I. Introduction

Chapter four examines the conversations, interactions and working relationships between enslaved Africans, free black and mixed-race peoples with Scottish people in Jamaica. These conversations quickly became about decisions made by management, who were represented by Scots versus enslaved labourers, who were primarily comprised of Africans, free black and mixed-race peoples. The chapter focuses on the experiences of enslaved, free black and mixed race peoples. There was a demand for enslaved Africans to work in a host of agricultural and commercial schemes controlled by Scottish merchants and planters. As a consequence, complex relationships were created in a race-conscious slave society. An examination of African and Scottish relationships allows for an analysis of public and private interactions, because Scottish merchants, planters, managers, and doctors could not avoid enslaved, free black or mixed-race peoples in Jamaica. Therefore, some Scots developed strategies to incorporate and accommodate these people into the Scottish commercial diaspora. I argue that enslaved Africans, free black and mixed-race peoples largely belonged to concentric circle “4,” because they laboured for Scots on plantations, pens and in urban centres. In addition, some mixed-race people also belonged to concentric circle “5,” as a consequence of having a Scottish father. The chapter addresses the emergence of free black and mixed-race peoples, as they relocated in Kingston’s south east quadrant by owning and renting property. I examine the experiences of an enslaved woman, Amy and Vassa, who interacted with Scots in Jamaica and its territories. The chapter explores how some enslaved people resisted their enslavement, and in some cases Scots accommodated some of these individuals with various inducements.

II. The Demand for Enslaved Diasporas in Jamaica

The Jamaican economy primarily developed in relation to the agricultural and commercial sectors, and in turn, created a demand for labour, which was satisfied by Africans and their descendants. To some degree, West and West-Central Africans sold into the Atlantic slave trade solved labour issues. The traffic of peoples from West Africa

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1 I thank Paul E. Lovejoy, José C. Curto, Michele A. Johnson, William C. Found, and Yvonne Brown for sharing comments on earlier drafts of this chapter. My project was achieved with the financial support of the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (Doctoral Fellowship Program); Short-Term Grants for Research in Atlantic History, International Seminar on the History of the Atlantic World, Harvard University; David Nicholls Memorial Trust, Oxford; and Faculty of Graduate Studies, York University. I am grateful for a dissertation writing fellowship awarded by the Graduate Programme in History, York University. I kindly acknowledge the National Maritime Museum for permission to include several digital maps in the dissertation.
in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries did in fact contribute to the rise of slavery in Jamaica. British colonists institutionalised slavery, because it assisted their aims of controlling a large labour force and dictated the types of relationships enslaved people created among Africans and Europeans. In Jamaica, the rural economy had much to offer, as planters and agriculturalists were able to diversify the landscape, planting a host of crops, including sugarcane, coffee, indigo, pimento, mahogany, cotton, fustick, lignum vitae, and ginger for local and international consumption.\(^2\) Subsequently, a diversified agricultural economy was not unique in Jamaica, as several Caribbean islands had similar experiences.\(^3\) However, the production of sugar played a major role in shaping the Jamaican and greater Caribbean economy.\(^4\) Richard Sheridan’s *Sugar and Slavery* study examines the role of sugar “in the West Indies in the emerging Atlantic economy, with special reference to the British Empire.”\(^5\) After 1750, Jamaica’s landscape underwent a rapid transformation, becoming a major sugar producer in the British world.\(^6\) In addition, rum was produced on many estates throughout the island, and allowed some estate owners to supplement their incomes.\(^7\)

Several historians have examined the nature of Jamaica’s economy in the eighteenth century. For example, Kathleen Monteith writes that “an examination of the coffee industry in Jamaica in the period 1790-1850 reveals that this sector contributed immensely to the diversification of the Jamaican society and economy.”\(^8\) Monteith argues that “coffee was cultivated and processed in Jamaica for export from as early as 1728. However, it was not until the 1790s, when favourable conditions of high prices

\(^2\) Yu Wu, “Jamaican Trade: 1688-1769 A Quantitative Study” (PhD Diss., Johns Hopkins University, 1995).

\(^3\) Verene A. Shepherd, ed., *Slavery without Sugar: Diversity in Caribbean Economy and Society since the 17th Century* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2002).


\(^5\) Sheridan, *Sugar and Slavery*, xvi.


and scarcity were created by the Saint Domingue (Haitian) Revolution, that the Jamaica coffee industry underwent dramatic expansion.9 The studies produced on the rearing of cattle in Jamaica illustrate the importance of a livestock industry in feeding the local population and its contribution to diversifying the Jamaican economy.10 Moreover, livestock in addition to the indigo and logwood trades via Jamaica were important, because the animals and agricultural produce came from neighbouring Spanish and French colonies in the Caribbean.11 Nélida Garcia Fernández demonstrates how indigo grown in Central America transhipped via Jamaica to Bristol was transported to Spain.12 The majority of the mahogany, logwood and other types of wood removed from Honduras, the Mosquito Shore and elsewhere were transhipped via Jamaica and then


distributed throughout the British Empire. Some local and Spanish wood was retained in Jamaica to support the local furniture industry.

III. Scots and West Africans at Work in Jamaica

As testified in wills and other notarised documents in Jamaica, several ship owners involved in the Caribbean trade via Jamaica were also resident planters. Long argued that absentee planters had a devastating economic and social consequence on Jamaica, which he and others attempted to address by imposing a colonial tax on absentees. The high number of absentee planters in Jamaica created another tier of employment, consisting of managers, accountants and attorneys of sugar estates. In Jamaica, Scots increasingly entered into management positions such as managers, overseers, and attorneys on sugar estates, which were primarily located in rural Jamaica. Moreover, as evidenced by Mr. Campbell of “Argyllshire” in chapter two, some Scottish planters preferred to hire their “countrymen” as overseers.

