees and most times forgotten. It is that irksome feeling of having the words of the storyteller coming in through one ear and going out through the other, especially if boring as most children feel. The stories may have been too big for small ears. Born in South London to parents of the Windrush Generation, I became very aware of skin colour before I was seven years old at Primary school. Asking my mother why I was being called 'chocolate' was never answered. The question and the challenge never went away. From my earliest memory as a child in the 1960s, it was difficult for me to tell the difference between my Australian teacher with her strong accent, the white people living on our South London street and those who came to our home to visit our parents. They were my mother's relatives, but they looked the same as our neighbours, but with slightly different skin tones, hair, and accents. It felt strange seeing them when they arrived, because although we sometimes played in the street with the white neighbours and attended school where the children were mostly white, it was commonplace to see in the windows of South London's residential properties for rent, signs stating 'no Blacks, no Irish, and no Dogs'. While some of these relatives had similar 'white' skin tones to my mother, sisters and brother, some black relatives looked like me. As a child, I watched and listened, while nuggets of information sunk into my brain. In our home, my mother being a meticulous soul, prepared for her guests with precision; cleaning, cooking, baking, using her best china and tea cloths. As children we were warned to be on our best

behaviour and after greetings, placed out of sight. Being the eldest child, I helped my mother convey food into the 'no children allowed' living room, where drinks were already stored in the old radiogram-cum-drinks cabinet. The 'white' visitors to our home with their strange accent made me realise they were different because they laughed and chatted very loudly with my parents in familiar tones of cadence and intonation, while I listened to them from the room next door. The discussions of white and black people, the varied accents, the white and black relatives visiting my parents and the laughter that accompanied discussions on a relative's escapade (I understood as I got older), when they passed as white on their most recent trip to America in the 1960s, was commonplace. The fear they reiterated passing as 'white' in America was very real. There were many names mentioned and I do not know who they referred to, but snippets of my grandfather and his brothers going to the USA, and infiltrating white communities, socialising, and drinking with whites without being 'identified' as being black, rang in my ears. My parents would laugh about it for days, repeating the stories to my other relatives who lived on each floor of our large Victorian South London home.

As I got older, stories continued to be re-enacted, and the various idiosyncratic characteristics played out in our twentieth century home, first in England and then in Jamaica. Gradually as we became teenagers, the talks ceased, we had not realised that time had changed. This raised the question of who is a 'white' person? Is it more than a perception? Does a person only need to have white skin, act, speak and look white to be white? No one spoke about slavery but as an avid reader, from age four, I read the National Geographic magazine, regularly delivered to our house from the previous owners, which enhanced my interest in books, history, and literature. My first encounter with African people was in my South London home, where a Nigerian couple and their children moved into when they bought our house as we prepared to emigrate to Jamaica. They spoke and cooked differently,

but I enjoyed being in their quarters of the house, as I enthusiastically watched the mother comb her daughter, Josephine's hair, with twists, coils, and black thread, all standing straight from her head. Mrs. I. would tell me that my mother was white, evade my question about colour and said that I was not black like her Josephine. Although I wanted her to twine my hair, she refused by always saying it was too curly and brown, it would look strange and unnatural, and my mother would be very upset. Josephine and I became friends for that last year before leaving the UK and I learnt as a child from a child about real Africa.

1.5.3. Growing up in Jamaica as a British child

Emigrating to Jamaica as a child, where a full British education system existed, enhanced my education of 'white' and black family members, and gave me more exposure to people, especially children that looked more like me. This was a unique opportunity for some of us as 1960s British children born in England but educated in Jamaica, as numerous Jamaicans were immigrating to Britain, Canada, and the United States to seek a better life and where children were experiencing racialised subjection in schools (Phoenix 2009). As an immigrant child and teenager in Jamaica, I had the opposite experience as school was unforgettably good. The friends I made in Jamaica from aged 8 years old, are still my friends now. Teachers had such a positive impact, that I never forgot them, and it inspired me to be a teacher. The only drawback of this experience was the colonial perspective of the Jamaican education system which was based on learning (from Primary to High school) the English curriculum with books meant for English students. The exams were prepared and marked by Cambridge university. For my cookery exam I had to learn from a book called 'Cookery Recipes', written by the University of Surrey, answer questions about a British bakery, and prepare a Lemon Meringue

Pie in Jamaica, surrounded by Jamaican foods. Education during the period was still Eurocentric British and has significantly changed since then.

Family members in Jamaica appeared different, with the main difference being, there were many more 'white' people existing in my family within St Elizabeth and Manchester. However, the St. Elizabeth relatives and my paternal great-grandmother whom I described as 'different white people' from those in England, reinforced identity questions and differences in my family. At school, my youngest sister who has a fair complexion, experienced regular bullying with taunts of 'red Ibo', or 'Mallata', the Jamaican creole patois of ‘Mulatto’, representing the mixed-heritage Africans of lighter complexion, an experience that created in me the overprotective older sister, just like Cora in Last of the Mohicans. The 'colour' terrain within the family was challenging, creating an exploration of kinship affinities of likeness as to whom did I look like (Mason 2008). As a child with darker skin than my siblings, having a sense of identity and belonging was a conscious thought when I met varied members of the family. Africa or slavery was never discussed in the home or with family members, however, we were always told that our varied family were of Scottish and Jewish descent. Jamaican High school education gave me some slavery knowledge I needed but there were still many questions unanswered. My existential character was reserved, single minded, and I had the space to study, thus developing a theory of myself in relation to freedom, choice, duty, existence and being. In adulthood, learning of philosophies, such as Immanuel Kant’s Categorical Imperative (1785) and Jean Paul Sartre’s Existentialism (1943), these teachings located in the Global North and associated with the cultural hegemony of the West, made me realise the philosophies were already ingrained in my young life before I knew of or had access to any of their writings. My mother introduced us to Christianity in our childhood, and as we practically lived at the church next-door, seven days a week, either worshipping God, choir

practice, prayer meetings (sometimes all night), youth meetings on Friday, cleaning the church on a Saturday, and church camps all summer, those were my happiest childhood and early teenage days. I developed a strong religious faith with hopeful positivity, and a sense of duty which gave me a certainty of being and a sense of significance in my own reason for existing (Kant 2002).

1.5.4. A Reflexive Comparison of Race and Colourism in Jamaica And England

Although born in England, my experience living in Jamaica for eighteen years from Primary to High school age in the 1970s and 1980s, I perceived the obvious difference between white, fair/brown skin and black people as being a social class issue with the added socioeconomic rigours of daily life. The perception that social class differences were linked to colour was the dividing factor in Jamaica. On average, the poorest people were dark skinned but comparing the fairest of people in St Elizabeth, they dressed very much the same. Sunday should have been the day of best judgement, but even then, it was impossible to tell who was poorest because everyone was extremely dressed in their best hats, attire, and shoes. The only people who treated me differently to my siblings were my fair skinned older St Elizabeth family members who queried why I was a different shade, a common question for the family. I never knew the word racism or stress, as they never applied to my life or anyone at work, among my friends, in the family or my neighbours. Looking back and assessing 'stress' or 'race', yes, we experienced Island challenges and we worked very hard to achieve goals, but during the 70s and 80s, in a traditionally relaxed Manchester (Jamaican) society, where as long as you remained neutral in politics, something or someone helped to dissolve the pains of wants and needs. No one was ever alone in traditional Jamaica; having skills such as, growing your own

small garden, knowing how to sew, mend and crochet; good neighbours, food, music, dancing, church, religious beliefs, strong values, and my Indian doctor's free copy of 'Light on Yoga' at nineteen years old all helped to instil calm and negate any challenges. My peers in High school were of different cultures, skin colours, hair types and I never felt inferior or superior to anyone or anyone towards me. The teachers who were Jamaican, English, Spanish and French were professional and caring but strict. Education was the stronghold and bond.

Returning to England in late 1988 opened my mind, eyes, and heart to how different the society was within one week and it was not the snow. To understand why it was such a surprise to my employers in an interview process to be the first person to ever achieve 99.9% on a financial/numerical exam for a job in the newspaper company and that I was black was a shock to my core. All my peers in Jamaica would have had 100% pass rate three times over. I got the job, but the ridicule of 'being smart for a black woman' or the jibes for wearing red, yellow, bright blue in December or other bright colours implied that I needed to conform to British winter weather and systems that I never knew existed and were a new experience for me. I did not want to change my Jamaican identity and wear black in winter when I was not attending a funeral, therefore sorting what to wear, how it made me feel and my heart triple beating entering the doors at work were strange feelings, in addition, there were other daily work challenges relating to my race. While I thought I was being bullied, a white Australian social worker told me about racism and said that was what I was experiencing from work colleagues. My father told me to go back to Jamaica because there was nothing in Britain for me and my children except pain and poverty. Again, the silence of what was really happening and needed to have told me by my father, was left unsaid. I did not and could not comprehend why and what the differences were. Here I was in Britain in my middle twenties asking the question, what was race, racism? The trauma of feeling hurt, experiencing stress related

symptoms, losing one's ease and calm, created dis-ease and health challenges exactly in the way bell hooks (2013) expressed it: 'black folks have known for years that the traumatic experiences caused by facing racist assaults and/or the chronic stress of coping with everyday racism causes health problems'(hooks 2013, p.21). To help myself I turned to my faith in God, prayers and my practice of blending mind, body, spirit in yoga.

To educate myself on the topics I read, 'Staying Power' by Peter Fryer and 'Black, White or Mixed Race' by Barbara Tizard and Ann Phoenix, and started visiting the New Beacon book shop in London who were specialists in black culture to gain the knowledge I sought. For this thesis, I applied race as experiential and reflexive, pertaining to the designated colour of the families in this study, and how they used colour to upscale themselves to white, a defiant act of resistance. Whether enslaved or free, each had found a way to resist the patriarchal order of Britain. Using bell hooks' (2013) terminology of 'Racism: Naming what hurts', I can approach this topic of my ancestor's ownership of enslaved people even though it is challenging, painful and controversial (hooks 2013). A part of confronting race issues is to confront what hurts and in the early days of genealogical research for my enslaved ancestors, I found that they were the enslavers, and that hurt. Searching the slave registers for enslaved children to link to their parents, hurt. Handing over an entire family file that I had found back to a 4th great granddaughter thus aiding in their family search was rewarding. There are millions to find. Opening the archival closet where mixed-heritage people remained hidden as enslavers in silence, should help the ex-colonial governments realise the need for reparations, as the society was more broken than originally thought and vital investment is needed more than ever to build educational infrastructures that were non-existent after the abolition of slavery.

While there seem to have been some progress in attitudes towards race over the decades, there is also evidence of decline, insufficient progress with retrograde ideologies coming to the fore. What was once individuals' suffering in silence, as in the Windrush generation immigration status scandal, media intervention has highlighted the political forces of strategy and policy that has markedly and painfully disadvantaged Commonwealth citizens in general. On the other hand, times have changed to include the unexpected, the surreal, the almost impossible. At the start of this research, the world was fixated on Meghan Markle, an American mixed-heritage divorcee and actress, who was engaged to Prince Harry, the world's most eligible bachelor and son of the future King of the United Kingdom. They married, bore a child and are today no longer working Royals but living in the USA. This is the reality and opposite of 'screaming silences'. Like the mixed-heritage women during colonial slavery who 'were background material' in a male dominated society, Meghan was expected to stay quietly in the background performing her Royal duties without complaint and presented to the public with hand waves and smiles, but she defied the stereotype by expressing her need without justifying her actions, by 'screaming her silence' in the most dignified way a Duchess could.

Some actors, actresses, politicians, and sports personalities born directly of black and white parents, dominate their industries: Halle Berry; Kelly Holmes; Jessica Ennis; Leona Lewis; Lewis Hamilton; and the most famous, Barack Obama, former president of the United States of America. Representation of Bi-racial Americans are seen in many industries and politics, still carrying the stigma of their blackness of not being good enough, working twice as hard to please even though they may be the best at what they do (Joseph 2013). However, what about those of deeper mixed heritage? The Tina Turners, the Naomi Campbells, the entire Caribbean society, and African Americans of deep-rooted mixed heritage. The music

industry spans all cultures, which enhances the dominance of mixed-heritage women like Beyoncé and Rihanna, their mononyms a testimony of their universal reach. In Beyoncé's sixth album 'Lemonade' (Beyoncé, Brown et al. 2016), Beyoncé shares a depiction of her Louisiana Creole identity being of mixed heritage yet black southern in her 'Formation' video, with lyrics stating "my daddy Alabama, momma Louisiana. You mix that Negro with that Creole make a Texas bama"**.** Neutralising the negativity associated with the slang ‘bama’ as being a derogatory description applied to uneducated people of the deep south (Smith 2010)**,** Beyoncé reinforces her Creole society and culture, adding:

‘I been out in this world a while now, living other places, slaying, and inaugurating and eviscerating audiences. Been setting the world on fire. But I ain't never left home. Y'all in my heart. I ain't never gone’.

Her video (**F**igure 1-3) highlights the Plaçage insinuated artistic iconography, depicting an array of white dresses as fashion worn by free creole mixed-heritage women – church fashion versus Ball fashion, which is more sexualised. The outfits, like those in the eighteenth-century paintings of Agostino Brunias (Figure 1-4), depict free mixed-heritage women in concubinage within the British slave society and more than likely what my ancestral free grandmothers would have worn during the slavery period of my study from 1750-1850.

FIGURE 1-3: FORMATION VIDEO FEATURING BEYONCÉ RECREATING CREOLE WOMEN. (YOUTUBE.COM)

FIGURE 1-4: A WEST INDIAN FLOWER GIRL AND TWO OTHER FREE WOMEN OF COLOUR BY AGOSTINO BRUNIAS CA. 1769 (GOOGLE ARTS AND CULTURE – YALE CENTRE FOR BRITISH ART, PAUL MELLON COLLECTION)

The address of black and white relationships, identity and race is in a growing research field. Historians such as Frantz Fanon's 'Black Skin White Masks' (1953), James Walvin's 'Black and White the Negro and English Society 1555-1945' (1973), Gad Heuman's 'Between Black and

White: Race, Politics and the Free Coloreds in Jamaica, 1792-1865' (1981), and Pedro Welch's '"Red" and Black over White: Free Coloured women in pre-emancipation Barbados' (2000), they started the Caribbean diaspora historic analysis of people of colour, knowing there was a lot more work to be done. Peter Fryer's 1984 publication of 'Staying Power: Black People in Britain since 1504', followed by Barbara Tizzard and Ann Phoenix's 'Black, White or Mixed Race' (1993) paved the British society discussions in addressing race and racism in the lives of young people of mixed parentage. Carl Degler's 'Neither Black nor White: Slavery and Race Relations in Brazil and the United States (1971), Sister Frances Jerome Woods' 'Marginality and Identity a Colored Creole Family Through Ten Generations' (1972), Ira Berlin's 'Slaves Without Masters: The Free Negro in the Antebellum South' (1974), and Naomi Zack's 'Race and Mixed Race' (1993), Sybil Kein's 'Creole: The History and Legacy of Louisiana's Free People of Color' (2009) among many others, addressed 'mixed-race' from South America to the United States, especially the Plaçage and free people of colour in South Louisiana. All these studies address direct black and white relationships during the slavery period, while mixed-heritage study is thin and even deeper, as individuals still bear the prejudices of colourism in the families and in society, justifying a case for a 'screaming silence' revelation of where it all began (Henriques 1953, Nettleford 1965, Nettleford 1978, Sio 1987).

1.6. Research Rationale, Arguments, Aims and Objectives

It is historically known that mixed-heritage people participated in slavery across the Americas (Brathwaite 1978, Heuman 1981, Higman 1989, Shepherd 2011). However, detailed research on the scale and to what extent is not covered in extant studies. Most academic publications

on slavery and slave society are written from the European, British, or American perspectives. With the established academic community referencing each other and younger researchers encouraged to reference those who have been raised in the traditional spheres of long held beliefs of academic arguments, there has been little encouragement for new thoughts on the same data or new ways of analysing the same data especially from the Caribbean perspective. The rationale for this study is three-fold. Being a micro-socioeconomics study, it covers two parishes out of the fourteen current Jamaican parishes and therefore has an extendable remit (twenty-one parishes in the study period). Jamaicans are desirous of who their family are, whether they were enslaved, free, where they came from and this knowledge forms a part of recognising their identity (Bridges 1826). This study therefore serves to: 1) provide new and evidenced knowledge of the extent to which mixed-heritage women were property owners and enslavers prior to emancipation: 2) enhance academic historiography of mixed-heritage women within the slavery period from an inclusive Caribbean perspective rather than a solely postcolonial Euro-centric perspective, thus contributing to the process of academic decolonisation; and 3) provide sociology and social cultural anthropology a different perspective of family development and kinship in a colonial Caribbean society. Colonial perspective refers to the writers who have been educated in a Eurocentric society, the postcolonial ideals, or legacies of colonial thoughts (See 1.4 and the discussions in chapter eight).

1.6.1. Developed Arguments

The Slavery Compensation Claims and Awards underpin this multidisciplinary study on free mixed-heritage and black women, which examines the period between 1750 and 1850.

Although the investigation is grounded in these mixed-heritage women from the parishes of St Elizabeth and Manchester, as a point of contrast for examination, free and enslaved women of mixed heritage from other parishes and white women also formed a part of this study, as studying slave society includes everyone (Tannenbaum 1946, Higman 1998). They shared the same complex social space, from which their social interactions could be captured, as the narrative of the structures and constructs of slave society is incomplete without them (Grèzes and de Gelder 2009, p.2). Understanding and interpreting the meaning of behaviours of these individuals as a group through the choices and actions they make as individuals can enable us to understand life in a slave society. Claimants were vulnerable when challenging their claims for the slavery compensation awards and exposed behaviours on paper which enabled perceptions to be drawn (Bruce and Thornton 2004). Within these constructs are intersectionality, power struggles, resistance, colour stratification, clan group developments, kinship ties and affinities. These constructs bear relevance to the upward social mobility these families engaged in and their economic contribution during slavery in the capitalist society in which they lived. There are many areas of study coming together in detailed contexts, requiring analytical interpretations of the data without relying too much on my preconceived assumptions, and subjective ideas gained through genealogical study and oral history. As I worked through the details of the data and specific information found for these families, it was important to understand people's behaviour not only from visually seeing or hearing them, but the archival data provided such understanding too, as I argued the reasons why my ancestors acted in a certain way or reconciled the choices people made in the past (Polkinghorne 1989, Willis 2007). Developing an argument-based study with a reflexive interpretation was appropriate. It is about the reason I have to believe an interpretation to be accurate based on actions, choices people made, or how I can justify an interpretation by

combining academic theories with my analysis, that gives a better picture of the subjects under study (Creswell 2003).

There are three arguments underpinning this thesis that led to the aim and objectives. This qualitative methodology study contains elements of quantitative analysis, that provides a unique triangulated analysis, linking the compensation claims of mixed-heritage people and award data with information sourced about individuals. Historical understanding would suggest that white people were the only enslavers (mainly white men); however, this study will demonstrate that mixed-heritage and black people played a larger role in enslavement as clan family groups, not only as individuals, than was previously understood and that mixed-heritage women played an even more covert strategic role within a capitalist slave society. Approximately £20m in Slavery Compensation payments were awarded and distributed to slave owners in all the British colonies with Jamaica receiving over £6m (Butler 1995, Draper 2010, pp. 87-113). Although historians acknowledge that during slavery mixed-heritage people were not just enslaved but also acted as enslavers, the scale of enslavement by people of mixed heritage and their individual lives will become more apparent during this detailed analysis of the compensation awards in these two parishes of Jamaica (Walvin 1973, Heuman 1981, Heuman and Walvin 2003, Besson and Olwig 2005). Argument 1 is evidenced through quantitative analysis of the data derived from both compensation claims, administrative claims records, births, marriages and deaths records and any other records containing personal data and quantifiable.

Argument 1. *Free mixed-heritage people, including women were significant economic participants in British Colonial slave society, not only as free destitute people of colour, but as owners of property including enslaved people.*

The relationships within the Slavery Compensation claims in St Elizabeth and Manchester are captured in a bespoke designed database. The database highlights all the claimants and beneficiaries within both parishes and the interrelationships where established. In addition, it identified the graded colour of these people initiated by the Spanish lineal descent used within slavery to record baptisms, births, marriages and deaths, racial category, kinship ties, and the decisions people made, thus allowing the production of reports. This process provides previously unidentified knowledge of the proportion of mixed-heritage and black beneficiaries of compensation awards and thus enslavers, exploring the intersectional boundaries between men and women at a time of patriarchal domination. Argument 2 is aimed at developing an understanding of the Slavery Compensation Awards, including the associated social, political, and economic arguments, systems, and processes and to understand the importance of property ownership in the social structure of eighteenth and nineteenth century society, primogeniture rules as applied to sons' inheriting property, including bequeathed property, the laws of coverture and married women's property. Theories of Intersectionality and Rational Choice theory are built into the case studies, created to highlight the use of letters, wills and deeds used to claim the funds and the processes of proving eligibility to the awards.

Argument 2. *Colonial British mixed-heritage women had a strategic focus on achieving upward mobility through employing economic improvement and relationship development tactics for the benefit of themselves and their posterity.*

The thesis explored St Elizabeth as a fringe society of liminal people, far away from the main centre of economic political eyes, yet interest in slavery revolts kept political eyes on the movement of people. Argument 3 inferred from genealogical exploration of these individual societies, from a kinship perspective, emphasises St Elizabeth and Manchester's development as amalgamated clan communities, where group membership with associated allies was crucial. The nuclear family, kinship ties, fictive kin, associated friendships, and property ownership played a distinct role in the emergence of social life within the parish. To move upwards in society, they developed strategic white patriarchal alliances, which in turn shifted the colour of their children closer to white or legally white. Due to their geographic position, they were marginalised and socially excluded, thus they created their own culture and speech within these parishes and the inhabitants of St Elizabeth developed a different accent from the rest of the English-speaking island. The exploration of the patriarchal order within a British colonial society steeped in capitalism, highlights where power, consumerism, conspicuous consumption, hedonism, religion, and sex reigned in the creation of wealth and identity. The literature on family include Ladislav Holy (Holy 1996) and George Peter Murdock (Murdock 1949) who describes the 'nuclear' family as 'a universal social grouping … a distinct and strongly functional group in every known society' (Murdock 1949, p.49). Theories include the overarching Silence model, with Rational Action and Choice theories, Entitativity and Intersectionality. They are applied on the foundations of Weberian philosophy of Interpretive

Sociology as interpreted by Mary Fulbrook (Fulbrook 1978), and supports Laura Serrant's Silences Framework of (Serrant-Green 2011, Serrant-Green 2018).

Argument 3. *Mixed-heritage women established a unique economic social retained space to combat social exclusion and marginalization through clan groupings with consanguineous, endogamous, and fictive kin relationships.*

1.6.2. Research Aim:

The study aims to challenge held colonial perceptions of mixed-heritage women during the British colonial slavery period, by demonstrating that in entitative clan groups they utilised concubinage as individual rational economic actors, to secure their families' inheritance and upward mobility.

1.6.3. Research Objectives:

Continuing with the study of the parishes of Manchester and St Elizabeth during the 1750-1850 colonial slavery period, there are three objectives linked to the aims and responding to the arguments formed of mixed-heritage women in the study period.

Objective 1

To analyse slavery compensation claims data linked with biographical data to ascertain the level of property ownership by free mixed-heritage women.

Through archival research of the Slavery Compensation claims of 1834 Colonial Office records, as well as data derived from birth, marriages and death records, ethnicity, and colour, were collected, collated, entered, and processed in a bespoke database with a prosopographical thematic structure (see Chapter 4.5.1, p.161), from which reports and graphs were analysed. The reports highlight property ownership and compensation award, categorised by gender, colour (where identified), social class and ethnicity, thus linking intersectional theories to the study.

Objective 2

To analyse and reconstruct in narrative, the lives of free mixed-heritage women, using case studies to ascertain how these women acquired property including enslaved people, how they managed enslaved families, made bequests, inherited, sold, and transferred property.

Using Interpretive analysis research methods to analyse the information derived from letters, wills, deeds, family history and online research that were stored as unstructured data in the database linked to individuals and their associated claims. The information extracted from the database detailed how the women acquired, distributed, or transferred property (inheritances and bequests including enslaved people). These enabled the creation of narrative case studies and biographical vignettes which served to 'liberate the silence' of the women in the study. Rational Action and Choice theories, Intersectionality, Entitativity and Habitus support the discussion within the theoretical Silences Framework.

Objective 3

To identify and examine socioeconomic activities of mixed-heritage women within matriarchal kinship groups in both parishes up to, during and post the period of the Slavery Compensation claims.

Family relationships identified between individuals from the Slavery Compensation claims were linked within the database. This enabled the production of reports identifying family clusters, clan groups and their behaviour patterns, actions and choices linked with tacit knowledge. Narrative analysis, Interpretive analysis, and Prosopography were used to support the creation of case studies and vignettes. The Silences Framework, with the support of Rational Action and Choice theories, Intersectionality and Entitativity underpin this objective.

1.7. Thesis Outline and Conclusion

The thesis consists of eight chapters. Chapter Two presents a narrative discourse with arguments on the literature, which covers discourses on the development of slave society, the multi-diasporic movement of people into the Jamaican parishes and the creation of a mixed-heritage people and culture. Within the literature, the theories were drawn from various sociology, historical and economics writers on the development of creole slave society.

Chapter Three discusses the overarching theoretical framework for this study, with the focus on the concept of 'Silences'. This theory is supported by interrelated concepts of rational action and choice theories, intersectionality, habitus and entitativity. Chapters 1-3 covers stage 1 (Working in 'silences') and stage 2 (Hearing the 'silences') of the 'Silence' framework.

Chapter Four covers stage 3 'voicing 'silences' of the framework and consists of the research methodology and methods employed in the study. The research strategy of narrative inquiry included critical reflexivity in historical sociology, prosopography, and archival research, with research techniques and procedures as case studies and vignettes, dramaturgy, narrative analysis and discourse, and a bespoke database from which to extract data on the Slavery Compensation claims. The study having both inductive and deductive reasoning, analysed the archival documents for patterns via case studies and interpretive analysis. On a deeper level, exploring a retrospective critical analysis of ancestral past experiences using thematic analysis of archival texts. Most narrative writers study the experiences of their subjects, at most while they are alive, however, this study explores a period in British Colonial slavery past almost two hundred years ago.

Chapter Five linked to argument one, is the study chapter on the inductive quantitative analysis of the findings and discussed qualitatively. This chapter embraces the realities in the analytical findings of mixed-heritage women in the Slavery Compensation Claims and Awards of Manchester and St Elizabeth. Alongside the discussion of the findings from data mined from the Slavery Compensation Claims database, are arguments from theory on women and property ownership, the laws of couverture, women being rational economic actors and their ownership of property including enslaved people. The chapter highlights the

number of women involved in enslavement, compares white women ownership of enslaved people, including people who were free black and of mixed heritage.

Chapter six is a study chapter using Case Studies as an analytical tool and linked to argument two. The women discussed were claimants and awardees in the Slavery Compensation and includes other women relevant to the study associated to the parishes.

Chapter seven as a study chapter explores the findings regarding the establishment of these parishes where kinship and fictive kin alliances forged meaningful and long-term relationships in cluster clan groups. This Chapter is linked to argument three.

Chapter eight concludes the thesis as a double chapter with the overall general discussion on the analyses of the three study chapters linked to the theoretical framework and the literature review. Discussions and arguments expounded the transitions of slave society and how a culture was created with its own creole multi mixed-heritage people, with the findings clearly linked to the women as rational economic actors and culminates with an overall conclusion for the study. Chapters 5-8 are linked to stage 4 (‘Empowering Silences’) of the ‘Silences’ framework.

2. Literature Review

This chapter explores the extant literature in the development of slave society in the parishes under study. Human geography, the environmental terrain, the political economy, religious involvement, social challenges all explored under a critical scanning process to highlight what the inhabitants would have encountered, lived with, endured, acclimatised and/or adapted to have lived in this parish and raise families on this pioneering frontier. Studying the geography of these parishes explains who were the people who arrived there, where they came from, their interactions, what values, skills and knowledge were brought there from their original homelands (if any) to create an eclectic society that was constantly plagued by death due to malaria, dysentery and yellow fever (Livingstone 1992, Altink 2006). This was the equivalent of living in the wild west of the American frontiers but with more fatalities (Post 2003). The journal of Lady Maria Nugent forms a backdrop to the study and highlights her relationship with Paulina Bonaparte and her clothes, her relationship with the mixed-heritage ladies, and the perception of conspicuous consumption based on behaviour patterns.

It was important to address the development of these parishes and highlight what the inhabitants had to endure and showcases how/why the island never became a white settler society (Burnard 1994). However, for the creole national born in the parish of St Elizabeth, whether white, black or of mixed heritage, enslaved or free, and who persevered the pestilential terrain, (if they had not been fortunate to have parents who paid for them to go to England), they had nowhere else to go. It was their land, that was the only place they knew, and it was their home.

2.1. Environmental, legal, political, and social background

Slavery was a system developed by the British government and other nations, who chose to capture the most resilient, strongest and enduring people of the world – the African nation, for the back-breaking toil of the colonies, to enable the advancement of capitalism and maximise profitability for themselves and their posterity, with no consideration of the human cost, pain and anguish it would inflict on those enslaved people (Williams 1964, Beckles 1984). This system of government sponsored removal of personal freedom, simply on the grounds of race, and enforced unpaid labour continued for over two hundred years. Taking that pain, anguish and reality of toil and labour down to a small island, then further to the microeconomic parish level, we find real life experiences from all angles during the abolition era of this slavery system.

Slave society consisted not only of free white and enslaved black people, but of various groups of people in between, both within the societal structures of different levels of wealth, power and influence and the various shades of complexion in between black and white, because of inter-racial relationships. In some cases, within just a few generations, descendants of some black people 'transformed' into legally white people. Most, denying their heritage by passing-as white, leading their posterity into DNA oblivion, some not knowing that their ancestors were originally black people, as a diaspora of black evidence was wiped from memory, from their culture, their features, hair and the colour of their skin (Lambert 2001, Lambert 2005, Sturtz 2010).

Drawing on extant works such as 'Lady Nugent's Journal' (2002), Edward Brathwaite's 'The Development of Creole Society in Jamaica 1770-1820' (1978), Edward Long's 'The History

of Jamaica' (1970) and modern works, created a framework for the stories. This chapter was reviewed with specific topics to highlight how St Elizabeth, followed by Manchester, were circumscribed by macro-environmental factors or forces that impacted the society. These forces either amplified the challenges or forced them to circumvent obstacles that enabled them to become an eclectic society of enslaved people and white immigrants, with mixed-heritage people in the middle. Mixed-heritage people were 'an unplanned afterthought' erupting in the middle of society and to treat this 'unfortunate' political blunder, rules were made up hastily to provide a boundary that the mixed-heritage people could not cross. They ardently resisted these boundaries throughout slavery, emancipation and post emancipation (Heuman 2014, p.40). This critical analysis of the background and overview of the parish of St Elizabeth is an exploration of the political, legal, economic, social, cultural, religious, demographic/ecological, and technological (infrastructure) factors that impacted the society. All these forces manifested in various ways on the lives of individuals, their families, and the society in which they lived.

Political concerns manifested in the way how politicians ignored the inhabitants' pleas to create the road infrastructure to enable them efficient and effective movement of their produce to the wharves, thus affecting the economic wealth of poorer families and the society. Demographic and ecological forces such as the situation of the parish, the distance from the political centre created disadvantages for the inhabitants, while the weather impacted workflow, with disease and death that affected the economic stability of families and growth/development of/investment in the parish. Religious forces had a knock-on effect in the colour assigned to babies and children at baptism, sometimes changing a person with restricted privileges to become legally white with all privileges, giving the individual a different legal status and social class. Legal rules and regulations created for a capitalist

society reigned within a slave society with bureaucratic force, causing Governor Nugent, only months after he took up the post in 1801 to growl: 'the embarrassments which a military man labours under within this establishment are very great ... he cannot under this present system direct the driving of a Nail without the consent of the Board of Works' (Wright 2002, p.xxvi). The inhabitants could not change these forces pressuring them whether governmental or environmental but had to find ways and means to work around those challenges, thus enabling the communities to survive.

2.1.1. The impacts of environmental forces within the background of the Parishes

Travelling to the parish overland was a beautiful sight attested by colonial planter-writer Edward Long, who lived in Jamaica between 1757-1769, Lady Nugent, the governor's wife between 1801-1805, and Rev George Bridges, the rector of Manchester between 1817-1823. However by sea, Matthew 'Monk' Lewis another colonial planter-writer posited, 'the south which we coasted yesterday (the St. Elizabeth coastline), is low, barren and without any recommendation' (Lewis 2005, p48). Noel Livingstone quoted the surveyor of the island Thomas Tothill, as claiming, St. Elizabeth was the most leeward parish and too far away for him to do a survey in 1670 (Livingstone 1992, pp. 111-113). St Elizabeth was reduced in size twice. Carved out sections created Westmoreland, to the west of the parish in 1703 giving that parish more inland space, as much space was taken on the coast for the Savanna La Mar wharf, and Manchester, to the east in 1814 (also from Vere and Clarendon) to create a new 'healthier' and 'higher' parish consisting of mountains and higher altitude plateaus, which had a favourable climate for coffee plantations. Despite the reduction in size, St Elizabeth still had a central hilly area perfect for growing sugar and other crops. However, during the slavery

period, the low-level plains leading down to the waterways of Black River, the capital town and its coastal surrounds, although having lively fishing industrial areas and bustling hives of commercial activity, taverns, docking ports and wharves, the marshy areas filled with morass were notorious for breeding mosquitoes, the bane of the inhabitants as mosquitoes brought early death to the thousands who chose to live there as explained in 'The Reapers Garden' (Long 1970, Burnard 1999, Sturtz 1999, Brown 2008). There was an average of three men a day dying from inhaling the toxic fumes of the marshes, especially the army who faced great disadvantages when they settled in the parish in 1764, creating the greatest threat to the serving soldier. Within a year, they buried a hundred and two men with the same illness, compared to six other army stations on the island that lost thirty men altogether in the same period (Church of England 1983).

The unavoidable fact was that St. Elizabeth was unattractive to early settlers, not only because of its wildness and unhealthy ecological environment but also because the buccaneers, a contraband of robbers and seafaring pirates, feared by the planters, squatted on the available lands there (Frohock 2010). St. Elizabeth was still very empty when more than half of the twelve hundred patents issued by the governor between 1671-1675 for resettlements in the parish, were on lands once squatted on by the buccaneers (Dunn 1972). In 1768, almost a hundred years later, St Elizabeth still had almost 80,000 acres of unsettled land (Long 1970, p.191, Dunn 1972). Forty years later, there was still no improvement in the environmental health of St Elizabeth, the parish was considered the worst place to live on the island, with one inhabitant complaining to the House of Assembly, 'none but amphibious creatures, such as fishes, frogs and "Dutchmen," could live there' (Gardner 1971, pp. 211-212). Women buried husbands and children, men buried their wives and children, children orphaned and friends burying whole families within short spaces of time was common

procedure as death reigned terror in the parish (Brown 2008). The sickness and death rates created ecological, social, and economic disaster impacting the inhabitants, with an already empty parish with no major investments. There was nothing they could do about the algae and mosquitoes as the epidemic of malaria and yellow fever, although it was an island-wide problem, it was catastrophic across the parish. Trevor Burnard (1999) claimed that the swampy waters were unhealthy because they bred falciparum algae that produced malaria and yellow fever through the mosquito bites (Burnard 1999, p.66). Death rates were compounded by dehydration from drinking highly potent rum in the tropical sun, venereal diseases and poor hygiene from unwashed hands especially among the army personnel on reconnaissance missions (Burnard 1999, p.66). Lady Nugent found unwashed hands disgusting, as demonstrated in her account when Lord Belcarres dipped his dirty fingers into fricassee chicken while dining at King's House. She said his hands needed a good scrub and a nailbrush (Wright 2002, p.11). As Burnard (1999) posited, 'Whites suffered worse mortality rates than did blacks, despite slaves' debilitating work and punishment regime. The extent of white mortality in the island doomed determined attempts to populate the island with whites' (Burnard 1999, p.65). In Black River, ships were docking there with healthy crew and dead within a week. Between 1810 and 1811, the owner(s) of the ship 'the Henry Cerf', was unfortunate on two voyages in keeping its main crew alive. On both occasions, within a few days of docking at Black River, they lost the captain, doctor, carpenter, cook, and many of the crew (Church of England 1983, pp. 347-349).

With limited road access, mainly horse and donkey tracks, politicians, merchants, overseers, and those who could afford to, travelled by sea from St Catherine (Port Henderson) sailed around the coastline to get to the parish and surrounding areas, due to the extremely difficult and dangerous mountain passes. This was the safest route, but still encountered

perilous challenges including threats from unruly inhabitants and buccaneers. Roads were often inaccessible and pleas from the inhabitants to the Assembly (the political establishment acting on behalf of the House of Parliament) for roads to be cut and tracks improved were ignored well into 1804 (Jamaican House of Assembly 1802 - 1804). Governor George Nugent and Lady Nugent, travelled to St Elizabeth to visit the parish on government duties and to see her sister-in-law, Mrs Skinner who lived in Black River with her daughter Bonella, Lady Nugent's niece. On their first visit in 1801, they took the road by carriage, which from Westmoreland to St Elizabeth was relatively good, as it was prepared for them on account of them visiting the parish. However, passing through St Elizabeth, she was astonished at the beautiful scenery, greenery, variety of flowers, birds, parrots, how fruitful and abundant in food the parish was, which she described as a romantic place, but overall she had a negative impression of not only the ill-kempt houses and ill-mannered 'white' people who had no etiquette, decorum or 'idea of impropriety', but the roads were full of stumps, rocks, precipices and narrow tracks (Wright 2002, p.92). This was the experience from the governor's entourage, yet nothing was done about the roads, as he travelled by sea thereafter (Wright 2002).

It was obvious from those 'white' people Lady Nugent met, where their conduct fell far short of her approval or who she was disgusted with, that they were people who had no experience of how to behave in the company of those considered to be from the higher echelons of society, such as the Governor and his Lady. Being far away in the interior, plus their background and upbringing, those white/legally white/mustee inhabitants were ignorant of the expected standards of the British establishment and the pecking order in which the white upper classes were accustomed to be treated, to be spoken to, to be curtsied to, unlike the treatment received when they visited the homes of other Lords and Ladies

across the island, or how they were treated at the parties held at their residence, King's House in Spanish Town. In white society, every white person was on the same footing but not the same social equal. However, by the 1820s, there was enough second rank whites to form a society of their own made up of poor whites with no skills or qualifications to the thousands of 'legally white' people whose ancestry could be traced back to Africa (Bush 1981, Wright 2002). Lady Nugent wrote that she travelled every week to different areas of the island and stayed at a different house every night without ever meeting another white woman and all the men lived with a woman of colour, either free of colour or an enslaved woman as his special 'favourite' housekeeper (Wright 2002, p.31).

2.1.2. St. Elizabeth

Black River as the capital of St Elizabeth was important but so was the river for commercial purposes. The Mahogany River or Black River, considered by Edward Long, as 'the noblest river in Jamaica' was the shipping port especially for logwood, navigable by ships and barges in the colonial period (Long 1970, p.183). Many travellers disembarked at the port of Black River including, Mathew 'Monk' Lewis the planter/writer with pro-abolition tendencies and a friend of William Wilberforce the abolitionist, who arrived in 1816 (Lewis 1834). The first Moravian Missionaries in 1754 who had an advantageous impact on the religious welfare and development of the enslaved people and free mixed-heritage people in both parishes, also disembarked there (Buchner 1854, Turner 1998, Warner-Lewis 2007). To add to the perceived negative notoriety, Black River was also the wharf where the captain of the infamous slave ship Zong, dispensed of his enslaved African 'cargo' in the Lloyd's insurance case scandal (Oldham 2007, Rupprecht 2007, Webster 2007, Rupprecht 2008). In 1839, with his

preconceived ideas of St. Elizabeth and just a year after emancipation, the Moravian minister Rev. J. H. Buchner on arriving in Black River described the towns and villages as “disorder, filth and an air of negligence and wretchedness. The houses are nearly all built of wood, many with broken windows, doors and gates, with only here and there a more decent habitation“ (Buchner 1854, p.1). He was disheartened about the parish but within a few days, he was euphoric, stating that the area had surpassed his expectations as he had found everything much more advanced than he had been led to believe. Buchner had arrived at a time when St. Elizabeth as a parish had greatly improved.

The parish’s distant location in the southwest of the island and its reputed unhealthy environment, particularly the swamps and morass areas around the Black River, resulted in relative isolation of the inhabitants from mainland social, economic, and political activities, far away from the political centre. Nowhere else in the Caribbean had mortality rates as devastatingly high as St. Elizabeth in the early colonial days. This had a direct impact on people settling in the parish and making productive use of the available land. Being distanced from the more policed areas, however, enabled parishioners to circumvent rules and regulations that threatened to restrict their lives such as Phibbah, an enslaved woman who had a pass to move about freely, however, other enslaved people absented themselves without permission, and stayed out from a few nights a week to a few weeks, returning ‘on their own accord’ (Morgan 1995, p.66). This was uncommon in other parishes, with strict rules and policing. If the enslaved person had no ticket, it could result in capture and several days being imprisoned in the workhouse until the owner recovered the wayward person, who would then be whipped or more severely, transported from the island (House of Commons Great Britain 1827, pp. 37-38).

Figure 2-1: Travel in St Elizabeth in 1948. Taken by Joseph Obrebski a Polish Anthropologist.

Both my parents' families came together in a melting pot of DNA in this parish and stayed there until emigration took them to other parishes, some went to the Cayman Islands or areas across the world. The division of St Elizabeth to create Manchester shifted some of my family to the borders of Manchester, however, some family members deliberately moved into the higher interiors of Manchester where lands were available. The records for the Cayman Islands, administered as a dependency of Jamaica from 1655 up until 1959, were still attached to St Elizabeth's records until after independence in 1962. Further proving how much of an outpost St Elizabeth was.

2.1.3. Manchester

Manchester as a parish was created December 1814. Not much was written of this new parish as the inhabitants' history over many years were already located in the parishes of St

Elizabeth, Vere, and Clarendon. In addition, this was a mountainous region, perfect for coffee, with cool weather favourable for the British, therefore inhabited by whites mainly in the capital, Mandeville. There were many plantations in the parish, and although they had challenges during the transition, even before the separation, the spiritual needs of the people were ad hoc due to bad roads, limited access and only one rector responsible for baptisms. Anglican rector Rev Thomas Stewart on receiving his appointment from the Duke of Manchester in September 1816, baptised many people in the parish on his way to his ordained parish of Westmoreland. It took him three months to reach Westmoreland with his own illnesses hindering progress of his endeavours, and the challenges generated by the new request from government regarding slavery registration (Stewart 1817). This was the second time Rev Stewart was about to serve in Westmoreland. It was the parish where as an overseer on Paradise estate, he met and married in 1799 his wife Bonella, who was a scion of the Williams family in the parish (Anon. 1799, p74, Dobson 1998, p.134). Lady Nugent's brother Downes Skinner had also married into the Williams family. Mr. Wedderburn, the owner of the Paradise estate in Westmoreland needed a rector to baptise his enslaved people, his family and those of his associates, and recommended Stewart, his overseer for the job. Wedderburn purchased 'the priesthood' with a good recommendation through his friend William Ricketts to the governor of Jamaica (Mr Nugent who had just arrived in Jamaica in 1801) to the Bishop of London. This was a normal occurrence in the early days, Holy Orders were readily given to men of unscrupulous uneducated characters who had not succeeded in any other profession (Patterson 1967, p.41). Lady Nugent on meeting Rev. Stewart in 1802 thought him illiterate but well meaning (Wright 2002, p.92). This is ironic considering Stewart thought his parishioners were illiterate and ignorant 10 years later in 1816. Lady Nugent had met Rev Stewart when he was new in his role, a new husband, meeting the governor and his

lady wife who were responsible for organising his upgraded role in 1801. This rector was nervous, maybe awkward and gave the wrong impression among the many ladies that were present at the soirée (Wright 2002).

FIGURE 2-2: ROAD TO MANDEVILLE CA. 1890S.
https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/gallery/2017/feb/02/jamaica-in-the-1890s-in-pictures

By 1816, Rev Stewart was experienced in his role, baptised many on his way to Westmoreland but the Manchester planters needed their own rector and Rev Trew was temporarily appointed. During these lapse of time, the Moravian missionaries were strategically taking care of the spiritual needs of their members in St Elizabeth and

Manchester, including the Bull Dead Plantation (now Perth Estates) in Mandeville owned by Samuel Virgin Jnr (absentee), where my ancestors, Thomas (The Cooper) Tamlin and Sarah Gordon were found as children in slavery (Church of England Diocese of Jamaica 4 April 1819).

2.1.4. The Anglican and Moravian Churches in Manchester and St Elizabeth

Rev. George W. Bridges from 1817-1823 knew mixed-heritage people well, as he spent many years amongst their families baptising children and adults, marrying families, and burying their dead on the borders of St Elizabeth and in Manchester. However, in all his writings, he made no comment, neither positive nor negative, about them, thus losing valuable insight into the working life of a rector among the people within these parishes. When he was not a pro-slaver, Bridges spent most of his time baptising in the new parish, which could have been onerous for him travelling into mountain passes on estates far away from each other. He did however, spend much time in the town of Mandeville, the capital of Manchester where many white people lived in the cool climate and where the Anglican Church was being erected under his supervision and completed in 1820 (Bridges 1824). This was in stark contrast to the Moravian missionaries who cared about the people both free mixed heritage and enslaved. Mary Turner (1998) had opined the injustice in the Anglicans baptising enslaved people, yet not fellowshipping them into the church. The planters were more concerned with political challenges erupting from a religion that taught equality among all human beings, thus creating doubt in the minds of the enslaved people as to whether God made them equal and thus free to regain their lives. This was a clash of political and religious forces impacting on a slave society in a dangerous way.

The enslaved people needed the reassurance from a God who they thought had deserted them and a trigger for resistance riots and the planters fearful of slave riots, loss of life and property (Warner-Lewis 2007). This challenged obedience on the properties, fear among the planters, strife between the missionaries, and the trivial thought of 'planters feared that religion would make the slaves lazy' (Turner 1998, p.8). The Moravians who were quite active in baptising enslaved people in both parishes accepted them and it was quite hypocritical, but practical, that the Moravians had purchased about forty enslaved people to help them in Manchester and St Elizabeth churches and mission homes (they had various assemblies), farms in both parishes; to run errands, provide domestic services, to cultivate the land and generally help in church activities and in some cases hired out for wages to contractors (Buchner 1854, p.22, pp. 71-73, Furley 1965, p.2, Linyard 1969, p.5, Turner 1998, p.8).

Manchester as a parish was established during the latter end of the period under study. As stated before, created from parts of the traditional parishes of St. Elizabeth, Vere, and Clarendon, it had many hills and valleys perfect for the growth of coffee, which was exported via the Black River wharf and by its smaller sister wharf in Alligator Pond, which became part of Manchester in the division. Bridges regarded this parish as having the most salubrious climate and healthiest of any parishes in Jamaica, with its cool and dry air (Bridges 1824). After leaving England, this was the parish where I was raised as a child to adulthood.

FIGURE 2-3: "THE PARISH CHURCH, MANDEVILLE," NATIONAL LIBRARY OF JAMAICA DIGITAL COLLECTION, ACCESSED MAY 13, 2020, HTTPS://NLJDIGITAL.NLJ.GOV.JM/ITEMS/SHOW/2480 CIRCA 1931 COMPLETED IN 1820 UNDER THE TENURE OF REV. GEORGE WILSON BRIDGES.

2.1.5. Key Political Events During the Period Impacting Jamaica

In Jamaican British history, this period of study 1750-1850 marked the beginning of the Industrial Age and in 1757, Jamaica was officially designated a province by the Attorney-General and the Solicitor General of England (Bridges 1826, part iii, p.448). This was a period in British history when hardly a trading or manufacturing town in England was not in some way connected with the Triangular Trade of Africans to the West Indies and America. Slavery wealth from British colonies, with huge investments from profits spurred the ongoing technological advancements. The accumulation of wealth from those industries such as the banks, ports, merchants, sugar, clothing, shoes, livery, and many more helped towards financing the Industrial Revolution (Williams 1964, p.52, Berg 1993, Harley 2013). The American Revolution between 1775 and 1783, and the Napoleonic war between 1803 and 1815 were other key events that held Britain's attention, amidst the shift in human geography

of people across the Atlantic (Jasanoff 2012). The wars, fear of travel and deadly diseases during these periods created a large absentee planter owner culture in Jamaica, as by 1832 more than 54% of enslaved people lived on properties owned by absentee owners (Higman 2005, pp. 18-19). In St Elizabeth majority of the white people had left by 1800 supported by Higman (2005) and by 1802, when the Governor and Lady Nugent arrived with their entourage for regular Sunday services, they were surprised to find only one white man in church and a few brown people. Across the parish she met a few Irish and Scottish men who fared better than English men in the parish and all lived with brown women (Wright 2002).

Jamaica, although the jewel in the British crown, was not cared for and relied on inadequately prepared politicians to manage the island. Most of the important paid executive offices and administrative roles in the management of the island were managed directly from Britain, while their deputies resided on the island (Williams 1964, Holt 1992, p.8, Higman 2005). Britain's internal problems were prominent during this period with the Union of Britain and Ireland in 1801, and at the other end of the spectrum of time, in 1840 the Irish Potato Famine resulted in mass immigration, many to Jamaica. In 1700s Scotland, the lairds changed their attitudes towards having military power and alliances and saw their estates and land as an exploitable asset rather than as simply the basis of personal authority and family power. Technological changes in land management from small land holdings to larger machinery led farming, meant forced migration for many poor families to other areas and to other countries (Devine 1999, p.1, p.47). With constant changes in the political world, the many war fronts to fight on, internal battles, the British government ignored the needs of Jamaica throughout their colonial reign on the island. Rev Bridges claimed in the 1760s a petition from the Assembly of Jamaica was sent to the King requesting more appropriate legislation and care for the island. The American war of Independence from 1775-1783 increased the isolation of

Jamaica from mainland Britain and as Britain was preoccupied with the major forces affecting mainland Britain, it left Jamaica to make their own administrative decisions many times, without mainland government intervention or direction (Bridges 1826, part ii, pp. 463-468, Brathwaite 1978).

In addition to the external impacts affecting Jamaica, the island experienced many internal ecological, economic and social catastrophes from natural disasters in the form of destructive hurricanes, earthquakes, storms and droughts (Chenoweth 2003). The hurricanes of 1750 and 1780 were particularly destructive to properties and with the destruction of crops for export and food for staple diets, bankrupted planters had huge debts, the enslaved people were hungry, and the island experienced many revolts from the enslaved freedom fighters. Throughout the whole period, the continued bouts of diseases like yellow fever, small pox, dysentery and diarrhoea devastated the island and caused many deaths in the military, amongst the enslaved people, planters and their families (Wright 2002, p.92, Long 2003, pp 614-620). Soldiers had no choice of where they were sent to serve, but planters and their families had a choice of choosing elsewhere on the island or another island. So, what was the pull to keep them in St Elizabeth? They were aware of people they knew dying including their own family and friends, and via word of mouth knew there was a high rate of death and sickness. However, this frontier parish offered an attraction for cheap lands and space, close to the sea to travel when they wanted to, and they had a close connection such as family and friends to remain there. Within the parish, majority of the free inhabitants had an internal market economy in which they raised stock in cattle, pigs, goats, chickens, and general animal farming to supply the many neighbouring plantations and estates (Higman 1989, Shepherd 1991, Shepherd 2009). This was productive for sustenance of their livelihood and economic wealth of individual families which dwindled after the abolition of slavery.

Being far away from the political watchful eyes of the Assembly was advantageous, however, they still needed support for the installation and development of essential infrastructure, severely lacking in some areas, such as roads to get around the island to sell their ground produce, livestock, fresh fish and to transport their exports effectively, efficiently in the tropical heat to the wharf for shipping. To consider good business management, although the inhabitants were self-sufficient, this lack in infrastructure hindered the parish from developing their economy to be as productive as other parishes (Higman 1995). This was compounded by the extremely high illness rates which would have lowered production rates and the accompanying ripple effect on family life for survival. Most white people were dying or leaving the parish throughout the period. With the abolition of slavery, many plantations and estates which were already in decline, no longer needed the internal economy, thus putting many inhabitants out of business. Mixed-heritage people who could afford to, supported by their families, left the parish in their hundreds after the abolition of slavery to live in the United Kingdom, Cayman Islands, or the United States where many passed as white, as DNA and family history ascertained.

To understand the mood and environment mixed-heritage people were experiencing it is important for a summary of the emancipation era to be discussed. On the British front, the end of the Slave Trade in 1807 ushered in the abolition of slavery in 1834. There were many revolts from the enslaved freedom fighters, and while the enslaved people resisted slavery on the islands, many towns in England, Wales and Scotland including members of various societies and congregations of Wesleyan churches, petitioned the Houses of Parliament for the abolition of slavery (Barrow 1831 Friday 15th April, p.1433). Following many years of debate in Parliament, as a compromise, the pro-slavery body of merchants, bankers, absentee plantation owners and others, suggested compensation for the indebted,

to consider the safety of the white population and preparatory steps be taken for the administrative transition from slavery to freedom for the ex-enslaved people and slavery compensation for the property owners. Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton the abolitionist, while addressing Parliament, was aggrieved for his planter/enslaver friends, as he was aware of their personal lives, inheritance responsibilities from wealthy parents and economic challenges in being attached to enslaved people, property and West Indian investments but had to choose his own values, integrity, and focus on the abolition of slavery in his speech and desires for the Anti-Slavery society which he helped to organise. What he said applied to many mixed-heritage enslavers also, as they too were entangled in a system of inheritance, poverty and responsibilities, which they could not escape (Barrow 1831 Friday 15th April, p.1255, p.1447).

The decision in 1833 to abolish slavery was then a compromise between the anti-slavery establishment, the pro-slavery body and deep fear from the growing numbers of angry enslaved black people restless for the promised freedom being taught by the Christian missionaries and they could revolt at any time. Although slavery was abolished on 1 August 1834, the Apprenticeship System started on that date with children under six years old freed, and the enslaved were obliged to take up employment as apprentices on their own places of work or elsewhere for little or no remuneration up to 40.5 hours per week (Hall 1953). The apprenticeship system and hope of the British government was to gradually transform ex-enslaved people by a Christian civilising process, into a self-sufficient people, who through a desire for self-improvement would realise their need for a home, their own purchases and thus the need for a job with regular earned wages. They had been encouraged to save money through the new banks, so many had savings to purchase land when they became free and therefore developing a consumer driven society of wants and needs with a desire to work,

rather than being forced to work (Butler 1995, Higman 1995). On the other hand, the management system of ex-enslavers needed to transform to include new management models and to learn how to be managers of a workforce in a modern society of change where they paid real wages. However, by late 1834, the attempts to combine the British model of transfer from enslavers to ex-enslaved through the apprenticeship system were showing signs of failure, as depicted in Andrea Levy's novel 'The Long Song' and the portrayal of Robert Goodwin's management failure (Levy 2010). Within a few years, white inhabitants were extremely fearful and leaving the island, while the free mixed-heritage society although much larger than the white population were no match for the dissenting angry 'apprentices', who could see no difference between slavery and the new apprenticeship system. Britain had no choice but to impose immediate emancipation as the apprenticeship system was no longer sustainable. By 1 August 1838, the Apprenticeship system was totally abolished, and the poorer whites, mixed-heritage and black people developed sustained peasant societies in the parishes after the abolition of slavery (Hall 1953, Heuman 1981, Heuman 2018).

My research interest was stimulated on analysing various genealogical records and from the copious amounts of research on white men, enslaved black and white women, realized there were rarely any meaningful or focused texts written about free mixed-heritage women. A developed colonial administration system, despite being imperfect, made data more accessible for family historians and academic researchers to first de-construct and then re-construct narratives of the enslaver and enslaved people's lives during this period. To fully debate families, their clan groups and how they survived this pestilential frontier, it was essential to critique extant literature on the creation of a creole society with mixed-heritage people becoming populous in the parish, kinship studies regarding how families evolved and

created clan communities; and the forces of the political economy that enabled or disabled them in developing a colonial slave society.

2.2. The Development of a Creole Slave Society

A slave society incorporates the whole infrastructure of slavery. Barry Higman (2001) suggested the framework of a slave society was coined by Elsa Goveia, as a society that encompasses everyone; enslaved and free, masters and mistresses in the production of goods, services and processes, managing those processes the political and legal establishment, transport, general infrastructure and the system (Higman 2001, pp. 57-73). This was a heartless environment that was built around the concept of slave labour as the bulk of the workforce, a management process managed by people inadequate for the role, ill-prepared for such processes, systems and all dependent on an internal political establishment answerable to motherland Britain thousands of miles away. As Tannenbaum argued:

> 'Wherever we found slavery, we had a slave society, not merely for the blacks, but for the whites, not merely for the law, but for the family, not merely for the labor system, but for the culture – the total culture. Nothing escaped, nothing was beyond or above or outside the slave institution; the institution was the society in all of its manifestations' (Tannenbaum 1946, pp. 116-117).

Everyone in the slave society had a role, a function, a colour, a class, a gender, and all was inescapable whether they accepted it or not. Only death made one escape and if a will was written with uncontrollable power, it made life unbearable for those alive to abide by the

instructions. Developing a creole slave society involved all the people born into the system and the society, whether they were free or enslaved, whether white, mixed heritage or black. All those people came together from somewhere to develop this society and as Edward Brathwaite explained, whites, mixed-heritage and enslaved people who were born in Jamaica, settled, contributed to the formation of a society which developed its own distinctive character and culture, thus making it neither purely British nor African, it was a creole society. The word Creole was derived from the Spanish meaning one who was a native to the settlement although not ancestrally indigenous to it (Brathwaite 1978, pp. xiii-xv).

The other important factor was colour or the complexion of one's skin. Skin colour and race are discussed totally differently in today's society of political correctness. None of the terms used pre-abolition of slavery are used today and all are obsolete except when discussed in context or written in literature of the period. Although colour and race intersected, when discussing mixed-heritage people within the period of study, colour was (referred to commonly by the British empire) applied here rather than race. Colour befits the context of the study and could stand alone without too much discussion about race as a full topic. As Roxann Wheeler (2000) posited: 'colors, especially embodied in black and white skin tones, functioned on several registers during the eighteenth century: Climate, humours, anatomy, Christianity and neutral descriptions were all available paradigms' (Wheeler 2000, p.2). The religious and political establishment courted a hierarchy of colour as people's identity when they applied the Spanish lineal descent of colour that was used by the mixed-heritage people as a ladder to upscale to white society. Race as a construct is significant on its own, yet the social (the church and registration of births), political (enabling legal colour applications) and cultural (the fairer they were, the closer to white they were, and thus treated better) processes, enabled race to be reconstructed at least on an individual basis, thus whitening or

‘up-colouring’ to escape the taints of slavery and eventually the black race. Having an assigned colour helped them to know where they stood in society, acting as a demarcation and it helped them with their planning for future posterity. This ‘up-colouring’ of racial identity created inequality in families and communities as individual physical characteristics were invested in by rectors, politicians, the community with meaning. Assigning a colour to a person enabled that person to appear representative of social, cultural dispositions no matter what colour was assigned from the scale (Henriques 1953).

2.2.1. The First Settlers

The indigenous Taino Jamaicans were decimated through ill-treatment, disease and collective suicide ‘induced by drinking the juice of the manioc root’ after the Spanish and Portuguese arrived in 1494 (Padrón 2003, p.31). When Britain invaded Jamaica in 1655, it took them some time to realise that there were people living on the other side of the island in the wilderness of St Elizabeth. They found Spanish and Portuguese inhabitants with their African servants settled in the coastal area of St Elizabeth, raising cattle, pigs, chickens and quite self-sufficient with an established fishing industry, mending their nets and boats (Long 1970, pp. 185-186). This area was extremely protected and the few native Taino Amerindians remaining in the area named it; the Hato of Pereda, Paratée, Pavatee or Parattee Bay (Bridges 1826, p.177, Atkinson 2006). The Taino navigated the sea using p*iraguas,* a small boat and considered the first vessel used in piracy in the West Indian seas (Hill 1971, pp. 38-39). According to Rev Gardner, the name ‘Pedro’ was common on the coastal areas of St Elizabeth; Pedro Plains, Pedro Point, Pedro Bluff, Great Pedro Bay, Little Pedro Point as the area received their names from Don Pedro d’Esquimel who was a Spanish governor on the island (Gardner 1971, p.16).

The Taino Indians lived peacefully there, interbred with the Spanish, Portuguese and African immigrants living around the coast and in the villages further inland. Rather than live a life of enslavement, they chose to run away up the hills into Accompong with the Maroons when the British arrived (Hurwitz and Hurwitz 1971). The greatest disadvantage to the parish was the loss of recorded evidence of these original people, although fragments of 'Redware Pottery' found in concentrated areas of the sea shore of St. Elizabeth, which have been carbon dated to about 530-720 A.D confirmed their presence in the area, in a study carried out by Professor Linda Sturtz (Sturtz 1999). From the Spanish, Portuguese, African and Taino inbreeding, mixed-heritage people were already existing across the island and especially in St Elizabeth. The difference, however, was those people in St Elizabeth were free in the dense interiors of the Accompong forest but without their fishing privileges.

FIGURE 2-5: MAP OF ST. ELIZABETH 1752 – BY HERMANN MOLL

When the army captured Jamaica from the Spanish in 1655, the army left behind to take care of the island had no skills or expertise in farming to maintain the farms that the Portuguese and Spanish abandoned. The British army personnel left in place to caretake the island completed surveys, made the island safe, explore and reorganise the villages to suit British aesthetics, while the captured men toiled and produced the necessary produce from the land. Soon the food ran out, resulting in hunger, the diseases also took its toll and after months of awaiting supplies, they realised they needed women. Over seven hundred soldiers died in one week during those early days (Patterson 1967). They literally starved in a cook's kitchen with farms of vegetables, staple foods, animals and chickens to eat – they did not know how to prepare the food (Dunn 1972). The only problem was, with women came babies and the beginning of a society. Those original army personnel, plus the Irish and Scottish troops who arrived in 1656 with supplies, decided to stay and accept the opportunities offered them with the large grants of patented land across the parishes (Patterson 1967, Padrón 2003, p.155). In January 1660, immigration was still discouraged as they could not make the island safe for agriculturalists, the Spanish were still fighting to keep the island (Wright 1930). Families from Britain gradually joined them and soon they developed expertise in agriculture, building infrastructure and some rose to prominence in various management posts, some became affluent businessmen, and some joined the judicial system although they were not fully qualified for the roles and had less reputable pasts. Hercie Barrett, who also owned patented land and was among the army personnel on the 1655 Penn and Venables Cromwellian expedition, described the makeshift army as 'common cheats, thieves, cutpurses and such like persons' (Dunn 1972, p.153). Ex-army personnel held many offices without qualifications and were sentencing people to be hanged or for transportation. John Henckell

was the last chief justice in 1802 to hold that post without having any legal qualifications necessary for the role (Wright 2002, p.44).

Captain Francis Burton, his wife Judith Allen Burton, their two sons and a daughter immigrated from Barbados in 1681, where he was stationed in the British army and the first of my white ancestors to arrive in Jamaica (www.anthonymaitland.com). They settled in St Catherine and from there his sons were patented land in St Elizabeth with many more army personnel following in his stead. With people scarce in Jamaica, the army stretched to their limits and few women to nurse the sick and dying, the governing army requested from Oliver Cromwell, female servants from Scotland to help with planting, especially those well experienced but the requests made for reinforcements, which seemed quite reasonable, were slow to materialise (Gardner 1971, p.14). This dire situation resulted in the kidnapping of children and teenagers from Scotland and Ireland between 1655 and 1656, an action sanctioned by the British government through Oliver Cromwell, who procured two thousand Irish girls and boys from the streets of Ireland to colonise Jamaica (Long 2003, pp. 243-244). As quoted before by Lady Nugent, due to the lack of white women on the island, there was a greater likelihood that the men would have sought to have sexual relations with the enslaved black women, thus producing mixed-heritage children, as some white girls were too young (Martin 1836, p.89). It took the Colonial Privy Council many years to stop the 'spiriting away' or 'kidnapping' of white girls to Jamaica to work and serve the men. On the 13 December 1682, an order was made to curb the 'spirits' and 'kidnappers' to quell the outcry from white families who had lost their young daughters, and from the merchants who thought they had acquired legal apprentices (Wareing 1976).

