



# THREE EARLY CENSUSES — 1816, 1820, 1823 — OF BELIZE

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## PREFACE

High on the shelves of the Registry vault may be found a number of hand-written documents of interest to historians of Belize and, I trust, to Belizeans in general. Several of these are the censuses of 1816, 1820 and 1823.

In this brief monograph I shall focus on the census of 1823, since it contains the most detailed information. In Appendix A the names of all family heads listed in this census, along with their slaveholdings, are given. In Appendix B are given the names of family heads appearing in the 1816 census which do not re-appear in the 1823 census. Appendix C lists the surnames of persons appearing in the 1823 census as being attached to families. These surnames do not appear elsewhere as heads of any family. Finally, Appendix D gives a sampling of the names of the slaves, who were not allowed the dignity of a surname until they gained their freedom.

I hope many Belizeans of today will take satisfaction in knowing that their families sank roots in this country at least 150 years ago.

## 1816 CENSUS

The 1816 census begins with the words:

A Census of the Population of the British Settlement of Belize in the Bay of Honduras, taken by Order of Lieutenant Colonel George Arthur His Majesty's Superintendent, Commandant, etc., etc., etc. December 1816.

Table 1 shows both the format of the census pages and the cumulative totals of each heading:

The total population therefore in 1816 was 3,824.

At the end of this 1816 census a note on slave manumissions is added by George Westby, Assistant Keeper of the Records:

Number of slaves manumitted in the British Settlement of Belize in the Bay of Honduras between the 1st day of January 1807 and the 1st day of Oct. 1816 as app ?  
by the Public records of the said Settlement.

By last will and Testament of their owner:  
Deeds of manumission:

78

95

173

## 1820 CENSUS

This is a census of the Slave population. Only the names of the slave owners and their slaves are recorded. The number of slaves recorded is as follows:

Men:	1537
Women:	600
Children:	426
Total:	2563

This total shows an overall decrease of 179 slaves from the census of 1816. The decrease is explained by several causes: 1) deaths; 2) the slowing down of the slave trade; 3) manumissions, which totalled 55 from 11th October, 1816, to 31st December, 1820.

## 1823 CENSUS

This census differs from the previous two in that it recorded not only the names of the heads of families and their slaves but also names, sex, and colour of other free members of the family unit. In most cases these other members were probably relatives of the family head, but in some instances they may have been family servants or concubines of the head of the family, or perhaps even, merely boarders. The totals of this 1823 census are as follows:

	Whites	Coloured	Blacks	Slaves
Men:	136	192	217	1440
Women:	51	243	222	628
Children:	30	374	174	400
Total:	217	809	613	2468

The total population recorded in this census is 4,107. This figure, however, is somewhat less than it should be, as a note appended to the census indicates:

The foregoing Returns as made up are truly copied from those handed in to this office but I am aware there are many free persons who have not returned themselves at all, or their Families, particularly the free Black Men — as the militia of the country is much stronger than the number of males mentioned. One or two proprietors of Slaves have also not returned their properties.

TABLE I

Office of Records  
Belize Honduras  
Dec. 31st 1823  
Geo. Westby  
Keeper of the Records

One cannot help but be struck by the much higher number of white males over white females — nearly three times as many. This being the case, one is not surprised, indeed one would expect, to find many white men living in conjugal unions with coloured or black women. The returns of this census show that 33 white men (out of a total of 136) are heads of families having no white women but either coloured or black women attached to the family.

**Family Heads:** The number of family heads—470 in all—is here divided according to sex and colour (in a few instances white or coloured children are listed as family heads to indicate that ownership of the slaves is in their name):

	Whites	Coloured	Blacks
Men:	84	121	128
Women:	12	77	48
Total:	96	198	176

The high incidence of families headed by coloured and black women is consistent with, and perhaps explanatory of, patterns that persist to the present.

**Slave Ownership:** Ownership of slaves is here broken down according to colour, sex, and age of owner:

#### Total Number of Slaves Owned by:

	Whites	Coloured	Blacks
Men:	873	452	61
Women:	117	537	98
Children:	4	13	0
Total:	994	1002	159

The colour of the owners of the remaining 313 slaves could not be determined from the census; most of these latter owners were deceased and their slaves were simply listed as belonging to the estate of the deceased person, whose colour, however, was not noted.

Not all family heads owned slaves. As the following shows, 244 family heads (out of a total of 470)—or 52% of all family heads—owned no slaves:

#### Family Heads Owning No Slaves

	<u>Whites</u>	<u>Coloured</u>	<u>Blacks</u>
Men:	32	59	107
Women:	0	18	29
Total:	32	76	136

34% of all White family heads owned no slaves; 38% of all Coloured family heads owned no slaves; and 77% of all Black family heads owned no slaves.

