



Slavery & Abolition

A Journal of Slave and Post-Slave Studies

ISSN: 0144-039X (Print) 1743-9523 (Online) Journal homepage: www.tandfonline.com/journals/fsla20

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To cite this article: Alice Kinghorn (2024) 'A Blessing of God': Marriage and Amelioration in Early Nineteenth-Century Montserrat, *Slavery & Abolition*, 45:2, 283-302, DOI: [10.1080/0144039X.2023.2250780](https://doi.org/10.1080/0144039X.2023.2250780)

To link to this article: <https://doi.org/10.1080/0144039X.2023.2250780>



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Published online: 01 Sep 2023.



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'A Blessing of God': Marriage and Amelioration in Early Nineteenth-Century Montserrat

Alice Kinghorn

ABSTRACT

Recent scholarship examining enslaved people's marriages in the Anglophone Caribbean highlights the need to consider the Church of England's influence over conflicts with the plantocracy. This article examines responses to a proposed marriage between a free man of colour, William Harris, and an enslaved woman, Betty Cudjoe, in Montserrat in 1828. Occurring during the period of 'amelioration', this article considers the changing perspectives of ecclesiastical authorities, missionary clergymen, the plantocracy, free people of colour, and enslaved people. It draws upon under-utilised sources of 'The Conversion Society' held at Lambeth Palace Library alongside ecclesiastical correspondence to highlight the gendered property concerns of enslavers that were exacerbated in mixed-status marriages. This article contends that during the period of amelioration, Anglican marriages became an attractive option to free and enslaved people in comparison to nonconformist unions. While this came into conflict with the property rights of enslavers, ultimately a specific definition of marriage was acceptable and enforced by the Church of England, pursued in this case by Rev. Benjamin Luckock. This enforcement came from the authority of the newly established colonial bishoprics, who held substantial influence over sacramental affairs.

KEYWORDS

Missionary; marriage;
Montserrat; Anglican

At the turn of the nineteenth century, Anglican marriages between enslaved people were scarce, and in some cases remained illegal.¹ By the 1820s, marriage was an integral part of the 'amelioration' mission, characterized by the 'mitigation' of conditions of enslaved people, alongside Christian 'improvement,' established officially in 1823 by Foreign Secretary George Canning.² As part of the amelioration mission, Canning sought that marriage be 'enforced and sanctioned'.³ Concurrently, Anglican missionary societies began to further promote marriage as part of their strategies to advance colonial projects. By encouraging women, both enslaved and free, to submit to patriarchal structures and by encouraging

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men and women to enter monogamous unions, missionaries became heavily involved in what Katherine Paugh terms the 'politics of reproduction'.⁴ Subsequently, many enslavers feared practical and theological consequences of the efforts to increase marriages emerging from the metropole. As such, questions of property and 'natural order' came into conflict with the Christian and ameliorative ideals dominating the transatlantic political landscape.⁵

An encounter in 1828 offers an opportunity to explore these attitudes in Montserrat. On 25 April 1828, Robert Dobridge and William Henry Percy wrote a letter to Rev. Benjamin Luckock, considering the 'intermarriage of a free man with a slave woman'.⁶ Mr William Harris was described as a free man of colour and Betty Cudjoe was enslaved at the plantation called Farrells, previously owned by Thomas Hill, who died in 1825.⁷ Kensington and Paine of London, a London West India firm, acquired Farrells, and writing on behalf of the firm as attorneys, Dobridge and Percy requested that the 'banns between Mr William Harris and Betty Cudjoe' should not be furthered: they were 'not to be married'.⁸ Since 1739 in Montserrat, all marriages had to be by banns or license, and thus Dobridge and Percy objected to any kind of legal union.⁹

Dobridge and Percy's justified their objection by arguing that:

such marriages, if allowed, will in their immediate effect be injurious to the Estate, the slaves (so marrying) belong to and threaten eventually to destroy the Right of the lawful owners of slaves, by their intermarrying particularly with free persons/or among persons residing on, or belonging to other and distant properties.¹⁰

Their concern led to a heated discussion with Rev. Luckock, the Anglican rector set to marry the couple. Luckock fiercely defended his intentions and wrote directly to Dobridge and Percy on 16 May 1828, explaining that he had referred this case to the Bishop of Barbados, although 'in the meantime' he '[consulted] a sufficient authority for directing proceedings and justifying [his] previously formed opinion'.¹¹ Luckock stated that, as an Anglican rector, he *had* to 'furnish Banns, and to marry all, who apply for that Christian Rite, whether free or slave, unless some legal indefinite can clearly be made out,' and that this had to be grounded upon 'some existing laws'.¹² Luckock could not refuse to marry Harris and Cudjoe because there '[appeared] to be no existing laws, human or divine, that [gave] a Proprietor or his attorney, a legal right to oppose the marriage of his slaves'. Luckock saw marriage as a 'religious privilege, intended to secure the favour and Blessing of God upon their union' and considered Cudjoe and Harris 'much entitled to it' as they were to other religious rites of baptism and burial.¹³

Dobridge and Percy's objection referred solely to their need to 'guard the Right of Property, as it is now established by law'.¹⁴ They argued that consent from owners or representation was needed before marriage, and that while the Council of Montserrat had passed an Act suggesting support towards the marriage of enslaved people, there was no law in place.¹⁵ Luckock, needing to consult all legislation, stated that he would not further

the banns between William Harris and Betty Cudjoe until he had received the Bishop of Barbados' instruction.¹⁶ Eventually, the bishop, William Coleridge, settled the disagreement. He declared the couple should be able to marry, and he intended to instruct 'his clergy to marry all persons applying to him be that rite.'¹⁷

This article draws on a wide source base to reconstruct the story of the proposed marriage. Although the case itself emerges from correspondence held in The National Archives of the Bishop of Barbados, details of why the case was brought forward by Luckock emerge from sources of The Conversion Society (The Incorporated Society for the Conversion and Religious Instruction of the British West India Negro Slaves). The Society was a rejuvenation of the Christian Faith Society, reconstituted in 1794 under the presidency of Beilby Porteus, Bishop of London, with the aim to convert and provide religious instruction to enslaved people in the Caribbean.¹⁸ Records for The Conversion Society are held in Lambeth Palace Library and are greatly under-consulted. Although the Society was small in comparison to nonconformist missionaries, the letters in the collection offer an insight into both the motivations behind The Conversion Society's mission and the conflicts that emerged between missionaries and enslavers. By considering the perspectives of William Harris and Betty Cudjoe, Robert Dobridge and William Henry Percy, and Rev. Benjamin Luckock, this article explores conflicts of property and religion during the period of amelioration and its effect on the lives of two people wishing to marry.

