

Bibliographic Addenda to Guides for the Study of Barbados History, 1971 & 1991

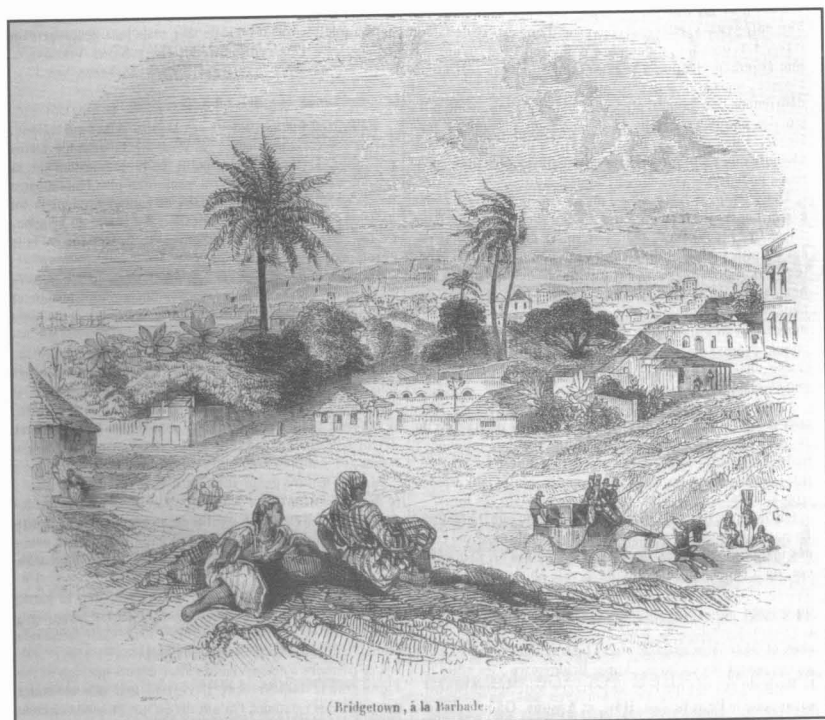
Jerome S. Handler

The materials discussed here have come to my attention since the publication of my 1971 and 1991 guides for the study of Barbados history.¹ In my 1991 Supplement, I referred to Kenneth E. Ingram's important and valuable 1975 *Manuscripts Relating to Commonwealth Caribbean Countries*, and stressed that it is "an essential source for the location of Barbados (and West Indian) manuscripts in the United States (and Canadian) repositories."² Here I must mention his equally important and more recent *Manuscript Sources for the History of the West Indies*. This work contains many references to manuscripts dealing with Barbados. The index makes it quite easy to identify these manuscripts, which are located in a wide array of repositories in the West Indies, Canada, United States, and United Kingdom.³

In this article I only list published works (with one exception, a manuscript in the American Philosophical Society), and essentially follow the same procedures I used in my earlier *Guides*. Unless otherwise noted, particularly with respect to very rare items, because I only list one location does not necessarily mean that this is the only known location; locations can be established through the on-line WorldCat/OCLC, the National Union Catalog (Library of Congress), and the English Short Title Catalogue (compiled by the British Library).

Anonymously Authorised Published Works

"*Bridgetown, à la Barbade*". This picture, identified as Bridgetown, accompanies a brief report on Barbados titled "*La Barbade. Antilles*" in the form of a journal entry by an anonymous author, identified only as a "voyageur". It was published in 1840 in



Bridgetown, à la Barbade

Magasin Pittoresque (vol. VIII, January [Paris], pp. 17-18; the copy that I examined is located in the University of Chicago Library). The author arrived at Barbados on August 4, 1839 and only stayed a few days. He comments briefly on Carlisle bay and how his ship was surrounded by hawkers in canoes selling fresh fruit, milk, etc., and the animated atmosphere of people and goods at the port. He found Bridgetown pleasant with wide streets covered with fine sand, and containing about 1,200 houses, mostly of wood, resting on stone foundations, and with frontal balconies. He notes the presence of two churches, a public library, and the public buildings for the governor and administration. He comments on the numerous stores and stalls owned by blacks and coloured people, selling a wide variety of merchandise, and how business stops at four or five in the afternoon. He was quite surprised, he writes, to see "a great number of people carrying sunshade parasols to guard against the rays of the moon. In Barbados they attribute to this heavenly body an unlucky/malign influence; but if these promenades are sometimes bad for the health, it is more likely that they have been caught by the abundant dew that covers the earth overnight" (my

translation). He learned that the black population is four times as numerous as the white, makes a few brief comments on the island's school system, Codrington College, the other towns, and agricultural production. "The general character of the island does not lack appeal," he writes, ending his brief account with a sentimental rendering of the tropical beauty of Barbados.

The Adventures of Jonathan Corncob, Loyal American Refugee.

Written by Himself.

