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BONDSMEN AND BISHOPS

Slavery and Apprenticeship on the Codrington Plantations of Barbados, 1710-1838

BY
J. HARRY BENNETT, Jr.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PUBLICATIONS IN HISTORY
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EDITORS
THEODORE SALOUTOS
J. S. GALBRAITH
ANDREW LOSSKY
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To
Mr. and Mrs. J. H. Bennett

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FOREWORD

WITH SOUND SCHOLARSHIP, Professor J. Harry Bennett, Jr., of the University of Texas, has produced a comprehensive and informative study on life and labor in the British West Indies from 1710 to 1838. Indeed his presentation is probably the most revealing on bondsmen in the Western world.

In 1710, the Society for Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, then nine years old, was willed a large plantation of eight hundred acres on the Island of Barbados, which employed about three hundred slaves. The transatlantic correspondence between the home Society and its West Indian possession for 128 years was without a break until final emancipation in 1838. The fine accumulation of records enabled Dr. Bennett to make a contribution to life and labor in British colonial America comparable to Ulrich B. Phillips' excellent studies, *American Negro Slavery* and *Life and Labor in the Old South.*

With his superb body of materials, Dr. Bennett has given new and interesting interpretations, which are valid for the whole Negro world in the Americas and suggestive for Africa and its problems today. The richness of the Codrington materials over such a long span of time has empowered him to show new facets of slavery in a series of interpretative chapters, often hoped for but never before realized.

The late Charles M. Andrews left as one of his many invaluable legacies the rediscovery of the British West Indies, especially for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In text, footnote, and bibliography, he suggested studies for the future historian.

The little Island of Barbados, only 166 square miles in area, has flown the British flag ever since 1626. It is older by four years than the Massachusetts Bay colony. Its Codrington College is still functioning, despite hurricanes, fires, and the humors of the seasons.

In the long history of Barbados all the elements that built the tropical Americas by means of the great Atlantic migrations have been present. The migration of the Negro from Africa up to 1860 has been estimated at 15,000,000, a migration probably larger than that from Europe up to that date. The estimates are 900,000 Negroes for the sixteenth century, 2,750,000 for the seventeenth century, 7,000,000 for the eighteenth century, and 4,000,000 for the nineteenth century.

Today the British West Indies are forming a new Dominion and in consequence their long historical past again comes into sharp review. Queen Elizabeth has dramatized their importance by a recent visit. Professor Bennett's study is, indeed, very timely, as Africa as well as its American Negro settlements loom large on the horizon.

FRANK J. KLINGBERG

PREFACE

THE BRITISH WEST INDIES "were the most cherished of the imperial possessions, and the sugar estates were the greatest and most famous industrial enterprises in the world."[1] With these sweeping words, Ulrich Bonnell Phillips underlined the importance of the Caribbean plantation system to the first British Empire. It was less easy for Phillips to explain the nature of the West Indian regime. Records of the type that he found essential for plantation history—ledgers, inventories, invoices, and other papers used in the management of estates—were scarce in the Caribbean field. He was obliged to base much of his treatment of the area in *American Negro Slavery* on the account books of a single Jamaican plantation in the years 1792 to 1796.[2]

Because of the paucity of plantation manuscripts, the historians of British West Indian slavery have drawn heavily on less satisfactory evidence. In writing his *Slavery on the British West India Plantations in the Eighteenth Century,* Frank Wesley Pitman was forced to make use of generalized observations in travel books and manuals on the art of plantation management, and of the partisan information in books, pamphlets, and collections of testimony that stem from the British controversy over slavery and the slave trade in a period when the planters were already reacting to the impact of the humanitarian attack. Pitman employed these materials with skill and judgment, and his treatise provides the only comprehensive account of its subject. For all its value and merit, however, Pitman's book reflects the need for the discovery and use of detailed records of plantation operation.[3]

The present study is based on the wealth of plantation documents found by Professor Frank J. Klingberg in the London archives of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.[4] The records pertain to the two sugar estates owned by the missionary corporation at Codrington, Barbados. Among the Codrington manuscripts are unparalleled runs of account books, crop lists, inventories of slaves and livestock, invoices of goods wanted and received, and minute descriptions of buildings and furnishings. There are also innumerable and remarkably full letters to the Society from its Barbadian managers, town factors, attorneys, and chaplains. The value of the collection is greatly enhanced by the reports in which these agents attempted to answer the searching questions put to them by the perplexed Anglican prelates who were doing their ignorant best to supervise the Society's

[1] For notes to preface, see p. 145.

plantations. These varied sources trace the fortunes of the Codrington estates in every year from 1710 to 1838. In view of their diversity, fullness, and continuity, there can be no doubt that the Codrington papers constitute the richest known record of sugar plantations in the British West Indies.

It is proposed in the present work, which follows on the publication of Dr. Klingberg's survey of the general history of the Society's estates and college in Barbados,[5] to use the Codrington manuscripts for a case study of plantation slavery. Because these records span more than a century, it will be necessary not only to analyze the operations and conditions of slavery at Codrington, but to examine the modifications in that pattern during a long period of development. Much attention must be given, finally, to the story of how the ownership of the Codrington Negroes affected the large interests of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.

Headed as it was by the archbishops and bishops of the Church of England, the Society was closely identified with the hierarchy of the Church of England. Whatever the Society did in respect to the Codrington Negroes was inevitably viewed as expressing what the Church would have all masters do toward all slaves. Although it sometimes had cause to repent the fact, the Society itself fostered this opinion and was often guided by it. The ultimate result was to make the Society a center of bitter and (in modern eyes) amusing controversy during the long crusade against slavery, and to give the Codrington estates some significance as a key to Anglican policy in the British West Indies.

Does this mean that the Society's connection with its black chattels was wholly different from that existing between ordinary proprietors and their Negroes? Reasons will be given in the following pages for holding that the Codrington slaves were not set apart from their West Indian fellows by unusual treatment, except in respect to religious instruction. And even this one exception is of little practical importance in the period before 1819. The Society operated its estates through West Indian agents, looked to them for necessary profits, and interfered little in their methods of administration.

The author wishes to acknowledge his debt to the University of California at Los Angeles and to the University of Texas for generous research assistance. He has had indispensable help in his work from Mrs. W. M. Landers, Professor and Mrs. Frank J. Klingberg, Professor Barnes F. Lathrop, Dr. Philip L. White, Mr. and Mrs. J. H. Bennett, and the officers of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. His

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J. H. B., Jr.

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CHAPTER I

CODRINGTON COLLEGE AND PLANTATIONS

AT HIS DEATH in April, 1710, Christopher Codrington left two Barbadian sugar estates to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. Codrington's will set forth the terms of the donation:

> I give and bequeathe my two plantations in the island of Barbados, to the Society for the Propagation of the Christian Religion in Foreign Parts, erected ... by my late good master, King William III.; and my desire is to have the plantations continued entire, and three hundred negroes, at least, always kept thereon; and a convenient number of professors and scholars maintained there; all of them to be under the vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience; who shall be obliged to study and practice physic and chirurgery, as well as divinity; that by the apparent usefulness of the former to all mankind, they may both endear themselves to the people, and have the better opportunities of doing good to men's souls, whilst they are taking care of their bodies; but the particulars of the constitution I leave to the Society composed of wise and good men.

Codrington had cherished the ambition of converting the West Indian slaves to Christianity, but had doubted that the "secular clergy who will be sure of their wine before they set about their talk" would lend themselves to the mission. The work called for a regular clergy, "apostolical men ... able to take much pains for little reward." It was in the hope of providing for such men of monastic vows that Codrington had devised his estates to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.[1]

When the "wise and good men" of the Society received word of their inheritance, they quickly and quietly suppressed the idea of a regular clergy. No other course was open to the archbishops, bishops, and other prominent Anglicans who constituted the Society. There was no place in the Church of England for Codrington's monks, and the Society was virtually the missionary arm of the Anglican Church. The Society did not hesitate, however, to accept Codrington's property and his missionary purpose. From the time of its incorporation in 1701, it had been sending clergymen to the English colonies in America. There was an almost endless need, however, for more and better-qualified missionaries, including men who could work with Negroes and Indians. Recently the Society had been considering a way of meeting that demand through a "proposal of breeding up poor Boys in order to their being Missionairs." The Codrington donation suggested an alternative plan to Thomas Tenison, Archbishop of Canterbury and president of

[1] For notes to chap. i, see pp. 145–146.

the Society. "Now we have another expedient of that kind . . . Codrington's College, that will do our business," he wrote in 1711. The Society agreed that the estates should be made the site and support of "a Seminary of Missionaries to be dispersed throughout the Plantations."[1]

The Codrington estates bordered on each other in St. John's parish, Barbados. When the Society took possession of them in February, 1712, it found the plantations operating as a unit. The smaller estate, called the upper plantation, consisted of about 270 acres of land at the eastern edge of the upland area of central Barbados. This elevated region, with its relatively cool climate, rich red soil, and abundant rainfall, produces the finest crops of sugar cane on the island. The greater part of the Society's land could be planted in canes. In a given year, about one-third of the upper estate was likely to be given over to "first-crop" canes for harvest in that year, another third to "second-crop" canes for harvest in the following year, and the remaining third to pasture and other uses. In 1710 the upper plantation had three stone windmills for pressing juice from the sugar canes, the largest boiling house on the island for converting the juice into sugar and molasses, a large distillery for turning the molasses into rum, a cooper's shop, a horse stable, a two-story dwelling house, and other structures. The number of mills was the chief measure of the importance of a plantation, and the three at the upper estate marked it as the equal of any property in Barbados.

The lower plantation, which was sometimes called Consett, was separated from its neighbor by the Cliff, the eastern edge of the upland region. Below this steep escarpment is the rough and eroded Scotland coast district of Barbados. All the Consett land lay in this rather forbidding area, which in St. John's parish runs about a mile in width from the Cliff to the sea. Only about 50 of the plantation's 480 acres could be planted in canes. The Consett estate had several features, however, that made it highly valuable to the Society. Above all, the estate had an outlet to the sea at Consett's Bay, from which rum and sugar could be shipped in small craft to the port of American and English ships at Bridgetown on the western coast. That goods did not have to be carted across the island along fourteen miles of muddy roads meant a substantial saving of cattle during rainy seasons. The lower plantation also offered such advantages as trees and a rock quarry for building materials, clay for pottery, and a spring for a constant supply of water. There was a fine stone mansion on the Consett estate, along with a windmill, a boiling house, a distillery, and a

"pothouse" for making sugar pots and other ware used in manufacturing and storing sugar.

Gradually the Society developed a system for the absentee management of what were usually called the Codrington plantations. Most of the responsibility in London fell on the Society's Barbados Committee, which was headed by the Bishop of London or the Archbishop of York. The committee depended on commercial sugar houses in London and Bristol to act as factors for receiving the shipments of sugar from Barbados, arranging for their sale, providing supplies for the estates, and advancing money to meet the bills drawn on the Society from Barbados. In the colony a committee of planters, clergymen, merchants, and politicians was given power of attorney to act for the Society in hiring employees, ordering supplies, drawing bills, passing accounts, and performing all the other routine tasks of management. Most of these duties fell in fact on the manager and the town agent. The latter was ordinarily a merchant in Bridgetown, who stored the produce of the plantations, sold the rum and molasses, shipped the sugar to London and Bristol, bought the supplies that could be obtained locally, and advanced cash and credit to the manager.[3]

Fundamental to the whole plan was the chief overseer, or manager, who planted and harvested, hired and fired, and in general did all things necessary for the day-to-day operation of the estates. He was assisted by at least a dozen resident employees, including a keykeeper, two "underoverseers," two or more apprentices, a storekeeper, a captain of the plantation sloop, and one or two watchmen. When occasion demanded, the manager sent twenty-nine men in "red Coats faced with blew" to serve as the Society's contingent in the Barbadian militia. These men came from a white tenantry of "Nine or Ten Families . . . extremely neady most of them so Numerous in Children, that they Cannot so much as Support them at School. . . ."[4]

Much of the work of educating the Society in the business of sugar planting fell to John Smalridge, the manager of the Codrington plantations from 1710 to 1731. One of his first tasks was to give the corporation some idea of the annual value of its property. In the last ten years of Codrington's life, Smalridge reported, the estates had made about 100 hogsheads of sugar a year. The management had been supplied with corn and cattle from Codrington's island of Barbuda, and with yearly shipments of about £200 worth of goods from London. There had been a time when the estates had rented for £2,200 sterling a year. Income had declined and expenses had increased since then,

but even that rent had proved ruinous to the lessees.[5]

For some years it appeared that Smalridge had been unduly pessimistic. His estimated yield of 100 hogsheads of sugar was exceeded almost every year after 1711.[6] In 1715, for example, Smalridge could point to a gross income of £5,666 8*s.* 11¾*d.* from the following sources:

98 hogsheads of clayed sugar shipped	£2,286	15*s.*	2¾*d.*
123 hogsheads of muscovado sugar shipped	1,968	14*s.*	3*d.*
158 hogsheads of rum (16,887½ gals.) sold in Barbados	1,059	5*s.*	3*d.*
Sale of pothouse ware to neighbors	117	0*s.*	4½*d.*
Resale of rum hogsheads	184	5*s.*	0*d.*
Resale of miscellaneous goods	50	8*s.*	10½*d.*

His expenditures on the following items came to a total of £2,954 6*s.* 8½*d.*:

Lumber, barrel hoops, tar, nails, etc.	£529	13*s.*	8¼*d.*
Purchase of livestock	52	0*s.*	0*d.*
Hire of Negro labor	28	8*s.*	9*d.*
Operation of the sloop and other freight charges	138	9*s.*	0*d.*
Purchase of a new sloop	260	0*s.*	0*d.*
Colonial taxes and rewards for return of runaway slaves	72	5*s.*	1*d.*
Food and drink	499	16*s.*	9¾*d.*
Wages and tradesmen's bills	512	8*s.*	8*d.*
Town agency charges for porterage, storage, and commission	380	12*s.*	3*d.*
Goods sent from England by the Society	340	11*s.*	10½*d.*
Purchase of 14 acres of adjacent land	100	0*s.*	0*d.*
Miscellaneous	40	0*s.*	7*d.*

On balance, therefore, Smalridge had made a net profit of £2,712 2*s.* 3¼*d.*, which was equal to £2,169 13*s.* 8¼*d.* in sterling.[7]

Profits like this were a product of a boom period in the Barbadian economy which extended from 1713 to 1719. Having been introduced to the West Indies in a time of prosperity, however, the Society made the natural mistake of confusing good fortune with the normal order of things. It was in anticipation of continuing high profits that the corporation went forward with elaborate plans for erecting a college building on the lower estate. Skilled workmen were sent to Barbados from England, stones were cut from the plantation quarry, and the Royal Navy was exercised in gathering timber from here and there in the Caribbees. The work of construction was slow and alarmingly costly, but by 1725 a fine structure had been raised near the old Consett mansion. Then, when nothing but finishing touches remained to be done, the work was halted, the building put in boards, and the college left to stand unused for twenty years. The money that was needed to complete the project had begun to fail in 1718, when there

was a sharp decline in sugar and rum production on the Codrington estates. A general depression settled on Barbados the next year, and during two decades of drought, excessive rains, and plant disease there were only rare intervals of partial recovery. It was a good year when the Society could clear as much as £1,000 from its plantations, and at times it had to borrow from its general treasury in order to support the Barbados account. The ambitious hopes for Codrington College were necessarily postponed, while the Society mastered its first lesson in the uncertainties of West Indian agriculture.[8]

Economic conditions improved after about 1739, but it was a windfall of £5,000 sterling that permitted the Society to open its college in September, 1745. The money came from a settlement with the Codrington family in England, with whom the Society had been doing legal battle for two generations over the terms of Christopher Codrington's will. Even with this new capital, however, the Society inaugurated the college on very modest lines. A schoolmaster and his assistant, or usher, were sent from England to conduct a school of classical languages for twenty poor boys of from seven to twelve years of age. The lads were to be fed, lodged, and educated at the expense of the foundation. In the hope that the schoolmasters would soon have the boys ready for more advanced instruction, the Society later dispatched several professors to Barbados "to teach the Scholars Divinity, Physick, and Chirurgery, that they may become good and useful Missionaries."

Codrington College was the most costly and ambitious undertaking to be made in British West Indian education for two hundred years to come, but it failed completely in the eighteenth century to accomplish its missionary purpose. Some Barbadians wanted a charity school to train pauper children in accounting and other vocational subjects. Others demanded a grammar school to prepare young gentlemen for English schools and universities. All combined to defeat the idea of a theological college. After a short struggle with colonial opinion, the Society quietly accepted defeat, and the college settled into its dual role of a cheap classical grammar school for the sons of the gentry, and a free school for orphan and other indigent boys who wished to qualify for apprenticeships in the plantation business, the merchant marine service, or the trades. The professors were recalled shortly after the middle of the century, and the schoolmasters were left to carry on with the help of local teachers of reading, writing, arithmetic, and accounts.

For a few years after 1748, the professors and schoolmasters had succeeded in wresting control of the Society's affairs in Barbados from the lay attorneys. They dared even to take on the direct management of the Codrington plantations, and instituted reforms which they naïvely assumed would pull the estates out of the slump that had vexed the last years of John Smalridge and the administrations of John Vaughton (1731–1740), Abel Alleyne (1740–1746), and John Payne (1746–1749), Smalridge's successors as chief manager. The general economic trend was in favor of the English academicians, for the long years of depression and limited recovery were followed from 1748 to 1765 by a mild prosperity. The collegians found it prudent, nevertheless, to abandon immediate direction and responsibility in 1753 to a professional manager. With the removal of the professors shortly thereafter, the Barbadian laymen resumed the majority vote on the board of attorneys.[9]

Under Manager Grant Elcock (1753–1770) the plantations cleared more than £2,000 a year on the average, but his successors, Robert Gibson (1770–1774) and Richard Downes (1774–1782), met nothing but disaster. Sugar ants ruined many hopeful crops, and the American Revolutionary War cut off the North American trade and drove up the prices of plantation supplies to fearful heights. When the estates were losing money at the rate of £460 a year, the Society discovered that it had lost all its reserve capital in a ruinous scheme of buying another plantation for the sake of adding the slaves to those on the Codrington estates. Then came the great hurricane of October 10, 1780, which visited almost complete destruction upon the island, including the Codrington property. Manager Downes, who had spent the stormy night under a trash heap, desponded of ever seeing the plantations restored, although the Negroes were safe and the plague of the sugar ants was ended by the tempest. The Society had already retrenched in every possible way, even closing the college in 1775. Now the corporation could see no hope for averting bankruptcy except by selling its estates.[10]

Fortunately for the Society, the closing of "the only notable school in the British West Indies" had aroused the patriotic feelings of a number of able Barbadians, including John Brathwaite, Sir Philip Gibbes, and Sir John Gay Alleyne, the speaker of the Barbados Assembly. Brathwaite and Gibbes, who usually managed their Barbadian estates from England, became members of the Society and, in 1780, took control of the Codrington plantations as the Society's sole attor-

neys. When it appeared that only heroic measures could save the devastated plantations, Brathwaite agreed to lease them for ten years from October, 1783. He undertook to pay the Society an annual rent of £500 sterling, and to apply any profit to the rebuilding of the college and estates. Brathwaite's friend, George Barrow, became the chief manager of the Codrington plantations, while Gibbes assumed the care of the college through his Barbadian deputy, Speaker Alleyne.[11]

Manager Barrow put the estates on a paying basis from the start. He abandoned the sugar works on the lower estate in order to concentrate his meager resources on the more productive upper plantation. Like many other Barbadian planters, Barrow turned for a time to cotton as a secondary crop, but abandoned it after 1789, when the price of sugar began to rise. No doubt Barrow owed part of his success to the new Bourbon and Otaheite canes, which were introduced into Barbados about 1790 and were vastly superior to the old native sugar plants. At Codrington an original stock of one-half acre of Bourbon canes had grown to twenty acres by 1796. With the help of cotton, Bourbon canes, and rising sugar prices, Barrow was able to increase the total production of the Codrington plantations from a little more than £2,100 in the first year of the Brathwaite lease to more than £5,100 in the last. Before his tenure ended in October, 1793, John Brathwaite had liquidated the Society's Barbadian debts, accumulated a reserve for the estates, and rebuilt the upper plantation. The Society's average annual clearance in the decade was about £2,000 in sterling.

Much to the annoyance of the testy Sir John Gay Alleyne, the college did not immediately reflect the improving fortunes of the plantations. An old Codrington boy, Alleyne had known the school in its earliest and best days, and was determined to see it revived. He regarded the college as the public property of Barbados, and had bitterly resented its closing in 1775. While the college buildings remained in ruins, however, Alleyne could do little more than reopen the school on a token basis. In 1789 he persuaded a Barbadian clergyman to live in the Consett mansion, keep a private school there, and give free instruction to six poor boys nominated by the Society. Alleyne's grumblings led the Society to double the number of foundation scholars in 1791. Everything remained on a very humble scale, however, and the close of the Brathwaite lease found Alleyne demanding in voluminous letters that the college building be repaired and the college establishment enlarged.[12]

Although Brathwaite continued to superintend the Codrington plantations until his death in 1800, the clearances from the estates declined sharply after their return to the Society's control. Annual average profits of about £1,100 were the fate of a rapid succession of chief overseers, including George Barrow (1783–1795), Edward Clarke (1795–1803), John B. Nurse (1803), William Harding (1804–1805), Forster Clarke (1805–1807), Moore (1807–1808), and Benjamin Storey (1808–1813). Trade disturbances resulting from the Anglo-French and Anglo-American wars were a major factor in the generally depressed conditions of this period. The Society began to feel, however, that there were particular reasons for the bad showing made by the Codrington estates. There were sharp altercations between the corporation and the Barbadian attorneys, who had fallen into Brathwaite's habit of making important decisions without reference to the Society. By 1813 the Society had become uneasy over the whole system by which it managed the plantations.

The strain of these years was intensified by the Society's decision to rebuild Codrington College at a time when wars and American embargoes were making construction costs very high. While the work was still under way, the Reverend Mark Nicholson came from England in 1797 to begin his twenty-four years as the first president of Codrington College. His efforts to liberalize the instruction of the now eighteen foundation boys were thwarted by the Society's attorneys and by the parents of the "patronized Dunces." The gentlemen scholars who paid for Nicholson's tuition had the benefit of fresh meat and the classics, but the Society's foundation students received salt beef and accounting on the theory that "a smattering in Latin can never be useful, & may *prove dangerous* to that Class of... Boys destined for an humble sphere of life." Although the Society had long since ceased to think of the college as a seminary for training missionaries, it was becoming more and more doubtful of the value of its charity school.[18]

In 1813 the Society resolved to make radical changes at Codrington College and plantations. The management of the estates was taken from the board of unpaid attorneys and given to a single factor, called the agricultural attorney, who was to have 5 per cent of whatever he could clear from the properties. Compensation and concentration of authority led to greatly improved administration under a succession of able agents: Thomas Hollingsworth (1813–1815), Forster Clarke (1815–1835), and Thomas G. King (1835–1842). Contrary to the

over-all trend of the Barbadian economy, the Codrington estates prospered, netting an average of £4,042 from 1814 to 1823, and £2,342 from 1828 to 1841. The "Great Hurricane" of August 11, 1831, killed nine slaves and leveled almost every structure on the plantations, but the sugar crops continued large, except in 1832. Thanks in part to the steadiness of income, the plantations had been largely restored by August 1, 1834, when the British Emancipation Act freed the Barbadian Negroes and placed them under apprenticeship to their old masters. During the transition period from apprenticeship to absolute freedom for the Negroes on August 1, 1838, the Codrington estates in an easy adjustment made an annual return well above that of the average year of slavery.

For the college as well as the estates, 1813 was a year of reorganization. The Society placed Nicholson's school under the immediate direction of the governor of Barbados and other prominent colonial officials. Henceforth only the sons of gentlemen were to be admitted to the foundation. Those who completed their studies to the satisfaction of the Board of Governors were to be granted exhibitions, or scholarships, to study law, medicine, or theology in Britain for four years. No plan could have pleased the ruling class of Barbados more, although it bore faint resemblance to Christopher Codrington's design for a college. The new system produced only three clergymen, of whom one failed to serve in the colonies.

In 1830, when British antislavery leaders were keeping a hostile watch on the Codrington plantations, the Society hearkened back to the terms of Christopher Codrington's bequest and to its own almost forgotten project for a seminary. Action was spurred by William Hart Coleridge, the first Bishop of Barbados, who had interested himself in the Society's affairs after his arrival in the colony in 1825. On September 9, 1830, Codrington College was at last opened as a theological seminary. Although its buildings were badly damaged in the hurricane of the next year, the Codrington graduates were soon serving as clergymen among the emancipated masses of the British West Indies.[14]

It had taken 120 years for the college to begin its assigned work of converting the West Indian Negroes. During those lost years, however, the Society had hoped to achieve Christopher Codrington's purpose by other means. He himself had recognized that the planters were the great barrier to the Christianization of their slaves.[15] The Society's strategy must be to win over the slaveholders. It was certain that "the most effectual Way to convert the *Negroes,* was by en-

gaging their Masters to countenance and promote their Conversion." In the sermons and discourses that it distributed in the colonies, therefore, the Society urged that Christianity would not undermine slavery, but strengthen it. The Christian slave would be more docile and more diligent than the heathen Negro. Christianity would leave the established order of West Indian society undisturbed. The Christian slave would look for his reward in heaven, and in this life would "abide in the same Calling, wherein he was called." In the annual sermon given before the Society on February 16, 1711, it was announced that the Society would preach these lessons *"by Example."* By converting the Negroes on the Codrington plantations, the Society would demonstrate that Christian blacks remained slaves and *"Useful* and *Laborious* Servants."[16]

This policy is the key to the Society's treatment of the Codrington slaves during the greater part of the eighteenth century. In 1711 English public opinion did not require, and colonial opinion would have condemned, any radical departure on the Society's plantations from the established system of slavery. To propose the religious instruction of the Society's Negroes was revolutionary enough in the eyes of West Indian planters. If the Society had gone on to suggest that its slaves should have different standards of housing, food, and clothing, the planters would have been confirmed in their opposition to the conversion of their Negroes. In a meeting of the Society on February 16, 1711, Sir John Philipps moved that the Codrington Negroes should be treated "with greater humanity and tenderness than is commonly practised by planters." In commenting on this resolution, the Society's secretary wrote, ". . . I believe the Society will take care they shall be all Instructed & baptized into our Holy ffaith as soon as possible."[17] Such, in fact, was the limit of the Society's interference with its Barbadian agents in their treatment of the Codrington Negroes.

With the growth of the humanitarian movement after 1760, the Society gradually developed new views about its role in the British West Indies and its obligation to the slaves on the Codrington plantations. For financial and other reasons, however, the Society made few changes in the treatment of its Negroes until after the close of the Brathwaite lease in 1793. In this examination of slavery on the Codrington estates, therefore, it will be expedient to treat the eighteenth century as one period through a series of topical chapters. The great changes of policy and practice are reserved to the chronological chapters with which this book ends.

CHAPTER II

FIELD HANDS AND ARTISANS[1]

"LAND ALONE in England is of great value, but in Barbados land alone can scarce be called an Estate: it must be in a manner animated, before it becomes valuable. . . ." The attorney who thus advised the Society in 1754 was referring to the need for slaves,[2] but cattle and other stock were no less necessary to the existence of a plantation. "A Plantation without Stock is no more deem'd entire here than a Man without hands and Feet can be said to be whole," wrote Manager Smalridge in 1711, "for without Cattle we can't make Sugar, for it is produced by dung and much labour. . . ."[3] The complete plantation required its works—mills, distillery, boiling house, pottery house, and the like—although some planters found it possible to dispense with these by sending their canes to other estates to be made into sugar and rum. At Codrington each of the four essential components of plantation life—fields, stock, personnel, and works—demanded its quota of slave labor.

The greatest strength went to "animate" the soil. Of the 276 Negroes at Codrington in February, 1781, some 162 were organized into three field gangs. Drummer and Johnny Sharry, the black drivers, led the first or great gang of 35 men and 49 women in their tasks of holing the ground for canes, planting, cutting, and carrying the canes to the mills. Quawcoe Adjoe, a boy, and two women, Sue and Sarah Bob, directed 10 boys and 13 girls in the lighter duties of the second gang, such as planting corn, carrying dry cane trash to the boiling house for fuel, turning manure, and weeding the cane fields. Old Dinah drove the little "meatpickers"—23 boys and 26 girls—of the third, grass, or "hogsmeat" gang to their work of shoveling manure into cane holes before the canes were planted, helping to weed young canes, and gathering fodder, called hogsmeat, for the livestock.

In 1781 it required twenty-three slaves—ten men, five women, seven boys, and one girl—to care for the cattle, sheep, hogs, and horses at Codrington. The men doubled as cattlekeepers and as carters for driving the oxcarts to and from Bridgetown. To allow economy of supervision, the gang system was applied here, as it was wherever possible, and a head cattlekeeper or carter was usually one of the ranking dignitaries of the slave community.

[1] For notes to chap. ii, see pp. 147–148.

Nineteen Negroes waited on the white employees and the other blacks. Except for three housemen and one house girl, all were women, including three cooks—Moll for the whites and Ancilla and Quashebah for the Negroes—two "sick nurses," one attendant for the pickaninnies, two washerwomen, three water carriers, and four houseworkers.

To operate, guard, and maintain the sugar works was the business of seventeen men and one boy. Harry and Hog Dick, the two millmen, ground the canes. Billy Moore, the boiler, and Tony General, the clarifier, turned the cane juice into a mass of sugar and molasses, which

TABLE 1

OCCUPATIONS OF SLAVES AT CODRINGTON, 1781

Occupation	Men	Women	Boys	Girls	Total
Fieldworkers	37	52	34	39	162
Artisans and watchmen	17	0	1	0	18
Stockkeepers	10	5	7	1	23
Personnel workers	3	15	0	1	19
Nonworkers	4	4	19	27	54
Total	71	76	61	68	276

was poured into the pots fashioned by Cudjoe and Scipio, the two potters. Jaffrey Henley, the clayer, whitened the sugar by draining off the molasses, which was then made into rum by Warwick, the "stiller." Quow and Yew, the coopers, and Sam, the basketmaker, made containers for the plantation products, while Tackey and Quashey Madlew, the smiths, were employed in keeping the works in running order. John Bull, Caesar, Charles, Asia, and the boy, Robin, served as the rangers or watchmen who guarded both the works and the fields. Many of the watchmen and even some of the field slaves were pressed at times into duty at the works, and millmen often spent a part of their year as fieldworkers.

In addition to the 162 (59 per cent) field Negroes and 60 (21½ per cent) nonfieldworkers, there were 54 (19½ per cent) blacks who were exempt from labor in 1781. Forty-four slaves—17 boys and 27 girls—were too young to do much more than play at work, and 10 others, including 4 men, 4 women, and 2 boys, were similarly useless because of old age, physical weakness, or incurable diseases.

The distribution of the slaves in 1781 is shown in table 1 by occupation, age, and sex. The table clearly indicates that, whereas the

men and boys held most of the jobs connected with the works and the stock, the women assumed most of the tasks pertaining to personnel. One-half of the men worked in the fields, but only one-third of the women were spared the heavy duty on the land.

All branches of plantation activity were shorthanded in 1781. To help man the fields, the estates were hiring slave labor equivalent to that of twenty-nine Negroes working the year around.[4] Some nonfield tasks were performed feebly and others entirely neglected. In former years the Society had had the services of masons, seamen for the sloop, carpenters, and other skilled slaves. At times the pothouse gang had included as many as twenty-five or thirty Negroes, and past experience showed that Codrington could profitably use several more watchmen, basketmakers, coopers, sugar and rum makers, and the like.[5] It is also true that in earlier years there had been a smaller proportion of women and children in the population than in 1781.[6] Despite all these considerations, however, the job analysis of the Codrington Negroes in 1781 probably gives a fairly representative picture both of the work of the slaves and of the proportion of available strength allotted to each of the major divisions of their labor.

Codrington pickaninnies were initiated almost at birth into the routine of plantation life and its underlying gang organization. Negro mothers were notoriously inclined to prolong the suckling period,[7] but they were encouraged to speed the presentation of their young to the estate's officials. In 1790 Manager Edward Clarke gave 1*s.* 3*d.* each to Hannah Baker, Jubbah General, Candis, and Sue "on their coming out with young children" who had been born that year. Good managerial practice dictated that little Mary Mintah, Mary, Sammy, and Anthony should be weaned by the time they were a year old and then placed under the workday care of a nurse,[8] who was usually a woman of such great age or infirmity as to be useless for any other responsibility. Kate Black, who watched over seventeen or more tots on the upper plantation in 1775, was valued at only £5, or no more than was the least of her charges. One of her successors, Great Franky, continued to superintend some twenty infants for many years after she had been listed as "past labor." Several of the children's attendants were women who had served previously as domestic servants and were presumably of more gentle ways than the field women.

Fortunately for the nurses, their youngsters were expected to do little more than survive, grow in strength and value, and submit to the imperious will of a manager who "paid for spirit of turpentine to

rub the negroe children's toes for chegoes." In the late eighteenth century, at least, "the young Negroes under 7 or 8 years of age" were regularly shepherded into the fields to be inspected by "their Parents or Relations," who could not "be taken from their work to attend upon these little Negroes."[9] Every newborn boy or girl of the 1770's was listed on the inventory as worth £5. By the time the children were "at the age of seven years or thereabout" and "supposed . . . fit to be put into what is called the grass or Hogmeat gang,"[10] they were valued at £20 or £25 each, and their days of idleness were at an end.

William Thomas, the Society's chaplain at Codrington from 1792 to 1796,[11] referred to the third, hogsmeat, or horsemeat gang as "the Little Gang, meaning those who being above 7 or 8 years old, begin to work."[12] They were the "meatpickers," all "those who in the week collect grass, & other horse meat for the stock."[13] Whether gathering fodder or weeding the croplands, the youngsters had to cut rather than pick. When the Codrington attorneys sent an order to London for "10 dozen good hoes for men & women," they did not forget to add an order for "2 dozen ditto for boys and girls." At Codrington as on other plantations, small hands as well as large seem to have been supplied with butcher knives.[14] Counting fingers must have been as important as rubbing toes to the third-gang drivers who succeeded to the authority of the nurses. The leaders of the meatpickers were invariably women. As a rule they were somewhat past their prime and worth between £15 and £50. Occasionally more valuable slaves were used, but they usually served for only a short time before they were sent back to the fields. Many of the overseers of the little gang alternated from time to time with the superintendents of the second gang.

The third-gang drivers were not simply teachers, for the labor of their "rude young tribe of Blacks" was of immediate importance to the operation of the estates. The Reverend William Thomas found it difficult to arrange for any religious instruction of the children, for Sunday school excited "their obstinacy & their aversion to restraint at their leisure hours," and the managers decreed that "the Younger Negroes cannot be spared at any time during the Week days from their usual & appointed work, the Estates requiring much labour. . . ."[15] In 1803 the Society's attorneys also stressed that the labor of the third gang was valuable in itself, even though the meatpickers only "continued in this gang until they . . . attained such bodily strength as to be capable of learning something of the mode of labour they are destined to in future."[16]

It was for the manager to say when a meatpicker was fit to do the work of the second gang." Some youngsters advanced after only three or four years in the third gang, whereas others took as long as ten years. The average boy or girl reached the next level of dignity and toil at thirteen to fifteen years of age, after six or seven years in the grass gang. By that time his or her estimated value had risen to about £35 or £40.

Once in the second gang, the young slave was likely to have his first experience of working in the fields under male as well as female drivers. Old Sue, a former field woman, directed the second gang on the lower plantation after 1777, but when she was removed to the command of the horsemeat gang in 1788, her place was taken by the aged John Bull, who for many years had held the exalted place of chief watchman of the estate. Men and women sometimes served together as drivers of the numerous adolescents on the upper estate. One senior boy, Quaco Adjoe, was given a short-lived but glorious opportunity to boss his contemporaries in the role of a full-fledged driver.

It is to be feared that even some venerable backs were within the reach of young Quaco's whip, for a few declining men and women were members of the second gang. Great Franky had spent several years as a worker among the teen-age group before she became a nurse to the infants on the upper estate. Dongway, who had long been a carter and cattlekeeper, was sent into the fields in 1785 and then, after a few years of alternating as a groom and a first-gang field man, moved into the ranks of the second gang.

Although most boys and girls of the second gang were destined to a lifetime of field work, they were commonly given training in other plantation jobs. Many spent a year or more as stockkeepers. Jack Green tended calves for at least seven years and helped in the pottery for two years more before taking on man's estate in the great gang. Quashey acted successively as calves boy, sheepkeeper, and hogkeeper before returning to the second gang. Robin was a watchboy for six years between stints of labor in the fields. Little Sary Bob earned her designation as "Sary with the Hogs" by her employment in the two years between her field work in the third and second gangs. A few youngsters who had been picked out for specialized careers were allowed to skip the second gang and to begin their apprenticeships as artisans or domestic servants. Tacky became a "carpenter boy" after only four years as a meatpicker, and Betty, a future maidservant, went to work in the mansion house immediately after she had left the care of the nurse.

The average young slave was classified as an adult at from nineteen to twenty-one years of age after more than six years at the second-gang level and after his or her value had risen in the estimation of

TABLE 2

AVERAGE VALUE OF MEN BY OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS, 1775

Occupations	Average value
Personnel workers (3 houseworkers, £30, £20, £65)	£38 6*s.*
Stockkeepers[a]	
2 head carters and cattlekeepers (£70, £60)	65 00
9 subordinates (£40, £35, £35, and less)	29 7
3 grooms (£50, £50, £70)	56 13
All stockkeepers (14 men)	41 3
Watchmen	
2 rangers or chief watchmen (£70, £60)	65 00
8 subordinates (£50, £50, £50, £45, and less)	38 2
All watchmen (10 men)	43 10
Infirm and superannuated nonworkers (4 men)	00 00
Drivers	
2 first-gang drivers (£70 each)	70 00
1 second-gang driver (£20)	20 00
All drivers (3 men)	53 6
Field hands (41 first-gang men)	56 6
Artisans[b]	
1 carpenter (£70)	70 00
3 coopers (£70 each)	70 00
2 smiths (£70, £40)	55 00
3 potters (£70, £65, £30)	55 00
2 basketmakers (£25, £20)	22 10
1 boiler (£70)	70 00
3 clarifiers (£70, £70, £50)	63 6
1 clayer (£50)	50 00
2 millmen (£65 each)	65 00
3 distillers (£60 each)	60 00
All artisans (21 men)	58 2
Total (96 men)	£50 5*s.*

[a] The value of one cattlekeeper is unknown; he is included in the totals of his occupational group, but dropped in the calculation of averages.

[b] Two artisans who were part-time watchmen and several others who were part-time field hands are treated as belonging only to the artisan class.

the overseers to £50 to £60. If in prime condition a few years later, the slave would be appraised at the maximum bookkeeping figure of £70. The new adult was almost certain to be assigned to the great gang, for most nonfield jobs were reserved for those who were unfit for hard

labor in the fields. This fact emerges clearly from tables 2 and 3 on the average value of men and women slaves in 1775 by occupational groups. The slaves with superior ratings were all in the great gang, except for a relatively small number of trained men and women. Most of the houseworkers, watchmen, nurses, and other nonfield workers had a per capita value well below that of the average man or woman at Codrington.

TABLE 3

AVERAGE VALUE OF WOMEN BY OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS, 1775

Occupation	Average value
Personnel workers	
2 sick nurses (£15, £50)	£32 10s.
2 children's nurses (£5, £25)	15 00
3 cooks (£20 each)	20 00
3 water carriers (£30, £45, £45)	40 00
1 midwife (£65)	65 00
5 house servants (£60, £20, £25, £25, £25)	31 00
All personnel workers (16 women)	30 18
Stockkeepers (2 cattlekeepers, £25, £20)	22 10
Infirm and superannuated nonworkers (11 women)	5 18
Drivers (2 third-gang drivers, £60, £50)	55 00
Field hands	
60 first-gang field hands	56 6
1 second-gang field hand (£20)	20 00
All field hands (61 women)	55 14
Total (92 women)	£44 14s.

It was not that these slaves were less valuable because of their occupations, but that they were in such jobs because of their small worth. This can be illustrated by the cases of a number of aged and weak Negroes. Cain, who probably should be identified with the fifteen-year-old African of that name bought in 1741,[18] was a great-gang field hand in 1777, with an accounting price of £45. Then more than fifty years old, Cain went into the second gang for the next three years, and his value fell to £25. Then came two years in which Cain acted as a cattlekeeper before his virtual retirement in 1783 as an "Old & infirm" man whose job was described vaguely as being "In the Buildings." Cain died of a fall in 1786, his sixtieth year. Another African, called Appeah or Christmas, went through the same stages of field labor, unskilled nonfield work, and retirement. Christmas was purchased

for the Codrington estates in 1745, when he was eleven years old.[19] He was taken from the fields in 1779, when he was forty-five years old and valued at £35. He was then employed as a cook until 1787 and as one "About the Buildings" until his death in 1789 at fifty-five years of age. Jubbah General, a prime field woman, was reassigned as a stock-keeper only after she "was accidentally shot by the key keeper as he was firing at hogs in the canes." Gloucester's service as a cattleman came between two long periods of invalidism. Pompey was employed as a basketmaker after he suffered a broken back, and Pawpaw Harry became a cattlekeeper while recovering from a rupture.

The most valuable slaves were also exempt from the field gangs. Craftsmen, head watchmen, head carters, and skilled workers ranked with the drivers of the great gang as the chief men of the Negro community. Their importance to the estates was marked by many tokens of special status. In 1789 the Reverend Henry Husbands, the chaplain, wrote that "the principal negroes in Estates, who have a surprising influence over their inferiors, & who enjoy several privileges & advantages above them, are for the most part so attached to their owners that strange as it may seem, they would if occasion required it, readily sacrifice their lives in the defence of them & their property."[20] It was true, at least, that the leading men received many unusual favors. An annual item in the account books of the 1740's was "1 pair of Shoes for the Negro Sandy, a Smith." In 1748 an entry for £4 "paid the Negro Sandy for things stolen from him by Negroes" indicated both surprising affluence in the slave and tenderness in the management. Artisans were sometimes allowed rations of meat in addition to the corn and fish given to the ordinary slaves.[21] In 1787 the manager gave cash rewards of 6*s.* 3*d.* each to Drummer and Johnny Sharry, the first-gang drivers on the lower and upper estates. Extraordinary recognition was accorded to Johnny Sharry a few years later when money was granted him "to assist in burying his Sister." His nineteenth-century successors received handsome annual gifts of £20 and two pairs of shoes.[22] Coopers, seamen, carpenters, butlers, boilers, and other trained men were assured of uncommon care in sickness, extra assistance in the building and repair of their houses, and individual attention in the provision made for their clothing.

The care and feeding of craftsmen and drivers was less a problem than their selection and training. In the early years of the Society's rule at Codrington, Manager Smalridge counted the failings of the skilled slaves among his many troubles. When it was noticed in 1719

that the pottery had been clearing considerably less than the £400 or £500 a year expected from it, Smalridge put the chief blame on the lack of a good potter. Shortly before his death in 1710, Christopher Codrington had placed a young Negro under the tutelage of the one aged potter then on the estates. The old craftsman died in 1713 before his pupil had been quite shaped and fashioned at the potter's wheel. Although the young slave had "made Shift to make a Little Ware for the Plantation Service," the pottery had not been able to manufacture any sugar pots for sale. Smalridge contrived the best of a bad situation by turning the pothouse over to outsiders until he could train some of the Society's own slaves in the craft. In making his defense to the Society in 1719, the manager reviewed his actions and showed that the pottery was on the mend:

> In hopes to improve it I Lett it out in 1714 for ½ the Produce to a person who had been imploy'd in a Pot house who brought on a certain number of Negro's[;] he made bad Ware. The Dividend I was oblidged to take for the Plantation Service.... These Two last years 1717 & 1718 I hired another to Look after this Pot House at £30 & 35 p Ann:...And if we had any prospect of a Crop this year, it is now in a better Condition than ever I knew, you having Two Potters your own that make good Ware.[23]

When the plantation sugar was reported to be not "of a good body," Smalridge went through a similar experience in trying "several Boylers besides those in the Plantation...."[24]

For the managers who followed Smalridge, the problem was less the poor quality than the absence of skilled workmen on the estates. All too often the death of a veteran artificer came to mean the disappearance of his craft. A steady decline in the total number of the Society's Negroes forced the chief overseers to concentrate strength in the fields and to depend on hired labor for the performance of many of the more specialized tasks. Young Negroes who would formerly have been apprenticed to artisans were now kept at work in the second and great gangs. In 1743 the Society spent £25 on the hire of a Negro mason and a Negro cooper.[25] In 1761 the attorneys were compelled to admit that there were "no Artificers belonging to the Plantation, but two Coopers, and a smith now almost past Labour."[26] By that date the addition of new slaves was making it possible to consider the revival of the lost skills, but it was thought too costly to buy Negroes who were already skilled in a craft. A "Good Boyler," for example, would have cost £100 or more.[27] The attorneys recognized that they could only "make choice of Boys of some Ingenuity" who might learn the

required vocations;[28] "as we have no Artificers of our own to instruct them in their several trades," the attorneys noted, "they must be put out to other workmen, which will be attended with some Expence, (chiefly their loss of labour) & perhaps other inconveniencies: but these must be submitted to."[29]

Many years were required to repair the damage that had been done to the "trades." "Directions have been given to purchase foreign Boys for Artificers," the attorneys reported in 1761,[30] and in 1770 they ordered the manager to apprentice two Negroes to masons and two more to carpenters.[31] Gradually a fairly full corps of skilled workmen was assembled, but not all were properly trained. Of the three potters at work on the estates in 1775, one soon died, another was put into the fields, and Cudjoe Potter alone was left in the pothouse by 1783. All was not well, even now, for in 1784 one Isaac Delevan was paid £5 "for instructing the potter to make pots &c." Other full-fledged craftsmen were also in need of training while on the job, for many were thrust into their skilled work without prior instruction. When Cubbenah, the Society's clayer, died in 1780, Jaffrey Henley, a prime field hand, was put into the clayer's role. He played the part until 1783, when the management made him the head watchman in succession to Asia, who had suddenly been found suitable for the mason's trade. The estates were without an official clayer until August, 1786, when a white man was given £1 "for teaching two of the plantation negroes to clay sugar." Billy Bromley, a former groom and field hand, profited from the lessons and assumed the place of clayer. Not until 1792 was a young man, Cudjoe, recently out of the second gang, put at Billy's side in order to ensure the smooth perpetuation of their art. Another groom, Quashey Madlew, became a blacksmith in 1777 on the death of one of the old smiths. After about seven years at his new employment, Quashey was returned to the stables and replaced by a young man who had lately been promoted from the second gang.