Scholarship on marriage and slavery is comprehensive. Sarah Delius explored the intersections between marriage and enslavement in a gendered context in Sierra Leone.¹⁹ This article draws on Delius's consideration of colonial influences on the confusion surrounding marital status and its social construct.²⁰ Mixed-status marriages in the southern United States have been studied by Terri Snyder with an emphasis on free women and enslaved men, demonstrating that changing legal restrictions led to a complex navigation of these marriages.²¹ Similarly, this article draws on Tera Hunter's consideration of authority complexes in mixed-status marriages.²² The early nineteenth-century Caribbean has seen a focus primarily on marriage between enslaved people, interracial relationships, and the rape and exploitation of enslaved women.²³ For example, Katherine Paugh has considered marriage in the context of child-bearing and efforts by the plantocracy to 'naturally' increase enslaved populations in the period of amelioration.²⁴ Sylvia Frey and Betty Wood have examined marriage in the American South and the British Caribbean in the context of nonconformist religions, which this article compares with the Church of England and its missionaries.²⁵ Daive Dunkley has considered marriage as a site of agency and resistance for enslaved people in Jamaica, particularly in the context of the Anglican church. This article utilises Dunkley's considerations of the benefits of an Anglican as opposed to a non-conformist union.²⁶

To date, the most detailed work on marriage in the British Caribbean is by Cecilia Green. Green considers political debates and legalities on the question of slave marriage from 1780-1833.²⁷ Through an assessment of communications written by Reverend John Stephen, an Anglican clergyman in the Bahamas, Green analyses replies from the 'highest local and metropolitan authorities' on the policies, practices and legal rationale of slave marriage and contextualizes slave marriage in a detailed legal history.²⁸ This article considers the parties absent from Green's 'three-way conversation' between Established Church ministers in the Caribbean, local state officials, and authorities in the metropole – voices from enslavers and enslaved people.²⁹ The case examined here provides a direct voice from attorneys acting in the enslaver's interest in order to recognize and understand the experiences of William Harris and Betty Cudjoe. In doing so, this article explores marriage as a site of conflict when it did not conform to the plantocracy's definition at a time where definitions of spiritual and legal freedoms were shifting. It is shaped around a number of research questions. How influential were pressures from the metropole and the Church of England? How did these opinions differ between marriage between two enslaved people and that between people with differing status of freedom? How homogenous were missionary attitudes towards marriage?

This article firstly considers the experiences of Betty Cudjoe and William Harris by assessing the changing status of free people of colour in Montserrat and the precedent of marriage between free and enslaved people. It reflects on why the pair may have wished to wed in an Anglican marriage rather than a nonconformist union. Secondly, through an examination of 'property rights' and the gendered politics of reproduction, it considers why Robert Dobridge and William Henry Percy may have objected to this 'irregular' union in particular. Finally, the article assesses the position of Rev. Luckock. Luckock's relationship to his original employers, The Conversion Society, allow for a consideration of the homogeneity of Anglican missionary attitudes. This demonstrates that Luckock was relatively unique in pursuing an outcome to this case. Overall, this article contends that during the period of amelioration, Anglican marriages became an attractive option to free and enslaved people in comparison to nonconformist unions. While this resulted in conflicts with enslavers, ultimately a specific definition of marriage was acceptable and enforced by the Church of England. This enforcement came from the authority of the newly established colonial bishoprics, who by the late 1820s held substantial influence over sacramental affairs.

An 'Irregular' Union: William Harris and Betty Cudjoe³⁰

The voices of William Harris and Betty Cudjoe have been silenced in the 1828 correspondence and more widely in the archives.³¹ They are described in the

correspondence as 'William Harris, a free man of colour' and Betty Cudjoe, 'a slave belonging to the Estate called Farrells of the late Honourable Thomas Hill.'³² Their opinions are relayed neither by Percy and Dobridge nor Luckock. The corresponding arguments for and against the marriage omit any mention of the couple themselves, beyond the fact they wished to wed. Yet an understanding of Harris and Cudjoe's position can be constructed through building as thorough a picture of their lives and relationship as possible.³³

Betty Cudjoe appears in the first Colonial Slave Register for Montserrat in 1817, as 'Betty Cudjoe, female, Black, thirty-nine.'³⁴ In this register, along with those until 1824, Betty Cudjoe was enslaved by Thomas Hill alongside over five hundred other enslaved people.³⁵ Cudjoe was registered again, aged forty-two, to Thomas Hill in April 1821 and aged forty-five, to Thomas Hill in 1824.³⁶ After Thomas Hill's death the following year, the registers were completed by Dobridge and Percy on behalf of Kensington and Paine, the firm controlling the estate. In the next register made in 1828, the year of the conflict surrounding Cudjoe's marriage, she was recorded as forty-eight years old and listed under 'Farrell's Negroes' alongside one hundred and seventy-four enslaved people.³⁷ Hence, Cudjoe had been enslaved to Thomas Hill's property for at least eleven years at the time of the proposed marriage. It can also be assumed that she was enslaved to Farrells plantation during this time, since prior to 1828, separations were not made between plantations in the Colonial Slave Registers.³⁸

Beyond the references to his proposed marriage, William Harris appears only one other time in the archives.³⁹ In 1822, Harris signed a petition against the 'disabilities' to the political rights of free people of colour, alongside one hundred other persons described as 'persons as not being white,' and 'free coloured people.'⁴⁰ The use of petitions by free people of colour across the Caribbean was common; for example, Melanie Newton explored politically active free people of colour in Barbados through petitioning.⁴¹ As a free man of colour, Harris would have faced discrimination in civil and political rights in Montserrat. Montserrat has been identified by Riva Berleant-Schiller as an island that had a white minority population that feared amelioration measures introduced in the early nineteenth century and actively sought to change laws to exclude free people of colour from voting, more so than other colonies.⁴² For example, while Jamaica worked to grant full legal equality by 1830, there was no progress towards this in Montserrat whatsoever.⁴³ Montserrat seemed to be moving in reverse: in 1811 Montserratian juries included free people of colour, but by 1828 courts had barred both people of colour and female freeholders from jury service and instead summoned non-freeholding white men.⁴⁴ This resulted in increased tension between the white minority on the island and free people of colour, who frequently protested against the limits on their rights such as the petition signed by Harris.⁴⁵ Thus, although little

biographical information survives about Harris, his proposed marriage to Cudjoe came at a time in Montserrat when free people of colour faced heightened discrimination in the wake of amelioration laws, and he actively protested against the racist discrimination he faced.⁴⁶

The 1828 correspondence does not discuss the circumstances of the proposed union between Harris and Cudjoe. Why might they have wanted to marry? Moira Ferguson has suggested that in Antigua, while free men of colour generally sought out free women of colour, free women of colour sought white men. Consequently, free men of colour 'often ended up marrying slaves.'⁴⁷ Barbara Bush has argued that enslaved women had 'strong reasons to resist Christian marriage' due to the requirement to submit to one's husband.⁴⁸ Yet, as Frey and Wood have shown, enslaved people in this period also used marriage to further and protect their social status.⁴⁹ Perhaps then, Cudjoe and Harris believed that marriage would make them less likely to be separated through any potential sale of Betty Cudjoe.⁵⁰ Additionally, they may have wished to maintain family ties, to legitimise an already long-standing relationship, or to enter into a church-sanctioned sacrament.⁵¹