We see now the average number of slaves owned by slave-owning family heads:

#### Average Number of Slaves Owned by x Number of Family Heads

<u>Family Heads</u> <u>Group</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Average Number of Slaves Owned</u>
<b>Whites</b>		
Men:	52	16.7
Women:	12	9.7
Total:	64	15.4
<b>Coloured</b>		
Men:	62	7.2
Women:	59	9.1
Total:	121	7.8
<b>Blacks</b>		
Men:	21	2.8
Women:	19	5.7
Total:	40	3.9

Male/female conflict has been a topic of frequent writing and research in the West Indies. One may speculate that the large number of slaves—many of them males—owned by coloured and black women could only have exacerbated this alleged conflict.

## APPENDIX A

### FAMILY HEADS AND SLAVEHOLDINGS

Note: Many of the family heads listed here also appeared in the 1816 census; their slaveholdings listed in that earlier census are also given. If a name did not appear in the earlier census, this is indicated by — in the column showing the number of slaves in 1816.

Symbols: BM = Black Man  
 BW = Black Woman  
 CM = Coloured Man  
 CW = Coloured Woman  
 CC = Coloured Child  
 WM = White Man  
 WW = White Woman  
 WC = White Child

NAMES OF FAMILY HEADS	Colour	No. of Slaves in 1816	No. of Slaves in 1823
ABRAHAM, Alexander	CM	—	0
ALEXANDER, John	WM	3	6
ALEXANDER, Marg.	CW	—	0
ALEXANDER, Robert	CM	—	2
ALTERIETH, James C.	WM	—	4
ANDERSON, Alexander (Estate of— —and his children)	?	—	81
ANDERSON, Grace T. (Estate of— and her children)	?	119	22
ARCHY, John	CM	—	0
ARMSTRONG, Agnes	CW	16	19
ARMSTRONG, John	CM	12	21
ARMSTRONG, Ronald	WM	—	1
ASKEW, Sarah	CW	1	2
AUGUST, Elizabeth	BW	8	10
AUGUST, John Samuel	WM	27	33
AUGUST, Samuel Fredrick	CM	5	30
AUSTIN, John	WM	—	0
AVILLA, Francisco	WM	0	1
BAILEY, Henry	BM	—	0
BAILLEY, William	BM	—	0
BAILLY, Toney	BM	—	0
BAKER, F.E.	BM	5	4
BAKER, Wm. J. E. D.	WW	—	1
BALLOW, Bejean	WM	—	2
	BM	—	0

NAMES OF FAMILY HEADS	Colour	No. of Slaves in 1816	No. of Slaves in 1823
BARNES, Isaac	BM	0	0
BARNES, Thomas	WM	—	0
BATES, Thomas (and Mary)	CM	—	6
BAYLEY, Thomas	BM	—	0
BEATTIE, Tinah	CW	9	3
BELISLE, Bernard	BM	—	0
BELISLE, Eve	BW	0	0
BELISLE, George	BM	—	0
BELISLE, Joseph	CM	0	0
BELISLE, Liddy	BW	—	0
BELISLE, Rosette	BW	0	0
BELISLE, Smart	BM	—	0
BENNETT, Charles	BM	—	0
BENNETT, Edward	CM	2	3
BENNETT, Marshal	WM	211	243
BENNETT, M., Jr.	WM	—	1
BERNARD, Joseph	CM	—	0
BETSON, David	WM	—	2
BETSON, John D.	WM	—	2
BEVINS, Joseph	WM	—	0
BIRD, Pollydore	BM	—	0
BIRD, Sarah	CW	—	1
BLAKE, Wm. T.	WM	—	0
BLANDFORD, Susannah	CW	—	4
BLYTHE, Mary	CW	1	0
BODE, Ann	CW	13	16
BOURN, Joseph	WM	—	0
BOWEN, Mansfield Wm.	WM	17	23
BRENARD, Willicam	BM	—	0
BROASTER, Ariadne	CW	47	*
BROHIER, John	BM	0	2
BROHIER, Judy	BW	—	0
BROHIER, Robert	CM	0	0
BROWN, William	BM	—	0
BRUNO, Joseph	CM	—	0
BULL, Charles	WM	1	1
BUNDOCK, Jonathan	WM	—	0
BURN, Wm., deceased (Estate of—)	?	26	30
BURREL, Richard	CM	1	2
BURREL, Sarah	CW	0	0
CADDLE, Edward (& John & sisters)	CM	—	24
CAESAR, William	BM	—	0
CALDWELL, Sarah	CW	—	0