It is already evident that the principal Negroes often had quite varied careers. Whereas ordinary field slaves usually toiled most of their lives in the great gang, nonfield blacks commonly moved from job to job. In 1787, when John Bull, the ranger on the lower estate, was very old, he was given charge of the second gang, and Billy Moore, formerly the head boiler, took over as head watchman. Quamin, who had previously served as chief carter, succeeded Billy Moore in the post of boiler. Caesar was translated from carter to millman to watchman within the space of four years. When Tomismond, the head cattle-

keeper, died in 1782, his office was taken briefly by Peter General, a field hand, who later became a watchman. The next head cattlekeeper was Charles, who had acted successively since 1778 as cooper, watchman, and second-gang driver.

Perhaps the greatest demands were made on the adaptability of the sailor Negroes who were assigned to one or another of the succession of Codrington sloops, each of which met its doom after a few years of navigating the treacherous bar of Consett's Bay. The gallant little *Sally*, purchased in New England in 1715,[32] made three long voyages to Essequibo for lumber before suffering a final wreck in 1722.[33] One is scarcely surprised to read in the plantation accounts of 1719 of the 10 shillings that "Sloop Salley paid a Sailor when the Sloop Negro runaway."[34] The culprit may well have been Quaco Sloop, one of the old stock of slaves left on the estates by Christopher Codrington.[35] Quaco was still alive and forty-eight years old in 1743 when Manager Alleyne bought two twenty-eight-year-old Africans, John and Quaco, "to be brought up as Navigators in the Societys Sloop."[36] Sloop Johnny outlasted his vessel to die a mere watchman in 1777. When the Society became half owner of the schooner *Union* a few years later, it became necessary to find one or two Negroes to make a part of the crew. William, a forty-four-year-old field hand, found himself elected a seaman in 1785. Three years later he was joined on board by two new Codrington boatswains, Gummah and Harry Henley. Gummah was a very young man, who had served only two years in the great gang since his childhood days as a shepherd, meatpicker, second-gang worker, and pothouse boy. Harry Henley was another prime field hand, who had had some experience as a millman. When the schooner was sold the next year, Gummah went back to the fields and Harry Henley to the mills, but William was hired out to the vessel's new owner at a rate of £12 a year, with "black days deducted." After two more years of sailing, William came home to try his hand first as a groom and then as a cook. Seven years had seen him move from the fields to the kitchen, via schooner and stables.

CHAPTER III

DISCIPLINE

THE WORKDAY at Codrington was measured between "the calling the List in the Morning and . . . throwing Grass in the Evening."[1] As on other plantations, it was a day that spanned the period from sunrise to sunset, with half an hour allowed for breakfast and from one to two hours for the midday meal. In April, 1741, the Society's slaves were reported to be laboring "from between the houres of 5 and 6 in the morning till Seven at Night." They averaged nine or ten hours of work each day, according to an estimate made in 1828. In crop time they might be kept at their tasks from five o'clock in the morning until nine at night, or even later, but on the shortest days of the year they worked only from six to six, including the hours they dallied over their food.[2]

"It is true they labour much," one of the Codrington attorneys conceded in writing of the Negroes, "but then they have not only their Hours, but their Days of Recreation, and *for any Purpose* deny them these Intervals of their Diversion, and you cannot take a more effectual Step to break their Hearts."[3] West Indian slaves were accustomed to having Sundays to themselves. Then was the time for the blacks to dance and sing, work in their gardens, join in the weird rites of the Obeah cult, visit with the slaves of neighboring estates, and trade with them and the poor whites.[4] In 1745 the Codrington chaplain insisted that most planters actually encouraged the "vile & vicious Practices" of the Negroes on Sundays, which the black population "entirely spent either in trafficking with one another, or in dancing, or in other Actions improper to mention . . . & consequently unbecoming to commit."[5] The Negroes of Jamaica were commonly given free Saturday afternoons as well as Sundays, for this was the practice where the slaves were allotted provision grounds and expected to raise the bulk of their own food. In Barbados, however, where the blacks had only small gardens and were provided with most of their diet, Saturday afternoons were not usually granted to the slaves.[6]

Soon after coming into possession of its Barbadian property, the Society resolved that Sunday at Codrington should be a day of rest, religious instruction, and worship. In order that the slaves should have no excuse to trade or garden on that day, they were to have every

[1] For notes to chap. iii, see pp. 148–150.

Saturday afternoon for their own concerns.[7] Blacks and whites at Codrington were almost as one, however, in evading a regulation that defied the local custom. The managers, who were generally hard pressed for labor, were unwilling to lose any part of the established six-day week. The Negroes seem to have felt that it was no fair bargain to trade half of Saturday for their traditional Sunday. "Sundays in particular they claim to themselves," the Codrington chaplain explained to the Society in 1768, "and to be deprived on that Day of their Visits and little Traffick one among another would be a Task to them more abundantly cruel than the labour of a Week."[8]

In 1725 the Society learned that the Codrington Sunday was still like that of all Barbados. An Anglican minister in the island informed the Society:

> In this Island the Negro's work all week for their Masters, and on the Lords Day they work and Merchandize for themselves, in the latter of which they are assisted, not only by the Jews, but many of those also who call themselves Christians. I wish I might not say it is thus in the Societies Plantations also. . . .[9]

When the Society also ascertained that its slaves were working the whole of Saturday, the corporation sternly repeated its former commands.[10] Manager Smalridge responded by giving "the Slaves Saturday afternoon Except on Some Extrodinary Occasion in the Crop Time."[11] By 1741 the entire harvest period, which amounted to about one-third of the year, had come to be looked upon as an emergency. "The time the Christians has allowed them is Saturday in the after Noon (out of Croop time)," read a letter to the Society, "and when Croop is they have not time of the week allowed them."[12] The Society again emphasized that all the Negroes, both infidel and Christian, were to be excused from work on Saturday afternoons. It weakened the reprimand, however, by ruling that the pagans who refused to attend instruction on Sundays might be punished by the loss of their Saturday half holidays.[13] With the collapse of the religious program soon after, this exception was one that could easily be stretched to comprehend most of the Negroes. In any event, the six-day week of work and the Sunday holiday were soon as much the rule on the Society's plantations as elsewhere in the colony. By the close of the century, even the memory of the free Saturday afternoons had disappeared.[14]

Sunday markets, where lower-class whites sometimes received stolen goods from the slaves or cheated them by "giving a leaf or two of Tobacco for a pint of Corn," flourished in Barbados in spite of laws that forbade the Negroes to wander from their estates, congregate

together, or barter.[15] Nothing could keep the blacks from the markets short of "locking them up," according to Manager Abel Alleyne. In the 1740's, Alleyne responded to pressure from London by placing the Codrington slaves under close guard on Sundays, but the force of custom soon broke through both law and managerial resolve.[16]

As a rule, however, a strict and even brutal discipline was maintained among the Barbadian Negroes. The laws for their government bespoke deep fear of mutiny and rebellion. Masters were free to exact almost any penalty of their slaves. If the owner wantonly killed his slave, he was subject only to a fine of £15. Slaves charged with the theft of objects worth 12*d.* or more were triable for their lives before two justices of the peace and "the three able, good, and legal Freeholders of the place nearest where the said Crimes were committed." Execution of those found guilty was mandatory before 1739, but in that year a law permitted the courts to impose lesser punishments in certain instances. Death also awaited any slave who, after being in Barbados for at least one year, absented himself from his master for thirty days or more.[17]

If the Codrington Negroes had been taken before the courts for every infraction of the black code, there would probably have been few slaves left to man the fields and mills. Fortunately, the blacks usually stole the Society's pigs, fought with Negroes from their own villages, took clothing from the plantation stores or from one another, and thereby faced no magistrate but the manager, who sentenced malefactors to the lash or confinement without reference to the sanguinary laws of the island. Some managers professed to go easy with the whip, which was used to stimulate labor in the field as well as to punish wrongdoers. In 1738 John Vaughton maintained that "it has Always been My Strickt Orders & charges to My Overseers & the Servants in the Plantation to Use as few Stripes & give as good Encouragement to them As possible, but their Slavish Tempers they will Always Retain, & will putt Masters or Overseers Under Necessitys to Use them As they May not be Inclinable to doe. . . ."[18] A cruel or hotheaded manager could make life miserable for the blacks. In 1778 the Society received an anonymous letter charging that Richard Downes was such an agent. "The present chief overseer," it read, "is a Man of as Hasty, and Passionate a temper as it is possible to conceive, and too often when in such Frenzy, the Unfortunate Slaves feel the Effects of his Rage and Passions. I cannot help pitying the Unfortunate Creatures. . . . The Unfortunate Slaves go to sleep with very sore backsides Unmercifully

laid on." The informant added that "many of the Negroes went in a Body . . . to lodge a Complaint . . . of the Unusual Cruelty they had received" with one of the Society's attorneys.[19] After Downes was discharged a few years later, this same attorney noted that the Negroes were "much improved . . . in their looks & bodily condition, even in the space of 3 months only, altho' at the time of Mr. Downes's being removed they did not appear to have wanted the common care & attention which Negroes generally receive."[20]

Even the harshest manager was inclined to keep offending slaves alive and whole to work another day, which he was hard put to do if they transgressed against any jurisdiction but his own. Sometimes it was possible to compound with outsiders who had grounds for prosecuting Codrington Negroes. In 1746 the Society paid one Richard Coombs £1 "for a hog of his kill'd by the plantation Negroes." The next year James Toppin was paid 3*s.* 9*d.* "for a Turky stoln from him by the Negro man John."[21] A particularly interesting case of this kind was reported by the Society's attorneys in 1778; their minutes of March 23 explained that

> . . . a very valuable Negro named *Jack General* belonging to the Society's upper estate had lately been arraigned for feloniously taking away and killing an ox belonging to Bowman Leslie, Esqr. the punishment for which crime, upon conviction, by a law of this Island, is death.
>
> The complainant prosecuted his suit and two neighbouring justices of the peace and three free-holders attended the hearing of the complaint. There was from the first examinant [*sic*] proof sufficient for conviction, but the complainant agreeing to drop his prosecution, provided he could be paid the value of the ox vizt. £15, Mr Downes the manager promised rather than the negroe's life should be taken away, that he would answer for the payment of the above sum, which the attornies have approved of.[22]

Jack General, a prime field hand valued at £70, failed to learn from his experience, for in 1782 the Society was notified that he had been "hang'd for stealing cattle." In 1779 the Society paid £8 to William Gall when he agreed to drop prosecution "for a bull stolen of him" by two valuable field Negroes, William, who was soon to go to sea in the Society's schooner, and Benny, who lived to become a distiller. Another Codrington Negro was saved from execution in 1786 by the payment of £1 to "John Serjeant for a robbery committed by a plantation negro to one of his."[23]

At a much later period, the estates succeeded in preserving the life of a slave who had fallen afoul of the colonial government itself. Frank Robin, a Codrington Negro, was arrested in 1821 and charged with

breaking into the public treasury. The Society's attorney was apparently satisfied that the Negro was guilty, yet he expended more than £28 in defense fees and secured Robin's acquittal.[24]

The plantation management could not always interpose between its slaves and colonial justice. In 1746, for example, 5*s.* was "paid Joseph Beck Constable . . . for Apprehending 2 of the Society's Negroes & whiping them before John Thorne a Justice of Peace for their harbouring a runaway Negro." The Society was always required to fee the constable for wielding the lash against Codrington Negroes at the order of Barbadian magistrates.[25] In 1780 the Codrington agents spent more than £26 in legal fees in a futile attempt to prevent the "condemnation of a negro woman who was found an abettor in the murder of a white man."[26] The law entitled the owners of executed slaves to limited compensation from the colonial treasury. In 1787 the Society collected £45 for the executed murderess and for Jack General, the unfortunate cattle thief. Money could be claimed from the government only for Negroes who had been judically condemned,[27] so that the Society had no recourse in the 1780's when they lost "Will General, a boy, killed supposd to be stealing."[28]

Year in and year out, the most serious disciplinary problem at Codrington was desertion. Although the small and well-settled island of Barbados did not offer such secure retreats as the maroons found in the wild and rugged interior of Jamaica, many Barbadian Negroes demonstrated their "proneness to run away from their Masters, into the woods for months together."[29] Some even succeeded in leaving the island.[30] Shortly before the Society took possession of its estates in 1712, two Codrington blacks, Jupiter and Churo, went off in a sloop with a white man.[31] Jupiter returned in 1713, "much Rejoiced at the opportunity of getting back to his wife and children." There were reports that the still wandering Churo was somewhere in the Leeward Islands, and an Antigua planter was asked to seize and return him.[32]

Anyone apprehending a runaway was entitled to a reward,[33] and the Society annually paid about six or seven such fees, amounting to from 1*s.* 3*d.* to £1 each. The records of these bounties show that both men and women tried to escape. Usually the slaves were captured singly, but at times they were remanded to the plantations in groups of from two to seven. Not fewer than six Negroes were missing from the estates at one time in 1725. Some blacks were habitual runaways. Quashebah, a prime field woman, was taken up in September and December, 1775, August, 1776, January, 1782, and September, 1784.

The rewards paid for her advanced steadily from 2*s.* 6*d.* to 18*s.* 9*d.* Cubba was arrested in July and again in November, 1745. Green was captured in December, 1786, and again in November, 1787. Some runaways reached Bridgetown and were jailed there, or were given over to the Society's town agent. In March, 1743, the town agent "pd a Constable for Securing Dick Tober in the Stock, he being Runaway." When the town agent was not employed in paying to have a Negro confined until someone could come from the plantation to take custody, the busy factor was likely to be found arranging for one of the Codrington slaves to be released from the cage, a town jail to which runaways were sent. In July, 1710, a payment of 3*s.* 9*d.* was needed for "taking a negro out [of] the Cage." Most of the fugitives were returned directly to the manager at Codrington, however, and had probably been captured in the countryside. The majority were brought in by private persons, who often accepted a gallon of plantation rum in compensation. Slaves were sometimes sent to search for their fugitive fellows, and were rewarded if successful.[34]

One acute observer noted that there was a relationship between overwork and desertion. The Negroes who were forced to carry the crop uphill from the coastal land to the boiling house on the Society's lower plantation were very likely to attempt flight, he reported.[35] Manager John Smalridge's particularly unhappy experiences with runaways coincided with his maintenance of high production levels with relatively few slaves.

Less attention was given to such facts, however, than to the means of suppressing escapes. In 1724 Smalridge paid £1 2*s.* 6*d.* "for a Silver mark to mark the Negro's Society."[36] The meaning of this was explained to the Society in 1732, when one of its attorneys, the Reverend Arthur Holt, wrote to the London owners:

> I Think it not Improper to take notice here of a Usage which for some years, has gone, under the Society's Name in their plantations[;] these letters S O C I E T Y in large Characters are Brandished wth a Red hot Iron upon the naked Breast of the New Negroes as If they were So many Beasts, a Cruelty which I believe the Society will think proper to Discourage.

A few months later Holt took matters into his own hands and ordered the branding stopped as "a thing noted to be done only by the severest Masters or to the worst of slaves; and . . . very discouraging to those poor Creatures."[37] Another cruel device was known at Codrington, although there is no evidence that it was used. In 1731 Thomas Hayes, a farrier, paid the Society's smith 2*s.* for "A new Iron Collar for A

Negro."[38] Barbadian law required that metal bands, or collars, be placed around the neck or leg of all slaves who were employed in selling firewood, milk, or fodder for their masters. Collars, which bore the name of the slaves and their owners, were widely used to deter Negroes from running away and to make the detection of fugitives easy.[39]

There was always the danger that one day the Negroes might not flee, but stand and fight. "This is what Every person who are Dwellers here knows," wrote Manager John Vaughton in 1738, "That the best of them are at All Times ready to joyn in A Conspiracy . . . Against the best of Masters or Overseers. . . ." From the time of the abortive Negro outbreak in 1702 to the great uprising of 1816, Barbados was spared a general slave insurrection, but the fear of rebellion was never long absent from the minds of the planters. At Codrington the managers had repeated occasions to make nervous reports about waves of restlessness and insubordination among the Negroes. The most alarming disturbance, however, took place in 1738, at a time when the slave population on the estates was only two-thirds of the number that a variety of authorities thought indispensable for bearing the burden of work on the plantations.

Late in June, 1738, a considerable body of the Codrington slaves left the plantations without the permission of Manager Vaughton. They made their way across the island to Bridgetown, and appeared before one of the Society's attorneys "to complain of hard Labour, hard Usage; whant of Cloaths; Victuals &c." By the time Vaughton could reach the capital town, the Negroes were ready with specific demands; "what they cheifly Insisted on from me," Vaughton reported, "was that I should part with a Book keeper who is a diligent Watchful Servant And likewise [they] appointed another in his Roome; And [they insisted] that I Should keep no more than One white and One Black Overseer. . . ." Somehow the slaves were persuaded to return to Codrington on the following day. According to Vaughton, the blacks then "came thro the Country Singing and Dancing with Drawn knives as great as if they had gain'd a conquest which they continued in the plantation till I gott home in the Evening and when I gott home still Insisted upon their foregoing Request: but they soon Submitted and agreed to go to their work the next Morning which they did do." Vaughton's account of the aftermath strikes an ominous note: "And when I had them all in the field I was Under a necessity to lett them know that the Country would not Submitt to Such Agreements." How

Vaughton impressed the slaves with his views is rendered clearer in another passage of his statement:

> The Attorneys have not proceeded on any Extream Punishment as the taking of life &c which Our Laws will doe on Such Occasion's: they Designe Only to have them Publickly whipt Several times in Town [and] then to Return them to the Plantation & there to [have them] Receive Punishment likewise: I have now some of them in the Plantation Under Confinement, but they Are Very Submissive.

In Vaughton's review of the incident, the slaves had acted without provocation and from sheer bad nature. Before the affair they had been working unusually well and cheerfully, and they had "Never had fewer Stripes." Manager and attorneys were agreed that the Negroes "had been too tenderly Used which Might be the Occasion of their breaking into those Disorders." This thesis was evidenced by Vaughton's description of the ringleaders:

> ... those who are Our cheifest favorites & Such that we put Most Confidence in are generally the first & greatest Conspirators, As is the Case with One of those who was by the Attorneys Orders Sent to the Goul to be punish'd for his wickedness: he is One that I have for Many Years past kept in Easey offices & one that Never workt but little in the field Excepting this Crop I was under Necessity of puting him in the field: The last office that I took him from was keeping of Sheep & what with Stealing or Suffering them to be stoll I could gett no Increase So that I was under A necessity to Remove him, tho: work I always knew he did not like. There is likewise One more that the Attorneys Order'd to Goul; he is One who has for Several Years past Lived A Easey Life as a Watch (Excepting in Crop Time [when he was] a Bossun [boatswain] to Our Mills [windmill sails]): he is of A Stubborn Resolute tempr. and at All times ready to join in Any Wicked Designe.
>
> These are the two cheife Conspirators & it's too Notoriously known here how ready Negro's in general are to Joyn in Any Wicked Designe.

All would be well in the future, Vaughton assured the Society, if the blacks were treated with absolute firmness: "was there the least Encouragement of Such complaints," he warned, "it will be Impossible for any person to do Business & the hearers of such complaints May have Enough of them And the Consequence May prove bad to the Island."[10] The Society had the more reason as a religious body to take the hint, in that only the year before it had learned from one of its Barbadian agents that missionary endeavors among the slaves were condemned by many planters as "putting arms into their Slaves hands, against them Selves [the planters], & makeing them [the Negroes] more Capable of Carrying on Plots & Contrivances against the Common Safety."[11]

The resourceful Smalridge had offered a ready answer to the problem

of incorrigible and otherwise useless Negroes. All who were nothing but "a Burden and Charge" should be sold or transported from the island. It "would be a Service to this Estate to be rid of them," he told his employers. "Not the aged or Such as have been good Slaves—but such as are Rogues [and] Runaways that never did nor will work, and some that have Distempers incurable. . . ." It was expensive, the manager pointed out, to maintain broken slaves who "only Make up a Great number of Dead at the end of the year." In Christopher Codrington's day the unfit blacks had been sent away to the island of Barbuda, a possession of the Codrington family. The Society must do something similar, the manager insisted. Even the "most considerate planters" transported their worthless slaves.[42]

After several years and many pressing letters on the subject from its persistent overseer, the Society on January 17, 1718, "Order'd that such Negroes as prove sickly[,] Lazy, Runaways, or otherwise useless to the Estates be sold or shipt off and that the Societys Agent do purchase others in their Room."[43] A few weeks later, however, when the Society was preparing the annual report of its proceedings for publication in Britain, a member objected that the order to dispose of the sick and infirm was "Inconsistent with the pious Designes of the Society." Word of this was sent to Barbados by the Society's deputy secretary, who intimated that the regulation would probably be altered. While awaiting further instructions, the Codrington attorneys suspended the ruling.[44] Smalridge complained bitterly of the inaction. In September, 1718, he reported that certain "Ill People" had taken pains to "infuse into" the corporation's slaves the rather plausible idea that they had "no Owners." The blacks were behaving badly as a result and were running away in "great Numbers." Now was certainly the time for the Society to enforce its resolution:

> It would be Absolute Necessary for that Great Body to Purge their Plantation from their refuse Negroes—for those that do not work nor cannot be made to work steal from Others that do and not only that but are a double Charge to be provided for which is a very great discouragemt. to the Industrious.[45]

In 1721 the managers returned to the charge, informing the Society: "You have now 254 Negros[;] if you would ship the 54 and more if you please your Estate would be the better & not the worse for they are but a burthen & discourage the dilligent. . . ."[46] At last the Society wrote to the attorneys in 1722 to "desire that . . . [they] would dispose of" such Negroes as proved "Lazy, and runaways and consequently of . . . very little Service to the plantations. . . ."[47] For the time being,

nothing more was said about the still unrepealed resolution for ridding the estates of the physically unfit.

In 1725, when rewards were paid for the return of thirteen runaways, Smalridge made the first use of his new power. As fast as he could "meet with them," the manager shipped six men and four women to John Tucker, a merchant in Virginia, who paid £132 17*s.* 8*d.* for them in Indian corn and money. Another man, Cudgeo, was sent to Kensay Johns, a Maryland merchant, in return for £27 8*s.* 9*d.* Substitutes were purchased as soon as possible. On the average it cost the Society £36 10*s.* to replace a slave sold for £14 11*s.* 6*d.* Clearly the disciplinary scheme was a drastic one, particularly when the estates had less than two-thirds of the minimum number of slaves deemed necessary for their operation. In reporting the steps he had taken, Smalridge admitted that "nothing but an absolute necessity should have compelled me to it. . . ."[48] He was prepared to ship other Negroes in 1728, but failed to gain the approval of the attorneys. As he viewed the malcontents among the blacks, he could only "hope the rumor of shipping [would] make some of them mend there Manners."[49]

Under Smalridge's successor, two more Negroes were ordered sent "to the Northward, wth. all Conven[ien]t Speed" in 1734 to be traded for corn and other provisions. Dansoo and Dick, Manager Vaughton explained, "were Notorious Rogues, Lazy and runaways, and of no Service but rather prejudicial to the plantations."[50] No further recourse was had to transportation, but in 1761 the Society questioned its attorneys, "Is it not right to dispose of the weak, idle, & runaway Negroes . . . And to take care of the Super-annuated?" "It may be proper to dispose of idle & runaway Negroes," the Barbadians replied, "but where shall we find purchasers?"[51]

CHAPTER IV

VILLAGES AND VILLAGERS[1]

THERE WERE TWO NEGRO VILLAGES at Codrington in the eighteenth century. One was situated near the mansion house on the Consett estate and the other on the higher ground of the upper plantation. It was the policy of the management to keep the two communities separate, and to give the blacks "no Occasion of goeing to and fro" over the rugged ground between the properties. For many years, however, the Consett settlement was twice as large as its counterpart on the upper estate, where the larger number of slaves worked. The inconvenience of this arrangement was offset, perhaps, by the advantages that the lower plantation offered in abundant wasteland and water, although later observers realized that the site available for the Negro huts at Consett was dangerously low and damp. In 1767 the overseers sensibly placed all who labored on the upper estate—about two-thirds of the whole Codrington population—in the uphill village.[2]

An old print provides a glimpse of the thatched huts of Consett straggling amid thickset vegetation.[3] If the effect calls to mind one traveler's description of a typical Barbadian slaveyard as "a little African city,"[4] it must be granted that the managers had good reason not to impose too much town planning on the villagers. As the Codrington agents explained to the Society in 1716, several masters who had put the Negro houses "in Squares, with a Design to keep them altogether . . . soon found it a prejudice to . . . Health . . . tho' the . . . Walls [were] not above 18 or 20 [feet] high."[5] At Codrington as elsewhere, shelter was regarded as the slaves' own problem, one that the growth and debris of the plantations made easy to solve. With cane trash, sticks, and perhaps a few pennies worth of rope yarn to aid in the thatching, the blacks were left to construct and reconstruct their precarious wooden huts in the yards designated for them.

In emergencies the management took direct responsibility for Negro housing. When 149 slaves were purchased and moved en bloc to Codrington in 1767, the manager and attorneys were at pains to have huts ready for occupation by the uprooted blacks.[6] After the hurricane of 1780, the rebuilding of the villages was carried out as a plantation project.[7] After 1775, too, the overseers gave some help toward the housing of the more deserving or more helpless Negroes. The plantation

[1] For notes to chap. iv, see pp. 150–152.

account books began showing expenditures like those in 1778 of 1*s.* 10½*d.* "for sticks to build negro houses," and of 1*s.* 3*d.* "for cash given to Lubbah [a new mother] to assist in putting up her house." Quashey Hog, Jacob, and Rittah were aided in building and repairing their huts in 1792, because "they within themselves . . . [were] unable to provide such assistance." Between 1775 and 1793 the managers gave something less than £6 toward the erection or upkeep of about twenty-five huts. Most of the gifts ranged from 1*s.* 3*d.* to 6*s.* 3*d.* and were allotted to mothers, invalids, drivers, and artisans. Benefits went to Little Minnah, a driver of the second gang, and to Quaw, a cooper. Aminta received 5*s.* a few years before her death from consumption, and Jubbah General, who had been given 1*s.* 3*d.* as a new mother in November, 1790, was the recipent of 3*s.* 9*d.* in August, 1791, to help in building her house.

One observer reported seeing the Codrington slaves eating "yams, pumpkins and pigeon-peas out of their calabashes" after their return from work in the fields.[8] Like other Barbadian Negroes, the Society's blacks probably used planks for beds, as well as gourds for dishes, for the management seems to have provided them with nothing but iron cooking pots in the way of household equipment.[9] The numerous destructive fires in the Codrington villages suggest, too, that the Society's slaves resembled their West Indian fellows in the habit of leaving fires to burn overnight for warmth in their huts.

The wild setting of the old Codrington villages encouraged savage ways of thought, in the opinion of one of the nineteenth-century managers.[10] Memories of the Dark Continent may well have lingered there, for until long after 1767, when the Society ceased to buy slaves, most or a very large part of the villagers were transplanted Africans. Of the 241 Negroes on the plantations on June 29, 1732, no fewer than 91 were Africans who had been purchased since 1710.[11] Sixteen per cent of the 204 blacks at Codrington on July 10, 1760, had been bought within the previous four years.[12] The Africans were "of several Countrys," the chaplain reported in 1740;[13] "they cannot spake English," he noted, "and what they act and do in the plantation affairs is more by Signes than Speech."[14] Manager Abel Alleyne added to the Society's education on the point by commenting that "most of the Negroes are Guinea Negroes and [of] the Caramantine [Coromantine] & Pawpaw Country. . . ."[15] Coromantines from the Gold Coast portion of the Guinea Coast, and Pawpaws from its Slave Coast segment were both held in esteem by the West Indian planters. Pawpaws were thought

to be cheerful and well adjusted to agricultural labor, whereas Coromantines were supposed to have no faults except their dangerous virtues of strength and high spirits.[16] The Codrington family had preferred Coromantines to all other "tribes." Christopher Codrington's father avowed that "Noe man deserved a Corromante that would not treat him like a Friend rather than a Slave," and the son had added, "The Corramantes . . . are not only the best and most faithful of our slaves, but are really all born Heroes."[17]

When the chaplain was unable to send the Society a complete list of newly acquired Africans, he excused himself by writing, "The Overseer has not as yet given 'em Names."[18] More likely than not, the manager would eventually bestow or confirm names suggestive of an African origin, such as Swaw, Mayfungo, Quobina, Hina Quaw, Occorow, and Awcoo for the males, and Adjubah, Murroat, Jiba, Obah, and Affeba for the females. Or the manager might mark the tribal backgrounds of the Negroes by entitling them Pawpaw Harry, Curramantine Quashey, or Jack Pawpaw. If he were in a more imaginative mood, the overseer could find a variety of ways to express himself and perhaps to depict the characteristics of his slaves. Thus there were such names in the lists as Dumb, Braveboy, Sharper, and Long Mary; Yeaboy and Drummer; Rose, Flora, and Flower; London, Bristol, Cambridge, and Towerhill; and Hector, Titus, Cato, Scipio, Caesar, Cain, and Salisbury. Sometimes the name of a slave would be modified by his occupation, as Sloop Johnny, Quaco Sloop, Cuffy Potter, Quashey Hog, and Quashey Boyler. Other names hinted at family relationships, as Quashey Long Mary among the men and Occo Jack Smith among the women. Children quite often kept the names of their mothers as surnames. Thus Quashey, son of Maudlew, was always called Quashey Maudlew. All these were "plantation names," used by the managers in referring to the Negroes. Christian slaves bore baptismal names as well. To the catechist Gong was known as Mercy, Waddy as Mary, and Issoo as Jonah. Names and nicknames acceptable to European tradition became increasingly common during the eighteenth century among the young Negroes, including those who had not been baptized. By 1793 almost all the boys and girls who had been born on the estates had such familiar names as Sally, Patience, Abigail, Andrew, Charles, and David.

There was small warrant as yet for the use of family names by the Codrington villagers. In 1741 the Society's officials in London received word from Barbados that even the Christian Negro men allowed " them-

selves the liberty of keeping many Wife's."[19] Manager Abel Alleyne confessed in response to a prompt letter of enquiry that "polygamy" was "as impossible to prevent as any one thing in the World." Possibly "a Lustfull inclination" was responsible, or perhaps the men hoped to gain "more Victuals from hav[in]g more Wifes." Polygamy was reported to be common elsewhere in Barbados, and in theory this pattern of family life was conducive to a rapid increase of population. The institution might have had this result if another theory—that females should be purchased in larger number than males—had been applied. In general, however, the British West Indian planters were like the Codrington management in buying many more males than females. In 1732 there were 123 men to 58 women on the Society's estates. It was only in the last third of the century, after Codrington had stopped its dependence on the slave trade, that the number of women came to equal or exceed that of the men. At Codrington, at least, there is evidence that the terms polygamy and promiscuity were confused. According to Abel Alleyne, "those that have Wifes, only take them as they like them and so part with them at their pleasure." There were some examples, however, of enduring monogamous unions among the Society's Negroes. In 1727 Thomas Wilkie, the catechist, induced three slaves to "content themselves with one wife a piece," and in 1741 Abel Alleyne noted the fidelity of some Christian couples. As yet, however, the Christian marriage of chattels was scarcely to be thought of in the British West Indies. The idea did occur to Alleyne, but the Society maintained a discreet and prudent silence.

Alleyne regretted that the Negro men frequently became "great villains to equip" their mates "with finery."[20] The ordinary dress of the slaves did not, indeed, do much to meet the claims of vanity. By the terms of a little-observed Barbadian law, each Negro man was entitled annually to a cap and a pair of drawers, and each woman was to receive a cap and a petticoat. Like many other estates,[21] the Society's plantations added jackets to the minimum clothing allowance.[22] In this respect the estates conformed to the policy set by Christopher Codrington's father. His will, dated 1698, had granted to each man "one ozenbriggs pair of Breeches, and one Red Coat or Jackett, and [to each of the] women one ozenbriggs Petticoat, and one Cotton Jackett Every Christmas. . . ."[23] In Manager Smalridge's time, there was also something extra for the children, who could look forward to occasional ribbons for their caps.

The cheap and coarse Osnaburg linen, cotton, and other clothing

stores were shipped annually to the Society's plantations by the London factor. Only the red and blue caps came from England ready to wear, and the problem of fitting them is indicated by the management's request in 1756 that the factor send "17 Dozen Blue Mill'd Cap's... 5 dozn of which to be less Sized than the Rest." Other garments were made up in Barbados. In the earlier decades of the century, the sewing was done by white women among the Society's tenantry, or by those of neighboring estates. The seamstresses must have had slaves to help them, for in the 1720's they turned out Negro garments by the hundreds, at a charge of from 3*s.* 1*d.* to 3*s.* 9*d.* per dozen. In the latter part of the century, the household slaves at Codrington may have taken over the sewing operations, for the cost of this work ceases to be an item in the plantation account books. Completed clothes were stored in the garret of the old Codrington mansion house until the time came to distribute them in such gay combinations as "Red Jacketts" and "Blew Briches."[24] Sometimes there were not enough to go the rounds of the expectant blacks. In December, 1791, the manager gave 2*s.* 6*d.* "to Nanny Joan . . . to buy a jacket the penistone having fallen short." And there were other emergencies, too, as in 1792, when Judy Bromley was suffered 2*s.* 9¾*d.* "to redeem some clothes."

Defenders of slavery, like Bryan Edwards, wrote in terms of cloth allowances of eleven yards or more per slave, and Edward Long estimated that it cost more than 16*s.* sterling a year to clothe a Jamaica Negro. Some abolitionists, on the other hand, insisted that six yards of cloth to a Negro was the normal annual allotment.[25] At Codrington a year's shipment of clothing supplies was seldom as generous as the one for 1714, when £90 6*s.* 8*d.* sterling, or 6*s.* 7½*d.* for each of the 272 Negroes on the estates on January 1, 1714, was spent on the following clothing stores:

40 pieces (about 544 yards) of Kendal cottons at 15*s.* a piece (£30 0*s.* 0*d.*)
339 ells (423¾ yards) of brown Osnaburg linen at 7½*d.* an ell (£10 11*s.* 10*d.*)
40 pieces (1,072½ yards) of blue Osnaburg linen at 6¼*d.* a yard (£27 18*s.* 7*d.*)
187½ ells (234⅜ yards) of white Osnaburg linen at 8½*d.* an ell (£6 12*s.* 9*d.*)
262½ yards of brown cloth wrapped around the bale of clothing materials (£6 7*s.* 6*d.*)
34 pounds of thread (£3 6*s.* 0*d.*)
30 dozen red caps at 3*s.* 8*d.* a dozen (£5 10*s.* 0*d.*)

This shipment provided about 2,537⅛ yards of cloth, or 9⅓ yards per slave. Similar invoices and orders for clothing stores are extant for twenty-nine of the years between 1713 and 1803. These records show

that in an average year the Society supplied about 6¼ yards of cloth to the Codrington Negro and spent about 6*s.* 3*d.* sterling, or 8*s.* 5¼*d.* in Barbados money, per slave on cloth and other clothing stores, including thread and caps.

Abel Alleyne thought it a "great inconveniency" that the majority of the Society's Negroes came from African tribes who were "generally great eaters." But the Codrington blacks were not alone in their hunger. In 1711 Manager Smalridge wrote of the Barbadian slaves in general: "It is the greatest misfortune in this Island that few Planters give them a Belly full and the reason is this: their Numb[e]rs are so great and Corn so dear, that they can't afford it. . . ." Unfortunately for the Barbadian Negro, he ate from his master's purse, and every mouthful was measured in cash. In the small, densely populated colony, the planters were unwilling to follow the Jamaican system of giving the slaves allotments of land on which to raise their own provisions. The little Negro gardens in Barbados produced only very limited crops of yams, plantains, and the like. Except for these, the provision crops were grown by the managements, and the produce was issued to the Negroes in regular rations. Few plantations raised enough to feed the slaves, however. The masters could not bring themselves to spare a sufficiency either of land or of slave labor from the cultivation of the cash crop. The yield of one acre of sugar cane would pay for the growth of five acres of Indian corn. Barbadian planters considered it economical, therefore, to rely on imported corn and salt fish for a large part of the Negroes' food. Possibly the Negroes had once been less dependent on their masters and on North American supplies. In 1721 Manager Smalridge noted that the slaves "formerly . . . had Considerable quantity of provision of their own produce whereas now for some years past they have had nothing but what has been given them by their owners which makes it hard for the Slave and Chargeable to their Masters."

Imported food cost the planters money; hence they gave their Negroes meager and monotonous fare. In 1711 Smalridge observed that the "master that gives his Slave a pint of Corn for one day, thinks him well provided for." Manager Alleyne in 1741 found the customary ration somewhat more liberal, explaining that what was "generally allow'd a Negroe for his weeks provisions . . . [was] no more than One pint of Corn a day & a pound of Fish for the Week. . . ."[26] Fifty years later, it was held in testimony given before a committee of the British House of Commons that a slave in Barbados was allowed from seven to nine pints of corn and one pound of salt fish a week.[27]

This was little enough to sustain field laborers, but even these rations were uncertain. North American supplies often failed, particularly during the many years of war. In 1721 Smalridge informed the Society that "the declineing of Slaves is the Common Cry of the planter though I veryly believe many have dyed for Want this Year & it is not much better with many of the whites. . . ."[28] In December, 1746, during the War of the Austrian Succession, Manager John Payne at Codrington found one of the basic items of corn and salt fish at triple or more the normal price, and the other unobtainable:

> Provisions of all Kinds . . . are at a most extravagant price near Double as usual which will appear by the Accounts next sent you, and I am of Opinion they will Continue so unless wee are so Lucky as to have Commodore Legge more Inclin'd to serve the Islands than his predicessor who hass suffer'd all the provision & Lumber Vessels to be taken by the French privateer's. Corn being now at 10 . . . [shillings] p[er] bushell and not a h[ogs] h[ea]d of fish to be had, all other provisions & Lumber at a most Extravagant price.[29]

The cost of Indian corn had ranged from 2*s.* 6*d.* to 3*s.* 9*d.* per bushel in 1774, and salt fish from 12*s.* 6*d.* to 25*s.* per quintal, but in the year of the Declaration of Independence corn sold for from 10*s.* to 13*s.* and fish from 30*s.* to 40*s.*[30] In 1778 the Codrington attorneys wrote to the Society of "all those miseries which were experienced in too many of the estates in this Island, particularly in the year 1776, by the dreadful scarcity of grain" for the support of the Negroes.[31] With Britain at war against Revolutionary France, Manager Edward Clarke at Codrington found fish selling for 75*s.* a quintal in September, 1797, and two years later he warned that "the article of corn will be extremely dear . . . unless we have great supplies from America. God grant us all things in due time."[32] Restrictions on the West Indian trade with the United States negated such prayers in the years that followed. High market quotations often meant that the Negroes went with less than their normal allowance of food, or even that they were "left to plunder and starve."[33]

The Society's plantations adhered closely to the Barbadian standards in dieting the slaves. Manager Alleyne reported in 1741 that the Codrington Negro received the usual weekly ration of seven pints of corn and one pound of salt fish, "which we call good feeding," he commented, "and amounts to a great deal of money in the year." By 1760 the corn allowance had doubled, but the fish ration seems to have remained fairly constant during the century. At the average market prices of corn and fish in the periods 1710 to 1731 and 1770 to 1793, the annual

value of the Codrington Negro's provisions can be estimated at £1 11*s.* in the time of Managers Smalridge, Vaughton, and Alleyne, and at a little more than £3 after 1760, when both the grain allowance and prices were higher. The Society did not actually expend such sums on every slave, however. Almost all the fish had to be brought into the plantations, but some corn was raised on the estates.

A few Codrington agents hinted that the corn and fish ration left the slaves undernourished. Alleyne once put it to the Society to "judge . . . whether the Negroe cant eat more or whether he will not be tired eating one sort of Victuals for ever." As the manager explained it, the Codrington blacks raised some yams, plantains, and potatoes in their gardens, and when without these items would attempt to barter part of their rations for them. The Negroes were given pipes and tobacco, which served some of them as a marketable commodity when they bargained on a Sunday for food. Alleyne regretted that the hired slaves had to "be fed much better than" the Society's Negroes; "they eat that," he said, "which the Plant[ation] Negroes in fact ought to have for their better Encouragem[en]t." Such hotly denounced slave customs as Sunday marketing, thieving, and even polygamy were in part the result of attempts to get extra food, according to Alleyne.[34] But it was Charles Bolton, a displaced town agent with a special interest in alleging deficiencies in the new provisioner, who gave the most forceful picture of the consequences of underfeeding the Negroes:

> For want of proper food the Negroes cannot have strength enough to undergo their daily labor; this exposes them to the hurryings, & lashes of their Drivers which tires, tortures, & quickly wears them out; It makes them run away, often for weeks & months together, whereby much of their work is lost, it forces them upon robberies, for which they are liable to death; it dispirits them, & throws them into many distempers, which frequently prove fatal.[35]

Christopher Codrington had willed that the Society should train medical missionaries who would "do good to men's souls, whilst . . . taking care of their bodies." In deference to its benefactor, the Society planned to entrust the health of the Codrington Negroes and employees to its first catechist, the Reverend Joseph Holt, who was sent to the Barbados estates in 1713. According to a number of London physicians who had examined Holt in England, the missionary showed "Ability and understanding in Physick and Surgery."[36] The renowned Dr. Hans Sloane not only passed on Holt's qualifications, but gave him the benefit of much practical advice. Beware of preventive medicine, the great physician counseled: "Suppose a person to be in perfect health," he

wrote, "that person must by any medicine of Real Vertue or Effect be Changed into One Sick." If treatment did become necessary, Holt should rely on much the same methods as were used in England, such as bleeding, blistering, and administering of laudanum, bark, and other drugs.[37] Holt took with him to the West Indies a collection of surgical instruments, a chest of medicines, which was said to have been one of the finest ever exported from England, and a "physicall" library that included the standard anatomies, dispensaries, courses on surgery, "Chamberlaynes *Midwifry*," and "Turners *Womans Counsellor*." After all the hopeful preparations that had been made for him, however, Holt deserted his post within a few months, and was discharged in 1714. Despairing of finding another clergyman skilled in medicine, the Society then voted to separate the catechetical and medical offices at Codrington.[38]

After the Holt experiment, the Codrington plantations followed the practice of other West Indian estates by retaining the services of a local doctor. For £50 a year a Barbadian physician agreed to make occasional visits and to supply the plantations with both medicines and skill. The white employees were not covered by the flat fee. "It is the Custom here," Manager Smalridge explained, that "every person that receives wages pays the Doctor for what he takes from him in Sickness."[39] When the physician was absent, Mrs. Smalridge was ready to give her time in "Extraordinary care for the Negro Children; and in Administering necessarys to the others when Sickness or other Accedents" befell them.[40] At times other healers had to be called to the estates, however. In 1723, for example, one Susana Macklen was paid £2 for curing a Negro of yaws, and in 1725 an outside physician, Dr. Thomas Hope, was allowed £1 13*s.* 9*d.* for saving a slave from a "fowle Dissease." Midwives were given from 10*s.* to £1 for their attendance at a childbirth. A "Negro Doctor" was paid a fee of 5*s.* in 1731 for curing a sick slave. Numerous other small fees were given to unnamed persons for the cure—never for the treatment alone—of yaws and other maladies. Presumably many of these occasional healers were untrained medicine men. Dr. George Pinckard, a distinguished British physician, found as late as 1796 that "the very *negro doctors* of the estates too justly" vied with the medical profession in Barbados.[41]

With the opening of Codrington College in 1745, the professor of surgery was called upon to double as the plantation doctor. William Cattell, whose professional training included a diligent apprenticeship to a Warwickshire surgeon and apothecary, two years of study and

practice under a Windsor physician, and a year of attendance on the surgeons of St. Thomas' Hospital in London, was employed for £100 sterling a year, plus his lodging and diet in the college. An upstairs room was appointed as his laboratory, but the noise of Cattell's mortar could be heard throughout the school. The Society's London factor regularly sent him medicines and "glass stopper Bottles . . . to prevent the great quantity of Insects . . . from getting into, and destroying" the mixtures. Cattell's own health failed him after he had served for a few years, and the professorship did not long survive his resignation. With its abolition in 1754, the old arrangements for a nonresident doctor were revived.[42]

In this later period, the Codrington doctor was paid £60 or £70 a year. He supplied only a part of the medicines that he prescribed for the Negroes. In 1791, for example, the London factor sent drugs worth more than £12 to Codrington. Other physicians and surgeons were called to consult on particular cases with more frequency than had been true earlier. In 1790 the manager paid £5 to one Dr. Duce "for surgery performed on 2 negroes vizt—Goomah with an enlargement in the groin & Cudjoe Potter who labored under a Hydrocle." Another £5 went to "Doctor Lemmon for his advice to Cudjoe Potter who was seized with an epileptick fit." The cost of these special services was now considerable. It appears, in fact, that the plantation doctor had become responsible only for the routine and nonsurgical cases. The transition was being made to the nineteenth-century system, under which planters usually retained only apothecaries and called in physicians and surgeons at need.