The value of human life was insignificant to the rich, especially the lives of the poor whites and the enslaved, who were used for their best utility to carry out a task required to meet an objective. Kidnapping over two thousand white girls and boys from Ireland and Scotland then taken across to Jamaica to live in a lawless society, it was inevitable for them to be aggrieved. Of the kidnapped, when they got to Jamaica, they were arranged in lines like the enslaved Africans for the planters to pick them (Edwards 1798, Gardner 1971, p.89, Heuman 2014, pp. 18-19). Those children, teenagers and young people would have learnt different values from those they were brought up with, developed desensitised, inhumane attributes and behaviour patterns, introduced to sexual activities from a young age and other illegal activities, thus leading to unseemly behaviour. Those children if they had not died young, but had more wit, determination, and courage, most likely grew up and formed the plantation management within this slave society, wives of overseers, overseers, and bookkeepers, and taught the black enslaved people the English language, cultures, and norms. Some of those children, who progressed to young adult enslavers, were also those who became fathers of mixed-heritage children. Cromwell with the support of the British government transported many more male and female convicts, vagrants and political prisoners to the Caribbean with at least 1,336 convicts transported between 1660 and 1718 (Macaulay 1979, pp505-507, Long 2003, pp. 243-244). Internal English political conflicts and civil disturbances between 1640 and 1740 provided a constant supply of white people as servants to the Caribbean, especially the Irish and the Scottish, including 841 persons both rich and poor of the defeated army of the 'Monmouth Rebellion' of 1685. They were transported to Barbados and Jamaica for treason and rebellion. Some figures claim up to 890 prisoners were sentenced for transportation in eight ships' (Bridges 1826, p.492, Tomlin-Kraftner 2014). Although white people arrived in large numbers, just as many died from the

diseases and they could not sustain their own population numbers to regard the island as a settler society (Burnard 1994, Greene 2016).

2.2.2. The African People

Enslaved Africans lived in St. Elizabeth from the earliest days of the occupation of the Spanish and Portuguese, when they began arriving in Jamaica from the Iberian Peninsula after 1513 (Wright 1921, Cassidy 1988). The mixed-heritage people found in Paretta Bay were of mixed Taino, European and African heritage. The Maroons who escaped from the Spanish were occupying the Nassau Mountains many years before the British arrived in 1655 and before the village in the mountain became Accompong Town in 1739 (National Library of Jamaica). When the British arrived in Spanish Town, of the 3000 inhabitants found there, Rev. Gardner quoted the ratio as half Europeans and half-enslaved people, stating they were better off than most of their class in the treatment they received from the Spanish, in addition, 'they had a Negro priest' (Gardner 1971, p.14). Black men from the coast of Africa especially the Guinea were more favourable than any other ethnic person due to their ability to withstand hard work, which the British needed to develop the plantation system and encourage growth and industry on the island. However, the compulsion to optimise profits, wealth and export bounteous goods, exacerbated the demand for enslaved people, which intensified cruel treatment of the captured Africans from the moment they were kidnapped or sold in Africa, the unendurable passage across the Atlantic Ocean on the ships and transfer to the plantations where the cruelty continued (Gardner 1971, pp. 97-98).

Black Africans had been a proud prominent race from ancient times, building societies as in early Egypt, educated in science, arts and astronomy and even found among pockets of people within the Americas before Christopher Columbus arrived (Sertima 2003, p.29, pp.

110-112) Treated like gods by the American Indians, it is difficult to imagine this higher status when for centuries black people were portrayed and treated as the lowest of the human race throughout more than 200 years of enslavement The arguments and discourses in Europe from about the mid eighteenth century on the differences between the races, led to the belief that whites were the superior race and exacerbated racism. The black skin colour once considered beautiful and strong, later became the required skin tone for working in the tropical sun. The indigenous Indians were already extinct, and due to high rates of mortality from disease among the white European labour force across the Caribbean, alternative labour resources were needed.

Slavery as a subject has been extensively written about by academics, fiction and non-fiction writers and this study, although not focused on the topic of slavery directly, is based on the political, cultural, social, and economic setting of British slave society. Enslaved Africans were imported to labour on the plantations, which in Jamaica consisted mainly of sugar plantations, although enslaved people were also used in coffee plantations, pens and in households. The increasing demand for more able-bodied people to provide physical strength for agricultural and field work resulted in increasing numbers of enslaved Africans being transported to the Caribbean and the Americas. The compulsion to optimise profits, wealth and export bounteous goods exacerbated the demand for more enslaved people, which the British needed to develop the plantation system and encourage growth and industry in the colonies. This demand intensified the African supply of not only their war criminals but also kidnapped Africans sold within Africa. The Royal African Company formed in 1672, transported enslaved African people in their thousands to the Caribbean, increasing this to over a million by the late 1700s (Higman 1995, p.2). Total imports into Jamaica are estimated at 747,500, but this number increased on the island based on the 'Slave Voyages'

Emory university project, as they were transported to Jamaica and sold on to America (Curtin 1972).

The success of the island depended on enslaved African and Creole people as the planter's most important resource. Enslaved people were 'defined as chattel and treated as a piece of conveyable property, without rights and without redress' (Dunn 1972, pp. 163-165). After the abolition of the slave trade in 1807, under pressure from the humanitarians to keep track of how many enslaved were on each property, a government bill requested everyone who owned an enslaved person to register them from 1817 through to 1832. Africans and Creoles were the designated terminology used for registration purposes. African people had their names changed to a more acceptable English name with some planters giving the enslaved person their own full Christian and surname. Slave registers submitted, or baptismal lists given to rectors, show babies with the same surname throughout the list as being the overseer's name. Higman noted, 'The return listed each slave by name, sex, colour, age and country of birth, and noted their mothers' names ... The increase and decrease noted 'when they died, how they died, when they were born or transferred to another property, death, sale, manumission, transportation, desertion or committal to a workhouse.' This registration data provided vital information such as the names of mothers of children born into slavery. With so many enslaved Africans having the same or similar names, the British registration and tracking process resulted in the stripping away of the African's original names, culture and religion (Higman 1995, pp. 45-47).

The eighteenth century in the Americas and Caribbean highlighted the prominence of the enslavement and trade of African people, and the prodigious growth through natural breeding and reproduction of their posterity. Black people multiplied across the Caribbean,

forming the majority race in an environment where it was consistently unstable for whites to feel safe among the black people they had enslaved. Trevor Burnard posited that 'such a large black majority soon came to shape every aspect of society in Jamaica (Burnard 1994, p.2). The English language is the single constant in the way of life of Jamaicans which transferred relatively intact from British colonial rule, although the patois spoken by Creole Jamaicans has developed into an island wide or Caribbean wide dialect, with St. Elizabeth having a different accent. The many styles of cooking, agriculture, dress, and music blended with the other cultures introduced during colonial rule. The Africans, Madagascans, Amerindians and other ad hoc enslaved immigrants into the Jamaican landscape confirm Patrick Bryan's observation that, 'the Africans introduced cultures that conflicted, and synchronized with that of the European minority's culture in the island' (Bryan 2000, p.2). These were the original African women who arrived by ships and had children with the white men, thus creating the creole mixed-heritage society.

2.2.3. The Surinam Evacuees

In July 1667, a war agreement between the Dutch and Britain proposed the removal of British subjects from Surinam, but the British planters already established there did not want to leave. The Treaty of Westminster in 1673 again allowed for the removal of the British subjects, and the British, after a long period of negotiations with the Dutch, exchanged Surinam for New Amsterdam (New York) in 1675 (Dunn 1972). Removal was voluntary and those British planters who took the offer, sold their plantations, settled their debts, and commissioners were sent from England to transport the bereft British planters with their family, enslaved people, goods, belongings, and estates for free to an Island in the Caribbean.

On the 14 August, three ships Hercules, Henry & Sarah and the hired ship America sailed for Jamaica with twelve hundred and thirty-one persons on board, including family groups, single individuals, their enslaved people, and Indians. They landed in Jamaica at Port Royal on the 22 September 1675 with many patented lands in St Elizabeth around the Surinam Quarters (Gardner 1971). This area became part of Westmoreland to the west of the Black River when the parish separated from St. Elizabeth in 1703 (Bridges 1826, pp. 272-274, Long 1970, pp. 295-296). Arriving from Suriname in those voyages was an ancestor, George Mascall with three enslaved persons including a child and two Indians on the 'Henry and Sarah' (Sainsbury 1893, pp. 285-287). He settled in St Catherine where he married Susanne Campion. Their daughter's descendants were patented lands in St Elizabeth and began the Burton family in the parish. They form discussions in chapter seven.

2.2.4. The Loyalists in the American War of Independence

At the end of the American Revolution in 1776, over 10,000 loyalists decided that Jamaica or Barbados was their next home rather than Britain. Many were given lands in St Elizabeth within six weeks of their arrival and seventeen women, who arrived as widows or spinsters were the head of their households (Judah Microfilmed 1985). St Elizabeth was their last resort in land choice, as more productive, expensive, and healthy lands were given to other arriving immigrants. They were patented waterlogged lands in the morass areas of Black River, with a promise of draining the excess water. However, by 1811 they had waited in vain for the land to be drained, as more springs rose where there never was one and the rains fell incessantly. In the meantime, their families died, there was no dry land in sight and an unwelcome bill from the surveyor Patrick Grant of £3,660 (Taylor 1811, pp. 1096-1097, Jasanoff 2012).

Another overlooked people who arrived in Jamaica were Black Americans. Many black women left Georgia, USA in 1782, when the loyalists left the Savannah and travelled to Jamaica. One such example was, Phillis Thomas, a 'free black woman', whose passport gave her permission to go to 'the Island of Jamaica or elsewhere at her own option’. These women arrived with money to purchase property and restart their lives. However, there was no indication of black men or mixed-heritage people also taking the opportunity to leave the USA. Unlike the Loyalists whose passages were paid, the black Americans had to pay for their own passage. There was no indication of their loyalty to the British Crown (Governor of Georgia 1783).

Also arriving in St Elizabeth were logwood traders who were familiar with the Black River logging industry of Nicaragua and during the frequent skirmishes, Anglo-Jamaican merchants who traded in logwood along the Mosquito Coast sold their competitors, the Indians and those who impeded their profits to merchants in Black River, while the British also granted land in the parish to the Mestizo/Miskitu/Mosquito Afro-Amerindian Indians, a warlike tribe of mixed-heritage Africans, Spanish and American Indians who were loyal to the British Crown, recruited from Panama and Honduras, including Nicaragua in east Central America, to help them track the Maroons in the eighteenth century (Siebert 1913, Higman 1989).

2.2.5. The Jews

The Jews as an ethnic group arrived in Spanish Jamaica as early as the 1600s and lived in the towns of St Catherine, Kingston and Port Royal as they were astute business men, who instructed the colonists in business and enterprise (Schorsch 2004). They had an early

presence in the Caribbean in general, as they were fleeing religious persecution from Spain and Portugal during the Spanish Inquisition. Many Jews lived first in Lacovia, St Elizabeth, then spread across the parish, they also arrived throughout the 1700s and 1800s for a better life through Amsterdam, then England and into Jamaica. Although they mainly had large businesses in Spanish Town, Port Royal and Kingston, they maintained family held merchants' houses in Jamaica and London such as the Cohen brothers and Isaacs family, where they loaned mortgages and money for investments (Arbell 2000, p.12). The Jewish migrants tended to be mentally strong and had recorded ancestral pasts which were shared with their children (Judah 1909, Liebman 1978, p96). They were respected by the government and acted as translators in business deals even during the war with the Spanish (Frohock 2010). Although they were white, they had the same restricted rights and privileges as free mixed-heritage people, as they also could not vote and lacked citizen rights (Brathwaite 1978, Wright 2002, Newman 2007). The involvement in planting by the Jews was minuscule apart from merchants investing in small 'suburban' plantations as a means of diversifying their economic interests. As Jews were restricted to the number of enslaved people they could own, a small number of Jamaican Jewish merchants participated in the slave trade, mostly buying sick enslaved people at low prices. Then after feeding them, tidying them up and making them well, commodified them for resale (Schorsch 2004). This process of commodification included oiling them and darkening their hair to look younger.

Joseph Levi (born 1805) and Augustus Levi (born 1804), sons of Isaac Jonas Isa Levi arrived in Jamaica as teenagers and worked in their granduncle's businesses in Kingston and London, Alexander Seileg Issacs, the father-in-law of Hymen Cohen. Alexander had raised his sister Emily's children including Isaac Jonas and owed his uncle. Joseph and Augustus settled in Mandeville Manchester where they owned haberdashery stores. Joseph married Mary

Hopwood an Octoroon daughter of James Hopwood from Bromsgrove, Worcestershire, and Sarah Parchment a free quadroon. Due to Joseph's relationship with Mary, they had to marry in the church of England in 1836, as he was not allowed to marry her in the Jewish synagogue, not only because she was not of the Jewish faith, but she was not white. It was common in the Jewish society that although having illegitimate children, they only married Jewish women and in particular the daughters of their kin and religion. The family were discriminated against due to the restrictions of religion and colour, although they continued a relationship with the Jewish family and even lived with them for a while in Kingston. This analysis will be further critiqued in the case study Chapter 6.

2.2.6. Indentured servants

Many nations arrived during and after 1835 to assist in balancing the inhabitants after slavery was abolished and during the apprenticeship system. It was thought that new blood would assist the freed black people with settling into their freedom and learn from the new people who had arrived. Germans arrived in 1835, with some indentured servants settling in St Elizabeth in Lacovia, followed by Portuguese, Maltese, the Azores, Indians, Asians, Chinese and others creating a mixed heritage of people with DNA from all over the world. The Irish were already multi-present on the island as early settlers and even more emigrated during and after the Potato Famine between 1845 – 1849, making the Irish DNA the second largest ethnic group on the island (Senior 1978, Senior 1978). The 'Irish potato' is the local name used to differentiate sweet potato from any of the varieties of potato known on the island.

2.2.7. Mixed-Heritage People

The political establishment had not planned that a new set of people, not products such as rum and sugar, would arise between them and the enslaved people, with the potential power to usurp their plans, share in their profits and outnumber them. Arnold Sio said, 'the ideal of the masters that the two were to remain totally separate was never realized... a free coloured person was 'a third party in a system built for two'' (Sio 1987, p.1). As the numbers of mixed-heritage people grew, so did the relationships with the white men, as those who received legal rights and privileges to be treated as white, only maintained that right for their children if the fathers were white (Burnard 1992, Heuman 2014). Edward Brathwaite (1971) claimed that St Elizabeth, especially east of Black River and along Paratee Bay and the whole parish of Manchester, mixed-heritage people were characteristic of the whole population (Brathwaite 1978, p.169). Thus, confirming that the 'white' people Lady Nugent saw in St. Elizabeth who displeased her by not meeting her expectations of society protocol, were most likely people who were legally white or mustee and of mixed heritage, who never knew the British aristocratic conventions of society.

Initially, only men were transported, but the need for women to breed changed their tactic and soon the enslavers understood that it was more economical to develop a breeding programme and consequently needed as many black women as men. This advantageous position of ownership, management, and power fuelled carnal desires to include breeding the enslaved women through rape or through the women submitting or consenting to sexual advances or having meaningful relationships (Beckles 1996, pp. 170-171, Bush 2008, p.688).

The numerous colour categories and mixed racial backgrounds of the children encouraged Edward Long to adapt the colour classification table based on the Spanish lineal

ascent from the African woman. The categories enhance our understanding of the colour continuum that was adopted throughout slavery, as the registration of children and baptism of adults highlight the categories legally implemented on the church registers. Our genealogical understanding is greatly enhanced from perusing these records for relationship trends and identities of consanguineous marriages and concubinage (Long 2003, pp. 260-261).

The slave society extended beyond plantations, as ownership of enslaved people demonstrated a desirable status in society. Free mixed-heritage children bequeathed enslaved people, became unwitting enslavers but accepted their gifts, as in the case of the Elliott children David, Henry, Sarah, Margaret, and Jane. Clergymen, missionaries, doctors, government officials, landless individuals who hired out their enslaved people as jobbers, business owners, such as hotels and even brothels owned enslaved people. Ownership was considered a symbol of rank and power and therefore all whites, free mixed-heritage and even black people who could afford to purchase at least one, sought to own as many enslaved people as possible (Campbell 1976, p.20). As Barry Higman observed, 'there was a varied set of occupations and activities... in which the slaves could be involved.'(Higman 1995, p.9). These included all types of domestic services.

Due to the disproportionately high number of black people in comparison to white people and in addition to the small number of white women, mixed-heritage offspring became prevalent in the society from the beginning of Jamaican colonisation. Richard Dunn observed that 'the great majority of West Indian mulattoes remained slaves but they were accorded a social rank distinctly superior to pure-blooded Negroes and assigned the favoured inside jobs as domestics and artisans' (Dunn 1972, p.254). Furthermore, Mavis Campbell

claimed that ‘colour was such a primary factor within the ranking order of society ... thus mulattoes, even when slaves considered themselves vastly superior to the ‘pure’ blacks even when free.’ (Campbell 1976, p.43).

Many people of mixed heritage in the parish passed as white and following the 1733 Act which made the offspring of a mustee and a white person legally white, many descendants of mixed-heritage people gradually became white within a few generations. Being white and maintaining whiteness was of extreme value to white people, as Lopez suggests: ‘Whites are much more likely to embrace than dismantle their whiteness’ (Lopez 2006, p.139). Winthrop Jordan (1971) claimed that Jamaica passed the acts conferring the rights and privileges of white persons to coloured people (offspring or sometimes mistress of a planter) and that ‘Jamaica ... was unique in its practice of publicly transforming Negroes into white men’ (Jordan 1971, p.177). Campbell posited that ‘this law no doubt aimed at augmenting the white population, which was dangerously small in relation to the rebellion-prone slaves of Jamaica’, thus required the accurate ratio of white people to be present on all properties on the island (Campbell 1976, pp. 40-41). Based on Higman’s research into births and deaths of enslaved people in Jamaica between 1829 and 1832, people of colour represented 18.4 per cent of all births in slavery. The parish of St. Elizabeth, with 16.6 per cent of enslaved births of colour, is slightly below the average. Considering that St. Elizabeth is acknowledged to have the highest percentage of mixed-heritage people of all parishes, the below average percentage of enslaved mixed-heritage people leads to the conclusion that there was a higher percentage of free mixed-heritage people in St. Elizabeth. The significant increase of free mixed-heritage people in St. Elizabeth is also evidenced in the Table 2-1 (below). Freedom for mixed-heritage people enabled them to acquire property bequeathed to them by their parents or grandparents and explained why the population of the parish grew to include so many free

mixed-heritage people, who owned enslaved people, small pens and coffee plantations (Higman 1984).

TABLE 2-1: INCREASE OF FREE PEOPLE OF COLOUR 1763-1788 - FROM STATISTICS SENT TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FROM JAMAICA. (TNA 1788, RETURN CO137/87)

	Number of Free People of Colour		Total Increase/Decrease between 1763 and 1788		Average annual change
	1763	1788	No	percent	No.
PARISH					
St. Catherine	872	624	-248	-28	-9.9
St. Thomas in the Vale	44	175	131	298	5.2
St. Dorothy	38	100	62	163	2.5
St. John	67	92	25	37	1.0
Clarendon	130	270	140	108	5.6
St. Ann	78	450	372	477	14.9
St. Mary	100	70	-30	-30	-1.2
Vere	172	225	53	31	2.1
Kingston	1093	3280	2187	200	87.5
Port Royal	103	358	255	248	10.2
St. Andrew	56	475	419	748	16.8
Portland	27	175	148	548	5.9
St. George	32	65	33	103	1.3
St. Thomas in the East	64	50	-14	-22	-0.6
St. David	22	36	14	64	0.6
Westmoreland	189	500	311	165	12.4
St. Elizabeth	228	2000	1772	777	70.9
Hanover	67	150	83	124	3.3
St. James	26	215	189	727	7.6
Trelawny	(n/a)	95	(n/a)	(n/a)	(n/a)

According to Elsa Goveia, there is a structure in studying slave society and it incorporated a whole picture or whole society (Goveia 1965). Not only about sugar or coffee or enslaved or free. The society included everyone that produced, consumed, bought, sold any goods and services within that slave society. Barry Higman (1998), in his Elsa Goveia memorial speech highlighted Goveia's slave society model, in which she insisted that 'to understand the slave society, it was necessary to study the free people, the whites, the browns, masters and the mistresses, as well as the slaves themselves' (Higman 1998, p.4).

2.3. Women as Second-Class Citizens in a Slave Society

This section highlights the role of women, the interaction, and dynamics between the white, mixed-heritage and enslaved women in a slave society, set in a context of interdependence yet separated by intersectional norms of slave society, where love, hate, sex, and death intertwined the female relationships. Many writers such as Lucille Mathurin Mair, Verene Shepherd, Hilary McD Beckles, Barbara Bush, Moira Ferguson, Cecily Jones, and many others, have dissected the historiography on these women in a slave society that was unequal, cruel, labour intensive and diseased. Slave society was intersected on gender, race/colour, social class, and ethnicity. White men held the power, as they ruled in a pure patriarchal capitalist society described as a monstrous distortion of human society (Patterson 1967). Women were second class and each had their role in serving the men, whether they were married, single, young or old (Shepherd 1999).

As discussed earlier in the chapter, in the early colonial days of Jamaica, to ensure the soldiers had companions, women were needed to cook, clean, care for and nurse them during the disastrous pioneering development of the island. White women were kidnapped as children and teenagers in Ireland and Scotland, taken from the prisons around Britain and transported there. Later they arrived as apprentices and indentured servants, single women and widows seeking their own fortune by taking chances on the colonial front as housekeepers, farming hands, tavern keepers and prostitutes (Long 1970). As the island developed, white families arrived with their children answering the call from the King to populate the island and patented lands to participate in developing the wealth of the island on behalf of the Motherland. However, this was not an easy terrain to manoeuvre for white

girls, as white children were abused in this environment and forced to mature early to survive. Girls were married as young as twelve and having babies at that young age (Long 1970, p.285).

A phrase that has now come to epitomise the intersection or hierarchy of women in a slave society was Lucille Mathurin Mair's quote 'black women produced, brown women served and white women consumed' (Bush 1990, p.xii, Beckles 1993). However, this was not always the case as poor, uneducated, unskilled white women were the underclass of society until the enslaved African women arrived. White women gradually apotheosised into respectable wives and mothers, becoming enslavers in a pioneering, frontier society. They were joined by several white women willingly transported to Jamaica, who arrived alone with their enslaved people from Suriname and Loyalist widows of white army personnel in the American War of Independence. Lady Nugent, known as Maria Skinner, before she became a lady, fled America with her parents to England after the American War of Independence and knew this type of immigration (Bush 1981, Beckles 1993, Jasanoff 2012, Judah Microfilmed 1985). This new respectability however came at a price, the status of a wife was subordinate to the status of a mother. Men needed legitimate offspring especially sons to carry on their name, their lineage and inherit their wealth. Trevor Burnard demonstrated that those white women were marginalized to the point they were rarely named as executors in their husband's wills (Gardner 1971, Burnard 2004). Whatever angle examined; women were second class from the moment they were born.

The influx of enslaved African women changed the dynamics of power between white men and white women, whose higher status and roles meant enslaved black women became the targets for physical and sexual abuse. The mixed-heritage girls as they grew up were

helped by their mothers to prepare their minds and bodies for the purpose of being flirtatious with white men, as in the example of John Gabriel Stedman's enslaved amour Johanna, whose mother tried to sell her to him on the first night he arrived at the house (Stedman 1988). Lucille Mathurin also theorised that the colonial powers that enslaved black women had undermined the tradition they came from regarding family, having children, being a part of a clan group, having the spiritual and social support that diffused women's status anxieties and gave her self-respect. Most of those black women had previously lived in polygamous relationships and families, and were quite accustomed to the pecking order of women which gave them respect, some were mentally prepared as they weighed up their abusive situations and supported those who were vulnerable (Mathurin 1975).

There was an affinity amongst the different women in this love-hate relationship. With so few white women on the island, those who were present, especially the younger girls and teenagers found mutual company among the mixed-heritage girls, sharing the culture, being jovial and enjoying each other's company while they learnt from each other. Long despised this habit of the white girls' fraternisation, as he felt they were over familiar with them and displaying bad habits learnt from the mixed-heritage girls (Long 1970, p.279, Burnard and Garrigus 2016). However, adult white women, such as Lady Nugent, associated with mixed-heritage women (she referred to as ladies) on every occasion as she accompanied her husband on his travels across the island, spending the nights in different private homes, as well as at their own home, Kings House, in Spanish Town. Most nights, she had a bevy of 'black, brown and yellow' women in her room before she went to bed and she never seemed to tire of them. On the more than twelve times she commented on their visit to her bedroom, even while she was undressing for bed, even though she had her own English maids, and therefore the company of these ladies was not to provide a service for her. They talked

clothes, gossiped and she chose to spend time with them at a party as a favour to her housekeeper but doubted whether her conduct met the standards of the white women present. She referred to the mixed-heritage ladies as her friends on one occasion (Wright 2002, p.65). Maria Nugent was not born into British gentry; she was an American born of an American loyalist soldier and had accompanied her parents to England after the American Revolution in 1776. General George Nugent and Maria Skinner married in 1797 and arrived in Jamaica April 1801. She learnt how to become a British Lady in those short three years but that did not detract from her normal needs of wanting to be just an ordinary person 'after work', when she took of her mantle of the Governor's wife, being a Lady, she just wanted to be normal and found that ease of normality among the mixed-heritage ladies and the attraction of where she could just be herself. The mixed-heritage ladies gave her laughter, fun and a balance of life in a difficult terrain where she was always under scrutiny by the British aristocracy and gentry. In those times she spent with the mixed-heritage ladies she was expressing her real self.

Free mixed-heritage women were not accepted by the rest of society unlike Lady Nugent who enjoyed their company. Those who provided a personal service of wet nursing such as Lady Nugent had for her babies, were frowned upon by the patriarchy. There were concerns black women breast-feeding white babies, both from Edward Long the planter-historian and the women in England who thought the practice of black wet nurses rather unhealthy and repellent. The racist views in Long's description when comparing white women, free black and mulatto women during childbirth and child rearing highlights the vast divide between both sets of women. White Creole women were viewed as delicate, good, and respectable mothers, however, severely criticised for not suckling their own children despite some white mothers being only twelve years old but allowing black or mulatto women to wet

nurse their offspring and believing the babies would be corrupted. He was concerned with the reputation of the wet nurses chosen as he considered black and mulatto women as common prostitutes, shameless, were likely to have a venereal disease either inherited, acquired and ill-cured, and bad mothers. Long exaggerated the illnesses that befell wet-nursed children 'a misfortune attending most of these children is that they are extremely subject to worm-disorders imbibed with the milk' (Long 1970, pp. 276-277, West and Knight 2017, Roth 2018). Of course, there was no evidence that the illnesses the children developed were from the milk of black and mulatto women. Black women always took care of the children unless the family had a tutor from England with appropriate skills to help raise the children and teach them from home. They were regarded as being much better housekeepers than the white servants because 'they were more orderly, obedient, attached to the families they served, and far stronger than the white domestic' (Long 1970, pp. 282-283).

As white women sought partners and got married, jealousies increased. Reports of white women being cruel to black and mulatto women especially if they were pretty were rampant across the slave society. In John Gabriel Stedman's diary on 1 May 1772, he quoted two instances where a white wife was extremely cruel on several occasions. He found a beautiful mulatto girl in the river with her throat cut and stabbed in the heart multiple times by the master's wife from jealousy - and even though he had accompanied her husband to buy enslaved people, the wife was jealous of a fifteen-year-old girl who had just arrived. She cut her mouth and heel so that she was disabled for life (Stedman 1772-1796, p.25). Cruelties or even murder by white people against black or mixed-heritage people carried little or no consequence. Lady Nugent was the recipient of such bad news when one of their acquaintances, Mr Irvin, murdered his favourite brown lady and ran away leaving his wife. But in general, nothing deterred husbands from straying to the black and brown women. Lady

Nugent was positively sure every overseer on the island had a black or mixed race ‘favourite’, falling short at hinting every white man had a favourite but that would have brought her own husband into disrepute (Wright 2002, p.182).

Mixed-heritage women were uniquely type cast as promiscuous, depraved, deplored, expensive to maintain, cruel, in comparison to white women and black enslaved women. Gardner described them as the ‘most unfeeling tyrants’ to ‘meanest parasites’. However, he manifested sympathy towards the ‘mulatto’ women in concubinage and described them as ‘unfortunate …. under such circumstances, they have a strong apology to plead for their conduct’ (Gardner 1971, p.133). In Roman social history, concubinage was the permanent cohabitation of a man and a woman outside of their existing formal marriages (Finley 1980, Gardner 1998). Rev Gardner was underestimating being assertive, making use of every opportunity and having a knowledge of what they wanted from a man who they depended on for their existence, a strategic way of building up their resources before death took him or he found another woman, or left the area for business reasons. These women often called ‘special friends’ or ‘housekeepers’ in the wills and deeds were strategic in their every move. Concubinage was a strategic alliance for these mixed- heritage and black women, to increase their upward mobility, to whiten their children as a protection from slavery and to develop family clan groups. For these women these were dedicated committed relationships. What Mrs. Carmichael, a Scotswoman, saw was a part of that strategy, as she thought, ‘in general they were deplorably ignorant whose only objective was to lead young men astray who had recently arrived on the island’ (Carmichael 1834, pp. 69-71). Mrs Carmichael may have seen the obsequious behaviour exhibited with the playful candour of introduction to the ‘real’ island.

Many of the mixed-heritage women nursed the men when they got sick shortly after arriving on the island, as Steadman's Johanna did for him. Edward Long explained they were very good nurses, as affirmed by the actions of mixed-heritage nurse Mary Seacole (1805-1881) who nursed many soldiers in the Crimean war. Seacole's mother was a self-trained herbal doctor who nursed many soldiers in Jamaica and taught her daughter Mary how to use herbs and roots to heal dysentery, yellow fever, and other ailments. Seacole and her husband lived in Black River, St Elizabeth for a while and would have had first-hand experience of the deaths from the same ailments she treated in the British Army hospital in Kingston. Seacole took her expertise to England and into the war, where there was an outbreak of cholera, and saved the lives of many British soldiers under her care (Seacole 1999). As a British army officer, John Gabriel Steadman arrived in Suriname on the 22 February 1773, within a week he was sick, and Johanna took care of him. He reminisced about her and on the 1st of July and 3rd September, he wrote to Johanna Donelly. He does not say what he has written to her but by 18th December, he wrote in his diary, that he was making a basket for the girl he loves (Stedman 1988, p.72, p.81). The relationship carried on for several years and she nursed him many times. Stedman purchased their freedom, hers, and their son, but had to leave them in Suriname, where she died three years later, and Stedman took his son back to Britain. Later in life, Stedman married and named his second daughter Maria Johanna Stedman. Johanna and Seacole are just two examples of mixed-heritage women as nurses in treating yellow fever and malaria, dreaded tropical diseases formed as weapons against the newly arriving soldiers, men and families who got sick very quickly. Mixed-heritage people in St Elizabeth seemed immune to the diseases, they knew the danger signs and knew when to act. If the men survived, they forged friendships and relationships with these women quite quickly as evidenced through wills and deeds. As new special friendships were formed, and children

born from these relationships, the women forged an identity by contesting boundaries of independence in the form of owning property and dictating who received that property after their demise through bequests to daughters, sons, grandchildren, and other relatives. They eschewed resistance in their dress, the way they sought to upscale their colour, sought to be treated as 'white' citizens and challenged the political institution by seeking political rights.

Material culture associated with mixed-heritage women were demonstrated in their expression of clothes, shoes, and homely comfort such as having an enslaved person to do the laundry, housework and cooking, or a gardener to take care of the yard and pen. Material culture took on meaning in slave society and in their lives, and it was esoterically accepted that they were expensive to maintain. The arguments on vicarious and conspicuous consumption are wide and varied, mostly relating to the excess money people had to spend on leisure and modern living following the dawn of the Industrial Revolution. However, it is logical to apply the same arguments to the period of the Industrial Revolution especially in a slave society. People attach meanings to every ritualistic action they take no matter what period they live in. Free mixed-heritage women would have participated in activities that reflected their aspirations, who they were and who they aimed to emulate especially since the patterns of consumption highlight the patterns of society (Douglas and Isherwood 2005). One would expect that during slavery there were key ritualistic consumption attributes that enhanced the lives of mixed-heritage women. As Douglass and Ishewood argued, 'more effective rituals use material things and the more costly the ritual trappings, the stronger we can assume the intention to fix meanings to be' (Douglas and Isherwood 2005, p.14). Women's dress, hair, behaviour, purchase of 'things', their literacy skills, their motivations and body language would have been involved in a ritualistic process of consumption with the primary function being, to show that they conformed to the norms of society, presenting

themselves and their actions before others as 'dramaturgical' actors (Burkitt 1991, p.59). For these free mixed-heritage women to be seen and heard would have been a way of defying society, a way of resistance and proving that they were as acceptable or respectable as white women were. Francis Eliott, a shopkeeper in Kingston, advertised his wares in The Royal Gazette for four weeks in June 1813, with a full inventory of goods, tools, and clothes that he had for sale. He imported goods from London and Glasgow such as 'men's funeral clothes and gloves, women's laces, hats and saddles. He made it easy for purchasers who were cash poor but farming rich for example, those living on smaller landholdings with land to farm, because he requested 'produce will be taken in payment'. Francis' relatives came from St. Elizabeth and he had enslaved people living on the borders of Manchester who he had inherited. He understood what women needed on the island and since according to Helene Roberts 'feminine characteristics are projected by women's dress ...' he would have known what clothes to order and purchase based on purchasing patterns or requests made. (Roberts 1977, p.555).

26 Kingston, June 15, 1813.

IMPORTED in the last fleet from London and Glasgow, and for SALE by the Subscriber,

Trunks of London-made Hessian, Military, and Jockey Boots
Ditto of dress and undress wax-leather and hunting Shoes
Ditto Boys', Girls', and Youths' Boots and Shoes
Ditto Umbrellas, with leather cases
Ditto Men's cotton and leather Gloves
Ditto ditto black and white funeral ditto
Ditto ditto white worsted and Lamb's wool Hose
Cases of Men's drab and black broad and narrow-rimmed Silk and Beaver Hats
Ditto Boys' and Youths' ditto ditto
Ditto Servants' glazed Hats, with or without bands
A general assortment of London-made Saddlery, consisting of Ladies' and Gentlemen's Saddles, Bridles and Martingales
Servants' Saddles, with Mail-Pillions complete
Elegant silver and brass mounted Harnesses
Cart and Dray Harnesses complete
Patent Portmanteaus, assorted sizes
A neat assortment of Ladies' and Gentlemen's Riding and Chaise Whips
Military and fashionable Spurs
Bales of Tow, Flaxen, and Strelitz Oznaburghs
Ditto of stripped Lincey and Flannels
Puncheons of Negro Hats and Kilmarnock Caps
Negro Knives and Handkerchiefs
Oznaburgh and Blue Thread and Needles
Bills, Hoes, Falling-Axes, Hatchets, and Grubbing-Hoes
Coffee Sieves, Knives, and Saws
And a general assortment of Ironmongery.

FRANCIS ELIOTT.

N. B. Produce will be taken in payment.

28-30 Kingston Gaol, July 3, 1813.

FIGURE 2-6: LIST OF ADVERTISED IMPORTED GOODS FOR SALE IN KINGSTON 1815 (ROYAL GAZETTE 1813)

Archives include a well-preserved account of Mary Rose, a mixed-heritage woman from Spanish Town, Jamaica. Mary Rose wrote and included her shopping list to Rose Fuller, her long-term white partner in England on 20th December 1756, requesting certain goods and clothes in which she was very specific in her description of what she needed. Mary was an early example of mixed-heritage women emulating the white women but with no reservations. White women in the period wore black calamanco shoes, while Mary requested different colours (Sturtz 2010). This exemplifies the thoroughness of a mixed-heritage

women’s clothing, dress and how she wanted to be seen by the slave society in which she lived and to differentiate herself from other women including white women. In the letter she thanked him for his favours to her and ends with ‘your affectionate servant’, in a rather subservient way of obsequious behaviour unlike that of an equal lover.

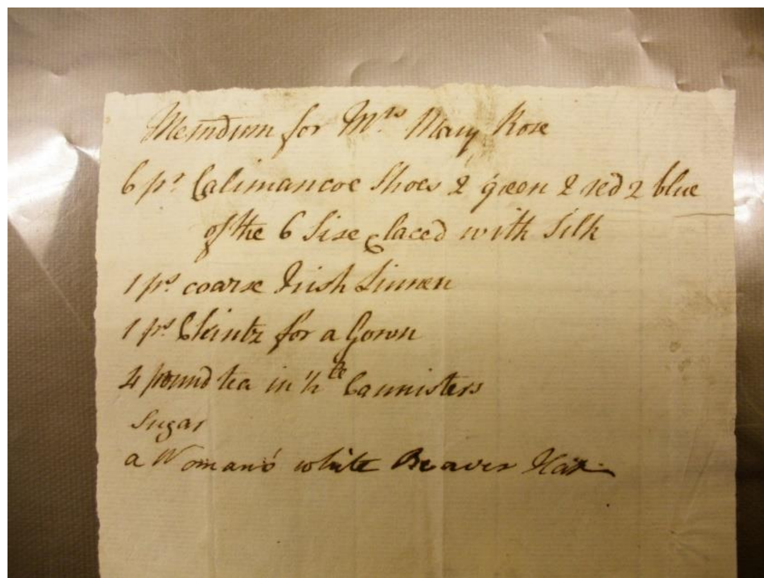

Memdum for Mrs Mary Rose
6 pr Calimancoe Shoes 2 green 2 red 2 blue
of the 6 Sise laced with Silk
1 pc coarse Irish Linnen
1 pc Chintz for a Gown
4 pound tea in ½ lb Cannisters
Sugar
a Womans white Beaver Hatt

FIGURE 2-7 MARY ROSE 1756 CHRISTMAS SHOPPING LIST (ROSE 1756)

Another example of clothes is from Lady Nugent who regularly received parcels from Paulina Bonaparte while she was stationed with her husband on neighbouring Haiti 1st February 1802. Paulina Bonaparte Leclerc was Napoleon’s younger sister, who due to her notoriety in being extremely promiscuous and a shopaholic of the most outrageous clothes, arranged a marriage with his friend General Leclerc and then shipped them of to Haiti to quell the rebellion of the black rebel, Toussaint L’Ouverture. She rebelled to getting married and having to go to Haiti. Napoleon ordered his men to kidnap her and put her on board the ship in a bag. They must have packed her many cases because as soon as she landed, she befriended Lady Nugent on the neighbouring island of Jamaica and sent her clothes to her gradually as gifts. After less than nine months, General Leclerc died 1st November 1802 and Paulina left the island and

returned to France. I assume the dresses she gave away; she would not have worn because they were not revealing enough for her. Lady Nugent described the dresses on several occasions:

18th June 1802 – wore a pink and silver dress – admired by the whole room (p107)

28th July 1802 – received a second cargo of Parisian fashions from Madame Le Clerc (p112)

7th November 1802 – a gift a beautiful muslin handkerchief, embroidered in gold, sent me by Madame Le Clerc (p130)

19th November 1802 - I put on one of Madame Le Clerc's spangled dresses, on purpose, and the glitter I am sure attracted his notice (her baby George)

30th Dec 1802 - For the benefit of posterity I will describe my dress on this grand occasion. A crape dress, embroidered in silver spangles, also sent me by Madame Le Clerc, but much richer than that which I wore at the last ball. Scarcely any sleeves to my dress, but a broad silver spangled border to the shoulder straps. The body made very like a child's frock, tying behind, and the skirt round, with not much train. A turban of spangled crape, like the dress, looped with pearls, and a paradise feather; altogether looking like a Sultana. Diamond bandeau, cross, &c.; and a pearl necklace and bracelets, with diamond clasps. This dress, the admiration of all the world over…

In 1803, Lady Nugent had spent an evening dancing with a French lady Madame Fressinet, whose dress seemed as if she had no covering at all. French dresses, as she described them were 'quite see through' and unladylike by Lady Nugent's British standards. Indeed, British trained ladies would not have worn them. However, Lady Nugent most likely gifted them to the mixed-heritage ladies who visited her room at night but not before trying them on herself with her relaxed unrecorded mini soiree and the ladies of colour sworn to

secrecy (Wright 2002, p.180). Most of the mixed-heritage women were seamstresses and made all their clothes. More than likely those who spent the evenings with her in her bedroom, either received the dresses she dared not wear as they were revealing or were able to copy the style of the dresses for their own balls which were the talk of the town (Walker 2009, Weaver 2012). The mixed-heritage women having worn these types of clothes worn by Paulina Bonaparte would have been revealing but found attractive by the white men.

White women with resources became absentees as soon as they could. They consumed, managed their estates and plantations if they had to, fretted about their men and children, they were pampered, they married and buried their husbands faster than those in the motherland, and it made them wealthier. Mixed-heritage women plotted their strategic paths on the upward social mobility ladder, reproduced, were sexually charged conspicuous consumers, who managed their pens and enslaved people and were good seamstresses. They too contributed to the political economy of slave society. However, enslaved black women laboured in three markets: production; reproduction; and sexual services, with all three aspects crucial to the political economy. They were 'the backbone of the economic life of the island' and they resisted in their own way (Mair 2006, p.xvii).

FIGURE 2-8: ENSLAVED QUADROON WOMAN IN SURINAM THOUGHT TO BE JOHANNA DONELLY. FROM JB STEADMAN DIARY. USED WITH PERMISSION FROM THE JAMES BELL LIBRARY, UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA.

2.4. Kinship

The critical analysis of kinship and family groups undertaken, examined literature on kinship ties, and how family links and friendships that enabled upward mobility were solidified. Family developed amalgamated communities in clan groups where, the nuclear family, kinship, friendships, and property ownership played a distinct role in the emergence of social life within the parishes. George Peter Murdock (1949) said the nuclear family is a distinct and

strongly functional group in every known society, which ensures the family remains unified in times of crises (Murdock 1949, pp. 1-15). The closer in generation the free mixed-heritage women were to their African mothers, the more they would have retained from their teaching about their culture, family, religion, values, ancestral belongingness within extended families, customs, norms, and family history. John Mbiti (1970) posits the African joint households are like one large family, where the village raises the children and where dead relatives are remembered and this is the day practice. While 'the family at night' is the core but smaller unit of family consisting of parents, children and maybe grandparents, where private discussions and domestic relations take place (Mbiti and Mbiti 1990, pp. 104-107). Mixed-heritage women working toward establishing these family links while retaining their freedom and that of their posterity, would have certain strategies in place as they traversed the many challenges impacting their families. This argument inferred from slavery compensation claims data and genealogical research of these individual societies, from a kinship perspective, emphasises Manchester and St Elizabeth's development into clan communities, before, during and after the emancipation era (Holy 1996, p.33).

Although Jamaica never became a white settler society (Burnard 1994), the parishes became a creole settler slave society, where Europeans and Africans coexisted, had children and created a mixed-heritage creole society, with St Elizabeth being different from other parishes, as they had more people of mixed heritage living there (Stasiulis and Yuval-Davis 1995, pp. 4-5). As discussed before, they made use of opportunities of being distanced from the political centre and had some autonomy in self-sustaining themselves despite the pestilential ecology of the parish. As a society, Jamaica is mainly affiliated with mothers, grandmothers being the matriarchal heads of their families and this goes back to the colonial slavery period where the slave registers only named the mother and not the father (Smith

1988). Kinship ties in a creole slave society gave safety in numbers and confirms the argument that they lived as clan groups through consanguineous relationships, 'kinship is one of the irreducible principles on which …organized social life depends … (Fortes 1949, p.40). The different thoughts on kinship study vary in their arguments as to where kinship best resides. One school of thought saw kinship as part of the bigger 'aspect of the political economy', such as Terray (1972), Friedman (1974) and Meillassoux (1981). While another school of thought saw kinship within 'the broader system of inequality in which gender was a key element' such as Collier & Rosaldo (1981), Ortner & Whitehead (1981). Another school of thought preferred that kinship remain in its natural element of culture, religion, gender, nationality, social class, commensality, as advocated by Yanagiasako et al. (1978, 1985). The argument for the separation of kinship and household or 'propinquity' as separate and different categories of the organizations are not necessarily distinctive between family and household which prevails in this study and during this period of study. However, post -emancipation and during the disintegration of the entitative groups where they became peasant communities, or not necessarily dependent on each other in a free society, then kinship and household may be separate (Yanagisako 1979, p.163). Mbiti (1970), however, believes that family kin groups stay together as households and as society, because 'kinship binds together the entire life of the tribe' in this case, clan groups, as almost all the concepts connected with human relationship can be understood and interpreted through the kinship system ... thus managing behaviour patterns (Mbiti and Mbiti 1990, p.104).

Kinship and the household cannot be separated for the purpose of this period of study, kinship cannot be discussed on its own and needs to be aligned with relationship elements such as consanguinity, affinal and endogamous relationships, thus more in line with Yanagiasako's study. This thought also falls in line with current academic studies where

'kinship and marriage are discussed alongside gender, the problems of inequality or as part of the wider problems of the social construction of self, personhood and identity' (Holy 1996, pp. 4-5). Kinship is about bonds that 'kin' or 'clan' can depend on in times of need and joy. Although procreation creates an emotional bond for the family unit and extended families, families need more than procreation to sustain themselves and function as a unit of production, exchange, power, inequality, and status, especially in a slave society, as kinship was meant to be stronger than other bonds (Schneider 1984, p.165). Yanagisako posited, 'When we fully acknowledge that the family is as much an integral part of the political and economic structures of society as it is a reproductive unit we will finally free ourselves from an unwarranted preoccupation with its procreative functions and all the consequent notions embodied within such a stance' (Yanagisako 1979, p.199).

Social groupings based upon kinship ties are kin groups, whether these ties are consanguineal or affinal, they are also usually united by common residence, although Bender (1967) contends that affinal and consanguineal households, kinship groups and domestic functions are semi-independent variables that act independently of each other and as such family relationships and kinship units should be treated separately from co-residence and households (Bender 1967). Due to incest taboos, normally persons whose relationship is primarily affinal cannot also be consanguineal such as husband and wife. This was investigated with the parishes under study where consanguineal and affinal relationships were common (Murdock 1949, pp. 41-42). Referring to clan groups, the space they occupy or propinquity, Murdock's (1949) remains preferable as a definition of a clan, 'a social group comprising a number of households, the heads of which claim descent from a common ancestor' (Murdock 1949, p.68). A compromised kin group is larger than an extended family and consists of consanguineal kin as well as affinal relatives. Yanagisako defines the contrast

between kinship and locality with family and households in peasant families which appeared in St Elizabeth post emancipation (Yanagisako 1979).

2.5. 'Follow the Money' - The British Colonial Slavery Compensation Claims

The Legacies of British Slave-Ownership (LBS) is the continuing ground breaking historical project, originally headed by Catherine Hall, Nick Draper and Keith McClelland from University College London, that explored where the slavery compensation claim originated, who claimed it and where the money was invested (Hall, Draper et al. 2014). They also developed an online searchable data archive, easily navigable by all with interest in capitalism and slavery, economic history and/or genealogical search of the relatives in their family history. During 2007, the year the UK commemorated the 200th year since the abolition of the slave trade, many workshops, conferences, television programmes, radio across Europe, the UK, USA and the greater Caribbean and Latin America, participated in slavery discussions, re-enacting artistic theatrical productions, and debates around the topic of 'the Slave Trade'. The general aim of the LBS project was 'to reinscribe slave-ownership onto modern British history' (Hall, Draper et al. 2014, p.2). Most people considered this debate of the Slave Trade as the end of the topic of slavery, (many innocently so due to lack of knowledge), rather than the beginning of talks to continue the good work that had begun in bringing slavery to the forefront of people's minds, slavery's repercussions, and reparations for the ex-colonies. The nation needed to be reminded that there was a struggle to end slavery, that it was not abolished in 1807, but in 1834 and finally in 1838 (Altink 2002, Brown 2006, Reddie 2007, Drescher 2010).

Catherine Hall and her team at UCL, despite the prevalent rhetoric to keep slavery in the period of the abolition of the slave trade, pursued the first part of the project, which saw fruition as an eye-opening revelation of behind the scenes of the British aristocracy's involvement, and the journey £20m took across all the British colonies (Draper 2007, Draper 2010). This brought a realisation that everyone during the period of colonial slavery was involved directly or indirectly in slave society despite not travelling to the tropical isles. Edward Long, the eighteenth-century planter historian claimed that mechanics, artisans, ship builders, shoemakers, coopers, carpenters, and many others were involved in creating tools, saddles, all, and sundry:

> 'If we combine with these the several tribes of active and busy people, who are continually employed… we may from thence form a competent idea of the prodigious value of our sugar colonies, and a just conception of their immense importance to the grandeur and prosperity of their mother land' (Long 1972, pp. 493-494).

The Caribbean islands were considered the jewels in the British crown and gave wealthy men and indeed many bourgeoise middle-class men the platform as sugar or coffee planters, and merchants, from which to acquire considerable wealth, not only to take care of their families in the Caribbean and in the UK, but also to invest in the many projects that were sprouting all over Britain (Williams 1964, Sheridan 1974, Beckles and Shepherd 1991, Shepherd 2002). Thus becoming often themselves enslaved to British banks as they sought credit, built debt in forms of mortgages for Caribbean lands, purchasing equipment and enslaved people, and placing their foot on the British colonial property ladder, a feat many could not attain in Britain due to the feudal land ownership of the British aristocracy (Davidoff and Hall 1994, Butler 1995). The ever growing demand to garner wealth and maintain their life styles meant

that slavery, which was invisible and often detached from British society, had become intrinsic to British wealth generation, with the majority of the inhabitants unaware of how integral enslavement of African people had become to the British economy, the overall society and imbedded into the deepest recesses of the British culture (Butler 1995, Draper 2010).

Nick Draper, who worked in the City of London and pursued a PhD on this study with his professional finance/economist lenses, took this study into the City of London, the genesis of slavery discussions and where the economic pursuit of wealth flourished for almost 200 years (Draper 2007). This gateway study identified all the 'enslavers' and provided data on some missing relatives who were found as book-keepers, accountants, apprentices who progressed to landowners, retired army personnel and merchants. More than £10 million of the £20 million loan remained in Britain for absentee landowners (Beckles 2013, Hall, Draper et al. 2014). This was most unwelcome news for today's descendants of those enslavers and for the British elite, many of whom attempted to separate themselves from the slavery compensation claims and disassociate themselves from the reports of the LBS UCL project. As the British press highlighted the names of people whose relatives were beneficiaries from slavery compensation, calls for reparations reverberated across the ex-colonies and society became more aware of the extent of slavery (Shepherd 2015). Catherine Hall and her team's legacy on this evolving project was too well publicised and prominent as a nation's embarrassment 'to be hidden under a carpet', and has now become a valued resource for genealogical, historical, and sociological research.

The research published by UCL, however, provides limited information on family relationships between enslavers (and where it does, the focus is mainly on larger, more prominent slave owners) and no research was carried out in relation to their ethnicity (further

discussions in Chapter 4). In fact, there has been no academic publication to date, that provides a comprehensive and more detailed statistical analysis of the ethnic and racial composition of the slavery compensation claims awardees.

2.6. Conclusion

This chapter explored the extant literature on the development of the parishes of St Elizabeth and Manchester, in Jamaica into an amalgamated creole slave society. It was derived from British army personnel, thousands of kidnapped Irish and Scottish boys and girls, indentured servants, British and European investors, fortune seekers, American Loyalists, Surinam evacuees, Jews expelled from the Iberian Peninsula, and the thousands of enslaved African people who were natally alienated from their cultures and kinships (Patterson 1982). They established an eclectic society of people, where women were oppressed by the patriarchy in a stratified colonial society, and as stated by Lucille Mathurin Mair: 'black women produced, brown women served and white women consumed' (Bush 1990, p.xii).

Within St Elizabeth, most of the free inhabitants contributed to an internal market economy in which they raised animals and agricultural farming to supply the many neighbouring plantations and estates. This frontier parish offered an attraction for cheap lands and space, geographically remote from the commercial and political centre, maintaining a close connection with family, friends and affinal relationships that provided a safety net for them to remain in close proximity. Both parishes became creole settler slave societies, in which St Elizabeth, with its large mixed-heritage population was considered different from other parishes, as they had more people of mixed heritage inhabitants than any other parishes of Jamaica apart from Kingston. The additional severe infrastructure problems, such

as challenging roads to get their produce to the markets or for shipping, due to the difficult and dangerous mountain terrain, limited the economic gains of mixed-heritage people in their efforts to raise families, feed themselves and the enslaved people.

During the period of study Britain was preoccupied with several external political challenges, which resulted in Jamaica being left to govern itself, with minimal interference from London. In addition, Jamaica experienced its own internal ecological, agricultural, and political challenges, resulting in not much attention being paid to St Elizabeth, leading to autonomy in local decision making. The abolition of slavery presented a new opportunity for all who enslaved others, whether one or many hundred, local or absentee owners. The ground-breaking research on slave ownership published by Catherine Hall et al. at UCL, however, provided limited information on family relationships between enslavers and their ethnicity, and no academic publication to date, had provided a comprehensive and more detailed statistical analysis of the ethnic and racial composition of the slavery compensation claims awardees and their kinships, thus providing a research gap for this study.

3. Theoretical Framework

3.1. Introduction

The previous chapter highlighted the early historical/sociological development, including the early colonial development and the emancipation period of the free mixed-heritage society within the parishes under study. These mixed-heritage and black parishioners had established themselves alongside poor whites and Jews as a clan society, with cadet families and septs (considering the whites were mainly Scottish and Irish) and even their own unique accent. More significantly, they developed an atypical society unlike other parishes, away from the unseeing political centre and developed their own norms to function as a society thus giving them unique relevance in the development of slave society (Sio 1976, Beckles 1984, Sio 1987, Small 1994).

In this chapter, the sociological theories that underpin the study are explored providing a rationale for their choice and how they were applied in the study to the assigned chapters.

The 'Silences' Framework was developed by Laura Serrant-Green (2011) at a time when silence surrounded the sexual health of black men and HIV. This highlighted the inequality in many intersectional ways for these men; race – these were black men, gender - men do not speak about health issues, culturally - Caribbean people do not air their problems, socially – the stigma attached to HIV, and sexually – the period was still very prejudiced against homosexuality. This was an ideal framework that was new, with stretchability to extend into the period of study where many silent pockets of history existed. The four other supporting theories are necessary and applicable, coordinated in a theoretical framework aligned with the Silences Framework: 1) Rational Action and Choice theories highlights the combination

of rational theories, 2) Habitus with Diasporic Habitus, considers the habits we gain throughout our lives and become who we are within our society, 3) Intersectionality which examined the intersections of womanhood as they traversed a life of inequality and as it would have applied in the period of study, and 4) Entitativity explored how groups are bonded together in a coherent whole. Each theory will be discussed individually.

3.2. The Sociological Theories - "Silence is the Most Powerful scream…" (Anon)

Throughout the ages there have been historical changes recorded as dates and events but there was no discipline to explore the people within those events, happenings, dates, to answer the questions of why the changes were happening or how was society changing or how was society affected by the changes. There was a need for a political science to address those changes and hence historical sociology was designed with Marx, Durkheim and Weber at the forefront (Lachmann 2013). Weber's thoughts resonated with the questions around the role of religion in colonial slavery, capitalism, rational choice and actions, and the varied rationality theories that helped us understand the effects of power when exerted on humanity in slave society - their families, their work, the organisations, and political systems. The wheels of change were rolling during the emancipation period and at the point of the abolition of slavery. Enslaved black people were about to have their freedom to start a new life within a changed society, one in which they could now participate, but previously were only able to observe how it affected life both positively and negatively. They were about to begin their journey of engaging in activities of a capitalist consumerist society; of buying and selling, building, and owning property, learning, and teaching. In addition, they were about to

join the free mixed-heritage people who remained on the island after the abolition of slavery. Ex-enslaved mixed-heritage and free mixed-heritage people were about to share the same space on equal terms and compete for everything, including their future spouses. This period was a pivotal moment in history, which together with changed conditions aligned to transform colonial society; an assessment in agreement with Lachmann (2013) who stated:

> ‘Sociology is especially equipped, analytically and methodologically, to analyze the implications …(associated with historical transformations) … created to explain the complex of disruptive and unprecedented changes that accompanied the advent of modern capitalist societies’ (Lachmann 2013, p.3).

This interdisciplinary study is framed with Laura Serrant’s (2011) ‘Silences’ Framework and grounded with Mary Fulbrook’s (1978) arguments of Max Weber’s Interpretive Sociology, with the aim being: ‘an understanding and explanation of meaningful social action precisely in terms of its meaningful aspects’ (Fulbrook 1978, p.72). Weber was also interested in rational action and how it affected the exercise of power in society as life changed in every activity humans pursued (Lachmann 2013, pp. 1-2). My understanding and viewpoint of interpretivist Weberian thought is summarised as: Societies and communities are socially constructed with subjective views and meaningful experiences, while inequality enables some people to exercise excessive power over others because of their poverty level, social class, gender and/or skin colour. Within social science, numerous variables determine how humans behave in various social scenarios such as culture, religion, lived experiences, social positioning, political environments, and the relevant point in time. This applies to both the researcher and the objects being researched, resulting in a subjective interpretation of every social science phenomena, which the ‘Silences’ framework supports (May and Williams 1996,

p.60, Serrant-Green 2011). Serrant based her concept on the assertion that there is no absolute reality or 'truth' in the field of social science. Thus justifying subjective 'individual or group interpretations of events and human experiences as a key part of what people believe to be 'truth', and further argues: 'silences reflects viewpoints and information that are not openly said, heard or evidenced in the available (mainstream or easily accessible) bodies of literature…' (Serrant-Green 2011, pp. 348-349).

As this study is based on actual events as they occurred during the period of study, culturally, the varying meanings, opinions, ideas, motivations, expressed as drama and emotions, are uniquely laying within us as individuals, while the artifacts are observed and experienced through the eyes of the perceiver. There is no need to have a perfect understanding of social actions, but we can maintain some approximate meanings or motives of why individuals behaved a certain way. These interpretations cannot be realised through objective facts and figures alone with inductive reasoning, but through subjective 'reality' that generates deductive interpretations of our understanding of meaningful social actions of all aspects of our lives (Fulbrook 1978, Willis 2007). The definition below from Goodwin et al. (2014) is apt and applicable to these individuals as rational economic actors, which states:

> 'Economic actors or economic agents, as people or organizations are engaged in any of the four essential economic activities, production, distribution, consumption, and resource maintenance. Economic actors can be individuals, small groups (such as a family or a group of roommates), or large organisations such as a government agency or a multi-national corporation. Economics is about how these actors behave and interact as they engage in economic activities' (Goodwin, Harris et al. 2014, p.145).

The study examines the lives of mixed-heritage people from a period where the enslavement of black people as legal property was the economic backbone of society, which had agriculture and animal rearing as their only industry (Heuman 2003). This was a time when enslavers maximising 'their property' exploited enslaved black/mixed-heritage people as payment for their mortgages, collateral for access to loans or investments, machinery, for hire, any form of small to large work and extreme physical labour (Williams 1964, Beckles and Shepherd 1991, Shepherd 2009). In the abolition era, owning an enslaved person meant the owner had 'banked' money, whether they had one enslaved person or one thousand, thus qualifying for the compensation awards from the British government for their loss of property post the abolition of slavery (Draper 2007, Draper 2010, Drescher 2010). Following the end of the Slave Trade in 1807 and prior to the abolition era, although slavery revolts were resulting in loss of life for freedom fighters and destruction of properties, owners especially their overseers, were focused on increasing the slave population via the bounty system introduced via the 1788 Slave Act which saw the increased breeding of enslaved women. Post abolition of the Slave Trade in 1807 became the cruellest period for women, as they became more valuable due to replenishing the numbers of enslaved people. The overseers encouraged by the 1792 Act that increased the bonus of £3 (a week's wages) for keeping a replenished stock, encouraged (and in many cases personally participated in) 'breeding' future enslaved people. Overseers in Manchester were using the Bounty system for example, John Davy and Jonathan Briggs on Heavitree Plantation (Morgan 2006, Dobson 2008). For owners and overseers, having a large stock of enslaved people, was especially crucial during the abolition era at the administration of the Slavery Compensation claims. The physical care of, proper accounting for the enslaved people and ensuring their utility in appropriate jobs was most profitable within the chaotic, emotional and drama intense period. The more responsibility an enslaved

person had on the plantation, the higher their value, added to the care of the enslaved people which ensured an even higher value when the administrators came to assess them for the compensation claim. This period proved informative for research due to the amount of data produced such as interpreting economic activities in the forms of production, distribution, consumption, and resource maintenance, and family history meta-data. This also provided an opportunity for interpreting meaningful complex actions, the causal explanations of these actions in terms of their motives and what would appear as 'normal' actions in a slave society.

3.2.1. Supporting Theories

The Silences Framework and Weberian Interpretive Sociology needed support from other social theories to examine this highly controversial topic of mixed-heritage people as enslavers, in addition to the concept of 'Silences' enmeshed in this period. The study needed a combination of actions and choices to get to an overall interpretation of the abolition era. In addition, Weber's model was too complicated to be replicated or to be re-designed for this study, therefore four separate theoretical underpinnings support the 'Silences Framework'.

The other sub-theories supporting the 'Silences' Framework weave through the thesis. Although they resonated with the study, they do not form large components of the thesis. Rational action and choice theory, habitus, intersectionality and entitativity are applied to analyse and discuss the clan communities and individual behaviour.

3.2.2. Rational Choice and Rational Action

Sociological rational choice theory is uncommon in slavery discourses in comparison to other disciplines but is gradually gaining ground. It relates to critiquing an overall society rather than

individual persons in the society, as Hechter & Kanazawa (1997) posited: '…Social research reveals that people often act impulsively, emotionally, or merely by force of habit…rational choice theories, are concerned exclusively with social rather than individual outcome' (Hechter and Kanazawa 1997, p.192). In the complex world of rationality theories only a few befitted the study: Weber's rationality and heterogenous activities (Kalberg 1980); rationality and heterogeneous values (Goldthorpe 1998); and rationality and heterogenous expectations (Beqiraj, Di Bartolomeo et al. 2018). Rather than focusing on one rationality theory as they all held some value to the study, I combined them under the umbrella of *Rational Action and Choice Theories* as sociologists prefer to apply heterogenous rationality theories in preference to the separated rational action and choice theories applied by economists. Rational action and choice both for individuals and clan groups were seamlessly interwoven with silence, secrecy, and empowerment within the critical perspectives of the Silence framework, which highlights power and inequality within slave society.

3.2.3. Habitus and Diasporic Habitus

Pierre Bourdieu produced his theories on *Habitus,* which illustrates who we are as people based on our upbringing, the influences around us which helped to shape our upbringing and thus the habits we have today. This theory is uniquely applicable to this study and works well with the Silence Framework, as it illustrates the habitus of the inhabitants of these parishes and my reflexive self of having diasporic habitus memory and oral history from family. In addition, the silence, some of which still cannot 'be said', expressed or discussed, remains in silence due to family taboos (Bourdieu 2005, Bourdieu 2010, Bourdieu 2011).

3.2.4. Intersectionality

Intersectionality highlights the intersections of the gender, race, colour and social divide between men and women, white and black, people of colour and everyone participating within the claims. The objective and inductive reasoning of this study taken from the facts, figures and numerical records as outlined by the colonial government, were published for all to see during the compensation claims. However, the figures were not explained, and the awardees were non-identifiable except for famous people within the period (Crenshaw 1991, Phoenix 2006, Yuval-Davis 2006, Hill Collins 2016, Phoenix 2016). Intersectionality was integrated into the Silence framework as it explores the critical perspectives of gender, social class, ethnicity, and colour at the intersection of slave society.

3.2.5. Entitativity

There are two Group formation related theories; *Entitativity,* a theory coined by Donald T Campbell in 1958 is a concept that explores group dynamics (family, kinship ties, clan communities) where the theory states it is a perception that groups are a pure entity distinct from its members (Lickel, Hamilton et al. 2000, Hogg, Sherman et al. 2007) and *Reference Groups*, the theory that explores group formation and belonging to a group someone attaches themselves to because they all behave in the same way (Shibutani 1955, Hyman 1960, Teevan 1972, Bossert and D'Ambrosio 2006, Shibutani 2013).

These theories are outlined in the theoretical framework, and provided with critique, analysis, application, and discussion.

3.3. The Rationale for a Theoretical Framework

Essentially the economic behaviours combined with the sociology and history of the people form a socioeconomics perspective mainly written applying a historical sociology structure and framework. To account for the enslavers of St Elizabeth and Manchester's portion of the £20 million Slavery Compensation claims required a statistical objective analysis but mostly empirical with interpretive subjective analysis, as the thesis is mainly concerned with micro-level choices/actions as behaviours and the links to macro-level outcomes. These behaviours are evidenced through 'objectified communications' the physical letters, wills, deeds, government documents and data surviving as traces from the families'/women's past (Goldthorpe 1991, p.213). The individuals under study made decisions that had consequences whether they were deliberate actions, intended or unintended, the impact from individual to community and vice versa in some cases were examined under critical theoretical lenses, as I provided a socioeconomic context of social life within a historically defined discussion for which there has been very little recognition in the past.