\* See FRANCE, Alexander

NAMES OF FAMILY HEADS	Colour	No. of Slaves in 1816	No. of Slaves in 1823
CAMPBELL, Colin	CM	—	2
CAMPBELL, Duncanette	CW	4	4
CARD, Hagar	BW	—	0
CARD, Lucretia	BW	—	10
CARD, Quamina	BM	—	0
CARMICHAEL, James A.	WM	—	1
CARTER, Geo. B.	WM	0	8
CATES, William	WM	—	0
CATOUCK, a Pensioner	BM	—	0
CATTO, Askew	CW	—	0
CATTO, James	CM	—	0
CATTO, Keith	CM	0	0
CHAMPAGNY, Ann	CW	0	4
CHERRINGTON, William	WM	6	5
CHERRINGTON, William (in care of Wm. T. Cherrington)	WM	—	1
CHERRY, George	BM	1	1
CLEAR, Sarah	BW	—	0
CLEMENT, John	WM	—	0
COFFIN, Edwin	WM	—	1
COFFIN, Frederick	WM	—	0
COFFIN, Wm. H.	WM	9	8
COLLINS, John	CM	7	4
COLQUHOUN, Arch.	WM	19	22
CONNOR, John	WM	—	0
COOPER, Samuel	WM	—	0
COURANT, Cecilia	BW	1	1
COURANT, John	BM	—	0
COURANT, John, Sr.	BM	6	3
COURANT, John W.	BM	—	0
COURANT, William	BM	—	0
COURTNAY, John	CM	—	0
COURTNAY, William	CM	—	0
COX, Rachel	CW	—	0
CRAFT, John N.	CM	—	0
CRAIG, Charles	WM	8	0
CRAIG, John A. and Jane A. Craig	?	—	1
CRAPPER, Ann	CW	—	1
CRAWFORD, Lawrence	CM	—	0
CRAWFORD, Olive	CW	0	0
CROFT, John A.	CM	—	1
CROFT, William	CM	—	0
CROSBY, B. J.	?	—	4
CRUMP, Peter	BM	—	0

## NAMES OF FAMILY HEADS

	Colour	No. of Slaves in 1816	No. of Slaves in 1823
CUNNINGHAM, Charles	CM	—	10
CUNNINGHAM, Jas. R.	CM	—	4
CUNNINGHAM, J. M.	CM	—	4
DAVIS, Dorothy (Est. of ——)	?	—	1
DAVIS, Joseph	BM	—	0
DAWSON, George	BM	—	0
DEARLEY, John	BM	—	1
DE BAPTIST, Richard	CM	0	3
DEIGO, Hosea	BM	—	0
DISNAYERS, Claude	BM	—	6
DIXON, David	CM	—	0
DODGSON, James	BM	—	0
DOUGLAS, Abraham	BM	—	2
DOUGLAS, Marina	BW	—	0
DUBUCK, Caesar	BM	—	0
DUNN, Ellena	BW	—	0
EARNEST, Joseph	CM	—	0
EDWARDS, Glasgow	BM	—	0
EDWARDS, John	BM	—	1
EDWARDS, Lucinda	BW	—	0
EDWARDS, Peter	BM	—	2
EDWARDS, Quamina	BM	—	0
EDWARDS, Richard	BM	—	0
EDWARDS, William	BM	1	0
EDWARDS, William	BM	0	0
ELRINGTON, Ann	WW	—	5
EMERY, Maria	CW	—	3
EMERY, William	CM	—	0
ENGLAND, Benjamin	BM	—	0
EVANS, Charles	WM	—	5
EVE, Williams S.	WM	—	0
EVERETT, James	WM	—	0
EVERITT, Jacob B.	WM	—	0
EVES, Thomas	CM	—	0
EWING, David	CM	—	1
FARROW, William	WM	—	1
FERREL, Benjamin	CM	—	0
FERREL, John	CM	—	6
FITZGIBBON, Dickson	BM	—	0
FLOWERS, Adam	BM	—	0
FLOWERS, Adam	BM	1	1
FLOWERS, Anna	BW	—	1
FLOWERS, Archibald Wm.	BM	—	0
FLOWERS, Caesar	BM	1	1