Unlike the Beans and Wedderburns, Paplay’s participation in the Atlantic and Caribbean slave trades is unknown. However, he did purchase enslaved people, as he owned several sugar estates and livestock pens in Jamaica, as discussed in chapter three. Paplay used enslaved people to work on his rural estates, but the extent to which he hired free black or mixed-race peoples is unknown. Little documentation exists to show Paplay’s working relationship with the enslaved population on his estates or to highlight the productivity of his plantations and pens during his life time. The records of eighteenth century resident planters have largely disappeared from Jamaican archives. In Jamaica, the records privileged absentee property owners, because of “An Act for preventing frauds and breaches of trust by attorneys or agents of persons absent from this Island [Jamaica]; and by trustees, guardians, executors and administrators acting for and on behalf of minors and others; and by Mortgagees in Possession of Estates mortgaged, and Sequestrators appointed by Authority of the Court of


16 On absentee planters see, Smith, Slavery, Family, and Gentry, 226-259; Burnard, “Passengers Only”; Williams, Capitalism and Slavery, 89; Douglas Hall, “Absentee Proprietorship in the British West Indies to About 1850” Jamaican Historical Review 4 (1964): 15-35; Curtin, Two Jamaicas, 16-18; Pares, West-India Fortune, 103-159.


18 See chapter three.
In 1740, the Jamaica Assembly legislated that accounts produce had to be recorded in the Island Secretary’s Office, and was designed to discourage fraud among resident attorneys, acting on behalf of absentee planters, who primarily resided in Britain. As a consequence of the Act, an extensive paper trail exists in the form of estate journals, letters, and other records left by absentee planters, overseers, and attorneys. These records allowed several historians to examine the commercial affairs and in some instances, the experience of enslavement on several Jamaican plantations.

In 1770, a list of Paplay’s possessions at death included a listing of the enslaved people resident on the Sunning Hill Estate located in the parish of St. Thomas-in-the-East. Two of the appointed executors, Philip Philip Livingston and Charles Daives were present for the count. Livingston and Daives listed enslaved people in the following order: male adults, male children, female adults and female children. Table 4.1 is a copy of the inventory of enslaved Africans, who were declared the property of Paplay in 1770.

Table 4.1, A list of enslaved peoples residing on George Paplay’s Estate in Bath, St. Thomas-in-the-East, ca. 1770

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Male Adults</th>
<th>Male Children</th>
<th>Female Adults</th>
<th>Female Children</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Quamina a Driver</td>
<td>Neptune</td>
<td>Fedelia</td>
<td>Deborah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adam a Cooper</td>
<td>Jackey</td>
<td>Clarinda</td>
<td>Abba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surry a Cooper</td>
<td>Ceasar</td>
<td>Lucinda, useless</td>
<td>Katey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bristol a Cooper</td>
<td>Mingo</td>
<td>Ophelia</td>
<td>Frankey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Windsor a Cooper</td>
<td>Monday</td>
<td>Papaw Lucy</td>
<td>Quasheba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Darby a Cooper</td>
<td>James</td>
<td>Spot</td>
<td>Esther</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William a Smith</td>
<td>Tommy</td>
<td>Sylvia</td>
<td>Betsey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adam a Boiler</td>
<td>Prowise</td>
<td>Rachel</td>
<td>Chandois</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dick Boatswain</td>
<td>William</td>
<td>Katey</td>
<td>Phiba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fortune</td>
<td>Johnny</td>
<td>Sukey</td>
<td>Assirs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cato</td>
<td>Ned</td>
<td>Polly</td>
<td>Sylvia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tom Pidgeon, Doctor</td>
<td>John Mulatto</td>
<td>Ebo Phillis</td>
<td>Phiba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sam</td>
<td>Muster</td>
<td>Clarissa, Old</td>
<td>Dolley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jonah, Old</td>
<td>Fury</td>
<td>Chamba Minba</td>
<td>Venus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quamina Very Old</td>
<td>Prince</td>
<td>Coro</td>
<td>Mary</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

20 Jamaica Assembly, Acts of Assembly, Passed in the Island of Jamaica, from the Year 1681 to the year 1769 Inclusive: In Two Volumes (Kingston: Alexander Aikman, 1787), 185-197.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>New York</th>
<th>Tonie</th>
<th>Rose temptress or temptress</th>
<th>Sarah</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pompey</td>
<td>Dolly</td>
<td>Juba... Yaws</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>York</td>
<td>Betsey</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daniel</td>
<td>Long Dianna</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simon a Sawyer</td>
<td>Dutches</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles Old</td>
<td>Nanny</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mammy</td>
<td>Flina</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March</td>
<td>Ebo Fedelia</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Little Jupiter</td>
<td>Bridget</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cromwell</td>
<td>Marian</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austin Wassiman</td>
<td>Cynthia</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lucky Wassiman</td>
<td>Matt Sickly</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cambridge</td>
<td>Susanna Cook</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malbro</td>
<td>Fanny</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suphis</td>
<td>Chamba Phillis distempt d</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Little Anthony</td>
<td>Daphne</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harry</td>
<td>Little Nancy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stephen lame</td>
<td>Myrtilla Old</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John in Sores</td>
<td>Florinda Washer</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nero</td>
<td>Quasheba Washer</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jno Kingston</td>
<td>Coromanttee Mimba</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George</td>
<td>Benneba</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Little Joe</td>
<td>Rosanna Sores</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Massoe Lee</td>
<td>Mongola Diana</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quaco</td>
<td>Mongola Lucy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wharf Charles</td>
<td>Kingston Nancy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trouble</td>
<td>Jenny</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cork</td>
<td>Chloe Old</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lisbon</td>
<td>Young Grace</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wharf Jupiter</td>
<td>Ebo Lucy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ceasar</td>
<td>Old Grace</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boastwain</td>
<td>Jenny Mulatto</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Will Congo</td>
<td>Hannah</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hamlet</td>
<td>Eve</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coromanttee Kingston</td>
<td>Peachy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cuffee</td>
<td>Sally</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quashe</td>
<td>Jean</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jimmy</td>
<td>Molly</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old Jimmy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richmond</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roger one Leg</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harry in Sores</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>London</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chart 4.1, Gender and Age Breakdown of Enslaved Africans Residing on George Paplay’s Estate in Bath, St Thomas-in-the-East, ca. 1770

Source: JA, 1B/11/3/50 (1770), 141-142.