London, printed for the author, 1787; reprinted Godine

Publisher, Boston, 1976. 213 pp.

Noted in my 1971 *Guide* (p. 50) but not examined at the time and somewhat misleadingly described, this anonymously authored novel set during the period of the American Revolution contains several chapters which describe the hero's visit to Barbados. The novel and the chapters on Barbados are discussed in detail elsewhere in this issue of the *JBMHS* (see Francesca Brady and Jerome S. Handler, eds., "Jonathan Corncob Visits Barbados: Excerpts from a Late 18th Century Novel").

A new and accurate Mercators chart of the West India Islands from Barbadoes to Jamaica. Publish'd as the Act directs. Jany. 1st, 1800.

London, 1800 [The John Carter Brown Library]

A very large (92cm x 138 cm) nautical chart in two sheets, showing the Caribbean sea from northern Venezuela through the Leewards, Hispaniola, and Jamaica; also inset maps with harbor areas of various islands. Barbados is shown on the map, with conventional geographical areas/towns identified, but its harbor is not depicted; however, on the lower right there is a profile of the island, showing it "when the N. point of the island bears W.N.W. 9 Leagues."

Reflections on the proclamation of the second of July, 1783, relative to the trade between the United States of America and the West-India Islands; addressed to the Right Honourable William Pitt.

[London, 1783]. 322 pp. [The John Carter Brown Library]

Libraries generally attribute authorship to Sir Philip Gibbes, but no author is given on the title page (nor is imprint data given) or

elsewhere in the pamphlet; and authorship is uncertain. On the title page of the JCB copy, a contemporary hand has written in manuscript "From Sir Philip Gibbes to Lord Lewishom". Similarly, on the title page of the Boston Public Library copy, a contemporary hand has written, "From Sir Philip Gibbes to Sir John Warren"; "on the basis of this inscription," the Boston Public Library catalog states, "perhaps written by Sir Philip Gibbes."⁴ However, it is by no means certain that Gibbes authored this book. Rather, it is possible that he inscribed the copies that he sent to Lewishom and Warren, bringing to their attention an argument with which he agreed. Gibbes, of course, was a prominent Barbadian planter in the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth and the author of several works on plantation management (See Handler, *Guide*, 1971, pp. 49-50, 57-58, 60).

The July 1783 proclamation of the British Parliament refers to an act regulating certain aspects of the trade between Britain and the United States. It orders that a variety of materials produced in the U.S. can be imported in British ships from any port in the U.S. to the British West Indian colonies and that colonial products can be carried in British ships to American ports; however, they have to pay export duties and are subject to the same regulations as anything exported to any British colony in America. The proclamation continues a prohibition of direct trade with the West Indies by American ships. The pamphlet examines the implications of this proclamation with the respect to "how the interest of Great Britain will be ultimately affected by the measure." West Indian economies will suffer, the author argues, and, by extension, the economy of Great Britain will suffer, if the proclamation is enforced. Statistics are given for 1773-83, on English imports of West Indies sugar from each West Indian colony, including Barbados.

Some short and necessary observations, proper to be considered, in the settlement of the African trade. 1. The votes of the House the 7th of June, 1711, viz. That an humble address be made to Her Majesty ...

[London, 1711 ?], 3 pp. [British Library]

This item requests that an appeal be made to the Queen to take measures that would protect the African-trade, till some other provision be made by Parliament for same. It lists ten points concerning the British slave trade in Africa, of which the tenth is "The Barbadoes Petition Relating to the African trade," which is

reproduced. The "Barbadoes Petition" was also published separately, and briefly mentioned in Handler's 1971 *Guide* (p. 21), although 88 signatories, rather than 85, were mistakenly counted. Many were prominent slaveholders, e.g., William Sharpe, Thomas Alleyne, John Frere, William Cleland, John Rous, James Dotin. The petition argues for the preservation of Britain's interests in the slave trade and the petitioners "pray, that the British interest on the coast of Africa, may be effectually preserved, and the trade put on such a foot, that a sufficient number of Negroes may be had on the coast on moderate rates, and your petitioners supply'd on reasonable terms here."

Published Works by Identified Authors

BLEBY, HENRY

West India emancipation vindicated. Speech of Rev. Henry Bleby, missionary from Barbadoes, at the anniversary of West India emancipation, at Abington, (Mass.) July 31, 1858.
[Boston, 1858] 16 pp. [Library Company of Philadelphia]

An alternate title is *Speech of Rev. Henry Bleby, missionary from Barbadoes, on the results of emancipation in the British W. I. Colonies: delivered at the celebration of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, held at Island Grove, Abington, July 31st, 1858.*

Bleby, a Methodist missionary, had only been in Boston for three weeks before giving this talk. He had come from Barbados, where he was at a mission station "nine miles from Bridgetown." He gives a few details on sugar production in Barbados, land values, his Methodist congregation, the Barbadian "character," and Methodist schools and education. He ends with an appeal to the Massachusetts congregation to raise money for his school in Barbados. Bleby had also been in Antigua and Jamaica before coming to Barbados.

