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Vineyard: A Jamaican Cattle Pen, 1750-1751

Carol Stiles

College of William & Mary - Arts & Sciences

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VINEYARD: A JAMAICAN CATTLE PEN
1750 - 1751

A Thesis
Presented to
The Faculty of the Department of History
The College of William and Mary in Virginia

In Partial Fulfillment
Of the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts

by
Carol Stiles
1985
APPROVAL SHEET

This thesis is submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

Carol Stiles

Approved, August 1985

Philip Morgan
Judith Ewell
James F. Whittenburg
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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The author wishes to thank Professor Philip Morgan, who guided this research from start to finish, for his many helpful comments and especially for allowing me to use the Thistlewood diary. The author is also indebted to Professor Judith Ewell and Professor James P. Whittenburg for their reading and criticism of the manuscript.
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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to examine the pattern of slave labor on a Jamaican cattle pen in the eighteenth century, and to compare it to slave labor patterns on Jamaican sugar estates during the same period.

One year from the diary of Vineyard Pen's overseer, Thomas Thistlewood, was read through, indexed according to subject, and analyzed. Everything that was learned about the slaves at Vineyard Pen as well as the pen itself came from Thistlewood's records.

After securing a picture of the slaves' daily life at Vineyard, a comparison was made of slaves on sugar estates. As was expected, there were noticeable differences. The slave labor system at Vineyard was based on unskilled labor and was not hierarchically organized, while the sugar estates employed a regimented system, depending in part on skilled slave labor.

This thesis suggests that slave labor systems on cattle pens and non-sugar producing plantations in colonial Jamaica were less killing and less organized than those on the sugar estates.
CHAPTER I

THE LAY OF THE LAND AND THOMAS THISTLEWOOD

Geography of Jamaica, St. Elizabeth Parish, and Vineyard Pen in 1750

The island of Jamaica lies ninety miles to the south of Cuba and one thousand miles west of the Lesser Antilles. It is approximately the size of Connecticut: 145 miles long by 50 miles wide totaling 4450 square miles. The largest of Great Britain’s West Indies colonies, it was divided by a government act in 1758 into nineteen parishes and, in 1773, into twenty parishes. By the latter half of the eighteenth century Jamaica had a provincial capital, Spanish Town located in the southeast, and two sub-provincial capitals: Kingston, also in the southeast, and Savanna la Mar in the southwest.

Jamaica’s population in the mid-eighteenth century totaled 219,617 persons: 12,737 whites, 4,093 non-white free persons, and 202,787 black slaves. The population was spread throughout the island, but was denser in the sugar producing regions. The demand of large-scale sugar producers for huge slave labor forces worked to maintain the island’s unequal racial distribution. Whites in Jamaica comprised an island in a sea of black faces.

Jamaica’s terrain is rugged and arid. In the east, the Blue Mountains rise to 7,400 feet and are rough and
difficult to cultivate. During the eighteenth century, the mountains were of little agricultural value, except for small-scale coffee production. The rest of Jamaica seldom reaches above 3,000 feet in altitude, and much of it resembles prairie land—flat, scrappy, and dry with many grassy savannas and few trees.

Both terrain and soil combine to make Jamaica's land generally difficult to cultivate. Four-fifths of the island is a pitted white limestone plateau. The porous quality of its soil causes it to be continually dry, and the land's sharp descent to the sea contributes to soil erosion. Cultivation problems are further complicated by heavy seasonal rainfall followed by long periods of drought. May-November is the wet season with annual average rainfalls of thirty to one-hundred inches, but during December-April little rain falls.

In Jamaica there is always the risk of hurricanes and earthquakes. During the period 1770-1820 Jamaica was hit with ten hurricanes and rocked by seventeen earthquakes. A hostile terrain and an unpredictable climate were conditions to which colonial island inhabitants had to adjust.

At 1750 St. Elizabeth Parish took up almost 605 square miles of Jamaica, making it the island's largest parish. Lacovia, the parish seat, had two noteworthy taverns, a dozen or so homes most of which belonged to Jews, the court house, one church, and better than average roads. Much of St. Elizabeth was barren; it supported neither crops nor people particularly well. In 1768 a population consisting
JAMAICA: LAND USE AND SETTLEMENTS IN 1790
of less than 1,000 whites, 7,575 slaves, and 13,500 cattle was sparsely spread over the vast region. Four rivers—the Black, YS, Hector, and Broad—and several tributaries crisscrossed St. Elizabeth and it was bordered on the south by the sea, but, like much of Jamaica, access to water did not benefit the parish's soil. The plains suffered from rain shadow. While the Blue Mountains drew rainfall in average annual amounts of over two-hundred inches, the flatlands drew average annual amounts of less than forty inches, leaving the land too arid for cultivation. In 1750 Thomas Thistlewood complained about the arid conditions at Vineyard Pen:

Altho' we have had Such Abundance of Rain in Westmorland before I left it, and now have a vast falls Daily within 3 or 4 miles of us, yet we can get none, has been exces-sive Dry many months, Vegetables all Scorch'd up--The Clouds are Atracted by the Mountains.

In one part of St. Elizabeth the Broad and YS rivers meet the Black River, which goes on to weave through the Great Morass. Taking up over twenty-thousand acres of St. Elizabeth, the Great Morass was another contributory factor to the parish's soil-poor condition. Swampy and prone to flooding (occasionally flooding nearby Lacovia), the Great Morass was hopelessly uninhabited and uncultivable,
although in 1774 optimistic historian Edward Long believed that the "waste morass . . . could it be drained, might form many capital plantations." 16

As early as the 1660s cattle pens operated in Jamaica as independent or semi-independent stock suppliers to sugar estates. Areas on the island which proved unsatisfactory for sugar production were turned into pasture lands for cattle or into cotton works, coffee and ginger plantations, or pimento walks as the soil allowed. By 1751 approximately five hundred pens with a combined total of 67,000 slaves, cattle, and mules occupied 108,000 acres of Jamaica, compared to 680 sugar estates with a total of 105,000 slaves and a combined total of 65,000 cattle, mules, and horses. There were also 150 coffee plantations, 110 cotton works, 100 pimento walks, and 30 ginger plantations. 17 Jamaica in the mid-eighteenth century may be characterized as a sugar monoculture, but pens played an important role in the island's economy. Pens provided the stock necessary to keep sugar works operating and transporting sugar to the ports for export.

Unlike the sugar estates, pens were dependent on the internal market for their profits. A successful sugar economy, by demanding a steady supply of cattle and other livestock, helped to ensure a healthy pen economy. The best livestock for sugar estate work was believed to be raised on pens located along Jamaica's southern plains. St. Elizabeth was situated on the southern plains, and poll tax rolls show that by the early nineteenth century it had become a
major pen parish.\textsuperscript{18}

Directly bordering the Great Morass and nine or ten miles west of Lacovia, Vineyard Pen occupied approximately 945 acres of partly swamp, partly savanna lands. Its land use can be roughly gauged from a 1823 map of the pen, as there is little reason to suppose that the pen would have radically changed since the 1750s considering its remote and relatively undesirable location.\textsuperscript{19}

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\caption{Estimated Land Use at Vineyard Pen}
\begin{tabular}{ll}
\textbf{use} & \textbf{approximate acreage} \\
\hline
guinea grass & 95.25 \\
common pasture & 185.135 \\
woodland and ruinate & 135.200 \\
Negro ground and ruinate & 10.30 \\
woodland, ruinate, and morass & 389.300 \\
lowlands attached to pen & 42.00 \\
[illegible] sand & 86.00 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{table}

During his first weeks at Vineyard Thistlewood walked around the property and recorded what he saw, allowing us to visualize his new surroundings. Buildings on the property included the Great House, overseer's house, slave houses, stock house, and corn mill. Pens had been constructed to contain cattle, sheep, goats, horses, and mules. Poultry--hens, capons, chickens, turkeys, and ducks--were also raised at Vineyard as were pigs. The corn ground, corn piece, Negro New Ground, and the newly cleared interval were the principal planting grounds. A plantain walk of about 1,800 trees was also part of the pen.\textsuperscript{20}
MAP 2

VINEYARD PEN
On July 1, 1750 Thomas Thistlewood arrived at Vineyard Pen at 4 p.m., having set out from Westmorland Parish at dawn. He settled into the overseer's house, which measured fifteen and one-half by thirty and one-half square feet. Thistlewood, a twenty-nine year old bachelor and native of Lincolnshire, England, was hired by Vineyard's owner, Florentius Vassall of Westmorland Parish, as pen overseer for £50 per annum. Thistlewood remained as overseer of Vineyard Pen for eighteen months. He left the pen in December 1751, to manage Egypt, a sugar estate, in nearby Westmorland Parish. He continued at Egypt until 1767, when he bought his own property, Breadnut Island Pen, where he lived until his death in 1786.

Thistlewood arrived at Vineyard Pen a stranger to the land and the customs of the slave population. In addition to becoming physically acclimated to Jamaica, Thistlewood had to adjust to living in a slave society. Thistlewood was not the first overseer at Vineyard—the slaves' work routines were already established when he arrived. Still, Thistlewood needed to learn what was involved in operating Vineyard—what the daily work routines were, which slaves did particular jobs, how to purchase supplies and livestock, and when and what to feed the slaves. Thistlewood was an outsider at Vineyard in the summer of 1750; the slaves were the insiders.

In addition to the pen's labor routines, Thistlewood learned many things from the slaves which made his transi-
tion to life in Jamaica easier. He learned how to successfully exploit the "waste morass" and found that it was not without its rewards. Thistlewood learned methods for baiting and capturing alligators as well as where in the Great Morass to fish for crabs, mud fish, cony-fish, and land turtles and how to catch and prepare diving dappers for dinner.22

Thistlewood learned how to eat the "mulatto"* dishes the slaves prepared from corn and flour. He also acquired a taste for particular tropical fruits and vegetables: star-apples, alligator pears, wangla, plantains, and Jamaican beans.23

The slaves showed their overseer how to make a wall plaster from water and cow dung, how to rescue livestock stuck in the morass, and when to call in the nearby medicine woman to cure ailing slaves. Thistlewood learned many local terms from the slaves: "fungee" (boiled corn), "gongo" (pigeon peas), "jongo" (mushrooms), and "merry-wang" (slave fiddle).24

Thistlewood got to know Vineyard's slaves on an individual basis through his sexual encounters with female slaves and through his system of slave punishment and reward. (These topics will be covered in a later chapter.)

Collectively, the slaves were Thistlewood's major human contact, but he did develop business and personal relationships with whites living nearby during his first year.

* Thistlewood sometimes used this term to describe the slaves and their customs.
at Vineyard. Thistlewood corresponded with and made visits to Benjamin Clarke, overseer of Saltspring Estate, Nicholas Bennett, a Black River tavern owner, Samuel Coulson, overseer of Joland Plantation, and Mr. Dorrill, a local store-owner.  

By eighteenth-century standards Thistlewood was an educated man. He was literate, knew at least enough arithmetic to keep account books and do inventories, and knew the rudiments of drafting. He was reading Pope’s Essay on Man during his first week at Vineyard, and Nicholas Bennett asked him to teach his son to write. Thistlewood took time to read a letter for Tamtoo, an illiterate Saltspring Estate driver. Thistlewood fashioned himself as a gentleman. He owned a red waistcoat and paid fifteen shillings for a pair of dress pumps, which he carefully waxed.  