Chart 4.1 illustrates the enslaved peoples’ gender and age categories on Paplay’s estate in 1770. According to the executors, Paplay owned seventy-seven enslaved adult men, who represented forty-six per cent of the enslaved population. The remaining population was represented by fifty-four enslaved adult women, accounting for thirty-three percent; seventeen enslaved male children, accounting for ten percent
and eighteen enslaved female children, representing eleven per cent. Unfortunately, Paplay’s executors did not state how many of these individuals belonged to a family-unit on the Estate, however, it is believed that there were families, since there were children on the Estate. For example, the executors did not link the children to African ethnic groups, as they had done with the adult population. This seems to suggest that the children were born in Jamaica. There is no documentation available to demonstrate how Livingston and Daives determined age categories for the enslaved population. However, it was recorded that there were nine elderly enslaved people on the estate. Four of the nine elderly enslaved people were women. While it is unknown how many children these women had over the course of their life, there were approximately 50 “adult” women, who potentially mothered the thirty-five children listed in table 4.1. The statistical data suggests that one woman had 0.7 children, which is not possible, but the findings suggest that many women on the estate had at least one child. Unfortunately, the data does not provide concrete evidence of family units or in fact that these children’s father resided on the estate. However, below, I suggest that Paplay did recognize the need to identify life partners for some of the enslaved.

The gender imbalance and items recorded in the inventory such as “still heads” reveal that the Estate was used to produce sugar and rum. Since Paplay was a resident planter, information on the production of sugar and rum on his estate were not recorded in the Accounts Produce or Crop Accounts of Jamaica, as mentioned above. Following Paplay’s death, Philip Philip Livingston recorded the output levels of sugar and rum in the Crop Accounts, because as attorney/executor, he sent money remittances to Paplay’s surviving children in London.

Table 4.2, An Account of the Produce Made on the Different Estates of George Paplay, Esqr., 23 March 1781

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Where Produced</th>
<th>Sugar (hhds)</th>
<th>Sugar (bbls)</th>
<th>Sugar (pun)</th>
<th>Rum (casks)</th>
<th>Stock (steers)</th>
<th>Stock (cows)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maverlys</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunning Hill</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Golden Vale</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>1126</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friendship</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


As illustrated in table 4.2, in 1781, Maverlys produced seventy-nine hogsheads and three barrels of sugar and thirty-eight puncheons of rum. Sunning Hill produced 123 hogsheads of sugar and eighty puncheons and two casks of rum. Golden Vale produced ninety-six hogsheads of sugar and 1,126 pounds of sugar and sixty

puncheons and five casks of rum. Friendship produced 169 hogsheads of sugar and 108 puncheons of rum. The plantation also owned nine steers and a cow.

Paplay assigned “professional” roles to enslaved men on the Estate.23 Furthermore, these men acquired the highest value of the enslaved population, demonstrating that Paplay believed that their labour was essential to the functioning of the Estate. For example, Quamina was identified as a “driver,” and commanded a value of £150.24 There were five coopers: Adam, Surry, Bristol, Windsor and Darby. Adam was identified as a boiler; William held the position of smith; Tom Pidgeon was a “doctor” and Simon was a sawyer. Dick was the boatswain and his responsibilities included carrying Paplay’s agricultural produce to be loaded onto sailing vessels destined to Atlantic or Caribbean destinations via Port Antonio or Kingston. Although a position does not appear for either cowboy or rancher, more than likely the task was performed by an enslaved person. Paplay owned several steers, cows, heifers and calves, a bull, mules, asses, sheep, hogs and pigs. As discussed in chapter three, Paplay imported many of these animals from Spanish America. It is unclear whether the animal caretaker was male or female or a group of people.25

Florinda, Quasheba and Susanna were the only women on the Estate to receive a job title. Florinda and Quasheba were “washers” and Susanna was a “cook.” While many of the enslaved women commanded a value similar to their male counterparts several were listed with adjectives suggesting their worth. For example, Lucinda was “useless;” Rose was either a “tem pstress” or “sempstress;”26 and Chamba Phillis was “distempered.” Enslaved men did not receive a one-word description, except for Charles, also known as Hercules, who was listed with a value, but described as a “runaway.” Several of the enslaved people appear to have been ill, and were described as having sores and yaws.

While the inventory only contains the forename and nickname of enslaved people residing on Sunning Hill Estate, plausibly, the naming practices of these people offers valuable clues as to how Paplay and the enslaved people interacted with one another.27 The naming practices also shed light on how some Scots and Europeans stereotyped or

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24 On female drivers, see Moitt, Women and Slavery, 42-43.
26 Orlando Patterson argues that some enslaved women entered the role as prostitute on estates. If Rose was “tempstress,” it is possible that her occupation was entered into the inventory. Patterson, Sociology of Slavery, 161.
27 It is unclear who was responsible for knowing all the names of the enslaved people on Paplay’s Bath Estate. On the naming practices of enslaved Africans in Jamaica, see Trevor Burnard, “Slave Naming Patterns: Onomastics and the Taxonomy of Race in Eighteenth-Century Jamaica,” Journal of Interdisciplinary History 31, 3 (2001): 325-346; Patterson, Slavery and Social Death, 57; Patterson, Sociology of Slavery, 150-151.
classified Africans and their descendants, because these names commonly appear in the records of other Jamaican sugar estates.

The ethnic background of the enslaved population at Sunning Hill Estate is difficult to determine, because the place of birth was not stated for each individual. However, in many instances, West African nomenclatures denoting ethnicity as well as some corruptions of ethnic and racial descriptions were used to describe the adult enslaved population, suggesting that children on the Estate were born in Jamaica. What is more noticeable is that the highly skilled male population were not linked to a West African group.\textsuperscript{28} According to Lovejoy,

\begin{quote}
The process of ethnic identification and situational adjustments involving marriage or slavery resulted in the redefinition of ethnic allegiance. On the one hand, ethnicity meant something to the people themselves, evolving as it did out of language and perceptions of cultural similarities, but on the other hand the slave routes forced identifications onto people, who had to communicate to survive.\textsuperscript{29}
\end{quote}

On Paplay's Estate, fourteen people had an adjective to describe their “nation” or racial designation. Three women, Phillis, Fedelia and Lucy were described as “Ebo.” Two women, Minba and Phillis were identified as “Chamba”\textsuperscript{30} and Will was identified as “Congo.” Kingston and Minba were described as “Coromantee” and might have been life partners. Subsequently, Anthony and Lucy were identified as “Papaw”\textsuperscript{31} and also might have been life partners. It is possible that Paplay sought male and female individuals of similar origins in hopes that they might mate and produce “Jamaican-Coramantee” or “Jamaican-Papaw” enslaved children.\textsuperscript{32} Diana and Lucy were described as “Mongola,” however, it is unclear what was meant by this classification. Possibly, the women were from Angola, since Long wrote about people from West-Central Africa in Jamaica. Finally, two “mulatto” persons appeared on the Estate, a male child named John and an enslaved woman named Jenny. Overall, the “Africans” had acquired