DUKE, JOHN

Two letters on the treatment of Negroes, in the island of Barbadoes, together with some observations on slavery, and in defence of the African trade.
Bridgetown, 1788. 28 pp.

This extremely rare pamphlet (the only known copy is in the Wren Library, Trinity College, Cambridge, England) by the curate

of St. Michael defends West Indian planters against criticisms of British abolitionists, argues that slaves in the West Indies, Barbados in particular, are well treated and certainly better off than Africans in Africa. The pamphlet's contents as well as biographical background on John Duke, a Barbadian, are described in my article, "A Rare Eighteenth-Century Tract in Defense of Slavery in Barbados: The Thoughts of the Rev. John Duke, Curate of St. Michael" (*JBMHS*, vol. 51 [2005], pp. 58-65). Coincidentally, a similar defense of slavery was published by Henry Holder, another Barbadian clergyman, in the same year; neither apparently was aware of the other's work (See *Ibid.*, and Handler, *Guide*, 1971, p. 52).

FRANCK, RICHARD

Northern memoirs, calculated from the meridian of Scotland. Wherein most or all of the cities, citadels, seaports, castles ... are compendiously described ... Writ in the year 1658, but not till now made publick.

London, 1694. 304 pp. [The John Carter Brown Library]

This item has nothing to do with the West Indies, but in a section giving advice and hints on "angling" or sports fishing, the author advises that bait should be stored in a wooden box made water tight with various oils, including "Barbadoes Tar". This is a very early mention of this product of Barbados by this name. Although Ligon (1657, p. 101) provides the earliest reference of which I am aware to this material when he mentions "an unctuous substance, somewhat like tarre," he does not name this "unctuous substance"; the term "Barbados Tar" became more common in later years.

HOLDER, HENRY EVANS

A brief, but, it is presumed, a sufficient answer to the philosophy of masons. Bristol, 1791 20 pp.

A system of French accidence and syntax

2nd edition, London, 1790; 3rd ed. London, 1791.

The above works by the Barbadian-born Anglican clergyman have not been consulted. Other works by him, including his well-known treatise in defense of the slave trade and slavery, A short essay on the subject of Negro slavery (London, 1788), are cited in Handler, *Guide* (1971), pp. 52, 55, 56, 57.

JOHNSON, CHARLES

A general history of the pyrates, from their first rise and settlement in the island of Providence, to the present time ...

By Captain Charles Johnson.

London, 1724 [and a number of subsequent editions]

This classic work is generally attributed to Daniel Defoe and one edition or another is found in many libraries. The index to the comprehensively edited and annotated volume by Manuel Schonhorn (University of South Carolina Press, 1972), gives several entries for Barbados, and Schonhorn's introduction is an authoritative scholarly treatise on this work and Defoe's authorship.

Johnson's introduction reproduces a document, dated Whitehall, September 15, 1717, which notes the complaints made by various governors of the West Indian colonies concerning the growth of pirates in Caribbean waters, and gives a "A List of his Majesty's ships and vessels employed, and to be employed, at the British Governments and Plantations in the West-Indies"; 14 ships are named, including two at "Barbadoes [and] Leeward Islands." "Those at Jamaica, Barbadoes, and the Leeward Islands," the document notes, "are to join upon Occasion, for annoying the Pyrates, and the security of the trade." (pp. 39-40).

Chapter IV (pp. 95-113) is a lengthy account of "Major Stede Bonnet and his crew." Stede, the author writes, "was a gentleman of good reputation in the Island of Barbadoes, was master of a plentiful fortune, and had the advantage of a liberal education. He had the least temptation of any man to follow such a course of life, from the condition of his circumstances." Stede, we are told, "fitted out a sloop with ten guns and 70 men, entirely at his own expence, and in the night-time sailed from Barbadoes, in his ship, called the Revenge, and his first adventure took him off the coast of Virginia." A number of Stede's pirating ventures are described, including his attacks on ships bound to and from Barbados. He was finally arrested and in 1718 tried in South Carolina, where he received the death sentence (pp. 95-110).⁵

In the account of a Captain Tew, the author quotes from the papers of Tew's quartermaster, describing Madagascar and comparing it with Barbados, the former being far less expensive than the latter; he details the relative costs of both places in setting up "sugar works," purchasing and feeding slaves, and notes that "tho' a cattle mill is of less expence in Barbadoes, yet the feeding of horses and oxen at Barbadoes is very dear" (p. 436).

LIGON, RICHARD

A True and Exact History of the Iland of Barbadoes.
London, 1657; 2nd edition, London, 1673.