NAME OF FAMILY HEADS	Colour	No. of Slaves in 1816	No. of Slaves in 1823
FLOWERS, Charles	BM	0	1
FLOWERS, Elizabeth	BW	—	0
FLOWERS, Jacob	BM	—	0
FLOWERS, John	CM	0	0
FLOWERS, John Thomas	BM	—	0
FLOWERS, Joseph	BM	—	0
FLOWERS, Quamina	BM	—	0
FLOWERS, Robert	BM	—	0
FLOWERS, Sabina	BW	—	0
FLOWERS, Thomas	BM	2	1
FLOWERS, William	BM	2	3
FORT, Francis	WM	6	7
FRAIN, Thomas	WM	17	30
FRANCE, Alexander (and Ariadne Broaster)	WM	1	50
GABOUREL, Ann	CW	—	10
GABOUREL, Joshua	CM	—	7
GABOUREL, William	CM	—	8
GABOUREL, William and Joshua	CM	26	9
GALLON, Elizabeth	BW	—	0
GAMBLE, Letitia	BW	—	0
GARNETT, George	CM	—	0
GAVIN, Michael	WM	—	5
GENTLE, William	WM	61	72
GIBSON, George	WM	4	3
GIBSON, Jeany	BM	—	1
GIBSON, John, deceased (Estate of ——)	?	6	5
GIBSON, William H.	CM	*	11
GIDEON, Modest	CM	—	0
GILLETT, George	CM	—	5
GILLETT, James	CM	1	2
GLADDIN, Thomas	CM	0	0
GODFREY, Henrietta	CW	11	13
GODFREY, Richard	CM	—	0
GODFREY, William	CM	—	0
GOFF, Eliza M.	CW	1	0
GOFF, Joseph	CM	1	6
GOFF, Sarah	CW	39†	27
GORDON, Amelia	WW	18	15

\* See GOFF, Sarah

† The Slaves the joint property of Sarah Goff, John Evins and Wm. Gibson.

NAMES OF FAMILY HEADS	Colour	in 1816 Slaves No. of	in 1823 Slaves No. of
GORDON, James, deceased (Estate of _____)	?	4	6
GORDON, Richard	BM	—	0
GORDON, Susannah	BW	—	3
GRAHAM, Edward	CM	0	0
GRAHAM, Isabella, deceased	?	—	2
GRAHAM, John	BM	—	0
GRAHAM, Prince	BM	0	0
GRANT, Alexander	BM	0	0
GRANT, Archibald	BM	0	0
GRANT, Catherine	BW	—	0
GRANT, Catto	BM	0	0
GRANT, Charles	BM	0	0
GRANT, Chloe	CW	0	0
GRANT, Daniel	BM	0	0
GRANT, Daniel	BM	0	0
GRANT, Harriett	BW	—	1
GRANT, Henry	BM	—	0
GRANT, James	BM	—	0
GRANT, John	BM	0	0
GRANT, Marg., deceased (Estate of _____)	?	—	3
GRANT, Samuel	BM	0	0
GRANT, William	BM	0	0
GREEN, Margaret	CW	2	4
HALL, William	WM	—	0
HAMILTON, Joseph	CM	—	0
HANOVER, William	BM	—	0
HARDY, Francis	WM	—	0
HARDY, William	BM	—	0
HARRIS, Elizabeth (Estate of _____)	?	8	8
HARRIS, Peter	BM	—	0
HARRIS, William	BM	—	0
HARRISON, Richard	WM	—	2
HAYLOCK, Robert	CM	—	0
HAYLOCK, Thomas	CM	—	0
HEMMINGS, John	CM	0	0
HEMMINGS, Mary	CW	9	10
HEMMONS, John	CM	—	0
HENDERSON, George (Slaves property of his children in Honduras)	?	10	9
HERRING, Caesar	BM	—	2
HEWLETT, Elizabeth	CW	21	13
HEWLETT, Geo.	BM	12	0

NAMES OF FAMILY HEADS	Colour	No. of Slaves in 1816	No. of Slaves in 1823
HEWLETT, Jane	BW	2	0
HEWLETT, Margaret	CW	—	0
HICKEY, Mary, deceased (Estate of —)	?	70	65
HILLS, John W.	WM	—	0
HINKS, Amelia	CW	1	2
HINKS, George	CM	2	3
HINKS, Joseph	CM	2	0
HOARE, Daniel	BM	—	0
HOARE, John S.	WM	36	30
HOME, Ann	?	19	18
HOME, George	WM	—	0
HOWARD, John	WM	—	1
HOWARD, Samuel	WM	—	1
HUGHES, John	WM	—	1
HUGHES, Mary	CW	—	1
HUGHES, William	BM	13	16
HULSE, Nathaniel	WM	—	1
HUME, Catherine	?	8	10
HUME, George	CM	4	19
HUME, Jane	CW	12	28
HUME, Mary	CW	19	30
HUNT, Ann	CW	16	13
HYDE, George	CM	10	5
HYDE, James (and George)	WM	120	104
HYDE, James	WM	*	17
HYDE, James (assignees of —)	WM	—	4
ILES, Thomas	WM	—	35
INNIS, David	BM	—	0
JACKSON, Charles	BM	—	0
JACKSON, Henry	BM	—	0
JACKSON, William	CM	0	0
JACKSON, William, deceased (Estate of —), in charge of M. Bennett, Esq.	?	21	20
JAMES, Corporal	BM	—	0
JECKELL, William	WM	—	0
JEFFREY, Elizabeth	CW	—	1
JEFFREYS, Jane	CW	—	2
JEFFRIES, Charles	CM	10	14
JEFFRIES, Rachel	BW	6	6
JEFFRIES, William	CM	—	0

