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Barbadian Cross-currents: Church-State Confrontation with Quaker and Negro, 1660-1689

Winnifred Winkelman

Loyola University Chicago

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BARBADIAN CROSS-CURRENTS: CHURCH-STATE
CONFRONTATION WITH QUAKER AND NEGRO,
1660-1689

by
Winnifred V. Winkelman

A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School
of Loyola University of Chicago in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

February
1976
To the memory of
my father and mother who
from humble beginnings met
measured success as a politician
and educator respectively
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to thank my many teachers but especially am I grateful to William Trimble, whose classes first stimulated my interest in Tudor-Stuart England. His generosity with his time and his painstaking care in bringing this dissertation to fruition are greatly appreciated. I am also deeply indebted to William Trimble and Joseph Gagliano for their friendship and guidance during my years at Loyola. To Joseph Gagliano and Sheldon Cohen, I extend special thanks for the valuable suggestions and insights that they contributed to this work. In addition, I am grateful to Althea Silvera, Research Officer at the West India Reference Library in Kingston, Jamaica, for her assistance in obtaining xerox copies of needed works, and to Edward Manice of Medusa, New York, for graciously lending me his essay on George Fox and the Quakers in Barbados.

To the numerous friends who in one way or another contributed to the realization of this work, Barbadian Cross-Currents: Church-State Confrontation with Negro and Quaker, 1660-1689, I can only express my heartfelt thanks.
VITA

The author, Winnifred Winkelman, is the fifth child of Joseph Anthony Winkelman and Julia (Hughes) Winkelman, now deceased. She was born December 4, 1929, in Foley, Minnesota.

Her elementary and secondary education was obtained in the public schools of Foley from which she was graduated in May, 1947.

In September, 1947, she enrolled in the College of St. Scholastica in Duluth, Minnesota. Her studies were interrupted after two years by teaching assignments in Hibbing, Minnesota, Cincinnati, Ohio, and Chicago. Her Bachelor of Arts degree in Social Science was received from St. Scholastica in August, 1961, after having studied part-time at Our Lady of Cincinnati College, Xavier University, Loyola University and the College of St. Scholastica. During this period she was elected to membership in the Pi Gamma Mu.

From September, 1962 to June, 1966, she taught various history courses and Social Problems at Duluth Cathedral High School. Work was begun on a Master of Arts degree at Loyola University of Chicago in September of 1961 on a part-time basis, and the degree was granted in February, 1969.

In September, 1966, she joined the faculty of the College of St. Scholastica where she currently holds the rank of Assistant Professor in the department of history. While
a member of the college community she was active in civic organizations serving on, among others, the Board of Trustees of St. Mary's Hospital in Duluth.

She began doctoral studies in September, 1971, at Loyola University where she was awarded research and teaching assistantships. Just recently, March, 1975, at the 18th Annual Missouri Valley History Conference meeting in Omaha, Nebraska, she presented a paper, "The "Role of the Arm of Flesh" in Missionary Endeavor: Uganda (1890-1894)." She hopes to have this published.
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INTRODUCTION

The peopling of Barbados in the seventeenth century was in many instances a contrast to the American immigration of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Migration to the North American and Caribbean colonies in the early period was achieved through force, banishment, and deception. True, events in England yielded immigrants with religious and political incentives but when that flow became a trickle and pamphleteers could not convince, other methods had to be employed.

The spirit of "...Give me your tired, your poor huddled masses yearning to breathe free, the wretched refuse of your teeming shore. Send these, the homeless, tempest-tost to me,..." was not the pervading one then in the seventeenth century. Barbados, though not a Caribbean "Alcatraz," served very effectively as a "detention camp." England utilized

\[\text{Not like the brazen giant of Greek fame,}
\text{With conquering limbs astride from land to land;}
\text{Here at our sea-washed, sunset gates shall stand}
\text{A mighty woman with a torch whose flame}
\text{Is the imprisoned lightning, and her name}
\text{Mother of Exiles. From her beacon-hand}
\text{Glower world-wide welcome; her mild eyes command}\]

\[\text{1Emma Lazarus, "The New Colossus," Encyclopedia Britannica, Vol. XIII, p. 1030. The entire poem is as follows.}\]
this escape hatch as a depot for all her variegated undesirables--religious, political and even economic scum. What better way to cure a parasitical blight than to send them abroad! However, this "dumping" of undesirables soon ran counter to the growing affluence of the entrenched planter society in the island. Yet that society, caught up in a frenzy of sugar production and in dire need of more laborers, embraced the slave traffic. If there had been problems with the increasing poor caliber of whites, flooding the scene with slaves only compounded these social problems.

However, the very troubles engendered remained chiefly on the level of business-related situations; i.e., control of slaves, rules governing sales, procedures for handling runaway slaves and so forth. Slavery in Barbados was strictly an economic institution. Conscience, for the most part, was silent and the question of the morality of slavery was not an issue. The truth is, the question was not even raised. Slavery was justified on every count. It made no difference whether enslavement was by conquest, for punishment, in order to meet debts, by accident of birth, by reason of inferiority or in order to meet some industrial necessity. Even such a

The air-bridged harbor the twin
cities frame
"Keep Ancient lands, your staried pomp!"
cries she
With silent lips. "Give me your tired, your poor.
Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,
The wretched refuse of your teeming shore.
Send them, the homeless, tempest-tost to me,
I lift my lamp beside the golden door!"
great advocate of toleration and liberty as John Locke drew up in 1669 a Code of Constitution for Carolina in which provision was made for the absolute power and authority of masters over Negro slaves.

Men are the products of their times. The planters, who for the most part were members of the Church of England, were no exception. As leading members of their community and members of an established church they wielded much power. Protecting vested interests was their main concern; sharpening moral perception was not. But is it fair to accuse the Church of England totally or even partially of gross neglect in its treatment of and concern for certain human souls—namely, the slaves? On the other hand, how may one account for the callousness exhibited in a century when decency, or what purported to be so, was on the upswing? Could it be that the cries of human beings fell on deaf ears because the pocketbook spoke even louder? Was profit a God? Were Churchmen lulled into passivity by the persuasive affluent with their numerous political and social connections? Or were there Churchmen brave enough to run counter to general membership, to prick consciences, and to stir troubled waters? These questions do not warrant simplistic answers; yet surprisingly so, a simplistic answer is what one encounters. A problem of morality generally does not ruffle a populace unless that people are personally touched by that problem. And paradoxically, a populace which is often faced with such a problem can rationalize a position on the basis of the
various needs weighing heavily upon it. Such closeness to a problem frequently causes a myopia. Barbados was a sanctuary for this disease.

Yet the gnawing question remains. Were there not any "John the Baptists"—prophets crying in the wilderness? Was the Church of England a moribund institution in the colony? Henry Compton, who was translated from Oxford to the See of London in 1675, was spurred to action by the whole uncertainty of the Bishop of London's jurisdiction in the colonies. From the time of his installation there is a perceptible change for the better in both the number of clergy being sent overseas, and in their worthiness. The organizational aspects of the Church were improved, too. Compton suggested that there ought to be a better treatment of the slaves but again the thorny question of the morality of slavery played no part. The most vigorous and at times the most strident Anglican voice, was that of a clergyman, Morgan Godwyn. Godwyn upbraided the Anglican Church for its laxity in christianizing slaves. Again the question of the morality of such an institution escaped the scrutiny of conscience. But one wonders if Godwyn's caustic criticisms of the Church were evoked less by the sense of championing a cause than by a smarting reaction to an abrasive experience with a Virginia vestry.² That unpleasant experience coupled with Godwyn's

²Morgan Godwyn, grandson of Francis Goodwin, D.D., Bishop of Hereford, received a B.A. at Christ Church, Oxford, was ordained around 1664, and traveled to Virginia about 1665.
encounter with the writings of George Fox were all the stimulants needed. Fox, recognized leader of those religious outcasts, the Quakers, visited Barbados in 1671 and was appalled by the condition of the slaves. 3 Fox held meetings, encouraged better treatment of slaves and worked for their religious conversion. But the conversion of slaves was a stumbling block for whites because the idea had circulated in the island that Christianity and slavery were incompatible: the reasoning behind this was that baptism spelled freedom for the slave. By the same token, also, the slaveholder would be visited by economic hardship. To add to the dilemma, every churchgoer was aware of Christ's command, "Go forth and baptize all nations." This indeed constituted a dilemma, because there were many slaveholders, including some Quakers, who owned large numbers of slaves. Fox was aware of these

He served as a minister of Marston Parish in York County for nearly a year, and for several years in Stafford County. It was in the latter county as minister of Potomac Parish that Godwyn had an unpleasant brush with a vestry. A Colonel John Dodman, a member of the vestry of Potomac Parish, secured a judgment against Godwyn. The sheriff seized Godwyn's books and property and gave them to Colonel Dodman. The case was appealed to the General Court and Godwyn was exonerated. Cross suits were brought but eventually dropped. For details of this case see George Brydon, Virginia's Mother Church and the Political Conditions Under Which It Grew (2 vols.; Richmond: Virginia Historical Society, 1947), I, 507-08. For biographical sketches of Godwyn see Ibid., I, 187; Edward Goodwin, The Colonial Church in Virginia (Milwaukee: Morehouse Publishing Company, 1972), p. 272; Dictionary of National Biography, edited by Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee (Oxford: The University Press, 1917), VIII, 62. This latter entry will hereafter be cited as DNB.

3 George Fox, son of a Puritan weaver, was born in Leicestershire in July, 1624. It is doubtful that Fox had
Quakers and their sensitivities. Certainly no one can claim that Fox was an ardent abolitionist, or for that matter, an abolitionist at all. Fox did raise some questions. And Godwyn, although hating Fox's methodology, re-echoed the same sentiments. In that respect, Fox and Godwyn had similar roles.

When we pause to examine the views of Quaker and Anglican toward the question of the christianization of slaves we intend chiefly to utilize the views expressed in the writings of George Fox and Morgan Godwyn: those views were indeed very much shaped by their encounter with slavery on the island of Barbados. In order better to understand the situation in which this condition of slavery flourished it is necessary to examine the elements of the Barbadian society--planters, slaves, and Quakers. Then, too, it is important to take note of such regulating institutions as the Church, the Barbadian government, and the ever-present Lords of Trade and Plantations. It was, in fact, the interaction of all these elements

any schooling but he was far from illiterate. Although his parents had intended that he be a minister of the Church of England, he desisted and eventually he was apprenticed to a shoemaker.

In 1643 after a drinking engagement with some friends he turned to religious exercises, having felt a divine call. By 1646 Fox, having decided that a minister had to be more than a scholar, gave up attendance at church and went into the fields "with the Bible." Followers gathered about him, and in 1649 he was for the first time incarcerated for brawling in a church. See the DNB, VII, 557-561.

4Godwyn, and most Anglicans, for that matter, disliked the Quakers' abrasiveness of manner and many stinging accusations.
which was instrumental in eventually raising the question, whether slaves should be christianized, and this constituted the first step in the long and painful journey toward aboli­tion. However, before abolition could be achieved, the most important question, i.e., whether slavery was morally justi­fiable, had to be answered. That abolition fell in its wake was natural but by no means instant. History has borne out that from the pricking of conscience to convincing and thence to action is slow and evolutionary. Especially is this true when financial interests are an overriding factor. The slave-church relation in Barbados was no exception.
CHAPTER I

THE BARBADIAN PARADOX

Barbados, the most easterly island of the Lesser Antilles, is a land of paradox par excellence. Of beauty unsurpassed yet nurturing the base, a harbor for refugees while yet a bastion of slavery, a land golden with opportunity while blighted with poverty—all describe the island. Yet, if an island could have human attributes one would have to say that Barbados was more sinned against than sinning. Once the seventeenth century had washed its shores the idyllic faded into oblivion. This situation has been aptly described:

Remote and unconsidered, Barbados was an uncut gem, of value so rare that when once discovered it aroused unbridled envy and cupidity and became the scene of some of the most unscrupulous transactions recorded in the history of British colonization.¹

Both the history and description of the island are filled with inaccuracies and contradictions. Observers have variously viewed it as a pearl or the gem of the Antilles while others have disdainfully classified it as "the Dung-hill wharone England doth cast forth its rubidg: Rodgs and hers and such like peopel are those which are gennerally

Bright hear." The same critic classified the population as being English, French, Dutch, Scots, Irish, Spanish Jews, some Indians and of course the "miserable Negors borne to perpetuall slavery thay and thayer seed...." Our detractor, however, found the "Island of it selfe...very delightful and pleasant: it is manuered the best of any Illand in the Inges, with many brave houses, and heare is a brave harbor for ships to Rid in."

Doubtless the reference to Barbados as an "uncut gem" refers to the physical beauty of the island against the backdrop of the blue Caribbean, a genuine pearl of the Antilles. Such a claim more recently has been all but sanctified in travel brochures. The peopling of Barbados is another story. The assessments of early travellers to the island picture the population as being one which, if not downright derelict, was at least rowdy and irresponsible. Before discussing the inhabitants it is best to look at the island itself.

Barbados, the most windward or most easterly isle of the Lesser Antilles, breaks the north-south chain by jutting out into the Atlantic some seventy-eight miles distant from St. Vincent. This geographic position has served Barbados well for it has isolated her from neighboring islands while at the same time it has made her a port of call for European vessels sailing into the Caribbean. Winds made it difficult

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to reach the island from the Caribbean side and its location made it "outside" the perimeter, for the most part, of Spanish and Dutch military activity. Barbados, unlike the other islands, was empty of the Caribs, who were the warlike Indian tribe inhabiting the West Indies. Supposedly the reason for a Carib-free Barbados was the inability of Carib vessels to "buck" the wind. However that may be, an early observer, Major John Scott, stated that the Indians of St. Vincent made Barbados their hunting ground. The possibility that the Caribs were permanent inhabitants of the island is generally discounted although it has been conceded that the Caribs might have visited the island, but at sometime had been frightened away by the Portuguese, who then named the island after these barbarous Indians, the Caribs. Nevertheless the more plausible and acceptable explanation of the origin of the term Barbados ascribes the naming of it to a species of fig tree indigenous to Barbados, which then and today has branches from which hang mats of twisted fibrous roots. These roots have been compared to luxuriant beards, hence the Portuguese named it Las Barbadas. In 1554 the island appeared as Baruodo on

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4 Hans Sloane, A Voyage to the Islands, Madera, Barbados, Nieves, S. Christophers and Jamaica (2 vols.; London:
a map of the world by Michael Tramezini, and at one time or another it has been called Barbata, Barbadas, Barbudos and other variations. Such aliases have resulted in confusion as to the correct identification of the island and this confusion has been furthered many times by inaccuracies of latitude.

Credit for naming the island has been attributed to one Pedro a Campas who on a voyage to Margarita in 1563 became in need of water and went ashore. A Campas left hogs to

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6 Scott, "Description," n.p. Who were the first discoverers, Spanish or Portuguese, is questionable. For support of the Spanish claim see Awnsham and John Churchill, comps., A Collection of Voyages and Travels (6 vols., London: Printed for Henry Liviat & John Osborn, 1746), V, 3rd ed., 664. The author of the entry on Barbados is Anthony De Herrera, Historiographer to the King of Spain. De Herrera said the English had called the islands Barbadoes but that it should have been properly called Barbada, "...being the name given it by the Spaniards who were the first discoverers." Support for the Portuguese claim can be found in John Pinkerton, comp., A General Collection of the Best and Most Interesting Voyages and Travels in All Parts of the World (17 vols.; London: Printed for Longman, Hurst, et al., 1812), XII, 292. "The Portuguese were certainly the first discoverers of Brazil, and it is not very probable that they should make many voyages thither, or at least should establish a regular commerce with that country without falling in with this island, which lies so much in the way. It is the more probable that they were the first discoverers, from the name by which this country has always been known; Barbadoes having apparently a Portuguese termination."

7 If Pedro a Campas only visited the island in 1563 quite a time lapse existed between that date and 1518, the time fixed by Schomburgk when the island was "probably known." Blurring of the identification tag added to the confusion of mapmakers and others. See Vincent Harlow, A History of
breed upon the island, and these animals eventually became the enticement of Carib hunters and later the delectable delight of the English. Hogs had thrived on the island for so long unmolested that they must have presented little challenge to the hunter.

The island, by no standards a large one, has been compared in size many times to the Isle of Wight. It is roughly about 21 English miles long and about 14 1/2 miles at its widest point. At one time forests covered the lower slopes to the shore line. The island, though higher inland, is not at all mountainous. The leeward side contains the good natural harbors and bays while the windward side presents a formidable face to the Atlantic.

One of the earliest descriptions of the island is that of Sir Henry Colt written in a letter to his son. Colt visited Barbados around 1631. The ship, the Alexander, with a William Burch as captain, made good time by reaching the island in five weeks and five days. At dawn of the last day at sea, Colt recounted that he saw "...a great ridge of white sands, intermixed with rocks, uppon which ye sea doth break, & a league further of very low land, butt ye Inland high & full of woods." Colt estimated the island to be fourteen miles broad and forty long. The Alexander was moored against

Barbados, 1625-1685 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926), p. 1. Harlow identifies a Campas as a Campos and furthermore dates the visit as 1536 not 1563. Harlow cites his authority as Scott. It would appear that the reprint of Scott used by me has a typographical error.
a white watch house where a platform for ordinance was built, though not any mounted. Such construction was indicative of an industrious population if not yet a prosperous one. But, as Colt soon realized, dissension plagued the island. He concluded that "...ye Devill ye spiritt of discord have great power in America." The spirit was as loose among Christians as Infidels. Colt posed the question, "Who is he yt cann live long in quiett in these parts?" All men had been made subject to the power of the "Infernable Spiritt." They had to fight even though it were with their own friends.

Colt's stay in Barbados was of short duration, a mere thirteen days, the ultimate destination of the Alexander being St. Christopher, the "mother colony" of English settlement in the West Indies, and where the English governor, Sir Thomas Warner, had the onerous responsibility of keeping the English, French and Indians at peace. Interestingly enough Colt's comparison of these two islands threw much light on contemporary conditions in Barbados. Colt discovered that the plantations on St. Christopher were larger, more cleared of brush and generally more profitable than those of Barbados. The latter island was plagued by gnats while St. Christopher had a rat problem. And while the soil of St. Christopher was better,

8"The Voyage of Sir Henrye Colt Knight to the Islands of the Antilles...," in Vincent T. Harlow, ed., Colonizing Expeditions to the West Indies and Guiana, 1623-1667 (London: Hakluyt Society, 1925), 2nd Ser., LVI, 64. The Colt Journal covers pp. 54-102. The paragraphs on these pages are drawn from this source and will be cited as Harlow, Colonizing... Colt.

9Harlow, Colonizing...Colt, p. 73.
causing "...all things to be taller, & greater & carryes out all things better," Barbados produced "...all things sooner doubtless." Barbadian drinkers were meaner and more quarrelsome as well as given to idleness. Colt found St. Christopher vulnerable toward the sea but better guarded than Barbados. The Barbadians were blessed with better harbors, more fish and better fishing; on the other hand, they were careless and wasteful in their wild hog hunts. Colt estimated that 1500 hogs were killed a week, "...a waste too great to be continued." The prevalent practice was that when ten or twelve hogs were taken, they were bound together and left while the hunters sought more. More often than not, according to Colt, the hunters never returned that way and the hogs were left to starve. Colt admonished that "...the plentiful world of theirs is now past." Lastly, Colt made a curious observation about the men of the islands, especially for one who seemingly frowned upon factionalism: that the men of St. Christopher showed more valor in quarrels. His conclusion was based upon the fact that during the time he was at St. Christopher, which was less time than he had spent in Barbados, there had been one man killed, while on Barbados no one was killed.10

The observations and criticisms of Colt were made in 1631 during the infancy of Barbados. A better and more accurate description of the island itself was made by an anonymous

10Ibid., pp. 91-93.
writer around 1650, one which, because of its value, warrants repeating.

Barbados, or Barbudos is the most easterly Island of the Caribees, it lyes in the torrid zone in the height of 13 degrees and 20 Minnotts Northward from the line at the intrance into the Bay of Mexico. It is in length 30. in breadth 12. English miles and upward, from Northwest, to Southeast, in forme of an oval. The Land lyeth high much resembling England more healthfull than any of hir Neighbours; and better agreeing with the temper of the English Naçon. The dispositicon of the Climate I thinke to be as Coole, and temperate, as in Holland in Summer time and am Sensible of a frossen and more delightful arye in the heart of the Country then ever I found there in Jule [sic] or Jly. And this is noe Paradoz these reasons may bee given for it, ffirst the gentle breize of wind, which increaseth as the Sunn rises, and decreasing as it Setts, never failes to comforte the traveller and qualify that heate that otherwise would bee soe injurious that noe man could endure its force. 2ly The Equality of day and night the Suns neereness allottinge to either the same proportion of time in which the dewes of the night temparte the aire, wich the beames of the Sunn hath heated, the nighte being heere soe coole that lying in a Wastcoate on a good feather bedd I can endure on mee two blancketts. 3ly The naturall moistures of the aire which keepes the sun beames from peircing with that force which els they would. 4ly The constant raignes which oft times with refreshing showers visit the planter, four, or five times a day, to the greate comforte of the Inhabitates and blessing of the fruits. And in fine (for I referr the curious to the Schooles or more profound Philosophers for further Satisfaçon) if the debaucht lives of the people did not prevent nature, it would be as temperate and wholesome as it is a fertil, and plentiful Country. Winter and Sumer as touching could and heate differ not, neither doe the trees ever sensibly loose their leaves, but have alwaies fruite either Ripe or greene, and most of them, blossoms, Leaves, ripe fruits and greene at one time, a most delectable sight. The Winter only consisteth of great raignes; it beginneth about Agust, and lasteth till Christmas, in which time wee have often Land flood, which fall into Several gullies, that many lose their Lives....

11"A Briefe Description of the Islands of Barbados," in Harlow, Colonizing Expeditions to the West Indies and Guiana, 1623-1667, LVI, 42. "A Briefe Description..." covers pp. 42-48. It will be cited later as Harlow, Colonizing... A Briefe Description.
Certainly one of the most renowned descriptions and impressions of the islands came from the pen of Richard Ligon. Ligon, who evidently had undergone misfortunes in the mother country, set sail in June of 1647 on a ship named Achilles. A stop had been scheduled at one of the Cape Verde islands where the Captain was to trade for "Negroes, Horses, and Cattle,..." which were to be sold at Barbados. Ligon recalled that the nearer they came to the island of Barbados "the more beautiful" it appeared, especially as the "high large and lofty trees, with their spreading branches and lofty tops" came into sight. A keen observer, Ligon noticed that the inhabitants had "a free prospect to Sea, and a reception of pure refreshing air." The plantations appeared to Ligon to be built one above the other, thereby not interfering with a view of the sea. The sight was so delightful that the Captain was requested to lower the sails in order to slow the ship and not impede the view. As the Achilles glided into Carlisle Bay, Ligon spotted riding at anchor "...22 good ships, with boats plying to and fro, with Sails and Oars, which carried commodities from place to place: so quick stirring, and numerous, as I have seen it below the bridge at London."13

What greeted Ligon and his fellow passengers was an

12Ligon, A True and Exact History, pp. 20-23. The paragraphs in the text are based on Ligon.

13Ibid., p. 21.
island sorely visited with the plague. The question of the moment was from whence the plague came. Was it brought in with the shipping or by the "...distemper of the people of the Island: who by the ill dyet they keep, and drinking strong waters bring diseases upon themselves...?" Ligon believed the latter "...because for one woman that dyed, there were ten men; and the men were the greater deboystes." At the same time that the disease was rampant on the island, the food supplies were low. The original intention had been for the Achilles to sail on to Antigua but the disease had infected the ship, depleting the needed hands for the establishment of a new Plantation. That factor, coupled with the news that one of the ships which had sailed ahead of the Achilles and which was ladened with supplies and utensils had miscarried, necessitated a change in plans. Colonel Thomas Modyford, who had had designs on establishing a plantation in Antigua, soon learned from the "knowing men" of the island (Barbados) that it was better for a man with money to invest in the purchase of a plantation that was already furnished. Wasting no time Modyford paid a visit to the Governor, Philip Bell. There he met a Major William Hilliard, "an eminent Planter of the Island," who, being interested in spending more time in England, was anxious to sell some of his Plantation. After a month of negotiations, the bargain was completed and Ligon became the able assistant to Modyford and a

14 Ibid.
credible assessor of the Island and its inhabitants.

When Pedro a Campos set foot on the Barbados shore he was in search of water. Apparently he was satisfied with what he found. Writers are at a variance as to the plenitude of springs and the quality of water, but all concede that there was but one river, a river, which in one critic's estimation could be better termed a lake.¹⁵ Colt, for one, found the water of St. Christopher more drinkable. Barbados did have some redeeming qualities, not the least of which were natural features which made the island defensively strong. No safe landings could be made except in the harbors and bays, which were to be found in the southwest part of the island where they could be easily fortified. The most important and best bay, Carlisle Bay, was the natural site of the most important town called The Bridge, so named for a long bridge which was first made over a little nook of the sea which was "rather a Bogg than a Sea." The planters seemed more concerned about convenience than about health. Houses crowded the bridge as did diverse warehouses which could readily service trade. But, as trade flourished, health suffered because of the adverse location. It was the evaluation of one observer that

¹⁵Samuel Clarke, A True and Faithful Account of the Four Chiepest Plantations of the English in America, to Wit, Virginia, New-England, Bermudas [and] Barbados (London: Printed for Robert Clavel, 1670), p. 61. Clarke's work is actually a reprint of Ligon's on Barbados. The land around the lake belonged to Colonel Humphrey Walrond, who told Ligon that he had taken fish there as big as salmon.
...the ground being somewhat lower within the land than the Sea banks are, the Spring-Tides flow over, and so remain there, making much of that flat a kind of Bog, or Marish, which sends out so loathsome a Savour, as cannot but breed ill blood, and probably is the occasion of much sickness to those that live there.16

Nevertheless, such a marshy condition could be corrected by drainage, and apparently it was, for soon it was being claimed that Barbados was the healthiest island in the West Indies archipelago. If there were problems of health, could they rather be attributed to debauched living than to such natural causes as marshes and climate? Overeating and, in particular, heavy drinking were hazards. Henry Colt seemingly took a low view of the Barbadians when he admonished that

...you are all younge men, & of good desert, if you would but bridle ye excess of dringinge, together with ye quarrelsome conditions of your fyery spiritts. You are devourers upp of hot waters & such good distillers thereof....17

Colt further related how he was badly influenced by these young men. While in their company he had increased his consumption of "hott water" from .2 dramms a meal to .30. He surmised that if he were to spend a few more days in such company he could easily have increased his intake to .60. Worse in his judgment and more troublesome than the heavy drinking, were the manifold quarrels. Colt also faulted the Barbadians on their failure to gainfully employ servants. He found the plantations in disorder and no man at work. A damning indictment but an unfair one under the circumstances

16Ibid., p. 59.
17Harlow, Colonizing...Colt, pp. 65-66.
was his shaft that "...your ground & plantations shewes whatt you are, they lye like ye ruines of some village lately burned...."¹⁸ Later, in 1650, the Barbdian planter, or freeman, was described as a "German for his drinking, and a Welshman for his welcome." It was observed that "he is never idle; if it raines hee toapes securely under his roofs, if faire hee plants and workes in the field, hee takes it ill, if you pass by his doore, and not tast of Liquor."¹⁹ Lastly, many Englishmen tried to attribute the many deaths while in the prime of life to the nature of the climate or to the unusual heat. One caustic critic of such a position was Thomas Tryon.²⁰ Tryon scoffed at such false reasoning, for it could easily be ascertained that it was "...their own Intemperance, not that of the Heavens, which shortens their days...." He found the extravagance in the ordinary diet astounding. He stated that he had heard it credibly affirmed that at one feast alone approximately 1,000-1,200 bottles of wine, Madera

¹⁸Ibid., p. 67, n.1. "The scene of poverty and neglect were partly due to the fact that ever since the first settlement of the island in 1627, the planters had been handicapped by constant dissensions arising out of the disputes between the rival claimants, Sir William Courten and the Earl of Carlisle, and also that in the previous year (1630) there 'happened a great Scarcity, by Reason of the long preceding Draught call'd the Starving time.'" See [William Duke], Some Memoirs of the First Settlement of the Island of Barbados and Other of the Carribbe Islands (Barbados: William Beeby, 1741), p. 14. Williamson, The Caribbee Islands, p. 90.

¹⁹Harlow, Colonizing...A Briefe Description, p. 44.

²⁰Thomas Tryon, Friendly Advice to the Gentlemen-Planters of the East and West Indies, etc. (London: Printed by Andrew Sowle, 1684), Pt. I, pp. 49-53.
and Claret, had been consumed. The host was a "common Planter" of Barbados. What a Grandee might have served begs the imagination! For certain, according to Tryon, "...the like Superfluity...is not infrequent in that and other Western Plantations."

Who were these sturdy Englishmen, quick to anger and liquor-prone? How had they been caught-up in the blustering enterprise of the Caribbean, so recently a Spanish lake? Certainly, some English in the course of their history have not been reluctant to take advantage of fortuitous situations. And this was true of some, at least, of the English in the Caribbean. Christopher Columbus had opened the Caribbean "gold mine" for the Spanish, but Francis Drake later saw to it that the fortune was spread around. The English first came in the role of intruders and plunderers, best epitomized a little later by buccaneers of the cut of Henry Morgan. Morgan had come to Barbados as an indentured servant but later joined the buccaneers. He acquired wealth and land, was knighted, and became the lieutenant-governor of Jamaica. Though the incursion might seem to have been unsavory, it gave the English a nominal footing in the Caribbean.

The actual dating of the English connection with Barbados remains a question. It is perhaps only fitting that

\[\text{21 J. H. Parry and P. M. Sherlock, A Short History of the West Indies (New York: St. Martins Press, 1966), p. 85. Hans Sloane, a physician, had found Morgan living in Jamaica in 1688. He was in "dropsical middle-age and drinking himself to death."}\]
it should be since the whole history of Barbados is shrouded in conflict. Apparently a crew of the English ship Olive Blossom touched at the island of Barbados in 1605 and carved on a tree an inscription, "James, King of England and of this island." 22 A gap of time occurred for only in 1625 do we read of continued English activity. In that year a ship of Sir William Courten's on a return voyage from Brazil was driven by storm to the island. Courten, a prosperous London merchant, gave such a favorable report of the island that Lord Ley (later the Earl of Marlborough) obtained a grant of the island from King James. Courten wished to establish a colony there and a syndicate was formed consisting of himself, his brother Sir Peter, his brother-in-law John Mouncey, John Powell the Elder, and Henry Powell. Captain Henry Powell

22 [Duke], Memoirs, p. 1. "An English Vessel call'd the Olive, in her Return from a Voyage to Guiana, touch'd at this Island of Barbados, and landing some men, they set up a Cross in or about St. James Town, now call'd the Hole; and inscrib'd on a Tree adjoining. Having this done, they came alonge-shore to the Indian River, and left there also some marks of their possession for the Crown of England." The date for the inscription is seriously questioned in Williamson, The Caribbee Islands, p. 33. Williamson argues that the formal annexation and setting up of the inscription was 1625. The commander of the ship was John Powell, the elder, who Williamson asserted should be recognized as the pioneer of Barbados. Williamson based his assertion on a statement found in the Chancery Proceedings (Ch. I C.60/38 (2)): "John Powell...had discovered the said island of Barbados and was the first person...that did discover the same Island and did set upp his maties standard there to the honor of this Nation and to the increasing of his Maiesties dominions." The varied dating, according to Williamson, seemed to have stemmed from a faulty transcription. See also Harriet Durham, Caribbean Quakers (Hollywood: Dukane Press, 1972), p. 8. Durham supports the earlier date, because in her opinion, the sugar cane crop which was valuable in the 1640's could not have reached that degree of importance in so few years.
commanded a second expedition which set sail in the William and John and reached Barbados on February 20, 1627. Eighty men disembarked. Powell continued on to Guiana where he obtained cassava roots, corn and tobacco, and enlisted the services of thirty-two Arawak Indians, who were to show the settlers how to cultivate these plants. The term of the service was to be for two years. Unfortunately, the Indians were detained as slaves by the persons who later captured Barbados. In July of the same year John Powell, senior, arrived with a ship load of a hundred men and women to reinforce the pioneers. Houses were built as well as a fort, and several plantations were started.

What seemed to be a promising settlement for Courteen's syndicate soon ran into troubled waters. James Hay, first Earl of Carlisle, received on July 2, 1627, a Letter

23Harlow, A History of Barbados, p. 4. Powell captured a prize from which they took the ten slaves. See also Williamson, The Caribbee Islands, p. 36. The number eighty was given by Powell in the Chancery cases, but Williamson points out that in the official Record Office copy (C.O. 1/14, No. 39), the number given was 40-50. Each page had been signed by Powell.

24The Earl of Carlisle was one of the Scottish courtiers who followed James I into England. He managed to obtain large endowments from the Stuarts, and lived splendidly beyond his means. Clarendon was considered responsible for the statement that "he [Carlisle] spent over £400,000 in the course of his life." In Williamson's estimation the sum, which represented half a normal year's national revenue at the time, appeared not to be exaggerated. Seemingly the only service Carlisle rendered the King was that of serving as special diplomat on occasion. Williamson, The Caribbee Islands, pp. 39-40.
Patent\textsuperscript{25} making him absolute lord proprietor of certain islands, commonly called Caribbee Islands, which were situated between $10^\circ$ and $20^\circ$ north latitude:


The specification of the islands proved to be most important. St. Christopher appeared first on the list, and then the remaining units are named in ascending order from the south to the north. Therefore, the "Barbidas" would be Barbados, and "Barbada" would be Barbuda. The important point is that both Barbados and Barbuda were included. Questions were raised as to whether the promoters of this grant knew of Courteen's settlement, or if Carlisle himself was aware of it. Was the inclusion of Barbados in the grant deliberately concealed? What did the King know?\textsuperscript{26}

Courteen realized the need of a powerful ally\textsuperscript{27} and


\textsuperscript{26}Williamson, The Caribbee Islands, p. 42. Williamson faults the King as caring very little for the equity of his action in the matter. He considered that the King "was throughout criminally careless and indifferent." Lord Keeper Coventry was asked to investigate and report to the King.

\textsuperscript{27}By the summer of 1627 Marlborough had withdrawn his pretensions to proprietorship on the promise of an annuity of £300. The "pay-off" was to be secured on the profits of the Islands.
enlisted the patronage of Philip Herbert, Earl of Montgomery. Montgomery obtained Letters Patent dated February 25, 1628, which included those islands between 8° and 13° N; the "Barbudos" which was mentioned undoubtedly was Barbados and a "Fonseca alias St. Bernard's," which was supposedly an imaginary island oftentimes reported lying in the ocean well to the eastward of the Caribbee chain. This patent was in effect a recognition of Courteen's claim to Barbados. However, Carlisle was not to be outmaneuvered. He exerted considerable influence on the King who consented to issue a second patent to the Scot. This second patent, dated April 7, 1628, reaffirmed Carlisle's right to Barbados. The emphatic spelling out of Barbados as "Barbadas alias Barbades alias Barbudas alias Barbadus..." hammered home the message of a Carlisle entrenchment.

In the same month Captain Charles Wolverston and eighty settlers set sail for Barbados. Wolverston bore a letter from Carlisle and proceeded with plans to seize the island. In the letter Carlisle extended his most hearty greetings to Captains John Powell and William Deane and to the other inhabitants of the island. He informed the

28Williamson, The Caribbee Islands, pp. 44-45. Williamson concluded that Fonseca was really Barbados assigned to an incorrect position. His argument was based on the evolution of the name Barbados. In successive maps it had appeared as follows: 1536, Bernados; 1542, Barbudoss and Isla de Bernados; 1554, Barnodo; 1566, S. Barduda; 1570, S. Barbudos; 1589, Barnuodos; 1600, Barbados. (Schomburgk, A History of Barbados, pp. 255-57). Williamson noted that Bernados and Barnodos is not far from sounding like St. Bernards, which was the patent's alternate name for Fonseca.
Barbadians that Wolverston was planting a colony, although Carlisle was aware that Courteen had already started a plantation. Carlisle, however, assured the inhabitants that Wolverston had been given orders "so to demeane and behave himselfe that neither he nor his people give you anie inst occasion of offence or trouble." Suffice it to say that the struggle for power began in earnest between the "Carli-lists" and the "Courteenists." While proponents for either side intrigued and sued in London, pioneers in Barbados maneuvered and were outmaneuvered by one another. Henry Powell, who had arrived with a cargo of supplies, managed to seize Wolverston, whom he took to England as a prisoner. In August of 1629 Henry Hawley arrived as Carlisle's Governor. Hawley tricked the Powells, effected a coup d'état and then sailed off to the Leeward Islands, leaving a Deputy Governor behind. The plot became even more cloudy when Carlisle in September sent Sir William Tufton to be his Governor for four years. Carlisle's apparent fickleness could perhaps be better described as a hard, realistic approach. Certainly confusion and disorder generally fail to breed peace and prosperity, and Barbados was desperately in need of some stabilization, a condition which called for a law-and-order

29 For a reprint of the letter in full, see Williamson, The Caribbee Islands, p. 50. The original was found in Rawlinson MSS C. 94, f. 31.

30 Williamson stated that Tufton had £1,500 to invest which probably was the chief reason for his appointment. Williamson, The Caribbee Islands, p. 89.
man. Apparently Tufton wasted little time in exercising a "heavy hand." The planters were soon indignant because Tufton protested against their cruelty to indentured servants, and bad masters were threatened with the removal of these servants. Needless to say, conspiracies began to blossom.

Tufton, in spite of these difficulties, did manage to effect some reforms. Land grants were made and some existing ones were confirmed. The regime of Governor Tufton, coupled with Carlisle's settlement, all but stifled any development of Courteen's adherents. Lord Carlisle, however, disliking the overzealousness of Tufton, removed him and re-instated Hawley. Tufton in turn resented this action, and with some planter support resisted Hawley, who in his turn deemed such action to be traitorous. The subsequent Barbadian uproar ended in Hawley's removal. But brevity characterized this removal, and Hawley was soon back governing, a position he held until 1638, when the Barbadians drove him from the island. 31 A Major Hunches succeeded Hawley, followed by a Philip Bell. Ultimately however, the abusive, illegal actions of the proprietors and their representatives did such incalculable damage to their image that their authority was seriously impaired. 32

31 Ibid., p. 143. Hawley was later arrested, and tried in England. He was sent back to Barbados with a guarantee of property. He died in 1677.

32 Ibid., p. 217. Williamson saw proprietorship as an "inevitable transitory phase" in the West Indies. He claimed it was destined to pass away "as soon as the population of the islands gained sufficient strength and wealth...."
During the period of proprietorship the government of the island was not representative. The Governor was appointed and given extensive powers by the proprietor, and the Governor in turn nominated a Council, composed of men chosen because they were naturally "loyal" supporters. Legislation with the consent of the inhabitants was virtually unknown. Only in 1639 did an elected Assembly come into being, while prior to that the executive, judicial and legislative authority rested with the Governor and his Council.

The Civil War in England caused a considerable number of persons to take refuge in Barbados, and they were of various ranks, often Royalists. The year 1648, in particular, was a key year for peopling Barbados with affluent young Royalist gentlemen. Their arrival on the island came at a most propitious moment, because the large sugar plantation was then just beginning to take the place of the small tobacco plantation. Prominent among the Royalists were Edward Walrond, a lawyer, his brother Colonel Humphrey Walrond, and another soldier, Major William Byam. They joined the most notable Commonwealth man, James Drax, who already had gained prominence.

As Commonwealth men and the Royalists had mutually antagonized one another in England, so now they faced one another in Barbados, where in 1650 there was estimated to be

The Civil War in England hastened the process but the introduction of sugar planting, he claimed, would inevitably have been the effective dissolver.
20,000 white men. Only because in that year Francis Lord Willoughby of Parnham arrived to take over power was order reestablished. Willoughby was empowered with a double sanction: he was lessee of the Carlisle grant, and he was governor-in-chief of the Caribbee Islands, holding a commission bestowed by the exiled Charles II. Willoughby tried to cool tempers and keep Barbados free from problems arising from the Civil War and its aftermath. One important problem was the flourishing trade with the Dutch. Another was that during the time of the English "troubles" both Barbados and Antigua had reaffirmed their loyalty to Charles II. West Indian royalism in the decade of the 1650's was as much a cancer to Commonwealth pride as the lucrative Dutch trade was an irritant to London Merchants. In 1650, therefore, an Act was passed by the Commonwealth government prohibiting all trade with the recalcitrant colonies "because of their rebellion against the Commonwealth and Government of England." Indeed, the Commonwealth was determined to crush the Barbadians.