"Sick houses" were maintained for the Codrington Negroes on both the upper and lower estates. Such rooms were known as "hot houses" on some West Indian estates, so it is not surprising that one of those at Codrington was annexed to the plantation kitchen.[43] In the latter half of the eighteenth century, the sick houses were served by both white and Negro nurses. One white woman was employed at a salary of £15 until 1784, when two nurses were appointed in her place, one for the upper estate at £10 a year and the other for the Consett property at £8 a year. To help them the management assigned two or three slave women, who administered the castor oil, green tar, biscuits, rice, chocolate, port, and other items that were bought for the patients.[44] Near at hand was the "russia holland strait Jacket to confine lunatics," and also "that useful & Necessary thing called a Machine for injecting the fumes of Tobacco, with a double set of pipes to it, a short set when

it is used for the Negroes, & a very long set when it is to be used for Horses or Cattle."[45]

The rise and fall in the number of slaves and the changing standards of treatment make it difficult to estimate the per capita cost of medical care for any extended period of years. Roughly speaking, however, the average annual expenditure was about 3*s.* or 4*s.* in the earlier decades of the century, and 8*s.* at its close.

What was the total cost of maintaining a Codrington Negro in the eighteenth century? In 1761 the Society's attorneys estimated the expense at £4 a year.[46] This may have been something of a rule-of-thumb calculation. According to the testimony given before a committee of the English Privy Council by John Brathwaite, who was then the lessee of the Codrington estates, the general view among Barbadian planters was that it cost £4 a year to provide for a slave.[47] In 1760 Bishop Drummond, who headed a group in London that was making a searching study of the Society's estates, computed the "Ordinary expence" at £3 "per head, of which £1 15*s.* 0*d.* [is] in Corn at 3*s.* per bushel . . . if things were b[ought] at the best hand." He hastened to add, however, "We buy everything at the dearest rate."[48]

Further light on contemporary views of the matter can be found in the contracts that were made to supply the Codrington plantations with hired slave labor. With the aid of some deductions, one can see that a rough-and-ready computation of maintenance costs was made in setting the rates for hired work. During the period from 1783 to 1789, the Codrington management paid the master of a hired field slave 10*d.* a day, but gave 12*d.* to the jobber who agreed to assume the cost of feeding his hireling. It was assumed, then, that it cost about 2*d.* a day, or £3 0*s.* 10*d.* a year, to feed a Negro. The over-all charge for providing a Negro with clothing, food, and medical care is indicated by another contract for hired slaves. By a special arrangement with one Ann Farrell, the Codrington plantations retained the services of twelve of her field slaves on an annual basis, and provided them with necessities during the whole of the year. Ann Farrell was paid 7½*d.* a day for each Negro, but only for the approximately 200 days in the year in which her Negroes were actually employed on the estates. In other words, she received £6 5*s.* per slave in the year, instead of the £10 to which she would have been entitled had she contracted to take full care of the Negro and to receive the rate of 12*d.* a day. In effect, therefore, the Codrington management was charging her £3 15*s.* a year for maintaining each of her slaves. The plantation doctor undertook to attend

the Farrell Negroes at a fee of 5*s.* each. It would appear that the Codrington management entered into contracts for hired labor in the belief that it cost about £3 15*s.* to maintain a slave for one year, that £3 0*s.* 10*d.* was for food, and that 5*s.* more was for payment of the doctor. This leaves the sum of 9*s.* 2*d.* for the costs of clothing and for the minor items of hospitalization, extraordinary medical attention, and surgical care.

The above figures agree rather closely with the estimates that have been made in this chapter of the Codrington expenditures for Negro clothing, food, and medical treatment. According to my calculations, the plantations spent £2 2*s.* 11¼*d.* a year on the maintenance of each Negro in the first half of the eighteenth century. Of this amount, £1 11*s.* was for food, 3*s.* 6*d.* for medical care, and 8*s.* 5¼*d.* for clothing. In the latter half of the century, the whole of the annual charge had risen to £3 16*s.* 5¼*d.*, with £3 for food, 8*s.* for medical care, and 8*s.* 5¼*d.* for clothing.

CHAPTER V

AFRICAN RECRUITMENT[1]

CARIBBEAN SUGAR PLANTERS knew the disastrous effects of hurricanes, wars, droughts, and floods. They saw erosion take away the fertility of the soil, and watched fine crops blasted by pests, fires, and plant diseases. According to William Beckford, "the principal occasion of a planter's distress" was none of these, however, but rather the exhaustion of capital through the loss of slaves.[2] The planter readily allotted from 30 to 40 per cent of his initial investment in an estate to the stock of Negroes,[3] but he flinched at the necessity of meeting that charge twice in a generation. This was his fate in Barbados in the twenty-one years between 1712 and 1734, when 75,893 African Negroes were imported into the colony to raise the slave population from 41,970 to 46,362.[4] Matters were not always and everywhere as grim as this, but few proprietors escaped the necessity of regularly replacing dead slaves with newly purchased Africans. After almost thirteen years as a resident of Jamaica, Beckford reported in 1788 that neither he nor his acquaintances had known a plantation to be independent of the slave trade.[5] The British West Indian labor problem arose because the plantation economy was "an industrial progress based literally on the extermination of human life."[6]

During most of the eighteenth century, the Codrington estates shared fully in the common failure to maintain numbers without constant recruitment. At times the Codrington managers attempted to avoid making additions by deliberately cutting back their production of sugar, or by redeploying the slave force in order to concentrate maximum strength on the essential work of the fields. In other instances the overseers tried to fill the diminishing ranks by hiring slaves, buying seasoned Negroes in preference to Africans, and encouraging the blacks to breed. Like other planters, however, the Society's agents sought first to uphold strength by buying African Negroes. It was only the "great failure" of that policy which induced them to seek other ways of meeting the problem of a declining slave population.[7]

The number of slaves required to work an acre of plantation land varied greatly from island to island and from estate to estate. Henry Frere, an early historian of Barbados, suggested in 1768 that a Barbadian property of 250 acres might need 170 slaves.[8] By his standard

[1] For notes to chap. v, see pp. 152–154.

the Codrington estates should have had about 340 Negroes to man the 500 acres of arable land. Manager Smalridge asked for expert advice on the point from one Samuel Osborne, who had "the best estate in the parish & . . . [shipped] the Most Sugar of Any one Gent[lema]n in the Island." "Mr. Osborn has been pleased [to] ride over your plantation," Smalridge informed the Society; "he is of Opinion your plantation Would take 400 Negroes to manage it as it ought to be."[9] Christopher Codrington had once operated the estates with as few as "250 working negros, men, women, boys, and girls, and about 20 negro children,"[10] and the Society operated them for half a century with even smaller numbers. What settled all discussion as to a proper stocking policy for the Society's plantation, however, was the provision in Christopher Codrington's will that at least 300 Negroes should be kept on the property. Successive managers agreed that this was the minimum strength for the effective staffing of the many and diversified jobs.[11]

There were 319 slaves on the plantations at the time of Christopher Codrington's death. Only 311 were accounted for on April 20, 1710, in the inventory made by the temporary administrator, William Codrington, who maintained that 8 others rightfully belonged to an Antigua estate that had passed to him by his cousin's will. Listed were 109 men, 115 women, 59 boys, and 28 girls, whom the appraisers valued at £6,175, or 30 per cent of the total worth of the Society's plantations.[12] The evaluation of the average Negro at £19 17*s.* represented at most the cost of his replacement by a newly imported African.[13] Had the population contained a substantial number of creole or seasoned Negroes, it would have been valued more highly. About 100 "new" Negroes, unseasoned Africans, had been purchased shortly before Christopher Codrington's death. The quality of the other slaves was probably fairly good, for the old proprietor had followed the practice of shipping the weak, lazy, old, sick, and insubordinate "refuse Negroes" to Barbuda, where he had employed them in raising cattle and provision crops.[14]

Although Christopher Codrington left more slaves than he had charged the Society to maintain, the new owner experienced forthwith the difficulty of keeping up the minimum number. Disputes with William Codrington prevented the Society from taking immediate possession of the estates. During a period of litigation, the manager of the plantations, John Smalridge, could turn to no one for help in providing for the Negroes. Food supplies had been imported from Barbuda

in the past, and Smalridge failed in his attempt to make up for their loss by planting corn. In July, 1711, the Society's agents in Barbados reported that there were "not Provisions eno[ugh] of any sort in the Plantation to last the Negro's a Week." In August most of the slaves deserted the estates in search of food. Even without such chaotic conditions as these, Negroes often declined when plantations changed ownership, presumably because these transfers caused anxiety among the slaves and laxity among the white employees.[15] When the property was at last surrendered to the Society on February 2, 1712, only 276 Negroes remained. Twenty-four had died, as many more had been seized by William Codrington, and only 5 had been born.

Later William Codrington restored 6 of the original stock. In making restitution for the other Negroes whom he had removed to Antigua, the administrator permitted the Society's attorneys to select 10 Negro men from a sloop that he had employed in a slave-trading voyage to Guinea. The attorneys congratulated themselves on choosing particularly "fine people," valued at £35 "per head." Even with these additions and 2 more births on the Society's estates, however, the deaths of 12 more blacks left the plantations with only 282 slaves at the close of 1712. A year later, after 11 deaths and 1 birth, the number had dropped to 272.[16]

Smalridge's earnest entreaties that the Negro losses should be made up required the Society to set a policy for maintaining the supply of slave labor. It did so by turning to the common method of purchasing new Negroes, and in 1713 the attorneys in Barbados were authorized to buy a sufficient number to restore and keep up a stock of 300.[17]

During the following half-century of reliance on the slave trade, the managers and attorneys were seldom so fortunate as to have discretionary power to buy slaves. As a rule anguished representations of the inadequacy of the stock had to be made almost every year to the officers of the Society in London. John Smalridge made use of almost every opportunity to press the matter. In June, 1725, he wrote:

> ... there is an absolute necessity to make-up the Number 300—the Estate grows very laboriouse—the perpetuall rains last year did a great deale of damage to there Lower Estate—it washd hills, and canes away—that a great deale of the Lower land is not to be planted again but however—there is Estate enough to make good crops if it be well Stockd with Slavs which is the ready way to get mony—though it is a present expence to provide, the better for the future—it is impossible to do much with little Strength ... which is the misfortune I labor under.

In July he returned to the subject, stating, "I hope the Society will

give us Such Directions to Supply our deficiencies that we may not Sinck, Such Estates that are made profittable to the owners is by keeping it Stock'd to the height." When a deceased attorney left his books to the Society, Smalridge commented: "I wish he had given his Negro's—they would have been very serviceable under our present Circumstances, for I believe we shall not be able to do much, except the Number was made up. . . ."[18]

Other Codrington agents were no less insistent. Manager Abel Alleyne urged in 1741 that the Society send instructions to buy slaves, for then, he reasoned, "the Crop wou'd be planted earlier, we shou'd begin to grind earlier, and the Sugars [would be] Shipt home to the first Market, and in course more wou'd be got for them and a great deal more made." In 1730 the Society's attorneys warned that "the keeping of any Estate Under handed in this Island is a prelude to its Destruction for vast charges are Required to Support it which the produce Should be able to afford. . . ." It was impossible to keep up production on the estates, they declared, when there were "Scarce Slaves Enough upon them both to hand one of them to the best Advantage."[19]

Such pleas generally extracted the Society's orders to buy ten, twenty, or thirty slaves in the year. Then the attorneys would empower the manager and the town agent to purchase the authorized number "from any good Cargo that should be brought to the Island before the expiration of the . . . Year."[20]

In carrying out these directions, the town agent took the responsibility of watching for the arrival of the slave ships at Carlisle Bay, Bridgetown. When a slaver arrived in port, the agent hired a boat to take him to the ship for a preliminary inspection of her cargo. If the Negroes seemed suitable for the Society, the agent sent a porter across the island to give notice to the Codrington manager. Sometimes the messenger was given a double fee to make a hasty journey by night, in order that the estates should have first choice from among the Africans. If the manager left the selection and purchase to the agent, the factor sent the new Negroes to the estates in the charge of a trusted slave. More often the manager came to the sale himself, and occasionally brought Codrington slaves along with him to help in the buying.[21]

At the sale on board the slaver, great caution was advisable, for the slave traders had many tricks by which they disguised the poor condition of their merchandise. A glossy skin being a sign of health, the Africans were "made up for market by having their skins dressed over three or four times with a compound of gunpowder, lime-juice, and

oil."[23] A Negro who appeared fit when examined during the confusion of a deck sale might prove to be at death's door when brought home. Abel Alleyne reported in 1743 "that the Societys New bought Negroes were . . . the finest he had seen," but that several died, "chiefly owing . . .to the evil Practice of mixing Sea Water with fresh, on Board the Guiney men, to make it go further." Alleyne had received this information from the Africans themselves, and the Codrington doctors agreed that the story was true. Manager John Payne ascribed sickness among the new Negroes in 1746 to the same cause. There were many complaints, indeed, of the poor quality of the Negroes brought to Barbados in the 1740's, but perhaps the Spanish and French were at least as responsible for this as the slave traders. Between 1744 and 1748 some forty slavers were seized by Britain's enemies in the War of the Austrian Succession.[24]

There were other considerations to keep in mind in purchasing Africans. It was unusual at Codrington to import Negroes who were less than ten or more than thirty years old. Manager Alleyne followed the practice, which some regarded as the best, of buying chiefly young men and women, or children. The average age of a sampling of fifty-four Negroes acquired by him was between seventeen and eighteen years. It was thought imprudent to add many slaves at one time. Edward Long, a historian of Jamaica, suggested that the master who contented himself with eight or ten new Negroes in a lot would lose 20 per cent of them, whereas the planter who bought thirty Africans would lose 50 per cent. Most of the "parcels" of new Negroes brought to Codrington numbered ten to twelve each, although several groups were sometimes admitted at close intervals. The wise buyer also took care not to go to the market when there was sickness or a shortage of provisions in the island. Manager Alleyne believed that it was best to bring the Africans to Codrington after Christmas, "when provisions of all sorts are plenty and the Weather [is] warm and dry."[25]

When a new Negro arrived at Codrington he became the object of the most tender care. For the next three years he was regarded as an unseasoned slave who would revenge the slightest mistreatment by dying. He was outfitted with new clothing, given "the best of Corn and Fish and . . . enough of it," indulged with bread and other unusual items of diet, and assigned a warm place to sleep. He and the other Africans were never "put to hard labour, for that wou'd distroy them directly." They were given the easiest work on the plantations and encouraged to mix with the other slaves while learning a little English.

It did not do to subject them to the ordinary harsh discipline, for at best they were too likely to attempt suicide. In 1714 three in a parcel of ten slaves bought by Smalridge "destroyed themselves after a great deal of good Usage." One Jack Smith "Hang'd himself" in 1746, only three months after he had been purchased. The new Negroes were also quick to try escape. Two of them fled to Bridgetown in August, 1746. Although seasoned Negroes went in search of them, it was October before the pair could be jailed. The seasoning process was a trying one for any overseer. Even as he asked the Society for permission to buy more slaves, Manager Alleyne set down a fervent prayer, "and I beg of God Almighty to preserve their Lives."[25]

The Society's experience with the African trade began in 1714, when Smalridge hastened to act on his newly granted authority to buy slaves. In the first year, the manager and agent bought 22 males at an average price of about £38 for each slave. Because the number of deaths exceeded that of births in the year, the net gain in the Negro population at Codrington in 1714 was only 17. But with 289 Negroes listed on December 31, the goal of 300 did not seem far removed. In 1715, however, the "raging distempers" among the Barbadian Negroes kept Smalridge from the slave marts for fear that disease might spread to Codrington. Without new recruits, the population declined to 277, and the gain of the previous year was lost. Ten men, "very healthy, Sound and Robust, Chose by Mr. Smalridge out of a Ship Load," were acquired for £410 in 1716, and 10 more for £400 in 1717, when the year ended with 280 Negroes. It was clear that the additions that had been made were no more than enough to keep up, rather than increase, the stock, but Smalridge allowed the next twelvemonth to pass without further purchases. In consequence the population fell to 269 at the close of 1718. The alarmed overseer then bought 17 women in 1719. "I was unwilling considering the bad Cropp to lay out any money," he explained to the Society, "but the Markett here being glutted with Negroes and being short in our number I ventured to buy 12 at 20 pounds p[e]r head and 5 at 18 pounds p[e]r head." The inventory of the Negroes on December 31, 1719, showed the discouraging results of the initial experiment in purchasing new Negroes. In six years the Society had added 59 blacks, a fifth as many as the 272 alive on January 1, 1714, yet the list of 1719 showed only 278 Negroes.[26]

During the ensuing four years, Smalridge and the Society almost abandoned the effort to maintain the labor force by buying Africans. Only ten slaves were imported from 1720 to 1723—six men for £210

£43. The importations of Africans and seasoned Negroes resulted in a net gain of 47 in the population, as the number of slaves rose from 194 on January 1, 1740, to 241 on December 31, 1746.[31]

John Payne, the manager of the plantations from 1746 to 1749, reverted to the policy of Vaughton, and declared it a mistake to buy Africans at the rate Alleyne had deemed necessary. His plan to solve the problem of labor supply by adding seasoned Negroes will be considered in a later chapter. During the three years from 1747 to 1749, no Negroes, new or seasoned, were purchased, with the result that the Codrington villages housed only 209 blacks on January 1, 1750.[32]

Everyone concerned with affairs at Codrington shared Payne's distrust of African recruits, but the diminution in the number of slaves compelled the Barbadian agents to revive the buying program. In 1749 the attorneys wrote to the Society: "There is... an absolute Necessity to resolve upon purchasing a few New Negroes every Year, & to try by Care & good Managem[en]t of them, for better Success than we have had before. By such means, we see people do succeed with them, & no doubt the great Stock of Negroes now upon the Island must originally have come that way."[33] Twenty or more slaves were purchased in 1750 and 1751.[34] During the decade from 1752 to 1761, the Society expended about £4,000 for Africans, including £1,976 for 53 new Negroes bought in 1756, 1757, 1758, and 1760.[35] It may be estimated, therefore, that about 107 slaves were imported in the whole of the ten-year period, or some 10 or 11 a year at an average price of about £37, which corresponds with the price for an adult male African on sale in Barbados in 1760. In spite of the many and costly additions to the Codrington population, the total number fell to 190 by the close of the period.[36]

The slave trade lost its relevance for the Codrington plantations in 1761. After fifty years of trial, the policy of restocking with new African Negroes was discarded forever. From 1712 to 1761 the Society had purchased about 450 Negroes at a cost of about £15,000. It had spent two and one-half times the value of the Negroes left by Christopher Codrington, and had added one and one-half times the number of slaves that had come from him. The outcome of this investment after five decades was a population smaller by more than one-third. In 1762 the Society's attorneys summed up the lesson: "Experience hath... taught us how fruitless an attempt it is to aim at Stocking... by buying new Negros."[37]

CHAPTER VI

ANATOMY OF DECLINE[1]

EVEN WITH HEAVY and repeated buying of African Negroes, most planters could barely sustain the strength of their field gangs. To Manager Smalridge at Codrington this was "the Common Callamity," in which the Society's estates were "Great Sufferers."[2] Why did the "old stock" of slaves fail to perpetuate their numbers? Why did the Codrington management conclude after fifty years of experience that it was hopeless to repair the losses with African recruits? Did the vast bulk of the African slave trade rest on the continuing decline of the "old stock," or did the commerce of one year serve chiefly to replace the fragile wares of the last? Perhaps some part of the answers to these basic questions of the plantation economy may lie in the long record of brief lives in the Codrington villages of the eighteenth century.

Six Negroes died to each one born at Codrington in the years from 1712 to 1748. The record of 69 births and 418 deaths in the thirty-seven years of the period is set forth in table 6. These figures indicate a death rate (.0567) more than six times as large as the birth rate (.00935). In an average year there were about 6 deaths and 1 birth in every 100 of the total population. The typical year saw 2 Negroes born and 13 die in a population that had numbered 238 at the beginning of the twelvemonth.

Before the 1760's the Codrington management took little notice of the failure of the Negroes to breed, and none but Abel Alleyne attempted to explain it. If the Society had more slaves, he suggested, the gangs would be able to "work easy & hold out many years longer, and the women would breed, which would assist in keeping up the Number."[3] Some West Indian observers held that promiscuity was the cause of the low birth rate. Others pointed to the indifferent and even hostile attitude of many planters toward childbearing. Such masters thought the potential value of the children insufficient to balance the cost of rearing them and of allowing their mothers to have temporary leave from work. If the planter bought a mature African, the slave would enter the first gang in three years. Was it economically sound, then, to encourage the breeding of creole children who must be maintained for twenty years before reaching the same maximum of use-

[1] For notes to chap. vi, see pp. 154–155.

fulness? The conviction that it was impractical to keep up the supply of labor by breeding Negroes seems to be the only explanation for the preponderance of males among the Africans imported to the West Indies.[4] This view must have carried weight at Codrington, where women numbered one in three of the Negro population in 1740.

Smalridge saw nothing unusual in the number of deaths at Codrington, but he was sure that "no [other] estate of Such a Number of

TABLE 6

VITAL STATISTICS OF SLAVES AT CODRINGTON, 1712–1748

Year	No. on January 1	No. born	No. died	Year	No. on January 1	No. born	No. died
1712.....	202[a]	2	12	1731.....	224	3	10
1713.....	282	1	11	1732.....	233	3	15
1714.....	272	..[b]	..[b]	1733.....	225	1	14
1715.....	289	2	14	1734.....	232	2	15
1716.....	277	3	8	1735.....	217	0	5
1717.....	282	3	15	1736.....	212	0	6
1718.....	280	0	11	1737.....	206	1	4
1719.....	269	2	10	1738.....	203	1	7
1720.....	278	3	11	1739.....	197	2	5
1721.....	270	1	23	1740.....	194	0	6
1722.....	254	..[b]	..[b]	1741.....	205	1	6
1723.....	253	7	29	1742.....	230	1	10
1724.....	235	3	24	1743.....	221	2	26
1725.....	224	3	20	1744.....	219	2	16
1726.....	216	..[b]	..[b]	1745.....	228	7	9
1727.....	205[c]	..[b]	..[b]	1746.....	236	3	28
1728.....	215	..[b]	..[b]	1747.....	241	2	36
1729.....	...[b]	..[b]	..[b]	1748.....	207	7	5
1730.....	221	1	7	Totals.....		69	418

[a] This number includes the slaves surrendered to the Society by William Codrington after January 1.
[b] No data.
[c] This number is the population on May 9, 1727, as it appears in the Plantation Account Book for that year.

Negroes... [had] so few Born." In September, 1721, he noted that there had been only 23 births since April, 1710, and 46 in the nineteen years since 1702.[5] No doubt the manager was sincere in his expressions of concern, but in buying Africans, Smalridge ignored the fact that children are born of mothers. Of the 162 slaves purchased by Smalridge, no fewer than 136 were males. The inventory of Negroes at Codrington in April, 1710, listed 143 women and girls; the list compiled at the time of Smalridge's death in March, 1731, named only

74 females. Ten of the 74 had been purchased since 1710, or were the offspring of women bought in that period. The other 64 represented the old stock and their descendants. In 1721 Smalridge had remarked, "the old Stock are almost wore out,"[6] but he had done nothing to replace the vanishing female population. His successors followed the policy of buying two men to every woman. Vaughton, Alleyne, and Payne reported expenditures for 105 males, 48 females, and 20 unclassified persons.

Of what value was it to import women of childbearing age, when the Negro infant was thought to have one chance in two of living to be five years old? This grim calculation was made by several West Indian writers,[7] and is borne out by the Codrington statistics in the years from 1743 to 1748. During that period there were about seventy women and girls on the Society's plantations. The number of women of childbearing age increased from thirty-three in 1743 to about forty-five in 1744 and the succeeding years. Of the two children born in 1743, Gundo's son Tom lived through the whole period, but Jibbah's daughter, Hannah, died at the age of three years and one week. In 1744 Betty Occo miscarried, but Little Murriah and another Betty successfully gave birth to sons; Little Murriah's Drummer lived past 1748, but Betty's child died of "Fitts" on his tenth day of life. In 1745 Joan's daughter was born on February 7 and died on May 12; Occo's daughter began life on February 13 and died on July 13; Molly's boy was born on July 7 and died on July 14; Bennebah's daughter lived only from October 3 to October 10; Arnote's son, Cudgoe, survived the year to die in 1748, and Moll's baby daughter, Moroat, lived only to 1747; Mercy's daughter, Mary, was the only one of the seven youngsters born in 1745 who survived at least three years. One of the three children born in 1746 died in the same year. The two children born in 1747 outlived their second years, and six of the seven babies born in 1748 lived past December 31 of that year, which is the last date to which any of the children listed has been checked. Thus ten of the twenty-three children born in the years from 1743 to 1748 died before the close of the period. Could the record be traced further, it would probably show that others of the twenty-three died within the critical interval between birth and the fifth year of age.

West Indian planters gave contradictory testimony as to the death rate among their Negroes, but several qualified men agreed that the loss during the eighteenth century was about 6 per cent a year.[8] At Codrington much of this loss was attributed to diseases. In February,

1722, Manager Smalridge wrote to the Society: "I have had a very Sickly family—I have buried 22 Negro's but not above 4 of Value and they have been Declining three Years past with Belley Aches which take away the use of their Limbs."[9] Abel Alleyne reported epidemics of smallpox and "a most violent Fever,"[10] and in 1747 Dr. William Cattell noted that one-half the Codrington population was afflicted with smallpox and measles. Cattell feared these diseases far less than dropsy, which he singled out as the greatest killer.[11] Leprosy, yaws, flux, and consumption took a heavy and regular toll of life. The managers observed that illnesses multiplied on the estates after periods of drought, nightwork, or toil in wet weather. Abel Alleyne, at least, was well aware that overwork and malnutrition contributed to the decline of the Negroes, and lamented that when the slaves sickened and died, the burden of labor became all the greater for those who remained.[12]

All great sugar plantations lost many slaves through accidents, which were particularly common among those who worked around the machinery in the mills, distilleries, and boiling houses.[13] A notable example occurred at Codrington in May, 1743, when "three Negro Men, Anning, Yeaboy, & Brumiah were Suffocated to Death by the Steam of a Receiving Cistern in the Distill house." The Reverend Griffith Hughes narrated the story in his *Natural History of Barbados* as proof of the fatal effect of breathing the fumes from rum dregs, which in this instance had been drained from the still into a cistern nine feet deep. One of the three Negroes sent to clean the reservoir "was no sooner at the Bottom than dead." The two remaining slaves "met with the same Fate instantly" when they attempted to effect a rescue.[14] Other Codrington Negroes suffered less dramatic but equally fatal mishaps, including death by drowning while out sailing in the plantation sloop.

It is necessary to examine a few representative death lists in order to realize fully the variety of ills and misfortunes to which the Negroes were subject. The following for 1746 is quoted with the omission of entries for cattle, hogs, and horses:

March 25	the Negroe Man Murribah	Ulcers
April 10	the Negroe Woman Coco Jubah	Suddenly
April 12	the Negroe Man Yoway	Dropsey
April 17	the Negro Man Cambridge	ditto
April 28	the Negroe Woman Betty	ditto
April 29	the Negroe Girl Mercy	Yaws

May 26	the Negroe Boy Anning	Dropsy
July 14	the Negᵉ Jack Smith	Hand'd himself ...
July 16	the Boy Appeah ...	Suddenly
July 18	the Negᵉ Girl Elcey ...	dropsy
July 25	the Negroe Woman Jessubah	a flux
August 3	the Negroe Woman Bellah	Dropsey
August 5	the Negroe Man Daniel	shot by Accident
	the New Negᵉ Nedd ...	drownd Sloop
August 9	the Negᵉ Woman Mercy	Yaws
August 18	the Negᵉ Girle Hannah	a Fever
October 20	the Negᵉ Man Prince	Leprosy
	the Negᵉ Man Little Cunda	Plague
	the Negᵉ Man Dickey	Dropsey
November 2	the Negᵉ Boy Patrick	ditto
November 13	the Negᵉ Man Bram	Consumption
November 26	the Negᵉ Woman Lubbah	Old Age
November 29	the Negroe Man Swaw	Timpany
	the New Negᵉ Bacchus ...	dropsy
December 11	the Negroe Child Mary	Ditto
December 13	the Negroe Man Affury	Old Age
December 18	the Negro Man Tackey	Dropsey
	the Negroe Man Mingo	ditto

Another account lists the deaths that occurred between December 31, 1786, and May 3, 1788:

Africa	Tympany	1
Phill John	Sore Throat	1
Caesar Henley	a leper	1
Quash Madlew	dropsey	1
Bomah	fever	1
Amentah	consumption	1
Mercy	debilitated	1
Minnah	convulsed	1
Bess Rose	sore throat	1
Bennebah	ditto	1
Jacob	convulsed	1
John Castle	sore throat	1

With records such as these before it, the Society could appreciate the observation by one of its schoolmasters that the hazard of keeping stock in Barbados was inconceivable.[15]

It has been noted that the rate of decrease fell sharply in the period from 1734 to 1739, when the estates were not buying Negroes. The relationship between these two facts is suggested by the arguments that Manager John Payne used in 1747 in attempting to secure another suspension of stocking. Twenty-eight Negroes had died in 1746, and

thirty-six more were to die during the year in which Payne wrote to the Society:

> I am a good deal concerned at the loss of several Negroes the last year. Many of them were past labor & several with Various Disorders too tedious for me to mention butt so Declineing thatt they did no Labor att all. I was nott a weeke upon the Estates before I pointed out to the Doctor as well as the Gentlemen Atorneys' Upward of Thirty thatt I wass perswaded Neither the most Extrordinnry Care nor the skilfullest physition whatsoever Could have restored them & if youl please to recollect I wrote to you last August that their wass severall of them In a very Declineing state. I cant help thinking Itt a Wrong scheme to purchase so many New Negroes In a year as has been for these three last years, the Negroes they bring to the Island of latt years are of Wild Countrys and most People thatt have Purchased them have suffered severely.[16]

Thirteen of the deaths in 1746 and ten in 1747 were, in fact, those of unseasoned blacks.

That a large share of the losses could be attributed to the mortal risks of seasoning had been brought to the Society's attention as early as January, 1713. In explaining the many deaths that had occurred in the preceding years, John Smalridge had reminded the Society of the great block of Negroes purchased by Christopher Codrington not long before his death in 1710. "Experience shows a Negro droops more the 2d or third Year than the first," Smalridge added.[17] Dr. Cattell reported in 1747: "'tis a general observation here, that rarely five (out of every ten new Negroes that are bought) ever escape being attack'd" by dropsy.[18] In 1754 one of the Codrington attorneys gave the Society further information on the subject:

> It is a general complaint that the price of New Negroes rises, & their value falls. There is so great a risque in buying them, that two out of three is reck[o]ned no extraordinary loss, & they are for a considerable time rather a burthen than an help to an Estate, & when they become fit for labour it is a hazard whether they turn out tractable & laborious....[19]

West Indian writers varied in placing the loss of new Negroes at from one-third to one-half the number imported. William Beckford thought "the risk... in seasoning more than one out of two... sufficient... to discourage a prudent man from the purchase of slaves."[20]

Further evidence of the comparatively great loss of African slaves is provided by the inventory of Codrington Negroes on March 14, 1731. This interesting document divides the blacks into those "Left on the Estate at the death of General Codrington & their Issue born since [his] Death," and those "Bought Since... and their Issue." The list of the old stock, including the offspring of the women, shows 60

men, 52 women, 19 boys, and 12 girls, or 143 slaves in all. Christopher Codrington had left 319 Negroes, of whom 293 were kept on the estates by William Codrington, the temporary administrator of the Society's plantations from 1710 to 1712. It is clear, then, that the old stock of 293 Negroes had declined by 51 per cent since 1710. If the old stock had been subject to the same birth and death rates that prevailed in the population as a whole between 1712 and 1748, there would have been 105 survivors in 1731, instead of the 143 actually inventoried. The decline in that event would have been 64 per cent of the population in 1710. There is no doubt, therefore, that the old stock was decreasing at a decidedly slower rate than were the Africans brought onto the plantations after Christopher Codrington's death. It should be remembered that all the creole Negroes and the greater part of the seasoned slaves were among the old stock.

Smalridge acquired 162 new Negroes after 1710. The inventory made at his death listed 52 men, 16 boys, and 7 women still alive. In addition the report named 4 boys and 3 girls who had been born at Codrington of African mothers. The Society, therefore, had lost one of every two Africans it had purchased since 1710.

It is possible to trace the history of seven parcels of Africans brought to Codrington, and thus to throw more light on the problem that goes furthest to explain why the Society's agents forsook the slave markets after 1761. Early in July, 1741, Abel Alleyne purchased two seventeen-year-old girls, Mercy and Nelly, and eight boys, Grigg, Quashey, Frank, Cain, Caesar, Appleton, William, and Cupper. Most of, if not all, the boys were fourteen years old. Alleyne promised that "all due care" would be taken of them, but in December he was forced to report the loss of Appleton "in a few weeks after the . . . parcel were bought with a giddiness in his head and a deadly coldness that Seiz'd him all over that there was no possibility to get a warmth in him." The manager renewed his resolution to protect the remaining new slaves, but before the close of 1743 William and Cupper had followed Appleton, as did Quashey in 1745. Thus Alleyne lost three of the ten Negroes before the end of the seasoning period, and four of the lot before the end of the fifth year.

On November 5, 1741, Alleyne bought twenty boys and one girl. The youngsters ranged in ages from sixteen to twenty-one years. Four boys died before the close of 1743, five in 1743, and one in August, 1744. The seasoning process had claimed almost half the original number in this parcel.

Only three survived of a parcel of two men, three boys, and five girls added on February 22, 1743. One died in May, a second in August, and two in October, 1743. A fifth member, Patrick, lived until November 2, 1746. Of the nine boys and three girls acquired on May 4, 1743, four died between August 18 and November 6, 1743, and a fifth succumbed on May 26, 1746. In these two parcels, Alleyne lost almost one slave in two during the seasoning period.

Manager Alleyne was not yet disheartened, but in a parcel of twenty bought on January 18, 1744, he varied his usual policy by including fourteen men and two women, all under twenty-eight years of age, as well as three boys and one girl. Nine of the men died—one in October, 1744, two in October and December, 1745, four in March, April, October, and November, 1746, and two in 1747. One of the two women died in April, 1746, and one of the four children, Dickey, in 1747. While eleven of the twenty new Negroes bought in 1744 thus failed to survive the seasoning process, three seasoned Negroes purchased in the same year all remained alive after more than three years at Codrington.

In 1745 only ten Africans were brought to the estates. One of the five boys and one of the five girls both died in the middle of July, 1746, fourteen months after their arrival.

It is necessary to treat as one parcel the three groups of ten Negroes each which were purchased in January, May, and December, 1746. Three of the fifteen men—Jack Smith, Dickey, and Bacchus—died in 1746, four in 1747, and another in 1748. One of the five boys died in 1747. One of the ten girls was lost in 1746 and two more in 1747. The seasoning period extended into December, 1749, for some of the eighteen survivors of this complement of thirty slaves, but its record ends a year earlier.[a]

Forty-nine of the 113 Africans imported from 1741 to 1746 died during seasoning periods of about three years. If it be assumed that it was normal for the Society to lose more than 43 per cent of its new Negroes, the unwillingness of the Codrington managers and attorneys to consider further additions after 1761 becomes entirely understandable. The further extrapolation of this mortality rate for the unseasoned slaves would cause almost 29 per cent of the deaths recorded between 1712 and 1748 to be attributed to losses in seasoning. It would suggest that the death rate for the seasoned Negroes was about 4½ per cent a year, which would help to explain why the Codrington death rate fell from .0567 in the period 1712 to 1748 to .0409 in the years

1773 to 1782, when the estates had for some time ceased to import Africans. If other Barbadian plantations lost new Negroes at a rate comparable to that experienced at Codrington, it is not surprising that in 1761 a new Negro cost from £38 to £45 when a seasoned slave sold for from £70 to £75.[24]

The failure of the purchasing policy at Codrington to maintain a minimum labor force can be traced to great obstacles: the birth in an average year of only one child to every 100 of the population; the loss of perhaps one of every two infants before they reached five years of age; the death of perhaps four or five per annum of every 100 of the seasoned slaves; and the death during seasoning of possibly four or five in every ten of the Africans imported as replacements. Most of the Society's Barbadian neighbors would probably have seen the failure as nothing more, however, than evidence of inconsistent and insufficient stocking. Each year after 1712 the Barbadians imported an average of about 3,000 Africans, a number equal to more than 7 per cent of the population of 41,970 slaves in 1712. By 1748 the population had increased to 47,025.[25] The Society, on the other hand, purchased an average of 9 slaves a year, equal to little more than 3 per cent of its stock in 1712, and the Codrington community declined from 292 to 209. To have met the Barbados standard, the Society should have added about 20 Negroes a year.

A view of what might have been a successful purchasing policy under conditions as they were at Codrington can be derived from a rough picture of an average year in the period from 1712 to 1748:

Population, January 1		238
Number born		2
Number purchased		9
Total		249
Number died		
Unseasoned slaves	4	
Seasoned slaves	9	
All		13
Population, December 31		236
Net loss		2

To offset the net loss, the Society, it appears, would have had to add two more new slaves a year, but because of the probability that one in two of the Africans would die, it would actually have been necessary to import four blacks, in addition to the usual nine. The average price of the Negroes bought by the Society in this period was £30

10*s*. It might, therefore, have cost only £122 more each year to have solved the stocking problem. That the failure of the policy of African recruitment was to cost much more will be evident in the account of other attempts to meet the labor deficiency at Codrington.

CHAPTER VII

HIRED GANGS AND SEASONED RECRUITS[1]

WHEN AFRICAN RECRUITMENT FAILED to balance population losses, the Codrington managers tried other expedients to keep up strength, or maintain production with an attenuated force of slaves, "the very Nerves & Sinews of an Estate."[2] In part the overseers compensated for the deficiency in numbers by purchasing three times as many male as female Negroes, and in part by shunting potential tradesmen and craftsmen into the indispensable field gangs. By 1761 the Society's attorneys were complaining that skilled workmen were lacking, "occasioned by the Original Error of not keeping up a constant supply . . . as the old ones declined."[3] It was an error founded on the over-all weakness of the estates, a weakness that compelled the management to sacrifice skilled labor to unskilled, youth to maturity, and motherhood to man power. For all the art they displayed in selecting Africans for purchase, and in deploying them for essential work, the overseers could not have sustained production, however, had they not also resorted to the use of hired slave gangs.

The hiring of Negroes was a common practice of British West Indian planters.[4] As a means of adding extra strength during the busy time of harvest and on other special occasions, it was a convenient device, giving a slavery economy some of the flexibility of a contract system. At Codrington the method was used to provide labor for the building of the Society's college.[5] Managers willingly "paid for the hire of Negroes to work on the [military] Intrenchments that the Plantation Negroes might not be Harrass'd but work at Home" during wartime, when slaves were subject to labor drafts. Seventy-five slaves were hired to work on fortifications for two days in 1748, at a cost to the Society of a shilling a day for each black. Other labor taxation was similarly met, as in 1749, when the Society "paid for the hire of 32 Negroes [for] two days to work on the Highways at 1*s*. 3*d*. each Negro per day."

The employment of outside help in such contingencies had the advantage of keeping the regular slaves from overwork, or of making it unnecessary for a planter to buy more stock than he normally required. It was demonstrated at Codrington, however, that an estate was easily brought to depend on hired Negroes for a major part of its strength, as an alternative to keeping up its own stock. Hiring under

[1] For notes to chap vii, see pp. 156–158.

these conditions anticipated the disadvantages of a free labor regime: expenditures without increase of capital, insecurity of labor supply, and limited managerial control.

Hired labor was contracted for from three sources: the plantations' tenants and employees, jobbing firms, and neighboring estates with slaves to spare. In 1725 the Society spent £326 7*s*. 3¾*d*. for hired slaves. Of this amount, £105 3*s*. 1½*d*. was paid to John Smalridge, the manager; £22 10*s*. 9*d*. to Richard Farrell, the "under overseer"; and £17 3*s*. ¾*d*. in all to James Cunliffe (the skipper of the sloop), Thomas Williams (the mill carpenter), John Vaughton (the bookkeeper), and Alexander Mackollen (the brazier). In addition the Society employed the jobbing firms of Humphrey Miller and Company and Henry Miller for £120 12*s*. 6*d*. in hired labor. The Barry and Toppin plantations received £44 2*s*. 9¾*d*. for their workers, and £16 15*s*. ¾*d*. went to several unidentified contractors.

All hired slaves were fed at the expense of the employer.[6] The rates of pay for the workers varied from one part of Barbados to another. Although the Codrington plantations were said to have been favorably situated to draw on contractors, some of the estates on the western coast were hiring field Negroes at 6*d*. a day in 1736, while the Codrington plantations and others in the Consett's Bay region were allowing 7½*d*. a day. Similarly, leeward estates were able to hire gangs to hole land at 40*s*. an acre, while the Codrington plantations could employ none at less than 45*s*.[7] Rates also differed with the occupations of the workers. During the period of John Smalridge's management, the Society's estates paid 2*s*. 6*d*. a day for a mason, 1*s*. 3*d*. for a driver, from 7½*d*. to 9*d*. for a field hand, and from 1*s*. 3*d*. to 3*s*. 9*d*. for a sawyer. Holing was paid for by the acre at from £2 10*s*. to £2 15*s*. Very little was spent on hired labor except for field work, either by the day for ordinary tasks, or by the acre for holing.

There was never any question that Smalridge was wholeheartedly in favor of keeping up the Society's own stock of Negroes, although he, his wife, and his nephew Vaughton all received large sums for the hire of their slaves to the Codrington estates. When the necessary orders to buy more slaves did not come, however, Smalridge was able to exercise his discretionary power to hire workers. When money was short or expenses great, the overseer was inclined to put off buying Negroes, which the hiring of slaves enabled him to do. From 1715 to 1720, while the Society still owned more than 270 Negroes, Smalridge spent a little more than £200 a year on hired slaves. When the Cod-

rington population declined to 235 in the period from December 31, 1720, to December 31, 1723, Smalridge allowed the expenditures for hiring to rise gradually from £216 to £402 and £486. The decline of the stock continued after 1723, but the manager was now spending large sums for the purchase of new Negroes, and steadily lowered the annual outlay for hiring, until it amounted to only £218 in 1731, the year of his death.

In the average year between 1719 and 1731, Smalridge had allocated £284 2*s.* 3*d.* for hired slaves. What this sum meant in man power can be calculated in terms of a single field Negro working for 313 days at 7½*d.* a day in order to earn £9 15*s.* 7½*d.* a year for his master. The Codrington force of hired laborers was equivalent, therefore, to 29 field hands. As the hired blacks were all adult workers, a Barbadian planter would have held them to be equal to at least twice that number of slaves selected at random from a normally distributed population of Negroes, with its high proportion of old, sick, maimed, intractable, and infant slaves.[8] Although the Society's own stock of slaves numbered only 242 in an average year of the period, the hired slaves made the Codrington labor force approximately equal in strength to that of an estate with 300 slaves.

As manager from 1731 to 1740, John Vaughton followed much the same hiring policy as had his uncle Smalridge. His annual expenditures for outside help ranged between £200 and £300.[9] Unlike his predecessor, however, Vaughton was lukewarm toward purchasing new Negroes. Opposition to hiring arose among the Codrington attorneys as the number of the Society's blacks fell to an average of 213. The Reverend Arthur Holt, one of the attorneys, was convinced that much that the Society's officers in London needed to know about the management was being "Industriously kept from them." He attempted to remedy this in a letter addressed to the Society on April 3, 1732:

> Some new Negroes are now Bought for the Estates to make up the Complement ordered last Year, by deferring which So long the Society will best Judge, what loss they have Suffered; when they Consider, that the hire of a single Negro is 9 pounds, which will pay a years Interest for the purchase of 3 or 4. The Estates are still Much Under handed and must Either be obliged to hire or buy, as you will find when You peruse the half years Settlement of accounts . . . wherein is Charged 200 £ for Negroes hire, which would purchase 6 or 7 good Negroes from the Yard, or which would pay the Interest for the Purchase of above 60 of the ablest New Negroes from the dearest Market.