Theory was not required to compile family history records, genealogical charts or lists of those who received the awards of their Slavery Compensation Claims. Neither was theory necessary to read wills and deeds to extract the facts from the people under study. These documents were historical but needed sociology and cultural anthropology to answer more questions. There were also substantial economic activities requiring our understanding of their engagements in the various slavery related activities, ranging from pure self-interest to altruism. However, social theory was needed to understand the implications of the visible behaviours as actions and choices in these documents of a particular people in a particular

place, why people made certain decisions, committed certain actions that had a carry on impact on today's societies and the real life experiences of racism, genderism, colourism and sexism, thus making a case for historical sociology and aligning them with economic concepts (Becker 1976, Eagleton 1990, p.32, Goldthorpe 1991, p.217, Goodwin, Harris et al. 2014). In other words, the data, like vintage clothing, needed a mannequin on which it was pegged, stepping back, seeing the data for what it really was and making sense of what was being presented in the reconstruction of some lives in case studies and vignettes. Being objective (as in argument 1) and maintaining subjective analysis (as in arguments 2 and 3) from the data collected, aligned with the chosen social theories. The theoretical foundations underpinned the study of the thesis, rooted in theories of sociological behaviour; rational action and choice, habitus, with theories of social structure; family/kinship and community groups, intersectionality, entitativity and power relationships. Recreating historical and sociological lives from the data derived from letters. Wills and deeds highlight how they lived during the long eighteenth and early nineteenth century on the liminal edge of society. They were a free people, yet not bearing all the hallmarks of free people, but building societies in the reality of their liminal existence as people of colour, who were enslavers with some power that they used manipulatively. Terry Eagleton (1990) summarised power and resistance well:

> 'If there is not enough gratification for individuals, then they will demonstrate their freedom dramatically by rebellion. It is quite as certain that people will rebel in the long run against forms of oppressive power which allow them too few fulfilments, as that they will tend to submit to such power when those fulfilments are available. Individuals are in this sense as naturally revolutionary as they are naturally conservative' (Eagleton 1990, p.37).

Even though free mixed-heritage people enslaved others, they too were fighting the oppressive systems to survive and chose their own resistance techniques to accomplish that.

3.4. Silence in Historical contexts

While the history pages are devoid of mixed-heritage women's contributions to society, their silence can be heard in areas of their lives during the period. The problem is the telling of their story in the historiography that show-cases them in a negative light. It is difficult to see what their daily contributions were in their clan communities and in the general slave society, with the exception that many owned pens with enslaved people working on them. This study is significant to illustrate a different perspective of people's choices and silent power as they collectively resisted the political, social, and economic struggles of daily living as free people. This links to the research argument that explores how mixed-heritage women were manipulating the socioeconomic statuses and systems developed for a slave society, to enable themselves privileges as intentional rational economic actors who developed their society. This argument enables an insight into linking the social theories of silence that are hidden, planned economic action, some deliberate as acts of resistance, defiance and deviance, with the realities of their 'lived experience' as both liberatory and revealing (hooks 1991).

3.4.1. The Rationale for choosing the Silence Framework

The 'Silences' theoretical framework originally developed by Laura Serrant (2011) is rooted in nursing, and also applied in the wider health and social care disciplines, 'involving sensitive subjects and marginalised populations' (Serrant-Green 2011, p.347). Applying Criticalist theories, this is a framework for defining areas of research that are hidden or under-developed, silenced due to feelings of discomfort, shame, fear or misunderstanding, a social phenomenon which required change. Applying this model to a historical yet sociocultural anthropology study outside of the parameters of social care, health and nursing is a new concept. The rationale of choice for applying this framework in this study is due to similarities identified when comparing the stages of the screaming silences concept with the stages of research I encountered as the 'listener' when exploring the social and personal context of the marginalised British colonial mixed-heritage women. Their history is avoided not only because of their mainly 'immoral' concubinage lifestyles rejected by the church, but because they were descendants of both enslavers and enslaved, a reminder of colonial past lives. It is uncomfortable history either way, as no one wants to talk about being a descendant of enslaved families (famous comments 'my grandfather was a Scotsman') and no one wants to mention that their ancestors were enslavers. As the 'listener', I am recognising 'what is being said' and 'what is not being said', what is enforced silence, proscribed in wills or deeds, in letters, orders from deceased relatives that must be carried out or the benefactors suffer the consequences of 'disobeying' orders. Was this real freedom? The silence hangs in the data, identified in the words present and those words not said. The period under study was pre-emancipation, during emancipation and post-emancipation of slavery, a period where discussions of freedom was crucial from both the pro-slavery and anti-slavery societies and questions the 'screaming silences' in the marginal free communities of mixed-heritage

people, whose wills and deeds came to light at emancipation, thus enabling a rethink on real freedom, the concept of silence and power in death. By way of context, the theoretical underpinning of silence and freedom reinforces the arguments of what constitutes real freedom for mixed-heritage people, and is positioned in what David Scott (Scott 2001, p.428) describes as: 'the Foucauldian exercise of writing history of the present'. Scott also urged a different conceptualization of the 'problem of freedom' during the period:

> 'Reading and writing after Michel Foucault, it is scarcely a controversial matter to assert that the investigations of the *past* ought to be connected to questions derived from the *present*… what we want the past to illuminate for us ought to be guided by the task of understanding the predicament in which we find ourselves, then as that predicament itself alters, what we ask the past to yield up to us has also to alter' (Foucault 2000, Scott 2001, pp. 428-429).

'Silences' is aligned with the philosophies of freedom and power in a Criticalist and constructivist epistemology with an interpretivist paradigm, where the qualitative data from the slavery compensation claims, which had personal communication could be explored. The silence framework offered the flexibility to attach multi-layered social theories to a complex and sensitive area of history that the world still finds difficult to address and parts of that social history remained hidden, thus this model engages with the research argument as mentioned before. In addition, Serrant had posited:

> ''Screaming silences', like many aspects of any society are a product of the time spaces they occupy and the way in which the effects of power and inequality are experienced by an individual in a particular timeframe. 'Screaming Silences' may be derived from,

or illustrate, the ways in which power is used to determine an arbitrary norm at a particular historical and political point in society' (Serrant-Green 2011, p.349).

The Silence framework resonates with the ethnic silence of Caribbean research where within the islands the norm is not to participate or pursue in past activities that may cause disrepute, as the preference is for any reminders of negativity in the past to stay there (Myers 2006). The framework also resonates with those who want to pursue family history but have challenges due to the distance, time, and money of where records/data are situated and therefore difficult to retrieve if there is no academic support, no linkage to a university or personal funding. Many families have their oral histories intact for many generations but lack the expertise to have them recorded or retold in a professional setting for a broader audience. While there are challenges, there are others keen to pursue their genealogy who form large social media groups with their worldwide family to share data, for example: Robin Michelsen, Cass Gordon, and the Ballard's Valley and Surrounds Genealogical Research group with over a few thousand members collectively. Still many colonial slavery research stories are retold from mainly white colonial voices rather than by Caribbean people who are descendants of the diaspora, but with limited or no access to research funding. Thus, a continuous stream of academic references passed on from 'another voice' other than Caribbean voices and perpetrating the same colonial narratives by academics across Europe and the USA.

The subject of enslavers in the family history is a difficult and taboo subject to undertake in today's modern politically sensitive society, especially where genealogy has now become a relatively new, yet popular area of study in academia, sometimes linked to kinship studies with DNA family history partners (Strathclyde 2019). What was previously a retirement pastime, has become a leading area of societal interest through public

engagement and discourse. The television programme 'Who Do You Think You Are' both in the UK and the USA (Crantich 2009), face challenges with celebrities finding enslavers amongst their ancestors, unearthing uncomfortable association with ancestral enslavers of black people, both for white people in the case of Ben Affleck (BBC 2015, Elliott 2017), but even more so black descendants of enslavers as experienced by Ainsley Harriott and Marvin Humes, who once upon a time saw their ancestors as entirely victims of the African slavery diaspora (Dobson 2008, Dashwood 2018). With these findings, some people would prefer the data remain 'silent' while others change the course of events through selective remembering (Elliott 2017). However, with the increase in technology allowing access to family history data from free sites like Familysearch.org and Ancestry.com and DNA testing in the strategic '*push & pull*' of advertising and marketing, the increase of 'self-identity' has created a huge industry in the explosion of genealogy, thus preventing some data within family history from remaining 'silent' for much longer (Wald 2012).

3.4.2. The Stages of the Silences Framework

'Silences' is an inclusive framework that involves research of sensitive issues that are difficult to verbalise due to fear, ostracization and tensions at the various levels of society, thus falling out of the main provision of services for all groups. Serrant-Green (2011) in devising this framework, thought it was important for these Caribbean men's voices to be heard as, 'if we do not speak for ourselves, if we are not heard, others will speak for us and mis-tell our stories...' (Serrant-Green 2018, p.5). This resonated with this study even though in a historical setting. The theoretical underpinnings took Criticalist, and Ethnicities based approaches, with the impact being power and inequality, with marginalised participant interviews and personal

experiences. ‘Silences’ therefore, values individual (particularly significant as a descendant) or group interpretation of events and human experiences as a key part of what people believe to be ‘truth’ and the researcher (‘listener’) identifies and responds to the ‘silence’ within what is being heard (Serrant-Green 2011, p.349). The Four stages in the original model are:

Stage 1: Working in ‘silences’ – contextualises the study in the real world, by providing the rationale, personal experiences, theoretical debates from extant studies (literature review), noting the location, time, space in which the research takes place.

Stage 2: Hearing ‘silences’ – locates the silences in the study. Identifies those areas of research that have been exposed to limited research, less understood and undervalued (research gaps - the ‘silences’). At this stage, the researcher exposes and reflects on the ‘silences’. The researcher (the primary listener) needs to identify themselves in the study and their reason for progressing the study. Having identified the silences, enables the researcher to determine the type of data that needs to be collected, collated, analysed, and discussed. It therefore enables the analysis/appraisal of the study ‘in light’ of the silences rather than ‘despite them’.

Stage 3: Voicing ‘silences’ – the researcher (‘listener’) explores the identified ‘silences’ in the data collection phase and involves addressing the research aims and objectives in the analysis stage. This may include primary and secondary research methods and always utilising qualitative data or mixed methods approaches to include the views and experiences of those involved. In this stage the ‘listener’/ researcher follows up for verbalisation ‘speaking for ourselves’ where participant’s marginalised ‘silent’ voices go through the analysis phase in a

four staged phased, reflective, and cyclical analysis process, which acknowledges limitations and effects of researcher bias on outcomes.

Stage 4: Working with 'silences' – this is the discussion stage of the study with a detailed reflection on the theoretical contributions leading into conclusions, which also needs to answer the question what has changed because of the study. The discussion also needs a reflection of the potential impact of the re-contextualised findings.

(Serrant-Green 2002, Serrant-Green 2011, Rossetto, Brand et al. 2017).

3.4.3. Adapting and Applying the 'Silences' framework

An adapted framework defines the silence of mixed-heritage women's lives as enslavers in the abolition era and especially during the administrative period of the Slavery Compensation claims up to 1850. It comprises individuals in the development of aggregated community clans shrouded in the silence of a slave society. In addition, it exposes issues which helped to shape, influence, and inform extant studies on colonial slave society.

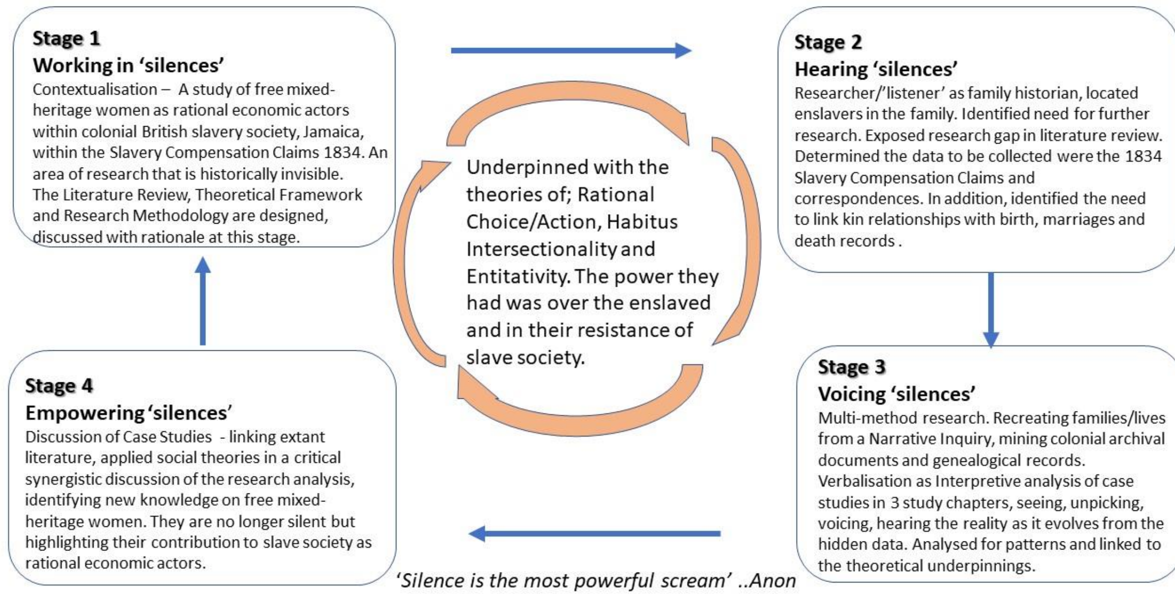


FIGURE 3-1: 'SILENCES' FRAMEWORK ADAPTED FROM PROF L. SERRANT-GREEN 2011

Stage 1: Working in 'Silences' - the framework remained unchanged from the original framework as the focus was largely on the literature review and staging the study within the period. 'Working in Silences' sets the scene with an introduction to the study. The literature review provided the historiography with details on the development of a slave society and identified 'the people who came', the epistemology and the research process. In this stage the research gap was identified as the main writers on the topics were explored. Areas of silence, power, colourism, group, and family relationships were explored. The literature review and theoretical framework chapters are designed and discussed.

The colonial system of capitalism was initially based on the people who came to the island, comprised of white planters, military personnel and enslaved African people (Bailyn 1986). Mixed-heritage people were an unplanned consequence, and the society was ill-prepared for them as they developed a melting pot of people of different colours, social class, and

ethnicity. While the free mixed-heritage people were creating a permanent society, the plantocracy impacted their lives by creating obstacles, barriers and boundaries in the form of political, economic, legal, social and cultural forces, which the mixed-heritage people constantly tried to surmount (Burnard 1994). Over time, fractious relationships developed between white women, the free mixed-heritage and enslaved women, mainly due to concubinage (Burnard 2006). It is my argument that mixed-heritage people with their many illegitimate children enslaved others of their own colour and race, formed groups of kinship ties, special associations and affinities to enable them to prosper under the political realm of the British patriarchy, to protect their freedom and that of their descendants. At this stage, the research aim, objectives, and rationale for the study are realised, with the research gaps and the theoretical framework designed.

Stage 2: Hearing 'silences' - while the name remained the same and analysing the literature to identify the research 'gap' remained the same as in the original model, the actions slightly differed. As the 'listener' researcher, I 'heard' the silences from the exploration of archived family history in wills, deeds, property accounts during slavery, the slavery registration and I also heard the silence from my parents and family members. From the data I had prior knowledge of their involvement, however, not to what extent and why they were involved, and developed the research assumptions, which formed the deductive reasoning of the thesis. This was the motivation for pursuing the study further. However, finding the sensitive data left me vulnerable, angry, and disappointed, feelings which will be discussed later in the chapter. My research participants were different in comparison to the original study, as they were deceased, lived within a study period of 1750-1850, and lived in a different society than

we have today, one in which slave society was based on an agricultural industry of sugar, coffee and pen-keeping. These 'gaps and original pre-findings formed the bases of what type of data I needed to find in the archival research for the next stage and explored the research philosophies ontological and epistemological design with research methodology.

Stage 3: Voicing 'Silences' – this stage remained the same, where a multi-method qualitative and some quantitative research was applied. Stage 3 is a crucial step in the collection, collation, and analysis of the data to respond to the arguments in the three study chapters. The processes entail unpicking the data, voicing, analysing, interpreting, examining the data for patterns, relationships and discovering new phenomena. Prosopography and narrative discourse were employed as the interpretive analytical tool for the case studies.

This was an extremely physical, labour intensive and expensive stage, where the sources were identified from around the world, wherever colonial data was stored, and I could access it. Like an archaeological excavation, the process included collection (recording, digitising), collation and transcription of archival material from archives in Jamaica, Scotland, England and the USA, and organisation of the records into a structured format with management of the data and appropriate referencing.

This study was not funded by a scholarship, as I paid for this study, however, I received some grants for travel and conferences. Crucial skills were involved such as palaeography, which is the study of deciphering historical writing, digitising records and managing the images, and handling historical documents. Having a research assistant (stronger person) to handle extra-large documents was crucial. Knowing when to get permission to open documents that were never opened since the 1700s, and able to spend many days in an archive, travel around the

world archives, and give up much of holiday time to progress research. The lack of funding did not deter me from travelling to archives around the world, and gathering the data needed for this study. Although while transcribing I found the task emotionally draining, I persevered with fortitude and courage to transcribe and sought help when it became too difficult. The dogged resolve I exhibited, highlights how determined I was to know what these two parishes were involved in and how they managed slave society.

The three study chapters were organised to synthesise the research arguments, overall aim, and objectives through interpretation as an analytical tool in the form of seeing the data, then unpicking, voicing/ verbalising, hearing the silence as it enfolds from the pages of history into the reality for sociological analysis. Families and their lives linked from a narrative inquiry using the analysis of the findings, where the data was examined for patterns of rational actions and choices; habitus patterns of values, norms and beliefs; intersections of gender, colour, ethnicity and social class; and the silence of individual data and their social groups/categories present within the claims enabled creation of case studies and vignettes (Finch 1987, Hughes 1998, Barter and Renold 1999, Taylor 2006, Steiner, Atzmüller et al. 2016).

The analysis stage was tedious, as the study entered the cyclical phase of repetitive 'voicing'. As new evidence was found, it changed an idea until the analysis settled, and I could move through reflection. The data flow from the Parliamentary records for example, gave me enough data to make assumption, an analysis, but it was not until a will/deed/ birth/marriage/death record was found before I could make different assumptions, different analysis, some solid kinship links within the study, and was able to link various people in the study. Throughout this phase data was changing every time a new piece of evidence was

found in family history and an illegitimate child or a new mistress with children changed the flow of the data, and thus changed the reflection. Data derived from a transcribed wills and deeds revealed wider family connections and frequently affected four or five other records within the claims, thus enabling me to open the study to include family connections. This stage of the silence framework was a forever moving target (almost weekly) throughout the years of study and I had to stop the data flow to complete the writing. Therefore, there are more silences to be identified even after this study is completed.

Within the 'Silence' model, Voicing 'silence' can be the most emotional of the four stages, where the data is fresh or unseen since the nineteenth century, and being brought to the forefront of the study, creating a connection/disconnection to the individual found, especially if it is an ancestor. This experience was most vivid when I found the folded will of my 6th great grandmother Agnes Rochester who was born about 1737 in Jamaica, a free Quadroon woman. I could not find the will in Jamaica after years of searching, but just by chance found it in a box in Kew, London. This box of data formed the case study for Elizabeth Bent. With these findings, they invoked a range of emotions; from elation, excitement, surprise, to shock and disgust, for me as the researcher, and a thin balance between objectivity and subjectivity leading into the discussion phase.

Stage 4: Empowering 'Silences' – the name was changed from the original 'working with silences'. As the 'listener' and 'insider' of the study at this point I felt empowered, I knew what the silences in my family were, I knew what they were doing in slave society and I knew so much more than when I started the study. It did not only enhance the action of the women in these parishes as enslavers and how many of them, but it highlighted how much they

resisted the patriarchy. I worked with 'silences' and do not believe anything was lost from the original model in terms of changing the name. At this stage, however, the name will revert for future studies, as I will no longer be surprised with what is explored in the data. For the current study, the initial revelation was a surprising, 'eyebrow lifting', the esoteric 'hand lifting to the head moment' each time I found a mixed-heritage woman in stories I never expected. A blind disabled woman who built a community, women who sued their husbands, a woman who took control of a married daughter's finances away from her husband, an enslaved woman who toppled a male dynasty and received her freedom, and many more that could not be named in this thesis due to lack of space. These women were empowered against the patriarchy and I felt empowered for knowing their story.

At this stage, there is a critical discussion of the research findings, identifying new knowledge on free mixed-heritage women. This contributed to the socioeconomic and historical context of the British colonial slavery period. The women were no longer silent, no longer in the shadows, and the research unearthed previously fewer known phenomena with the aim of informing academic knowledge and family historians. The research analysis, linked with the data, the extant literature and the applied theories created a synergistic critical discussion on mixed-heritage women and their clan groups, including an identification of new trends and fulfilment of research gaps. The women and their families were no longer silent in the pages of history but form a historical sociology and cultural anthropology of their place in the development of slave society; their contribution, their intersectional challenges, and the political resistance they displayed within the abolition era. Risk and reciprocity in acting on the findings with the research impact of such a study, only enhances what we had already known of the development of slave society and now know how two parishes of Jamaica

developed during the period of slavery. Thus, adding to our understanding of mixed-heritage women's contribution to slave society as rational economic actors.

In conclusion, as Serrant-Green posited, 'maintaining personal experiences is a central and valuable component of the 'silences' based research' (Serrant-Green 2018). There are 'silences' remaining in the study which can wait for their reveal. There were silences in my analysis which I will not discuss at this time due to lack of word space. In the adapted framework, the narratives formed from data extracted from the compensation claims such as wills, deeds, letters, births, and marriages form the central, valuable component to recreate silent lived experiences during the period under study and one with many more such stories being unveiled, may break another type of silence in the period.

3.5. Rational Choice and Action as Supporting Theories

Examining the vast field of literature on the topic of rationality and theorising individual choices, actions, behaviours, and utility, posed a conundrum in choosing which avenue to approach, considering the period under study, the archival research and interpretive approach. A significant amount of rationality theory literature exists, and they all have minute differences with varying degrees of rivalry, explanations, or justifications from the disciplines of economics to psychology. Sociological rational choice theory is applied in this study with other rational choice and action theories as a means of measuring rational choice across the

whole mixed-heritage society, because they shared similar values within slave society structures. There was no concern about applying methodological measurement, as the data in the slavery compensation records provided a wide scope to showcase how the community in their context of slave society made 'rational choices' as individuals but aggregately as a society' (Hechter and Kanazawa 1997, p.193). The critical discussions in this thesis are based on the society as a whole rather than on individual's past actions, although individual case studies have been applied to form a picture reflecting the behaviours of the society at that particular time (Dant 2003, p.1).

Sociological Rational Action and Choice theory (Friedman and Hechter 1988, Hechter 1994, Hechter and Kanazawa 1997) align most with this study looking at individuals as rational action enslavers during 1750-1850 within their aggregate clan communities. Sociological heterogeneous rationality also works closely with Antunes et al. (2008) Micro-Macro Link of individual actions, behaviours, and goals with community outcomes, which is summarised as the mutual influence between individual actions and overall societal behaviour. Individual actions are a consequence of both personal rationality and a perception of the social environment. At the same time, the overall behaviour of the society is the complex addition of all the individual actions (Antunes, Respício et al. 2008, Stadtfield 2018). Exploring Goldthorpe's Rational Action Theory, the definition states**:** 'RAT refers to any theoretical approach that seeks to explain social phenomena as the outcome of individual action that is construed as rational, given individuals' goals and conditions of action, and in this way made intelligible' (Goldthorpe 1996, p.109). Here Goldthorpe's focus is on the individual, while Antunes et al. (2008) linked the individual's choices and actions to the society. This led into exploring choices more deeply.

Rational Choice Theory (RCT) is based on assumptions that outcomes are the results of choices made by actors. Although RCT has many names and avenues depending on the discipline and each discipline seems to approach the definition from a different angle, this study is approached from Raymond Boudon's wider approach of Rational Choice Theory (Boudon 1998, Boudon 2003, Boudon 2006). David Swartz (1981) claims Boudon and Bourdieu were the most referenced theorists on this topic, with their focus being on the individual actor's interactions within their socioeconomic structures and producing varying social phenomena (Swartz 1981). When we have life experiences and face our realities, we make decisions based on the best choices that are presented to us. According to Barros (2010) Herbert Simon's definition of rationality states:

> 'The distance …performed between rationality and behavior is bridged by the concept of "decision". A choice is a selection of one, among numerous possible behavior alternatives, to be carried out. Every behavior involves a selection of this kind, be it conscious or not. A decision is a process through which this selection is performed (Barros 2010, p.457).

Extending Raymond Boudon's RCT into individual action as theory, borders on theories like Habitus, which will be applied to individual women in case studies who are also found in the Slavery Compensation claims. Habitus will be discussed later in the chapter.

According to Hedström and Ylikoski (2014) 'sociologists put much less emphasis on formal model building and are more focused on empirical applications … and the role of the rational choice assumption is a guide to the type of narrative to be used for interpreting the empirical results' (Hedström and Ylikoski 2014, p.4). Individuals make choices to maximise their utility in their daily activities of consumption and socialising within their kin networks, which shapes

their preferences, beliefs, and opportunities. This results in aggregate community gain, transactions, and benefits all within the micro-macro links of their social networks in which sociologists and especially this study is keenly interested and very much linked to Antunes' et al. (2008) study of the Micro-Macro Link. RAT is also defined by Goldthorpe as the gathering of social actions or regular patterns from individuals as a common whole, that can be analysed to show how they were created, sustained and how they can be modified and transformed collectively. To go even further, the definition refers to established aggregate social action as applied to whole groups of people such as sub-populations, local communities, referred to as collectivities (Goldthorpe 1998, p.168), or collectives (Powell and DiMaggio 1991, p.10).

Goldthorpe's main idea was application of actions that were subjectively rather than objectively rational, from the point of view of the actor, and for sociological researchers 'that see rationality as being more often and more immediately 'bounded' by situational influences on actor's beliefs' (Goldthorpe 1996, p.121). History matters to actors, past experiences matter, and, in the study, no one wanted to revert to a previous inferior position or status in their life, which the data will highlight. Actor's beliefs have more defined explanations found in Goodwin's et al. (2014) definition of bounded rationality, which states, '… people make choices among a somewhat arbitrary subset of all possible options due to limits on information, time, or cognitive abilities' (Goodwin, Harris et al. 2014, p.152), One challenge that resonates with me is the acceptance of dogmatic RAT/RCT theories of rational actor's decision making. Based on Rev Stewart's description, the assumption that a St Elizabeth clan group community of illiterate rational actors had complete knowledge and understanding of their decision making during the period under study creates a false picture of them. They lacked knowledge of the complex situations they lived in within the general society as they had no access to education. As discussed in the previous chapter, the mixed-heritage people

were mostly subsistence farmers who managed pens of livestock that fed the plantations and estates in the parish (Long 1970, Norton and Symanski 1975, Mintz 1982, Shepherd 1991, Higman 2005, Shepherd 2009). St Elizabeth was far away from the political centre and access to information was limited. Formal education outside of the parish was only through white fathers wealthy enough to have sent their mixed-heritage children, especially sons, to Britain for an education and only sometimes they returned to the islands (Livesay 2010). Being an island, all parishes have their boundaries and most people born there usually lived, married, raised families, and died within those boundaries without ever leaving the parish. In addition, opportunities were limited with almost no alternative choices or 'behaviour spaces rich in points to satisfy utility' available to them as a group of people during the period (Simon 1956, p.136). In his assessment of subjective expected utility (SEU), an associated theory of RAT, Simon (1983) denounced its premise that assessed actors as entirely rational decision makers and making complete use of their utility. Human beings are more complex and not necessarily logical. The theory assumes they have deliberated over their lives' future based on the right knowledge, at the right time with full understanding of the consequences, in the right place with full capabilities of the structure of the environment, cognizant of the range of alternative choices available to them and can predict that decisions, choices and actions made will be justified, sound and fulfilling (Simon 1983, p.13). James Coleman's (1990) socioeconomic work on social theory resonates well with individual behaviour that impacts the clan community and is discussed as micro-macro links, defined as:

> 'The mutual influence between individual actions and overall societal behaviour. Individual actions are a consequence of both personal rationality and a perception of the social environment. At the same time, the overall behaviour of the society is the

complex addition of all the individual actions' (Coleman 1990, p.718, Antunes, Respício et al. 2008).

A broader more relaxed application of Rational Action and Choice theories of exploring individual behaviours and its association with the communities, correspond with group formation, whether they be family, kin, clan, or fictive kin relationships. The assumption here according to Hedström and Yliksoski (2014) is 'individuals do not have full information, rather individuals are allowed to have incomplete, imperfect or biased information … thus involving altruism, fairness, a desire to act according to one's identity, values and internalized norms' (Hedström and Ylikoski 2014, p.4). The relationships in their social groups, as in my study, were dependent on each other in many ways and as Poppel (1944) asserted in his holism discussion of groups, they 'must never be regarded as mere assemblages of persons … its more than a mere sum of its members …. a group has a history of its own, and its structure depends to a great extent on its history' (Popper 1944, p.91). The economic concepts of altruism, meliorating, satisficing, path dependence, the common good and external influence are intertwined with historical sociology concepts and discussed in the data analysis.

3.5.1. Applying Rational Choice and Action Theories

Choice, action, silence, secrecy, and power as concepts, intertwine to frame and conceptualize the study on an individual and community level. Eisenhart (1991) posited, "these abstractions and their assumed interrelationships stand for the relevant features of a phenomenon, as defined by the perspective' (Eisenhart 1991, p.203). Within the study, the common denominator in individual courses of actions and choices, creates a rational tendency across the communities. These actions and choices were often strategic, deliberate,

profit oriented and consistent. To study the aggregate actions of these ‘Clan’ communities, and choices of individuals, SHR encompassing RAT as employed by John Goldthorpe, Subjective Rationality by Raymond Boudon influenced by Karl Popper will be applied to interpret rational actions and choice (Goldthorpe 1996, Boudon 1998, Goldthorpe 1998, p.168, Boudon 2003, Boudon 2006, Boudon, Opp et al. 2014).

For free mixed-heritage people, not all actions were individually consistent, even actions from the same individual. However, regular activities were individually created, sustained and consistent across the communities, thus showing consistency in Goldthorpe’s, Stadtfied (2018) and Antunes et al. (2008) definitions. In economics, exploring the rationality of beliefs, where assumptions are mainly applied, it is the belief that actors in business, whether they are sole-traders, entrepreneurs, or property owners, have knowledge of their investments and will make the best decisions to enhance their profits, thus showing rational behaviour. This also applied to those people who became unwitting enslavers, usually through inheritance, which gave them some knowledge of slavery as a business. What decisions they were likely to make, and whether that knowledge changed their perceptions was determined by who or what they had inherited. An examination of the St Elizabeth early birth register of the Church of England highlighted the complexities of the many scenarios that existed in plantation families.

As the ‘listener’ in the silence framework identifying the ‘screaming silence’ within the scenarios of individual women or families, I could see the cruelty of slave society in the choice of relationships as a gamble, as the women never knew who was going to get the ‘best roll of the dice’ in terms of white men’s behaviour towards his illegitimate family. Not all mixed-heritage people were free on the same estate, even though they were the same colour and

owned by the same person. Not all white men freed their mixed-heritage children born of enslaved women, some freed the children and not the mothers, while some freed the mother and her children. Some wrote a deed with substantial bequests for his illegitimate family and a will for his legitimate family. In bequests, some men acknowledged their family in the Great Britain, and completely disregarded his illegitimate family in Jamaica (Church of England 1983, Higman 1984, Beckles and Shepherd 1991, Higman 2005, Livesay 2009, Vasconcellos 2015). The women's empowerment played out though 'screaming silences' were enhanced individually and in their groups.

Taking an aggregate community view on the social theory of individual rational action, where they lived in a clan society, is appropriate for application to this study, as they shared the same cultural values, social norms, participated in the same slavery activities and resisted the same struggles to change their lives. Thus supporting the claim of Boudon (2003) who suggested that '… a good sociological theory is one that interprets any social phenomena as the outcome of rational individual actions (Boudon 2003, p.2) also supported by Coleman (1986) who argued that 'rational action of individuals have a unique attractiveness as the basis for social theory' (Coleman 1986, p.1). There are misconceptions amongst rational action theorists and rational choice theorists in terms of behaviour theories and where they truly belong, as explained by Hechter and Zanazawa (1997). These theorists added to the confusion within RAT definitions and applications as they claimed genuine 'rational choice theorists' are concerned exclusively with social rather than individual outcomes (Hechter and Kanazawa 1997, p.192). Whether they really meant 'action' rather than 'choice' is another debate because they discussed misunderstandings in sociology. However, Goldthorpe shows how both can be differentiated and he clearly insists that 'the 'law of large numbers' will ensure that it is the rational tendency that dominates (Goldthorpe 1998, p.169) and that

serves to fulfil the purpose of my choice of 'action' for aggregate groups over 'choice' for individuals. This principle applies to this study, as the trend of behaviour of the group of actors researched is the result of multiple individual choices rather than choices as a group, 'since action-based explanations are at the heart of analytical sociology' (Hedström and Ylikoski 2014, p.15).

Goldthorpe's explanation of RAT and its relationship to quantitative data, is employed here due to the investigations of relationships existing within the statistical datasets for the study and the exploration of RAT as aggregate collectives needed the support of quantitative analysis of datasets (QAD). The rationale behind the choice is, although this is a qualitative study, the quantitative datasets within the Slavery Compensation Claims, wherein variables of people rather than named individuals 'are doing the acting' in the claims, add enormous value to the analysis. This mirrors a study by Andrew Abbott (1992), who had adapted this method applied by Charles Halaby and David Weakliem (1989) to workers and employment relationships when they considered choice, control and power in factories (Halaby and Weakliem 1989, Abbott 1992). To compare, in their study, 'the worker need not be seen … as acting or thinking, but merely as the locale for the variables doing their thing' (Abbott 1992, p.56), while in my study, within the QAD, the mixed-heritage women are not individually named, as the quantitative analysis that underlines 'the actions' forms 'action narratives' with the prosopographical method of research, using RAT to create aggregated community results in a slave society. This study on colonial mixed-heritage women therefore needs the exploration of RAT as aggregate collectives and QAD to provide rigour and support of the study.

RAT as an underpinning structure supported by power relations theories, creates a framework to engage with discussions at a community level, responds to and supports the analysis of the data. This supporting framework allows for an empirical analysis of how free mixed-heritage, yet liminal people as a kin community, were involved in developing a slavery clan society, while they themselves experienced the heavy suppression of societal, legal, political, and economic constraints. The optimal benefits of keeping enslaved people as inheritance and considered property, surpassed being without property or receiving the money if they were sold, which then adds another layer of guilt, attachment, and/or splitting up families. Many mixed-heritage families could not manumit enslaved loved ones or close friends as they could not have afforded the £100 fee per person as instituted under legislation by the politicians, or even the reduced charge with the accompanying costs a few years later. This high charge ensured people remained enslaved. In addition, owners who desperately wanted to re-purchase their levied enslaved people after the Deputy Marshall took them to the workhouse, could not pay the increased fine, and enslaved people remained in the workhouse (The Secretary of the Jamaica National Assembly 1826). Separate and apart from the Almanacs which were required by each parish, from 1817 through to 1832, the colonial government required a register from every enslaver showing where and who the enslaved person belonged to, their ages, how increases/decreases came about and where they were situated (Anderson and Gallman 1977, Draper 2007, Tomlin-Kraftner 2014). The benefits of keeping the enslaved people healthy and accounted for and having one enslaved person as a housekeeper or a cook, far outweighed any other type of investment at such small scale, rather than being viewed as a non-propertied person. Retaining a bequest or purchasing an enslaved person were not emotive decisions, except for those who were purchasing their relatives.

The norm were black enslaved people, but even mixed-heritage people were considered property as the majority of them were enslaved (Livesay 2010). Living in that society meant either being enslaved, an enslaver or a free person of colour and living on the very edge of society as a liminal people. Many could not afford real estate, but the poorest free black and mixed-heritage person owned some property, someone or something and as Long quipped 'even the poorest Negroe will not be without a saddle-horse or two' (Long 1972, p.33). There were minimal ethical or sentimental strings attached to people, as fathers often freed their enslaved children and then bequeathed them property – enslaved people (Tomlin-Kraftner 2014). Although this was commonly practised at an individual level (Rational Choice), including free mixed-heritage people who repeated the process, my in-depth analysis has revealed their rational action at the societal level, thus RAT as an appropriate analytical tool to explain these social phenomena. As Goldthorpe posited:

> 'It is rationality which lets us make most objective yet interpretive sense of social life … any understanding of sociology must then be crucially reliant upon RAT … especially on a version that invokes subjective rather than objective, and situational rather than procedural rationality' (Goldthorpe 1998, p.185).

Rational Action and Choice theories with Prosopographical analysis, exposed the actor's lived experiences within the situations during the administration of the slavery compensation claims and with QAD also supporting the study, these actions multiply across communities becoming courses of actions worthy of bringing to the forefront and breaking the silences.

3.6. Diasporic Habitus and Habitus

Linking individual experiences to the space they occupy, the time, the surroundings in which they were raised, change of their language, the rituals that shaped their lives, their ancestors and descendants, including what is passed down from generation to generation is defined as diasporic habitus or habitus, a theory of practice, one of Pierre Bourdieu's sociological theories that can be quite controversial (Glaesser and Cooper 2014, Robbins 2014). Diasporic habitus was expanded by Ien Ang in the work of Stuart Hall's semi-autobiographic book on his struggle to bridge his life between the United Kingdom and Jamaica where he was born (Ang 2018, Hall and Schwarz 2018). In this study, the earliest arrivals to Jamaica would have experienced diasporic habitus and for their children or grandchildren it became the habitus, a way of life. Bourdieu leaned more towards being a systems theorist interested in the design and implementation of relationship structures within organisations, however, his theories can be applied to individuals within community clan groups (Bourdieu 1995, Bourdieu 2010). The mixed-heritage families in the study were of the same class, colour, space, groups and it underpins their unique life styles as defined by habitus which is; 'socialised subjectivity that agents embody both individually and collectively, through the interrelationships they establish in the social space to which they belong' (Bourdieu 2010, Costa and Murphy 2015, p.7). Although Norbert Elias (1939) in his seminal work on 'The Civilising Process: the History of Manners' initially referred to habitus, almost thirty years later, Bourdieu adapted his own philosophical study of habitus from Aristotle and later from Mauss, Durkheim and Weber (Elias 1978). Bourdieu referred to habitus as a term to describe the acquired dispositions of individuals which are lasting in us as humans, and transposable within social settings. Such as

who we are as people, our tastes, habits and how we developed from infancy within our society. This includes our disposition to gravitate towards food, drinks, art, and music within our culture. In other terms, it is about our typical conditions, state, or appearance of our bodies, which includes our colour, genetic affinities (Jenkins 1994, Lizardo 2004, Wacquant 2005, Glaesser and Cooper 2014). The lasting aspect of diasporic/habitus implies that although people can change and develop, more fundamental social behaviours tend to be consistent throughout life. The transposable aspect of diasporic/habitus denotes that many characteristics of groups of people that are associated with a particular diasporic/habitus category are applicable to a wide domain of situations, such as consumption in music or food, but also marital or political choices, as in St Elizabeth a parish where most consanguineous relationships existed (Wacquant 2005, Bourdieu 2010). Habitus is structured around dispositions, which generate perceptions, appreciations and practices of our past, our present and shapes our future (Bourdieu 2005, pp. 53-54, Maton 2014).

The habitus, although initially established from infancy in the home and at school, can also be established in a church environment, considering that singing, Christian worship and rote learning are key functions in the Caribbean society. Transfer from countries of origin to Jamaica, would have instigated diasporic habitus. Although these habits are changeable, we never normally change ourselves entirely, as social forces pattern and structure us, giving us form and coherence as we aim to move between the different social classes within society, and 'more specifically, habitus translates different class positions', (Riley 2017, p.111, Benzer and Reed 2019). Diasporic habitus helps us to understand first the people who arrived in Jamaica, the social classes within the period under study, their integrated past experiences and how they have developed over time to develop a habitus. Thus, habitus as a social theory is ideal for studying free mixed-heritage people in colonial slave society. Bourdieu, according

to Swartz (1981) and Lizardo (2004) refers to education from the family, the church and ‘the firm’ or society, and maintains that:

> ‘Social inequality stands at the very heart of the stratification process … functions at every moment as a matrix of perceptions, appreciations, and actions … culture and education, then are not devoid of political content but rather are an expression of it’ (Swartz 1981, p.329, Lizardo 2004, p.7, Bourdieu 2011).

Habitus is shown to be a useful and flexible way to conceptualise agency. It has a multi-layered dynamic social structure that is transformable, can record and store the events and experiences we encounter within the diverse environments we traverse but it has its downside (Lizardo 2004, p.2). Diasporic/habitus is untidy, cannot be pinned down to being methodical, coherent, and consistent, as it depends on the social situations where it is exposed, then it highlights its true character. Fear and crisis expose the limitations of true habitus as it would have done during a slave society, causing critical moments of perplexity and discrepancy and therefore requires the support of other theories to collaborate and bring it into a more synergistic space (Bourdieu 1995, Wacquant 2005, Bourdieu 2011, Wacquant 2016).

3.6.1. Applying Habitus to the study as a Supporting Theory

When we refer to some explicit processes and rules in life such as, how we express our emotions, how we communicate or dress, our language, how we prepare food and eat, or learning skills such as driving a car, riding a bicycle, swimming, we rely on a prior understanding of the rules that we apply, rules we learnt from childhood, rules cemented into the mind from the culture and the society in which we were raised. If we have not been taught

those processes and rules or learnt them through experience, then they are not present in our habitus for us to recall. The tacit knowledge we apply in our day-to-day activities usually gets taken for granted in our lives. Within us, it is the foundation of all our knowledge and once cemented into the mind, that forms our habitus, and thus as Collet (2009) said, 'the notion of habitus relies on the observation that in our most conscious thoughts we cannot but take things for granted' (Collet 2009, p.420).

Mixed-heritage women had tacit knowledge of how to handle themselves in structuring their everyday lives within a colonial slave society that was racist, class structured and meant to break their free will. Taught through family, each free generation knew how to survive, the girls were taught how to ensure they upscaled the colour of their posterity to a colour closer to white (Livesay 2008). Within the discussions on family relationships, the combined habitus of tacit knowledge inbred within individuals, along with behaviours, actions, and power, linked to Elias' (1987) study of the conscience, emotions and knowledge expressed as learned behaviours (Jordan 1971, Fanon 1986, Elias 1987, Welch and Goodridge 2000, Hunter 2002). Applying Bourdieu (2011) habitus and homologies also played out within these families and passed down to the modern family (Bourdieu 2011, pp. 143-145). There was one such diasporic habitus, symbolic act or ritual of knowledge passed down through at least three generations of Elliott women to my mother (and three generations after). My mother was pedantic in teaching us the rules she was taught by her grandmother, Priscilla Elliott, and that ritual was, first adding salt to the hot water before adding the oats for cooking oats porridge, which is the Scottish ritual of producing the best oats porridge. The diasporic habitus gradually became a habitual action. In this view and example, all knowledge is developed through an indwelling process. Everything handled, touched, and used for negotiations had a meaning and this behaviour always comprised an implicit component of

power and according to Collet (2009), 'the concept of habitus naturally stems from this view' (Collet 2009, p.421). As Belvedere (2014) stated:

> '…. actors are guided by a subjective meaning which they project and pursue, which give their world a meaning. But it is also true that subjects are structured in a certain manner, so that they are predisposed to act in a certain way, and therefore their actions respond to previous processes that have structured the structuring subject (Belvedere 2013, p.1094)

In applying habitus to this study, Belvedere's quote with the definition stated earlier in the section, is transposed as; socialised subjectivity that actors embody both individually (not isolating), and collectively (shared) as community clan groups and kin family, through their interrelationships as women (a 'double-reality'); whether living in marriage, in concubinage, spinsterhood or widowhood, as they established their society in the social spaces of St Elizabeth and Manchester, Jamaica to which they belonged. Individual women and clan family groups, when explored through the data analysis as case studies in the Slavery Compensation Claims, their wills and deeds, showcase the behaviours, actions and choices made during this highly emotional time when their habitus was exposed, and true characters can be gleaned through archival realia.

3.7. Intersectionality

For decades women had been forging an interactive space for themselves up from the patriarchal world led by men, thus intersectionality without a name had been around for a long time. Black, white, Latino and mixed-heritage women, debated issues of race, gender,

class, and sexuality in the 'concept of global sisterhood.' and it was only during this period that intersectionality received its name (hooks 1991, p.6, Brah and Phoenix 2004). When Kimberlé Crenshaw (1989) coined the term 'intersectionality', she may have never envisioned the width and depth this terminology would take on its journey within academia, as varied disciplines now apply the term across different constructs (Davis 2008). Crenshaw's definition in the form of an imagery of crossroads and traffic posited by Yuval-Davis (2006) states:

> "Intersectionality is what occurs when a woman from a minority group… tries to navigate the main crossing in the city… The main highway is 'Racism road'. One cross street can be Colonialism, then Patriarchy street… She has to deal not only with one form of oppression but with all forms, those named as road signs, which link together to make a double, a triple, multiple, as many layered blanket of oppression" (Crenshaw 1991, Yuval-Davis 2006, p.196).

Intersectionality was initially inspired to deconstruct the categories of 'women' and 'Black people' along social constructs that intersect mainly on lines of gender, race, social class and sexuality, within the white male patriarchal order (hooks 1982, hooks 1990, Crenshaw 1991, Collins 1998, Brah and Phoenix 2004, Phoenix and Pattynama 2006, Yuval-Davis 2006, Davis 2008, Hill Collins and Andersen 2010, Hill Collins and Bilge 2016, Phoenix 2017). This is especially applicable to black and mixed-heritage women during British colonial slavery, where shades of colour and legal status often differentiated those that were free. The concept of intersectionality enables a theoretical debate when breaking down the sub-sections of multi-layered identities where women intersect along gendered, ethnicised and racialised lines of belonging (Lim 2018, p.81).

Scrutinising Intersectionality for this study, took the constructs closer to the period when the term was first coined in the 1980s, as British colonial slavery pre-dates theories of intersectionality. With a critical lens on the theories of intersectionality, reflection, and application to a period where the original social constructs were more prominent as rules in society, exposed other intersectional areas. Theories of Intersectionality in this study explores black and mixed-heritage women's social positioning in different spheres of colonial slavery and free society, and the culture in which they lived and participated, the complex issues of advantage, disadvantages, inheritance, privilege, freedom, slavery and indeed poverty. This is not only a study of race, class, ethnicity, and gender, explored as the major intersectional categories. Colour forms a crucial labelling of the women in the study and the developments in their lives along colour lines resulting in some overlap of race and colour in the application of intersectionality. When Patricia Hill Collins explored the intersections of race, class, gender and nation and the implications for black family studies, she explored the intersections of race and social class, race and gender and race and nationalism (Collins 1998). These esoteric theoretical concepts have since opened the academic field with many more debatable topics to keep intersectionality fresh in academia for a long time to come (Phoenix and Pattynama 2006, p.187). Taking intersectionality to the past, helps us to understand deeper issues of colourism that surpassed race, and created deep divisions not only in society but into the very core of families and kin groups (Nettleford 1965, Nettleford 1970, Nettleford 1978, Ramkissoon, McFarlane et al. 2007).

3.7.1. Applying Intersectionality as a Supporting Theory

Intersectionality, approached from the discussion of the space mixed-heritage women occupied between 1750-1850, looked at different historical circumstances, using an historical lens to unpick data from primary archival sources (Brah and Phoenix 2004). During slavery, enslaved black and mixed-heritage women had not only lost their freedom and control to normal life, free speech and maintain a normal attachment to their children and family, but during oppression, enhanced the multiplication of enslaved others through the abused 'breeding machines' they became (Donoghue 2008). The free mixed-heritage and black women on the other hand were reproducing at rapid rates and increasing the free mixed-heritage population. The eighteenth century planter historian Edward Long (1970) and others discounted the women's reproductive abilities as barren or the children they produced regarded as weak with premature mortality, and regarded as prostitutes, while their freedom was subjugated to the political establishment and threat of re-enslavement hanging over their heads (Long 1970, Altink 2005, Altink 2007, Tomlin-Kraftner 2014). Not all areas of intersectionality can be included here due to the period under study but a more open-ended approach befitting the period was applied. Sexual orientation for example, is excluded from this intersectional study, thus providing clarity as to what is included and what is omitted (Naples 2009). Social constructs of gender and power during the period meant there was a high patriarchal order with a distinct divide between male and female, black and white, rich, and poor and in a slave society, enslaver and enslaved. Brah and Phoenix (2004) defined intersectionality as:

> 'signifying the complex, irreducible, varied, and variable effects which ensue when multiple access of differentiation - economic, political, cultural, psychic, subjective and experiential – intersect in historically specific contexts. The concept emphasizes that

different dimensions of social life cannot be separated out into discreet and pure strands' (Brah and Phoenix 2004, p.76)

Looking at the complexity of the issues within the intersections and dimensions of social life in the period, a critiqued approached with the intersection of 'colour', took precedence over 'sexuality'. Multiple types of sexual orientation existed in the period, however, critiquing mixed-heritage people's 'colour' using the Spanish lineal descent, was more important for individual identity and family survival, as it was a distinct political, social, cultural economic entity in the lives of the people in the study, considering it was their passport to upscale towards being white, where whiteness was the preferred social identity with access to racialised privileges (Fanon 1986, Piper 1992, Harris 1993, Jones 2007, Hobbs 2014, Skyhorse and Page 2017). Sexual orientation also was not deemed a social issue at this period and there were no records of this matter being discussed in any legal or historical documents, neither did examination of data allude to it. In addition, exploring the key concepts of intersectionality as instituted, encouraged and litigated by the political colonial government, brought that inequality and power into the family home, the community and any other legal structure within society such as the church, where rectors held the power to decide on someone's colour (Grabham, Cooper et al. 2009, p.1). Power within the social constructs of gender and inequality enabled an overview of functionalist perspectives of the family - kinship ties, fictive kin, alliances, consanguinity, legitimacy, and illegitimacy (National Archives and Colour 1823, Bush 2000, Sturtz, Mohammed et al. 2000, Mair 2006, Sturtz 2010, Shepherd 2011, Jamaican House of Assembly Dec 1761).

Mixed-heritage people lived in a complex world with many crossroads, choices and behaviours, and as Hill Collins and Bilge (2016) posited, 'events and conditions of social and

political life and the self were shaped by many factors in diverse and mutually influencing ways' (Hill Collins and Bilge 2016, p.2). The varied data provided many avenues to identify intersectionality within the period. Interpreting and analysing historical qualitative archival court cases brought before the Council of Protection (COP) for enslaved people in the British colonies highlighted the misogynistic disregard for upholding the law against women and the levels of cronyism within patriarchal government judicial spaces because the 'system of production in Jamaican slave society depended upon the successful subjugation of the slave body' (Altink 2002, p.1). In addition, apart from the gender inequalities of white women, mixed-heritage women and enslaved women, who were subjected to different inequalities in their own right (Bush 1981, Stoler 1989, Hall 1993, Mair 2003, Mair 2006, Mac An Ghail and Haywood 2007), data drawn from the Slavery compensation records analysed by case studies highlight areas of intersectionality where women made decisions on axes of life experiences with varied consequences (Shepherd 1999).

To support this section, supportive theories of power in resistance and defiance of external power such as; reactance and conformity, the colour labelling, material culture, consumer behaviour, conspicuous consumption and silences, relate to how free mixed-heritage and black women opposed or reacted to the constructs (Miller 1987, Pile 1997, Pile and Keith 1997, Bush 2000, Burman and Turbin 2003, Buckridge 2004, Handler 2009, Serrant-Green 2011). Hill Collins and Bilge's definition of intersectionality was transposed with the application of intersectionality to this study; critiquing social inequality in people's lives and the organisation of power in a given society are better understood as being shaped by these six axes that work together and influence each other – gender and ethnicity, gender and colour, gender and social class, ethnicity and colour, colour and social class, ethnicity and social class (Hill Collins and Bilge 2016) see diagram below.

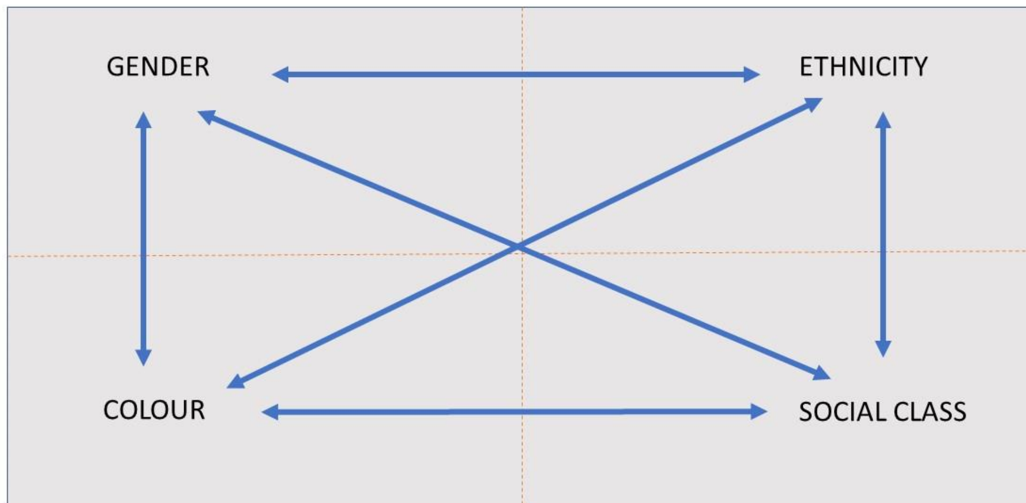


FIGURE 3-2: SIX AXES OF INTERSECTIONALITY APPLIED DURING 1750-1850 COLONIAL BRITISH JAMAICA

3.8. Entitativity

Nearly all human societies are formed of varied types of groups and even more so in a slave society (Forsyth and Elliott 1999). Social groups are an important part of this study as it provides the space, individuals, actions, choices, language in which mixed-heritage people of mutual behaviour and beliefs interacted and can be perceived as unified entities. As Kuhn (1964) posited in referring to reference groups: 'the most important objects to the ongoing, mutually reciprocal role activity of the group are human beings' (Kuhn 1964, p.14). Whereas, entitativity regarded as a concept of social groupings by Campbell (1958) who coined the term, defined it as: 'the degree to which a collection of persons are perceived as being bonded together in a coherent unit is referred to as the group's entitativity, of having the nature of an entity, of having real experience' (Campbell 1958, p.17). The abolition era during the

slavery compensation claim period was a hostile space and enabled the observation of real behaviour being demonstrated when money became available, adopting Cooley's (1902) imagine the imaginings of the people under study because 'in a social sense they become real' (Cooley 1902, p.60).

3.8.1. Justifying the use of Entitativity over Reference Groups

Exploring entitativity as a concept of social groups took preference over collectivities and collective communities (Powell and DiMaggio 1991) and especially over reference groups even though some concepts and quotes are used during the discussions in later chapters. Hyman (1942) coined the term reference groups as he sought to understand the ways in which individuals ranked themselves in terms of their choices, like a comparison in evaluating their own status. He employed a quantitative study with experimental manipulations to determine the effects of particular reference groups on self-appraisal. Sherif (1953) continued with Hyman's arguments but believed people related to groups or aspired to be in certain reference groups that they psychologically thought themselves to be in (Sherif 1953, pp. 203-206). Kuhn (1964) explored this topic from the symbolic interactionist space as a context for the discussion on reference groups. He believed the concept that group are involved with: gestures, ideas, thoughts, reciprocal role-playing, a common vocabulary, a common body of values and norms which are needed by groups (Kuhn 1964, p.10). Tamotsu Shibutani (1955) in contrast had the most applicable discussion of reference groups that could be applied to this study, as he discussed the inconsistencies in behaviour derived from shifting between reference groups from one social context to another. This was quite applicable when in a few cases enslaved black people who were manumitted, within a few years themselves became

enslavers and applied for the compensation claims. Shibutani had three applications of reference groups which was common to all the other theorists; a) groups which serve as reference points b) groups to which a person aspires to be in, to participate, to gain, maintain and to enhance his status. c) the reference group becomes any collectivity real or imagined, envied or despised, whose perspective is assumed by the actor (Shibutani 1955, p.563). The challenge with this application according to Shibutani is, the terms are too closely related to give a clear difference and this can cause confusion. This was the same challenge for the other theorists and this study needed a broader space to pursue social groups as families, clan groups and kinship ties.

The importance of social group studies for this thesis is to highlight the interaction of individuals with common goals from the same ethnic backgrounds, how they developed a society from clan groups, family groups of consanguineous and endogamous families and kinship affinities, in which mixed-heritage women lived and enabled them to become rational economic actors. Studying Campbell's (1958) original framework, he stated the characteristics of an entitative group in four stages, which was applicable in every way to the study. It consists of: 1. Proximity - elements close together are more likely to be perceived as parts of the same organisation; 2. Similarity - similar elements are more likely to be perceived as parts of the same organization; 3. Common fate - elements that move together in the same direction and otherwise in successive temporal observations share a "common fate" are more likely to be perceived as parts of the same organisation; 4 - Pregnance, good continuation or good figure: elements forming a part of a spatial organisation or pattern, as a line or more complex form, tend to be perceived as a part of the same unit (Campbell 1958). Regarding the role of pregnance, good continuation and good figure, only a few theorists took on the challenge of this role, as most absorbed it into the other three roles. However, in my understanding of

Campbell's theory, pregnance (although obsolete English) refers to a continuity process of stages in a group, from initial conception through to maturity. A state of dependence is necessary at each stage with a high level of attachment which tapers off at maturity. The attachment is different at each stage, as transformation, growth and a 'continued' relationship continues the cycle as it restarts each time, for example, parents become grandparents, then great-grandparents all in the same group. Thus, the group has permeability and continuity, families stay in one area and may never move from their groups for generations. This is reminiscent of some peasant communities across Europe such as the work of Joseph Obrebski (1931) and the Polish families who can trace their families for six generations in the same area (Nottingham 1968, Goldschmidt and Kunkel 1971, Ciski 1980, Lebow 2019).

3.8.2. Application of Entitativity as an Adapted Framework

The original large parish of St Elizabeth, consisted of mainly intrafamilial clan groups of free mixed-heritage people who lived with, loved, and married each other and had children with their close relatives. The parishioners were of concubinage, consanguineous (defined as unions formed between two individuals who are related as second cousins or closer) (Hamamy 2012) and endogamous families with marriages only within a specific group (McLennan 1865), white absentee owners of large estates, some wealthy white men (including Jewish men), ex-indentured white people, poor whites (paupers) some of them receiving relief funding and enslaved people of black and mixed heritage (Secretary of the National Assembly 1826). In applying Campbell's (1958) roles of group perception like an

orchestra where everyone plays a separate role, I explored the following: proximity, similarity, common fate, and pregnance/good continuation:

1. Proximity: In the parish of St Elizabeth and Manchester, the clans, the interfamilial groups were all part of a community where land and relationships bound them together as a group within these two parishes and therefore families as social groups that were close together were more likely to be perceived as parts of the same clan. They were far away from the political centre; the parish poorly accessed by roads and therefore had the ability to take advantage of loopholes within the government's rules. They developed subsistence living of the land, developed the fishing industry alongside bootlegging and illegal activities (Jamaican House of Assembly 1802 - 1804, pp. 44-46). In some cases, families were impermeable due to the consanguineous development of the family, therefore developing long-lasting and natural longevity of entitativity.

2. Similarity: They had the same challenges of the legal colour statuses applied to their children at baptisms. All their families had various ranges of colour within the Spanish linear system and therefore had similar complexion in various shades (Long 2003, pp. 260-261). Due to the consanguineous nature of their relationships, they would have resembled each other then, even more so than their descendants resemble each other now, linking autobiographical data, family history and photographs. They had no access to education and therefore most families were illiterate.

3. Common fate: They shared a common fate as they were free, however, they lived on the liminal edge of society where they could not participate in all the requirements of a political society. Even those that received equal rights and privileges such as Susannah Young and Anna Petronella Woodart, had a 'with certain restrictions' clause added to their freedom to

be legally white (Gloucestershire Record Office 1797). If they caused any concern to the white population in terms of their safety or their perception of safety, they faced the threat of being re-enslaved even if their families were free for generations. They could not vote, had limited freedoms and limited ceiling to inherit any property of more than £2000 (Livesay 2010, Jamaican House of Assembly Dec 1761). They shared common experiences during the abolition era and these interactions give cues to entitativity.

4. Pregnance, good continuation or good figure: This role was adapted to read 'Continuity' – signifying a clear trajectory of where group relations continued. The primary group members got older, new children joined the group involuntarily, and continued into the next generation, showing a continued cycle of family groups (as Figure 7-5). There was no natural end to the group, traditions of habitus continued until after the abolition era when groups eventually changed, as new groups were formed with the ex-enslaved of all colours. Continuity was crucial for social identity, belonging and group dynamics, where importance was placed on the continued benefits of; norms, beliefs, traditions and making similar choices. To combat economic forces impacting on their communities, most mixed-heritage people had internal market economies. They owned pens with livestock, existed on subsistence farming and developed a dynamic fishing community (Higman 1989, Shepherd 2002, Higman 2005, Shepherd 2009).

3.9. Chapter Summary

The five main theoretical topics underpinning this study are grounded with Interpretations from Weberian thought, in an explanation and understanding of meaningful social actions

and choices of individuals who participated in the enslavement of people during the abolition era. This period saw everyone no matter what colour they were, if they owned an enslaved person, or inherited someone, submitting a claim for the slavery compensation awards. Interpretive Sociology with the 'Silences' framework underpins this study with a further four supporting theories in a layered framework on which to build concepts, research, analysis, and discussions to meet the aim and objectives (see Figure 3-1) overall coordinating Theories in a Synergistic Theoretical Framework within 'Silences' model.

This chapter introduced the theoretical framework that underpins the study. Interpretive Sociology with the 'Silences' Framework sets the foundation for the study. The chapter explored the theory of 'Silences' and introduced a revised model applicable to this qualitative study. The underpinning theories of Rational Action and Choice, Diasporic/habitus, intersectionality and entitativity are each discussed. Each theory is explained, followed by a discussion on the application of the theory in the study. Following on from the theoretical framework is the methodological chapter which highlights how the theoretical framework was applied to a qualitative study.

4. Research Methodology

4.1. Introduction

This chapter introduces Stage 2 Hearing 'silences' from the theoretical Silences Model and here the research was designed, with the methods employed to capture the data on mixed-heritage and black people, during the British colonial slavery period, leading to the information of the period under inquiry and the rationale underpinning the choices. As previously stated, the study aims to challenge held colonial perceptions of mixed-heritage women, by demonstrating that in entitative clan groups they utilised concubinage as individual rational economic actors, to secure their families' inheritance and upward mobility. This chapter further explains the process of finding the sources of data that emphasised actions and choices people made, how the data would be collected, collated, managed, and analysed, to arrive at the best interpretation with justifiable, valid reasons once combined with existing theories. This process contributed a clearer perception of the subjects under study (Creswell 2003, Denzin and Lincoln 2003).

See below a table outlining the research strategies and methodologies linked to the objectives as discussed in the study chapters. It outlines how the study was designed and achieved.

TABLE 4-1: DESCRIPTION OF RESEARCH METHODS APPLIED IN STUDY CHAPTERS

	Chapter 5 – Objective 1	Chapter 6 – Objective 2	Chapter 7 – Objective 3
Research Philosophy	Positivist & Criticalist	Interpretivist & Criticalist	Interpretivist & Criticalist
Research Reasoning - Approach	Deduction: Analysis to evaluate argument 1 Induction: to explore new knowledge derived from analysis	Deduction: Analysis to evaluate argument 2 Induction: to explore new perspectives derived from analysis	Deduction: Analysis to evaluate argument 3 Induction: to explore new perspectives derived from analysis
Research Method	Quantitative	Qualitative	Qualitative
Research Strategy	• Archival Research: Birth/Marriage/ Death, Compensation Claim Records Slavery Returns • Prosopography • Vignettes	• Archival Research: - Claim letters/ correspondences - Wills/Deeds • Case Studies, including autoethnographic case studies • Narrative Inquiry	• Archival Research: - Wills/Deeds • Case Studies, including autoethnographic case studies • Narrative Inquiry • Prosopography
Research Technique	Data Collection Data Processing Data Visualisation Statistical analysis	Data Collection Interpretive Analysis Biographies	Data Collection Interpretive Analysis

Below is a recap on the overall arguments and objectives referred to in chapter one.

Argument 1. Free mixed-heritage people, including women were significant economic participants in British Colonial slave society, not only as free destitute people of colour, but also as owners of property including enslaved people.

> **Objective 1**. To analyse slavery compensation claims data linked with biographical data to ascertain the level of property ownership by free mixed-heritage women.

Argument 2. Colonial British mixed-heritage women had a strategic focus on achieving upward mobility through employing economic improvement and relationship development tactics for the benefit of themselves and their posterity.

> **Objective 2.** To analyse and reconstruct in narrative, the lives of free mixed-heritage women, using case studies to ascertain how these women acquired property including enslaved people, how they managed enslaved families, made bequests, inherited, sold, and transferred property.

Argument 3. Mixed-heritage women established a unique economic social space to combat social exclusion and marginalization through clan groupings with consanguineous, endogamous, and fictive kin relationships.