This classic work in West Indian historiography was mentioned in my 1971 *Guide* (p. 4), where I also misleadingly stated that the second edition had the "same contents" as the first edition. Although there do not appear to be differences in the main text, there are differences in the prefatory materials. The first edition contains a letter from Ligon, written in Upper Bench Prison, July 12, 1653, and addressed "To my most honoured and highly esteemed friend," Brian Duppa, Lord Bishop of Salisbury; another letter addressed to Ligon in prison, September 5, 1653, from Duppa "after he had perused my book,"; and a poem by George Walshe "To my much honoured and Ingenuous [sic] Cousin, Mr Richatd Ligon, upon his relation of his voyage to Barbados." None of the preceding appears in the second edition which, in turn, contains "The Contents of the several things mentioned in this history" that is absent from the first edition.⁶

MEANWELL, MINIMUS

Extracts from the history of the Lock: collected together in a series of letters from Minimus Meanwell, Esq; to Mr. John Orderson. Printed in Barbadoes. Revised, Corrected, and Reprinted in London, by G. Scott, Chancery Lane.
London, 1777. 72 pp.

There are only two known locations of this very rare work: the Library of Congress and the Swem Library (College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia). I personally examined the Swem Library copy.

Meanwell is a pseudonym; the author's real name has not been identified. At the time of publication, John Orderson was editor and publisher of the *Barbados Mercury*, a position he had assumed in 1772, at the age of about fifty.⁷ The title reference is to the Lock Hospital in London, opened in 1747 for the treatment of venereal disease, specifically syphilis. This item consists of ten letters, written over the period March-June 1776 and addressed to Orderson, who is referred to as Jack (the author frequently mentions that he is known to Orderson, but never identifies himself).

Internal evidence indicates that all of the letters were first

published in the *Barbados Mercury*; however, I have been unable to verify this since no copies of the *Mercury* during 1776 are known to exist (see Handler, *Guide*, 1971 and 1991). Also, pp. 16-18, publish a letter from Henry Duke (representative from St. Michael in the House of Assembly), dated Bridgetown, March 26, 1776, and addressed "To the worthy freeholders, merchants, and Inhabitants of the Town and Parish of St. Michael." It is unclear why Duke's letter, dealing with a drought that badly affected crops and threatened Barbados with "famine," is reproduced, because the *Extracts from the history of the Lock* does not appear to have anything to do with Barbados per se.

The author writes that he is sending Orderson "a few extracts taken out of a very credible and impartial author" (neither the work nor the author is identified although "the sensible author of Short History of the Lock" is mentioned). These "extracts," dealing with a "dispute of two respectable companies in London," were submitted to Orderson for publication in the *Mercury*.

The "extracts" give a long and intricate account of events, which are difficult to follow, with digressive prefatory materials in which the anonymous author often alludes to his acquaintance with Orderson that occurred around 1704-1706. At that time, "there was a general consumption prevailing in the Lock Hospital in London." The account relates a controversy at the Lock over a treatment for this "consumption", and the disagreements between the physicians and apothecaries attached to the hospital. They debated the causes of this illness and the remedies for it, and the account also details the ramifications of this controversy on various persons attached to or involved with the hospital.

NICHOLLS, THOMAS

Sable victims. A Barbadoes narration: inscribed to the promoters of the slave trade, and addressed to J. Hargrave, Esq. A friend to natural liberty.
London, 1789. 41 pp.

The only known copy of this small book is located in the New York Historical Society.⁸ Although I had not previously examined *Sable Victims*, I mentioned it in my 1971 *Guide* (p. 53) where I erroneously identified the author as F. Nicholls.⁹ After examining a copy, however, the name T. Nicholls is visibly printed on the title page; the British Library identifies him as Thomas Nicholls.¹⁰ Although the family name Nicholls existed in Barbados in the 18th

century, I do not know if there was a connection between Thomas Nicholls and the island.

The J. Hargrave addressed in the title was "Counsellor Hargrave, author of an argument in the case of James Somersett, a Negro" (*Sable Victims*, p. 5). Francis Hargrave (I cannot explain why the initial "J" appears on the title page; a misprint, perhaps) was the most prominent of the five lawyers who argued on behalf of James Somerset (or, Sommersett) in the celebrated eighteenth-century legal case concerning enslaved persons on British soil.¹¹ In *Sable Victims*, Nicholls is apparently trying to convince Hargrave to become involved in the cause to abolish the slave trade, a major issue in Britain at this time. (In the years after the Somerset case, Hargrave became a celebrated lawyer and legal scholar, but he apparently never did publicly take up the abolitionist cause, perhaps because of his increasingly declining health.) Nicholls is asking Hargrave to judge the evils of slavery and the slave trade by considering the story of an enslaved African to which most pages of *Sable Victims* is devoted.