Jamaica was a different world from England, and Thistlewood had a great many adjustments to make. The tropical climate was unpredictable; Thistlewood often complained that it was either too hot and dry or unusually stormy. On Saturday, November 24, St. Elizabeth was rocked by an earthquake, and Thistlewood described the event:

Abt half an hour past Seven O Clock in the Morning . . . heard a kind of a soaring Noise to NE, not much unlike the Roaring of wind in a forest (which surpriz'd me, it being Calm and not a Cloud in Sight) . . . immediately heard the house Crack as if some great force was heaving against the Roof and felt the Shock of an Earthquake, which was over in some few Seconds.
The biggest adjustment Thistlewood had to make was to black slave society. Thistlewood lived in a black world. He was the only white person at Vineyard, and his direct contacts with other whites were irregular and infrequent. For instance, he complained that from December 19 to January 8 he did not see one white face. He depended on Vineyard's black slaves to teach him about the estate and about Jamaica, which in many ways was more their society than his—at least, in the beginning.

Thistlewood's diary for 1750-1751 is a personal view of life on a Jamaican cattle pen. Thistlewood did not write a memoir; rather, he carefully recorded the day-to-day routines at Vineyard. His observations and curiosity make the diary significant because, through it, we can learn much about cattle pen society in the eighteenth century. The structure of the slave population, agricultural organization, and slave labor patterns begin to take shape for us through Thistlewood's eyes. A picture of Jamaican pen society from the viewpoint of one of its members unfolds.
CHAPTER II
THE SLAVE POPULATION AT VINEYARD PEN

The Size of the Labor Force and the Pen

Much about the slave population at Vineyard Pen stood in marked contrast to the slave labor units on Jamaica's sugar estates. The sheer size of both the labor force and the land area dictated a different work system.

In many respects, Vineyard Pen can be compared to a large (by eighteenth-century colonial standards) farm. Its 945 acres of partly fertile and partly swamp land had many purposes. At Vineyard, livestock was raised, crops were grown, and timber was cut. The distribution of Vineyard's labor force was perhaps the major contribution to the farm-like environment of the pen. The slave complement at Vineyard in 1750 consisted of forty-two slaves: one slave for every 22.5 acres of land. The pen's labor force was much more dispersed than the labor forces of Jamaican sugar estates.

The labor supply of two typical Jamaican sugar estates reveals a different picture. In 1740 Worthy Park's 1,300 total acres were worked by a slave population of 250, or one slave per 5.2 acres. Since only 525 acres were actually used at Worthy Park—250 cane acres, 200 pasture acres, and 75 secondary crop acres—the ratio of slaves to acres was actually 1:2. Early in the nineteenth century, Mesopotamia plantation, which was 2,448 acres in size, maintained a slave
population of over 300 or one slave per 8 acres. Four hundred acres of Mesopotamia were cane fields, and if the estate's acreage is estimated as the typical sugar plantation— one-third cane, one-third secondary crops and pasture, one-third woodland for lumber and expansion— that would leave roughly one slave for about every 2.5 acres.  

Pen slaves were less able to disappear into the anonymity that the sugar estates' huge labor forces allowed. This was a physical disadvantage for Vineyard's slaves, because individually each of them was more important to the pen than the field slave was to the sugar estate. But at the same time, there may have been certain advantages to being a pen slave. A smaller slave labor force probably generated a greater degree of intimacy among the slaves, thereby creating a more cohesive slave community. Also, Vineyard's widely dispersed labor force probably facilitated more individual slave freedom, through less regimentation and supervision, than on neighboring sugar estates.

The Demographic Structure of the Slave Population

Thistlewood's diary entry for July 15, 1750 includes a list of the pen's slaves and their place of origin. As Table 2 shows, the labor force was fairly evenly divided between male and female workers, and between Africans and Creoles:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>African</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>28.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Vineyard Pen's slave sex ratio was unusual in comparison to other slave labor units in Jamaica. B. W. Higman tells us that prior to the abolition of the slave trade to Jamaica in 1807, "the masters showed a clear preference for males when they made purchases from the slavers' ships." Male slaves predominated in rural areas of the island while female slaves predominated in urban areas such as Kingston, Spanish Town, and Port Maria. St. Elizabeth, a rural parish, continued to have a higher male slave sex ratio even after the abolition of the slave trade, when the ratio of male slaves to female slaves declined dramatically throughout the island. Given its remote location, Vineyard's sexually balanced slave labor force is somewhat surprising.

The size of Vineyard's labor force should have dictated a predominantly male slave population. Small slave holdings, those in the twenty-one to one hundred range, had a higher ratio of male slaves to female slaves. While sugar estates preferred male slaves, the killing work regime of these estates contributed to high rates of male slave mortality. The large slave labor forces of the sugar estates, therefore, generally contained more women than might be expected. Worthy Park's 1730 slave population of 257 included 112 females (43.6%), Mesopotamia's 1799 slave popu-
lation of 364 included 174 females (47.8%), and Irwin Estate's 1821 slave population of 259 included 124 females (47.9%).

But this was not the case on the smaller estates which grew coffee, pimento, and other minor staples. In general, as the size of the slave labor force in Jamaica increased, the sex ratio became more balanced. Vineyard's small slave labor force should have been predominantly masculine. Instead it was forty-five percent female.

The ratio of African slaves to Creole slaves at Vineyard was also fairly evenly balanced, with 45.3% of the labor force African and 54.7% Creole. Vineyard's African/Creole ratio was in line with the general ratio for the island. Throughout the eighteenth century the rate of Africans coming into Jamaica rose steadily, so that by 1807 Africans comprised 45% of the total slave population. The African/Creole ratio was closely related to the sex ratio, and here is where Vineyard was different. At Vineyard, one would expect the majority of African slaves to be male and the majority of Creole slaves to be female but, in fact, the opposite was true. Vineyard's African population was 63.1% female and its Creole population was 69.6% male.

Unfortunately, Thistlewood did not include the age or physical condition of the slave labor force in his list, so these variables cannot be compared to those of the sugar plantations. But Thistlewood's diary does reveal interesting information about Vineyard's slave population.
slave labor force was much smaller than those of the sugar estates, had a healthier sex ratio than most comparable small estates and even sugar estates (at least when they operated under optimum conditions), and had, rather unusually, more African females than males and more Creole males than females.

Relation of Slaves and Overseer

Thistlewood's role as overseer of a sugar estate in Jamaica would have been drastically different from his role at Vineyard. The daily personal contact he had with slaves at the pen would be noticeably absent on a sugar estate.

By 1750 Jamaica's Deficiency Law was virtually unheeded. The long-standing law was intended to maintain a fixed ratio of blacks to whites throughout the island. For the first ten blacks on any estate two white persons were required. For every ten blacks thereafter one white man was required. Vineyard Pen with its 42:1 ratio did not meet up to the Deficiency Law's requirements, but the violation was more pronounced on Jamaica's sugar estates, where the size of the white staff did not keep pace with the slave complement. The operation of a successful sugar estate simply required a slave labor force larger than Jamaica's limited white population could match.

Thistlewood would have confronted a slave labor force five to eight times larger than Vineyard's on a sugar estate. A January 1745 inventory of the vast holdings of
Henry Dawkins shows that three Jamaican sugar estates he owned had slave populations in the 200-370 range. Meso­potamia estate had a slave labor force numbering more than 300 (its staff of white personnel resident on the plantation did not exceed seven men). Worthy Park had a slave labor force of 250. All of these estates were in the 1,300-2,779 acre range, so Thistlewood would have been responsible for overseeing both more slaves and more land than he was responsible for at Vineyard.\(^\text{42}\)

Sugar estate slaves were probably subject to harsher punishment than pen slaves because they were constantly supervised. As overseer of Vineyard Thistlewood alone was responsible for the slave labor force; he had no staff of white subordinates to aid him. Thistlewood could only be in one place at one time when among the pen's dispersed slave population, so he had less opportunity to catch pen slaves off their guard.

Despite running the pen single-handed, Thistlewood would probably have commanded a larger salary than he was paid by Florentius Vassall had he been overseer of a sugar estate—even though he would not be expected to manage the estate alone. By the end of the eighteenth century overseers' salaries in Jamaica were estimated between £140-200, and sometimes rose to as much as £300 on a big estate. The day-to-day management of a sugar estate was in some regards similar to the management of Vineyard. Responsibilities included bookkeeping, maintaining the stock house, distribu-
ting food and clothing to slaves, assigning and supervising slave labor, and punishing slaves.\textsuperscript{43}

But the sugar estates had a staff of white personnel to manage all these duties. Mesopotamia was managed by a group of white men which included one overseer, five or six bookkeepers/craftsmen, and two or three men who lived at the estate's stock house a few miles away. Like Thistlewood, most of the white men at Mesopotamia were single and stayed on the account books only one or two years (Thistlewood remained at Vineyard for eighteen months). On a sugar estate Thistlewood would have supervised his staff of subordinates, assigned daily work quotas for the slaves, supervised the running of the Great House (although as at Vineyard, the owner would probably have been an absentee--local, but not of the island itself), and during crop time kept a careful watch on the quality of sugar and rum being produced.\textsuperscript{44} He would not have had the routine close contact with the slave population that he was forced to have at Vineyard in order to do his job.
CHAPTER III
SLAVE LABOR ORGANIZATION AND ROUTINES

Labor Organization

Sugar estate slaves worked closely together and at specified jobs; the same was not true at Vineyard Pen. Slave occupations at the pen varied in degree of responsibility, but none seems to have required a high level of skill. Unlike the sugar estates, the labor force at Vineyard was not structured to include specialized occupations—there were no carpenters, wheelwrights, or coopers among the pen slaves. There were obviously no sugar boilers or distillers. Male slaves garnered most of the specialized jobs, whereas women could only specialize in domestic work. As might be expected, Creole slaves, both male and female, were assigned the more responsible work: 45

TABLE 3. SLAVE OCCUPATIONS AT VINEYARD PEN

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agricultural</th>
<th>Domestic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 driver</td>
<td>7 messengers*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 gardner</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 watchmen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 goatherd</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Messengers also worked as pen keepers and field hands.
2 shepherds
4 pen keepers
1 crab catcher/handyman

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Female</th>
<th>2 shepherdesses</th>
<th>2 assistant house maids</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1 housemaid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1 washerwoman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1 water carrier</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Male</th>
<th>African</th>
<th>0</th>
<th>2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Creole</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Female</th>
<th>African</th>
<th>0</th>
<th>1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Creole</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total known occupations 28

Daily work at Vineyard varied greatly in type and degree of difficulty. Work was assigned to individuals; the gang system of the sugar estates and the task system of the coffee estates were not employed at the pen. Thistlewood's diary reveals three broad labor patterns: livestock work, agricultural work, and domestic work. The majority of the slaves' time was spent tending livestock and performing agricultural jobs.46

Few of the slaves at Vineyard had specific jobs assigned to them. The slave who built and repaired fences might also tend provision crops and run Thistlewood's errands. One day a slave would cut boughs for the livestock, and the
next day carry vegetables and fruit to Florentius Vassall. Labor at Vineyard was organized on a very flexible basis. In contrast, slaves on Jamaica's sugar estates were rigidly organized into gangs. They were vertically divided into three broad groups: domestics, skilled labor (especially those slaves with sugar processing skills, such as boilers and distillers), and field slaves. It was among field slaves in particular that a regimented gang system (anywhere from three to five gangs) was emphasized. Unlike Vineyard Pen slaves who performed a variety of tasks, slaves on Jamaican sugar estates were assigned very specific jobs.