> **Objective 3:** To identify and examine socioeconomic activities of mixed-heritage women as clan groups within both parishes up to, during and post the period of the Slavery Compensation claims

The Slavery Compensation Claims and Awards underpin this research on free mixed-heritage and black women, which on a micro socioeconomic level examines the period between 1750 and 1850. The investigation is not exclusive to mixed-heritage women in the Jamaican parishes of Manchester and St Elizabeth, as a few mixed-heritage women from other parishes and some white women, also form a part of this gender study due to their situation in the data collected. These two parishes were chosen, firstly, because St Elizabeth, during the period under study, had the highest number of mixed-heritage people second only to Kingston the capital, and secondly, due to a familial connection, as these are the parishes of

my family origins. Accepting the realities of my ancestors on the opposing sides of the slavery agenda with both 'ancestral enslavers' and 'enslaved ancestors' required mental adjustment. The assumptions, perceptions, and belief system I held before this in-depth study, had changed with new knowledge, and the realisation that the past was much more intricate than extant studies provided.

As stated in chapter 2, the research published by UCL and the online searchable database, provided limited information on family relationships between enslavers, except a focus on the aristocracy or prominent wealthy enslavers, and no research was carried out in relation to their ethnicity. That type of detail across the entire British ex-colonies would require a sizeable team of people, but possible. As there has been no academic research to provide a comprehensive and more detailed statistical analysis of the ethnic and racial composition of the slavery compensation claims awardees, this study scrutinised the qualitative paperwork of 1539 original claims and 769 counter claims. In addition, some original claims consisted of 217 joint-claimants and needed to know who each person was as claimant, joint-claimant, counterclaimants, because all affected different people, different ethnicities, and gender (mother/son, sister/brother, wife/husband and therefore they had to be separated). The same applies to the awardees who received the claim. A thorough process detailing how it was done will follow later.

The data from documentary secondary sources and archival material were explored as primary source material, especially data stored as letters and testamentary evidence, which had never previously been analysed. These documents mainly contained information about individuals within the claims receiving less than £500 and, most importantly, their family

connections. York University Libraries Archival Research 2019 Tutorials guide their research students into treating primary resources as those resources that are usually created at the time of an event, such as the applications for the compensation claims, the counterclaims, letters, wills, and deeds in archival research. It goes on to explain that: 'Primary resources are the direct evidence of first-hand accounts of historical events without secondary analysis or interpretation' (University, webpage, 2019). All data were collected physically from archives in England, Scotland, the USA, and Jamaica, or collected online (National Archives, Kew – wills/deeds) and examined as primary sources. With this large amount of data, the study required rigour and increased validity, found through the construction of datasets with varying research methods, and modes of data collection for studying complex issues associated with people of mixed heritage within a slave society (Rieger and Wong-Rieger 1988, Vallaster and Koll 2002, p.43). While this study is regarded as qualitative, some elements of data were quantified but analysed qualitatively (Strauss and Corbin 1990, p.17).

4.2. Background to the Slavery Compensation Claims and Awards

This study covers a period of great social change in human history. From the peak of slavery economy to its abolition and freeing of enslaved people in the British colonies, it explores free mixed-heritage and black women's involvement in society, ownership of property and their contributions to the development of Jamaican society. These women traversed the margins of society driven by colour stratification and its relevance to develop relationships and family ties in consanguineous, endogamous, fictive, and kin groups. Exploring behaviour of conspicuous consumption, self-reinvention traits, communication

through the matriarchal line, especially to daughters, helps to develop a concept of women who emanated from slavery within the African diaspora and up scaled their social status. Combining the historiography of the period under scrutiny with the oral stories emerging about these women in both parishes required general corroboration and understanding of these mixed-heritage people. The extant traditional and modern historical texts available are devoid of sufficient gendered studies collectively, with rarely any mention of the lives of free mixed-heritage women especially because they were enslavers.

The most credible place to grasp a collective analysis of these women was during the slavery compensation claims period; a dramatic space where money was the key to enter this space and where the arguments for compensation from the landowners and pro-slavery groups fuelled the anti-slavery discussions for the abolition of slavery (Heuman 1981, Butler 1995, Draper 2007, Draper 2010). Considering these women during my family history research were recorded as baptising enslaved people in the Church of England registers (see Film 1368561 on familysearch.org), there was no need for hypotheses, as it was logical to find them recorded in the British Parliamentary records and other government administrative paperwork as owners. This realisation struck a depth of mixed emotions to end the search, but the need to know more was greater than my reticence, as the records were providing me with prior knowledge of their direct involvement.

Kathleen Butler's extant study paid minimal attention to the slavery compensation awards records, but she geared her invaluable study towards the economics of slavery, comparatively with Barbados (Butler 1995). Nick Draper's extensive research of the Slavery Compensation records, followed by the UCL team study, touched minimally on people of colour and omitted them in their publication on legacies of slave ownership (Draper 2010,

p.4, Hall, Draper et al. 2014). On meeting the UCL team, as a sole researcher, I realised my study needed to be contained within the St Elizabeth parish due to the considerable amount of data to collect, collate and study. The division of the parishes of St Elizabeth, Clarendon, and Vere to create Manchester, meant the latter was also included in my PhD study, as it was necessary to not only 'follow the money' but to also follow the families, their wills/deeds, and clan groups to broaden knowledge of my ancestors, both enslavers and enslaved in slave society.

Towards the end of slavery, everyone with invested interest in the enslaved people before they were freed, wanted to financially benefit from the British Compensation Award of £20m. Everyone who had even the slightest involvement in slavery, whether intentionally or unintentionally, met in this dramatic space to claim, counterclaim, accuse and even try to outwit others for the awards, while some were excessively obsequious. Thus, it created what became the British government's slave owner census of everyone involved in slavery (Treasury Papers CO139 28 June 1832 - 30 Sept. 1834 , British Colonial Office 1833-1841, Erskine 1835, Hall, Draper et al. 2014). When Prof Hilary McD Beckles introduced his book on Britain's Black Debt regarding reparations for British Caribbean slavery, he listed all who benefitted from the slavery 'juggernaut' including businesses, banks, kings, and queens. That list ended with 'and in the end, the men and women in the street' (Beckles 2013, p.5). This thesis refers to those free mixed-heritage and black people who were the free, ordinary men and women living in society, contributing to a microeconomic capitalist system via their pens or smallholdings, and exploited enslaved people for free domestic labour. Although they did not own large estates and plantations with hundreds of enslaved people, they too were claimants and beneficiaries of compensation from the £20m slavery compensation awards

from the British government, a process that started prior to the abolition of slavery, continued during the apprenticeship system, and even after the abolition of slavery and apprenticeships.

Unlike the storyline in 'Queen Victoria', the television drama, where we see the fictional Mrs Skerrett (Nell Hudson), the Queen's dresser, receive a bequest from her unknown uncle in South Carolina, USA, who had bequeathed her considerable property in 1845. She was elated with the idea of receiving wealth until she visited the lawyer and realised her wealth came from her uncle's twenty enslaved people to the value of £10k (£803,000 in 2017 using the National Archives currency calculator). Although the idea of wealth was a temptation, especially as she was considering marrying Francatelli whose aim was to start a business, she looked at those pages of enslaved people's names and refused the bequest on her humanitarian altruistic conscience by setting them free (Loach 2018). This was not the case in the Slavery Compensation claims in the British colonies. However, not everyone who owned enslaved people claimed for the awards, although it is not clear why they did not do so. When money became a commodity easily acquired with the right proof, those with relatives in the slavery system, and who knew of the claim's existence, came forward to claim the funds. They acknowledged relatives who left them a bequest when they were children, or a bequest made to their parents. Creditors who were owed money by claimants' ancestral relatives such as their parents, grandparents, and great-grandparents forty years prior applied as counter-claimants as letters in the archive proved (Beckles 2013). It was an intricate administrative process with a feeding frenzy of applications and counterclaims for the £20m compensation awards across the British colonial empire.

Within this section are discussions on the philosophies underpinning qualitative methodologies and decisions regarding the choice of methods to triangulate the study.

Biographical data collected from the remainder of statistical data within the compensation claims such as letters, wills, deeds, and additional publications and literature, provided an interpretive analysis with a qualitative prosopographical thematic structure, biographical vignettes, and case study analysis of individual families. Qualitative methodology with some quantitative elements provided a unique triangulated analysis, linking mixed-heritage compensation claims and award data with biographical data about the individual actors, such as: Racial category; kinship ties; births; marriages and deaths; and decisions people made; thus, allowing the production of prosopographical stories. This provided previously unidentified knowledge of the proportion of mixed-heritage and black beneficiaries of compensation awards, but also more about them as a people, their families and development of their communities including slave ownership, which the UCL study does not provide.

The UCL team employed a large, broad scale classic Prosopographical research method to explore their study across the entire British colonies of every type of claimant and beneficiary, with my study overlapping in the two parishes under study in Jamaica (see Figure 4-1). Prosopography as a study is applied 'primarily in the field of history to quantify standardised data about the lives of individuals in groups' (Stone 1971, Barmes 2007). However, for my study, it needed to be narrow (one or two parishes) but with more depth required to discuss the research arguments and meet objectives regarding mixed-heritage people. Applying the same procedure as UCL would have been complicated for a solo researcher, therefore within my study I adapted the university of Virginia's prosopography or collective biographies of women, where they assembled representative personalities in marginal groups or partial selection of people for their study, which highlighted the narrow perspective with depth. The Collective Biography of Women project, 'studied the rhetoric and form of the book that were published about historical women, rather than reconstructing the

actual person in their historical context’ (Booth and Graduate Students 2013, p1 online). My study adopted and recreated the method as Prosopographical Family History research, which complemented the study to prove African heritage and family connections between individuals identified in this study (Carter 1984, Keats-Rohan 2007). The purpose of this form of research was the combined quantitative methods for Chapter five and qualitative methods for Chapters six and seven that provided a better understanding of the research issue than either method alone.

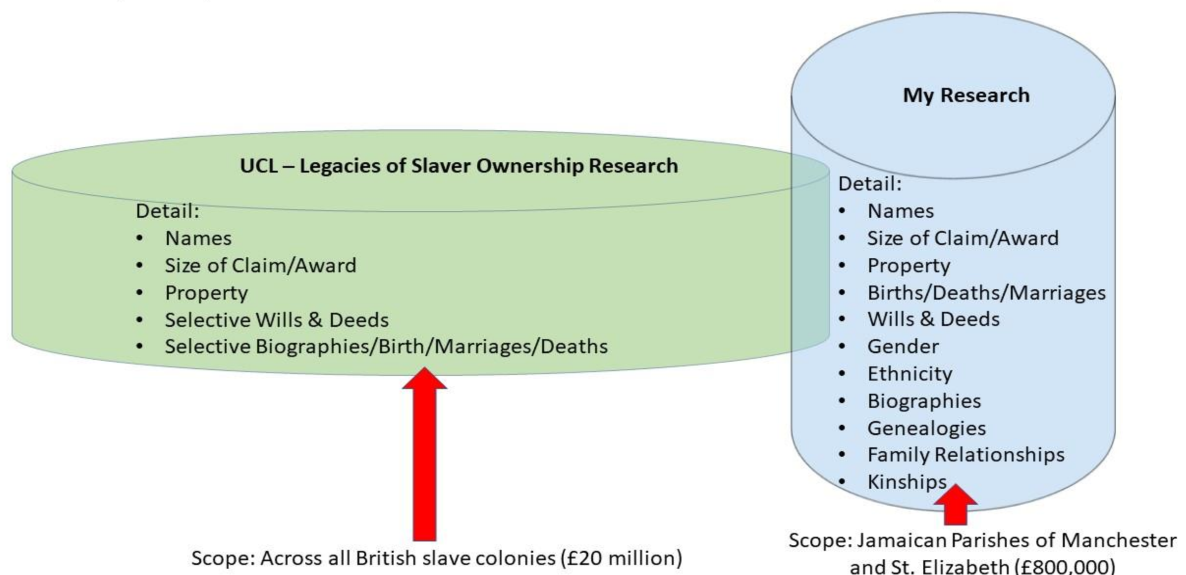


FIGURE 4-1: DESCRIPTION OF RESEARCH METHODS APPLIED IN STUDY CHAPTERS

The arguments inferred from genealogical exploration of these individual societies from a kinship and group perspective emphasised Manchester and St Elizabeth’s development as amalgamated clan communities, where the nuclear family, kinship ties, friendships, and property ownership played a distinct role in the emergence of social life within the parishes due to social forces that integrated them. The research works of many

writers, including Ladislav Holy (Holy 1996) and George Peter Murdock (Murdock 1949, pp. 1-15), describe the ‘nuclear’ family as ‘a distinct and strongly functional group in every known society’. John Thibault’s (1954) cohesiveness of underprivileged groups study also showed how integrated forces can keep groups together (Thibault 1954). The parishes of St. Elizabeth and Manchester (which was largely derived from a larger St. Elizabeth, when it was created in 1814) were selected for this study as it had the largest proportion of mixed-heritage people in Jamaica except Kingston, therefore providing a larger sample from which to study.

To contribute a different perspective to extant studies on free mixed-heritage women the study required an exploration of the socioeconomic lives of those individual women, who appeared on the Slavery Compensation Claims in the parishes of St. Elizabeth and Manchester as original claimants, counterclaimants, and/or beneficiaries who ultimately were awarded the compensation. Additional variables include the numbers of enslaved people being claimed for, the owners, the amount of money received for each enslaved person and the name of the property. All provide details on the extent of the administration of the slavery compensation process using archival paper communication never mined for this data. Analysing this period provided new perspectives on a society of people, due to the wealth of data provided for the slavery administration and application process of enslaved and free people. But more so, an indication of the level of affluence (an individual or family) had and had developed during this period. Most of the compensation correspondences linked with letters, deeds, wills, births/baptisms, marriages, and deaths records, some identifying the racial category of individuals receiving the awards, are rich in data to re-create lives and indeed families, both enslaved and free. These records have remained untapped from an academic and family history perspective thus far.

Running parallel to the investigation above and forming part of my aim is the genealogical exploration of the families that appear in the Compensation Claims and Awards studied as cluster groups. The data from the Slavery Compensation Claims and Awards also provided information on free and enslaved families within wills, deeds, and bequests. By exploring their family relationships, the codified colour stratification assigned to people 'not white' by the rector as the ordained Church of England Minister, their consanguineous relationships, property ownership, bequests, inheritances, and the transfer of money, demonstrated that these women were in fact calculated rational economic actors with a good degree of power. This highlights an area of slavery history that lacked a cohesive discourse and therefore case studies derived from the analysis of the data formed narratives of families within the slavery compensation period.

Within the aim lies the foundation of this thesis, unto which qualitative and quantitative data extracted from the Slavery Records, Slavery Compensation Claims/Awards and the Births, Marriages and Deaths registers, other data from archival periodicals, gazettes, and almanacs, provided a rounded knowledge of mixed-heritage women and the development of these parishes within Jamaica.

4.3. Research Philosophy and Interpretivist Sociology

4.3.1. Ontological Position – the social world of the 1750s-1850s

Ontology is the starting point of this study exploring the social reality of mixed-heritage women, what was I making better by exploring their past and was this study going to reconcile feelings of ancestral past. It became apparent as I actively investigated the topic, that my

intellectual disposition was not content to be passively given information through books and journals, but that I was yearning for more involvement in the learning process, thus developing a cache of knowledge constructed around these women, many of whom were my ancestors. My learning evolved from the combination of the realities read on slavery literature, kinship ties, the available information regarding the social interactions in the personal lives of those mentioned in wills, deeds and letters (Denzin and Lincoln 2005, pp. 2-6, O'Gorman and MacIntosh 2014, pp. 50-53). My social and Criticalist thoughts about enslavement and justice are simple but firm, there is no justification for controlling an innocent person's freedom. As an avid reader, the behaviours of some people in the past were deplorable, as people's lives were considered cheap and replaceable and my 'ontological assumptions are concerned with what we believe constitutes social reality' (Blaikie 2000, p.8). My constructivist learning had started from the moment I had started family history research, as the more I searched, I developed meaning and knowledge. In contrast, people lived and behaved differently in the period of study as, they had different cultures and societal structures in comparison to the world we live in today. The reality in this study was that mixed-heritage women were involved in slavery in the parishes under study and appeared on the slavery compensation claims, the extent to which they participated will be discussed further in the study chapters. I cannot change the reality that some of these people were my ancestors, but question how we balance the dichotomy and incorporate new information into what is already known. The data, filed in financial registers and organised by the Houses of Parliament, exist independently of whether I extracted them or not (O'Gorman and MacIntosh 2014, p.52) In addition to being objective with knowing how many were involved, I needed to know subjectively, who the mixed-heritage enslavers were, how they lived, their interactions and thoughts, using the data such as their wills and letters to the Compensation

administrators provided in the archives. Other historians had interpreted the historiography in different ways with varying views on the subject from historians, anthropologists, and sociologists. Constructivist ontology supported the challenge 'what is out there to know?' and guided the search for existing knowledge (O'Gorman and MacIntosh 2014, p.52).

4.3.2. Epistemology – nature of knowledge

Epistemology is the study of knowledge and how we extract that knowledge. The reliability of that knowledge, the approaches used to obtain it and choices made help us to understand the world we live in (O'Gorman and MacIntosh 2014, pp. 58-60). Thus, applying Interpretivism and Critical theory to this study. My thoughts have been centred on the extracted knowledge from this study, with a critical reflexion of society and interpretive analysis for dissemination to academic research and family historians with interest in Jamaican heritage. The extant knowledge that exists in British historical texts about these mixed-heritage women is often incongruent with knowledge derived from the Caribbean historians. This is similar to the battle of debate on the decline of political power on the study of capitalism and slavery between Eric Williams (1964) and Seymour Drescher (1977, 1987), where Caribbean and British researchers maintain distinct agreement with Williams' arguments that a large part of the growth of the British economy and the wealth generated for the Industrial Revolution (between 1760-1840), was heavily financed through slavery and the Triangular Trade of Africans, thus discounting most of Drescher's arguments (Williams 1964, Hall, Draper et al. 2014, p.12). The rich source of data captured from the Slavery Compensation claims, wills and deeds, generates a reality of the knowledge providing factual quantifiable/qualitative information around ownership of property and demographic background requiring a minute

element of a positivist approach (O'Gorman and MacIntosh 2014, p.60). In addition, the thought process and mental assembly of stories and texts, making sense of their actions and behaviours during Colonial slavery, requires an interpretation of the existing documentation they left behind (O'Gorman and MacIntosh 2014, p.64). Interpreting the diverse data fits well with an interpretative paradigm that will combine the minute data needed in figures, statistics, or graphs with an understanding from the interpretation of the social and multiple realities those mixed-heritage women lived in.

4.4. Research Methods and Approaches

4.4.1. A Qualitative study

Subjectivist and interpretivist thinking underpin quantitative and qualitative research methods (Corbetta 2003, Creswell 2003, Creswell and Plano Clark 2007). This was the type of research method I envisaged for this study thus concluding that a mixed methodology was required. However, to progress this research and to analyse both my objective and subjective data, a mixed methodology would not have produced the interpretation required of the wills, deeds, and correspondences, as they comprised mostly textual qualitative data in comparison to statistical quantitative data. The textual data contained dramatic letters of requests for the compensation awards in varied expressions of obsequious behaviour; beseeching, belligerence, displeasure, and controversy, needing analysis that brought me closer to the realities of the study.

Quantitative researchers from a positivist philosophy are more partial to deductive approaches (Corbetta 2003, Creswell 2003, Creswell 2014). They believe that experiments,

numbers, statistics, graphs should be solely used for social phenomena and contend that the researcher remains objective and very much removed from their subjects being observed. This equates to producing consistently valid, reliable results, while remaining emotionally detached and uninvolved with their subjects. This was a personal challenge, as halfway through collection of the data, I became absorbed in the roller-coaster of emotions found within the text while reading and seeing through the lenses of familial claimants or counter-claimants – emotions of laughter and tears, to utter disbelief at the data being mined. The types of data collected at the archives are in various formats – ledgers, manuscripts, letters all filed under the T71, National Debt Office (NDO) and Colonial Office (CO) Series of the National archives and found in other archives in the UK, Jamaica, and the USA. The Slavery Compensation Claims and Awards provide data on each claimant showing the total amount claimed, totals of awards including interest, name of the property, per person and per parish. These are presented as figures (factual) displayed in charts, graphs, and tables, analysed objectively and relatively comparable. This type of data needed objective positivist thinking, a deductive approach underpinned with the figures (facts) found, thus some elements of a quantitative methodology within a bespoke prosopographical database with a thematic structure as the tool to collate and process the data. However, although this data will be included in the study, I chose to empower the study through qualitative prosopographical methods to draw out the dramaturgical effects of the study relatable to a more subjective reality.

John Cresswell claimed, 'the central premise is that the use of quantitative and qualitative approaches in combination provides a better understanding of research problems than either approach alone' (Creswell and Plano Clark 2007, p.5). This was the case for this study, I needed the quantitative data however, there was not enough to justify the whole

thesis being a mixed methods study and the data represented a one study chapter. This is to a larger extent, a qualitative thesis supported by quantitative data and qualitative analysis. Pursuing a mixed methodology design would have been misleading and the study needed a research design that reflected the amount of data involved, the best method, not only to complement one method with another within the investigation, but also to communicate the study and the natural flow, thus agreeing with Strauss and Corbin who explained that some data may be quantified but the analysis itself can be qualitative (Strauss and Corbin 1990, p.17). This way, from a subjective reality's stance, the research strategies of archival research, prosopography and case studies supported the qualitative and quantitative archival data, triangulated with interpretive analysis, flowed much better in a qualitative study than it would have done in a mixed methods study (Plano Clark and Creswell 2008, Grbich 2013, Creswell 2014).

4.4.2. A Complementary Deductive and Inductive Approach

Qualitative researchers, or those with constructivist/interpretivist philosophy, dismiss positivist approaches in favour of inductive methods, such as ethnography, hermeneutics, humanism, and others. Interpretivism comes from the philosophical school of Idealism and thus hold the view that what is seen or felt is dependent on the activities within the mind, or how we envision things to be and not as they are (Williams, May et al. 1996). Qualitative researchers prefer to be part of their subjects' lives and consequently produce more emotionally charged writing with empathy, some informal style and sometimes passion, with the analysis being developed inductively from the collated data (Corbetta 2003, Creswell 2003, Plano Clark and Creswell 2008, Creswell 2014). Data found in wills, deeds, property

accounts, birth, marriage, and death records needed a subjective approach with the realities emerging from the data supported by the historiography of the period. This area of the study required a personal interpretation of the meaning of the cultural and sociological motivations and values of the people within the period under investigation. This aided the deciphering and interpretation of subjective realities and increased understanding of the subjects in my study.

Qualitative research is more associated with inductive approaches; however, some researchers argue that if the central focus is to test some theory or set of expectations using case studies as the data, then deductive methods are more appropriate. As I traversed the mountain of data I found that inductive and deductive research were needed to complement each other and to illuminate the findings as confirmed by Pearse (2019), who stated: 'Deductive qualitative research procedures have the potential to address some of the short comings of inductive approaches, including a more systematic development of a body of knowledge of behavioural and social processes…' such as those found in a sociohistorical setting (Pearse 2019, p.1). The rules of research can sometimes be pedantic and esoterically applied but as Deborah Gabriel (2013) taught: 'there are no set rules and some qualitative studies may have a deductive orientation' (Gabriel 2013, online blog). Applying deductive reasoning (testing my assumptions … 'what' they did) and inductive reasoning (creating new knowledge and theories… 'how' they did it) as research approaches may appear opposing. However, this study needed a balance of both, and moving closer to the truth of the research is what was required, that is to ascertain the underlying causes and reasons for enslaving others like themselves (Hyde 2000).

As this study is framed around key arguments, the core research approach is considered deductive, in that the main objective of the research was to test and prove the arguments derived from the literature review. However, this study also ventured into detailed micro-socioeconomic research and case studies, that generated new data and explored new perspectives, necessitating a complementary inductive and deductive approach.

4.5. Research Strategy

Several methods were recruited to enable a synergistic collection and segmentation of the various data sets, necessary to recreate the lives of some of these women in the study. Extracting large quantities of archival data required a safe logical storage and retrieval system to aid analysis.

4.5.1. Prosopography

Prosopography as a method has slightly moved away from its social history roots to be more streamlined, due to its concepts and techniques developed in sociology and anthropology in the social sciences (Keats-Rohan 2007, p. 3). There are varied definitions of prosopography, such as The University of Virginia's, 'Collective Biographies of Women' project. Although they use prosopography, they prefer to apply ''Collective Biographies' of women's lives … in an assembly of representative personalities of the same social, historical, or vocational

categories… and can be a tool for acknowledging marginal groups' (Booth 2009, Booth and Graduate Students 2013). Another accepted definition of prosopography as applied by the Prosopographical Research Unit, Linacre College, Oxford, is 'the study of an individual's life; career, community, family connections in aggregate (Barmes 2007, p.73, Keats-Rohan 2007). Both these definitions are almost representing the same sentiment and Lawrence Stone shared the same views by stating 'prosopography is the investigation of the common background characteristics of a group of actors in history by means of a collective study of their lives' (Stone 1971, p.46).

Initially, prosopography was discounted due to its association with history as a pure discipline, however, after much study, research, and discussion, I realised it was the ideal method for this type of study and crucial in its design and analysis of the data. In addition, prosopography is very much associated with databases, and in this study, a bespoke database stores the slavery compensation claims and awards data for computer analysis (Mathisen 2007, p.95). Michael Stuckey posited, 'prosopography consists of the analysis of the shared conditions and experiences of a group of individuals via the examination of their (collective) lives' (Stuckey 2007, p.499). Adapting Stuckey's analysis, prosopography was developed as a tool adapted for a collective study of colonial lives within a set period, with essential variables to guide the study (Stone 1971, Keats-Rohan 2007, Stuckey 2007). Prosopography also worked well with the theory of entitativity, the study of groups. In addition, examples of the lexicon and layout were drawn from the prosopographical work of Anna Beerens who researched the biographical lives of 173 Japanese intellectual, in the last quarter of the eighteenth-century (Beerens 2006, pp. 66-85). The details of each person who claimed, counter-claimed and benefited are entered into the database and characterised according to variables, such as: colour of the person as recorded by the Church of England rectors (where

found); role of individual claimant/beneficiary; amount claimed/received; type of relationship with other claimants and their biographical details. This was followed by a delineation of the mixed-heritage women as a group of people, where sub-variables and questions about their age (where found), family structure, inheritance, bequests, economic position, fictive kin group, creditors and testamentary powers were woven in the slavery compensation claims and awards. These were juxtaposed, combined and examined for patterns, significant variables and affinities within the defined group, with an analysis that delivered purposive results necessary for understanding this community of people living within the demise of slave society (Stone 1971, p.47).

Prosopography has a place in colonial history. Although a method mainly associated with influential people in society or ancient villages, there is no exclusivity for mixed-heritage women who were considered of less importance in colonial society and much less so in the compensation debates for planters with huge investments who owned many enslaved people, yet all sought the remuneration (Beech 1976, Stuckey 2007, p.523). The mixed-heritage people within the British colonies and especially the women, may not have been considered as part of the discussions between the Members of Parliament, the aristocracy, and the church, however, they formed a large group of beneficiaries in at least two parishes of Jamaica. Lawrence Stone provided a more detailed outline and analysis of prosopography, with the two concerns he considered; the root of political actions and social structure with social mobility (Stone 1971, p.47, Stone 1972). These same concerns were adapted to this study and form the basis of narrative inquiry. Firstly, within the root of political actions lies the deeper interest in slave society and why mixed-heritage people had enslaved their own people, the analysis of social, economic, and political connections of these mixed-heritage people and who they were as recorded in the parliamentary government papers in the

archives. Secondly, within the social structure with social mobility, lies the analysis of the role of mixed-heritage people within their communities, the society they developed and how that changed over time. Shifting society enabled upward mobility making use of their colour to move into white society, thus change of socio-economic class, access to rights and privileges such as voting and participating in other activities considered for acceptance in white society. In applying prosopography, it aids the process of recognising, discerning and having a reasonable understanding of the political, social, legal, economic, and technological actions taken by mixed-heritage women. In addition, it helps explain ideological or cultural changes within society, aids the identification of social reality within these claims and awards and 'describes and analyses with precision the structure of society and the degree and nature of movements within that society' (Stone 1971, p.47, Hawkins, Al-Hindi et al. 2016).

4.5.2. Narrative Inquiry as Critical Autobiography in Family History research and the role of reflexivity

Writing an engendered study of women's lives today is challenging. Writing about women's thoughts from their wills, deeds, and letters during a stressful period of their lives, without diaries, is another type of challenge. Added to these two challenges a gendered sphere of mixed-heritage women, who were enslavers during the slavery period and the result is the shattering of screaming silence as the 'the Voice'/researcher's mind is filled with every emotion conceivable (Richardson 1994). Finding one's ancestors in family research is a happy event for any researcher but finding the added 'enslaver' skeleton in the closet represents tiers of tears, identity crises, an imbalanced roller-coaster of reflexive serendipity (Ball 1998, Perry 2001, Parker 2012, Stuart 2012). The unexpected data either discourages the

continuation of the research or the researcher continues but disregards the information in dialogues with the other 'clan' members for whom this information might be unwelcome or uses academic skills to understand who they were in this space, what the socioeconomic reasons and circumstances were and if they also were enslaved at any point in their lives. This was my reflexive account as 'the Voice' and researcher, and this was a process of discovery or a way of knowing, because everyone has a story (Walker 2017, p.1896). Of the many mixed-heritage women, I have studied, only a few could sign their names. However, to write their stories, not necessarily as individuals but as a clan group reconstruction of their biological vignettes, enables a part of the women to be shared with their descendants, who can then develop a better understanding of their ancestor's lives and their place in slavery history. Biography is not only a fundamental form of narrative inquiry but a crucial biographical strategy to enlighten the way to reconstruct these stories (Elliott 2007, p.116, Freeman 2007, p.120). Now is a good time to bring to life these silenced individuals, before the data stored in archival boxes become endangered. These women wrote their wills from a gendered space of defiance, resistance, empowered by their love of family as they broke their silent voices across pages of wills, deeds or in their letters, as they petitioned colonial administrators for the few British pounds they honestly thought belonged to their children. From an autobiographical and autoethnographic voice (see below), in some cases the shattering of the screaming silence across the pages of historical research stirs real feelings of fear for an enslaved eight-year-old child, separated from mother and siblings as their owners were levied for debt, seized by the District constable, and placed in the workhouse to be sold at a convenient date. Archival searching for the child during those two or three hours to find the whereabouts and details of who bought the child can be agonising. Relief comes when that child is found in the data and then realise the child had been returned home because the

original owner repurchased the child. This was a real-life research event of many found throughout this study, written quite dispassionately, my emotions were real. This was an autoethnographic experience of being in the study, having an empathetic subjective experience in the twenty-first century of a social phenomenon which happened in the nineteenth century and represented through writing a process of discovery (Polkinghorne 1989, Clandinin and Connelly 2000, Ellis and Bochner 2000, Clandinin 2007). As Hannabus (2000) expressed, 'for, whatever else is happening when research takes place, the researcher is actually there: "being there" is an inseparable part of research…" (Hannabus 2000, p.100). Bringing together family history research and colonial slavery data is more than stories, as they involve social judgement, testing of values, rules of the period and space, a sense of logic, subjective interpretations, reflexivity, and real-life emotions (Richardson 1994, Twyman, Morrison et al. 1999, Walker 2017).

The study is more than biographical stories, as reflexivity played a significant part within the criticality of the study, within a slavery cultural setting over two hundred years ago. There are limitations in critiquing the study, such as not being objective enough, as it is too close and subjective, or too much distortion created while perusing family history. However, these records were not only about ancestors but about a community (parishes) of people, enslaved and mixed-heritage enslavers, 'who had all lost their souls' in a system not created by them, they just happened to be born into a time and space, and slotted into categories of free and enslaved in a history they eventually created (Beckles and Shepherd 2007, p.44).

4.5.3. Archival Research: The Administrative Communications

This section of the chapter is closely linked to history because narratives were linked to people who lived over two hundred years ago in a highly sensitive period that still evokes anger today. There were many questions to be asked to understand the complex world they lived in (Clandinin and Rosiek 2007). The most important records for this study were the Slavery Compensation awards communications found in the archives. These records provided the qualitative data in the form of testamentary evidence, wills, deeds, and letters. Within the latter, expressions of selfishness or generosity, obsequious servility, some people were peaceful and others very angry. For each person or 'actor' in the study, their individuality was preserved within the case studies, which highlighted their economic and social experiences in an alternative yet unique way without daily diaries.

As an interdisciplinary research, with its various dynamic avenues, data was stored in numerous archives, which I have visited in the UK, Jamaica, and USA. From Berwick-Upon-Tweed, The Scottish Library, The National Archives in London, Hyde Park Family History Centre, Somerset Records Office, East Sussex Records office, Welcome Trust, the British Library, Cambridge University and Senate House in London, holding suppositories of data with majority of manuscripts in its original primary format. Some manuscripts were still arranged in their original formats from the Colonial administrator's office with waxed seals. In Jamaica, I visited the Registrar General Department, the National Archives in Spanish Town and at the University of the West Indies, spending many weeks over several years. Research in the United States was productive as although they had different systems, I could use their machinery, knew how to handle rare documents with prepared gloves, and had an overall unforgettable experience. It was stressful as I had to take many images, check, and re-check to ensure it was all accurate as I could not return if anything were wrong. In the UK, I visited

every archive for a few days at a time or weeks in further away archives. I learnt skills of digitising, palaeography, learnt the archival systems, how to use a microfiche, how to effectively transcribe documents, knew the family history library films, developed a good understanding of how information was processed from the physical archival record into a reportable database, made my own research index to prepare metadata, file management and manage large documents. The most difficult task was learning to work alone. With the data in so many places and in so many formats, this created a challenge for designing the study with research methods capable of capturing all the data necessary, all the angles, however complex, to achieve the aim of the study. It was necessary to employ methodological triangulation to capture the data and diffuse challenges with overwhelming data (Bryman 2004). Exploring qualitative data with some quantitative data was considered efficient and effective to achieve the intended aims I envisaged.

4.5.4. Case studies

Robert K. Yin, one of most cited authors on case study methodologies, advocates that case studies should be considered as the research strategy rather than supporting other research strategies, see Figure 4-2 below. In addition, he advocated a deductive approach to case study research with discipline, thus its application in this thesis (Yin 1994, Yin 2009).

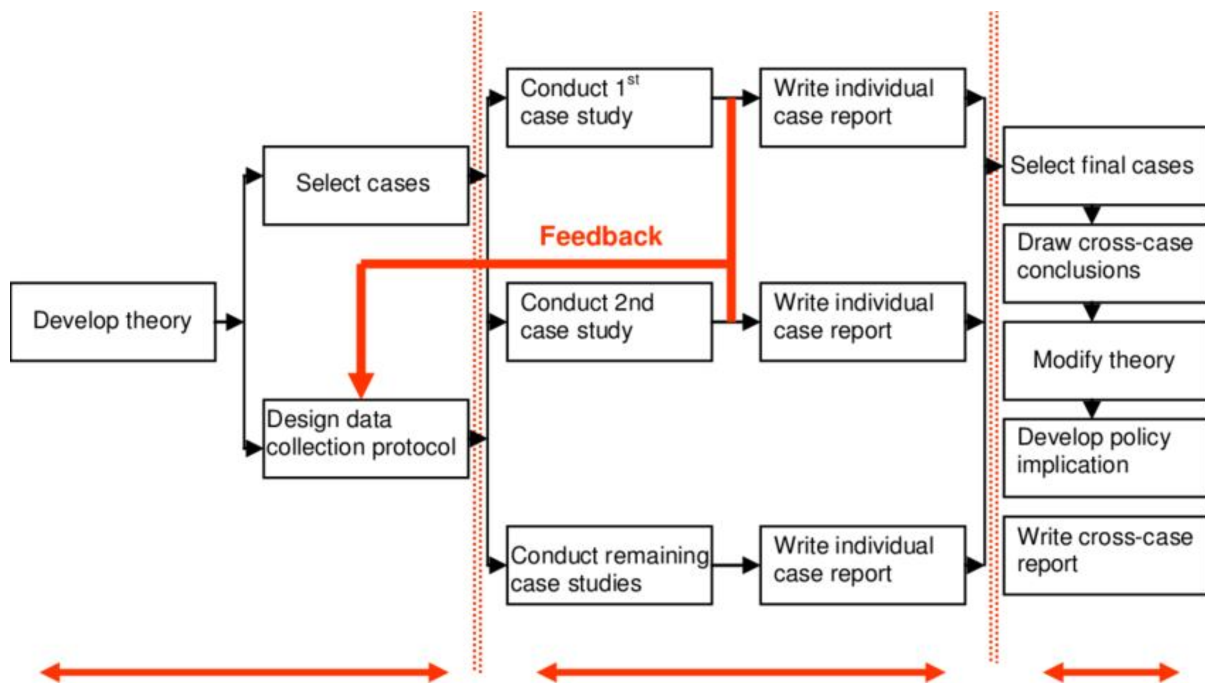


FIGURE 4-2: CASE STUDY METHOD 1994, P49.

Exploring the many case studies in this collection, D. Jean Clandinin's statement resonated with me: 'while all narrative inquirers agree that narrative inquiry is the study of experience, there are differences in what narrative inquirers see themselves as studying' (Clandinin 2007, p.xiv). My data provided many avenues to approach, therefore I had to place borders around the study and chose those cases closest to the aim and objectives. Most narrative writers study the experiences of their subjects, at most while they are alive. However, this study explored a narrative inquiry into a past period in British Colonial slavery where the data about the individuals are stored as archival realia and texts in public and private archives or repositories with no diaries. Each case chosen was from the following: direct claimants; inheriting the claim; persons with wills that indirectly contributed to the claims; and counterclaimants. Thus 'each case study is an analysis of social phenomena specific to time and place' (Ragin and Becker 1992, p.2) and space in this study. To use Stake's definition, 'a

case study is a process of inquiry about the case and also the product of that inquiry' (Stake 2005, p.44).

For this study, while I have followed Yin's model of case study method, I have also adapted Robert Stake's individual case study structure of choice, triangulation, experiential knowledge, contexts, and ordinary activities. While individual case studies were instrumental and supported the wider principle of advancing a wider understanding of their individual activities (Stake 2005), some instrumental case studies became collective case studies, as they extended over several cases in order to investigate a phenomenon or behaviour of the cluster group's population (Stake 2003, p.138). All the case studies were underpinned with their theories of behaviour, choices, actions, group formation and intersectionality, and had a conceptual structure, as 'theory becomes the vehicle for generalising a case study's results' (Yin 2003, pxiv). The format used and adapted was: Nature of the case; the case's historical background; the physical setting; other contexts or environmental forces impacting the women, for example, economic, political, legal, cultural, social, and engendered forces, and other elements that came out of the paperwork and recognised as such.

The epistemological question was, what am I going to learn from this case, why have I chosen this case? What is this case about? (Ragin and Becker 1992, Yin 2003, Stake 2005). The archival data from manuscripts in the UK, USA and Jamaica examined to date includes text of all variety produced as social, cultural, political, literary texts, gazettes and in various written formats. However, the documents were ideal for analysis using interpretive analysis that revealed the ideological, motivational, idiosyncratic meanings, procedures of the day, conditions in which they lived in society and the resources they had as individuals and groups (Daiute and Lightfoot 2004, p.225, Grbich 2013, p. 189). Interpretive analysis asks how,

where, when, what and why type questions, such as ‘how’ life was experienced, ‘what’ happened when a particular decision was made, thus introducing storytelling into the analysis and into social reality (Hartmann 1979, Gailey 2003, Gubrium and Holstein 2003, p.215).

Case studies are represented in Chapter Six and Seven. Both these study chapters explore the case studies, with analysis and interpretation of the findings in their respective chapters. In study chapter six, case studies include interpretative analysis of the historical texts, the mined data from government records, parish records of births, marriages, and deaths. All the women were identified as property owners who inherited from parents, their partners, bequeathed property to family and highlighted how and why. The chapter also highlighted their relationships with the enslaved people and white women, the mixed-heritage men and scrutinised behaviour patterns that emerged from the data, all underpinned with the Slavery Compensation Awards of 1834. This study runs parallel to Pedro Welch’s study on free mixed-heritage women in Barbados, which highlights the contribution free women of colour made to the island (Welch and Goodridge 2000).

In study chapter seven, the case studies involved women and their families as clan groups who all appeared as claimants and awardees in the Slavery Compensation. The case studies there relate to over a thousand persons representing all claims and counter claims in both parishes, with many persons receiving one or more award, with some awards being shared between two or more people. There are many cases with varying degrees of interest regarding family composition; single status, married, business-women, guardians of orphan children, ‘housekeepers’ who lived as concubines of deceased ‘best friend’, and those imploring invested parties for their children’s legacies. There were also those with personalities transposed to the paperwork, chosen for either being assertive or aware of

themselves as women in a man's world. The collective case studies highlighted the various clan groups and the relationships between clusters of groups, thus creating a dynamic society.

4.6. Techniques and Procedures

4.6.1. Dramaturgy, Narrative and Storytelling

Each actor within these claims played a different role of regular activity, sometimes more than one role and gave the audience a definition of their situation, narrative analysis, and storytelling, thus requiring some triangulation of the data. Robert Stake (2005) explained that the story described in a case may not be useful in giving an entire picture of what is being said (Stake 2005, p.456). Therefore, with my visual learning style and overactive mind, utilised drama as a means of visualising the actors in their activities to create the narratives and stories. Szumak and Thuna (2013) emphasised how the brain works with narrative, storytelling, and can perceive the details and the big picture at the same time, thus endorsing narrative creation as a powerful tool. They also expressed the difference between narratives and story-telling and recommended Polkinghorne's importance of using a plot to form the core of the narrative, as narratives have a larger scope of embedding details of a case while providing structure for the story (Polkinghorne 1995, Szurmak and Thuna 2013). The underpinning factor of the study is the Slavery Compensation Claims as the main stage and the meaning of the Compensation claims to the actors involved. The actors were varied: the aristocratic white male planters; their wives; mixed-heritage men and women; small entrepreneurs as planters or small business owners; minor teenagers coming of age to receive their legacies; and the Accountant General who benefitted the most from unclaimed awards.

Large organisations were actors too; the anti-slave society; the pro-slavery society; the church; the British government at the head of society; and varying actors within the drama of the rigid establishment of slavery and the abolition of slavery.

The challenge was in remaining objective, while analysing the information and not forming conclusions until all data relating to that issue were collated from the narrative. For example, it was quite logical to draw an early conclusion on Herman Hendricks, as a prolific rogue counterclaimant. He made 50 counter claims in St Elizabeth and Manchester alone, not to mention other parishes where he also made such claims. Most claimants recorded they never knew or met him, thus rebuffing the counterclaim. To make matters more intriguing, Hendricks, had two assigned men commissioned to enact the counter claims on his behalf – Richard Paterson and William John Richardson, named on at least 44 of those claims. Women were his main targets and having his two 'henchmen' professionally on the cases, he could have been justifiably accused as just a rogue counterclaimant with his whole intention of defrauding female claimants. However, a further study of Hendricks and his background revealed, the dire mortgage debt he had, the imminent loss of his estate 'Mons', and how desperate he was to reclaim his property from the Cohen brothers, his mortgagers. Herman Hendricks had loaned people money in the parish for business purposes but could not prove it. He was not awarded any of those claims in both parishes but did receive awards in other parishes. Jonathan Parker and Harry Farmer's (2016) narrative development module for undergraduate students and a few more examples, gave insight into how these narratives and storytelling were best developed and utilised for us to gain the knowledge of the period under study (Parker, Ashencaen Crabtree et al. 2012, Parker and Farmer 2016).

Utilising business tools with secondary data enabled an analysis of business environmental forces that encapsulated a capitalist slave society. This facilitated an exploration of culture as a system of shared beliefs, values, customs, and behaviours, alongside exploring the uncontrollable social/religious, economic, political/legal factors as unchangeable forces which impacted on small business owners within the period of study (Sloman 2007, Crane 2013). Many would have experienced challenges as marginalised mixed-heritage people, especially women, to traverse a patriarchal business society. However, acting or 'passing' as 'white' enabled more privileges contingent with association, relationships with white people within the society (MacKinnon 1991-1992, Piper 1992, Mahoney 1992-1993, Broyard 2007, Sharfstein 2011, Hobbs 2014). This represents another type of resistance and drama in acting within what was a real-life situation and reinforcing my argument of them being rational economic actors within society. Capitalising on Goffman's (Goffman 1959) socio-anthropological study on conditions of society and the presentations of individual's everyday life, enabled a reflection of the drama surrounding the period of the slavery compensation claims, small businesses and the abolition of slavery, the economic position of mixed-heritage women and their contribution to the development of society in both parishes under study in Jamaica.

4.6.2. A Bespoke Database

Meeting the objectives required a bespoke database, structured around slavery compensation claims data. It was created with various variables and populated as a data capturing and reporting tool to record all the data from primary and secondary sources collected from attended archives in the UK and abroad. This enabled detailed and complex

reporting, cross-referencing, and triangulating both individual demographic and claims related information for quantitative and qualitative methods together. The mined archival data entered this database was extracted for knowledge in two ways: statistical data on every claimant/awardee for quantitative analysis; and individual qualitative biographies from which variables are developed for a collective prosopographical analysis. In addition, it contributes to the case studies on selected claimants/awardees with intricate story lines or vignettes. These extracts are triangulated for the development of a grounded theory. The focus being on the content of the stories, behaviour, attitudes and the associated drama of the claimants and awardees as actors within a difficult complicated period of social transformations. In addition, concepts of theoretical power and reasoned behaviour ascertained from the documents presented are linked with judicial decisions and the Colonial Administrative board. Appendix 5 provides a more detailed description of the design and architecture of the database created to record data for this study.

4.6.3. Biographical Vignettes

Short vignettes were applied in this study to support case studies and arguments throughout the discussions of a social context. Vignettes are short stories collected from the archival data, family history sources, including previous research findings, and include important factors such as beliefs and attitudes generated from the data (Hughes 1998, Barter and Renold 1999). Some vignettes also considered beliefs and attitudes and research argument which enabled a more synergistic argument to achieve the aim and objectives (Finch 1987, Steiner, Atzmüller et al. 2016). The short vignettes were written into the free-flow data collected from the archives and entered into the database (Finch and Mason 1991) .

4.7. Limitations

In Jamaica, the Church of England church wardens and rectors recorded births/baptisms, marriages, and deaths/burials from the beginning of registrations in Jamaica, with the main recording for St Elizabeth and Manchester filmed by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints on Film 1368561 beginning 1702. The rectors used the Spanish designed lineal descent (categories of colour) as negro, sambo, mulatto, quadroon, octoroon, mustee/legally white and white to describe the parishioners. The scribes in Jamaica, who recorded births, marriages, and deaths, sometimes crossed out 'white' and entered 'NOT white' and vice versa, which sometimes made the entry unclear, especially if entered twice on separate pages. This made the reader uncertain of which entry to choose. In addition, names were repeated several times for both men and women within the same generation, within the following generation and up to 3 generations. This created uncertainty as to who was the claimant (the mother, daughter, or the aunt), especially when they had children at a young age.

Further and deeper research of siblings, marriages of siblings with the same parents often revealed the required search but was a long, tedious process. In addition, names were regularly reduplicated during slavery. Planters and overseers named their legitimate and illegitimate children the same names without any considerations for future complications. The worst-case scenarios that created confusion with the records were the baptisms of the enslaver's family, where his wife/concubine, legitimate and illegitimate children and baptised alongside them, the enslaved persons named after the women and children. One example in a white 1814 baptism was that of George Hendricks, whose mother Elizabeth Bowes had

children with Herman Hendricks, a counterclaimant. The Elizabeth Bowes being baptised at the same time as her son George, was an enslaved woman, identified as such from the term ‘belonging to’, and most likely a black woman. Being 1814, with a well-established colour system, and specific rules to follow, it was inconsistent for the rector to record white people without their full details. However, this inconsistent process was common to all parishioners in the records thus making prosopographical analysis challenging.

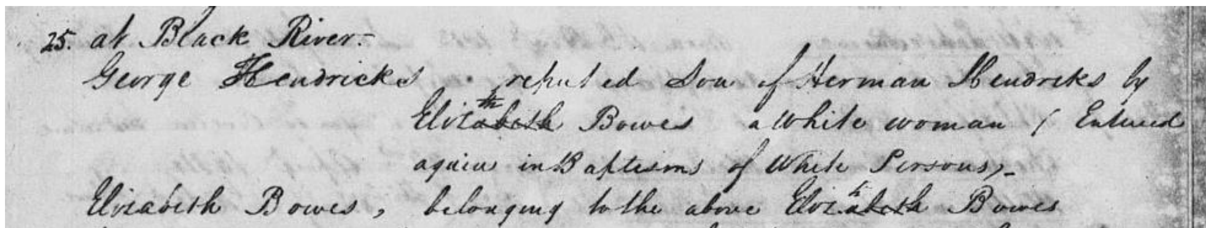

25. at Black River-
George Hendricks . reputed Son of Herman Hendricks by
Elizabeth Bowes a White woman / Entered
again in Baptisms of White Persons)-
Elizabeth Bowes, belonging to the above Elizabeth Bowes

FIGURE 4-3: FILM 1368561 P. 196. ST ELIZABETH PARISH RECORDS OF BIRTHS, 25 DECEMBER 1814.

Some records related to Slavery compensation held by the National Archives (Kew), such as CO 137/198/36 were entirely illegible. The use of palaeography could not decipher what it contained, thus losing valuable data from a large manuscript. Some records were damaged beyond repair and therefore not accessible for perusal. There were also incorrectly filed records, questioning the completeness of the catalogues for the Compensation Records. For example, the register of claims, T71/870 included counterclaims at the rear of the book, which were not entered in the catalogue and only found after intensive scrutiny. The miscellaneous letters of Manchester for 1835-1836 - T71/1606, included many letters for St. Elizabeth, which contained vital data for the study. Misplaced, misfiled, torn data and data in danger of being lost forever can seriously create reliability and integrity issues in data collection. 1045 claims were the original number of claims for St. Elizabeth until I found five more claims in the most obscure area of a book unrelated to the Compensation awards. These additional records were included in my final count.

Not all data are held in British archives, requiring travel to Jamaica, which has associated expense, cost of accommodation and transport within the island. Once there, data can be challenging to find, however, staff were extremely helpful. There have been no diaries found to date to complement the records in the slave compensation records and the research on Crop accounts and Plantation records produced insubstantial data required for the database. Not all properties were listed in the Crop Accounts register or Plantation records. A good research can take months of staying on the island with daily visits to the records offices. The Genealogical Society films were sometimes illegible, or data was missing from the record. On using the same records of births, marriages, and deaths in Jamaica, I realised that the recording order in the original books were different from the recording order of the Genealogical Society microfilms. The original records were structured with all the 'white' births, marriages, and deaths, giving a year-on-year entry. In the back of the book was recorded those people who were not white, giving the year-on-year entry. Whereas the Genealogical Society, who did not preserve the original order of the entries, digitised the records, in chronological order, white people and people not white, together, allowing search by date to facilitate family history research.

Time, finance, and the word limit on this thesis prevented a complete scrutiny of all the collected and collated data, thus limiting data entry of all the information I have available on all the claimants entered into the database. It was more productive to concentrate the time and effort into data entry for mixed-heritage and black people, since the thesis was about them. The study would have benefited with more research time in Jamaica exploring more wills and deeds. I deliberately did not pursue gathering and recording any further information on people with 'unknown' race in the dataset, as there was little benefit to be gained from the minimal data found on them on the St. Elizabeth records. Further research

was needed from other parishes, as it was obvious that people claimed and counter claimed in more than one parish, for example two 'unknown' women claimed from Kingston.

Although formal ethical approval was not required by the BU ethics panel for this study, I ensured that family history photographs provided by relatives had written permission. However, the family is extremely large and considering this topic is sensitive to some people, they may not be comfortable with a photograph of a relative published among slavery discussions.

4.8. Chapter Summary

The study, being a qualitative methodology of narrative inquiry and interpretive analysis and case studies, illustrates an emerging autobiographic and postmodernist reconstruction of family lives with prosopographical analysis. The examination of historical sources, such as wills and deeds, and genealogical records of some of these families highlights the vital role women played in the history of both parishes, and in the social and economic spread of wealth in the development of the island. Although no diaries exist to validate the subjective daily activities and experiences of the women in the research, data drawn from the historical primary and secondary sources have enabled the re-creation of a significant portion of their respective lives in the larger context of colonial slavery in the form of case studies. Applying a qualitative design with elements of quantitative analysis using diagrams, charts and graphs, with prosopographical analysis, was the best approach for systemically analysing documents using both deductive and inductive approaches, comparisons, interpretation and generation of themes throughout the texts and identification of patterns of association and contrasts

(Stewart and Malley 2004, p.225, Grbich 2013, p.195). Employing interpretive analysis for the methods' flexibility and complexity enables the inclusion of individual case studies. This encompasses their written language, culture, space, and time, yet maintains rigour with support from deduction in the statistics, figures, and other data provided to triangulate this study (Van Peer 1989, Wetherell, Taylor et al. 2001, Johnstone 2002, Denzin and Lincoln 2003, Etherington 2004, Davies and Gannon 2006, Clandinin 2007, Denzin and Lincoln 2008, Ragin and Becker 2010, Thomas 2016).

5. Study chapter: The Slavery Compensation Claims and Awards

Within the stress-ridden society of enslavers claiming the awards and those counterclaiming, were the millions of enslaved people who the £20m compensation fund referred to, but who were not remunerated for their free labour, loss of freedom, family, health, their lives, and overall suffering. They were angry that the Apprenticeship system which started on 1 August 1834, the same time the compensation awards administration started, was just as bad as the slavery system that was abolished. Their silence filled the archival dusty pages of manuscripts, but despite being poor, they were hopeful, as they were about to be freed forever (Beckles and Shepherd 2004, Whyte 2006, Hall, Draper et al. 2014). Voices the 'Silences' in phase three of the 'Silences' model included the journey of finding all the data from around the world wherever the repositories were situated physically and online.

As far as could be ascertained, the enslaved people were unaware of the compensation administrative drama, as letters forwarded back and forth from their enslavers to colonial administrators never affected them, except for estate gossip of their freedom, which they heard from the Baptists ministers. However, some of the enslaved people on larger estates where there were controversial concerns with varying categorical placements (see Appendix 6), they may have been aware of certain activities regarding their bodies. This included being specially washed, scrubbed, and polished for physical appraisal for the attorney's submission on the valuer's return or physical examination by the parish valuers Esquires James Ward and John Hunt. Frances Price Tomlinson only had her female domestic servant to claim for and most likely completed the appraisal herself for a claim of £70, receiving only £30 on the award in 1836 (See Appendix 6 and see table below to see where other vignettes are situated

throughout this chapter). Identification and classification of the data collected from British, Scottish, and Jamaican archives were crucial to ensure accurate dissemination and description for data input (Corbetta 2003, pp. 252-253). Many letters were written by claimants/counterclaimants over the period, filled with anxiety regarding receiving the award. Care was taken to note any key issues deriving from the data including recurrences, similarities, activities, or patterns of occurrences impinging on the day-to-day lives of people during the compensation award period. These issues ranged from behaviour patterns to social, political, and environmental forces such as hurricanes, diseases, skirmishes with the Accompong maroons, rebellions, changes in government policy, financial problems, bankruptcy, crop for export deposited on the Black River wharfs, deaths of owner, sale of property, absentee owner, and any other event necessary to enlighten historical knowledge.

The table below provides a summary of vignettes of cases mentioned in this study chapter.

PAGES	VIGNETTES	SYNOPSIS
227	Jane Brown-Cooper	A mixed-heritage woman who owned a clothes ironing business whose enslaved people were of greater financial value than her entire belongings.
216,223	Mrs. Frances Simpson Powell Burton	An attempt at differentiating herself from other women by claiming a respectable social status as the family matriarch.
220-221	Jones children	Mr Hart, shopkeeper of Santa Cruz and his claim for their debt of weekly provisions received on trust.
221-222 (202)	Herman Hendricks	Placed undue pressure on claimants he did not know by instructing his henchmen Richard Paterson and William John Richardson to pressure claimants through counter claims.
231	Mary and Rebecca Wright	Sisters, devisees, and annuitants under the will of their father Robert Benstead Wright V their brother Charles and stepmother Mrs. Nicola Wright.

5.1. Introduction

This chapter analyses the administration of the Slavery Compensation Awards of £20 million (plus interests from the 1 August 1834) within the British colonies and specifically within Jamaica and the parishes of St Elizabeth and Manchester in Jamaica. The Slavery Compensation awards were fiercely debated in Britain by the proslavery groups and the cash poor landowners who needed a return on their investment in the business of slavery, supported by powerful financiers and merchant houses. The landowners desperate to recoup their money, and the creditors and mortgagers needed to be repaid. (Draper 2010). The complex task was to address the controversial topic of emancipation of the enslaved people while compensating property owners for the loss of the services of the enslaved people who were considered 'their' property, for an amount that would equate to many billions of pounds today. This chapter also addresses stage 3 in the Silence Framework and voices the 'silence' within the vignettes.

5.1.1. The Slavery Compensation Claims

The Slavery Compensation claims administration was a complicated system. As Barry Higman (2005) explained, by 1832, 54 percent of the enslaved lived on properties owned by absentees, as many white planters retired to Britain still holding financial interest in Jamaican planter life (Higman 2005, p.18). They developed the West India 'interest' group with special seats in parliament to influence policy making on the colony. They owned powerful merchant houses in various cities across England and Scotland, lending money to cash starved landowners acting as mortgagees. The planter-creditor relationships at the time were fraught with stress, ill-health, repossessions, and many Jamaican landowners severely in debt. They

lobbied Parliament for compensation for the loss of their investment. Parliament met their arguments by a 'grant less than half the estimated value of British slaves, raised through a government contract with the Rothschild's' merchant bank (Green 1996). Following the Abolition of Slavery on the 1st of August 1834, slave owners in the British colonies were awarded a combined total of £20 million compensation plus interest accrued from the end of slavery until actual payments made for the loss of the free services of the enslaved people (Draper 2007, Draper 2010). Enslaved people were not yet free, as they were in the transitional apprenticeship period until 1 August 1838, the same period in which the administration of the compensation claims took place. The actual payment of the compensation claims awarded by the Slave Compensation Commissioners was made by the National Debt Commissioners under Treasury warrant (Slavery Compensation Claims 1835-1837). The bill authorising compensation for slavery was approved and given Royal assent on the 28 August 1833. The records stated, 'the Act for the Abolition of Slavery throughout the British Colonies; for promoting the Industry of the manumitted slaves; and for the compensating of the persons hitherto entitled to the services of such slaves'. James St. Claire Erskine, Earl of Rosslyn, President of the Privy Council, designed the compensation claims administration system and signed the release for implementation on 17 December 1834, even though all the forms required for the claims and counterclaims were dated 1 August 1834. The payment offered per enslaved man, woman, child, or baby, sick, elderly, or infirm, was based on the market value and the number of enslaved people each planter owned as 'services lost from the enslaved person'. Of the £20m, owners of Jamaican enslaved people received £6,317,012 (31%) for their 311,070 enslaved people from 13,335 claims. According to Higman (2005), 54 percent of enslaved people lived on properties owned by absentees,

which means more than £3m never reached Jamaica for investment into the island (See table 5-9).

5.1.2. A Gendered Sphere of Women

This period of study was stratified by gender, ethnicity, colour, and social class. These awards represent a gendered sphere of women and property ownership, which are not usually linked, as the ownership of property is a male dominated arena in which married women under the law of coverture hand over their property to men once they got married. As William Blackstone confidently posited:

> 'By marriage, the husband and wife are one person in law: that is, the very being or legal existence of the woman is suspended during the marriage or at least is incorporated and consolidated into that of the husband; under whose wing, protection and cover, she performs everything... and therefore called *femme covert' (Blackstone 1832, p.355)*.

The laws of England were very pedantic and still applied in Jamaica as a British colony. Consequently, unmarried, and widowed women who owned property had an advantage during the compensation period. Women living in concubinage, who entered the relationship with property, retained the property they had for their future posterity, and if they had more children in the new relationship, the children's father would bequeath property in letters, wills, and deeds. These were sent to the compensation awards commissioners as proof of identity and rightful ownership of the claims even when the British relatives opposed such ownership in favour of rightful heirs. Marriage was not necessarily an advantage for them, even though they may have wanted to be a wife. The commissioners charged to facilitate the

enormous task were presented with complicated administrative processes. As Draper explained: 'Slave Property was contested, within families, between families, between mortgagors and mortgagees, between owners and consignees, between trustees and beneficiaries and between executors and legatees' (Draper 2007, p.81). They had to examine individual claims, counterclaims, wills, deeds, legal and personal letters.

5.1.3. Differentiating Gender

This chapter triangulates and examines the data gathered from the slavery compensation claims, the slave registers, wills, deeds, as well as the genealogical data extracted from the Jamaican Church of England birth, baptism, marriage, and death records, and Dissenter church records, entered into the prosopographical thematic database. The results helped to ascertain how the arguments withstood the rigours of the relevant facts presented qualitatively meeting the research objectives. In the 1830s, those free mixed-heritage and black women, who gained some advantage through owning enslaved people they had inherited, utilised that power strategically within a capitalist economy. Some mixed-heritage parents registered some of their enslaved people in their children's names, which meant that mixed-heritage children who were gifted or inherited enslaved people benefited the most from the Slavery Compensation awards as 'unintentional enslavers'. For the mixed-heritage women and children as enslavers, this was an opportunity of securing monetary value for a free service that they never had to initially purchase. In addition, having money financially separated them further from the soon-to-be freed enslaved mostly poor people, especially from those mixed-heritage and black women who were the same colour as they were, many who identified as mulatto and quadroon were still enslaved and had limited or no financial

security. The enslaved people were on the verge of gaining their freedom which placed them all together in the same class and with competition for available men of some standing. The free women differentiated themselves and aspired to vertical social mobility to procure respectability by the church and society. Mrs. Frances Simpson Powell Burton insisted the Compensation Administrators knew she was a 'wife' and 'a gentlewoman' in her application and on all her paperwork, thus differentiating herself from unwed women, the favourite housekeepers, and concubines. The title 'gentlewoman' was to ensure she was identified as a respectable woman with emerging Christian ideals of respectability in the changing nineteenth century, where women were leaning more towards British marital customs (See case study 6.6).

Enslaved people also knew what their aspirations were after emancipation, as their minds were planning in advance, while they waited patiently for that day to arrive (Butler 1995, pp. 112-113). For free mixed-heritage and black people, having financial security and abundant arable lands was a way to differentiate themselves from enslaved people and opportunity to pay their creditors, which fuelled the desire for the available cash award. The announcement regarding the process for claiming compensation, including where to take the enslaved for valuation, was communicated across the island. Where there was a dispute of slave ownership, which resulted in a counterclaim, the adjudicators based their decision on who was in receipt of the services of the enslaved at the time and who was financially responsible for providing housing and subsistence to the enslaved in question. Not all enslaved persons lived with their original owners. Therefore, the person, who was responsible for the cost of feeding, clothing, and housing that enslaved person and their posterity claimed and usually won the award. Those who were bequeathed an enslaved person and left them in their original place of residence counter-claimed and usually lost.

5.1.4. The National Archive Slavery Compensation Claims Repository

The Slavery Compensation repository holds a wealth of genealogical information on free mixed-heritage, black and white people at all levels of society, but the repository has never been mined for genealogical data on a large scale. Catherine Hall and her team at the University College London, had completed a first part study on the 'Legacies of Slave Ownership Project' and the team included Nick Draper who had completed a study of the Colonial British Slavery Compensation Claims which resulted in attention being drawn to the compensation claims sources (Hall, Draper et al. 2014). This study examined all the claims from two Jamaican parishes at an in-depth level, identifying who the claimants were, with a detailed focus on free mixed-heritage and black women. This in-depth investigation provided visibility of the grassroots people who participated in developing the parish, their genealogical ties and the sociological/anthropological importance of family and clan group development in a small space. The data gathered from wills and deeds was invaluable in developing a biographical analysis (in the form of vignettes) of the women in the database and their direct descendants – white, mixed heritage or black, thus presenting case studies which are discussed in Chapter six of this thesis. The bigger the value of the claim, the greater the likelihood of it being contested and the more information was available for the study. However, it was extremely difficult to retrieve data on the free black women and their families to build a picture of their lives. With very few exceptions, records were silent on marriages, births, letters to the commissioners and wills. Without financial incentives of the Compensation Awards, there would now be very little information about individuals who enslaved people and sought the awards.

The Procedure in Voicing the 'Silence'

The research required adopting a meticulous approach to all the transcriptions - of letters, names of people and places, alternative spellings, and ensuring any other information that fell out of the norm was kept as additional data to investigate each claim. Collated in one database were the following personal data of each claimant linked to their claim: birth; marriage; death; ethnicity; other relatives in the claims; and how they were related. Also included were the claim records which consisted of number of enslaved; place of residence; links to the UK; number of claims and awards per claimant; connections to other claims; any counterclaims; disputes; date and amount of award; collection date; and who collected the award (see Appendix 5 Fig A-3).