Nicholls was prompted, he says, to write this 41 page poem by a statement of Mundungus, the fictitious name he gives a "Barbadoes merchant of London," whose wealth derived from West Indian commerce and who was "a zealous advocate for the slave trade"; the merchant had asserted "slavery is to be defended, and the life of a plantation slave in Barbadoes is far less intolerable than our day-labourers in England" (*ibid.* pp. vii, 2). The first nine pages of the poem make a general argument against the slave trade and call for its abolition, while the remaining pages relate the story of a fictional African, given the name Zury. With his wife and three children, Zury was wrenched from a peaceful life in Angola and, after a tortuous middle passage, landed in Barbados. There, Zury and his family were purchased by Mundungus who turned over the enslaved Africans to Fungus, his tyrannical and cruel "Negro driver." The Africans were taken to Mundungus' plantation where Zury discovered a kinsman, his cousin Oran. The two conspire to incite their fellow slaves to revolt, and the following day they acquire boat and put out to sea. Fungus sees them and alerts a British naval vessel. The vessel gave chase, caught up with the ship, and boarded it; however, the "Englishmen were beat off with great slaughter," and the English captain, in revenge, sinks the slaves' vessel. All perished except Zury, who was rescued and returned to Barbados, where he was burned alive in full view of his wife and children.

The general tenor of the poem can be grasped in the following

excerpts. Speaking of the purchase of the Africans, after landing in Barbados, Nicholls writes:

*"Before the planters stood the helpless crew
And every limb was naked to the view
The curious planters carefully survey
And as they find the slaves propose to pay"* (*ibid.* pp. 16-17).

On the enslavement of Africans:

*"To steal the Negro from his peaceful home
Freight after freight their captains soon present
A precious traffic, yielding cent. per cent.
Thus, for curs'd luxury, our white faced knaves
Made their Black brothers their devoted slaves"*
(*ibid.* pp. 39-40).

A brief negatively critical review in *The Gentleman's Magazine* (September 1789, p. 827) states the following: "The author endeavors to awaken humanity by shocking it ... He interlards his tale with invective, and prefixes to it a print of the roasting alive a runaway Negro. Such overdone representations defeat themselves."¹²

NORRIS, ROBERT

*A short account of the African slave-trade.
A new edition corrected.
London, 1789. 41 pp. [The John Carter Brown Library]*

This tract argues against the abolition of the transatlantic slave trade and the necessity for its continuance; in brief, it argues for the importance of the slave trade to the vital economic interests of Britain. The author's arguments were familiar and favorite ones of West Indian planters and their allies in Britain (the author seems to have been British). For example: Africans are cruel to one another and the "general state of the Negro in Africa, is that of slavery and oppression"; Africans "have been in the practice from time immemorial of selling their countrymen"; African labor is necessary for cultivation in tropical America "from the utter incapacity of white people to undergo that fatigue"; and that the slave trade is "of the utmost consequence to the employment of many thousands of our fellow subjects, to the naval power of Britain, and to the royal revenues"(pp. 11, 14, 15, 18). The author

condemns those in Britain who would attempt to abolish such a "highly beneficial" trade, and defends how African slaves are treated. For example,

"on the voyage from Africa to the West Indies, the Negroes are well fed, comfortably lodged, and have every possible attention paid to their health, cleanliness, and convenience"; "the mode of obtaining Negro slaves in Africa, has been demonstrated to be ... perfectly fair and equitable, by a barter with the natives"; the enslaved in the West Indies are well treated because "Negro property is an object of such value and importance to the proprietor, that he is disposed to cherish it by every prudent and humane method," and "it is a fact worthy of observation that a Negro slave in the West Indies has scarcely ever been heard to express a desire to return to his own country" (pp. 28-29, 33, 36).

The West Indies in general is mentioned and occasionally Barbados is specified. For similar views, but with a focus on Barbados, see, for example, John Duke (1788), above.

PENNINGTON, ISAAC

*To Friends in England, Ireland, Scotland, Holland,
New-England, Barbados.*

[London, 1666]. 12 pp. [Library Company of Philadelphia]

Barbados had a relatively sizeable Quaker community in the 17th century. This tract is a conventional Quaker epistle and offers no information on the island.

PORTEUS, BEILBY

Sermons on Several Subjects.

Hartford, 1806. 445 pp. [Library Company of Philadelphia]

This is the first American edition, printed from the ninth London edition. All of these sermons by the Bishop of London were delivered in churches in England. One of the sermons, delivered in 1783, directly deals with slavery (sermon xvii; pp. 207-226), particularly in Barbados and on the Codrington plantations; an overview is given of the policies pursued at Codrington to encourage the Christianization of the enslaved (see also Handler, *Guide*, 1971, p. 62).

SPANGENBERG, Augustus Gottlieb

A candid declaration of the church known by the name of the
Unitas Fratrum, relative to their labour among the heathen.