About one-half of the hired force belonged to Vaughton, which aroused

the suspicions of Holt and his fellow attorney, the Reverend William Johnson. Writing to Edmund Gibson, Bishop of London, in May, 1733, Holt commented:

> Both Mr. Johnson & I have pressed for the immediate purchasing of Negroes, which we don't find the Manager forward to do, nor is that to be wondered at whilst the Manager gets above a hundred Pounds yearly by keeping his own Negroes upon the Estates (of which I heard him say he never lost one) who may doe the easiest work, eat the Plantation Provisions, & improve in strength & Number, whilst the others are worn out with the hardest Labour.

Holt mentioned other alarming facts: that the town agent appeared to be in collusion with the manager to stop the purchases of Africans, and that one of the attorneys had expressed the intention of becoming owner of the Codrington estates.[10] Such charges always had to be taken seriously in the West Indies, where it was by no means uncommon for managers and creditors to combine to ruin absentee owners.[11]

After changes had been made in the board of attorneys, the Society's agents showed unanimous disapproval of Vaughton's policy of hiring to the exclusion of buying Negroes. In 1736 the attorneys resolved to reduce the sum paid for Vaughton's own Negroes from 7½*d.* to 6*d.* each per day. This was judged sufficient "as the s[ai]d Negro's was . . . employed on the same Estates & under his own Care. . . ." Vaughton understood the action as an attack on hiring, and defended himself by asserting that he had to have help to work the estates. He also insisted that the new Negroes then on the market were not worth buying.[12]

Vaughton left some points unexpressed in his defense of hiring as opposed to purchasing Negroes. If it be assumed that 43 per cent of the new blacks died in the seasoning period, the surviving Negro represented a charge of more than £52, rather than the £30 that had been paid for his purchase. The new slave was of very limited use during his first three years on the plantation, although his care in that period cost the estates about £12.[13] If the Negro eventually proved capable of doing as much work as a hired slave, he would have to be employed for six and one-half years in order to justify the owner's initial investment. He might not survive. He might not prove capable of hard labor. He would have to be supplied with clothing and medical care, as well as food, which was the only item that hired slaves could claim from the plantation. The Society paid taxes on its own Negroes, paid to recover them when they ran away, and took the risk that some of them might prove so incorrigible as to be deported, or so ill or infirm as to

remain a lifelong burden on the plantations. Hired Negroes, on the other hand, had to be employed only as needed, and only while they proved efficient.

In the opinion of Abel Alleyne, manager from 1740 to 1746, all such advantages were outweighed by the instability of the supply of hired slaves. Writing to the Society in 1740, he explained that "these hired Negroes are not always to be had . . . for when they are mostly wanted, which is to gett in the Crop in due time, their Owners want them themselves, so that we are forced to wait their Time. . . ." If the Society would buy Africans until the plantations were fully stocked, he said, " 'twould give me an Opportunity of trying what the Estates wou'd make, for as hired Negroes are so uncertain, 'tis impossible to say what can be done. . . ." Alleyne's problem was complicated by the fact that he kept no slaves of his own at Codrington for hire to the Society."

While attempting to build up the Society's stock of Negroes by purchasing Africans, Alleyne had to continue making use of the hiring system that he distrusted. From 1743 to 1746 the charge for outside workers averaged £326 a year. As the rate of pay for a field slave was then 7½*d.* a day, Alleyne was, in effect, contracting for the labor of 33 field Negroes a year. The additional workers with the Society's own stock of about 226 slaves brought the field gangs nearly to the size that Alleyne could have expected from a population of 300 blacks.

The accounts of hiring are incomplete for the period from 1747 to 1752. It is certain, nevertheless, that the expenditure on this head began to rise sharply. In 1748 the control of the estates was secured by the faculty of Codrington College, who shared Manager John Payne's doubts that the plantations could be restocked by buying new Negroes. The schoolmasters announced that they would rely, at least for a time, more on hiring than purchasing. In their opinion, the system of hiring had not been given a full trial at Codrington. It was true that the supply was precarious, but this was partially owing to the Society's dilatory manner of paying its bills; "there is such demand for Negroe-hire in the country," the collegians warned, "that without ready money it is not to be procured when it is most wanted." After a few years of experience, however, the Society's agents concluded that there were defects in the hiring system which could not be remedied simply by measures to better the Society's credit. Slaves were still "often not to be hir'd when most wanted," and "Occasional hireing" was proving "equally expensive & inconvenient." The Codrington attorneys in 1752 advised finding a manager with a large force of his own for hire to

the Society. Until this plan for ensuring the supply of hired Negroes could be put into effect, the acreage in sugar cane was to be reduced in order to lessen the demand for slaves.[15]

Early in 1753 the attorneys found the manager for whom they had been searching in Grant Elcock, "a Man of a very fair Character both as to his Integrity and his Abilities." More important than his reputation was the fact that he brought forty able Negroes with him for constant employment on the Codrington plantations. Not only was Elcock allowed the full current rate of 9*d.* a day for each of his slaves, but he was given an annual salary of £200, which was 20 per cent better than the amount paid to any of his predecessors. In 1757 he was given an additional £100 a year in order to prevent his leaving with all his indispensable blacks.[16] The cost for a secure supply of hired labor ran high. At 9*d.* a day each hired Negro earned £11 14*s.* 9*d.* in the year. Elcock's gang brought him about £469 10*s.* per annum, as well as some £130 in extra salary. If each one of Elcock's blacks was worth £70, the value of the Society's most prized slaves, the manager's gross income on his investment in the gang was no less than 20 per cent a year. It should be remembered, too, that the hired blacks were fed at the Society's expense. All the advantage of using the hired slaves only at times of especial need was surrendered by the arrangement.

It was inevitable that the bill for hiring would rise under the conditions of the Elcock contract, the drop in the number of the Society's own stock to an average of 190 blacks at the beginning of each year, and the increase in the prevailing rate of pay for hired workers. The Society was shocked, nevertheless, to see the annual charge mount from the £326 of Alleyne's time to an average of £1,000 a year after 1752. From 1756 to 1764 the annual cost came to an average of £1,200. The attorneys estimated in 1761 that the hired force was equal to 106 field Negroes working the year around. Hired slaves thus accounted for 56 per cent of the whole number of blacks at the Society's command, and for much more of the effective field strength. From 1712 to 1748 the charge for hiring had been roughly equal to the expenditures for African recruits, which averaged £275 a year. From 1753 to 1761, under Elcock, the annual cost for hiring and purchasing averaged more than £1,500. If rains were good, if pests did not attack the canes, if privateers did not capture the sugar ships, if conditions, in short, were excellent, the estates could support such a charge. Elcock was able, in fact, to make respectable profits, but in two out of three of the earlier years of the century, the gross produce of the planta-

tions would have been insufficient to support expenses on the Elcock scale.

On the Society's part the old suspicions of contractor-managers were revived against Elcock. The attorneys trusted the overseer, but admitted that he held the plantations at his mercy. If he were to withdraw his own slaves, the Society would not be able to find an adequate supply of hired labor. The hired Negroes secured from other sources were unsatisfactory, never coming wholly under the control of the management, and often being taken away when most needed by the Society. The Society's Barbados Committee in London pondered why the corporation should not buy Negroes and realize the same rate of interest that Elcock enjoyed. "A negro of your own not only gives you his labor but is your property & part of your Capital," concluded Bishop Robert Drummond for the Society. On the other hand, he observed, "Negroe-hire must always be a very great expence, & your property is not encreased." By 1761 all were agreed that hiring, like the purchasing of new Negroes, was a failure."

The Society had long been aware of a third method of meeting the problem of a labor supply. Most of the managers had suggested the great superiority of seasoned Negroes over new Africans. Smalridge held that a seasoned slave was worth two new Negroes. In Alleyne's opinion the equation was properly one to three. John Payne advised purchasing only acclimatized blacks. The general preference for seasoned Negroes was based, of course, on their having survived the perilous and unproductive stage of seasoning. There were two obstacles to the buying of these veterans of the slavery regime. They bore a dear price and were seldom offered for sale. The cost offered little difficulty, for it was recognized that the seasoned Negro was a comparative bargain, even though he might sell for 75 per cent more than the new African. It would be worth the difference to avoid "instances where not above two or three in ten [new slaves] . . . survived a Course of more than six or seven years servitude" after giving "Very little Service . . . for the first three or four years." It was an almost insuperable barrier, however, that seasoned blacks were sold only when their owners were in distress, usually at "Public Outcrys," as the forced sales for debt were called. Codrington overseers seldom had the discretionary power necessary to take advantage of these unpredictable occasions. The Society became more coöperative after 1744. Alleyne was able to buy three seasoned Negroes, and a few others of the Negroes purchased before 1761 may have been of old stock. By the middle of

the century, however, it was apparent that the Codrington population was too depleted for restocking by the gradual purchase of small numbers of seasoned slaves.

In view of the growing burden of the outlays for African recruits and hired labor, the hope of attaining relief through the purchase of seasoned Negroes was not easily discouraged. As early as 1748 the Codrington schoolmasters expressed their willingness to take great risks in order to achieve economic salvation:

> A Sufficient Number of Negroes is so essential to a West India Estate, that we may venture to affirm, that if it were possible for us at once to purchase 100 seasoned Negroes even at the dear rate they now sell at, & pay the money down out of the Estates, they would clear more at the end of 4 or 5 years, notwithstanding that prodigious expence, than can be expected from them in their present condition....

This proved the boldness of the academicians, but it did not tell where the Society could obtain a large block of a very scarce commodity.[18] In 1754, however, the Codrington attorneys offered an answer. The Society should buy one or more plantations in order that "the land might be sold out in smaller quantities & the Negroes & Cattle drawn off, & placed upon the Society's Estates. . . ." It would be worth much to escape the hazards of African recruitment: ". . . Negroes that are inured to the climate & trained to their various employments, are of immediate service, & to be valued according to their known abilities. . . ." It was true, the attorneys conceded, that "such a purchase indeed would bring a debt on the Estate, but there would be the very highest probability that a very few years would clear it." For the time being these arguments failed to prevail in London. The Society replied that it knew that "many more negroes" were needed at Codrington, but that the corporation did "not care to undertake the purchasing of Land in order to obtain them. . . ."[19]

In 1760 the Codrington attorneys returned to their prized plan. Even if it took £20,000 to buy a suitable plantation, the interest on that sum would be no more than equal, they reasoned, to the £1,200 then being expended every year for hiring. There was no way of buying a large gang of seasoned slaves apart from the land, but the Society should not hesitate to risk some loss from the resale of the land. By purchasing seasoned slaves en bloc, the Society would pay only about £50 per Negro, rather than the £70 or £75 usually charged for a single black. If necessary, then, the Society could afford to resell the land for something less than the purchase price.[20] This time the Society

was convinced by the pleas of its agents, and the corporation entered the market for one or more Barbadian plantations well stocked with Negroes.

The Society acted promptly when it received word in 1762 that the heavily mortgaged Henley plantation, two miles away from the Codrington estate, was being offered for sale by the executors of the late William Whitaker. After brief negotiations in London, the Society agreed to buy the 330-acre plantation for £18,000. The land and buildings were appraised at £11,011, the livestock at £592, and the 148 Negroes as follows: 48 men at £2,785, 48 women at £2,040, 28 boys at £947, and 24 girls at £625. Unexpected difficulties then presented themselves, however, and the Society was compelled to wait until September, 1766, for completion of the complicated transaction.[21]

The Codrington attorneys had been much distressed by the delays in London, and hastened to dispose of the newly acquired land and buildings in order to speed the removal of the Henley Negroes to the Codrington property. In August, 1767, the agents announced that they had found a purchaser in Gedney Clarke, a member of the Colonial Council of Barbados, a collector of the customs, and proprietor of large estates in Grenada, Tobago, and Barbados. The cash that Clarke paid for the livestock and certain incidentals was enough by itself to meet all the expenses that the Society had incurred in operating the Henley plantation. In addition, Clarke agreed to buy the land and buildings at the full appraised value of £11,011. He was to pay 6 per cent interest the first year, £500 and interest the second year, and £1,000 and interest in each succeeding year until the debt was cleared. The obligation was secured by a mortgage on the Henley estate and on 50 of Clarke's own slaves. By now the number of Henley Negroes had increased to 149, and all had been brought to the Codrington villages. For the rosy present, it appeared that the shrewd attorneys had made it possible for the Society to buy 149 seasoned Negroes at a per capita price of only £42 18*s.* 8*d.*[22]

Time was to reveal that the Henley Negroes were among the most expensive ever bought. Overinvestment of capital in slaves was the most common cause of financial disasters in the British West Indies, a fact that was lamentably illustrated by the Henley purchase. The Society had exhausted the Codrington reserve funds in order to employ a desperate stocking device. The code of sound business in the plantation economy required that reserves be kept on hand for natural catastrophes that were as certain to come as they were unpredictable in

their timing. It suggested strongly that a man who would pay the full appraised price for land and buildings, without also buying the slaves, was to be looked on with suspicion.[23] Clarke vindicated the latter principle by failing to make a single payment on his debt. The attorneys proved strangely unwilling to foreclose the mortgage, assuring the Society that Clarke was a very wealthy man and a deserving one. If need be, he would eventually sell a part of his vast holdings in order to reimburse his creditors. In the meantime there was no cause for worry, and no reason to press an embarrassed gentleman. The Society's peremptory orders for legal action were evaded time and again.[24]

In 1774 a newly appointed attorney, Sir John Gay Alleyne, the speaker of the Barbadian Assembly, disclosed a likely explanation for the behavior of his seniors on the board of attorneys. They had not registered the Henley mortgage until two years after the sale, although the law required that this be done within three months of the transaction. Close on the heels of this discovery, the news reached London that all Clarke's estates, including the Henley plantation, had been seized by the Crown to secure a shortage of £15,000 in his accounts as a collector of the customs. The Society prepared a case to prove that Clarke had no legal right to the possession of the Henley estate because he had never paid any consideration money. Unfortunately, the attorneys had given Clarke a receipt for a sum that they had thought he was going to pay. After many petitions to the lords of the treasury and of the customs, the Society recovered the Henley plantation in 1783. Small additional losses were incurred when the Society leased the property for a short period to one John Payne. In 1788 Colonel John Poyer purchased the estate for only £7,500. The Society lost £3,500 as well as the interest on funds that it had sunk in the property twenty-one years before. The sad and complex affair was finally closed in 1794, when Poyer made his last payment.[25]

From a financial point of view, the Henley transaction was nearly ruinous. Its reserves lost or frozen, the Codrington property was unprepared for the great depression of the Barbadian economy which began in 1770 and continued through the American War. The Codrington losses in this period would have broken almost any private owner. Even as a stocking expedient, the Henley purchase was at best a partial success. The population again began to decline in number, although at a slower rate than before, and the hiring of additional labor continued on a smaller scale. Having been led to believe that the great outlay for slaves would give immediate and complete release from

hiring, the Society remonstrated with its agents. If the management had to have still more Negroes, let the attorneys buy rather than hire slaves. The agents answered that the long-worked soil of Barbados required more and more labor for its effective cultivation, that hired Negroes protected the Society's costly blacks from overwork, and that times and finances would not permit of buying more slaves.[78]

Table 7 gives statistics on the increase and decrease of the Codrington stock and the expenditures for hired labor in the period from 1767 to

TABLE 7

INCREASE, DECREASE, AND HIRE OF SLAVES AT CODRINGTON, 1767–1782

Year	Population	Born	Died	Hire
1767	336[a]	..[b]	..[b]	£970 4*s.* 9*d.*
1768	327[a]	..[b]	..[b]	536 16 7½
1769	321[a]	..[b]	..[b]	236 0 2¼
1770	313[a]	..[b]	..[b]	678 11 5¼
1771	313[a]	..[b]	..[b]	684 18 3¼
1772	306[c]	..[b]	..[b]	590 18 10¾
1773	310[d]	12	14	548 7 11½
1774	308[d]	6	13	568 4 4
1775	301[d]	6	8	418 11 3
1776	299[d]	9	11	499 10 0¾
1777	297[d]	10	26	413 6 11¼
1778	281[d]	4	6	495 14 8¼
1779	279[d]	14	11	593 13 2
1780	282[d]	7	13	440 8 10¼
1781	276[d]	6	7	336 15 9
1782	275[d]	8	10	.....[b]

[a] As of August.
[b] No data.
[c] As of July.
[d] As of January 1.

1782. The elimination of deaths during seasoning is reflected in the decline of the death rate to a little more than 4 per cent a year from 1773 to 1782. There was also an increase in the incidence of births to almost 3 per cent a year. This tripling of the birth rate can be attributed to the greater number of females in the slave community after the incorporation of the Henley blacks. Listed in the stock inventory of August 31, 1768, were 135 men, 105 women, 49 boys, and 38 girls. The Henley purchase had restocked the plantations and slowed the rate of decline, but the number of Negroes fell from 336 to 273 in the sixteen years following the disastrous transaction.

In its search for an answer to the problem of maintaining a supply of labor, the Society had experimented with the policies of recruiting Africans, hiring slaves on an occasional basis, reducing crops and production, concentrating available strength in the field gangs, purchasing parcels of seasoned slaves, "leasing" of the Elcock gang of hired Negroes, and buying seasoned blacks en bloc. African Negroes had failed to survive seasoning, hiring had been insecure or oppressively expensive, and seasoned slaves had been secured in adequate numbers only by paying a ruinous charge. In meeting the problem of renewed decline in the stock after 1767, the Society was not long content to acquiesce in hiring or purchasing. There was one further policy to test—the breeding of slaves and their preservation by more humane treatment. Before examining the program of amelioration at Codrington, however, it will be necessary to consider the religious treatment of the Society's bondsmen. Amelioration was in part the final answer to the old problem of labor supply, but it had origins, too, in the belief expressed in 1711 that the Society's Negroes "*must needs be Christians.*"

CHAPTER VIII

CHATTEL CHRISTIANS, 1710–1768

WHEN THE SOCIETY fell heir to the Codrington estates, it was placed in the unenviable position of having to practice what it preached. In sermon after sermon the missionary corporation had pointed accusingly at the Caribbean planters for failing to make Christians of their Negroes. There was no excuse for this dereliction, said the Society, for even material interest was on the side of spiritual duty; Christianity would leave the Negro a slave, reconcile him to his chains, and make him a more diligent and docile servant. Now the missionaries had their own corps of pagan blacks in the Codrington villages, and the task of demonstrating that slaves could be instructed and converted with success and safety. "The Eyes of all are upon the College," one Barbadian wrote of Codrington, "as they are inquisitive what steps are taken there for the Conversion of those Slaves, as if the good or bad success there, must be an Index for the whole Island." If the Society could prove on its own plantations that the Negroes were teachable, that instruction offered no threat to the peace or profits of the masters, and that slavery and Christianity were entirely compatible, then the Codrington experiment might offer the key to the Christianization of black thousands in all the British West Indies.[1]

Like Christopher Codrington, the Society questioned that the parochial clergy could or would convert the Caribbean Negroes. It held with him that special missionaries were required for the work,[2] and in 1712, when the corporation resolved to send such a teacher to the Codrington slaves, it followed another of its benefactor's ideas by appointing a medical missionary, the Reverend Joseph Holt. The nominee of Bishop Henry Compton of London, Holt was about forty-five years of age, and had been a minister in North America for some twenty years after leaving his studies at Jesus College, Cambridge. Holt was now in London, where several outstanding physicians were able to interview him and attest to his proficiency in the healing arts. The Society gave him final approval on February 27, 1713, after committees had vouched that "Mr Holt did preach last Sunday in the Charter house on the Text Appointed him and that he made a very good practical Sermon," and that in reading prayers at St. Andrew's, Holborn, "he performed with great Devotion and a very Audible voice."

[1] For notes to chap. viii, see pp. 158–159.

As the "Society's Chaplaine[,] Catechist & Supervisor of the Sick and maimed Servants and Negroes," Holt was granted an annual salary of £100 sterling, and the right to board and lodging for himself and wife in the plantation mansion. He was to have the use of a surplice and hood, a large Bible and Book of Common Prayer, a general missionary library, medical and surgical books, and an assortment of "A.B.C's, Hornbooks, Primmers[,] Common prayer books Exposition and other Small Tracts." In March, 1713, when the preparations were complete, the Holts and their servant were placed on board a British man-of-war bound for Barbados.[8]

When Holt reached his post in June, 1713, Manager John Smalridge received him with "due respect" and reported that the missionary seemed "a Gentleman well disposed and qualified for his business." With sickness raging in the island, Holt was undoubtedly welcome in his medical capacity. Unfortunately for his popularity as a missionary, however, he was accompanied by the Society's orders that Smalridge release the slaves from plantation labor on Saturday afternoons in order that they could give up their free Sundays to attend catechetical instruction. It was too much for an overseer to bear in the midst of the drudgery of harvest, and Smalridge refused to comply. Thus Holt soon found himself with time on his hands, and wrote for permission to accept a parish living that the governor was pressing him to take. The Society sharply "Ordered that he be acquainted the Society do expect he should wholly and solely attend their business." There was a stir in the Society's London headquarters, therefore, when word followed that Holt had sailed for the Chesapeake Bay region on the plea that he needed a change of air for his health's sake, as well as an opportunity to transact some personal business in his old homeland.

The errant minister returned to Barbados in June, 1714, and hastened to assure the Society that its affairs had not suffered by his absence. Mrs. Holt had acted in his stead in caring for the ailing Negroes, and it was only recently that Smalridge had arranged for the slaves to attend the "Hours of Prayer and Catechising at home on the Lords day." Now that it had at last been made possible to begin the missionary work, the blacks would soon be made ready to take part in public worship at the parish church of St. John's.

It was much too late for Holt to excuse himself. The Society had already agreed on March 4, 1714, to dismiss him for desertion. No doubt the corporation had also taken into account the information from certain unnamed Barbadians that Holt was immoral, heterodox in doc-

trine, drunken, and idle. Holt's friends in the island suspected that such rumors were the true cause of his removal, and vigorously refuted the truth of the charges. The Society stood its ground. Probably someone in London had at last uncovered the missionary's lurid history, which included his deprivation from a living in Virginia. However much he begged that the Society "not suffer a Family . . . to perish at such a Distance," Holt was turned out of the estates in November, 1714, with no more consolation than a grant of £100 sterling.[4] Not long thereafter, Holt was presented to the living of a parish in Barbados, where he was free to report that Africans were "Stupidly ignorant" and too slow in learning English to be fit subjects for Christian instruction.[5]

In seeking a temporary replacement for Holt, the Society turned to the Reverend Charles Irvine, rector of St. Philip's, Barbados. One of Irvine's enemies asserted that the catechist visited the Codrington estates only twice during the nine months of his employment. Perhaps that was of little consequence, even if true, for his parish record argued that he was unlikely to exert himself greatly for the sake of the Society's blacks. After thirty-two years as a minister, Irvine admitted in 1724 that his parish held about 10,000 Negroes, mainly "Infidels . . . & no means us'd for their Instruction." The chief importance of his brief tenure at Codrington was the insult that it seemed to offer to the rector of St. John's parish, where the Society's plantations were situated. Why had the corporation looked beyond the parish for a chaplain? From this time forward, the Society had to count on the active and effective enmity of the Reverend Charles Cunningham, a minister scorned.[6]

When it took up the business of a permanent appointment, the Society dropped the plan of having the catechist double as a plantation physician. The Reverend William Brown was offered the mission at the increased salary of £150 sterling a year, on the understanding that he was to find food for himself. It was also made clear from the start that he must not accept a benefice and must reside constantly on the estates. Poor Brown sailed for the West Indies in February, 1715, went zealously to work in June, and died "of a violent Feavour the 19th of August." Bishop John Robinson of London found another promising candidate, the Reverend Charles Love, who was appointed on April 20, 1716. Love reached Codrington three months later, but by May, 1717, he too was dead and "much lamented" by the philosophical Smalridge, who was quite accustomed to burying English immigrants, whether workmen or clerics.

Brown and Love had won the sympathy of others in St. John's parish by reason of the Society's strange order that they were not to be dieted at Codrington. The Society had failed to realize that its plantations were miles from the nearest town, that all "hands" expected of necessity to be given board by their employers, that Barbados, in short, was not London. After Love's death, the Reverend Charles Cunningham found himself unable to spare the Society an unpleasant truth:

> Worthey Gentlemen, when yow shall please to send us another Catechist, pray, doe not expose yowrselves to the just ridicule of the meanest capacities, by sending after or w[i]t[h] him, orders & copies of yowr orders, that he shall Live upon, have a room, & Sleep in yowr plantation, and yet not eat & drink in it . . . can any member of yowr illustrous body be so ignorant as to think one mans meat & drink, can be chargeable in so numerous & great a plantation, or that there needs . . . a piece more be put into the pot for him . . . [?]

Deeply offended by this reflection on its wisdom, the Society failed to remedy its error in long-distance management until 1745, although a friendly informant warned that the order exposed the catechist "to Company not Convenient for him."[7]

Not a single slave had as yet been baptized at Codrington, but from 1717 to 1726 the Society allowed the catechetical office to remain vacant. What gave the Society so long a pause was the embroilment of its agents in the heated politics of Barbados. The story is too long and complex to be related here. Suffice it to say that the Society's affairs in the little island had fallen into the hands of men who were bitter partisans, who brought others of their faction into the Society's employment, and who used their positions to "make interest" against the fiery Governor Robert Lowther. When the governor determined to strike back, it was not difficult for him to stir up feeling against a corporation whose religious work with the Negroes was "esteem'd a Practiceing with them to spoil them." Lowther had a sure ally in the Reverend Charles Cunningham, who publicly charged that the Society was misappropriating Christopher Codrington's bequest and thereby depriving the people of Barbados of the charity school and "good Grammar School for Writing[,] Arithmetick &c.[8]" which their great countryman had designed for them.

In consequence of this attack, the grand jury of Barbados addressed the governor against the Society's misuse of its trust, Lowther seized the Codrington account books, and Manager Smalridge and the Society's attorneys were brought before the Council of Barbados to answer Cunningham's allegations. Matters had reached a crisis by 1719, when

Manager Smalridge, who had tried in vain to keep clear of the imbroglio, wrote in exasperation of Governor Lowther: "If he had not valued himself by that distinguishing Character of a Whigg, I should rather have taken him and Mr. Cunningham to be too [*sic*] angry Jesuits being both their Zeals have been so Industrious to Asperse the Protestant Missionary. For my part I live under a perpetuall persecution from both of them. . . ." Lowther was recalled to England in 1720 to face the accusations of what he termed "the Propagators of the Gospel, and others of the crew," but Cunningham remained rector of St. John's parish and a bar to the revival of catechetical work at Codrington. Fortunately for the Society, Cunningham died in 1726, shortly after it had been announced that another missionary was at last to go to Codrington.[8]

On July 15, 1726, the Society appointed Thomas Wilkie, a layman, as catechist at a salary of £100 sterling, "he to find himself in Diet and bedding and all other necessaries." More than economy was involved in Wilkie's selection. Young English clergymen had not been forward in competing for a position in which Joseph Holt had been disgraced and Brown and Love had died. And if the multitudes in slavery were all to have religious instruction, it would surely be necessary in time to employ lay teachers under clerical guidance. Wilkie might point the way toward the use of many other humble and unordained catechists for work throughout the West Indies. He would not be required, fortunately, to act only by his own somewhat befuddled lights. Thanks to Bishop Edmund Gibson of London, the new governor of Barbados agreed in 1726 to name the Reverend Arthur Holt as Cunningham's successor in St. John's parish. A son of the earliest of the Codrington chaplains, Arthur Holt was one of the few ardent champions of the spiritual equality of the Negro to be found in the ranks of the Caribbean clergy. Bishop Gibson and the Society counted on young Holt as a second, if unofficial, missionary at Codrington. When Holt was removed to a new parish in 1728, the Society gave him a power of attorney that enabled him to continue as Wilkie's counselor and goad.[9]

Wilkie had need of a spur. An easygoing man of limited ability, he was quickly overwhelmed by the enormity of his task. It was noteworthy to him that the simple Africans "were altogether ignorant of Adams transgression, and Gods infinite mercy in sending Jesus Christ the second person of the Blessed Trinity to Redeem lost mankind." Well might Holt shake his head over the Englishman's failure to grasp the capacities of the slaves, or to adapt his language "to their own

broken Dialect, which would be likely to make the deepest Impression upon them." These deficiencies were of practical importance, for Manager Smalridge left the pedagogue either to captivate or capture his students. The results, as Wilkie reported them to London in May, 1727, argued for compulsory education:

> ... the younger I find very docile & capable to learn any thing, but that so soon as they are capable of doing they are imployed in looking after the Cattle & Stock so that they have but very little time to learn in and they are very unwilling to come near me and many times when they see me run away and hide themselves among the bushes from me....

Wilkie had brought his scholars to "spell very prettily and repeat the Creed & Lords prayer," but there were only five or six children benefiting by this thorough tutelage.

There were also three adult Negroes in attendance on Wilkie, although one of these was from a neighboring plantation. The owner of this visiting student had promised to let the slave be baptized; "he told me he would stand Godfather for his slave when fitted," Wilkie stated, "& the Slave promises him the same service he has hitherto had during his life." Except for the smallness of their number, the adults gave great promise: "the more they are instructed they become more desirous to learn, and seem much concern'd what will become of their immortal Souls, after their natural death." Wilkie had made the catechumens promise to forsake polygamy, "forebare working on Sundays ... an[d] live conformably to the Laws of the Gospel to the best of their knowledge." The missionary's demands on his followers did not end there:

> ... two of them I have prevail'd with to go to Church every sunday & I hope shall prevail with the other. I hope two of them may be prepared for Baptism next Easter, being able now to repeat the Creed & Ten commandments & Lords prayer almost perfectly[.] I have taught 'm to read, and they spend every sunday afternoon with me....

Clearly Wilkie was not offering the slaves any royal road to salvation. His listeners were few, but the few were made to work and sacrifice.

Wilkie's circle of influence seemed much too limited to Holt, who complained that the catechist not only lacked diligence but was deaf to advice. It was evident from the letters of both men, however, that Wilkie was contending against mountainous obstacles. Holt was himself a witness to the strength of the Obeah men, the priests of the spirit Obi who came to the West Indies in the minds of the transported Africans. Even the Society's plantations followed the custom of turning the Negroes free on Sundays to follow wild and heathen rites, includ-

ing sacrifices at the graves of the dead, "howling and dancing," witchcraft, and traffic in charms and deadly poisons. The white population also stood in the way of the endeavors to convert the blacks to Christianity. Some poured ridicule on the catechist and those who accepted his teachings. Others appealed to fear; "the Inhabitants of this Island that I have conversed with," Wilkie noted, "are in general against the conversion of the Negroes . . . and say it may be of ill consequence to teach them letters. . . ." The Codrington overseer seemed apathetic to the religious program. If he would he could ensure its success with a word to the slaves, said Wilkie, "for they dread his displeasure."

The Society could do something to help Wilkie on the last point, at least, and stern directives were sent to Manager Smalridge to countenance the catechist's work. Soon the Negro children were attending Wilkie's lessons twice each day, and those adults who were judged "capable of instruction" were coming to him "often, at least on the Lords day." In 1728 Holt baptized the first of the Christian slaves, a man, a woman, and a boy. Ten men and one woman were baptized in 1729, and nineteen adults and twenty-five children in 1730. Wilkie succeeded in converting fifty-eight Negroes in all, although with the many deaths there were never more than a few Christian blacks on the estates at any one time. Constant pressure was exerted by Holt, who busily examined Wilkie's catechumens and reported his every failing to the Society. It is not surprising, perhaps, that the persecuted teacher fell into a "Rageing disorder" followed by a "deep melancholy" in 1731. He partially recovered, but in spite of Holt's "admonitions" left the estates in January, 1733, to die in Bridgetown in April. Holt, his spirit seemingly broken, left Barbados in the same year in search of the peace that he had helped to disrupt in the colony.[10]

Wilkie's successor was another lay catechist, Sampson Smirk, "a Religious Sober Englishman" who agreed to accept the "bare Subsistence" of £80 a year. He was the first of the catechists to be appointed in Barbados by the Codrington attorneys. It is significant that his principal supporters were Holt and the Reverend William Johnson, the rector of St. Michael's parish and commissary in Barbados of the Bishop of London. In the past Holt had stressed the expediency of employing someone as catechist who had lived long enough in the West Indies to know something of the speech and customs of the Negroes, for it was best to teach the slaves by "frequent familiar instruction." Holt's close friend and brother attorney at Codrington, William Johnson, seconded him in the idea of trusting to oral instruction of the

blacks as the means of inculcating Christian principles. In 1737 Johnson pointed out to the Society that the West Indian planters would never tolerate religious education of their slaves if this meant training in letters, for the masters thought this would be "putting arms into their Slaves hands, against them Selves." Johnson added that there were few slaveowners who would "give up so much of the Negroes time from their Labours as would be necessary for" instruction in reading and writing. Holt and Johnson may well have had the hostile planters in mind in 1733 when they joined in sponsoring Smirk for the catechetical post. Wilkie, an Englishman, had used time-consuming and provocative literary methods as the means of reëducating the Negroes to understand Christianity in his terms. Smirk, a West Indian by residence, could be expected to interpret Christianity to the Negroes on the level at which he found them.[11]

Wary planters had no cause to fear that Smirk would corrupt the slaves with pen or book. In his daily class for the children and his Sunday school for young and old, the industrious missionary expounded the Ten Commandments, led his flock through a recitation of the catechism, and read the church service to them. Learning by ear and by rote, many Negroes were brought to mouth the formulas of faith and present themselves for baptism. After 1741, too, all the newborn children were baptized, regardless of whether or not their parents were Christians. Only the numerous body of recently imported Africans were beyond Smirk's reach. "The Reason they are not made Christians," he explained, "is because they are of several Countrys & can speak but very little or no English."[12]

It was needless for the catechist to excuse himself to London, for the Society was delighted with his apparent progress. Early in 1741 Bishop Thomas Secker proudly announced the number of Christian slaves at Codrington. But there was one in the bishop's audience who measured the depths of Smirk's achievement and remained unimpressed. George Whitefield wrote to Secker: "That seventy may have learnt to repeat their Creed, the Lords prayer & ten commandments in the Vulgar tongue & been baptized is probable enough. But that seventy are now *Believers in X*t. I cannot help questioning. I fear Your Lordship hath been misinformed." Unfortunately for the bishop's case, the Society had already received another letter containing some verification of Whitefield's charge. In December, 1740, William Duke, a planter and one of the Codrington attorneys, had written to insist that the Negroes remained unchanged by conversion and that "no good

purpose" was served by the catechist's work. When Manager Alleyn was requested to comment he confirmed much that Duke had stated the slaves, but asked what else could "be expected of so much ign rance." Alleyne added an important point: "they can't read nor ne have been taught."[13]

The program of simple oral instruction continued, however. Wh Smirk died on December 10, 1743, the Codrington attorneys urg Manager Alleyne, who was then fifty-four years of age, to take o the catechetical duty on a temporary basis. It had been rather surpr ing that Alleyne had agreed to act even as the Society's overseer, fo he was a landowner of prominent family and a major in the colonia militia. Now Alleyne enthusiastically consented to succeed the humbl Smirk. After directing their labor through the week, Alleyne gathered the Negroes about him on Sundays while he spent two hours in read ing the morning prayers, prompting responses, and lecturing. Then after catechizing the slaves, Alleyne read a dialogue that Bishop Thomas Wilson had written for Indians. Alleyne had compelled th slaves to attend Smirk's classes, but for himself depended on persuasion on the theory that "things that are forc'd on a person never digest well." With his prestige as manager, he was able during 1744 to attract about 150 blacks to his meetings. He was convinced that the Negroes were "much improved" by his care, and his fellow attorneys agreed that he had done more in months than others had accomplished in years."

On the opening of the grammer school at Codrington College in 1745, Alleyne's career as an amateur catechist came to an abrupt end. The assistant schoolmaster, or usher, was henceforth to act as chaplain of the college and plantations. In January, when the Reverend Joseph Bewsher, A.B. of Queen's College, Oxford, arrived in Barbados to assume the dual office, the Society's black Christians came under the scrutiny of young and critical eyes. It was well that George Whitefield did not see Bewsher's discouraging report that

> ... he did not find above twenty of them, who were able to Repeat the Catechism, & those not above 12, or 13 years of age; but as for the old ones, some of whom had [had] the Privilege of Instruction there for more than 20 years, they appear'd as ignorant of their Duty to God as if they had arrived from Guinea a month before....

The missionary took heart, however, from Manager Alleyne's optimism and the marked progress that had been made in reading, writing, and Christian knowledge by two slave boys, John Bull and Bacchus. These

promising youngsters had been receiving special instruction since 1741, when the Society had acted on a suggestion of the Reverend Alexander Garden of South Carolina that Negroes could be brought to Christianity by educated men of their own race. Now John Bull and Bacchus appeared ready to teach others.

While Bewsher was engaged with college duties, he was able to leave his Negro assistants to conduct the children in their daily recitation of creedal formularies. On Sunday afternoons he himself met with the Christian Negroes and some few of the others for divine service and a repetition of the catechism. This plan of education seemed too much like that of his predecessors to satisfy Bewsher, however, who hoped to achieve deeper and more lasting results. Although he had already incurred the opposition of planters who placed his efforts "in as ridiculous a Light" as possible, Bewsher moved quickly toward a radical change of policy. He asked the Society for permission to teach reading to all the slaves of from four to seven years of age. John Bull and Bacchus began at once to impart the mysteries of the alphabet to five pickaninnies, but there is no record that the Society acknowledged Bewsher's plea, or that he ever again raised the subject in the years that passed before his retirement in 1750 on grounds of ill health.[15]

If the Society failed to heed Bewsher's call for reform, it was only symptomatic of the general paralysis that settled on the Codrington mission at the mid-century. There was a striking decline in the Society's attentiveness to the educational progress of its slaves. It ceased to demand frequent and regular returns from its agents, and appeared little moved by their passive acceptance of defeat. John Rotheram, the chaplain from 1751 to 1753, made no mention of the religious program in his letters to the Society. Thomas Falcon, who followed him in office from 1754 to 1758, stated on one occasion that he had baptized a few children and elderly house slaves, but had found too "many, very great, & too frequently insuperable impediments in such undertakings" to permit any success with the field Negroes. His views were echoed by John Hodgson, chaplain from 1758 to 1760. It was futile, Hodgson insisted, to attempt to instruct the blacks who were not employed "immediately about the House." The domestics, he explained, "being more civilized than the rest, are proportionably more capable of comprehending the plainer principles of our Religion." The field slaves, on the other hand, had nothing but barbarous thoughts, or the ideas born of the practical necessities of living. With new Africans ever being added to the community, there was little hope for any improvement

in the situation. Polygamy was but one "perpetual Bar to their Admission of Christianity." They spoke a language "adapted solely to their immediate wants" and incapable of expressing the concepts of the Christian faith.

Hodgson himself groped for words strong enough to convey the "absolutely insuperable" limits to communication between the ordinary slaves and an Anglican divine:

> They must be talked to in a Language which they do not understand, they must be talked to upon Subjects, which from their being void of all the Principles to which Application should be made, or filled with such, as render their minds still more inaccessible, cannot take the least Hold of them; and they must be talk'd to, not in a collective Capacity, but one by one, it being absolutely necessary to inculcate upon each Individual, even when they are most civiliz'd, the several Particulars that are taught them to a degree of Repetition, which can hardly be conceived....

It had been too much for Hodgson, who admitted that he was not trying to reach the minds of the adult field Negroes. Even if he were to make "some Kind of impression . . . upon them, it would all be effaced, the Moment they mixed . . . with the rest of their Brethern. . . ." There was nothing to be done until such time as there should be "a general Change of their Condition, by introducing among them the Regulations, and Advantages of civil Life." He retained faint hopes only for "some of the children" whom he had ordered to be instructed a little in reading before they were old enough to go into the fields.[16]

Although Hodgson had made it quite clear that he was not working with the greater part of the Codrington population, the Society responded with a polite tender of regret that his mission had been attended with such great difficulties. No further inquiries were made about the educational project for several years, during which a succession of West Indian gentlemen, Thomas Duke (1762), David Davies, a layman (1762–1766), and Thomas Wharton (1766–1768), held the catechetical office. These men assumed, with some justification, that the Society had acquiesced in Hodgson's view of "the impracticability of instilling into Negroes, the principles of knowledge." They quietly dropped the whole religious program, even neglecting to carry on Falcon's and Hodgson's endeavors to teach the house slaves. No more blacks were instructed or baptized, although the Christian Negroes were sometimes told, with little effect, that they should attend the Sunday services held at Codrington College.

In 1768 the Society at last had occasion to ask about the progress of Negro education at Codrington. The shocking answer was supplied

by James Butcher, the headmaster of the college, who explained that nothing had been done since 1760. Thomas Wharton, the usher and chaplain, had the wisdom to resign at this point, but wrote to oppose any revival of the religious enterprise. After fifteen years in the West Indies, he was certain that the blacks were too "untractable & perverse" to profit by instruction. The exceptional few who understood something of what they were taught "generally applied that Knowledge in Acts of Knavery and Subtilty." The Negroes were happy in their ignorance, and could not be spared from plantation labor for religious training. It was the Society's duty under Christopher Codrington's will to spend his endowment on the education of the white people of the island, not on Negro instruction. Wharton expressed a pious hope for Christian equality in the far-off future, but warned of its dangerous implications in the present:

> The Time I trust will come when Persons of all Complexions will embrace one Hope, and one Faith, but I am persuaded that that Period is not yet arrived, and in vain will it be to attempt inculcating the purest & most perfect System of Religion, without first implanting amongst them the Principles of civil Government and social Life: And such a Government, I may venture to affirm, the Policy of this Colony will never admit of.

The above statement was heartily endorsed by the Codrington attorneys, all of whom were men of prominence in Barbadian society. Like Wharton, they were convinced that the slave would travel the same road to Christianity and freedom.[17]

It had taken eight years for the Society to discover the collapse of the Codrington mission, a fact that underlines how greatly the Society's interest in the project had languished since the middle of the century. In earlier decades the Society's zeal had been supported by the belief that the Codrington plantations would be the means by which Christianity would be carried to all West Indian slaves. The planters had to be won first. They would learn from the Society's estates that Negroes could be instructed and baptized without danger or disturbance to Caribbean society and the labor system at its base. What was the Society to do, however, when every year of experience seemed to contradict its trumpeted thesis that slavery and Christianity were entirely compatible? Wilkie had succeeded in converting a number of Negroes, but only by teaching them to read. The Society was told that this struck at the foundations of slavery and would prevent any coöperation by the masters. When the worthy Smirk avoided this pitfall, his many converts were derided both in England and Barbados as merely nominal

Christians, left unchanged by baptism. With Bewsher, Falcon, and Hodgson, the evidence mounted that the slaves must be granted some measure of civilization before they could be made Christians. The planters, including the Society's own Barbadian attorneys, strongly assented to this view, for they took it to be the definitive argument against the attempt to Christianize the Negroes.

Not willing to risk a campaign for the sake of a battle, the Society had marked time at Codrington, closed its eyes to the failure of the chaplains, and shunned reforms that might alienate the whole West Indian proprietary interest. It was quite another matter to admit defeat, however, and the Society had not been prepared for the news that its agents had abandoned the mission to the slaves. Wharton and Butcher forced the Society's hand. How the decision was reached to ameliorate the conditions of slavery at Codrington is the subject of the next chapter.

CHAPTER IX

HUMANITARIAN POLICY, 1760–1793

DURING THE FIRST FIFTY YEARS of their proprietorship, the reverend gentlemen of the Society rarely interfered with the management of the Codrington estates. The bishops and archbishops who led the great religious corporation learned little about the workings of sugar plantations in the remote Caribbean, however manfully they puzzled over the Codrington account books, invoices, inventories, and reports. Too often the papers that came from Barbados were "in the technical Terms & Form of Merchants Accounts, which," one bishop sighed, "I understand not."[1] When they were in England, many prominent men, including Governor Robert Dinwiddie, William Knox, and West Indian nabobs like John Brathwaite, placed their American experience at the disposal of the Society.[2] The corporation was seldom confident enough of its ground, however, to dictate to the Barbadian agents who had the direct responsibility of making profits that were essential to the support of Codrington College. Thomas Secker, Archbishop of Canterbury, agreed that the Society's plight was in some ways comparable to that of numerous other nonresident owners. "But our Case is much worse," he observed. "We do not understand the affair: we cannot go to make our selves Masters of it."[3]

In one important phase of plantation administration, the Society acted even before 1760 to impose an independent policy on its reluctant agents. Regardless of the customs and prejudices of the West Indians, the Codrington slaves must have their place in the Society's crusade to win the American Negroes for Christianity. To this end the Codrington managers were ordered to open the estates to the Society's catechists, give the slaves time for religious instruction, and permit them to be baptized. These commands were obeyed grudgingly and intermittently, although the Society demanded of its deputies only what it hoped all planters would concede when they were once convinced that the Codrington plantations offered a safe model to follow. The Society did nothing further during half a century to alter the condition of its slaves, not even in the much-discussed point of teaching them to read. It made one radical departure at Codrington in the interest of Negro Christianity, but in all other respects set a conservative and reassuring example before the uneasy planters.

[1] For notes to chap. ix, see pp. 160–161.

Economic, religious, and humanitarian factors combined after 1760 to impel the Society to reconsider the extent of its responsibility to the Codrington Negroes. The Society learned that it must interpose in the West Indian scene to protect the slave in body as well as soul. Although the Codrington plantations were not much in advance of other estates in mitigating the conditions of slavery in the period from 1760 to 1793, the Society was moving ahead toward the idea that it should not only ease the Negro's lot, but uplift and reform him for a full share in Christian civilization. Circumstances stood in the way of the practical development of this concept until after 1793, but this first stage of amelioration witnessed a profound change in the Society's outlook and policy.