\* See HYDE, James (and George)

NAMES OF FAMILY HEADS	Colour	No. of Slaves in 1816	No. of Slaves in 1823
JOHNSON, John	WM	—	0
JOHNSON, John	CM	—	0
JOHNSTON, Francis	BM	—	0
JONES, Jane	BW	—	0
JONES, Joseph	BM	0	2
JONES, Marg.	CW	—	1
JONES, Margaret	BW	—	0
JONES, Sarah	CW	1	2
JORDAN, William	BM	—	0
JOSEPH, Catharine	BW	—	0
JOSEPH, John	BM	—	0
KEEFE, Sarah	CW	28	51
KEENE, Vatchel	WM	80	2
KELLY, Elizabeth	WW	—	11
KENNEDY, Caesar	BM	4	5
KENNER, Duncan	BM	—	0
KERR, William	CM	—	0
LACASE, Minch	BW	—	0
LAMB, Catharine	WW	38	39
LAWRIE, Elizabeth the Younger	CW	7	12
LAWRIE, Louisa	CW	—	0
LAWRIE, Mary	CW	—	0
LAWRIE, Robert	BM	0	0
LEAVER, Eleonor	CW	2	1
LEBRUN, Pascal	BM	—	0
LE GEYT, George	WM	—	0
LEWIS, William	CM	—	6
LIGHTFOOT, Benjamin	BM	—	0
LOFTHOUSE, Christopher	WM	—	6
LONGSWORTH, Amelia	CW	—	2
LONGSWORTH, Mary (Estate of	?	2	1
LONGSWORTH, Primus	BM	—	0
LONGSWORTH, William, Jun.	CM	0	0
LORIANO, Antonio	WM	0	0
MAC KAY, Mary (and Sisters)	WW	—	15
MACKS, John	BM	—	0
MARTIN, John	CM	—	0
MASKALL, William	WM	—	8
MC AULAY, Leach	BW	—	24
MC CONACHIE, John	WM	—	0
MC CREA, Catalina	BW	—	0
MC DONALD, James	WM	—	6
MC DONALD, James R.	WC	—	4

NAMES OF FAMILY HEADS	Colour	No. of Slaves in 1816	No. of Slaves in 1823
MC GILVRAY, Hamen	BM	—	1
MC KAY, William	WM	—	18
MC LENAN, Lewis	?	—	1
MEIGHAN, Anna	WW	—	7
MEIGHAN, Devonshire	BM	0	0
MEIGHAN, Edward deceased (Estate of _____, in charge of Pro. Mar. Bent. (Bennett) under Levy)	?	45	9
MEIGHAN, Francis	CM	19	16
MEIGHAN, Martha	CW	5	3
MEIGHAN, Mathias	CM	—	0
MEIGHAN, Phillip	CM	1	1
MILES, Jacob	BM	—	0
MOODY, Edward	CM	2	2
MOODY, Thomas	CM	2	1
MOORE, Henry	WM	—	0
MORRELL, John	BM	—	1
MORRIS, John	BM	0	0
MORRISON, William	WM	—	0
MOYERS, Molly	CW	—	0
MUCKLEHANY, William	CM	—	2
MUSLAAR, Jacob	WM	—	0
MYVETT, Exeter	CM	—	1
MYVETT, Hannah	BW	12	9
NEAL, Duncan	BM	—	0
NEAL, George	CM	—	0
NEAL, Jane	BW	—	0
NEAL, Joseph	BM	—	0
NEAL, Lucretia	BW	—	0
NEAL, Marg.	CW	10	3
NEAL, Mary (slaves property of children of George Westby, in trust of Mary Neal)	CW	—	3
NEAL, William	CM	0	3
NICE, William	BM	—	0
O'CONNOR, Middleton	BM	2	1
ORGILE, William	CM	0	0
OWEN, Henry	BM	—	0
PANTING, Stephen	CM	—	2
PARKER, James	WM	—	0
PARKER, Susanna	CW	—	1
PARKES, John	CM	2	1
PARKES, Sarah	CW	—	6
PARKS, John (and Sarah)	CM	—	1