[London?], [1769?]. 14 pp. [The British Library]

A Moravian defense of their "ancient church-constitution and privileges" and their missionary work, against the "libels and virulent pamphlets" of Lutherans and others. "We are at present actually engaged in the ministry of the gospel among the Indians in North-America, as also among the Negroes in Jamaica, Antigua and Barbados..." This is the only reference to Barbados, but the pamphlet succinctly delineates the guiding philosophy of the Moravians when conducting missionary activities "among the heathen," e.g., "we never ... attempt to win over to our church any of the heathen who are already in connexion with those of any other church"; "we never attempt ... to obtain the least influence in civil or commercial affairs"; "we seek ... to keep them ignorant of the many divisions in Christendom." These principles were applied in Barbados, where Moravian missionaries arrived in 1765, the first Protestants to specifically work among the island's enslaved population. A slightly briefer version of this was published in 1768 (there are only three known copies, one of which is in the John Carter Brown Library). The edition described here is available on microfilm and on-line in the "Eighteenth Century Collections Online" from the British Library copy.

TOWNE, JOHN

Service Afloat; comprising the personal narrative of a naval officer employed during the late war [J.T.], and the journal of an officer engaged in the late surveying expedition under the command of Captain Owen on the western coast of Africa.

London, 1833, 2 vols. [The John Carter Brown Library, New York Public Library]

This two-volume work contains two separate accounts, each under different authorship. Only the first account deals with the West Indies. It covers the period from around 1806 to 1813, and was authored by Lieutenant John Towne of the Royal Navy.¹³

In Vol. 1 Towne relates his experiences as a midshipman during the Napoleonic wars. His activities took him to various West Indian islands, e.g., Jamaica, Antigua, Barbuda, Dominica, Guadeloupe,

and Barbados (pp. 112-119). Little is said about the islands per se. Rather, he describes British and French naval movements in Caribbean waters, the arrival of Nelson's fleet and its activities (noting the arrival of Nelson at Barbados on June 4, 1805), and British troop movements in the southern Caribbean. Towne mentions that a British regiment sent to Barbados was seriously affected by yellow fever, but he says nothing about the island itself.

Towne's account continues in Vol. 2 and includes later voyages to the West Indies, now as a Lieutenant. Islands mentioned in this volume include Trinidad, Martinique, St. Eustatius, Virgin Islands, Puerto Rico, St. Vincent, Nevis, St. Kitts. Barbados is briefly mentioned in a description of the 1812 volcano in St. Vincent. On leaving St. Vincent, his ship goes to Barbados and Towne describes the clouds of sand and dust from the volcano while his ship was about half way between Martinique and Barbados (pp. 49-51). Several later voyages were made from England to Barbados, and although the island is occasionally mentioned (e.g., p. 85, 87) no details are given. On still another visit to Barbados, Towne makes some brief and conventional observations on the island's topography and Bridgetown. He writes: "in a small square at the head of the carenage, is a good bronze statue of Nelson, who is a very great favourite in this part of world. I happened to be present at the brilliant and imposing ceremony that took place on the erection of this in 1812". He briefly describes this "grand turnout" which "constituted a spectacle rarely witnessed in this part of the world." Barbadians, he notes, "call their island 'Little England,' and hold themselves superior to all the other islanders." He describes Carlisle bay and its busy shipping, "the numerous boats and canoes always on the move"(pp. 88-90). He also mentions "an old negro" in Bridgetown who "used to ape the formal and ostentatious manners of the governor ... in a way that amused and surprised every one (p. 97). And in 1813, he witnessed at the Garrison/Savannah, "the revolting spectacle of the naked body of a middle-aged negro [a corpse], which lay but a few paces from the principal thoroughfare, under a hedge, in a spot passed by thousands" (p. 124). The remainder of Volume 2 is the second account by another, unidentified author, which deals with West Africa.

MANUSCRIPT IN THE AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania)

The Samuel Morton Papers, Series II. Journal (B M843d), include the twenty-five page handwritten journal of Samuel Morton, a Philadelphia physician who voyaged to the West Indies in 1834 (not

1833-ca. 1837, as erroneously noted in the APS catalog), and whose observations on various islands, particularly Barbados, include racist and derogatory comments on the majority population.

The Barbados portion of Morton's journal comprises the first 12 folio-sized pages of this non-paginated manuscript. Morton was in Barbados from January 22 to March 1, 1834, just prior to general emancipation.

Sailing from New York City on January 8, Morton's ship arrived at Carlisle Bay on January 22. He "landed in a small boat with five black oarsmen" and went to a hotel kept by the free coloured woman, Hannah Lewis, reputedly "the best house of entertainment in the place." Bridgetown's streets were "thronged with slaves of every hue," and still bore clear evidence of the effects of the hurricane of August 10, 1831. Morton briefly (he rarely goes into any subject at length) describes some of the streets, as well as the physical appearance and architecture of Bridgetown, the Cathedral, and garrison area. He comments on the large houses of merchants "who leave town at four o'clock for their country residences a mile or more distant ... These villas are built much in the Italian style ... Men of property dine at five or six o'clock and the economy of the table, from soup to fruit, is entirely English." He found Barbados very crowded and noted that "the public roads are lined with the villas of the wealthy and the huts of the slaves; look through the country and you observe the same crowd of habitations which often for miles together convey the idea of the suburbs of a great city."