The fact that the Commonwealth was not able to "crush" the Barbadians was due partially to distance, but more importantly it was due to the indomitable will of the Barbadians, a people steeled in adversity, who had enjoyed subsequent prosperity and had exercised self-government. Who were these steadfast people who claimed the name Barbadians? The next few chapters will deal with entrepreneur and outcast alike--

33 Parry and Sherlock, A Short History, p. 57.
planter, servant, Negro and Quaker. But before we examine these exiles and outcasts, it is interesting to ponder the question of why the Lesser Antilles were initially ignored by settlers. These islands, which eventually would become the center of great colonial wealth, were belatedly exploited. Why? The theory has been advanced that the usual motives—new homes for surplus population, markets for the sale of English cloth, obtaining naval supplies and raw materials, and a search for a new route to Asia—did not attract men to the Lesser Antilles. Only when planting became important—first tobacco, then sugar—did the Lesser Antilles come into their own, "for the regular planting of tropical produce was not recognized as the prime incentive of the future."^{34} Furthermore, it was concluded that St. Christopher was planted first because Barbados, an ideal site for a pioneer plantation, was not known. Once the "uncut gem" was discovered the floodgates opened and the isle was so inundated by people of every sort that a transformation was swiftly effected, which proved to be profound in its far-reaching social effects.

^{34}Williamson, *The Caribbee Islands*, pp. 6, 10, 12.
CHAPTER II

A PRECIPITANT OF A CRISIS--THE PLANTER CLASS

The year 1637 is memorable in Barbadian history, because it was then that sugar cane was introduced. This Brazilian import\(^1\) was not just an addition to an already diversified agriculture--tobacco, cotton, indigo; it inaugurated an economic revolution. For though tobacco and dyewood had long been important in the island's export trade, their importance in the marketplace rapidly paled beside the rising sugar culture. Barbadian planters had until then depended upon the indentured servant and the labor of the poor. Though some slaves, including a few Indians, were utilized in the tobacco field and in the exploitation of dyewoods, their great importance and the insatiable need for them was also only truly felt with the advent of sugar. Sugar not only surpassed all other crops in importance, reshuffled social relationships and drastically altered the labor market, but it instilled a sense of political awareness in the islanders which manifested itself in their articulate, effective, and sometimes vociferous lobbying. Even the currency reflected the importance of sugar. In just one decade, 1640-1650, a shift in the expression of valuation was made: from

\(^1\)Williamson, *The Caribbee Islands*, p. 155. Williamson credits a Dutchman from Brazil, a Pieter Brower, with the first introduction of sugar.
valuation being expressed in pounds of tobacco to being expressed in pounds of sugar.

Sugar cane production, however, had a slow start, and at first it was used to make a sweet drink. A Colonel Holdip was the first to plant sugar as his main crop, but it was reported that "it came to little." Initial poor productivity could be attributed to a number of causes. When Richard Ligon landed in September of 1647 he observed that the planters were making four major mistakes. These were: "the manner of Planting, the time of Gathering, and the right placing of their Coppers in their Furnaces; as also the true way of covering their Rollers with plates or Bars of Iron: ...." It was evident to Ligon that the Barbadians were novices in sugar-making. However, he was given to understand that by the process of trial and error, by recurring visits to Brazil and by a genuine interest in sugar culture, the planters' present state (1647) showed that a great improvement had already taken place and it was a harbinger for a rosy future.

The Barbadians needed entrepreneurs, not only with substantial credit and possessing a sense of adventure and risk, but who also were men of genius. One such noted pioneer was Colonel James Drax. It was indeed fortunate for the

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2Scott, "Description," n.p. "The sugar cane was brought by one Peeter Brewer [sic] of North Holland from Brazil, anno 1637, but came to no considerable perfection till the year 1645."

3Ligon, A True and Exact History, p. 85.

4Scott, "Description." "[Drax] brought Colonel Holdips essay to so great perfection that many more were encour-
island that the English Civil Wars spawned quite a few additional entrepreneurs of the type of Colonel Modyford and Colonel Walrond, who came to Barbados because of dissatisfaction at home in England with the rule of Oliver Cromwell. They converted their estates in England into money and with men and supplies came to the New World. Already men of, at least, modest means, the wealth that would accrue to them in Barbados would bring them to undreamed-of heights of affluence. A claim, frequently asserted, is that wealth begets wealth which in turn begets power. The application of such wealth and its concomitant, power, best describes the emergence of the planter and the unfolding of events on the Barbadian scene between 1650-1690.

Without a doubt sugar is a rich man's crop; from the planting of the cane to the finished product it has necessitated a large capital outlay. Setting up a factory has always been costly and keeping it running at full capacity has entailed cultivation of large plantations and the employment of a large labor force. But, land in the seventeenth century was at a premium on the island. Tobacco farmers were bought out by sugar "enthusiasts," and other small proprietors were squeezed off the land by a competition so stifling

aged to undertake the making of sugar which hath proved of extraordinary advantage to the English nation." See Pinkerton, A General Collection, XII, 293. Drax was reported to have acquired an estate of seven or eight thousand pounds per annum and had married Carlisle's daughter. The grandees had fixed their principal settlement in the southwest part of the island and had named the bay, Carlisle.
that eking out a living became an impossibility. Such an operation, which proved so vastly profitable for those in the controlling segment of the population, had serious and adverse effects on the rest of the islanders. Emigration away from Barbados elsewhere was one of the adverse effects. The exodus to Jamaica and the newly settled Carolinas was a drainage that Barbados could ill afford. But, just as harmful and perhaps even more so, was the effect that such widespread departure had on the composition of the labor force. The great demand on sugar plantations was for an ample supply of manual laborers. The discovery that Negro slaves were splendidly suited for plantation work stimulated an African trade which flourished almost for the next two hundred years. The argument for this large scale utilization of the Black was that the slaves, being better acclimated, were more efficient than their European counter-parts. What validity there might have been in such rationalization was tempered by

5See Ligon's observations on the necessity of large plantations in A True and Exact History, p. 86. "And I believe, when the small Plantations in poor mens hands of ten, twenty, or thirty acres, which are too small to lay to that work, be bought up by great men, and put together, into Plantations of five, six or seven hundred acres, that two thirds of the Island will be fit for Plantations of Sugar, which will make it one of the richest Spots of earth under the Sun." See Richard Dunn, Sugar and Slaves: The Rise of the Planter Class in the English West Indies, 1624-1713 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1972), p. 8. Dunn claims that the story that by 1680 the big planters on Barbados bought up all the land is a myth. Dunn argues that the mean size of a farm on the island was twenty-nine acres in 1680 and the median was ten acres. Dunn attributed this misconception regarding land to Scott's assertion that in the years 1645-1666, the landholders declined from 11,200 to 745.
the sober truth that slave-laborers were a great deal cheaper, and anything cheaper in an economic undertaking helped to decrease the overhead and increase the profit. In the planters' view, it was just good economic sense to use slaves.

Sugar culture was relatively new to Barbados but the planter class was not. Sturdy pioneers in the steady development of the island, the planters, by conversion to sugar planting, were suddenly cast into the role of "czars" and this product secured for them a notoriety that only wealth could bring. These "czars" were not English "rubidg," but men from the most gentry families of England. The common reflection about plantations, that the planters were men of mean origin, did not apply in Barbados. Even if such a statement were true, it should not have lessened the reputation of the inhabitants. Large estates such as those which the "Draxes, the Guys, the Walters and the Hallets" enjoyed were "proof of their industry." Their success should have proved "an additional incentive for other merchants in England to move West." 7

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6 John Oldmixon, The British Empire in America (2 vols.; London: Printed for John Nicholson, 1708), II, 124-25. Such quality is, according to the author, peculiar to Barbados. The families cited are "the Walronds, the Fortescues, the Collitons, the Thornhills, the Farmers, the Pickerings, the Littletons, the Codringtons, the Willoughbies, the Chesters, the Kendals, the Dimochs, the Hawleys, the Stedes, the Prideauxs, the Alleynes, the Quintines, the Bromleys, and others...."

7 Ibid., II, 111. Oldmixon noted that "...Wealth and Pleasure, which are generally Strangers dwell there together; and an industrious prudent man may grow rich with as much
Such industry, but more especially loyalty to Charles II, brought a deserved reward. At the time of the Restoration, His Majesty conferred the dignity of knighthood on thirteen gentlemen, "more than had ever been knighted in all the English Plantations in America." The honor of baronet or knight was conferred on February 18, 1661, to John Colleton, James Modyford, James Drax, Robert Davers, Robert Hackett, John Yeamans, Timothy Thornhill, John Witham, Robert LeGard, John Worsum, John Rawdon, Edwin Stede, and Willoughby Chamberlayne. In 1673, five of these men--Davers, Hackett, Thornhill, LeGard, and Worsum--were counted among those listed as the most eminent planters of the island. The Drax and Colleton families were represented on the list, and they also

delight, as a Prodigal grows poor in England." See also John Davies, The History of the Caribby Islands (London: Printed for J.M., 1666), p. 198. Davies stated that one of the reasons planters could enjoy the finer things of life was that they were able to hire overseers for their servants and slaves. Their enjoyments chiefly were frequent visits to neighbors, hunting and fishing, and "other commendable exercises; nay they endeavor to outvye one the other in their entertainments wherein they are magnificent...."


9 John Poyer, The History of Barbados From the First Discovery of the Island in the Year 1605 Till the Accession of Lord Seaforth, 1801 (London: Printed for J. Mawmann, 1808), p. 76. Oldmixon and Davis identify Rawdon as Bawdon on their lists. The name does not show up at all on a list of the most eminent planters of Barbados in 1673. See also Schomburgk, A History of Barbados, p. 286. Schomburgk saw this "gracious measure" as a cover-up for the "harsh proceedings which the government contemplated against the planters."
held positions on the Barbadian Council. A William Yeamans and a James Modyford also were included in the list as prominent planters. Another, Edwin Stede, who had come to Barbados as a royal patent officer, became a zealous agent of the Royal African Company, and later became Deputy Governor of the island.

Power, affluence, and title went hand-in-hand. The wealth of Barbados was estimated in 1666 to have been seventeen times what it was in 1643, and according to one estimate it was forty times as rich. Thus, although statistics over a period of time prove a variable, the reality of a phenomenal growth was not. A contemporary in 1643 had noted that the buildings were poorly constructed and scantily furnished, but by 1666 a transformation had taken place. The houses were like "castles" around which were clustered the sugar houses and Negro huts. Plate, jewels and household furnishings were estimated to be worth £500,000.


11 George Beer, The Old Colonial System, 1660-1754; Part I, Vol. II, The Establishment of the System, 1660-1688 (2 vols.; New York: The Macmillan Company, 1912), p. 9, n.2. See Ligon, A True and Exact History, p. 86. Ligon noted that Major Hilliard's plantation of five hundred acres could have been purchased for £400 sterling before sugar became the main crop. His friend, Colonel Modyford, had to pay seven thousand pounds sterling for only half of the Plantation with half of the stock.
A family of higher social rank, the Willoughbys, long played a prominent role in West Indian affairs. Francis, Lord Willoughby, a defeated Cavalier, had purchased half of the Carlisle proprietorship and had founded a plantation in Antigua, and he also founded a famous colony in Surinam. It was said also that Lord Willoughby had an annual income of £4,000 from his English estates. His colonial enterprises were said to have eventually cost him £50,000. Of more modest means was James Drax, who had come to the island with £300 to invest, and with sheer entrepreneuring skill had amassed a fortune. He had boasted that he would not retire to England until he had accumulated a hundred thousand pounds sterling. Men such as these Ligon classified as being "of percing sights and profound judgments, as any I have known in that way of management." Ligon then concluded that if such estates could be established, why could they not "by careful keeping, and orderly and moderate Expending, be preserv'd, in their posterities, to the tenth Generation....?"

Ligon was hopeful, but Modyford in time found conditions too limiting and he moved along with other Barbadians of similar outlook and ambition to the island of Jamaica. There he became governor, a post which he had held for a time in Barbados.

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12 Richard Pares, "Merchants and Planters," Economic History Review, Supplement #4 (1960), p. 4. Willoughby subsequently lost his proprietorship to the King but in turn was made governor and captain general.

Modyford's emigration caused much chagrin to the Barbadian planters, who feared great competition in the sugar market.\footnote{Cal. S. P.: Col., Vol. II (1661-1668), pp. 166-67.} The decision to emigrate, however, was not a hasty one. Already in 1652 Colonel Modyford had observed that Barbados could not long last at the peak of trade for "her wood was almost already spent." At the most Barbadians could expect only three more good years. The solution, in Modyford's view, was to find a place "where this great people might find sustenance and employment."\footnote{Parry and Sherlock, A Short History, p. 67.} The settlement of Jamaica began in earnest in 1664 and the emigrants from Barbados were numerous. The prosperity of Jamaican estates was evident; some were reputed in size to be 5,000 acres, while very few were under 150.\footnote{Ibid., p. 69. See also Dunn, Sugar and Slaves, p. 82. Modyford's estate at Sixteen Mile Run was considered the "grandest" in the Caribbean. It was manned by 600 slaves and servants. The description was given by an Edward Atcherlay in a letter to William Helyer, March 2, 1676/7. (Helyer MSS).} Other Barbadians searching for other areas to exploit promoted the development of Carolina; in March of
1663 a group of proprietors had secured a charter for this purpose from the King. The report then circulated that "forty-six experienced planters from Barbados were contem­plating a move to Carolina...."17

Consistently one of the persistent complaints of Barbadians, both those on the island and those in London, was that of the continuous exodus from the island. There was little consolation in the figures for they were always high. Though the records are incomplete, it has been estimated that between the years 1643-1667, 12,000 people emigrated from Barbados.18 Between 1668-1671 alone, some 4,000 Barbadians sought livelihood elsewhere. For the single year 1679, another 600 were recorded.19 John Scott, a reliable observer, stated that in 1645 there were 11,200 proprietors and that that number had fallen to 745 in 1667.20 In the meantime the


19Levy, "Early Puritanism," p. 290. Tickets for emigration were made compulsory. The figures of Levy nearly match those listed in John Hotten, The Original Lists of Persons of Quality: Emigrants; Religious Exiles; Political Rebels; Serving Men Sold for a Term of Years; Apprentices; Children Stolen; Maidens Pressed; and Others Who Went from Great Britain to the American Plantations, 1600-1700 (London: Chatto and Windus, 1874), pp. 345-418.

20For a criticism of these figures see Williamson,
slave population had risen to 82,023.21 Furthermore, Scott concluded that those "transported from England for the last 26 years did little more than equal the mortalities and men born upon the place." It was apparent that as sugar-planting monopolized life in Barbados, the diminution of Whites on the island proceeded in an inverse ratio to the influx of the Blacks. A glaring deficiency in this situation was the weakening of the defense posture as there were fewer men to bear arms.

In 1670 the "London planters" were appalled at the report that 2,000 people had left the island in the preceding year and that the pace had not slackened. They conveyed their concern to Christopher Codrington, then Deputy Governor, and to the Council and Assembly of Barbados. Along with this concern came suggestions. They recommended that a law ought to be passed that no landholders in Barbados could purchase more land, thereby maintaining the number of freeholders. Secondly, they proposed that Negroes and servants should be clothed with material manufactured in Barbados instead of that imported from France and Germany, since such a measure would provide employment for the poor. Lastly, they urged that no Negroes

The Caribbee Islands, pp. 157-58. Williamson concluded that there would have had to be a vast number of little plots of land.

21Scott's figure is much higher than Harlow's. See Harlow, A History of Barbados, Appendix B, pp. 338-40. Harlow lists the Black population as 40,000 in 1668. Only in 1835 do the Blacks come near to the figure listed by Scott.
should be employed in a trade except that of artificer to the
masters of sugar work on their own plantations. Such pleas
evidently fell on deaf ears as Governor Atkins in 1680 was
still deploring that "...since people have found out the con-
venience and cheapness of slave labour they no longer keep
white men, who formally did all the work on the Plantations." What Atkins did not say was that Barbados had be-
come odious to the working class; and an indentured servant,
once freed by the completion of his term, emigrated. Such a
mass exodus cannot be solely attributed to maltreatment, al-
though Ligon's observation had been that the servants were
treated with greater severity than the slaves. The reason
for this was that the servants had contracted for just five
years while the slaves and their posterity represented a
lifetime investment. Therefore, while the onus of slavery
was that it was perpetual, the lot of the servant, whose free-
dom was in the offing, was generally worse. Hard labor, ill
lodging and a meager diet made life miserable. More often


than not, the usage depended on the master, "whether merciful, or cruel."\textsuperscript{24}

While servants emigrated from Barbados upon achieving freed status, replacements for them became fewer as well as generally less desirable. Although the treatment which they experienced might have been one factor, land, or the lack of it, was undoubtedly a bigger factor.\textsuperscript{25} The general consensus was that in Barbados by 1647 there was no more land available, at least land for the small holder (3-5 acres). Land had been the chief enticement motivating indentured servants to come to the Western hemisphere. For it a man was willing to endure many hardships, physical and mental, not least of which were the arbitrary whims of a master. However, with the advent of sugar the complexion of the situation drastically changed. The voluntary indentured labor force dried up; compulsion in some form thereafter was to be used; and the new class of servants would be poor, despised and miserable white laborers, who reached Barbados via sundry

\textsuperscript{24}Ligon, A True and Exact History, p. 43. Clarke, A True and Faithful Account, p. 68. The Negroes derided the Irish survivors of Drogheda as the "white slaves."

\textsuperscript{25}Cal. S. P.: Col., Vol. VI (1681-1685), p. 25. There did seem to be a real problem of treatment. Sir Richard Dutton received instructions to urge the Barbadian legislature to correct the inhumane treatment of servants by legal measures. The Act was for "restraining masters and overseers from cruelty to their Christian servants." Harlow, in A History of Barbados, p. 301, notes that there was some attempt to reattract the white element by means of better conditions. One condition was the reduction of the time of service (from 5 to 7 years to 3 to 4 years). This was done because of the "slave menace."
methods. The penal system was an excellent instrument with which to identify undesirables. Prisons in this way were relieved of a burdensome population; the life of a vagrant became risky and loitering at bar stools became foolish. Even unsuspecting, innocent souls could be "barbadoed" (shang-haied). Soldiers who were so unfortunate as to be on the losing side in a conflict found transportation to Barbados a common sentence. A Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Hunt, immediately upon the Restoration, sued the government for money to transport home thirty of his soldiers "now in slavery in Barbadoes whither they were sent by the late powers." No one, however, made a more damning commentary on the composition of the white labor class in Barbados than the Committee of the Council for Foreign Plantations. Writing in 1664, they described the class as "...felons condemned to death, sturdy beggars, gypsies and other incorrigible rogues, poor, idel and debauched persons." Elsewhere it was affirmed that such people could settle a plantation and "...do more good at Barbados than in the King's ships."  

26 The term "barbadoed" was in common usage in South-eastern England by 1700. See the Oxford English Dictionary sub. Barbados.  


While England purged herself of the lower dregs of society, she hosted the "grandees" of Barbados. These grandees were an alliance of gentlemen planters and merchants residing in London who were the capable advocates of the rich man's point of view. Watchdogs and effective lobbyists that they were, they wished at the time of the Restoration to maintain the social and commercial status quo in the West Indies. Numbered among these absentee planters were such powerful figures as Sir Peter Colleton, Sir Paul Painter, Henry Drax, Philip Bell, Constant Sylvester, and Ferdinando Gorges, and they made it their immediate task in 1660 to pressure Charles II to retain Thomas Modyford as Governor of Barbados. Modyford, who had received his commission from Parliament on April 24, 1660, was the first of the planters ever to obtain the office of governor. Modyford felt highly honored, and told the Barbados Assembly that he as the first "planter Governor" hoped that he would "not be the last, but that by clemency of our Glorious King he will continue the Dignity among ourselves and every of them that stand before me this day, may according to their merits have a turne and share at the Helme." Whether his obtaining this position

Thomas Middleton to [Sam Pepys]. March 25, 1666, p. 317.

30 Harlow, A History of Barbados, p. 203, n.2.

could be interpreted as a great effort on the part of the colony to win complete self-government is questionable. 32 However, this interpretation could never be proven by subsequent events as the grandees failed to persuade the Crown. What they had hoped for was a cancellation of the Carlisle proprietorship which in turn would mean a rejection of Lord Willoughby's claim. The Crown's solution, however, was to abolish the proprietorship. Once accomplished, the King then appointed Willoughby his Governor.

When that peer arrived in Barbados in August of 1663, he immediately reasserted the pleas of the Barbadian Assembly that the island should enjoy custom-free goods exported to the colony. He wrote in November of 1663 that unless there was relief from the Navigation Acts the island would be ruined.

I can give yor matye an accompt of some thousands yt are gone off from this island of Barbados and ye rest of ye Leeward Islands to ye neighboring Collonyes of the ffrench and Dutch where there is allowed ffreedome of trade with all nations. 33

If the Navigation Acts which restricted the sugar planters to English ships, merchants and markets were rescinded, the Barbadians were hopeful that they could recruit the Scots, who by these Acts were considered aliens and thereby off-limits


33 Harlow, A History of Barbados, p. 171. The information is taken from C.O. 1/17, #89.
to any type of trade. It is curious that the Barbadians thought that they could attract Scots when they were no longer able to lure fellow Englishmen. The Scots, being a hardy, industrious and Christian people, were not likely to accept a contract which held so little promise. Free land, as we have noted previously, was non-existent. Yet Willoughby persisted in telling the king that two things were necessary for the plantations: first, free trade with Scotland; second, free trade with Guinea. Such pleas from the Governor were reinforced by the representatives of Barbados, the merchants and the planters, who complained that lack of trade had brought the people into "inconceivable poverty." The principle of free trade had many advocates, one of whom, Thomas Modyford, attributed the phenomenal rise of Barbados to "perfection" to free trade, which allowed the unrestricted influx of Black and White, regardless whether products were imported in an alien vessel or not. Modyford was convinced that persons of whatever nation ought to be allowed to settle and to be naturalized, for he espoused the theory that "Mankind is the principal, gold the accessory, increase the first considerably and the other must follow."
As annoying as these restrictions on trade were to the Barbadians, perhaps a more galling situation developed because of the 4 1/2 per cent measure on all exports. This permanent grant to the King was passed by the Assembly of Barbados on September 12, 1663, after Willoughby had persuaded the planters that it was for the good of all. In return for this grant the King had promised to confirm all lands as freeholds and to abolish all proprietary dues, and the money received from the duty was to be used for the administration and upkeep of the island. The King's flagrant misuse of the fund irked Barbadians no end, evoking constant complaint which became intensified in time of war.36 But war was not the only concern. When free trade with Scotland appeared out of the question, the Barbadian legislature told the Gentlemen Planters that they should obtain permission for six ships to engage in trade for the express purpose of securing white servants, "the want of which is become an apparent hazard of the place." Danger from foreign attack, though real, seemed to cause less worry than the more present threat presented a paper to the committee of Council for Trade and Plantations. He lamented the fact that so many Scots were going into foreign service when His Majesty could profit much more by inducing them to go to the plantations. See also Cal. S. P.: Col., Vol. IV (1675-1676). Minutes of the Assembly of Barbados, pp. 288-89. The Barbadian Assembly pleaded repeatedly for free trade to Scotland and for the removal of export duties imposed by the Parliament in 1673, which was ruining trade with New England.

36Since the islanders rightfully felt that at least some of the 4 1/2 per cent fund should have been used for defense, they begrudgingly granted funds for defense.
of a slave insurrection. 37

Moreover, when in 1670, it became apparent that the British government was about to levy a heavier import duty on colonial sugars, the Gentlemen Planters, as lobbyists, requested that the Barbadians establish a fund to defend their interests. Such moneys were needed to pay a representative to attend Council meetings on their behalf, as well as to fund the committee's public relations program. The committee, a unique institution, took the place of the ordinary colonial agent; perhaps its most important official was Edward Thornburgh, also its legal advisor, who acted as secretary. The

37 Cal. S. P.: Col., Vol. V (1677-1680). Journal of the Assembly of Barbados, p. 352. See also Groans of the Plantations (Sloan MS #3984), Journal of the Barbados Museum and Historical Society, 16 (1948-1949), 31. "An Address of the Deputy Governor (Stede), Council and Assembly of the Island of Barbados to His Majesty the King [1685]." Having complained about the adverse effects of additional taxes on sugar which were bringing them to poverty, they related how merchants have had to dismiss their hired help and should this go on many mischiefs as we most Humbly conceive must thense ensue, for that they were a spritely and laborious people, helpt on much business of the place, and made us a great part of your Majestye militia in this your island, they were a defense against our servants, as both united, were a curb to our negroes and this in high measure needful the most of our servants being but the clearings of your Maties jayles in your European dominions; as imploy­ment shall faile for those people in this your Collony they will be enforced to goe home, and when they are gone we shall have but a small force remaining, and tho how few soever we may become thereby we shall never be troubled with feares of the sword and the Musket from abroad—being your most loyall subjects and safe in your Majestyes Protection, yet considering the bloody temper of our slaves we cannot but have dreadful apprehensions of the clubb and the knife when deserted by those people.
committee, also known as the "Committee for the Publique Concern of Barbados," conducted meetings and corresponded with the colonial Assembly, which funded its every operation including in 1671 "about £100 for entertaining members of Parliament." 38

Finally, a discussion of the planter society would be incomplete without a brief look at their otherworldly concerns, assuming that TRADE was not their only God. It was customary in the seventeenth century that every colonizing expedition should have at least one minister. And establishing a claim for the King also meant establishing the Church. Such a sentiment is evident in the Earl of Carlisle's patent which stated "...And the said Earle purposing to make and setle a plantacon and colonie in the said Island of Barbados for the establishing of Christian religion according to the profession of the Church of England...." 39 However dedicated to religion the first planters might have been, the cultural level of a Mother country is never a pronounced characteristic of a pioneer society. Nicholas Leverton of Exeter College, Oxford, soon made that discovery. He had come to Barbados as its first chaplain and had become utterly bewildered by the continuous quarreling, drinking and general profligacy of the


39 Williamson, The Caribbee Islands, p. 218. (Chancery Proceedings, Ch. I, C 60/#38 (i)).
inhabitants. 40 Despairing of every ministering to such an unruly flock, he left his post. It took a reform-minded Governor, Sir William Tufton, to bring some order out of chaos. In 1629 Tufton had the island divided into six parishes: Christ Church, St. Michael, St. James, St. Thomas, St. Peter, and St. Lucy; and churches were built and vestries established. The vestries had the power to appoint and dismiss the clergy and arrange for stipends. 41 The jurisdiction of these vestries, however, was to become an irritant to numerous ministers. Leverton's successor, Thomas Lane, 42 was one such complainer. In a letter to Archbishop Laud, Lane protested that the pay was small, while subjection to the lay vestry was intolerable. The members of the vestry were elected annually by the freeholders of each parish, and

40 Ibid., p. 93, n.2. A Thomas Verney wrote from Barbados (February 10, 1639) that "drunkenness is so rife that people are commonly to be seen lying senseless on the roads and are often maimed or even killed by land crabs." See also Schomburgk, A History of Barbados, p. 92.

41 [Duke], Memoirs, p. 13. See James Anderson, The History of the Church of England in the Colonies and Foreign Dependencies of the British Empire (3 vols.; London: Francis and John Rivington, 1845), II, 203. In 1634 instructions were issued that the dues of the Governor and clergy should be secured.

42 Thomas Lane may be the same pious clergyman Kentlane, who was mentioned in [Duke], Memoirs, p. 13, as succeeding where Leverton had failed, making his voice heard and his wishes adhered to. See Williamson, The Caribbee Islands, p. 90. Williamson attributed the divergence in names to faulty transcription of difficult manuscripts. Lane has been identified as the first Minister of St. Michael's in J. E. Reece and C. G. Clark-Hunt, Barbados Diocesan History (London: The West India Committee, 1925), p. 15. See Lane's letter in ibid., pp. 15-17.
as trustees the vestrymen were empowered to levy rates for the poor, and to look after the upkeep of the highways and the maintenance of the minister and to have regard for the general parish social needs. But, as the complexity of the Barbadian social scene grew, so also did the rates. In fact the rates in some cases exhausted estates which were then seized as payment. This situation had become so onerous that in 1656 a law was passed that no levy might be imposed without first having been confirmed by the Governor and the Council. The enactment of such a law was, at least, a partial reflection of some overzealous parish activity if not outright unscrupulous vestries.

During the Civil War men of various shades of religious non-conformity had ministered to the islanders, and in fact, at the time of the Restoration, the parishes were still ministered to by dissenting clergy. Apparently the Governor and Council wielded much power as far as providing limitations and regulations. When, in 1646, Parliament sent over some envoys with a number of commissions, one of which was a grant of liberty of conscience to all inhabitants in matters

43 Levy, "Early Puritanism," pp. 293-97. A Reverend James Parker left his Portsmouth parish in 1646 and spent a number of years on the island preaching successfully. At a later date, 1662, the Reverend Solomon Stoddard left Harvard College for a two-year stint in Barbados. Stoddard was the grandfather of Jonathan Edwards. At the time of the Restoration an attempt was made to oust dissenting ministers. A Mr. Grey survived the attack and was still ministering some twenty years later. Grey was loyally supported by his vestry, who so respected his conscientiousness that slight variations of belief mattered not.
of religion, the Governor and Council let it be known that such liberty had always been allowed in Barbados. They insisted that the only men, cleric or lay, who had ever suffered by "Deprivation, Banishment or Imprisonment," were those guilty of "preaching Blasphemies or Heresies, or for maintaining or promulgating known Errors in the Fundamentals of Faith." However, it was necessary because liberty could be a cloak for license "to deny all ordinances, including the observance of the Lord's Day," especially the ordinance that all inhabitants should be required to be present at public preaching. The presence alone was sufficient. Thus the Barbadians had established their own system of toleration.44

One of the foremost leaders in upholding Church orthodoxy was Philip Bell, Governor from 1642 to 1650, who was esteemed for his zeal and integrity. It was Bell who further divided the island into eleven parishes, adding five to the original six. These new parishes were St. George, St. Philip, St. John, St. Andrew and St. Joseph. It was during Bell's administration that some important Acts relating to public worship were passed by the legislature. Pure doctrine was to be preached, and spiritual ministration was to be executed according to the discipline of the Church of England. Attending one's parish church was compulsory, while non-attendance

44Harlow, A History of Barbados, p. 31. Harlow's sources are Lords' Journal, IX, p. 51b and Hutchinson Papers i, p. 175. The Rev. James Parker, Minister of Barbados, to Governor Winthrop of Massachusetts.
was to be punished. The thrust of the Acts was to be conformity buttressed by penalization. No amount of vestries, rulers, or laws, however, could achieve success. Fighting the spiritual with the material has always been a hopeless cause. Nevertheless, the Acts did reveal the concern, if not the earnestness, on the part of some Barbadians for the welfare of the Church and its people.45

In 1661 the General Assembly of Barbados passed an Act "for the Encouragement of all faithful Ministers in the Pastoral Charge within this Island; as also for appointing and regulating of a convenient Maintenance for them for the future."46 Because "spiritual ministrations transcend all low and earthly Distributions, and those that labor in the Word and Doctrine are worthy of double Honour," ministers were to be paid their stipends or the debtors would have to answer for it. The Act also provided for a tithe, a levy of one pound of sugar per acre of every freeholder.47 Furthermore, because sugar had fallen in value the vestries of each parish were empowered to make such additional levies as were deemed necessary to enable clerics to exercise diligently their pastoral charge, and that "due respects be shown to the

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45Anderson, The History of the Church of England, II, 204-06. See infra, Appendix I.


47This was altered to £150 per annum of current money in lieu of one pound of sugar per acre.
merits of each." Ministers, on their part, were commanded to keep "true and perfect Registers of Christenings, Marriages, and Burials." Such encouragement of ministers apparently was not totally successful since in 1680 only five clergymen remained on the island.48

At this time when the Assembly was attempting to reassure the ministers, the vestry of St. Michael's reached an agreement with a Captain Robert Gullimore to build a parish church. The contract required a payment of 250,000 pounds of sugar (£1,250) in three installments. Francis Lord Willoughby, in 1663, presented a William Frith to the vestry, to officiate as minister. By such a presentation, the Governor was acting in a kind of lay sense (like the medieval patron) as the Ordinary. Frith's fifteen-year pastorate subsequently came to an abrupt end in 1678 when the vestry had him ousted.49

When John Scott visited Barbados around 1668, he sensed a spirit of tolerance in reporting the facts of religious life: that the island was divided into eleven parishes; that each parish had a "convenient" church and a Minister who was "well provided for (though not by tithes);"


49 Harlow, A History of Barbados, pp. 331-35. Harlow has excerpts from the Minutes of St. Michael's Parish, Barbados (1658-1678). The original minute book of St. Michael's parish has been destroyed by fire. Fortunately, Mr. Darnell Davis had carefully copied out numerous entries. (Davis Collection, Box 4, Royal Colonial Institute, London).
that discipline apparently was like that of the Church of England. Scott observed that "all persuasions...do freely exercise the liberty of their consciences, only in their respective parishes do they contribute to the maintenance of the legal ministers." At about the same time as Scott's visit, however, Governor Willoughby was reporting back to the Lords of Council that the island had eleven parishes with ministers "whose lives for the generality run counter to their doctrine...."

If such laxity were the case with the ministers, it is difficult to fault a congregation. Undoubtedly spirituality suffered because of the difficulty of leadership, discipline and organization. The island was small and being the harbor of so many dissidents was bound to shake TRUTH and provoke wrangling. A people caught up in a booming business are apt to become distracted, mercenary, and self-centered. But, it would be wrong to categorize the planters, as a class, as being totally indifferent to Christ's word.

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50 Scott, "Description."

CHAPTER III

THE AFRICAN NEGRO—VICTIM OF AN INSATIABLE DEMAND

Slavery as an institution was not an innovation of the New World, nor indeed a relatively new business in the old. Slavery, in fact, was not as yet delineated by color lines nor colored by racial attitudes. White traders had found Africans engaged in quite a lucrative slave traffic of their own. It was the New World, however, which gave an added dimension to slavery and which accelerated the traffic.

It was a Christian, a Spanish missionary to be exact, the Dominican Bartolomé de las Casas, who was said to have opened the New World to the slave trade in 1517. A defender of the Indians, he attempted to encourage immigration by advocating a policy by which Spaniards were permitted to import twelve Negroes each. England, being less advanced than Spain in colonization, was not at first concerned. The first Englishman who did concern himself with the slave traffic was John Hawkins, who in 1562 sailed to Sierra Leone. By devious methods, including that of the sword, Hawkins managed to secure 300 Negroes. His hapless victims were then taken to Hispaniola, where they were exchanged for hides, ginger, sugar and pearls.

However, between Hawkins' adventures and the later
advent of the Company of Adventurers of London, which traded in parts of Africa, a number of years had elapsed. James I granted a charter to the Company in 1618, which secured for it control over trade on the West Coast of Africa. A fort was built at Cormantin on the Gold Coast and another on the River Gambia on the North Coast. The Adventurers were little interested in slaves but chiefly sought a prosperous trade in ivory and gold. The feverish search for gold mines also distracted the English from the more promising trade in persons.

It was the Dutch merchants with their business-like perception, boundless energy and unflagging aggressiveness who set the pace of trade. By seizing opportunities, such as taking over Portuguese forts and settlements, they soon forced their way to prominence. With the collapse of St. George del Mina in 1637, the Dutch were eventually able to drive the Portuguese out of their strongholds on the Gold Coast. This was formalized in the Treaty of Truce and Navigation (1641), when the Crown of Portugal yielded all other places to the Dutch States. (However, the Portuguese did regain Angola, Benguela, São Tomé and Principe in 1648-49.) The conqueror, through the Dutch West India Company, exercised unmatched power, claiming for themselves the sole right to trade and to possess property both in and to all lands and countries in Africa. Hence, a Dutch-English friction was inevitable. The English, poor competitors at first, had acquiesced for many years in allowing Dutch traders to furnish
the English colonies with slaves. Barbados was one of the English colonies which had benefited very much from the Dutch trade, but for that matter all the West Indian islands had similarly benefited. In fact, so great was this Dutch impact that the claim has been made that the "happiness" of the islands and the perfection at which they had arrived, "exceeding all the nations in the world," was due to that particular nation, the Dutch. They, being "eternal prowlers about and searchers for moderate gain by trade," brought to the islanders and to the Portuguese in Brazil their black slaves and all the necessities for planting. At the same time they purchased the sugar.¹

Once the Dutch had proved their ability to supply slaves at reasonable costs, it became impossible to eject them or other interlopers from the English trade. Because the need for slaves was so great, a planter never quibbled over the question of illegality of purchase. It mattered not whether the deal was closed with an interloper, a national or a foreigner. Good business was the overriding factor, and seventeenth-century businessmen were certainly not deterred by "national interests." The claim has been made that "the

¹Dalby Thomas, "An Historical Account of the Rise and Growth of the West India Colonies; and the Great Advantage They Are to England, In Respect to Trade," The Harleian Miscellany, II (1809), 378. The magazine bears the date 1809, but the article was first published in London in 1690. For a history of the Trading companies see "The Case of the Royal African Company of England" in Tracts of Trade (London: 1730), pp. 4-27.
Negro slaves meant as much to the West Indian colonies as steam engines and coal to a modern factory.\textsuperscript{2} Such a dire need came about when both free labor and bonded white labor became "dear" in abundance and cost. It then became economical to turn to Africa for slaves.\textsuperscript{3} Yet securing these slaves and transporting them in good condition became an increasingly difficult task.\textsuperscript{4}

To meet the challenge and the surge in trade, a Company was formed in 1660, the Company of the Royal Adventurers into Africa, which proved to be short-lived: by 1663 reorganization and more vigorous capitalization were needed. A new

\textsuperscript{2}Eric Williams, "The Golden Age of the Slave System in Britain," \textit{Journal of Negro History}, XXV (January, 1940), 61.

\textsuperscript{3}George Zook, "The Company of Royal Adventurers Trading into Africa," \textit{Journal of Negro History}, IV (April, 1919), 206-07. Zook claimed, however, that in spite of lowliness of character and limited duration of service the planters preferred White servants to any others. See also Richard Sheridan, "Africa and the Carribean in the Atlantic Slave Trade," \textit{American Historical Review}, LXXVII (February, 1972), 20-21. Sheridan reiterated the fact that both Richard Ligon and Richard Blome testified to the fact that Barbadian planters tried to buy male and female slaves in equal numbers. Sheridan noted that the Royal Adventurers between 1663 and 1667 imported 2,269 slaves into Barbados and of these, 46 per cent were men, 45 per cent were women, 6 per cent boys, and 3 per cent girls. Later there was a decline in the ratio. The Royal African Company had delivered approximately 100,000 Negroes to the colonies between 1672 and 1713. A sampling of 60,000 of these slaves revealed that 51 per cent were men, 35 per cent women, 9 per cent boys, and 5 per cent girls.

\textsuperscript{4}Zook, "Company of Royal Adventurers," p. 207. In the author's view, the importation of slaves prior to the Restoration of Charles II was meagre and what traffic there was chiefly belonged to the Dutch West India Company by default.
charter was then issued to the Company of Royal Adventurers of England Trading into Africa. The monopolistic features of this charter proved to be a source of great irritation to the planters, because it secured for the Company "the whole, entire, and only trade, for the buying and selling, bartering and exchanging of for or with any Negroes, slaves, goods, wares and merchandize" either to be sold or bought within any cities on the west coast of Africa.\(^5\)

The Company of Royal Adventurers aimed to please. They wrote to Francis Lord Willoughby that, cognizant of the great need of English Plantations for a "competent and a constant supply of Negro-servants," they were prepared to furnish the plantations with at least 3,000 Negroes and thereafter with sufficient numbers to replenish any losses. All was to be done at a moderate price.\(^6\) The Company reported to the King during the following year that under the management of the Duke of York they were able to supply the African natives with £160,000 in cargoes while successfully furnishing the Plantations with "Negro-servants."\(^7\)

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\(^5\)Ibid., p. 148.

\(^6\)Elizabeth Donnan, ed., Documents Illustrative of the History of Slave Trade in America (4 vols.; Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institute, 1930), I, #39, 156. The Company of Royal Adventurers to Francis Lord Willoughby, January 10, 1663. The letter was signed by Ellis Leighton, Secretary. Further reference to the volume will be cited as Donnan, ed., Documents.

\(^7\)Ibid., I, #43, 164. The Company of Royal Adventurers to the King.
Whatever success the Company might have felt it enjoyed was severely contested by planter and merchant alike. Islanders objected strenuously to the restrictions laid on trade and complained bitterly of the inadequacy of the Company in supplying the slaves. As prices rose the quality of the slaves decreased, causing Lord Willoughby to have fears for the physical and financial well-being of Barbados. The Governor quite frankly expressed his views to Charles II, warning him that the incursions of the French in the region was another grave threat to Barbados, "that fair Jewell of Your Majesty's Crown." He reminded the King that not only was Barbados heavily populated, but it yielded her sovereign the largest revenue of the overseas colonies. Willoughby observed that "free trade is ye life increase & being of all Collonyes;" without it, the West Indians would be naked and empty-bellied. The Governor concluded with an evaluation of the situation, appealing to the King's good sense.