Using a biographical analytical study brought together the three dimensions of the lives of mixed-heritage women in the two parish, triangulating a comprehensive set of data rigorously checked for authenticity, accuracy, and accountability (Bryman 2012). Appendix 5 describes the databases used for data entry and report production. Identification and classification of the data collected from British, Scottish, and Jamaican archives were crucial to ensure accurate dissemination and description for data input. Many letters were written by claimants/counter claimants over the period, filled with anxiety regarding receiving the money. Care was taken to note any key issues deriving from the data including recurrences, similarities, activities, or patterns of occurrences impinging on the day-to-day lives of people during the compensation award period. These issues ranged from behaviour patterns to social, political, and environmental forces, such as hurricanes, diseases, skirmishes with the Accompong maroons, rebellions, changes in government policy, financial problems, bankruptcy, crop for export deposited on the Black River wharfs, death of owners, sale of

property, absentee owner, and any other event necessary to enlighten historical knowledge. Measures were taken to correlate, cross-reference, and triangulate the records on data entry to prevent reliability and validity concerns while ensuring consistency (Whisker 2007, p.157).

5.2. Compensation Claims and Counterclaims

A short discourse on understanding what constituted property in the eyes of property owners is important to set the scene for the administration of the awards. This differentiates between the people who claimed compensation and those who were the beneficiaries of the awards. The two were not necessarily the same person. The whole intricate administration was steeped in the legality of human property ownership, not land, and who was the rightful owner of the final payment, with interest added from the time it was awarded, to the day of collection from the National Debt Office (NDO) in London by an appointed agent like interest added to a deposit one made in a savings bank account. The additional interest data was found separated from the claims thus producing a different figure from Douglas Hall's 'The Apprenticeship Period 1834- 1838' where he quoted £6,149,939 without the interest (Hall 1953). In basic terms, for example, if a non-enslaver as a creditor was owed money and knew that the debtor, a claimant of an enslaved person or two was applying for the compensation award, the creditor had every right, once it was proven that s/he was a rightful recipient, to receive the award to the amount of credit owed. There was no moral thought of how the debt was paid; the creditor required the return of 'the value' they had exchanged with the debtor, for 'the equivalent value' the debtor was being paid for their enslaved people. The creditor had a legal right for the contract whether verbal or written to be honoured in the return of

their 'value', and if possible, with interest added, whether that 'value' constituted clothes, stock (cows, horses, goats, pigs), coal, groceries or indeed, actual money (Erskine 1835).

As slavery was ending and the British finale was payment to all the owners of enslaved people, everyone who was connected in some way to an enslaved person came forward to claim the money, whether they were white, free mixed-heritage or free black people. There was only one occasion where a claimant from Yardley Chase, Mr. John Finlason, chose to disguise his children, on whose behalf he claimed for compensation, and instead called them A, B and C. They were in England studying under the guardianship of a Mr. James Buchanan, and there was no way of easily knowing their sex, ages, and indeed their names. Everyone else either claimed, counter-claimed or requested information regarding who claimed on a particular property, including the honest and dishonest. Mr. Henry Hart, a Santa Cruz shopkeeper on the Highworth Estate in St Elizabeth, counter-claimed against four 'mulatto Jones', an orphaned sibling group who took care of each other: Clementina; William Jnr; Thomas; and Robert, two of whom purchased small amounts of groceries on credit to manage their property with 18 enslaved people. They had inherited the property where they lived from their white father William Jones, while their mother, Frances Jones was still enslaved and had belonged to the estate of J. Whittaker. The orphans were poor and could not afford to purchase weekly provisions and could not pay to manumit their mother. William Jnr was the eldest and he could not pay the debt outright each week as they were all poor and when they got paid by the Great House, or other estates around, then as claimed, they always paid Mr Hart. He, however, counter claimed on their entire Highworth compensation claim of £478. The siblings claimed they never knew about his counterclaim and would have paid the meagre bill, which they claim they paid regularly. William's letter was dated 20 September 1835, he never stated how much he thought his siblings owed Mr Hart, but he sent a copy of

his replication to the counterclaim to his attorney, Hymen Cohen's office in Spanish Town. I never found Henry Hart's letter to ascertain the circumstances of his counterclaim. By the time letters were exchanged multiple times, it was too late for the Jones', as Mr. Hart received the entire compensation award on 28 March 1836, the equivalent in today's money of £23, 660. Hyman Cohen signed and collected the money on both their behalf on 31 March 1836 and may have found a way to resolve the issue for Mr Hart and the Jones' as he did with other cases (Treasury Papers 1836). There were many scrupulous people as, Nick Draper asserted:

> 'The payment of compensation was central to the final dismantling of the slave system, and when that compensation was offered to slave owners in the 1830s, there was, in effect, a feeding frenzy amongst sections of the British elites over the compensation money, a frenzy that drew thousands of Britons into asserting their ownership of the enslaved once the state attached a specific and immediate monetary value to the claims of ownership (Erskine 1835, Draper 2010, p.4).

There were organised counterclaimants, such as Herman Hendricks, who resided in Britain, and instructed Richard Paterson and William John Richardson to lodge forty-four counterclaims in St. Elizabeth. Hendricks was heavily indebted to the Cohen brothers on his property 'Mons', situated in Manchester. Hymen and Judah Cohen had taken over his property as mortgagee 'in possession' for a few years during the compensation period. Hendricks used the time to recoup as much money to stall the Cohens and repay his debt. However, his counterclaims were unsuccessful in St. Elizabeth, as claimants were keen to defend their cases in writing to the commissioners, explaining that they never had any dealings with or even knew Mr. Hendricks. In some cases, it became clear that Herman

Hendricks had never met the claimants and had nothing at all to do with the property. He was successful in other parishes and was able to retrieve his property from the Cohen brothers.

Although the parish St. Elizabeth (1050 original claims) registered more than double the amount of claims than the parish of Manchester (489 original claims), the total number of enslaved claimed for differed a lot less (19960 in St. Elizabeth and 18873 in Manchester), which demonstrates that St. Elizabeth (on average 19 enslaved people per claim) consisted of much smaller estates & plantations than Manchester (in average 39 enslaved people per claim). Some of the claims were made by individuals for themselves, some on behalf of others and some (217 claims) were made jointly involving two or more claimants. 344 claims were contested, and those contested claims resulted in 769 counter claims as some claims were contested by numerous individuals (See Table 5-1 below). As a result, 2525 individual claims were made for which a decision of award needed to be made by the commissioners for the parishes of St. Elizabeth and Manchester.

TABLE 5-1: GENDER BREAKDOWN OF CLAIMS BY CLAIMS MADE

	Made Original claims	Joint original Claimant	Counter Claims	Total Claims Made
Female	584	87	109	780
Male	955	130	660	1745
All	1539	217	769	2525

The figures clearly show that men outnumbered women by less than 2:1 when it came to lodging original claims (usually based on slave ownership as recorded in the 1832 slavery returns), however, when it came to raising counter claims, men outnumbered women by a factor of six. Making a counter claim was more onerous than making the original claim, as it

required letters to be written, therefore requiring literacy skills, evidence of proof to counter the claim and the finance to afford an attorney. Elizabeth Bent, in Claim 52, hired an agent Mr Fonseca, from Kingston and an attorney from England to contest counter claims from her brother and a creditor. This confirms academic writers claiming men outnumbered women as slave owners and under the law of coverture, white men claimed because the enslaved were their property even if it was their wives' inheritance (Higman 1995). Some men claimed on behalf of their wives without naming her on the claim. This occurred mostly in situations where white men knew the law, they were absentee owners living in Britain and took advantage of their rights under the Law of Coverture. Several mixed-heritage wives were not following the legal rules of *femme covert* because they may have been ignorant of the rule or took the lead in the claim's process or maintained their right to their own property. Mrs Frances Simpson Powell Burton (discussed earlier) was married to Francis T. Burton (a Quadroon man) on the same day she baptised her seven-year-old daughter Olivia, the last child she had with her late husband, Benjamin Powell III (deceased). She had adult children by the time she made her claim on behalf of her eight children. Her son Benjamin Powell Jnr 3rd (born 4th November 1788 was deceased). Francis Beddy Trehern Burton, her husband, who had the legal right to ownership of her property did not challenge the claim as he could not do so against the named children that were not his and not his property. That challenge did not dissuade Frances from applying on behalf of her eight named adult children from her previous marriage and herself, with ages ranging from 47 years old to the youngest aged 32 years. She disclosed no personal details to the administrators, not her age, neither the ages of the children and never mentioned her husband Francis T. Burton. Frances was awarded the compensation with no challenge from the administrators on 14th January 1839. There was no evidence that the children knew about this application or the amount of £530 for twenty-one

enslaved people, the equivalent of £50,000 in today's money. There is no evidence provided of who collected the money and if Frances ever received the money in Jamaica.

TABLE 5-2: BREAKDOWN OF CLAIMS BY INDIVIDUALS MAKING CLAIMS

	Made Original claims	Made Counter Claims Only	Total individuals who made claims
Female	536	65	601
Male	616	257	873
All	1152	322	1474

Table 5-2 shows that the 2525 claims (see table 5-1) were made by 1474 different individuals, an average of 1.7 claims per person. When focusing on the individuals involved in claims (regardless of how many claims they made), it demonstrates that there were nearly as many females involved as males. However, the ratio was different when comparing men (2.0 claims per person) to women (1.3 claims per person), highlighting that significantly more men than women claimed ownership of enslaved people in more than one property at the time. Women were not as challenging as men in making counter claims, however, women were keen on ensuring they submitted a claim even if only for one enslaved person. The men were acquisitive for every penny, for example, one claimant claimed and received £4 for an enslaved person.

Of the 601 females, who were identified as being involved in making claims, the racial category of 544 could be identified as part of this study. 372 of those were considered mixed heritage or black (defined as 'not white' according to baptismal records and other letters and wills reviewed during this study), which represents two-thirds of the women identified by their racial category (see Table 5-3 below).

TABLE 5-3: FURTHER BREAKDOWN OF FEMALE CLAIMANTS BY RACIAL CATEGORY

	Made Original claims	Made Counter Claims Only	Total individuals who made claims
Not known	52	5	57
White	136	36	172
MH&B	348	24	372
All	536	65	601

These figures highlight that there were more mixed-heritage women who made independent claims as owners of enslaved people than white women, at the time of emancipation in the parishes researched. White women were mainly widows, minors, heirs, and as wives, their husbands applied on their behalf or took ownership of their claims. In addition, as their husbands owned their property under *femme couvert*, there was no way of identifying exactly how much white women really owned.

There is a contrast when analysing male claimants by racial category, in that the percentage of male claimants (especially when including counter claimants) is much lower amongst the Mixed-heritage & Black category (see Table 5-4 below). In general, the research identified more female Mixed-heritage & Black than male Mixed-heritage & Black who made any claims against slavery compensation.

TABLE 5-4: FURTHER BREAKDOWN OF MALE CLAIMANTS BY RACIAL CATEGORY

	Made Original claims	Made Counter Claims Only	Total individuals who made claims
Not known	124	21	145
White	251	218	469
MH&B	241	18	259
All	616	257	873

Regarding the actual size of the claims (based on number of enslaved people claimed for), it is evident that the larger claims were made predominantly by male claimants (see Table 5-5

below). This reinforces the intersectional divide of colour which was expected. White men were more assertive in counterclaiming against anyone who they thought owed them a debt and saw the way to make them pay. Mixed-heritage men on the other hand were poorer and therefore were not calling in debt but rather aiming to retain the value of the enslaved people that were in their care or counterclaiming against someone who claimed against enslaved people held for another person in which they were acting for as an executor, or guardianship of a minor.

TABLE 5-5: CLAIMS BY NUMBER OF ENSLAVED PEOPLE CLAIMED FOR

No. of Enslaved People per claimant	1 to 3	4 to 9	10 to 19	20 to 49	50 to 99	100 to 199	200+	TOTAL
Female Claimants	220	156	82	72	31	22	18	601
Male Claimants	223	139	115	104	65	97	130	873
TOTAL	443	295	197	176	96	119	148	1474

While only 40 female claims were for 100+ enslaved, 227 male claims where for 100+ enslaved emphasising and confirming male dominated property ownership. In a gendered white male patriarchal society, this was expected and is in line with the main academic writers that slavery was mainly occupied by white men at the top of the pecking order.

Amongst the female claimants, mixed-heritage and black women were significantly larger in number, however, their claims tend to be relatively small for the large majority (see Table 5-6 below). These figures highlight the use of domestic enslaved servants in non-praedial servitude rather than full field workers (praedials). Over 101 mixed-heritage women had four to nine enslaved people. These figures include the enslaved women's children if consideration is given to the cook, housekeeper, nanny and gardener, comprising a household of enslaved people in a domestic setting. One hundred and fifty-two mixed-heritage and black

women with one to three enslaved people were domestic enslavers on a smaller scale or favoured minors inheriting one enslaved person from a grandmother, an aunt, uncle, or godparent. Some mixed-heritage women in the urban communities had small businesses with a small enslaved-staff of people. One such example was Jane Brown-Cooper, a free black woman of Kingston, who based on her inventory, was the owner of a domestic ironing business. The inventory of her goods and chattel amounted to household furniture (most likely a few beds, a table, chairs), two fire buckets, four clothes iron amounting to £22. 8s 6d. However, the greater portion of her meagre wealth came from enslaved people; Polly - £35, Maria - £120, Margaret Brown - £80, Mary Ann Brown - £40, Catherine Brown - £60, Thomas Cooper - £20 total - £355. The governor himself, William Duke of Manchester, appointed the appraisers and with her executrix Sarah Hinkerman, finalised Janes' estate. These enslaved people bore Jane's name and there was no will or deed to ascertain what happened to the enslaved people. Jane's clothes were not included in the appraisal and she had nothing much in worldly goods except business related equipment and the enslaved people who attained 170% more value than anything else she owned.

These figures also highlight the reduced number of white women in the parishes and the large numbers of mixed-heritage women that were inhabitants of the creole slave society. In addition, it highlights how much mixed-heritage women needed the additional help in their households, with their many mixed-heritage children and managing a pen with small farm, livestock, and cattle. Within the domestic economy, labour was needed for cooking, cleaning, washing clothes, entertaining, teaching the children, those women needed extra help, and considering the academic writer historians who claimed they were expensive to maintain, the figures seem likely that they were. Mixed-heritage women emulated white ladies' lifestyles and sometimes they had more help to differentiate themselves from other mixed-heritage

women. A painting by the Italian, Agostino Brunias (1730-1796) highlights mixed-heritage women and their dispositions of being well dressed and accompanied by an entourage of people, ring true with these figures (see Figure 5-1).

TABLE 5-6: CLAIMS BY NUMBER OF ENSLAVED PEOPLE CLAIMED FOR BY FEMALES

No. of Enslaved People per claimant	1 to 3	4 to 9	10 to 19	20 to 49	50 to 99	100 to 199	200+	TOTAL
Not known	36	17	2	2	0	0	0	57
White	30	36	22	34	20	16	14	172
MH & Black	154	103	58	36	11	6	4	372
TOTAL	220	156	82	72	31	22	18	601

FIGURE 5-1: FREE WOMEN OF COLOUR WITH THEIR CHILDREN AND SERVANTS IN A LANDSCAPE. CA. 1764-1796 AGOSTINO BRUNIAS

5.3. Compensation Awards

The 2525 individual claims for the Parishes of St. Elizabeth and Manchester resulted in 2062 awards paid to 1483 different individuals (see Table 5-7 below). The research also identified that, although women represented 45 percent of the individuals receiving awards, they only received 18 percent of the total amount awarded (see Table 5-7 and Illustrated in Figure 5-2).

TABLE 5-7: BREAKDOWN OF AWARDS BY GENDER

	Total individuals who received awards	Number of Awards	Amount Awarded (£)
Female	660	778	142,489
Male	820	1256	604,019
Gender not identified	3	28	55,695
All	1483	2062	802,203

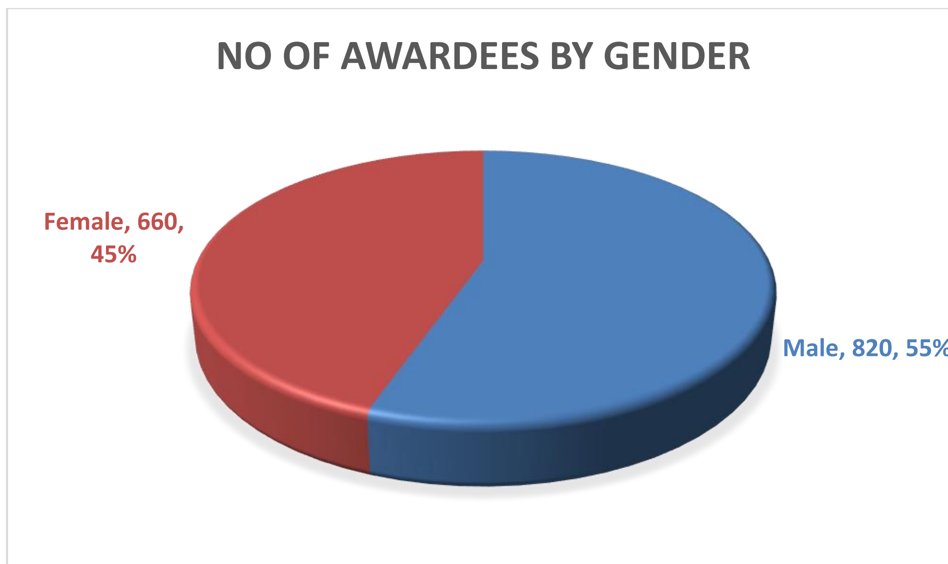


FIGURE 5-2: GENDER BREAKDOWN BY NUMBER OF INDIVIDUALS RECEIVING AWARDS

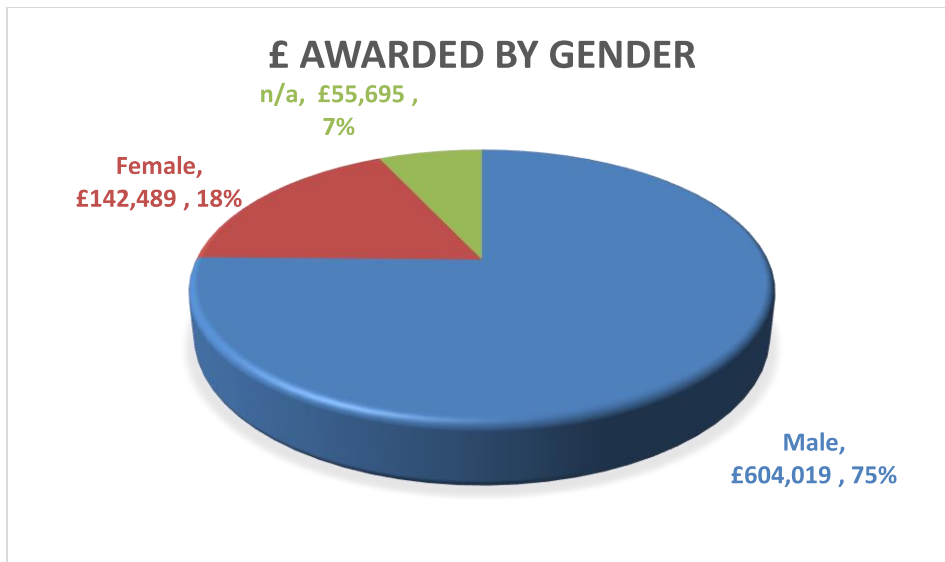


FIGURE 5-3: GENDER BREAKDOWN BY AMOUNT RECEIVED

Two of the unidentified Gender are the 'Account General' function, which amounted to 28 awards, totalling an amount of £55,695. The Accountant General department was an office within the Supreme Court of Chancery or Court of Protection, where decisions on money, property, and stocks were held. It was a significant office as they held the power to restrain the Bank of England from transferring stocks and money. The money of underage minors and people who were mentally or physically disabled with awards at the time of the compensation claims was lodged in protection under the 'Special Awards in Trust' within the same department. Also lodged were monies for property in dispute and was held by this department indefinitely. They invested the money in stocks and shares, so interest was accrued (Anon. 1840). There were several reasons why funds were retained by the Accounts General department. It was here where in some cases the monies were invested in annuities on behalf of the beneficiaries who were under 21 years of age. Other reasons for the claims going to the Accountants General department included decisions on resolution of family feuds

or awaiting family and/or creditors to approach the board about claiming the advertised award.

Quadroon sisters Mary and Rebecca Wright were devisees and annuitants under the will of Robert Benstead Wright their father. They counter-claimed on four separate claims to a total of over £2000. First, on Southampton Estate, St Elizabeth, they claimed as creditors for £88 under a family dispute as they were owed the money. Second and third, on Newfoundland, St Elizabeth, they claimed twice against their brother Charles for £206 and £241. Their father and older brother died, and Charles claimed as heir and owner under primogenitor rules he felt applied to him and thus excluded his sisters. They counter-claimed against him. A creditor received one of the claims, the other was unresolved and the claim was paid to the Accountant General in 1838 awaiting resolution. Fourth, they counter-claimed on Kensworth, Manchester, for £735. The claimant was their white stepmother Mrs Nicola Wright as executrix of her deceased husband, father of the girls. The sisters claimed as creditor under a decree as annuitants and devisees and there were five other counterclaimants who claimed as judgement creditors. After three years of legal wrangling, the money was paid in 1838 to the Court of Chancery under the order of the Colonial Court. Of all their claims, the sisters only received £44 each. In claims two, three and four, the sisters found themselves betrayed by their closest family members. Charles aiming to use primogeniture rules after the rightful heir died, tried to outwit his sisters by lodging the claims where they lived without his sisters named on the claims. Their stepmother Nicola Wright also made a claim against the property for all the enslaved people, without naming the sisters on the claim. Both Charles and Nicola tried to side-line the sisters in an intersection of race and gender ideology. The custom of applying primogeniture rules where first sons inherit the property from their fathers were rarely applied in the colonies where land was abundant, and

although applied in Britain across the social construct of a gendered male society was not well known in Jamaica (Burnard 1992). In this case, the first son died when he was young. Charles assumed the first place as son 'heir and owner' without discussion as the sisters claimed they never knew about it. Girls were treated as second class or third-class citizens in a gendered inequality even though the sisters here were named in their father's will as annuitants (a series of payments received at intervals), breaking the bond they had as siblings and orphans. Their stepmother drew lines on the intersectional ideology of social class, age, and colour, because she was white and used the power of being white in a colonial society, their father's widow and thus claiming the role of matriarch of the family and her white racialised legal privileges of slave society to control the sister's property. She assumed her role as executrix to side-line the girls from their property, knowing they could not testify against her in court, as mixed-heritage people were not allowed these rights in law. Charles may have been encouraged by his stepmother with his application, because although he was not named on the claim of Mrs Wright, he never counter claimed against her, which was unusual. Stepmother Nicola may have even been the one to inform Charles of primogeniture rules, considering not everyone within the urban areas were knowledgeable about British rules and regulations on inheritance law. Intersecting the girls on their race and colour, gave Nicola superiority of her 'whiteness' in a slave society, against the 'quadroon' sisters, with support from Charles as the patriarch. As Cheryl Harris contends: 'legal recognition of a person as white carried material benefit'(Harris 1993). Mrs. Wright's role as 'wife', 'executrix' also gave her superiority and power in the gendered sphere of spinsters, control over the girls until they wed. The judge in England dismissed the case for both Charles and Mrs Wright and forwarded the case to the Court of Chancery. The case was still unresolved at the end of the study period.

Gender and power during the period meant there was a high patriarchal order with a distinct divide between male and female, black and white, rich, and poor and in a slave society, enslaver and enslaved.

TABLE 5-8: BREAKDOWN OF AWARDS BY GENDER AND RACIAL CATEGORY

Gender/Racial Category	No of people receiving awards	£ Awarded
Male – White	389	£ 532,222
Male – Mixed-Heritage & Black	295	£ 58,645
Male – Unknown racial category	136	£ 13,144
Female - White	155	£ 65,758
Female – Mixed-Heritage & Black	432	£ 71,911
Female – Unknown racial category	73	£ 4,811
Account General	n/a	£ 55,695

This study shows that of the 587 women, who received awards where their racial category was identified, 432 were classified as mixed-heritage and black, and 155 as white (see Table 5-8 above). This leads to the conclusion that mixed-heritage women outnumbered white women who independently claimed by nearly 3:1 regarding being awarded compensation payments. Husbands of white women who claimed on their behalf had a right to hold the funds under the law of Couverture. Primarily mixed-heritage women did not share property with men unless they were sons, a shared inheritance, or a business deal especially because they were not married, as many mixed-heritage women were in concubinage relationships and coverture did not apply to them. They were contributing economically to the parish either as small pen keepers, managing small estates or shop keeping. These figures highlight that mixed-heritage women were rational economic actors in a slave society, making contributions to the development and sustenance of the society and thus the parish. They may have had more domestic enslaved personnel than white women, but the numbers of white women were decreasing in the parish. The constant flow of indentured servants never arrived until

after December 1835 after slavery was abolished and the ex-enslaved were already apprentices.

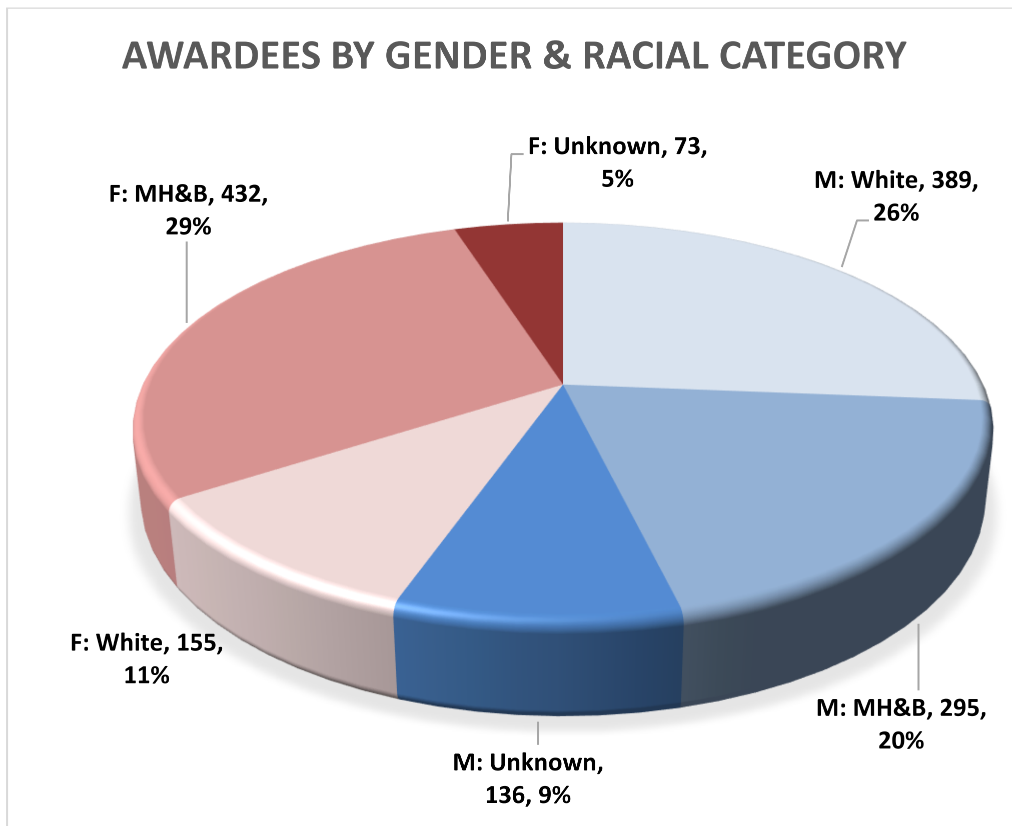


FIGURE 5-4: BREAKDOWN OF NUMBER OF WOMEN RECEIVING AWARDS BY GENDER AND RACIAL CATEGORY

Overall mixed-heritage and black women made up the largest group of people who were in receipt of compensation payment. However, as the chart below (Figure 5-5) highlights, regarding amounts paid, white males were by far the largest group of beneficiaries.

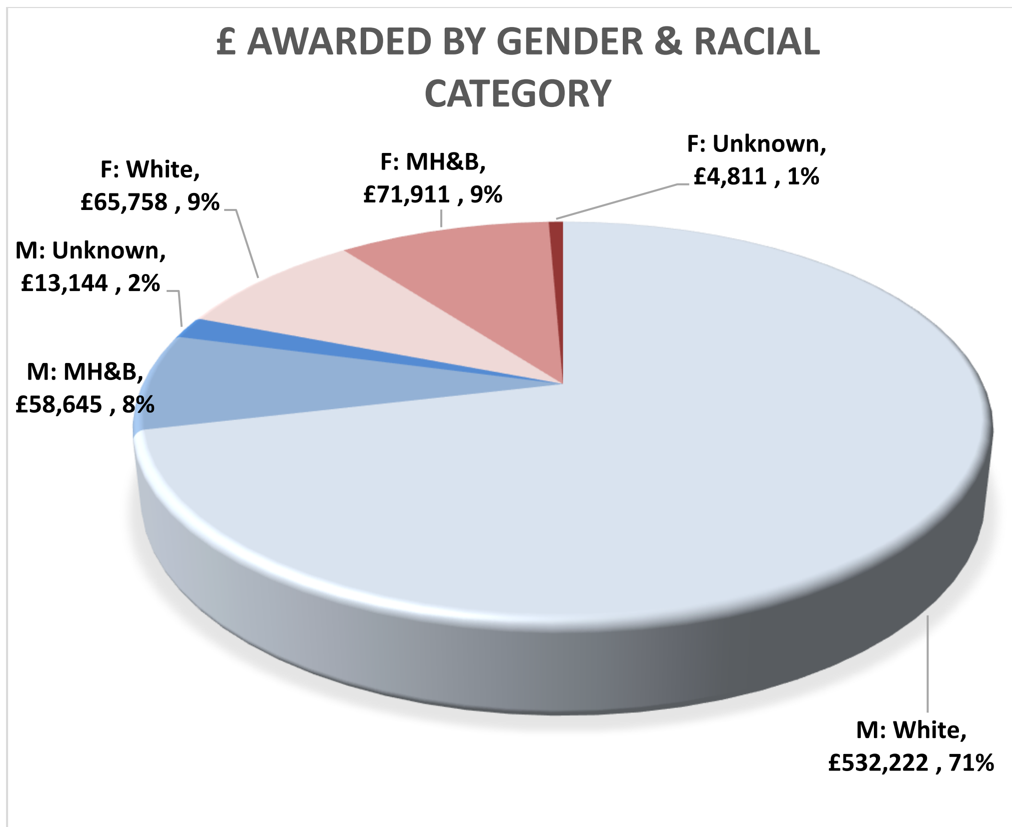


FIGURE 5-5: BREAKDOWN OF AMOUNT AWARDED RECEIVING AWARDS BY GENDER AND RACIAL CATEGORY (EXCLUDING ACCOUNT GENERAL PAYMENTS)

Comparing the above two charts illustrates that although Mixed-heritage and black women were awarded a greater number of awards based on number of compensation awards received, but not a greater amount of value received.

In terms of amounts paid, mixed-heritage and black women accounted for about 50% of all awards received by women and 9% of all awards received within the area of study. This is a significant discovery, considering that mixed-heritage and black women had no political rights, none, or limited education, living in a racist environment where they were considered lower in status than the poor whites. White women as widows and daughters received large

inheritances from wealthy absentee and deceased husbands and fathers, with some white women receiving from two deceased husbands while married to the third.

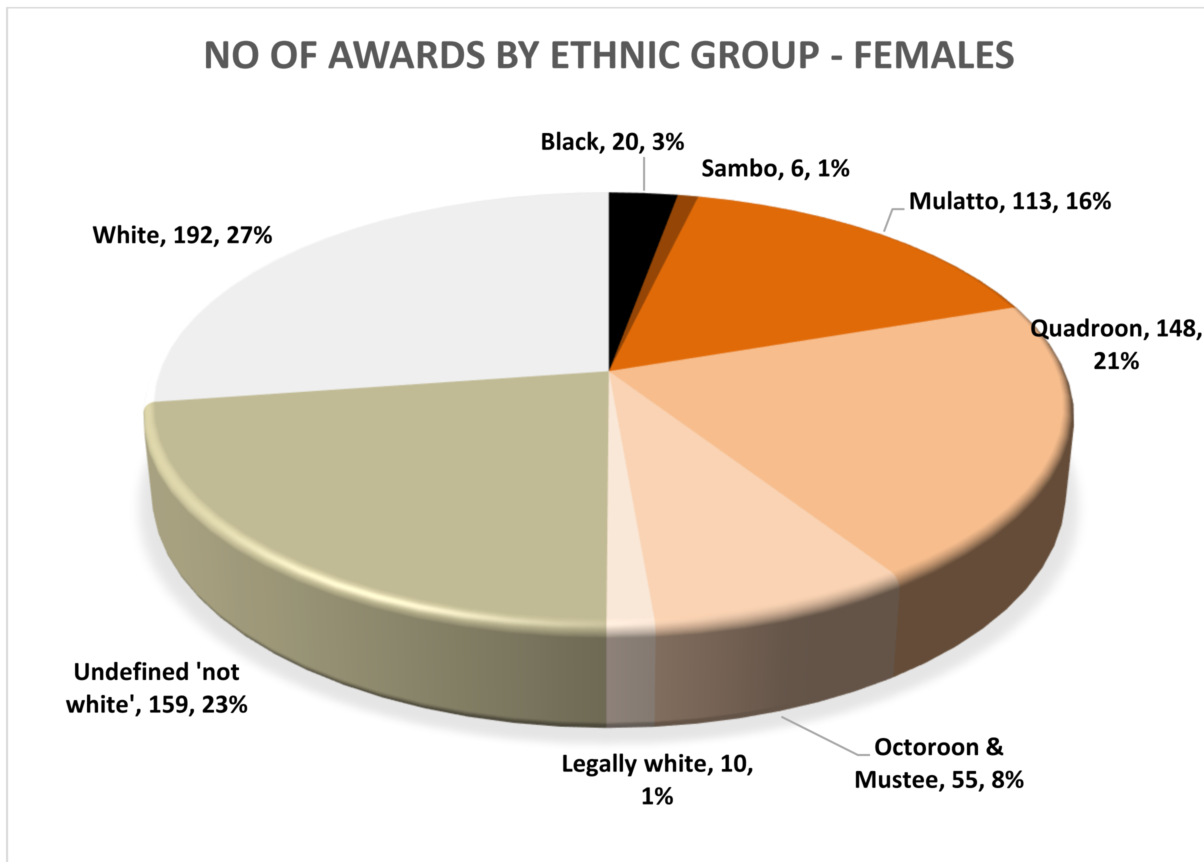


FIGURE 5-6: BREAKDOWN OF NUMBER OF FEMALES RECEIVING AWARDS BY RACIAL CATEGORY

THIS CHART EXCLUDES THE 10% OF WOMEN FOR WHOM THE RACIAL IDENTITY COULD NOT BE VERIFIED

The chart above (Figure 5-6) provides a more detailed breakdown of the racial categories of women using the Spanish lineal descent categorisations that were used by administrators and clergymen during the period of study. A total of 159 women could be identified as being 'Not white' but without any further details of their complexion and where in the formal lineal decent categories they would be positioned. This was primarily because many are simply referred to as 'non-white' in baptismal registers. Where they were not identified by baptismal records or marriage records, in wills and deeds they were described as free women of colour.

People described as 'legally white' were included under 'non-white' because they were so recorded in the 'non-white' baptism/birth records. Although they were classified as 'white by law', the racial definition nevertheless still considered them as 'non-white'. There were instances of mothers and fathers recorded as mustee, quadroon or octoroon and the children recorded as 'white'. In these cases, the individuals were entered as white for this study. It highlights the excessive inconsistencies of the rectors recording births at the time of the presentation for baptism and their power either deliberately or passively changing societal categories of whiteness. It depended on what disposition they were in while working as they were liable for being inebriated, lax in their positions, unspiritual and indifferent. Governor Nugent after a few months in office realised that the clerics were not fit for purpose and requested from the archbishop immediate 'qualified' clergy to be sent to Jamaica. He described only five out of twenty rectors 'very fit for their situations' and Lady Nugent who spent many a time in conversing with them, clearly stated '… everything can be bought and sold ... clergy men make no secret of making a traffic of their living' (Nugent 1907, p.xxvii, p.xli, p.131, Wright 2002). The number of generations in which 'upscaling' of colour between being a mulatto and legally white occurred was very small for a few.

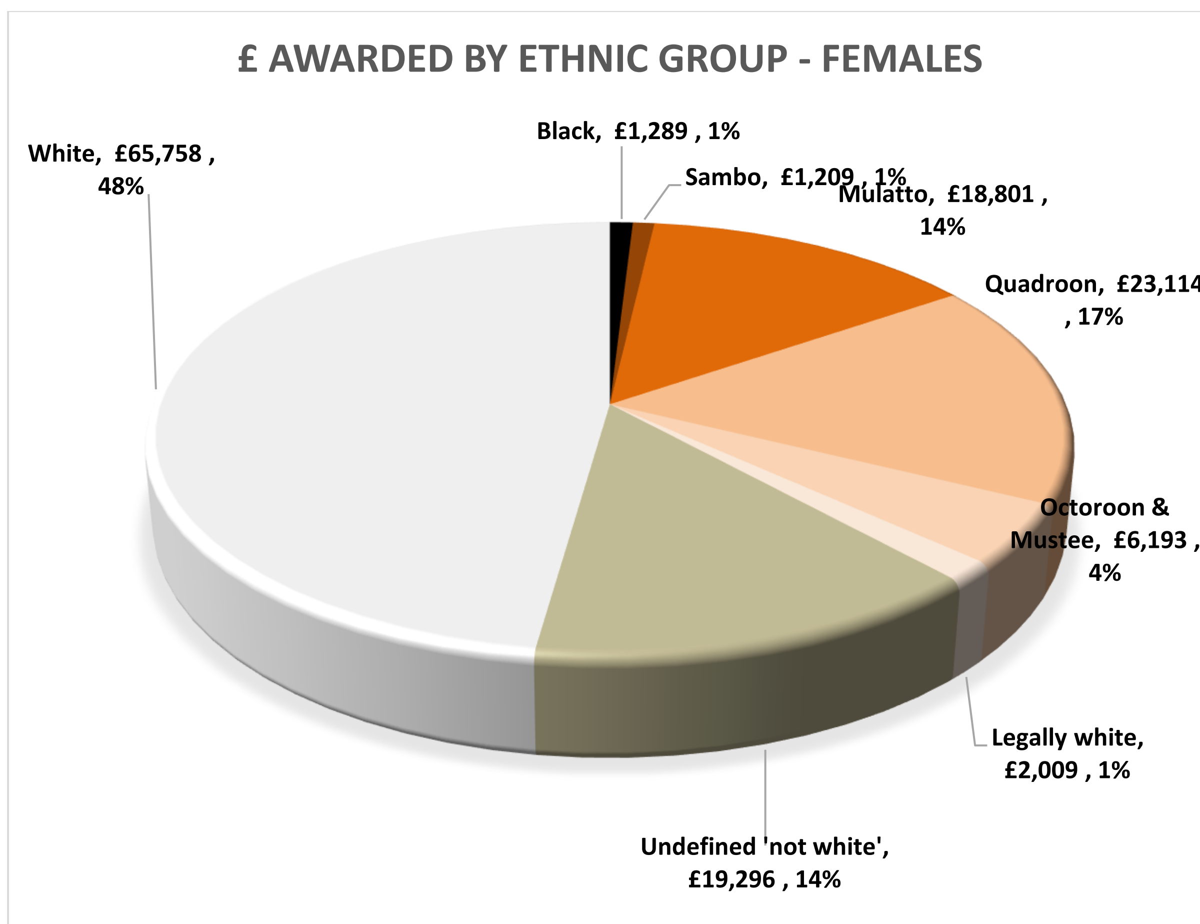


FIGURE 5-7 BREAKDOWN OF AMOUNTS AWARDED TO FEMALES BY RACIAL CATEGORY

THIS CHART EXCLUDES THE 10% OF WOMEN FOR WHOM THE RACIAL IDENTITY COULD NOT BE VERIFIED

Although white women represent only 27% of the women whose racial category were identified, they received just under 50% of the value of the compensation awards to women. Absentee wives as white women whether young and/or widows were the real beneficiaries when it came to monetary value and receiving the money. The commissioners were based in London and trusted family members sent to collect the money from the National Debt office in London. It was difficult for the women in Jamaica to collect the money themselves and depended on attorneys such as the Cohen family as merchants and mortgagers for collecting the funds. In most cases, it seemed that the money never got to Jamaica at all due to death of the agent as in Edmund Francis Green. Mr. Green collected all the awards for his clients,

but he was experiencing bankruptcy and ill health at the time, and there are doubts as to whether any of the monies he collected ever reached Jamaica. Controversy surrounded his death from a heart attack, described as natural causes in 1842 on the same day he was made bankrupt in court. Creole British women became wealthy, as they married often, considering they survived their husbands who socialised too often with excessive drinking and succumbed to the Jamaican weather (Burnard 1999, Brown 2008). Those absentees found a life of conspicuous consumption with the new age of the industrial revolution quite stressful as they made large investments in technological infrastructure and died before they could see any fruition of their investments (Pinckard 1838).

5.4. Chapter Summary and Conclusion

The slavery compensation claim period was a time of great anxiety for everyone involved. Enslaved people were awaiting freedom. Most planters, who owed large debts and had mortgages to fulfil, were expecting a smooth administration of the desired payment of £20 million pounds to all men and women in the British colonies and in Britain who owned enslaved people. Mortgagers and merchants were expecting their monthly payments without undue delays. Other service industry workers, including freed black people, waited to see how the abolition would affect their daily survival. The shipping of goods like coffee and sugar were all affected within the administration period of the compensation awards.

The analysis of the findings in this chapter, which links compensation claims data and awards with information on racial category of the individuals involved, clearly demonstrates that not only did women play a significant role in the enslavement of people and property

ownership in St. Elizabeth and Manchester (and probably similarly in the rest of Jamaica), but more than two thirds of the women who were awarded compensation were not classified as white.

This chapter examined three different intersectional factors; race, gender, colour, and the analysis of the research identified clear patterns of different outcomes depending on the different intersecting factors attributed to the individuals involved. The outcomes evaluated are the number of awards, the total size of the awards and the average size of the awards per intersecting category. Using Table 5-8 as a guide, shows that when comparing number of awards by race, mixed-heritage and black people outnumbered whites by 14percent – mixed-heritage people received larger numbers of awards. Exploring gender, males outnumbered females by 10percent. However, when intersecting race and gender, mixed-heritage females outnumbered mixed-heritage males, whilst white males significantly outnumbered white females. This highlights a different pattern where white men due to the law of coverture have control over white women's property who were usually married, while the mixed-heritage and black women were usually un-married and legal owners of their property. When comparing total size of awards (£), white recipients received a significant larger share of the awards as they owned larger properties, they had more enslaved people, they were in control of the island and the ruling social class. The same applies to the gender split, in that males received significant larger awards (£) than females, therefore when intersecting race and gender, white males received by far the largest compensation payments, three times the value of females (both white and mixed heritage) and mixed-heritage males combined. For the third outcome, when measuring the average size of award, the average white male received four times the size of the award of the average white female and seven times the size of the award of mixed-heritage male or female. Mixed-heritage and black women

received a third of the number of awards but only 10percent of the total amounts awarded – this confirms that larger than expected numbers of mixed-heritage and black women owned small amounts of enslaved people representing domestic staff and farmhands for their small holdings and pens.

A full table providing summary figures of number of claims and amount awarded for each parish is provided in Table 5-9 below and gives parish and ranking in terms of the distribution of the £6.3m that owners of enslaved people in Jamaica received as compensation awards. More than half of this money stayed in Britain and never touched the development of Jamaica.

TABLE 5-9: SUMMARY OF COMPENSATION PAYMENTS FOR JAMAICA

PARISH	Uncontested							Litigated								TOTAL PAYMENT				
		Awarded			Interest				Awarded			Interest								
	No. of Claims	£	S	D	£	S	D	No. of Claims	£	S	D	£	S	D	Total Claims	£	S	D	Money Ranking	Claims Ranking
Manchester	**341**	**235794**	**11**	**8**	**9251**	**16**	**0**	**149**	**121138**	**8**	**8**	**5583**	**4**	**8**	**490**	**371767**	**1**	**0**	**9**	**12**
Portland	238	76207	18	6	2911	18	6	51	54163	13	7	1949	2	10	289	**135232**	**13**	**5**	17	17
Clarendon	385	229323	10	3	8831	15	3	81	87602	10	0	3255	13	10	466	**329013**	**9**	**4**	10	13
Hanover	559	309889	6	2	12203	12	3	89	90571	18	6	3295	18	2	648	**415960**	**15**	**1**	6	8
Port Royal	194	100170	13	7	3549	9	1	33	25090	14	1	940	0	7	227	**129750**	**17**	**4**	19	18
Kingston	2387	208732	4	11	9946	19	11	327	13974	2	3	1896	6	8	2714	**234549**	**13**	**9**	12	1
St. Andrew	474	183771	11	5	7468	13	1	114	111273	13	2	4135	17	4	588	**306649**	**15**	**0**	11	9
St. Catherine	631	112959	14	0	1834	17	1	104	49748	6	2	1870	17	6	735	**166413**	**14**	**9**	16	7
St. David	131	111313	18	4	4006	17	11	29	11934	6	9	1534	8	2	160	**128789**	**11**	**2**	20	20
St. Ann	732	365473	7	4	15472	5	1	209	168327	8	10	6780	2	1	941	**556053**	**3**	**4**	1	3
St. Dorothy	129	76067	15	6	2602	11	8	21	32020	2	2	1074	13	7	150	**111765**	**2**	**11**	21	21
St. Elizabeth	**859**	**257223**	**6**	**6**	**11016**	**4**	**2**	**199**	**123255**	**3**	**5**	**6115**	**2**	**5**	**1058**	**397609**	**16**	**6**	**7**	**2**
St. George	374	149581	0	3	5790	5	4	68	68449	4	10	2585	13	2	442	**226406**	**3**	**7**	13	14
St. James	753	301674	13	6	12432	0	10	111	141420	4	1	5334	12	11	864	**460861**	**11**	**4**	4	4
St. John	255	80161	1	9	2944	15	1	65	47964	17	10	1640	18	10	320	**132711**	**13**	**6**	18	16
St. Mary	474	267177	14	3	10506	13	5	87	155894	11	1	5509	1	1	561	**439087**	**19**	**10**	5	11
St. Thomas in the Vale	293	127594	10	1	4599	9	11	61	70854	6	0	2502	16	5	354	**205551**	**2**	**5**	14	15
St. Thomas in the East	498	333187	19	11	13205	13	8	84	116583	12	11	1178	2	5	582	**464155**	**8**	**11**	3	10
Trelawny	667	363385	4	1	15195	0	3	107	150200	7	7	5605	10	7	774	**534386**	**2**	**6**	2	6
Vere	148	122293	19	5	4256	3	2	27	46363	1	2	1659	13	11	175	**174572**	**17**	**8**	15	19
Westmoreland	**637**	**254640**	**2**	**11**	**10568**	**15**	**3**	**160**	**125720**	**5**	**1**	**4795**	**7**	**3**	**797**	**395724**	**10**	**6**	**8**	**5**
TOTAL	**11159**	**4266623**	**4**	**4**	**168595**	**16**	**11**	**2176**	**1812550**	**18**	**2**	**69242**	**4**	**5**	**13335**	**6317012**	**3**	**10**		

Ref: The National Archives, London. NDO4/26 the Total Jamaican Claim per parish with interest added.

In total, Jamaican slave owners made 13335 claims for slavery compensation. Many claims (16.3percent of all claims) were contested (in form of counter claims). In total a sum of £6,317,012 in slavery compensation payments was made.

6. Study Chapter: Mixed-Heritage Women as Rational Economic Actors

6.1. Introduction

This chapter in stage three within the theoretical framework voices the ‘silence’ that exists in the case studies developed from the archival documents including the compensations claims and family history. The cases presented on mixed-heritage women’s lives were examined for patterns of ‘silence’, analysed, and interpreted for actions, choices, values, norms, power, and beliefs living within a slave society. Here the case studies and biographical vignettes are underpinned with the theories of habitus, intersectionality, rational action, and choice, and social judgeability, while linking the literature in a narrative interpretive analysis research method.

PAGE	CASE STUDY	SYNOPSIS
244	Mary Hay	Mary felt she was different in her request in writing to the patriarchal order of Jamaica for white privileges on behalf of her children and received it.
247	Hart daughters and their mothers	James Hart, the Scottish planter who used his will to ensure whiteness of his future posterity and enforced the women’s future direction.
256	Dorothy Witter	A disabled woman who defied all odds to raise a village of enslaved people, that stayed together throughout the slavery registration period.
262	The Bent Family	Bent V Bent – a sibling feud and rivalry involving Elizabeth Bent, the main protagonist who defied her patriarchal kin group all the way to London.
270	Frances S.P. Burton	A liminal woman who used her matriarchal powers to highlight the attitudes and differences in portraying whiteness in society.
273	Elizabeth Wint-Cerf	Henry Cerf’s mistress, mother of his children, from the least healthy parish of Jamaica to England where she became Cerf’s wife and Lady of the Manor.
280	Elizabeth Hart	This woman’s strength and fortitude needed to be unlocked from the silent space of the archives and highlights how she dismantled an important part of the patriarchal establishment and gained her freedom.

6.2. Mary Hay - a cut above the rest

Mixed-heritage women established a unique economic social space to combat social exclusion and marginalization, while strategically upscaling their children to white, and away from slave society's condemnation of black people being equal to enslaved property. It was a stigma they tried to avoid at all costs. They had pressure from their white father's wills in the power of death over the unwed lives of their mixed-heritage daughters, as James Hart dictated for his daughters, discussed later in the chapter. In addition, the political establishment had granted many mixed-heritage people on application, legal rights and privileges, however the restrictions to passing on those privileges was predicated on mixed-heritage women and their children marrying white men or having children with white men (Burnard 1992, Heuman 2014, p.48). According to Heuman (1981), after 1733 most of the women who applied for such privileges were mulatto and quadroon women, which strongly suggests how much they wanted to improve their lives away from the stigma of slave society (Heuman 1981, p.6).

On 24 November 1802, a petition was heard on behalf of Mary Hay, a free single mother of colour, for her children John, Peter, Jane, Margaret and Janet Davidson, free quadroons. In her petition, she stated that she had baptised, educated the children in the Christian religion according to the rules of the church of England and brought them up in a descent and reputable manner. Mary extolled herself stating:

> '… the petitioner has it in her power to bestow on her said reputed children such fortune as will raise them considerably above the level of people of colour in general; but from the unfortunate circumstance of their birth, they are subjected to and liable

> to the same rules of government, and the same pains and penalties as free negroes and mulattoes are, who have not property and education'. She requested a bill be brought for herself, her children and their children the same privileges as was granted to other people who petitioned the council (House of Assembly Jamaica 1802, p.80).

Mary stated she had the finances, the means, the right religion, and the power to enable her children to have the same European values and standards of white children, a descent home, manners, education, and property. Rejecting the offerings given to regular mixed heritage and black people, Mary believed she was in a separate social class despite being a mulatto woman with the same social disadvantages as free people of colour. She applied the habitus of her upbringing, but it is not known who taught her and whether her (most likely) white father played a role in her education and what role her black mother played (if any) in her life. She silently watched other free people suffering in society because they lacked the basic education, the church background, and the support that she had. Mary applied emotive language such as 'she will raise the children considerably above' – much higher than just 'freedom' but to achieve the British standard of being equal like white people, 'unfortunate circumstances' - unfortunate to be of black heritage, a people whose life was that of enslavement of body, 'pains and penalties' - of other free people who had no means to educate themselves, scale upwards due to lack of knowledge, lift themselves from the liminal edge. Mary desired real freedom, that of whiteness for her children and stated she was of colour, and that could denote any colour on the spectrum of the Spanish lineal descent. She was actually a mulatto because her children were quadroons, but she realised she had privileges and used it to apply for more 'white privileges'. She gave a good impression on paper and the Assembly sent three men to check her story. Within three weeks she was granted the petition and it was publicised by the Assembly on 18th December 1802. Both Mary

Hay and Frances Simpson Powell Burton mentioned earlier, exhibited very similar behaviour patterns. They had no obsequious patterns, acted professionally, they had no fear of the establishment and exhibited behaviours that met all the criteria required of them to be treated as white. They both presented themselves as British from the Motherland rather than mixed-heritage creoles in a subservient slave society in Jamaica that held pre-determined rules of who they were and how they were to be treated. Mary appeared on paper condescending and arrogant, with an air of superiority but it worked for her, because the assembly sent three men to triangulate her petition out of curiosity and they favourably accepted her request. Frances Powell Burton stated in her application 'wife', 'gentlewoman' and 'owned an amount of enslaved people', they never saw her, and she too received the desired result. The white patriarchal society sitting in London in the colonial office had their perception of colonial women from the press, from the many letters they had been receiving from the colonies regarding the compensation claims and had their own preconceived ideas of who the people were. In Frances' case they believed she was a white woman and she believed she was. While analysing the content, the social space, time, women transcending their identity, showcased how the women effectively used their situations to gain the desired results. If a person presented themselves well on paper by choosing the right words for the scene and taking appropriate action, social judgement can be positively applied in their favour. These women were versed in the way to behave, write, and appease the white male administrators. They knew that the person on the other end reading their letters were influential men, therefore they used words that appealed to the patriarchal senses of authority minus any sexual innuendo or obsequience. This was not about what men needed from them but what they needed for themselves and their posterity. Although Mary Hay was unwed, she had five children in a white cohabiting relationship, highly immoral from a British

perspective and yet she still commanded an air of respectability. Assessing and interpreting these behaviour patterns from these women highlighted small 'loophole spaces' where mixed-heritage people exploited opportunities in the system, in which they surpassed the set boundaries which earned them the respect of white society. However, the 'loophole space' required the right combination of education, wealth, self-discipline, motivation, and purpose. Both women had developed a high sense of self-confidence, identity, self-respect, and self-worth in a slave society. They both transcended their identities, both commanded respectability and received it, and self-defined themselves above the expected norm of white attributed identity (Smith 1988, Bush 2000).

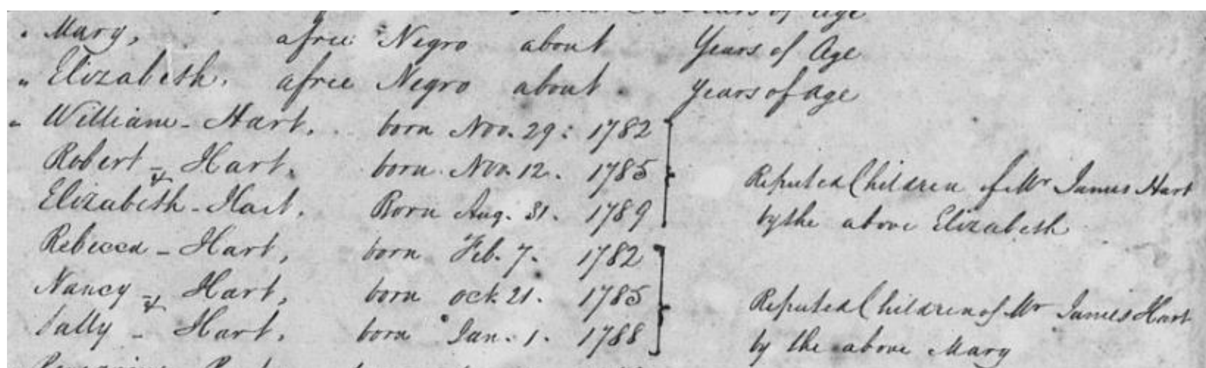
6.3. Hart's daughters and their mothers

From the examination of numerous wills and deeds of fathers, the political agenda behind equal rights and privileges with restrictions was to 'return society to white' and away from the colours that reminded them that the free mulatto, quadroon, octoroon, and mustee people were unplanned and unexpected in a society made for two, the planters and the enslaved black people. The onerous bequests were restrictive on daughters and ensured there were no alternative for the women but to upscale their relationships to white men, and for their daughters to do the same (Burnard 1992). Academics, the church writers on the turn of the emancipation period, extol the need for a society that was respectable as demanded by the church and for the colonies to fall in line with expected British moral behaviours (Mair 2006). Women were mostly special housekeepers but seen as concubines. Some of them

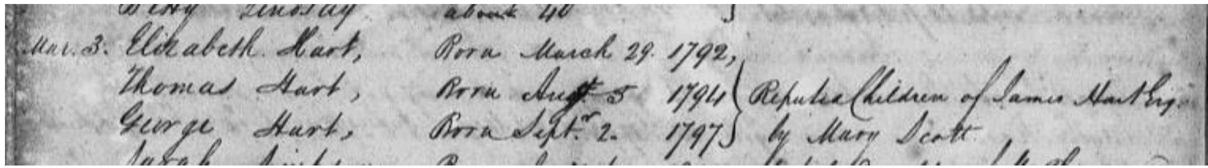
were prostitutes, thought of as dangerous to the efforts of the growing 'Christian' nation, as marriage was still not taken seriously by mixed-heritage women in their efforts to convert the island away from its known immoral past into God's holy angels (Stevens 1816, Wesley 1934, Altink 2004).

James Hart was a Scottish planter, who owned three plantations in St. Elizabeth, Kippon, Hart's Hall and Hampstead. His will of September 1793 provides a deep insight into the relationships white planters had with their mistresses and their children and how they used wills not only to ensure provision for them, but also restrictions on their future relationships to ensure their future posterity will eventually be white. In his will and subsequent Codicils James mentions ten mixed-heritage children he had with three different mixed-heritage and black women between 1774 and 1797.

His first child, named John Hart, was born of an enslaved mulatto woman called Mimba (later renamed Louisa). Mimba was owned by his absentee land-owner friend Dr David Fyffe. She was later manumitted. He then had three children with a free black woman called Elizabeth Green named Margaret, William, and Robert Hart. This was followed by six children by Mary Scott, another free black woman, named Rebecca, Ann, Sarah, Elizabeth, Thomas, and George Hart.


Mary, a free Negro about Years of Age
Elizabeth, a free Negro about Years of age
William - Hart, born Nov. 29: 1782
Robert & Hart, born Nov. 12. 1785 } Reputed Children of Mr James Hart
Elizabeth - Hart, Born Aug. 31. 1789 by the above Elizabeth
Rebecca - Hart, born Feb. 7. 1782
Nancy & Hart, born Ock 21. 1785 } Reputed Children of Mr James Hart
Sally - Hart, born Jan. 1. 1788 by the above Mary

Film 1368561 p.61 all baptised 17 August 1791


Mar. 3. Elizabeth Hart, Born March 29. 1792,
Thomas Hart, Born Aug 5 1794 Reputed Children of James Hart Esq
George Hart, Born Sept. 2. 1797 by Mary Scott

Film 1368561 p.89 all baptised 3 March 1800.

FIGURES 6-1 AND 6-2 PARISH BAPTISMAL RECORDS OF JAMES HART'S CHILDREN BY ELIZABETH AND MARY

Provided below is a transcript summary of the will and codicils summarised in James Hart's language of the day. Normally attached as an appendix but needed here in the text for flow and ease of reading.

Summary of Will of James Hart

Original Will - 7th September 1793

- John Hart, (now in England) natural son £100 to be paid when finish his apprenticeship, £10 per annum for his use until then
- Unto a mulatto woman Luisa: £30 currency (she belongs to William Gayle Esq – actual owner David Fyffe absentee owner) - mother of John Hart
- Natural children – born of body of free black woman named Elizabeth Green
    - Margaret Hart, William Hart, Robert Hart
    - To stay on the property and leave to survivors, except: if Margaret dies leaving issue by a white person, whether lawfully or unlawfully begotten, in which case or child or children shall inherit the same part and portion thereof, and in the same manner as she the said Margaret might or could have done if living. To be equally divided between such issue and upon the death of my two sons William and Robert, the said lands, slaves, and premises are hereby invested in and are to

become the sole and absolute property of the child or children of her, the said Margaret being the issue of a white person, but not otherwise.

- Elizabeth Green is entitled to reside in the property, must not interfere with negroes or management, and not bring any negro or other person of colour to the property
- Free black woman now named Mary Scott and my four natural daughters named
    - Rebecca Hart, Ann Hart, Sarah Hart and Elizabeth Hart
    - With their mother are to benefit from the rent, issues and profits and produce of the land (bought from Alexander Walker, referring to Hampstead)
    - In case of death of any, the part or portion goes to the survivors (during their life), except: if by dying they shall leave issue by a white person, legitimate or illegitimate, then the issue shall inherit.
    - If all daughters die, any issues by a white man will inherit
    - Two best horses to Mary Scott for the use of herself and her children
    - Several furniture and household items to Mary Scott
    - Executors to build a house for £200 for them to live on the land; In the meantime, they shall have free liberty to reside in my outbuildings at Hampstead
- Remainder of Estate to his friend Thomas Smith

Codicil 1. 13th February 1796

- Natural son Thomas Hart, born of Mary Scott – bequeathed 7 negro slaves, if he dies then the slaves go the natural daughters by Mary Scott
- Luisa, increase to £70

Codicil 2. 10th August 1800

- To my son George Hart, born of Mary Scott - £800 (GB Money) to be placed in funds to be used for his education and maintenance until he is 21 – in case of his death the funds to be shared among 4 sisters and brothers
- 4 daughters Rebecca, Ann, Sarah, Elizabeth Hart - £1500 to purchase 12 negroes
- Luisa, now free, the sum of £240 current money to purchase 2 Negro girls

Thomas and George were not yet born at the time of James Hart's original will, but he was keen not to exclude them and added a Codicil each time one of the boys reached the age of 3 years old. In his will he bequeathed large sums of cash, permanent residency, property, and enslaved people to his mistresses present and past and all his children. His friend, Thomas Smith received large legacies.

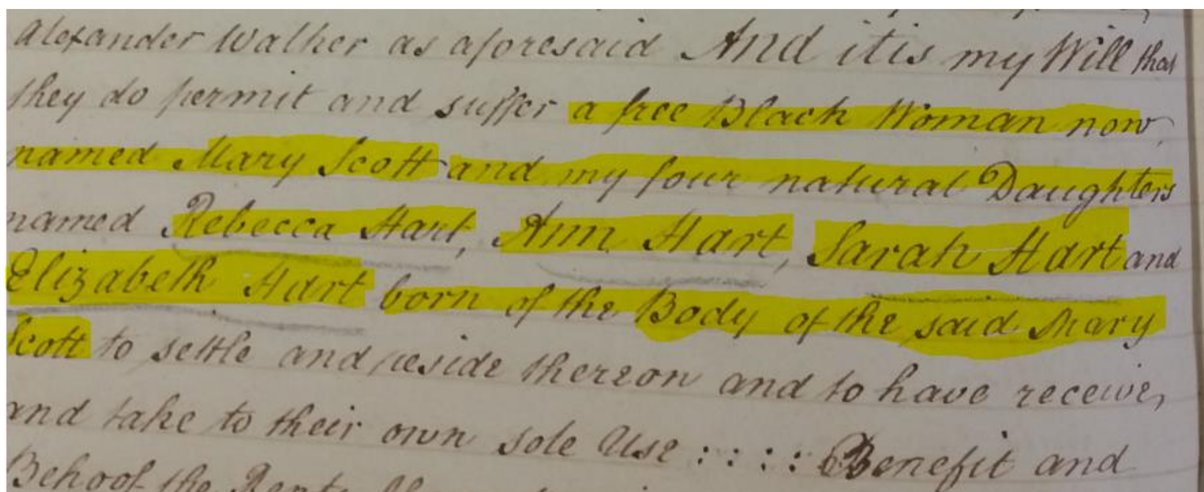

Alexander Walker as aforesaid And it is my Will that
they do permit and suffer a free Black Woman now
named Mary Scott and my four natural Daughters
named Rebecca Hart, Ann Hart, Sarah Hart and
Elizabeth Hart born of the Body of the said Mary
Scott to settle and reside thereon and to have receive,
and take to their own sole Use : : : : Benefit and
Behoof the

FIGURE 6-3 – EXCERPT OF WILL OF JAMES HART

The most intriguing aspect of his will, however, was the conditions he put on his mulatto daughters. The daughters were only able to pass on their inheritance to their own children if their children were conceived by white men, whether legitimate or illegitimate. There also were restrictions on his ex-mistress Elizabeth Green, in that she was entitled to

reside on his property for life, if she does not fraternise with the enslaved people on the estate nor entertain any person of colour in the house. The will describes a strong desire by James to 'whiten' his posterity, by ensuring his daughters engaged only in relationships with white men, to only give birth to fair children. This was a form of habitus, an ingrained behaviour from very early in life where the girls were trained from an early age to avoid other mixed-heritage people, especially black people, and associate with only white people. This also became a choice in most mixed-heritage women's lives to whiten their posterity (Welch and Goodridge 2000) . James Hart had created what Leonora Davidoff and Catherine Hall (1987) asserted as, 'the control of women's 'testamentary capacity' which extended beyond their male relative's lifetime…. structured inequality made it exceedingly difficult for a woman to support herself on her own, much less take on dependents' (Davidoff and Hall 1994, pp. 273-276). There is also an element of hypocrisy in James' view that the women in his family, although women of colour, were only allowed to fraternise with white men, but white men, such as himself, had no such restrictions. He put no such restrictions on his sons, either, although he was keen on them getting an education, with his oldest son John, the only quadroon, being apprenticed in England and settling in Gloucester, where he eventually become a schoolteacher. The younger son George also went to England, completed an apprenticeship but fell ill, and John took him back to Jamaica where he died soon after. James Hart also bequeathed property to his best friend Thomas Smith, who over 20 years later, in his own will returned some of the favours bestowed upon him by James Hart and bequeathed large sums of money to James Hart's children by Mary Scott and John received £200.