The revolution in the Society's views began in 1760, when its officers faced the cruel facts of labor supply at Codrington. Vast sums had been spent in buying Negroes, yet the decline of the Society's own stock of blacks was forcing ruinous expenditures for hired slaves. In the hope of finding some way out of an apparently hopeless situation, the Society named a special committee, with Robert Hay Drummond, Bishop of St. Asaph, as chairman.[4] Drummond, who became Archbishop of York in 1761, was to have the chief part in Codrington affairs until his death in 1776.[5] When Drummond took up his task, Archbishop Secker suggested to him that there must be some causal relationship between the treatment of the slaves and their shocking decline. "I have long wondered & lamented," the archbishop wrote, "that the Negroes in our plantations decrease, & new Supplies become necessary continually. Surely this proceeds from some Defect, both of Humanity, & even of good policy. But we must take things as they are at present."[6] The primate's strong hint was not lost on Drummond, but he postponed the matter until he had met the immediate problem by restocking the Society's estates in 1767 with the slaves from Henley plantation.

While the archbishops of Canterbury and York were calmly arranging to double the Society's holdings in slaves, the pioneers of the anti-slavery movement were opening the attack on commerce and property in men. Some years would pass before the Society would find its role at Codrington made odious, but it was at once placed on the defensive. In a sermon preached before the Society in 1766, Bishop William Warburton denounced the slave trade as contrary to "both divine and human Law." He noted that the Society itself had profited from the "iniquitous" traffic as the "innocent" recipients of Christopher Codrington's legacy, and expressed the hope that "God, out of this *Evil* . . .

made us the honoured Instruments of producing *Good.*"

As Warburton's sermon proved, the impact of the new humanitarianism was felt within the Society's own ranks. In general, however, the corporation was far behind the advanced guard of the crusade. When Warburton told his fellow members that "*Nature* created Man, free: and *Grace* invites him to assert his freedom,"[7] he touched ground that the Society as a body avoided for generations to come. It made its corporate stand clear in 1768, when Anthony Benezet, a Philadelphia Quaker and antislavery author, suggested that the Society's religious character demanded that it should work for the abolition of the slave trade. The Society's secretary, Dr. Daniel Burton, replied that slavery and Christianity were reconciliable, and that the contrary view invited insurrections by the slaves and settled opposition to their religious enlightenment. By operating the Codrington estates as slave plantations and demonstrating that Christianity was not at war with the established order in the West Indies, the Society could hope to carry the gospel to the Caribbean Negroes with the indispensable coöperation of the planters.

At the same time that it asserted respect for the views and institutions of those through whom the Society expected to accomplish its missionary purpose in the West Indies, Burton's letter was responsive to the humanitarian appeal. The Society was firmly resolved, he wrote, to promote the physical as well as the spiritual welfare of the Codrington Negroes.[8] This policy was restated at the Society's annual meeting in February, 1768, in the sermon preached by John Green, Bishop of Lincoln. Green noted how costly West Indian slavery had been in Negro lives. The great losses made it difficult to dismiss the reports that plantation slaves were subjected to "cruelties and abuses." Christianity did not forbid slavery, Green said, but surely it must soften the hearts of the slaveowners who professed to believe. The Codrington plantations must provide an example not only of religious training of slaves, but also of humane treatment:

> As men, it will become us to soften the misery and hardships of ... servitude, in which these poor Africans are placed; to treat them with all the lenity, which such a state will admit; and though we profit by their labour, not to impose on them such hard and rigorous tasks, as are injurious to health and incompatible with any degree of self-enjoyment.[9]

The new emphasis in the Society's policy was at once impressed on the Codrington attorneys, and they were called on to report in detail on the condition of the slaves.[10]

It remained to be seen how the attorneys, as representatives of the planter class in the West Indies, would respond to the developments in London. The Society had chosen a favorable moment to appeal to them to support a program of amelioration. Many planters were beginning to share Archbishop Secker's belief that it was sound policy to treat the slaves with more humanity. The proprietors had suffered too much from the loss of slaves to ignore the argument that well-treated blacks would reproduce their number. There is evidence that the planters in general were moving toward amelioration even before the American War and the disruption of the African slave trade compelled them to effect reforms. John Brathwaite of Barbados noted that the colony's blacks were subjected to less cruelty after about 1768.[11] In February, 1775, Bishop Shute Barrington took notice of the improved lot of the Caribbean slaves in a sermon preached before the Society:

> ... there is reason to apprehend that the remonstrances made from hence to their masters, aided by the example which the Society has set in the management of its own plantation, and strengthened by the more powerful considerations of interest and good policy, have procured for them, in general, a milder treatment than they formerly experienced.[12]

The improvement was dictated by the economic self-interest of the slaveowners. They were not troubled by the religious and altruistic arguments that weighed with the Society. Their idea was strictly confined to making the Negroes healthier and happier and inducing them to breed. The planters were ready to ameliorate the conditions of slavery, but not to civilize the Negroes. It is important to stress the difference of meaning that these phrases held for some West Indians. One connoted only the mature perfection of slavery; the other smacked of advancing status, growing civil rights, and eventual freedom for the Negroes.

When the Codrington attorneys learned that the Society was resolved to improve the lot of the Codrington Negroes, they gave no sign of alarm, although their reply seemed calculated to caution against unrealistic enthusiasm:

> The world would certainly expect that the slaves belonging to so hon[ora]ble & reverend a body ... should be humanely treated ... [and] nothing shall be wanting on our parts to promote those benevolent and pious intentions which they have so warmly and earnestly recommended. But we must take the leave to observe that to govern upwards of 300 negroes on one plantation is no easy task, it requires a good deal of address, and unless a proper decorum, and subordination is kep'd up they will soon become turbulent and unruly, for after all those who know them best must allow that they are a most inconsiderate and thoughtless race of mortals.[13]

In answering the Society's questions, however, the agents revealed that it had been years since the Negroes had been given religious instruction, and that the catechist believed that it would be futile to teach the slaves without first advancing them to a degree of civilized life that the colonists could not tolerate.[14]

This news brought a sharp reaction from Archbishop Drummond's committee. Bishop Green's sermon and Dr. Burton's letter to Benezet had both made much of the Society's progress in Christianizing the Codrington Negroes. Now the committee knew that there had been no basis for the claim. The Society had been warned that it was dangerous to advocate civilizing the slaves, but if civilization was prerequisite to Christianization at Codrington, Drummond's committee would not shrink from using the word. In truth, however, the Society's ameliorative orders showed that economic motives were closely blended with religious and humanitarian objectives. In 1769 Michael Mashart was confirmed as catechist on the understanding that he help the blacks make "some Progress in civil & religious Knowledge." In 1770 the Society ordered "That Every kind of humane treatment be shewn to them & that proper care be taken of their families, particularly of the young children, & child bearing women & every method taken to make them sensible of the benefits & improvements of civil life." The Codrington attorneys were also commanded to countenance "the instruction & care of the Negroes & their families by which means it is hoped that in time the Plantation stock may be increased." A year later the Society urged the attorneys to avoid exposing the Codrington blacks to the low example of other slaves, "by which means," the Society reasoned, "the Expense of hire will necessarily decrease & the Negroes be more domestick & civilized."[15]

Clearly the Society was exporting a very down-to-earth brand of idealism to Barbados, but its directives made the Codrington attorneys decidedly uneasy. What concerned the Barbadians was not so much the substance as the tendency of the ameliorative measures. Their letter of August, 1770, tactfully lauded "the pious intentions of the Society in the reformation of their negroes," but expressed doubt of "much success, unless the whole country would unite in the same design." For the rest the attorneys seemed to plead that the Society profit by an enlightened and benevolent slavery, without endeavoring to raise the status of the slaves:

> As things are circumstanced the utmost that can be done for them is to make the state of slavery as comfortable as the nature of it will allow of. They are the

principal support of a sugar plantation, the produce of which would soon sink into nothing without their assistance, & happy would it be for their master, if they could be brought to such a degree of population, as that the increase would exceed the decrease. In order to obtain an end so much to be wished for, great attention must be given to them. They should be well fed and regularly clothed, moderately worked, and be allowed every indulgence suitable to beings in their condition. Hints like these we shall constantly inculcate to the manager . . . , and if they be carried into practice we flatter ourselves that in the space of a few years, the Society will be made sensible of the effect of them.[16]

The attorneys expressed their feelings with less restraint in 1775, when the Society sent orders to close Codrington College, but to re-employ the Reverend Michael Mashart as "a catechist Capable of teaching the Mathematics." Taking this to be a command to broaden the educational program for the slaves, the agents vehemently reminded the Society that it had been given due warning that "the Policy of this Colony" would not permit the slaves to be taught "the Principles of civil Government and social Life." In his response to this ringing manifesto, the Society's secretary dryly explained that Mashart was to teach mathematics only to his private students "and not to the poor Hewers of Wood and Drawers of Water—But," he continued, "although the Society did not mean their negroes should be taught the *Elements of Geometry;* and although they wish to pay great attention to the opinion of their Attornies . . . yet they cannot relinquish the object which hath ever been in their view . . . to instruct those poor creatures . . . in the *Elements of Christianity.*"[17]

There was, indeed, no cause for the Barbadians to alarm themselves. The terrible depression that had forced the closing of the college was an effective check on the Society's ambitions for the reformation of its slaves. It was useless to speak of civilizing the Negroes during the years of war, mounting debt, hurricane devastation, and blighted crops from 1775 to 1783. All that the Society could do was to keep alive the idea of religious training for the blacks and encourage its agents in their resolution to make slavery "as comfortable as the nature of it" would allow. Mashart continued during two days of each week "to inculcate the Principles of Christianity among such of the Negroes as [would] attend him for that purpose," until the nonpayment of his salary for two years drove him to resign in 1783.[18] Like other Barbadian slaves, the Codrington laborers benefited from the wartime disorganization of trade, which often cut off the West Indies from North American food and African Negroes. When the planters found it necessary to make their estates as independent as possible of outside

supplies, they cherished their slaves and released them at times for lighter labor in the provision fields. The Society was not the only proprietor to scan birth and death lists with care and force managers to plead that some slaves must die, if only of old age.[19] In 1779 the Codrington attorneys were directed "to use the most mild and humane conduct to the poor Negroes. Of which the Society think some judgment may be made by the increase or decrease of them."[20] No longer enjoined to uplift the slaves, the Society's agents grew more and more enthusiastic in reporting the progress made by the Negroes in health and well-being.

In February, 1783, when the Society was in despair over the growing debts of its *"damnosa hereditas"* in Barbados, John Brathwaite came to the rescue by leasing the Codrington plantations for a period of ten years.[21] The Society had no more than escaped from the burden of control than it was told it must prepare to take up a double load of responsibility for the Codrington Negroes. In a dramatic sermon preached before the Society, Beilby Porteus, Bishop of Chester, demanded that the corporation plan sweeping reforms for later use. The Codrington estates remained the key to the conversion of the West Indian slaves, said Porteus, but Christianity would not succeed on the Society's plantations unless the Negroes were first civilized and then made "not merely *nominal,* but *real* Christians." Porteus made it clear that he meant a good deal more by civilization than simple amelioration of the living conditions of the blacks:

> We must, as far as is possible, attach them, and their families inseparably to the soil, must give them a little interest in it; must indulge them with a few rights and privileges to be anxious for; must secure them by fixed laws from injury and insult; must inform their minds, correct their morals, accustom them to the restraints of legal marriage, to the care of a family and the comforts of domestic life; must improve and advance their condition gradually, *as they are able to bear it;* and even allow a certain number of the most deserving to work out their freedom by degrees....

Other planters might follow the Society's lead, Porteus hoped, and if these measures led to general emancipation, it would prove a blessing.[22]

Porteus spoke the language of "aggressive humanitarianism" in Britain. Its leaders were concentrating their attack on the slave trade, but they manifestly looked forward to the end of slavery.[23] Although the Society had long since agreed in principle that the effort to convert the Codrington Negroes must be coupled with acts to make them "more domestick & civilized," it was not ready to identify Christianity

or the Church of England with the cause of social revolution in the West Indies. As Bishop Samuel Halifax said to the Society in 1789, "What hopes of executing the generous purposes of this Society, to reclaim the Negroes . . . from the vices and errors of Paganism, or how shall the persons, employed by us with such a view, gain an entrance into any plantation but our own; if the planters be once persuaded, that the Baptism of a slave has the effect of a virtual Manumission . . . ?"[24] Porteus had not said that slavery was unchristian, but how would the slaveholders interpret his far-reaching proposals? When Porteus placed his plan before the Society's directing board in March, 1784, "the *design*" was approved, but his specific recommendations were referred to a committee that included the Archbishop of York and the bishops of Salisbury, Peterborough, Worcester, Chester, Oxford, Bangor, and Gloucester. After prolonged debate, the committee deeply affronted Porteus by advising against the adoption of his projected regulations.[25]

While the Society was pondering Codrington's future, John Brathwaite took the stricken plantations firmly in hand. He continued to live in England, but he put his own men in direct charge of the estates and made them understand that "the care & attention of the Negroes" must be their first consideration.[26] The plantation account books reflect the altered spirit of the overseers. They did not increase expenditures for food, clothing, and other necessities, but spent small sums to give the blacks status and heart. Life must have become far more interesting in the Negro villages when Brathwaite's overseers "paid for 40 lbs of ginger to make tea for the negroes," rewarded "sundry women after delivery as an encouragement for the care of their children," gave 1*s.* 3*d.* "to a plantation negro for his care in fattening an ox," "Paid for rats killed by the negroes on the Upper Plantation," and distributed pennies to Charles, Cudgoe, Quamin, Harry Henley, and Jaffrey "as an encouragement for their good behav[io]r."[27] These shrewd examples of applied psychology were in accord with the best managerial practice on British West Indian estates, where enlightened self-interest had brought an increasing number of planters to seek independence of the threatened slave trade.[28] In his sermon before the Society in 1793, Bishop John Douglas observed that Barbadian masters were requiring less work of the Negroes and granting them indulgences, but he reserved his chief plaudits for the Codrington plantations, where Brathwaite had furnished "experimental Proof" that humanity was good policy.[29]

The proof lay in the population returns. Brathwaite had reduced the net loss of Negroes to less than one a year. There had been 273 blacks on the estates when he assumed control, and when he surrendered the plantations in 1793 there were 265 slaves remaining. It is little wonder that the Society announced these statistics to the world. In a comparable period from 1713 to 1723, the Codrington population had decreased from 272 to 235, even though 69 new Africans had been introduced to the estates during that time. The details of Brathwaite's

TABLE 8

VITAL STATISTICS AT CODRINGTON, 1783–1793

Period	Initial population	Born	Died	Remaining population
May 2, 1783–May 2, 1785	273	17	11	279
Oct. 10, 1785–Dec. 31, 1786	275	11	13	273
Dec. 31, 1786–May 3, 1788	273	8	12	269
May 3, 1788–May 2, 1789	269	5	9	265
May 2, 1789–April 2, 1790	265	4	6	263
April 2, 1790–Dec. 31, 1791	263	3	1	265
Dec. 31, 1791–Dec. 31, 1792	265	7	6	266

triumph appear in table 8. During the more than nine years thus recorded, the birth rate was a little above 2 per cent per annum, or somewhat less than in the period from 1773 to 1783. The death rate had dropped, however, to below 2½ per cent. Many of the lives saved seem to have been those of the children. All the babies born after May 3, 1788, lived past December 31, 1792. Twelve of the seventeen children born between May 2, 1783, and May 2, 1785, survived their critical first five years. The population as listed at the close of 1792 had become relatively youthful and predominantly female. There were sixty-three men, seventy-two women, fifty-nine boys, and seventy-two girls.

If other Caribbean proprietors would take Codrington as their model, said Bishop Douglas, they would see that it was "no less their Interest than ... their Duty" not only to treat the Negroes with humanity but to ensure "the Fidelity and Diligence of their Slaves" by Christian instruction.[30] In truth, however, Christianity had made little progress at Codrington in the decade since Mashart's resignation as catechist in 1783. The terms of the Brathwaite lease had left the Society free to continue the religious mission, but other circumstances

stood in the way of an effective program. Many of the college buildings were in ruins after the hurricane of 1780, funds were still lacking after the years of depression, and the Barbadian community was far more interested in the reopening of the school for white children than in the instruction of the Codrington slaves. Speaker Sir John Gay Alleyne consented to direct the educational work with the blacks, but only because it was one step toward the revival of the white college. In 1783 he arranged for the Reverend Francis Fitchatt, the rector of St. Joseph's parish, to act as an occasional catechist, but Fitchatt quickly resigned when he discovered that Manager George Barrow would not give up the Codrington mansion house to accommodate a private school for paying students. The disgruntled Alleyne then appointed his kinsman, the Reverend Henry Evans Husbands, who kept a school of "dead languages and other branches of literature" in St. Philip's parish.[n] As a nonresident catechist from 1785 to 1789, Husbands disregarded all the Society's pleas that he send some account of his activities. It very much appears that both Alleyne and Husbands were marking time until the Society would make it possible for them to reëstablish the college. They had their way in 1789, when the Society cut "off all occasion of censure ... very improperly, injudiciously, & uncharitably cast upon" the corporation by inviting Husbands to live at Codrington as the official schoolmaster and catechist.

Once at Codrington, Husbands announced that he was about to adopt a plan for instructing the Negroes. In November, 1789, he at last offered a detailed report:

> Since my removal [to the plantations] Divine Service has been regularly & constantly performed at the Chapel twice every Sunday with a Sermon in the morning ... & every 2[d]. Sunday in the Month I administer the Sacr[amen]t; I am always at hand to baptize, & never suffer a Christian to be buried any other way than as he ought to be, on w[hi]ch occasions I strictly prohibit any of their rude customs to be afterw[ar]ds practised over the corpse; yet in spite of this regularity & my exhort[atio]ns to attend divine service, my black congregation is very thin; I have got a set of young Catechumens, who attend me frequently of an Evening, & hope the business of Instructing being begun at an early period will be productive of good fruit in their more advanced years.

By far the greater part of Husbands' letter was devoted, however, to an eloquent defense of slavery in general and at Codrington in particular. "The cause of humanity has of late years gained many more partizans than it formerly had," he observed, "& negroes are much better treated than formerly." The Society would be mistaken to think

that the harsh slave laws were evidence of the existing state of affairs in Barbados. The Codrington slaves were well fed, adequately clothed, and punished only enough "to keep them within the bounds of regularity & make them useful." "These people," Husbands stated, "are far happier & easier under slavery than Gentlemen on your side of the Water conceive them to be...."

The Society's secretary replied that these sentiments on slavery were "very just & those ... of the most moderate & unprejudiced" in Britain, but that the Society must ask Husbands to be more exact about his work. How many Negroes had he baptized, and how many had he instructed? Unfortunately, Husbands became increasingly perfunctory in his reports, although he was unfailingly ready to return to his theme that the Negroes were thriving under a "well-regulated system of humane treatment." There was not always a congregation to hear him preach, he admitted, and the Negroes were "very backward in their attendance at the Chapel, & ... more taken up ... with the cultiv[atio]n of their Land, than their minds." He made no further mention of instructing the slaves, although he reported that he was baptizing all the children under fourteen years of age. In 1791 the Society's secretary made one more appeal to Husbands for precise information regarding his progress, "for w[hi]ch," he wrote, "there is the more reason as so much is expected from the Society at this time when the Public watches so closely over the Possessors of W[est] I[ndian] Plant[atio]ns." Husbands replied that he had resigned on June 25, 1792, with regret that he had not been able to send "more pleasing accounts," for, he acknowledged, "I am fully conscious of the truth of your observat[io]n, that the public watches with a jealous eye ... & in consequence of the necessity of attending to the instruction of the Negroes...."

Speaker Alleyne was ready with new appointments, first of the Reverend Clementine Boucher (1792) and then of the Reverend William Thomas (1792–1796), "a man of a very *pious turn of mind*," who had formerly been employed as a curate and as the head of a school in Bridgetown. As the Brathwaite lease drew to a close in 1793, however, the Society was coming to feel that the education of the slaves had "been hitherto too much neglected." Thomas gave little comfort by his reports that he had baptized the babies and was holding class once a week for fourteen young Negroes. Oral instruction was still the rule, and the whole curriculum was made up by the catechism, the Lord's Prayer, and the Creed. Only three slaves could read, "& that

very imperfectly, one of them between 70 & 80, & the two others elderly." Alleyne blandly dismissed a half-century of religious work with the Codrington Negroes by remarking in 1795 that "little ground in the improvement of that race of Beings has been made, or can be by any thing less than a miraculous interposition."[23] In fact, however, the "jealous eye" of the British public had already interposed, and the Society knew that Brathwaite's tenure at Codrington must be followed by reforms of greater sweep than Archbishop Secker had envisioned when he turned the plantations toward "... Humanity, &... good policy."

CHAPTER X

AMELIORATION, 1793–1823

WITH THE TERMINATION of the Brathwaite lease in October, 1793, the Codrington plantations were restored in a flourishing state to the Society's control.[1] The corporation now had the means to finance the ameliorative measures toward which its policy had been tending for many years, and for which there were new and compelling reasons. In the British West Indies generally, the conditions of slavery were being transformed in the interest of placating British humanitarian sentiment and of encouraging the Negroes to breed. Even before the abolition of the slave trade by law in 1807, the wartime disturbance of the traffic led many planters to treat their Negroes with greater tenderness. After 1807, reforms were multiplied under the additional spur of the hostility shown in Britain toward slavery itself. Every advance made in the West Indies helped to release the Society from its fear that a progressive management at Codrington might defeat the great object of winning the slaveholders to the cause of Negro Christianity. There was good reason for believing that the harassed planters were generally more than ready to have the Society prove for them that slavery was compatible with Christianity and humanity.[2] And if other masters felt the sting of antislavery criticism, the Society knew that it was the nearest and most vulnerable target. The Society had held back from the Porteus plan in 1783, but from 1793 to 1823 it willingly undertook to hold forth at Codrington the model of Christian slavery.

Believing that the Negroes must be civilized before they could be made Christians, the Society proceeded in a systematic fashion to remake the environment of plantation slavery. The first consideration was given to providing the Codrington blacks with better housing and more garden space in carefully ordered villages. There were to be new "houses . . . built upon a line to make a street, at the distance of one hundred feet from each other." As so often happened during these years of reform, the Society's orders lost much of their force in the execution. In 1796 the Codrington management acknowledged that it had contented itself with moving the huts on the lower estate to a site nearer Codrington College. It was something, however, that the thirty dwellings had been rebuilt and made to toe the line of a street.

[1] For notes to chap. x, see pp. 161–163.

Perhaps the 169 villagers would have the grace to learn discipline and decorum from the rigid pattern that the Society had thoughtfully imposed on the community.[3]

Most of the slaves continued to find housing for themselves, with only occasional help from the estates. In 1818, for example, the management gave a Negro woman 6*s.* 6*d.* "to assist in building her house." In 1813 the plantations paid 12*s.* 6*d.* for "a House given to Hood & Nelson, 2 Africans," but these slaves were artisans hired to work for the year. The Society's agents again took a direct hand in Negro housing in October, 1819, when a great storm destroyed almost all the Negro huts. It was probably at this time that many of the houses were walled with stone from the lower plantation quarry. Stone walls and thatched roofs predominated in the Codrington villages in 1823, according to a report of that year.[4]

Although the Society stressed that it wished each householder to have his own "patch of land," the Negro gardens were still very small in this period, and had little part in feeding the villagers. The slaves could safely look to the Codrington managers to supply them with an abundance of fruits, vegetables, and salt fish. The West Indies in general had been won to the idea of greater self-sufficiency in food production during the American War. After the closing of the African slave trade in 1808, the newly formed agricultural associations brought home the lesson that the planters could no longer afford to lose Negroes to famine. When trade with the United States was almost cut off during the Napoleonic Wars, the Barbadians were prepared for the emergency. "The Planters have suffered a great deal of inconvenience from the American embargo, with respect to staves &c for their Sugar hogsheads," the master of Codrington College observed to the Society in January, 1809. "This, however, is the chief want from which the Planters of this Country will experience from it, as we have, throughout the Islands, a very abundant crop of corn & ground-provisions."

In the nineteenth century the Codrington overseers gave almost as much attention to the provision crops as to the precious sugar canes. Manager Edward Clarke in 1800 lamented that dry weather had dealt severely with the cane fields, but he expressed even greater anxiety for the parched acres of Indian corn:

> I hope I shall be able to make a tolerable crop of Indian corn at these estates, as I do not see better any where, for I look upon it that the Negroes in such a year as this ought to be our first care[;] when we consider so many mouths looking up to us for support, & a famine as it were staring us in the face, we ought not to

leave nothing undone towards their relief & comfort, & which I am happy to say I have always succeeded in.

By 1828 Clarke's successors were employing one-third of the labor of the 376 slaves to raise annual crops of 130 acres of Guinea corn, 30 acres of Indian corn, 30 acres of potatoes, 8 acres of eddoes, 20 acres of peas, 12 acres of yams, 15 acres of plantains, and other minor crops.[5] The slaves were also receiving daily portions of rum and rations of salt fish and other imported items which cost the Society about 18*s.* a year for each Negro. If this charge is added to the approximate value of the labor assigned to food production, it appears on a rough calculation that the annual cost of feeding the average Negro amounted to between £3 and £4.[6]

In 1792 the Society ordered that the "trifling" sick houses be replaced by two hospitals. Each was to be at least fifty feet long, twenty feet wide, and eight feet high. The Barbadian agents stubbornly obstructed what to them was an extravagant notion, and it was not until 1805 that they at last completed one hospital on the upper estate. As rebuilt after the storm of 1819, the structure was described as a commodious stone building with five well-ventilated apartments, a maternity room, and a gallery for convalescent cases. A white woman, who was paid £10 a year, supervised the Negro nurses in such tasks as bleeding the patients with leeches, dispensing "Fresh Fish for pregnant women," and treating the inmates with gin, port, and brandy. Physicians and surgeons were now brought to the estates only to attend to serious cases, and were paid by the case. An apothecary was in daily attendance. His firm was paid a flat fee of about 6*s.* 3*d.* a year for every slave on the estates. In return for this retainer, the firm provided medicines as well as professional service. During the years from 1813 to 1823, the Society was spending about 8*s.* 10*d.* a year, excluding building costs, for the medical care of each Negro. This was more than twice the amount expended in the first half of the eighteenth century.[7]

With little prodding from London, the Codrington managers and attorneys were doing much during the period to reduce the burden of field work demanded of the slaves. "In my opinion," wrote Manager Edward Clarke in 1798, "I think that ought to be the principal object of every Overseer upon a Plantation, to consider the ease of the Negroes & to save as much manual labor as they possibly can, for it is natural to be supposed that the work of Sugar Plantations must be laborious."[8] Later in the year Clarke reported that the blacks

looked well, even after having brought in the crop under "dreadful heavy weather." "... I make it a point," he added, "never to expose them to rain if it can be avoided by any means, nor to distress them let the consequences be what they will.'" A report of 1822 noted that when the Codrington blacks were occupied "in more wearisome work, a refreshing beverage of punch ... [was] very frequently mixed and sent out to them."

Until well into the nineteenth century, the West Indian planters refused to believe that the plow could be substituted for the hoe in the heavy toil of holing the cane fields, but the more progressive masters changed their views when they realized that they could no longer replace broken Negroes with fresh recruits from Africa. In November, 1812, the Codrington management paid £22 10*s.* for a plow, and word was sent to London that the tool had noticeably lightened the labor of the field Negroes. Most Barbadians appear to have turned against the innovation in 1819, when the plow was blamed for poor crops, but it continued to be employed on the Society's estates.[10]

The managers now felt free even to cut back production rather than to overtax the strength of their field gangs. It was owing chiefly to the greater yield of the new Bourbon canes, in fact, that the shipments of sugar to England were maintained at the old levels. In the 1730's it had been usual for the estates to have 100 or more acres planted in canes each year, but in 1798, when there were more Codrington slaves, Manager Clarke observed that "our quantity that we plant, is generally about 50 acres or as near that number as possible; we have not a strength to go on with more...." Clarke added that he was hiring Negroes whenever they were available "on purpose to ease the Negroes upon the Estates as much as possible.'"[11]

Although the working day continued to extend from dawn to dusk, with only two hours of recess for meals, the slaves during this period won some notable concessions of time from labor. In 1819 the Codrington management revived the old privilege of free Saturday afternoons, except during the alternate weeks of the crop season. A new holiday was instituted at about this same time in the merry "harvest home," which meant fresh meat, dance music, and a plenitude of prayers and sermons for the blacks who had undergone the hard labor of bringing in the crop. After 1819, too, the Negroes were freed one hour early in order to attend the funerals of Codrington slaves. The members of a bereaved family were released from labor from the hour of death until the day after the burial.[12]

In one important respect the Society did little in a direct way to improve the living standards of the Negroes. The slave's annual allowance of clothing was still some six or seven yards of cloth to the value of about 15*s*. It is significant, however, that room was found in the allotments for such unprecedented items as handkerchiefs, hats, baby linen, blankets, and checked cloth. In 1813, when there were 306 Negroes on the plantations, the following articles were sent from England to outfit the Codrington villagers:

579 yards of best yard wide penistone	£60	6*s*.	3*d*.
108 yards of the same, ¾ yard wide	7	4*s*.	0*d*.
1,167 yards of Strelitz Osnaburg	65	12*s*.	10*d*.
152 yards of linen check	10	15*s*.	4*d*.
8 dozen Romal handkerchiefs	4	18*s*.	0*d*.
12 pounds of thread	1	16*s*.	0*d*.

The total bill for the above items amounted to £150 12*s*. 5*d*. sterling. In 1822 the following goods were sent for 352 Negroes:

1,168 yards of best Strelitz Osnaburg	£43	16*s*.	0*d*.
497 yards of checks	24	17*s*.	0*d*.
16 dozen Romal handkerchiefs	8	16*s*.	0*d*.
13 pounds of brown and white thread	2	5*s*.	0*d*.
716 yards of blue napped baize, yard wide	71	13*s*.	0*d*.
104½ yards of the same, ¾ yard wide	6	19*s*.	4*d*.
28 yards of stout white calico	1	3*s*.	4*d*.
20 dozen Kilmarnock caps	10	0*s*.	0*d*.
8 dozen best striped milled caps	3	4*s*.	0*d*.

The cost of the whole was £172 13*s*. 8*d*. sterling.

If the Society now felt free to indulge the Negroes in "finery," including "Sunday best" uniforms for the children and baby linen for the infants, it did so in the belief that the Negroes were supplementing their allowances through their own means. According to the Codrington managers, the slaves had food to spare, and sold the surplus to raise money for clothing and ornaments. Further testimony to the advancing status of the blacks is provided by the notation in the plantation account books of sums spent for "making clothes for poorer ones." Most slaves, it seems, were now responsible for fashioning their own garments from the materials supplied to them, or for having clothes made at their own expense.[18]

It was nothing new for the Codrington slave to have a recognized right to own property and to spend money for himself. His right to buy, possess, and sell personal articles seems to have been accepted

by the Society's agents from the earliest period. That he had something of a property interest in his house was admitted in 1767, when the Society paid to the Henley plantation Negroes the money that was raised from the sale of their old huts. It is not until 1822, however, that there is evidence that the slave's customary right had become so far defined as to permit him to bequeath his cottage, garden, and personal belongings to any other Codrington slave. It is only in this later period, too, that serious notice is taken of the independent earning power and the private holdings of the blacks. Owing to the more liberal policies in respect to free time, food allotments, and garden space, some Negroes were now able to make substantial sums by raising goats, pigs, and poultry, or by growing ginger and other highly marketable crops. When the house of one of the artisans burned in 1825, the manager gave him £1 5*s.* in compensation for the loss of his personal goods. It was stated in 1817 that the head driver and some of the other chief men in the villages were very industrious in cultivating their lands, and that the driver had made more than £20 in one year. According to the agricultural attorney's report in 1828, the blacks usually spent their money for personal adornment and saved little."

The atmosphere of barbarism and fear that had formerly pervaded the Codrington villages had quite disappeared before 1823. No Africans had been brought to the plantations since 1767. By 1822 all but one of the Society's slaves were Americans by birth. It is clear that the barriers of language and culture had lowered, and that whites and creole blacks now found communication easy and even pleasant. There is some basis at last for the traditional view of plantation slavery as a kindly and paternalistic institution. The Negro had become a human being who could be referred to affectionately as Mary Douglas, "a very nice girl, modest," or as "Poor old Mary Moore," crippled with age. Above all, both crime and punishment had adapted themselves to the mild temper of a mature and internally secure social order. In 1823 the manager testified "that the general character of the Negroes had very much improved; that stealing, lying, and many other vices, which were common on the estates" had become "almost unknown." Forster Clarke, the agricultural attorney, observed somewhat later that petty thefts, quarreling, insolence, and insubordination were still known at Codrington, but that offenses were always of a "light and trifling" nature. There were several cases each year of unauthorized absences from the estates, but apparently few real instances of at-

tempted escapes, for Clarke made no mention of what had once been the most troublesome disciplinary problem. The drivers continued to carry the whip into the fields, but wrongdoers were usually jailed on the plantations, rather than lashed.[15]

There is reason to believe that morale was better at Codrington than elsewhere in Barbados. On Easter Sunday, 1816, when an insurrection of slaves brought fire and pillage to a great part of the colony, the Society's Negroes remained quiet and obedient. "Canes were burnt on almost every estate that joins the Societys," read one account, "but their property has not sustained the least injury. . . ." The insurgents had acted in the mistaken belief that their masters were thwarting the design of the British Parliament by keeping them in bondage. This notion had originated in distorted rumors about the parliamentary debates on the Registration Bill, which called for the listing of slaves in the British colonies. By good fortune, Mark Nicholson, the president of Codrington College, had foreseen the danger: "As soon as Mr Nicholson found that the Registry Bill was likely to occasion a great ferment in the minds of the Negroes," the president reported, "he explained the nature of it to the leading people on the Societys estates, which he considers to have been of essential Service to repressing any riotous disposition." The real point of Nicholson's story, however, was that it now seemed reasonable to appeal to the good understanding of the Codrington blacks.[16]

Behind this fact was a generation of Negroes for whom schools had replaced the seasoning process as the introduction to life at Codrington. In 1795 the Society ordered the catechist, the Reverend William Thomas, to concentrate his attentions on the young, for whom alone there was any real hope of reformation. It was the Society's will "That all the Children from 4 years of age . . . be taught to read, as preparatory to & essentially connected with, religious instruction. . . ." The Society suggested that Thomas employ "some good sort of woman" to assist him in the school.[17] After consulting with the manager, Thomas responded by establishing a Sunday school for the youngsters. It opened on July 19, 1795, under the immediate direction of one Thomas Curtis Pollard, who at times had kept the plantation account books, acted as an assistant overseer, and maintained the Society's warehouse at Consett's Bay. The catechist reported in August that Pollard was making encouraging progress with his forty-six scholars:

> The young Negroes have hitherto been attentive & orderly in their behavior, & seem to attend with chearfulness on Sundays. Some of Jennings Spelling books

have been purchased for their use. They belong to the smallest Gangs (those who in the week collect grass, & other horse meat for the stock) hence their services & employments on the Plantations are not interrupted. They meet Mr. Pollard early on the Sunday morning in the College Hall, where Mr. Thomas duly inspects them, & when they get sufficiently forward in reading, he shall regularly instruct them in the Catechism, & principles of religion & injoin their attendance on the public Service.

The children were "taught as well in the afternoon as the morning of Sundays, the Teacher breakfasting & dining on those days with the Deputy Overseer on the Lower Plantation, & occasionally with Mr. Thomas."[18]

To the dismay of poor Thomas, his constituents remained quite unimpressed by his achievement. In December, 1795, the Society's secretary directed the catechist to hire women teachers to give daily instruction to the children, or at least to those who were from four to eight years of age. "If Children here were taught to spell, & read only once a week," the secretary reasoned, "'tis much to be apprehended, that most of them w[oul]d arrive at manhood before they could do it with any facility; & I sh[oul]d apprehend that the Intellects of Negroes are not quite so quick & docile as those of the Whites." Thomas replied that he had discussed the Society's commands with the overseer and attorneys and must beg the corporation to "conform to imperious necessity" by abandoning its plan for a daily school. All but the smallest infants were members of work gangs and therefore indispensable to the plantation economy. Respectable women would not come to teach the Negroes, and if they did "the rude young tribe of Blacks w[oul]d not obey or respect them." Now that the novelty of the Sunday school had worn off, it was difficult to make the young Negroes attend classes even on one day a week. These and other arguments were quickly dismissed by the Society as "not well founded," and the secretary warned Thomas that his employers would not tolerate further obstruction of their policies. It was as much for reasons of health as of education that the Society must insist on the children coming under female supervision. Respectable women could certainly be found to reside on the estates, and the managers could surely spare the labor of the youngsters "from the time of their being weaned to the time [of their being] . . . put into the second gang."[19]

Before these latest orders could reach him, Thomas resigned the Codrington mission in September, 1796, in order to take up one of the Barbadian rectories. Sir John Gay Alleyne found a temporary suc-

cessor in the Reverend Thomas Orderson, a curate in St. George's parish, but in 1797 the Society sent the Reverend Mark Nicholson to begin his twenty-five years as the first president of Codrington College. From 1797 to 1819, the religious care of the Society's slaves fell on Nicholson and his assistant master, neither of whom could spare much time from their work with the white students.[20]

The Society had intended in 1797 to appoint a clergyman "particularly to instruct the Negroes in the principles of the Christian religion," and had even authorized Shute Barrington, Bishop of Durham, to find a suitable candidate for the post. Bishop Barrington and the Society had in mind that the proposed chaplain would "be of essential service not only to the Codrington negroes but to those on other plantations in Barbados, & ultimately throughout the English West India Islands."[21] Hopes were high that the British planters were ready at last to promote the religious instruction of their slaves. There was the more reason for the Society to act, because its severe critic, Beilby Porteus, who had become Bishop of London in 1787, had founded a second Anglican missionary body in 1792 and had sent a clergyman to minister to the West Indian slaves.[22] But in 1798 the Society suddenly abandoned the project and thereby greatly annoyed Bishop Barrington, who had already offered the chaplaincy to a qualified man.

The Society had changed its plan after its Barbadian agents argued that the plantations could not well accommodate an additional cleric, that the missionary sent to the West Indies by Porteus had failed in his assignment, and that the fear of slave rebellions, like the one that had recently ravaged St. Domingue, would prejudice the cause of Negro Christianity. This last point provoked Bishop Barrington to remark:

> What connection subsists between instilling the genuine doctrines & precepts of the Gospel into the mind of the untutored African, rendering him by that means a better slave, a better man, & more contented with his condition than he was before, & the unexampled atrocities produced by French Atheism, & French republicanism in the Island of St Domingo . . . I am at a loss to conceive.

Barrington charged that the Society was needlessly abandoning "a fair opportunity . . . of humanizing & christianizing an unfortunate body of heathens, who have a claim on the efforts of a religious society."[23] It was fortunate for the bishop's colleagues that they could counter with the news that they had at last succeeded in establishing daily schools at Codrington.

In June, 1797, Manager Edward Clarke reported to the Society that

the Codrington staff now included "two Creditable white Women, one upon each Estate for the sole purpose of teaching the young Negroes to Read & instructing them in principals of Religion." Mary Howard, "Tutoress to the little Negroes" of the lower plantation, received the modest salary of £30 a year, as did her colleague, Mrs. Reid, of the upper estate. Fifty pounds more was allowed for their accommodations. There was a schoolhouse on each of the plantations. One was described in 1805 as containing five long and two short benches, one long and one round table, six Bibles, seven Psalters, and twenty spelling books. After teaching their charges during six days of the week, the schoolmistresses ushered them to the chapel services on Sundays. President Nicholson noted in 1801 that there were forty-nine students in the schools, and that the children had "made as much progress as could be expected considering the frequent & unavoidable interruptions given to their attendance by business of the plantation." Sixteen years later he made a similar report:

> Seventy of the little Negroes attend the two Schoolmistresses, Mrs. Howard & Miss Harding, & they generally begin their attendance at 6 years of age, & continue it till they are 12 or 14. The time allotted for their attendance is two hours each day, but they seldom attend half that time, so that few are able to read well before they quit School altogether. During that time they are at School they also regularly attend the [Sunday] Morning service in the College Chapel, & are catechized at the conclusion, which is in fact all the religious instruction they ever receive, for excepting the College domestics very few of them are ever seen at Chapel after they are once removed from the care of the School mistress.

For all their deficiencies, however, these schools stood almost alone in the British West Indies in offering education to the slaves.[24]

The attempt to reform the younger generation was not confined to the schools, but was brought to bear on every phase of plantation life. In 1803 the Codrington attorneys adopted a thoroughgoing regimen "for the instruction and improvement of the young Negroes," by which provision was made for the children from the time they were weaned until they entered the second gang. Those who were too young to work were to spend the whole of every working day in an enclosed playground under the eye of one of the white teachers, who was to inspect them rigorously, attend to their health and behavior, and "not neglect to teach them some short moral lessons." When they were about seven years old and ready to enter the third gang, the children were to be placed on a schedule that would give them instruction while they were employed in necessary labor for the estates:

This gang should be called out to their work at Sunrise, and employed until the hour of breakfast, which should be about 8 o'Clock. From 8 to 10 o'clock the time should be devoted to breakfast & instruction. From 10 to 12 o'clock they should be employed in field work. From 12 to 3 o'clock the time should be devoted to instruction, dinner and rest in the playground, where the children should be confined, that their morals & conversation may not be corrupted. From 3 to Sunset they may be employed in field work, at which time they are to return to the play ground to accompany their teacher in a short evening prayer.

All the youngsters were to breakfast and dine at a common table:

... the Children ... are to be collected and ranged in order, according to their sizes, that they may be better inspected by the Teacher, and the Manager or overseer: For this purpose it is directed that a broad bench be prepared, upon which their meals are to be served to them with smaller benches on each side for them to sit on, and that these benches be placed within the Manager's view. Proper bowls & spoons are to be provided, and they are to be supplied with as much food as will satisfy them. To impress the negroes with a proper sense of Gratitude to the divine Giver of such daily food, let a short grace be distinctly said at every meal by the white teacher or the overseer, and repeated properly by the children.[25]

The religious and educational program was greatly expanded in 1819, when the Society at last acted to establish the chaplaincy that Barrington had worked for in 1797. There was growing evidence that public opinion in the British West Indies would no longer oppose missionary activity. In 1816, for example, the legislature of Jamaica passed measures to encourage and support the religious instruction of the slaves, and Lord Combermere, who went to Barbados as governor in 1817, had striking success in bringing the planters and clergy to join in religious projects to the benefit of the Negroes.[26] Thus freed from the doubts that had beset it in 1797, the Society appointed the Reverend John Hothersall Pinder, a native Barbadian of prominent family, to serve as chaplain and catechist and as the director of the Negro schools at a salary of £300 sterling a year, with liberal allowances for his living expenses.

The regulations adopted for Pinder's guidance provided for the encouragement of marriages, the lengthening of the school day to extend from nine in the morning until one in the afternoon, the establishment of a Sunday school for the older slaves, the adoption of the National School System of Andrew Bell as the method for teaching the Negroes, the regular administration of the Lord's Supper on the plantations, and the prohibition of all avoidable labor on Sundays. The Society gave Pinder every possible assistance, including a large new chapel, a new schoolhouse, and supplies of books for the Negroes.

By 1823 the corporation was spending more than £1,100 a year on the religious instruction of the slaves. It did so in the full knowledge that Pinder, a dedicated man of unlimited energy, had succeeded at last in making Christianity a thing of meaning in the Codrington villages.

It must suffice here to offer only a few illustrations of Pinder's work. He visited the slaves in their cottages, encouraged them to come to him with their problems, acted as their spokesman and protector, inquired about their families, and created a warm and close pastoral relationship with the Negroes. He published simple tracts for them to study, and sent his Negro clerk to read aloud to the unlettered. He attended the blacks in the hospital and the plantation prison, established a lending library for the villagers, and provided for a Christmas fund for the "old mothers" who cared for the orphaned children on the estates. He opened his services to the free and slave Negroes from neighboring estates, helped found a branch of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge to encourage Negro Christianity in Barbados, and inspired the planters to follow the Society's lead in educating and converting the slaves. It was no wonder that in later years the Society looked back on Pinder's coming to Codrington as the beginning of a "regular system of religious teaching," despite all that had been attempted by Holt, Smirk, Wilkie, Bewsher, Husbands, and many others in the century and more before 1819.[27]

To the Society the dramatic strides made in improving the spiritual condition of the slaves were the outstanding feature and even the justification of the work of amelioration at Codrington before 1823. It is clear, however, that the process had touched every aspect of slavery, including the housing, clothing, feeding, disciplining, and working of the Negroes. Perhaps the most convincing evidence of the great advance that had been made in the physical welfare of the blacks came in the statistics of births and deaths. The old story of a steadily declining population was reversed after 1793, and thenceforward increases in the stock became the rule and decreases the exception. Manager Edward Clarke reported in 1798 that "now & then we lose a Negro perhaps that has been superannuated for several years." When births failed to exceed deaths, Clarke's tone was that of an injured man:

> ... by the list you will find there were 4 Births & 6 Deaths ... few Negroes are treated better, they have every indulgence & encouragement that Negroes can have ... in Sickness, they have every care & attention paid them, an Apothecary that understands his business, Medicine, & every thing else that is proper, & in cases of need either Surgeon or Physician is called in, & withall that I cannot get them to increase.