Why might Cudjoe and Harris have desired an Anglican marriage in particular? Across the Anglophone Caribbean, nonconformists proportionally married more enslaved people than Anglicans.⁵² While in 1799, a number of petitions were brought before the Jamaica Assembly to encourage marriage between enslaved people, enslavers rarely encouraged this participation.⁵³ Indeed prior to 1823, nonconformists were essentially the sole providers of slave-marriage, particularly in Antigua and Barbados, where Methodists and Moravians had large congregations from the late eighteenth century.⁵⁴ Here, enslaved people were expected to engage in 'sexually faithful monogamous marriages.'⁵⁵ Nonconformist marriages were generally more attractive to enslaved people and free people of colour even following the 1823 amelioration proposals. Henrice Altink demonstrated that in Jamaica, Anglican marriages required enslaved people to obtain written permission from their enslaver should their partner not reside on the same plantation, to pay a fee, and to 'undergo a detailed examination by the minister.'⁵⁶ Yet Cudjoe and Harris's decision to pursue an Anglican marriage may have been for legal protection. Dunkley has argued that enslaved people who married in the Anglican church 'chose well,' as only the Church of England could 'shield their marital contracts from any effective disruption by masters, unless this was done with the assistance of the courts.'⁵⁷

Cudjoe and Harris would have needed the funds to pay the license which, in 1818, was £4 7s in Montserrat.⁵⁸ However beyond this it becomes difficult to further contextualize the circumstances the couple faced. Melanie Newton has noted that in Barbados, prior to the 1823 amelioration policies, Anglican marriages between free and enslaved people were extremely rare. For instance, in St Joseph parish, Barbados, only one cross-status marriage occurred in ten years.⁵⁹ Additionally, while marriages between free Black people and enslaved

people were prevalent throughout the Americas, their legal status varied geographically and over time.⁶⁰ In North Carolina, restrictions on marriage between free and enslaved people were not introduced until 1787 and were tightened further in 1830 which 'entirely prohibited' these unions.⁶¹ In the Francophone Caribbean, concubinage between an enslaved person and a free person was prohibited unless it ended in marriage.⁶²

To further understand Cudjoe and Harris's union, we can look to a recognized instance of an enslaved woman marrying a free Black man: Mary Prince and Daniel James.⁶³ In the *History of Mary Prince*, Prince noted that her husband was a carpenter and cooper and an 'honest, hard-working, decent black man, and a widower.'⁶⁴ There are similarities between the experiences of Prince and James, and Harris and Cudjoe, as Prince and James 'could not be married in the English Church.' Prince concluded that 'English marriage is not allowed to slaves; and no free man can marry a slave woman.'⁶⁵ In 1702, Antigua had introduced an act prohibiting marriage between enslaved people and free people, which had not been updated by the time of Prince's marriage.⁶⁶ As such, Prince and James married in the Moravian Church 'about Christmas 1826, in the Moravian Chapel at Spring Gardens, by the Rev Mr. Olufsen.'⁶⁷ While Cudjoe and Harris were not restricted by the same law that Prince and James faced, it is clear that encouragement of marriage between enslaved people during the period of amelioration did not necessarily extend to marriage between enslaved and free people.⁶⁸ For Cudjoe and Harris, their proposal in Montserrat occurred during recent increased restrictions on the rights of free people of colour, and subsequently their wish to marry in the Anglican church may have emerged from a desire for marital security in the face of political and social turbulence.

Guarding the 'Rights of Property': Robert Dobridge and William Henry Percy⁶⁹

What were the justifications for Dobridge and Percy's objections to the marriage of Betty Cudjoe and William Harris?⁷⁰ Prior to the 1820s, some enslavers 'rewarded enslaved couples who remained faithful to one another,' though laws to encourage and allow marriage were not officially introduced.⁷¹ For example, John Gladstone, owner of a number Demerara plantations, adopted an 'ameliorative' programme that included encouraging 'women in particular' to marry.⁷² Across the Anglophone Caribbean, attempts were made to codify and regulate marriage, eventually becoming a transatlantic effort.⁷³ Yet, by 1826, abolitionist MP Henry Brougham argued that some colonies, including Montserrat, had not taken 'one successful step' to 'give effect to the desires of the government' and that the marriage of enslaved people had been 'altogether neglected.'⁷⁴ Thus, despite attempts from the British Government to codify laws surrounding marriage, this was not uniformly implemented.

Dobridge and Percy certainly understood both the political and religious importance placed on amelioration by the Church and the British government. In their letters to Luckock, they were careful not to criticize amelioration or the Church of England's mission. They did not disagree with the 'moral improvement' of enslaved people 'of marriage *among* the slave population,' and it was 'far from [their] wish, much less [their] intention to interfere with any regulations for those purposes.'⁷⁵ This signifies a change in attitude from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, when broadly any attempts at 'enlightening' or 'civilising' enslaved people were feared by enslavers.⁷⁶ Yet these pressures from the metropole were clearly not imperative enough to Dobridge and Percy, who were far more concerned with the practical and wider consequences of the union.⁷⁷ Despite acting as attorneys, the pair had vested interests in this case as enslavers themselves. Percy was a resident enslaver in Montserrat and owned Dubery's plantation, and Dobridge owned Bransby's sugar plantation.⁷⁸ Hence, when referring to guarding the 'rights of property,' Dobridge and Percy were directly concerned with the effects on the plantocracy more widely.⁷⁹ They feared that the union between Cudjoe and Harris was:

injurious to the Estate the slaves (so marrying) belong to and would threaten eventually to destroy the Right of the lawful owners of slaves, by their intermarrying (particularly with free persons/ or among persons residing on, or belonging to other and distant properties).⁸⁰

Concern for the practicalities of the marriage was rooted in anxieties surrounding the status of women as property in this patriarchal religious context. They were concerned specifically with the status of a 'female slave, without the consent of the owner of representation, married to a free man.'⁸¹ Similar to the case of Mary Prince, a marriage between an enslaved woman and a free man raised gendered questions of property, ones that were less obvious and present in unions between two enslaved people.⁸² In Britain at this time, a married woman had the legal status of a dependant because hers was 'absorbed in that of her husband.'⁸³ Hence, in this case of Harris and Cudjoe, complexities arose given that the property-owners were Betty Cudjoe's enslavers, at this time attorneys after the owner's death.⁸⁴ Complicating things further, as argued by Cecilia Green, was that alongside concerns about Betty Cudjoe's status, there were also concerns about endowing free Black men with an '*independent* and *communal* base of authority and property' that could interfere with enslaver's property rights.⁸⁵ Tera Hunter has comparably demonstrated that 'free men could also raise competing interests between the rights of husbands and the rights of slave-owners,' and, as in the Caribbean, in the Southern States there were no laws outlining the details surrounding this.⁸⁶

These gendered property concerns are explicit in the *History of Mary Prince*. Prince recalled that when her enslaver, John Adams Wood, heard of her marriage he asked James 'who gave him a right to marry a slave of his?'⁸⁷ James

replied “Sir I am a free man, and thought I had a right to choose a wife; but if I had known Molly was not allowed to have a husband, I should not have asked her to marry me.”⁸⁸ Prince noted that Mrs Wood used racist excuses, including that Prince would wash her husband’s clothes in the same tub where hers were washed, and that he would be ‘about the yards or premises.’⁸⁹ Here, Prince’s enslavers were concerned with the presence of her husband on their property. Percy and Dobridge, on the other hand, were concerned with ‘other and distant properties’ which, presumably, they imagined would result in Betty Cudjoe leaving Farrells plantation.⁹⁰ As Emily West argued, these concerns were not uncommon: in her examination of South Carolina, she states that enslavers only approved of marriage between two plantations when it suited them.⁹¹ In most cases, marriages between enslaved people on the same plantation were preferred by enslavers.⁹² Hence Dobridge and Percy’s concern had no regard for the union itself, and expose, as argued by Barbara Bush, that ‘loving relationships’ between enslaved people were ‘deemed to be of less significance’ than those between white people.⁹³ Dobridge and Percy were concerned rather with the implications on ‘property’ rights of enslavers (including themselves), highlighting the intense contentions of authority in this gendered context.⁹⁴