James Hart's case differs greatly from the more traditional description of the relationships between white planters and their concubines, with the white man having multiple relationships with women of colour whilst married to a white woman (Welch and

Goodridge 2000, Livesay 2010). In his case he was never married to a white woman, and maintained long-term (although not always monogamous) relationships with women of colour (Warner-Lewis 2007). The women could therefore more aptly be described as a 'common-law wife' instead of being considered mistresses and concubines as their relationship was essentially a long-term cohabitation relationship (Ghosh 2006). James in his will, also isolated his daughters from the rest of the community, as they were banned in his will from fraternising with people of colour.

By the time of the slavery compensation claims in 1835, several beneficiaries of James Hart's will claimed compensation for enslaved people, including Mary Scott for eleven enslaved people as owner of Hart's Hall, one of the very few black people as property owners and slave owners during slavery in the parishes. Mary's daughters Rebecca, Ann and Elizabeth were joint owners of Hart's Hall estate and claimed for forty-two enslaved people. Rebecca, Ann, and Elizabeth, together with their nephew George Daly, son of their sister Sarah were also joint owners of Adam's Valley in Manchester where they claimed for twenty enslaved people. Evidence suggests that James Hart's daughters did heed the restrictions stipulated against them in their father's will, for example, Sarah having a relationship with James Daly, who was a well-known plantation owner and workhouse manager in St. Elizabeth.

This case provides an insight into the real lives of free black and mixed-heritage women and illustrates why they often felt compelled to have relationships with white men. The inability to bequeath property and privileges to their own children unless they were the offspring of white men, both by law and emphasised by wills, meant that these relationships were not just driven by a desire for a better lifestyle for themselves, or to fall in love, but that it was often a necessity for survival for themselves and their children. It also demonstrates

relationships between white men and women of colour could also be meaningful long-term monogamous relationships, rather than short-term concubinage or prostitution for the purpose of sexual economic exchange as posited by Ono-George, Bush, and others (Bush 2000, Ono-George 2017). Most importantly this case highlights the process of how and the reason why black and mixed-heritage women applied rational choice and had no viable alternative to achieve economic benefit not only for themselves, but even more so for any future children. Adhering to the request in a will of a parent as an illegitimate child, added pressure and fear from legitimate relatives aiming to scoop away bequests if they were not completely adhered to. So many wills had these clauses that placed extra strain on their adult children in obeying every rule for fear of being disinherited. Focusing on a new relationship even before sexual activities, restrained their natural choice of men and attraction, thus making them strategic in their choices of who they became attached to and thus excluding men of colour from their choice of options. To improve themselves this was their only choice irrespective of falling in love or not. Falling in love or romance was not the focus, the whole point was the progression of these women, this was their rational choice to survive and upscale the colour of their children to whiteness. In this case they could not inherit if they did not obey their father's instructions in his bequest (Vasconcellos 2015, Livesay 2018).

The process of 're-whitening' from a mulatto or quadroon women can take up to three or four generations to become white again. Earlier in the thesis I referred to the Rectors hastening the process, by making a business of whitening people, as experienced by Lady Nugent. Dunn (1972) posited that it was possible for black people to pass to white in three generations in the Caribbean, whilst in the North American colonies, black blood became a 'stain' throughout all their generations (Dunn 1972, p.255). Mixed-heritage women choosing only white men induced resentments. This was a challenge for wealthy mixed-heritage men,

who suffered in silence as they realised their future rested in finding themselves white wives willing to marry them, which was near impossible if they remained in Jamaica. Mixed-heritage men who did not have the financial means or sponsors to emigrate had no option but to favour relationships with free black women down the pecking order to enslaved mixed-heritage and black women well into the emancipation era (Holt 2000). Mixed-heritage women had also increased the number of relationships and children with white men, multiplying the mixed-heritage population and a demarcation from mixed-heritage men. These attitudes increased the women's negative reputation from the internal society of married people, referring to them as being concubines, prostitutes, lascivious and any name thrown at them from the 'unified' Christian society and mixed-heritage men who were more than disappointed with their behaviour patterns. For mixed-heritage men, their strategy was to turn to the church in a bid to reclaim respectability and see themselves as representatives of the mixed-heritage community who were in a state of change and stood up for their manhood. This was successful as attitudes began to change towards marriage to fit in with the moral fibre of Britishness, a middling class respectability and the morality required by the church. They needed to increase their chances of gaining the civil and political rights they championed for so many years to become full-fledged British subjects who were treated the same as white people with no restrictions (Heuman 1981).

Since all mixed-heritage people came from an enslaved person at a generation level, whether that was a first generation or fifth generation, they knew the pains of being enslaved. In the eyes of the law, each enslaved person stood as an individual unit of property and a person who could be exploited, abused, and even executed in a court of law with the owner

receiving a compensation for loss of that enslaved person. However, s/he was never considered as a submerged partner in a marriage or family. The most universal life events marriage, procreation, childrearing-were manipulated to meet the demands of a capitalist slave society (Burnham 1987). The next biographical vignette demonstrates the village effect and development of the family in a slave society as a mixed-heritage woman with a disability and how she was a rational economic actor with a difference.

6.4. Dorothy Witter and the Carlisle Estate

The society of mixed-heritage and black people, free or enslaved, co-existed with numerous challenges, and throughout the period of slavery, even though colour and ethnicity were among the leading factors in a mixed-heritage person's survival, the health of a small island nation was a huge concern (Craton 1970, Burnard 1999, Burnard and Follett 2012, Turner 2017). Numerous studies have highlighted the health of everyone including the enslaved people, the various herbs and remedies used to treat diseases, and enhance their health. Real life stories like Mary Seacole's provides detail about health, while accounts like John Holness' are very scarce. St Elizabeth eighteenth century English, planter John Holness Snr specifically requested in his will that Mary Morrison on the Donegal Estate remain on the estate after his death to care for the health of the enslaved people, as he had experienced the benefit of her great skill and remarkable attention to the illnesses on his estate (Holness 1792, Seacole 1999). In my ancestry, due to the extent of consanguineous marriages and the lack of knowledge or consequences of such relationships, many illnesses were transferred to the children and their descendants, such as blindness, deafness, and physical deformities which

are seen. While other illnesses such as mental health issues, sensory challenges, kidney disease, diabetes and so forth are hidden. On claim 1045, which was not entered on the published Parliamentary Returns, John Powell acted as Guardian for his sister Priscilla Powell because she was insane. The valuers, James Ward and John Hunt specially perused the application although submitted after the deadline and approved the clam for £29 for one enslaved domestic person originally valued at £50. They refused many applications after the deadline, but may have approved this application on compassionate grounds due to Priscilla's illness (Ward and Hunt 1834). Studying the family history death certificates provides repetitive history of these illnesses, revealing the extent, however, they remain respectfully silent in the family.

To date, as far as I am aware, there has never been a study referring to a disabled mixed-heritage woman as an owner of enslaved people and manager of an estate in slave society. The historical pages on the contributions white or free mixed-heritage disabled women made to the development of slave society and/or Jamaican society, and their micro-communities are silent in history, as they were never acknowledged. As Ann Stoler posited: 'the anthropology of colonialism has been a prolific yet selective project, challenging some of the boundaries of the discipline but remaining surprisingly respectful of others' (Stoler 1989). Boundaries of thought such as mixed-heritage and black people owning enslaved people albeit on a small scale, lack a depth of study in case it undermines reparations discussions, which should enhance the discussions rather than hinder it.

Dorothy Witter was the illegitimate daughter of the wealthy planter, landowner Benjamin Powell Jnr and Diana Simpson-Witter, both Octoroons, and lost her full sight since

she was a 16-year-old girl (born 15th April 1774). The documents did not confirm or establish how Dorothy as a spinster came into ownership of the Carlisle Estate, but she managed the property as a disabled blind woman at least from the time registration of enslaved people became a legal requirement, starting with the 1817 records. Dorothy came from a close family. Her father, Benjamin Powell Jnr was the youngest brother of Ann Rochester, also a wealthy Octoroon woman in her own right (to be discussed later). Powell had children with the three Simpson -Witter sisters and his son, Benjamin Powell III was married to Frances Simpson Powell Burton (mentioned in chapter 5), a total of 8 children. Even though Dorothy had many sisters, she was cared for by her brother and agent William Samuel Witter (her mother's son, both children dropped Powell and kept their mother's name), as he held 'power' of attorney for her, which was justifiable in a patriarchal society. William would have been about 13 years old when he experienced his sister's transformation as she totally lost her sight, and they would have lost the spontaneity of playful times, childhood innocence and experiences of Dorothy's fun days reduced to memories. At 16 years old, she would have been on the cusp of entering womanhood in readiness for finding a husband. Instead, Dorothy was now totally dependent on William and no mention of their older brother James. As Davidoff and Hall (1987) posited of Mary Ann Hedge's poem about brother and sister relationships, who regarded 'the love of brother and sister as second only to the conjugal union…the respect due to moral superiority and sense of weakness by the sister should be combined with the consciousness of power, protection and support by the brother' (Davidoff and Hall 1994, pp. 348-349). Generally, I would disagree with such a statement, however, in Dorothy and William's case, this dependence was much needed for the period in which they lived, and where disabilities were silenced. Their relationship withstood colonial slave society all through the Slavery Compensation claims, where doctor's evidence had to be provided to

prove that Dorothy was indeed blind and that her brother William was responsible as a worthy agent to collect the British funds.

Four enslaved people were attached to the Carlisle estate which Dorothy owned and she managed this property all through the slavery registration period from 1817-1832. From the four enslaved people she started with, a village of seventy-one people through natural birth was developed. Samuel McNamara Banton, Dorothy's temporary agent in 1823 and her friend, bequeathed her Charles as an enslaved 27-year-old man in 1829.

Dorothy Witter inherited 4 enslaved people:

i **Fedelia (---)**Error! Bookmark not defined., born 1767 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica.

ii **Pheba (---)**, born 1772 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica.

iii **Phema (---)**, born in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica.

iv **Charles**[2] **(---)**, born 1802 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica.

(This was developed using a Personal Ancestry File and reports created using Charting Companion supported by the IT department of Bournemouth University. (See Appendix 3 for the full family tree)

By the end of the Slavery Compensation period, Dorothy as owner received £1016 3s 10d for fifty-four enslaved people in 1835. There was only one death in those years, Fedelia's daughter Margaret who died aged 36 years in 1823 and there was no mention in the records of what caused her death. The year 1820 would have presented emotional highs and lows for the families, as two children, Fedelia's son Joe (aged 25) and her grandson Lyn, (aged 13),

were gifted to Dorothy's brother Peter Powell in 1820 to live in continued enslavement. While in the same year, Grashey (aged 17) and her brother Bernard (aged 14) were manumitted. Two different types of emotions for the two mothers; Pheba that of sadness for her young son (Lyn) and her brother (Joe) leaving their home, and Phema's elation for her two youngest children, who continued to live with her while nine years later in 1829, Phema's children and their whole family received manumission from enslavement. Being on the same estate Bernard and Lyn would have known each other very well. These were the only members of any of the families to leave the close confines of the extended enslaved family and the property over the registration years, as even those manumitted continued to live there.

Dorothy manumitted seventeen people in total and claimed for fifty-four in the 1834 compensation claims. To ensure Dorothy received the compensation with no challenges, her GP, William Beard Newman, surgeon, and Medical Practitioner to the family and for Manchester, verified Dorothy's health condition to the Administrators in a signed letter dated Jamaica 9 Dec 1835 'I hereby certify that Dorothy Witter is an aged person and has been blind for the last 45 years' (Ref AAT71/1378). As sure as can be stated that she is the sister of William Samuel Witter, and that William Samuel Witter transact all accounts and business for her'. The money was awarded to her brother William as an amended award and Hymen Cohen collected and signed for the claim on their behalf.

No data was available for the property in the early years. After manumission and emancipation of slavery, these people continued to live in the same area. There was no information on how Dorothy managed this estate as a blind woman, but there were many men and women on the estate to keep it managed well. Her brother and friend would also have regular input into the management of the estate. As Dorothy cannot see, she would not

necessarily know the nocturnal affairs of her enslaved people or who is visiting her estate. All the mixed-heritage Sambo children as siblings were manumitted. In addition, a white man visited Sue to have produced mulatto children and in 1829, all her children and herself were manumitted.

This case study provided a visual increase of natural birth and a slavery management system that involved relatives and friends who helped on the estate of a blind woman. From the moment an enslaver inherited a woman she carried value, and that value increased over the years in her production of physical work, her reproductive value and the added value of her children and grandchildren (Blake, (collab) et al. 1961, Morgan 1997, Morgan 2004). When the grandmother had stopped reproducing, her granddaughters started the whole process again. In an intersectional twist, no fathers were mentioned for the children. Women were the most important part of the slave economy and should have held more value than men, because she produced, reproduced, and sexually pleasured the men (Mathurin 1975, Bush 1981, Mair 2006). She had more roles because she raised her children, cooked, and cleaned for the household. A screaming silence pierced the pages, as a pen marked these women's lives over fifteen years. No communication between them but a communication on paper in the increase and decrease pages, who had a baby and when. This was habitus at its maximum in silence, where Dorothy Witter's life decisions were based on the principles of rational choice theory, in which she interacted with the socioeconomic structures and produced a village from the choices she made. Where rituals are performed day after day, a new baby was born as an increase, amplifying the sound of monetary value. In this household what was highlighted was the number of women that could be in an enslaved clan group where support, shared experiences and unity can garnish the concept of being raised by a village in Jamaican slave society. Dorothy was my 3rd great-grand aunt.

6.5. Bent versus Bent: Sibling Rivalry

This case has every rational choice and action embedded within, intersectionality, habitus and voices the silence, breaking the silence, and empowering the silence were all rolled into one with Elizabeth Bent's case. When writing wills, the testators used careful language when expressing affinities and special friendships. Terms such as 'beloved' were used for certain family members and omitted for others. In his will dated 1804 John Bent, a mixed-heritage planter, appointed 'my beloved and trusted friend' Anthony Mills Barton and his two 'beloved' sons Nicholas and (John) Benjamin Bent as his executors (Bent 1804). He also stressed in detail his request for the manumission of Phoebe his enslaved mistress and their children, in which they were given land, and a request for a promise from Nicholas his son with Ann Rochester, to ensure they were manumised. When Ann Rochester, long-term mistress of John Bent, and mother of his eleven children wrote her will, the ornate language was included for all her children and grandchildren except Nicholas. Ann bequeathed 'to my son Nicholas Bent an enslaved man, named Thomas, 'in consideration of his discharging my funeral expenses'. Ann had ensured her son was paid for any time and expenses he may have invested in her funeral, using the value of an enslaved man. In the very next sentence of Ann's will, 'I give, bequeath, and devise to my beloved son John Benjamin Bent…' It appears based on the tone of the language used that there were problems between mother and son Nicholas (Rochester 1822).

Ironically, Elizabeth Bent, Ann's daughter, had a conflict with her brother, John Benjamin Bent, which was described in detail within her application for the Slavery

Compensation Awards. Elizabeth inherited from her mother Ann Rochester, who died in December 1827, several enslaved people, including a 'sambo mother Peggy Vassell and her children named Betsy, Isabella (Bell), Wellington and Dolly'. Elizabeth had lived with her mother at Lemon Vale, St. Elizabeth and took ownership of this kin group since 1821. Joe and Thomas were born to Peggy as natural increase after her mother wrote her will. The will also stipulated that if Elizabeth died without issue, then the enslaved people were to be divided amongst the living brothers. Unfortunately, under a writ of '*Venditioni Exponas*' 'that you expose for sale'... a judicial writ addressed to the Sheriff, commanding him to expose to sale goods which he has already taken into his hands to satisfy a judgement creditor (Jowitt 1959). The Deputy Marshall levied Ann's property and took Bell, Betsy and little Joe for unpaid debt following the dispersal of Ann's estate. Elizabeth, desperately seeking the return of her enslaved family, gave her brother John Benjamin Bent twelve doubloons (Spanish gold coins) to retrieve the family from the Black River workhouse. John took the money, purchased the family, and kept them for himself and submitted them on his slave returns. Elizabeth vehemently expressed her anger at 'discovering that she had been deceived and betrayed by her own brother'. (Treasury Papers 1832).

FIGURE 6-4 – WEST INDIAN CREOLE WOMAN WITH HER BLACK SERVANT (AGOSTINO BRUNIAS 1730-1796, YALE CENTRE OF BRITISH ART)

A family feud was played out in the form of counterclaims with numerous letters exchanged to the Commissioners, solicitors, and a court case, with other siblings and nephews drawn into the case, which took nearly ten years to be resolved. Elizabeth, who had no children of her own, expressed dismay that her brother, using their mother's will, thought she had passed childbearing age at sixty, and had no need for the enslaved people. She explained, 'although she agreed with her mother's will regarding not having any issue from her own body, it is not impossible for her … she still had time… the issue of her body was not in his rights to decide'. Elizabeth was sixty-four years old by then and passed the age at which women were having children and having no offspring would generate family discussions about her inheritance. Regardless of whether Elizabeth had children or not, she was still alive and entitled to her inheritance according to her mother's will. It was her decision when the

time came to choose whom she wished to bequeath her property. She confidently explained to the commissioners in her ‘feisty tone of language’, her upset and disappointment at her brother’s claim and an awareness of her own body as a woman, her rights as a woman to decide on whether to produce children or not, which did not give her brother leave to decide on taking her property. There was an intersectional divide on age, gender, and marital status, taking advantage on every angle by a brother who thought she was invisible. Nicholas the older brother had died, and this gave way for John Benjamin to act as the patriarchal brother deciding on Elizabeth’s body even before she was deceased. This highlights the inequality of society as men were having children at all ages during the period and therefore Elizabeth was treated unequally, even though age sixty-four was too old to have a child for the period. She did not think so and asserted her right for that decision to be hers not John’s. He further took advantage because she was single, if she had a man about the house, then Elizabeth would not need to get John involved to resolve the issue in the first place. He took his role as older brother to her disadvantage and broke the sibling trust. As discussed in another chapter, St Elizabeth was rife with contraband goods and Lady Nugent stated Spanish silver coins were used as payment. However, twelve doubloons were worth the equivalent of £300 to purchase the mother and her children. That was a sacrifice for Elizabeth, compounded by being cheated and oppressed by her brother (one gold doubloon would be worth US$400 today – National Archives).

Elizabeth was appalled at the treatment she was receiving as a single woman who was unmarried, but financially secure in her own right and asserted those facts. She had twelve doubloons available to spend to settle debts, which unlikely represented all her financial assets. She explained in her communications that her other three brothers had died by that time. George Legister Bent, her other brother still alive, had decided, in writing to the

Commissioners, to stay neutral and thus the reasons why she had no support. In addition, 'unfortunately for her she is unlettered and unacquainted with the nature of these proceedings and nature of law through which circumstances much advantage has been taken of her since her mother died, even by her own brother' (Colonial Office 1845). Elizabeth was feeling sorry for herself and faced the reality of her poor literacy skills even though her mother was literate, she bore her own seal and handled business like a professional. Being the second youngest, she may not have had any formal education as she was home helping her mother. The will had been onerous for Elizabeth, highlighting that not only fathers wrote wills that had long-term effects on the lives of their daughters but also mothers (Burnard 1992). The slave society she lived in already had its disadvantages, and at home, internally where she needed safety and security, that was breeched by a family member she trusted. Elizabeth was experiencing all the disadvantages of intersectional social divisions both externally in society in the form of race, gender, social class, and her quadroon colour, and internally among family on age, marital status, gender, and sex. Her way of dealing with the internal turmoil was to make a rational choice to not drop the case but drag out the case from 1834 – 1845. By 1845, the ten enslaved people she was fighting over were freedmen and women, they had started to settle down in their free state, while Elizabeth and John as siblings were still fighting about their loss of ex-enslaved people and money.

The will showcases her mother, Ann Rochester as a formidable character in her materfamilias role providing support to her eleven children, especially the girls. There was no mention of her father, John Bent within the whole proceedings. By 1845 Elizabeth was still expressing grief about the bonding and support of her mother Ann, who had been dead for 18 years. She further expressed her mother's thoughts by saying:

> 'when her said mother had devised the slaves to her in 1821 to enjoy their services and the profits arising thereof … submits that her said mother could not have supposed or anticipated that her child, this deponent or the issue of deponent's body would have been under any law or circumstances deprived of the loss and services of such slaves without being paid or compensated for the loss of such services'.

Elizabeth tried to justify why she should get the awards and although John Benjamin pressured the commissioners to reward the money to the creditors as counterclaimants, the money was eventually adjudged to Elizabeth on 27th August 1845.

Studying the many pages of this case and family, highlights the many roles Ann, as a relatively wealthy free 'quadroon' woman played in her family, contrary to Edward Long's derogatory views of mixed-heritage women (Long 1970). It can be assumed that Elizabeth, as a spinster, and second youngest daughter, was the only companion at home, looking after her aging mother, managing the financial household, and building relationships with the enslaved families that lived with them. This may explain her alarm at losing the enslaved sibling group, who she knew well, 'they were hers', and she would have held Joseph, born in 1823, as a baby, and three of them were taken away to cover the debts of the estate. This was compounded by the disappointment of not completing her mother's wishes and the broken loyalty of her brother. This incident changed the dynamics of the household with three children missing and a very unhappy enslaved mother. Her own Bent family was divided, as John Benjamin was the executor of the estate of the youngest sister, Susannah Eleanor, who died in 1837. John's mother trusted him and so did Susannah his sister. John was the family patriarch, the male voice responsible for the women in his family and would have preferred Elizabeth's debts paid in full to avoid further embarrassment to the family.

From the start of slavery registration in 1817 through to 1829, the enslaved families were intact on the property at Lemon Vale, which would indicate that Elizabeth had not been exposed to this type of emotional wrenching of children from their mother, and siblings from each other. Small yet whole enslaved family units were bequeathed to Elizabeth's siblings and transferred to them. Did Elizabeth not grasp the realisation that the enslaved people she had were regarded as property and liable to be reclaimed for debt? I think not. Elizabeth regarded that enslaved family as her own and was distressed at losing them, first to the workhouse, secondly to her brother and then permanently when slavery was abolished. She exhibited a lack of experience in these types of business transactions, although Elizabeth knew how to transact business, as she dealt with Mr. Elias Fonseca, a storekeeper in Kingston and he was her appointed agent. However, he was too far away to deal with immediate domestic issues. She was set in her daily habits of having the enslaved people around her and was in a vulnerable space when she gave her brother the doubloons which were by then illegal Spanish tender. When Britain was at war with Spain, Spanish ships in 1801 were allowed to trade on the island at only four ports – Kingston, Port Antonio, Montego Bay and Savanna La Mar and people paid in (Spanish) silver coins and goods due to a shortage of currency on the island (Wright 2002, pp. 9-10, p.26). John may have decided as patriarch of the family when he took the doubloons (considered illegal tender) and paid personally for the enslaved family's return but to his house to prevent any further intervention from law enforcement and debt recovery for his sister. However, Elizabeth had her side of the story.

As recorded in communications in regards to compensation claim 51, Elizabeth was over £200 indebted to counterclaimants; Church Calderwood, William Gunter and Michael Muirhead (Treasury Papers 1845).They requested repayment of the debt and levied the property at Lemon Vale. Instead of paying some of the debt personally, Elizabeth elected to

ask her older brother Benjamin (the family patriarch) for help with rectifying the situation, however, he recovered the enslaved children with Elizabeth's money, then chose to keep them for himself. On the other hand, John Benjamin may have thought, if he purchased the children and took them back to Lemon Vale, his sister, being heavily indebted would be levied again, thus making the decision to repurchase them, keep, feed, and clothe them himself. At least they were safe, and mother and children could maintain contact. The story given to the commissioners was plausible from both sides, but Elizabeth had been clearly disadvantaged on intersectional grounds.

Elizabeth chose to believe John was dishonest in his dealings with her. It is important to also provide the context of family genealogy to understand Elizabeth and her mother Ann's relationship. Ann had five daughters and six sons. The first two were girls, then her son Nicholas, followed by another girl, all born between 1753 and 1760; the last girl of the group was twenty years older than Elizabeth. They were followed by five boys. Elizabeth was born in 1781, followed by Susannah Eleanor Bent, her last child, four years later. Ann was 46 years old when Elizabeth was born and 50 years old when she had Susannah. Observing these dates, Elizabeth would have taken over many household roles during her teenage years. The older children were living away and had already claimed the enslaved people their mother bequeathed them in 1821. Elizabeth's brothers had them recorded on their slavery returns from 1823 through to 1832 where the enslaved people were bequeathed to them and stated 'formerly registered by their mother Ann.' (Treasury Papers 1832). Susannah left home and started her family with Thomas Keith Falconer at aged 16, leaving 20-year-old Elizabeth at home as the main 'manager', her mother's companion, a spinster with the enslaved housekeeper and her children. Elizabeth must have felt that all the enslaved people left at Lemon Vale were hers. The will and papers are quite extensive and complex and not all can

be analysed and summarised in this chapter, however, Elizabeth's story does provide some insight into the lives, family relationships and challenges experienced by a single woman of colour who had the courage to stand up for her rights, thus reclaiming her property (money) from her brother. It also highlighted how intersections of race, gender, ethnicity, and social class on the external society, can impact the internal (home) intersections of age, marital status, gender, and sex, creating oppressive living conditions which can force a person to 'scream'. Elizabeth's 'scream' was carried out over eleven years until she got the result she demanded. Although illiteracy was a concern for Elizabeth, with the help of Elias Fonseca, she challenged the Slavery Compensation claims administration, and won her main compensation award. It also highlights the dynamics of a materfamilias home when managed by a childless single woman.

6.6. Frances Simpson Powell Burton - The Liminal Gentlewoman

Some liminal women passed as white and exemplified the lives of white creole married women. Their choices were focused on living the white woman's life style to the point where they even accepted their husband's mixed-heritage and black mistresses, as that was endemic in slave society and the status of being a respected married woman was not affected by such domestic arrangements (Bush 1981).

Frances Simpson Powell Burton, a Mustee, had asserted her right as a 'wife', 'Gentlewoman', and in the Slavery Compensation Claims, she asserted her right over the law as the matriarch of the family, even though she was in her 60s with 'legally white' adult sons who formed part of the colonial patriarchy. In her letter, she showed a command of assertive

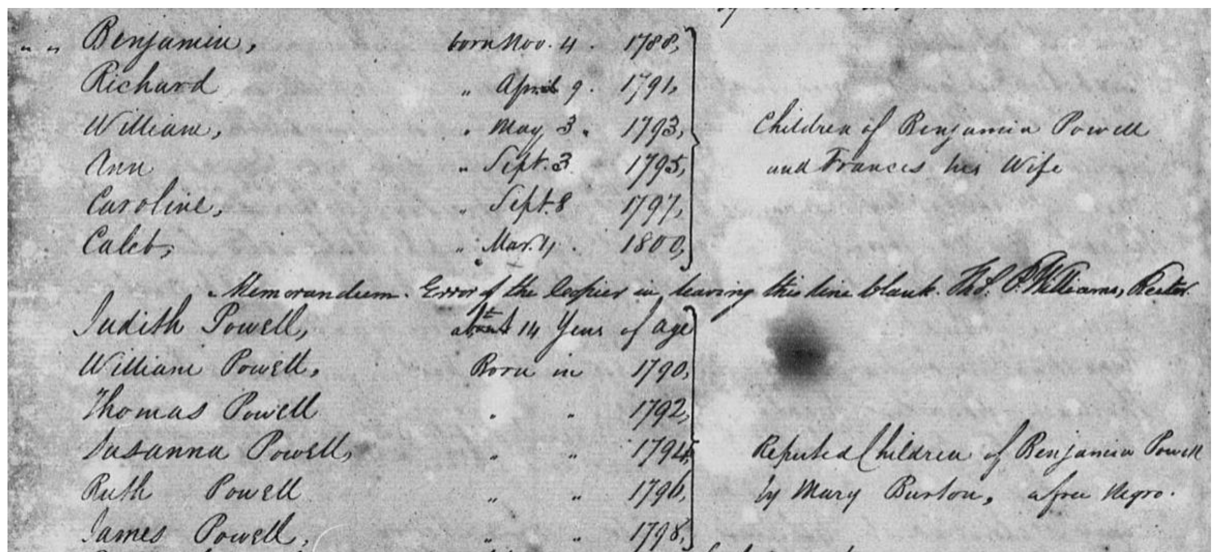
power in herself, no obsequious behaviour, and kept the letter to a factual minimum, she behaved as a creole white woman. She never had to say she was of colour because she identified as white, with which came power, authority, and class in slave society. Frances' socio-economic standing in the community of Spanish Quarters where she managed 21 enslaved people, meant she had to be involved in the day to day 'repro-duction of slavery', cementing her conscious and social behaviour, which was fashioned by slavery society's 'social laws, customs, and culture' (Beckles 1993, p.68). Although Frances displayed Christian respectability of being a wife and her social status in slave society as a gentlewoman, she also asserted power as a matriarch over her husband and eight adult children. In this case, there is no subjugation of her womanhood, as she exhibited what was accepted as 'proper' femininity or the 'desired' English white Christian behaviour, and what it does highlight is there are no signs of patriarchal rule in this family situation, thus an unsaid silence in the letters. Frances, a free mustee woman, conformed to church society by stating who she was, 'a married woman and a wife', and differentiated herself from the control of the central preoccupation and intersections of colour, class, and gender by stating she was a 'Gentlewoman', and she was applying for the awards for 21 enslaved people. She discounted her mixed-heritage identity and took control of her family's finances. Armed with the information Frances gave them, the colonial administrators most likely assumed she was a white woman and paid her with no questions asked. Studying Frances' case, I could recognise a stoic attitude in her letter and how she handled the claim with her adult children. The silence that was not said in those papers was how she disregarded the men in her life.

Frances' parents, Ann Neif and William Simpson were in a mixed relationship. Ann was White and William an Octoroon. Both Ann's parents, Elizabeth and James were early white Jamaicans. Elizabeth Tait was a very young white girl who married a much older white man

James William Neif, and had six children. She later had another five children for Thomas Burton. In total, she had 11 children by the time she was 36 years old. There are no records found to date to ascertain how such a young teenage girl arrived in Jamaica or whether she was creole Jamaican, but at her age, many girls had arrived on the island as indentured servants from as early as 1683 (Wareing 1978, Tapper 1979). Before then, girls were 'spirited' away from Ireland and Scotland, from the prisons around Britain, with white girls as young as eight years old in the social development of a colonial system being married and sexually active (Long 1972). Frances would have grown up among white people, with her father William, being the only person of colour in her household apart from the enslaved people. Frances would have learnt about white customs, culture, mannerisms from her mother and grandmother, as both women were having children at the same time, as Frances was born just a year before her uncle. Frances would have identified as white and thus her behaviour exemplifies those of creole white people (Walvin 1973, Heuman 1981, Bush 2008).

On checking her earlier married family life, we learned that Frances, then aged 17 years old (like her mother and grandmother before her), married Benjamin Powell III in 1787. Between 1788 and 1806 she gave birth to nine children, however, at the same time, her husband also had 6 children with Mary Burton, a free 'Negro' woman with whom he had a continuous relationship before he married Frances. In fact, five of those six children were born in alternate years between the first six of Frances' children. The fact that the oldest six children of Frances, as well as the six children of Mary all by Benjamin Powell III were all baptised in one ceremony on 27 November 1800, demonstrates that this appeared to have been openly accepted by all parties. Behaving like the upstanding 'white' woman she became must have taken years of patience, political, social, and cultural training from her immediate white family who were the privileged people in society and had examples from the other

women like herself in the rural St. Elizabeth community. In the 'silence' of her womanhood, Frances would have never wanted to experience such humiliation in her life after Benjamin, thus marrying Francis Burton, a Quadroon man, and a marriage in which she would not be subordinate like white women were on the island, and no legal property was transferred to him. Frances was my 4th great-grandmother and a cousin three times on both my parent's ancestral trail in the consanguineous relationships that existed.


„ „ Benjamin, born Nov. 4. 1788,
Richard „ April 9. 1791,
William, „ May 3. 1793,
Ann „ Sept. 3 1795,
Caroline, „ Sept. 8 1797,
Caleb, „ Mar. 1[illegible]. 1800,
Children of Benjamin Powell and Frances his Wife

Memorandum. Error of the Copier in leaving this line blank. Thos. [illegible] Williams, Rector

Judith Powell, about 14 Years of age
William Powell, Born in 1790,
Thomas Powell „ „ 1792,
Susanna Powell, „ „ 1794,
Ruth Powell „ „ 1796,
James Powell, „ „ 1798,
Reputed Children of Benjamin Powell by Mary Burton, a free Negro.

FIGURE 6-5: JAMAICA, CHURCH OF ENGLAND PARISH REGISTER TRANSCRIPTS, 1664-1880," FAMILYSEARCH FILM 1368561 P 95, NOV 1800, CHRISTENING; ST ELIZABETH, REGISTRAR GENERAL'S DEPARTMENT, SPANISH TOWN

6.7. The Lady of the Manor – Elizabeth Anderson Wint-Cerf

Rectors at the time of a baptism registration had the potential to change the social class of a person. By recording and certifying that individual into the legally white social class, when they were quadroon or octoroon, renders such action of significant importance to that individual, unbeknown to the rector, unless he was bribed to do so. Being white or black was the determinant in whether a person was free or enslaved, thus a sign that one's colour asserted negotiable personal property and power (Dunn 1972). Being white in a slave society

ensured safety, civil rights, negotiable relative privileges, access to purchase land and create a life from poverty to being wealthy if one chose well and avoided the pitfalls. Joyce Chaplin (2009) argues the failure of scholars to define racism in its true context as being 'grounded in the human body and in lineage, which thus defines it as inescapable, a non-negotiable attribute that predicts socio-political power or lack of power' (Chaplin 2009, pp. 173-190). What about a mixed-heritage family from Jamaica to England and then to Belgium, what norms do they take, does habitus change?

Elizabeth Anderson Wint was born in Vere, Jamaica in 1776, baptised and registered as a 'quadroon' with her siblings Mary Anderson Wint (born 1766), Ann Anderson Wint (born 1769) and James Anderson Wint (born 1773) on Nov 16, 1776. Her parents where Samuel Wint and Ruth Anderson, who was described as 'a free woman of colour' (See FHL Film 1291677 pp. 43-44). Elizabeth became the mistress of Henry Cerf, a German-born planter of Jewish ancestry, who migrated to England, before moving to Jamaica. They had seven children (Henry, Sarah, Emilia, Sophia, Henrietta, Laura, and Philip) together and lived on the Berlin Plantation, which he had previously co-owned with Thomas Elliott, in south St. Elizabeth. Henry previously had other illegitimate children with other women, but Elizabeth became the constant mistress in his life.

Sometime between 1818-1820 the family emigrated to England where Henry purchased Worton Hall Manor in Isleworth, (Hounslow) (The National Archives, Will of Henry Cerf Catalogue Reference: Prob 11/1939). The property, now a listed building, became the Isleworth film studio a century later. On the 24th of January 1821, shortly after arriving in the UK, Elizabeth had an awakening experience. One of her 'white' employees, the gardener's brother, Edward Leramount, was transported for seven years after being indicted for stealing

a plate from her kitchen valued at 39 shillings. When Henry Cerf married his ‘common-law’ wife Elizabeth Wint at Newland, Gloucester, England, it was 120 miles away from their home, and there was a likelihood that this was deliberate, as the London society they circled in, may well have been under the impression that they had always been married.

Twenty years prior, on Thursday 18th September in 1806, on the Berlin Estate, Elizabeth, a quadroon woman stood with Judith Sherman a mulatto woman and Thomas Elliott’s mistress, and Mrs. Sarah Austin Elliott, Thomas' white Creole wife, baptising all their legitimate and illegitimate children together. It could be assumed that Elizabeth was nervous because she would have wondered if she would be in the same situation one day as the mistress baptising her children with Henry’s wife. She may have never considered she would be his wife, as it was commonly known that mistresses never became wives (Bush 1981). Yet there she was 20 years later living equally as a wife with Henry in their own mansion in England. Did she believe at that time that he would have chosen her to take to England, or to marry her one day? Possibly not. The common examples of mixed-heritage women in her St. Elizabeth social circle were such as Judith as permanent mistresses. How did Henry’s decision impact on his business and his society friends? As Moreton posited: ‘it would be considered an undeniable stain in the character of a white man to enter into a matrimonial bondage with one of them; he would be despised in the community, and excluded from all society on that account’ (Moreton 1793) . It was obvious that what may have mattered most to Henry was his family, with no care for protocol and the British societal rules and idiosyncrasies. Henry Cerf was already around sixty years old when he took his family to England. He was British, but of Jewish German descent, so may have been less concerned about British ‘protocol’ and expected behavioural norms. His friend, Thomas Elliott died in March 1814 on his New Heathfield coffee estate in Manchester, without his wife and children who were in Aberdeen,

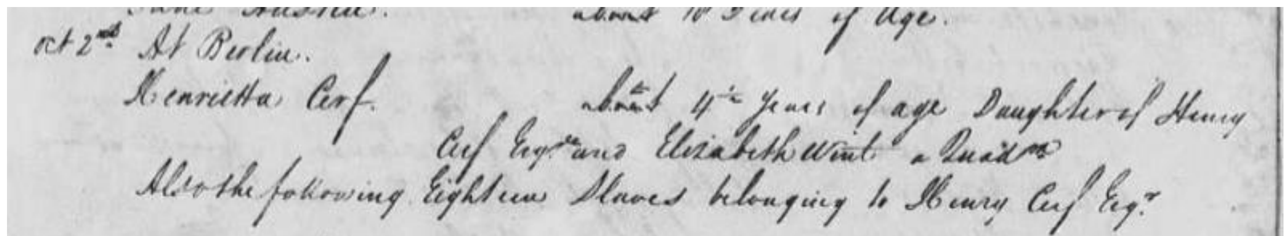
or his illegitimate family who were living in Twickenham, St. Elizabeth. This must have triggered Henry into action because he liquidated some of his Jamaican assets and arranged for the management of others and emigrated to England (Urban 1841). After leaving Jamaica Henry Cerf's nephew Maximilian Wolff (originally from Germany) looked after his Edinburgh Estate in Manchester, while Judah and Hyman Cohen, Jewish British businessmen, acted as attorneys to Berlin (St. Elizabeth) and Heathfield (Manchester) estates. Their daughter Sarah died in Jamaica at young age and their youngest son Philip died as a 3-year-old soon after they arrived in England.

How did Elizabeth integrate into social standing as lady of the manor living in concubinage in highly religious and moral English society? Elizabeth had arrived in Britain amongst heated discussions on the abolition of slavery. Tensions in society spurred on by the Pro-slavery supporters highlighted the influx of Caribbean mixed-heritage people changing the landscape of colour and race in the British capital (Wilson 2003, Lambert 2005). Elizabeth's household was not hidden from society, and she may have struggled to live in Britain as an unmarried, mixed-heritage woman, with five children in the religious, moral society of England. This was an extreme societal upheaval with huge challenges for a St. Elizabeth country woman of mixed heritage and her children to encounter, including merging the differences in her life past and present. However, eventually Henry Cerf married her on 10th September 1826 (Church of England 1983, Office England, Marriages, 1538–1973).

Sometime between the date of their marriage in September 1826 and the date of his recorded will in May 1829 they emigrated with their remaining five children to Brussels, Belgium, from where Elizabeth in 1835 applied for and received the Slavery Compensation Award of £1039 for fifty-two enslaved people on the Berlin Estate and part of Heathfield

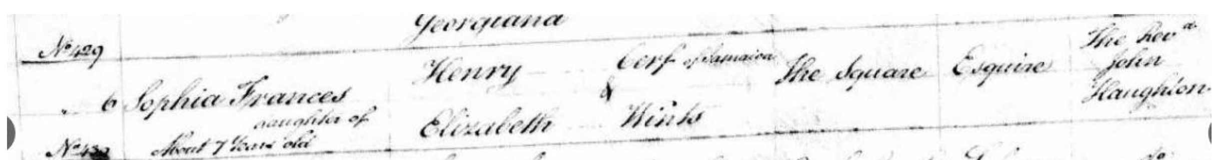
Estate which had previously belonged to Thomas Elliott Esq. It appears that Henry transferred ownership of some of his Jamaican estates to Elizabeth at some stage after they married as she was named as the owner at the time of the compensation claims (Treasury Papers 1834). Henry died in November 1840 aged 83, and Elizabeth, died in the following year, both in Belgium.

Before emigrating to England, all their children were christened in Jamaica under the 'non-white' category and recorded as 'children of Henry Cerf Esq and Elizabeth Wint, a quadroon, except for Sophia, who was baptised in the UK as a seven-year-old.



Oct 2nd At Berlin. about 10 Years of Age.
Henrietta Cerf about 4 Years of age Daughter of Henry Cerf Esqr and Elizabeth Wint a Quadroon
Also the following Eighteen Slaves belonging to Henry Cerf Esqr

FIGURE 6-6: BAPTISMAL RECORD OF HENRIETTA CERF DAUGHTER OF HENRY CERF AND ELIZABETH WINT BAPTISED 7 OCT 1814. BORN 1810 (FILM 1368561 P192)



No 129 6 Sophia Frances daughter of About 7 Years old | Georgiana Henry Elizabeth | Cerf of Jamaica Wint | The Square | Esquire | The Rev. John Haughton

FIGURE 6-7: BAPTISMAL RECORD OF SOPHIA CERF DAUGHTER OF HENRY CERF AND ELIZABETH WINT BAPTISED 6 JANUARY 1815, AGED 7, BORN 1807 AT ST MARY ABBOTS CHURCH, KENSINGTON, ENGLAND

If they baptised Henrietta as a four-year-old on 14 October 1814 in Jamaica, then why not baptise the seven-year-old Sophia at the same time? Instead, they took her to England and baptised her. Sophia may have been darker in complexion then the other children and there is an obvious benefit to having English records in which it did not mention the race or colour of the child and/or the parents. Sophia's parents took her back to Jamaica and then they all

migrated to England a few years later. However, why the two children were not baptised at the same time at the same location is not clear and open to speculation.

Their daughter Emilia kept a diary in the 1830s when she was in her 20s of key events in her life and in the life of her mother, and the content of this diary provided a deeper insight into the life of Henry Cerf and Elizabeth Wint. One entry describes a story where her father, while on a business trip to Kingston in 1812, witnessed a slave market, where a very young and sick enslaved woman and her baby were about to be separated by a potential buyer. Henry intervened and decided to purchase at an exorbitant price both mother and baby for Elizabeth, even though he had no plans nor need to purchase any enslaved people. Upon explaining the circumstances around his unexpected acquisition to Elizabeth, she thanked him for his decision. Henry paid 10 shillings to transfer the deeds of ownership of Phoebe and Nancy to Elizabeth, witnessed by Coleman Solomon on 10 June 1812 and they became her property, a legal gift. This was the period before enslaved people were legally registered, however, many enslavers kept meticulous records of their enslaved people. Phoebe became a nurse to Elizabeth's children with her sick baby Nancy (she never survived), who Emilia described with fond memories (used with permission by living descendants of Emilia).

The case of Elizabeth Wint showcases a journey of a young mixed-heritage Jamaican woman, finding favour with an older and wealthy plantation owner, but rather than remaining a mistress, she eventually became his 'common-law' wife with whom he had seven children and who became his only family. It can be surmised that Henry's progressing age and the natural disadvantage mixed-heritage people and Jews faced in Jamaica, where, even with very fair complexion, they would always be inferior in rights and privileges to white people, might have been the trigger point in making the decision to take the whole family to Europe, where

no legal restrictions applied and where his fair-skinned children could blend into ordinary society. Sealing their relationship with a formal marriage in England, before emigrating to Belgium where they lived for the remainder of their lives, demonstrates that Henry and Elizabeth were keen to be recognised as a respectable upper-class family when embarking into the final stages of their lives. The case also shows the commitments some white planters would undertake to provide a safe future for their mixed-heritage families, which also demonstrates that these relationships were not always simply based on mutual benefit, but on deep emotional bonds between them. This husband/wife team highlights the rational choices and actions that can be taken when faced with various situations in life. In this case some were major choices to defy the British societal systems developed to separate black and white people and they created their own rules.

Voicing the silence of Elizabeth's initial dilemma in England as an unmarried woman with children, may have been stressful for her. She left the countryside of St Elizabeth, to live in a manor in London, and was expected to become the lady of the manor. With this lifestyle, it was expected that she would have invited the ladies for tea, prepared cakes, and luncheon, and act the part of a host perfectly. Again, they were not afraid to leave Britain behind and relocate to Belgium. The shock of sending a white person to prison soon after the death of her child may have had a huge impact on Elizabeth. Here in England, she had white servants employed in her home. The intersections of social divisions were the opposite of how she experienced life in Jamaica. She had no legal rights in Jamaica to testify against a white person but soon realised that a stolen plate in her English kitchen valued at 39 shillings caused a young white man to be transported for seven years to HMS Gunymeade prison hulk in Chatham. What a contrast to Jamaica where she was a second-class citizen, wore a blue ribbon to show she was free, where white people, no matter what background, had more

power and authority than people of colour, where people of colour had no civil rights, and where atrocities committed on enslaved people who had her colour were ongoing. Analysing the data, Henry Cerf may have organised a trip specifically for family reasons; Sophia their seven-year-old daughter was baptised in England in January 1815, and it was a time for Elizabeth to assess whether a life in England experiencing the winter would have been pleasing for her. On their return to Jamaica, they had a son Philip baptised in 1818. Soon after they emigrated to England to live in Worton Hall (See Appendix 7). For Elizabeth intersectionality completely switched around 180 degrees to a life experience that was totally different for a Jamaican country girl who became the lady of the manor.

6.8. 'Yu do mi good yu do yu'self, yu do mi bad yu do yu'self' – Elizabeth Hart

Black and mixed-heritage women, who were often abused by the white masters, found that their powerful weaponised bodies could be utilised as a way out of slavery, thus creating a spirit of resistance and strength of fortitude. This case study highlights the screaming silence of Elizabeth Hart, the character she displayed in her ill treatment, and the courage she had to break her silence in a male patriarchal slave society. Elizabeth is justifiably here in this study because, as a mixed-heritage woman she suffered to get her freedom and because she helped to dismantle an establishment.

James Daly was an MP, Justice of the Peace for the parishes of Manchester and St. Elizabeth, a part time Magistrate (Judge) and a prominent respectable attorney accountant for eight estates and numerous absentee planter owners and British Mortgagers, responsible for over 1439 enslaved people (Butler 1995, pp. 45-46, p.159). He was also the father-in law of the even more prominent the Hon. Duncan Robertson. Elizabeth was his own enslaved fair skinned mulatto housekeeper in Black River, the capital of St. Elizabeth. James Daly was also the father of Sarah Hart's sons Frederick and George Daly who both appeared in the claims, grandsons of Mary Scott named earlier in the chapter and one of Mary's best housekeepers, loaned to Mr Daly.

In March 1831, a Mr. Johnson and Mr. Brown visiting James Daly, where one had with him his enslaved man, who helped Daly's men move logs. After the work, to show him gratitude, he was offered a glass of rum, which Elizabeth Hart was asked to retrieve, as she was the housekeeper. Daly saw Elizabeth hand over the rum in a Brandy glass, accused her of stealing and in anger had her stripped naked. He burnt all her clothes and had her marched/ran for four hours between the changing of the guards or sentinels. Elizabeth cried and begged for mercy, as onlookers and passers-by watched her being humiliated. Immediately afterwards while still bleeding, Elizabeth was imprisoned for 20 months in the workhouse for stealing the rum and she complained to the Council of Protection (COP). Even though the COP considered the case as cruel and unusual punishment unauthorised by law, Elizabeth was tarnished as 'an infamous abandoned character who richly merited a more severe punishment had it been otherwise administered and that no further proceedings were necessary'. With pressure from his boss Viscount Goderich in England, from the churches and the Anti-Slavery Society regarding how he dealt with both prior cases, Governor Belmore rescinded the decision and sent James Daly for trial on 9th June 1832. Elizabeth Hart stood in

the docks in Montego Bay on Tuesday 6th November 1832, 20 months after she was humiliated, then imprisoned and testified to the judge, jury and others present against Mr. Daly. Viscount Goderich enraged over Belmore's incompetent handling of COP cases, his handling of the Slave Rebellion, his hesitancy in progressing the abolition of slavery, poor management of his island secretary William Bullock in financial impropriety and appalling administration of the Slave Registers, had Belmore recalled on 14th June 1832 and dismissed from his post as Governor of Jamaica.

Although the Cornwall Assize for St. Elizabeth had postponed the case a few times for petty reasons, the Acting-Governor with instructions from London carried the case to trial. In November 1832, James Daly's friends in a court of law found him guilty of abuse and battery, sentenced him to a fine of £50 and stripped him of all his government posts with a *Writ of Supersedeas.* Before the Writ was issued, James Daly Esquire, resigned his post straight after the court's decision, stating:

> 'he felt it quite impossible ever again to sit as Magistrate in any case in which a slave might be concerned and entreating that he might be allowed to retire from the Magistracy by the resignation of his Commissions. In consideration therefore for his family which is of great respectability, and of the sense he really evinced of the disgraceful conduct of which he had been convicted' (Colonial Office 1832)

After this case, Daly returned to England straightaway with his family in disgrace. The greatest decision made in the court was that of emancipating Elizabeth Hart from slavery. These positive unexpected decisions on behalf of enslaved people brought fear to the pro-slavers. The planters pressured by events on Parliamentary decisions to appease the churches, the Anti-slavery societies and the Slave Rebellions, lobbied Parliament for compensation for the

loss of their investment in human life. Parliament met their arguments by a ‘grant less than half the estimated value of British slaves, raised through a government contract with the Rothschild’s’ merchant bank and enhanced the cause for the abolition of slavery on 1st August 1834. Two prominent people were fired from their posts because of this case, James Daly, and the Governor of Jamaica but again a screaming silence covers the sociohistorical pages as Elizabeth’s voice was never heard.

In this case slavery never owned Elizabeth’s minds. Her conscious decision-making processes were in overdrive to withstand the lengthy judicial system. From being abused, to walking for many miles to the Magistrates to report her case, being locked-up for twenty months while awaiting a court date, testifying against her abusers and the final decision of the law in court. A lengthy opportunistic process for her to change her or their minds at any step of her journey. In the juxtaposition of body, mind, and spirit, is the belief that the enslavers may have owned the physical body, but the mind had strong will and power, the need to stand up to the system as there was nothing else to do and nowhere else to go to seek justice.

In similar cases taken to the Council of Protection such as Kitty Hylton, Eleanor James, Catherine Whitfield and Ann King's' cases, they were publicised and caused outrage because nothing was done to help the enslaved system (Macauley 1832, p.51, pp. 270-271). No writing exists of Elizabeth Hart and her triumph in receiving her freedom. The pro-slavers were too embarrassed to announce such a result, the Anti-Slavers would not have used the case to promote the manumission of one woman, and therefore Elizabeth Hart’s case was assigned to the archives. This courageous enslaved woman stood up and spoke her truth within a patriarchal white judicial system. This type of resistance to ill-treatment was very

different from the resistance of those enslaved who chose to commit suicide, ate dirt to get ill, ran away and the various other methods of resistance utilised. While some enslaved people were raging war on the enslavers armed with guns, swords and axes, this woman chose the law to stand up for liberty and justice in slave society.

Elizabeth was bleeding, black and blue on her fair skin, and naked when she walked to the workhouse after she was arrested for stealing the rum. She was consistent in her sustained long wait in the workhouse where she implemented the extreme end of her rational choice and action to withstand the twenty months of waiting and harassment. Elizabeth proved to herself that there was nothing else to lose despite reporting one of St Elizabeth's scions of society, one of the most important men who served as a judge. She may have even thought they would kill her, but she waited, spoke her truth, and gained her freedom. This case was also emotively intersectional; man versus woman, an enslaver versus an enslaved, white versus black and powerful institution versus a mixed-heritage woman with one right to use and she used it.

6.9. Chapter Summary and Conclusion

Rational action took many forms, the habits that people formed in their lives came from a place of childhood, habits so deeply ingrained it was hard to release such as Elizabeth Bent. Was the silence around a deeper study of free mixed-heritage women a respectful one, considering some of them were my ancestors? Or should I have inserted the name on the family tree and left the rest to history? Were they ostracised due to the unwed life they led with married or single men? Did it make a difference to respectability like Frances Simpson

Powell Burton displayed? Was it respectable when the baptism records, stated 'reputed child of a Mr X or X. Esq' or less respectable and written differently with 'Negro wench', 'mulatto slave', 'free woman' added, or more respectable with 'child of Mr X or X. Esq and his wife Z' was being baptised? Did it make a difference? Being reflexive in this distant space where stories are brought to life gives a different perspective on individuals in the stories, one by one. Or was life demeaning for the women that silence was preferred rather than face the truth? Elizabeth Hart did not think so and she acted at the perfect time. Elizabeth Wint Cerf never thought one day she would be the wife, the lady of the manor and a St Elizabeth girl made it to aristocracy in Europe. Frances Simpson Powell Burton ensured she took her position in society as the respectable liminal woman. Concubinage was rife in society as the accepted norm, most free mixed-heritage children were illegitimate, however, there were meaningful cohabiting relationships too. In the historiography, the general views on free mixed-heritage women were within an ideological discourse that emphasised their sexuality as being lascivious, prostitutes, in their sexual relationships with white men as being expensive to maintain and conniving, but also their fractious relationships with black and white women (Long 1970, Brathwaite 1978, Bush 1981, Stoler 1989, Burnard 2004, Petley 2005, Livesay 2008, Livesay 2012). With these historical women's sexuality expressed with mostly negative connotations within sometimes cynical discourse, the challenge was in staying objective, imaginative, accepting of whatever the records unfolded, while facing the silence which I have had all my life. Audre Lorde (2007) in her poem 'The Transformation of Silence into Language and Action', posited:

> 'I have come to believe over and over again, that what is most important to me must be spoken, made verbal and shared, even at the risk of having it bruised and misunderstood

> … it is not difference which immobilizes us, but silence and there are so many silences to be broken' (Lorde 2007).

Setting the period in context within an economic slavery capitalist society, where the colour of one's skin, freedom, education, and status in society helped one to survive, contextualised my assumptions in both realities – despite being free, the families and the women needed to overcome the strict restrictions on the liminal edge of society for their survival. The measure of rational thinking of these women during this period could not be determined through diaries as they were non-existent, largely because they were illiterate. However, their wills and deeds provided insight into their thoughts, values, and priorities to enable social judgements. William Jevons (1888) claims:

> 'I hesitate to say that men will ever have the means of directly measuring the feelings of the human heart. A unit of pleasure or of pain is difficult even to conceive; but it is the amount of these feelings which is continually prompting us to buying and selling, borrowing and lending, labouring and resting, producing and consuming; and *it is from the quantitative effects of the feelings that we must estimate their comparative amounts*' (Jevons 1888, p.11).

Within a slavery capitalist society, these activities were commonplace for free mixed-heritage and black women who purchased and sold enslaved people. Economists discussed the possibility of calculating and examining economic decision making through the realism of emotions both heart and mind. My argument of viewing these women as rational economic actors' rests well with Jevons who further stated:

> 'We can no more know nor measure gravity in its own nature than we can measure a feeling; but, just as we measure gravity by its effects in the motion of a pendulum, so

> we may estimate the equality or inequality of feelings by the decisions of the human mind'(Jevons 1888, p.11).

Slavery was a period of survival no matter how one survived, as everyone involved, enslaver and enslaved, 'lost their souls' (Beckles and Shepherd 2007, p.44). For free mixed-heritage people, not all actions were individually consistent, even actions from the same individual were at times contrary. Despite the perverse situations, regular activities were individually created, sustained and consistent across the communities as commonalities were found across the slavery compensation claims. inequality across the women's lives highlighted the many times husbands, consorts, parents together and singularly, mothers, owners, the institution, a disability, something, or someone delivered a blow of inequality whether alive or dead (in wills or deeds) that could have shattered confidences, peace of mind and the will to wait patiently. However, in the examples showcased, defiance, mental strong will, patience, rational choice or action and resistance, have driven the women to a positive result despite the rough, unequal ground they had to traverse.

7. Study Chapter: The establishment of Matriarchal Kinship Groups

7.1. Introduction

Today, St. Elizabeth is widely known as a parish that has a high concentration of people with fair complexions and a distinctive accent that is different from the English and local patois dialect spoken elsewhere on the island. From the seventeenth century planter families to the present day, this large parish comprised few surnames, which are widely spread and disproportionally represented in St. Elizabeth. Unlike Manchester that has evolved from its early days of family dependence on St Elizabeth, to become a much more widely diverse parish with many people moving in due to the creation of early industries around the Williamsfield area such as Alcan Kirkvine Aluminium mine (1940s), the High Mountain Coffee factory (1942), Pioneer Chocolate Company (1965) and Pic-A-Pepper factory (1921) with their accompanying infrastructures of exports. For genealogical researchers, St Elizabeth as a parish is intriguing not only in its heritage of African, English, Irish, Jewish, Scottish, Welsh ancestry, then later German, Indian and Chinese descendants, but it has been confusing to link families due to the distinctive consanguineous and endogamous relationships, repetitive naming patterns and unique marrying patterns that existed there. In addition, the married mixed-heritage women owned yet managed their own property during a period when the law of coverture in Britain curtailed married women's property and prevented women from accessing and making decisions with their own properties, thus making St. Elizabeth a parish

of academic interest (Steinbach 2005, pp. 267-269). This chapter also addresses Stage 3 of the Silence Framework, Voicing 'silences' in the case studies.

Applying Foucault's theory of subjugated bodies, to the bodies of free and enslaved mixed-heritage and black women, I envisaged that over a period of time these women trained their docile bodies to be productive bodies and as strategic resistant weapons (Foucault 1990, pp. 138-139). In the very early days pre-emancipation, the mixed-heritage women had many children with different partners, and as soon as the man was gone either through death or of his own will, they moved to the next and had more children. Gradually the shift changed closer to the emancipation era as the white men left the parish and more mixed-heritage people married each other evidenced through studying the Church of England births, marriages, and deaths records (Films 1368561 and 1227313). Although the statistics show a high proportion of mixed-heritage women in these parishes, bear in mind that there were more enslaved black and mixed-heritage women than those that were free and therefore this study represents a small amount of people despite the figures that are used in the statistics. Regarding widowed white women, it was thought that as soon as she laid flowers on the grave of her deceased husband, she moved on to the next. Sir Nicholas Lawes, ex- governor of Jamaica said the quickest way for the female to grow rich was to 'marry and bury' (Long 1970, Vol ii, p.286). Enslaved women were sometimes manumitted with their children, but most times the children were freed, and this depended heavily on whether the white father was physically present, accepted the children as his and the owner sanctioned the manumission.

The mix of people encountered through the study of these parishes were indicative of clan families as discussed by Meyer Fortes (Fortes 1953) and social groupings as discussed by Donald Campbell (Campbell 1958). Exploring these families from two perspectives; as a family

historian and as an academic with the added data of the slavery compensation claims are two different experiences. Placing both together provided a much wider picture of the depth of study evolving from these two parishes where ancestors converged. The 'Silences' model flows through this chapter in stage three Voicing 'the Silence' where analytical studies of the families pinpoint activities, and patterns, underpinned with theories of entitativity, rational action, choice and habitus. The question of whether the St Elizabeth and Manchester parishioners were true cohesive family groups of people or did propinquity play a bigger role or were they just a collection of people acting as individuals, seems to be answered in Campbell's (1958) definition, 'the degree to which a collection of persons are perceived as being bonded together in a coherent unit is referred to as the group's entitativity' (Campbell 1958, p.17). Propinquity played a role due to the vastness of the parish of St Elizabeth, the poor dirt track road connections and the difficulty to get around the parish on horseback (Jamaican House of Assembly 1802 - 1804). I suggest they were cohesive entitative families with distinct entities and combining the Slavery Compensation awards with family history records identified who they were and how they came together as clan groups. The various categories or variables linked include, family name, ethnicity, colour, gender, age (where found), group member interaction on the claims, size of the families, how they were perceived on paper, any distinctions, and any meaningful differences between these groups within a culturally diverse society.

Family History agencies, such as Familysearch.org and Ancestry.com have digitised records on births, marriages and deaths, to make data on families and their ancestors accessible to everyone. With the perpetual growth of online archival databases for family research and the emergence of online blog groups, researchers have more access to genealogical data to re-construct narratives of the enslaver and enslaved people's lives during

this period. Most of the enslaved and free mixed-heritage people during the period were largely illiterate and kept their genealogy intact mainly through oral history and passing down information to their posterity. Sherlock and Bennet (1998) explained the use of history for empowerment by African societies in teaching the young about their genealogical descent and this is a growing area of Caribbean study due to the accessibility of data online (Sherlock and Bennett 1998, p.9). This chapter is also a study on kin groups (see case studies summary below), how families developed and came together to build their legacies through consanguineous and affinal marriages, concubinage, bequests and inheritances, to DNA today. The theory of entitativity, supported by rational action and choice theories, was applied in various family group settings as underpinning to support the evidence within the voicing the 'silences' model. When Campbell (1958) coined the term, Entitativity, he regarded it as a concept of social groupings where 'a collection of persons are perceived as being bonded together in a coherent unit is referred to as the group's entitativity, of having the nature of an entity, of having real experience' (Campbell 1958, p.17). Reflecting on colonial slave society and visualising various groups of people in the same space, with varied skin tones, with rules for each group as completely compartmentalised. Then reflecting on our modern day and how ironic it is that with genealogy playing a role in finding kindred spirits within a socio-emotional distance, people who have never met, all participate in placing the names of each person who lived in those separate groups on a family tree (Holy 1996, p.41). The people in the past in their groups were kin and the people today in our genealogical groups are kin. They are also different types of entitative groups because they each play a role. Williams posited, 'your reference group is a group that you behave like and you behave like them because they're your reference group' (Williams 1970, p.545).

Across the Caribbean, most groups of entities in slavery societies were more distinct, conspicuous, determined and even cruel under the British setting for most colonial slavery ‘legal’ activity. The influential structure of white patriarchal groups consisted of politicians and planters, who had the same ideas and dreams of very quickly acquiring wealth in a warm climate and returning home to Great Britain as rich men, never to become Caribbean settlers (Burnard 1994, Burnard 2002, Burnard 2004). The enslaved groups consisted of people who were trapped together in the same despair of psychological and physical mal-treatment, stress of unexpected change, lack of control of their own destiny and despondency in not knowing the next move of the enslavers, all sharing the same predicament of desiring their freedom (Dunn 1972, Monteith and Richards 2002, Scully and Paton 2005, Paton 2007). The exception to conspicuous activities were the many determined, resilient enslaved groups of people, rife with organised overt resistance in their struggle for freedom, such as marronage (the act of running away), malingering, or deliberate destruction of property (Beckles 1989). This included matriarchal enslaved women who adopted gynaecological resistance techniques to undermine the system of slavery, such as abortion and infanticide as they assisted and taught the younger women (Bush 1984, Mair 2003, Shepherd 2003, Mair 2006, Beckles and Shepherd 2007, Boritt and Boritt 2007). Frustrated mixed-heritage men in their groups lobbied the government for democratic rights and full freedom to participate politically and legally in management affairs of the islands, as they made huge contributions to the economic wealth of the islands and the British empire (Williams 1964, Heuman 1981, Sio 1987, Sherwood 2016). They rarely used violence or revolted against the white inhabitants as enslaved people did, but their frustration led to tyranny and insolence towards enslaved people, who reminded them of their heritage (Lebsock 1982, Altink 2007). Although free black men were the most vulnerable in the free community and were often isolated from slave

communities, resented by white people and ignored by the free mixed-heritage women, their main focus was to refrain from taking high risks for short gains and on making decisions to maintain their freedom (Lewis 1834, Lewis 2005). The mixed-heritage women exploited power-dependence techniques to differentiate and negotiate with their personal characteristics. Although behaviours were intra-personal, subjective to individuals in a private relationship, it was inter-relational in groups, as they all adopted the same wiles of charm and sexuality in their clothing and complexion, their expertise in nursing skills and medicines, in property ownership no matter how small, and bearing mixed-heritage children through which many acquired economic freedom (Sio 1987, Mac An Ghail and Haywood 2007, Trahey 2019). Group power-dependence techniques empowered the women to influence the values of white men in an exchange situation, thus controlling their free status, their economic position, and their future in a slavery environment. Their power resided implicitly in white men's dependency on them especially during illnesses (Emerson 1962, Beckles and Shepherd 1991, Beckles 1999). These collective communities were meaningful entities, exerting whatever power available to each distinct group, whether through overt and covert behaviours. As a mixed-heritage group of people, they acquired a sense of belonging, shared values, shared identity, and as clan communities in sub-divided septs, they shared fear of the overpowering colonial environment. As Forsyth & Elliott (1999) posit 'individuals may not like each other on a personal level, yet when they form a group they experience powerful feeling of unity and *esprit de corps*' (Forsyth and Elliott 1999, p.341). Many mixed-heritage people may have aspired to become part of these family groups to ensure security of land, status and up scaling their children's posterity through colourism or by owning enslaved people as their economic future investment. They may not have had any interest in becoming known or identified on the slavery compensation claims administrator's log. The officers helped them

complete the colonial forms and they sign with an 'X' to recoup their investment or liquidate their human inheritance, which was meant to be the end of the process. However, some were caught up in extensive legal battles with hostile white men and their families counterclaiming against them and having the support of the wider group then became advantageous. As Williams (1970) posited 'the argument might be made that aspiration to membership in a group is not essential for the adoption of that group's perspectives. Many persons find themselves in groups with whom they have no initial interest in becoming identified, yet later these same persons become active supporters of that group's viewpoint' (Williams 1970, p.549).