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{30} According to Curtin, Chamba (Thiamba) people belong to the “Gurma Cluster,” which included Basair, Gurma, Konkomba and Moba peoples from a region north of Ashanti. Lovejoy finds that the arrival of Hausa traders in Dedaure coincided with the removal of Chamba peoples, who were increasingly sent to the Gold Coast to be sold into the Atlantic slave trade after 1750. See, Paul E. Lovejoy, “The Hausa Kola Trade, 1700-1900” (PhD diss., University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1973), 34-35; Curtin, \textit{Atlantic Slave Trade}, 187-188.
\textsuperscript{31} Patterson, “Slavery and Slave Revolts,” 303.
\textsuperscript{32} While it is difficult to understand the connection between these people, some enslaved people did seek persons of similar backgrounds to “marry” in the Americas. Colin A. Palmer, “From Africa to the Americas: Ethnicity in the Early Black Communities of the Americas,” \textit{Journal of World History} 6, 2 (1995): 223-237.
\end{flushleft}
European names, except for the Minbas, alluding to the fact that Paplay or another European in fact named these people. On African peoples, Long wrote that:

The choice of Negroes for different purposes requires experience, and particular attention; for there is not only some variety in their passions and bent of mind, but, from the constitution of their native climates and local manners, they inherit a variety of different distempers. The Coromantins, and many others of the Gold Coast slaves, are haughty, ferocious, and stubborn. The Minnahs, timid and desponding, apt to destroy themselves upon the least, and often without any, provocation. The Mundingo Negroes are very subject to worm disorders; the Congos to dropsies. The Ebo men are lazy, and averse to every laborious employment; the women performing almost all the work in their own country; these men are sullen, and often make away with themselves, rather than submit to any drudgery: the Ebo women labour well, but are subject to obstructions of the menstrua, often attended with sterility, and incurable. The Congos, Papaws, Conchas, Whidahs, and Angolas, in general, are good field labourers, but the last-mentioned are most stupid. The Negroes brought from Senegal are of better understanding than the rest, and fitter for learning trades, and for menial domestic services. They are good commanders over other Negroes, having a high spirit, and a tolerable share of fidelity: but they are unfit for hard work; their bodies are not robust, nor their constitution vigorous. The delicacy of their frame, perhaps, has some effect on their minds, for they are easier disciplined than any other of the African Blacks. The Aradas are thought to excel all the rest in knowledge of agriculture, yet their skill is extremely incompetent. The Congos, and Gold Coast Negroes, in general, are good fishermen, and excel in making canoes.

Long’s observation and characterisation of Africans demonstrates that a labour hierarchy was in place to determine what jobs Europeans assigned to enslaved people trafficked to Jamaica. Furthermore, Long used several ethnic nomenclatures to describe Africans, demonstrating that some Europeans recognized that Africans were not a homogenous group when they disembarked from slaving vessels in the Americas. Like Long, Scots emigrants likely learned about stereotypes of African groups, however, it is unclear how such information was used by Scots to manage enslaved peoples in rural plantation settings. It is argued that Scots likely assigned roles and tasks to enslaved Africans that were outlined by Long, as quoted above.

The intra-Caribbean slave trade via Jamaica also proved an opportunity for some Scottish merchants. According to Long, the “dependencies of Jamaica” namely the Cayman Islands, Mosquito Shore, Bay of Honduras, Black River, Roatan and

34 Long, History of Jamaica, II, 404.
Campeche all proved to be places to transport enslaved Africans.\textsuperscript{35} Plantation schemes on the Mosquito Shore, for example, experienced a demand for enslaved labourers. In November 1775, Dr. Charles Irving and Vassa sailed to Jamaica in hopes of purchasing enslaved Africans. According to Vassa, “Our vessel being ready to sail for the Mosquito shore, I went with the Doctor on board a Guinea-man, to purchase some slaves to carry with us, and cultivate a plantation; and I chose them all of my own countrymen, some of whom came from Lybia.”\textsuperscript{36} Irving likely hired Vassa so that he could identify his “countrymen,” who were Igbo people.\textsuperscript{37} As demonstrated in chapter one, people from the Bight Biafra and surrounding areas were transported to Jamaica in significant numbers in the second half of the eighteenth century. Although Vassa did not describe himself as a “slave driver,” it appears that this was to be his future role on the Mosquito Shore. On 15 June 1776, Vassa had “resigned” from his post as assistant of Dr. Irving, who granted him a letter of reference for his service.\textsuperscript{38} However, Dr. Irving also faced difficulties before Vassa left, because his sloop, the \textit{Morning Star} jointly owned by another Scot, Alexander Blair was captured by \textit{guardas costas} on 30 April 1776 near Black River in Spanish America. Dr. Irving and Blair experienced financial difficulties from the unexpected loss of the \textit{Morning Star}, since the two business partners spent much time on recovering their loss from British and Jamaican administrators.\textsuperscript{39} According to Blair,

on the 30\textsuperscript{th} of last month, forcibly seized, and carried away by two Spanish armed sloops, from the usual anchoring ground, near the mouth of this river. ...I have not been able, to make out so minute a detail of our loss, as I could wish; but I can assure your Excellency, that from the best estimated have been able to form, it amounts to £3509.8 Jamaica Currency; besides the great detriment we sustain, from the loss of many of our Plantation stores, the incompleatness of those already landed, and the want of a proper vessel, to keep up an intercourse with Jamaica, for the procuring slaves, and many necessaries.\textsuperscript{40}

It is unclear the immediate financial impact of Dr. Irving and Blair’s loss of the \textit{Morning Star}. Blair’s correspondence with colonial officials suggests that the care of enslaved people was in jeopardy. Therefore, some enslaved persons in the care of Dr. Irving must have died and Vassa possibly questioned his own fate, if he remained on the

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{35} Long, \textit{History of Jamaica}, I, 309-343
\item \textsuperscript{36} Carretta, \textit{Interesting Narrative}, 205.
\item \textsuperscript{38} Carretta, \textit{Interesting Narrative}, 210
\item \textsuperscript{39} NA, CO 137/71/223-224.
\item \textsuperscript{40} NA, CO 137/71/191-192.
\end{itemize}
Mosquito Shore. Consequently, Vassa asked for a letter of reference and moved forward with his life.\footnote{Carretta, \textit{Interesting Narrative}, 210.}