These concerns were likely exacerbated by Betty Cudjoe’s age: she was forty-eight years old in 1828. The implementation of amelioration policies developed partly from the focus on demography and ‘natural’ population increases in the Caribbean following the Abolition of the Slave Trade in 1807.⁹⁵ As argued by Sasha Turner and Katherine Paugh, this caused enslaved women in the Caribbean to become central to colonial policy, meaning that women’s bodies, particularly in childbirth, became politicized and used as stakes in reproduction and amelioration arguments.⁹⁶ Consequently, women became viewed in the context of ‘production,’ since enslavers saw the ideal reproductive age as younger than thirty.⁹⁷ Given Betty Cudjoe’s age, Dobridge and Percy would not have viewed the proposed marriage in the context of reproduction, which likely contributed to their objection.⁹⁸ Furthermore, age intersected with the mixed freedom-status of the couple. Dobridge and Percy feared Cudjoe leaving for ‘other and distant properties,’ suggesting that they objected to cohabitation. Cohabitation was often encouraged in slave marriages. For example, according to Cecilia Green, Rev. John Stephen of the Bahamas argued that ‘cohabitation without marriage defeated the purpose of encouraging monogamy because it failed to provide restraints or sanctions against promiscuous sexual intercourse.’⁹⁹ If Cudjoe and Harris were not seen as potentially reproductive, then cohabitation would bring no benefits for Dobridge and Percy.¹⁰⁰ Thus, although Dobridge and Percy were careful not to openly disagree with amelioration measures of the period more generally, when these measures threatened their property rights, they intensely objected. Pressures from the metropole to ameliorate were not enough to convince Dobridge and Percy that they should accept this union.

'A Religious Privilege'?: Reverend Benjamin Luckock¹⁰¹

Reverend Benjamin Luckock, the third party involved in the proposed marriage, was willing to enter an intense argument with Dobridge and Percy, and while this was not the first time that Luckock had come into conflict with enslavers, this level of perseverance from a rector was relatively unusual.¹⁰² Luckock was not originally meant to travel as a missionary to the Caribbean. In an extraordinary tale of misidentification, Rev. Nathaniel Gilbert of Antigua had intended to recommend Luckock's brother to The Conversion Society for employment.¹⁰³ Displeased with Benjamin Luckock, Gilbert instead endeavoured to make Luckock's life difficult by refusing to provide him with a horse, insisting instead that he visited plantations across the island on foot.¹⁰⁴ It was Luckock's apparent 'lack of energy' and the involvement of island's longest residing Anglican missionary, Rev. James Curtin, that resulted in Luckock's removal to Montserrat in 1824.¹⁰⁵ Luckock became The Conversion Society's sole missionary in Montserrat and, indeed, the sole missionary on the island 'except one belonging to the Methodists'.¹⁰⁶ Yet The Conversion Society became disinterested in Luckock.¹⁰⁷ In attempts to maintain good relations with the Society, Luckock accepted a position as chaplain in Montserrat that was offered to him by Benjamin D'Urban, Governor of Antigua.¹⁰⁸

Luckock wrote to The Conversion Society in August 1824 to explain that he instructed enslaved people on multiple plantations across the island but warned that he believed enslaved people to be 'woefully ignorant of the doctrines of Christianity'.¹⁰⁹ From as early as June 1824, only weeks after arriving in Montserrat, Luckock recorded that because he was unable to open a school, he had begun to instruct at Farrells estate, visiting weekly. Luckock possibly met Betty Cudjoe at this time.¹¹⁰ In December 1824, Montserrat, Luckock was sent a number of educational materials by The Conversion Society, likely used in his weekly instructions at Farrell's. These included 250 copies of 'Child's First Books, 75 of "Trimmer's Spelling Books" and one copy of a set of lectures written by Reverend William Marshall Harte, an Anglican clergyman in Barbados.¹¹¹

Why might Luckock have been sympathetic to the union of Cudjoe and Harris? One possible suggestion might be in his attitude towards slave-ownership in comparison to his fellow missionaries. Unlike over forty-five Anglican clergymen resident in the Anglophone Caribbean, Luckock does not appear in the Colonial Slave Registers as an enslaver nor in the Slave Compensation Commissions.¹¹² Hence, he did not share Dobridge and Percy's vested interest as an enslaver. He only ever refers to a 'white servant,' whom he and his wife 'found it necessary to bring with [them]'.¹¹³ Luckock's uncommon personal attitude to slave-ownership could stem from his early life. Luckock was registered in the Quaker birth records on 14 April 1792 in Coalbrookdale, Shropshire.¹¹⁴ He attended the Coalbrookdale meeting with his parents and siblings, where

abolitionist Elizabeth Gurney (later Fry) would visit and decide to become a Quaker.¹¹⁵ At the age of twenty, Luckock was baptized into the Church of England at Madeley, he was ordained a deacon by Bishop of London, Howley in July 1821, and a priest in December of that year (Luckock is recorded as 'colonial' in both instances).¹¹⁶ Yet his Quaker links were not broken and, in September 1821, Luckock married Isabella Boxall, a Quaker who also attended the Coalbrookdale meetings.¹¹⁷ The couple travelled to Antigua in 1823.¹¹⁸ As David Brion Davis aptly explained, 'Quakers, more than any other religious group, had long expressed misgivings over the possible sinfulness of buying and selling men.'¹¹⁹ Perhaps then, Luckock's Quaker roots influenced his decision not to enslave people as was the norm for his role as a missionary chaplain.

In the 1828 correspondence, Luckock directly referred to the impact rebuking marriage would have on enslavers. He argued that 'whatever informs the morals of the slave must most certainly secure and promote the interests of the owner.'¹²⁰ Here, Luckock referred to a typical ameliorative argument disseminated by Anglican missionary societies, that 'practical and spiritual benefits' were found in Christian improvement that would benefit 'both the master and the slave,' thus attempting to keep the plantocracy onside.¹²¹ Luckock knew that Christian arguments for marriage were integral to Canning's 1823 amelioration proposals that 'marriage should be enforced and sanctioned.'¹²² Yet he was also aware of the lack of implementation.¹²³ As such, in his letter to Dobridge and Percy, Luckock attempted to convince them that in this case, the 'religious and moral improvement of the slaves' would lead to the 'least endangerment' of the 'interests of the proprietor.'¹²⁴ This argument was shared by ameliorationists more generally.¹²⁵

Luckock held a relatively unique position in openly criticizing enslavers and was a vehicle for action in this case. This is further highlighted by his associations with nonconformists in the Caribbean. Knowledge of this derives from a letter written to Luckock's wife, Isabella, in 1824. Like most missionary wives in the Caribbean, Isabella was actively involved in the mission her husband was employed to carry out, and he was grateful for her work.¹²⁶ For example, when Isabella fell ill, Benjamin reported that he was 'deprived' of her 'extensive assistance.'¹²⁷ The letter written to Isabella in 1824 was from Anne Hart Gilbert, a Methodist free woman of colour who was heavily involved in the religious instruction of enslaved people and free people of colour in Antigua Society.¹²⁸