The St Elizabeth and Manchester mixed-heritage parishioners knew that life was not guaranteed due to the health of the parish in which they lived and took appropriate action in using instruments of protection such as wills and deeds, secured by affinal or fictive kin, selected trustees and guardians appointed to secure their personal estate for their children, close relatives, and friends. The emphasis was on protection and security. They had already lost their heritage by being born in a slave society and they were not safe in such a society where although they were free, they were not equal to whites. They took all measures to protect themselves. As Moses Finlay posited: 'the enslaved person lost not only control over his labour or labour-power, but loss of control over his person, his personality, his kinship ties, which extended to the infinity of time to his descendants, unless otherwise manumitted' (Finley 1980, p.74, Davidoff 2006, Mair 2006). Jean Besson completed a study in Jamaica on two communities: Martha Brae in Trelawny, and Aberdeen in St Elizabeth, including areas of Accompong where the Maroons live. This study also explored the architecture of kinship and land, 'how the attachment of lineage to property embodied the real meaning of freedom' (Besson 2002, pp. xvii-xix). Studying these communities through the lenses of the slavery

compensation claims, provided details on family history that triangulates oral history and the online research space. In some cases, it gave more details with vivid description. John Mbiti (1970) emphasised using history for empowerment even further by saying 'this gives a sense of depth, historical belongingness, a feeling of deep-rootedness and a sense of sacred obligation to extend the genealogical line' (Mbiti and Mbiti 1990, p.105).

FIGURE 7-1: JAMAICAN PEASANT VILLAGE (APPROX. 1890)

7.1.1 The Growth of Mixed-Heritage Families

By the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth century Jamaica, the number of free mixed-heritage people (referred to as fee coloured) was the fastest growing group in

Jamaica. Estimates by Barry Higman (1976), who carried out extensive research around population numbers, and Sheila Duncker (1960) suggest that between 1790 and 1834 their numbers increased from 6,000 to 31,000, while white population declined from a peak of 30,000 in 1807 to 16,000 in 1834 and enslaved population grew slowly from 250,000 to 310,000 between 1790 and abolition in 1834 (Duncker 1960, Higman 1995).

Free mixed-heritage people avoided relationships with black and enslaved people, as this would risk losing any privileges acquired for themselves, and especially for their children. In addition, the numbers of white people (particularly white women) were rapidly declining, and the most likely option for choice of partner was to look within their own group, although still only a few thousand in each parish. The ability to travel long distances was limited and most people did not venture beyond the parish of their residency, especially Saint Elizabeth which is enclosed by the Sea in the South, rugged hills in the East and thick unpopulated forests in the North. The consequence of this was that during this time certain family groups developed within the parish where inter-relationships within such groups became frequent occurrences and the same limited types of surnames appear as parents of children and in marriages, although marriages were still rare until later in the 1800s.

This chapter analyses kinship relationships and the kin groups, which could be considered a form of 'clan' established during the period of study, by reviewing examples of some kin groups as case studies.

7.2. Identified Kin Groups with Case studies

This section analyses some of the kin-groups identified in Saint Elizabeth, based on family connections of people referred to in the slavery compensation claim documents of 1834 (See appendix 2 for the cluster family relationships grouped by surnames). The 'bubble' diagrams presented in this section track the number of family connections of people within a largely closed entitative kin-group including surnames at that time. This study will focus on a sub-set of each kin group in form of a case study.

The number in the 'bubble' refers to the number of people with the same surname of the. The lines describe family connections between people of different surnames and the number in the lines describes the number of family connections between people with these surnames. A family connection could include affinal (husband, wife, in-laws, etc..) or consanguineous (children, parents, siblings, cousins, etc..) family relationships.

PAGE	CASE STUDY	SYNOPSIS
298	The Elliott & Bent Family	These genealogically linked families highlight clan group development through affinal and consanguineous kin relationships. The family development and arrangements highlight some unusual arrangements, which were deplored in the motherland but common for Caribbean slave society.
303	The Bromfield & Mullings Family	Mary Bromfield as the family matriarch, was defiant in the choices she made while deciding how to resolve the slavery compensation claims for herself and children. These families had the largest clan groups during the period under study.

7.2.1 Elliott and Bent families

The Elliott and Bent families in Saint Elizabeth and Manchester and were all my ancestors – 4th, 5th and 6th great-grandparents, great grandaunts and more. They were largely members of a clan group as identified in the diagram below:

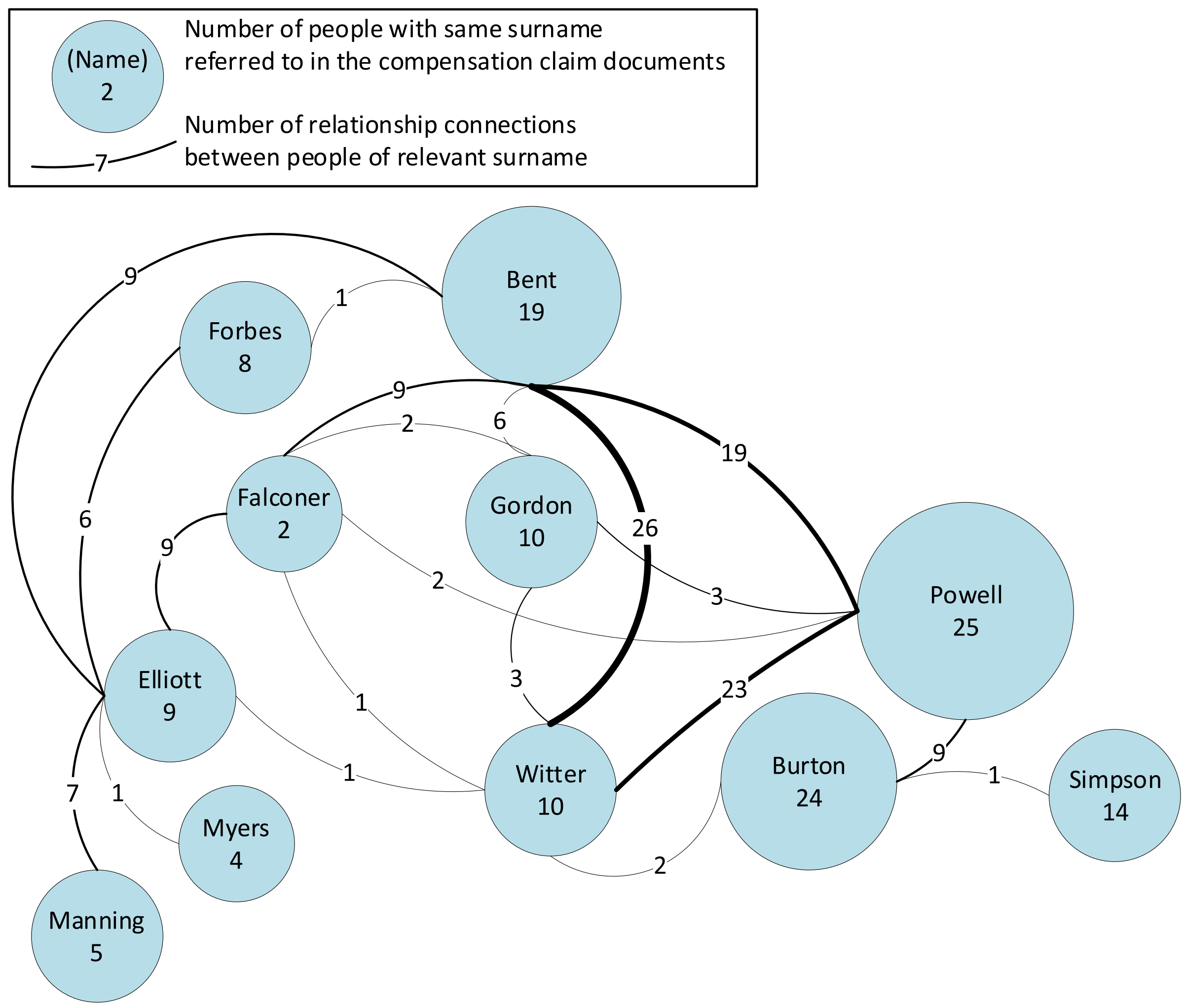


FIGURE 7-2: FAMILY CONNECTIONS OF KIN GROUP INVOLVING ELLIOTT AND BENT FAMILIES

Thomas Elliott from Berwick-Upon-Tweed, Northumberland, but of Scottish ancestry, moved to Jamaica to establish a coffee plantation. He met Judith Sherman, a quadroon daughter of Nicholas Sherman, a white planter and Sarah Legister, a wealthy mixed-heritage woman. Thomas and Judith had four children David, Sarah, Henry, and Jane Elliott. Margaret Morant Elliott was a daughter of Thomas' raised by Judith, who she had re-baptised with

Catherine Don, another girl for whom Judith was responsible. The assumption is, Margaret was her daughter, but they lost her certificate, thus the re-baptism. She was named equally among the children in an 1810 deed of bequests by Thomas Elliott in which Twickenham Estate was bequeathed to all the children and enslaved children for each of his children (Elliott Esq 1810). However, at the same time as having children with Judith he also married a creole white woman named Sarah Austin, and they had three children, Thomas Jnr, Sarah, and Walter, two of which were literally born at the same time as Judith's children. The children from both mothers were baptised together with Henry Cerf's children on the Berlin Estate. This complicated love triangle with simultaneous pregnancies and baptisms of the legitimate and illegitimate children led to the ultimate departure of his wife Sarah and their children to Aberdeen, Scotland, where David Elliott, Thomas' brother and family lived and Thomas travelling frequently between Jamaica and Scotland leaving separate wills and deeds for both his families. While there, he fathered two more children, Frances (Franny) and David Austin born in Scotland. He died in March 1813 at his Heathfield plantation in Jamaica (Anon. 1814). Judith in the meantime developed a relationship with John Don Esq and deeds show her responsibility to two children Ann and Catherine Don who were named in the deed with Judith responsible for them and their property for life. She had purchased the Alligator Pond Wharf for £50 and the property was to pass from her after her natural life to the children, their heirs, and assigns…. The Elliott children were not named on this deed. John Don was patented this property (74 acres) on 26th Sept 1808. He was in the army in Westmoreland, but he was an Overseer/Accountant on several estates in Westmoreland and St Elizabeth. Judith managed Twickenham and a few of her Elliott children moved to different properties in both Manchester and St Elizabeth. Judith gave birth to Jane Elliott 25 January 1806 and Catherine Don born 10 June 1808, who was baptised with Margaret Elliott in 1814. Triangulating all the

data, I believe Margaret (named in the Elliott deed), Catherine and Ann were also daughters of Judith Sherman.

Thomas Elliot Jnr returned to Jamaica after attending Edinburgh University in 1816 and married on 18 August 1838, Mary Ann Swaby, a 'quadroon' woman, who is also referred to in the Slavery Compensation claim as a claimant of six enslaved people. Thomas Elliot Jnr, a white man married a quadroon woman in the celebrations of the abolition of slavery and the apprenticeship system. He and his brothers Walter and David, had lived in Manchester, were still in touch with the Cerf family in Brussels and knew that Henry Cerf, his father's closest friend had married Elizabeth Cerf, a Quadroon woman. Henry Cerf taking Elizabeth and the children to England with him must have been community gossip for the parish among everyone where Henry was well known, very wealthy and especially in Black River where his ship arrived aptly named 'The Henry Cerf' (in an earlier chapter he lost the crew). The world of interracial marriages in St Elizabeth and Manchester were increasing among the mixed-heritage quadroon women and white men.

Thomas Elliot Snr oldest son David had eleven children with Margaret Powell Bent, daughter of Nicholas Bent (brother of Elizabeth Bent mentioned in chapter six), a quadroon, and Sarah Powell (sister of Dorothy Witter in chapter six), a free mulatto woman. They owned a small pen named 'Hillside', which Margaret inherited from her own family. Margaret and David had shared relatives within the Powell and Legister families. Thomas Elliott's other children by Judith Sherman, Sarah, Henry, and Jane lived with their mother on the Twickenham pen and continued residing there with their own families after their mother's

death. At the time of the compensation claims, they claimed for twenty-six enslaved people at Twickenham between them.

FIGURE 7-3: PLANTER & HIS WIFE WITH A SERVANT (AGOSTINO BRUNIAS 1730-1796, YALE CENTRE FOR BRITISH ART)

When Margaret Powell Bent moved to Hillside with David Elliott, they took with them some enslaved people whom she grew up with at her mothers' home. However, when her mother Sarah Powell died in 1826, the executors of her will informed the deputy Marshall's office and they removed Rachel Faring an enslaved woman, Margaret grew up with, and her 4 children (aged 12, 10, 8 and 6) to be sold, which would most likely split up most of the family. Margaret and David could only afford to pay for one, so David purchased William, the 10-

year-old boy, in the hope that someone else would purchase Rachel and the younger two children together. Fortunately, Joseph Levy, a wealthy Jewish man from neighbouring Manchester, who had no enslaved people himself (Jews were not allowed to have more than one enslaved at that time), came to the rescue and purchased Rachel and her two younger children together and gifted them to his young girlfriend Mary Hopwood, a quadroon woman who lived nearby in Saint Elizabeth. Rachel's older daughter Sophia was sold to a family in Westmoreland, six years later in 1832, Joseph Levy purchased her and reunited Sophia with her mother in the home of Mary Hopwood. This tragic experience of losing enslaved families due to inability to pay for financial commitments resulted in David gifting some of his enslaved people to their infant children. In that way, should creditors ever want to recover property from David, they would not be able to remove the enslaved people.

At the time of the compensation claim period, all four children of Thomas Elliott claimed for money as well as David on behalf of three of his children. Margaret claimed for eight enslaved, including two enslaved she inherited from David's mother Judith Sherman, which was interesting to observe that rather than bequeathing to her son, she willed them to the mother of his children, thus confirming the materfamilias bond of unity the women held and common among other women in the parish within the period. At the same time eighteen other mixed-heritage Bent family members of Margaret, each claimed for compensation of their enslaved. This included nine cousins, four aunts, two uncles, two brothers and one sister. They are descendants of Ann Rochester, a free wealthy quadroon woman who with John Bent had eleven children and produced one of the largest posterities in St. Elizabeth and Manchester. Within the period under study, as adults, most of her children owned enslaved people in the parish. In her will, Ann bequeathed property and enslaved people to her grown up children and her grandchildren. These large groups of families were entitative in their

endeavours as they shared common goals and common interests. In the claims, for example, Dorothy Witter, Pricilla Witter Elliott, Judith Sherman, Margaret Powell Bent, Dorothy Bent, Elizabeth Bent, Sarah Powell, Anne Rochester, and Sarah Sherman Elliott were mixed-heritage women and related to each other.

7.2.2. Bromfield – Mullings

The Bromfield and Mullings families in Saint Elizabeth and Manchester were largely members of a clan group as identified in the diagram below:

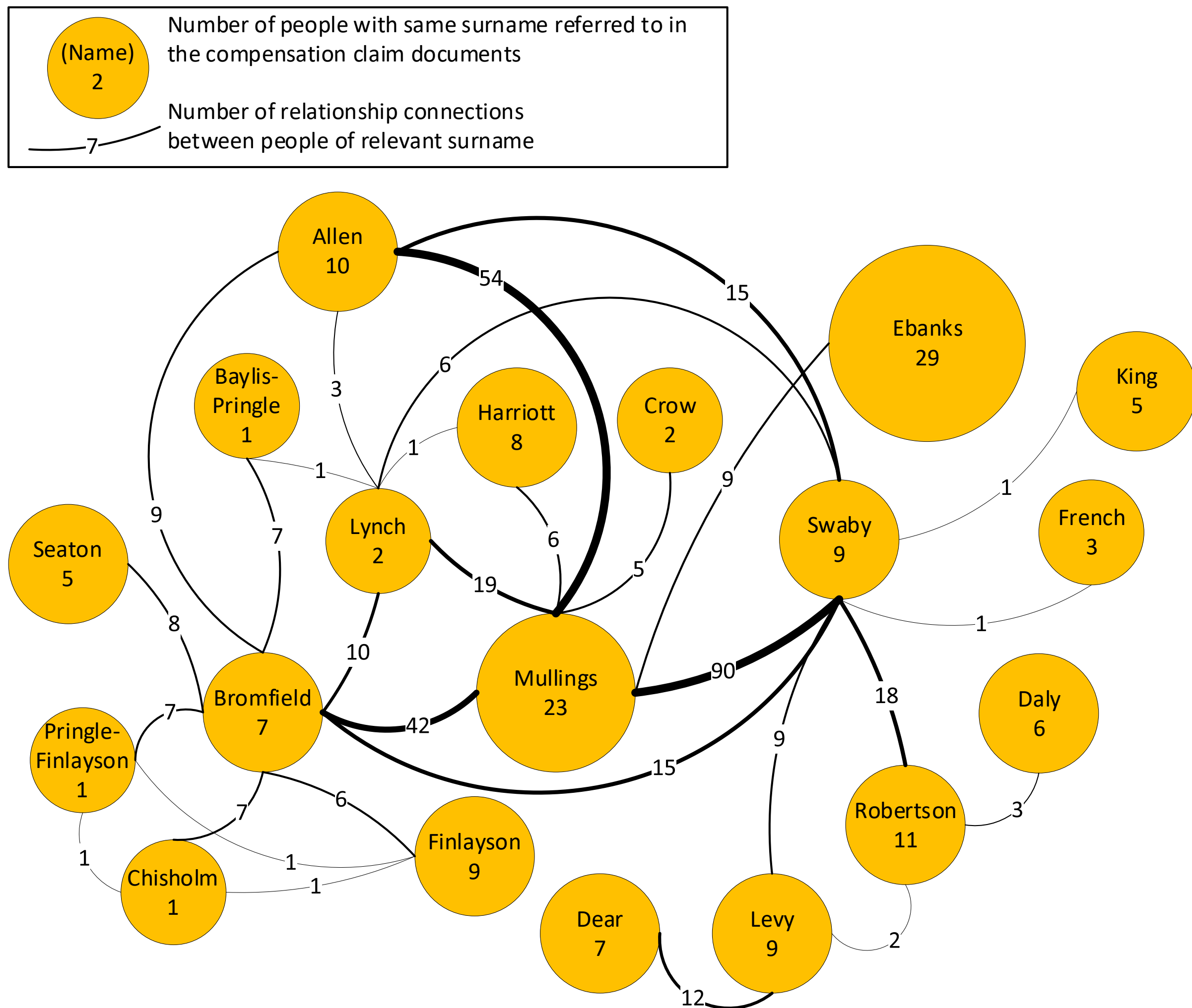


FIGURE 7-4: FAMILY CONNECTIONS OF KIN GROUP INVOLVING BROMFIELD AND MULLINGS FAMILIES

John Frederick Bromfield was baptised in 1785 as the reputed son of Captain Andrew Bromfield by Rosie Reynolds a free black woman. He was born 1777 (FHL Film 1368561 p.50) and was described as a mulatto with his wife Mary Mullings Bromfield at the baptism of their children (FHL Film No.1368561 p.221). He married Mary Mullings in 1805 in St. Elizabeth. She was born about 1780.

John Frederick Bromfield applied for the full compensation of £426 for twelve enslaved people. His wife, Mary Bromfield, appointed Charles Harvey, a special friend to the family, as guardian to her children, separate and apart from her husband. Mary and Charles made a counterclaim as guardian to her children stating, 'this was in respect of ten enslaved people, part of the return and my separate estate of Inheritance, my separate investment and security of the compensation according to Rule 4 of the General Rules – 'me as guardian to my children' namely Frederick, Amelia, Catherine, Edward and Henry Stephen Bromfield. Their older sons were already adults namely: John Mullings Bromfield, their eldest son, who was already married to Lucy Facy Seaton, who had inherited money from her father, Martin Seaton, and Andrew Pringle Bromfield. Mary was proactive in the lives of the enslaved people and had them presented for baptism in her name. Despite the laws of coverture Mary, a mixed-heritage woman with property, did not want to relinquish any of it to her husband or his creditors. It was obvious that she needed to maintain control and had another man take care of the financial future of her children, by creating a fictive kin relationship with Charles Harvey. She was not concerned about the tension to her marriage relationship a counter claim could cause.

Mary had five members of her family claiming compensation: her husband; her three sons; and her daughter-in law, who made their own claims. Mary endeavoured to protect her

inheritance for the children to the disadvantage of her husband. They were pursued by creditors, because Michael Muirhead, a creditor for £200 and Frances Ball, assignee of a judgement creditor for another £200 4s 10d from October 1824, had counterclaimed against them. John Frederick Bromfield had not only the creditors Michael and Frances, but Charles and his wife claiming against him. In the final award on 22 October 1838, Michael Muirhead received the £200 owed to him, Frederick, Charles, and Mary received £75 each, and John Frederick Bromfield, Mary's husband received nothing.

In another compensation claim case Mary Bromfield was focused on protecting her married daughter Jane, who was described as a married minor on the records. Mary was the owner and trustee on claim 70 which she left in trust for Jane in 1832. She had twenty-one enslaved people on Yardley Chase and Woodlands Estate. Mary devised by a deed of conveyance or trust Deed to her daughter Jane Catherine Pringle Finlason, a 'quadroon' and married minor, the twenty-one enslaved people valued at £308 17s 3d, with John Finlason as trustee and fictive kin. In this case the mother was still alive, but she handed over the trusteeship to John Finlason, rather than her daughter's husband William. John Finlason in his capacity as trustee applied for the compensation. By 20 September 1834 William Finlason, Jane's husband, made a final claim for sixteen of the twenty-one enslaved people belonging to Jane Finlason. He never received the money, while John and Jane received the award. In this case, the law of coverture applied but again the mixed-heritage materfamilias mother dismissed it and appointed her own guardian for her married daughter.

Mary twice by-passed the law of coverture, where the husband had legal rights over his wife's property, both in her daughter's marriage and in her own (Holcombe 1983, Staves 1990, Bailey 2002). This was a powerful action to take in this period, considering she was a mixed-heritage woman, who lived during the slavery period and within a patriarchal slave

society. It also highlighted the disadvantage mixed-heritage men experienced when faced with powerful wives, as they had less money than the women. The only way for them to move up was to inherit from parents, while mixed-heritage women also used their position to live in concubinage relationships which provided them with material benefits for them and their future posterity, while amassing legal ownership of land. By Mary, putting her property in Trust for her daughter, with John as Trustee and Charles as guardian for the other children, she ensured her children's inheritances were protected from husbands for her girls and security in case of early death of Mary. She 'by-passed' the law of coverture by developing strong fictive kin relationships, and thus ensured her daughter became the beneficiary of her award. With St. Elizabeth being far away from the political centre and not immediately under scrutiny, residents were able to make up their own rules without the scrutiny of prying eyes.

Charlotte Bromfield in claim 208 was a creditor for part of ninety-four enslaved people on Mt. Olivet to the value of £1990 belonging to John Salmon Jnr. of which she was owed £851. She was awarded £572 15s 10d for one portion of credit and £278 9s 3d from another credit on the same award. Salmon had borrowed money from her twice and it can be reasonably assumed that she acted as creditor in other situations with other people of mixed heritage. In addition, Charlotte applied as owner for four enslaved people in St Elizabeth (£104) and in Manchester or ten enslaved people (£163) and was awarded all her claims to the total of over £1120 (Treasury Papers 1834). John Salmon Jnr was a respected and wealthy 'octoroon – but legally white' (see below in 7.3) businessman who could have received credit from the London Merchants. His aunts, uncles, and cousins lived in Britain, as he was the grandson of Susannah Young, the free mulatto woman who was given same rights and

privileges to be treated as white people with her seven Salmon children in 1791. Kathleen Butler asserted that white women played a vital role in the economic life of the island and queried whether white women not only acted as lenders to friends and family but they also were a part of the informal credit system (Butler 1995, p.92). I can assert that mixed-heritage women also participated in this economic sector, and Charlotte as a savvy businesswoman had the support of her consort Edward Cowell, an influential Kingston merchant, with whom she had four sons. She was also linked to Edinburgh Estate in Manchester owned by Maximillian Wolfe, who received it from his uncle Henry Cerf, a wealthy businessman also in this study. She owned ten enslaved people there and received the full compensation of £163 with no counterclaimants. Charlotte as a female mixed-heritage creditor entered a male dominated financial world, as a businesswoman in her own right, in a risky environment. This is an example of a mixed-heritage woman lending money to one another as part of an ethnic clan group and demonstrated how a woman of colour defied the traditions of intersectional limitations placed upon her as mixed-heritage woman in a white patriarchal society, especially considering her beginnings.

As a child, Charlotte (born 1775) was baptised with her brother John Frederick Bromfield (born 1777) on 19 October 1785 the reputed children of Mr. Andrew Bromfield. There was a big difference between both children's parenthood. John inherited the free status of his mother, a free black woman Rosie Reynolds. However, Charlotte described as 'the child freed - a free octoroon', was born in a relationship where her white father Mr. Andrew Bromfield, owned her mother, 'Amy Bradford, a quadroon belonging to himself' (FamilySearch.org 1664-1880). Charlotte grew up knowing her mother was enslaved even

though she was close in colour to white people and Charlotte herself closer to the colour ceiling to pass as white (FHL Film 1368561 p.50).

There were thirty-three other people submitting claims where a relationship with Mary Mullings Bromfield could be confirmed. This includes her two sons John Mullings Bromfield and Frederick Bromfield, her sister Ann Mullings Swaby-Allen, her six nieces, her two nephews, her two brothers in-law, her five sisters-in-law and fifteen cousins (Mullings and Lynch), all people of mixed heritage.

7.3. Social progression through fictive Kinships

Kinship relationships were not always based on blood families or even affinal ties, but sometimes on fictive kinship relationships. In the case of Susannah Young who became part of the Salmon family and of Arabella Palmer, an ex-enslaved, who became an enslaver and property owner within years of manumission, largely due to a close affinity to Suzannah Young and her descendants, presents an interesting case on how some women of colour were able to progress very quickly, because of their associations.

Although the Salmon family was not part of any particularly large clan group of claimants during compensation claim period, they are considered a large and important family during the period of study whose origins in Jamaica include Susannah Young, a mulatto woman who was born about 1752 in St. Elizabeth.

Susannah had seven children with Thomas Stokes Salmon, who never married and never had children in any other relationship. He was devoted to his 'common-law' wife and prolific in petitioning the government for increased rights to free people of colour. Suzannah

Young applied for an increase of privileges and ultimately an act was passed by the Jamaican Assembly to entitle Susannah Young, 'a free mulatto woman and her children', named William Salmon, John Salmon, Charles Salmon, Edward Salmon, Sarah Salmon, Ann Salmon and Susannah Young Salmon, free quadroons, to the same rights and privileges with English subjects born of white parents under certain restrictions was Passed 16 Dec 1791 (House of Assembly Jamaica 1791).

Their son John Salmon (Snr) married Elizabeth Farquharson Vassell (m Oct 24, 1796) a young widow and heiress of Florentius Vassell (married 14 April 1794 and he was buried on 13 Sept 1794 – after only 5 months of marriage).

Their son John Salmon Jnr. was baptised on 29/5/1798 in St. Elizabeth (born 12/9/1797) was registered as white within the Parish records due to legal rights and privileges he received through Susannah Young. At the time of the slavery compensation claims, he was involved in the claims of six properties in Manchester and seventeen properties in Saint Elizabeth, with an overall value of £56,000. He claimed as attorney for several estates as well as executor of wills of deceased owners and as owner of estates himself.

Thomas Stokes Salmon died in 1793 and in his will left Susannah £2000, which was the maximum amount allowed according to the laws at the time, which restrict the amount of currency a person of colour can inherit (Brathwaite 1978). He also willed her a plantation named Providence, with all associated property, including enslaved people.

Susannah Young maintained a close business relationship with Hungerford Spooner from the wealthy Spooner family, who owned large properties in Britain and the Caribbean. She died in Britain between February and June 1797 and was buried in Thornbury, Gloucestershire, England. An entry from the Gloucestershire Record Office References to

Black & Asian People, pre-1939, states the following: 'Thornbury P330 IN 1/5, 5 June 1797 Susanna Young, late of St Elizabeth, Jamaica, a free woman of colour aged 55 was buried. Died at and brought from Alveston.

From Susannah’s will we glean some insight into how she divided her possessions, wealth both in England and Jamaica, and assigned special friends to take care of her property on both sides of the Atlantic. Susannah’s will dated in February 1797 provides a detailed account of every item she possessed, including enslaved people on her property named Providence, in Black River, St. Elizabeth. She bequeathed an enslaved person to her niece Susannah Salmon, the daughter of her sister Elizabeth Young deceased and William Salmon, who lived in England with her as a 15-year-old. Various enslaved people were bequeathed to her daughters including enslaved Maria and one-year old Arabella, mother and daughter who were bequeathed to Sarah Salmon of Alveston. Susannah bequeathed to her three daughters ‘to share her property Providence equally between them as Tenants in Common and not as Joint Tenants. Susannah also bequeathed ten acres of land to ‘my late Negro woman Kitty and her daughter Maryann,’ who had been previously manumitted …’for their respective maintenance and support’. This was with the knowledge of her son William Salmon, a soap boiler in Bristol. In addition, her will also described valuable household and personal items, which she bequeathed to her sister Sarah Young and to her daughter Sarah Salmon. Susannah bequeathed to her sister:

> ‘My bed with Broadstead curtains and other furniture belongings now in the lodging room of my dwelling house at Providence Pen in which I usually slept. All my earthenware, six silver tablespoons, five silver teaspoons all marked, my riding horsts and fillets, called ‘dragon and stroll? And my saddle and girdle. ‘

It was important to mention the brand of horse girdle used so that it can securely place the saddle and the reigns, especially in the poor infrastructure of St Elizabeth. They must be fit for purpose for the horse, so they do not fit too tightly and harm the horse. Her daughter Sarah inherited: 'my two pairs of plaited candlesticks, seven silver teaspoons, six silver dessert spoons, a silver soup ladle, sugar tongs and salt spoons, a caster, a plaited toaster and all my china.' Her brother John Johnson, of St. Elizabeth, a carpenter, received her 'little brown horse called pony.' My wearing apparel and paraphernalia, as shall be in England at the time of decease,' was bequeathed to her three daughters to share. All her goods remaining in Jamaica were bequeathed to her sister Sarah Young. She appointed Hungerford Spooner of Archbold and Robert Peart of Spice Grove to take care of the sale of her enslaved people and to take care of Providence estate. She also appointed George Rolph of Thornbury in Gloucestershire, as executor to pay her debts and bills etc. Anything remaining was to be 'equally divided to my six children, being the reputed sons and daughters of the said Thomas Stokes Salmon deceased.' Susannah named a seventh part to her will, to be put in trust for her daughter Susannah Young Salmon, for George Rolph to purchase stocks in Public Stock Houses or 'funds of this Kingdom', to provide yearly dividends for the maintenance and support of her daughter Susannah Young Salmon until she reached the age of twenty-one or she married.

Her daughter Sarah lived in England and Maria and Arabella's fate on the Providence Estate in Black River was uncertain. Arabella was subsequently owned by Elizabeth Duncan, a free 'mulatto' and then by her daughter Mary Hook, a free 'quadroon', who manumitted Arabella, then aged 34 years old, between 1826 and 1829. Arabella Palmer, soon after she was manumitted, purchased Frances Taylor under a conveyance from Depeculin Fenses and Martha Taylor Fenses his wife in 1834 (T71/1006 Slavery Compensation Claim 881, National Archives, Kew, London). Arabella successfully claimed compensation for Frances Taylor and

Henry H Cohen signed for receipt of payment in London. In her will, Arabella described herself as a 'Gentlewoman' and owned seventeen acres of land in Lexington Black River, which she apportioned by parcel and bequeathed to each of her children, including a request that ten acres be sold for her grandchildren. She named her daughter Amelia Holt Salmon, which denotes some long-term connection between Arabella and the Salmon family. As Amelia's baptismal records describe her as 'Mulatto', her father must have been a white man.

The story of Arabella highlights the movement of enslaved women through female enslavers. Arabella had at least four female owners, two mothers and daughters. She was born into slavery and less than two-year old when she was bequeathed to Sarah Salmon. Enslavement did not deter Arabella from becoming an enslaver herself, as four years after she was manumitted, she purchased an enslaved person, Frances Taylor for whom she successfully claimed a compensation award of £29 in 1834 (Slavery Compensation Claim 881 T71/1006). This is interesting for entitative analysis because there are two ways at assessing the situation of the day. How did she feel being part of the free society of black people in a slave society she recently left and how did they see her or accept her? Was there a transition period? Arabella did not stray too far from her original place of birth. She stayed in Black River and all her lands were in Black River exactly where Susannah owned lands many years before. Was this the same property where she was enslaved that she now owned? Williams stated, 'Many persons find themselves in groups with whom they have no initial interest in becoming identified, yet later these same persons become active supporters of that group's viewpoint' (Williams 1970, p.549). Arabella's focus was to transcend the social divisions of intersectionality within her abilities to change as a black woman. There was nothing she could do about her race but now having gained her freedom and transcended from slavery, the next division was social status, a division she could transcend which required property ownership.

Compared to today's way of thinking, it seems incomprehensible that someone who experienced the restrictions and limitations of being enslaved would want to engage in enslaving others. This example shows that during this period, it was expected in slave Jamaican society to own property including enslaved people as an essential means of acceptance for improved social standing. In addition, the Salmon group had become her kin group and she needed to stay a part of that kin group for support in society and an association that she needed to maintain for herself and her children.

Such accelerated upwards movement was only possible, because of the fictive kin relationships Arabella maintained, beginning from when she was an enslaved person. The will of Susannah Young also demonstrates that she developed trusted friendships with professionals, such as Hungerford Spooner in Jamaica and George Rolph in England, without whom she would not have been able arrange her financial affairs and specific requests of provision for her children as stipulated in her will.

7.4. Consanguineous Relationships within Kin Groups

Consanguinity was considered an ecclesiastic offence alongside adultery, fornication, incest, and bigamy until the early nineteenth century. Marriage law was a matter for the church and cousin-marriages were frowned upon in the later Victorian times but never illegal (Kuper 2010). The control of sex and marriage were supposed to be the responsibility of the church along with any moral relationship matters but this was non-existent in a slave society where even the rectors were corrupt (Nugent 1907). In the slave societies, it was difficult to retain family ties due to sickness and death and the women found it challenging to develop rigour

in any family structure and keep a father in the home for their children (Burnard 1991). Women developed their links with their kin groups. Blood relatives were most important within a slave society because that was where emotional support, financial help, care, a godparent, or marriage witness would reside, thus giving some normality in the heartless, soulless society that it was. Murdock (1949) wrote that a person in danger or need would go to their kin group first to seek such assistance beyond the night family as they are bound to that person by kinship ties. Consanguineal kin groups are of particular importance, for a person ordinarily feels closer to his own 'blood relatives' than to those who are related to him/her only through marriage' (Murdock 1949, p.43, Mbiti and Mbiti 1990).

The rules of descent and definitions as discussed by anthropologists such as Holy, Fortes, Murdock and others applied differently in St. Elizabeth. The three clear lines of family descent: patrilineal descent (an unbroken kinship descent through the male line); matrilineal or uterine descent (unbroken kinship through the female line); and unilineal or cognatic descent (can be present in both, thus showing no distinguishing rule) as they are series of links through male or female or either of the two in kinship tie (Holy 1996, pp. 43-44). For the families being analysed and discussed, these descent rules were applied differently.

Thomas Elliott's posterity with Judith Sherman a quadroon woman, married within their kin group innumerable times over generations. Using my grandfather Frederick Elliott as an example, all four grandparents of Frederick Durante Havelock Elliott, one of Thomas' 3rd great grandchildren, were born Elliott, and were direct descendants of Thomas Elliott (see Figure 7-5 below). During slave society and after, these multiple relationships within families, especially those of mixed heritage, maintained their almost white complexion, as their parents intermarried for generations within the same family. There was a deliberate

reproduction of mixed-heritage children, whether they were mulatto, quadroon, octoroon, or mustee, which far outnumbered the children of white families in the parish. Although slavery was abolished, the concept of colour still mattered to the families, due to the perceived privilege fairer skin colour afforded them. In addition, consanguineous marriages (such as cousins) in the family meant property remained within the family.

The family links highlighted help to justify the argument that economic strategies were used to stabilise families. The detailed examination of some identified families, marriages, and kin unions such as Elliott, Bent, Witter and Powell, all related to each other, who utilised kinship double cousin marriages within the families, to keep property and families together for many generations. As mentioned above, Margaret Powell Bent Elliott and David Elliott had eleven children and only two daughters married planters, who were unrelated to the family; Amelia who married Michael Myers and Martha who married William R. Forbes. The main kinship ties lie in the double and triple marriages that took place in these consanguine families, cementing their kinship ties, ensuring their colour remained above quadroon and nearer to white, and that family properties remained within the families Including enslaved people and the subsequent slavery compensation awards.

One other method of kinship relationships as practised in St. Elizabeth was the combination of both affinal and consanguineous relationships. In other words, relationships between close relatives. This practice was the result of the desire to maintain property within the family and having limited options available, if there was a desire to marry within the mixed-heritage group. This type of relationship continued well into the end of the nineteenth century. The diagram below shows the known ancestors of Frederick Elliott (my grandfather), who was born in 1899. It shows that all four of his grandparents were Elliott by birth, largely

due to marriages between 1st cousins. This results in Thomas Elliott and Judith Sherman being his great-great-grandparents four times. For me it was a more fascinating picture as both my parents are related on the same family line, thus making me the 6th great-granddaughter x 1, 5th great -granddaughter x 1, and 4th great-grand daughter x 3 three from three of Judith's five children.

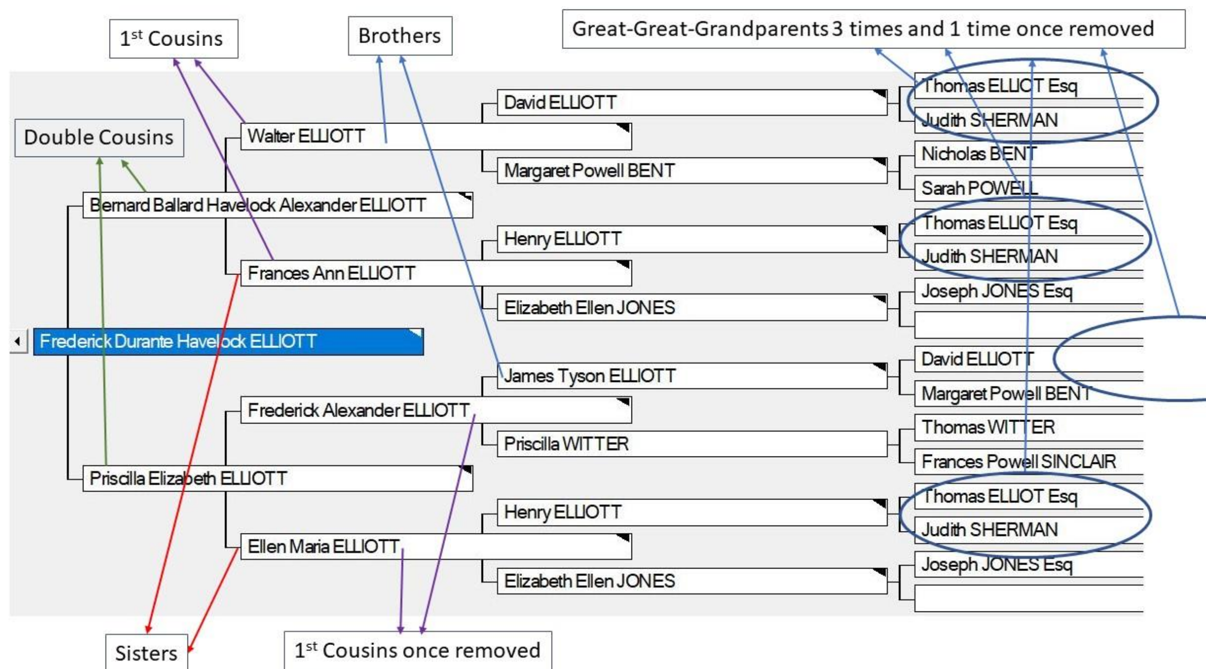


FIGURE 7-5: FREDERICK ELLIOTT'S PARENTS, GRANDPARENTS. PRODUCED IN PAF AND REPORTING TOOL BY CHARTING COMPANION, SUPPORTED BY THE IT DEPARTMENT, BOURNEMOUTH UNIVERSITY.

Consanguineous relationships fell out of favour due to repeated illnesses, and due to the sale of healthier lands on the markets in Manchester, and the borders of Clarendon after the abolition of slavery. The large number of children St Elizabeth women had as property owners, made it impossible for all children to inherit adequate agricultural property for large-scale farming or even subsistence living. Margaret Powell Bent had twelve children, her mother

Agnes Rochester Powell-Burton had eleven many others had between six and ten children. Many families purchased large tracts of land in upper Manchester/Clarendon borders, properties deserted by indebted land owners such as the Roye, Ford and Levy families (Higman 1988).

7.5. Wills and Deeds: the hidden family diaries

The examination of the interconnections of kinship ties between each family group, alongside their enslaved families, highlights the bonds and alignments between enslaver and enslaved families. The complications of relationships varied from short-term or long-term concubinage often followed by marriage after children were born into the relationship. The mixed-heritage women played a pivotal matriarchal role in establishing their families and developing strong bonds with their daughters (Mair 2006, p.293). Thomas Elliott bequeathed by deed in 1810 to his illegitimate daughter Sarah Sherman Elliott, then a thirteen-year-old, an enslaved sixteen-year-old girl named Sarah (Phibby/Phoebe), and Glasgow (Mark Newman), a ten-year-old boy. In 1820, while living in Twickenham, St. Elizabeth, Sarah, who had two illegitimate 'Mustafina' children with Thomas Palmer, a white planter, moved across the border to live with Thomas in Arcadia, Manchester. She took with her Phoebe, her one-month-old baby daughter Mary-Ann and Glasgow, where she settled down and had two more children before moving back to St. Elizabeth just before her mother, Judith Sherman died. When Thomas Palmer died, Sarah received by title from Hymen and Judah Cohen, registered by Thomas Palmer, a complete enslaved family - Benjamin Palmer, a thirty-five-year-old African man, and Eliza Hart a thirty- year-old African woman and their four children, which

was rare, as we have here a complete family unit for genealogical purposes. She also received two enslaved people bequeathed to her by her mother and by then, Phoebe, had three children. Sarah by 1832 still had the families intact and received a total compensation award of £697. Her sister, Margaret Morant Elliott, who had a concubinage relationship with Mark Dight, a white planter in Manchester, later married George Maxwell Manning, an Octoroon man/white by law. The youngest quadroon sister, Jane Elliott, married a James Lewis, a white planter and their children described as 'Mustafina' or white by law. All the sisters had concubinage relationships, with either single or married white men and later married white men. All their children described as 'white by law' and they all received compensation awards for their enslaved people. Studying the birth, marriages and death records reveal, there were many more quadroon and white marriages in Manchester, St. Elizabeth, and Westmoreland. The quadroon brothers' relationships were different, as both David and Henry married their quadroon consorts Margaret Powell Bent and Elizabeth Ellen Jones.

Findings in this research have demonstrated that the enslaved people owned by these mixed-heritage women had high fertility rates, stayed together as a family, and lived longer when compared to other enslaved people on other properties. From analysing the enslaved families owned by Judith Sherman, we can see it emphasised how she distributed her enslaved people to her children when she became ill in 1826. In 1817, she registered 10 enslaved people (7 males and 3 females – Patty, Nelly, and a baby girl). By 1826, Nelly (Eleanor James), a 22 year- old African who Judith had registered since 1817, had six children who were all transferred by title to Jane Elliott her daughter, except Phillis, who, as a 13 year old, Judith bequeathed to her daughter, Sarah Sherman Elliott (Treasury Papers CO139 28 June 1832 - 30 Sept. 1834 , Michelsen and Tomlin-Kraftner 2002, LOS 720/239). Patty, an African woman aged 41, and the only enslaved person left in Judith's household died of dropsy related illness

on the 5th of December 1828. By the 1832 register, Judith had bequeathed all the men and boys to her other children, with no mention of the families the men may have had. This was common practice in the British administration throughout the island, not to acknowledge the fathers of the enslaved children, thus losing that vital patriarchal link to families, their posterity and for genealogical extraction.

7.6. DNA and the Afro-Caribbean Society

The study of human geography has highlighted the dispersal of people around the world and due to modern technology in DNA testing, some descendants of people of Caribbean heritage are realising their ancestors were born in Jamaican (Elliott and Brodwin 2002). Although the island in general is inhabited by a significant number of people of mixed heritage, almost everyone in St Elizabeth and Manchester, from slavery to its current development, has mixed blood, and that includes some of the 'Maroons' (descendants of Africans who had escaped from slavery in the Americas, mixed with the indigenous peoples and formed independent settlements) of Accompong (Campbell 1976, Campbell 1990, Stasiulis and Yuval-Davis 1995, Dallas 2005, Dallas 2005, McKee 2017).

Jamaica's motto 'Out of Many, One People' represents the inhabitants and their diversity (Richardson 1983). However, once separated from the island for economic reasons, whether in the United States, Canada, Britain or across Europe, the individual experiences of racism, discrimination, social exclusion and the intersectional divide of race, gender and sexuality enfolds individuals, and encourages searching for a community to feel a part of, especially if no known Caribbean community with 'brothers and sisters' exists (Glennie and

Chappell 2010). This could be within real-life communities or online communities of genealogical groups and having that place 'to be' as the connection to the family and to their past. In some cases, the Caribbean heritage is never re-visited, while the older generation tries to instil cultural memories of what life was like, how to cook certain foods, how to commemorate special occasions such as funerals, Christmas and Easter to their British/American born children and grandchildren, while keeping 'silent' about personal information. This absence from 'home' makes the loss of identity more apparent and as children get older and lose parents and grandparents, the need to understand one's roots becomes more intense and retrospective. In addition, we live in an era where individuals through their exploration of family history, are more aware of themselves in relation to their heritage, their identity, their family's standing in society and the contribution they made to that society (Tutton 2004).

DNA testing and family history became an avenue for me to pursue in order to fill the 'screaming silent' void of information my parents never volunteered due to embarrassment, a common occurrence in Caribbean families (Serrant-Green 2011). People of Caribbean and African-American heritage are the most prolific customers of Ancestry.com, My Heritage, 23andMe and other DNA testers for ethnicity and genealogy, inspired by television programmes, such as '*Who Do You Think You Are'* here in the United Kingdom and in the United States (Dobson 2008, Dashwood 2018). Ancestry.com and Familysearch.com providing the largest searchable databases of families from which one can create their family histories. Various forced Diasporas such as: the African, Jewish, Asian, and Irish with European immigration, have seen human geography shape the Americas and the Caribbean, creating multi-billion-pound genealogy industries and fulfilling the desire of their customers to have an idea of their identity. Genealogy is no longer a past time for those who have retired and

need a hobby. In Salt Lake City, the largest repository of genealogical data is stored in mammoth collections in their Family History Library, through the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints. Since 2011, the church also organises, sponsors and hosts the largest genealogical 4-day conferences 'RootsTec' in Salt Lake City and November 2019 for the first time in London, attended by almost ten thousand attendees from over 42 countries including academic research institutions and universities (Erlich 2018, Collins 2019). The National Institute for Genealogical Studies in Canada, Brigham Young University in the USA and other research institutions have developed niche market Family History/Genealogy studies in their syllabuses, with the university of Strathclyde in the UK offering online courses from undergraduate, to post graduate and PhDs (Strathclyde 2019).

The eclectic mix of DNA within the people of Caribbean heritage makes one re-evaluate the perception of their identity and the whole concept of race. This is relevant, as we experience retrograde ideologies of gender, discrimination, racism, sexuality, and social exclusion, especially for women crossing the intersections of these issues and the impact such re-evaluation has on individuals especially within the African-Caribbean society (Phoenix and Simmonds 2012, Phoenix and Brannen 2014). Wall to Wall productions on BBC1 highlights the despair of individuals aiming to re-establish their identity and contact with birth families after being adopted through the programme 'Long Lost Families'. In my own family history, a July 2018 update of my DNA in the Afro-Jamaican community on Ancestry.com highlighted that over 5,700 people, who have carried out their ancestral DNA tests, many shared my ancestral DNA. Less than two years later, on the 30th of July 2020, that update was 57,812 people, with ancestors from the same South-Central community of St Elizabeth and Manchester in Jamaica (on the 13 March 2021, 65, 129 completed their DNA test, with 8,137 people sharing my DNA). Barry Starr from Ancestry posited: 'The science of interpreting the DNA sequences has been

updated, for science has progressed, and Ancestry receive more precise results the more people take the test from around the world. They have expanded the reference algorithm to pinpoint where people's DNA originated' (Ancestry.com, 2020). This data pool of people who needed to know their ancestral identity emphasises the importance of re-visiting mixed-heritage studies but more specifically focusing on free mixed-heritage women who were the backbone of this colonial Jamaican society and very much hidden in the pages of history.

7.7. Conclusion

This chapter has explored genealogical records, wills, and deeds to highlight the economic strategies utilised by women of colour to ensure they achieved upward mobility, retained their freedom, and kept their property for their posterity. Their tactical measures included marrying cousins who were quadroons or mustees to secure property or becoming concubines of white men or men of the same complexion and consequently either, owned, inherited (for themselves or for their posterity) enslaved people for whom they received compensation awards. Although diaries are non-existent, reconstructing their lives from available resources has added a renewed perspective on the historiography, by seeing these women as economic actors who controlled their situation within a slave society at a time when others of the same colour were still enslaved.

The slave registers contain rich notes about the movement, inheritance, sales, and purchases of enslaved people, information not habitually written in a diary. As demonstrated, free mixed-heritage children inherited property from both parents and even large groups of siblings inherited smallholdings with enslaved people. The mothers of colour were the

matriarchs, materfamilias in the relationships highlighted in wills, deeds and in the slavery registers that include these notes. They were also entitative groups that had a common goal and shared common proximity – they married consanguineous kin and lived closely together in areas of St Elizabeth and Manchester, they shared similar concerns regarding the health of the parish and the concerns about death, care of their children and therefore were instrumental in creating wills and deeds with close family being executors, they shared a common fate, as they had to stay fair and not revert to their black identity. All the girls in the study upscaled their children to white men until that process was no longer viable and because they were in majority consanguineous relationships that guaranteed continuity for the family. This process of consanguineal relationships carried on for many years well into the 1980s, the only difference now is they chose not to have children due to the illnesses that became repetitive in the families.

8. Discussions and Conclusion

Gaining knowledge and understanding of a theoretical and empirical study of mixed-heritage women who were hidden in silence was an effective, yet indispensable part of pursuing this research process. While positioning free mixed-heritage people within the narratives of their stories, decoding, and encoding their wills and deeds, and reconstructing their lives, this thesis explored the social theories of rational action/choice, habitus, intersectionality, family/kinship ties, entitative group norms, in the context of living in a slave society, in varying degrees of silence in some dark places. This chapter is the fourth stage of the Silences model and Empowers 'Silences' across the thesis in a discussion of case studies, biographical vignettes, linking extant literature, applied social theories in a critical synergistic discussion of the research analysis, while identifying new knowledge on free mixed-heritage women. At this stage they are no longer silent, but I have heard their 'silence', voiced their 'silence' and now empowering their silent voices into highlighting their contribution to slave society as rational economic actors through to the integrated conclusion.

There is still an overarching knowledge within today's society that slavery was about pitting the powerful white masters against the poor black enslaved people (hooks 1990, Swartz 1992). The mainly white academic world with unlimited access to research to harness their narratives still colonialize their television melodramas within these polarities. Compare, for instance, the 1949 Hollywood film 'Pinky' wherein Patricia Johnson (Pinky) successfully 'passed as white' throughout her university nursing degree but received racial ill treatment once identified as black when she returned to her home in the South. The narrative highlights the polar opposites of white colour privilege versus black prejudices, the differences within

social spaces, the complexities relating to ‘race’ in different contexts and the colour prejudices of hypodescent or the ‘one drop rule’ within American slavery history (Reuter 1917, Reuter 1918, Reuter 1928, Hodes 1997, Bardaglio 1999, Hodes 1999, Hollinger 2005, Broyard 2007, Sharfstein 2011). The other comparison is the recent release of Harriett (Nov 2019) – the famous black African-American abolitionist Harriett Tubman), and although there is an attempt to re-educate and change mind-sets by acknowledging proactive organised resistance against the powerful whites, society still needs a balanced narrative to challenge the concept that colonial slavery of the African diaspora was about white power versus enslaved servility. Within British colonial slavery, there existed an even larger and deeper dynamic space between these polar divisions, within a confined space of power ingrained within slave society but enmeshed in ‘screaming silences’ (Bush 1984, Dadzie 1990, Pile 1997, Boritt and Boritt 2007, Serrant-Green 2011).

Although there were similarities in the American and Colonial British slavery societies, there were also clear differences across other diasporic communities and even within different parishes in the same island such as Jamaica, where this thesis evolves around two of the twenty traditional parishes (Eltis 1983, Ingersoll 1995, Elgersman 1999, Galenson 2009, Falola 2013). The dynamics of various levels of power within slave society were more socially, culturally, politically, economically, legally and even spiritually ingrained within slave communities, and deeper but more far-reaching than the polarities of black enslaved people versus the powerful white society (Buchner 1854, Genovese 1968, Ingersoll 1995, Atwood 1997, Pallua 2005, Shepherd 2005, Altink 2006, Warner-Lewis 2007, Livesay 2009). Mixed-heritage enslavers found in my ancestry started with two free black women. One was my 9th great-grandmother with no name, background, or country. Born about 1680 with no information on how she arrived in Jamaica or who her parents were, whether she was African

or Creole. She started the Rochester women in my ancestry by having children with William Rochester. The other woman, my 8th great-grandmother Grace Powell, was born about 1720, had four illegitimate children with Augustine Legister, (a white man) from the age of 16 years old. The rector recorded her as a 'Negro wench' when they married on the 12th of August 1752. No further information was provided for Augustine, except he was baptised in February 1718 and his parents, William Legister and Rebecca Parchment who married on 17 March 1709, were most likely poor white people in Jamaica. During that period, marriage to black people was almost impossible, unless Grace Powell, who was very young (child-bearing age) had property of her own through an inheritance. The enslaved mothers of these women would have been estranged from their country of origin, language, culture, family, and become colonised, as noted by sociologist Orlando Paterson (1982), who described slavery as, 'the permanent, violent domination of natally alienated and generally dishonoured persons'(Patterson 1982, p.13). All the children of these women became enslavers and lived as free mixed-heritage people, having gained their free status from their mothers. Their social world on an island only entailed slave society, and that was their familiar daily life. They rationally acted in the only way they knew how to act with the norms and attitudes of free people, as the structure and daily occurrences of society shaped their inner behaviour and thought process (Scott and Scott 1971). Individually they culminated their values, behaviours, norms, and beliefs into a whole society, that chose to enslave others. Karakayali (2004) posits this well: 'to be familiar with a social world is to possess a 'spontaneous knowledge' of this world, as in the case of unconscious internalization of 'everyday notions' (Karakayali 2004, p.353). They knew no other world outside of the patriarchy and saw black people enslaved within their communities, their homes, and their churches, for them pigmentocracy and colourism played an important legal role in the development of slave society, and in societal

rational choice and actions. Rosanna Lamb, a free mulatto woman had five mixed-heritage children with two white men, Mr. John Vassell Esq and Mr. Holness. Her children, Elizabeth, Mary, and Leonard Vassell were recorded as quadroons at their baptisms, while Jane and Thomas Holness were recorded as free mustizes. From the research completed to date, in the case of the Holness children, this was the biggest leap on the colour continuum in skipping quadroon and octoroon. Mary Vassell had two daughters Rose Ann and Mary Ann with John Fitzgerald McLean, recorded as quadroon. However, when Mary Vassell baptised her enslaved people in 1810, she was recorded as a mustize, thus having paved the way for her grandchildren to be recorded as white. When her daughter Mary Ann had children with John Bruce, Juliet and Mary Ann Bruce were recorded as white people. However, her daughter Eliza Bruce was recorded as 'white and free', thus indicating she was legally white but having African origins. Rosanna Lamb in her will dated 1829, bequeathed to her granddaughter Mary Ann McLean an enslaved woman named Nancy, and if her granddaughter died, Nancy was bequeathed to Juliet and Eliza Bruce, her great-granddaughters who were white. Rosanna had lived to see her family, at least from her daughter Mary Vassell, become white and totally free.

Exploring and analysing power and determined action from the context of mixed-heritage people in the development of a slave society, which was unwittingly created by the political white establishment, reveals their socioeconomic tactical manoeuvres within boundaries of social change and resistance, while constructing their free clan communities, including a free yet deviant and defiant concubinage society (Heuman 2014, Seth 2014, Rosenthal 2016). It was common for free mixed-heritage women to be described as frivolous, spendthrifts and expensively attired, which caused one disillusioned writer who was disgusted with the women's lavishness to retort, 'a sumptuary law is for many reasons

become absolutely requisite to restrain her unbounded extravagance' (Higman 1976). On the contrary, mixed-heritage women spent many days with Lady Nugent in her bedroom perusing the clothes that regularly came from Madame Paulina Bonaparte LeClerc. Paulina sent trunks of clothes for Lady Nugent which she would not have worn, and more than half of them would have been given to the ladies to re-arrange, re-style or replicate. Considering they were skilled seamstresses; the mixed-heritage ladies would have copied the clothes (Trahey 2019). What might have appeared expensive was most likely a dress remade by the ladies and replicated by all the girls. This was a custom up to the 1980s in Jamaica (Buckridge 2004, Weaver 2012). Within the historiography, the women of colour were depicted as a marginalised group of people. Writers, working within established ideological discourses or in literature, such as 'Jane Eyre' and 'Wide Sargasso Sea', dismissed them as objects of desire, greedy, crazy, expensive, and immoral. They emphasised their sexuality and their sexual relationships to white men in particular but also to black and white women (Mohammed 2000). Barbara Bush noted that according to white society, no matter how respectable women of colour were, they were 'concubines and never wives', with the emphasis being on never and even considered dangerous (Bush 1981, p.258). In this study, a few women were chosen to showcase how ladylike they could be as Frances Simpson Powell Burton displayed, Elizabeth Anderson Wint Cerf proved quadroon women were brides and could live in a Manor. All the quadroon daughters of Judith Sherman with Thomas Elliot married white or legally white men, and their children, considered white, blended into white society, while the quadroon sons married quadroon women of St Elizabeth, a practice their descendants continued for the rest of the nineteenth century and well into the twentieth century.

As a group of free mixed-heritage women, they were frowned upon by the church because of their concubinage lifestyle, despised by white women, their white relatives and

the enslaved, and ignored by the colonial government and those in political power (Bush 1981, Heuman 1981, Shepherd 1999, Bush 2000, Mohammed 2000, Welch and Goodridge 2000, Mair 2003, Lambert 2005, Petley 2005, Bush 2008, Livesay 2009, Sturtz 2010, Shepherd 2011). Nevertheless, these women were intelligent and although they were tarnished with a negative reputation, they were rational economic actors in a society that provided few opportunities, which they exploited to their advantage wherever possible. Such as in kin group relationships, a deep dependence on their own kin especially for those who married into consanguineous and affinal kin groups. Rarely are specific cases spoken off or brought to the fore as they were shrouded in silence. The arguments here ascertain and highlight the social activities employed by mixed-heritage women within their clan communities as liminal people, using their free agency as rational economic actors. Within each case, the initial thought is of the woman using 'common sense' to 'silently' get by in her daily life, while negotiating power struggles within the general slave society. However, conversely, how were individual women pooling together as a clan community in kin group-based social hierarchies? Were their actions and choices strategic or deliberate as they 'contributed' to the development of their communities? If I reflect on the meaning of rational action and choice theory from an economics perspective, the focus is on the assumption that actors are self-oriented, and their main interests are pecuniary ones, thus knowing exactly what choices they are making and when (Hedström and Ylikoski 2014, p.3). However, from a sociological perspective, pecuniary gains were far deeper than just acquiring wealth. It was a form of security for themselves and their posterity, as they faced challenges of safety from the white community and possible re-enslavement if they fell afoul of the law for the least misdemeanour. Theirs was not only an individual self-interest concern but a posterity and community welfare concern, a whole mixed-heritage society concern, thus broadening the

range to include non-monetary benefits such as, being upstanding in the society, social and societal status. Their thoughts are immeasurable as there were no diaries, but constructs can be developed through their ownership of property, pro-creation with white men and free mixed-heritage men, enslaving others like themselves, carefully crafting wills and deeds that can provide various indicators for measurement and thus providing us the micro-level behaviours leading into macro-level outcomes. Studying these free mixed-heritage women from the perspective of their activities, actions, and utilising 'free choices' from the limited free space in which they lived, required this 'Silences' framework with its supported theories of sociology, rationality, intersectionality, habitus and entitativity as a structure or a mannequin on which to peg these narratives. This framework enabled a justifiable critique of mixed-heritage women's choices 'within their power' overtly or covertly, and the impact on their families, their fictive kin relationships, and immediate communities (Eisenhart 1991, Grant and Osanloo 2014, Adom, Hussein et al. 2018).

One important aspect of the analysis was the use of the imagination in the narrative formation stage and implementing a literary style of writing with self and reflexivity, as my 'systematic thinking about my experiences is a valid source of some knowledge and insight' (Segal 1990, p.122). While forming these narratives, there was a need to be subjective to create the realities, paying attention to sequences of actions by different actors in the slavery compensation claims (social space) between 1750-1850 (social times) within the two parishes of Jamaica (social places) (Riessman 2008, p.11, Ragin and Becker 2010, Thomas 2010). The mixed-heritage women in extant studies were written in history as a group of people, in a generalised, categorised and textualised way. The Slavery Compensation Records in particular, however, hold data not yet formulated, theorised or textualised for me to experience behaviours, make logical analysis and represent these women in the context of

slavery, especially in these parishes. St. Elizabeth was different in formulation, development of society and indeed far away from major political and economic bureaucracy. All the women within my study were 'invisible', hidden in archival records and silent, although so much has been written about slavery management, slavery economy, the brutality of slavery, the gendered sphere of slavery and the development of the societies of slavery. Yet, there was space for more texturalising, theorising and analysing of archival data which had not yet been utilised. This data was used to extract their experiences in the financial, political and economic context of slavery to create an experience of visibility as to who these women were and how they lived by analysing their lived experience, and interpreting their deeds and slavery accounts as text (Elbaz 2005, p.35). These activities will enable a steering of the research objectives towards my claim that these women were rational economic behavioural actors in the economy in which they lived with their families in clan groups.

Freema Elbaz-Luwisch (2006) summarised Norman K. Denzin's thoughts on experience as 'a mystery, a "labyrinth, with no fixed origins, no firm center, structure, or set of recurring meanings" (Luwisch 2006, Clandinin 2007, p.xiv). Narrative inquiry enabled the collected experiences of mixed-heritage women in the Compensation claims to be preserved for many disciplines, including the Humanities (family history) and Sociology. The Slavery Compensation administration was fraught with drama, from politicians and wealthy Lords applying for hundreds of enslaved people, through to the single claimant from all walks of life who applied for compensation for one enslaved person with no legal papers, counterclaimants and drama attached. In addition, these women's lives were socially and economically changing due to the death of loved ones; illness; emigration; loss of free labour; and change in the relationship dynamics they had with the enslaved people. This was a shifting society within a sociohistorical context, which would have brought about fear of their

future and uncertainty (Phinney 2000, p.28). With the application of reflexivity and interpretive analysis included in the narratives, examples from ancestral testamentary papers explored the lives of enslaved children from aged two through to womanhood, having their own children and grandchildren formed stories in the case studies, giving them a beginning, middle, and an end. Reconnecting the movements of a few enslaved families owned by free mixed-heritage women formed a crucial narrative of the lives of the enslaved and enslaver dynamics and needed elements of interpretation, social judgeability, reflexivity and narratives to fill the gaps ensuring a seamless retelling of their story within the main study of these women. This brought about elements of imagination within this dramatic period, one that was not easily disregarded, as regionally within British Colonial history, everything changed when slavery was abolished. Using the imagination was minimal but imperative and has its place in thesis writing (Garman and Piantanida 2006).