May itt please yor Maty to give me leave to say that, whoever hee bee that hath advised yor Maty to restraine & tye upp yor Colonyes in pointe of trade, lett him be never so greate A merchant or pretender to the knowledge of affaires in these parts, I must assure yor Maty hee is more a Merchant then a good Subject, & would have your Islands but nursed upp to work for him & such men.8

Willoughby's brother, William, appealed to the King in 1668, warning Charles II that unless trade were free, poor

planters would be forced to seek a livelihood elsewhere. Later that year formal charges against the Company were brought before the House of Commons in the form of a petition; among the authors who were associated with Barbados were Sir Paul Painter, Ferdinando Gorges, Henry Batson, gentleman, and Benjamin Skult and Thomas Knights, merchants. Their purpose was to petition the King on behalf of themselves and "others concerned in his Majesties plantations in America," for relief from an overbearing Company who, by its monopolistic stranglehold on the African slave trade, had "either ill supplied, and at excessive prices, or not at all supplied" the English plantations in America. The petitioners complained that the Company sold the choicest slaves to the Spanish and the Barbadians were left with the refuse. Cast in their role as prophets of doom, they warned that if such a situation were not rectified, "...all his Majesties plantations...will speedily be brought to inevitable destruction."

The accusations leveled by the petitioners were

9 Cal. S. P.: Col., Vol. II (1661-1668). Governor William Lord Willoughby to the King, pp. 486-87. Petition of the Representatives of Barbados to the King. See also ibid., p. 495.

mirrored in the Company's answers as they disposed of the charges one by one. 11 The Company argued that never had the plantations been supplied more plentifully and more cheaply, something private traders could never do; and that further, the Company had been generous in giving credit for Negroes. That the Company was in debt to several persons because of losses was true but such losses would not have destroyed the Company's credit had "the planters and merchants of Barbados, complied with their obligations, who owe the Company 90,000£. sterling, of which they of Barbados owe 60,000£. sterling...." Furthermore, the officers of the Company found it strange that the petitioners should complain about trade with the Spanish as the plantations were being supplied with 6,000 Negroes a year, a surplus. But what was more ludicrous was the objection to trade with the Spanish per se as they, the islanders, had been and presently were lucratively engaged in such trade. The Company denied any abuse of their patent, for the Negro had been sold at £17 per head and the Barbadians were not being left with undesirable Negroes. It was conceded that because of the Dutch war, the price might have gone to £30. But then, the war was a "misfortune not a crime" of the Company. Finally, as one last barb at the petitioners, the Company let it be known that it suspected the "complainers" to have been in correspondence with the Dutch,

11Ibid., I, 345-50. The Answer of the Royal Company to the Petition of the Merchants Trading to Guiney.
since before they had ever brought the petition to the House, an item had appeared in the Harlem Gazette rejoicing at the imminent ruin of the Royal Company.

Meanwhile, the King had been made well aware of the Barbadian debt as indicated in a letter he wrote to William Lord Willoughby in which he urged the cooperation of the Governor or Deputy Governor in aiding the Company's agents. Charles cited the "hard measures" which the Company had suffered in Barbados because of the debts due to them and "the delay and fayler of Justice they have mett with in their endeavors for the recovery thereof;" and he further observed that lately the situation had worsened and a "ruine" was threatening their stock and trade, not to mention an impending scandal concerning the government. Such a situation could trigger a "totall losse of that beneficial Trade" to the King and Kingdom and "even ruine to that and other our Plantations...."¹²

No one doubted that the Company was in difficult financial straits, but it had several suggestions to make in the way of remedy. One was that if the King would complete the payment of his subscription to the stock, it was felt that others would do the same. If this would happen, the debts could be paid, and the example would inspire others to subscribe. In addition, the Company needed the King to help

them recover their debts owed by persons in Barbados. And finally, one or more vessels were needed to protect Company interests on the African coast.

Friction between planter and a proprietary Company never abated in spite of changes effected in the charters of successive companies. The planters detested the exclusiveness of each of the companies while each company found competition from interlopers of whatever nation to be unfair. An articulate mouthpiece for the former group was Edward Littleton, who emphasized that the one commodity which the planters most needed and which was of the utmost value were the Negroes. A company holding a monopoly could double or treble prices. But why should there be a monopoly, he asked?

They will tell you, that (to the common Good and Benefit of the English nation) they can deal with the People of Africa to much better advantage, by being a Company. And so they might, if they shut out other Nations. But since the Dutch, French, Danes, Swedes and others trade thither, and they can shut out none but the poor English;...And it plainly appeares, that 'tis not upon the People of Africa but upon the English Planters in America, that they make their advantage.  

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13Cal. S. P.: Dom., Vol. IX (1668-1669), p. 459. See also Donnan, ed., Documents, I, #44, 145. Consideration of a Petition of the Company of Royal Adventurers Trading into Africa. It was impossible for the Company to receive satisfaction for debts as the present Forme of Judiciary proceedings in that Island afford no Remedy,...unless some better Constitution and Execution of Justice be suddenly established in that Island, the Petitioners whole Stock will be exhausted, and buryed in the hands of the Planters, and not recoverable but at the pleasure of the Debtors;....

14Edward Littleton, The Groans of the Plantations:
Littleton considered faulty the Company's argument which asserted that the justification of its existence was the necessary maintenance of forts and garrisons. An imposition upon Negroes sold, or some such tax, would have been a "happy solution," and more importantly one "to which the Plantations would cheerfully have submitted."\(^{15}\)

Laxity in payment of debts and the everpresent vexing problem of interlopers were constant annoyances and were contributing factors to the demise of the Company. However, when its successor, the Royal African Company,\(^{16}\) was incorporated in 1672 the measures against interlopers were tightened. What promised to be an improvement quickly deteriorated into a dismal failure as few persons in the West Indies sympathized with the problems facing the company. Interception of interlopers, not to mention prevention, was an impossible task without cooperation.

The King, in an effort to prohibit illicit African trade, issued a proclamation disclaiming the rights of anyone except the

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\(^{15}\) *Ibid.*

\(^{16}\) The capitalization of the Company was £10,000 of which £35,000 was used to satisfy the claims of stockholders and creditors of the old company. The Company gave up its monopoly in 1698 and in 1731 gave up the slave trade, reverting to the old trade of ivory and gold. See John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of Negro Americans* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1967), p. 52.
Royal Company and their Successours...to send or Navigate any Ship or Ships, Vessel or Vessels, or Exercise any Trade from any of our Plantations, Dominions, or Coun­treys in America to any of the Parts or Coasts of Africa ...upon pain of Our high Displeasure, and the forfeiture and loss of...[goods].

The King warned all government officials to take effectual care. Apparently, what the King proclaimed from England had little effect in the New World. Once again, in 1675, the in­habitants of Barbados listed grievances against the Company, which had the familiar ring of scanty supply and outrageous prices. English and Scottish servants were no longer available and the Irish servants they found of "little value." Unless His Majesty granted his favor to the Barbadians, they would be brought to ruin.

Representatives of the Royal African Company were summoned before the Lords of Trade in 1676 to defend their position, where they claimed that the Company had supplied Barbados well in spite of a Dutch war (1672-1674). In its third year of operation, when the war had already ended, the Company's trade flourished. Fifteen ships were sent to the

17 Clarence Brigham, ed., British Royal Proclamations Relating to America, 1603-1783 (Worcester: American Antiquarian Society, 1911), XII, 121. A Proclamation of Charles II, November 30, 1673. For a staunch objection to just such exclusiveness see John Poyer, The History of Barbados, pp. 109-11. Poyer saw the exclusive charter as operating against Barbadian interests. In fact, he saw that the "arbitrary proceedings [seizing vessels and arresting interlopers]" brought many "opulent families...to a state of indigence...."

coast of Africa, and six of these were ordered to Barbados with 2,000 Negroes. The previous year twenty ships were sent to Africa and eight of them with 3,000 Negroes were ordered to Barbados. The Company's books indicated that the sale price was £15 per head, not the alleged £20 and £22 per head. The Barbadian planters' debt to the Company was calculated to be approximately £70,000 sterling. Why, then, did they complain? The Company's officials believed that the Barbadians were complaining in order "to prevent the Company's complaint against them." 19 A clever device, if it were true.

While charges and counter-charges were being weighed in London, Edwin Stede and Stephen Gascoigne, the Company's agents, labored in an increasingly exasperating situation in Barbados. Not only was the law being flaunted, but it was being done so by prominent men of the island. The audacity of the islanders was evidenced when James Vaughan, Bernard Schenckingh, and Arthur Middleton, merchants, brought an action against the Company's agents because of the seizure by these agents of a vessel, The Anne, and its cargo of illegally imported Negroes. Such an action of seizure was totally within the law. 20

There was no doubt that the sympathy of the islanders

19 Donnan, ed., Documents, I, #61, 215-17. Answers of the Royal African Company. One way to weaken an opponent's accusation is to have been the first to accuse.

20 Ibid., I, #63, 222. Petition of the Royal African Company.
was with the interlopers. The reports of Stede and Gascoigne to the Royal African Company were one continuous series of Barbadian infractions. In May of 1677, the agents reported the arrival of an interloping ship belonging to the Judge, Colonel William Sharpe, and also to John Worsam and Major John Hallett, and to two of his assistants, Philip Cheeke, and Roger Cowley, a Commissioner of Customs. The agents concurred that the participation of these men in illicit trade "gives great encouragement to other people to take this liberty, seeing those that sit in great places and live by the King's Commissions presume to act as they do." The suggestion was to displace such men in order to discourage "the whole fraternity of interlopers."21 The agents went on to state that ninety-eight Negroes had been brought in on the trip. As usual, however, the agents had only arrived on the scene when the act was a fait accompli. The cargo had already been hurriedly sheltered at Colonel Richard Bailey's plantation.

Governor Atkins, who had little sympathy with the African Company which, he complained, took "upon itself to be governor of Barbados," claimed that all the diligence in the world could not prevent the clandestine landing of Negroes at night. However, the Governor knew how the home government in England viewed the problem, and accordingly gave a good account

of a hearing in the Admiralty Court over which he presided. Mr. Sharpe, "who otherwise is a very honest man, very popular and ingenious," acknowledged his fault and promised not to engage in it again.\textsuperscript{22} Despite such persons and promises, repeatedly the agents detailed illicit trade. In October, 1678, it was \textit{The Golden Lyon} which put ashore sixty or seventy Negroes. Ten of these had been purchased by a Captain Toby Freere. Freere accused others including Major John Hallett, who reportedly had purchased twenty-four or twenty-five of the Blacks.\textsuperscript{23} The factors expressed concern that the Company's slaves might not sell as quickly, now that the interlopers' competition was greater. However, a decrease in sales could be attributed to another cause. For in December, the factors were describing some of the Company's slaves as "weake old and very sickly" and others as being small in stature.\textsuperscript{24}

Stede and Gascoigne sincerely felt that if some prominent people were properly penalized the popularity of illicit trade would fade. One such man they had in mind was Colonel Christopher Codrington, who was described as a great "favourer of Interlopers." The agents noted that Codrington

\textsuperscript{22}\textit{Ibid.}, footnote \#3. Mr. Robert Rich, an ex-Quaker, was also one of the prominent planters involved. See Collins, "Studies," pp. 174, 182.


had received some Negroes out of the last interloping vessel and had secured them in his dwelling house, cureing house and boyling house, useing this expression...that he would warrant and secure them ag'st the Compa's Factors or any [one] else lett them come with what Authoritie or force they could and yet this man wee are told is labouring to gett his Maji's mandamus to be made one of the Council of this Island.25

In the same report it was charged that Colonel Drax and Colonel Sharpe bought all the chief Negroes from the interloper at low rates. The agents' evaluation was that this was done to discredit the Company, since when Drax and the others went to England they would claim that they had bought much cheaper than they could of the Company.26 Even the Masters of the Company's ships could not be trusted. Often they brought more Negroes than they had accounted for to the factors. The "surplus" would be sold on the side. But getting evidence against the captain was very difficult as seamen who might testify feared for their wages.27

With the appointment of Sir Richard Dutton to the governorship of Barbados, support from official circles for the Company's factors only lessened, causing Stede and Gascoigne to ask for a man-of-war to keep trade honest. The Company received no satisfaction from the Governor, who had written

25Ibid., I, #75, 240-41.
26Ibid.
27Ibid., I, #81, 245-46. See also #82 and #83, pp. 246-50. Stede and Cascoigne had some "luck" in checking on
to Sir Leoline Jenkins, Secretary of State, in June of 1681
that he had been pressured by the Company's agents to utilize
a man-of-war to seize interlopers. However, Dutton averred
he was not empowered to do so. In the fall of that year con-
ditions had not improved and the agents charged that

unless the King support the Company and discountenance
those in places of trust who ought to support his rights,
but instead thereof not only are breakers thereof them-
selves, but encourage others, we shall never see the
Company established in full enjoyment of its grant.
Colonel Henry Drax and Mr. John Peers of the Council of
Barbados are such men, and also, as we are informed,
Colonel Christopher Codrington, Lieutenant-Colonel John
Codrington, and Mr. Samuel Husbands; it would be well if
the King displaced them from the honour and trust which
they so much abuse....

That men of rank should be deprived of an office of
trust for engaging in illicit slave traffic is of itself quite
a commentary on the seventeenth century. It was not the traf-
fic itself which was condemned but rather what was condemned
was the circumvention of the proper channels. Slavery existed
because it was an economic institution and the over-riding
consideration when discussing slavery in this period is an
economic one. Economic penetration and permeation by the in-

the vessel The Pink Marigold. They were suspicious that the
ship's captain and a Company factor on board were concealing
slaves. Upon going back the following day, they discovered
that instead of the one hundred and eighteen reported on
board, there were one hundred and eighty slaves. Furthermore,
they stated that the mortality of the Negroes had been great.
The reason they gave for the high rate was the fact that the
"Ship being crowded and pestered with the super-numerary Ne-
groes...." The agents avowed that "...wee never saw soe
stinking foule and nasty Ship in our Lives."

stitution of slavery was complete. In the hustle and bustle of trading negotiations the chief concern was with the questions of profit and loss, supply and demand, legality and illegality, while little concern was shown for the commodity itself, the Negro. Brutality was expressed in terms of discipline, the physical attributes in terms of marketability, mortality in terms of loss, while purchase or sales were expressed in terms of lots. The operative principles were supply and demand, while the principal operatives were trader and planter. Vested interests pitted one against another: monopolists versus free traders, interlopers versus Company, and Company versus islanders, while the investment, the hapless Negro, labored for the prosperity of others. Like any good investor viewing his investment, the planter hoped to obtain from the Negro a maximum output based on a minimum input. The human condition, however, is fragile and unpredictable. This, trader and planter soon realized.

From the moment the slave was forced up a gangplank in Africa, his life was fraught with hardship. Herded onto ships which were many times grossly overcrowded, flagrantly unsanitary and improperly victualled, the slaves' ranks were riddled with disease. The mortality rate was high. Some who did not find relief from misery by succumbing to a disease found an "escape," suicide by leaping over the side of the ship. This high mortality rate during the so-called "middle passage" has often been the subject of controversy. Without
a doubt greed many times outdistanced common sense, and just as frequently, captains and factors often did as much harm to the Company as good. The expense the Company incurred in the African trade was considerable. Procuring slaves along the African coast, and transporting them was costly. Therefore, it behooved the Company to have a salable commodity when its ships arrived in the New World. Consequently, to accuse the Company of deliberately fostering conditions which caused a high mortality rate would be incredible.

Incredible or not, the rate was high. Just how high is the question. One writer has estimated that not more than half of the slaves shipped from Africa ever became effective workers in the New World. What proportion of this half actually died and what proportion were made useless by crippling diseases were not spelled out. 29 Professor Vincent Harlow has placed the mortality rate as being around 11 per cent. 30 This seems to be a fair estimate, although individual losses at times were much greater. One trader who arrived in Barbados with 372 of his original cargo of 700 slaves, complained that

29 Franklin, From Slavery to Freedom, p. 58.

30 Harlow, History of Barbados, p. 324. See also Beer, Old Colonial System, I, 343. Beer placed the average around twenty per cent. He observed that in 1679 the Royal African Company announced that twenty-five per cent was the usual rate. Beer, however, felt that that figure was inflated to justify the price asked for the Negroes sold in Jamaica. For another view consult Littleton, The Groans of Plantations, pp. 19-20. Littleton estimated that a master would "lose a full third part of them, before they ever came to do him service." Littleton, it must be remembered, represented the Planters' interests.
No gold-finders can endure so much noisome slavery as they who do carry Negroes; for these have some respite and satisfaction, but we endure twice the misery; and yet by the mortality our voyages are ruin'd and we pine and fret ourselves to death, to think that we should undergo so much misery, and take so much pains to so little purpose.\textsuperscript{31}

While the "pining" trader postured a defeatist attitude, trade flourished, and so one imagines also did the trader.

The inundation of Barbados with Negroes was rapid, and it proves sufficient evidence of a flourishing slave trade. In 1668, Governor Willoughby had estimated the total population at 60,000 of which 40,000 were slaves. This would roughly coincide with a figure of 64%, which indicated the proportionate number of Negroes in the island in the last quarter of the seventeenth century.\textsuperscript{32} These Negroes who had so soon outnumbered the Whites came from divergent parts of Africa. Richard Ligon noted that "some of them are fetch'd from Guinny, and Binny, some from Cutchew, some from Angola, and some from the River of Gambia." Ligon considered it a "strange thing" that the Negroes who greatly outnumbered the Christians, and who were "accounted a bloody people" if they had any power, had not massacred the Christians. He suggested three reasons for this unusual situation: 1) they (the

\textsuperscript{31}Franklin, From Slavery to Freedom, p. 58.


14\% in 1643
47\% in 1655
64\% in the last quarter of the 17th century
75\% in 1724.
Negroes) were not permitted to handle any weapons; 2) they were held in such "awe and slavery" that they feared a daring act and dreaded the sound of gun-shot; 3) they were procured from various parts of Africa and therefore spoke different languages. 33 This third point was used later in the argumentation over and the justification of not christianizing the slaves. Christianization necessitated socialization, which in turn could spawn the radicalizing of the slaves (a conception of having moral and even legal rights), which for planters spelled economic ruin. Planters were jaundiced in their views, but perhaps the overwhelming factor influencing them was simply their being outnumbered. And though Ligon viewed the Negroes as being extremely cruel when they had an advantage and further held that generally they were an untrustworthy people, he conceded that "no rule" is so general that it does not have an exception. He saw among them also an "honest, faithful and conscionable people" equal to any in Europe. 34

These survivors of the "middle passage" often never lived long enough to become "conditioned." Weakened from the harrowing sea voyage, they frequently succumbed either to a new disease or because of maladjustment to climatic and food changes, or even because of excessive flogging. Unfortunately, absentee landlordism was not a too uncommon cause for the

33Ligon, A True and Exact History, p. 46.
34Ibid., p. 53.
abuse on the island. Disinterested overseers, motivated to achieve increased productivity, drove the slaves relentlessly. Neither planter nor overseer could feel comfortable in a state where they were a minority, although in control. By their very numbers the Negroes were a constant threat and it was observed that "the Planters are forc'd to carry a strict Hand over them." It was no small wonder then that the White planters enforced discipline, practiced intimidation through superior force, and enforced penalties vigorously. Both for the protection and for the support of the planter society slave codes were enacted. The Assembly of Barbados passed such an Act in 1661 for "the better Ordering and Governing of Negroes." It was ordained that the Act should be read and published in all "respective parish

35 Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom*, p. 64.


...the Negroes were more numerous than the Europeans and began early to enter into Conspiracies against their Masters...We must confess, the Planters had not yet learnt to govern their Slaves by any other ways than Severity. Besides, they were all Foreigners, and consequently had not the least Affection for the Country or their Masters;...

37 "An Act for the Better Ordering and Governing of Negroes," (1661), Blathwayt MSS (San Marino: Huntington Library). This Act may also be found in An Abridgement of the Laws in Force and Use in Her Majesty's Plantations (London: Printed for John Nicholson, 1704), #329. See also Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves*, pp. 238-39. Professor Dunn calls the Act "the most important surviving piece of legislation issued in the English islands during the seventeenth century." The Act was re-enacted by Barbadian Assemblies in 1676, 1682, and 1688. It also served as the blueprint for codes enacted by the Assemblies of Jamaica (1664), South Carolina (1696) and Antigua (1702).
Churches in the Island the first Sunday in February and the first Sunday in August" of every ensuing year. Humphrey Walrond as President of the Council signed the document, which was in effect a clarification of and a revitalized revision of previous laws regarding slaves, and one which superseded them in binding power. The slaves were termed "an Heathenish, Brutish and uncertain and dangerous kind of People...."

Regardless of the low esteem in which they were held, it was the responsibility of the government "not to leave them to the arbitrary Cruel and outrageous will of every evil disposed person, but so far to Protect them as We do mens other goods and Chattells, and also somewhat further as being credited men though without knowledge of God in the world." Apparently at this point the determining and dividing factor between Negroes and other men was the former's heathenism. An application of this can be seen in the contrast of punishment for a Christian and a Negro in a Christian-Negro confrontation. For instance, much is made of the punishment of any Negro who offered violence to a Christian. There was a gradation of punishment. For the first offense, there was a whipping; for the second, "hee shall bee severely whipped, his Nose Slitt, and bee burned in some part of his face;" and for the third, a greater corporal punishment was to be meted out, as determined by the Governor and Council. On the other hand, if a Christian "through wantonness or...evil intention, ...kill a Negro of his own," a fine of 3,000 pounds of sugar
was to be paid into the public Treasury. If a Christian shall kill a Negro of another, the owner must be paid double the value of his slave and the Treasury must be enriched with 5,000 pounds.

The Act then outlined a strict code to be observed. Failure to comply brought heavy fines, usually in muscovado sugar. These fine payments were divided equally between the public Treasury and the informer, although actually the system depended on the informer.

A look at some of the provisions of the Act will acquaint one with the entire thrust and spirit of the code. Negroes were restricted to their plantations, not being allowed to leave at any time, not even on Sabbath Days and Holy Days. When an exception to this rule was needed, a "Ticket" would be issued. The reason for this restriction was the serious problem of runaway slaves on the island. At the time of the passage of the Act many Negroes had "escaped" to the "Woods and other fortresses of the Island." To cope with this loss, several measures were to be followed. Under pain of punishment, no one was to harbor any runaway, and overseers were ordered to search "their Negroe House" for such slaves. Overseers were also charged to search through houses every fourteen days for "Clubbs, Wooden Swords and other mischievous Weapons," which were to be burned. In their search, the overseers were also to be on the outlook for stolen property. To encourage Negroes to "turn in" their fellows, rewards were offered. A curious reward was the one in which
the informer was to be provided with clothes and a "Badge of a Red Cross" to be worn on the right arm so "hee may be knowne and cherished by all good People for his good service to the country."

For slaves who did not render a good service but committed "many heynous and grevious crimes as Murther and Burg-larys and Robbing in the Highways, Burning of Houses or Canes," justice was to be swift and severe. Two Justices of the Peace and three subpoenaed freeholders were authorized to "hear the case" and pass a sentence of death.

Furthermore, it was enacted that if any Negroes shall make Insurrection or rise in Rebellion against this place or People or make preparations of Arms, Powder, Bulletts or offensive Weapons or hold any Councell or Conspiracy for raising mutiny or Rebellion in the Island, they shall be subject to "Marshall Law." Masters who would lose Negroes through execution would be compensated through the public Treasury. If the Treasury should lack sufficient funds, a public levy upon the inhabitants would be authorized.

Finally, the Act took recognition of the fact that there was quite an imbalance in numbers between the Christians and the Negroes. The blame for such an imbalance was laid squarely on the doorstep of "the richest men of the Island [who] looking upon present profit, Stock themselves onely with almost all Negroes neglecting Christian Servants and so consequently their own and publick safety." To alleviate such an unhealthy situation, it was ordained that all freeholders had
to provide themselves with one Christian servant for every twenty acres of land. Failure to do so would bring stiff penalties.

Restrictions and rules with their consequent penalties were numerous in Barbados but their effectiveness was spotty. If intimidation were to impress fear upon the slaves, the continuing problem of runaway slaves and the setting-on-foot of more conspiracies ran counter to the intended result. Both the design for rebellion in 1675 and in 1688 were abortive, but a state of paranoia settled over Barbados. The fear generated in that island was not an unusual one for a state governed by a minority. If ever an island possessed all the necessary factors for a rebellion, Barbados possessed them. It was small and it was glutted with plantations whose proximity to each other gave a "cohesiveness" to a slave force which heavily outnumbered the masters. Surprisingly then, a rebellion never gripped the island. Actually, the island "offered no opportunity for halfway measures." Everything a few guns, killing some Whites, burning and pillaging to some extent, and then disappearing into the woods would have been unrealistic. Because the island was fully settled, the "only chance [of the slaves] for success was to stage a colony-wide conspiracy and take over the entire island."39

38 Dunn, Sugar and Slaves, p. 256.

39 Ibid. The woods are referred to in the "Act for the Better Ordering and Governing of Negroes" as a refuge for runaways. For other hideaways see Clarke, A True and Faithful Account, p. 83. (misnumbered as p. 81), and Richard
However that may be, fear of a situation and the reaction to that fear can be just as real as a reaction created by an action itself. And such a fear weighed heavily on Barbadians in an early period. Francis Lord Willoughby wrote to the Earl of Clarendon in March of 1663 that the loss of Colonel Modyford to Jamaica will

Bee dubble in the loss of him first, and then in the loss of our planters (by the encouragement they will take from him) in thire adventuring thither whereby wee shall bee soe thinned of of [sic] Christian people a great many having already ingaiged upon the settlin of Carolina...that I feare our negrose will grewe to hard for us.40

Such fears as Willoughby's were repeated year after year. In March of 1670 a Richard Watts wrote to Secretary Joseph Williamson that a report was circulating that the "blacks in Barbadoes" had killed all the English but "it is hoped to be a false report of the insurers or of those having much sugar there."41 Later that month Williamson heard from a Hugh Blome,

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Blome, *The Present State of His Majesties Isles and Territories in America* (London: Printed for Dorman Newman, 1687), p. 37. Both Clarke and Blome reported that there were numerous caves on the island which were large enough to hold five hundred men. Though they considered them unhealthy places because of the "great damps," they did provide runaway slaves with a sanctuary. At night the slaves emerged to steal "Pigs, Plantans, Potatoes, and Pullen." They were accounted as successful because "the nights being dark and their bodies black," they "escape undiscovered." The only references I found to these caves were in the works of Clarke and Blome.

40 Francis Lord Willoughby to the Earl of Clarendon, March 5, 1663-4. MSS relating to Barbados (New York Public Library). No folio or pagination given.

Acland, who was happy to inform the Secretary that the reports of a rebellion in Barbados were false and consequently the "drooping spirits of those merchants who have any concern there" should be quieted. The source of Acland's information was an Islander who advised him that "the place is in a very good and quiet condition, and expecting a plentiful crop of sugar."\textsuperscript{42}

These rumors almost achieved substance in 1675 when a design for a rebellion was discovered just in time. The accounts of the intended "take over" are many and varied, but the best, an account of an eye-witness, bears repeating. The author, who has remained unidentified, wrote the following account from Spickles Bay on November 30, 1675.

My last to you was an information of a bloody Tragedy intended against his Majestie's Subjects here in this Island, by the Heathen of Negroes, which was by the Providence of God miraculously discovered eight days before the intended murder should have been acted. The manner of the discovery was thus; A Negro Man belonging to Mr. Hall Senior, being absented from his said Master, among several other Negroes who had a hand in the Plot: In a Council among them, they did contrive that the Negroes belonging to each several Plantations, should in the dead time of the Nightfall on the sound of the Allarm, which was to be given in one hour, and at several places through the Island, which Negroes so allotted was to kill their Masters and Mistresses with their Overseers; this aforesaid Negroes of Mr. Halls (though one of the Chief Plotters) yet having a respect to his Master, would by no means consent to the killing of his Master, and upon refusal was much threatened; and being afraid of his life, makes his escape and returns home; and one day, which was a little before the prosecution of the murder, was over-heard (telling the Plot to his Countrymen) by

a Negro Woman, who waited and attended on her Mistress, which the Negro Woman immediately reveals.\textsuperscript{43}

This plot was discovered in the summer as indicated by letters of August 11 and 20, 1675, written to Secretary Williamson. Richard Watt's informant had left the island at a time when "six of the negroes were burnt and even had their heads cut off." Further examination was now being conducted; the evidence showed that the greatest number involved was 500, of which one was to be chosen king.\textsuperscript{44}

The thorough investigation was the responsibility of Governor Jonathan Atkins, who informed Williamson that it was "far more dangerous than was at first thought." The Cuma-tine Negroes, who were the most numerous in the country, were the slaves chiefly involved. Atkins described them as "a warlike and robust people." Thirty-five slaves had to be executed as an example, but the Governor believed he had "set"

\textsuperscript{43}A Continuation of the State of New England: Being a Further Account of the Indian Warr (Together with an Account of the Intended Rebellion of the Negroes in Barbados) (London: 1676), p. 66. Another abortive rebellion occurred in 1688. See Poyer, The History of Barbados, pp. 128-29. The conspiracy of the slaves was to make themselves masters of the country by either murdering all the male inhabitants or reducing them to slavery. Women were to be reserved for "the gratification of their brutal appetites." Twenty conspirators were executed and new legislation was enacted "to encourage the importation of Christian servants...."

a period to that trouble."45

Executions necessitated compensations, so the Assembly of Barbados ordered such payments on the petition of George Hannay, Deputy Provost Marshal. But, there was to be a compensation of another kind, too. The Assembly recommended that the succeeding Assembly free Fortuna, the Negro woman who belonged to Mr. Gyles Hall. Such freedom was to be "in recompense of her eminent service in discovering the intended rebellion of the negroes."46 Vigilance on the Island was increased and even the Quakers showed their "Readiness and Diligence in watching, and warding, and patrolling," since the "wicked Contrivances...which the Lord by his Witness in the Heart made known for the Preservation of the Island and Inhabitants."47 One wonders, too, if the reporter from Spickles Bay were not a Quaker, since he found the behavior of the inhabitants reprehensible. Their total indifference and ingratitude toward God who had delivered the Island from "the Tyranny and barbarous cruelty of Savage Heathens," was disgraceful. Because of their lack of repentance,
the Lord had sent a chastisement which "lyeth very heavy on the poorer sort, and none of the Rich excepted." The chastisement referred to was the most devastating hurricane ever to visit the settlement. Only twenty houses were left standing and thirty-seven persons were killed. The storm was a local one, as evidenced by a man-of-war which had gone off shore twenty leagues to quiet waters. The writer accepted this as proof of a punishment from God. 48

But, for what were the islanders being punished? The rebels in one breath are described as the "heathenish" rebels, and in another breath, the islanders speak of themselves as saved by the "miraculous intervention of God." God's mouthpiece for his "miraculous intervention" was a Negro slave who "witnessed" in her heart. Fortuna's bond to her master and mistress was strong. But, it must be noted that the living conditions of Negroes varied from master to master, and just as there was no uniformity in cruelty, there was also none in kindness. There were slaves who felt a deep loyalty to their masters and were concerned for their welfare and benefit. One observer was most impressed by witnessing Negroes, who in an attempt to stop a fire in a cane field, tread on the canes with bare feet and "even roll their naked bodies upon it." 49

Variations in treatment abounded, but generally the

48 A Continuation, pp. 67-68.

49 Clarke, A True and Faithful Account, pp. 68-69.
lodgings of the Negroes were considered the "worst of all"—mere huts or rather "Hog-flies." After a full day in the hot sun, and lacking a nourishing diet, the slaves had to sleep on nothing but a hard board. Coverlets were unheard of, and clothing meagre. Three pair of "canvas Drawers" were allotted to the men and "three petticoats for the women." Their diet consisted chiefly of Plantains, which are fruit-bearing plants. The fruit, which would ripen in six months, was picked when green by the slaves and boiled. Every Saturday night at five o'clock the slaves would go to the Plantain groves to obtain their supply for the week—one bunch. The five o'clock "closing time" was only in effect on Saturdays. It was partly due to the fact that the sugar mill had to be cleaned and partly because the slaves had "to wash, shave and trim themselves against the sabbath."  

Sunday was to be a day of rest and pleasure for the Negro and even "set apart for the service of God"—a curious suggestion since they were considered "heathens." In the morning hours, some of the more industrious of them were reported to be engaged in making ropes from the bark of trees, which were then exchanged for shirts, drawers and other necessaries. The afternoons were generally devoted to recrea-

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51 Clarke, A True and Faithful Account, p. 68.

52 Blome, The Present State, pp. 39-40. See also Oldmixon, The British Empire, II, 121.
tion. They had "Kettle-Drums to make them Musick, and they go dancing, the men by themselves, and the women by themselves, and sometimes the men wrestle among themselves." Richard Ligon was most impressed with the aquatic skills of both the men and women slaves. On a number of occasions Colonel Drax had invited Ligon over for an afternoon of "sport." The sport was watching Drax's best swimmers retrieve ducks.

Fun and frolic can be the expression of a full and good life or it can be an escape from harsh reality. Slaves enjoyed a Sunday of pleasure but does one day make a contented life? Was the loss of liberty really a benefit for a person, as some claimed? Did the slaves have any Religion? Questions such as these were bantered about by apologists for slavery, a state against which as yet there were few opponents. One such apologist concluded that "If these poor Slaves chance to fall into the hands of a good master, one who will not treat them with too much severity, they prefer their present slavery before their former liberty...." The blackest among them was accounted the fairest. The apologist continued,

They are naturally susceptible of all impressions, and the first that are deriv'd into them among the Christians,

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53 Clarke, A True and Faithful Account, p. 69. See also Blome, The Present State, p. 40. Blome's assessment of their dancing and wrestling was that "they are no good Proficients in either...."

54 Ligon, A True and Exact History, p. 52.
after they have renounced their Superstitions and Idol-
ɔtry, they pertinaciously adhere unto; wherein they dif-
fer much from the Indians of America, who are unconstant
as Cameleons.55

Another observer was very puzzled, asking what religion the
Negroes belonged to. He noticed that each night before the
slaves would go to their sports, "they have in their Cot-
tages mumbled over some prayers but what they are, or to
whom directed I cannot tell."56 There was one fact that
Richard Ligon was certain of and that was that the slaves
were not of the "sect of Sadduces," for they believed in a
Resurrection, i.e., a going to their own country and a re-
capturing of their youth. Interestingly enough, this belief
provoked suicides by hanging. Ligon recounted how Colonel
Walrond had coped with such a problem involving losses to
him. After having lost several prize slaves, Walrond took
the head of one of them and placed it on display, thus con-
vincing the other slaves that they were in error, for how

55 Davies, The History of the Caribby Islands, p. 201
See also Poyer, The History of Barbados, p. 141. Poyer was
extremely caustic in his evaluation. Stripped of the advan-
tages of idolatry he saw the slaves as having no morality, no
religion, nor possessing any faith. Their creed, in his o-
pinion, was witchcraft. As for the few who might profess
Christianity, he claimed that their hearts were void of any
religious impressions. Furthermore, he charged that "fre-
quent attempts" had been made by "humane owners to convert
their favorites to Christianity...no benefits have been de-
rived from the pious endeavor to effect their conversions."

56 Harlow, Colonizing...A Briefe Description, p. 45.
See also Blome, The Present State, p. 40. Blome subscribed
to the position that "they [the Slaves] didn't have religion,
yet seem to acknowledge God, by looking up to Heaven for re-
venge when they are wronged...."
could it be possible for the body to go without a head "into their own Countreys." 57

White observers may have commented on the religious practices, or lack of them, among the slaves, but there was no escaping the thorny question about the obligation and also about the wisdom of christianizing slaves. Thomas Tryon probed many of such sensitive issues in an entertaining discourse in the form of a dialogue between a slave and his Christian master. The slave asked the Master if he would give him a little instruction in the service the Master had attended that Sabbath and of what it consisted. The Master indignantly retorted that he saw no reason why he should talk of it to such "a dark ignorant Heathen, scarce capable of Common Sense, much less able to understand things of such an high and mysterious Nature." However, as the slave persisted in questioning, the Master, although he felt it would be of little purpose, "as to go about to wash they Skin White, to inform such dark stupid Heathens," finally consented to gratify the slave's curiosity. The tenets of Christianity were then elaborated. The slave found it strange that the Christian should "act contrary" to what was taught. He noted that "To be Merciful" was a "grand and important point of Christianity," but where was it to be found? "We cannot perceive anything of Mercy to dwell in your Hearts; for you commit Oppression with Violence;..." The Master, confused and

57 Ligon, A True and Exact History, p. 51.
exasperated, charged the slave

And do you black Heathenish Negroes then dare compare yourselves with us luane [sic] white Christians? Does not your very Hue, that sooty skin of yours, serve for an emblem of the darkness of your Minds?...Are you not altogether unlearned, and can neither spue Latin, nor spittle Greek, nor understand the Hebrew Robbins, and the Talmud...what Divines or Clergymen, what cunning Lawyers have you to boast of?58

Tryon's discourse is laden with racial overtones and is perhaps one of the earliest English works which shows a definite shift from treating the Negroes as inferiors because of their heathenism to treating them as inferiors because of color.

Nevertheless, no matter how important were the factors of heathenism and color in bringing the Negro to a state of degradation, a more decisive factor was that of simple economics, for only an economic factor could explain this stubborn reluctance on the part of planters who were not on their part totally devoid of religion, nor for that matter, of reason. During Ligon's short stay in Barbados, he had the opportunity to make the acquaintance of a black slave, Sambo, who expressed a desire to become a Christian. Ligon related how he had spoken to the master of the plantation and had told him of Sambo's desire. The master's defense against permitting such an happening was that the islands were governed by the laws of England, which forbade turning a Christian into a slave. Ligon emphasized that his

request was far different, "for I desired him to make a slave a Christian." The master conceded the obvious difference but claimed that anyone "once a Christian...could no more [be] a slave." If he, the Master, allowed Sambo to be baptized he would break the "rule" and initiate a practice for which all the "Planters in the Island would curse him." Ligon was "struck mute" while "poor Sambo" was "kept out of the Church;...." 59

Muteness was never a quality associated with the Quakers, and with the advent of such dynamic Quakers to the Caribbean islands, the "Sambos" at last acquired a champion. Actually, the Quakers and the Negroes had both common and uncommon links. The former, the Quakers, might be termed God's outcasts, while the latter, the Negroes, were considered outcasts of God. One achieved distinction by his convictions, the other by the lack of any such convictions. Both by fate landed on the island of Barbados, the one was "dragged," the other was "driven"—whether by the King or by the Holy Spirit mattered not. Oppression made of one group a rather passive, submissive people, and of the other a vociferous, an aggressive, and at times an obnoxious people. Personal conversion made the Quakers enthusiastic in the Lord's service, while some of their tenets made them "suspected subversives" in the employment of the government. Beloved only of "fellow converts," the Quakers took seriously the Lord's dictum "to

59 Ligon, A True and Exact History, p. 50.
teach all nations." On an island the size of Barbados and one over-populated with the African, such dedication could only spell trouble. There would be no end of harassment, because the "closed Barbadian society" had become entrenched within a religious establishment which jealously guarded itself against any infringement.
CHAPTER IV

THE RELIGIOUS OUTCASTS, THE QUAKERS:
FERMENTERS OF UNREST

Religion, which has always been a powerful stimulous to cohesiveness, dedication and even militancy of action, has also brought together zealots secure in comradeship, convinced of Truth and assured of reward. A logical effect of such convincing was to share Christ's message with all nations. However, being narrow-minded in view while all-embracing in scope, these missionaries often found themselves heading into a collision with the Establishment, whether of Church or State or both. In particular this was true of the Society of Friends, popularly known as the Quakers. ¹ George Fox, a Leicestershire man, who is considered their founder, was first imprisoned in 1649 for interrupting a preacher. His action and its consequence set the pattern of many a Quaker who followed in his footsteps. Such bold actions endeared the sect to no one, but even more detrimental to Quaker popularity were certain tenets totally out of the mainstream of accepted religious. Rejecting all sacraments, the Quakers relegated the Bible to a secondary position, and

¹Their popular nickname of Quaker was given to them at Derby in 1650 by Gervase Bennet, a magistrate. Fox had told the magistrates to "tremble at the word of the Lord" so Bennet assigned to them the name of "quakers." See DNB, VII, 559.
emphasized instead the "inner light" in every man. God's wishes for mankind, they claimed, were not formalized in any book, no matter how important, but rather His revelation was an active principle within every man if only man were conscious of it. Consequently, spiritual perfection was within each one's reach. Actually, however, the Society's beliefs were a combination of teachings of various earlier sects. Basically, Quakerism has always maintained four main tenets: 1) the paramount importance of the inner light; 2) the minor importance of dogma, creed, and ritual; 3) the emphasis upon the brotherhood of all men; 4) the belief in the possibility of completely cleansing oneself of sin. These tenets, coupled with the Quakers' stance as pacifists, refusing to serve in the militia, and as abhorers of oaths in an age when an oath was a "Test" of loyalty, undermined the civil peace. Everywhere the members of the sect were tagged as subversives and troublemakers. Convinced of their own moral rectitude, they were relentlessly caustic in their criticisms of others, and in particular of officials and priests. That abrasiveness in which the Quakers seemed so much to abound neither maintained nor proved a solvent for peace. It was no wonder then that Charles II, plagued enough with the problems of his Restoration, wished to send these subjects abroad. This was the case even though George Fox assured the King that "... all plotes marderes & tumultous meetins against the king or any of his subjects we do deny who ones [sic] noe meeting
but what is peasable & to worship god."²

Fox's attestation evidently fell on deaf ears as evidenced by the battery of fines and imprisonments which the Quakers endured and also the numerous periods of exile inflicted on members of the Society. Much of Fox's subsequent life would be spent in damp prisons; between 1653 and 1675 he suffered incarceration six times. Between and during these lock-ups, he remained undaunted in his unflagging zeal to encourage his missionaries wherever they were, and so it was not surprising that many of them chose Barbados as their field of endeavor. Ideally situated as the most easterly isle of the Lesser Antilles, Barbados oftentimes served either as a stepping stone or as a gateway to the other colonies. For many of the "public Friends," as missionaries were called, the Barbadian sojourn was their introductory experience to missionary endeavor in the New World. The Society accorded women an equal status and from the beginning there was almost as many women as men who were thus considered public Friends. Mary Fisher and Ann Austin preached "the Truth" to Barbadians in 1655 and there found many eager listeners. One of those convinced by their preaching was John Rous, who in the following year published a pamphlet, A Warning to the Inhabitants of Barbados, Who Live in Pride, Drunkenesse, Covetousness,

and Deceitful Dealings. A man of means, he managed to have six hundred copies printed and distributed in the island.3

Mary Fisher and Ann Austin had struck some fertile ground and had opened some gates through which entered many Quaker missionaries for years to come, well into the eighteenth century. The fact is that the listing of Quaker missionaries who visited Barbados is nearly tantamount to composing a "Who's Who" among the Society of Friends. There does appear to have been one period when there was a "lull" in their activity. At least Peter Evans, a Barbadian Quaker, seemed to indicate that such a situation existed when he wrote to George Fox in 1658 that "there seemed many faces to be turned towards the Truth just before the departure of the Three Friends from hence to England and there not being any Friend in the ministry to instruct them, coldness got in again."4 That lapse, if indeed there were one, was only temporary. Henry Fell and John Stubbs had arrived in 1656. Other early travellers were Anne Clayton, Sarah Gibbons, Richard Pinder and John Taylor. The last, John Taylor, made a number of visits to the island, the last in 1667, when he remained about eight years. Among the eight men and women


who arrived in 1661 were William Rofe, Josiah Coale and Jane Milner. John Perrot, a Quaker schismatic, disembarked in 1662 and immediately dissension began. One of the ablest combatants of Perrotism, both on the North American continent and in the islands, was John Burnyeat, who paid three visits to Barbados. The fervor of Quaker activity, however, reached its climax in 1671. For three months in that year, the Society's greatest lights were in Barbados. Friends of the stature of Solomon Eccles, George Fox, Elizabeth Hooten and Robert Widders stumped the island, and were joined by John Stubbs and Richard Pinder. During 1671, no less than fourteen or more of these itinerant preachers arrived in the colony or at Jamaica or at one of the Leeward Islands.5

Later in the 1670's Lydia Fell, Alice Curween and also the errant planter, Robert Rich, labored hard for Quaker principles in Barbados. Eccles returned in 1680 after a period of banishment, and in that same decade Joan Vokins and William Edmundson held meetings. These early Quakers must have met with startling success if their claim can be verified through description: because that description of Barbados now changed from a "Gormorrah"6 to a "nursery of Truth,"7 and all within three years.