Skin color mattered the most in determining a slave's status and authority on the sugar estate; hence, there was little if any job mobility. The highest occupation on the estate was that of boiler; the highest occupation in the field was that of driver. The slaves who held these posts had influence with the white personnel and often interceded with them on behalf of other slaves, but the rest of the slave labor force had little or no contact with the whites. The great majority of sugar estate slaves were assigned field work, which they did day in and day out with little variation. Jamaica's other two monocultural crops, coffee and pimento, were grown in smaller quantities than sugar and required smaller slave labor forces. The exception was the large coffee estates of Manchester Parish, which organized
their large slave labor forces into gangs like those on the sugar estates. Both coffee and pimento estates used the task system—a specific quantity of work was assigned to the slave, who could then finish it at his own pace. Task work differed from gang work in that it was much less regimented. It was also not as physically taxing as work in the cane fields. Slaves on coffee plantations weeded, pruned, picked the beans, and roasted them on barbeques. Pimento growing required little labor beyond weeding out other vegetation and harvesting.  

Because neither coffee nor pimentos required processing, slaves belonging to these estates, like pen slaves, had little opportunity to learn a specialized skill or to rise above the ranks. The slave labor force thereby lacked a finely graded hierarchy common on sugar estates. Opportunities for upward mobility were severely constrained.

Labor organization at Vineyard Pen fell into neither of the two foregoing categories. There was an absence of the regimentation associated with gang labor on a sugar estate and the task allocation common on coffee and pimento estates. Because the work at Vineyard involved more than crops and harvests, labor assignments were far more unpredictable. Most Vineyard slaves were jacks-of-all-trades.

**General Routines**

Thistlewood did not always indicate which slaves performed specific tasks, but his entries indicate some divi-
sion of labor based on sex. Cattle driving and penning, fence-building, and messenger trips were masculine jobs. Maintaining the Great House and the overseer's house devolved upon female slaves. Both sexes tended provision crops and cut and carried boughs and hogmeat home for the cattle.  

In the course of a year, Vineyard's forty-two slaves did many jobs. Rarely were slaves put to the same task for more than a few days at a time. The labor patterns at the pen seem more similar to those on a family-owned farm than they do to the neighboring sugar estates. Work assignments were flexible and took the slaves all over Vineyard. The pen lacked a daily work quota system.

Livestock Work

Thistlewood's diary includes an inventory of all Vineyard Pen stock. There was a total of 222 cattle, including bulls, steer, heifers, cows, bulkins, and calves. Thistlewood also kept eleven mares, four fillies, three colts, two mules, and one ass, which were raised at Vineyard for owner Florentius Vassall. Livestock work was probably done by all the slaves at some time. No slave specialized in attending the cattle.

Naturally, the slaves spent a lot of time tending the livestock. Regularly boughs were cut, carried home, and spread in the pens for bedding. During the summer months this was a daily task. Thistlewood indicates that boughs were usually cut in the morning and carried home at noon.
and at night. Leaves were similarly carried home and spread in the pens, though infrequently.$^4$

Old or sickly cattle were put to the fattening pasture, twenty-three acres adjacent to the pens. As many as fifteen cows were grazing in the fattening pasture at one time. When cattle (and other livestock) died, Thistlewood sometimes had the slaves burn the carcasses.$^5$

Cattle were regularly driven to and from pasture and, in the evening, penned. There was some branding and ear-marking, roping, and bleeding of sick cattle, but these tasks were infrequently performed.$^6$

In August 1750 and again in February 1751, Vineyard suffered from drought. The slaves worked quickly to cut a drain to convey water to the cattle from the Great Morass because the water supply was "shrinking very fast." During both dry spells slaves cut drains.$^7$ In February things got so bad that the slaves were forced to drive the thirsty cattle off the pen. Thistlewood complained:

> We have been forced to drive our fattening cattle to Foxes Trench to water every day this week, which takes up the Time of some of our hands.$^8$

Hogmeat and grass were fodder for the animals, so naturally the slaves carried it home frequently. Hogmeat was either preferred or more readily available at Vineyard because the slaves carried it home eighty days during the year, compared to thirty-one days of carrying grass.$^9$

At various times during the year, the pens were repaired and the pasture cleaned of bramble. One day
during the summer the slaves made livestock ropes. 60

Agricultural Work

Tending provision crops also consumed much of the slaves' waking hours. The slaves were responsible for cultivating corn, penguins, plantains, peas, potatoes, and cassada—Vineyard's principal crops. Like livestock work, provision crops were not the domain of any slave in particular—everyone tended them regularly. 61

The slaves hoed the corn ground in January and planted corn from February through November, but most of the corn was planted in March. Once the corn was ready it was gathered and transported to the Great House, where it was stored in one of the chambers. On a typical day, the slaves might gather and transport two to four waine loads of corn to the Great House. Corn husking was usually done at night. Like much of the work at Vineyard Pen, it was not carried out to any discernable pattern. Slaves husked corn in August and September, and January through May. Thistlewood recorded only one instance of corn milling at the pen. 62

A range of other crops were grown and harvested at Vineyard. Penguins were carried to the field and planted during the September-December period. Plantain suckers were received year round at Vineyard, but were planted in September and October only. Vineyard's plantain ground was eleven and one-half or twelve acres. Potato slips were sent to Thistlewood by Nicholas Bennett, a Black River tavern owner, and by Florentius Vassall. Potato slips, peas, and cassada
were planted during the fall. In addition to tending Vineyard's provision grounds, the slaves had their own plots of land to cultivate. The Negro New Ground and the Negro Old Ground comprised about fourteen acres. The slaves spent their free time felling trees, preparing the ground, hoeing, and planting corn, plantains, and peas.

When the slaves were not busy tending provision crops they worked at various tasks, ranging in degree of physical difficulty. Grass fields had to be hoed and new grass—guinea or scotch—planted. Logwood was cut, transported, and weighed. Benjamin Bouton of Catabo requested Vineyard's logwood (probably to manufacture dye), so he sent his hands, usually ten to twenty, to help with the cutting. The hands often remained at Vineyard for up to a week at a time. Once the logwood was removed, Vineyard slaves, sometimes with the help of some of Bouton's or Lewis Morkmain's hands, dug up tree stumps, and gathered and planted logwood seed to replenish the timber.

The slaves cut grass away and cleared the land to make an interval near the corn piece soon thereafter. Although the interval was made during the summer Thistlewood sent the slaves back to it for two days in December to clean "that part of the Interval which was left uncut before."

Fence building and repairing were routine at Vineyard. This work was generally assigned to male slaves, although
female slaves occasionally carried posts and rails. Fence building involved digging post holes, getting (and presumably making) posts and rails, placing posts in the ground, and finishing the fence. The pattern of fence building and repair indicates that Vineyard did not operate on a well-defined annual work cycle. New fences were constructed year round, but especially during July, September, March, and June. Fence repairs were made only in six of the twelve months studied, with most of the repairs clustered in November 1750.67

Miscellaneous agricultural tasks Vineyard slaves performed included pulling up bushes, cutting weeds, watering the garden, cutting down limes, and tilling.68

Agricultural work routines at Vineyard were not highly demanding and the work schedule, both daily and yearly, was flexible—work was done as it needed to be done. A few dozen slaves were required to work at a wide variety of jobs at the pen, so there was probably much less opportunity for slaves to acquire special skills. Perhaps with the exception of logwood cutting and transportation, agricultural work was shared equally by male and female slaves.

Domestic Work

Domestic work at Vineyard Pen was mostly done by females. The housemaid, Phibbah, and her assistants, Coffee and Juba, were responsible for maintaining Thistlewood's house and the seldom-used Great House. Joan, a washerwoman, also frequently worked at home, as did Silvia. Thistle-
wood usually described these slaves only as "about the house," so it is difficult to ascertain exactly what tasks they were performing.69

Thistlewood's trousers and coats occasionally required mending and the slaves needed garments sewn from their cloth allowance, so female slaves were required to sew.70

Titus often went out to the Great Morass to catch crabs for Thistlewood's meals, and sometimes Thistlewood rewarded him—with a bit or some rum—for his catch. Titus made repairs to the stock house and Thistlewood's house as they were needed.71

Phibbah and Scipio made trips off the pen to sell cloth, and Phibbah frequently made trips, which sometimes lasted several days, alone. Thistlewood does not indicate where Phibbah and Scipio sold the cloth or to whom, only that they carried a note certifying that the cloth was to be sold through Thomas Thistlewood per the order of Flor-entius Vassall. Sales from their trips earned an average of 196 bits.72

The horizons of a few privileged slaves extended beyond Vineyard's boundaries. Domestic work was largely the province of women, except when it came to running errands for Thistlewood. Some male slaves traveled for Thistlewood, on personal and pen business, and they did so often. Eighty-four trips, some overnight, were made off the pen during the twelve-month period studied. Most of these trips were made by the same five slaves--Charles,
Guy, Julius, Scipio, and Simon—either alone or in groups (depending on the nature of the trip).

Half of all the recorded trips were to the plantation of Florentius Vassall. The slaves carried livestock, poultry, eggs, lignum vitae, starapples, and crabs to Westmorland. Thistlewood maintained a steady correspondence with Vineyard's owner, he wrote and received letters almost daily, and the messengers were necessary go-betweens. The slaves also made similar trips to Lewis Morkmain, Joland Plantation, Black River, Cabarito, and Saltspring Estate.73

Livestock, agricultural, and domestic work routines at Vineyard had one thing in common: they shared the quality of the odd-job. Work routines changed daily—the pens were repaired when they needed to be, plantains were planted when someone sent suckers up to the pen, corn was picked when it was ready, and messengers went out as needed. The monotonous labor routines of the sugar estates were absent at Vineyard.

**Jamaican Sugar Estates in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries**

Slave labor routines on Jamaica's sugar estates were rigidly organized into daily and annual work regimes. They therefore provide a stark contrast to routines at Vineyard Pen.

**The Annual Work Cycle**

On all sugar estates the annual work cycle generally
began in July or August with hoeing, holing, and planting of new cane. Estate slaves hated this period most of all because the work was back-breaking and monotonous. Edward Long suggested to sugar estate owners in 1774 that they employ the plough to do the summertime work rather than have the slaves do it. Long saw that holing was killing work, and that the high price of slaves might prevent an estate from operating with an optimally sized labor force. Estate owners continued to have their slaves do the hoeing and holing.

After hoeing, the slaves continued their work in the cane fields with the grueling task of holing. The two strongest gangs on the sugar estates, and always the first or "great" gang, were assigned this task. Working in teams, one strong worker with one weaker, the slaves dug holes about two and one-half feet wide and six inches deep for the new cane plants. Each pair of slaves was required to meet a quota of one hundred new holes per day or face a whipping. The work was carried out under the direct supervision of the white personnel or the drivers, who were responsible for keeping the lines of new holes straight. Cane was planted after the holes were dug. So debilitating was holing, Orlando Patterson writes, "that self-interest alone prompted most overseers to seek assistance for their slaves by hiring a jobbing gang."