**IV. Scots Management in Jamaica and its Territories**

Scottish emigrants increasingly interacted with enslaved Africans as well as free black and mixed-race peoples in eighteenth century Jamaica and its territories. Slavery complicated Scottish and West African interactions, because the majority of the population was enslaved and of African descent, while Scots and other Europeans comprised a minority free population. The question becomes, how did Scots confront enslaved peoples as managers or overseers of their labour? Additionally, how did enslaved, free black and mixed-race peoples respond to Scots' management? For instance, "Marly now imperceptibly began to lose his former favourable opinion of the Negroes being a much calumniated race, and to resort to the one formed by persons daily conversant in their management, and which he had been advised to adopt, that when he saw a black face, he saw a thief."\footnote{Anon, \textit{Marly}, 41.} So, how did Marly on a day to day basis confront all the "thieves" on his Jamaican estate?

The testimonies of Africans under Scots' management are not well documented. However, Vassa and Robert Wedderburn provide two examples of how Scots and West Africans worked with one another in Jamaica and beyond. For example, Robert Wedderburn wrote:

> My grandmother was the property of one JOSEPH PAYNE, at the East end of Kingston; and her place was to sell his property-cheese, checks, chintz, milk, gingerbread, etc; in doing which, she trafficked on her own account with the goods of other merchants, having an agency of half-a-crown in the pound allowed her for her trouble.\footnote{Wedderburn, \textit{Horrors of Slavery}, 10.}

It was very common for enslaved women like Amy to enter into the petty market trade on behalf of their owner or on their own accord.\footnote{On enslaved women and the petty market trade, see Lorna E. Simmonds, "The Afro-Jamaican and the Internal Marketing System: Kingston, 1780-1834," in \textit{Jamaica in Slavery and Freedom: History, Heritage and Culture}, eds. Kathleen E.A. Monteith and Glen Richards (Kingston: University of the West Indies Press, 2002), 274-290; Moitt, \textit{Women and Slavery}, 54-46; Lorna E. Simmonds, "‘That little shadow of property and freedom’: urban slave society in Jamaica, 1780-1834” (PhD diss., University of the West Indies, 1995); Richard B. Sheridan, "Strategies of Slave Subsistence: The Jamaican Case Reconsidered," in \textit{From Chattel Slaves to Wage Slaves: The Dynamics of Labour Bargaining in the Americas}, ed. Mary Turner (London: James Currey, 1995), 48-67; Michael Mullin, "Slave Economic Strategies: Food, Markets & Property," in \textit{From Chattel Slaves to Wage}, 68-78; Mintz, "Economic Role"; Mintz, "Men, Women and Trade" Also see, Karasch, \textit{Slave Life}, 55-91; Karasch, “ Suppliers, Sellers.”} Subsequently, Robert also detailed the brutal treatment of Payne towards Amy.\footnote{Wedderburn, \textit{Horrors of Slavery}, 10-12.} Robert did not state the year when these events took place. However, Payne’s will was proved on 18 May 1775, which means that he probably died in 1775, since wills had to be executed within six months of the
testators death. Caribbean planters and merchants experienced financial hardship during the American Revolution from 1774 through 1776. It appears that Payne experienced financial difficulties before his death and at least on one occasion took out his frustrations on Amy. Payne’s flogging of Amy in public, demonstrates that she and other enslaved women were vulnerable to their master’s will. While Robert remembered Amy’s flogging, he did not recall being harmed or in danger after the incident. In chapters three, I complicated the notion of a Scottish family in Jamaica due to the arrival of Afro-Scottish children. In chapter two, I noted that these mixed-race children were incorporated into Scottish commercial circles. Therefore, I argue that Robert’s free status, his surname, and the fact that the Wedderburns were a well known Scottish family in Jamaica, were all likely factors why Payne would not harm Robert before consulting his father in Scotland or family in Westmoreland. More importantly, Robert’s brother James continued to live with his uncles in Westmoreland, moreover, he was apprenticed as a millwright by his uncle Peter Wedderburn. Robert and his grandmother’s experiences differed drastically, because of their free and enslaved status in Jamaica. However, I argue that belonging to a Scottish family also shaped the experiences of some persons who were initially born as enslaved people in Jamaica. In some instances, belonging to a Scottish family also played a role in how other Scots managed or disciplined Afro-Scottish people at work or under their supervision.

Vassa also wrote about Scots and West Africans at work in the Caribbean world. Vassa was an emancipated African and had experienced life as an enslaved person in the Americas. As a free person, Vassa described work life under Dr. Irving, he wrote:

In February 1768, I hired myself to Dr. Charles Irving, in Pall-mall, so celebrated for his successful experiments in making sea-water fresh; and here I had plenty of hair-dressing to improve my hand. This gentleman as an excellent master; he was exceedingly kind and good tempered; and allowed me in the evenings to attend my schools, which I esteemed a great blessing; therefore I thank God and him for it, and used all diligence to improve the opportunity. This diligence and attention recommended me to the notice and care of my three preceptors, who, on their parts, bestowed a great deal of pains in my instruction, and besides were all very kind to me. My wages, however, which were by two-thirds less than ever I had in my life (for I had only 12£ per ann.) I soon found would not be sufficient to defray this extraordinary expence of masters, and my own necessary expences; my old thirty-seven guineas had by this time worn all away to one. I thought it best, therefore, to try the sea again in quest of more money, as I had been bred to it, and had hitherto found the profession of it successful. I had also a very great desire to see Turkey, and I now determined to gratify it. Accordingly, in the month of May, 1768,

48 Carretta, Interesting Narrative, 62-135
I told the Doctor of my wish to go to sea again, to which he made no opposition; and we parted on friendly terms. The same day I went into the city in quest of a master.  

While Vassa’s passage suggests that he placed Irving in high esteem, it is possible that he wished to appease his reading audience, which largely comprised of Irving’s peers. Lovejoy writes “Although Vassa clearly lost touch with his former mentor, Dr. Irving, ‘the inventor,’ Vassa seems to have remained in contact with Alexander Blair, as reflected in the fact that Blair apparently subscribed to the first edition of the Narrative in 1789.”