He speculates on what will happen after the slaves are emancipated, and argues that perhaps gradual emancipation would be better.

On a drive to Oistins, Morton comments on the countryside and its vegetation (including a relatively lengthy commentary on the manchineel apple). On a trip from Bridgetown to Speightstown, he finds the road "good" and picturesque since it "traverses the margin of the sea nearly the whole distance. No excursion can be more delightful if performed between six and nine in the morning. To the left, the sea is constantly in view. ..." Observing how many trees were destroyed by the 1831 hurricane, he comments on the coconut and how it is consumed in Barbados. In Speightstown, he writes, "there is a solitary house of entertainment kept by a mulatto female [unnamed] ... Our hostess had a good store of cocoa nuts, and gave us a dinner of flying fish, ... more abundant on their shores than anywhere else in the West Indies. They are excellent eating, and are taken in nets a short distance from land." On this trip to the northern parishes, "We saw many gangs of [slaves] ... at work in the fields;

and I was surprised in every instance to find the driver a black man. He carries in his hand a whip with several short cords, and uses it at discretion; nor are these people sparing of the lash to their fellow slaves, but on the contrary are supposed to exact from them more labour than would be asked by a white man. There is, however, a reason for this; for if the gang does not effect a full amount of work, the unfortunate driver is liable to 39 lashes for the deficit."

Barbadians, he notes, have a "synonym" for their island "in Little England." On a visit to the Scotland District he drove from Bridgetown with a Dr. Ifill, in "his gig," and a Mr. Macneil came in another gig with Dr. A. Stuart. They stopped for breakfast at an estate (unnamed) owned by Ifill, and Morton describes the damage to the mansion caused by the 1831 hurricane. From Ifill's place they went by horseback to Mt. Hillaby, and then visited another estate owned by Ifill. Observing a windmill grinding canes, he notes that windmills can be seen throughout Barbados, and also briefly comments on a boiling house. He visited several plantation nurseries," in which all the children of the slaves are kept under the superintendence of one or two superannuated old Negresses; "younger children wore no clothes while the "tattered vestments and flowing rags of the older ones could not be called decent apparel. Each one sleeps by itself in a wooden tray without any superfluous bedding." A visit to the Boiling Spring is briefly described, and brief observations are made on the monkey and raccoon; the former is "scarce, shy, and seldom seen," while the latter "is more common."

There are relatively lengthy comments on the Barbadian climate, and an excursion to Codrington College merited brief comments on the countryside with its cane fields and the "total absence of fences, reminding me of France." At the College his party was greeted by Rev. Dr. Pinder, and Morton learned that the Codrington plantations "embrace about 700 acres of land and are tilled by about 500 slaves"; he visited the chapel and school on the plantations and was "truly surprised at the proficiency which many of them had attained in spelling and reading." At the time of his visit, the college had 21 students studying for clerical degrees. Morton departed Barbados on the evening of March 1, and after brief stops at various other islands he returned to Philadelphia on May 5.

The journal's final page contains a brief list of expenses Morton incurred in Barbados, including expenses for a tailor, hat, shoes and \$2.50 "which I paid the servants at Lewis's."

NOTES

1. *A Guide to source materials for the study of Barbados history, 1627-1834* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1971) and *A Supplement to A guide to source materials for the study of Barbados history, 1627-1834* (Providence, RI: The John Carter Brown Library, 1991).
 2. Kenneth E. Ingram, *Manuscripts relating to Commonwealth Caribbean countries in United States and Canadian repositories* (Barbados: Caribbean Universities Press, 1975).
 3. *Ibid.*, *Manuscript sources for the history of the West Indies, with special reference to Jamaica in the National Library of Jamaica and supplementary sources in the West Indies, North America, and the United Kingdom and elsewhere* (The University of the West Indies Press, 2000).
 4. Thanks to Roberta Zonghi of the Boston Public Library for her assistance.
 5. The name Stede Bennett appears as one of the 85 signatories to the 1710 "Barbadoes Petition" (see above, *Some short and necessary observation*, 1711), and a Major Steed Bonnet [sic] is listed in the 1715 census of St. Michael's white population (A. St. Hill, contributor, "A census of the island of Barbados, West Indies ... 1715," *JBMHS*, vol. 4 [1937], p. 144).
 6. Alan Moss pointed out these differences to me and provided the information summarized here.
 7. See E. M. Shilstone, "Some notes on early printing presses and newspapers in Barbados," *JBMHS*, vol. 26 (1958), pp. 30-31.
 8. Not only is this item extremely rare, it is apparently unknown to modern scholarship. In a recent anthology of 400 poems dealing with slavery published in English, James Basker states he has "gathered every poem or poetic fragment from the period that brings slavery into view"; yet *Sable Victims* is singularly absent from the collection. During the period that *Sable Victims* was published, the number of English poems devoted to anti-slavery increased greatly (James G. Basker, *Amazing Grace: An Anthology of Poems about Slavery, 1660-1810* (Yale University Press, 2002), p. xxxiii, xxxix).
 9. I took the author's name from Lowell Ragatz, *A guide for the study of British Caribbean history, 1763-1834* (Washington, D.C., 1932), p. 534. Ragatz, in turn, took the name, including the erroneous first initial, from a 1789 review in *The Gentleman's Magazine* (September 1789, p. 827).
- I am particularly grateful to Richard J. Ring, The John Carter Brown Library, for making available to me a photocopy of this item from the original in the