A net gain of 3 slaves was made in 1795, 11 in 1800, 5 in 1804, and 7 in 1805. By 1807 the number of slaves had increased from the 266 of 1793 to 303, or 3 more than the population that Christopher Codrington had asked the Society to maintain. When the number mounted to 355 at the close of 1823, the agricultural attorney, Forster Clarke, pointed out to the Society that the growing population gave "very satisfactory proof... of the improved condition and welfare of the people & property generally, & I assure you," Clarke continued, ". . . it is no small gratification to me, to witness this improvement in the negroes... & which is visible in every thing appertaining to them—in their manners, their Dress, their orderly behavior, & general good conduct."[25]

CHAPTER XI

THE SOCIETY AND THE ABOLITIONISTS, 1823–1830

IN THE YEARS preceding the Emancipation Act of 1833, British abolitionists attacked slavery on many grounds, including the hours of labor, and the clothing, feeding, and disciplining of the West Indian Negroes. To many antislavery leaders, however, these earthy matters were incidental to the religious issue. The great charge was that slavery was incompatible with the Christianization of the Negroes. Instances of the harsh treatment of slaves were seized upon and broadcast in a bitter warfare of pamphlets, but any contrary evidence was brushed aside as irrelevant to the principal question: How could a Christian justify holding slaves? How could a Christian give countenance to a labor system that had permitted generations of Negroes to die in ignorance of Christ?[1]

The ownership of the Codrington sugar plantations by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel served to point up the essential question. For here was the example of an Anglican missionary corporation that not only insisted that slaves could be made Christians, but held slaves of its own. The Society could have held off virulent criticism only by emancipating its Negroes. Its identification with the church hierarchy and its venerability and prestige served less to awe than provoke assailants. Even the fact that the Codrington blacks were treated with unusual humanity and given religious instruction was ineffective in argument. The abolitionists made much, indeed, of what appeared to be exceptions. Ultimately, however, they demanded not reforms, but an admission that the Christian management of slave plantations was an impossibility.

Such an admission could be made only by breaking with a long-established policy. From the time of its foundation the Society had accepted the thesis that slavery and Christianity were not natural enemies. It had acted steadily in the belief that the West Indian Negroes would be brought to Christianity as slaves, and it had taken care at Codrington to avoid making the propagation of religion seem a lever for social revolution. Although by 1823 the corporation had gone beyond most other Caribbean proprietors in ameliorating the living conditions of its slaves, it had taken care to identify itself with the planter

[1] For notes to chap. xi, see pp. 163–165.

interest, for it still looked to the masters as the instrument for the conversion of the slaves. Thus in adopting its enlightened regulations of 1819 for the Codrington plantations, the Society prefaced them with the following statement:

> ... it is desirable, that a system should be adopted, in every way coincident with the colonial interest—A system, which while it effectually secures progressive amelioration, in the disposition, understanding and habits of the slaves, may afford a Model, for other Proprietors to follow. And most ardently may this Event be expected, when it is seen, in what harmony, Religious Institutions & Flourishing Agriculture, subsist.[2]

The Society directed its appeal to the leaders of West Indian opinion, rather than to the people and Parliament of Britain. Unlike the abolitionists, therefore, it had to recognize that the price of a radical religious policy in the Caribbean was a discreet and conservative approach toward the other issues of the slavery controversy.

These issues were clearly drawn in 1823, when the British government committed itself to the eventual emancipation of the Negroes and urged the colonies to adopt specified measures to prepare the slaves for freedom. With a few of the recommendations, such as that for the religious instruction of the Negroes, the majority of the planters were ready to comply, if only to deflect the fire of the abolitionists. Beyond these limits, however, the slaveholders would not go. There was widespread resistance to the British resolves that marriage between slaves be encouraged, that manumissions be facilitated, that women not be flogged, that the whip not be carried into the field, and that all punishments be witnessed and recorded. The planters felt instinctively that these proposals threatened to subvert the dependence and subordination of the slaves.[3]

After 1823 the Society grasped at every means of bettering the condition of the Codrington Negroes, short of placing the corporation on the side of the emancipationists. In this it came to rely heavily on the advice of William Hart Coleridge, the first Bishop of Barbados. With the arrival of Coleridge in Barbados in 1825, the Society became virtually a resident proprietor in the colony, for the organization had complete confidence in the new prelate as the supervisor of Codrington College and plantations. The Society's slaves ratified the change by greeting Coleridge with the words, " 'we quite proud to see you Master, how is Mistress?' by which name they . . . designated Mrs. Coleridge."[4] Under Coleridge and the successive chaplains, the Reverend John Pinder to 1826 and the Reverend John Packer from 1827 to 1830, the

Society's Negroes were the beneficiaries of an eminently progressive policy in their schools, church, and villages.[8]

It is scarcely possible to give more than a hint of the rapid development of the educational program. When the chaplain complained that many of the youngsters were removed to the field gangs before they could learn to read properly, the Society gave orders in 1828 that all the children were to remain in school until they were at least twelve years old. Writing and arithmetic were expressly excluded from the curriculum out of deference to the fears of the planters, but in 1828 the chaplain arranged for the Negro girls to receive instruction in needlework. George Clarke, one of the Society's manumitted slaves, was added to the teaching staff in 1829 and given charge of a Sunday school for boys and an evening school for adults. Every effort was made to see that the Negroes kept up their reading skills after leaving school, that they had an abundance of religious tracts to read, and that they had a real understanding of the sermons and services in their chapel.[9]

Perhaps the outstanding advance made after 1823 in the material state of the slaves came with the decision in 1824 to abandon the unhealthful Negro yard near the old mansion house and to remove the blacks to "a high and airy, and dry Situation" close to their fellows on the upper plantation. "In the new village which I am erecting on the Hill near the Chapel," wrote Forster Clarke, "I have allowed 100 feet square to each House, which would afford many vegetables for the use of the family or might yield as much ginger as would in some years sell for 30 £ currency." The transfer was in keeping with a fashion begun in Barbados some years before of placing the slaves at a distance from the dwellings of the whites, and some had urged it on the ground that "the Negro yard . . . on *many accounts* ought not to be so near to the College," but the removal was clearly advantageous to the slaves, whose nearly completed settlement was thus described in 1829 by Bishop Coleridge:

> The new negro houses on the hill are advancing rapidly, and already form a very pleasing appearance; they are of stone with shingled roofs; a piece of ground sufficient for a garden is attached to each house, and trees will be planted for shade near them; the Chapel and School houses are at one end of the village but somewhat raised so as to command the whole.

The community spirit of the blacks was such that few would move until the entire village could be accommodated in the "very comfortable and Substantial" houses. In 1831, when the great hurricane destroyed

most of the buildings, the forty-two houses in the new village were valued at £40 each, while sixty older houses with wood and stone walls and plank and trash roofs were held to be worth only £10 each.[7]

In most respects, however, the Society's ameliorative actions at Codrington were not such as to discourage the other slaveowners in their stand against gradual emancipation. Four years after the passing of the Canning Resolutions of 1823, the Codrington Negroes, like most of their West Indian fellows, had taken few steps on the official road to emancipation. The whip was still used in the field, women could still be flogged, no record of punishments was kept, and no program for manumission had been devised. A public announcement in 1823 had stated that the Society's Negroes were usually punished by confinement, but did not mention the use of the whip in the field as a stimulus to labor. In 1825, in fact, the whip had been taken from the Negro driver, only to be restored when he and the manager of the estates complained of lax discipline. Manumissions had been effected only occasionally and for extraordinary reasons.[8] The first such case had occurred in 1817, when the Society's agent in Barbados transmitted the following request to London:

> ... an earnest petition from the parents of three young Mulatto Slaves, that they may be permitted to purchase the freedom of their children for which thro the Assistance of their friends they will be enabled to accomplish; the youngest is 13 years of age—the two others rather older. They are unequal to the hard labour of the field, & can only be employed as mechanicks of whom there is a sufficient Number already on the Estates.

The Society took affirmative action on this plea, and in 1827 agreed "That permission be granted . . . to one of the principal men of the Estate named Jack Robin [the driver] to purchase the freedom of his two black female Children."[9]

The Society attempted to support one of the British government's demands. In the age of Wilberforce and Buxton, the Society could scarcely uphold slavery as a Christian institution, unless it could show that its Negroes lived in Christian marriage. No question was more explosive in the West Indies, where Negro marriages were almost unknown. Only one marriage of slaves was performed in Barbados before 1825, and that by a minister who was later subjected to persecution by his own parishioners.[10] After long avoiding this dangerous subject, the Society had adopted a regulation in 1819 for the encouragement of marriages at Codrington "in conformity with the rites of the Church of England: as one of the most effectual means of refining and

strengthening natural attachments and thereby paving the way to virtuous habits." The measure was approved by Lord Combermere, the governor of Barbados, but the Codrington chaplain, John Pinder, confessed that in "consequence of alarm relative to the marriage of slaves" he would have been "at a loss how to act" without the Society's backing. Later in 1819, Pinder admitted that he was reluctant to encourage marriages, despite the rule calling for him to do so. "The Introduction of marriage into a code of Regulations for the religious improvement of a people appeared necessary," he wrote, "yet daily experience convinces me, how cautiously I should administer that rite. I have had no application & shall wait for one." Four years later, when the Canning Resolutions were passed by the British Parliament, Pinder was still passively awaiting the day when the Society's slaves would come to him and demand their right to the banns.[11]

Pinder's cautious view of his duty was based not only on his regard for the prejudices of the white community, but also on a well-considered theory that the Negroes, like other peoples in the past, must have time to adapt to the full discipline of a Christian culture. They were, he believed, slowly but surely moving toward monogamous unions. "There is no such thing, as far as I can find, as promiscuous concubinage among them," he observed to the Society. "The slaves marry by agreement; sometimes alas! the men have two & even three wives, but these are considered in the light of wives, till an actual separation takes place." It was a hopeful sign that Christian marriages were becoming fairly common among the free colored people of Barbados.[12]

The Society sympathized with Pinder's position, but it became increasingly uneasy after 1823 in the face of government policy and British opinion. Pinder, after all, was a Barbadian living among Barbadians, whereas the Society was based in humanitarian Britain. In 1824 the Society's secretary asked the Codrington agents to suggest every means of promoting the marriage rite. Forster Clarke, the agricultural attorney, promised his full coöperation, noting that the slaves who formed permanent attachments produced "almost without exception numerous families, of the most valuable description of Negroes." Pinder, on the other hand, discouraged the idea of a marriage campaign, with "strong temporal inducements to submit to the ceremony." He would preach on marriage in the pulpit, but he and others must realize that they had to await the slow evolution of a whole people.[13] Notwithstanding the chaplain's advice, the Society recommended in 1825 that its agents encourage slave couples to apply for marriage by

holding forth "such further inducements, as a superior habitation, & additional comforts of clothing, & security of the customary inheritance to their legitimate children if belonging to the Estate, & any other privileges . . . as may appear . . . expedient." Although Forster Clarke went no further than to promise "that every mother having six children born in lawful wedlock" should be exempted from further work for the plantations, it was largely owing to Pinder that no marriages had been performed before his resignation at the end of 1826, and that the Society could not take credit for having realized at least the religious aspects of the government's ameliorative program.[14]

It was no wonder, then, that in 1827, when the abolitionists were insistently proclaiming the unwillingness of the planters to lead their slaves toward freedom, hostile eyes were turned on the Codrington plantations. For more than a century these estates had been publicized as the outpost of Anglican humanitarianism in the West Indies, but it was clear to the antislavery leaders that they had given comfort to the enemy at every stage of the attack on the slavery interest. In 1793, for example, Bryan Edwards had pointed to the Society's plantations in his clever defense of the slavery system. To readers of his famous *History,* Edwards gave the following explanation of why the venerable Society continued to use slave labor:

> They well know that moderate labour, unaccompanied with that wretched anxiety to which the poor of England are subject, in making provision for the day that is passing over them, is a state of comparative felicity: and they know also, that men in savage life have no incentive to emulation: persuasion is lost on such men, and compulsion, to a certain degree, is humanity and charity.[15]

Now the Society had not only failed to enact the official program laid down in 1823 for gradual emancipation, but it was continuing in its annual reports to publish accounts of its great success in making the Codrington estates a model of Christian slavery. Each year the public learned that the Society's Negroes were gaining rapidly in numbers, improving in their habits, taking an increased interest in religion and education, and enjoying new levels of physical comfort.[16] All this was true, but none the less provoking to men who painted slavery as antichrist.

In May, 1827, *The Christian Observer,* a London abolitionist monthly, took notice of a recent meeting of the Society and its failure to consider Codrington in the many reports on world-wide missionary activity:

> In ranging from North America to Southern India, the friends of the Society omitted to mention their own slaves, whose labours on their plantations augment their funds.... Let then friends of the unhappy slave come forward manfully in the Society to plead his cause; and let them never relax their efforts till the Society can fairly expurgate itself from the guilt of being slave-holders, and from the incongruity of watering the tree of life planted in India or America, with the tears and blood of unhappy Africa.

It was to be hoped, said the *Observer,* that another Porteus would appear in the Society to free its treasury from contamination and its members from guilt. Until then, many potential contributors would refuse to "cast in their mite." The *Observer* was generous enough to admit that the Society's slaves had been given unusual temporal and spiritual advantages, only emphasizing that "bondsmen they still are."[17] It was prepared, however, to give space to one who was not disposed to credit even the benevolence of the Society's despotism.

In July, 1827, therefore, the *Observer* took pleasure in reviewing the *Memoirs of a West-India Planter,* edited by the Reverend John Riland, M.A., curate of Yoxall in Staffordshire, and a subscriber to the Anti-Slavery, Church Missionary, and Bible societies. Riland presented the *Memoirs* as "an appeal to the imagination and the passions" of the humane reader. The work was prefaced by an assertion that Christians had no moral right to hold slaves, and was followed by appendices in which Riland corroborated its unsavory depictions of slavery. In the appendix on flogging, Riland diverted his readers with the revelation that the Codrington estates were worked by *"a driver!"* The implication that the Society's slaves labored "under the whip" was followed by an account of the Porteus affair which gave the impression that the Society had denied simple Christian instruction to its Negroes. The reader was told nothing of Codrington College, but was left to suppose that the Society absorbed "the fruits of slave labour" into its general treasury. The review in the *Observer* carefully drew the public's attention to these remarks about the Society.[18]

A vigorous but injudicious defense of the Society appeared in December, 1827, in the letter columns of *The Christian Remembrancer,* a London periodical unsympathetic to the abolitionists. Signing himself "S. H. P.," the writer denied that slavery was forbidden by Christianity. The Codrington estates, he declared, were worked primarily for the benefit of white education, but the slaves were well treated and not whipped. It was beyond his understanding how Riland or the *Observer* dared to discourage contributions to the Society, or to de-

fame a body whose "cause is the cause of the Episcopal Church," and whose reputation "affects the whole hierarchy." Only "ignorance and prejudice" could account for such audacity.[18] Possibly S. H. P. was not authorized to speak for the Society, but the fact that the *Remembrancer* was always friendly to the Society gave his letter an appearance of sanction.

Riland and the *Observer* were delighted to accept the letter as the basis for well-publicized controversy. In the January issue of the abolitionist magazine, Riland replied by asking the Society to produce its record of punishments at Codrington, to reveal how many of its slaves were married, and to show what plans it had made for their ultimate emancipation. Official documents were cited to show the rarity of marriages in Barbados, and this query was posed to the English public: "In what state, then, have the Society's Negroes been living . . .?" Riland could not believe that the Society, though protesting that it was merely the trustee of slave estates, would accept the devise of a Unitarian chapel on the understanding that the spiritual descendants of Priestly might continue to preach there. "Is the unborn babe," Riland asked, "one step nearer being free than its forefathers who have died in the Society's service?" Slavery was unchristian, and the Society must free itself from guilt by adopting measures to end bondage. This material was republished in 1828 as a pamphlet under the title *Two letters . . . Relative to the Slave-Cultured Estates of the Society. . . .*[20]

Among the Society's papers is a direct reply to the abolitionist onslaught. It was apparently never made public, and there is no evidence that it was officially adopted by the Society. There is no doubt, however, that the document expressed the views of the governing members of the corporation. The Society, it stated, had made "no reference to the reforms proposed by Government, because . . . the adoption of them upon one plantation singly, would introduce more mischief upon the Island, than a partial advantage to be derived to . . . particular Negroes could compensate." It went on to stress that much had been done for the religious advancement of the Codrington slaves, and asserted the belief that "no body of whites either in this country or in the Colonies receive greater attention in that respect." Perhaps the key paragraph was the following one:

> The Society do not consider they would consult the advantage of the Negro by facilitating his emancipation without regard to the use which he is likely to make of it—the consideration is not altogether one of property, & if the whole value of the Slaves could be tendered for their emancipation it would still remain doubtful

whether looking solely to the benefit of a certain number of human beings they would be justified in acceding to the point. When an application has been made for the purchase of the freedom of individuals the proposal has been readily met with an acquiescence.... No unusual regulations have been admitted because the Society are satisfied they are not required, & the introduction of them would be productive of great jealousy. The great increase of the population on the estate is alone a satisfactory proof of the humanity with which they have been treated.

Except for the repeated hints that the Society had to keep in mind the feelings of the West Indian whites, there was nothing in the apology to place the corporation on the side of even gradual emancipation.[21]

It was perhaps as well, therefore, that the Society chose to make its public defense by the indirect but dignified means of reprinting the various factual notices of the Codrington Negroes which had been published in its long series of annual reports. One compilation appeared in 1828 as *Papers Relative to Codrington College, Barbados,* and a second in 1829 as *A Statement Relative to Codrington College....* These pamphlets established that the Society's Negroes were among the most fortunate of slaves, and that large sums were expended for their Christianization. Neither work gave any sign that emancipation was contemplated, or that the abolitionists were substantially wrong in their specific charges. Indeed, the documents proved that the whip was still used, that no marriages had been performed before 1827, and that no record of punishments was kept.[22]

Many in the Society's rank and file were not satisfied with an answer that merely described how attractive slavery could be made. Reports from the rural parsonage houses soon indicated that members were displaying symptoms of "wavering . . . Misapprehension . . . and Uneasiness." The Auxiliary Society of Penwith, Cornwall, suggested that it would be well for the parent organization to comply with the British government's recommendations. When their memorial drew nothing but a formal acknowledgment from London, some of the Cornish gentlemen "thought proper to withdraw their support from the Venerable Society...."[23]

To quiet the discontent both in and out of the Society was essential, and this could be achieved only by capitulation to the government's reform program. In April, 1829, the Codrington management was ordered to keep a registry of punishments, and in September the use of the whip in the field was forbidden. To show its readiness to grant manumissions, the Society agreed in April to invite "the friends of Frankey a female Negro to purchase her freedom, if such should be

their desire. . . ." The Society emphasized that it was taking this action without waiting for an application, as a means of showing its "sense of her general good conduct & exemplary usefulness in her deportment."All money received in payment for Frankey was to be invested for her benefit. Here was a way of saying to the public that the Society was prepared to facilitate manumissions on a selective basis. The Society also bombarded its representatives with orders and recommendations designed to raise the spiritual level of the Negroes. More care was to be taken to prevent all unnecessary work on Sundays and to secure the attendance of the slaves at religious services. The Society's attention to detail is exemplified by its reminder to the agricultural attorney that to have children tend breeding cattle not only interfered with their schooling, but often exposed "them to scenes . . . highly desirable to avoid."

No part of the abolitionist criticism had stung the Society more than that on the score of Christian marriage at Codrington. It was a sore point, not only because the Society was a religious corporation, but because it had some claim to having anticipated the government's policy of encouraging marriages. There was little use in asserting that claim, however, as long as the Codrington Negroes rejected the lukewarm blandishments of the scrupulous Pinder. Some relief was afforded the embarrassed Society in May, 1827, when Pinder's successor, the Reverend John Packer, celebrated the marriage of two Codrington Negroes, who were promptly given one of the cottages in the fine new village. The Society was visibly impatient for much more evidence of spiritual progress at Codrington, and in 1828 it again asked Forster Clarke to offer "some superior advantages" to married slaves "as a matter of distinction, & a proof of their sense of Christian obligation." In 1829 the Society formally recorded its regret that the chaplain had had so little success in promoting marriages, and asked Coleridge and Clarke to suggest "the most efficient means of encouraging marriages among the Negroes." The Society promised to coöperate fully, "even, if it should be necessary, at considerable pecuniary sacrifice." The Barbadian deputies replied by giving every married woman "of good character" the right to free Saturdays throughout the year, while the rest of the Negroes now had that liberty only on alternate Saturdays. It was also ordered that "women [were] to be separated, as much as possible, from the men, whilst at work."[24]

The Society's demands for results from the marriage campaign became so insistent that Bishop Coleridge, whose own views on the sub-

ject were much like Pinder's, was forced to plead, "*you must yet give us time.*" A few months later, however, he was able to report that he had attended the weddings of three respectable couples who "had lived faithfully together for many years," and that the banns had been read for two more couples. In June, 1830, he dutifully visited the plantations and preached on Christian marriage. It had been decided, Coleridge informed the Society, to give the wives freedom before ten o'clock each morning, in place of their extra day of liberty each fortnight.[25] Every year the married slaves increased in privileges and number. There were twenty-two wedded couples in 1832, thirty-three in 1833, and about seventy in 1836.[26]

By the early months of 1830, the Society had removed most of the conditions and practices at Codrington which had been specifically censured, but it had not explicitly accepted the principle of eventual emancipation. The corporation had "still to contend with the popular outcry against them," for the abolitionists were intent on ending slavery, rather than reforming it. Bishop Coleridge deplored the injustice of the clamor and expressed the wish "that the Society and their opponents could but meet on these Estates," where it would be necessary to "learn *on enquiry* that the people were *slaves*." The Society had had enough of encounters with the abolitionists, however, and in April, 1830, it tentatively adopted a plan for the gradual emancipation of the Codrington Negroes.

When the proposals were sent to Coleridge for criticism, he agreed that the Society should "take the lead in a *systematic* emancipation," but urged caution and discretion:

> Much blame has been attached to the Society, for not having done more in years that are past, but in our eagerness to repel the charge, we must not be hurried into doing too much at once, lest we alarm or discourage those who may be sincerely looking to our estate as an example that may be safely & wisely followed by themselves.

The Society must "still patiently bear" calumny in order to solve "the great point" of "how far the Proprietors generally may emancipate their deserving Negroes without injury to their Estates." A discreet system of selective manumissions would be best, for, he counseled, "we must not give too much *publicity* to our intentions; or we shall excite apprehension in our fellow-proprietors; or be misunderstood or imposed upon by our people." The Society should find a way to let "sober, and industrious and able" Negroes work out their freedom by degrees, and thus accustom them to remain on the plantations as hired workmen.[27]

While the matter was still under consideration, the Reverend John Riland published a letter, dated November, 1830, and addressed to William Howley, the Archbishop of Canterbury and president of the Society. Entitled *On the Codrington Estates,* the letter noted that the periodical press was carrying reports that the Society was giving thought to the "social and moral claims" of its slaves. Riland professed to fear that the Society would make only paper reforms, and perpetuate slavery under the cover of fine phrases. The Society was weakening the Church of England by its stand. It must know that "nothing short of emancipation reaches the exigencies of the present case," Riland warned. If it were a question of Christianity or safety, blood was to be preferred to injustice. If the Society could not face the problem of emancipation, let it yield to public opinion by surrendering the Codrington plantations to the government.[3]

CHAPTER XII

EMANCIPATION AND APPRENTICESHIP, 1831–1838

CAUGHT BETWEEN the abolitionist devil and the blue sea of gradualism, the Society met on January 21, 1831, to make its choice. In its public statement, the Society declared that it might escape "some obloquy" by granting immediate enfranchisement to the Codrington Negroes, but that if others followed this course the result would be "more suffering and crime than have ever yet been witnessed under the most galling bondage." What the Society must do, then, was to "make provision for . . . gradual emancipation; and by the introduction of free labour into the colonies, afford an example which may lead to the abolition of slavery without danger to life or property." In adopting a set of regulations for this purpose, the Society asserted that it was only "giving a formal and public sanction" to a policy that had governed its practice "for some time past."

The program now put into effect at Codrington consisted of orders to abolish the whipping of female slaves, to administer punishments only in accordance with a formalized and witnessed procedure, to teach writing and arithmetic in the schools, to grant manumissions from time to time to slaves of good character, to declare all the Negroes attached to the soil and incapable of being sold, to permit slaves to purchase their freedom from enforced labor during one or more days of the week, to manumit slaves who purchased freedom for the six workdays of the week, to allow children born in wedlock to inherit the free days earned by their parents (providing that the Society was given proportionate relief from the support of the children), to institute task labor on the estates as much as possible, to assign only specified tasks to each slave, and to begin substituting hired labor for slave labor by paying the Negroes for their work on "free" days.[1] The main elements of the plan had been proposed almost a half-century before by Bishop Beilby Porteus, and had been suggested to him by the practices of Spanish slavery.[2]

When the news of the Society's action reached the West Indies, it was received with mixed feelings by both whites and blacks. Bishop Coleridge reported in May:

> The Resolutions have of course excited some sensation here: and the more so by coming so unexpectedly. By some the ruin of the Estate & of the College with

[1] For notes to chap. xii, see pp. 165–166.

it is predicted; others deem the regulations Judicious and look anxiously for the result; others consider that we have advantages in the way of control &c which the general Proprietor has not; others again add, "and are unembarrassed by debt, and may make experiments."

The Codrington Negroes learned of the innovations on April 19, when "about eleven of the most influential people, with the Driver Jack Robin" were summoned to meet with Coleridge, Forster Clarke, Manager Hinkson, and the newly installed chaplain, Thomas Watts. After reading the regulations, Coleridge asked the Negroes to speak freely about them. "The Society would have been much gratified could they have witnessed the scene," Coleridge commented; "the men by their questions fully shewed that they knew the import and value of every resolution; and at the same time that they were under no restraint, but felt entire confidence in those before them. . . ." The bishop felt rightly that the Negroes displayed "no want to shrewdness" in wishing to know " 'who would pay the doctor' " if they fell ill on their free days, how much the Society would pay them for working for the estates on free days, and how much the Society would charge them for each day of freedom. The slaves were "much struck" at hearing that Bishop Coleridge and the Society were to make regular inspections of the register of punishments, but they were little impressed by the announcement that they were never to be sold, except to themselves, "for they have," wrote Coleridge, ". . . felt themselves all along for a long time as virtually attached to the soil."[3]

In its two essential features—task labor and gradual emancipation through the sale of free days to the Negroes—the plan of 1831 was to prove ineffective. The idea of placing some limit on the labor of the slaves through the adoption of a task system was one that had been very popular with British humanitarians,[4] and the Society in its anxiety to appease public opinion had adopted it in the face of evidence that it could not be applied at Codrington. Forster Clarke and Coleridge had both represented to London that it would not be practical to make "a fair allotment of work" under the conditions of the Barbadian plantation system, in which the slaves worked for the estates in raising food crops, as well as in growing sugar cane.[5] Other obstacles were suggested by Coleridge's account of his conference with the Negro leaders:

With respect to task-work (which they changed into "*Job-work*") they agreed that it could not well be adopted on the Estate, from the difference of *soils*, the different state at the same time of the *same soil*, the difficulty of saying what quantity of

canes was a fair day's work to cut from the *entangled* and *trailing* state in which they were often lying, & other reasons enumerated by themselves....

Clarke promised to make an attempt to conform with the Society's regulation, but nothing more was heard of the project after 1831.[6]

The detailed arrangements for the manumission scheme were worked out in Barbados by Coleridge and Clarke. It was proposed to sell the Negro the economic control of his own time during one day of every week at a price equal to one-sixth of his appraised value. "A man and his wife [were] to be permitted to purchase their joint freedom, for one or more days, at two thirds of the price which would be paid for the freedom of the two, if separately purchased." When the slave had paid for six days, the Society was bound to manumit him. Until then, however, the Negro was not to be his own master, even on his "free" days. He was expected to work for the estates as before, except that he would receive wages on the days that belonged to him. It was provided, however, that "Married women [were] to use free time for [their] Families' benefit."[7]

As Coleridge understood the experiment, the purpose was to teach the Negroes habits of thrift and self-reliance, to accustom them to working for pay, and, above all, to commit them to remaining on the estates after they became freedmen. "The just point in all manumissions at the present moment," Coleridge reminded the Society in 1830, "is to secure the *continuance* of the Individual, when freed, on the Estate.... The danger is if manumission be without reference to character, or a probability of still retaining some *hold*-over-them, they will find their way to Town, and lose themselves in idleness and debauchery." When the Society publicized the "free" days as days of exemption from labor, Coleridge protested, "my hope is that on *their own* days our people will work still *harder:* and it is the last thing I should wish to get into their heads that their own days are to be given up to *idleness*...." The bishop also wished it made clear that children who had secured free days through right of their parents should "be required to attend school, instead of idling about, and out of school-hours to work with the other children *on the Estate:* but *on their Parents' account,* being paid by the Estate for their work."[8]

In the event, only four Negroes were manumitted before the time of general emancipation, and none by virtue of the heralded installment plan. One of the Negroes sold into freedom was Maria, a field hand, who was purchased for £80 and immediately manumitted in October, 1832, by her husband, Fabricius Howard, an ex-slave in the

employ of the Reverend John Pinder. Fabricius had paid £50 toward his debt by 1835, when the Society agreed to remit the rest.[9] Another case was reported in September, 1833, by Bishop Coleridge:

> Mr. Watts has just come in with a petition from one of our lately *freed* people, to be taken back on the Estate. Her name is Betty *Occo*—(our names still savour a little of Africa). Having assisted in purchasing the freedom of a man she was living with on another Estate, she purchased her own about 18 months since; the man has now cast her off, and the poor thing is come back to the Estate, saying, "she had no place to put her head in, or any friend to take her in, and she now came to ask my" (the Chaplain's) "friendship that she may come back upon the Estate"—her age is about 45....

The woeful little story had a pleasing end, for Betty Occo was welcomed home and given a bit of land on which to build her house. It is not clear in the two remaining cases whether the Negroes were manumitted for good behavior or sold to themselves, but neither had purchased free days.

Although many of the Negroes showed interest in the plan, only two made any progress in buying freedom by degrees. Devonshire, the blacksmith, and Harry, the carpenter, had moved half the way to manumission by 1833, when Coleridge gave the following account of them:

> I find that Devonshire & Harry Carpenter, who have bought *three days each* in every week, have been regularly working on the Estates, as before—*with no difference in their conduct*—and receiving at the rate of 4 bits a day—about [1*s.* 9*d.*] ... of our English money—with their food &c; Mr. Clarke has engaged Devonshire's services *for his own three days* at the fixed sum of £20. a year, Currency; I do not hear of their advancing any farther sum for the purchase of any more days; Harry Carpenter is married to a free woman & has a very large family; Devonshire is married on the Estate; both are of very good character.

Most of the slaves found it impossible to save enough from the sale of their garden produce and livestock to buy the initial free day that would have given them the earning power toward further payments.[10]

The Society had been warned that the blacks usually wasted their little incomes, and for this reason had established a savings bank at Codrington in 1831. When the bank was opened by the chaplain in May, seventeen Negroes rushed to deposit a total of about £2 10*s.* sterling, in sums ranging from 10*d.* to more than 8*s.* Others promised to put their money at interest as soon as they could arrange to sell their goods. All went for naught, however, when the stricken Negroes were forced to draw out their savings after the hurricane of August 11, 1831. When the slaves had had time to replace their lost clothing, livestock,

and furniture, and to replant their gardens, the chaplain asked them to begin again with their bank accounts; "they declined," Watts reported, "alleging that 'they could make more of their dollar by purchasing a *turkey,* and fattening it for sale, than by the interest gained by depositing it in the Savings' Bank.' "[11]

The high hopes that had been held in January, 1831, for a great advance at Codrington seemed dashed by the close of the year. Almost all the plantation buildings, including the Negro houses, had been destroyed in the hurricane of August 11, when four women and five children were killed by collapsing walls. The Negro schools, chapel, hospital, and nursery had all to be rebuilt. Forster Clarke reported that the slaves had become "very idle & slothful about everything," and unwilling to work for the benefit of the plantations.[12] Most discouraging of all was the fact that the Society's reform program had proved impractical in its key features and quite unacceptable to the abolitionists, who were continuing their agitation of the Codrington question. As Archbishop Howley concluded in the case of one such critic, it was becoming "worse than useless" to attempt to answer the reflections made against the corporation.[13]

In 1832 the Society moved to free itself from an intolerable burden by accomplishing the "safe & orderly emancipation" of the Codrington Negroes.[14] The ambitious plan that it devised for this purpose was not put into effect until the eve of the passing of the Abolition Act by the British Parliament. The allotment system, as it came to be called, proposed to give a cottage and a plot of land to each Negro family, who were to provide for their own subsistence and pay a labor rent to the plantations. Taken together with what had been done earlier in fixing the slaves to the soil and recognizing their customary right to hold and inherit property, the new arrangement gave the Negroes something of the status of serfs. Its details can be seen in the following contract made between the Society and the heads of the nine families selected to begin the experiment:

Barbados, August 16, 1833.

We whose names are hereunto affixed, being Slaves belonging to the Society's Trust Estate in this Island, do covenant and agree...

1st To provide for Ourselves, Our Wives & Children: food clothing and all other necessaries of life (except in case of sickness) then to be allowed at the Expense of the Estate a Medical Attendant.

2nd In order to make these provisions, to take a portion of land belonging to the said Estate (containing about *Two* Acres of land) for each family to be by us cultivated & held by an annual lease.

3rd The condition of this tenure to be Industry, General good behaviour, properly cultivating & planting the said land.

4th In consideration of this grant of land to perform on the Estate by way of Rent for the same, four and a half full and efficient days of labour in each week; the remaining day and a half being allowed us for the purpose of providing for ourselves as aforesaid; Our Wives being at the same time permitted to be absent from labour until 9 o'clock each morning as heretofore.

5th The Estate to provide us with seeds, plants etc for the purpose of planting the said land & also to give us as heretofore our usual allowance of food etc for the space of four months from date, by which time, the produce of our land can be used.[15]

Although the agreement was one between master and slaves, it outlined the relationship that the Society hoped to maintain with its Negroes in the impending days of freedom.

There was still time to test the system, for a year was to intervene between the enactment and the application of the Emancipation Act. In September, 1833, Bishop Coleridge was greatly encouraged to find the nine cottagers busily planting their allotments and building their houses. Each had been given £5 in money and an equal amount in lumber, and every settler had promptly hired two or three of the Codrington slaves to help him develop his property. To illustrate the growing sense of independence and initiative, Coleridge told this story of the cottagers:

I was much pleased yesterday morning with the reply of one of the men, on my asking, where they were on the Saturday previous, as I did not find them on their grounds—"We *swapped* the day, Sir, with the Manager." Why did you do that? "it was a fine rainy day," (after long drought) "and the Manager told us, we might have it for planting our grounds—& so we worked for the Estate on *our Saturday* instead."

They labored as heartily for the estates as they did for themselves, Coleridge added.[16] In January, 1834, the chaplain reported that the settlers had ceased drawing supplies from the plantations and were determined to provide for themselves. They had a promising crop of corn and potatoes, and had completed four of the houses; "these little buildings," wrote Watts, "when seen from the top of the Cottage hill with the tall guinea corn waving around them . . . look remarkably neat & comfortable."[17] As emancipation day approached, Coleridge and Watts began selecting other industrious couples to take up grants, and Forster Clarke lauded the system as "the only plan on which the negroes in this island can be civilised, & made useful & happy."

With the allotment program an apparent success, the Codrington

plantations were amply cushioned against the mild shock of emancipation on August 1, 1834. The law gave full and immediate freedom only to children under six years of age. For the rest, the field hands were apprenticed to their former masters for a period of six years, and all others were bound for four years. None of the detailed conditions of apprenticeship appeared to conflict seriously with the Society's cottager plan. When Bishop Coleridge received a copy of the law in October, 1833, he read and explained its provisions to the whole body of Codrington slaves. Like the other Barbadian Negroes, some felt disappointed that they were not to be wholly free for years to come. Not all agreed, however; "as one of our Head-men said," Coleridge wrote, " 'I think the king is very right: There should be some time between—'twould not do to free them all at once—many would not know how to take care of themselves, or would be idle & get into trouble.' " Although the excitement mounted as August 1, 1834, drew nearer, the Codrington blacks remained orderly, and seemed quite as interested in the possibility of their being granted land on cottager tenure, as in the thought of receiving theoretical freedom.

The Emancipation Act not only released the Society from the agonizing and anomalous role of slaveowner; it made the corporation eligible for financial compensation. On July 28, 1834, just before the slaves were to be appraised and freed, the Codrington population numbered 411 Negroes. This figure was more than 15 per cent in advance of the total at the close of 1823, although 9 slaves had been manumitted and 9 others killed in the great hurricane.[18] The breeding program had brought spectacular results in Barbados generally after the abolition of the slave trade in 1807, but the Codrington gain was thought to be unequaled by that of any other sugar estate.[19] As the Society had a large proportion "of the higher class of laborers" among its blacks, it was able to collect the goodly sum of £8,823 8*s.* 9*d.* sterling under the schedule of compensation. To Coleridge the money seemed a windfall, although he admitted that "it would be *colonial treason*" to say so publicly.[20]

During the apprenticeship period from 1834 to 1838, there was little outward change in the old order of things at Codrington. The Negroes were entitled by law to their customary provisions from the plantations. In 1837 and 1838 the Society was spending approximately £1,875 a year for the maintenance of 318 laborers and their 125 free children. Of this sum, £125 represented the rental value of the fifty acres held by the cottagers, and about £700 was in the form of food crops grown

on the estates. Thus the actual cash expenditure amounted roughly to £1,050, including £450 for fish, pork, and other imported food supplies, £125 for medical care, £250 for clothing, £100 for housing materials, and £125 for gratuities. These estimates, which were made by the management, leave out of account the fact that there were now about 100 cottagers who were fed and clothed at their own expense. If the management's rough computations are analyzed with this point in mind, it appears that the per capita value of the food, clothing, and medical care given to the 343 Negroes who did not have land allotments was £4 7*s.* 2¾*d.*, including £3 7*s.* 0*d.* for food, 14*s.* 7*d.* for clothing, and 5*s.* 7¾*d.* for medical attendance.

In return for their support, the apprentices were required to labor as before. The occupations of 308 apprentices are accounted for in an inventory made shortly before the Negroes were released from servitude (see table 9). Most of those omitted from this list were employed as servants in the chaplain's house and at Codrington College.

TABLE 9

OCCUPATIONS OF APPRENTICES AT CODRINGTON, 1834

Occupation	Number of men	Number of women	Number of boys	Number of girls	Total
Field hand	38	82	47	63	230
Tradesman	20	0	0	0	20
Domestic	4	4	0	0	8
Groom or herdsman	12	0	0	0	12
Watchman	6	0	0	0	6
Children's nurse	0	7	0	0	7
Hospital nurse	0	3	0	0	3
Invalid	8	14	0	0	22
Total	88	110	47	63	308

It was chiefly in respect to the hours of labor that the new regime made a substantial difference to the Codrington blacks. When the apprentices were employed for more than forty-five hours a week, they now drew wages from the estates. During 1837 the Negroes earned £293 3*s.* 6*d.* for overtime work. The Society also paid £22 10*s.* in salaries to Harry, the carpenter, and Devonshire, the blacksmith, who had purchased the right to sell one-half of their time. Jack Robin, the old Negro driver, had been supplanted in his office by a "superintendant," but he was allowed £20 a year to act as " a sort of *Ranger* to the Estate."[n]

If apprenticeship touched lightly on the Codrington villages, the same was not true of the allotment system, which the Society expanded as rapidly as possible in the belief that it was the pattern of the future. By 1836 twenty families, including eighty persons, were established as cottagers, and the Society's manager, Thomas King, anticipated having "the whole population settled down" on land they could think of as their own. Nothing mattered now as much as the point of binding the Negroes to the plantations after liberation. Fortunately, the cottagers gave every evidence of cherishing the arrangement. They behaved better than the other Negroes, took more pride in their personal appearance and that of their houses, and seemed happy to maintain themselves while doing a full quota of work for the management. Once the settlers had put their land "in *heart*," they turned to raising ginger, sugar cane, and arrowroot for cash revenue, as well as growing provision crops. "They keep a cow each," King reported, "with sheep, pigs and poultry and rear many more feathered stock than they could possibly do in a close village as their old habitations were. . . ." It was true that the wives complained that their husbands made them overwork. "They little know," commented Bishop Coleridge, "what a laborer's wife in England has to go through." There was no doubt, however, that the cottagers were the envy of the other apprentices.

In the meantime, the allotment system had been "exciting much attention" in Barbados. Coleridge reported as early as September, 1833, that the plan was likely to be adopted by all the planters who had land to spare for allotments. With the strong backing of the Codrington management, the arrangement was, in fact, adopted widely over the island during the apprenticeship period. As it apparently had great appeal for the Negroes themselves, the system promised in the uncertain future of a free economy to hold the workers on the estates, provide a stable supply of labor, and cut down on cash expenditures by substituting land in part for money as a means of compensating the Negroes. Bishop Coleridge and the Society recommended the plan for its supposed moral values. They trusted that it would prevent the disintegration of the social order, help to preserve and strengthen the Negro village communities and families, instill the virtues of independent landholders, and yet keep the Negroes in dependence on those proprietors who must for a long time to come be the chief support of society, economy, Church, and state. In sum, Coleridge and the Society hoped to transplant to Barbados and the West Indies the paternalistic social structure of an ideal English village.[28]

The legal termination of slavery had brought no relaxation of abolitionist agitation in Britain after 1834. The object now was to dissolve apprenticeship altogether on August 1, 1838, when, in any event, the nonpraedial workers were scheduled to receive complete freedom. Tired of British interference, hopeful of teaching the Negroes that they were beholden only to their masters for freedom, and convinced that they were as ready as they were ever likely to be for the trials of a free economy, the Barbadians determined on May 15, 1838, to grant entire emancipation to all the apprentices on August 1, 1838. Bishop Coleridge, who had feared that there would be some bad feelings among the field laborers should their bondage continue after the nonpraedial workers were released, was active in the move to "dish" the agitators by showing them that their "work was already done at their backs by the Colonists themselves." Other West Indian colonies anticipated or followed the decision of the Barbadian legislature. Under the Barbadian act, the workers were entitled to keep their houses until November 1, and the plantations were charged with the care of the old and infirm Negroes for at least one year.[3]

Just as the colonial legislatures had preferred to anticipate compulsion at the hands of the British Parliament, the planters now moved to anticipate the local law. On May 29, 1838, Bishop Coleridge wrote the Society that he had decided to free the Codrington apprentices on the morrow. One planter had already emancipated his people, and Coleridge felt that it was essential to set a precedent for freeing the blacks under all the safeguards and guarantees of the law, "as if their freedom had been deferred to the 1st August." Accordingly, he assembled the Codrington laborers on May 30, 1838, to hear a deed of emancipation declaring "the People of the Estate to be from this day forward free to all intents and purposes whatsoever." He assured the Negroes that they were to "have their allowances to the end of the week," medical care for the immediate future, provision for the aged and infirm as set forth in the colonial law, and wages for their work from the next day forward. The cottagers were "still to give the Estate 4 days labor every week, i.e. husband and wife, as heretofore, but the Estate [was] to *pay* them for one of those days at the fixed rate of wages." In a note to the Society at two o'clock in the afternoon, Coleridge informed the corporation that the Negroes had received the news "in a most gratifying manner" and that they were then "enjoying themselves in the yard."

Manager King drew up the plan for conducting the Codrington

estates on the basis of a free economy. According to Bishop Coleridge, King's dispositions were "adopted very generally in the island." They provided that the field hands were to have wages ranging from 5*s.* a week for inferior laborers to 6*s.* 3*d.* a week for "effective" laborers. Each couple was to have a house and about one-third acre of land. Their children were to be paid at the rate of about 7½*d.* a day.[24] This system of "located laborers," which lasted in its essentials in Barbados until abolished as semifeudal in 1937, was similar to, but less generous than, the cottager plan. At Codrington, however, there was every intention of extending the cottager tenure after 1838.[25]

On May 31, 1838, the Codrington estates began operating on the new system. The people had been told to choose for themselves whether they would attempt the work of inferior, effective, or skilled laborers. Later in the day, Manager King reported as follows to Bishop Coleridge: "all the laborers are at work, and in high spirits. It was really pleasing to see how they came out this morning, and arranged themselves in their several classes." In the succeeding months, King continued to commend the Codrington population for its steadiness and loyalty to the plantations. He gave much of the credit to the "often ridiculed" measures that had been taken to educate the Negroes and to bring them under the guidance of the Church. In view of their "thirst for learning," industry, and healthy attitude, King cheerfully forgave the Negroes such small extravagances as the umbrella "rage," which saw "The plough boy, the field man, the milk maid, all go out to their several occupations with this canopy of protection against sun & rain." The moral soundness of the Society's peasantry would, King predicted, be the plantations' own good shield in the doubtful years that lay ahead.[26]

CHAPTER XIII

CONCLUSION

THE TREND TOWARD AMELIORATION stands out clearly in the history of British West Indian slavery. Because it was a late development that shades easily into the stages of apprenticeship and liberation, some students have viewed it as a reflection of the British antislavery movement. There is truth in that position, but amelioration was essentially a natural and even inevitable part of the evolution of slavery itself. No doubt the effort to improve the lot of the Negroes was accelerated by British humanitarian agitation and, in particular, by the legal abolition of the African slave trade. Fundamentally, however, it was prompted by economic factors and represented the planter's logical response to the old problem of securing a continuing supply of labor.