Anne and Isabella were at least acquaintances, and more likely friends, since in Anne's letter she says she was 'disappointed at not seeing [Isabella] after [her] removal to the Valley' because she had wished to have had this conversation before their departure due it to causing 'one many anxious moments.'¹²⁹ Additionally, in 1823, Isabella supported Gilbert's charity, presenting clothing from 'members of the Established Church' to the Distressed Females' Friend

Society.¹³⁰ In Gilbert's letter, she warns Isabella that she was 'about to take a great liberty with [her] and through [her], with Mr Luckock also.'¹³¹ After discussing the difficulties of raising money for the Distressed Female Friends Society, Gilbert turns to the issue of slave marriage. Crucially, Gilbert notes that she had already discussed this topic with 'Mr L' and 'knew that he disagreed.' Gilbert wrote:

I am not contending for the marriage of slaves. I see that many difficulties are in the way, and that there must be prefatory regulations adopted to prevent separations, before any legal ceremony will be binding. This friend I hope is fast approaching.¹³²

Gilbert asks for Isabella's opinion on the matter. Although Isabella's reply (if ever written) has not survived, Gilbert's letter demonstrates that Benjamin Luckock had shared his opinions on marriage during his time as a missionary in Antigua. Exactly what these views were, however, are hard to deduce. Did Luckock believe that cohabitation was needed for marriage, hence the need to 'prevent separations?' Hart's sister, Elizabeth Thwaites, promoted 'commitment to chastity before marriage' among enslaved people, and it is likely that Luckock shared these views.¹³³ Moreover, Gilbert's focus on regulations and legality is echoed by Luckock's resolve only to refuse to marry Cudjoe and Harris if the law prohibited it.¹³⁴ In any case, it is significant that Luckock associated with Hart, since Anne and Elizabeth 'repeatedly challenged social and political conventions of plantation society,' particularly as Methodists when the ruling classes in Antigua were Anglican.¹³⁵ Luckock's associations with nonconformity contribute to understanding his position as an unusual Anglican missionary.

Luckock's views on marriage aligned with his fellow missionaries, as The Conversion Society's attitudes towards marriage were overwhelmingly supportive.¹³⁶ For example, in 1824, Reverend D.G. Davis of Nevis reported that marriage between enslaved people led to 'good effects'.¹³⁷ In 1828, the Society reported in the parish of St David in Jamaica that sixty 'couples of slaves' were married – an increase of a third on the previous year.¹³⁸ Additionally, there were reports of unions between free and enslaved people, with Reverend William Hendrickson solemnizing six in St Christopher, two of which were 'Free persons with slaves'.¹³⁹ However, while the Society supported such marriages, they also carefully advised their missionaries *not* to offend the plantocracy. Their first pamphlet issued in 1795, *Instructions for Missionaries* specified that missionaries must 'not [interfere] in the commercial or political affairs of the island.'¹⁴⁰ Anglican missionaries such as Luckock were subsequently left in a difficult position. Encouraged, and expected to carry out 'Christianisation' through sacraments such as marriage, yet thwarted by needing to appease the plantocracy. This only reinforced the 'clergy-planter nexus,' as termed by David Lambert, where the Anglican Church was regarded as the planters' church.¹⁴¹

The outcome of Cudjoe and Harris's proposed union demonstrates that the introduction of colonial bishoprics in the region shifted the power balance of the 'clergy-planter nexus' and authority over sacramental affairs.¹⁴² In 1825, Christopher Lipscombe was appointed to Jamaica and William Hart Coleridge to Barbados, both taking over colonial leadership of The Conversion Society.¹⁴³ The bishops were expected to coordinate the work of the clergy and the missionaries across the Caribbean in policies of religious education and to ultimately supervise them.¹⁴⁴ It is significant that Coleridge supported this union. As Green argued, before this there had been no ecclesiastical authority to 'potentially act as a countervailing or at least a complicating factor' in religious issues.¹⁴⁵ Similarly, Nicholas Beasley noted that in the eighteenth century, clergy often complained to the SPG and the Bishop of London about their lack of authority over marriage in the colonies.¹⁴⁶ Coleridge's decision to agree to this marriage can be contextualized against a history of marriage in Barbados, particularly on the Codrington plantation, owned by the SPG. Marriage was seen as part of 'a model of a well-ordered, Christian plantation,' achievable through a 'far-reaching religious and cultural transformation.'¹⁴⁷ Thus, Coleridge's decision to support the marriage between Cudjoe and Harris highlighted an ecclesiastical authority obtainable only after the introduction of colonial bishoprics.

Conclusion

In August 1828, four months after the first correspondence on the matter, William Coleridge, the Bishop of Barbados, 'directed Reverend Mr Luckock to proceed in carrying into his effect his original purpose of celebrating the marriage between the parties in question.'¹⁴⁸ While we can assume that Luckock followed the orders of William Coleridge by marrying Betty Cudjoe and William Harris, this cannot be certain since the marriage registers in Montserrat during this period only partly survive. However, we do know that Betty Cudjoe remained enslaved to Farrells estate until at least 1831, when she was registered as fifty-one years old.¹⁴⁹ If the marriage did take place, Cudjoe was not manumitted, at least not immediately. We cannot know if Cudjoe remained enslaved until emancipation in 1834. Harris never appears in the archives again, and Luckock does not comment on the matter specifically in his letters or publications.¹⁵⁰

Despite its lack of closure, this case has provided a lens through which to explore marriage in the Anglophone Caribbean during the period of 'amelioration'. It has argued that a proposed mixed-status union raised complex legal and religious concerns, which came into conflict with the property rights of enslavers. Ultimately, *Anglican* marriage was enforced by the Church of England by the late 1820s. While missionaries had long trodden a sometimes precarious line between encouraging Christianisation and spiritual freedom

and maintaining good relations with the plantocracy, the bishop's presence and authority shifted this power dynamic.¹⁵¹ In this case, Rev. Luckock, already a relatively unique and bold Anglican missionary, took advantage of this development, becoming a vehicle to utilise the new ecclesiastical authority in the region by advocating for the marriage of Betty Cudjoe and William Harris.