Jobbing slaves were perhaps worse off than field slaves. Owned by small-scale entrepreneurs seeking quick money,
jobbing gangs were essentially rented out to sugar estates to hole, clear forests, and build or repair roads. The work the jobbing gangs did was so harsh that the average life expectancy of the gang was about seven years.76

Worthy Park's slave labor routines were typical of Jamaica's sugar estates. The slaves worked six days a week, except during crop time when they worked every day, and always under the fear of punishment. Estate owner Rose Price created the "Vagabond Gang" and sentenced the most disobedient slaves to it. Both male and female slaves worked in the three field gangs at Worthy Park but only the male slaves were expected to perform the summertime holing task. Not all Worthy Park's slave labor force was consigned to field work. In 1795, for example, of a total slave population of 483, only 219 slaves (45%) were working in field gangs because so many slaves were needed to work in the factory. Still, field work, along with factory work, was the major priority at Worthy Park.77

At Mesopotamia, labor routines also centered around the cane fields. The majority of the slave work force (137 of 255 slaves classified as working, or 53.7%) worked in field gangs. Two-thirds of all agricultural slaves were female, and everyone was expected to perform all tasks including holing, although jobbing gangs were also hired for this arduous task. Some slaves at Mesopotamia had skills; some worked as blacksmiths, craftsmen, nurses, domestics, field cooks, or stockkeepers.78 Their work routines were
probably as regimented as those of the field gangs because all jobs were tied to the sugar cycle, although far less arduous.

Once the cane was in the ground the slaves planted guinea-corn to feed the livestock, weeded the cane fields, and gathered limestone for distilling cane juice. During the fall they also manured the fields, repaired buildings and roads, and transported sugar remaining from the last crop to the docks for export. This work continued until Christmas, when the slaves were given a short break. After Christmas the slaves continued tending the cane fields and making necessary repairs.

Later in the winter, generally by March, the slaves prepared for crop time. The coopers made their hogsheads, and the boilers and distillers prepared the factory. Crop time began in early spring and lasted about five months. The slaves worked approximately three and one-half hours more a day during crop time (about eighteen hours), and their routines were closely coordinated for maximum efficiency.

Slaves at Green Park worked according to the gang system in and out of crop time. All labor was geared for maximum sugar productivity. Four gangs—the great, second, third, and hogmeat—worked the cane fields. As at Worthy Park, not all slaves at Green Park were assigned to back-breaking field work. But the field gangs comprised the single largest labor unit at Green Park. The estate's
large labor force allowed some slaves to have skilled jobs. Slaves worked as masons, blacksmiths, carpenters, nurses, and domestics (specifically assigned to the Great House or the overseer’s house). Less important occupations such as muleman, grass cutter, and loader were also delegated to individual slaves. Labor routines at Green Park seldom varied from day to day and the monotony was neverending, but some slaves were allowed the distinction of having specialized occupations.

Orange River estate used the four-gang system, and most of these slaves worked in the cane fields. The arduous crop time and summer work was probably done by the majority of the slaves because of a total slave gang force of 187, 105 slaves labored in the first gang. Slaves also worked as carpenters, coopers, masons, blacksmiths, doctors, and midwives, although no more than a dozen of the slaves worked at each of these occupations.

Irwin Estate’s slave labor force totalled 259 (52% male, 48% female) in December 1821. One hundred and forty-one slaves (46% male and 54% female) worked in one of three field gangs. The rest of the slaves held occupations typical of Jamaican sugar estates. They worked as masons, carpenters, coopers, blacksmiths, and midwives, and in the slave hospital.

The arrival of the new crop meant that the slaves divided their time between field and factory. Over fifty percent of Jamaica’s sugar estates were understaffed, so
slaves worked in shifts. There were generally two shifts, known as spells, one which began cutting cane at noon and one which began work in the factory. At midnight, after resting four or four and one-half hours, the field slaves relieved the factory slaves, who would go cut cane, returning to the factory after lunch the next day. The cycle continued. Those estates with a sufficient labor force employed the less-taxing three-spell system, but again, these estates were in the minority.84

Once the cane was cut and the factory work slowed its frenetic pace, the slaves again began the work cycle with hoeing, holing, and planting new cane.

The Daily Work Cycle

Outside of crop time the slaves labored about fifteen to sixteen hours a day. For sugar estate slaves in Jamaica the day's work began between 4 a.m. and dawn when the slave-driver signalled the slaves by ringing a bell, cracking his whip, or blowing on a conch. Before going to the field the slaves did a variety of chores, including cutting up dung and tending livestock. The slaves next carried their hoes, bills, and breakfast out to the field where the estate overseer took roll-call; slaves tardy without sufficient cause were whipped. The gangs worked until about 10 a.m. when they stopped to eat breakfast, usually for a half-hour or so. Work resumed until noon or 12:30 when a two-hour lunch break was given. Most of the slaves used
this time to tend their provision grounds, if they were fortunate to have grounds nearby, or else tended the nearby pigs, poultry, or kitchen garden. Children used this time to carry hogmeat home. Hoeing, holing, and weeding work resumed until dusk, at which point the slaves ended their field day. The slaves were expected to perform additional jobs after sunset, including cleaning out the livestock pens and carrying grass home to feed the horses and mules. A bookkeeper took evening roll-call, the slaves were discharged, and reached their dwellings by about 8 p.m. 85

Conclusion

Slaves on Jamaican sugar estates were occupationally far more specialized than slaves at Vineyard Pen. The factory required workers with some degree of technical training, and some slaves learned the skills of boiler, distiller, and blacksmith. Less technical but skilled occupations were done by some sugar estate slaves because the continuous operation of the labor force depended on them. Doctors, midwives, and field cooks all helped keep the field slaves working, in many cases to death. Sugar estate slaves did some of the same work as pen slaves—tending provision crops and livestock, repairing buildings and pens—but these jobs were performed in addition to field and factory work, never in place of it. Slave labor routines on Jamaican sugar estates revolved around the
field and the factory. In contrast, pen slaves were needed everywhere and anywhere--their work lacked a focal point.

In general, slave labor routines at Vineyard were less harsh and more varied than on the sugar estates. There was no cash crop grown at Vineyard--cattle pens were not concerned with the export economy--they simply supplied stock to a limited domestic market. Vineyard's slaves, with no lucrative crop to harvest and process, were less pressured by a daily work regime and spent their days doing just about everything.
Thistlewood's diary is less informative about how Vineyard's slaves lived than how they worked. In his capacity as overseer Thistlewood was interested in maintaining a log of daily work routines, not in describing the conditions under which the slaves lived. But through Thistlewood's obsessive eyes we are able to glimpse the slaves' lives beyond the work day. Between the lines of Thistlewood's diary lies a picture of how cattle pen slaves lived in Jamaica in the eighteenth century—what they ate, where they lived, how they were rewarded and punished. The overseer's diary is more revealing than he perhaps intended.

The basic slave diet consisted of flour and herrings—a pint of flour and one herring was given to the slaves almost daily. Occasionally, the slaves did not receive flour for days at a time, presumably due to a provision shortage, so Thistlewood compensated his work force by giving them a quart of flour. During the winter and early spring the slaves ate shad instead of herring. At various times during the year Thistlewood gave ears of corn, peas, and Spanish plums to his charges.

Thistlewood distributed food to the entire labor force,
but certain slaves were also rewarded with more and better food. Beef, pork, corn, and bottles of rum were given to slaves in exchange for their produce—nuts, crabs, potatoes, a turtle, for extra labor done, or for no apparent reason (Thistlewood often listed what rewards, not why). In addition to general rations and rewards, the slaves grew their own food in the Negro New Ground and Negro Old Ground.

There is unfortunately scant information in the diary concerning slave housing at Vineyard. Living quarters for the slaves presumably were located near the Negro New Ground and Negro Old Ground. Thistlewood wrote that he visited the slaves at their ground soon after his arrival at Vineyard, and it makes sense that the slaves would live on or nearby the fourteen acres of pen land specially designated as their own. We know that a house was built for Marina, one of Thistlewood's sexual partners, but we do not know if it was simply built along the lines of existing slave houses or if Marina's favored status got her a special house of her own. Thistlewood makes no mention of the exact location, dimensions, or condition (hut, barracks, houses) of slave quarters at Vineyard.

Similarly, little is known about the slaves' clothing. Cloth was probably allocated to the slaves at regular intervals, and it appears that Thistlewood made the allocations to one slave—the housemaid Phibbah. Throughout the year, Phibbah made clothes—mostly trousers, shirts, and caps. She made two coats, one for Marina and one other,
probably for a slave. It is unlikely that Phibbah ever made clothes for Thistlewood. She occasionally mended Thistlewood's clothing but, his status as pen overseer probably precluded the wearing of slave-made clothing. 89

Thistlewood also gave certain slaves his discarded clothing as a reward, so some pen slaves had more and better clothing than others. 90 Nothing is known about the quantity of cloth allocated, the kind of cloth, or the design of the clothing Vineyard's slaves wore.

The slaves were sometimes rewarded with Thistlewood's personal possessions and money. Throughout the year, but by no means frequently, Thistlewood gave pieces of his old clothing (usually trousers), baskets, or, once, a broken penknife to the slaves. Bits were more regularly paid to the slaves, in exchange for goods or work. Thistlewood usually paid out only a bit or two in exchange for eggs or crabs, for bringing him goods from Black River, or for mending his clothing. Sometimes, however, Thistlewood paid a slave a large sum for an important task. The slave Dick was paid fifty bits for building a house for Marina, and Phibbah, in April, was paid twenty-eight bits for making clothes. 91

As with rewards, punishment was meted out to individual slaves in no discernable pattern. Punishment ranged from the relatively mild (a simple reprimand) to severe whippings. Thistlewood described a beating during his first weeks at Vineyard:
This afternoon Dick (the mullatoe) for his many Crimes & Negligencies was bound to an Orange Tree in the garden, and whip'd to some purpose. (given near 300 lashes.)

It appears that male slaves were punished more harshly than female slaves. While female slaves "received a whipping" or were "punished" for stealing corn, male slaves were lashed fifty or one hundred times or more for laziness, tardiness in returning to Vineyard from an outside errand, or for running away (even if the slave returned of his own accord). Male slaves generally held the more responsible jobs at Vineyard, although Creoles of both sexes held more responsible jobs than African slaves, so perhaps they had greater opportunities for making errors and inciting Thistlewood's wrath. Nineteen males (82.6% of the total male slave population) and seven females (36.8% of the total female slave population) were punished during the year. In other words, six in ten of Vineyard's total work force were punished in one year; a high proportion, though perhaps less than on sugar estates.