6 Nuttall, Early Quaker Letters, #443, p. 326. Robert Maylins classified Barbados as a "Gomorrah."

The Quakers had an aggressive spirit and from the very date of their arrival in the island challenged both the membership and the ministers of the Church of England. Henry Fell reported that he and John Rous had four or five meetings a week "...and on the first days go to the priests' meeting houses (as we are moved)...." Josiah Coale, writing in 1661, spoke of the "many convinced daily" and of the "meetings large and precious." Financial aid was forthcoming the next year from London. A John Dixon of Waterend, Lowswater, under questioning in the English courts had conceded that the Quakers out of concern for their own "poor" sent relief to those in prison and in need elsewhere. The funds collected that year in London were earmarked for Barbados, but Dixon did not know what sum had actually been collected.

The success of the Quakers lay not only in their solidarity with one another, and in their organizational structure, but with their great appeal to men of integrity of character. Many times, it must be noted, such integrity was bolstered by wealth and station. Such men as John Rous and his father, Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Rous, Ralph Fretwell, judge of the Court of Common Pleas, Thomas Clarke, owner of a big

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8Nutall, Early Quaker Letters, Henry Fell to Margaret Fell, April 14, 1657, #381, p. 227.

estate and several hundred slaves, and John Rodman, Edward Wright, William Molineux and Ralph Weeks, all surgeons, embraced the faith. Lewis Morris, another prominent Barbadian, was still being recommended for the Council as late as 1666. Many of the Quakers were successful shopkeepers and craftsmen and hardly a people of an "inferior sort" as claimed by some Anglican clergy. Ownership of slaves was often an indication of wealth and in 1680 there were six professed Quakers--Thomas Clarke, Richard Forstall, Thomas Foster, Henry Gallop, John Rous, and Thomas Rous--who owned more than a hundred slaves apiece. Slaveholding was by no means peculiar to various religions, including the Quakers, during the seventeenth century.

Certainly in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries

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10 Carl and Roberta Bridenbaugh, No Peace Beyond the Line, p. 386.

11 Dunn, Sugar and Slaves, p. 105. See also Dunn, "The Barbados Census of 1680: Profile of the Richest Colony in English America," William and Mary Quarterly, XXVI, 3rd Ser., #1 (January, 1969), 3-30. Professor Dunn identified the property holdings of fifty-eight Barbados Quakers in 1680. He discovered that they came from every level of Barbadian society. Among them were nine big planters; seven were middling planters; seventeen were small planters; eight were merchants or shopkeepers in Bridgetown; three were physicians; and three were craftsmen. Altogether, they owned 1,626 Negroes. The data was acquired by checking the names of known Quakers against census lists. See also Edward Manice, "George Fox, Quakers, Negroes, and Slavery on Barbados, 1671-1675" (unpublished Yale University Senior History Essay, 1946), Appendix A, pp. 118-24. Manice used Hotten, Original Lists, Besse, Sufferings of Quakers, II, and Henry Cadbury, "Barbados Quakers, 1683-1761," Barbados Museum and Historical Society Journal, IX (1941-1942), 29-31, as well as Henry Cadbury, "186 Barbados Quakeresses in 1677," ibid., 195-97.
it was a characteristic peculiar to the Quakers that a prominent role was given to women in church affairs. One of Fox's earliest converts had been Margaret Fell, wife of a judge of the assize, and later to become Fox's wife in 1669. Special women's meetings were organized in England, and as has been noted, the missionary trail blazers to Barbados had been women. When Fox made his journey to Barbados in 1671 he organized meetings of women there. In all there were six meeting sites: Plantation Meeting, Thicketts and Clift Meeting, Windward Meeting, Bridge Meeting, Spring Meeting, and Champion Ground Meeting. All but two of the sites for the six meetings can now be located. The Plantation Meeting was in St. Peter's parish, the Bridge in Bridgetown, the Spring near Povey's Spring in St. Thomas, and the Champion Ground meeting house was in St. Lucy's parish. Only the Clift and Windward meeting sites cannot be pinpointed. The 186 feminine activists at these meetings belie a growing Quaker

Manice listed Richard Forstall, Quaker, as possessing 129 slaves. The only other Quaker shown to own at least 100 slaves was John Sutton, who possessed 105 Negroes. Manice listed Thomas Clark as owning one slave, while Professor Dunn identified Clark as Dr. Thomas Clark, who not only possessed 261 acres, but 125 slaves and 2 sugar mills. As for the other planters mentioned by Dunn, only one, Thomas Rous, appears on Manice's list. Rous owned 3 slaves, while Thomas Foster, Henry Gallop and John Rous do not appear on the list.

13 Ibid.
population. The sect grew in numbers not so much from natural increase, or even from conversion, but rather it was augmented by an immigration generated either by religious enthusiasm or by Royal Approbation.

The English king, endeavoring to rid his isle of such a troublesome people, approved their deportation. In March of 1664/5 Secretary Bennet wrote to the Lord Chief Justice that there were several ships in the Thames bound for the plantations because "the King, wishing to repress the more than ordinary insolence of Quakers and other sectaries, orders that those condemned to transportation be sent off in these ships." The Privy Council was kept busy supervising the transportation of these undesirables. John Ceely, the Master of the John & Thomas, was authorized to transport six Quakers to Barbados, and the Governor was instructed to re-

14 Ibid. The 186 Quakeresses were distributed as follows:

- Plantation Meeting...........41
- Thicketts and Clift Meeting...21
- Windward Meeting.............31
- Bridge Meeting................40
- Spring Meeting................30
- Champion Ground Meeting......23

Of the 186 listed, only 13 appear as sufferers in Besse, Sufferings of Quakers, II, 278-351.

15 Parliament had passed an Act banishing the Quakers in 1664. The mayor of London, who was greatly in favor of it, was reported to have "wept for joy at the passing of it." He was heard to have said that "he now hoped to send four hundred Quakers out of the land before the expiration of his Mayoralty." That was just three months hence. See Durham, Caribbean Quakers, p. 7.

16 Cal. S. P.: Dom., Vol. IV (1664-1665), Sec. Bennet to the Lord Chief Justice, March 7, 1664/5, #71, p. 244.
ceive them and then to employ those in plantation work who did not defray their transportation expenses. All the others were to be detained, probably as indentured servants, for seven years. Orders were also given to John Limbrey, Master of the John & Sarah, to transport fifty Quakers to Barbados.

However, not all crews were anxious to carry the Quakers abroad. Eight of the crew members of the Mary Fortune had scruples about transporting "innocent persons who walk in the fear of the Lord." Three Quakers, Callender Britton, Bartholomew Crooke, and Lewis Rogers, were to be conveyed in another vessel, but the crew objected on religious and other grounds, and put the men on shore again.

Such orders for banishment were repeated at frequent intervals, and the King was thus able somewhat to empty his prisons. Quakers, however meek in physical resistance, were vocal and adamant in their belief in God's retribution. Josiah Coales pleaded with the King and with both Houses of Parliament to cease their evil ways, since no one could escape the hand of God. He further warned "that in all ages

18 Ibid., I, 394.
19 Cal. S. P.: Dom., Vol. IV (1664-1665), #42, p. 164. The other grounds were that Englishmen could not be carried abroad without their consent, and "there is a law in Barbados that whoever brings persons into the Island against their will, is liable to heavy penalties, and to be forced to take the said persons to their habitations:...."
the work of persecuting and oppressing the People of God was
the very cause of the overthrow and ruine of Persecutors;..."20

Finally, Coale objected strenuously to the abuse and imprison-
ment of Quakers, but most especially was he vehement in casti-
gating Charles II's government for the "Exilement, and Extir-
pation" of Quakers from among the inhabitants of England.
Coale charged that the Quakers had just as much right to live
in the "Land of our Nativity" and enjoy liberty of conscience
and all temporal benefits as any other Englishman.21 A veri-
fication of Coales' warning that persecutors generally re-
ceive their due was borne out, at least in Quaker estimation,
by the plague of 1665, which decimated the London populace.
Eight thousand persons were reported to have died within one
week.22 The following year it was the Great Fire, which de-
stroyed much of London; thirteen thousand two hundred houses
were reported burnt.23 One might view the release of George
Fox from prison immediately prior to the outbreak of the Fire
as ironic or as providential. The Quakers always preferred
to see the hand of God in it.

20Books and Divers Epistles (London: 1671), Josiah
Coales to the King and Both Houses of Parliament, 1664, p. 25.

21Ibid., "England's Sad Estate Lamented and Her Abom-
inations Discovered," pp. 33-34.

22William Sewell, The History of the Rise, Increase,
and Progress of the Christian People Called Quakers, 2nd ed.
(London: J. Sowle, 1725), p. 432. Sewell observed that now
that the "Prediction...was fulfilled, and the Plagues of the
Lord fell so heavily on the Persecutors, that the eagerness to
banish the Quakers, and send them away, began to abate."

23Ibid., p. 446.
The voyage to the New World was not always a pleasant one for either missionary or transported Quaker. The passengers on a ship on which Henry Fell was traveling were visited by a great sickness which killed "around twenty-five or twenty-six." Certainly, although not all Friends were public Friends, nonetheless a great many were gifted correspondents. From correspondence we learn still more about some other Quakers who made an early appearance in Barbados--Peter Heade, Mary Dyer, Sarah and William Plumley, Anne Borden, Peter Cowsnoche, Dorothy Waugh, Edward Teddes, William Brend, Peter Pearson, Marmaduke Stephenson, Jane Gore, and Joan Brocksopp. Of these, only William Plumley was mentioned as a Barbadian sufferer in Joseph Besse's work about the trials and the tribulations of the Quakers in Barbados. It is very possible that the others spent only a fleeting existence on the island.

The suffering of the Quakers on Barbados never reached

24 Nuttall, Early Quaker Letters, Henry Fell to Margaret Fell, September 17, 1657, #410, p. 237.
26 Besse, Sufferings of Quakers, II, 278-351. For the names of prominent Quakers who signed their names to addresses to the Governor, Council and Assembly see ibid., II, 314, 329, 335, 336. The most consistent signer was Thomas Robins, whose name, however, does not appear on an address to Governor Stede in 1689. Other prominent Barbadians who signed their names to addresses were Lewis Morris, Ralph Fretwell, Thomas Pilgrim, John Gettings, Henry Gallop, Francis Gamble, Thomas Richards, Richard Sutton, Joseph Borden, Richard Ford, John Waite, Joseph Harbin, Philip Collins, John Chose, Hugh Hall, and Joseph Grave.
the intensity which fellow Quakers endured in Boston. In Massachusetts a religious oligarchy would not permit any breach of laws and customs governing religion, while in Barbados an established Church could not openly (but tacitly) be criticized. Henry Fell lamented the fact that the "powers of darkness are at work in New England still against Friends, to the shedding of their blood." Although punishment for Quakers never reached the gallows stage in Barbados, nevertheless they were continually fined and imprisoned. In the early stages of harassment, the justification for arrest was the violation of the King's proclamation of January 10, 1660, in which unlawful assemblies were prohibited. A number of islanders in contempt of the proclamation gathered in Walter Sheppard's home in St. Michael's parish. The men were arrested; five of them refused to take an oath of allegiance and were therefore detained. Two months later eight more

27 Nuttall, Early Quaker Letters, Henry Fell to George Fox [October, 1658], #460, p. 255. There were four Quakers who went to the gallows in Boston. Nuttall identified two of them, William Leddra and Thomas Harris, as being from Barbados. See also Braithwaite, The Beginnings of Quakerism, p. 404. Braithwaite identified only William Leddra as being from Barbados. See also the "Substance of an Address from the General Court at Boston," in Sewell, The History of the Rise, Increase and Progress, p. 265. The Quakers were charged with being "open capital Blasphemers, and Seducers from the Glorious Trinity, the Lord Christ, the Blessed Gospel; Open enemies to the Government it self; and malignant Promoters of Doctrines directly tending to subvert both Church and State."

28 Besse, Sufferings of Quakers, II, 279.

29 Ibid. The men listed in the Mittimus were Peter Evans, Robert Maylins, John Weale, Robert Beswick, John
gentlemen were arrested on similar charges; Thomas Clark, William Hill, Josiah Goslin, Hugh Smithfield, William Toomer, Robert Clark, Richard Forstal and John Swinstead now defied the King's Proclamation, to be among the first in a long line of Quaker sufferers.  

The causes of the sufferings of the Quakers were many and varied. Often they were fined for not supporting the militia. But to attribute this failing, as constituting the overriding one for punishment, neglects to take sufficient notice of the many "sufferings" incurred for infractions of a church-related nature. Chiefly such latter infractions consisted of failure to pay the priests' wages or to pay Church-dues, or to contribute to Church repair, and for opening shops on holy days. The rationale behind Quaker obstinacy


30 Ibid.

31 Besse, Sufferings of Quakers, II, 626. 237 Quakers are listed by Besse as having suffered fines or imprisonment in Barbados between 1658 and 1690. The fines initially were valued in Muscovado sugar. See ibid., 343. The total amount tallied showed:

For the years 1658-1669...111,124 lb. Muscovado Sugar  
1669-1674...204,872 lb. " "  
1674-1680...611,341 lb. " "  
1680-1685...495,827 lb. " "  

The total equivalent in money: £8894. 15s. 6d. From 1685-1690...in sterling money £1812. 16s. 2d. The years 1674-1685 when Jonathan Atkins and Richard Dutton served as Governors were by far the worst for the Quakers.
in this respect was their argument that they neither hired
nor employed the priests because they "witness a Teacher that
instructs better than ever they did when we were their Hear­
ners...." 32 The Quakers maintained that they never received
any benefit for their souls from the priests. Eventually,
too, there were penalties for bringing Negroes to Meetings.
The standard of valuation was sugar and the fines could be
in that commodity, or in animals, or in Negroes, and as John
Weale, a shopkeeper, discovered, also in cloth. Weale, who
lived in the parish of Christ Church, consistently failed to
pay his Church dues, so the clerk of the priest, William John­
son, in successive years claimed yards of serge, coarse Hol­
land, Ozenbrigs, and linen. The material was then resold at
a higher price than the appraised value. 33 John Barwick was
detained because of a debt he owed to a priest, Francis Smith,
while George Foster gave over a male slave for payment of
"Priest Leshlie's Dues." 34 Ralph Fretwell, one of the better­
known sufferers of the island, had been one of the Chief Judges
of the Court of Common Pleas in Barbados, but by his conversion
to Quaker principles, his integrity—his sincerity and honesty—
as a Judge came under attack. His adversaries decided that
they could force the issue of his conversion by having him
sworn in again. The question of the oath was brought to the

32 Besse, Sufferings of Quakers, II, 280.
33 Ibid., II, 286-87.
34 Ibid., II, 285.
Council where there was strong opposition to the proposed action, and the Governor had to cast the deciding vote. It was his vote which removed Fretwell from "an Office which he had supplied with Honour and Integrity." Fretwell subsequently was fined heavily for bringing eighty Negroes to a Meeting. Later, in 1677, Richard Sutton would suffer the same fate, for giving instruction to thirty Negroes. However, Sutton was exonerated.

God's work was never to be interfered with, and for those who were so bold as to hamper or tamper with it, or with His people, divine retribution was swift and final. The Quakers' vindication seemed to come with divine judgments, and Quaker accounts are filled with examples to instill a fear of God. For instance, three men who bore evidence against Ralph Fretwell in Court met early and tragic deaths. Thomas Cobham died of a frightful fever, John Dew from too much drink, and John Macfashion "of that deplorable Disease called the Belly-ach." John Merrick, a Justice of the Peace, who sympathized with these three men, suffered a riding accident from which he never recovered. Judge William Sharpe, who vigorously opposed any missionary endeavors among the Negroes, had a similar misfortune.

 Probably the most notorious "persecutors" of Quakers

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were Alexander Ruddock, "a Colonel of a Regiment of Foot, and Judge of a Court, and one of the Council, and of the Nation of Scotland," and Sir Timothy Thornhill, a Major-General. 37 Ruddock was generally overbearing and cruel to Quakers and was reported to have put "Negroes to Death for an Example of Terror, saying, what was it for Barbadoes to put twenty or thirty Negroes to Death Yearly for Example-sake...." 38 He suffered a violent death by accidentally mistaking some arsenic for his medicine. The funeral sermon of a priest, John Kenney, based on the theme of "He has fought the good fight...," seemed ludicrous to the Quakers in the light of Ruddock's "unchristian and violent actions." Sir Timothy Thornhill's greatest evil seemed to be his "Career of Wickedness." 39

As harassed as the Quakers were by persons outside their ranks, they were even more threatened from dissensions and discords within their own fold. One of the earlier disturbers of orthodoxy was the schismatic, John Perrot. In order to be released from Newgate prison, Perrot had accepted voluntary exile in Barbados. When Fox heard that Perrot was Barbados-bound, he tried to have him reform his views. But the efforts of Fox were to no avail, and with him the "hat controversy" was exported out of England to Barbados. Perrot, besides objecting to the practice of removing the hat in time of

37 Ibid., II, 350-51.
38 Ibid.
39 Ibid.
prayer, also opposed shaking hands after a meeting. Basically what Perrot was attacking was formalism in worship. Because he was a man of intense sufferings, deep character and apparently delicate sensibilities, he was able to attract many followers. After being on the island for only a short time, he wrote a letter (November 3, 1662) to friends in England.

And now surely I can say the blessings of God are on Barbados, beholding that abundance of simple and single LOVE which I see, feel, and enjoy in the hearts of the simple, one towards another....

One man who apparently was very impressed with Perrot was Thomas Modyford, Governor of Barbados. That Quaker's attributes of a "cunning, searching and industrious Spirit" along with "his good Temper, Skill and knowledge in Merchant affaires" put him in good standing with the governor. Many times, too, he had avowed his loyalty to Charles II. All these reasons were contributing factors in Modyford's decision to appoint Perrot a Captain. Modyford, in his letter to Charles II of May 10, 1664, mentioning this fact, added an even more telling reason:

And really Sir it may take off much of the rude roughness of that Sects temper, when they shall find in the Newes books that John Perrot an eminent preachinge Quaker was Content for His Majesties Service to appeare in a Sattin Sute with a Sword and Belt and to be called Captaine.

One of Perrot's most famous disciples was the controversial

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41Ibid., p. 76. The source Carroll used was the State Papers, Colonial Office, C. O. I, 18, item #65 (London: Public Records Office). No date was cited by Carroll.
figure, Robert Rich, a well-to-do Barbadian merchant, who earlier had followed the "erring" James Nayler. 42 Fox's treatment of Nayler was so harsh that Rich was angered and never forgave the founder. 43 Rich, who had come to Barbados in 1659 and later returned to London only shortly before his death in 1679, had been active in various Quaker meetings on the island. When Perrot made his appearance, Rich probably viewed him as another "innocent man" mistreated by George Fox. 44

Quaker troubles knew no boundaries; there was, in fact, much brewing on both sides of the Atlantic. John Rous explained to officials of the Society of Friends about the organization of Quaker meetings on Barbados. 45 Rous complained that due to the "divers [who] intrude who are not fit to be at such meetings," business was often delayed and

42 Nayler is said to have repented. See Henry Cadbury, "The End of a Schismatic," Friends' Intelligencer (Fifth Month 21, 1955), p. 297.


44 Ibid., pp. 107-08. See Sewell, The History of the Rise, Increase and Progress, p. 2. Sewell's final condemnation of Rich stated that "he was of the Number of those, of whom the Apostle John said, they went out from us, but they were not of us." See also Carroll, John Perrot, p. 108. The Barbados Friends wrote on 20 November, 1678:

Robert Rich, an old Ranter & opposer, he ran out with James Naylor, & John Perrot, & who has remained in the destroying Ranting opposing spirit since; & he has kept several of James Naylor's papers, which he wrote in the time of his temptation, & John Perrot's papers ever since, & hath late put them into print against the Lords people & spread them over this Island.


45 John Rous to George Fox, George Whitehead, and
at other times "weak friends hear disputes" which were not beneficial. Apparently the multiplicity of business, the airing of contentions, and the difference of opinions hampered a smooth operation. Rous, who reported to Fox that there were six divisions on the Island, sought the founder's advice.

Not all Quakers were "sold" on mission work. One may surmise from William Loddington's apologia  that some Quakers seriously questioned an exodus from England which by the sheer drop in numbers would strengthen Popery while weakening Protestantism, would deplete the industrious labor force, would riddle the Quaker family, and would separate affectionate Friends. Loddington found all such arguments faulty because casting one's bread upon waters could only bring an increase of Godliness. However, the accusation he found the most galling was the "sly, whispering, slighting" inference that those who transplanted themselves and their interests to the New World "are men of unsettled brains,


46[William Loddington], The Work of this Generation Written in True-Love to All Such As Are Weightly Inclined To Transplant Themselves and Families To Any of the English Plantations in America (London: Printed for Benjamin Clark, 1682), A-2-A-7. The work was written in favor of Quaker emigration to ward off a growing fear among Quakers that emigration was prompted by a desire to escape persecution. Some thought that Loddington was actually George Fox. See Frederick Stone, "The Founding of Pennsylvania," in Narrative & Critical History of America, edited by Justin Winsor (8 vols.; Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Company, 1884), III, 496-97.
wandring minds, void of Solidity and Gravity..."\(^47\) Where, he questions, would England be if their Ancestors had not had "Plantation Principles?"

Loddington viewed the planting of the New World as God's own work, a mission of his generation for the betterment of peoples. The risk was great but the reward would be even greater. Not all venturesome souls, however, had such singular motives, and other persons of more worthy tendencies often saw their plans set aside, or their aspirations dampened. Weaknesses and faults abounded everywhere and individual Quakers were never hesitant to point them out. The Quaker Richard Pinder upbraided plantation owners for their lusts and pleasures and general Godlessness. He warned them that because they had many slaves and bondmen, they (the owners) should always live in a just fear of the Lord, and not be supercilious. Owners also were admonished to "... provoke not your Servants through cruell useage;...they are of the same Blood and Mould, you are of; and you must give an account of your actions unto the Lord..."\(^48\)

Neither officials nor priests were spared the Quakers' scorn, and particularly the latter were contemned. Pinder lashed out at these "abominable Deceivers" who "prophecy smooth things" to their parishioners so they may live in


\(^{48}\) Richard Pinder, A Loving Invitation (To Repentance and Amendment of Life) unto All The Inhabitants of the Island of Barbados (London: Printed for Robert Wilson, 1660), pp. 6-7.
"the same excess of rioting" with them. Never, he wailed, was there a company of men like them. Instead of converting souls to Christ, they were like a company of men that had never heard of Him, "nor hath regard unto peoples Souls, as their fruits make manifest..." 49

Such caustic criticism could only provoke animosity between priest and Quaker. For although Barbados had become the cradle of American Quakerism, 50 or perhaps because of it, "God's work" suffered while "God's people" quarreled over technique and approach. Disedifying Christians could only mean a Christian disedification: that disedification has never been a source of conversions to Christian beliefs and living needs no proof.

49 Ibid., pp. 4-6. George Fox echoed this same sentiment when he claimed that the "Priests and Papists will hardly go any further to Preach and Baptize then their own parishes where they are sure of great Livings, which they have agreed for." See Fox's Tracts, "To All Sorts of People in Christendom," pp. 41-42.

50 Carroll, John Perrot, p. 67.
CHAPTER V

CONFLICT OF INTERESTS: QUAKER-ANGLICAN ANTAGONISMS

When the Church of England was exported to England's overseas colonies its image as a Christ-like institution permeated with zealouslyness was greatly tarnished. For in the colonies the Church proved to be hopelessly understaffed, totally sapped of vitality, and poorly administered, or more truthfully administered by default only. Such a state of affairs made it especially vulnerable to many charges. However, the condition of the Church did vary between the American continent and the West Indies, and indeed between colony and colony. The Church in Barbados, although better organized than its sister establishments in some other West Indian islands, came under the attack of the Society of Friends. The reason for this intensity of the Barbadian attack could be attributed to the "surfeit" of Friends on the island and the general affluence of Barbadian society.

Whatever the reason, no establishment, ecclesiastical or civil, generally appreciates barbs, and when such barbs contain even an ounce of truth, the wounds inflicted are both deep and painful. Such was the case in regard to Barbados. From their very inception on that island, the Quaker attacks against the priests were not only vicious, but relentless. An early Quaker arrival, Henry Fell, could exclaim "...oh the
pride and filthiness and wickedness of this place exceeds all
that ever I was in[...];...their wicked priests...are many of
them drunkards;" Fell further spoke to "one of the chief
priests in the land on that day they call Christmas Day" and
was arrested and tried "yet nothing was done against us;...."1
This brush with justice occurred prior to the passage of "An
Act for the Encouragement of All Faithful Ministers in the
Pastoral Charge Within This Island," which was enacted by the
General Assembly of Barbados in September of 1661.

Legislative acts of themselves, however, were not able
to recharge the vitality of the Church, since such vitality
in seventeenth century Barbados had to come from well within
a Church membership where lassitude had already settled in,
rendering any degree of revitalization to be difficult. Cer-
tainly the first planters were members of the Church of England
and it seems reasonable to assume that they held the govern-
ment and discipline of their Mother Church in high regard.
However, a combination of distance and the deprivation of that
Church's public communion for lack of properly ordained min-
isters "forced" the membership to accept aspects of ecclesi-
astical jurisdiction given to Justices, Churchwardens, and
Governors.2 Obviously, this transfer of power in and of

1 Nuttall, Early Quaker Letters, #366, Henry Fell to
Margaret Fell, February 19, 1656[7], p. 220.

2 Carl and Roberta Bridenbaugh, No Peace Beyond the
Line, p. 378.
itself weakened the Church, but under any circumstances a problem existed with the transplantation of England's Established Church to the New World. Although rejection resulting from the American social and geographical environment was a factor, the most important cause of the Church's failure was that "the Anglican Church in America remained an organizational monstrosity--an episcopal Church without a bishop." ³

Because of this lack of proper governance the fervor of the members of the Church of England diminished on the island while the quality of the ministers frequently left much to be desired. It is not surprising that there was a dearth of good ministers for such a lack of proper governance made some clergy fearful of the overriding powers of the vestries on the one hand, while on the other hand, it made others hopeful of sufficient latitude in doctrine and/or discipline. Furthermore, because the Church of England did not provide any rewards for time spent in the mission field, many promising young clergy were reluctant to sacrifice opportunities of advancement at home. And likewise, because the Church in

³Jordan, White Over Black, p. 207. See also George Brydon, Religious Life of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century, Jamestown Historical Booklet, No. 10 (Williamsburg: Published for The Virginia 350th Anniversary Celebration Corporation, 1957), pp. 38-39. Evidently there had been an abortive move to have an American bishop. A clergyman, Reverend Alexander Moray, rector of Ware Parish in Gloucester County, Virginia, was selected. However, after publicly announcing the selection, the King never signed the charter. The reason for not doing so is not clear, but Professor Brydon stated there was some evidence that Moray died. Whatever the reason, the failure supposedly aroused the interest of Henry Compton.
England neglected the Church in the New World and left it pretty much to fend for itself, it is not surprising that the Islanders did not hold the Church in that esteem with which it was held in the New England non-conformist colonies. Babette Levy maintains that this is proved by the fragmentary pastoral history, because many essential details are lacking both for the Non-Conformist sects as well as for the Established Church. A hasty conclusion would be that the paucity of information might indicate indifference in Church matters. But such a simplistic explanation would overlook such climatic conditions as humid heat, violent storms, tornadoes, and earthquakes. Further enlarging this unhappy picture is a history of fires, plagues, and a constantly shifting membership because of migration. Certainly all these phenomena, natural and man-made, were sufficient to make a chronicle of any Church's development fragmentary.

Those clergymen of the Church of England who were venturesome enough and mission-minded enough to come to the New World were in a less than enviable position. Many times the settlers were hostile toward the ministers and in attempt-

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5 Ibid.
6 Ibid.
7 For fuller details of the Church's history in Barbados see J. E. Reece and E. G. Clark-Hunt, eds., Barbados Diocesan History (London: The West India Committee, 1925). The history was written in commemoration of the First Centenary of the Diocese of Barbados (1825-1925). See below Appendix II for the listing of rectors.
ting to cope psychologically with a feeling of isolation and facing the necessity of earning a living which often degenerated into a hand-to-mouth existence caused many a clergyman to lose his own self-respect. The Church of England's clergy have been rightly termed a "mixed bag," for missionary idealists were often joined by adventurers, by displaced Scottish Episcopalians and by the greatly disillusioned. And because no establishment is ever any better than the men who serve it, the Church in Barbados was destined to suffer. Nevertheless, to judge the lot of the priests by the few who did not measure up to their calling would be an injustice.

Their chief, and most caustic, critics, the Quakers, were prone to exaggeration in order to score a point. Furthermore, one questions the validity of accusations by a people so dedicated and yet so insensitive and unappreciative of another Church's service and worship that they did not hesitate to interrupt its liturgy. Such actions betray a lack of understanding of the priest and his work, no matter how upright a man that priest might be, or how industrious he might be in the Lord's service. To be overzealous in a religious


9 For a different view of the situation see Carl and Roberta Bridenbaugh, No Peace Beyond the Line, p. 380. The Bridenbaughs, contrasting the priests of the Church of England with the Jesuits and other Roman Catholic orders, found many of the former "incompetent or worldly or immoral." They noted that John Page, minister of St. James, was suspended by William Lord Willoughby in 1668, for scandalous and profane talk. His restoration was based upon the condition that he preach a sermon "testifying to his sorrow and detestation of his unclerical behavior."
cause can also produce a narrowness of vision. And yet, nevertheless, the Quakers' aggressiveness served as a "blessing in disguise," since it stimulated the Church, which was almost inert, into action.

The altercations between Quaker and Anglican accelerated in 1671 when George Fox, Robert Widders, and William Edmundson visited Barbados. Fox, who disembarked a very sick man, spent several days at Richard Forstall's house before John Rous was able to transport him to the home of his father, Thomas Rous. A Colonel Chamberlain provided the coach and as Fox related "carried himself very courteously towards" him. A great meeting was held at the Bridge and


11 Fox, Journal (Collins), II, 131. Fox mentioned no great opposition. See John Whiting, Persecutions Exposed in
there were many meetings in all parts of the island. Some of the most prominent Barbadians attended these because, according to Fox, they had expected to see and hear him. Since he was incapacitated the Friends decided to have meetings both of men and of women at Rous's house, thus enabling Fox to attend. That great Quaker found the arrangement both providential and expedient, for the Friends on the island "had need of information in many things, divers disorders being crept in for want of care and watchfulness." Edmundson, meantime, had only glowing reports of full meetings where "many were convinc'd and turn'd to the Lord" and were "brought into the way of Light and Peace." After about a month of convalescence, Fox was able to get abroad among the Friends, but before doing so he paid a visit to the Governor, accompanied by Lewis Morris, Thomas Rous, and some other Friends. They were cordially received, graciously dined, and

Some Memoirs Relating to the Sufferings of John Whiting and Many Others of the People Called Quakers (London: Printed by J. Sowle, 1715), p. 211. Whiting stated that Fox "met with a wicked Opposer, who was soon cut off;...."

12 Fox, Journal (Collins), II, 132.

13 Ibid., II, 133. One wonders if some of the disorders could not have been the remnants of Perrot's controversy. See Carroll, John Perrot, p. 106. Carroll stated that Fox had never mentioned encountering any followers of Perrot.

remained most of the day with the Governor. Fox's reception at the Governor's home buoyed him up and at a large meeting at Bridgetown that same week he was exhilarated at the presence of so many "officers, civil and military...and those not of the meanest rank; divers of them being judges or justices, colonels or Captains...Colonel Lewis Morrice came to the meeting, and with him a judge in the country whose name was Ralph Fretwell; who was well satisfied and received the truth."15

Meetings were large, and people attended them for a variety of reasons. Some may have been motivated by a need for spiritual rejuvenation; others came from mere curiosity. Certainly in an age when forms of entertainment were rather limited, the visiting preacher could provide quite a "show." Also, the crowd may have been influenced by the fresh memory of disasters that had struck the island—both plague and fire. As recently as May of that year (1671), the Council of Barbados had proclaimed that the first Thursday in June was to be a national day of Thanksgiving to God "for removing a grievous sickness and pestilential distemper." All justices were to see that the day was properly observed; slaves were not to labor, and "all taverns, victualling houses, and retailers of strong drink are strictly charged to entertain no

15Fox, Journal (Collins), II, 136-37. Fox spent that night with Morris.
one during the time of Divine Worship." These disasters were viewed by Fox as "God's Wrath," and later that year during his sojourn in Barbados, Fox warned the people that the "Plagues, that swept Multitudes away, as with a Besom," and the "very great Fire, that burnt down most part of the Houses at the Bridge" was just a taste of God's "Sore Judgments" which would fall heavily upon them unless they mended their ways.

Two of Fox's fellow-travellers, William Edmundson and Thomas Briggs, were moved by their zeal to bring the message of Christian truth to the Leeward Islands, and Colonel Morris from Barbados joined them. But after a short period in the Leeward Islands, they returned to Barbados, where Edmundson elatedly reported that the "Friends were glad, and C. F. was there in the Lord's Service. We have many large, precious Meetings, the Lord's Power and Presence accompanied his Testimony and Work committed unto us; and many were brought into the Way of Life and Peace with God." Another Barbadian Quaker, John Weale, was among those privileged to have "a hevinly meeting" at his house; he can be cited as an


17 "A Letter of George Fox and Others to the Governor of Barbados," Eleventh Month, 1671, in George Fox, To the Ministers, Teachers, and Priests (So called, and So Stiling Yourselves) in Barbados (London; 1672), p. 73. A besom is a broom of twigs, especially made of birch or heather.

18 Edmundson, Journal, p. 56.
example because many were convinced of the Quaker Truth but "the wicked" were outraged.  

The "wicked" who were outraged were chiefly the priests of the island, who, viewing the sudden upsurge of missionary activity, determined that the time had come to curtail such "a Base Sort of Phanatick People." The priests in a petition to the President and the Council of Barbados asked that the Statute against Quakers ought either to be revived and enforced, or at least some other measure should be taken in order that the Quakers' "Wicked Insinuations" might be quelled and that the priests may be "Succoured from ...Rude Affronts and Scurrillities." What the priests abhorred were interruptions during the discharge of their ministerial functions. Divine services and sermons had been "Frequently and Irreverently Interrupted," and the Church of England "Scandalously Vilified, as if she were both in Doctrine and in Discipline False, and Erroneous, and AntiChristian;...." Furthermore, the clergy had been charged in front of their own congregations of being "Seducers, Hire-  

19 Cadbury, Swarthmore Documents, Rebecca Travers to Margaret Fox, the second day of the second month, 1672, pp. 74-75.  

20 Fox, To the Ministers. To the Honourable President and Council of his Majesty's Island of Barbados; the Humble Petition and Address of the Clergy of the said Island, p. 48.  

21 Ibid.  

22 Ibid.
lings, Teachers of Lyes and such like..." The priests found that the practices and opinions of the Quakers were "poysoning" their congregations and making inroads as evidenced by the number of parishioners attending Conventicles. The petition mentioned above was signed by William Lessley, John Bernad, William Johnson, John Hopwood, Matthew Grey, and John Page. However, after being read in the House, this petition was tabled. Fox attributed the House's action to being motivated by discretion, while he identified the greatest oppressors of Quakers as William Lessley, William Johnson and a priest, William Walker.  

The Quaker, John Hull, felt compelled to answer the priests whom he considered to be the "Main and Principal (if not only) Instruments in the Hands of AntiChrist, to provoke and incite the Civil and Military Powers here in this Island, to draw out their Swords against" them. Hull found it strange that people who considered themselves to be ministers of reconciliation were in reality "Ministers of Separation, Divisions and Persecutions even to Nasty Prisons, Bonds, and Blood;...." The Lord's ambassadors were to be ambassadors of

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23 Ibid.

24 Ibid., p. 49. See also ibid., letter of John Hull to William Lessley,--Walker, William Johnson, William Frith--Dyke, and the Rest of the Priests and Ministers in Barbados, p. 63. Hull considered Lessley, and his son-in-law Johnson as the chief prosecutors of the "Violence and Fury" directed towards Quakers.

25 Fox, To the Ministers, letter of John Hull, 29th of the First Month, 1672, p. 51.
peace, yet everywhere there were contentions. Hull further charged that the priests "are come it seems here to this Island not to save men's lives, but to destroy them; not to seek after their God, but their goods;...." The letter, which was dated March 29, 1672, had a postscript in which Hull castigated the priest, William Walker, for a sermon which he had preached before the officials of the last General Sessions. It was precisely in the railings of Walker and his fellow priests that Hull found clearly manifested "that none are a Greater Plague to the Church (so called) both in Corrupting and Deluding it, by your Sorceries and Enchantments, and also, in causing the Sacrifice of the Lord to be by men abhorred, then some of you, who would be accounted, the SALT of the EARTH:...."  

William Lessley, Rector of St. John's Parish from 1653 to 1676, seemed to be a special target of Quaker fury. In the eighth month of 1671, a Quaker, George Foster, adduced testimony against Lessley for an offense which the priest had

26 Ibid., p. 53.

27 Ibid., p. 56. See also Lydia Fell, A Testimony and Warning Given Forth in the Love of Truth, and Is for the Governors, Magistrates and People Inhabiting on the Island of Barbados; Which Is A Call to Turn to the Lord (London: 1676), p. 2. The acquiring of Quakers' goods through fines was flagrantly true on Barbados. Fell noted that because for conscience's sake the Quakers could not take up arms, "their Goods are taken from them, almost to the Ruin of some Families outwardly." See also Carl and Roberta Bridenbaugh, No Peace Beyond the Line, p. 390.

28 Fox, To the Ministers, letter of John Hull, 29th of the First Month, 1672, p. 62.
committed in the past.Apparently Foster revived the testimony in response to Lessley's increased attacks against the Quakers. The animosity between the two men had been generated sometime previously by a visit of Foster to Lessley. According to Foster, he was only seeking some goods owed to him, but instead he had been forced to suffer a physical attack which had seriously injured him. Foster had spoken previously about this unpleasant encounter in Lessley's "publick House of Speaking," and apparently the Congregation had not taken kindly to the Quaker's interruption, since Foster had felt forced to add, "as far as I was permitted to speak."29 Foster then bitterly questioned how such a man as Lessley could be God's witness.