NAMES OF FAMILY HEADS	Colour	No. of Slaves in 1816	No. of Slaves in 1823
PASLOW, Clarissa	CW	12	20
PATTINETT, Lucy	CW	3	3
PATTINETT, Nancy	CW	—	10
PERIE, Alex., deceased (Estate of _____, in charge of Thomas Fain)	?	3	1
PETER, Manuel	BM	—	0
PICKSTOCK, Thomas	WM	1	8
PIER, John	BM	0	0
PITT, James	BM	5	11
POD, Charles	BM	—	0
POLITE, John	BM	—	0
POLLARD, John	WM	—	0
POLLYWARD, Maria	CW	—	0
POTTS, Catharine	CC	—	3
POTTS, Dorinda	CW	5	4
POTTS, Elizabeth	CW	6	6
POTTS, Elizabeth (and Mrs. Sarah Ward, in charge of M. Bennett, Esquire)	CW	—	3
POTTS, John	CM	*	20
POTTS, and FERREL late concern		85	10
POTTS, Mary Ann	CC	—	2
POTTS, Susannah	CW	—	3
POTTS, William	WM	—	0
PRATT, James	CM	0	0
PRICE, Mary (alias Mary Thom)	BW	—	8
PRICE, Mary	BW	0	0
RABOTEAU, John B.	CM	—	0
RANN, Ellena	BW	—	0
RAYBON, John	WM	—	4
RAYBON, Reuben	WM	—	2
RAYBON, Sarah	WW	—	2
ROBINSON, Catharine	CW	27	27
ROBINSON, Ellen	BW	—	0
ROBINSON, John	BM	0	0
ROGERS, Samuel W.	CM	4	3
ROSS, Andrew	WM	1	0
ROTHERAM, William	CM	—	0
ROY, William	CM	1	1
RUMBOLD, James	CM	—	0
RUNNALS, George	CM	—	3

\* Listed in the 1816 census is one John Potts, Senior, who owned no slaves. It is not certain whether this is the same person as the John Potts listed in the census of 1823.

## NAMES OF FAMILY HEADS

	Colour	No. of Slaves in 1816	No. of Slaves in 1823
SALT, Thomas	CM	†	0
SAVORY, Catharine	BW	1	1
SELLISTON, John	BM	—	0
SIDDONS, Elizabeth	CW	—	5
SIMMONS, Ann Maria	CW	—	8
SIMMONS, John	BM	—	0
SLUSHER, Catharine	CW	6	5
SLUSHER, Martha	CW	4	0
SLUSHER, Simon	BM	—	0
SMITH, Adam	BM	—	0
SMITH, Ann	CW	12	17
SMITH, Charles H.	CM	—	1
SMITH, Cuffee	BM	—	0
SMITH, Elizabeth	BW	5	5
SMITH, Hannah	CW	—	9
SMITH, John	BM	0	0
SMITH, John H.	CM	3	0
SMITH, Levy (Lorey?)	CM	0	0
SMITH, Robert	BM	—	0
SMITH, Thomas	CM	—	0
SNELLING, Lilius	WW	5	4
SPROAT, George	CM	5	7
STAIN, Elizabeth	BW	—	2
STAIN, John	CM	—	5
STAIN, Richard (and James Bull)	?	—	2
STAIN, Stephen	CM	—	6
STANFORD, Robert	BM	—	0
STANN, Peter	CM	2	5
STEVENS, George	BM	—	0
STEWART, John	BM	0	0
STEWART, William	BM	—	0
STIBBINS, James	CM	0	0
SULLIVAN, Ben	BM	—	0
SUTTILL, Orlando	WM	—	2
SWAN, Hannah	BW	—	2
SWASEY, Elizabeth	CW	0	1
SWASEY, Joseph E.	CM	3	5
TATE, Mary	WW	7	5
TAYLOR, Daniel	CM	—	0
THEUS, Benjamin	CM	—	0

† Listed in the 1816 census is one Thomas Salt, Senior, who owned no slaves. It is not certain whether this is the same person as the Thomas Salt listed in the census of 1823.