Female slaves were not whipped as frequently as male slaves, but they did have to contend with another form of physical assault--the sexual kind. Regularly, female slaves engaged in sexual relations with their overseer. Presumably, there was a strong element of coercion in these acts. Thistlewood certainly seems to have been fairly eclectic.
TABLE 4. SEXUAL ENCOUNTERS BETWEEN OVERSEER AND FEMALE SLAVES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total # of Slaves</th>
<th>Total # of Encounters</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>African</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creole</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown (three names)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total # of Slaves</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total # of Encounters</td>
<td>94</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thistlewood seems to have preferred African over Creole partners, which is surprising since whites generally found lighter-skinned and native-born slaves more desirable. Of the three slaves of unknown origin, one was probably African (her name was Yupa), and of Thistlewood's seven sexual encounters among this group, five meetings were with Yupa. With the exception of two slaves, Marina (an African) and Hago (a Creole), Thistlewood did not meet with any slave on more than six occasions.

Thistlewood carefully noted the slaves' health. He did so in a detached manner, usually only listing that a particular slave was "sick." Sometimes he was more descriptive, so we are able to see what kinds of health problems
the slaves at Vineyard faced.

Slightly more than one-half of the slave labor force was sick at some point during the year (twenty-three of forty-two slaves, or 54.8%). There were more female slaves sick than male slaves (thirteen, or 56.5%, of those sick were female, compared to ten, or 43.5%, of the males). Some of the female slaves were sick a considerable number of days, totaling more than three weeks in some cases, but only one male slave was sick for more than ten days.96

It is surprising that the ratio of ill Africans (twelve) to Creoles (eleven) at Vineyard Pen was so equal. Predictably, Creole slaves at Vineyard held the more responsible jobs, which also tended to be less physically taxing. It might be expected that they would be healthier than the African counterparts. However, Vineyard slaves were put to many tasks, thereby offsetting the advantage normally held by Creole slaves. Creole slaves at Vineyard did not comprise the elite skilled group that they did on Jamaica's sugar estates, so they had as much opportunity to suffer injury or illness as their African counterparts. It is not possible to gauge the effects of seasoning on Vineyard's African slaves because there is no record of how long the African slaves had been at Vineyard Pen or in Jamaica.

The kinds of health problems suffered by slaves at Vineyard ranged from minor to serious. Bleeding blisters and boils were minor problems. Yaws was more serious. A nonveneral form of syphilus, yaws was highly contagious
and caused horrifying disfigurements, scarring, ulceration, and painful damage to cartilages and the brain. Yaws was a degenerative and debilitating disease, but it was not often fatal. It was so widespread among Jamaica's slaves that some sugar estates operated separate isolation hospitals for yaws victims. There is no evidence that yaws was a serious problem at Vineyard Pen.

No epidemic diseases spread through Vineyard during the year studied. Yellow fever was quite close to the pen in the spring of 1751, as Thistlewood complained:

> In the Evening Mr. Morkmain came to the penn, he had been at Mr. Cash's barid. Says Some Die of the Yellow Fever in the Neighbourhood of Black River, the infection from a Board a Ship there lying.

But no slaves died from epidemics during the year, or from anything else. Unless Thistlewood omitted to record the death of a slave, which given his conscientious nature as a writer would be unusual, none of the forty-two slaves who comprised Vineyard's labor force died during the period July 1750-June 1751.

Two children were born to Vineyard slaves during the year. One female infant, born to the house slave Hago, died a few days after Thistlewood arrived at the pen. Her father is not known, and Hago is not listed as having had a husband. The other child, also a female, was born to Dinah, a field slave, and her husband Adam, Vineyard's gardener. The baby was born on August 20, 1750 at 10 p.m., but nothing else is known of her, not even her name.
Thistlewood presents no other evidence of slave families. Nothing concrete is known about slave mortality and birth rates.

Material conditions for Vineyard's slaves were not uniform. They were fed daily, and they were able to accumulate rewards, edible and material, for extra work or consideration done for Thistlewood. Punishment was an ever present threat, but Vineyard slaves did not live in constant fear of it. Unlike the sugar estates, there was no "Vagabond Gang." Female slaves were subject to Thistlewood's sexual desires, although seven of them (36.8% of the female labor force) apparently did not have sexual relations with him at any time.

There was some latitude in Vineyard Pen's slave labor system. For pen slaves nothing was static—they labored in many capacities, their roles changed daily, and there was the limited possibility of improving their living conditions. Their diet was probably better than on Jamaica's sugar estates, because Vineyard slaves grew their own provisions in addition to the rations Thistlewood regularly meted out. Also, they were probably a little bit healthier than sugar estate slaves because they were spared the killing field work routine.
CHAPTER V

PORTRAITS OF INDIVIDUAL MALE SLAVES AT VINEYARD PEN

Slaves worked at a wide range of occupations at Vineyard Pen. The list of slaves and occupations which Thistlewood compiled during his first weeks on the pen is, therefore, deceiving. Especially with regard to male slaves, listed responsibilities were far from complete. As individual slave portraits show, Vineyard slaves had many roles.

"A Mullattoe Driver": Dick

As driver, Dick occupied a prestigious position among Vineyard's slaves. Since this was the most important position on the estate, it should not surprise us to learn that he was a Creole. And yet, Dick's elevated slave status did not prevent him from running into trouble with his new overseer. Soon after Thistlewood's July 2 arrival at Vineyard, he had Dick taken into the garden and whipped almost three hundred times--miraculously, Dick survived.101

After overcoming his initial difficulties with Thistlewood (he was not whipped again after the July incident), Dick seems to have developed a working relationship with his overseer. He accompanied Thistlewood on trips to the Great Morass, where they caught mud-fish, land turtles,

*Here, Thistlewood means "Creole" or born in the New World.

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and crabs, and he went on a four day trip to the mountains with Thistlewood and another slave, Guy, to survey Vassall's timber. He brought Thistlewood mammee-gum to feed the birds, and also gave him a sieve, a torch, nuts, and pigeon peas (the last presumably from his provision ground). In return, Thistlewood rewarded Dick with bottles of rum, corn, and a bit of pork. Dick's largest, and only monetary, reward with the fifty bits he received for building Marina's house.102

Dick's responsibilities were far-reaching, and he played an important role in the day-to-day routines at Vineyard. He was responsible for transporting the pen's most valuable commodity, livestock, to the surrounding plantations. He brought cattle to Black River, Joland Plantation, and to Lewis Morkmain. With the help of four other Vineyard slaves, Dick made an overnight trip to Mr. Allen's pen to bring some horses up to Vineyard.103

Dick did not make any trips to Westmorland, even though that was the most common destination for Vineyard slaves.104 Little of Vineyard's livestock was transported for use at Westmorland, perhaps because Vassall had other pens available to him or because he kept a sufficient supply of livestock on his plantation. In any event, Dick was not used for the less important errands—carrying letters, vegetables, or poultry—to Westmorland or anywhere else.

Dick's health for the year appears to have been good, although it is not known what his condition was after
suffering three hundred lashes. He was listed as being sick only one day, when he was lame with a boil.105

A Creole Messenger: Julius

Like Dick, Julius, one of Vineyard's seven messengers, was invaluable to Vineyard. Although he is listed by Thistlewood as a "Negroe penn-keeper," he is noted as having penned cattle only one day. Julius's work was primarily that of a messenger. Most of his trips, either alone or with other slaves, took him to Westmorland or to the home of Lewis Morkmain. When traveling to Vassall, Julius usually carried letters, baskets of tamarind, poultry, or an empty rum jug for refill. Once he returned two of Vassall's runaway slaves to him, and also brought him cloth money. It was Julius who transported cattle to Westmorland when Vassall requested two fat oxen and twelve sheep.106

Julius's trips to Lewis Morkmain were invariably to accompany livestock, and he spent most trips transporting cattle to and from Vineyard. He traveled down with Adams Joe, another pen slave, to search for a missing steer (which they found). Julius made similar trips to Joland Plantation and to Black River.107

Julius had other jobs at Vineyard: he built fences, weighed logwood at Mr. Rowe's, and was sent out to search for Robin, a Vineyard slave who constantly seemed to be in trouble.108

There is no record of Julius being punished, and he
was rewarded only once, with some rum. He is listed as being sick for three days during the year.¹⁰⁹

"An Old Creolian": Titus

Like Jamaica's sugar estates, Vineyard's elderly male slaves continued to labor. But there were noticeable differences between the two systems. Older male slaves on sugar estates worked as watchmen or "tiers," and neither occupation was easy work for the slaves who survived to fifty years or more. Watchmen were forced to stay awake all night and every night, in all kinds of weather. "Tiers," who gathered and tied up bundles of cane for transport, were worse off. They worked in the field the entire day and had little rest. Few masters allowed elderly slaves provision crops or rations and, unless a slave had relatives living on the plantation to care for him, the slave probably starved.¹¹⁰

At Vineyard, Titus was not treated quite so barbarously, although he worked hard for his keep. He was not accorded a specific occupation on the slave list, but he clearly wore many hats. Like an elderly sugar estate slave, Titus worked as a watchman—but he only did so on three occasions, twice watching the corn and once the sheep and goat pens. He built fences, made coops and baskets for transporting poultry, and made repairs to Vineyard's pens, fences, and stock house. He made only one trip off Vineyard, when he traveled alone to Westmorland to deliver a letter to
Titus's main occupation was as crab-catcher. Of his forty-eight trips out to the Great Morass, forty-five of them he made alone. He turned his catch over to Thistlewood regularly, and was rewarded for especially large catches. He received a bottle of rum for eighteen crabs, and a bit on another occasion.\(^{112}\)

Nothing is known about Titus's physical condition, but he endured whippings the same as the other male slaves. On two occasions, Titus received fifty lashes: once for neglecting Thistlewood's food supply and another time for laziness. He received 150 lashes for a clandestine meeting with the runaway, Robin, which he was forced to confess in the presence of Thistlewood and his fellow slaves.\(^{113}\)

Titus was fed with the other slaves and perhaps kept some of his crabs, so he was nutritiously better off than his counterpart on the sugar estates. At Vineyard Pen it seems that there was little difference between treatment of older and younger slaves.

**A Delinquent Slave: Robin**

Robin was Vineyard's most troublesome slave. Despite his status—he was one of Thistlewood's seven messengers and a Creole—Robin was frequently in trouble.\(^{114}\)

His trouble began before Thistlewood arrived at the pen. In Thistlewood's slave list of July 15, 1750 he comments that Robin had "run before I come." Not willing to have a runaway slave on his record so soon after beginning
his new job, Thistlewood made Robin the object of a search on July 18. It was not until July 31 that Robin was found, when he was captured at the mill by Simon, a fellow messenger, and Dick, the slave driver. 115

Immediately following his capture Robin was brought to the pen to face Thistlewood. In addition to running away, he was suspected of three robberies, which all occurred while he was on the run: Scipio's house was robbed on July 17, Titus's house on July 18, and the stock house on July 20. Robin did rob the stock house--his hidden store of rum, butter, and flour was found and returned to the stock house the day after his capture. It seems likely that Robin also robbed Scipio's house. However, it is unlikely that Titus's house was robbed at all. Titus and Robin argued bitterly when they were brought together at Vineyard on July 31. Robin accused Titus of clandestinely meeting him to aid in the escape. Titus at first denied the accusation, but ultimately he confessed and was lashed 150 times for his part in the crime. 116

It is odd that Robin was apparently never punished for his crimes. This may be explained by an injury he suffered. At the time of his capture, Robin had a belly wound. The wound was severe enough for Dr. Freebairne to be called to Vineyard to treat it a week later, so perhaps Thistlewood spared Robin a lashing this time. Robin was not long spared work, however. He resumed his role as messenger on August 9, when he traveled with another slave
to Benjamin Clarke's residence to deliver beef. The following day Thistlewood rewarded Robin with a herring and some corn. 117

It is strange that Thistlewood allowed Robin to go off the pen so soon after his capture and at a time when Thistlewood was not yet familiar with life at Vineyard. Stranger still, Robin is not mentioned again in Thistlewood's diary. Perhaps he resigned himself to life as a pen slave and to seeing the world beyond Vineyard only in snatches, as his running of errands allowed. Or, perhaps Thistlewood was an overseer to be reckoned with—one who relentlessly pursued runaway slaves in his charge. Robin may have decided discretion was the better part of valor.