Underpinning the thesis are the findings from qualitative data and a minute element of quantitative data, with an interpretation and exploration which gives a dramaturgical analysis of these mixed-heritage women as rational economic actors in a slave society (Young and Massey 1978). Using Goffman's analogy of 'the whole world is a stage' aided the interpretation of the slavery environment as a social establishment with fixed legal barriers, although loopholes and various idiosyncrasies enabled mixed-heritage women to live with some fluidity within the law. This formed a controversial setting for analysis, as unlike mainland Britain where slavery was illegal, ‘free’ black and mixed-heritage people although they had some rights and privileges, lived rigidly in Jamaica with strict rules and regulations, limited legal rights, no voting rights and restricted freedom (Commissioners of Legal Enquiry in The West Indies 1822-1828). Married white women lived with their husband's infidelity, although it was frowned upon and unacceptable in mainland British society and even more

so disapproved of by the church. Within these parishes of St Elizabeth and Manchester, and certainly across the island, it was conceivable for me to find mixed-heritage unmarried female ancestors with many illegitimate children and not feel the stigma attached to illegitimacy, as some experience within genealogical circles in the UK. These observations highlight the varying dynamics taking place from centre stage within a slavery economy, and the types of resistance used to gain full freedom. Tapping the archival data for these two parishes which already provided such large datasets with a wealth of information, demonstrates how much more knowledge and information there is still to be explored within this area of research.

History placed the population affected by colonial slavery in two simple categories, black (enslaved) and white (enslaver). However, with increasing numbers of single white men arriving in the colonies, especially from the military, a shortage of white women on the island, 'no marriage' rules written into the contracts of the indentured male servants, concubinage relationships with enslaved and free black women increased, resulting in many mixed-heritage children being born. This created an unintended new dimension of society, which was to prove a recurrent challenge as the unplanned race of people developed, for which the government hastily created laws, rules, and regulations to thwart their progress. Early historical writers, such as Edward Long, aligned negative connotations to mixed-heritage people, and in particular women for frequently described as mere sexual beings, promiscuous and superficial (Stewart 1823).

The main aim of this research was to challenge existing perceptions of mixed-heritage women during the British colonial slavery period, by demonstrating that they utilised concubinage as individual rational economic actors to secure their families' inheritance and

upward mobility, recognising the intersectional challenge in colour, social class, ethnicity, and gender.

Slave society incorporates and intersects everyone, white, black, free, enslaved, men and women. To discuss the role of mixed-heritage women in colonial Jamaica, an understanding of the political, environmental, legal, and social background of the slave society was required. There is a wealth of historical sociology and social research about how a creole slave society developed. Race and skin colour were an important factor affecting people's every-day life. The colour was used as identification of where one was on the colour continuum – how far away from their African ancestry or how close they were to white ancestry. The fairer the skin, the more people resembled the image of the white person, the more advantageous it would be for their freedom, legal rights, white privileges, and opportunities. For women of colour this meant that a relationship with a white man could open the doors for an improved quality of life and even better opportunities for their future children. In many cases this was predicated on white fathers who burdened their daughters with onerous wills and insisted that they would not inherit if their child were not conceived by a white man either legitimately or illegitimately.

Ownership of enslaved people was considered an indication of wealth and status. Therefore, enslaved people were not only used to work on plantations, but also in small farms, businesses, and households. Even if only one enslaved could be afforded, it would be considered a raised status in society. However, achieving a higher societal status was not sufficient for people of mixed heritage, the ultimate objective was to become 'legally white', which meant nearly full equality before the law or being able to 'pass as white', which enabled them to emigrate to Great Britain and 'disappear' in white European society.

As opposed to the North American colonies, the British Caribbean colonies never became a white settler society, but became a creole settler slave society instead (Burnard 1994). Neither the white population, nor the slave population where self-sustaining in Jamaica. Both needed to be ‘replenished’ with new additions. The British government tried up to 1660 to entice people to populate Jamaica, but their efforts failed. The one group that not only became self-sustaining but increased in number during the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th century, were the mixed-heritage people. Within increasing numbers, they developed their own kinship groups, whose focus was to distance themselves from any slavery roots as quickly as possible and aim for upward social mobility for themselves and their children.

Using qualitative methodology of narrative inquiry, narrative discourse, prosopography, interpretive analysis, and case studies this research examined historical sources, such as archival government colonial and treasury records, wills and deeds, slavery records and genealogical records to identify and highlight the roles mixed-heritage families and in particular mixed-heritage women played and the strategies and tactics they employed in the development of Jamaican slave society. Detailed collection and data analysis were carried out on the people of the Parishes of Saint Elizabeth and Manchester, which not only provided a sizable representative sample for the whole of Jamaica, but with Saint Elizabeth also focused on an area of Jamaica that contained the largest free mixed-heritage population of Jamaica, except for Kingston.

To determine the economic strength and property ownership of mixed-heritage women, the slavery compensation records of 1834 to 1835 were examined in detail. The racial category of the slavery compensation claimants and awardees was established, by searching

and examining archival birth and marriage records as well as wills and deeds. This method enabled the racial identification of 90% of all 739 females involved in the slavery compensation claims process in the parishes of Saint Elizabeth and Manchester as either claimants, awardees, or both.

Whilst previous research and in particular the Legacy of British Slave Ownership project by the University College London have analysed slavery compensation records and identified owners of enslavers and plantations, there has been no previous research carried out by anyone else that identified the racial identity of these people through parish baptismal records. This fact provides a unique insight to information that has never been published previously.

The findings of the research confirmed not only that many mixed-heritage women owned property including enslaved people, but that they outnumbered even male whites slave owners. 29% of awardees were identified as mixed-heritage females, which is more than white males (26%), mixed-heritage males (20%) and white females (11%). The racial category of 14% could not be conclusively established. However, it is worth mentioning that these were mostly for small awards and therefore more likely more mixed heritage than whites as well.

Not unsurprisingly, white males owned the largest estates and therefore, when it comes to actual amounts paid, they were by far the largest category (71%), followed by mixed-heritage females (9%), white females (9%) and mixed-heritage males (8%). Only 3% of awards went to people whose racial category could not be identified.

Overall, these findings confirm that mixed-heritage people played a significant role as property owners and enslavers, with more mixed heritage than whites receiving compensation for the loss of enslaved people. Financially, they received 17% of the awards

paid out in the Jamaican Parishes of Saint Elizabeth and Manchester, which means that at least 17% of enslaved people were owned by people who were of mixed-heritage or black ethnicity. As those parishes represent a sizable sample for the whole of Jamaica, it could be expected that these figures are likely representative of the whole of Jamaica.

Exploring the social world of the female claimants, the data collected as part of this study confirms the argument that these women were rational economic actors in a capitalist society, however, as micro-economic enslavers. The level of property ownership by free mixed-heritage women was discussed in chapter five and addressed objective one. As mostly single women with children, they owned enslaved people mainly for the benefit of their domestic lives, households and small-scale pen-keeping and farming as in the livestock they reared. They were significant in that more mixed-heritage women owned between one to nine enslaved people (253), than mixed-heritage men (189), white men (58) and white women (68). The racial category of the large estate and plantation owners were easily identified as they appeared on almanacs and registers, however, the 'unknown' racial categories of those owners who owned between one and nine enslaved people were small owners, most likely mixed-heritage people who never got baptised, thus enhancing the figures even more for mixed-heritage people. In addition, more mixed-heritage women owned one to three enslaved people in a domestic setting as in having a housekeeper, cleaner/cook and handy person, with thirty-three mixed-heritage minors who inherited from one to three enslaved persons from a relative but adults acting as guardians, applied on their behalf.

This gendered study provided knowledge of the intersectional divide of the inhabitants in a slave society who owned enslaved people. Demarked by gender, colour/race,

ethnicity, and social class, and even deeper by the number of men, women, their colour from white, through all the colours on the scale of the Spanish lineal descent to white. Mixed-heritage women were an important part of the fabric of slave society (Hall 1974). Their sexuality was crucial to the continued wealth creation of the British as they provided 'comfort' and enjoyment with their cheerful dispositions to the white establishment not only as 'favourites', prostitutes and concubines as portrayed in historical writings but in real cohabitating relationships (Bush 1981, Altink 2000). However, the growth of wealth among mixed-heritage people were suppressed by the political establishment curtailing the amount their offspring could inherit from white fathers to £2000, this also was a part of discouraging relationships with mixed-heritage women to marriages with white women who were almost non-existent on the island. The number of enslaved people owned by mixed-heritage women only highlights the other property they owned in terms of land, house, money for their children and crucial, education. As an interdisciplinary study approached from the economic, historical sociology perspective of the slavery compensation claims, the figures showcase the differences within this parish of the 'how many' rather than 'who they were'. No diaries were available for this study, but data provided a closer analysis of the subjects using biographical vignettes to showcase special cases which enhanced the perspective of individual claimants.

The slavery compensation award reimbursed the owner for the 'capital' value of the enslaved person, but not for the recurring cost, which then incurred once free labour was no longer available. This stresses the benefits slavery had on the wealth creation of the British Empire in terms of the free labour slavery provided the owners of enslaved people (Tomlin-Kraftner 2014). As the figures highlight, majority of the St. Elizabeth and Manchester awards from absentee owners, debt collectors and those who received bequests, were never reinvested in the parishes as majority of the wealth gained through slavery remained in

Britain, rather than being invested in the development of Jamaica. Having established and confirmed the first argument of this study, which is that mixed-heritage people were significant economic participants in British Colonial slave society, necessitates a discussion on why and how mixed-heritage women acquired their assets. The case studies discussed in detail in Chapter Six provided an insight into the lives of some of these women and demonstrated that they became slave owners largely via inheritance from either a white father, white partner, or their mixed-heritage parent who in turn inherited from either their white father or white partner and so forth.

In can be argued that these inheritances are the product of a deliberate choice to have relationships with white men in the first place and therefore that these were calculated economic decisions that enabled their upward mobility in society including eventual property and slave ownership (hooks 1990). However, whilst economic and social benefit were clearly relevant, decisions were also forced upon them by legal restrictions or restrictions via wills. For example, James Hart clearly stipulated in his will that his daughters could only pass on any inheritance to their children, if their future children are fathered by a white man, even if illegitimate. In other circumstances, the mixed-heritage woman, as in the case of Elizabeth Wint, could have never expected that a relationship that started as a concubinage relationship would result in her residing in a stately home in West London and Brussels and becoming unwitting owner of large slave plantations. Some women, such as Mary Hay or Susannah Young, used the legal process to successfully gain rights and privileges equivalent to white people. These legal rights and privileges could only be passed on to their children if the children were fathered by white men.

Although enslaved women had a more challenging journey to better their lives, some were able to escape the bonds of slavery, such as Arabella Palmer, who moved from enslaved to enslaver within four years. Elizabeth Hart had the courage to complain to the Council of protection against her maltreatment and was rewarded her freedom at the end of the process.

Whatever the intention of motivation, these mixed-heritage women had a desire for improving their circumstances and that of their future children. This study with the analysis of the cases confirmed argument two as described in the case studies in chapter 6 that addressed objective two, in that they had a strategic focus on achieving upward mobility through employing economic improvement and relationship development tactics for the benefit of themselves and their posterity.

Chapter seven of this study addressing objective three, examined, reviewed, and analysed the kinship relationships established by the women of colour during this time led by mixed-heritage mothers as matriarchs as highlighted in wills and deeds. They were also entitative groups that had a shared objective and proximity. These effective kinship structures confirm argument three demonstrating that mixed-heritage women established a unique economic social space to combat social exclusion and marginalization through clan groupings with consanguineous, endogamous, and fictive kin relationships.

Contributions of this thesis to existing knowledge

This study makes three major contributions to historical sociology knowledge:

1) There was knowledge on mixed-heritage women as enslavers in Jamaica but to what extent we did not know. This study of two parishes provided new and evidenced

knowledge of the extent to which Jamaican mixed-heritage women were property owners and enslavers prior to emancipation. The micro-socioeconomic study can now be extended across the island of Jamaica and the Caribbean to understand our real history with nothing remaining silent.

2) The postcolonial perspective of writers who have been educated in a Eurocentric society carries the postcolonial ideals or legacies of colonial thoughts. This study, where as a researcher I am looking at my ancestors from a Caribbean and British perspective (inclusive) enhances academic historiography of enlightening arguments of the slavery period about mixed-heritage women and helps with identity and knowing rather than being told from a whole postcolonial perspective.

3) The study provided a different sociological and anthropological perspective of family development and kinship in a colonial Caribbean society. Pursuing the study deeper into genealogical with slavery compensation records enabled a deeper look into the family structure of St Elizabeth and Manchester with consanguineous relationships. How much was this common across the islands and in the Caribbean. More knowledge was provided but even more a blueprint on which to study other parishes. Bringing the four stages of the 'Silences' framework together with the accompanying supportive theories made me realise that once I had got to the fourth stage, it became cyclical as Serrant (2011) outlined. It was necessary to keep going back to stage two because there was always some more data to answer a question and for that I will keep testing this model and returning to the stages.

Figure X Testing the actual shackles used on enslaved people – The Rum Story Museum, Whitehaven

Reflexive Epilogue

Shifting the time-space of this study from 1750-1850 colonial slavery to the feelings we share today in the 21st century is no match for each other, as they are polar opposites in terms of time. Two different periods and societies with very strong emotive topics running through society's core but still experiencing the intersectional divides oppressing women in society, in terms of race, colour, gender, social class and ethnicity. Slavery should have been an establishment that died, all embers extinguished but it came alive in another form or it never really died at all. In writing a reflexive epilogue, the aim is to reflexively bring together the learning, as according to Finlay, reflexivity 'enables richer understandings and so should be exploited as a research tool for … qualitative research' (Finlay 1998, p.453). In addition, it is a recontextualisation of stage 4 of the silences framework and an exploration of what 'silences'

remain and cannot be said. It was important to display the narratives as lived experiences by free mixed-heritage women or as clan groups living in a slave society. As Banister et al. explained reflexivity is 'acknowledging the central position of the researcher in the construction of knowledge' (Banister, Burman et al. 1994 , p.151).

Although I followed a reflexive process throughout the study, this section looks at the reflexive process as a whole and the impact on my subjective views and learning from this process. The stories were personal narratives especially when dealing with sensitive topics about ancestors and their past lives (Walker 2017). The case studies and biographical vignettes were approached as narratives, as Ellingson (2009) explained, qualitative researchers can 'show, rather than tell' their data and findings in narrative (Ellingson 2009, p.65). Narrative knowledge focused on the particular and special characteristics of each action of those people, while narrative reasoning noticed the differences and diversity of people's behaviour. It attended to the temporal context and complex interaction of the elements that made each situation remarkable. In describing narrative reasoning, Carter (1993) writes that it "captures in a special fashion the richness and the nuances of meaning in human affairs" and that "this richness and nuance cannot be expressed in definitions, statements of fact, or abstract propositions" (p. 6).

Approaching the challenges within my family history became a subjective academic research project with a long life, it had meaning and purpose (Polkinghorne 1995). In addition, it had an opportunity to pursue an advanced research study due to the women being free of mixed-heritage, and their place in the time and space. Studying the history was mentally challenging, realising my ancestors were involved in slavery as enslavers was shocking. The effect I experienced of emotional shock from seeing some of the data was

immediate ….as Dumas explained it, so it happened... the shock arrived suddenly with the clash of my disposition to cry, placed my hands to my head or on my heart and other habitual impulses…these whole complex feelings, temporarily outside my awareness, had been suddenly aroused, exploded and scattered into my being from my head to my toes.…this happened throughout my search and especially when the data revealed a new ancestor and their action. When I tried on the shackles, I felt unworthy to touch them because my African ancestors wore such a shackle, survived the ship and the journey by sea, plantation hell, so that I could be here. However, I also felt their deep inner resistance to succumb to death, but to survive, and felt the pride of knowing that I am alive in the world today because they survived bondage. These feelings happened throughout the whole process around all the archives I visited and was the same experience repeated from deep inside my being (Dumas 1968, p.109).

Once I accepted that my ancestors were also enslavers involved in the process of enabling slave society, I proceeded to study the sociology and anthropology of the period and development of these parishes, especially around consanguinity, clan groups, septs, and colour. Those who knew that I was studying, never knew the depth of my feelings and what exactly I was studying. Coming from a background of suits, management meetings, marketing strategies in branding and advertising social care in Sheltered Housing, to studying intersectionality, habitus, entitativity and other theories of Sociology in my yoga clothes, felt like worlds apart. With this reflexive process and analysis, I explored the journey from drawing family trees with distanced family members to pursuing research at a top level. It has been a journey of understanding and amazement (Colletta 2005).

Pursuing a mixed methodology research study was initially chosen but opted for qualitative research, as I enjoyed the writing more than the statistical data collection, although this study has a beneficial statistical chapter, needing the solid support of both inductive and deductive reasoning. Discourse analysis aided the interpretations of using language to explore the depth of the find and widened the expression of what was found in a will, deed or letter was different from journalistic language used in business and advertising. The latter has a feeling of the unreal as it is contrived, yet the former is real in the original writing of a 5th great-grandmother or other relative. I touched the paper that they touched and that was real. Discourse analysis engaged 'language, gender and power … closely related …and all three overlap …' (Alvesson and Sköldberg 2000, p.201, Ellis and Bochner 2000). Writing was enjoyable but I got carried away writing chapters that were not central to the running theme, and meeting the overall perceptual statements, aims and objectives. Stimulating case studies with varied discourses were abandoned to the 'journal article' folder. The focus on staying closer to my topic and being reigned into a space was always reinforced by my supervisors. Discourse analysis also enabled the dramaturgy of the study, extricating the feelings of the individuals in their scenarios from the transcription through to writing and analysis (Alvesson and Sköldberg 2000, p.165, pp. 260-261, Collett and Childs 2009).

There were highs and lows, reading the most incorrigible Thomas Thistlewood diary, to finding William Johnson an enslaved eight-year-old missing boy who took me six hours to find him in the paperwork. Separate from physically collecting and handling the data with precision and care was the reflexive multi-levels of interpretations with its various processes and pre-process within the transcription of the data. Due to the difficulties in language, I learnt palaeography to decipher ancient and historical handwriting in understanding the handwriting of the period and the legal language of the period of study. Ideas were brought

together, a framework chosen and various theories to support the study. I learnt not only about slavery history but slave society… behaviours of the people, their religious, habitual practices to understand the survival of so many ancestors and this was to ensure as Alvesson and Sköldberg said, 'the point of reflexive interpretation is to bring out these aspects more clearly, both during the process of research and in the final textual product… the researcher allows the empirical material to inspire, develop and reshape theoretical ideas' (Alvesson and Sköldberg 2000, p.249, Denzin and Lincoln 2005). Some 'silences' were best left unsaid as I was not ready to analyse it, much less able to explain it to my professors, therefore unable to write it. The 'silences' that were empowered, were enough for now. Working with those 'silences' brought not only the raw data, but imagination of lives lived, how desperate some women were to ensure their children were the colour that took them away from slavery towards being white, even if they too had to delve into the devil's soul to achieve their goal.

Identifying family members in the study as 4th and 5th great-grandparents, grandaunts on both maternal and paternal side of my family was the trigger that created a deeper interest in the study. As I progressed the research, I discovered a greater knowledge and understanding of the lives they lived and the environment they had to navigate in a slave society. I discovered information I would not have considered ever exploring. For example, only progressing this study with the slavery compensation claims, was I able to find the will of my 6th great-grandmother Anne Rochester-Burton Powell and details of my 3rd great-grandaunt Dorothy Witter as a disabled mixed-heritage spinster who after inheriting four enslaved people, developed a large village. Anne's will help the other members of my family with their family trees, divulged data they had which were inaccurate and helped to attach members that were missing.

It was challenging at times not to be somewhat biased, but as Walker claimed, it is difficult not to have some bias, although in this study it was kept to the bare minimum (Walker 2017). Being reflexive holds a place in most research study as we are individuals and need to keep asking questions. As a researcher of Caribbean heritage where diasporas met, converged, and then took another voyage, it makes me question will the Caribbean family ever settle down in one place where we can have three generations under one roof at least once per week? Or have our wings flown too far to return to a root base? And which root base will that be? Caribbean? Jamaican? British? American? There is a saying – everywhere you go in the world Caribbean people are there, and you will find a Jamaican.

The remit of this thesis, with its detailed analysis of every enslaver at the time of emancipation was limited to two of the (then) twenty-one parishes of Jamaica. There is scope for a more comprehensive research project that includes the whole Island, with the potential to provide a unique and rich data set that not only provides historical information but can provide a wealth of genealogical information for the descendants of the Jamaican people. There is also a scope to follow up on the developments beyond emancipation to ascertain the social changes that would have taken place, considering changed legal and political environments and how the colonial colourism may have continued to shape the lives of generations to come. In addition, considering my findings, it gives a better indication of what reparations mean and what would be appropriate. Reparations is not about white people paying off black people, it was the economy that benefited from slavery, that should strengthen the economy that supplied the labour force but did not get the wealth that came with that labour force. The bulk of the claims money never arrived in the Caribbean. This means the British economy benefitted not only from slavery itself, but also from the slavery compensation claims money they received because of the abolition of slavery. What can the

economy that gained from this wealth, invest into the economy that provided wealth to Britain? The Caribbean lacks an industry, transport infrastructure, health, and education – everything is imported into these islands and creating a cycle of dependency on IMF loans or on China. These reparations need to happen without further delay.

The 'Silences' framework was emotional to work with but having the guide to take me through each passage and linked to the theories made it bearable, mystical, achievable and enlightening. The feeling of being Maryse Conde in I, Tituba and finding my own voice to portray the voices of the silent women, made this study come alive with the raw facts asking, what would it be like if I added other types of interpretive narratives and hear the hovering of ancestral voices, as we aim to restructure slave society and link the enslaved to their lost families. Reconceptualising original thoughts, ideas and processes meant I had a richer study, one in which I know slavery was not just between white versus black, the grey areas were far more dangerous, mixed-heritage women took chances we frown at today and they lived on an island in a small space. I cannot imagine what slave society would have been like for those parishioners if the island were bigger. Having consanguineous relationships and staying close as family septs and clan groups no longer exists in the parish or on the island, but it was advantageous for them while they had it. It brought families closer, thus retaining land as wealth, and those with fairer complexions, were able to pass as white in the United States of America, and thousands of them did. This is some of the 'silences' that still remains, as it affects many white families today who are unaware that they have black DNA. They passed down a wealth of information which can only be found in their wills and deeds as they are mostly illiterate and had no diaries.

I am not an invisible author, and neither am I completely objective or subjective, as I will never condone slavery in any shape or form, and neither will I hide the wrongs of my ancestor's participation in slavery. However, I am sympathetic with those who became unwitting enslavers, who could not afford to manumit the enslaved people they inherited, and especially those enslavers where the research suggests that they have attempted to keep enslaved families together. I do have an empathetic understanding to their need for survival in a harsh slave society, and the circumstances provided them to escape through the concept of pigmentocracy or colourism. We may judge them, but if we had a fair skin tone and the chance to save the lives of our family and ourselves, what would we have done? Looking back at slavery and its evils, the ill treatment and the abuse, the way they endured adversity with such fortitude, if colourism were a way out, would we have chosen it? Was it not a form of resistance for them? I am black and therefore I would have been enslaved with a weaponised body as Foucault theorised, our bodies being the ultimate contact point of power (Bush 1981). Have I learnt anything from my 4th and 5th great-grandmothers who appeared in this study? Ann Rochester, Frances Simpson Powell Burton, Judith Sherman, Margaret Powell Bent, Mary Hopwood, they were fortitudinous women who endured their social systems, social constructs, especially a brutal gendered patriarchy within slave society. They made rational choices and took actions, along with many other people, who developed a whole mixed-heritage society, and did so in the best way they knew how to survive… I need to learn more from these women, and writing this thesis was one way for me to have faced those screaming silences and unsilenced them.

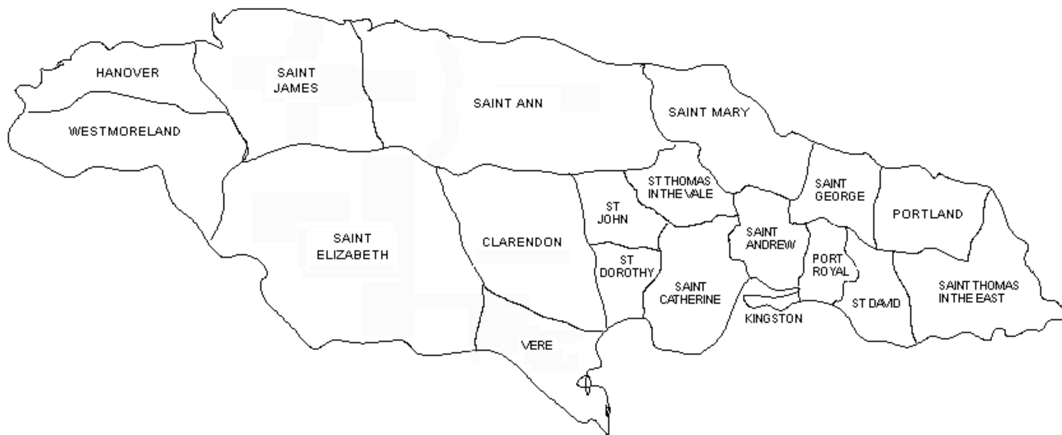
FIGURE 8-1 THE ACTUAL SHACKLES USED ON ENSLAVED PEOPLE – THE RUM STORY MUSEUM, WHITEHAVEN

FIGURE 8-1: MY PARENTS WERE MARRIED IN LONDON AND BOTH ORIGINATED IN ST. ELIZABETH AND MANCHESTER. MY MOTHER'S UNCLE, ISAIAH 'BOBBY' ELLIOTT, STANDING BESIDE HER, HE RAISED HER FROM SHE WAS A BABY TO A TEENAGER. THIS PHOTOGRAPH DEPICTS THE VARIOUS COMPLEXIONS PRESENT IN TWENTIETH CENTURY JAMAICAN FAMILIES OF ST ELIZABETH ORIGIN, DURING SLAVE SOCIETY REFERRED TO AS 'MUSTEES', 'OCTOROON', 'QUADROON', 'MULATTO', 'SAMBO', AND 'NEGRO' IN THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY.

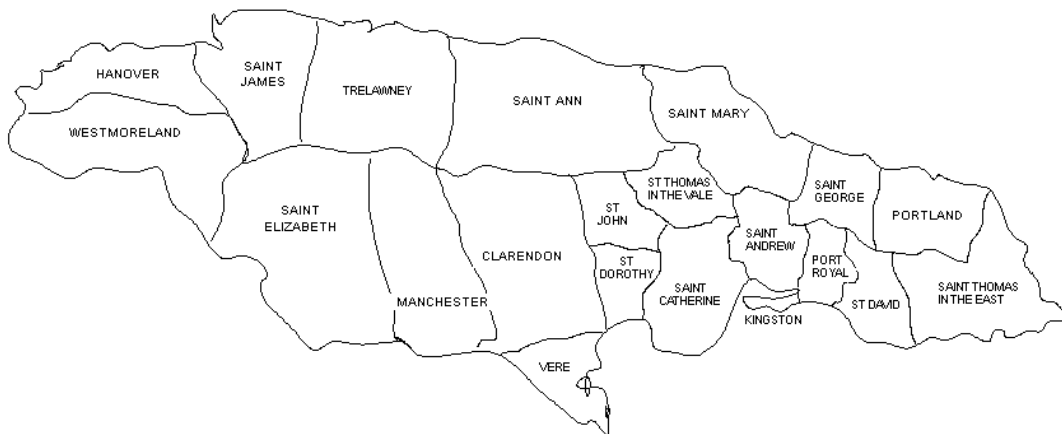
APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1 – MAPS OF JAMAICAN PARISHES

MAP 1: JAMAICA 1770-1813



MAP 2: JAMAICA 1814 – 1841: MANCHESTER FORMED FROM PARTS OF ST. ELIZABETH, CLARENDON, AND VERE



RECREATED MAPS FROM BUTLER (1995) DRAWN UP TO SHOW OUTLINE AND TWENTY PARISHES IN THE COMPENSATION CLAIMS.

APPENDIX 2 – FAMILY CONNECTIONS DIAGRAM

Family relationships between claimants/awardees grouped by surname & 'clan' group

(Name) 2 — Number of people with same surname (Colours to identify groups)

7 — Number of relationship connections between people of relevant surname

APPENDIX 3 – DESCENDANTS OF DOROTHY WITTER

Enslaved People and their descendants on the Carlisle Estate managed by

Dorothy Witter

as a mixed heritage, spinster, disabled- blind owner between 1817 - 1834

1. **Dorothy[1] WITTER as a Mixed Heritage Disabled Blind Owner**, born 15 Apr 1774, and baptised 18 September 1774 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica, the daughter of Benjamin POWELL and Diana WITTER. She was a spinster.

Notes for Dorothy WITTER:

Registered as the reputed daughter of Benjamin Powell by Diania Witter, her parents were never married, rendering Dorothy as illegitimate. Benjamin Powell was already married to Margaret, a woman of colour and they had Sarah Powell in 1771, the wife of Nicholas Bent and other Bent relations in the Compensation claims. Dorothy was blind since 1790 as a 16-year girl and cared for by her brother, William Samuel Witter. All the Bents, Witters and Powells in the slavery compensation claims, were related.

Below highlights the development of the kinship ties among her enslaved people. It shows births, manumissions, a death for the registration period, the movements of the enslaved families and more importantly how they were kept together, in comparison to other enslaved families.

Initially, the enslaved people of Dorothy WITTER were as follows:

+ 2 i **Fedelia[2] (---),** born 1767 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica.
+ 3 ii **Pheba[2] (---)**, born 1772 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica.
+ 4 iii **Phema[2] (---)**, born in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica.
+ 5 iv **Sue[2] (---)**, born 1797 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica. (daughter of Phema)
+ 6 iv **Charles[2] (---)**, born 1802 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica.

Generation 2

2. **Fedelia[2] (---)**, (Dorothy[1] WITTER as Owner), born 1767 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica. She was not allowed to marry as an enslaved woman.

Children of Fedelia (---) were as follows:

	6	i	**Quaco**[3] **(---)**, born 1785 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica.
	7	ii	**Margaret**[3] **(---)**, born 1787 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica and died in 1823 aged 36 years.
+	8	iii	**Yarrah**[3] **(---)**, born 1788 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica.
+	9	iv	**Lucy**[3] **(---)**, born 1790 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica.
	10	v	**Marchus**[3] **(---)**, born 1794 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica.
	11	vi	**Joe**[3] **(---),** born 1795 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica. Notes: In 1820, when Joe was 25 years old, he went to Peter Powell, the brother of Dorothy Witter - belonged to him for life.
	12	vii	**James**[3] **(---)**, born 1799 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica.
	13	viii	**Frederick**[3] **(---)**, born 1801 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica.
	14	ix	**Richard**[3] **(---)**, born 1803 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica.
	15	x	**Richard**[3] **(---)**, born 1803 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica.
+	16	xi	**Chloe**[3] **(---)**, born 1805 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica.
	17	xii	**Tom**[3] **(---)**, born 1808 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica.

3. **Pheba**[2] **(---)**, (Dorothy[1] WITTER as Owner), born 1775 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica. She was not allowed to marry as an enslaved woman.

Children of Pheba (---) were as follows:

	18	i	**William**[3] **(---)**, born 1800 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica.
	19	ii	**Lyn**[3] **(---)**, born 1807 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica. Notes: in 1820, when he was 13 years old, he was given to Peter Powell, brother of Dorothy Witter - he belonged to him for life
+	20	iii	**Dolly**[3] **(---)**, born 1809 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica.
	21	iv	**Cymon**[3] **(---)**, born 1810 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica.
+	22	v	**Elinora**[3] **(---)**, born 1814 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica.

4. **Phema**[2] **(---)**, place and year of birth unknown. (Dorothy[1] WITTER as Owner), She was not allowed to marry as an enslaved woman.

Children of Phema (---) were as follows:

+	23	i	**Marshey**[3] **(---)**, born 1789 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica. She was manumitted in 1829 aged 40
	24	ii	**Henry**[3] **(---)**, born 1793 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica. Notes: Described as a Sambo. He was manumitted as a 36-year-old in 1829
	25	iii	**Allick**[3] **(---)**, born 1795 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica. Notes: Described as a sambo and manumitted as a 34-year-old in 1829
	26	iv	**George**[3] **(---)**, born 1798 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica. Notes: Described as a sambo and manumitted in 1829 as a 31-year-old.
	27	v	**Peter**[3] **(---)**, born 1800 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica. Notes: Described as a sambo and manumitted in 1829 as a 29-year-old
	28	vi	**Grashey**[3] **(---)**, born 1803 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica. Notes: Described as a

sambo. She was manumitted in 1820 aged 17 years old

29 vii **Bernard**[3] **(---)**, born 1806 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica. Notes: Described as a sambo. He was manumitted aged 14 in 1820.

5. **Sue**[2] **(---), Phema (....)**, (Dorothy[1] WITTER as Owner), born 1797 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica. She was not allowed to marry as an enslaved woman. Notes: Sue was manumitted in 1829 aged 32 years old.

Children of Sue (---) were as follows:

30 i **Deborah**[3] **(---)**, born 1819 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica. Notes: Described as a Mulatto

31 ii **Sarah**[3] **(---)**, born 1821 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica. Notes: Described as a Mulatto

32 iii **Samuel**[3] **(---)**, born 1824 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica. Notes: Described as a sambo

33 iv **Nicholas**[3] **(---)**, born 1826 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica. Notes: Described as a sambo

Generation 3

8. **Yarrah**[3] **(---),** (Fedelia[2] (---), (Dorothy[1] WITTER as Owner), born 1788 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica. She was not allowed to marry as an enslaved woman.

Children of Yarrah (---) were as follows:

\+ 34 i **Polly**[4] **(---)**, born 1804 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica.

35 ii **Ben**[4] **(---)**, born 1809 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica.

\+ 36 iii **Anny**[4] **(---)**, born 1807 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica.

37 iv **Dick**[4] **(---)**, born 1812 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica.

38 v **Matthew**[4] **(---)**, born 1815 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica.

39 vi **Fanny**[4] **(---)**, born Mar 1817 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica.

40 vii **Bessy**[4] **(---)**, born 1820 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica.

41 viii **Sally**[4] **(---)**, born Jan 1823 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica.

42 ix **Sophia**[4] **(---)**, born 1825 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica.

43 x **Arinnett**[4] **(---)**, born 1829 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica.

9. **Lucy**[3] **(---),** (Fedelia[2] (---), (Dorothy[1] WITTER as Owner), born 1790 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica. She was not allowed to marry as an enslaved woman.

Children of Lucy (---) were as follows:

44 i **Rose**[4] **(---)**, born 1809 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica.

45 ii **Colin**[4] **(---)**, born 1812 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica.

46 iii **Jeany**[4] **(---)**, born 1818 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica.

47 iv **Eliza**[4] **(---)**, born 1821 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica.

48 v **Ruthy**[4] **(---)**, born 1827 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica.

49 vi **Joseph**[4] **(---)**, born 1829 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica.

50	vii	**Cecelia**[4] **(---)**, born 1831 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica.
51	viii	**Mary**[4] **(---)**, born 1832 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica.

16. **Chloe**[3] **(---),**(Fedelia[2] (---), (Dorothy[1] WITTER as Owner), born 1805 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica. She was not allowed to marry as an enslaved woman.

Children of Chloe (---) were as follows:

52	i	**Myrah**[4] **(---)**, born 1826 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica.
53	ii	**Nathan**[4] **(---)**, born 1828 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica.
54	iii	**Phidey**[4] **(---)**, born 1830 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica.
55	iv	**William**[4] **(---)**, born 1831 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica.

20. **Dolly**[3] **(---),**(Pheba[2] (---), (Dorothy[1] WITTER as Owner), born 1809 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica. She was not allowed to marry as an enslaved woman.

Children of Dolly (---) were as follows:

56	i	**Thomas**[4] **(---)**, born 1825 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica. Notes: Thomas was described as a Sambo and he was manumitted in 1829 as a 4-year-old.

22. **Elinora**[3] **(---),** (Pheba[2] (---), (Dorothy[1] WITTER as Owner), born 1814 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica. She was not allowed to marry as an enslaved woman.

Children of Elinora (---) were as follows:

57	i	**Richard**[4] **(---)**, born 1829 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica. Notes: Described as a Negro infant

23. **Marshey**[3] **(---),** (Phema[2] (---), (Dorothy[1] WITTER as Owner), born 1789 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica. She was not allowed to marry as an enslaved woman. Notes for Marshey (---) A sambo. She was manumitted in 1829, aged 40

Children of Marshey (---) were as follows:

58	i	**Stephen**[4] **HOOKER**, born 1807 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica. Notes: In the BMD records, he was a Quadroon owned by Dorothy. He was the child aged 8 in 1817 who was described as a mulatto.
59	ii	**Timothy**[4] **(---)**, born 1811 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica. Notes: A mulatto
60	iii	**William**[4] **(---)**, born 1814 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica. Notes: A mulatto

Generation 4

34. **Polly**[4] **(---),** (Yarrah[3] (---), Fedelia[2] (---), (Dorothy[1] WITTER as Owner), born 1804 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica. She was not allowed to marry as an enslaved woman.

Children of Polly (---) were as follows:

61	i	**Michael**[5] **(---)**, born 1820 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica.
62	ii	**John**[5] **(---)**, born 1823 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica.
63	iii	**Helen**[5] **(---)**, born 1825 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica.
64	iv	**Allick**[5] **(---)**, born 1827 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica.
65	v	**Phama**[5] **(---)**, born 1829 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica.
66	vi	**Gaziah**[5] **(---)**, born 1832 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica.

36. **Anny**[4] **(---),** (Yarrah[3] (---), Fedelia[2] (---), (Dorothy[1] WITTER as Owner), born 1807 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica. She was not allowed to marry as an enslaved woman.

Children of Anny (---) were as follows:

67	i	**Thomas**[5] **(---)**, born 1823 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica.
68	ii	**Aaron**[5] **(---)**, born 1826 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica.
69	iii	**Caroline**[5] **(---)**, born 1828 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica.
70	iv	**Susan**[5] **(---)**, born 1830 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica.
71	v	**Wellington**[5] **(---)**, born 1831 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica.

This data was collated using the T71 series of the Slave Registers found on Ancestry.com and input into a special family tree, with reports produced by Charting Companion, supported by IT Department, Bournemouth University.

Referencing:

Slave Registers from 1817-1832
1817 - T71/166 pp1098-1100
1820 - T71/167 pp.723-724
1823 - T71/168 p28
1826 - T71/169 p828
1829 - T71/175 no page number
1832 - T71/177 p503

APPENDIX 4 – DESCENDANTS OF SUSANNAH YOUNG

Descendants of

Susannah YOUNG and Thomas Stokes SALMON

1. **Susannah**$_1$ **YOUNG**, born abt. 1752 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica; a free woman of colour moved to Gloucestershire, England after her partner died. She was the daughter of an unknown Father and unknown Mother. She cohabited with **Thomas Stokes SALMON**, born 11/1741 in Thornbury, Gloucestershire, UK; died 15/10/1793 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica, son of John SALMON and Ann STOKES. Susannah died in Britain aged 55 between February and July 1797 in Thornbury, Gloucestershire, England and was buried on 05 June 1797 in Alveston at the Salmon family crypt in Gloucestershire, England.

Children of Susannah YOUNG and Thomas Stokes SALMON were as follows:

	2	i	**William**$_2$ **SALMON**, born 1770 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica.
+	3	ii	**John**$_2$ **SALMON The Hon**.
	4	iii	**Charles**$_2$ **SALMON**, born 1774 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica.
	5	iv	**Sarah**$_2$ **SALMON**, born 13/07/1775 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica; christened 01/06/1791 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica.
	6	v	**Edward**$_2$ **SALMON**, born 13/06/1777 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica; christened 01/06/1791 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica.
	7	vi	**Ann**$_2$ **SALMON**, born 07/10/1779 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica; christened 01/06/1783 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica.
	8	vii	**Susannah Young**$_2$ **SALMON**, born 26/06/1787 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica; christened 10/10/1791 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica.

Generation 2

3. **John**$_2$ **SALMON The Hon** (Susannah$_1$ YOUNG and Thomas Stokes SALMON), born 1772 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica; died 06/1857 in Maggoty, St Elizabeth, Jamaica; buried 19/06/1857 in

Bagdale Hall, St Elizabeth, Jamaica. He married (1) on 24/10/1796 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica **Elizabeth FARQUHARSON**, born abt. 1776 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica; (2) his concubine **Mary,** an enslaved Negro woman living on White Hall Pen.

Children of The Hon John SALMON and Elizabeth FARQUHARSON were as follows:

+ 9 i **John[3] SALMON Jnr**.

They had more children but only John Salmon Jnr is named here because he was the only son dealing with his father's Jamaican affairs.

The Hon John SALMON and his concubine Mary, an enslaved black woman on White Hall Pen had one child and he manumitted her. Mary Ann appears as an awardee on the Slavery Compensation Claims owning 8 enslaved people on the Tryall Estate:

10 i **Mary Ann[3] SALMON**, born 1791 in White Hall Pen, St Elizabeth, Jamaica; christened 28/07/1806 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica.

Generation 3

9. **John[3] SALMON Jnr** (John[2], Susannah[1] YOUNG and Thomas Stokes SALMON), born 12/09/1797 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica; died 04/02/1879 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica. He married on 09/02/1820 in Bloomsbury, St George, Middlesex, England **Frances Charlotte COOPER**, daughter of John Mable COOPER and Catherine VANHEELEN who were also Jamaican landowners and enslavers in St Elizabeth, Jamaica.

Children of John SALMON Jnr and Frances Charlotte COOPER were as follows:

+ 11 i **John Stokes[4] SALMON**.

Generation 4

11. **John Stokes[4] SALMON** (John[3], John[2], Susannah[1] YOUNG and Thomas Stokes SALMON), born 21/06/1821 in New Savannah, St Elizabeth, Jamaica; christened 04/07/1821 in New

Savannah, St Elizabeth, Jamaica; he died aged 36 years old, a few months after his grandfather Hon John Salmon and was buried 12/11/1857 in Bagdale Hall, St Elizabeth, Jamaica. He married on 19/01/1848 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica **Emily Margaret SENIOR**, born 05/05/1830 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica; christened 17/10/1830 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica, daughter of Bernard SENIOR and Elizabeth SENIOR.

Children of John Stokes SALMON and Emily Margaret SENIOR were as follows:

12 i **Elizabeth Frances**[5] **SALMON**, born 13/01/1849 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica. Died 15 Jan 1902 Married 01/07/1870 aged 21 years old to Richard Ramsden. They had many children.

13 ii **John Bernard**[5] **SALMON**, born 03/02/1850 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica; christened 27/07/1851 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica. He died as a young child.

14 iii **Emily Charlotte**[5] **SALMON**, born 23/04/1851 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica; christened 27/07/1851 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica. Married 7/10/1872 aged 21 years old, Frederick Henry Jewell Kay in Worcestershire. She died 13/12/1874, aged 23.

15 iv **Edward Vidal**[5] **SALMON**, born 25/06/1854 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica; christened 17/10/1854 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica. 1871 – 16-year-old scholar in Wales, 1903 - Philadelphia

16 v **Louisa Margaret**[5] **SALMON**, born 04/12/1855 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica; christened 14/06/1856 in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica. She died at home 8 Musgrave Ave, Kingston on 28/11/1889 aged 34, a gentlewoman, spinster with her stepfather, Wilhain Hill present.

Hon John Salmon, in his will, bequeathed the Jamaican property - Vauxhall Estate to his eldest grandson's daughters and Edward Vidal Salmon, the children of John Stokes Salmon. John Stokes Salmon may have had a terminal health condition and thus the protection of his children's future until 21 years old. He died a few months later, aged 36 years old. Hon John Salmon requested his son, John Salmon Jnr, and friend solicitor Matthew Smith Farquharson, use £1000 to clear, restock and cultivate the land, then to acquire the finest heifers to breed and raise the choicest stock for the young family.

Elizabeth Frances SALMON, a white woman was the 2nd great granddaughter of Susannah YOUNG, a free mulatto woman. On application to the Jamaican council, Susannah Young's children were granted equal rights and privileges as white people as of 1791. They were not however, legally allowed to vote.

Reference:

Susannah Young's information found in Gloucestershire Record Office References to Black & Asian People, pre-1939. the following entry: 'Thornbury P330 IN 1/5. Her will TNA Prob 11/1294. Thomas Stokes Salmon's will PROB 11/1256/107 dated. 13 February 1795.

See CO/139/47 (818) Susannah Young of the parish of St Elizabeth, a free mulatto woman and her children William Salmon, John Salmon, Charles Salmon, Edward Salmon, Sarah Salmon, Anne Salmon, Susannah Salmon, free quadroons, to all rights and privileges under certain restrictions 16.12.1791.

APPENDIX 5 - TOOLS AND TECHNOLOGIES USED TO CAPTURE AND INTERROGATE DATA

The data for this thesis is stored on two databases of which one contained record mined from the Slavery Compensation administration and specifically designed for the project. The other is a specialist application for the recording of genealogical information (Personal Ancestry File or PAF). The bespoke database contains a collection of information gathered from the Slavery Compensation administration which includes information on all claimants, counterclaimants, correspondences, number of enslaved, name of property, awards, actual payments made, interest added and all relevant dates and property information as available.

It also includes information on all individuals involved in either making claims or receiving awards or both, and information on gender and ethnicity, as well as kinship ties between those individuals where they are identified from the parish birth, marriage, and death records, including dissenter records. Further information was derived from wills, probates, deeds, and all letters attached or linked to the compensation claims, including information on whether the award was retained in Britain or Europe. The database was designed in a way that allowed the recording of many individuals linked to a particular claim and many claims linked to the particular individual. This allows a level of sophisticated reporting combining slavery compensation information with personal information such as racial category and family links with other claimants and awardees within the database. The source data of all tables and charts presented in chapter 5 has been derived from reports produced using this database.

Database Architecture

The database was constructed based on data retrieved from slavery compensation records (including contested and counter claim records) for the Jamaican administrative Parishes of St. Elizabeth and Manchester. Additional person information (such as ethnicity, gender, and family connections) was derived from civil and parish birth records. The definition of a claim is an administrative record of one or more individuals laying claim to one or more enslaved people per property or estate. The database links person's data with compensation claim and awards data.

The database was developed in Microsoft Access, using tables in one-to-many or many-to-many relationships between datasets, to enable individuals to be linked to multiple claims and each claim to enable multiple claimants and beneficiaries of claims (i.e., one claim can consist of more than one claimant, one property can have many owners, and one person can have many claims). This allows detailed filtering and querying of data in a way not possible via simple spreadsheets or other forms of one-dimensional tables.

As not all claimants received an award for their claim and not all awards were the result of an original claim or counterclaim, the claimants' and beneficiaries' data have been stored in separate tables. Each claim is given a unique reference number (the database uses the number allocated by the claims administrators), and the system allocates a unique ID number to each person. The Claimants and Beneficiaries tables store each unique number to enable the 'many-to-many' relationship between claims and persons (i.e., one claim can relate to more than one person and one person can relate to more than one claim). (see relationship architecture diagram below)

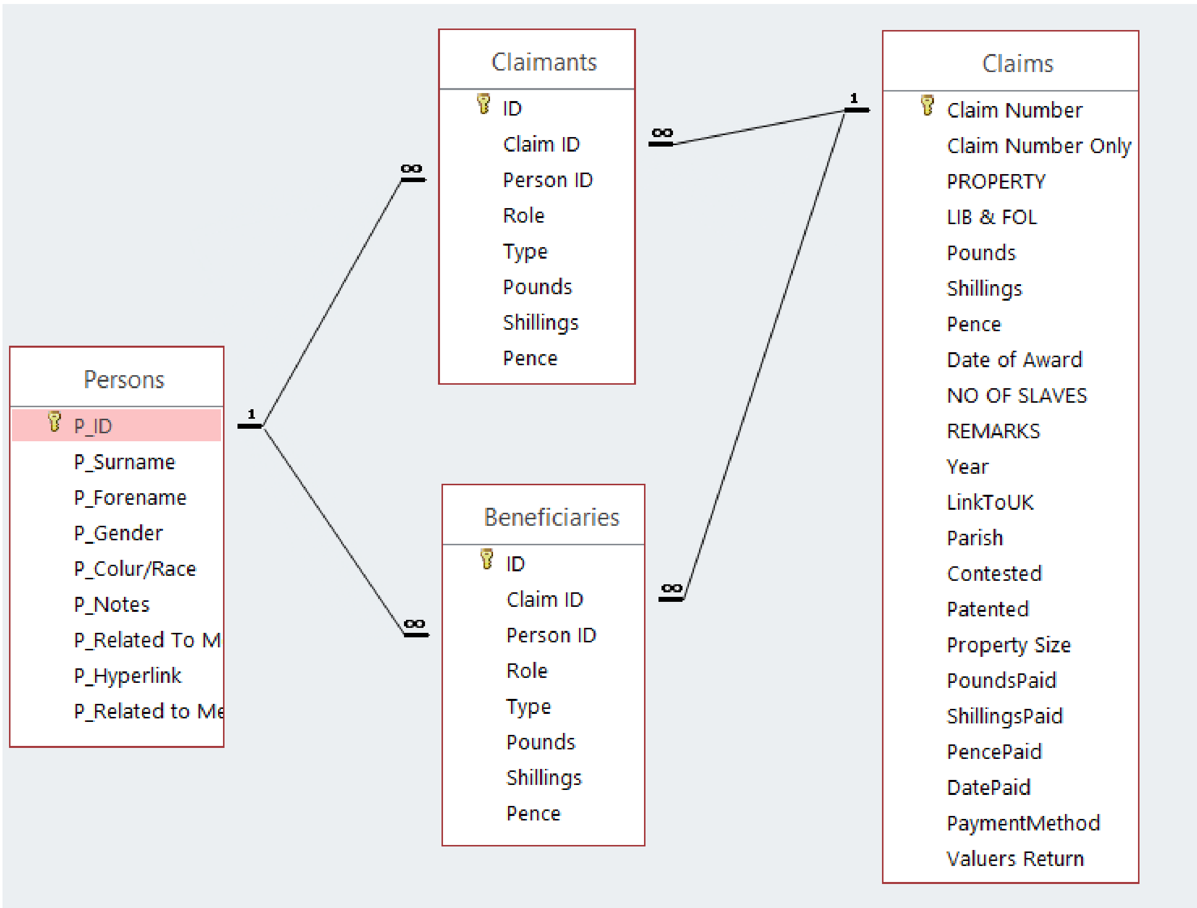


FIGURE A-1: ENTITY RELATIONSHIP DIAGRAM – PERSONS/CLAIMS

The database also tracks relationships between persons, which enables reporting on family and kinship ties within claimants and beneficiaries. The database architecture for person relationships includes a separate 'Person Relationships' Table that stores relationship data when there is a relationship within data of the Persons table itself.

See diagram below which shows the Persons' table twice, with 2 unique persons identifier and relationship details stored in a Person Relationship table.

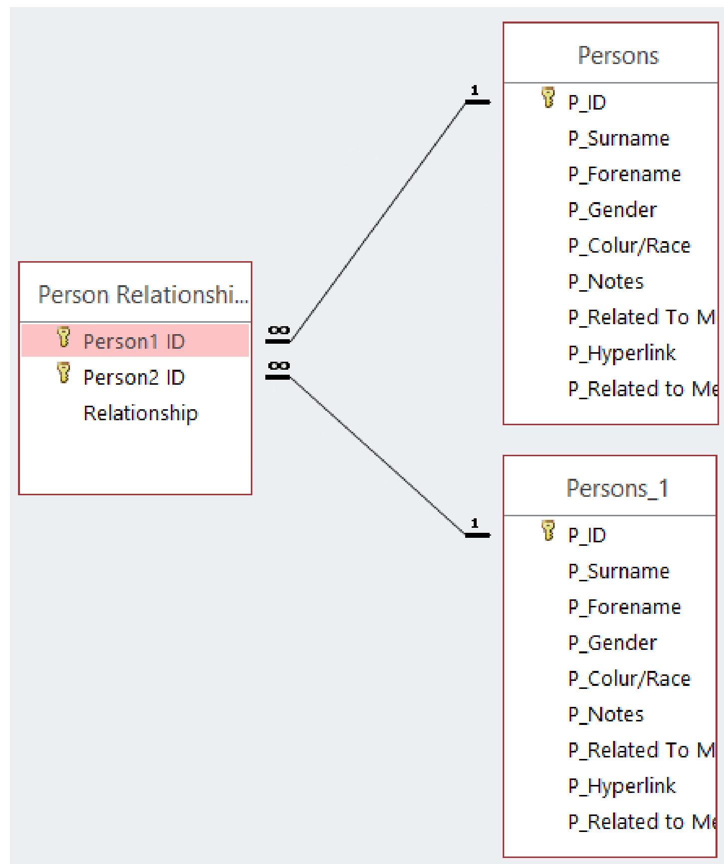


FIGURE A-2: ENTITY RELATIONSHIP DIAGRAM – PERSONS WITH EACH OTHER

Database User Interface

Data entry was undertaken via two different screens or pages. One was focused on claim number as the unique identifier. This includes all information directly linked to a claim, such as name of the property, amount claimed, amount awarded in total, date of awards, date of collection, any notes, and additional relevant information linked to the particular claim. It also allows the adding of an unlimited number of individuals linked to this claim, either as claimants, or beneficiaries, or both. The second data entry screen is a record of all individuals involved in the claims and any information specific to those individuals, such as gender, ethnicity, racial category (referred to as 'colour'), relationship with other individuals within

the database, and any relevant additional notes and information relating specifically to the individual are included.

Claim No 179 | Add New Person | Add New Claim | Go To Home Screen | Close

Claim No (Unique) SE179

Claimants

Surname	Forename	Gender	Colour/Race	Role	Notes
MULLINGS	Montaque James	Male	Quadroon	Owner	☑
HENDRICKS	Herman	Male	White	Counter Claimant	☑
ATKINSON	George	Male	White	Counter Claimant	☑
DALY	James	Male	White	Counter Claimant	☑
CHAMBERS	Richard	Male	White	Counter Claimant	☑
ARCHER	John	Male	White	Counter Claimant	☑

Record: 1 of 6 No Filter Search

Beneficiaries/Awardees

Surname	Forename	Gender	Colour/Race	Role	£	S	d	Notes
CHAMBERS	Richard	Male	White	Creditor	81	7	7	☑ C
DALY	James	Male	White	Creditor	508	19	1	☑ C
MULLINGS	John	Male	Quadroon	Executor	435	2	1	☑ C
MULLINGS	Montaque James	Male	Quadroon	Owner	435	2	1	☑ C

Record: 1 of 4 No Filter Search

PROPERTY: Mount Pleasant

ACRES: PATENTED? No

PARISH: St. Elizabeth

Total Claim Details

	Pounds	Shillings	Pence
Valuers Return:			
Claim:	1460	10	10
Total Paid:			

Number of Slaves: 59

Contested? Yes

Payment Method:

DATE AWARDED: 27/11/1837

DATE PAID::

LIB/FOiL 132/175 Link To UK

And 9 other joint heirs of the Estate of John Mullings Snr dec'd. John Mullings Jnr was the Executor. No award in T71/1326. T7870 No. 1066 Many counter claimants:
Herman Hendricks creditor on promisory note for £260, George Atkinson, James Daly, Richard Patterson & W.J. Richardson assignees of Herman |Hendricks, J. Archer and Rigland Chambers. CC11122.
Award adjudged to; James Daley £508 19s 1d and Richard Chambers £81 7s 7d dated 15 May 1837. All others withdrew their claims.

No evidence of when the award was collected, by whom and the amount of interest added.

Figure A-3: Sample compensation claim data entry screen

Person ID 179 | Persons Report | Close

SURNAME MULLINGS | GENDER Male | Family Link? No | Relationships Report

FIRST NAME Montaque James | COLOUR Quadroon

Relationships

Surname	Forename	Relationship
ALLEN	Susan Green	Cousin
ALLEN	Esther Maria	Cousin
ALLEN	Amelia Brooks	Cousin
BROMFIELD	John Frederick	Cousin-in-law
BROMFIELD	Lucy Facy Seat	Cousin-in-law
BROMFIELD	John Mullings	Cousin
HARRIOTT	Susannah	Mother
LYNCH	Sophia Mullings	Sister
MULLINGS	Priscilla	Sister
MULLINGS	Caroline August	Cousin-in-law

Record: 1 of 32 No Filter Search

Claims/Awards

Claim No	Property	Role	Type	Slaves	Total Claim (£	S	d)	Award (£	S	d)
SE179	Mount Pleasant	Owner	Claimant	59	1460	10	10			
SE179	Mount Pleasant	Owner	Beneficiary	59				435	2	1
SE180	St. Elizabeth	Owner	Claimant	5	135	12	0			
SE334	St. Elizabeth	Joint Executor	Claimant	3	79	16	8			
SE928	St. Elizabeth	Joint executor	Claimant	5	137	9	5			
SE928	St. Elizabeth	Executor	Beneficiary	5				143	18	11
					1811			578		

Record: 1 of 6 No Filter Search

REMARKS/NOTES:

Born 20 March 1793, bap 14 April 1793 to John Mullings and Susanna Harriott. FHL 1368561 p.66. Both parents were originally registered under white but by the time they had Susannah Harriott Mullings in 1802, they were free Quadroons.

He married Sara Finn 24 June 1816. Film 1368561 p317.

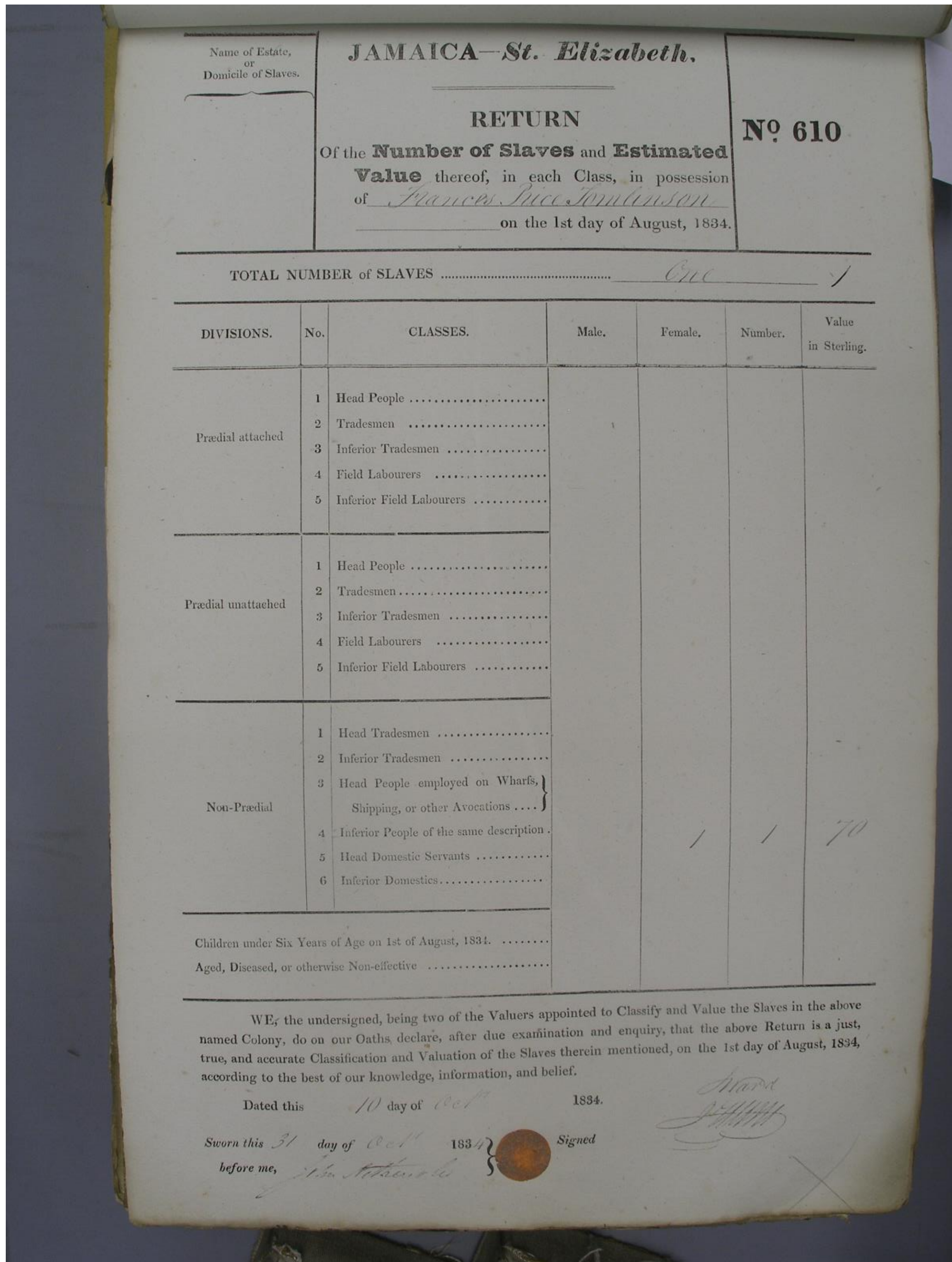
Figure A-4: Sample People Details data entry screen

This database is a significant tool in linking information researched about individuals such as racial category and kinship ties with properties, compensation claims, and awards, thus allowing the production of reports, which provide previously unidentified knowledge of the proportion of white or mixed-race beneficiaries of compensation awards and thus slave ownership.

Genealogical Database

To ascertain heritage of African descent and capture the genealogical links of these families, ongoing analysis of data from the Family History library films and fiche were captured on the second database - Personal Ancestry File (PAF), with reporting tools using Family Insight and PAF Companion. This application is specifically designed for the purposes of establishing links between individual records in the form of relationships, such as child/parent, couple, and sibling and captures records of births, marriages, and deaths or burials of the free women of colour in St. Elizabeth and Manchester, with their family connections, sibling groups, and marriages. In some cases, the evidence will include the white wife of the concubinage relationship with her legitimate children.

APPENDIX 6 – SAMPLE VALUER's RETURN (Frances Price Tomlinson)



Name of Estate, or Domicile of Slaves.

JAMAICA—*St. Elizabeth.*

RETURN

Of the **Number of Slaves** and **Estimated Value** thereof, in each Class, in possession of *Frances Price Tomlinson* on the 1st day of August, 1834.

Nº 610

TOTAL NUMBER of SLAVES .... *One* *1*

DIVISIONS.	No.	CLASSES.	Male.	Female.	Number.	Value in Sterling.
Prædial attached	1	Head People				
	2	Tradesmen				
	3	Inferior Tradesmen				
	4	Field Labourers				
	5	Inferior Field Labourers				
Prædial unattached	1	Head People				
	2	Tradesmen				
	3	Inferior Tradesmen				
	4	Field Labourers				
	5	Inferior Field Labourers				
Non-Prædial	1	Head Tradesmen				
	2	Inferior Tradesmen				
	3	Head People employed on Wharfs, Shipping, or other Avocations				
	4	Inferior People of the same description		*1*	*1*	*70*
	5	Head Domestic Servants				
	6	Inferior Domestics				
Children under Six Years of Age on 1st of August, 1834.						
Aged, Diseased, or otherwise Non-effective						

WE, the undersigned, being two of the Valuers appointed to Classify and Value the Slaves in the above named Colony, do on our Oaths declare, after due examination and enquiry, that the above Return is a just, true, and accurate Classification and Valuation of the Slaves therein mentioned, on the 1st day of August, 1834, according to the best of our knowledge, information, and belief.

Dated this *10* day of *Oct* 1834.

Sworn this *31* *day of* *Oct* 183*4* } *Signed*

before me,

FIGURE A-5: COPY OF VALUERS RETURN AS COMPLETED FOR FRANCES PRICE TOMLINSON

APPENDIX 7 – WORTON HALL belonging to Henry and Elizabeth Wint Cerf

FIGURE A-6: WORTON HALL, ISLEWORTH, WEST LONDON STILL OWNED WITHIN THE CERF FAMILY WAS A 40 ROOM MANSION ORIGINALLY BUILT IN 1783 BY RICH MERCHANTS AND BECAME THE ISLEWORTH FILM STUDIO.

In The African Queen, inset, Humphrey Bogart and Katharine Hepburn are depicted as making a life-or-death boat journey on a lethal Congo river. In fact the river was a water tank, built on one of Isleworth Studio's stage, based at Worton Hall

This article appeared in The Richmond and Twickenham Times January 2013 (Sampson 2013).

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