Because the priests were becoming more aggressive in their reaction to the increased missionary activities of the Quakers, the members of that Society decided to defend themselves in an address to the Governor,30 answering and defending themselves against the many accusations leveled at them by the Anglican clergy. Fox and the Quakers reaffirmed their belief in God as the "Creator of all things both in Heaven and in Earth," and in Jesus Christ as "His Beloved and Only

29 Ibid., George Foster's Testimony Concerning the Priest Lessley's Striking and Kicking of Him, 26th of the Eighth Month, 1671, p. 50.

30 Ibid., For the Governour and His Council & Assembly, And All Others in Power, both Civil and Military in this Island; from the People called Quakers, Eleventh Month, 1671, pp. 65-79.
Begotten Son."\(^31\) The Scriptures were claimed to be the Word of God, to be "Read and Believed and Fulfilled...."\(^32\) Perhaps that accusation, which was of most concern to the Quakers, was that they were teaching the Negroes to rebel, because the Quakers disavowed this and any such violence. On the contrary, they claimed that they were instructing the Negroes to be "Sober and to Fear God and to love their Masters and Mistresses, and to be Faithful and Diligent in their Masters Service and Business;...." In addition, the Negroes were being admonished to avoid such vices as drunkenness, adultery, fornication and cursing; they continued that the Anglican could not object to a master instructing his family since this was a duty incumbent upon a master under the pain of incurring the Lord's displeasure. Fox and his colleagues concluded that in Barbados, "Negors & Tawny Indians make up a very great part of Families...for whom an Account will be required at the Great Day of Judgment...."\(^33\)

In an addition to this address to the Governor, Quaker writers asserted that they had never coveted the peoples' money as the priests had done. Quakers never came into a

\(^{31}\) Ibid., pp. 65-66.

\(^{32}\) Ibid., p. 68.

\(^{33}\) Ibid., p. 70. See also ibid., p. 77. In an addition to the address, it is asserted that "it should have been their [the priests'] work (who take upon them to be Ministers of Christ) to admonish the Blacks." This addition is not included in Letter of George Fox and Other Friends To The Governor of Barbados (Philadelphia: Trace Association of Friends, 1886), pp. 1-8.
"Parish to make the People and their goods...[a] Free-Hold for term of life...." 34 The priests were accused of watching for the bigger benefices and practicing according to an old proverb, "No Penny, no Pater Noster." Preaching was done for "filthy Lucre, for Hire, for the Love of Money," but the clerics exhibited little care for men's souls. Lastly, the priests' great concern for his due was manifested in his continuous need of the Magistrate's power to assist him. 35 This the Quakers, who were the greatest offenders in the lack of support for the established Church, found most obnoxious. These same motives that prompted the above address to the Governor prompted the aged and prominent Quaker, Elizabeth Hooten, to write a letter, urging the Governor not to give an "Eare to the wicked nor to persecutors, if the Priests come about thee against the Innocent, as they have all wayes don, and Cry help magistrates or else our traid will goe downe." 36 It is interesting to observe that the camps of both antagonists were employing similar tactics: the priests were becoming aggressive and disturbers of the peace while the Quakers were soliciting the aid of the magistrates.

34 Ibid., p. 77.
35 Ibid., p. 79.
36 Emily Manners, Elizabeth Hooten: First Quaker Woman Preacher (1600-1672) Suppl. 12 (London: Journal of the Friends Historical Society, 1914), E. Hooten to some Ruler in Barbados' 7th of 10th Month, 1671. To Warne Him Not to Give Ears to False Reports and the Priests Suggestions Against the Innocent, pp. 71-72.
Although George Fox's stay on Barbados was only three months, it was long enough for him both to make some piercing observations and also to become critical of the Church of England there. In a stinging little pamphlet entitled *To the Ministers, Teachers and Priests (So Called and and So Stiling Yourselves)* in Barbados, Fox challenged his readers to "consider seriously what a charge you [ministers and priests] take in hand; do you not pretend to watch for and over Peoples souls, and to present them to God? Have you presented any to God?" 37 Fox answered in the negative, and then proceeded to catalogue what he considered priestly failings. Instead of working for the spiritual and everlasting good of the people, priests were concerned for their "goods." Preachers ought to be chosen by God and not by men. Were the Anglican clergy so chosen? The maxim of Christ was "Go and Teach All Nations," but were not the Anglicans selective? Fox further taunted the priests for not instructing "Blacks and Tawnies (to wit, Indians)," as well as doing "nothing without a price." 38

During his three months on the island, Fox claimed that he had never heard such "debauch'd Language and Hellish Lyes" as those which had been heaped upon him. When persecution by tongue was not totally effective, the route was then to the Magistrate. Fox compared the priests of Barbados to

37 Fox, *To the Ministers*, p. 3.

the priests around Pontius Pilate or to those who had spurred Saul. Religion, in the estimation of the Quaker, belonged to God's realm and therefore should be outside a magistrate's jurisdiction.

The most stinging lies of all were those cast upon Fox's personal integrity. Accusations such as maintaining a mistress and being intimate with his sister he obviously found highly repulsive; they could come from a mind that could be compared only to a cesspool and could only be a reflection of the personal baseness of the detractors. Such accusations were a manifestation that the authors of these "lies" were not "of Christ," and for such Fox envisioned only swift destruction by the hand of God. 39

The Anglicans had always prided themselves on being upholders of the Scripture, but where, Fox asked, was the Scriptural basis for observing Christmas-Day, Candlemas Day, All Saints-Day or any other holy day. These feasts, claimed Fox, had been appointed by Popes, "and how can you cry out against Popery and yet live in the practice of those things which you have from them...?" 40 Fox utilized the Scriptures to support his claim that all through history priests have been the persecutors and liars. He argued, too, that "Laymen and Mechanick Men" should be able to read Scripture as well as those learned in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. Were not the

39 Ibid., pp. 8, 9-10.
40 Ibid., p. 13.
Apostles of humble origin? Perfection was obtainable in this life as Christ and the Apostles would not have urged men to something which would be impossible to obtain. Who would teach? The "Teacher" would be the one within us which is the grace of God, and that was sufficient for salvation.⁴¹

The Quakers generally found the priests to be brawlers and greedy and covetous. Worldly living was also a failing of some of the priests. Fox, in a homey tale about Parson Gray of the island, pointed to the effective use of Scripture to support one's action, even if that action might be of a worldly nature. Gray had participated at a feast where the custom was to hand about two cups, one containing brandy, the other sack. Not liking sack, but thoroughly enjoying brandy, Gray had a suitable scriptural text to support his action of drinking the one while refusing the other.⁴² The story may not be true, but the moral lesson is there.

Besides being prone to drink, some priests were also "Strikers," and George Foster endured such a rude awakening at the hands of a priest, John Lessley. Another priest who apparently had a ready and heavy hand was John Hopwood; a Charles Bream was the recipient of Hopwood's wrath as they rode together. We are not told the reason for the blow, but Bream, having been struck on the head, "received much harm

⁴¹Ibid., pp. 31, 34, 41-44.
⁴²Ibid., pp. 17-18.
and prejudice, and not long after dyed." 43

In bringing their version of Christianity to Barbados, the Quakers often found their hearers slow to receive and slow to accept it. More startling methods were then employed. In 1673, Margaret Brewster felt the call of the Spirit to excite the inhabitants to repentance but her methods of doing so were a bit bizarre. She posed as a visible sign of sorrow and abasement and of humiliation of soul, and hoping that her viewers might be knowledgeable in such practices, she sallied up the aisle of the Church at Spight's Bay during services. A spectacle with a disfigured face, dishevelled hair, marked with ashes and shrouded in sackcloth, she caused women parishioners to faint and children to cry. The priest, William Walker, displeased with the frightening interruption, had her taken away to the Magistrate. The Mittimus assigning Margaret Brewster to prison described her as a "wild Satyr or some mad lunatick Person," and further asserted that the disturbance which she had caused was "to the Dishonour of God, Scandal of Religion, and Contempt of Government...." 44 Edward Wright and Samuel Hancock, both Quakers, were prompted by her imprisonment to ask some questions of the priest, Walker. "Whither Priest Walker's Hearers with their Periwiggs, Fringes, Paintings,

43 Ibid., p. 18.

44 Besse, Sufferings of Quakers, II, 319.
and other wild Attire, look like a Congregation of the Righteous?...Whether he and his Wife in their Ornaments are a pattern for modest Raiment for the Flock?" As one might surmise, Wright and Hancock were fined for their boldness and affrontery.

Such bizarre interruptions and general harassment failed to abate, for in September of 1676 the Assembly of Barbados debated information received about abuses done to the ministry and to services in the churches. Apparently one of the abusers was Henry Quintin, a Judge, who had used "scandalous and scurrilous expressions against Issac Roet [sic], minister of St. Johns, and the services of the Church ...." 46

However, no other Quaker was as instrumental in bringing issues to a head as William Edmundson, who returned to Barbados in 1675, and then traversed the island attending "full" meetings where many were convinced of the Quaker teachings. Edmundson was satisfied in so far as he had "very good Service, both in publick Meetings for the worship of God, and Men and Womens Meetings in Families...." 47


46Cal. St. P.: Col., Vol. IV (1675-1676). Journal of the Assembly of Barbados, pp. 446-47. Evidence against Henry Quintin was brought by John Kendall, John Hethersell, and Nathaniel Johnson. See also Reece and Clark-Hunt, Barbados Diocesan History, pp. 77, 88. Issac Roett became rector of St. Michael's parish in 1678. This can be viewed as a promotion.

Ramsey, a priest, appeared first at a meeting at Tobias Fryer's home and then later came to a Bridgetown meeting, bringing many "rude People" with him. Evidently Ramsey had decided to fight the Quakers with Quaker tactics, and at the Bridgetown meeting Friends were abused with foul language and were called "Hereticks, Blasphemers and Traitors." Ramsey further challenged Edmundson to a disputation in order that he might prove his charges against the Quakers, which he said he would be able to do from one of the Quakers' books. Edmundson accepted the challenge and the meeting was held at Colonel Linn's house, before a crowd which was estimated to have been around three thousand and included most of the Friends in the Island, "several Justices of the Peace, and others of Account." The meeting, held out of doors, proved futile (according to a Quaker account) for Ramsey who, unable to support his charge, was reduced to railing and slandering Friends. After the meeting, Ramsey went to

48 Gilbert Ramsey is a bit of a puzzle. His disputation with William Edmundson was on the island of Barbados in 1675. This conflicts with another view. See Anderson, The History of the Church of England, II, 489. Anderson stated that Priest Ramsey officiated on the island of Antigua from 1634-1694. See also Reece and Clark-Hunt, Barbados Diocesan History, p. 79. Gilbert Ramsey is listed as the rector of Christ Church in Barbados in 1692.

50 Ibid., p. 74.

51 Ibid., p. 75. Edmundson considered slander as a natural means of expression for the priest, since Ramsey had been a "Frier [sic], and went out of England for Misdemeanors ...."
the Governor, Sir Jonathan Atkins, and registered a complaint. He accused Edmundson of being "a Jesuit come out of Ireland pretending to be a Quaker, and to make the Negroes Christian, but would make them Rebels, and rise and cut their throats: ...."\(^{52}\) Edmundson, having heard of the visit and the impending warrant, hurried with a Friend, Robert Dree, to meet Atkins. After Atkins' hostility had been cooled, Edmundson assured the Governor that

> It was a good Work [to] bring them [Negroes] to the Knowledge of God and Christ Jesus, and to believe in him that died for them, and for all Men, and that would keep them from rebelling or cutting any Man's Throat; but if they did rebel and cut their Throats, as he said, it would be through their own Doings, in keeping them in Ignorance, and under Oppression, giving them Liberty to be common with Women (like beasts) and on the other Hand, starve them for want of Meat and Clothes Convenient, so giving them Liberty in that which God restrained, and restraining them in that which God allowed and afforded to all Men, which was Meat and Clothes.\(^{53}\)

The Governor asked Edmundson if he would appear before the Council the next day, to which he agreed. At the confrontation, the Governor was present as were most of the prominent men of the Island, along with the priest, Ramsey. Ramsey was persistent in his accusations that the Society was guilty of "Heresy, Blasphemy and Treason," and he claimed that he could prove it out of Edward Borrough's book. When the book was brought to him, he could prove nothing, so Edmundson asserted in his Journal. Ramsey was accordingly brought to his

\(^{52}\text{Ibid.}\)

\(^{53}\text{Ibid.}, \text{pp. 75-76.}\)
knees seeking forgiveness from the officials, and Edmundson, according to his book, felt vindicated and pleased that "from that time the Governor was kind to me." 54

After five months on the Island, and just prior to his departure, Edmundson wrote a letter to the Governor. 55 The Quaker preacher saw as the greatest sin of Barbados the liberty which permitted lust of flesh, particularly with regard to the Negroes. The implication was that it was not an "abominable" freedom among the slaves only, but also that of "their Superiors [who] spend the Creatures upon their Lusters ...." 56 Edmundson reaffirmed that "God at the Beginning made Whites and Blacks of one Mould, and Christ Jesus died for Blacks as for Whites...." 57 And that it was in the power of the government to rectify such shameful practices. Finally, Edmundson concluded that the Barbadians were being warned by one who "wishes well to this Island, and Stability to her government." 58

William Edmundson, in his "tour of duty" stirred many troubled waters, and though he could claim that Governor

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54 Ibid., p. 76.
55 Ibid., II, 307-08. Edmundson to the Governor and Council, and All in Authority in this Island of Barbados, 21st of the Twelfth Month, 1675.
56 Ibid., II, 308.
57 Ibid., II, 307.
58 Ibid., II, 308. This concept of a well-ordered Christian society being necessary for good government was a prevalent one among men of the seventeenth century.
Atkins acted kindly toward him, Atkins actually was suspi-
cious of the sect, which he considered the most "troublesome"
among the sects on the island. The year of Edmundson's mis-
sion, 1675, was very significant for the history of Barbados,
for his challenge had provoked a response which eventually
took concrete form in 1676 with the passage of an Act for-
bidding Quakers to bring Negroes to their Meetings. This
Act was only symptomatic of deep undercurrents of unrest—an
unrest which was caused by a sense of being out-numbered, by
an awakening conscience, and by minority rule. Into this
field of unrest were interjected some controlling factors,
factors which could spell suppression, but by the same token
could paradoxically create more freedom: the translation of
Henry Compton from Oxford to the see of London; the creation
of the Lords of Trade and Plantation to succeed a series of
committees on Trade and Plantation. How these two events,
occurring in far-off London, could in some way eventually
ameliorate the lot of the Negro and Quaker alike is the sub-
ject of the next chapter.
CHAPTER VI

1675-1676, A WATERSHED: YEARS OF DECISIVE ACTION

Seeing historical events through the lens of hindsight sharpens the focus and the view one has is more clear and the perspective more true. Trying to place events and people in such a proper perspective while immersed in the ebb and flow of contemporary affairs is at best faulty, while possessing enough foresight to do so is at best, unusual. The easiest task, and the one most visible to an historian, is that of seeing events in a definite pattern.

In the history of Barbados, the year 1675 proved to be memorable; it was a point at which the course of its development took a change of direction. In that year the authorities of both Church and State received an enlargement of power wherewith to curb the tendencies of Barbadians toward having a free hand in both spiritual and legal matters. On the one hand, Henry Compton, newly consecrated Bishop of London, seriously undertook his pastoral concern for the colonies; and on the other hand, the newly commissioned Lords of Trade and Plantations informed the Governors that they intended to fulfill their duties more exactly. Regulators and upholders of dogma and law, the Bishop and the Lords informed Quaker and Negro alike that conformity was the best policy. Such
a pattern of order and control was deceiving, however: in the short-run there was repression; but in the long run this pattern both provided the King with some necessary channels of control, and also provided him with some avenues of dispensation and of compassion. A ruler removed from the petty, and not so petty, vested interests of planters, was much more inclined to take a dispassionate view toward the plight of his subjects, whether they be free or slave.

The King's opportunity to strengthen his control over Barbados in 1673 came at the time of Lord Willoughby's death, when the lease of the colony expired and the island came directly into the hands of the Crown. Barbados from then on was in all respects a royal colony and Sir Jonathan Atkins became the first Royal Governor. He came to Barbados limited by the breadth of royal prerogative. In all its previous history Barbadian laws had been invoked for an indefinite period as long as they had escaped the King's veto. The new ruling, however, was that all laws enacted by the Assembly of Barbados would lapse automatically if not approved by the Crown within a two-year period. Furthermore, the members of the Council of Barbados were to be directly commissioned by royal warrant. Atkins found this curtailing of his discretion especially galling, while the Privy

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Council found the selection of suitable counsellors for Barbados to be difficult. The Earl of Arlington pointed out that several of the men nominated in the draft of the Commission and in the instructions to Sir Jonathan Atkins were "either dead, gone, upon going from thence, viz. Samuel Barwick, John Knight, and Sir Peter Colleton;..." When it was suggested that a Mr. Peirce and Colonel Christopher Codrington might be two of them, the Council agreed that Peirce was a suitable nominee as counsellor but rejected Colonel Codrington because of his heavy indebtedness, lack of a visible estate in the island and "no fit man to be counsellor."

It was not long before Governor Atkins discovered that the planters of Barbados were at variance with the English government on two principal points—the monopolistic operation of the Royal African Company, and the 4 1/2 per cent duty levied for the service of the King. Atkins sympathized with the colony in this dispute between colony and mother country, but such sympathy would not endear him to the Lords of Trade and Plantations, who had superseded the Council of Trade and Foreign Plantations. The Council in sending


3Ibid. Schomburgk found the objection to Codrington most interesting because in time Colonel Codrington had amassed his fortune. See also Cal. S. P.: Col., Vol. V (1677-1680), Journal of the Council of Barbados, May 16, 1677, p. 89. Codrington was listed as representing the parish of St. Johns in the Assembly of 1677.
word to Atkins about this constitutional change informed him that the new Committee of the Privy Council, the Lords of Trade and Plantations, expected a full report on the condition of the island: the laws, the government and its officials, its revenue, its forces in His Majesty's pay, the number of people, the whole picture of trade, the living conditions, and other vital facts. Additionally, these reports were to be made periodically. From that time onward, the Lords showed their authority in instructions to the governors and in repeated demands for regular correspondence and full reports to be sent back to England. Obedience and punctuality were ardently desired, although not always rigorously observed. Distance could help to shield the colonists, so Atkins procrastinated and then gave only spotty information, claiming that it was impossible to supply it fully.

Atkins, as a sympathetic islander, probably resented the lobby of West Indian merchants who, claiming to speak for Barbadian interests, were often blinded by their own personal interests. Then, too, Atkins may have been reluctant to cooperate with the Lords because of fear of counter pressures from the Barbadians. However, whatever the reasons for this

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laxity, the Lords of Trade and Plantations were irritated, and in November, 1675, they sent to Atkins a questionnaire containing thirty-two points of enquiry. Not only was the Governor ordered to answer it promptly, but he was also enjoined to send all laws, upon enactment, to England for confirmation or rejection by the King.

One of the points of enquiry which Atkins was obliged to answer concerned the condition of religion in Barbados. The Governor reported that no record had been kept of the number of Blacks, Mulattoes, or Whites who had been christened in the past seven years. The Church of England had just "lately" started keeping a register of christenings and burials. The Anabaptists, Jews, Quakers, and other Separatists were, however, reported to bury where and under what conditions they chose, while Negroes, who had their own ceremonies, buried one another on the plantations.

The Bridgetown Jews who lived on Jew Street and Synagogue Street were reportedly Sephardic Jews, who had come from Portuguese Brazil while others were Spanish. They were outwardly tolerated although apparently more effectively ostracized than the Quakers. Listed separately in the census, they were taxed separately and that very heavily. The Bridgetown Jews whose households contained between four and

5 "Extracts from Henry Whistler's Journal of the West India Expedition," p. 146. The Jews are identified as being Spanish.

6 Dunn, Sugar and Slaves, p. 108.
seven persons, owned almost as many slaves as their English neighbors. Atkins' successor, Governor Dutton, stated in his report of 1681 that there were two hundred and sixty Jews residing in Barbados. That figure included men, women, and children who were either born on the island or had been made naturalized citizens by royal letters patent. These Jews, though badly treated, were apparently less irritating to Anglicans than others. For, in Atkins' estimation, the non-Anglican sect whose members proved to be the most troublesome were the Quakers. However, Atkins was pleased to report that most of the people served God according to the Established Church and he was confident that "there is not less debauchery and disorder in any part of his Majesty's dominions." The brush strokes with which Atkins painted the picture of religion in Barbados were both full and flattering. Religion was flourishing: churches were well frequented; the sacraments were celebrated every Sunday during a full liturgical service complete with sermon. While Vespers was read in the afternoon, the children were catechized. Further, the ministers and the impotent poor alike were supported by the parish while wanderers and vagabonds were strictly

7See infra, Appendix III.


prohibited. Atkins lamented that that year the tax would be especially heavy as "many churches had to be rebuilt." Not even the Established Church had escaped the effects of the hurricane.

The Quakers were always quick to see in these storms, and in other disasters such as fires and pestilences, the scourging hand of God. William Edmundson attributed his great success during his second mission to the island to the adverse events by which "people's lofty Spirits were down by reason of a very extraordinary Storm, called a Hurricane."

He reported much damage had been done, many people had been killed, and buildings, ships, and small vessels had been destroyed. Lydia Fell, another public Friend, appealed to the magistrates and inhabitants of the island to repent and bear witness to the Lord in order that the future judgment of God might be averted. Scornful of the women of Bridge-

10 Ibid., p. 419. A recent hurricane had toppled many churches. See Schomburgk, A History of Barbados, p. 45. Schomburgk stated that the hurricane of August 31, 1675, was the most tremendous ever to have visited Barbados since its first settlement. (The first one recorded took place on August 19, 1667.) In the storm of 1675 it was the leeward side of the island which was affected most. Houses, sugar mills, and churches all met the same fate. See also George Frere, A Short History of Barbados from its First Discovery and Settlement to the End of the Year 1767 (London: Printed for J. Dodsley in Pall-Mall, 1768), p. 32. Frere noted that Atkins had reckoned the inhabitants to be 50,000 white men and 70,000 Blacks or slaves. This population figure was erroneous. Atkins had, in fact, reported that there were around 20,000 Whites and 32,000 Blacks. See Schomburgk, A History of Barbados, p. 82. Whatever the statistics, Frere observed that a "dreadful hurricane changed much of the face of the country." Frere, A Short History, p. 32.

town who in a previous disaster had promised repentance and then had failed to keep their promise, she had only dire predictions for the future of the island.\textsuperscript{12} The persistent attempts of Quakers to enliven the moral conscience and to instill a social conscience were bound to be met by hostility. These hostile reactions and the handling of them were certainly the concern of the Established Church as it too became a concern of the Lords of Trade and Plantations.

The new body which now was to formulate, stipulate, and regulate all affairs of the colonies, the Lords of Trade and Plantations, differed in many respects from its predecessors. For fifteen years, 1660-1675, the King had permitted select councils in England dealing with the concerns of trade and the plantations to operate. The vacillation and ineffectiveness, for the most part, of these councils have been attributed to various causes. Winifred Root has charged that the members were often inexperienced in colonial affairs, and were handicapped by frequent change in membership, by various domestic difficulties and they also were subject to political caprice.\textsuperscript{13} Miss Root's statement is contradicted by the fact that some members who resided part-time in England and part-time in Barbados were experts, such as Sir James Drax, Sir Peter Leare, Thomas Povey, Martin Noell, Thomas Kendall,

\textsuperscript{12}Fell, \textit{A Testimony}, p. 1. See also Poyer, \textit{The History of Barbados}, p. 101. Poyer termed Barbados "a guilty land" which was "scourged."

\textsuperscript{13}Root, "The Lords of Trade," pp. 22-23.
Edward Digges and John Colleton. Although there was a perceptible decline in both regularity of meetings of the council and in attendance at them, such an unfortunate occurrence was due not to disinterestedness or incompetence on the part of the members but rather was due to the degrading advisory nature of the councils. Any work of theirs had to be approved by the Privy Council and its committees. The Council for Trade and that for Foreign Plantations were commissioned in November and December of 1660 respectively. Membership in the two Councils and in the Royal African Company is most revealing. Of the sixty-two members of the Council of Trade and of the forty-eight members of the Council of Foreign Plantations, no less than twenty-eight members held common membership in both bodies. There were eleven men who belonged to the Council of Trade and to the Royal African Company, which had a board of sixty-six members. Eight men were common to all three groups: John Lord Berkeley, Sir George Carteret, Sir Nicholas Crispe, Sir Andrew Riccard, Sir John Shaw, Thomas Povey, Martin Noell

14 Charles Andrews, British Committees, Commissions and Councils of Trade and Plantations, 1622-1675 (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1908), p. 76. Drax and Leare were Barbadian planters. Povey, Digges and Colleton were all Barbadian merchants, and experts on colonial trade.

From 1665 to 1670 the committees of the Privy Council assumed more and more of the work of the select Councils. Finally in 1670, the King in an attempt to effectively govern the colonies, commissioned a Council of Plantations and in 1672 it was reconstituted as the Council of Trade and Plantations. The diarist, John Evelyn, was among those appointed to the Council of Foreign Plantations. With a salary of £500 per year, he was soon immersed in the work of the Council. At a meeting held at the home of the Earl of Bristol, called for the specific purpose of formulating councilatory letters to all the governors in "His Majesties Plantations & Territories," the chief concern of the members rested with New England, which they feared might be "breaking from all dependence on this nation." The councillors were divided on the type of letter to be sent; Evelyn, for his part, frowned on one that would be menacing in tone. The commission setting up these Councils, stated that they were erected "to take care of the welfare of our said Colonies and Plantations." Furthermore they were charged with the duty to advise the King "in and for all the affairs which do or may

16 Andrews, British Committees, pp. 67-68. Both Colonel Edward Walrond and Captain Thomas Middleton belonged to the Council for Foreign Plantations. Generally speaking, privy councillors were present at the select Council meeting when some special business required their cooperation. Ibid., p. 75.

any way concern the navigation, commerce or trade, as well domestic as foreign of these our kingdoms and our said foreign colonies and plantations." The Earls of Shaftesbury and of Arlington, who dominated the councils, did show some competence as colonial administrators. However, correspondence was lax and procrastination was a crippling affliction, so that rather than operating as an organ of colonial administration the Council of Trade and that of Foreign Plantations at best served as a bureau of information for plantation affairs. Thomas Povey probably had the most accurate assessment of the Council's failure. Povey argued that "among ye other Reasons which may be given, why they [the Councils] proved fruitless, it seems, that it is found by experience that whatsoever Councilel is not enabled as well to execute as advise, must needs produce very imperfect and weake effects." It is not surprising that the King, dis-

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18Andrews, British Committees, p. 107. See also Ralph Bieber, British Plantation Councils of 1670 and 1672, The Humanistic Series, VIII (St. Louis: Washington University, 1921), 244-45. The Council of Plantations held 145 meetings between August, 1670 and September, 1672. After being joined to the Council of Trade, 108 sessions were recorded between October, 1672 and December, 1674. For the composition of these councils see Andrews, British Committees, pp. 97-98 and Bieber, British Plantation Councils, p. 246. Bieber's article has also been reprinted as "British Plantation Councils, 1670-1674," English Historical Review, XL (1925), 93-106.


20Ibid., p. 261.

satisfied with the Council's performance, abolished its commission in December of 1674, and its business then reverted to the Committee of the Privy Council.

The new Committee, formally commissioned as the Lords of Trade and Plantations in February of 1675, immediately began to systematize its administration of colonial affairs. As a permanent standing body, it would have its own clerks to organize the business and the archives alike, while a formal journal would be kept of all proceedings.\(^\text{22}\) The Committee averaged fifty sessions per year for the first decade. The years 1676 and 1677 were the time of its greatest activity in regard to colonial and commercial questions; in those two years, the number of meetings reached the figures of eighty-nine and seventy-one respectively.\(^\text{23}\)

Previously during the years of the various select Councils there had always been in existence a plantation committee of the Privy Council. The King now very wisely upheld a continuity in membership on the committee when in his appointment of twenty-one members, he designated a further inner group of nine to "Have immediate Care and Intendency of those Affairs in regards they had been formally conversant and acquainted therewith."\(^\text{24}\) The inner group included such members.


trained and trustworthy members as Sir George Carteret, Arthur Annesley, and the great military leader, Prince Rupert of the Rhine. Prince Rupert along with the Duke of York (the future James II) were prominent in naval circles. Members also included shareholders and men high in the councils of such companies as the East India Company, Hudson's Bay Company, Royal African Company, and Royal Fishery Company. And some degree of expertise in colonial and commercial adventures was manifested by most. To this list of auspicious members was later added the name of the able Henry Compton, Bishop of London, who was appointed to the Committee on October 20, 1676. 25 The office of Secretary of State, which was served by two secretaries acting as executive agents, also very competently assisted the Committee, and all colonial business had to pass through their hands. 26 Governors, however, must have viewed this administrative improvement with mixed feeling, for on the one hand they could expect support for the policies of their regimes, but on the other hand, they could expect curtailment or limitations placed on the scope of their policies and activities.


26 Root, "The Lords of Trade," pp. 27-28. At first the secretaries shared the colonial business. Later the southern mainland and island territories were placed under one secretary, and the northern ones under another. Three important secretaries were: Sir Joseph Williamson, 1674-1679; Sir Henry Coventry, 1672-1680; and Sir Leoline Jenkins, 1680-1684.
Neither Sir Jonathan Atkins, nor his successor, Sir Richard Dutton, were exemplary in the art of graciousness or cooperation. Often blunt in word and deed, the two governors chafed under the harassment of Quakers on the island and the Lords of Trade and Plantations in London. The instructions given to Governor Atkins urged him to be tolerant towards those of a different religious persuasion although he and his family were obliged to practice according to the "profession of the Protestant religion, as practised in England," and he was to recommend it to others. Nevertheless, the duty rested on him to see that no man was molested in the practice of his religion. What really irked Atkins were orders to dispense those having any part in the government from taking the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy. The only exceptions were to be the members of the Council, the judges and the justices of the peace; in regard to the remaining officials, Atkins was told to find out some "other way" of securing their allegiance. Unhappily these instructions still rankled Atkins in 1680 when he exasperatingly complained to the Lords of Trade and Plantations that he was forbidden to demand oaths of the Quakers, but instead to

"govern them in some other way," an order he found difficult to implement. The Governor found the new status of the Quakers especially ludicrous for

the King's faithful and dutiful subjects are forced to bear their burden, when by an Act of Parliament, the Quakers for refusing to take the oath, were banished to this and other Plantations, whereof they have made such good use as to put themselves into a better condition than they could be in elsewhere.28

Whatever his personal view, Atkins unfortunately was caught in a crossfire, because a conflict of interest became very apparent already several months before he had received his instructions. In July, the presentments of the grand jury in Barbados had spelled out clearly a hostility towards the Quakers, who were reported to be increasing in numbers and were considered to be seducers of the ignorant and fomenters of many forms of heresies and schisms, of division in the government and of uncouthness in manners. The jury reminded the people of their responsibility to have their children "catechised and instructed in the fundamental truths of the true Protestant religion," and pointed out that the ministers had complained about negligence of parents in bringing their children to instruction classes. The elders, too, were urged to be more frequent in worship and to observe better the Lord's Day, which the Jury said was at present a "profanation...a crying sin in the island." Laws punishing

28Ibid., Vol. V (1677-1680), Governor Sir Jonathan Atkins to the Lords of Trade and Plantations, pp. 503-04.
persons found guilty of swearing and of drunkenness also needed better enforcement, while orthodox ministers were to be supported against "insolent tongues and pens of ungodly heretics." 29

In March of 1676, the Assembly of Barbados considered the danger of admitting Negroes to Quaker meetings "under pretence of converting them to the Christian religion." 30 The time which had elapsed between the presentation of the Grand Jury of 1673 and the heated debate of the Assembly of 1676 had been a time of fermentation of troubles and of increased Quaker missionary activity for the effort to convert Negro slaves had begun in earnest. Unhappily such activities on the part of the Quakers were viewed as being subversive, and as constituting a hazard for the safety of the island. 31 Governor Atkins, for one, was determined to block their missionary work, because converting Negroes to Christianity, "of which they can make them understand nothing," was in his opinion, a waste of time. Why Atkins was so vehement over such apparent futility of actions manifests a suspicion which he evidently harbored of the Negroes' ...


31 Sewell, The History of the Rise, Increase and Progress, p. 518. Sewell finds the argument for the safety of the island merely a pretence to deprive the Quakers of their "due liberty."
capability. This suspicion was aired when Atkins told the Assembly, "I shall leave to you to consider whether Liberty be a fit Doctrine for Slaves."^{32}

In order to curb the Quakers, the Assembly on April 19, 1676, passed an act to prevent members of that sect from bringing Negroes to their meetings, and two days later the act received the approval of the Council and of the Governor. According to its terms, any Negroes who belonged to Quakers and were present at their worship would be forfeited, one-half going to the party who would present the charges, and the other half would be for the "publick Use of the said Island." The informer, however, had to sue in any Court of Common Pleas within three months of the alleged infraction. If the Negroes attending a meeting were not the possession of any of those present, an informer could bring suit against any one person who had been there. For each Negro present, the informer would receive ten pounds sterling to be divided as previously stated after going through the proper legal procedure.^[33

It was further enacted that no one could keep a school who, after one month from the publication of the Act, failed...

^{32}Besse, *Sufferings of Quakers*, II, 320.

to take the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy before a Justice of the Peace. A certificate would be issued as proof of compliance or the party could receive a special license from the Governor. The penalty for keeping a school without a proper permit was to be three months' imprisonment without bail, and a fine of three thousand pounds of muscovado sugar. Again, one half would go to the informer and the other would be given for the "publick Use of this Island."  

Finally, in an attempt to control itinerant preachers, the Act forbade non-residents of the island, or those who had been so for less than twelve consecutive months, from preaching at the meetings of Quakers. For breaking this law, one could suffer six months' imprisonment with bail and a forfeiture of ten thousand pounds of muscovado sugar, to be divided again between the informer and the public.  

Such rewards for informing were enticing. Among those who brought such a law suit was Thomas Cobham, who was successful in court against Ralph Fretwell, fined eight hundred pounds sterling for having eighty Negroes at a Meeting in

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34The muscovado sugar was obtained by evaporating the juice of sugar cane and draining off the molasses. See also Frere, A Short History, p. 34. Frere found this precaution regarding schooling "not impolitic in a colony where labor was of more utility than learning."

35[Trott], The Laws of the British Plantations, p. 368.
Richard Sutton was more fortunate; although prosecuted for having thirty Negroes at a Meeting, the jury acquitted him much "to the Disappointment of...Enemies." Acquittal was not the usual course, however, since hostility towards Quakers was always high. Atkins told the Lords of Trade and Plantations in April, 1677, that "the Quakers daily increase in number, sublety, and perverseness, and are grown insolent from hope of indulgence from England." He further reported that sometimes there were as many as four or five hundred at a Meeting, and that twenty of the Quakers were considered of some estate. In May, the Assembly was grievously offended by certain of the Governor's actions, which were considered contrary to the laws of the island: first, he had pardoned the fines levied against Quakers who had refused oath-taking when elected Constables; second, he had granted licenses to Quakers to keep schools. The Assembly urged that such licenses ought to be revoked and that none ought to be granted in the future. In July, the

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36 Besse, Sufferings of Quakers, II, 310. The Declaration--Barbados--Precincts of St. Andrews.
37 Ibid., p. 311.
39 Ibid.
40 Ibid., Journal of the Assembly of Barbados, May 20, 1677, p. 37.
Assembly was further demanding that the Governor should find out why public informers were discountenanced.\textsuperscript{41}

Atkins was in a most unenviable position. For though harboring a personal dislike for Quakers, he was trying to strike a balance between his superiors, the Lords of Trade and Plantations, on the one hand, who ordered him to show leniency towards dissenters, and his subordinates in the local Assembly, on the other hand, who were acting in quite a contrary spirit. The Lords, for instance, told Atkins that they felt the Act against the Quakers was severe, but the Governor in answer explained that it was necessary since "there is not a more deceitful people." The Quaker "designs" with the slaves might have been the "ruin of the place," claimed Atkins, "for they drew hundreds of negroes to their meetings, who, when they had no mind to work, claimed the privilege of going."\textsuperscript{42}

The Quakers, however, were not intimidated by the Act of 1676 and abuses were common. The Assembly, on its part, aware that Solomon Eccles and "other new comers" to Barbados were frequently teaching and preaching at meetings of Quakers, ordered that the Treasurer, John Hallett, should

\textsuperscript{41}Ibid., Journal of the Assembly of Barbados, July 10, 1677, p. 111.

\textsuperscript{42}Ibid., Governor Atkins to the Lords of Trade and Plantations, January 31, 1678, p. 214. See also ibid., p. xl. The editors (Noel Sainsbury and J. W. Fortescue) sympathized with Atkins on this point and felt that he was right but "in virtue of his correctness he assumed too imperious a tone."
employ an attorney for the prosecution of violators. The Assembly also in a further effort to buttress the Act, passed a new Act in 1678, which extended the scope of its previous prohibition, and forbade any inhabitant of the island to teach or preach at any Meetings of the Quakers. Thus, in effect, all preaching by Friends was severely prohibited under heavy penalties of fine and imprisonment.

If the Quakers under Atkins had found life difficult, under his successor, Sir Richard Dutton, it would simply be unbearable. By 1680 Atkins' reports had become fuller but the Lords were dissatisfied with apparent discrepancies and so removed him. Dutton, who had been deemed an "abject minion" of the "court" of the future James II, was selected, in the opinion of critics, as a "proper instrument for effect-

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43 Eccles was taken into custody, and then banished from the island. See Besse, Sufferings of Quakers, II, 325-26. See also Cal. S. P.: Col., Vol. V (1677-1680), Journal of the Assembly of Barbados, p. 223.

44 An Act to Continue the Act to Prevent the People Called Quakers from Bringing Negroes to their Meetings," Acts of the Assembly, #236, p. 115. See Besse, Sufferings of Quakers, II, 324-25. See also Poyer, The History of Barbados, pp. 111-12. Poyer described the Quakers as that "mild and inoffensive society."

45 Besse, Sufferings of Quakers, II, 325.


Dutton had to face the same kind of treatment that Atkins had had to cope with when members of the Council were once again inserted into the Commission, and among those selected by his Majesty was the Reverend William Walker. 49

But a priest on the Council and an overzealous Governor proved not to be a good omen for lax Anglican and Quaker alike when it came to the interests of the Established Church. Particularly sensitive because of his position as the chief official of the Established Church in Barbados, 50 Dutton envisioned his mission as having a two-fold purpose: that of reforming the Church, and that of stifling the most vociferous adversary, the Quakers. When Dutton had arrived on the island, he discovered many things in disorder, resulting from some recent hurricanes, and from vacancies in the ranks of the clergy, due to lack of replacements and he even found a clergyman who was not in orders at all, a Mr. Grey, who had been performing all the functions of a duly ordained Anglican priest for twenty-four years. Dutton was aghast, and


50 The Church of Barbados was nominally under the Bishop of London but in reality it was controlled by the Governor as the Ordinary. The Governor appointed the parochial clergy and schoolmasters. See Harlow, A History of Barbados, p. 249.
Grey, who had probably come to the island as a non-Conformist, was immediately removed and he fled from the island. Dutton informed Henry Compton, Bishop of London, about the matter, and supposedly when the ex-Governor, Atkins, was pressed why he allowed such an irregularity, he replied that if Mr. Grey had not received ordination in the Anglican Church, then he was certain that he (Atkins) "could not have ordained him." 51 According to Dutton, when he informed the inhabitants that he would not tolerate their former liberties such as marriage by unqualified persons, and marriage between persons within the prohibited degrees, they were startled. 52 But, since being startled does not necessarily ensure any degree of obedience, Dutton begged the Lords for instructions to establish an ecclesiastical court "with full authority to inflict censure as provided by law in the English ecclesiastical Court." 53 The request for the court and the statement of its need were predicated on Dutton's assertion that "this famous Island" was no longer in its infancy, and its people "can now digest strong meats." 54 The Lords, however, were not moved favorably.

51 Ibid. See also Carl and Roberta Bridenbaugh, No Peace Beyond the Line, p. 381.
52 Harlow, A History of Barbados, p. 250.
54 Carl and Roberta Bridenbaugh, No Peace Beyond the Line, p. 381.
While Dutton upbraided members of his own confession, he prosecuted Quakers with an equal zeal, using any means, even extrajudicial, to curb them. 55 In 1680, the Governor ordered Mr. George Hannay, Deputy Provost-Marshal, with the assistance of several constables from St. Michael's Town, to disperse a Quaker Meeting on "Tudor Street," or other Place in St. Michael's Town," and to pull down the "Seats, Pews, Desks or Stages there erected." The Meeting house was to be nailed up, and if any Quaker resisted, he was to be arrested. Nevertheless, Dutton's orders were never executed. 56

Perhaps one reason Dutton was so incensed with Quakers was that he felt they contributed so very little to the commonwealth and yet gained so much. The Governor informed his superiors in England that the Quakers, although not great in numbers, were often very rich, and they bequeathed this wealth to fellow members of the Society, 57 and coupled with such irritants was the Quakers' persistence in making appeals to the King and to others who would give a sympathetic ear. One piece of legislation which the Quakers found particularly...