An African Messenger: Charles

Charles, or Manipabo, led a somewhat varied life at Vineyard. Despite his African birth, Charles was an active messenger for Thistlewood. 118

Charles's trips varied in both responsibility and location. He carried correspondence and food—starapples, eggs, poultry, crabs, barrels of beef, transported cattle and logwood (the latter to be weighed at Mr. Rowe's prior to export), returned two runaway slaves to Florentius Vassall, and fetched a canoe. He was rewarded for his good work with a day off and with twenty ears of corn for walking the horse of the favored slave Marina. 119

Perhaps because he possessed knowledge of the world outside the pen, Charles decided to escape in October 1750.
He was captured at the house of Sambo, presumably not a Vineyard slave, on October 29. That same day, Thistlewood had Charles whipped one hundred times and returned to the field.\textsuperscript{120}

Charles got into trouble on only one more occasion during the year, and this time it was not of his own doing—perhaps. While on an errand to Westmorland, Charles reportedly was robbed of some crabs by several white men. He returned to Vineyard that day to report the crime to Thistlewood, but one wonders if the crabs did not disappear into the stomach of a hungry slave rather than into the hands of traveling whites. In any event, the "crime" was never solved.\textsuperscript{121}
CHAPTER VI

PORTRAITS OF INDIVIDUAL FEMALE SLAVES AT VINEYARD PEN

Of the women Thistlewood writes about, five are of special interest: one for her more unusual occupation, one for her special sexual relationship with Thistlewood, and three because they typify the role of the female slave at Vineyard Pen.

The Traveling Saleswoman: Phibbah

The range of occupations for Vineyard’s female slaves was not as wide as it was for male slaves. Women were not employed as messengers nor did they accompany Thistlewood on his trips to the Great Morass or to the mountains. Some female slaves, however, did have occupations which took them beyond the boundaries of Thistlewood's house and the Great House.

Phibbah was one such slave. Phibbah, a Creole, is listed as Thistlewood's housemaid and, as such, had a great many responsibilities around the house. She cleaned the houses, waxed the floors, fed the fowls, killed and cut up chickens for dinner, and cooked. She was custodian of the pen's inventory of cloth, candles, soap, rugs, and sugar and was responsible for mending Thistlewood's clothing.\footnote{122}

But Phibbah also had the unusual job of selling cloth during the winter and spring. She made twenty-two trips
off the pen to do her merchandising, half the time going alone and half the time going with Scipio. She was the only female slave whose work regularly took her off the grounds of Vineyard, as well as one of the few slaves responsible for money or valuables.123

Phibbah certainly profited from the reward system at Vineyard—perhaps better than any other slave. Each time she sewed clothing for Thistlewood or the slaves she was paid by Thistlewood. For a total of nine sewing jobs, ranging from making caps to sewing shirts, Phibbah earned forty-seven bits. Economically, Phibbah had more spending power than even Vineyard's male slaves.124

Phibbah's life at Vineyard was by no means easy. She did profit financially and she seems to have been spared Thistlewood's sexual attentions (which was especially fortunate as she had a husband, Romulus). But Phibbah bore a good deal of responsibility for Vineyard's upkeep and economic status, in spite of her fragile health. She suffered from severe headaches in January, so severe that the medicine woman from Fullerswood Plantation was called in, and again in June. She was also sick for about two weeks in March.125

Phibbah probably worked well and earned her responsible position at Vineyard; Thistlewood did not once punish her.

A Favored Slave: Marina

Phibbah benefited financially from Vineyard's reward system better than other slaves, but it was Marina who seems
to have enjoyed a favored position at Vineyard—despite her African status (her African name was Warrec). The only accounts we have of Marina are her sexual encounters with Thistlewood and the gifts she received from him. There is no mention of Marina working at the pen in any capacity and no account of her receiving punishment.126

Marina had sexual relations with Thistlewood eleven times and avoided his advances only once. She received Thistlewood's material as well as sexual attentions. Marina's list of gifts from Thistlewood is a veritable laundry list: a house (built by Dick), a horse (which on one occasion Thistlewood paid Charles to walk), clothes (which Phibbah made), three pair of Thistlewood's old trousers, money to buy her fowl, a large wooden bowl, a basket, an old penknife, pork, and corn. She was given a new bill and a new hoe, like other pen slaves, but, unlike them, is not described as ever using them.127 Marina was either omitted from Thistlewood's written thoughts for some reason or occupied an unusual position at Vineyard. She does not appear to have been a part of Vineyard's labor system.

A Domestic: Hago

Like Phibbah, Hago was a Creole slave who was responsible for much of the household work at Vineyard. She cleaned both Thistlewood's house and the Great House, washed table linens, killed a goat for dinner, and helped Phibbah wax floors. In addition, she is listed as being "about the house" forty days, so it is clear that as a
female slave Hago's responsibilities centered on the domestic scene. The only outdoor work Hago seems to have done was cut thatch. 128

Hago was second to none in the number of sexual encounters she had with Thistlewood. Though she had sexual relations with her overseer even more than Marina (fifteen times, compared to Marina's eleven) she reaped none of Marina's material benefits; Hago did not receive any gifts or rewards during the year. She gave birth to the infant girl who died at Vineyard in July 1750, but little else is known about her. 129

Hago does not appear to have been punished, but she was frequently sick. During February-March and May-June, Hago was sick a total of sixty-seven days. She was also lame with a boil the previous December. 130

A Domestic and Field Worker: Betty

Betty, or Arnamak, was an African slave who worked as a domestic at Vineyard. In addition, she did the field work for which all Vineyard slaves were responsible. 131

During the spring months, Betty spent a good deal of her time working indoors. She spent May and June making baby clothes—for whom we do not know. Betty also labored "at home" doing other work, but Thistlewood is characteristically vague when describing how individual female slaves spent their time. 132

Betty was one of Thistlewood's sexual partners on two occasions shortly after his arrival at Vineyard Pen. In
September, however, Betty contracted yaws and Thistlewood's interest in her as a sexual partner waned. Not until the following May did Thistlewood return to Betty for sex, and it appears to have been an isolated incident. During April-June Betty was sick twenty-eight days. The cause of her illness is not listed, but she probably suffered from yaws's hideous symptoms. If that was the case, it is odd that Thistlewood chose her as a sexual partner, when the pen offered him so many other female slaves, African or Creole.\textsuperscript{133}

Betty was apparently not the subject of special punishment or reward, and nothing is known about her life at Vineyard beyond her work and her sexual relationship with her overseer.

A Field Hand and Domestic: Coffee

Coffee, a Creole, was assistant housemaid to Phibbah, thereby supporting the general trend in Jamaican slave societies of Creole slaves holding more responsible positions.\textsuperscript{134}

Like Betty, Coffee worked in the field and out. During March, November, and December Coffee spent most of her time doing field work. Her services were probably urgently needed because, although she was continually sick from March 12-19, Thistlewood had her return to the field on the 20th. Similarly, Coffee was told to return to field work late in November. Thistlewood gave Coffee two new bills to cut and prune with, one on March 10 and one on December 17—an indication presumably of the heavy work in which she had been engaged.\textsuperscript{135}
The amount of time Coffee spent doing field work is significant. Specifically, it shows that slave labor at Vineyard Pen was randomly assigned—a slave given the title of "housemaid" did not necessarily work in the house. Labor at Vineyard was not carried out in predetermined order. Generally, Coffee’s example shows that pen society was not the regimented society of the sugar estates, where slaves were given titles and worked in those capacities until they either retired or, more likely, died.

Coffee’s work took her to Black River on one occasion when she helped Chelsea, a male slave, transport cattle from the pen. This is one of the few occasions in Thistlewood’s diary when a female slave did men’s work.\footnote{136}

Coffee was whipped, for unknown reasons, once during the year, was lame for a few days in June, and was sick for a few weeks during the year. In other words, her physical condition was about on par with the rest of Vineyard’s female slave population.\footnote{137}

**Conclusion**

The work female slaves did at Vineyard was less physically taxing than the work done by male slaves, but more monotonous. Female slaves did not have to haul logwood and build fences (although they did sometimes carry posts and rails) but they also rarely saw the world beyond Vineyard. They did not get the chance to run errands in St. Elizabeth or beyond, to walk the streets of Lacovia and take in the local color, or to travel to the mountains and sleep in the
peaceful forests. Excepting Phibbah, female slaves rarely enjoyed the latitude, the breathing-spaces within the system available to male slaves.

On the other hand, female slaves lived less under the constant threat of severe physical punishment, although the sexual threat of the overseer was always there. Certain slaves seem to have materially benefited from their sexual relationship with Thistlewood, but they paid the price.
St. Elizabeth was destined to be relatively backward in economic terms. Geography determined that some regions of Jamaica would be removed from the boom-and-bust sugar economy. St. Elizabeth's scrappy savannas and poor soil was well-suited to raising livestock but little else. As a result, cattle pens sprang up in the parish as early as the 1660s. Located in the more rural parts of the island and important mainly to the domestic economy, cattle pens were worked by slave labor systems markedly different from those on the sugar estates and were operated (if not owned) by a different caliber of white settler.

One of the major differences between slave labor forces on sugar estates and those on cattle pens was the size of the force. The slave population was denser on Jamaica's rich sugar estates because huge slave labor forces were needed to work the factory and, especially, the fields. In regions where the cattle pens and less in demand crops (coffee, pimento, ginger, and cotton) flourished, there was no need for a slave work force of three hundred because agricultural production was smaller in scale. A pen like Vineyard operated successfully with a slave labor force of forty-two. Livestock was raised and sold, provision
crops planted, and timber cut by a few dozen slaves; there was no need for a gang system.

Labor organization at Vineyard was based on the individual slave, each of whom was important to the economy of the pen. Creole slaves were assigned the more responsible work (as on sugar estates), female slaves were responsible for domestic work, and male slaves ran errands off the pen. But beyond these guidelines, Thistlewood was quite flexible in how he organized the slaves for work each day. It is clear that all the slaves (except perhaps Marina) tended the livestock and provision crops and that work assignments changed daily. None of the slaves acquired a skill or received special training because cattle pen work was essentially farm work and was not at all technical. The pen did not adhere to a strict daily work cycle because it was not a monocultural unit and was run more for self-sufficiency than for profit (with money from cattle, timber, and cloth sales went to the pen's owner and not to the pen). Because there was less to gain from the pen's economy, Vineyard's slaves probably labored in a less rigorous environment than sugar estate slaves. Vineyard Pen was not a pleasant place to live; it had its brutal punishments, hunger, and disease. But it was not the charnal house of the sugar plantation.