Notes

1. For early views on Christian marriage, see Katherine Gerbner, *Christian Slavery: Conversion and Race in the Protestant Atlantic World* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018), 36.
2. Woodville Marshall, 'Amelioration and Emancipation (with Special Reference to Barbados)' in *Emancipation I: A Series of Lectures to Commemorate the 150th Anniversary of Emancipation*, edited by Alvin O. Thompson (Bridgetown, Barbados: Cedar Press, 1984), 72–88, 74. The West India Interest were bankers, merchants, and MPs with interests in transatlantic slavery who often represented the views of West Indian planters in parliament. See Michael Taylor, *The Interest: How the British Establishment Resisted the Abolition of Slavery* (London: Bodley Head, 2020), 52.
3. HC Debate, 15th May 1823, Abolition of Slavery, c. 273; HC Deb 16 March 1824 vol. 10 cc. 1091–198; Katie Donington, *The Bonds of Family: Slavery, Commerce and Culture in the British Atlantic World* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2019), 139–40.
4. Katherine Paugh, *The Politics of Reproduction: Race, Medicine, and Fertility in the Age of Abolition*, The Past and Present Book Series (Oxford; online edn, 2017) see Chapter Six 'Missionaries, Madams, and Mothers in Barbados'.
5. On political amelioration see Taylor, *The Interest*, 63–73.
6. The correspondence referred to is held at TNA, Correspondence from the Bishop of Barbados, CO 28/146. Correspondence has also been digitized by AM in the 'Colonial Caribbean' collection. See <<https://www.amdigital.co.uk/collection/colonial-caribbean>> (accessed May 24, 2023); Copies of the correspondence are also available in Lambeth Palace Library (LPL) FP Howley, 29, 52–60.
7. Robert Dobridge and Henry Percy, Montserrat, 25 April 1828, TNA, CO 28/146.
8. Ibid.
9. HCPP, Third Report of the Commissioner, 31. Nicholas Beasley has noted that while marriages could be solemnized either by banns or license, licenses were generally preferred. Beasley, *Christian Ritual and the Creation of British Slave Societies, 1650–1780*. *Race in the Atlantic World, 1700–1900* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2009), 58.
10. Robert Dobridge and Henry Percy, Montserrat, 25 April 1828, TNA, CO 28/146.
11. Reverend Benjamin Luckock, Rose Hill, Montserrat, 16 May 1828, TNA, CO 28/146.
12. Ibid. Emphasis in original.
13. Luckock, Rose Hill, Montserrat, 16 May 1828, TNA, CO 28/146.
14. Dobridge and Percy, Montserrat, 17 May 1828, TNA, CO 28/146.
15. Ibid.
16. Luckock, Rose Hill, Montserrat, 23 May 1828, TNA, CO 28/146.
17. William Coleridge, 10th August 1828, TNA, CO 28/146; Luckock had met the Bishop of Barbados at least once before, between March and July 1825. Luckock from Montserrat, 29 July 1825, LPL, CFS F/1, 218.

18. Samuel Hinds to Thomas Porteus, Barbados, 29 April 1822, LPL, CFS F/1, 1; See Herbert L. Ganter, 'Some notes on the charity of the Honorable Robert Boyle, Esq. of the City of London, Deceased', *William and Mary College Quarterly* 15, no. 3 (1935): 207–28.
19. Sarah Delius, 'The Same in All but Name? The Intersections of Marriage and Slavery in Sierra Leone, 1890–1930', *Slavery & Abolition* 43, no. 2: 320–45. For a global perspective, see Diana Paton, 'Gender History, Global History, and Atlantic Slavery on Racial Capitalism and Social Reproduction', *American Historical Review* 27, no. 2 (2022): 726–54, 735.
20. Delius, 'The Same in All but Name?' 333.
21. Terri L. Snyder, 'Marriage on the Margins: Free Wives, Enslaved Husbands, and the Law in Early Virginia', *Law and History Review* 30, no. 1 (2012).
22. Tera W. Hunter, *Bound in Wedlock: Slave and Free Black Marriage in the Nineteenth Century* (Boston: Harvard University Press, 2019), 90–101. On love, protection, and resistance, see Rebecca J. Fraser, *Courtship and Love among the Enslaved in North Carolina* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2007), 102–3.
23. For a general overview see Nicholas Beasley, *Christian Ritual and the Creation of British Slave Societies, 1650–1780* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2009) 54–64.
24. Katherine Paugh, 'The politics of Childbearing in the British Caribbean and the Atlantic World During the Age of Abolition 1776–1838', *Past & Present* 221, no. 1 (2013): 119–60. Randy Browne examined discrepancies between metropolitan campaigners' visions of marriage between enslaved people, and local colonial government's experiences in *Surviving Slavery in the British Caribbean* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2017), see chapter four, 'Marital Discord and Domestic Struggles.' On enslaved women's experiences, see Barbara Bush, *Slave Women in Caribbean Society, 1650–1838* (Kingston: Heinemann, 2019 (first edn. 1999)) 98–103.
25. Sylvia R. Frey and Betty Wood, *Come Shouting to Zion: African American Protestantism in the American South and British Caribbean to 1830* (Chapel Hill & London: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 182–9.
26. Daive Dunkley, *Agency of the Enslaved: Jamaica and the Culture of Freedom in the Atlantic World* (London: Lexington Books, 2013), 180–6.
27. Cecilia A. Green, 'A Civil Inconvenience'? The Vexed Question of Slave Marriage in the British West Indies', *Law and History Review* 25, no. 1 (2007): 1–60.
28. Green, 'A Civil Inconvenience'? 3.
29. Ibid.
30. 'Irregular' referred to mixed-status marriages.
31. Michel-Rolph Trouillot *Silencing the Past (20th Anniversary Edition): Power and the Production of History* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2015), 51–8.
32. Robert Dobridge and Henry Percy, Montserrat, 25 April 1828, TNA, CO 28/146. This article describes Harris as a 'free man of colour.' On terminology, see Melanie Newton, *The Children of Africa in the Colonies* (Louisiana, Louisiana State University Press, 2008), introduction.
33. Saidiya Hartman, 'Venus in Two Acts', *Small Axe* 12, no. 2 (2008): 11–12.
34. Office of Registry of Colonial Slaves and Slave Compensation Commission, Montserrat, 1817, TNA, T 71/447, 252.
35. Hill owned at least five plantations, but as separations in the Colonial Registers were not made between plantations until 1828.
36. Office of Registry of Colonial Slaves and Slave Compensation Commission, Montserrat, 1821, TNA, T 71/448, 248; Office of Registry of Colonial Slaves and Slave Compensation Commission, Montserrat, 1824, TNA, T 71/449, 287.

37. Office of Registry of Colonial Slaves and Slave Compensation Commission, Monserat, 1828, TNA, T 71/450, 168. Cudjoe's age is given as forty-eight years and eleven months, although 'eleven months' is given to every enslaved person registered at Farrells.
38. Cudjoe's name is registered in the same order prior and after plantation separation in the records.
39. Even this cannot be said with full certainty. However, when Harris signed the petition there were 550 free people of colour living in Montserrat. One hundred other people signed the petition, none also named William Harris.
40. Commissioners of Legal Enquiry in the West Indies, Free People of Color, Disabilities and Grievances, 1822–1828, TNA, CO 318/76, 124 accessed via AM Digital *Slavery, Abolition and Social Justice* see <https://www.amdigital.co.uk/collection/slavery-abolition-and-social-justice> (accessed August 3, 2023); Riva Berleant-Scholler, 'The White Minority and the Emancipation Process in Montserrat, 1807–32', *NWIG: New West Indian Guide/ Nieuwe West-Indische Gids* 70, no. 3/4 (1996): 255–81, 263.
41. Newton *The Children of Africa* (online edn.).
42. Berleant-Scholler, 'The White Minority', 263.
43. *Ibid.*, 264.
44. *Ibid.*, 264.
45. Benjamin Luckock, *Enslaved and Free* (New York: Lane & Tippet, 1846), 142.
46. On free people of colour's social identity see Richard B. Allen, 'Creating Undiminished Confidence: The Free Population of Colour and Identity formation in Mauritius, 1767–1835', *Slavery & Abolition* 32, no. 4 (2011): 519–33.
47. Moira Ferguson, *The Hart Sisters: Early African Caribbean Writers, Evangelicals, and Radicals* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993), 4.
48. Bush, *Slave Women*, 102.
49. Frey and Wood, *Come Shouting*, 182.
50. *Ibid.*, 186, 84.
51. Flávio dos Santos Gomes, 'Africans and Slave Marriages in Eighteenth-century Rio de Janeiro', *The Americas* 67, no. 2 (2010): 153–84, 172–3. It is likely that Cudjoe and Harris had both been baptized Anglican, as the Church of England required this. Green, 'A Civil Inconvenience?' 33.
52. B.W. Higman, 'The Slave Family and Household in the British West Indies, 1800–1834', *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 6, no. 2 (1975): 261–87, 272–273.
53. Colleen A. Vasconcellos, *Slavery, Childhood, Abolition in Jamaica 1788–1838* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2015), 73–43.
54. Newton *The Children of Africa* (online edn.).
55. Frey and Wood, *Come Shouting*, 183.
56. Henrice Altink, '"To Wed or Not to Wed?": The Struggle to Define Afro-Jamaican Relationships, 1834–1838', *Journal of Social History* 38, no. 1 (2004): 81–111, 81–2.
57. Dunkley, *Agency of the Enslaved*, 181.
58. HCPP, Third Report of the Commissioner of Inquiry into the Administration of Civil and Criminal Justice in the West Indies, Antigua, Montserrat, Nevis, St. Christopher, and the Virgin Islands (1826–27), 179.
59. Newton, *The Children of Africa*, see chapter three.
60. Paugh, *Politics of Reproduction*, chapter 2.
61. Snyder, 'Marriage on the Margins', 158.
62. Elsa Goveia, *The West Indian Laws of the Eighteenth Century*, (Barbados: Caribbean Universities Press, 1973), 95.