Historians have not fully appreciated, perhaps, the complexity and flexibility of plantation management in a slavery regime. These qualities are especially evident in respect to the question of labor supply. Amelioration was only the last of a series of measures by which management attempted to maintain an adequate work force. It is uniquely important because it was the one policy that entailed reform in the treatment of the slaves. To the planter, however, the changed pattern of slavery was simply the means to an economic end—the breeding of Negroes. Humanitarians might urge reform in order to forward "gradual emancipation," but amelioration in the planter's eyes was one more way of perpetuating the strength of his slave gangs, and one to be judged by the same material considerations that had condemned its predecessors.

One must picture the planter as beginning with his own stock of Negroes and facing up to the problem of further supply only when he saw them steadily decline in number. Like Manager John Smalridge at Codrington in 1713, the master was then likely to adopt the policy of making regular purchases of new Africans as the means of replenishing his stock. If his experience resembled that of the Codrington overseers, he found eventually that he was losing 40 or 50 per cent of his unseasoned blacks before they could be put to profitable use. If he next attempted to restock by buying seasoned Negroes, he soon discovered that they were seldom procurable apart from the land, and then only in small numbers, at a high price, and under circumstances that cast doubt on the validity of purchase. Only a desperate man was

tempted to try the Society's expedient of buying another plantation in order to obtain a large block of seasoned blacks for his original property.

Confronted by the difficulties of recruitment, the proprietor turned to methods by which he could reduce his need for additional slaves. One way was to limit production and the demand for labor. But that meant ever-diminishing profits as the field gangs continued to decline. The planter tried to avoid this by adding male field slaves, and not recruiting women, artisans, and tradesmen. Over a short period this course served to keep up essential field strength and production figures, but in time it sharpened the planter's basic problem by lowering the birth rate of his stock, hastening the depletion of the population, and increasing his dependence on outside help for the services of coopers, blacksmiths, boilers, and distillers.

There remained the possibility of hiring slave labor. In theory this device had the manifest advantage of making it unnecessary for the planter to keep his labor force at full strength except at the time of harvest. In practice the proprietor could not rely on the open market for a supply of hired Negroes, and was compelled, therefore, to depend on the slaves belonging to his white employees. Thus the planter entered into the great expense of leasing blacks on a yearlong basis, while placing himself at the mercy of his agents. When the master found that he was incurring all the costs of buying Negroes, without making any additions to his capital in slaves, he turned back to the hope of renewing strength with Negroes that would be his own.

Policy did not necessarily evolve in this step-by-step fashion. At Codrington the managers moved fitfully from one plan to another, and were usually employing a combination of methods. In the average year from 1712 to 1748 the overseer purchased nine slaves for about £275, spent an equal amount for hired Negroes, and suffered a net loss of two blacks in the population. He recruited chiefly African men, bought a few seasoned Negroes when he could, concentrated the available man power in the field, allowed the plantation crafts to decay, and sometimes came to the unpleasant decision that he must curtail acreage and crops.

When the planter had exhausted the various means of buying and hiring slaves, he gave thought to the conditions of slavery in his Negro village. Why was it that his slaves failed to reproduce their number? If the community was like those at Codrington in the period to 1748, the master found that he was losing six Negroes to each one born. In

view of his policy of recruiting mainly male slaves, he had no cause to wonder that children were few and that only one in two lived to be five years old. In a village that contained two or three times more men than women, there were naturally few mothers and almost no stable families to bear and to foster the young.

Nor had the planter much reason to remark on the high incidence of disease and death. The great loss in the seasoning of new Negroes accounted for much. Other factors explained the heavy mortality among the slaves in general. Discipline was harsh, for the overseers commonly looked on the largely African population as rebellious savages who spoke in strange tongues and followed weird customs. Inevitably the races communicated in terms of the brand and the lash, suicide and flight. Work was hard and the reward small. The slave was left to build, repair, and furnish his hut with such materials as he could find for himself. He was provided with little more than one pint of corn a day, one pound of fish a week, and six yards of cloth a year. At Codrington it cost slightly more than £2 a year to maintain the average Negro in this manner. The annual expenditure on some 238 blacks amounted in all to about £500.

Sooner or later the planter concluded that amelioration offered the one possibility of escape from reliance on the slave trade and the market in hired Negroes. He must prolong the lives of his stock and encourage them to breed by humane treatment. Some proprietors did not reach this decision until they were compelled to do so by the Act of 1807 for the abolition of the African slave trade. Others were apparently moving in that direction as early as 1768, and progress became very marked after the outbreak of the American Revolutionary War in 1775.

The Society's agents abandoned African recruitment and gave up hiring as a mainstay of policy in 1761, after the annual outlay for these items had risen to more than £1,500 a year. During the whole period from 1712 to 1761, the Society had purchased some 450 Negroes—mainly Africans—at a cost of about £15,000. In addition it had spent approximately £25,000 for hired labor. All that the Society had to show for this great expenditure was a Negro population that had declined from 292 in 1712 to about 190 in 1761. When the Society had restocked its plantations in 1767 by the enormously expensive addition of 149 seasoned Negroes from the Henley estate, the corporation resolved to adopt ameliorative measures in the hope of freeing itself from the need for further recruitment and hiring.

Owing to economic distress and a temporary alienation of the estates

by lease, the Society was unable to give its new policy a fair trial until 1793. During the succeeding thirty years, however, the corporation carried out a thorough revolution in the lives of the Codrington villagers. Many changes followed naturally on the Society's earlier break with the slave trade. There was only one native African in the population by the close of the period. All the others were American-born and English-speaking. To the overseers the Negroes no longer seemed fearsome barbarians. Discipline was lightened in consequence, and the slaves treated more and more as individual human beings. With African importations no longer upsetting the balance of the population, the number of women came to be equal to that of the men. Many more lasting unions, including some monogamous matings, were formed by the slaves. The bondsmen were rewarded for good behavior, and, above all, for the care of their children. They were granted a customary right of property in their huts and personal belongings and permitted to bequeath these to their mates, children, or other Codrington Negroes.

There was also a more expensive side to the program of amelioration. The Society increased the number of holidays for the slaves, eased their work load, and provided them with houses of stone. The yearly expenditure for food, medical attention, and clothing rose to about £4 or £5 per Negro. As the population averaged about 300 in the period, the total bill for these forms of maintenance rose to about £1,350 a year.

The population returns from 1793 to 1823 proved that amelioration was the most effective method of ensuring a continuing supply of labor. There had been 266 Negroes at Codrington at the beginning of the period. By 1823 the number had increased to 355. In Barbados as a whole the slave population rose from about 60,000 before the close of the African slave trade to 82,902 in the year of Negro emancipation.[1]

How did the breeding program compare in cost with other stocking measures? In answer to this question it is useful to compare the various expenditures that have been listed for the Codrington estates in the periods 1712 to 1748 and 1793 to 1823. In each of the earlier years the Society spent about £1,050 in hiring and buying slaves, and in maintaining a population of 238 Negroes in food, clothing, and medical attention. Each year it suffered a capital loss of more than £60 through the net decline in its stock by two slaves. The over-all expenditure on labor can be placed, therefore, at £1,110. In the period of amelioration the Society paid out about £1,350 a year on the same items of maintenance for about 300 Negroes. There was no additional outlay for

[1] For notes to chap. xiii, see p. 166.

recruitment, and the amount spent for hired labor was negligible. Every year the plantations made a net increase of from two to three slaves, who were valued by the Society at £75 each. The capital gain by this means came to more than £215 per annum. Deducting this amount from the expenditure for maintenance, one sees that the total outlay for labor was about £1,135 a year. The comparable annual sums, then, are £1,110 before reform, and £1,135 after amelioration.

These figures indicate that there was little difference in the cost of maintaining a supply of labor by a policy of breeding or by one of recruitment and hiring. As an economic measure, amelioration can be defined with substantial accuracy as a system by which money that would otherwise have been spent on hiring and buying Negroes was used to improve the lot of the existing stock of slaves in order to induce them to breed their replacements.

Thus far it has been possible to view the Codrington estates in relation to matters of general import in the history of the Caribbean plantations. But as the property of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the Codrington estates had a unique role to play in the British West Indies. In this respect their story helps to illustrate and explain the notoriously conservative policy followed by the Church of England in regard to almost all questions of West Indian reform. The Society's one radical stand in Caribbean affairs was its insistence that the West Indian slaves should be made Christians. Because it believed that it must have the coöperation of the planters, the Society refused to offend them on any score other than their prejudices against the Christianization of the blacks. From first to last the Society tried to convince the masters that Christianity and slavery were wholly compatible. It was chiefly by its management of the Codrington plantations that the Society hoped to demonstrate and propagate that thesis to the Caribbean proprietors.

From 1713 to 1795, with little intermission, the Society conducted a catechetical mission to the Codrington slaves. A succession of lay and clerical teachers were employed in the almost impossible task of imparting abstract religious principles to the rude field hands by dint of simple oral instruction. The religious work was not permitted to interfere in any significant way with the usual pattern of plantation management. Although many slaves were baptized, it could not be denied that they were Christians in name only. The Negroes continued to embrace polygamy and promiscuity and to ignore the Sabbath. Very few learned anything of Christian doctrines.

In 1768 the Society became fully aware of the failure of the catechetical effort at Codrington. It became convinced that the Negroes must be granted some measure of civilization if they were to profit from Christian instruction. This belief did much to move the Society toward a policy of amelioration. Owing to the financial distress in which the corporation soon found itself, the mission was left to continue along the old lines until 1795, when the Society directed that schools be established for the Negro children. Partially as a result of the fears engendered by the French Revolution and the insurrection in St. Domingue, the Society postponed a more thoroughgoing reform until 1819. Then, with the appointment of the Reverend John Pinder as chaplain to the Codrington blacks, the corporation launched an extraordinarily ambitious and expensive program of education.

By 1823 the Society had gone far to make slavery at Codrington appear as a humane and Christian institution. In all except religious matters, however, the management of the estates was kept to a policy "coincident with the colonial interest." Still hoping to win the planters to the cause of Negro Christianity, the Society sided with the proprietors in their refusal to adopt the measures of "gradual emancipation" which were set forth in the Canning Resolutions of 1823. The result was that the Society now had to face the direct fire of the abolitionists. Because it was an ecclesiastical body and one closely identified with the hierarchy of the Church of England, the corporation was highly vulnerable to the humanitarian attack. After a brief attempt to stand by its position, the Society reluctantly put all the Canning reforms into effect at Codrington. In January, 1831, the Society explicitly accepted the principle of ultimate freedom for the slaves, but outlined a very gradual and ordered plan for realizing freedom on its Barbadian estates. A much more hopeful program—the allotment system—was undertaken in 1833, on the eve of the enactment of the Emancipation Bill.

From 1834 to 1838, while the ex-slaves were serving their masters as apprentices, the Society tested and extended the allotment scheme. The results seemed to show that the liberated Negroes would stay with the plantations if given some interest in the land. Many other Barbadian planters adopted the arrangement as their best hope in the coming days of a free labor system. The Society had developed a workable pattern for freedom, and could now be hailed, even by abolitionists, as "pioneers in the great work of emancipation."[3]

NOTES

ABBREVIATIONS FOR MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

C-Docs.	Boxes of manuscripts in the archives of the S.P.G., London
X-Docs.	Volumes of manuscripts in S.P.G. archives
S.P.G. Fulham Docs.	Volumes of manuscripts transferred to S.P.G. archives from Fulham Palace, London
M-MSS	Packages of S.P.G. manuscripts (Library of Congress Photographs, S.P.G. MSS, Miscellaneous Unbound MSS) with pagination from the microfilm edition
A-MSS	Volumes of S.P.G. manuscripts (Library of Congress Transcripts, S.P.G. MSS, Letters, Series A) with pagination from the microfilm edition
B-MSS	Volumes of S.P.G. manuscripts (Library of Congress Transcripts, S.P.G. MSS, Letters, Series B) with pagination from the microfilm edition
Journals	Volumes of S.P.G. manuscripts (Library of Congress Photographs, S.P.G. MSS, Journals) with pagination from the microfilm edition
Fulham MSS	Volumes of manuscripts of the bishops of London (Library of Congress Transcripts, Fulham Palace, London, MSS)
Lambeth MSS	Volumes of manuscripts of the archbishops of Canterbury (Library of Congress Transcripts, Lambeth Palace Library, London, MSS)

NOTES TO THE PREFACE

(Pages vii–ix)

[1] Ulrich B. Phillips, "A Jamaica Slave Plantation," *American Historical Review*, XIX (April, 1914), 543.

[2] Ulrich B. Phillips, *American Negro Slavery. A Survey of the Supply, Employment and Control of Negro Labor as Determined by the Plantation Régime* (New York, 1918), pp. 46–66; Ulrich B. Phillips, "An Antigua Plantation, 1769–1818," *North Carolina Historical Review*, III (July, 1926), 439.

[3] Frank W. Pitman, *Slavery on the British West India Plantations in the Eighteenth Century* (Washington, D.C., 1926).

[4] Frank J. Klingberg, "British Humanitarianism at Codrington," *Journal of Negro History*, XXIII (Oct., 1938), 451–486, made the first use of the Codrington papers of the S.P.G. for purposes of plantation history.

[5] Frank J. Klingberg, ed., *Codrington Chronicle. An Experiment in Anglican Altruism on a Barbados Plantation, 1710–1834* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1949).

NOTES TO CHAPTER I

Codrington College and Plantations

(Pages 1–10)

[1] Vincent T. Harlow, *Christopher Codrington, 1668–1710* (Oxford, 1928), pp. 217–220; J. E. Reece and C. G. Clark-Hunt, eds., *Barbados Diocesan History* (London, 1928), pp. 65–67; William Gordon to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, July 25, 1710, A-MSS, VI, 69–74. All dates given in the present volume for the period before 1752 are expressed according to the Old Style, except that the years are altered to begin on January 1.

[2] Sir Nathaniel Lloyd to S.P.G. Secretary, London, n.d., A-MSS, V, 244; minutes of S.P.G. meeting, London, Aug. 18, 1710, Journals, I, 495–499; Harlow, *op. cit.*, p. 213; *Abstract* of S.P.G. Proceedings (London, 1711), pp. 35–43; C. F. Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the S.P.G.; An Historical Account . . . 1701–1900* (2 vols.; London, 1901), II, 932–935; Archbishop Thomas Tenison to S.P.G. Secretary, London, March 22, 1711, A-MSS, VI, 91. For a general account of the S.P.G. see H. P. Thompson, *Into All Lands; the History of the Society . . . 1701–1950* (London, 1951).

[3] Frank J. Klingberg, ed., *Codrington Chronicle. An Experiment in Anglican Altruism on a Barbados Plantation, 1710–1834* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1949), *passim;* Otis P. Starkey, *The Economic Geography of Barbados* (London, 1939), pp. 2–50; William Mayo, *A New and Exact Map of the Island of Barbadoes in America* (London, 1722); Fulham MSS, Barbados, nos. 71, 104; A-MSS, VI, 207–208; M-MSS, IX, pkt. 1, pp. 142–143; *ibid.*, X, 15–17; minutes of S.P.G. meeting, London, Nov. 19, 1714, X-Docs., 14.

[4] Plantation Account Books, C-Docs., 10; John Smalridge to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, Nov. 21, 1717, X-Docs., 35; Charles Cunningham to the Society, Barbados, May 6, 1717, *ibid.*

[5] John Smalridge to Dr. George Smalridge, Barbados, March 23, 1711, A-MSS, VI, 212–217; John Smalridge to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, Sept. 22, 1715, X-Docs., 35; Vere Langford Oliver, *The History of the Island of Antigua . . .* (3 vols.; London, 1894–1899), I, 153.

[6] Dudley Woodbridge and Gilbert Ramsay to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, Sept. 10, 1712, M-MSS, IX, pkt. 1, pp. 303–306; minutes of S.P.G. meeting, London, March 18, 1715, X-Docs., 14; memoranda by John Smalridge, Barbados, 1719, M-MSS, IX, pkt. 1, pp. 142–153; Plantation Account Books, 1710–1712, C-Docs., 10; Plantation Account Books, 1715–1716, X-Docs., 35; Plantation Account Books, 1717–1718, *ibid.*, 36.

[7] Plantation Account Book, 1715, X-Docs., 35. Unless stated specifically to be sterling, all sums of money are expressed in terms of Barbados currency, which fluctuated in value in relation to sterling. In 1760 the market would exchange £140 in currency for £100 in sterling.

[8] Starkey, *op. cit.*, pp. 88–92; minutes of S.P.G. meetings, London, 1710–1738, X-Docs., 14; Plantation Account Books, 1719–1731, C-Docs., 10; Plantation Account Book, 1718, X-Docs., 36; extracts of Plantation Account Books, 1712–1741, B-MSS, VIII, 208–231.

[9] Starkey, *op. cit.*, pp. 92–100; *Abstract* of S.P.G. Proceedings (London, 1744), pp. 57–58; minutes of S.P.G. meetings, London, 1738–1764, X-Docs., 15; Barbados Committee minutes, London, 1741–1750, *ibid.*, 24–25; minutes of S.P.G. meetings, London, 1739–1766, Journals, VIII–XVI. See the following for various letters and papers of special importance for the period: M-MSS, IX, pkt. 1, pp. 103–345; *ibid.*, IX, pkt. 2, pp. 88–238; *ibid.*, VIII, 2–256; B-MSS, VI, part 1, pp. 227–269; *ibid.*, VIII, 92–254.

[10] Auditor's summary of plantation accounts, 1750–1823, M-MSS, IX, pkt. 2, pp. 239–242; Barbados Committee minutes, London, 1760–1802, X-Docs., 26–28. See the following for various letters and papers of special importance for the period: B-MSS, VI, part 1, pp. 308–477; X-Docs., 33; minutes of S.P.G. meetings, London, 1768–1782, Journals, XVIII–XXII.

[11] Frank W. Pitman, *The Development of the British West Indies, 1700–1763* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1917), p. 10; J. H. Bennett, Jr., "Sir John Gay Alleyne and the Mansion School," *Journal of the Barbados Museum and Historical Society*, XVII (Feb. and May, 1950), 63–78.

[12] Plantation Account Books, 1783–1793, X-Docs., 43; Barbados Committee minutes, London, 1779–1802, *ibid.*, 28; various letters and papers, 1783–1793, *ibid.*, 38; Bennett, *op. cit.*, pp. 63–78.

[13] Barbados Committee minutes, London, 1779–1821, X-Docs., 28–29; auditor's summary of plantation accounts, 1750–1823, M-MSS, IX, pkt. 2, pp. 239–242. See the following for various letters and papers of special importance for the period: C-Docs., 3, 6–9, 16; M-MSS, XIII, 84–106; X-Docs., 38, 155.

[14] Barbados Committee minutes, London, 1803–1833, X-Docs., 29–30; auditor's summary of plantation accounts, 1750–1823, M-MSS, IX, pkt. 2, pp. 239–242; summary of plantation accounts, 1828–1841, C-Docs., 8. See the following for various letters and papers of special importance for the period: S.P.G. Fulham Docs., West Indies; C-Docs., 2–3, 8–9.

[15] Reece and Clark-Hunt, *op. cit.*, pp. 65–67; C. S. S. Higham, "The Negro Policy of Christopher Codrington," *Journal of Negro History*, X (April, 1925), 150–153.

[16] J. H. Bennett, Jr., "The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel's Plantations and the Emancipation Crisis," in Samuel C. McCulloch, ed., *British Humanitarianism* (Philadelphia, 1950), pp. 16–18.

[17] Minutes of S.P.G. meeting, London, Feb. 16, 1711, Journals, II, 2–5; John Chamberlain to Dudley Woodbridge and Gilbert Ramsay, Westminster, March 7, 1711, C-Docs., 1.

NOTES TO CHAPTER II

FIELD HANDS AND ARTISANS

(Pages 11–21)

[1] This chapter is based in large part on the Plantation Account Books and the Inventories of Slaves for the period 1775 to 1793, X-Docs., 42–43. In the notes to this chapter, reference will be made only to additional sources.

[2] John Rotheram to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, Nov. 9, 1754, X-Docs., 15.

[3] John Smalridge to Dr. George Smalridge, Barbados, March 23, 1711, A-MSS, VI, 212–217.

[4] In the Plantation Account Book for 1781, the sum spent on hired Negroes is given as £330 15*s.* 9*d.* Twenty-nine field slaves working for 313 days in the year at the average hire rate of 8¼*d.* per day for each Negro would earn about that amount.

[5] Inventory of Slaves, July 10, 1760, X-Docs., 15; Bishop Robert Drummond to Archbishop Thomas Secker, London, Feb. 29, 1760, Lambeth MSS, 1123–II, no. 168.

[6] Inventory of Codrington Estates, March 14, 1731, X-Docs., 33; Inventories of Slaves, 1743–1748, *ibid.*, 40*a*.

[7] Frank W. Pitman, *Slavery on the British West India Plantations in the Eighteenth Century* (Washington, D.C., 1926), p. 21.

[8] *Ibid.*

[9] Abstract of William Thomas' letter of May 14, 1796, in minutes of Barbados Committee, London, Nov. 10, 1796, X-Docs., 28.

[10] Minutes of Codrington attorneys, Barbados, April 22, 23, 1803, C-Docs., 6.

[11] J. H. Bennett, Jr., "Sir John Gay Alleyne and the Mansion School," *Journal of the Barbados Museum and Historical Society*, XVII (Feb. and May, 1950), 75–78.

[12] Abstract of William Thomas' letter of May 14, 1796, in minutes of Barbados Committee, London, Nov. 10, 1796, X-Docs., 28.

[13] Abstract of William Thomas' letter of Aug. 15, 1795, in minutes of Barbados Committee, London, Dec. 11, 1795, X-Docs., 28.

[14] Requisition to London, Barbados, July 31, 1738, C-Docs., 5; Pitman, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

[15] Abstract of William Thomas' letter of May 14, 1796, in minutes of Barbados Committee, London, Nov. 10, 1796, X-Docs., 28.

[16] Minutes of Codrington attorneys, Barbados, April 22, 23, 1803, C-Docs., 6.

[17] *Ibid.*

[18] Inventory of Slaves, Nov. 10, 1741, B-MSS, VIII, 124–126; Inventory of Slaves, 1743, X-Docs., 40*a*.

[19] Inventory of Slaves, 1745, X-Docs., 40*a*.

[20] Henry Evans Husbands to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, Aug. 28, 1789, X-Docs., 38.

[21] Plantation Account Books, 1743–1749, X-Docs., 40–40*a*.

[22] Plantation Account Books, 1812–1837, C-Docs., 10.

[23] Memoranda by John Smalridge, Barbados, 1719, M-Docs., IX, pkt. 1, pp. 142–153.

[24] John Smalridge to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, Oct. 8, 1720, X-Docs., 37.

[25] Plantation Account Book, 1743, X-Docs., 40*a*.

[26] Codrington attorneys to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, July 11, 1761, M-MSS, IX, pkt. 1, pp. 346–353.

[27] Bishop Robert Drummond to Codrington attorneys, London, March 15, 1760, Lambeth MSS, 1123-II, no. 172.

[28] Codrington attorneys to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, May 28, 1762, B-MSS, VI, part 1, pp. 244–251.

[29] Codrington attorneys to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, July 11, 1761, M-MSS, IX, pkt. 1, pp. 346–353.

[30] *Ibid.*

[31] Abstract of minutes of Aug. 30, 1770, of Codrington attorneys in minutes of Barbados Committee, London, Feb. 12, 1771, X-Docs., 27.

[32] Minutes of S.P.G. meeting, Barbados, Jan. 20, 1716, X-Docs., 14.

[33] Dudley Woodbridge to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, Jan. 21, 1717, Jan. 24, 1719, X-Docs., 35, 36; John Smalridge to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, Feb. 27, 1722, *ibid.*, 37; minutes of Barbados Committee, London, Feb. 9, 1762, *ibid.*, 26.

[34] Plantation Account Book, 1719, M-MSS, XII, 82–98.

[35] Inventory of Codrington Estates, March 14, 1731, X-Docs., 33.

[36] Inventory of Slaves, Dec. 31, 1743, X-Docs., 40*a*; minutes of Barbados Committee, London, Sept. 21, 1743, *ibid.*, 24.

NOTES TO CHAPTER III

Discipline

(Pages 22–31)

[1] Barbados Committee minutes, London, April 16, 1777, X-Docs., 27.

[2] Frank W. Pitman, *Slavery on the British West India Plantations in the Eighteenth Century* (Washington, D.C., 1926), p. 13; Sampson Smirk to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, April 16, 1741, B-MSS, VIII, 115–117; *A Statement Relative to Codrington College; Extracted from the Reports of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts* (London, 1829), pp. 6–11, 26–30.

[3] Thomas Wharton to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, Aug. 30, 1768, B-MSS, VI, part 1, pp. 287–293.

[4] Arthur Holt to Bishop Edmund Gibson, Barbados, April 30, 1725, March 7, 1729, Fulham MSS, Barbados, nos. 2, 119.

[5] Joseph Bewsher to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, Oct. 5, 1745, M-MSS, IX, pkt. 1, pp. 354–359.

[6] Abel Alleyne to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, July 18, 1741, B-MSS, VIII, 99–104; Forster Clarke to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, May 7, 1828, X-Docs., 39; Pitman, *op. cit.*, pp. 13, 42.

[7] Minutes of S.P.G. meeting, London, Feb. 6, 1713, X-Docs., 14.

[8] Thomas Wharton to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, Aug. 30, 1768, B-MSS, VI, part 1, pp. 287–293.

[9] Arthur Holt to Bishop Edmund Gibson, Barbados, April 30, 1725, Fulham MSS, Barbados, no. 2.

[10] Thomas Wilkie to Bishop Edmund Gibson, Barbados, March 7, 1727, Fulham MSS, Barbados, no. 127; S.P.G. Secretary to John Smalridge, London, Jan. 17, 1729, M-MSS, XIII, 47–49.

[11] Minutes of Codrington attorneys, Barbados, Sept. 12, 1728, M-MSS, XII, 205–207.

[12] Sampson Smirk to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, April 16, 1741, B-MSS, VIII, 115–117.

[13] S.P.G. Secretary to Abel Alleyne, London, Dec. 31, 1741, B-MSS, VIII, 199–204.

[14] Mark Nicholson to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, March 21, 1803, C-Docs., 3.

[15] Abel Alleyne to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, July 18, 1741, B-MSS, VIII, 99–104; Richard Hall, ed., *Acts, Passed in the Island of Barbados, From 1643, to 1762* . . . (London, 1764), pp. 112–123, 185–188.

[16] Abel Alleyne to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, Dec. 9, 1741, B-MSS, VIII, 109–112.

[17] Richard Hall, *An Abridgement of the Acts, in Force, in the Island of Barbados* (London, 1764), pp. 60–67.

[18] John Vaughton to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, July 15, 1738, C-Docs., 5.

[19] John Codrington English to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, July 20, 1778, C-Docs., 7. The writer of the letter confesses that the name he has signed "is really feigned." If the facts he relates about himself are accurate, he can be identified as Richard Harris, the first foundation scholar of Codrington College to take Anglican orders.

[20] Sir John Gay Alleyne to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, June 13, 1783, X-Docs., 38.

[21] Plantation Account Books, 1746–1747, X-Docs., 40*a*.

[22] Minutes of Codrington attorneys, Barbados, March 23, 1778, X-Docs., 33.

[23] Inventories of Slaves, 1779–1783, X-Docs., 42–43; Plantation Account Books, 1779, 1786, *ibid.*

[24] Plantation Account Book, 1821, M-MSS, IX, pkt. 2, pp. 29–33; Forster Clarke to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, May 7, 1828, X-Docs., 39.

[25] Plantation Account Books, 1743–1748, X-Docs., 40*a*.

[26] Plantation Account Book, 1780, X-Docs., 42.

[27] Hall, *Abridgement of the Acts*, pp. 60–67; Plantation Account Book, 1787, X-Docs., 43.

[28] Inventory of Slaves, May 2, 1785, X-Docs., 43.

[29] Thomas Wilkie to Bishop Edmund Gibson, Barbados, March 7, 1727, Fulham MSS, Barbados, no. 127.

[30] Minutes of the Board of Trade, London, Nov. 25, 27, 1718, in *Journal of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations* (14 vols.; London, 1926–1938), IV, 6–8.

[31] Notes on the Codington Bequest, London, 1711, M-MSS, XIII, 205–211.

[32] Dudley Woodbridge and Gilbert Ramsay to William Codrington, Barbados, March 25, 1713, M-MSS, IX, pkt. 2, pp. 84–87.

[33] Hall, *Acts*, pp. 112–121, 323–325.

[34] See the various Plantation Account Books in the following: C-Docs., 10; X-Docs., 33–43; M-MSS, IX, pkt. 1, pp. 23–51; *ibid.*, pkt. 2, pp. 110–131; *ibid.*, XII, 2–240. For the reference to the six slaves missing in 1725, see John Smalridge to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, June 4, 1725, M-MSS, IX, pkt. 1, pp. 74–77.

[35] Thomas Tryon, Notes on the Codrington estates, May 16, 1733, Fulham MSS, Barbados, no. 71.

[36] Plantation Account Book, 1724, M-MSS, XII, 43.

[37] Arthur Holt to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, April 3, 1732, A-MSS, XXIV, 201–206; Arthur Holt to Bishop Edmund Gibson, Barbados, Aug. 16, 1732, Fulham MSS, Barbados, no. 68.

[38] Plantation Account Book, 1731, M-MSS, XII, 146.

[39] Hall, *Acts*, pp. 112–121, 185–188.

[40] John Vaughton to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, July 15, 26, 1738, C-Docs., 5.

[41] William Johnson to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, Jan. 14, 1737, A-MSS, XXVI, 385–389.

[42] John Smalridge to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, Sept. 22, 1715, March 1, Sept. 24, 1716, Sept. 28, 1721, X-Docs., 35, 37; Dudley Woodbridge to S.P.G. Secretary, London, Jan. 3, 1718, *ibid.*, 36.

[43] Minutes of S.P.G. meeting, London, Jan. 17, 1718, X-Docs., 14.

[44] Dudley Woodbridge to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, Nov. 3, 1718, X-Docs., 36.

[45] John Smalridge to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, Sept. 10, 1718, X-Docs., 36.

[46] John Smalridge to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, Sept. 28, 1721, X-Docs., 37.

[47] S.P.G. Secretary to Codrington attorneys, London, Jan. 31, 1722, X-Docs., 37.

[49] John Smalridge to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, June 4, 1725, M-MSS, IX, pkt. 1, pp. 74–77; Plantation Account Books, 1725–1727, *ibid.*, XII, 2–32, 99–131, 214–240.

[50] John Smalridge to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, July 25, 1728, M-MSS, XII, 241–242.

[50] Minutes of Codrington attorneys, Barbados, July 19, 1734, X-Docs., 33.

[51] Codrington attorneys to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, July 11, 1761, M-MSS, IX, pkt. 1, pp. 346–353.

NOTES TO CHAPTER IV

VILLAGES AND VILLAGERS

(Pages 32–43)

[1] This chapter is based largely on the eighteenth-century Plantation Account Books, Inventories of Slaves, and Invoices of goods ordered and of goods received. For the Plantation Account Books see C-Docs., 10; X-Docs., 33–43; M-MSS, IX, pkt. 1, pp. 23–51; *ibid.*, pkt. 2, pp. 110–131; *ibid.*, XII, 2–240. For the Inventories of Slaves see X-Docs., 32–33, 40–43; M-MSS, IX, pkt. 2, pp. 120–126, 151–154; B-MSS, VIII, 74–77, 120–126. For the Invoices see C-Docs., 5, 11; X-Docs., 33–37, 43*a*, 43*b*; M-MSS, IX, pkt. 1, pp. 80–81, 194, 239–240, 253–254; *ibid.*, XII, 279–280; A-MSS, XXIV, 238–239; B-MSS, VI, part 1, pp. 222–223; *ibid.*, VIII, 78–79, 140–143. In the notes to this chapter, reference will be made only to additional materials.

[2] John Smalridge to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, Sept. 24, 1716, X-Docs., 35; Sir John Gay Alleyne to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, Feb. 15, 1794, as summarized in Barbados Committee minutes, London, April 14, 1794, *ibid.*, 28; Slave Lists, 1765–1769, as summarized in Barbados Committee minutes, London, 1765–1770, *ibid.*, 26; Bishop Coleridge to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, Oct. 28, 1829, M-MSS, XIII, 239–244.

[3] For the print see *The Christian Remembrancer*, X (Nov., 1828), 710.

[4] John Oldmixon, *The British Empire in America* ... (2 vols.; London, 1741), II, 131.

[5] Gilbert Ramsay and others to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, March 8, 1716, X-Docs., 35.

[6] Codrington attorneys to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, Aug. 13, 1767, M-MSS, XIII, 60–63; same to same, Barbados, Aug. 30, 1768, B-MSS, VI, part 1, pp. 281–286.

[7] *Abstract* of S.P.G. Proceedings (London, 1781), pp. 45–47; Sir Philip Gibbes to Richard Downes, Barbados, June 29, 1781, X-Docs., 33.

[8] Bishop Coleridge to Bishop William Howley, Barbados, July 8, 1825, S.P.G. Fulham Docs., West Indies.

[9] Bryan Edwards, *The History, Civil and Commercial, of the British Colonies in the West Indies* (2 vols.; London, 1794), II, 137–139; George Pinckard, *Notes on the West Indies* ... (2 vols.; London, 1816), I, 298.

[10] Thomas G. King to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, July 22, 1836, C-Docs., 9; Pinckard, *op. cit.*, I, 299.

[11] Inventory of Codrington Estates, June 29, 1732, X-Docs., 33.

[12] Inventory of Slaves, July 10, 1760, as summarized in minutes of S.P.G. meeting, London, Feb. 20, 1761, X-Docs., 15.

[13] Sampson Smirk to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, Sept. 5, 1740, B-MSS, VIII, 72–73.

[14] Sampson Smirk to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, April 16, 1741, B-MSS, VIII, 115–117.

[16] Abel Alleyne to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, July 18, 1741, B-MSS, VIII, 99–104.

[17] Edwards, *op. cit.*, II, 60–78; Frank W. Pitman, *Slavery on the British West India Plantations in the Eighteenth Century* (Washington, D.C., 1926), pp. 6–8.

[18] Ulrich B. Phillips, "A Jamaica Slave Plantation," *American Historical Review*, XIX (April, 1914), 556.

[19] Sampson Smirk to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, Nov. 25, 1741, B-MSS, VIII, 122–123.

[20] William Duke to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, Dec. 30, 1740, B-MSS, VIII, 82–85.

[21] Abel Alleyne to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, July 18, 1741, B-MSS, VIII, 99–104; Thomas Wilkie to Bishop Edmund Gibson, Barbados, March 7, 1727, Fulham MSS, Barbados, no. 127; Oldmixon, *op. cit.*, II, 130; Pitman, *op. cit.*, pp. 46–48.

[22] Richard Hall, ed., *Acts, Passed in the Island of Barbados, From 1643, to 1762* ... (London, 1764), pp. 112–121; Oldmixon, *op. cit.*, II, 133.

[23] Inventory of Codrington Estates, Feb. 25, 1740, B-MSS, VIII, 29–38.

[24] Copy of will of Christopher Codrington II, Antigua, July 15, 1698, M-MSS, XIII, 140–143.

[25] Inventory of Codrington Estates, Feb. 25, 1740, B-MSS, VIII, 29–38.

[26] Edwards, *op. cit.*, II, 139, 253; Pitman, *op. cit.*, p. 23; Anthony Benezet, *Some Historical Account of Guinea* ... (London, 1788), p. 76.

[27] Abel Alleyne to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, July 18, 1741, B-MSS, VIII, 99–104; John Smalridge to Dr. George Smalridge, Barbados, March 23, 1711, A-MSS, VI, 212–217; *A Statement Relative to Codrington College; Extracted from the Reports of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts* (London, 1829), p. 27; Edwards, *op. cit.*, II, 380; John Smalridge to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, Sept. 28, 1721, X-Docs., 37.

[28] W. O. Blake, *The History of Slavery and the Slave Trade* ... (Columbus, 1860), p. 145; see also Anthony Benezet, *A Caution to Great Britain and her Colonies* (London, 1784), p. 9.

[29] John Smalridge to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, Sept. 28, 1721, X-Docs., 37.

[30] John Payne to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, Dec. 14, 1746, M-MSS, IX, pkt. 2, pp. 88–89. Commodore Edward Legge succeeded Commodore Fitzroy Henry Lee as the commander in chief of the Leeward Island naval station. Lee was in great disfavor with Barbadians for using his ships to attack the enemy, rather than to defend merchant shipping. See Richard Pares, *War and Trade in the West Indies, 1739–1763* (Oxford, 1936), pp. 297–299, 616.

[31] Lowell Joseph Ragatz, *Statistics for the Study of British Caribbean Economic History, 1763–1833* (London, 1928), p. 7.

[32] Codrington attorneys to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, Aug. 24, 1778, X-Docs., 33.

[33] Edward Clarke to John Brathwaite, Barbados, Sept. 18, 1797, July 16, 1799, M-MSS, XIII, 72–75, 99–102.

[34] Robert H. Schomburgk, *The History of Barbados* (London, 1848), p. 334; Lowell Joseph Ragatz, *The Fall of the Planter Class in the British Caribbean, 1763–1833* (New York, 1928), pp. 325–326; Mark Nicholson to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, Jan. 20, 1809, C-Docs., 3.

[35] Abel Alleyne to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, July 18, 1741, B-MSS, VIII, 99–104; Bishop Robert Drummond to Codrington attorneys, London, March 15, 1760, Lambeth MSS, 1123-II, no. 172; Abel Alleyne to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, Dec. 28, 1740, B-MSS, VIII, 66–67.

[36] Charles Bolton to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, April 25, 1741, Fulham MSS, Bermuda, no. 9.

[36] S.P.G. Secretary to Bishop of London, London, Feb. 28, 1713, A-MSS, VIII, 107–108.

[37] Hans Sloane to S.P.G. Secretary, London, March 4, 1713, A-MSS, VIII, 19–21.

[38] Minutes of S.P.G. meetings, London, Dec. 4, 1713, March 4, Nov. 12, 1714, March 18, 1715, X-Docs., 14.

[39] John Smalridge to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, Oct. 10, 1717, X-Docs., 35.

[40] Codrington attorneys to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, July 21, 1730, X-Docs., 33.

[41] Pinckard, *op. cit.*, I, 212.

[42] Barbados Committee minutes, London, Dec. 31, 1744, X-Docs., 24; Thomas Rotheram to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, June 23, 1745, *ibid.*, 25; William Cattell to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, Aug. 10, 1746, C-Docs., 2; same to same, Barbados, Jan. 23, 1751, M-MSS, IX, pkt. 1, pp. 259–260; minutes of S.P.G. meeting, London, Nov. 16, 1753, Journals, XII, 285–304; minutes of S.P.G. meeting, London, Oct. 17, 1755, *ibid.*, XIII, 66–76; Archbishop Thomas Secker to Bishop Robert Drummond, London, Jan. 26, 1760, Lambeth MSS, 1123-II, no. 162.

[43] John Smalridge to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, Sept. 24, 1716, X-Docs., 35; Pitman, *op. cit.*, p. 43; Inventory of Slaves, May 2, 1783, X-Docs., 32.

[44] S.P.G. Secretary to Codrington attorneys, London, April 6, 1779, X-Docs., 33.

[45] Edward Clarke to John Brathwaite, Barbados, Nov. 2, 1795, C-Docs., 7.

[46] Codrington attorneys to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, July 11, 1761, M-MSS, IX, pkt. 1, pp. 346–353.

[47] Pitman, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

[48] Bishop Robert Drummond to Codrington attorneys, London, March 15, 1760, Lambeth MSS, 1123-II, no. 172.

NOTES TO CHAPTER V

African Recruitment

(Pages 44–52)

[1] This chapter is based in large part on the eighteenth-century Plantation Account Books, Inventories of Slaves, and Abstracts of Inventories and Accounts. For the Plantation Account Books see C-Docs., 10; X-Docs., 33–43; M-MSS, IX, pkt. 1, pp. 23–51; *ibid.*, pkt. 2, pp. 110–131; *ibid.*, XII, 2–240. For Inventories of Slaves see X-Docs., 32–33, 40–43; M-MSS, IX, pkt. 2, pp. 120–126, 151–154; B-MSS, VIII, 74–77, 120–126. For the Abstracts of Inventories and Accounts see X-Docs., 14–15, 24–28; C-Docs., 8; B-MSS, VIII, 208–231; M-MSS, IX, pkt. 2, pp. 239–242. In the notes to this chapter, reference will be made only to additional materials.

[2] William Beckford, *Remarks upon the Situation of Negroes in Jamaica* ... (London, 1788), p. 74.

[3] See the inventories of plantations in the following: Bryan Edwards, *The History, Civil and Commercial, of the British Colonies in the West Indies* (2 vols.; London, 1794), II, 251; M-MSS, XIII, 205–211; Journals, XV, 405–418.

[4] Frank W. Pitman, *The Development of the British West Indies, 1700–1763* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1917), pp. 71–73, 372. It is probable that the number of Negro births was at least as large as the number of slaves reëxported from Barbados.

[5] Beckford, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

[6] Frank W. Pitman, *Slavery on the British West India Plantations in the Eighteenth Century* (Washington, D.C., 1926), p. 63.

[7] Codrington attorneys to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, July 11, 1761, M-MSS, IX, pkt. 1, pp. 346–353.

[8] [Henry Frere], *A Short History of Barbados, from its First Discovery and Settlement, to the end of the Year 1767* (London, 1768), p. 107.

[9] John Smalridge to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, March 20, 1722, X-Docs., 37.

[10] Vere Langford Oliver, *The History of the Island of Antigua* ... (3 vols.; London, 1894–1899), I, 153.

[11] John Smalridge to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, June 4, 1725, M-MSS, IX, pkt. 1, pp. 74–77; Abel Alleyne and Thomas Harrison to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, Sept. 15, 1740, B-MSS, VIII, 55–56.

[12] Legal memoranda regarding the Codrington bequest, 1711, M-MSS, XIII, 205–211; attorneys of William Codrington to Codrington attorneys, Barbados, May 21, 1713, *ibid.*, IX, pkt. 2, pp. 185–188.

[13] Elizabeth Donnan, ed., *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade to America* (4 vols.; Washington, D.C., 1930–1935), II, 64.

[14] John Smalridge to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, Jan. 22, 1713, as summarized in minutes of S.P.G. meeting, London, May 15, 1713, X-Docs., 14; same to same, Barbados, Sept. 22, 1715, March 1, 1716, *ibid.*, 35.

[15] John Smalridge to Dr. George Smalridge, Barbados, March 23, 1711, A-MSS, VI, 212–217; Dudley Woodbridge and Gilbert Ramsay to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, July 17, 1711, *ibid.*, pp. 341–344; same to same, Barbados, Aug. 23, 1711, as summarized in minutes of S.P.G. meeting, London, Oct. 19, 1711, Journals, II, 96–109; minutes of Codrington attorneys, Barbados, Oct. 7, 1777, M-MSS, XIII, 20–25.

[16] Dudley Woodbridge and Gilbert Ramsay to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, March 17, Sept. 10, 1712, M-MSS, IX, pkt. 1, pp. 278–280, 303–306; attorneys of William Codrington to Codrington attorneys, Barbados, May 21, 1713, *ibid.*, pkt. 2, pp. 185–188.

[17] Minutes of S.P.G. meeting, London, Jan. 23, 1713, X-Docs., 14.

[18] John Smalridge to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, June 4, July 20, 1725, M-MSS, IX, pkt. 1, pp. 74–77, 64–67; same to same, Barbados, June 27, 1728, *ibid.*, XIII, 124–126.

[19] Abel Alleyne to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, May 9, 1741, B-MSS, VIII, 90–91; Codrington attorneys to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, July 21, 1730, X-Docs., 33.

[20] For examples of purchase orders see the following: minutes of S.P.G. meeting, London, Nov. 19, 1725, X-Docs., 14; minutes of Codrington attorneys, Barbados, July 5, 1751, M-MSS, IX, pkt. 1, pp. 242–243.

[21] Financial records, Barbados, 1743–1746, X-Docs., 40*a*.

[22] George Pinckard, *Notes on the West Indies* (2 vols.; London, 1816), I, 108–109; Beckford, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

[23] Barbados Committee minutes, London, Jan. 19, 1744, X-Docs., 24; John Payne to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, Aug. 20, 1746, C-Docs., 6; same to same, Barbados, Aug. 5, 1747, M-MSS, VIII, 42–43; Donnan, *op. cit.*, II, 64.

[24] John Smalridge to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, Nov. 27, 1714, as summarized in minutes of S.P.G. meeting, London, March 18, 1715, X-Docs., 14; same to same, Barbados, Sept. 22, 1715, *ibid.*, 35; Abel Alleyne to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, Dec. 9, 1741, B-MSS, VIII, 109–112; Beckford, *op. cit.*, pp. 13–14; Edward Long, *The History of Jamaica* (3 vols.; London, 1774), II, 435.