Vineyard was a world apart from the island's sugar estates. Isolated, small, and, in terms of Jamaica's sugar estates, unregimented, the society that evolved at
Vineyard was bound to be different than those on sugar estates—and it was.

Akin to a farm, there was daily contact between overseer and labor force at Vineyard. Because of the small slave population, there was also far more contact between slaves. Cultural borrowing was probably more prevalent at Vineyard than on the sugar estates, because Thistlewood depended on the slaves to teach him about how the pen operated and not on a white subordinate staff as he would have on a sugar estate. He ate the slaves' food, borrowed their words and health remedies, traveled with them, and had sexual relations with many of the female slaves. The slaves, in turn, received Thistlewood's clothing and other personal belongings, accompanied him on day trips to Lacovia and to nearby plantations, and glimpsed the white world beyond Vineyard, as well as the alternative slave societies, in their many messenger trips. Segregation of black slaves and white master was not rigidly enforced at Vineyard.

The pen was, perhaps, a more intimate and stable society than the sugar estates. With only Thistlewood to manage forty-two slaves on almost one thousand acres of land, the slaves were afforded less supervision and more time to themselves. Though in bondage they were more likely to cultivate friendships (and perhaps start families) than their counterparts on the sugar estates. Vineyard slaves were not rigidly organized into hierarchical work groups, laboring with the same people day in and day out, it does not seem that they labored eighteen hours a day,
and, most important, the pen was not a killing regime where slaves died with horrifying frequency, only to be replaced by a new crew of anonymous faces. Little is known about the private lives of Vineyard's slaves but, given the labor system we know operated there, it seems more likely that a relatively stable slave society would be found at the pen than on a sugar estate.

Living conditions for Jamaica's slaves, especially for those not on the sugar estates, is an area in need of study—little is known about them at this point. It does seem, however, that Vineyard's slaves did not live, as did sugar estate slaves, under the constant threat of punishment and death from overwork, that they were regularly fed and clothed (and not abandoned at old age), and that they were rewarded for good work. Unfortunately Thistlewood's diary for the year provides us with only glimpses of slave life at the pen, with no birth rate and mortality rate information.

Cattle pen society in eighteenth-century Jamaica revolved around its slave labor system. The system was loosely organized, reflecting the pen's rather backward economy. Supplying livestock and produce to a limited home market did not require Vineyard's slaves to meet strict quotas or tight deadlines. Neither their work nor their products were in great demand, as the small size of their labor force partially explains. The slave labor systems of the island's in less demand crops might reveal a similar latitude, although as coffee and pimento plantations have
already shown us, task work was well-suited to a small one-crop estate. In any case, there were slave labor systems in Jamaica quite different from those of the sugar estates, and while they are seldom mentioned, they are important to study in order to learn about alternative slave societies in the sugar-producing colonial Caribbean.
NOTES


4. Ibid., 98.

5. Dunn, Sugar and Slaves, 35-36.


9. Ibid.


12. Ibid., 183, 189. The author explains on p. 186 that the YS River is "so called from the Gallic word YS, which signifies crooked or winding."

13. Ibid., 191; Sloane, A Voyage to the Islands, l:xiv; Dunn, Sugar and Slaves, 36.

15. Diary of Thomas Thistlewood, July 1, 1750, part of the Monson Collection, Lincolnshire County Record Office, Lincoln, England. Note: Though preferred by the Chicago Manual of Style, European numbering will not be used in the notes to this thesis due to the lengthy repetition of dates.


17. Ibid., 1:495-96. Lond does not break down the number of slaves, cattle, and mules; he gives only a total.


21. Ibid., May 15; July 1-2, 1750; Dec., 1751.

22. Ibid., Nov. 23; Dec. 30, 1750; Feb. 3, 17, 21, 23-24; Apr. 2, 1751.

23. Ibid., Nov. 24, 27; Dec. 4, 1750; Jan. 6; Feb. 18-19, 26; May 12; Aug. 19, 1751.

24. Ibid., Oct. 17, 1750; Jan. 6; Feb. 2; June 9, 21, 1751.

25. Ibid., July 1, 6, 9-10; Aug. 4, 9, 17, 22, 24, 28; Sept. 1, 6, 15-16; Oct. 5, 16, 18, 22-23, 25; Nov. 6; Dec. 4, 8, 1750; Feb. 5-8; Mar. 3, 22; Apr. 14-15; May 14, 17, 31; June 4, 9, 12, 17, 25, 1751.

26. Ibid., July 9; Oct. 31; Dec. 8, 12, 17, 1750; Jan. 11; Apr. 8, 10, 28; May 5, 15, 1751.

27. Ibid., July 11; Sept. 21; Dec. 29, 1750; Feb. 5, 1751.

28. Ibid., Nov. 24, 1750.

29. Ibid., Jan. 8, 1751.

30. Ibid., July 15, 1750; 1823 map of Vineyard Pen.


32. Richard S. Dunn, "A Tale of Two Plantations: Slave


34. Ibid., 72.

35. Ibid., 73-76.


37. Higman, Slave Population and Economy, 73-76.

38. Thistlewood Diary, July 15, 1750.


40. Thistlewood Diary, July 15, 1750.

41. Patterson, Sociology of Slavery, 56; Brathwaite, Creole Society in Jamaica, 146.


43. Brathwaite, Creole Society in Jamaica, 142-44.


45. Thistlewood Diary, July 15, 1750.

46. Ibid., July 3, 1750-June 30, 1751. (Because the slaves tended livestock and did agricultural jobs almost daily, citation is for the full period studied.)

47. Ibid. See, for example, the male slave Scipio: July 21, 24-25; Aug. 7, 9, 22; Sept. 19; Nov. 20; Dec. 17, 19, 1750; Mar. 20; May 10; June 20, 22, 1751.

48. Patterson, Sociology of Slavery, 58.

49. Ibid., 59.
(Notes to pages 21-24)


51. Ibid., 22.

52. Thistlewood Diary, cattle driving and penning: Aug. 22-24, 27, 29-30; Sept. 1; Oct. 1-3, 23, 28; Nov. 21; Dec. 2, 4, 1750; Jan. 1, 7; May 23-24, 27-28, 31; June 9-10, 21, 1751; fence-building: July 10-11, 13-14, 17-18, 20-21, 23-25, 27, 30; Aug. 13-14; Sept. 7-8, 11-15, 17-20, 1750; Feb. 27-28; Mar. 12, 19-22, 25-30; Apr. 1-4; May 21-24; June 12-15, 17-20, 1751; messenger trips: July 7, 13, 16-18, 22-24; Aug. 2, 9-10, 16-17, 24, 27; Sept. 12, 19-21, 24, 28; Oct. 3, 10-11, 13-15, 17-18, 23, 27, 29; Nov. 1, 11, 15, 20, 22; Dec. 3-4, 8, 10, 12, 15-15, 19, 31, 1750; Jan. 4, 14, 21, 26; Feb. 4, 11-12, 19, 27; Mar. 4-5, 14, 18-19, 21, 1751; Apr. 1-4, 10, 17, 26; May 9-11, 13-14, 19-20, 22, 26-28; June 5-6, 10, 17, 26-29, 1751.

53. Ibid., June 24, 1751.

54. Ibid., boughs (cutting, carrying, spreading): July 9-14, 17, 19-25, 27-31; Aug. 1-24, 27-31; Sept. 1, 9, 23, 25, 29; Oct. 1-3, 5, 26; Nov. 5, 14, 18, 27; Dec. 19, 1750; Jan. 1, 2, 21; Feb. 12, 15-16, 18-19, 22-23, 25-26; Mar. 1-17; Apr. 1; May 6-7; June 28, 1751; leaves (carrying and spreading): July 18; Sept. 4, 1750.

55. Ibid., Dec. 11, 19, 1750; Jan. 11; Mar. 1, 3-4, 17; Apr. 1; May 3-4; June 10, 17, 1751.

56. Ibid., for cattle driving and penning see note 52, above; July 26; Oct. 31, 1750; Feb. 13; May 3-4; June 3, 1751.

57. Ibid., Aug. 4, 7, 1750; Feb. 20, 1751.

58. Ibid., Feb. 23, 1751.


60. Ibid., July 5, 26; Sept. 22; Dec. 5-8, 1750; Jan. 1-2, 1751.

61. Ibid., July 9, 12-14, 16; Aug. 20-24, 27-30; Sept. 1, 4-7, 21-22, 24, 27-29; Oct. 1, 6, 8-10, 13, 15-16, 18,
(Notes to pages 24-27)

20, 22-27, 29-30; Nov. 1-3, 6, 14-17, 19-24, 29-30; Dec. 1, 3-4, 10-15, 17, 23-24, 1750; Jan. 9-19; Feb. 1, 9, 11, 26; Mar. 4-7, 13; Apr. 5-6, 9-13, 15-19; May 16-18, 25; June 23, 1751.

62. Ibid., July 12-14, 16, 31; Aug. 8-10, 20, 22, 24, 27-30; Sept. 1, 3-7, 10-14, 17-21, 27-29; Oct. 1, 6, 8-10, 20; Nov. 6, 21, 24; Dec. 23-24, 1750; Jan. 9-11, 24-26; Feb. 1, 18, 20-22, 25-28; Mar. 1-2, 4-7, 11-15, 18, 22; Apr. 5-6, 9-13, 15-19, 22-25; May 11, 17; June 23, 1751.

63. Ibid., July 9, 11; Aug. 28; Sept. 4-6, 15, 21-22, 24; Oct. 9-10, 13, 15-16, 18, 20, 22-27, 29-31; Nov. 1-3, 6, 13-17, 19-24, 27, 29-30; Dec. 1, 3-5, 10-15, 17, 1750; Feb. 26, May 4, 16, 25; June 10, 1751.

64. Ibid., Aug. 15-18; Oct. 10-13, 15-16, 25, 29; Nov. 24, 1750; Feb. 12; Mar. 21; Apr. 20, 22-23, 26-27, 29; May 1-4, 9-11, 13-14, 16; June 10, 1751.

65. Ibid., Aug. 18, 20-23, 27, 31; Sept. 1, 3-4, 7, 21, 25; Oct. 5, 13, 20, 23; Nov. 10, 12, 26-27, 1750; Feb. 1, 4, 9, 12, 15, 19-23; Mar. 1, 9, 14, 16, 18, 20; May 18, 20; June 7, 15, 21-22, 24-25, 29, 1751.

66. Ibid., July 20, 23-25, 27-28, 30; Aug. 1-2, 4, 6-11, 14, 20; Dec. 28 (quote)-29, 1750; Mar. 18, 1751.

67. Ibid., for fence-building see note 52, above; July 9, Aug. 2; Oct. 16-17; Nov. 1, 5-9, 13; Dec. 24, 29, 31, 1750; Jan. 304; Feb. 25-26, 1751.

68. Ibid., July 20; Nov. 5, 26-30; Dec. 1, 5-8, 29, 1750; Jan. 17, 21-22; Feb. 14, 16, 19; Mar. 25, 28; Apr. 18; May 10, 1751.