55Besse, Sufferings of Quakers, II, 328.

56Ibid., II, 327-28. No reason was given for the failure to carry out the order. See Carl and Roberta Bridenbaugh, No Peace Beyond the Line, p. 390. Bridenbaugh stated that Governor Atkins closed a Meeting house in 1680, but due to public pressure, it was reopened. The identification of the Governor seems to be a mistake.

severe was the Militia Act of June 17, 1685. They told
James II that it contained penalties for refraining from
fighting which exceeded those of former Acts, and if he con-
formed it, it would not only "disable" them from proper man-
agement of their plantations because of the terms of the
penalties, but it would also affect adversely the royal cus-
toms as the penalties had a detrimental effect on the plan-
tations. 58 A Quaker, Roger Longworth, in a letter to
Friends at the Second Day Meeting in London, reported that
Friends in Barbados were well and that their meetings were
well attended but that the members had to suffer much "for
not sending out men and arms." Longworth complained that
not only had the Friends been penalized through the seizure
of goods, but no relief seemed to be in sight for although
they had gone to the governor, he was deaf to their pleas. 59
In a letter written a week later to this same group, he re-
iterated the conditions and then added a request that the
Friends in London exert pressure on authorities there to
obtain some relief for them. 60 However, what the Quakers
found most reprehensible in the Act was that the penalties
involved the loss of their most serviceable Negroes and the
separation of Negro women from their children; this latter

58 Ibid., Vol. VII (1685-1688), Petition of the Quak-
ers in Barbados to the King, pp. 208-09.
59 Caribbean MSS. (Boston, Massachusetts, Boston
Public Library), I, #4, February 6, 1686, Roger Longworth to
60 Ibid., #6.
practice had the effect of driving their Negroes to despair.

James II had already eased the "burden" of the Quakers when he had issued the Declaration for the Liberty of Conscience in March of 1686, which stated that "It having always been His Majesties Opinion, as most suitable to the Principles of Christianity, that no Man should be prosecuted for Conscience Sake...."61 All penal laws in regard to ecclesiastical matters were to be immediately suspended, i.e., for not coming to the Established Church, for not receiving the Sacrament, for nonconformity in doctrine, or for the "Exercise of [non-Conformist] Religion in any manner whatsoever...."62 Quakers, however, were allowed to serve in the office of the constable without taking the required oaths. Fox was pleased with this turn of events, and he urged members of the Society to "double your diligence in your Office, in doing that which is just and true and righteous:" the Quakers were told to be exemplary officeholders and to "excel and exceed" all others.63

61 The London Gazette (Printed by Thomas Newcomb in the Savoy, 1687), #2226, Whitehall, March 18, 1686/7, The Declaration of the Liberty of Conscience.

62 Whiting, Persecution Exposed, pp. 171-75. Although Whiting was appreciative to the King for granting the Declaration, it was not given in the way the Quakers would have preferred, i.e., "by King and Parliament, which would have been more acceptable than the granting it by Virtue of the Prerogative." The Act was republished the following year.

63 Fox, Journal (Northcott), II, 599-600. To All Friends in Barbados, that are Convinced of God's Truth. 10th of the 5th Month, 1689.
While the Quakers were generally grateful to a King who had opened prison doors to their people, "none having more severely Suffer'd nor stood more generally exposed to the Malice of ill men, upon the account of Religion," the Council at Whitehall gave orders to the Barbadian government to look into "what Ease may be given them [Quakers] in reference to the Militia Act and The Penalties thereby imposed ...." Apparently although there was some relief from persecution in Barbados after the Declaration for Liberty of Conscience had been issued, there were obviously some officers whose zeal overstepped their bounds regarding the militia. After the accession of William III in 1689, the Quakers were still appealing to the monarch for relief and William, manifesting sympathy, ordered James Kendall, the Governor of Barbados, to look into their complaints and to report back to him.

During the decade of the 1680's there seems generally to have been an increased concern for the spiritual welfare of both the religious dissenter and the heathen. Instructions

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64 The London Gazette (Printed by Edward Jones in the Savoy, 1689), #2238. The Humble and Thankful Address of Several of the King's Subjects Commonly Called Quakers, in and about the City of London on Behalf of themselves and those of Their Communion.


66 Besse, Sufferings of Quakers, II, 240. See also Sewell, The Rise, Increase and Progress, p. 604.
were given to successive governors to see that laws were enacted restraining masters and overseers from inhumane treatment both of Christian servants and of slaves. 67 A law was also recommended to prevent the wanton killing of Negroes, 68 while at the same time the Governor was obliged "with the assistance of the Council and Assembly to find out the best means to facilitate and encourage the conversion of Negroes and Indians to the Christian religion." 69

A shameful page in Barbadian history was written when the secular arm of the government was charged with a duty which the religious arm, ever since the inception of Christianity, had been obligated to perform. The argument that the ecclesiastical and civil spheres of operation are yoked in a state having an established religion, can hold little weight. For clearly, the Church of England had exposed a deaf ear to the Christian dictum to "go and teach all Nations." In order to breach this formidable wall of indifference, the Lords of Trade had to take vigorous steps, which were further buttressed by the royal authority from without, and also stirred by unusual concern from within due to the dynamic zeal of the Bishop of London, Henry Compton. Shamed by the missionary activities

67Labaree, Royal Instructions, #733, Humane Treatment of Servants and Slaves, pp. 506-07.

68Ibid., #734, Provide Penalty for Killing Negroes in Barbados, p. 507.

69Ibid., #731, Conversion of Negroes and Indians, p. 505. Because the Indian comprised such a small percentage of the population in Barbados, the great concern was always with the Negro.
of other religions and sects, the Anglicans, or at least some of them, awoke to their obligation to christianize the heathen.

It was fortunate for the Church of England that Henry Compton had been translated to the see of London in 1675, for he exercised his diocesan office along with his membership on the Plantation Committee with great care for the moral and spiritual welfare of the colonists. Longevity and bachelorhood afforded Bishop Compton the experience and the single-mindedness of purpose which were needed to cope with the Church's problems in a rapidly changing world. What made the bishop the "man of the hour," the man who, with his successors, affected the Church right up to the Revolutionary War on the North American continent?

Henry Compton has been termed "one of the most eminent Prelates that ever sat in that See [London],..." After a three year stint at Oxford (1649-1652), he had traveled abroad. On his return to England after the Restoration, he became a Cornet in the Royal House Guards. Giving up his


72 A Cornet was the grade of a commissioned officer in a British cavalry troop. See George Hennessey, compiler,
military commission in order to pursue his studies, the future bishop obtained in rapid succession an M.A. at Cambridge and at Oxford, a rectorship at Cottenham, a mastership at St. Crosse's Hospital near Winchester, a canonry at Christ Church and eventually the bishopric at Oxford. When he was translated to the see of London, the Bishop was also made the Dean of the Royal Chapel. And on January 22, 1675/6, the King had Compton take the oath as a member of the Privy Council. It was as a member of the Plantation Committee of the Privy Council that Compton was able to exert an increasing and a marked influence on American ecclesiastical affairs.

Contemporaries held varying views about Henry Compton, but it is well to remember that it is impossible for any man in public office to escape criticism. The shifting

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Novum Repertorium Ecclesiasticum Parochiale or London Diocesan Clergy Succession From the Earliest Times to the Year 1898 (London: Swan, Sonnenschein and Company, 1898), p. x. Compton received the nickname "Jack Boots."

Compton was over thirty years of age when he was ordained. See Gilbert Burnet, Bishop Burnet's History of His Own Time (2 vols.; London, 1724), I, 392.

religious-political scene in England made Compton's task no easier. Bishop Burnet viewed him as "an humble and honest man," who applied himself assiduously to his duties as bishop, preaching and confirming throughout his diocese. Burnet found the lack of lustre and learning in Compton's sermons directly attributable to the Bishop's lack of application in his studies. One may assume that Compton's patronage of converts from Catholicism and of the Huguenots was not displeasing, but nonetheless Burnet found Compton a "weak man, wilful, and strangely wedded to a party." The "party" was that of the Earl of Danby, who, Compton expected, would attempt to have him promoted to Canterbury; "tho'," according to Burnet, "that was never once intended." One contemporary who has remained anonymous thought that "his Lordship Governed...with much Piety, Wisdom, Moderation and Humanity, towards all Men with whom he had to do;..." Evidently, however, in some of his personal relations Compton was not always too exemplary; in a complaint registered with Secretary Joseph Williamson, J. Crosse stated that his esteem for Dr. Compton had greatly diminished because Compton had failed to keep his word by evading a debt.

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75 Burnet, History, I, 392.

76 Ibid.

77 The Life of...Compton, p. 4.

78 Cal. S. P.: Dom., Vol. XVI (1673-1675), p. 127. J. Crosse to Williamson, January 31, 1674. This is an
Compton eventually ran afoul of James II, who in 1685 had authorized the Bishop to exercise all ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the plantations. Such authorization, however, was short-lived for Compton lost the favor of James II when he refused to suspend Dr. John Sharpe, Dean of Norwich and rector of St. Gile's in the Fields, for having preached a sermon against "popery," and this refusal cost the ordinary dearly. He was removed from the Privy Council, his See was placed under a Commission, and his colonial authority was delegated to the Archbishop of Canterbury. He also lost his position as Dean of the Royal Chapel. However, with the accession of William and Mary, the Bishop was reinstated and the King named him to one of the "commissioners" of Trade and Plantations. Compton's endeavors to validate and extend the jurisdictional rights of the Bishop of London

isolated incident of Compton's broken promises, and therefore it must be treated as such. Nevertheless, the fact that Williamson is being solicited to help in the case indicates both the import of the sum owed, and of the person who is complaining. By telling Compton that Williamson was pressing him [Crosse] for money, Crosse hoped to move Compton to payment.

The Commission consisted of the Bishops of Durham, Rochester and Peterborough. When the Archbishop of Canterbury, William Sancroft, also incurred royal displeasure, the colonial authority which had been assigned to him by reason of Compton's "disgrace" was also transferred to this Commission. See Cross, Anglican Episcopate, pp. 32-33. See also Simeon Baldwin, "The American Jurisdiction of the Bishop of London in Colonial Times," Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, XIII (April, 1899-April, 1900), 189.

Biographia Britannica, II, 1430. The Bishop of London was always to be a commissioner by virtue of "his superintendancy of all Churches in the Plantations." See
in the plantations would never cease until his death in 1713. From his very inception as Bishop of London, his jurisdiction in the colonies was questionable, difficult of application, and unevenly applied and it encountered much opposition.

Compton, extremely sensitive to the tenuous claim of the Bishop of London regarding ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the American plantations, was instrumental in having the Lords of Trade and Plantations order an enquiry. The Bishop had found his "Title so defective, that little or no good had come of it." A "Title" indicates a legal status and the search was made for the Order-in-Council which confirmed the

Cross, Anglican Episcopate, p. 33. Actually there were twelve "great officers of state" named, any three of which could constitute a Committee of the Privy Council for Trade and Plantations. The Bishop of London was the only ecclesiastic on the list. See also Baldwin, "American Jurisdiction," p. 189.

Cal. S. P.: Col., Vol. IV (1675-1676), Journal of the Lords of Trade and Plantations, p. 337. The idea that Compton was an initiator of the inquiry is the position taken by Professor Cross. For an opposing view see J. H. Bennett, "English Bishops and Imperial Jurisdiction, 1660-1725," Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church, XXXII (September, 1963), 178-80. Professor Bennett argues that there is no evidence to support the theory that Compton had the "key" role. Rather, he noted that the Bishop was not present at the meeting at which the Lords of Trade and Plantations ordered a search of the Privy Council Books for the Order in Council. Also Compton was not mentioned in their minutes as being an initiator. (Minutes of a meeting of the Lords of Trade, Whitehall, January 21, 1675/6, Virginia folders 1 and 2. Fulham Mss., Lambeth Palace). Compton was only admitted to the Committee on October 20, 1676.

An Account of the Society for Promoting the Gospel in Foreign Parts (London; 1706), pp. 11-12. This work will be cited as Account: S.P.G..
Bishop's authority. How and when was the Bishop of London empowered with jurisdiction in the colonies? The question has stimulated a controversy which has not yet subsided. Thomas Sherlock, himself a Bishop of London, claimed that legal jurisdiction had arisen "fortuitously" because the Bishop of London "had collected and paid £1,000 Towards a College in Virginia;" previously the Virginia Company, of which he was a member, had applied to him for help in securing and providing for ministers. From that point on the Bishop of London would, of necessity, as the proper ordinary

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83 Cross, Anglican Episcopate, Appendix A, Correspondence of Commissary Gordon of Barbados Concerning the Jurisdiction of the Bishop of London in the Colonies, pp. 279-83. The Order of Council was never found in the Council books but a blank was left for an insertion. Cross supports Gordon's view that there is sufficient evidence to support the existence of such an order. Gordon stated that there are four reasons to believe such an order existed: 1) an Order of Council was made adding the Bishop of London to the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations about that time; 2) again at the time, clauses in reference to ministers and schoolmasters were inserted into the Governor's instructions; 3) the Order is expressly mentioned by Compton in a letter to the Governor of Virginia; 4) two Orders of Council in October, 1686 were issued--one suspending the Bishop of London from his Diocese, and the other suspending him from his authority in the Plantations.

84 See Bennett, "English Bishops," pp. 178-79. Professor Bennett is favorable towards the thesis that Compton was the "founder" of the "tradition" of the imperial bishop. Generally historians see the customary jurisdiction as having evolved through the successive Bishops of London's involvement in the Virginia Company. Whether George Abbott, John King, or William Laud were the originators of the "imperial tradition" is a question. See Cross, Anglican Episcopate, p. 8; Baldwin, "American Jurisdiction," pp. 179-82. See also Cross, Anglican Episcopate, p. 17. Cross dismisses Abbott and King as having any weight in the choice.
be concerned with the ecclesiastical affairs of the planta-
tions. Modern historians tend to look to Archbishop William Laud for their answer to the question, why the See of London? A number of factors are involved in the answer: first, Laud was the Bishop of London when there was increased preoccupation with ecclesiastical jurisdiction; second, William Juxon, his successor, was fully attuned to Laud's policy; third, London, as a great trading center, had closer contact with foreign trading settlements.

Compton had discovered that "little or no good" had come from the Bishop of London's supervision. Not much enthusiasm could be generated on the one hand by colonists who were required to pay for the transportation of clergy to their overseas colonies, nor on the other hand by the clergy who needed the prior approval of the Bishop. Upon inquiry, Compton was dismayed to discover that there were "scarce four Ministers of the Church of England in all the vast Tract of America," and only one or two of them had been regularly sent over. Compton prevailed upon Charles II to provide £20 travel costs for each minister and schoolmaster willing to labor in the New World. The Bishop also obtained from his Majesty the

85 Carpenter, The Protestant Bishop, p. 250. To the King in Council, Some Considerations Humbly Offered by Thomas, Bishop of London, Relating to Ecclesiastical Government.

86 Cross, Anglican Episcopate, pp. 17-18.

87 Account...S.P.G., pp. 11-12.

88 Ibid. See Cross, Anglican Episcopate, p. 28; Brydon, Religious Life, p. 39; Ernest Hawkins, Historical Notices of
gift of a Bible, a Book of Common Prayer, a Book of Homilies and one of the Canons for each parish. This gift was valued at £1,200. Furthermore, it was determined that every minister had to be a resident of his respective parish.

At the same time, because his title to jurisdiction in the Western Hemisphere had a shaky legal foundation, Compton had the government insert certain provisions dealing with this matter among the instructions issued to the colonial governors: 1) God was to be served by participating in the liturgical services as well as by leading an upright life; 2) the Book of Common Prayer was to be read each Sunday and Holy Day; 3) the Eucharist was to be administered according to the Anglican liturgy. In addition, Compton requested that no Minister be preferred to an ecclesiastical position who was not approved by himself.

Compton was tireless in his effort to curb ecclesiastical abuses in the plantations, whether or not such abuses were of a doctrinal or moral nature. He presented a memorial to the Lords of Trade and Plantations in which he enumerated various abuses. One glaring evil that he found was the failure of governors to exercise the "King's Right of Patronage"

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90 Account...S.P.G., p. 12.

in presenting to benefices and cures of souls which happened to be void in the plantations. Compton found that "some parishes are kept vacant where a lawfull minister may be had, and some persons are commissioned to exercise the ministerial function without Orders both in Virginia, Barbados, & other places."\footnote{Ibid., pp. 26-27. This very situation is what brought Morgan Godwyn into conflict with the Church in Virginia.}

At length, in August of 1680, Bishop Compton prepared for the Lords of Trade and Plantations a Memorandum concerning the Church in Barbados, which contained seven provisions:

1) ...a Commissary be appointed under the Governor to exercise...ecclesiastical jurisdiction. 2) Inquiry be made whether if, as ordered, every minister is consulted ex officio as a member of his parish vestry. 3) The Governor to inquire whether the minister of each parish be in due orders according to the Church of England for administration of the Sacrament, etc. 4) The stipend of each parish to be ascertained. 5) Apprehensions of planters that the conversion of slaves may deprive the owners of their present power and disposal of them, to be dispelled as groundless. 6) Particular inquiry to be made respecting incestuous marriages, and a table of marriages, according to the institutions of the Church, to be hung up in every Church, and printed copies thereof carried over by the Governor;... 7) The books of Homilies, of Canons to be in every parish Church.\footnote{Cal. S. P.: Col., Vol. V (1677-1680), Memorandum by the Bishop of London Concerning the Church in Barbados, p. 590.}

It is evident from this Memorandum that Bishop Compton realized not only his dependence on the good will and cooperation of the governors, but also on the dire necessity of
upgrading the condition of his clergy, both their authority as ecclesiastics and also their financial condition. Furthermore, a disciplinary arm was needed, and since Compton, because of distance, was unable to exercise it, he proposed the use of a commissary.\textsuperscript{94} The Lords of Trade and Plantations were not favorable toward the proposition of a commissary for Barbados, but that did not deter Governor Dutton, who had named Reverend John Kenny as his surrogate, and he and the Governor had carried out that rigorous visitation of parishes which has previously been described.\textsuperscript{95} In May, 1681, however, the Assembly of Barbados requested that the Governor halt Kenny's activities, and that the surrogate be forced to return the fees which he had piously exacted.\textsuperscript{96}

Compton was still trying to cope with the problem of controlling the ministers abroad several years later. On April 15, 1685, the Bishop wrote to William Blathwayt, secretary to the Lords of Trade and Plantations, asking him to lay before the Committee the following propositions:

1) That I may have all ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the West Indies, or in Jamaica at least, excepting the disposal

\textsuperscript{94}Carpenter, Protestant Bishop, p. 262. Commissaries had been utilized by bishops of the Church of England to exercise jurisdictions in a diocese where due to distance or other circumstances the bishop was not able to perform his Episcopal functions. Carpenter noted that Compton would not have wanted such a commissary to have any of the civil authority which a bishop in England could exercise.

\textsuperscript{95}Supra. pp. 162-163.

\textsuperscript{96}Cal. S. P.: Col., Vol. VI (1681-1685), p. 54.
of the parishes, licenses for marriages, and probate of
wills; 2) That no schoolmaster be received from hence
without my license: or otherwise that he take the Gov-
ernor's license.... 97

Compton was present at the meeting on April 27 when
the Lords had decided to have these articles inserted in the
King's instructions to the Governors, who were told to recog-
nize only those ministers and schoolmasters bearing certifi-
cates which vouched for their orthodoxy and morals. Further,
if there were a minister in a benefice who was giving scandal
either in doctrine or manners, he was to be removed. 98 But
the Bishop's ecclesiastical jurisdiction did not include col-
lating to benefices, nor granting licenses for marriages, nor
for the probating of wills. 99

Such an exercise of ecclesiastical jurisdiction at a
distance was just about an impossible task. What the Americas

97 Ibid., Vol. VII (1685-1688), The Bishop of London
to William Blathwayt, pp. 29-30. See also Cross, Anglican
Episcopate.

98 Labaree, Royal Instructions, #697, Preferring Min-
isters to Benefice, p. 484. Ibid., #711, Licensing of School-
masters, p. 492.

99 Ibid., #708, Bishop of London's Ecclesiastical Jur-
isdiction, pp. 489-90. See also Cross, Anglican Episcopate,
pp. 4-5. This limitation about collating benefices, licens-
ing marriages, and probating wills, was continued even when
the Bishop of London expressly received a Commission as Dio-
cesan of the Plantations. Professor Cross cited two probable
reasons for this situation. First, the practice was so firmly
entrenched that the English authorities did not wish to un-
duly disturb colonial governments, and secondly, the govern-
ment needed a strong coercive force behind these important
functions. Such force a non-resident bishop, or later, his
commissary, could never be able to muster.
needed was a resident bishop, but neither Compton nor his superiors were about to relinquish any such power. Whether Compton ever intended to go "over himself, to settle the Christian Church in those American Plantations" as claimed, is debatable. However, what Compton did do for the Church of England in America had a tremendous impact on its future development there. Concretely, he put into effect workable plans for the Church, and intangibly he imbued that Church with both a spiritual zeal and a concern for others. Indefatigable as a correspondent as evidenced by numerous reports, commendations, reproofs, and supporting letters to his clergy, Compton was by these means able to raise the morale of the entire Church. This he was able to do though he never had jurisdiction over the laity of the Church of America, nor over the work of vestrymen as temporal heads of parishes. Finding fit pastors was no easy task for they had to be men of exceptional character as clergymen needed to be firm in discipline and pure in doctrine for supervision was

100 Biographia Britannica, II, 1430. A Sermon on the Death of the Late Lord Bishop of London, Preached August 11, 1713, at St. Martin's Ludgate by William Whitfeld, Lord, 1713. This entry will be cited as Biographia Britannica...Sermon.


102 Cross, Anglican Episcopate, p. 51.
lacking. Lord William Whitfeld noted in Bishop Compton's funeral sermon, that they had to be "men of prudence and constancy, to reclaim the inhabitants from their old imbibed leaven of Independency, Antinomianism, and Quakerism; and to reduce the natives from being worshippers of evil demons."\(^{103}\)

Compton, while having to contend in the colonies with the perversity of the inhabitants and the weaknesses of the clergy, also had to bear the taunts, voiced or silent, of other sects and religions who were in the *avant garde* of missionary activities. The Church of England's laxity in that regard greatly concerned the Bishop, and it was to fructify in the establishment of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. Compton has been credited as being "one of the chief moving causes" of that Society, which in turn "did more than any other organization toward the foundation of the present Protestant Episcopal Church\(^{104}\) in the New World. Whitfeld stated that "by his [Compton's] death the Church lost a most excellent Bishop; the kingdom a brave and able Statesman; the Protestant Religion, at home and abroad, its ornament and refuge; and the whole Christian world an eminent example of virtue and piety."\(^{105}\)

\(^{103}\) *Biographia Britannica*...Sermon, II, 1430.

\(^{104}\) *Cross, Anglican Episcopate*, p. 51.

\(^{105}\) *Biographia Britannica*...Sermon, II, 1432.
Whatever else may be said of Bishop Compton, no one can question his concern for the spiritual welfare of the Indian and the Negro. In the Memorandum of 1680 Compton had attempted to have the planters given reassurance that the christianization of their slaves did not automatically spell their freedom. Even if one were to concede that this point of the Memorandum was a political concession to the power structure in an effort to accelerate a process for which Compton felt he bore a responsibility, one cannot fault the Bishop for initiating a christianization of the underprivileged. To be baptized was to be spiritually free, and that Compton found no conflict between being spiritually free while physically in bondage was not unusual for a man of the seventeenth century. Any insight into the whole question of the morality of slavery was slow in coming about but certainly it was fermenting while slavery was festering.
Reaction in Barbados to the news that the Bishop of London desired to exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the American colonies was mixed. Loyal members of the Church of England welcomed this interest because they sorely missed episcopal guidance. Discipline was at times powerless and even the doctrine was at times twisted. Other settlers, however, who were either less religious or non-Anglicans, viewed the advent of an overseer of spiritual affairs as an unwelcome intrusion. They suspected a rigidity and a system that they could not countenance. As previously noted, the episcopal church in America had been termed a "monstrosity" for the simple reason that it had the body structure of an episcopal church but it lacked a bishop. Because of this glaring deficiency, the American Church became by default a congregational-style church centered on a virtually autonomous vestry. These vestries, which became the very domain of leading planters, dominated the Church in an oligarchic fashion, in fact, so much so that the minister's role was a subordinate one. Vestries frequently

1 Carpenter, Protestant Bishop, p. 251
2 Jordan, White Over Black, p. 207.
refused to present ministers for induction, and actually were concerned chiefly with maintaining the status quo. Induction by a governor meant a life-term parish employment for a minister, unless for grave reasons he could be removed. It was therefore in the interest of the vestries and within their powers of manipulation, that presentations of ministers were to be avoided at all costs.\(^3\) To achieve this position of independence the vestries supported, in many cases, lay readers in the parishes.

Maintaining the status quo was more of a challenge, especially when such fermenters of unrest as the Quakers and the prominent priest, Morgan Godwyn, and other concerned Anglican clergymen became persistent pressure groups. The greatest threat to the independent operation of vestries came, however, from another quarter, from the Bishop of London, who expressed a keen interest in the American Plantations and most importantly so in all the inhabitants. Bishop Compton wisely did not try to retrieve some power which the vestries had usurped during the Church's period of neglect of colonial churches, but he did exert his jurisdictional and moral leadership in the 1670's and later decades.

While Bishop Compton exerted a moral influence from

\(^3\)Herbert Klein, "Anglicanism, Catholicism and the Negro Slave," Comparative Studies in Society and History, VIII, #3 (April, 1966), 313. Though Royal governors had the power to do so, they never forced induction. Therefore, the minister's position was totally dependent on the good will of the vestry.
London, Morgan Godwyn exercised a similar function, although in the role of a caustic critic in the New World. Godwyn had had a personal and very bitter experience with the vestries in Virginia. He had found that the members of vestries were domineering and narrow-visioned, while their abuse of power could be stifling, and he further complained that ministerial positions in parishes were purposely kept vacant while lay deacons were utilized to perform ministerial duties. These lay deacons Godwyn sarcastically called "Lay Priests of the Vestries ordination" in a letter to Governor Berkeley of Virginia. Subsequently, however, this critical letter to Governor Berkeley about the situation of the Church in the Virginia colony was attacked as being unfair under the circumstances. Godwyn, however, objected to ministers being subjected to the "Arbitrary Talons of Ves-

4 Morgan Godwyn, The Negro's and Indians Advocate Suing for their Admission into the Church: or A Persuasive to the Instructing and Baptizing of the Negro's and Indians in our Plantations Shewing That as the Compliance therewith Can Prejudice No Mans Just Interest; So the Wilful Neglecting and Opposing of It, Is No Less Than a Manifest Apostacy from the Christian Faith, To Which Is Added A Brief Account of Religion in Virginia (London: 1680), pp. 167-74, Letter of Morgan Godwyn to Sir William Berkeley, Governor of Virginia. This letter, written around 1667, was only published in this 1680 edition when Berkeley had been dead for about three years.

5 For criticisms of this letter, see Brydon, Virginia's Mother Church, pp. 187, 508-10. Professor Brydon found that while Godwyn called attention to a situation which was quite widely known, he came forth with no suggestions for a possible remedy. Such criticisms of the Church from a young minister who did not fully experience the difficulties of the colony evoked a denunciation from Lieutenant Governor Moryson that Godwyn's letter was a "virulent libel." Yet, there was much truth in what Godwyn said.
tries." He considered that members of the vestry were for the most part "sordid Plebeians, the very Dregs of the English Nation, with whom to be truly conscientious, is the height of madness and folly; and whose displeasure, even of any one of them, tho in the most Righteous Cause, doth portend the parties most certain Ruine." 6

Godwyn's criticisms at this point were directed at the vestries in Virginia but were equally applicable to Barbados. In fact, when Godwyn came to Barbados in the 1670's, he purposely avoided having a parish and resolved to continue without such a charge until the ministers were "freed from their Vestry dependences, by a sufficient Maintenance...and settled in their Benefices for Life...." 7 Without such independence, Godwyn felt that ministers were intimidated and unable to conscientiously discharge their duties. Vestrymen were generally the most prominent men in a colony and in Barbados, they belonged to the dominant class of planters. As a strong controlling force on the island, they could effectively block any religious work among the slaves. But then, there was not much of a challenge as any real attempt at missionary work was sadly lacking; Church zeal, indeed, blanched before the formidable planter class, in what has been termed


7Ibid. pp. 153-54.
the worst side of the early Church in the West Indies.\(^8\)

Planters had interpreted the theory that no Christian could be made a slave as also implying that baptism carried with it manumission; their opposition, therefore, to mission work was not surprising and, in fact, somewhat understandable. The Church evidently acquiesced to public opinion.

This question whether or not conversion to Christianity automatically freed a slave was a burning issue throughout all the colonies. Because of prevalent legal misinformation, the planters were able to justify their obstinacy to their slaves' conversion by clinging to the view that baptism automatically freed a slave. And also because of this prevailing view, every slave-holding colony had eventually to pass necessary legislation establishing the legal status of the slaves. Many times such acts were passed only on account of pressure from missionaries, who argued that their work would not bear fruit if "the masters thought their slaves were about to be snatched from them by meddling missionaries."\(^9\)

The situation in Barbados, however, was quite unlike that on the North American continent. The composition of the population, with Blacks totally outnumbering Whites on an overcrowded island, brought with it not only social and


economic threats, but political ramifications as well. Thus, the confrontation with slavery and the slave question, though a testy one for most colonies, was an especially grave one for Barbadians. Two of the earliest and most vocal spokesmen on the subject of the slaves, as we have seen, were George Fox and Morgan Godwyn, both of whom had had firsthand experience with the operation of slavery on Barbados. (Because of the importance of these two men, further special treatment of their views will appear in a following chapter. Our concern here is to see what other sentiment was expressed regarding slavery, both in official and unofficial circles.)

Divorce between theory and practice, law and application has long malevolently affected mankind, and especially this is true when distance is involved. Such a corrosive situation was clearly visible in Barbados, and just as truly, its remedy proved to be a slow, evolutionary process. As early as December 1, 1660, Charles II had given instructions to the Council for Foreign Plantations that they were to:

Consider how such of the natives of such as are purchased by you from the other parts to be servants or slaves may be best invited to the Christian Faith, and be made capable to being baptised there unto, it being to the honor of our Crowne and of the Protestant Religion that all persons in any of our Dominions should be

p. 186. See also Anderson, The History of the Church of England, II, 552. The Assembly of Virginia passed the Act in 1667, which was in "...striking contrast to the state of things which...prevailed in Barbados, and proves that there were many devout members of the Church within her [Virginia's] borders, anxious to secure to their slaves the dearest boon of spiritual freedom."
taught the knowledge of God, and be made acquainted with the ministers of Salvation.10

The King's instructions had apparently elicited a feeble response, for the "Knowledge of God" had made little inroads among the slaves as evidenced by a letter of William Blathwayt, secretary to the Lords of Trade and Plantations, to the merchants of Barbados. The letter, written twenty years after the initial instruction, indicated that the Lords had taken notice of the "unhappy state of the negroes and other slaves in Barbados by their not being admitted to the Christian religion...," and they further stated that they wished to see the slaves converted without "prejudice to freeholders." The merchants were enjoined to meet with the Lords to see what could be affected,11 and this meeting took place on October 8, 1680. The Lords' proposal met with a cool reception for the "gentlemen of Barbados" simply objected to the conversion of their slaves to Christianity. They pleaded their case on the grounds that conversion would not only destroy their property but endanger the island insofar


11 Cal. S. P.: Col., Vol. V (1677-1680), [William Blathwayt] to the merchants of Barbados, p. 608. Copies of the letter were sent to Sir Peter Colleton, Mr. Eyles, Mr. Bawden, Colonel Thornburgh, Mr. Scott, Mr. Davers, and "others." See also Carl and Roberta Bridenbaugh, No Peace Beyond the Line, p. 356 and Jordan, White Over Black, p. 185.
as "converted Negroes grow more perverse and intractable than others, therefore are of less value for both labor and sale."\textsuperscript{12} Furthermore, the gentlemen conceded that the Whites on the island had no greater security than that which was possible by the diversity of the Negroes' languages. Therefore, if the Negroes were to be converted, then all of them would have to learn English and such common learning would hasten a socialization of the slaves which could eventually spell trouble. These gentlemen at the same time argued that Negroes "are a sort of people so averse to learning that they will rather hang themselves or run away than submit to it." Apparently, these lobbyists in trying to establish their case failed to see the contradiction implied in using both arguments. Regardless of this, however, their last plea that conversion would impair their value and price, though erroneous, perhaps reflected a more honest motivation for obstinacy. Such an impairment, they implied, could be disastrous both for the Planter and for the African Company alike.\textsuperscript{13}

The following year the Barbados Assembly told Governor Dutton, who was urging this aspect (conversion of

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{12}Cal. S. P.: Col., Vol. V (1677-1680), Journal of the Lords of Trade and Plantations, p. 611. The Lords concluded as a result of the meeting that the Governor, Council and Assembly of Barbados were the suitable parties to find out the best means for converting Negroes without injury or damage to property. Such an instruction was to be sent to Sir Richard Dutton.

\textsuperscript{13}Ibid.
\end{footnotesize}
We are ready to do anything for the encouragement of Christian servants, but as to making the negroes Christians, their savage brutishness renders them wholly incapable. Many have endeavored it without success. If a good expedient could be found, the Assembly and people would be ready to promote it.\textsuperscript{14}

Barbadians found that "good expedients" were scarce or not apropos for the island, so progress in regard to conversion was still being hampered in 1685. An entry of John Evelyn for September 16, 1685, recorded that he (Evelyn) could not forget a resolution which Charles II made at the Council Meeting at Whitehall in which his Majesty reaffirmed his resolve

...that the Negros in the Plantations should all be Baptized, exceedingly declaiming against that impiety, of their Masters prohibiting it, out of a mistaken opinion, that they were then ipso facto free: But his Majestie persists in his resolution to have them Christn'd which piety the Bishop, deservedly blessed him for; \textsuperscript{15}

Reluctance and obstinacy were the characteristics which best exemplified the planters' action or rather inaction. Still complaining in 1695, the planters pressured the Governor (Russell), who told the Lords that the planters would object because the keeping of Christian holy days would be a further obstacle as the planters already thought Sundays too much to be spared from work. \textsuperscript{16}


\textsuperscript{15} Evelyn, Diary, IV (1673-1689), 471. The editor of the Diary, E. S. de Beer, said that no such order could be traced.

\textsuperscript{16} Carl and Roberta Bridenbaugh, No Peace Beyond the Line, p. 356.
Bishop Compton, as previously mentioned, had tried in 1680 to reassure the planters in Barbados that conversion did not automatically mean freedom for their slaves. Since there was no stigma attached to slaveholding even by Churchmen, the keen concern had to be for their souls. Compton pleaded for the admission of Negroes to the Christian religion and for this he "deserves to be remembered." Under that Bishop's leadership, the Church of England made some effort to convince its membership that conversion did not mean freedom from physical bondage, and that conversion did not make slaves intractable. The English missionaries who were cognizant of and sensitive to the efforts and the means of operation of the Spanish missionaries, or any Catholic missionaries, often cited their success. Morgan Godwyn was especially sensitive to the success of "Popery." When addressing the King, James II, he reminded His Majesty of an utterance that one of the late Kings of Spain had made to his father, Charles I, when he, as a prince, was visiting in Spain. Charles was favorably impressed with the vastness of Spanish holdings and expressed his admiration. The Spanish king observed that "...God had entrusted him with divers Nations and Countries; but that his advantage thereby was to

17 Cal. S. P.: Col., Vol. V (1677-1680), p. lii. The editors saw Compton urging this "charitable design" when a principal question between the Colonies and the Mother Country regarding Negroes was whether they were goods or commodities.
have the opportunity to propagate Christian Religion."\(^{18}\)

Godwyn found it humiliating that the English should have less zeal than foreign nations, especially the Spaniards and the French. Numerous conversations with people from those parts (French and Spanish Colonies) along with written reports which he failed to identify convinced him of the tremendous success of the Catholic missionaries. Such a situation caused him to charge that if the Catholic colonizers had not been better principled they might have raised objections, such as those that had been raised by Barbadians, to the Christianization of natives. But Godwyn sarcastically concluded that "they [the Catholic colonizers] are not yet arrived to that wisdom and foresight as to apprehend the Dangers and Inconveniences of Religion."\(^{19}\) In the Spanish colonies, planters were required to baptize their slaves and to send them to Mass on Sundays. Moreover, a great respect for the slaves' families was exhibited. A slave who wished to marry a woman from another plantation was either sold to her master or she was bought by his master, and families were not to be separated under any circumstances, unlike the


\(^{19}\)Godwyn, *Negro's and Indians Advocate*, p. 162.
unhappy situation in Barbados. Furthermore, in the Spanish colonies if a slave were maltreated, he could obtain a court order for his sale, and for three hundred dollars he could be a free man.

Just as the Spanish had exhibited much success in converting the natives so had the French. The island of St. Christopher served as both a prime example and a nagging reminder. Godwyn noted that on that island which the English shared with the French the latter "confer Baptism upon all that sort of People," while the English on their half "sacriligiously reject and give it up for impossible." Repeatedly Godwyn asked the question why "Popery only makes its converts better, but Protestantism worse."

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20 Claude Levy, "Slavery and the Emancipation Movement in Barbados, 1650-1833," Journal of Negro History, LV, #1 (1970), 3. For the abuse of the sanctity of the Negro family see Besse, Sufferings of Quakers, II 329. A Letter to the Governor of Barbados, called Sir Richard Dutton, from the Quakers. 28th day of the second mon th, 1683. The Quakers bitterly complained that Barbadian officials would "...sometimes...attack our black Servants in an unnatural Way and Manner, viz. Husband from Wife, Wife from Husband, Father and Mother from Children, and Children from Parents, and this they do, though the Produce of the Country and other Goods might be had...." The letter was signed on behalf of all the brethren by Thomas Robins, Thomas Pilgrim, Joseph Borden, Thomas Richards, and Ralph Weeks.


23 Godwyn, A Supplement to the Negro's and Indians Advocate on Some Further Considerations and Proposals for the Effectual and Speedy Carrying on of the Negro's Christianity in our Plantations (Notwithstanding the late pretended Impossibilities) without any prejudice to their Owners (London: Printed by J. D., 1681), p. 9. This work will be cited as Godwyn, Supplement.
Godwyn was not the only one using "Popery success" as a measuring stick. Fox, too, was aware of the apparent success of Catholic missioners. His view was that his followers should be even more ardent and dedicated missioners. William Loddington urged ministers and planters to be very wise in the "managing all Affairs, lest the Indians have as little regard to the Light of Christ in them when they are told of it, as they had to the Spaniards Heaven." No matter what view the Protestant took of the Catholic endeavor, he certainly was aware that there was such an endeavor.

The obvious contrast between the Catholic and Protestant churches in response to slave conversion has been explained as chiefly being the difference in conversion techniques. Catholics baptised without extensive preparation and Quakers depended on the quest for the "Inner Light," while the Protestants, whose cornerstone was Bible-learning, found it necessary to have more formal religious instruction.

To educate the slaves to become Christians would necessitate giving them a common tongue and means of communication. It would mean congregating them in a church, and by that very congregation they could become easily aware of human and legal rights. Furthermore, being outnumbered, the

24 [Loddington], The Work of This Generation, [A-4].
25 Dunn, Sugar and Slaves, p. 249.
settlers were especially mistrustful of such a procedure. The alternative would be to have education depend on the Christian obligation felt by individual families, and apparently that sense of obligation was not very strong, as reflected in Church records. Slave children, for instance, had to be presented for baptism by masters and mistresses who then acted as sponsors. The dearth of entries certainly signified a religious indifference.

The community of Christian Negroes in Bridgetown, Barbados, was small. From 1670 to 1687, there were only thirty-four mulattoes and Negroes baptised, married or buried in St. Michael's Church.\(^{26}\) That figure represents around an eighteen-year span for a heavily populated area of the island. Additional samplings will produce the same picture. For instance, using the years 1678-1679 as a standard, the paucity of activity in regard to the Negro and as reflected in baptisms, marriages and burials, is glaring.\(^{27}\) In St. Michael's parish that year, the only Negro or mulatto recorded is one Mary Morris, "a Christian Negro," who was buried on July 22, 1679. That figure appears especially anemic when one considers that the parish boasted a population of 3,746

\(^{26}\) Ibid. p. 225 (St. Michael Parish Register: Baptisms, Marriages and Burials, Vol. 1A, R, 1 1/1, Barbados Archives).