NYHS, and to Jean Ashton, Director of the NYHS Library, and members of her staff, Henry Raine, Kelly McAnnaney, and Jenny Gotwals, for their generous assistance in clarifying issues relating to *Sable Victims*. Linda Stone deserves special mention for her assiduous efforts in helping to resolve a variety of bibliographic ambiguities.

10. The English Short Title Catalogue, a definitive bibliographic source, only locates a unique copy of *Sable Victims* at the NYHS, and gives the author as Thomas Nicholls. (This item is not listed in the National Union Catalog of the *Library of Congress*, further attesting its rarity.) Thomas Nicholls was a late eighteenth-century poet who published several volumes of poetry (see ESTC for a listing). Among these volumes was *The Wreath*; a collection of poems (London, printed for the author, [1790?]). *The Wreath* is located in several libraries in the United States and the United Kingdom, and the British Library's copy is available on microfilm. *The Wreath* contains several poems on miscellaneous topics, and one of these poems is "Zury; or, The Sable Victims. A Barbadoes Tale." "Zury" is essentially the same poem as the separately published *Sable Victims* discussed here although the two versions are not identical. Aside from slight differences in the titles of the two poems, there are also a number of minor differences between the two; occasionally "Zury" omits or changes words found in *Sable Victims* as well as adding or deleting a line or several lines. However, the main characters in both poems are the same and the story line or plot and how it is developed is identical in the both editions. Identification of the author of *Sable Victims* as Thomas Nicholls (he is also so identified in the National Union Catalog of the Library of Congress) is apparently based on his authorship of "Zury" and other late eighteenth century poems.

11. The argument was Hargrave's *An argument in the case of James Sommersett, a Negro ... wherein it is attempted to demonstrate the present unlawfulness of domestic slavery in England ... by Mr. Hargrave, one of the counsel for the Negro* (London, 1772). In this work Hargrave further develops his argument during the Somerset case.

Somerset had been brought to England from Boston, escaped from his master, and, after being captured two years later, he was placed on a ship bound for Jamaica where he was to be sold. Assisted by Granville Sharp, Somerset was taken off the ship and brought before Lord Chief Justice James Mansfield. In June 1772, Mansfield rendered his famous verdict that an enslaved person could not be forced to leave Britain against his will (sometimes erroneously interpreted as outlawing slavery in Britain). For details on the case, see F.O. Shyllon, *Black slaves in Britain* (London, 1974), passim; James Walvin, *Black and White: the Negro and English society, 1555-1945* (London, 1973), pp. 117-131. For Hargrave, see also, J. H. Baker, "Hargrave, Francis (1740/41-

18210", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004).

12. That a print "of the roasting alive a runaway Negro" accompanied *Sable Victims* is indicated by the *Gentleman's Magazine* review. This print is not today found in the NYHS copy, and its whereabouts is unknown. *Sable Victims* was acquired by the NYHS in 1902, but there is no certainty that it was in the volume when acquired. In any case, the NYHS records do not mention any accompanying print, and according to Henry Raine, of the NYHS, "it is impossible to tell from its present condition whether or not a print ever accompanied it" (personal communication, 24 August 2006); moreover, a search for the engraving by the Prints Department of the NYHS yielded nothing.
13. The authorship of this work can be confusing. I have examined several copies of this relatively rare 1833 London edition or have had correspondence with several libraries that hold this item: The John Carter Brown Library (Providence, Rhode Island), The National Art Library at the Victoria and Albert Museum (London), the Newberry Library (Chicago), and the New York Public Library. Only the NYPL copy has the author's name published on the title page (but only on the title page of Vol. 2, not of Vol. 1); following the NYPL entry, other libraries catalog their copies under Towne's authorship although his name is not printed on their copies. There is also a separately published and more widely available two-volume (bound into one volume) Philadelphia edition (1833); this edition only includes Towne's account, but no author is identified on the title page of either volume. I thank Wayne Furman (NYPL), Elizabeth James (National Art Library), and J. Aubrey (Newberry Library) for their help with copies located in their libraries.