Unlike Robert Wedderburn, Vassa did not have familial ties to Scotland, except that later in his life, he married a Scots woman, Susannah Cullen. In the Narrative, Vassa did not share his unpleasant moments with Dr. Irving. Vassa recognized that many of the Narrative’s subscribers were acquaintances or allies of Dr. Irving. Thus, Vassa wrote “Though I was much attached to the Doctor, I was happy when he consented to my going.”

Vassa seemed pleased that he attended school during his service to Dr. Irving, so, he praised his mentor for his education. Although he does not state where the school was located or the subjects that were taught, it was here, where Vassa improved his literary skills, enabling him to write about his experiences. More importantly, Vassa earned a living from his writings.

In Jamaica, eye-hand accounts of Scots’ management of enslaved, free black and mixed race peoples is a consequence of Robert and Vassa’s literary achievements. However, the majority of enslaved and mixed-race peoples were not afforded freedom or granted opportunities to learn how to read and write. More importantly, a handful of free black mixed-race peoples migrated to London, for example. Rather enslaved people were forced to labour in cane fields, while some were forced to work in Jamaica’s major harbour, Kingston.

V. Enslaved, Free Black and Mixed-race Peoples and Caribbean Trade

The overwhelming focus on enslaved peoples residing in rural communities is the result of family, business or plantation papers on several estates in Jamaica. However, the Caribbean trade via Jamaica was largely an urban phenomenon. British people and their descendents primarily controlled regional trade by living in port towns such as

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49 Carretta, Olaudah Equiano, 166.
52 Carretta, Olaudah Equiano, 210.
53 Carretta, Equiano the African, 330-367.
54 It is unknown how or where Wedderburn acquired his education. It is possible that he received some educational training in Jamaica. See Patrick Bryan, The Legacy of a Goldsmith: A History of Wolmer’s School, 1729-2003 (Kingston: Arawak Publications, 2004).
Kingston and Montego Bay. Hence, an examination of port towns during slavery offers insight into the “degrees of freedom” in Jamaica, which has to be contrasted with enslaved persons residing in rural areas. Urban centres provided multiple economic opportunities for free, indentured, and enslaved peoples. Furthermore, for some Africans and their descendants the ability to read, speak and write in European languages, especially English in the case of Jamaica, enabled these people to utilize newspapers, and to write contracts, autobiographies, diaries, and letters.

The economic roles of enslaved Africans, free black and mixed-race peoples in Jamaica and their involvement in Caribbean trade is difficult to assess, since many of these people were “undocumented workers.” Vassa was an enslaved seaman for a significant period of his life, as an African, he navigated around the Caribbean world in the eighteenth century. Persons of African heritage did not always appear in the official record, especially in local and colonial correspondence. Nevertheless, the limitations placed on African descended peoples did not prevent these people from entering the Caribbean trade via Jamaica as sailors, crewmen or by working in the ports as pilots and porters. However, it is clear that British peoples and their descendants entered regional trade as a means to generate a steady income stream and also to maintain trade and communication networks with family and friends throughout the Atlantic world. For example, Scots controlled the Caribbean trade via Jamaica in the second half of the eighteenth century, as a result of forming a commercial diaspora.

To locate free black and mixed-race merchants in eighteenth century Jamaica is a challenging task. Robert Wedderburn, for example, joined the Royal Navy at the age of 16. In his autobiography, Wedderburn noted that his godmother was Lady Basillia Douglas (nee Dawes). Although Robert did not make the connection, Lady Douglas married a Scot, her husband was James Charles Sholto Douglas, who held the post of Customs Collector of Jamaica. In 1766, he was implicated in a scandal, as will be discussed in chapter five. Apparently, Sholto Douglas manipulated the naval logs and books, and was released from his post. Despite the scandal, Sholto Douglas was still known and respected by the Scots mercantile community in Jamaica. It appears that Sholto Douglas secured Robert employment in the Royal Navy. Although he did not

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59 Wedderburn, Horrors of Slavery, 4-5.
60 NA, CO 137/62/237-238.
pursue the life of a seaman, Robert continued to associate with black mariners in Britain.\footnote{Linebaugh and Rediker, \textit{Many-Headed Hydra}, 322.}

Naval Officers did not record the race or colour of the owners or even masters of sailing vessels, arriving at Jamaica’s major ports. In 1766, Kingston’s Customhouse employed “negroes” to work as sailors and in the office. Although the Customhouse paid £105 for four “negro” sailors, it is unclear whether the men were free and received a salary; or were enslaved and hired out by an owner.\footnote{Slave owners participated in the practice of jobbing, which was to hire out enslaved people to others for a set amount of time in exchange for monetary payment. See, Burnard, \textit{Master, Tyranny}, 61; Cateau, “Management and Sugar,” 185.} In addition, £28 per annum was paid for a “negro” to work in the office.\footnote{NA, CO 137/62/244.} In 1767, “a plan with elevations of the buildings in His Majesty’s Ordnance Yard, at Kingston in the Island of Jamaica,” showed that building “E” was the “intended houses for the Negroes that guard the Yard.” Building “E” was located near the newly repaired storehouses.\footnote{BL, Add Ms. 57717/8.} Therefore, Naval Officers at Kingston employed enslaved or free blacks to work in its harbours. There is little evidence to suggest that enslaved or free blacks worked in Jamaica’s other customhouses, namely Montego Bay, Lucea, Savanna-la-Mar and Port Antonio.

Kingston’s settlement existed in the centre of the beach shore, “bounded by the Harbour of \textit{Port royal} to the South-west, and North by Lands patented by Sir \textit{William Beeston}, and continued by a Calabash-Tree, on the North-East Corner by a strait Line to the Foot of the long Mountain, from thence, till it meets with the Bounds of the Parish of \textit{Port Royal”}.\footnote{Charles Leslie, \textit{A New and Exact Account of Jamaica} (Edinburgh: R. Fleming, 1740), 27.} The principal loading and unloading area of circum-Caribbean voyages was centred on Corn Hill and Cheap Side in the eastern section of the town.\footnote{In Barbados, Cheapside was also the centre of the mercantile community. Pedro Welch, \textit{Slave Society in the City: Bridgetown, Barbados, 1680-1834} (Kingston: Ian Randle, 2003), 39.} Map 4.1 provides a bird eye’s view of Kingston in 1750. While Charles Leslie wrote a general description of Kingston before 1740, by mid-eighteenth century Kingston’s boundaries comprised of North Street, Fleet Street, West Street, and Port Royal Street.
Map 4.1, Michael Hay, *Plan of Kingston*, [1750]