63. On Prince in Antigua, see Margot Maddison-MacFadyen (2013), 'Mary Prince, Grand Turk, and Antigua', *Slavery & Abolition* 34, no. 4: 653–62. On Prince's marriage after moving to Britain, see Ryan Hanley, *Beyond Slavery and Abolition: Black British Writing, C.1770–1830* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 81–96.
64. Mary Prince, *The History of Mary Prince, a West Indian Slave, Related by Herself*, Third Edition, (London: F. Westley and A.H. Davis, 1831), 17.
65. *Ibid.*, 18.
66. David Barry Gaspar, *Bondmen and Rebels: A Study of Master Slave Relations in Antigua* (Durham; London: Duke University Press, 1999), 167.
67. Prince, *The History of Mary Prince*, 18.
68. Gaspar, *Bondmen and Rebels*, 167. Luckock notes that no law prohibited this marriage Luckock, Rose Hill, Montserrat, 16 May 1828, TNA, CO 28/146.
69. Dobridge and Percy, Montserrat 17 May 1828, TNA, CO 28/146.
70. Browne, *Surviving Slavery*, 103.
71. Paugh, 'The politics of Childbearing', 145.
72. Trevor Burnard and Kit Candlin, 'Sir John Gladstone and the Debate Over the Ame-
lioration of Slavery in the British West Indies in the 1820s', *Journal of British Studies* 57, no. 4 (2018): 760–82, 777.
73. Browne, *Surviving Slavery*, 103.
74. HC Debate, 19 May 1826, State of Slavery in the Colonies, c. 1290.
75. Dobridge and Percy, Montserrat 17th May 1828, TNA, CO 28/146.
76. Green, 'A Civil Inconvenience?' 23.
77. Diana Paton, 'Gender History', 735.
78. 'Thomas Henry Percy', *Legacies of Slavery*, <<https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/25100>> (accessed December 4, 2022); 'Robert Dobridge', *Legacies of British Slavery*, <<https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/25034>> (accessed December 4, 2022).
79. Dobridge and Percy, Montserrat 17 May 1828, TNA, CO 28/146.
80. Dobridge and Percy, Montserrat, 25 April 1828, TNA, CO 28/146.
81. Dobridge and Percy, Montserrat 17 May 1828, TNA, CO 28/146.
82. See Karen Offen 'How (and Why) the Analogy of Marriage with Slavery Provided the Springboard for Women's Rights Demands in France, 1640–1848', in *Women's Rights and Transatlantic Antislavery in the Era of Emancipation*, ed. Kathryn Kish Sklar, and James Brewer Stewart (Yale University Press, 2007), 57–81.
83. Joan Perkin, *Women and Marriage in Nineteenth-Century England* (London: Taylor & Francis Group, 1988) ProQuest Ebook Central, 13.
84. On laws against marriage between free and enslaved people, see Brenda E Stevenson, *Life in Black and White: Family and Community in the Slave South* (New York and Oxford; Oxford University Press 1996), 222–4.
85. Green, 'A Civil Inconvenience?', 38.
86. Hunter, *Bound in Wedlock*, 96.
87. Prince, *The History of Mary Prince*, 18.
88. *Ibid.*
89. Afterwards Prince recalled, 'Mr Wood allowed Daniel to have a place to live in our yard, which we were very thankful for.'
90. Dobridge and Percy, Montserrat, 25 April 1828, TNA, CO 28/146.
91. Emily West, *Chains of Love: Slave Couples in Antebellum South Carolina* (University of Illinois Press, 2004), 52.
92. Fraser, *Courtship and Love*, 34.
93. Bush, *Slave Women*, 100.
94. *Ibid.*, 32.

95. Christa Dierkshiede, *Amelioration and Empire: Progress and Slavery in the Plantation Americas* (Charlottesville and London: University of Virginia Press, 2014), 183.; Green, 'A Civil Inconvenience', 43–4.
96. Sasha Turner, *Contested Bodies: Pregnancy, Childrearing, and Slavery in Jamaica* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2017), 45–67; Paugh, *The Politics of Reproduction*.
97. Dierksheide, *Amelioration and Empire*, 183. Green notes that many enslavers made the argument that 'faithful concubinage was sufficient to secure the reproductive and hegemonic benefits of stable monogamy', in 'A Civil Inconvenience?' 43; Children born to an enslaved mother inherited her status. See Diana Paton 'Maternal struggles and the politics of childlessness under pronatalist Caribbean slavery', *Slavery & Abolition* 38, no. 2 (2017): 251–68; On the average age of enslaved mothers and the 'ideal age' for enslavers, see Turner, *Contested Bodies* 50–3 and Bush, *Slave Women*, chapter seven.
98. Henrice Altink, *Representations of Slave Women in Discourses on Slavery and Abolition, 1780–1838* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 30.
99. Green, 'A Civil Inconvenience?', 43.
100. Fear of separation is discussed later in this article (see example of Anne Hart Gilbert's letter to Isabella Luckock).
101. Luckock, Rose Hill, Montserrat, 16 May 1828, TNA, CO 28/146.
102. Luckock, Montserrat, 14 March 1825, LPL, CFS F/1, 177. In 1825, Luckock reported that some enslavers had 'strong objections against the Negroes learning to read at all', and consequently, from the pulpit, he 'called their attention' to the advantages to religious instruction. For another example of a clergyman who faced criticism, see Matthew Blake Strickland, "'The Protection of Slaves and Other Property": An Anglican Minister, Criminal Charges, and White Planters' Fear of Emancipation in Barbados', *Journal of Caribbean History* 5, no. 2 (2021): 151–75.
103. Nathaniel Gilbert, Gilberts, 13 Feb 1824, LPL, CFS F/1, 58–9.
104. Luckock, Montserrat, 8 Oct 1824, LPL, CFS F/1, 134. Travelling on foot was seen as a source of shame for missionaries. See Natalie Zacek & Laurence Brown, 'Unsettled Houses: The Material Culture of the Missionary Project in Jamaica in the Era of Emancipation', *Slavery & Abolition* 35, no. 3 (2014): 493–507, 497.
105. Gilbert confirmed Luckock's removal in a letter to The Conversion Society on 10 May 1824 LPL, CFS F/1, 72. Luckock's first letter from Montserrat to The Conversion Society was written on 6 June 1824, LPL, CFS F/1, 84.
106. Nathaniel Gilbert, Gilberts, 8 July 1824, LPL, CFS F/1, 99.
107. Luckock, Montserrat, 6 June 1824, LPL, CFS F/1, 84.
108. Luckock, Montserrat, 5 August 1824, LPL, CFS F/1, 109. D'Urban became Lieutenant-Governor of Demerara-Essequibo in 1824.
109. Luckock, Montserrat, 5 August 1824, LPL, CFS F/1, 109.
110. Montserrat Notitia, Benjamin Luckock, Plymouth, 30 June 1824. LPL, CFS G/3, 151.
111. LPL, CFS F/4, 75.
112. This information was taken from the *Legacies of British Slavery Database*. Over 30 resident Anglican clergymen were enslavers, alongside 15 transatlantic clergymen.
113. Luckock, Gilberts, Antigua, 14 March 1823, LPL, CFS F/1, 21.
114. TNA, RG 6/1002, 34.
115. TNA, RG 6/241. On Quakerism and abolitionism see Christopher Leslie Brown, *Moral Capital: Foundations of British Abolitionism* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 393–426. In the Southern United States, see Ryan