[25] Abel Alleyne to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, Dec. 9, 1741, B-MSS, VIII, 109–112; Barbados Committee minutes, London, Jan. 19, 1744, X-Docs., 24; Joseph Bewsher to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, Aug. 4, 1747, M-MSS, VIII, 249–252; John Smalridge to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, Nov. 27, 1714, as summarized in minutes of S.P.G. meeting, London, March 18, 1715, X-Docs., 14.

[26] Minutes of S.P.G. meeting, London, May 18, 1716, X-Docs., 14; Dudley Woodbridge to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, Jan. 21, 1717, *ibid.*, 35; John Smalridge to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, May 23, 1717, April 11, 1719, *ibid.*, 35, 36.

[27] John Smalridge to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, July 6, 1720, Sept. 28, 1721, X-Docs., 37; same to same, Barbados, Feb. 27, 1722, *ibid.*, 33.

[28] William Gordon to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, Oct. 2, 1721, X-Docs., 37; Samuel Osborne to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, July 27, 1723, as summarized in minutes of S.P.G. meeting, London, Nov. 15, 1723, *ibid.*, 14; John Smalridge to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, Oct. 12, 1724, M-MSS, IX, pkt. 1, pp. 2–5; S.P.G. Secretary to John Smalridge, London, Aug. 25, 1724, C-Docs., 5.

[29] Minutes of S.P.G. meeting, London, Dec. 16, 1726, X-Docs., 14; Samuel Osborne to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, Oct. 12, 1728, as summarized in minutes of S.P.G. meeting, London, March 21, 1729, *ibid.*; John Smalridge to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, June 4, 1725, M-MSS, IX, pkt. 1, pp. 74–77.

[30] Minutes of Codrington attorneys, Barbados, April 6, 1731, Fulham MSS, Barbados, no. 81; Arthur Holt to Bishop Edmund Gibson, Barbados, May 2, 1733, *ibid.*, no. 70; John Vaughton to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, Aug. 10, 1738, C-Docs., 5; same to same, Barbados, Nov. 3, 1739, B-MSS, VIII, 19–21; minutes of Codrington attorneys, Barbados, May 8, 1739, X-Docs., 33; minutes of Codrington attorneys, Barbados, Feb. 23, 1740, B-MSS, VIII, 27–28; John Vaughton to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, May 21, 1739, *ibid.*, pp. 3–8.

[31] Thomas Harrison and William Johnson to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, Feb. 29, 1740, B-MSS, VIII, 39–40; minutes of Codrington attorneys, Barbados, March 22, 1746, M-MSS, IX, pkt. 2, pp. 179–182; Sampson Smirk to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, Nov. 25, 1741, B-MSS, VIII, 122–123; minutes of Codrington attorneys, Barbados, May 9, 1740, *ibid.*, pp. 43–44; minutes of S.P.G. meeting, London, Nov. 25, 1742, X-Docs., 24.

[32] John Payne to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, April 7, 1746, M-MSS, IX, pkt. 2, pp. 225–226; William Bryant to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, March 23, 1749, *ibid.*, pp. 183–184; John Payne to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, June 21, 1748, *ibid.*, pkt. 1, pp. 196–197.

[33] John Rotheram to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, Nov. 9, 1754, X-Docs., 15; Codrington attorneys to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, July 5, 1749, *ibid.*, 33.

[34] Codrington attorneys to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, April 28, Aug. 21, 1750, X-Docs., 33; minutes of Codrington attorneys, Barbados, July 4, 5, 1751, M-MSS, IX, pkt. 1, pp. 242–243; minutes of S.P.G. meeting, London, June 19, 1752, Journals, XII, 143–146.

[35] Codrington attorneys to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, May 28, 1762, B-MSS, VI, part 1, pp. 244–251; Archbishop Thomas Secker to Bishop Robert Drummond, Jan. 26, 1760, Lambeth MSS, 1123-II, no. 162; minutes of S.P.G. meeting, London, Sept. 16, 1757, Journals, XIII, 281–292; minutes of S.P.G. meetings, London, Dec. 15, 1758, July 18, 1760, *ibid.*, XIV, 110–118, 295–313.

[36] Bishop Robert Drummond to Codrington attorneys, London, March 15, 1760, Lambeth MSS, 1123-II, no. 172; minutes of S.P.G. meeting, London, Feb. 9, 1762, X-Docs., 26.

[37] Codrington attorneys to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, May 28, 1762, B-MSS, VI, part 1, pp. 244–251.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VI

Anatomy of Decline

(Pages 53–62)

[1] This chapter is based chiefly on the eighteenth-century Plantation Account Books, Inventories of Slaves, and Abstracts of Inventories and Accounts. For the Plantation Account Books see C-Docs., 10; X-Docs., 33–43; M-MSS, IX, pkt. 1,

pp. 23–51; *ibid.*, pkt. 2, pp. 110–131; *ibid.*, XII, 2–240. For the Inventories of Slaves see X-Docs., 32–33, 40–43; M-MSS, IX, pkt. 2, pp. 120–126, 151–154; B-MSS, VIII, 74–77, 120–126. For the Abstracts of Inventories and Accounts see X-Docs., 14–15, 24–28; C-Docs., 7; B-MSS, VIII, 223–228; M-MSS, IX, pkt. 2, pp. 239–242. In the notes to this chapter, reference will be made only to additional materials.

[2] John Smalridge to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, Sept. 28, 1721, X-Docs., 37.

[3] Abel Alleyne and Thomas Harrison to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, Sept. 15, 1740, B-MSS, VIII, 55–56.

[4] Frank W. Pitman, *Slavery on the British West India Plantations in the Eighteenth Century* (Washington, D.C., 1926), pp. 46–66; William Beckford, *Remarks upon the Situation of Negroes in Jamaica* ... (London, 1788), pp. 24–25; Lowell Joseph Ragatz, *The Fall of the Planter Class in the British Caribbean, 1763–1833* (New York, 1928), p. 337.

[5] John Smalridge to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, Sept. 28, 1721, X-Docs., 37.

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] Pitman, *op. cit.*, pp. 46–66; Ulrich B. Phillips, "A Jamaica Slave Plantation," *American Historical Review*, XIX (April, 1914), 550.

[8] Pitman, *op. cit.*, pp. 46–66.

[9] John Smalridge to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, Feb. 27, 1722, X-Docs., 33.

[10] Abel Alleyne to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, various dates, 1743–1744, as summarized in Barbados Committee minutes, London, 1744–1745, X-Docs., 24.

[11] William Cattell to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, July 20, 1747, C-Docs., 2; same to same, Barbados, Aug. 10, 1746, *ibid.*

[12] John Smalridge to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, July 20, 1725, M-MSS, IX, pkt. 1, pp. 64–67; Edward Clarke to John Brathwaite, Barbados, Nov. 1, 1798, *ibid.*, XIII, 88–91; Minutes of Codrington attorneys, Barbados, July 10, 11, 1747, X-Docs., 33; Thomas Falcon to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados May 27, 1761, C-Docs., 3; Abel Alleyne to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, July 3, 1741, B-MSS, VIII, 96–98.

[13] Pitman, *op. cit.*, pp. 58–59.

[14] Griffith Hughes, *The Natural History of Barbados* (London, 1750), pp. 250–251.

[15] William Bryant to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, July 6, 1747, M-MSS, VIII, 47–50.

[16] John Payne to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, Aug. 5, 1747, M-MSS, VIII, 42–43.

[17] John Smalridge to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, Jan. 22, 1713, as summarized in minutes of S.P.G. meeting, London, May 15, 1713, X-Docs., 14.

[18] William Cattell to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, Aug. 10, 1746, C-Docs., 2.

[19] John Rotheram to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, Nov. 9, 1754, as summarized in minutes of S.P.G. meeting, London, April 18, 1755, X-Docs., 15.

[20] Charles Leslie, *History of Jamaica* (London, 1740), p. 328; Pitman, *op. cit.*, pp. 62–63; Beckford, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

[21] Abel Alleyne to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, July 3, 18, Sept. 11, Dec. 9, 1741, B-MSS, VIII, 94–95, 99–104, 106–107, 109–112; Sampson Smirk to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, Nov. 25, 1741, *ibid.*, pp. 122–123.

[22] Codrington attorneys to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, July 11, 1761, M-MSS, IX, pkt. 1, pp. 346–353.

[23] Frank W. Pitman, *The Development of the British West Indies, 1700–1763* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1917), pp. 71–73, 372.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VII

Hired Gangs and Seasoned Recruits

(Pages 63–74)

[1] This chapter is based in large part on the eighteenth-century Plantation Account Books, Inventories of Slaves, and Abstracts of Inventories and Accounts. For the Plantation Account Books see C-Docs., 10; X-Docs., 33–43; M-MSS, IX, pkt. 1, pp. 23–51; *ibid.*, pkt. 2, pp. 110–131; *ibid.*, XII, 2–240. For the Inventories of Slaves see X-Docs., 32–33, 40–43; M-MSS, IX, pkt. 2, pp. 120–126, 151–154; B-MSS, VIII, 74–77, 120–126. For the Abstracts of Inventories and Accounts see X-Docs., 14–15, 24–28; C-Docs., 7; B-MSS, VIII, 208–231; M-MSS, IX, pkt. 2, pp. 239–242. In the notes to this chapter, reference will be made only to additional materials.

[2] Thomas Wharton to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, Aug. 30, 1768, B-MSS, VI, part 1, pp. 287–293.

[3] Codrington attorneys to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, July 11, 1761, M-MSS, IX, pkt. 1, pp. 346–353.

[4] Frank W. Pitman, *Slavery on the British West India Plantations in the Eighteenth Century* (Washington, D.C., 1926), p. 22; Ulrich B. Phillips, "An Antigua Plantation, 1769–1818," *North Carolina Historical Review*, III (July, 1926), 439–445.

[5] Minutes of S.P.G. meeting, London, Nov. 19, 1714, X-Docs., 14. The expenditures for hired labor as stated hereafter do not include sums spent for the college.

[6] Arthur Holt to Bishop Edmund Gibson, Barbados, May 2, 1733, Fulham MSS, Barbados, no. 70; Abel Alleyne to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, Dec. 28, 1740, B-MSS, VIII, 66–67; Codrington attorneys to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, May 28, 1779, *ibid.*, VI, part 1, pp. 469–470.

[7] William Bryant, William Cattell, and Joseph Bewsher to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, June 20, 1748, M-MSS, IX, pkt. 1, pp. 181–192; John Vaughton to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, July 3, 1736, as summarized in minutes of S.P.G. meeting, London, Oct. 15, 1736, X-Docs., 14.

[8] Codrington attorneys to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, July 11, 1761, M-MSS, IX, pkt. 1, pp. 346–353.

[9] Archbishop Thomas Secker to Bishop Robert Hay Drummond, London, Jan. 26, 1760, Lambeth MSS, 1123-II, no. 162.

[10] Arthur Holt to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, April 3, 1732, A-MSS, XXIV, 201–206; Arthur Holt to Bishop Edmund Gibson, Barbados, May 2, 1733, Fulham MSS, Barbados, no. 70; same to same, Barbados, Dec. 2, 1730, *ibid.*, no. 78.

[11] Thomas Roughley, *The Jamaica Planter's Guide; or, a System for Planting and Managing a Sugar Estate* . . . (London, 1823), pp. 3–8.

[12] Minutes of S.P.G. meeting, London, Jan. 16, 1736, X-Docs., 14; minutes of Codrington attorneys, Barbados, June 30, 1736, May 8, 1739, *ibid.*, 33; John Vaughton to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, July 3, 1736, as summarized in minutes of S.P.G. meeting, London, Oct. 15, 1736, *ibid.*, 14; same to same, Barbados, Nov. 3, 1739, B-MSS, VIII, 19–21.

[13] Codrington attorneys to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, July 11, 1761, M-MSS, IX, pkt. 1, pp. 346–353.

[14] Abel Alleyne and Thomas Harrison to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, Sept. 15, 1740, B-MSS, VIII, 55–56; Abel Alleyne to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, Dec. 28, 1740, *ibid.*, pp. 70–71.

[15] Codrington College faculty to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, June 20, 1748, M-MSS, IX, pkt. 1, pp. 181–192; Codrington attorneys to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados,

Sept. 20, 1752, as summarized in minutes of S.P.G. meeting, London, March 16, 1753, Journals, XII, 222–242.

[16] John Rotheram to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, Jan. 29, July 2, 1753, M-MSS, IX, pkt. 1, pp. 320–321, 317–319; Bishop Robert Drummond to Archbishop Thomas Secker, London, Feb. 29, 1760, Lambeth MSS, 1123–II, no. 168; Archbishop Thomas Secker to Bishop Robert Drummond, London, Jan. 26, 1760, *ibid.*, no. 162; minutes of S.P.G. meeting, London, Feb. 24, 1758, Journals, XIV, 29–38.

[17] Archbishop Thomas Secker to Bishop Robert Drummond, London, Jan. 26, March 3, 1760, Lambeth MSS, nos. 162, 169; Bishop Robert Drummond to Archbishop Thomas Secker, London, Feb. 29, March 15, 1760, *ibid.*, nos. 168, 171; Codrington attorneys to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, July 10, 1760, M-MSS, IX, pkt. 2, pp. 144–149; same to same, Barbados, July 11, 1761, *ibid.*, pkt. 1, pp. 346–353.

[18] John Smalridge to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, June 27, 1728, M-MSS, XIII, 124–126; Abel Alleyne to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, [*ca.* Aug. 25, 1743], as summarized in Barbados Committee minutes, London, Jan. 19, 1744, X-Docs., 24; John Payne to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, June 21, 1748, M-MSS, IX, pkt. 1, pp. 196–197; Codrington attorneys to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, May 28, 1762, B-MSS, VI, part 1, pp. 244–251; minutes of Codrington attorneys, Barbados, July 7, 1744, X-Docs., 40*a*; Codrington College faculty to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, June 20, 1748, M-MSS, IX, pkt. 1, pp. 181–192.

[19] John Rotheram to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, Nov. 9, 1754, as summarized in minutes of S.P.G. meeting, London, April 18, 1755, X-Docs., 15; S.P.G. Secretary to John Rotheram, London, Aug. 1, 1755, *ibid.*, 33.

[20] Codrington attorneys to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, July 10, 1760, M-MSS, IX, pkt. 2, pp. 144–149; same to same, Barbados, July 11, 1761, *ibid.*, pkt. 1, pp. 346–353.

[21] Archbishop Robert Drummond to S.P.G. Secretary, London, Jan. 23, 1762, Lambeth MSS, 1123-III, no. 247; minutes of S.P.G. meeting, London, Sept. 23, 1763, Journals, XV, 405–418; Codrington attorneys to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, Aug. 29, 1765, M-MSS, XIII, 56–57; minutes of S.P.G. meetings, London, Feb. 21, Sept. 19, 1766, Journals, XVII, 1–24, 109–148.

[22] Minutes of Codrington attorneys, Barbados, Aug. 13, 1767, M-MSS, XIII, 58–59; John Poyer, *The History of Barbados, from the First Discovery . . . till the Accession of Lord Seaforth, 1801* (London, 1808), pp. 361–362; Sir John Gay Alleyne to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, June 2, 27, 1774, B-MSS, VI, part 1, pp. 382–388; Codrington attorneys to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, Aug. 30, 1768, *ibid.*, pp. 281–286; minutes of S.P.G. meeting, London, Dec. 19, 1766, Journals, XVII, 184–212.

[23] William Beckford, *Remarks upon the Situation of Negroes in Jamaica . . .* (London, 1788), pp. 26, 74; Archbishop Robert Drummond to Archbishop Thomas Secker, London, Dec. 16, 1763, Lambeth MSS, 1123-III, no. 335; John Smalridge to Dr. George Smalridge, Barbados, March 23, 1711, A-MSS, VI, 212–217.

[24] Codrington attorneys to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, July 15, 1773, and [Aug., 1774], B-MSS, VI, part 1, pp. 345–349, 414–422; James Butcher to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, May 1, 1772, *ibid.*, pp. 315–317; Gedney Clarke to Codrington attorneys, Barbados, Aug. 12, 1773, *ibid.*, pp. 360–361; James Butcher to Sir John Gay Alleyne, Aug. 13, 1773, *ibid.*, p. 362; Sir John Gay Alleyne to James Butcher, Barbados, Aug. 13, 1773, *ibid.*, p. 359.

[25] Sir John Gay Alleyne to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, April 23, June 2, 1774, B-MSS, VI, part 1, pp. 372–378, 382–385; same to same, Barbados, Sept. 10, 1788, X-Docs., 38; notes on the Henley case, London, 1774, B-MSS, VI, part 1, pp. 420–422; minutes of Codrington attorneys, Barbados, May 13, 1779, *ibid.*, pp. 466–468; Codrington attorneys to William Senhouse, Barbados, Oct. 16, 1777, M-MSS, XIII,

32–34; William Senhouse to Codrington attorneys, Barbados, Oct. 18, 1777, *ibid.*, p. 35; Barbados Committee minutes, London, Nov. 28, 1788, Nov. 14, 1794, X-Docs., 28.

[21] Barbados Committee minutes, London, Feb. 13, 1770, Feb. 12, 1771, Feb. 11, 1772, X-Docs., 26–27; Codrington attorneys to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, July 14, 1772, B-MSS, VI, part 1, pp. 322–329.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VIII

CHATTEL CHRISTIANS, 1710–1768

(Pages 75–87)

[1] Arthur Holt to Bishop Edmund Gibson, Barbados, Dec. 21, 1727, Fulham MSS, Barbados, no. 128. See the sermons preached annually before the anniversary meetings of the Society; an excellent guide to these published sermons is supplied by Frank J. Klingberg, *Anglican Humanitarianism in Colonial New York* (Philadelphia, 1940), pp. 11–48, 196–212.

[2] Proposal to enforce the conversion of Negroes, B-MSS, VI, part 1, pp. 478–482.

[3] Minutes of S.P.G. meetings, London, July 4, 1712, Feb. 6, 27, March 13, 20, June 20, Sept. 18, 1713, X-Docs., 14; Joseph Holt to Bishop Edmund Gibson, Barbados, n.d., Fulham MSS, Barbados, no. 188; Arthur Holt to Bishop Edmund Gibson, Barbados, Feb. 10, 1727, *ibid.*, no. 117; S.P.G. Secretary to Bishop Henry Compton, London, Feb. 28, 1713, A-MSS, VIII, 107–108.

[4] Minutes of S.P.G. meetings, London, Oct. 30, Dec. 4, 1713, March 4, Nov. 12, 19, 1714, March 18, 1715, X-Docs., 14; certificates relating to Joseph Holt, Barbados, 1714–1715, M-MSS, I, 88–92; H. P. Thompson, *Thomas Bray* (London, 1954), p. 67.

[5] Joseph Holt to Bishop Edmund Gibson, Barbados, n.d., Fulham MSS, Barbados, no. 188.

[6] Minutes of S.P.G. meetings, London, March 4, Nov. 19, 1714, X-Docs., 14; Charles Irvine to Bishop Henry Compton, July 14, 1711, A-MSS, VI, 348–350; Charles Irvine to Bishop Edmund Gibson, Barbados, May 5, 1724, Fulham MSS, Barbados, no. 182; Charles Cunningham to the Society, Barbados, Sept. 20, 1717, *ibid.*, no. 104.

[7] Minutes of S.P.G. meetings, London, Nov. 12, 1714, Feb. 11, March 4, 1715, Jan. 20, April 20, Dec. 21, 1716, Aug. 16, 30, 1717, X-Docs., 14; S.P.G. Secretary to Dudley Woodbridge, London, March 14, 1715, C-Docs., 5; Bishop John Robinson to Barbados Committee, London, Feb. 25, 1716, A-MSS, XI, 13; Charles Cunningham to the Society, Barbados, Sept. 20, 1717, Fulham MSS, Barbados, no. 104; Arthur Holt to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, April 3, 1732, A-MSS, XXIV, 201–206.

[8] J. H. Bennett, Jr., "The S.P.G. and Barbadian Politics, 1710–1720," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, XX (June, 1951), 190–206; James Forsyth, "William Gordon, Commissary of Barbados" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Texas, 1952); Arthur Holt to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, Dec. 21, 1727, Fulham MSS, Barbados, no. 128; Charles Cunningham to the Society, Barbados, May 6, 1717, X-Docs., 35; John Smalridge to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, Oct. 28, 1719, *ibid.*, 36; minutes of S.P.G. meetings, London, Jan. 15, 1725, March 17, 1727, Journals, V, 21–26, 121–123; C. G. Clark-Hunt, *St. John's Parish, Barbados* (Barbados, 1907), p. 13.

[9] Minutes of S.P.G. meetings, London, July 15, 1726, March 21, 1729, X-Docs., 14; Arthur Holt to Bishop Edmund Gibson, Barbados, Feb. 10, 1727, Fulham MSS, Barbados, no. 117; J. E. Reece and C. G. Clark-Hunt, *Barbados Diocesan History* (London, 1928), p. 88; John A. Schutz and Maud O'Neil, "Arthur Holt Reports

on Barbados, 1725–1733," *Journal of Negro History*, XXXI (Oct., 1946), 444–469; Patrick Rose to Bishop Edmund Gibson, Barbados, Nov. 14, 1728, March 21, 1729, Fulham MSS, Barbados, nos. 84, 128.

[10] See the various letters of Arthur Holt to Bishop Edmund Gibson and to the S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, 1725–1733, Fulham MSS, Barbados, *passim*; Arthur Holt to Henry Newman, Barbados, Feb. 18, 1729, B-MSS, VI, part 1, pp. 220–221; Arthur Holt to Bishop Edmund Gibson, Barbados, April 3, 1732, A-MSS, XXIV, 201–206; Arthur Holt to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, July 17, 1732, *ibid.*, pp. 224–226; minutes of S.P.G. meetings, London, June 16, 1727, Dec. 18, 1730, Jan. 15, Dec. 17, 1731, Aug. 17, 1733, X-Docs., 14; Thomas Wilkie to Bishop Edmund Gibson, Barbados, March 7, 1727, Fulham MSS, Barbados, no. 127; S.P.G. Secretary to John Smalridge, London, Jan. 17, 1729, M-MSS, XIII, 47–49; John Vaughton to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, April 7, 1732, A-MSS, XXIV, 210–213.

[11] William Johnson to Bishop Edmund Gibson, Barbados, June 2, 1733, Fulham MSS, Barbados, no. 30; Arthur Holt to Bishop Edmund Gibson, Barbados, Dec. 21, 1727, *ibid.*, no. 128; same to same, Barbados, April 3, 1732, A-MSS, XXIV, 201–206; William Johnson to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, Jan. 14, 1737, *ibid.*, XXVI, 385–389.

[12] Sampson Smirk to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, Sept. 5, 1740, April 16, 1741, B-MSS, VIII, 72–73, 115–117; Abel Alleyne to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, July 18, Sept. 11, 1741, *ibid.*, pp. 99–107; Inventories of Slaves, Sept. 5, 1740, April 6, Nov. 10, 1741, *ibid.*, pp. 74–77, 120–121, 124–126; minutes of S.P.G. meetings, London, Nov. 15, 1734, Dec. 19, 1740, Jan. 16, 1741, X-Docs., 14, 15; Barbados Committee minutes, London, Oct. 14, 1742, Sept. 21, 1743, Jan. 19, 1744, *ibid.*, 24.

[13] See Bishop Secker's sermon as reprinted in Klingberg, *op. cit.*, p. 217; George Whitefield to [Bishop Thomas Secker], on board ship bound from England for Scotland, July 28, 1741, Lambeth MSS, 1123-I, no. 29; William Duke to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, Dec. 30, 1740, B-MSS, VIII, 82–85; Abel Alleyne to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, Dec. 9, 1741, *ibid.*, pp. 109–112.

[14] Barbados Committee minutes, London, Jan. 19, Oct. 23, Nov. 16, 1744, X-Docs., 24; minutes of Codrington attorneys, Barbados, July 7, 1744, March 21, 22, 1745, *ibid.*, 33; Louise R. Allen, "Alleyne of Barbados," *Journal of the Barbados Museum and Historical Society*, III (Feb., 1936), 100–114; Abel Alleyne to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, July 18, 1741, B-MSS, VIII, 99–104; Joseph Bewsher to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, June 23, 1745, as summarized in Barbados Committee minutes, London, Oct. 3, 1745, X-Docs., 25.

[15] Barbados Committee minutes, London, Oct. 14, 1742, Oct. 3, 1745, X-Docs., 24, 25; minutes of S.P.G. meeting, London, Oct. 17, 1740, Journals, VIII, 183–192; minutes of Codrington attorneys, Barbados, June 29, 1741, B-MSS, VIII, 133–138; minutes of Codrington attorneys, Barbados, June 21, 1742, X-Docs., 33; Joseph Bewsher to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, Oct. 5, 1745, M-MSS, IX, pkt. 1, pp. 354–359.

[16] Minutes of S.P.G. meeting, London, Feb. 24, 1758, Journals, XIV, 29–38; minutes of S.P.G. meeting, London, Nov. 21, 1760, *ibid.*, XV, 17–40. For the basis of the generalized conclusions about the period 1750–1760 see the minutes of S.P.G. meetings in X-Docs., 15.

[17] Minutes of S.P.G. meeting, London, Nov. 21, 1760, Journals, XV, 17–40; Barbados Committee minutes, London, Feb. 9, 1768, X-Docs., 26; James Butcher to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, Aug. 30, 1768, May 4, 1769, B-MSS, VI, part 1, pp. 275–280, 305–307; Thomas Wharton to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, Aug. 30, 1768, *ibid.*, pp. 287–293; Codrington attorneys to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, Aug. 30, 1768, *ibid.*, pp. 281–286; Barbados Committee minutes, London, Feb. 14, 1769, X-Docs., 26; Codrington attorneys to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, Sept. 14, 1775, B-MSS, VI, part 1, pp. 433–437.

NOTES TO CHAPTER IX

HUMANITARIAN POLICY, 1760–1793

(Pages 88–99)

[1] Archbishop Thomas Secker to Bishop Robert Hay Drummond, London, Jan. 26, 1760, Lambeth MSS, 1123-II, no. 162.

[2] Journals, XIV, 253–265; Barbados Committee minutes, London, 1779–1802, X-Docs., 28.

[3] Archbishop Thomas Secker to Bishop Robert Drummond, London, March 3, 1760, Lambeth MSS, 1123-II, no. 169.

[4] Minutes of S.P.G. meeting, London, March 21, 1760, Journals, XIV, 253–265.

[5] Archbishop Thomas Secker, memorandum, Dec. 10, 1761, Lambeth MSS, 1123-III, no. 242; Barbados Committee minutes, London, 1760–1770, 1771–1776, X-Docs., 26, 27.

[6] Archbishop Thomas Secker to Bishop Robert Drummond, London, March 3, 1760, Lambeth MSS, 1123-II, no. 169.

[7] Bishop William Warburton, *A Sermon Preached before the Society* (London, 1766).

[8] Anthony Benezet to the Society, April 26, 1767, as printed in George S. Brookes, *Friend Anthony Benezet* (Philadelphia, 1937), pp. 272–273; Daniel Burton to Anthony Benezet, London, Feb. 3, 1768, *ibid.*, pp. 417–418.

[9] Bishop John Green, *A Sermon Preached before the Society* (London, 1768).

[10] Barbados Committee minutes, London, Feb. 9, 1768, X-Docs., 26; Codrington attorneys to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, Aug. 30, 1768, B-MSS, VI, part 1, pp. 281–286; James Butcher to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, Aug. 30, 1768, *ibid.*, pp. 275–280; minutes of Codrington attorneys, Barbados, Aug. 30, 1768, *ibid.*, pp. 294–295.

[11] Frank W. Pitman, *Slavery on the British West India Plantations in the Eighteenth Century* (Washington, D.C., 1926), p. 41.

[12] Bishop Shute Barrington, *A Sermon Preached before the Society* (London, 1775).

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[14] James Butcher to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, Aug. 30, 1768, B-MSS, VI, part 1, pp. 275–280; Thomas Wharton to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, Aug. 30, 1768, *ibid.*, pp. 287–293; Barbados Committee minutes, London, Feb. 14, 1769, X-Docs., 26; James Butcher to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, May 4, 1769, B-MSS, VI, part 1, pp. 305–307.

[15] Michael Mashart to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, June 26, 1769, B-MSS, VI, part 1, pp. 303–304; Barbados Committee minutes, London, Feb. 13, 1770, Feb. 12, 1771, X-Docs., 26, 27.

[16] Codrington attorneys to S.P.G., Secretary, Barbados, Aug. 30, 1770, X-Docs., 33.

[17] S.P.G., Secretary to Codrington attorneys, London, March 25, 1775, and [March 7, 1776], X-Docs., 33; Codrington attorneys to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, Sept. 14, 1775, B-MSS, VI, part 1, pp. 433–437.

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[19] Codrington attorneys to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, May 28, 1779, B-MSS, VI, part 1, pp. 469–470; Pitman, *op. cit.*, pp. 41–43; Otis P. Starkey, *The Economic Geography of Barbados* (London, 1939), p. 110; Bishop Beilby Porteus, *A Sermon Preached before the Society* (London, 1783).

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[28] Pitman, *op. cit.*, p. 43. For a thorough manual on the management of sugar plantations before the abolition of the slave trade, see *Practical Rules for the Management of Negro Slaves in the Sugar Colonies: By a Professional Planter* (London, 1803).

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[30] Inventories of Slaves, 1783–1791, X-Docs., 43; see chaps. v and vi, above.

[31] J. H. Bennett, Jr., "Sir John Gay Alleyne and the Mansion School," *Journal of the Barbados Museum and Historical Society*, XVII (Feb. and May, 1950), 63–78.

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(Pages 100–112)

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[3] Barbados Committee minutes, London, May 2, 1792, Feb. 15, 1794, July 12, 1796, X-Docs., 28; William Thomas to Sir John Gay Alleyne, Barbados, Feb. 3, 1794, *ibid.*, 38.

[4] Plantation Account Book, 1818, M-MSS, XII, 262; Plantation Account Book, 1813, *ibid.*, X, 29–39; Barbados Committee minutes, London, Feb. 8, 1820, Feb. 13, 1821, X-Docs., 29; *Papers Relative to Codrington College* (London, 1828), pp. 34–37.

[5] *A Statement Relative to Codrington College; Extracted from the Reports of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts* (London, 1829), *passim;* Lowell Joseph Ragatz, *The Fall of the Planter Class in the British Caribbean, 1763–1833* (New York, 1928), p. 265; Mark Nicholson to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, Jan. 20, 1809, C-Docs., 3; Edward Clarke to John Brathwaite, Barbados, Aug. 1, 1800, *ibid.*, 7.

[6] The estimate of the cost of food imported for the slaves is based on the Plantation Account Books, 1813, 1818, 1821, and 1823 in M-MSS, IX, pkt. 2, pp. 29–33,

71–75; X, 29–39; XII, 261–273. In estimating the value of the Negro's food ration, I have assumed that a slave's labor for one day was worth 15*d.*, the amount that was paid for a day's work by a hired field hand; I have also assumed that from one-third to one-half of the Negro population were workers in the fields.

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[8] Edward Clarke to John Brathwaite, Barbados, Oct. 2, 1798, M-MSS, XIII, 84–87.

[9] Edward Clarke to John Brathwaite, Barbados, Nov. 1, 1798, M-MSS, XIII, 88–91.

[10] Starkey, *op. cit.*, pp. 111–112; Ragatz, *op. cit.*, pp. 58–59; Plantation Account Book, 1812, M-MSS, X, 40–78; Codrington attorneys to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, Nov. 4, 1812, C-Docs., 6; *Papers Relative to Codrington College*, p. 36.

[11] Memoranda by Mr. Tryon, May 16, 1733, Fulham MSS, Barbados, no. 71; Edward Clarke to John Brathwaite, Barbados, May 4, 1798, C-Docs., 7.

[12] John Pinder to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, Jan. 22, Sept. 23, 1819, M-MSS, VIII, 231–234, 127–130; Plantation Account Book, 1823, *ibid.*, IX, pkt. 2, pp. 71–75; *Statement Relative to Codrington College*, pp. 6–11.

[13] Invoices, London and Barbados, 1715–1838, C-Docs., 11, 13, 15; Invoice to Barbados, London, Oct. 30, 1813, M-MSS, XIII, 194–196; Invoices to Barbados, London, Oct. 24, Nov. 21, 1822, *ibid.*, IX, pkt. 2, pp. 50–53; Inventory of Codrington Estates, July 21, 1805, *ibid.*, XIII, 103–106; Plantation Account Book, 1825, C-Docs., 10; *Papers Relative to Codrington College*, pp. 36–40; Forster Clarke to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, May 7, 1828, X-Docs., 39.

[14] Codrington attorneys to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, Aug. 13, 1767, M-MSS, XIII, 60–63; Barbados Committee minutes, London, Feb. 10, 1818, X-Docs., 29; *Statement Relative to Codrington College, passim;* Plantation Account Book, 1825, C-Docs., 10.

[15] John Pinder to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, March 29, 1822, C-Docs., 3; *Papers Relative to Codrington College*, pp. 36–40; Forster Clarke to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, May 7, 1828, X-Docs., 39.

[16] Barbados Committee minutes, London, Feb. 11, 1817, X-Docs., 29; Ragatz, *op. cit.*, pp. 391–398.

[17] S.P.G. Secretary to William Thomas, London, Feb. 28, 1795, X-Docs., 155; Barbados Committee minutes, London, Feb. 3, 1795, *ibid.*, 28.

[18] Barbados Committee minutes, London, May 9, Aug. 15, 1795, Nov. 10, 1796, X-Docs., 28.

[19] S.P.G. Secretary to William Thomas, London, Dec. 31, 1795, May 3, Nov. 30, 1796, X-Docs., 155; Barbados Committee minutes, London, Dec. 11, 1795, Nov. 10, 1796, *ibid.*, 28.

[20] J. H. Bennett, Jr., "Sir John Gay Alleyne and the Mansion School," *Journal of the Barbados Museum and Historical Society*, XVII (Feb. and May, 1950), 77–78; Mark Nicholson to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, March 21, 1803, C-Docs., 3; Barbados Committee minutes, London, Feb. 10, 1818, X-Docs., 29.

[21] Barbados Committee minutes, London, March 22, 1797, March 1, 1798, X-Docs., 28; Bishop Shute Barrington to S.P.G. Secretary, Nov. 13, 1797, C-Docs., 16.

[22] Ragatz, *op. cit.*, pp. 282–283; Bishop John Douglas, *A Sermon Preached before the Society* (London, 1793).

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[25] Minutes of Codrington attorneys, Barbados, April 22, 23, 1803, C-Docs., 6.

[26] Patrick C. Lipscomb III, "The Church of England and the Negro Slaves in the West Indies, 1783–1833" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Texas, 1956). See also Lord Combermere's correspondence with the Bishop of London in S.P.G. Fulham Docs., West Indies.

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[28] Edward Clarke to John Brathwaite, Barbados, June 1, 1796, Oct. 2, 1798, April 25, 1799, M-MSS, XIII, 64–67, 84–87, 92–94; Barbados Committee minutes, London, April 22, 1801, X-Docs., 28; Codrington attorneys to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, June 26, 1805, C-Docs., 6; Forster Clarke to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, June 7, 1806, *ibid.*, 9; Barbados Committee minutes, London, Feb. 9, 1808, X-Docs., 29; Forster Clarke to Bishop William Howley, Barbados, June 29, 1824, Fulham MSS, Barbados, no. 158.

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(Pages 113–124)

[1] For an excellent guide to the abolitionist literature see Lowell Joseph Ragatz, *A Guide for the Study of British Caribbean History, 1763–1834, including the Abolition and Emancipation Movements* (Washington, D.C., 1932), pp. 405–572.

[2] Regulations for the Codrington property, 1819, M-MSS, XIII, 231–238.

[3] Lowell Joseph Ragatz, *The Fall of the Planter Class in the British Caribbean, 1763–1833* (New York, 1928), pp. 410–415; Frank J. Klingberg, *The Anti-Slavery Movement in England* (New Haven, 1926), pp. 336–350; papers of the West India Committee of Planters and Merchants, S.P.G. Fulham Docs., West Indies.

[4] Bishop W. H. Coleridge to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, July 8, 1825, May 17, 1826, S.P.G. Fulham Docs., West Indies.

[5] Most of the events of the period 1823–1830 can be followed in the Barbados Committee minutes for these years, X-Docs., 29–30.

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[7] Bishop W. H. Coleridge to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, Oct. 28, 1829, M-MSS, XIII, 239–244; Forster Clarke to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, May 7, 1828, X-Docs., 39; Otis P. Starkey, *The Economic Geography of Barbados* (London, 1939), p. 104; Bishop W. H. Coleridge to Bishop William Howley, Barbados, April 27, 1825,

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[8] *A Statement Relative to Codrington College; Extracted from the Reports of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts* (London, 1829), pp. 6–10, 26–30.

[9] Barbados Committee minutes, London, Feb. 10, 1818, Nov. 15, 1827, X-Docs., 29–30.

[10] John Riland, *On the Codrington Estates* (London, 1830), p. 4; Bishop W. H. Coleridge to Bishop William Howley, Barbados, Nov. 9, 1827, Fulham MSS, Barbados, no. 164; Robert H. Schomburgk, *The History of Barbados* (London, 1848), pp. 427–429.

[11] Regulations for the Codrington property, 1819, M-MSS, XIII, 231–238; John Pinder to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, Jan. 22, Sept. 23, 1819, *ibid.*, VIII, 127–130, 231–234; John Pinder to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, March 29, 1822, March 7, 1823, C-Docs., 3.

[12] John Pinder to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, March 29, 1822, Sept. 29, 1824, C-Docs., 3.

[13] Forster Clarke to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, June 29, 1824, C-Docs., 9; minutes of Codrington agents, Barbados, June 19, 1824, *ibid.*, 2; John Pinder to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, Sept. 29, 1824, *ibid.*, 3.

[14] Barbados Committee minutes, London, Feb. 8, 1825, M-MSS, XIII, 223–226; John Pinder to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, June 27, Dec. 21, 1826, C-Docs., 3.

[15] Bryan Edwards, *The History, Civil and Commercial, of the British Colonies in the West Indies* (2 vols.; London, 1794), II, 35–37.

[16] *Papers Relative to Codrington College* (London, 1828), pp. 32–39.

[17] *Christian Observer*, XXVI (May, 1827), 315–317.

[18] *Ibid.* (July, 1827), 427–434; John Riland, *Two Letters . . . Relative to the Slave-Cultured Estates of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel* (London, 1828), pp. 14–15; John Riland, ed., *Memoirs of a West-India Planter. Published from an Original MS. with a Preface and Additional Details* (London, 1827), pp. v–ix, 197–199.

[19] S. H. P. to the editor, Dec., 1827, "The 'Christian Observer,' and the 'Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts,'" *Christian Remembrancer*, X (Jan., 1828), 33–43.

[20] Riland, *Two Letters, passim.*

[21] Undated and unsigned paper on S.P.G. policy, C-Docs., 20. Internal evidence indicates that the document was drawn up in answer to Riland's *Two Letters*, of which there is a copy in the same box.

[22] *Papers Relative to Codrington College, passim; Statement Relative to Codrington College, passim.*

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[24] Barbados Committee minutes, London, Nov. 18, 1828, April 22, 1829, X-Docs., 30; minutes of Codrington agents, Barbados, Sept. 1, 1829, M-MSS, VIII, 121–126; John Packer to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, Aug. 28, 1827, C-Docs., 9; John Packer to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, Jan. 24, 1828, X-Docs., 39.

[25] Bishop W. H. Coleridge to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, July 31, 1829, M-MSS, VIII, 101–104; same to same, Barbados, Oct. 28, 1829, *ibid.*, XIII, 239–244; same to same, Barbados, June 30, July 2, 5, 1830, S.P.G. Fulham Docs., West Indies; J. E. Reece and C. G. Clark-Hunt, *Barbados Diocesan History* (London, 1928), pp. 36–39.

[26] Bishop W. H. Coleridge to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, Feb. 25, 1832, S.P.G. Fulham Docs., West Indies; list of married slaves and their children, dated Feb. 9, 1832, but brought up to Oct., 1833, C-Docs., 8; Bishop W. H. Coleridge to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, Sept. 28, Oct. 11, 1833, S.P.G. Fulham Docs., West Indies; report by Thomas Watts, [June, 1836], C-Docs., 9.

[27] Bishop W. H. Coleridge to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, June 30, July 2, 5, 27, 1830, S.P.G. Fulham Docs., West Indies; Barbados Committee minutes, London, April 25, June 10, 1830, X-Docs., 30.

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[3] Bishop W. H. Coleridge to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, May 3, 1831, S.P.G. Fulham Docs., West Indies.

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[5] Bishop W. H. Coleridge to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, July 2, 5, 27, 1830, S.P.G. Fulham Docs., West Indies.

[6] Bishop W. H. Coleridge to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, May 3, 1831, *ibid.*

[7] *Report from the Committee of the Codrington Trust, passim;* Barbados Committee minutes, London, April 25, 1830, X-Docs., 30; Bishop W. H. Coleridge to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, May 3, 1831, S.P.G. Fulham Docs., West Indies.

[8] Bishop W. H. Coleridge to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, June 30, July 2, 1830, Sept. 28, 1833, S.P.G. Fulham Docs., West Indies.

[9] Forster Clarke to Bishop W. H. Coleridge, Barbados, July 28, 1834, M-MSS, VIII, 190–195; list of married slaves, Feb. 9, 1832, C-Docs., 8; petition of Fabricius Howard to the Society, Barbados, March 9, 1835, *ibid.;* John Sharp to John Pinder, Barbados, March 29, 1835, *ibid.*

[10] Bishop W. H. Coleridge to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, Sept. 28, Oct. 11, 1833, S.P.G. Fulham Docs., West Indies.

[11] Forster Clarke to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, May 7, 1828, X-Docs., 39; Bishop W. H. Coleridge to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, May 3, 1831, Sept. 28, 1833, S.P.G. Fulham Docs., West Indies; Thomas Watts to Bishop W. H. Coleridge, Barbados, Dec. 1, 1831, C-Docs., 9.

[12] Forster Clarke to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, Aug. 31, Nov. 12, 1831, C-Docs., 9; estimate of hurricane damage, Barbados, Aug. 11, 1831, *ibid.;* Thomas Watts to Bishop W. H. Coleridge, Barbados, Dec. 1, 1831, *ibid.*

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[14] Barbados Committee minutes, London, Nov. 15, 1832, March 1, 1833, X-Docs., 30.

[15] Agreement between the Codrington attorney and the cottagers, Barbados, Aug. 16, 1833, C-Docs., 9; sketch of the tenements of the nine cottagers, Barbados, Aug. 20, 1833, *ibid.*

[16] Bishop W. H. Coleridge to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, Sept. 14, 1833, S.P.G. Fulham Docs., West Indies.

[17] Thomas Watts to Bishop W. H. Coleridge, Barbados, Jan. 6, 1834, C-Docs., 9.

[18] Bishop W. H. Coleridge to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, Oct. 11, 1833, S.P.G. Fulham Docs., West Indies; Forster Clarke to Bishop W. H. Coleridge, Barbados, July 28, 1834, M-MSS, VIII, 190–195.

[19] Robert H. Schomburgk, *History of Barbados* (London, 1848), pp. 86–87; statement by Conrade Pile, auditor, 1823, Fulham MSS, Barbados, no. 174.

[20] Bishop W. H. Coleridge to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, Sept. 28, 1833, Feb. 24, 1836, S.P.G. Fulham Docs., West Indies; T. Herbert Bindley, *Annals of Codrington College, Barbados, 1710–1910* (London, 1911), p. 34; [Thomas Parry], *Codrington College in the Island of Barbados* (London, 1847), p. 44.

[21] Plantation Account Book, 1837, C-Docs., 10; enfranchisement arrangements, May 30, 31, 1838, *ibid.*, 8; report by Thomas Watts, 1836, *ibid.*, 9.

[22] Bishop W. H. Coleridge to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, Sept. 28, Oct. 11, 1833, Feb. 24, 1836, S.P.G. Fulham Docs., West Indies; Thomas King to C. Barrow, Barbados, Dec., 1835, C-Docs., 9; report by Thomas Watts, Barbados, 1836, *ibid.*

[23] Bishop W. H. Coleridge to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, Oct. 11, 1833, May 14, 16, June 30, 1838, S.P.G. Fulham Docs., West Indies.

[24] Bishop W. H. Coleridge to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, May 29, 30, June 30, 1838, *ibid.;* enfranchisement arrangements, May 30, 31, 1838, C-Docs., 8; emancipation deed, Barbados, May 30, 1838, *ibid.*

[25] Otis P. Starkey, *The Economic Geography of Barbados* (London, 1939), pp. 117–118; Bishop W. H. Coleridge to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, June 7, 1838, S.P.G. Fulham Docs., West Indies.

[26] Thomas King to Bishop W. H. Coleridge, Barbados, May 31, 1838, C-Docs., 8; Bishop W. H. Coleridge to S.P.G. Secretary, Barbados, June 30, 1838, S.P.G. Fulham Docs., West Indies; Thomas King to Bishop W. H. Coleridge, Barbados, Oct. 12, Nov. 1, 1838, C-Docs., 9.

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(Pages 136–141)

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[2] Sylvester Hovey, *Letters from the West Indies* . . . (New York, 1838), p. 111.

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