\(^{27}\) Hotten, Original Lists of Persons of Quality, pp. 421-508, Parish Registers.
Negroes. In St. George's Parish in the same time-span there was no Negro or mulatto indicated in the thirty-six baptisms or sixty-six burials recorded and this occurred in an area where the Negroes numbered 4,316. In the parish of Christ Church with a Negro population of 4,723, there were a number of christenings: on November 24, 1678, a son of a Christian Negro, Obah, was baptized as well as John Osburn's responsibilities, Susanna, his "Negroe Woman," and her son William as well as Martha, the "Moletto Daughter" of Osburn and Susanne. Osburn was not the only white settler concerned for the spiritual welfare of his progeny, as Nicholas Bidlecomb had his "Moletto" son baptized on July 9, 1679. From these few random samplings one can see that neither minister nor master was overly busy during these early years with the promotion of infant baptism, much less that of an adult.

Such laxity was the shame of the established Church and writers were not slow to assess the situation. In 1684 a work entitled Friendly Advice to the Gentlemen-Planters of the East and West Indies was published, of which Part II is an incisive commentary on the slave-master, Christian/heathen relationship on the island of Barbados and other West Indian islands. In this section of the work, the author, Thomas


29 Ibid., pp. 460-64. St. George's Register.

Tryon, viewed the situation through the eyes of a slave. Questioning and rebuking, he slashed away at the establishment, in this case the planters, for their glacial response to slavery. Tryon, as the "Negro spokesman" for the Negro, registered their complaints of hard servitude and cruelties inflicted by cruel masters in the West Indian plantations. Under what pretensions, he wondered, do the "nominal Christians" take upon themselves not only the right to have slaves, but to "...over-labour, half-starve, abuse and kill" them at their pleasure. He asked,

Is it because we are not of your Religion and Belief? Hath God anywhere given a Commission to those that profess Christianity, that they can fall upon any Persons, whom they called Heathens, and dispossess them of their lands, or lead them away Captive, and make Merchandize of them, and use them in all respects as Beasts, or rather much worse?31

In addition, the writer found a great dichotomy between the profession of religion and its practice although he noted that some people might argue that religion had not given anyone the right to have slaves. Instead, as a substitute for such a righteous position, these "Christians" might claim a prerogative right to Christianity from descent or pedigree, or from some "different Fabrick" of their bodies, or from "extraordinary endowments" of the mind. 32 Each argument was


32 Ibid., 114.
effectively dismantled in a summary fashion. Regarding the question of descent, the author reminded his readers that the Christian religion teaches that all men are Adam's descendants, and therefore, all may claim the same lineage, while the "Fabrick" of the body referred to was that of color. Espousing the position that "black is beautiful," the author attributed the difference of color to the accident of "Climate and Soil" upon the skin. Whatever the cause, it was deemed ludicrous that any man should be made a "Slave forever merely because his Beard is Red, or his Eyebrows Black." The obvious conclusion was that if hue were the only difference, then "white which is as contrary to black, as black is to white" should be sufficient reason that "you should be our Slaves, and we yours."33 Moreover then, as Tryon viewed it, the main differences between the Christians and the Negroes were the differences of color, and of the various "Ornamental Advantages" as reading, writing, and the knowledge of various languages. By the choice of the words, "ornamental" and "advantages," the inference is clear that with proper training that was also similar to the training given to persons of white origin, the Negro could acquire the same learning skills. It was acknowledged that the Whites had been taught the "Notions of Religion," which the Negro was not skilled in; nevertheless, the cornerstone of religion

33Ibid., 115-16.
which was: "To do as we would be done by, we understand as well as they, and are sure they practice it less than we."\textsuperscript{34}

Finally, masters were chided for emphasizing the excellence of Christianity and yet being utterly selfish in sharing it. Not only did masters neglect to teach and instruct their slaves, which was reprehensible, but by their very actions they betrayed all Christian virtues. In explaining this reluctance to share and the exclusiveness of planters in regard to religion, the author voiced the belief that was prevalent among planters, i.e., that baptism would free their slaves from physical bondage.\textsuperscript{35} However, not all Christian masters were of the same callous cut; certainly there were at least a few who were just and merciful and who increased food, both in quality and quantity, and who provided rest and kindly treatment. Nevertheless, these compassionate and considerate masters were the "few" and one might assume that the majority of them were probably Quakers who exercised not only a physical alleviation but a spiritual one as well. Most masters, according to Tryon, tyrannized over, ill-used, and poorly provided for their slaves; proof of this was evidenced by the yearly importation of Negroes, a telling index to the "vast Consumption or Destruction" of

\textsuperscript{34}Ibid., 119-20.

\textsuperscript{35}Ibid., 139. Tryon stated that the masters "... desire and endeavor to keep us Heathens that we may continue their Slaves, and thereby are Guilty not only of oppressing our Bodies, but (as much as in them lies) of damning our Souls."
the race. In particular, Tryon cited Barbados as the classic example precipitating this charge of gross misuse of the Negro, for in that island "...there are supposed to be commonly resident, forty or fifty Thousand of our Country-People that are Slaves; and though we have our Custom of Plurality of Wives, and are naturally as fruitful as most Nations, yet our Off-spring will not maintain the Number...,"36 necessitating that every year thousands of slaves were introduced as "fresh Supplies," in order to maintain the "old Stock or Number...."37 Such abuse toward the Negro on the part of masters was detrimental to the interests of these masters, but this could be attributed, in Tryon's view, to their (the masters') "devilish Wrath."38

But, what of those "few" masters who extended some Christian civility toward their slaves? From the time of their first residence in Barbados and their confrontation with slavery, the Quakers had exhibited a lively spiritual concern for the Negroes while at the same time profiting from the system.39 In no way, at this point, did Quakers find

36 Ibid., 142.
37 Ibid.
38 Ibid., 145.
39 Dunn, Sugar and Slaves, pp. 104-05. Professor Dunn noted that the Quakers in 1680 owned collectively 1,626 Negroes. Six Quakers, Thomas Clark, Richard Forstall, Thomas Foster, Henry Gallop, John Rous, and Thomas Rous, owned more than a hundred slaves apiece.
any inconsistency between their Christian faith and the buying and selling of slaves. The Quaker message to the slaves remained simple: those in bondage were to fear God, be industrious, and love their masters and overseers. If they would do these, the masters and overseers would love them. One such master was the Quaker slaveholder, Lewis Morris, who owned scores of slaves. It was he who afforded George Fox accommodations when the Quaker leader had visited the island in 1671. Undoubtedly, Lewis Morris was moved by Fox's pleading on the behalf of slaves for kind treatment, and indeed, for religious instruction. When Morris departed the island for New York in 1673, he took his slaves with him. Morris was one among many prominent Quaker slaveholders who were not seized with an "abolition" fever, and indeed who, for the most part, found no element of compromise in

40 Ibid., pp. 105-06. The Quaker message to the slaves in the seventeenth century is considered by Professor Dunn to be similar to John Wesley's message to the English working class in the following century.

41 Thomas Drake, Quakers and Slavery in America (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950), p. 4. In Morris' will, which was probated in 1691, sixty-six slaves worth $844 were mentioned. Most of these were bequeathed to the leading Quakers of the day.

42 Morris had become a Quaker before 1671. Having held the rank of Colonel and having been a member of the Governor's Council, Morris, who remained a wealthy planter, still exerted great influence on the island. He and Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Rous each held 400 acres, while Rous' son, Major Thomas Rous, owned 350 acres. Quakers, though pacifists, often were referred to by their former military ranks. See Manice, "George Fox, Quakers, Negroes and Slavery," p. 74.
their principles. They were, however, moved to a more humane treatment of their slaves.

But, long before the advent of Fox in Barbados, Richard Pinder, a public Friend, urged masters to see that kind treatment was afforded the slaves by the overseers; and if the masters failed to do so, they would bring "blood" upon themselves which would be Divine retribution for allowing the slaves to be "wrongfully entreated and unmercifully used."43 Pinder, writing prior to 1660, saw the possibilities of insurrections, and that these insurrections would be the correcting "Rod" of the Lord. Although the threat of Divine retribution for belligerent deviators from the Divine Word was common to Quaker thinking, Pinder's pamphlet, nevertheless, was not simply a threat coupled with a dire prediction of "do this or else," but rather it was a testimony of genuine concern by the Quakers for their fellowmen. A great deal of time elapsed between this expression of concern and the concrete realization and application of it in the form of alleviation for the Negro, for it was principally through the concerted efforts of Fox and his travelling companions that change was effected.

It was not surprising that as the activities of Fox and his fellow travellers44 on behalf of the Negro slaves

43 Pinder, A Loving Invitation, p. 12.

44 For the fellow travellers see supra, p. 122, n. 10. John Rous, who was born in Barbados and was the son of Thomas Rous, maintained a home in England.
accelerated, alarm and suspicion on the part of the islanders proportionately grew. Among the twelve public Friends who accompanied Fox to the island in 1671 were two women; one of these, Elizabeth Hooten, felt compelled by the injustices that she saw to appeal to the magistrates and other civil authorities. She charged that the poor were being robbed by the "Rich mens Negroes," and endless complaints from these poor victims seemingly produced no satisfaction. In her opinion, the rich men were at fault, not the Negroes, for it was "...the Duty of every man to take care and see there family have Sufficient food and anything else they stand in need of...." Furthermore, Hooten urged that the Negroes ought to be instructed in what was good so that stealing and other evil acts would not occur. This dynamic woman did not even hesitate to tell rulers and magistrates that if good laws were to be made and enforced, rulers and magistrates themselves would have to produce a reformation in their own lives. Undoubtedly, such a reproof, no matter how well-intentioned, evoked a hostile and unfriendly reaction, while these reproofs and also the large Meetings brought the Quakers notoriety, and, as previously noted, a host of accusations

45Elizabeth Miers and Elizabeth Hooten. The latter was over seventy and died in Port Royal, Jamaica, two months after her appeal to the rulers and magistrates in Barbados.

46Manners, Elizabeth Hooten, p. 71. "To the Rulers and Magestrats [sic] of this Island that ought to Rule for God," by Elizabeth Hooten.

47Ibid.
on the part of Anglican priests. George Fox, in his defense of the Quakers, was able at least temporarily to allay some of the fears of the Barbadians, but such was not the case when William Edmundson returned in 1675.

When Edmundson arrived in Barbados, he was determined to do something about the plight of the Negro, and began to conduct meetings for those underprivileged persons. George Fox was especially pleased to hear about Edmundson's endeavors, as evidenced by a letter, which has since been lost, in which Fox began, "Dear William Edmundson, I received thy letter and I am glad to hear of thy good service and that you have got up the negro meetings." It was during this sojourn in Barbados that Edmundson had the unpleasant encounter with the priest, Gilbert Ramsey. Although Edmundson was able to discredit the priest while at the same time vehemently denying that he was teaching the Negroes to rebel, the seed of distrust was not easily dispelled. Edmundson argued that only ignorance and brutal treatment would cause slaves to revolt, while adherence to Christian doctrines would prevent it, which, in other words, meant that Christian teaching would be supportive of maintaining slavery.


49 Herbert Aptheker, "The Quakers and Slavery," Journal of Negro History, XXV, #3 (July, 1940), 333.
Such a view was not uncommon to Quakers, who for a long time applied half-hearted measures of Christian principles to the whole slavery problem. Thomas Drake, who in his work, *Quakers and Slavery in America*, classified the Quakers according to their views toward slavery, placed the membership into four categories. The first group were the early Quakers who accepted the system of slavery as a natural institution without any qualm of conscience, while another segment of the Society were perplexed but immobile, and a third faction agreed with Fox that in spite of the Negroes' ignorance and immorality, they were entitled to kindly treatment and some basic Christian education. Lastly, some "sensitive few" doubted if Christians could keep their fellow man in slavery. Among this last grouping of Quakers eventually stood Edmundson, who had come to the conviction that slaveholding was unChristian in its very nature; he stated his views in a letter to Friends in America that

> it would be acceptable with God and answer the witness in all, if you did consider their [i.e., the Negroes'] condition of perpetual slavery, and make their condition your own, and so fulfill the law of Christ. For perpetual slavery is an aggravation and an oppression upon the mind, and hath a ground; and Truth is that which works the remedy, and breaks the yoke, and removes the ground. So it would do well to consider that they [the slaves] may feel, see, and partake of your liberty in the gospel of Christ...[that] they may see and know the difference between you and other people, and your self-denial may be known to all....And many of you count it unlawful to

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50 Drake, *Quakers and Slavery*, p. 9.

51 Ibid.
make slaves of the Indians, and if so, then why the Negroes?\footnote{Ibid., "A Letter to Friends in America" from William Edmundson (1676). This letter first appeared in A Brief Statement of the Rise and Progress of the Testimony of the Religious Society of Friends Against Slavery and the Slave Trade. Published by Direction of the Yearly Meeting Held in Philadelphia in the Fourth Month, 1843.}

Such questioning undermined the props of legality and Christian good-will. For years the slave trade had been considered legal because the Negroes were sold to traders by their own African kings. Since most Negroes had been taken prisoners in tribal wars, it was maintained that the Africans themselves were responsible for the condition of slavery.\footnote{Manice, "George Fox, Quakers, Negroes and Slavery," p. 11.} Such reasoning served as a salve for conscience while traders conveniently remained blind to the fact that by providing a market for the Negro, they were perpetuating an evil system. Quakers, being pacifists, began to question the rightness of obtaining prisoners in any war, since war was evil. Then, too, if one argued that slavery was justifiable because of the necessity to regulate "sinful and ignorant men...which could be of service to God and mankind,"\footnote{Richard Schlatter, The Social Ideas of Religious Leaders, 1660-1688 (London: Oxford University Press, 1940), p. 84. See also Haynes, Negro Community, p. 37.} such an argument paled before the puny efforts of christianizing.

While Anglicans were remiss in their christianizing efforts, not all Quakers had found it easy to preach on the
island to haughty planters, and some had even found it difficult to instruct the Negroes. John Stubbs and Solomon Eccles, as examples, had found "it was a Great Crosse att the first but now its made more easy...." Stubbs, in a letter to Fox's wife, Margaret Fell, told her that "the Truth is freely preached, both to white people & Black people." Stubbs continued that he and Eccles had had several meetings but none to compare with those of Fox, and he added "wee feell the Lord's presence & power in that service, [to Blacks] as well as when wee speaks among the white people." The Quakers certainly never completely discontinued instructing Negroes in spite of prohibitive measures, as indicated ten years later when Joan Vokins, a public Friend, described her busy stay in Bridgetown: "...most Days I had two or three Meetings of a Day, both among the Blacks and also among the Whites." It has been estimated that in 1680, fifty-four Quaker masters possessed 1,626 Negroes. This figure is considerably higher than one estimated by Edward Manice of fifty-one Quaker masters possessing 632 Negroes. Each

56 Ibid.  
57 Ibid.  
59 Dunn, Sugar and Slaves, pp. 104-05.  
60 Manice, "George Fox, Quakers, Negroes and Slavery," pp. 44-46. Manice, however, based his comparison on the
master then possessed on an average of nine Negroes to every white servant. This was a considerable drop from the 1671 ratio of twelve Negroes to one plus white servants. The calculation was made that the Quakers in 1680 comprised only about 2 1/2 to 3% of the population. 61

Though Quakers continued to preach to the Negroes in spite of the law prohibiting it, not all masters or mistresses sympathetic toward Friends were so unintimidated as is shown by a letter written by Alice Curween, a public Friend, to Martha Taverner, who with her slaves resided on Barbados. 62 The letter, which as a statement of truth, was couched in a language which helped veil emancipation sentiments. The Curweens (Alice and her husband Thomas) had spent seven months in Barbados after a journey which had evidence of only four parishes: Christ Church, St. James, St. Andrews and St. Michaels. He attributed the lower proportion of Negroes for Quaker masters to the accident of occupation. Of the fifty-one masters who were Quakers, there were nine shopkeepers, five surgeons or physicians, three carpenters or joiners, two shoemakers, one surveyor and one scrivner. It was estimated that of all the seventeenth century Friends in the New World, the Quakers in Barbados probably had the highest average of Negro slaves per Quaker master. See ibid., p. 3.

61 Ibid., pp. 45, 48. In 1680 there were an estimated 60,000 people in the island but only about 1/3 or 20,000 were white. Therefore, the Quakers numbered around 600. See also Dunn, "Barbados Census," p. 8. Dunn has the same Negro-White ratio.

first taken them to Boston and other parts of New England. The Curweens were not daunted by a public whipping they had received for holding meetings while in Boston in 1676. In that same year, 1676, while in Barbados, Alice Curween had made the acquaintance of Martha Taverner, who had a number of slaves. Evidently at one time these slaves had attended meetings, but in the aftermath of the slave insurrection of 1675 and the consequent Act prohibiting slaves from attending meetings, Martha Tavernor had prevented them from doing so. Alice Curween urged her friend to ignore the law and to provide for the spiritual needs of her slaves, but Tavernor's fear of the law was greater than Curween's persuasion. Such timidity prompted Alice Curween to write the following letter.

I cannot pass by, but in Love write to thee, for in Love we came to visit thee, and to invite thee and thy Family to the Meeting; but Thou for thy part art like him that was invited to work in the Vineyard, and went not: And as for thy Servants, whom thou callest thy Slaves. I tell thee plainly, thou hast no right to reign over their conscience in Matters of Worship of the Living God; for thou thy self confessedst, that they had Souls to save as well as we: Therefore, for time to come let them have Liberty, lest thou be called to give an Account to God for them, as well as for thy self: So in thy old Age churse rather, as a good Man did, that both thou and thy whole Family may serve the Lord: for I am perswaded, that if they whom thou call'st thy Slaves, be Upright-hearted to God, the Lord God Almighty will set them Free in a way that thou knowest not; for there is none set Free but in Christ Jesus, for all other Freedom will prove but a Bondage.

From thy Friend
Alice Curween

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63 Ibid., p. 49.
64 Ibid., p. 50. Alice Curween to Martha Tavernor. The letter was not dated, but has been determined to have been written in 1673. See ibid., pp. 47-49.
These early antislavery statements were the application of a religious idea to social practice. Christianity had always been a great soul-leveller and was potentially destructive of the various social hierarchies. For some time there had been serious questioning of, and a gradual weakening of, the traditional ideas about natural and inevitable hierarchy. It was not surprising, then, that the Society of Friends, who were spawned from the social and religious turmoil of the English Civil War, should have been in the avant garde of endeavors which were egalitarian in nature. Revolutionary in outlook, as well as in action, the Friends enhanced egalitarian principles with their doctrines: one, of the inner light which placed men in direct relationship with their God; the other, brotherhood of man which emphasized that all men are brothers. Even though Alice Curwe en's letter hints at emancipation, for the most part the thrust of Quaker activity was concerned with more humane treatment of the Negro and with bringing him to the Truth. The first Quaker recorded to have promised freedom to his four Negro slaves was Ronald Holton (Rowland Hulton) of Barbados. In his will, dated 1679 and probated in 1680, he promised freedom

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\[65\] Jordan, White Over Black, p. 194.

\[66\] Manice, "George Fox, Quakers, Negroes and Slavery," 68, n.2. Henry J. Cadbury had shared some notes which he had taken on Quaker wills in Barbados. This will is in the registry of Deeds, Bridgetown, Barbados. Vol. 14, p. 82.
to his slaves after a term of servitude.\textsuperscript{67} It is apparent, though, that there was no great rush to emancipate, as is clearly evidenced by the following letter which was written by Quakers in Philadelphia to their brethren in Barbados in 1698, which shows that even at that late date Barbadian Quakers were very much involved in the slave traffic. The letter was addressed to the "General Meeting off ffriends in Barbados:"

\begin{quote}
dear friends
& brethtern

It having been the sense of our yearly meeting that many negroes in these parts may prove prejudicial several wayes to us & our posteraty: it was Agreed that endeavors should be used to put A stop to the Importing of them; & in order theyrunto that those friends that have correspondence In ye West Indies should discurredj ye sending Any more hither; not withstanding which; many negroes have been brought In this last summer;...& its ye Request of our said meeting that no more negroes may bee sent to this River to friends or others....\textsuperscript{68}
\end{quote}

Not all Quakers were quick to imitate Holton. Certainly the hostility of the other planters was well founded, since they undoubtedly were aware of the revolutionary principles and consequent ramifications inherent in the Christianizing of the slaves.\textsuperscript{69} Surely the public Friends' suggestions to flaunt the law and actually conduct illegal meetings

\textsuperscript{67}\textit{ibid.} According to Cadbury, the terms of servitude were not specified.


\textsuperscript{69}Dunn, \textit{Sugar and Slaves}, p. 249.
strongly annoyed the planters. This annoyance and the legal measures taken to prevent Quakers and others from working among the slaves produced a situation over the years which caused British humanitarians to focus their hostility upon Barbados. This arousal of humanitarianism is generally beyond the scope and time span of this discussion, but certainly the seed of the humanitarian movement was planted in Barbados with the activity of Quakers and others concerned for the welfare of the Negro. Without a doubt, the two most articulate voices to be heard on the subject of slavery in Barbados were those of George Fox, the leading light of the Quaker movement, and the Anglican minister, Morgan Godwyn. Both preached an unpopular doctrine. The one tried from the position of "leader" to stir-up the ranks, while the other, as a member of the ranks, tried not only to awaken his peers but to shake the leadership into more spirited action. As conscience-prickers, they were consistent, persistent, and without equal.

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CHAPTER VIII

TRAILBLAZERS OF PROTEST: STALWART SOULS

WITH STRINGENT VOICES

Champions of the deprived arrive at their positions of leadership of that cause through various processes; sharpened by events and often steeled through adversity, these champions consider no obstacle to their desired objectives too formidable to overcome. Among such champions in the seventeenth century Caribbean area were men of the caliber of the Quaker, George Fox, and of the Anglican minister, Morgan Godwyn.

Fox and his followers knew first-hand the sting of persecution and the abjectness of prison life, while Godwyn knew the smarting embarrassment of a law suit and the galling audacity of prejudiced vestrymen. In a sense, then, both Fox and Godwyn were running counter to the establishment before they had ever set eyes on Barbados, and once there, their confrontation with the institution of slavery and its many inherent social injustices gave them a cause and a banner under which to wage verbal war. Certainly, Fox and his followers must have felt intensely some comradeship with the Negro for both, Quaker and Negro, for divergent reasons, sale or banishment, were cast away from their home shores. Godwyn, too, probably felt an alienation from
his peers and subsequently could associate, however broadly, his plight with that of the Negro. Fox's and Godwyn's paths apparently did not cross but there is no question that Fox's pamphlet, To the Ministers, Teachers, and Priests, (So Called and So Stiling Yourselves) in Barbados prodded Godwyn into his self-proclaimed position as the Negroes' and Indians' advocate. Godwyn, in a sense, became the Church of England's conscience in the West Indies.

Without a doubt, Fox's and Godwyn's individual station in life played a great part in the view which each man took toward slavery. Fox, outside the establishment and therefore unfettered by legal convention, was simply appalled by the social injustices and urged correction but never used Biblical references in any way to justify slavery. Godwyn, equally appalled by such social injustices and by man's inhumanity to man, nevertheless remained cognizant of who composed the Church membership with the dominance in Barbados of the planter class; however, in an apparent or real sop to planters, Godwyn used Biblical references in order to justify slavery. This factor both of utilization and of non-utilization of Biblical references is significant; because Fox and other early Quakers enunciated no elaborated scriptural justification of slavery, it was easier for the Quakers at a later period to lead an anti-slavery campaign even among Friends who were large slave owners.¹

¹Manice, "George Fox, Quakers, Negroes and Slavery,"
At least, there were no sophistical arguments to refute even though in the Society of Friends the question always arose why something which was considered a present evil, had been permitted by earlier Quakers.

Perhaps one answer to this question may have been Fox's view of the Negroes, for only once did Fox ever call the Negroes, slaves. In the Gospel Family Order he told the Quaker masters to treat the Negroes with kindness "... who came as Strangers to you and were sold to you as slaves ...." The fact was that Fox never viewed the Negroes as slaves, but rather as servants of a status comparable to the white indentured servants who served their masters for a limited term. This is significant, too; although these white indentured servants, at least those on Barbados, were considered chattel property and were often abused, anticipation of an eventual release brought some relief. Fox then was not agonizing over the evils of slavery per se, since rather he spoke and wrote of slavery in the terms of servitude; and he, in further explanation of his stand, wrote to

p. 102. Pressure among Friends to dispense with slaveholding only reached noteworthy proportions in the 18th century. Friends in Barbados were in no hurry to free their slaves, nor did their reluctance to do so prompt a disassociation with the Society.

2The full title is Gospel Family Order: Being a Short Discourse Concerning the Ordering of Families Both of Whites, Blacks and Indians (London: Printed by G. F., 1676). This pamphlet was reprinted by Reynier Jansen in Philadelphia in 1701 and has been printed on microcard (Worcester: American Antiquarian Society, #972).

3Ibid., p. 19.
Friends in England that he had urged the Quaker masters in Barbados to see that their overseers should deal "mildly and gently" with their Negroes. Not only was cruelty toward the slaves to be prohibited, but Fox suggested to the masters that after "certain years of servitude they [the Masters] should make them [the Slaves] free." 4 Fox, then, made no distinction in status between White servants and the Negroes. An expression of this attitude also appeared in his account when he wrote,

wee also were at severall men & weomens meetings and have sett up meetings in their pticular families for the masters & dames to admonish their servants both whites & blacks which is of greate service for that Island.... 5

The island Fox referred to was Barbados and the meetings were to prove successful. John Hull, Fox's secretary, had fully anticipated that this would be the outcome as he was certain that Fox was a "choice Instrument" in the Lord's hand "for much good unto them even unto the Blackes as unto the whites for the blackes (as 'tis said) expecte some good by his coming here...." 6 Fox's activity on the island had at first been curtailed as he disembarked a very sick man, but after about a month spent in recuperating, he was able to traverse the island and personally conduct meet-

4 Fox, Journal (Collins), II, 134.

5 The American Journey of George Fox, 1671-3 (taken from a MS in The Bodleian Library), Journal of the Friends' Historical Society, #9, (1912), 5.

That spiritual leader had attributed his prolonged illness to the fact that his "Spirit was much pressed down at the first with the filth and dirt, the unrighteousness of the People, which lay as an heavy weight, and load upon me."\(^7\) The oppression was overwhelming, and one cannot refrain from drawing a comparison between Fox's trials and utter sense of depression with similar "dark nights of the soul" experienced by other religious leaders. Emergence out of such an experience as the "dark night of the soul" was usually manifested by a renewed vigor matched with an equally startling success. Part of Fox's sense of oppression was undoubtedly caused by fellow Quakers who had neglected to provide any religious instructions for their Negroes; Fox, moreover, had observed that the Quakers in Barbados were in great "need of information in many things," for the Quakers had been careless and "divers disorders being crept in for want of care and watchfulness."\(^8\) Furthermore, Fox desired that the Quakers ought indiscriminately to instruct the Negroes in the fear of God, i.e., they were to teach not only those Negroes born into their Negro slave families, but also those "bought with their money."\(^9\) Fox's suggestions to his followers on the island were many and varied: he strongly urged that distinct

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\(^7\) Fox, *Journal* (Collins), II, 132.

\(^8\) Ibid., II, 133.

\(^9\) Ibid., II, 134.
books for births, marriages and burials should be kept and also "distincte ones for Blacks;" burying in private gardens was frowned upon; and the masters' overseers were urged to show kindness and "not use cruelty as the manner of some is, & hath beene." Masters were requested to make the Negroes "free after 30 years servitude...."10

The Quakers believed that within every man there was "that of God." No individual was to be left devoid of the realization of God within for such a doctrine of revelation was comprehensive of all people. Perhaps for that reason, and also because of personal knowledge of enslavement, members of the Society were peculiarly sensitive to social injustices. Illustrative of this was a letter that Fox wrote to Friends who were being held captive by the Turks.

God (who made us all) pours out of his Spirit upon all Men and Women in the World, yea, upon Whites and Blacks, Moors, and Turks, and Indians, Christians, Jews, and Gentiles, that all with the Spirit of God, might know God and the things of God, and serve and worship him in his Spirit and Truth, that he hath given them,...11

And thus, much as George Fox preached equality before God and pleaded for good treatment of all God's people, he never seemed to realize that the institution of slavery and the

10 Fox, Cambridge Journal, II, 195. The other editions of the Journal did not specify thirty years but had only indefinite terms.

11 A Collection of Many Select and Christian Epistles, Letters and Testimonies. Written on Sundry Occasions, by that Ancient, Eminent Faithful Friend and Minister of Christ Jesus, George Fox (London: T. Sowle, 1698), II, 491. "To Friends that are Captives at Algiers." Henceforth, this will be cited as Fox, Epistles.
slave trade were the generators of the social injustices he was trying to remedy. 12

Fox's view of slavery was patriarchal as borne out most clearly by the publication of Gospel Family Order, which was a handbook for the proper ordering of Quaker families. The pamphlet, which was published in 1676, was the printed account of Fox's speeches and views while he labored on the island of Barbados in 1671. The main speech, which had been delivered at a meeting at Thomas Rous' house, trumpeted the theme of the proper governing of families. 13 A family, in Fox's view, was an extended institution which included everyone from the master to the humblest slave. Each master had the responsibility to bring his family to the knowledge of the Truth, and just as Abraham had had all in his family circumcised, so much more should the Christian see that members of his family have circumcision of the Spirit. Masters and mistresses were to examine their families to see that every member worshipped "God in Spirit and in Truth," and it behooved these masters and mistresses to "gather them all together, and teach them the Way of the Lord, and the New Covenant; yea, your Families and children, and those you bought with Moneys, and the Strangers, and such as are born of them in your House." 14

12 Manice, "George Fox, Quakers, Negroes and Slavery," p. 32.

13 Fox, Gospel Family Order, pp. 3-20.

14 Ibid., p. 5.
It was difficult for Fox to understand how servants could be denied religious instruction when in the Old Testament the Jews had been told that even "Strangers" who sojourned with Jewish families were to be circumcised. As Fox so aptly pointed out to his Barbadian listeners, "a Sojourner is a Comer and a Goer; but a Servant that is bought with Money, or one that is born of them in the House, is more than a Sojourner...." 15 Certainly the Negroes of Barbados were more than simply sojourners.

Moreover, in Christianity there was to be only one manner of Law and that was the law to love God above all, and to love one's neighbors. Everyone was to keep the law and to observe the day of rest. Fox strongly exhorted the members of the Society to see that all their families kept the Sabbath which was one aspect of Christian practice terribly abused on the island, especially in regard to Negroes. Apparently the success of sugar production had threatened and in some cases nearly obliterated the practice of rest for slaves, a fact which Richard Ligon had observed in 1657. 16 In matters of religious instruction no one was to be excluded, for all were to enter into a Covenant with the Lord just as Moses had instructed the Jews that everyone from the Captains and Elders "to thy Strangers that are within thy Camp, from the

15Ibid., pp. 5-6.
16Ligon, A True and Exact History, p. 52.
Hewer of Wood unto the Drawer of thy Water..."\(^{17}\) should enter a Covenant. Fox wondered whether it was not intended that the Christians should outstrip the Jews in their concern for the family, for was there not a duty incumbent upon all Christians to teach their families so all would hear the "New Covenant, and the Law of Life, and the Law of Love, and the Law of Faith, and the Law of the Spirit of Life...," and no one was to be negligent, slothful or careless in this respect.\(^{18}\) Fox, in a typical Quaker response, further reminded his hearers that the "Lord's Fury" would be poured out upon those Christians and their families who did not "call upon the name of the Lord,"\(^{19}\) but, if one kept the "Ark of the Lord" in his "House (in his Heart)" he and his family would be singularly blessed as Joseph had been.\(^{20}\) Joseph was just a servant and if a servant could bring such beneficial results to his master's home, how much more could a master bring blessings and benefits to his family.

Fox, after having made a plea to masters on purely religious grounds, took up the question of the Negroes and their religious instruction. Although there were persons who too easily equated a people or a color with that which was

\(^{17}\) Fox, Gospel Family Order, p. 7.

\(^{18}\) Ibid., p. 9.

\(^{19}\) Ibid., p. 10.

\(^{20}\) Ibid., p. 12.
evil, Fox noted that the Lord in the Old Testament referred to transgressing Israelites as "Children of Ethyopia unto me...." However, Fox questioned if not all Christians who profess Christ in words while transgressing his law were not likewise "children of the Ethyopians," for the Quaker leader perceived that it was not profession and smooth talk that made the difference, but rather the possession of Christ. Furthermore, were there not Ethyopians who surpassed Christians in loyalty and sincerity, men such as the servant of Jeremiah and the convert of Philip? Jeremiah, the Lord's prophet, had an "Ethyopian, a Black moor," who proved more helpful to Jeremiah by his action than all those who had professed Jeremiah's innocence. The lesson for the Quakers was summed up in Fox's words,

...now consider, do not slight them to wit, the Ethyopians, the Blacks now, neither any Man or Woman upon the Face of the Earth, in that Christ dyed for all, both Turks, Barbadians, Tartarians and Ethiopians; he dyed for the Tawnies and for the Blacks, as well as for you that are called Whites....

As for Philip, he was portrayed by Fox as a prime example of a good teacher; because Philip had preached Christ to a "Man of Ethyopia, A Eunuch of great Authority, under Candace Queen of Ethyopia," and had converted him. All the Quakers were then urged to preach Christ to their

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21 Ibid., p. 13.
23 Ibid.
Ethyopians that are in your Families, that so they may be free Men indeed and be tender of and to them, and walk in Love, that you may answer that of God in their Hearts, being (as the Scripture affirms) all of one Blood, of one Mold, to dwell upon the Face of the Earth,...  

Fox's message was clear that Christ had lived and died for Ethyopians as well as for the white race.

Fox's message had many far-reaching implications; once equality under God's law was recognized, it was easy for Fox to urge the practicing of the golden rule, i.e., to do unto others what one might wish to have done unto one's self. The Quakers were asked to consider how they would feel if they were in the

...same Condition as the Blacks are (and indeed you do not know what Condition you or your Children, or your Children's Children may be reduced and brought into, before you or they shall dye) who come as Strangers... and were sold...as Slaves: now I say if this should be the Condition of you or yours, you would think it hard Measure; yea, and very great Bondage and Cruelty.  

But, by and large, the most revolutionary and the most undermining suggestion of Fox was his view that the planters should imitate the Hebrew nation in reference to the releasing of servants. Fox's application was to be both broader in scale and scope than that of the Jews of the Old Testament, who had been urged to free servants of their own nationality after a period of six years service. None were to "go away empty," but all were to be furnished out of flock, field and

24 Ibid., p. 15.
25 Ibid., p. 19.
winepress. 26 Fox not only urged the same compensation, though leaving the term of service indefinite, 27 but he urged the Quakers not to be outdone by the Jews, who were exercising such consideration toward their own people. Surely, Fox claimed, it would be becoming to "Christians, Masters, Governours & Rulers of Families here in this Island" or elsewhere to deal not only with their servants that are of their own nation, but likewise to deal so with the "Negroes and Blacks." 28 The spiritual Jews were urged to exceed the outward Jews.

Such an appeal was tantamount to declaring war on the planters, although Fox never intended that, since he was oblivious to the many ramifications which would ensue. To liberalize an economic system, such as slavery had become in Barbados, could only spell financial doom, because such a collapse, if it did not cause outright financial ruin for some of the planters, would nevertheless cause them no end of monetary losses. In addition to this economic consideration was another suggestion of Fox which the planters considered outrageous: his appeal for the prohibition of the polygamous and adulterous behavior of Negroes. 29 Husbands and wives were not to be taken at pleasure and then dropped

26 Ibid., p. 16.
28 Fox, Gospel Family Order, p. 16.
29 Ibid., p. 18.
whenever they pleased and new ones acquired: Fox told the Quaker masters that if they allowed their Negroes to continue in this sinful manner, they (the Quakers) could expect God's "Judgments and Curse" upon them and their Families and their Plantations. ⁴⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻عكس"

If Negroes wished to marry, it was to take place before witnesses and in the presence of God.

Finally, Fox told his hearers, and they were Quakers, that he had been terribly burdened by the fact that the Quaker Masters had not brought their families into "Order; for the Blacks are of your Families, and the many Natives of them born in your Houses:...." ⁴⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻عكس"

Although Fox had been aiming all his directives at Quakers, there was no way that the other planters could be unaffected; it is easy for us today, looking back, to understand their hostility toward Fox and the Quakers.

If one may judge from the continual remonstrations which George Fox sent to his followers, the Quaker masters were not readily convinced by their leader's suggestions. In a letter written from Maryland, Fox pleaded with the Friends on Barbados not to be negligent in their family meetings, but to be diligent and dutiful to God, ³⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻عكس"

Moreover, the

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Friends were asked to grant their Negroes two or three hours once a week to meet together for religious purposes. Fox moreover noted that such concern expressed by the Quakers would be a "good Pattern to all the Island, and an Example to all other Masters, to bring their Servants from under Oppression to know the Lord." Thus, fellowship of the Spirit was to be a bond of peace for both "Blacks and Whites," and he advocated meetings every fortnight among the Blacks which were "to train them up."

Finally, Fox made a curious request, supposedly to test the Barbadian Quakers. He told them to send to him a Black Boy of your instructing that I may see some of your Fruits and as I shall see, I shall make him a free Man, or send him to you again.

Perhaps Fox sensed that his followers were "slow learners," which is borne out by an exhortation of 1690. Fox charged the island's Friends and Friends everywhere to let their Light shine among the Indians, and the Blacks and the Whites...And Friends, Be not negligent, but keep up your Negroes Meetings and your Family Meetings; and have Meetings with the Indian Kings, and their Councils and Subjects everywhere,...

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33 Ibid., A Paper of George Fox read at the Last Quarterly Meeting at Thomas Rous', p. 23.
34 Ibid., Letter of George Fox from London, the 14th day of the 7th Month, 1673, p. 22.
35 Ibid., Letter of George Fox from London, the 18th day of the 12th Month, 1673, pp. 22-23. See also Manice, "George Fox, Quakers, Negroes and Slavery," p. 105 and n.2., p. 105. On a manuscript source, Fox was supposed to have written in the margin "And as for sending over a negroe to me (it is no matter) I did it but to try them." Professor Henry J. Cadbury provided Manice with the information.
36 Fox, Journal (Northcott), II, 610. "To the Friends
These urgings of Fox over an eighteen-year span indicate two things: 1) his utter sincerity in regard to the conversion of Negroes and of Indians; 2) the reluctance on the part of many Quaker masters to fully and wholeheartedly endorse Fox's admonitions. Early Quakers as a whole were slow to give the Negroes the benefit of a full Christian education, but when they did, they were very much ahead of their times.

George Fox had hoped that the expression of the Quakers' sincere interest in the Negroes' spiritual and physical welfare would have had an exemplary effect on others in the island, in particular the priests and communicants of the Church of England whom he had found deficient in missionary aspirations. Because of this void or slack in missionary efforts, Fox urged the Quakers to greater diligence. Although he did not view the conversion of infidels as a peculiarly Quaker mission, he did not wish to exclude other sincere Christianizers, excepting perhaps "Papists." The ire of Fox had been aroused because nothing in the past or now in the present was being done. It was his stinging pamphlet directed toward the priests of the Island which, in the Ministry, that were gone into America." The 11th day of the 10th Month, 1690.

37 I cannot agree with Babette Levy's statement that "...no intelligent member of the Society would have denied any Negro the right to a full Christian education." See Levy, "Early Puritanism," 319. This statement would be accurate if applied to a later date in Quaker history.

38 The full title is To the Ministers, Teachers, and Priests (So Called and So Stiling Yourselves) in Barbados.
albeit some years later, embarrassed and spurred on Morgan Godwyn to activity by pen though not necessarily by proven action.

Godwyn complained bitterly about the condition of religion in Barbados and sought to have some person authorized to present the grievances of the Church and of any minister to the Government in England. Godwyn considered it useless to register a complaint in Barbados as no redress would ever be effected which was evidenced by the reaction of the Barbados Assembly to the Ministers' Petition, and also because such scoffs at religion were not to be taken lightly in Godwyn's estimation.

The three works published by Godwyn in the years 1680, 1681, and 1685 occurred after Godwyn had terminated his stay in Barbados and had been appointed to a parish in England. His refusal to have a parish while in Barbados could be attributed to the situation of the "uncontrolled" vestries in the New World which he detested, but one wonders if Godwyn's reluctance was not also motivated by intimidation resulting from his unpleasant experience with a vestry in Virginia or even more so from intimidation caused by the

39 Fox, To the Ministers, "To the Honourable President and Council of his Majesty's Island of Barbados; the Humble Petition and Address of the Clergy of the said Island, p. 48.

40 Godwyn, Negro's and Indians Advocate, p. 155.

41 The three works are: Negro's and Indians Advocate; Supplement; and Trade Preferr'd.
power-structure in the Church. Godwyn was well aware that opposition to vested interests is not a steppingstone to promotion, and though such an evaluation is perhaps a harsh analysis of the man, when all the factors are weighed, Godwyn's "championing" of the Negro in Barbados seemed partially muted, but once he was in England, he became very outspoken.