The Kingston Poll Tax provides insight into the numbers of enslaved people, free black and mixed-race peoples living in the town. Whereas rural Jamaica was populated by enslaved Africans, Europeans largely resided in urban areas with access to a shipping port. The boundaries of Kingston’s south east quadrant, included King Street in the east and Queen Street in the south. It is believe that free black and mixed-race peoples who rented or owned property worked around the harbour. The proximity of their residence suggests that they relied on the harbour and neighbouring businesses for work. In the eighteenth century, persons of lower socio-economic background had to walk from their home to work. Charts 4.2 and 4.3 examine the free black and mixed-race population residing in the southeastern section of Kingston. In the Kingston Vestry’s annual poll tax, the free non-white population was categorised as FN for free negro and FM for free mulatto.67

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In 1763, ten free blacks and mixed-race persons lived in south east Kingston, as demonstrated in chart 4.1. It is noted that Foster Lane, Cheap Side, and Thames Street were not recorded in the poll tax of 1763, because they were not deemed as habitable areas. The Vestry noted that there were three free non-white persons who lived on Lower East Street. On John, George, Hanover, Rum, Maiden, Lad and East Queen, there was only one black or mixed-race person, who resided on these lanes and streets. In 1766, following the Seven Years' War and with the opening of the free ports, there was a significant increase in the free non-white population residing in or around Jamaica’s major port.

In 1766, the Vestry did not record any residents on Lombard and Thames streets. However, the Vestry noted that a “negro yard” was established on Temple Lane. According to Bailey, free black and mixed-race peoples purchased plots of land in Kingston, which were named “Negro Yards” by the Kingston Vestry.68 The Vestry recorded that sixty-two free black and mixed-race persons resided in Kingston’s south east quadrant. Twelve persons resided on Lower East Street, which had the most of any street or lane, suggesting that more than one family resided on the street. Seven persons lived on Rum Lane, and six persons lived on George’s Lane. Five persons lived on Lower King Street and Foster Lane, respectively. Four persons lived on Hanover Street; three persons lived on Church Street. Two persons lived on the following streets and lanes: Temple, Mark, Duke, High Holborne and Fleet. At least one free black or mixed-race person resided on the remaining streets and lanes of Rosemary, Maiden, Gold, Lad, Cheap Side, Corn Hill, East Queen, Lawes, Barry and Tower.

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By 1769, the free black and mixed-race population residing in Kingston’s south east quadrant had comprised of eighty residents. In addition, there was no evidence of a “negro yard.” As in earlier poll taxes, the Vestry did not record residents on the following streets: Lombard, Thames, Harbour and Port Royal. However, as demonstrated in chart 4.3, seven persons lived on John’s Lane. Six persons resided on Rum Lane, Gold Street and High Holbourne, respectively. Five persons lived on Mark Lane, Duke Street, George’s Lane, Foster Lane and Cornhill, respectively. Four persons lived on Temple Lane, Church Street and Tower Street, respectively. Three persons lived on Lower King Street, Lower East Street and Rosemary Lane, respectively. On Hanover, Fleet, and East Queen and Corn Hill two persons resided on these streets, respectively. Finally, one person lived on the following streets and lanes: Maiden, Cheap Side, Barry and Water.

In 1770, the Vestry recorded that eighty free black and mixed-race persons lived in Kingston’s south east quadrant. While the population had not increased or decreased, there was some movement in terms of persons changing addresses or even previous residents were replaced by new renters or owners. Lower East Street had the highest representation with eleven free black and mixed-race residents. There were eight residents on Maiden Lane. On Duke Street, seven persons were recorded as residents. On Rum Lane, six persons were recorded by the Vestry. There were five residents recorded on Lower King Street, Foster Lane, and Cornhill, respectively. Three persons were recorded as residents on the following streets and lanes: Temple, Church, and Mark. Two persons were recorded as residents on the following streets and lanes: George’s, Hanover, Lad, Fleet, and East Queen. Lastly, the Vestry did not record residents on the following streets and lanes: Lombard, Tower, Thames, Water, Harbour, and Port Royal.

It is still uncertain the types of services or kinds of employment that was available to the free black and mixed race population in Kingston. The free non-white population was restricted from serving in Kingston’s jury, as discussed in chapter two. Therefore, it is believed that these people faced serious discrimination from Kingston’s established
mercantile community on a day-to-day basis. It is likely that free black and mixed-race men found work on sailing vessels operating in the Caribbean trade via Jamaica.

VI. Enslaved Peoples’ Resistance and Accommodation

In the eighteenth century, there were a number of ways that enslaved people responded to a life of enslavement in Jamaica. Increasingly, these responses were witnessed and documented by Europeans, including by Scottish residents in the island. It is through these responses that we learn more about enslaved Africans and Scottish interactions in Jamaica. For example, enslaved people deliberately ran away from a life of enslavement for a number of reasons. As noted above, at least one individual “Charles/Hercules” had escaped from Paplay’s Estate. Slave Advertisements were printed in every major newspaper in Jamaica. For example, John Barry posted a runaway slave advertisement in the Royal Gazette (Jamaica) on 3 November 1781. Furthermore, Barry reprinted the runaway slave ad in the Gazette on 1 December 1781. According to the advertisement, the owner, John Barry was searching for a:

Runway, about six weeks, a Negro man named Lorrain, alias Lawrence about 5 feet 2 inches high, he is marked on the right breast with IONE letters which are not recollected, and a part of his right ear cut off; he generally wears a handkerchief around his head; is well known in Spanish Town and Kingston, and lately met from the expedition against Fort St. Juan. It is assumed he will attempt to pass for a free man, as he speaks French and English with considerable fluency. It is requested that all masters of vessels may be careful that he does not prevail on them to take him off the island. A reward of two pounds will be paid for apprehending him, on applying at the Custom House, to John Barry.69

Catherine Lewis also posted several advertisements for an enslaved woman, Juliet in the Gazette. The first ad appeared on 27 November 1781, it read:

Runaway from the Subscriber about two months ago, a new Negro woman of the Coromantee Country, named Juliet, marked on the right shoulder C I with a Diamond on top, is much marked with small pox, had on when she absconded (or escaped) a white Osnaburg frock marked I L, and an old green docker. She has frequently been seen about Dr. Foster’s mountain. Whoever will apprehend her and lodge her in the work house in Kingston, or deliver her to me, will be entitled to a Pistole reward. Catherine Johns Lewis.70

The Royal Gazette and the Jamaica Mercury printed numerous advertisements on runaways, providing details on the enslaved person’s physical appearance, linguistic abilities, ethnicity, and supposed mental capacity. Jamaican newspapers circulated throughout the British Atlantic world, so that the readership of slave advertisements was not limited to residents in the island. In addition, some Europeans wrote stories of fiction.