## NAMES OF FAMILY HEADS

	Colour	No. of Slaves in 1816	No. of Slaves in 1823
THOMAS, Joseph	BM	—	0
THOMPSON, Catharine	CW	2	6
THURSTON, Elizabeth	CW	12	13
TILDSLEY, Daniel	WM	—	0
TILLETT, Catharine	CW	2	5
TILLETT, Elizabeth	CW	6	21
TILLETT, George	CM	3	2
TINAH, Harriett	BW	0	0
TOOTH, Ann B.	CC	—	1
TOOTH, Eliza B.	CC	—	1
TOOTH, William B.	WM	3	0
TRABOR, Hugh	BM	—	0
TRAPP, Clarinda	BW	—	0
TRAPP, James	BM	—	1
TRAPP, Jane	CW	12	14
TRAPP, Uriah	BM	—	0
TUCKER, Hannah	BW	—	8
TUCKER, James	BM	0	0
TUCKER, Sarah	CW	0	0
TUCKER, Tamia	BW	1	1
TUXEY, William	CM	—	0
UNDERWOOD, John	CM	—	0
USHER, Diana	CW	—	2
USHER, George	CM	—	15
USHER, George A.	CM	4	4
USHER, James	CM	13	12
USHER, John	CM	8	9
USHER, S. W.	CW	8	6
USHER, William	CM	19	70
USHER, William (and James)	CM	—	2
USHER, ARMSTRONG and CHERRINGTON	—	—	1
VALPY, Francis	WM	—	1
VENSONPATRIA, Maria	BW	—	0
VERNON, Benjamin	CM	0	0
VERNON, Joseph	CM	0	3
VERNON, Thomas	CM	—	0
WAGNER, Daniel	CM	1	0
WAGNER, John	CM	0	1
WAGNER, Robert	CM	8	5
WALCOT, Louis	BM	—	0
WALDRON, James	WM	21	28
WALDRON, John	BM	—	0
WALL, Eliza	WW	—	3

## NAMES OF FAMILY HEADS

	Colour	No. of Slaves in 1816	No. of Slaves in 1823
WALL, Elizabeth (in charge of Thomas Frain)	CW	1	1
WALL, Mary	WW	—	10
WALSH, William	WM	1	5
WALTERS, Jane	BW	—	0
WESTBY, George	WM	3	8
WHITE, Catharine	CW	15	12
WHITE, James	CM	—	1
WHITE, Mary	CW	—	35
WILLIAMS, Jean	CW	0	0
WILLIAMS, Joseph	BM	—	0
WILLIAMS, Mary	CW	—	0
WILSON, Charles	BM	—	0
WILTON, John	CM	0	0
WINTER, Cumberland	BM	0	0
WINTER, Sarah	CW	7	2
WOOD, Francis	WM	—	2
WOOD, James	WM	—	8
WRIGHT, John W.	WM	18	30
YOUNG, Benjamin	CM	—	0
YOUNG, John	CM	0	0
YOUNG, John (in charge of W. Wright)	CM	54	15
YOUNG, Dr. John	CM	—	3
YOUNG, Joseph	CM	—	0
YOUNG, Prue	BW	1	3

## APPENDIX B

The Names of Family Heads Appearing in the 1816 Census Which Do Not Re-appear in the 1823 Census.

John Antonio	Catherine Ferrell	E. M. Kingston
Rev. John Armstrong	John Fisher	William Laslie
Mary Armstrong	John Flint	Phoebe Lawrie
Louisa P. Bailey	Jean Flowers	Hosea Lena
Mary Bailey	Sylvia Fox	Robert Lesly
Elizabeth Belisle	Ann Gaddes	John Lewis
Margaret Blyth	Alice Jane Gapper	Lewis the 2nd
Capt. H. Brennan, deceased	Francis Garbutt	Grace Livingston
Hagar Brohier	Hugh Garven	Daniel Mac Aulay
Samuel Brooks	Joseph Gibson	Phoebe MacAulay
John Brunton	John Giles	George Mackey
Richard D. Bull	William Gill	Mary Maskall
Salmon Burnham	Robert Gladding	John McKenny
Samuel Burns	Abigail Godfrey	Simon McKenzie
Susannah Burrell	John Goff	Peggy Meany
Hugh Cameron	Elizabeth Grant	Catherine Meighan
Henrietta Bailey Carter	Harry Grant	Cork Meighan
Erskine A. Catto	Joseph Grant	Lucretia Miles
Hannah Clark	Leah Grant	James John Monk
James Colquhoun	Richard Grant	Alexander Muckle- hany
Harriet Courtney	Rebecca Gray	John D. Mygett
Elizabeth Craft	Sarah Guenot	
Celia Crawford	Robert Hamilton	Mungola Nancy
George Crawford	Rachel Harris	James Neal
Andrew Cunningham	Mary Hawkins, deceased	John Neal
Elizabeth Davis	Charles Haws	Robert O'Brien
Mary C. Davis	William Hemsley	William Ord
Daniel Dawson	Martha Holwell	
C. P. Del Brion	Moreland Hughes	Thomas Parker
Francis Douglas	James Hume, deceased	Thomas Parks
Robert Douglas	Peter Humphreys	Cath. Parsons
Liverpool Edwards	William Hunt	Thomas Paslow
Samuel Edwards	Mary Jackson	James Peebles
David Emery	Robert James	Aaron Pitt
Elizabeth English	James Jennings	Ellen Potts
	Joshua Jones	Joshua Povah