69. Ibid., Aug. 11; Sept. 27-29; Oct. 1, 3, 6, 8-10, 12-13, 15-18, 20, 22-27, 29-31; Nov. 1-3, 5-10, 12-17, 19-23, 26-28, 1750; Jan. 17, 19; Mar. 15, 25; Apr. 3-6, 9-11; June 17, 1751.

70. Ibid., Sept. 3; Dec. 1, 7, 1750; Jan. 7, 11; Apr. 3-4, 12, 23, 26-27, 29; May 1-4, 6-10, 23, 25, 29-31; June 1, 3-8, 8, 10, 23, 1751.

71. Ibid., July 16, 18-20, 27-28, 30; Sept. 17-18, 22, 27-29; Oct. 1, 3, 6, 8-10, 15-17, 20, 24-26, 29-31; Nov. 1-3, 6-10, 12-13, 16-17, 19-23, 1750; Jan. 23, 26; Feb. 25-26; Apr. 3-4, 7-9, 24-25; May 13, 20, 1751.
72. Ibid., Dec. 8-10, 12, 14, 20, 1750; Jan. 9, 17; Feb. 4, 13, 25; Apr. 18-20, 22, 29; May 11, 18, 25; June 5-6, 8, 10, 20, 22-24, 1751.

73. See note 52, above.

74. Patterson, Sociology of Slavery, 65; Long, History of Jamaica, 1:448-49.

75. Patterson, Sociology of Slavery, 65-66.

76. Ibid., 65-69.

77. Craton and Walvin, Worthy Park, 98-100, 128, 137-139.


79. Patterson, Sociology of Slavery, 65-69.

80. Ibid.

81. Ibid., 59-61.

82. Ibid., 59-60.


84. Patterson, Sociology of Slavery, 65-69; Higman, Slave Population and Economy, 188.

85. Patterson, Sociology of Slavery, 67-69.

86. Thistlewood Diary, July 15, 18-26, 29-31; Aug. 2-8, 10-24, 26-31; Sept. 1-23, 25-30; Oct. 1-3, 5-6, 8-11, 13-18, 20-23, 25, 27, 29, 31; Nov. 2, 4, 6, 10, 12, 14-16, 18, 20, 22, 24, 26, 28, 30; Dec. 2, 4, 6, 8, 10-12, 14, 20, 22, 24, 28, 30, 1750; Jan. 1, 3, 6, 13, 15, 20, 21; Feb. 2-3, 10, 17, 24; Mar. 3, 5, 10, 13, 17, 24, 27-28; Apr. 3-9, 12, 14, 18-19, 21, 23-24, 27, 29; May 1, 3, 5, 9, 11, 13, 15-17, 21, 23-25, 29, 31; June 2, 4, 6, 8, 10, 12, 14, 16, 18, 20, 22, 24, 26, 28, 30, 1751.

87. Ibid., July 18, 31; Aug. 3, 5, 12-13, 15-18, 20, 22, 29; Sept. 16, 23; Oct. 2, 10-16, 25, 29; Nov. 3, 18, 21, 24; Dec. 1, 5, 7-8, 15, 17-18, 23, 25-27, 31, 1750; Feb. 4, 12, 14, 24; Mar. 3, 10-11, 21, 24, 28; Apr. 8, 12, 20-23, 25-27, 29; May 1-4, 6, 9-14, 16, 27; June 13, 23, 25, 1751.

88. Ibid., July 8, 1750; May 12; June 10, 1751.

89. Ibid., Sept. 3; Dec. 1, 7, 1750; Jan. 7, 11, 17;
Apr. 12, 23, 27; May 4, 6; June 23, 1751.

90. Ibid., Dec. 1, 14, 1750; Mar. 24, 1751.

91. See notes 87 and 90, above.

92. Thistlewood Diary, July 16, 1750.

93. Ibid., July 16, 23, 25; Aug. 1; Sept. 14, 22; Oct. 4, 12, 29; Nov. 7, 28, 1750; Jan. 1, 12, 14; Feb. 13; Mar. 4; Apr. 2, 6, 23; May 13, 17, 21, 26, 1751.

94. Ibid., Aug. 5-6, 11-12, 15-19, 28-29, 31; Sept. 1, 4, 22; Oct. 10; Nov. 27, 29; Dec. 5, 13, 28, 1750; Jan. 6, 12, 21, 23-24; Feb. 10; Mar. 11, 16, 25, 27, 31; Apr. 2, 17-18, 21; May 2, 4, 11, 13, 22-23, 29; June 1, 4, 9, 11-12, 18, 24, 26, 1751.

95. Ibid., Mar. 11; June 4, 12, 18, 26, 1751; and see note 94, above.

96. Ibid., July 7; Aug. 6, 20; Sept. 10, 12, 16, 19, 20, 24, 26; Oct. 3, 18, 20, 29-30; Dec. 3, 22, 1750; Jan. 7-8, 14, 21; Feb. 1, 6-9, 11-16, 18-19, 22-23, 2528; Mar. 1-2, 7-9, 11-16, 18-19, 22, 25-28; Apr. 1-5, 21, 25-27, 29; May 1-4, 6-11, 13-18, 20-22, 25, 28-31; June 1, 3-8, 10-15, 17-22, 25-30, 1751.


98. Thistlewood Diary, June 30, 1751.

99. Ibid., July 4, 1750.

100. Ibid., Aug. 20, 1750.

101. Ibid., July 16, 1750.

102. Ibid., May 12, 1751.

103. Ibid., Aug. 15; Dec. 4, 1750; Feb. 11; Mar. 5, 18; Apr. 10; June 10, 22, 1751.

104. Ibid.

105. Ibid., Dec. 3, 1750.

106. Ibid., July 15-16, 22, 24, 27; Aug. 10; Sept. 12, 21; Oct. 27; Nov. 1, 5, 20; Dec. 3, 10, 12, 31, 1750; Jan. 4, 14; Feb. 4, 11, 19; Mar. 4, 21; Apr. 1, 10, 17, 26; May 9, 13, 20, 26, 28; June 10, 22, 1751.
(Notes to pages 46-54)

107. Ibid., Nov. 5, 1750; May 28; June 22, 24, 1751.

108. Ibid., July 18, 21, 1750; Mar. 18, 1751.

109. Ibid., Dec. 15, 1750; Apr. 3-5, 1751.

110. Patterson, Sociology of Slavery, 157-58.

111. Thistlewood Diary, July 18-19, 23-25, 27; Sept. 5, 11, 21-22; Oct. 16; Nov. 1, 6, 12-13, 21, 1750; Feb. 25-26; May 13, 1751.

112. Ibid., July 16, 27-28, 30; Sept. 17-18, 27-29; Oct. 1, 3, 6, 8-10, 15, 17, 20, 24-26, 29-31; Nov. 2-3, 7, 9-10, 16-23; Dec. 27, 1750; Jan. 23, 26; Apr. 3, 8-9, 24-25; May 13, 20, 1751.

113. Ibid., Aug. 1; Sept. 22, 1750; May 13, 1751.

114. Ibid., July 15, 1750.

115. Ibid., July 15, 18, 31, 1750.


117. Ibid., July 31; Aug. 8-10, 1750.

118. Ibid., July 15, 1750.

119. Ibid., July 7, 13, 18, 23-24; Aug. 10, 27; Oct. 18; Dec. 7, 10-12, 1750; Mar. 5, 9; May 22, 27; June 5-6, 1751.

120. Ibid., Oct. 29, 1750.

121. Ibid., June 5, 1751.

122. Ibid., July 15; Aug. 11, 30; Nov. 26-28; Dec. 22, 28, 1750; Jan. 2, 7, 11, 17, 19; June 17, 1751.

123. Ibid., Dec. 4, 9-10, 12, 14, 20, 1750; Jan. 9, 16-18; Feb. 13, 25; Apr. 18-19; May 18, 22-23, 25; June 5, 7-8, 10, 1751.

124. Ibid., Sept. 3; Dec. 1, 7, 1750; Apr. 12, 23, 27; May 4, 6; June 23, 1751.


126. Ibid., July 15, 1750.

127. Ibid., July 31; Aug. 5, 11-12, 15-19, 21, 28-29; Sept. 1,
(Notes to pages 54-57)

6, 23; Dec. 1, 5, 20, 25, 27, 1750; Feb. 14, 24; Apr. 8, 12, 21; May 12, 27, 1751.

128. Ibid., July 15; Sept. 4, 27-29; Oct. 1, 3, 6, 8-10, 15, 29-30; Nov. 6-10, 12-17, 19-24, 26, 28, 1750; Jan. 21-24; Mar. 25; Apr. 3-6, 9-11, 24; May 25; June 24-25, 1751.

129. Ibid., July 4; Sept. 4, 22; Oct. 10; Nov. 27, 29; Dec. 13, 28, 1750; Jan. 6, 12, 21, 23-24; Feb. 10; Mar. 16, 25, 1751.


131. Ibid., July 15, 1750.

132. Ibid., May 29-31; June 1, 3-6, 8, 10, 14, 22, 24-25, 1751.

133. Ibid., Aug. 17, 29; Sept. 10, 1750; Apr. 2-4, 25-27, 29; May 1-4, 6-11, 22-23, 25, 29; June 17-21, 26-27, 29, 1751.

134. Ibid., July 15, 1750.

135. Ibid., Nov. 26; Dec. 17, 1750; Mar. 8, 10, 12-16, 19-20, 1751.

136. Ibid., Apr. 10, 1751.

137. Ibid., July 23, 1750; Feb. 19-22; Mar. 8, 12-16, 18-19; Apr. 1; June 11-15, 17-22, 1751.
GLOSSARY

ALLIGATOR PEARS. Avocados.

BIT. Or real, a silver coin of Spanish origin and denomination. In 1766, its approximate value in pounds sterling was £0.01.

CASSADA. Known as cassava outside Jamaica, an edible root.

CONY-FISH. A kind of "old wives" (or "alewives") fish.

DIVING DAPPERS. An undomesticated duck also known as a divin' hopper.

GUINEA GRASS. One of many names applied to local species of grass.

HOGMEAT. A vine often used to feed pigs, as fodder, and for making baskets.

INTERVAL. Roads or pathways which allowed access to cane fields. Thistlewood's use here is unclear; the Vineyard interval was cleared and planted in.

LIGNUM VITAE. A tree grown for its gum.

MAMMEE-GUM. At Vineyard, mammee-gum was also mixed with grass as a good remedy for cattle sores. The "mammee" or "mammee-apple" is a sweet yellow fruit (Mammea americana). Mammee-gum was also used by Jamaican blacks as a remedy against chiggers.

MUD FISH. A small dark fish that lives in the sand. Also known as Gobie, rock-sucker, or okro fish.

PENGUIN. Akin to the pineapple, its most common use was as a live fence.

PLANTAIN. Fruit-bearing tree and a main source of food for slaves.

POTATO SLIP. A vine used for planting.

RUINATE. Land worn out by agriculture.
STARAPPLE. A kind of apple.

WANGLA. Sesame seeds.
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Secondary Sources


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In August 1984, the author entered the College of William and Mary as a graduate student in the Department of History. From July 1984 to April 1985, the author was an editorial assistant at the Institute of Early American History and Culture in Williamsburg, Virginia.