69 “Supplement to the Royal Gazette,” The Royal Gazette (Jamaica) 3, 133 (1781): 694.
70 “Supplement to the Royal Gazette,” The Royal Gazette (Jamaica) 3, 138 (1781): 768.
about runaway slaves such as *The History and Adventures of that Famous Negro Robber, 3 Finger'd Jack, The Terror of Jamaica*.\(^{71}\) In the novel, Mansong, a “native of Africa” from a Moorish town in the interior of the continent, was sold into the Atlantic slave trade. Mansong arrived in Jamaica, was renamed by the plantocracy as Jack. He refused to be a slave, he moved to the Blue Mountains, and terrorized planters and merchants in the parishes of St. Andrew and Kingston. The story is quite dramatic, but sheds light on how an anonymous writer viewed maroonage in Jamaica’s slave society. The author might have been Scottish, because they published the book in Stirling, Scotland in 1806. More importantly, it is interesting to note that a publisher sought a Scottish audience to read about this vivid and threatening story about planter life in Jamaica.

The manumission of enslaved peoples from their owner was an accommodation strategy used by some Europeans in Jamaica. The manumission process was not designed to free the entire enslaved population, of course. Its purpose was to reward select individuals for service, some mixed-race children or elderly peoples. As mentioned earlier, I suspect that Paplay had ideas about mating practices among the enslaved African population, but difficult to prove, because there are no additional records to support this or documentation to trace the lineage of enslaved children born on the Estate. Paplay was aware of the manumission process, since he emancipated several people over the course of his life in Jamaica.\(^{72}\) All children born or acquired by Paplay to work on Sunning Hill Estate were “black” and enslaved, except for John, who was described as “mulatto.” John’s enslaved status suggests that his father did not emancipate him like Wedderburn-Colvile had done for Rosanna’s children, James and Robert. However, Paplay did not emancipate John, suggesting that mixed-race people were not guaranteed their freedom. The case of John complicates how one might equate race and manumission in eighteenth century Jamaica.

In 1761, Paplay manumitted “a Negro woman slave named Pheebee.” It is unclear why Paplay freed Pheebee, but his long-time friend and business associate, Edward Manning had a mortgage on Pheebee and most likely requested that she be manumitted upon his death, as the document noted that Manning was deceased.\(^{73}\) In 1762, Paplay manumitted “a negroe man named Jack,” who purchased his freedom for 10 shillings.\(^{74}\) Jack was the last person to be manumitted by Paplay. Jack might have been one of Paplay’s slave driver, and was granted freedom either for good service or because he was elderly, and Paplay had no use for him.

It is clear that Paplay found a niche along with other Scots to operate trade via Jamaica in the Caribbean world, but more importantly, he was able to invest his income in plantations and the rearing of cattle, which required the labour of enslaved people. It seems that Paplay did not entirely believe in manumission, since the freedom of too many enslaved people might create an instable labour force. Furthermore, Paplay did

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\(^{71}\) Anon, *The History and Adventures of that Famous Negro Robber, 3 Finger’d Jack, The Terror of Jamaica* (Stirling: C. Randall, 1806).

\(^{72}\) According to Jamaican law, “free people of colour” had to prove their freedom from slavery. This information was recorded in the Manumission Registers in the Island Secretary’s Office. See Long, *History of Jamaica*, II, 320-321.

\(^{73}\) JA, 1B/11/6/7/33.

\(^{74}\) JA, 1B/11/6/7/116.
not assume that all “mulatto” people were free from enslavement, because Jenny and John, who resided on his Estate, were not emancipated at birth.

In his will and last testament, Paplay willed four enslaved women “Bella, Mary, Eve, and Minba a Girl about the House” to Anna Daives and upon her death to Mary Daives. Anna and Mary Daives were the daughters of Charles Daives, who was an executor of Paplay’s estate. Paplay did not explain why he made this request, but it seems like the four women were related to one another. In the inventory, Mary was listed as a female child. Bella did not appear in the list. Bella might have been old and died before the executors arrived, or she ran away. Minba was described as Chamba and an adult female. Eve was also an adult female. Rather than free the women and girl, it appears that Paplay consciously wished to keep the women together as well as ensure that their new master was a woman. It is possible that one or more of the women were his mistresses. So, he wished to ensure that the women had lighter work duties as domestic servants, which appeared to be an easier path than working in cane fields. Another explanation might be that Paplay had an arrangement with the women before his death based on their service to his Estate. It is difficult to prove that an agreement was made by Paplay and these women, since written contractual agreements between Europeans and Africans are extremely rare in Jamaica.

VII. Conclusion

The chapter demonstrated that persons forming commercial and enslaved diasporas simultaneously worked, conversed, and confronted one another in eighteenth century Jamaica and its dependencies. The chapter explored the working relationships between enslaved Africans, free blacks and persons of mixed-race with Scots who represented the management class in Jamaica. Vassa’s testimony exemplifies one case where an enslaved African recorded his experiences under Scots management in the Caribbean world. The chapter argued that enslaved Africans, free black and mixed-race peoples primarily worked in concentric circle “4” of the Scottish commercial diaspora, while some mixed-race people such as Robert Wedderburn also appeared in concentric circle “5,” as a consequence of having a Scottish father, and emigrated from Jamaica to Scotland. The chapter explored the implications of a growing free black and mixed-race population in Kingston’s south east quadrant, who found work around the harbour. Finally, the chapter explored how some enslaved people resisted slavery by running away or negotiating their freedom with some Scots such as George Paplay.

75 Patricia A. Bishop, “Runaway Slaves in Jamaica, 1740-1807: A Study Based on Newspaper Advertisements Published during that Period for Runaways” (MA thesis, University of the West Indies (Mona), 1970).