George Rabon	Elizabeth Stann	Cadet Tondy
Joseph Raboteau	John H. Stann	Salester Traver
Alexander Ramsay	Stephen Stann	Catherine Tucker
Fanny Robinson	James Sutherland	Henrietta Tucker
James Robinson	Jean Sutherland	Mary Tucker
Hannah Seddons	Thomas Swasey	Susannah Tucker
Harriet Sheers	John Teasey	George Upington
Bridget Isabella	Dixon Tena	Celia Wagner
Skelton	William Thomas	Mary Wagner
Thomas Slade	David Thompson	Patrick Waldrons
D. Smith	Mary Thompson	John Warriion
Mary Smith	Daniel Tillett	William White
Richard Smith	Mary Tillett	Elizabeth Williams
Violet Smith	William Tillett	John Williams
William Smith	David Timmons	Mary Winter
William Stamford	John Tinkum	

## APPENDIX C

Surnames of Persons Appearing in the 1823 Census as Being Attached to Families, Which Surnames Do Not Appear Elsewhere in the Census as Heads of Families.

Abram	Domingo	Kingston
Althorpe	Dorothy	Kitty
Antone	Drackson	
Antonio	Duncan	Lame
Appleby	Dunwell	LaRose
Arnold		Laville
Arthurs	Evins	Lee
Baptist	Fagan	Lemon
Barns	Fairweather	LeRoy
Bastian	Fay	Lester
Bayntun	Fisher	Lock
Beck	Flint	Lockwood
Beek	Fortune	Louis
Benjamin	Foster	Lowry
Bertie	Fox	Manuel
Bess	Francis	Mathieson
Bisst	Freeman	McArthur
Bladden		McCullock
Blockley	Gamboa	McKenny
Bourke	Garrett	McKinnon
Bromley	Gartshore	McRey
Burn	Gassey	Meany
Burns	Gill	Middleton
Butler	Gladden	Mitchel
Caft (?)	Gladding	Mohair
Cain	Gray	Moyer
Carr	Gregorio	
Carty	Grizzel	Nati—(?)
Charles	Haggard	Nicholson
Chistophe	Hampshire	O'Brien
Clark	Handyside	Olive
Cole	Harrington	Oliver
Copeby (?)	Hawkins	Ord
Crozier	Heaseck (?)	
	Hemsley	Paterson
Dau	Henry	Peddie
D'Brion	Horne	Peebles
Decan		Perrie
Decency	Journeax	Perry

Petzold	Rossalean	Thornton
Phillips	Rowlin (?)	Tinkam
P_ietto (?)		Troquez
Pipersburg	Safe	Turnbull
Pottage	Shears	Tutting (?)
	Sinnott	
Quinty	Slade	Vaughan
	Spank (?)	
Rees	Spencer	Waddie
Remington	Stephenson	Waide
Remmington	Sutherland	Wallace
Rennie	Sy - - - (?)	Walt
Richardson		Warren
Rose	Thomson	Wheeler
		William

## APPENDIX D

A Sampling of Slaves' Names Listed in the Censuses of 1816, 1820, and 1823.

Aberdeen	Mimba	John John
John	Hamlet	Will
Tom	Jack	Rum & Water
Venus	Integrity	Quaw
Old Sally	Smart	Quamino
Quashie	July	Bonny Peter
Cordelia	Michael	Captain
Mary	Sidney	Duke
Robert	Jonathan	Mondingo Quashie
Billy	Friday	Sambo Dick
Chanie	Caesar	Cupid
York	Ireland	Jamaica Jack
Malaga	Joe	Moco Tom
Waterford	Lucy	Fortune
Devonshire	Elizabeth	Eboe Tom
Peter	Homer	Chambca Tim
Thomas	Sam	Hercules
Maggy	Walker	Boatswain
Bessey	Socum	Coffee Lister
Chloe	Jem (Coromantri)	Young Prince
Kate	Jem (Mungola)	Poppa George
Little Kate	Port Royal	Black Dick
Simon	Frank	Cudgoe
Orpheus	Guilford	Monkey Jack
Evelina	Jasper	Breechie
Phoebe	Scotland	Nago Hazard
Nelson	London	Cato
Hunter	Cuba	King John
Price	Dick	Creole Prince
Horatio	George (Congo)	Hazard No. 1
		Hazard No. 2

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