- P. Jordan, *Slavery and the Meetinghouse: The Quakers and the Abolitionist Dilemma, 1820–1865* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007)
116. Diocese of London Act Book 1809–1828, London Metropolitan Archives (LMA) MS 9532A/2, 178, 182.
 117. Their daughter, Irene, was born in 1822 and baptized into the Church of England. Sourced in indexes created from Anglican Parish Registers held at Shropshire Archives, *Shropshire Anglican Parish Registers*. P180/A/2/3.
 118. Luckock to Bishop Howley, Whitehaven, March 9th 1822, LPL, FP, Howley 29, 30–1. Luckock remained associated with Quakerism throughout his life (Joseph James Gurney to Benjamin Luckock, ‘Results of Negro Emancipation’, *Kendal Mercury*, 23rd May 1840, 2).
 119. David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution, 1770–1823* (Oxford University Press, online edn. 2011) 213.
 120. Luckock, Rose Hill, Montserrat, 16 May 1828, TNA, CO 28/146.
 121. Proceedings of the Jamaica Auxiliary Church Missionary Society, 1828 & 1829 Containing the first Report of the Committee (Jamaica: Printed at the Office of the Watchman for the Jamaica Auxiliary Church Missionary Society, 1830).
 122. HC Debate, 15 May 1823, Abolition of Slavery, c. 273.
 123. HC Debate, 19 May 1826, State of Slaver in the Colonies, c. 1920.
 124. Luckock, Rose Hill, Montserrat, 16 May 1828, TNA, CO 28/146.
 125. Green, ‘A Civil Inconvenience?’, 43.
 126. Luckock, Gilberts Antigua, 14 March 1823, LPL, CFS F/1, 21.
 127. Luckock, Antigua, 4 July 1823, LPL, CFS F/1, 33. Luckock was likely writing from James Curtin’s property here.
 128. On Anne Hart Gilbert and Methodism, see Sue Thomas, ‘Anne Hart Gilbert, Creole Benevolence and Anti-Slavery, 1815–1834’, *Nineteenth-Century Contexts* 33, no. 3 (2011): 227–45 and Sue Thomas, *Telling West Indian Lives: Life Narrative and the Reform of Plantation Slavery Cultures 1804–1834* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014) and Ferguson, *The Hart Sisters*, 28–35.
 129. Anne Gilbert to Mrs Luckock, English Harbour, August 1824, University of Birmingham Library, Cadbury Research Library (CRL) CMS/B/OMS/C W O31/55.
 130. Eighth Annual Report of the Distressed Females’ Friend Society – December 31st 1823. In July ‘a Donation of £30 was received from “The Antigua Repository” and ‘a handsome present of Clothing from Members of the Established Church in England, by the hands of Mrs Luckock.’ CRL, CMS/B/OMS/C W 06/9.
 131. Anne Gilbert to Mrs Luckock, English Harbour, Aug 1824, CRL, CMS/B/OMS/C W O31/55.
 132. Ibid.
 133. Ferguson, *The Hart Sisters*, 17.
 134. Luckock, Rose Hill, Montserrat, 16 May 1828, TNA, CO 28/146. Both Anne, and her sister, Elizabeth, married white men who supported their charitable work among enslaved people. See John Saillant, ‘Antiguan Methodism and Antislavery Activity: Anne and Elizabeth Hart in the Eighteenth-Century Black Atlantic’, *Church History* 69, no. 1 (2000): 86–115, 88.
 135. Sandra Pouchet Paquet, *Caribbean Autobiography: Cultural Identity and Self-Representation* (Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 2002), 22–3.
 136. This is unsurprising due to their reliance on funding following the 1823 amelioration proposals.

137. Report for the Incorporated Society for the Conversion and Religious Instruction and Education of the Negroe Slaves in the British West India Islands From July to December 1824 (London: R Gilbert, 1824), 26.
138. Report for the Incorporated Society for the Conversion and Religious Instruction [...] (London: R. Gilbert, 1828) 39.
139. Ibid., 183.
140. Philanthropic Society, *Instructions for Missionaries to the West-India Islands* (London, 1795), 3.
141. David Lambert, *White Creole Culture, Politics and Identity during the Age of Abolition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005, paperback edn. 2010), 149–50.
142. Mary Turner, 'The Bishop of Jamaica and Slave Instruction', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 26, no. 4 (1975): 363–78.
143. Ibid., 366.
144. O.M Blouet, 'Earning and Learning in the British West Indies: An Image of Freedom in the Pre-Emancipation Decade, 1823–1833', *The Historical Journal* 34, no. 2 (1991): 391–409, 395.
145. Green, 'A Civil Inconvenience?' 9. Melanie Newton has noted that following the introduction of the Barbados bishopric, religious instruction increased more generally on the Codrington plantation. Newton, *The Children of Africa* (online edn.)
146. Beasley, *Christian Ritual*, 56.
147. Travis Glasson, *Mastering Christianity: Missionary, Anglicanism and Slavery in the Atlantic World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011, online ed.) 165–6.
148. William Coleridge, 10 Aug 1828, TNA, CO 28/146.
149. Office of Registry of Colonial Slaves and Slave Compensation Commission, Monserat, 1831, TNA T 71/451, 77.
150. Luckock, published in 1846 entitled *Jamaica: Enslaved and Free*. This only offers broad reflections on colonial governance and the history of Jamaica. Luckock, *Enslaved and Free*, 139–40.
151. On ecclesiastical courts and the Catholic Church in America, see Snyder, 'Marriage on the Margins', 143–4.

Disclosure Statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

Funding

This work was supported by University of Bristol.

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