The Negro's and Indians Advocate was dedicated to William Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury between 1678 and 1691. In his address to the Archbishop, Godwyn stressed that the object of his work was to seek "Relief for those Myriads of hungry and distressed Souls abroad;...," including "our Peoples Slaves and Vassals," who were in English dominions. They were, he pointed out, sadly neglected by the English; what was most reprehensible was that Negroes were denied the "Bread of Life," which was "most sacriliegiously detained." 42

How had such a situation come to pass? It was, Godwyn complained, because the Gospel had become "stale news" to those public agents who should have represented the wants and grievances of the people. However, because they knew "no other God but Money, nor Religion but Profit...," 43 they deferred to the power structure and reported that religion was thriving. Godwyn stated that he would try to "break through this Opposition [to the Christianization of Slaves];

43 Ibid.
...without any regard to those Gentlemen's displeasure,..." 44

The attack launched from England where gentlemen, for the most part, had no slaves demanded little heroism.

Regardless whether or not heroism was involved, Godwyn began his pamphlet warfare; the thrust of the first pamphlet, as indicated in the preface, was not to be directed against any one "Party or Division in Religion," but rather against the "most dangerous conspiracy," i.e., the conspiracy against Christianity itself. In Godwyn's view, the defense of Christianity was not just a duty incumbent on the Anglican Church; instead it was a responsibility of all Christians of whatever sects, so that all Christians had to unite against the "Anti-Religionists." 45 Although Godwyn fully expected that his pamphlet would stir up much controversy and a vociferous denial on the part of the planters, the author knew that what was openly manifested would bear him out. Furthermore, this polemical priest claimed that in authenticating whatever he reported, he was either an "Eye or Ear Witness" to it, or else that the information had been conveyed to him by persons of "great Veracity and Credit." 46 The author even foresaw an objection which might be raised regarding the amount of time he spent proving the humanity of the Negro and showing that "neither their Complexion nor Bondage, Descent

44 Ibid.
45 Ibid.
46 Ibid.
nor Country, can be any impediment thereof" to Christianity. Such an objection to stressing the humanity of the Negro was uncalled for, since in Godwyn's estimation, it was "as needful (the contrary being believed, or at least made a pretence) as any of the rest."47

Godwyn sensed and rightly so that the English were greatly disdainful of the Negro and greatly confounded by the question of his very nature. The unfavorable reaction of Godwyn's countrymen toward the Negro was in stark contrast to that experienced by the Spanish and Portuguese. Why was this so? One reason for such behavior could be attributed to the suddenness with which the English came into contact with the Negro, and another reason could be the tremendous impact that their color made upon the English. For, the Africans whom the English came to know were from West Africa and the Congo where men were the blackest in color. Already prior to the sixteenth century the word "black" had a variety of meanings, and all of those adverse: "...having dark or deadly purposes, malignant; pertaining to or involving death, deadly; baneful, disastrous, sinister...."48

For centuries man had struggled with various reasons for the difference in color. Answers forwarded were those

47 Ibid.

48 Jordan, White Over Black, p. 7. To better understand the varying views Europeans had of the Negro, one should read ibid., Chapter I, "First Impressions," and Chapter VI, "The Bodies of Men."
that attributed the differences to climatic changes, a "natural infection" or God's curse on Ham (Cham) and upon his son Canaan and all their descendants. The curse, one of slavery, somehow became associated with the explanation for the Negro's blackness. However the Talmudic and Midrashic sources contain suggestions that Ham was "smitten in his skin and that Noah told Ham "your seed will be ugly and dark-skinned." 49

Color was not the only barrier between the Negro and the English as heathenism loomed large. Heathenism was a problem for the English for to convert heathens would eradicate a distinction which Englishmen understood, but yet not to do so would be an unpleasant reminder to Englishmen of their failure to fulfill the obligations of their faith. Generally, heathenism had been considered a defect of religion but the heathenism of the Negro was viewed as a manifestation of the failure of the Negro to measure up to proper standards. Negroes were distinguished from Englishmen as a "people of beastly living, without a God, lawe, religion or commonwealth"—in other words, not an Englishman. 50

The Chain of Being theory was applied to people with


the erection of a hierarchical structure being the result. The ranking of people in a superior/inferior relationship placed the Negroes at the base as only befitting a people who were considered beastly. Richard Ligon, in 1657, had observed that most slaves pouring into the plantations were "...neer beasts as may be, setting their souls aside." By 1680, men such as Morgan Godwyn could draw an outraged response when charging the planters that they were treating their slaves as beasts, the implication being that the planters considered their Negroes not human.

Ever since his arrival in Barbados in the early 1670's, Godwyn had claimed that he had tried to preach the necessity of instructing and baptizing the Negro and other heathens, but the opposition was exceedingly stiff. The minister categorized his opposition as 1) those who felt such efforts were not only impracticable but impossible; 2) those who viewed such efforts as tinged with Popery and neither "expedient or necessary;" and 3) those who considered such conversion endeavors as destructive to their interest, threatening to their estates and lives, and even potentially subversive. This latter group was reported to be by far the most numerous.

Everywhere on the island Godwyn saw the "spirit of Gentilism," a name he equated with a commercially provoked

51 Ligon, A True and Exact History, p. 47.
52 Ibid., p. 2.
semi-Godlessness which he blamed on the fact that religion had never been firmly implanted at the time of the colony's establishment. Customary practice has a way of evolving into unwritten "law," and this now was seen in the question of the Negro's conversion. At first the transplanted Africans' ignorance of the English language was viewed as an impediment, but by now they had arrived at an understanding of it which destroyed the plausibility of using this argument so that another argument had to replace it. Interestingly enough, the concept now bantered about had to be done privately, for the new insinuation was that Negroes, though having some resemblance to men, "yet are indeed no Men...." Obviously if owners accepted such a position, they were totally freed from religious scruples. 53

Confrontation with the institution of slavery had forced Godwyn into deep reflection and into a re-evaluation of his ministry and upon his reception of a "petty Reformado Pamphlet" 54 from an "officious Friend, or Quaker" of the Island, Godwyn was compelled into even more soul-searching. He began questioning many things: "If the Gospel be good Tidings, why should it be concealed, or hid?" Furthermore, he asked himself, "If we are bound to pray for their conversion [the heathens] why are we not also to endeavor it?"

53 Ibid., p. 3.

54 The pamphlet was Fox's To the Ministers. The "Officious" Quaker has never been identified.
Such reflections led Godwyn to the self-realization that he had to become God's instrument in convincing Christians to apply themselves "to that great Duty hitherto unchristianly omitted." 55

As Godwyn continued to analyze the situation in Barbados regarding the question of Christianity and the slave, he felt he could launch his attack from three basic assertions.

1) That the Negro's (both Slave and others) have naturally an equal Right with other Men to the Exercise and Privileges of Religion; of which 'tis most unjust in any part to deprive them.

2) That the profession of Christianity absolutely obliging to the promoting of it, no Difficulties nor Inconveniences, how great soever, can excuse the neglect, much less the hindering or opposing of it, which is in effect no better than a renunciation of that Profession.

3) That the Inconveniences here pretended for this Neglect, being examined, will be found nothing such, but rather the contrary. 56

Godwyn, in his defense of these assertions, systematically dismantled the arguments of the opposition as he focused on the point that all men have an equal right to religion, and since Negroes are men, they also have this right, and to deprive them of such a right would be the highest injustice. Negroes exhibited all the faculties of a rational being, i.e., risibility, discourse, etc., which in Godwyn's opinion should have been sufficient evidence to convince anyone. 57 However,

55 Godwyn, Negro's and Indians Advocate, p. 6.
56 Ibid., p. 7.
57 Ibid., p. 3.
blinded by interest and profit, many planters refused to afford the Negro any civility, even though it had been evidenced that the Negroes were capable as Traders and in other "manly employment," as well as exhibiting "much Discretion in management of Business." Furthermore, Godwyn wondered how "their Owners, Men of Reason no doubt, conceive them [the Negroes] fit to exercise the place of Governours and Overseers to their fellow Slaves, which is frequently done, if they were meer Brutes?" 58

Actually, the arguments of the opposition were based, in Godwyn's view, on four pretences which were those of complexion, bondage, pretended stupidity, and the barbarousness of the Negroes' manners. If one were to carry the question of color to an extreme, the inference might be that "colours are a means of Grace" and a powerful recommendation to God. Then, if virtue were attendant upon "Beauty," the "fairest Bodies" would have the "purest and brightest Souls." Such association of virtue with color was, in Godwyn's view, "derogatory to the Goodness and Justices of God." 59

Neither color nor bondage can alter a man, for although bondage could deprive him of his liberty and goods, it could not deprive him of his soul or reason. Godwyn speculated that if slavery could "unsoul" a man, every conqueror

58 Ibid.
59 Ibid., pp. 20-21.
or would-be Master could at his pleasure unmake souls, while by the same token, if one in bondage could acquire freedom, one could make himself a soul.\textsuperscript{60} Obviously, that anyone could possess the powers of soul-making and soul-breaking was utterly preposterous.

Only in one area did Godwyn make any concessions to the opposition. Negroes, he conceded, were barbarous in manner when they engaged in the practice of polygamy and in their "idolatrous" dances and revels.\textsuperscript{61} However, one would surmise that Godwyn attributed these practices partially to ignorance of morality, and ignorance could be erased only by instruction; what was most injurious to the Negroes' image was an ingrained word association which subtly penetrated the sub-conscious. The terms "Negro" and "slave" had, by custom, become "Homogeneous and Convertible; even as Negro and Christian, Englishman and Heathen, are by the like corrupt Custom and Partiality made Opposites; thereby as it were implying, that the one could not be Christians, nor the other Infidels."\textsuperscript{62}

Then, as if in a reaffirmation of what he was claiming, Godwyn related an encounter that he had had with a

\textsuperscript{60}Ibid., p. 28. Godwyn wondered if slavery could change a man into a beast, or if Negroes were naturally beasts, what would become of those "Debauches, that so frequently do make use of them for their unnatural Pleasures and Lusts?" \textsuperscript{Ibid.}, p. 30.

\textsuperscript{61}Ibid., p. 33.

\textsuperscript{62}Ibid., p. 36.
"certain Barbadian" who vehemently insisted that the Negroes were "Beasts, and had no more Souls than Beasts, and that Religion did not concern them." The Barbadian, obviously annoyed with Godwyn, told him that they (the planters and merchants) did not come "to Those parts to save souls, or to propagate Religion, but to get Money;" it was, however, this very avariciousness which muted all other sensibilities that Godwyn abhored.

Another idea prevalently held by planters was that the Negroes were a cursed race and therefore subject to slavery. However, if one argued that the Negro had not forfeited his right to Religion by the "Curse," then certainly he had done so by being enslaved, for according to Godwyn, religion was viewed by the planters as a kind of "Spiritual Gentility" which must be lost or forfeited by "putting on the Iron Chains of Bondage." Godwyn argued that any man by his very profession as a Christian had a duty to promote Christianity in spite of any difficulties or inconveniences, and not to do so was tantamount to a renunciation of that very profession. The Barbadians, as a whole, being expert in ignoring this duty, attempted to offer some excuses for this negligence. They

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63 Ibid., p. 39.
64 Ibid., p. 61.
65 Ibid., p. 86.
argued that not only was it difficult, but, in fact, impossible to teach the Negroes anything because of their lack of English, their incapacity for learning, and their "averseness and hatred to all Religion." In Godwyn's opinion, such charges were bald falsehoods, as many Negroes had a good command of English, "no worse than the natural born Subjects of that Kingdom," and many were highly capable in business. As for religion, masters had excluded Negroes from their prayer gatherings from the "Supposition" that prayers would be of no benefit to their slaves. However, just as Ligon had propounded many years previously, Godwyn now found Negroes for the most part desirous of being made Christians. If the Negroes did view the Church as a "Prison," it was only because of the irreligious example set by the "whiter People," for on Sunday mornings the "few and narrow Churches" were often "thin and empty." Such indifference Godwyn found appalling; moreover, he considered the Barbadians' derisive reception of all discourses on religion as scandalous, and their "disrespectful and barbarous treating of the Ministers" as extremely detrimental to any convert making.

There were some Barbadians who tried to claim that

67 Ibid.
68 Ligon, A True and Exact History, p. 50. See also the comments of Blome, The Present State, p. 40.
69 Godwyn, Negro's and Indians Advocate, p. 103.
the Negroes were not hindered from becoming Christians and with no claim did Godwyn disagree more. He listed four ways by which Negroes were hindered.

First, By depriving them [the Negroes] of Time, and denying them Persons to instruct them, and even imposing upon them a necessity of planting Provision for their Sustenance, even upon Sundays.

Secondly, By discouragements and scoffs, instilling into them a slight esteem, with an opinion of the no necessity of Religion;... Nor can we blame the Negro's, if they contemn the Religion of the English, which they hourly both hear and see trampled upon and under-valued by themselves.

Thirdly, By direct force and punishment of the Innocent Offenders [newly baptised]...thereby to deter all others.

Fourthly, They are hindered by muzzling the Mouths who should acquaint them therewith and by rendering the Work very unsafe, even to the Guide of Souls and Ministers of Religion.70

Thus, the Negroes were discouraged from becoming Christians by people professing to be Christians. And while social pressures were overwhelming and the threat of ostracization was so intimidating that all Church members were affected, the root of much of this evil, Godwyn felt, resided with the vestries.

A breach in the solid wall of public opinion was made one Christmas Day by a minister in a sermon which created a lasting impression upon Godwyn. Neither the minister nor the year has been identified, although Godwyn indicated that the clergyman was an "Estated Person" and one who had

70Ibid., pp. 110-112.
many great friends and relations. Because of his social position, the minister was able to speak boldly and yet avoid punitive action, although Godwyn was convinced that that cleric would never have had the courage to attempt such a sermon again. The sermon had dealt with the question of converting heathens, using among other examples the Biblical story of the Ethiopian Treasurer, and the preaching of St. Peter on the subject that "God granted repentance unto Life; that they [the Negroes] had Souls to be saved no less than other People; and an equal Right even with us to the Merits of Christ." The message was clear that for any loss of Negroes' souls, through the negligence of Christians, the Christians themselves would be held accountable, and needless to say, such a condemnation did not sit well with the populace. According to Godwyn, the preacher was pursued and bombarded with all sorts of "Calumnies and Spiteful Reproaches," and thus was illustrated the obstinacy among Barbadians toward the christianization of slaves.

What did the Islanders have to fear from the christianization of slaves? Nothing, according to Godwyn, who considered the "fears" advanced by Barbadians as utterly

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71 Ibid., pp. 112-13. Godwyn never identifies this minister and one cannot escape the curious speculation that this might have been Godwyn himself.

72 Ibid., p. 77.

73 Ibid., p. 113.
unfounded and an absolute disgrace to Christianity itself. That Baptism should be considered a license for Negroes to cut all white Barbadian throats was a sad commentary on the sacrament.\textsuperscript{74} What, then, were the objections voiced? Godwyn noted three: first, the Barbadians objected to the slaves acquiring knowledge by which they would become less governable, and at the same time they would become more susceptible to mutiny and rebellion; second, they objected to the loss of time which would be incurred because of the Sabbath observance and "other like inconveniences;" third, they complained that Christianity was inconsistent with the condition of bondage.\textsuperscript{75}

Systematically Godwyn challenged each of these assertions; it simply baffled the minister that the acquisition of the knowledge of virtue and goodness, which is the core of Christian teaching, should cause fright in any owner. He questioned how "the Decalogue, Creed, and Lord's Prayer, with some few Cathechistical and general Points" of Christianity can be deduced as "poisonous" to the minds of men?\textsuperscript{76} Quite the reverse was actually true; for a slave so instructed in the Truths would make a better slave; such a charge that slaves would rebel and mutiny if made Christians indeed

\textsuperscript{74} Ibid., p. 123.
\textsuperscript{75} Ibid., p. 124-25.
\textsuperscript{76} Ibid., p. 125.
was insidious because nothing was more diametrically opposed to the doctrines of Christianity. In this view Godwyn was very much in agreement with the Quaker, William Edmundson; both men viewed Christianity due to this premise as more of a pacifier than a rabble-rouser. 77

Godwyn relied heavily on Holy Scripture to argue that Christianity had never been either a democratic or a liberal force in society. Rather, obedience to authority was the recurring theme in Holy Scripture, and

so far is this Religion [Anglican] from a tendencie to Anarchy, or any Levelling Tenets as being founded not in a Parity, but a Superiority, not in a Democracy, but in an Aristocracie that a conformity to the Axiom,... Nothing is more dangerous than Equality; has been her most professed and constant Practice from her first appearance until this very day. 78

Curtailment in action was reinforced in Christianity by a restraint on thoughts and desires. Furthermore, in Godwyn's estimation, anyone who could find "Rebellion, or cutting of throats" in the principles of Christianity could just as easily "reconcile Contradictions, and bring Contraries to concur and agree in all Points at one and the same time." 79

In reality, nothing could be a greater security against revolts and insurrections than a sincere adherence to Christian truths, and as an example, Godwyn intimated that a late plot

77 Ibid., pp. 127-28. See also Edmundson, Journal, pp. 75-76.

78 Godwyn, Negro's and Indians Advocate, p. 129.

79 Ibid.
on the island would not have come so close to achievement if more of the Negroes had been Christians. To substantiate the correlation of law and order with religion, Godwyn noted that the Spanish Indians in America had not rebelled since their first Reduction, nor had their Conquerors been disturbed by internal troubles. This he ascribed to the "force and power of Religion."  

The planters used every kind of argument to prevent Christian inroads among their Negroes, not the least of which was that their estates would suffer. Though the treasury might not be depleted, it would be drained by the fees that would be exacted for "Baptizing, Marrying, Churching, and Burying their Slaves." Added to the monetary woes would be the cost necessarily involved in erecting new parishes, and in providing for more ministers which was necessitated by an increase in the Christian population. This last concern Godwyn found a bit ludicrous since half of the eleven churches

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80 Ibid., pp. 130-31. Law and order were seen as a source of public happiness because "religion, faith one, causeth good Orders, and good Orders do create Peace and Concord, which is a Peoples greatest strength...." See ibid., p. 148.

81 Ibid., pp. 131-32. Godwyn perhaps was referring to the Jesuit missions in Paraguay which had been started in the early 1600's. These missions had a semblance of peace except for troubles from the outside--raids of Paulista slave hunters. However, his statement is a sweeping generalization for Indians everywhere. Indians were not always so passive or easy to convert. Surely, what Godwyn was very aware of were the efforts of the Catholic Church to bring some organization into the field of missionary activity. The Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith was established in 1622 and by 1626 it had its own printing press.
were divested of ministers while most of the sermons were "usually delivered to little more than bare Walls." The fact was that already if all the white people attended Church, only a "fifth part" could be admitted. 82

Besides objecting to a projected monetary loss, the planters also objected to the time loss which would be suffered through periods of instruction and the prohibition of Sunday-work. In addition to such losses as these, the prohibition of the Negroes' polygamy would cause a loss of increase of numbers. Lastly, many planters feared that once their slaves were admitted as Christians, they would expect "better usage for Food, Clothes, and Rest, and more merciful Correction." 83 The planters, too, feared both the privileges and prohibitions concomitant with Christianity; on the one hand they abhored the thought of their slaves taking oaths, having equality to the "Communion and Church Administrations," and practicing the Christian tenet of loving one's neighbor; on the other hand, the planters dreaded the prohibition of polygamy and Sunday labor which were gainful for the owners, and the prohibition of idolatrous dances and revels which were gratifying for the slave. 84

But, overriding all the various reasons the planter advanced for prevention of the christianization of slaves,

82 Ibid., pp. 136-37.
83 Ibid., p. 137.
84 Ibid., pp. 138-39.
none more closely touched the truth of their opposition than the fact that Baptism would automatically release a man from servitude. Although there was nothing in Scripture to substantiate such a view, nevertheless many planters firmly believed it. Godwyn argued that from the time of Abraham with his 318 converted slaves down to Onesimus, the convert slave of Philomen, one does not find any hint of conversion being synonymous with freedmen (from bondage), and any freedom acquired was a spiritual freedom. Nevertheless, if fears, however ungrounded, had to be allayed, Godwyn suggested that the Barbadian Assembly imitate the Bermudians and pass a law of indentures stipulating a ninety-nine year period of service.

Godwyn's suggestion of a ninety-nine year indenture virtually meant bondage in perpetuity and in this suggestion, we can see how he readily differed from Fox. The latter missioner spoke of a limited servitude, though usually uncertain of the exact term; thirty years was the greatest number of years ever mentioned. The haziness about this point is indicative of Fox trying to grapple with the question of slavery but being unable to clearly enunciate any position, while

85 Ibid., p. 140. The fear that baptism spelled freedom was very real, though apparently unfounded. See Godwyn, Trade Preferr'd, Preface, [6]. Godwyn stated that Sir Robert Southwell had told him "that he had heard the late Lord Chancellor Finch declare that he did not know of any law now in England...whereby a Slave was released from Servitude by Baptism...."

86 Godwyn, Negro's and Indians Advocate, p. 141.

87 Ibid., p. 143.
Godwyn's position, on the contrary, is indicative of a total lack of qualms regarding slavery. Nevertheless, both men reacted strongly against inhumane practices toward the slaves which Godwyn attributed to the fact that "Pity to Humanity being here reputed a pusillanimous weakness, and a very black friend to Interest." Godwyn, as Thomas Tryon had done, recoiled at the severity accorded slaves in food and work because the theme of expendability permeated the owners' actions and there was no end of "fresh" importations.

When the Lords of Trade and Plantations expressed a concern and interest in the physical and spiritual welfare of the Negroes, the lobbyists in London became exceedingly busy. Reasons were advanced for not pressuring the islanders on the question of the conversion of slaves but all of their reasons, in Godwyn's estimation, were groundless, mere pretences. The Barbadians and their lobbyists pulled out all stops in an effort to dampen missionary efforts: surely, a rebellion would erupt; the time was not seasonable; and if the English authorities at home could not settle religion there, what could they hope to accomplish abroad.

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88 Ibid., p. 81
89 Tryon, Friendly Advice, Pt. II, pp. 139-145.
91 Godwyn, Negro's and Indians Advocate, p. 151.
The fear of rebellion Godwyn considered ridiculous, since the planters' and merchants' interests were too great in England to ever allow it to happen. Yet, the minister did not advocate a show of force, but rather insisted on persuading the people by means of good sermons and pious books. Above all, Godwyn felt it essential that the Government must provide encouragements to both the ministers and the people, but how were such encouragements to be effected?

Godwyn had a number of interesting suggestions: if the choice of magistrates and of other officials were based on the proper qualifications, i.e., "Piety and Temperance," there would be "Men of Truth" and haters of Covetousness holding office, and once that occurred there would be vast and swift improvements in the general conditions of life. Godwyn had confidence in his prediction because "knowing how grateful a thing Power and Honour is to our thriving Planters, and how Ambitious they are to catch at every shadow of Title or Preferment," they would take care to meet the demands. But, over and beyond this approach, the conditions of impiety and irreligion in Barbados should be noised about in England and especially in London, where the planters have "an extraordinary Ambition to be thought well of." In Godwyn's

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92 Ibid., p. 152.
93 Ibid., p. 153.
94 Ibid.
opinion, the broadcasting of such humiliating actions would have a greater effect on the planters than all of St. Paul's Epistles. These, then, were Godwyn's thoughts on a possible remedy but he did nevertheless concede that they would be difficult to perform, for breaching a power structure is never easy. The question remained, what could other citizens do?

The Anglican minister made some further suggestions for his fellow ministers and for the laity: each minister who held a cure of souls, should be obliged at least once a month to preach on the duty of converting slaves. Furthermore, he was to set an example by instructing and catechizing his own slaves and to admit them to the sacrament of Baptism. It is not surprising that after his own unhappy experience, Godwyn firmly believed that the ministers had to be independent of vestries and the solution would be to provide ministers with a sufficient maintenance and to settle them in a benefice for life, for without such provisions ministers always lived in fear of offending and then of subsequent disapproval for "conscientiously discharging their Duty." Moreover, Godwyn wished that there would be some assurance of subsistence in England for the ministers on their return from the missionary field. A returned missioner should not be deprived of office or promotion for having exhibited a greater

95 Ibid.
96 Ibid., p. 154.
zeal and for having suffered a greater sacrifice than those clerics who stayed home for reasons of security and advancement. Above all, no missioner should be left in the field too long, as no man ought "to be condemned to perpetual exile amongst a People utter enemies to his Profession, and even worse than Strangers." What rankled Godwyn were the Barbadians, not the heathens.

In Godwyn's view, owners had certain obligations toward their slaves. Those who had baptized slaves should be obliged to allow them to practice their religion freely. If any owners prohibited slaves from being baptized or molested a minister for administering this sacrament to them or ostracized him in the normal exercise of religious duties to all, the slaves of such owners should automatically be freed. And there were, of course, practices of the slaves that Godwyn abhored, as, for example, his detestation of polygamous practices which reechoed the views of Fox. To secure effective prohibition, polygamy had to be outlawed for all slaves, heathen as well as Christian, for only with total prohibition would "filthy Lucre" no longer be a temptation for "continuing them Heathens; nor their being Heathens be made a pretence for that Irreligion." Godwyn chided the

97Ibid
98Ibid., p. 153.
99Fox, Gospel Family Order, p. 16.
opposition, obviously the planters, "who believe that Labour may well enough be performed without Religion...."\textsuperscript{100}

Often the planters had been told that the christianizing of slaves was a duty incumbent on them as Christians, but what they had often failed to realize was that it was in their best interests also. Apparently Godwyn had already convinced some inhabitants that religion ought to make the slaves "truer Servants;" but if this were a fruit of Christianity, surely governments would be extremely well pleased that their interest would be secured. In this vein of thinking, Godwyn had once written a letter to Governor Berkeley of Virginia in which among other issues he discussed the usefulness of religion to government.

I presume I need not acquaint your Excellencie how useful Religion, where it hath not lost its Force, (and there it ought by all means to be revived) is to the ease and support of Government, and may prove, to the securing of the King's Interest in those Plantations. Nor what an excellent Heathen Writer tells us, That Religion is the Cement of all Communities, and the chief Basis of Legislative Power: That it is much more easie to build a Castle (we may also add, To plant a Colony) in the open Air, without any ground to found it upon, than to establish a Government without Religion.\textsuperscript{101}

Of one thing Godwyn was certain, there could be no neutrality when it came to fighting infidelity to their

\textsuperscript{100}Godwyn, Negro's and Indians Advocate, p. 155.

\textsuperscript{101}Ibid., p. 173. "The State of Religion in Virginia, as it was sometime before the Late Rebellion, represented in a Letter to Sir W. B. then Governour thereof." This letter is printed in its entirety in Brydon, Virginia's Mother Church, I, 511-15.
religion; since it was by God's "extraordinary Providence" that the Negroes had come to Barbados in order to test the inhabitants' sense of justice,102 and the Barbadians had certain duties in justice to perform. Godwyn proposed three general practices: the first was that the people must make the Negroes' case their own, and in this proposition Godwyn was expressing the like sentiments of George Fox.103 Godwyn's answer to the question "Am I my Slave's Keeper..." was an emphatic "yes" and in order to elucidate this first proposal he made the following reflections.

1) To reflect how dangerous Extremities are, and that as nothing violent is lasting, so nothing is more permanent than Moderation.

2) To think how inconvenient this Distance and Difference between Man and Man, Indian and Negro's, English and both, may in time prove...

3) To meditate what fit instruments for any State Revolution, such miserable People are; who being very numerous, should not be too much Exasperated, nor driven into Desperation.

4) To reflect what a reproach and dishonour to the English Nation and Government, our unchristian treating of these People is.

5) Wisely to look rather to the most lasting, then to the present Gain; And in consequence thereof, Not to labour (so much) for the Meat that perisheth....

6) To remember at whose Hands their Blood will be required if they perish....104


103 Ibid., p. 160. See Fox, Gospel Family Order, pp. 3-20.

The second proposal was for the people to collect and imitate all the best examples of others—whether countrymen or foreigners—in the mission field. Evidently, Godwyn had done some comparing; he discovered that in New England, Negroes and Indians "were admitted to the sacraments when capacitated and fit for it. . . ." while other nations also seemed to view the Negroes and others as men. As a consequence, according to Godwyn, elsewhere governments not only permitted but compelled slaves to partake in religion. Godwyn's comment that some are daily promoted to the priesthood and other offices in the Church seems obviously a bit exaggerated, a Quakerism, in fact. 105

In the third proposal people were asked to view the terms by which they pretend a right to God's temporal blessings and how those people fared who had forfeited that right. 106 Godwyn was vehement in his denunciation of those Christians who were Christian in name only, for if such so-called Christians could not measure up to Christ's teaching, then the most just act they could do would be to refrain from using the name, Christian. Then, their "Inhumanity, Avarice, and Irreligion, may no longer be a Stain and Reproach to that Profession. . . ." to which the general public would be likely to ascribe such characteristics. 107

105Ibid., pp. 161-62.
106Ibid., p. 162.
107Ibid., pp. 163-64.
Once Godwyn had accepted his role as the advocate of the infidels, he was persistent in his efforts to jolt lackadaisical countrymen into a realization of their duty. His first pamphlet was followed in rapid succession by a supplement in 1681.\textsuperscript{108} No one, Godwyn charged, was to question his earnestness in the "Cause," for his "sole End" in returning from overseas was to further the cause.\textsuperscript{109} The pamphlet was partially a reiteration of some of his earlier suggestions, i.e., that the planters' interest in the slaves should be secured; that ministers should be obliged and encouraged to preach to their congregations about their duty to spread the "good news;" and that the Negroes' Sunday-Labor and polygamy should be prohibited.\textsuperscript{110} Surely if these measures were carried out without a hint of force or compulsion, there could not possibly be any objection. Anyone, Godwyn sermonized, who neglected or hindered such work was not only betraying the "Protestant Interest," but was in effect "advancing...Popery," and, such a person or persons could not be other than "open Enemies of the King and Kingdom."\textsuperscript{111}

On one principle Godwyn insisted that all Christians

\textsuperscript{108}Godwyn, \textit{Supplement}.
\textsuperscript{109}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 4.
\textsuperscript{110}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 3.
\textsuperscript{111}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 4. "King and Kingdom" can be interpreted as the Kingdom of Christ as well as the kingdom of Charles II as Godwyn felt that the lack of Protestant religious zeal was detrimental to England.
had to agree and that was "that no Interest how great or... just soever may be admitted to stand in Competition with Christianity." Moreover, advice was not to be asked of persons unacquainted with the "true State and Condition" of the various plantations but rather of those who were experienced, while gradualism was to be the key to all endeavors and needless provocations were to be avoided at all costs.

Owners often had used the pretence of the jeopardy which threatened their interests as an excuse for their laxity in instructing their slaves. Godwyn claimed that in reality, they did not want to be bothered; that they considered any religious work among the Negroes to be needless; and that they feared the danger which might ensue if their slaves were furnished with knowledge. Godwyn, too, was very much aware of the influence of peers and found the "persecutions" by peers as an overriding deterrent; the fact was that no planter, nor for that matter, minister, wished to be ostracized and looked at askance by the "Patrons and Grandees of the Vestries." The problem was how to overcome this lethargy, a product, in part, of fear.

In addition to discrediting the planters by noising

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112 Ibid.
113 Ibid., p. 6.
114 Ibid., pp. 6-7.
115 Godwyn, Trade Preferr'd, Preface, [6].
abroad their irreligion, Godwyn suggested that a "General Fast" ought to be held in order to draw the attention of the world and "to inflame the publick Zeal." 116 Public opinion then was to be utilized to bring pressure to bear upon the planters, and in this respect, even the Quakers were to be considered a blessing in disguise since they could be instrumental in "disputing the planters out of their godless stance." 117

Although the Quakers were Protestant activists, they and their co-religionists, in Godwyn's view, always ran a poor second to Papists; such a situation, again in Godwyn's view, was too "great a blemish to the Reformation to suppose that Popery only makes its converts better, but Protestancy worse; ..." 118 Godwyn observed that the French on the island of St. Christopher were "known to confer Baptism upon all that sort of People: [Negroes]...;" 119 thus, while all religions, including the Turks and New England men, encompass "Sea and Land to create Proselites; we only do seem to fetch the same compass to continue them Heathens." 120 The imprac-

116 Godwyn, Supplement, p. 8. Other suggestions were to send men of repute to persuade weak Christians, to have sermons given at the Royal Court and in the city of London, and to have ministers preach against the impieties in the other chief cities and seaports.

117 Ibid.

118 Ibid., p. 9.

119 Godwyn, Trade Preferr'd, A-1. Address to the King.

120 Ibid., A-2.
ticability of conversion which many Anglicans espoused had not hindered other religions, Catholic and Protestant; although such conversions could be performed less perfectly than the Anglican Church might have done, as some Anglicans implied, at least something was being done by these other religions. Godwyn was particularly sensitive to the criticisms of "Romanists" and also of other Protestants such as George Fox. For example, a Romanist had questioned where were the "indefatigable missioners" of the Anglican Church, and he (The Romanist) concluded that only the Catholic Church could glory in its missionary efforts while the Anglicans, like "lazy Drones," sat at home "not daring to wet a foot ...." Others carried the criticism further when they claimed that since the Anglicans had no zeal, they also had no Faith, and consequently, no Church nor Religion among them. Godwyn found his Church disgraced not only when compared to its past "Worthies," but even when compared to the "Moderns" whom the Anglicans termed "Schismaticks and Idolators," but who yet gave testimony by their zeal and charity. Certainly it was baffling for the Anglican minister to understand why it was more difficult to promote Christianity under a Christian government and within an atmosphere of Christian families than it had been among the

121 Ibid., p. (24).
122 Ibid.
123 Ibid., pp. (24)-(25).
heathens and under persecutors. Godwyn further asked himself why it was more difficult for Protestants to effect such conversions than for Papists, and for the Englishmen in the West Indies than for the New England men? 124

The argument had been raised that ministers were needed at home, but Godwyn could find no reason why some could not "preach to the Gentile abroad, both English and others (for neither the Blacks nor Tawnies only are the Heathen there)...." 125 and one group was not to be forsaken for the benefit of the other. Four key objections against Godwyn's proposals were voiced: first, that kindness to slaves would make them "Hypocrites only, and not Christians," for slaves would embrace Christianity in hope of obtaining their liberty; second, that the merchants would be displeased; third, that Godwyn had selfish reasons for carrying out this work; fourth, that all that Godwyn had formerly said had been lies. 126

Godwyn found this fourth charge rather ridiculous for "these very Planters themselves, at least...their Agents" had admitted and defended their opposition before the Council. 127

Why were the planters so obstinate? Generally, Godwyn found the planters hardened of heart and he further found that they

124 Godwyn, Supplement, p. 11.
125 Godwyn, Trade Preferr'd, Preface [8].
126 Ibid., Preface [9].
127 Ibid.
had been led astray in four ways: they had been "induced to sin" by the "root of Bitterness;" or by the "Spirit of Unbelief;" or by "Pride and Ambition;" or by "Avarice" and by "Sloth." Of all these evils, Godwyn apparently considered avarice the most damning. "Thirst after filthy Lucre" was a repetitive theme of Godwyn's, and in his opinion, as apt a description of the situation as it existed in Barbados. Because the merchants and planters had found trade and religion incompatible, they chose to cast their lot with "their ungodly Interests." It was what Godwyn termed "an Indifferency" which made Christianity a "Religion only for TRADE and COMMERCE," and viewed "Heaven and Salvation to be of less moment than the getting of money:..." it was "no other than an absolute deposing and rejecting of Christ for the exaltation of Mammon."

God was not to be mocked, and like his contemporary, George Fox, Godwyn had only dire forewarnings for an England which had become "infamous for Irreligion." England had become the "Barren Fig-tree" of his day, and just as in earlier times the fig tree had been cut down and destroyed by Christ because of its barrenness, so would England suffer

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128 Ibid., pp. (9)-(11).
129 Ibid., pp. (10)-(11). See also ibid., Preface, [6]. Godwyn stated that whatever the planters and merchants considered conducive to trade and the acquiring of money they deemed lawful.
130 Ibid., p. (23).
131 Ibid., p. (27).
the same fate of divine destruction. In Godwyn's view, it would be vain to expect that God would "lighten His hand from off us, and from off our Gods; (our Princes and Rulers) and from off our Land."132

Godwyn sincerely viewed the situation as serious, but sincerity and seriousness of matter do not automatically give one access to the pulpit of Westminster nor to an audience by the King. Yet, through connections and/or notoriety, Godwyn did manage to preach a sermon before King Charles II in the Abbey. Later, a published version with a dedicatory address to King James II, who in the meantime had ascended the throne, appeared.133 Godwyn had at least succeeded in bringing to the attention of the highest powers the plight of the slave vis-a-vis religion, just as George Fox had earlier succeeded in jolting the Anglican minister into his role as the self-proclaimed advocate of Negro and Indian. If Godwyn is to be given credit as an effective instrument in turning the minds of Church members toward the need of a national missionary society,134 surely George Fox, Quaker though he was, deserves a share of that credit.

132 Godwyn, Supplement, p. 12.

133 The published version is Godwyn's Trade Preferr'd.

134 Brydon, Virginia's Mother Church, I, 187. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel which was founded in 1701.
CHAPTER IX

EPILOGUE: GREAT IS THE TRUTH AND IT SHALL PREVAIL

Whenever one comes to assess an evil practice presently condemned but formerly condoned, one is always faced with harassing questions of blame and innocence. Many times persons are more concerned with the question of guilt than with an attempted evaluation of a situation within its proper perspective. Or, a person may tend to attribute a quality or to assign a position to a group who only attained such a quality or took such a stance at a much later date. Certainly this was the case with the Quakers, vis-à-vis slavery in Barbados. There can be no doubt that the Quakers carried the standard of the abolition movement and contributed more worthies to that cause than any other group. However, the Society only became extremely articulate on the subject of abolition at the close of the eighteenth century. The extensive slaveholding among Barbados Friends in the seventeenth century contrasted drastically with the later Quaker repugnance to the institution of slavery, and its fruits are startling. However viewed, the fact remains that the Quakers did not as a body form a "solid phalanx against human

1Manice, "George Fox, Quakers, Negroes and Slavery," p. 15. Mr. Manice observed that not only in Barbados, but elsewhere, hundreds or even thousands of Quakers by the end of the century had slaves.

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enslavement" as has been fallaciously believed.\(^2\) What the Quakers did in the seventeenth century, as the Church of England also did, was to urge both conversion and the better treatment of slaves, but it is surprising that from a similar inauspicious beginning, one group, the Quakers, in the end condemned slavery, while the other group, the Anglican clergy, in the end supported it.

In a sense, though, it is not surprising that the Anglicans did so, since their early mouthpiece, Morgan Godwyn, spent considerable time justifying slavery, which he found to be not in the least incompatible with Biblical teachings. And, while many have always considered the tenets of Christianity to be egalitarian in tone, Godwyn likewise constructed argumentation describing the hierarchical structure of Christianity and concluded with his evaluation that Christianity had never been a promoter of democracy but rather had always supported an aristocracy.\(^3\) A hierarchical structure is always indicative of a superior/inferior relationship, and such assigning of members in virtue of power or office or worthiness or estate could easily have become applicable to assigning members because of racial characteristics. By switching the onus of slavery away from slavery by virtue of heathenism to slavery by virtue of race permitted

\(^2\) Aptheker, "Quakers and Slavery," p. 331. See also Manice, "George Fox, Quakers, Negroes and Slavery," p. 1.

\(^3\) Supra, Chapter VIII, pp. 243-244.
the Anglicans to forward a christianizing program while at the same time reassuring and placating the power cadre, i.e., the planters. This endorsement of slavery has been described as the "most important failure of the egalitarian Christian tradition." 4

Godwyn, among others, also spent much time in denouncing the treatment of Negroes as if they were beasts. Preoccupation with, and also such an enunciation of, this analogy, though in the best tradition of seventeenth century demagoguery (that is, an exaggeration to score a point), was pregnant with danger. The emphasis on their analogy to beasts was clearly to manifest that the Negroes were not being treated as other human beings, while the reason for ill treatment was the implication that the Negroes had no souls. However, such an emphasis could have adverse effects, too, because by drawing attention to, and arguing about, such a theme, doubts were implanted and questions were raised on the part both of readers and of hearers that otherwise might not have arisen. The point in fact is that if one were to argue vehemently in opposition to certain popularly-held concepts, one could fairly assume that there is some "grain of truth" in them. Consequently, though the missionaries

4 Jordan, White Over Black, p. 198. See also J. C. Ballagh, A History of Slavery in Virginia (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1902), pp. 46-48. Ballagh noted that the religious doctrine of freedom for all men inherent in Christianity began "to wane" because it proved impracticable and was supplanted by the "more profitable social principle of fundamental racial difference."
might have been sincere, the effects their preaching and writing produced were not always the desired ones. And even though their desired effect was not always achieved, they at least by their preaching and writing both unsettled consciences and stimulated controversy.

The divorce of a desired effect from actual reality can also be seen in the missionaries' lobby for laws to be passed by the various colonies explicitly stating that baptism was not a ticket to freedom. The missionaries' objective was to facilitate their work among the heathen by disarming the planters' obstinacy through a legal guarantee that their property claims would not be weakened. The planters' fears were allayed to some extent although they would continue to view individual missionaries and eventually missionary societies such as the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel as "a piece of Religious Knight Errantry." But very important, and also unfortunately, the missionaries by securing the enactment of such laws prolonged the institution of slavery for years.

The planters were obstinate, but did they not have reason to be so? John Oldmixon, in his slanted work, The British Empire in America (published in 1708), probably


6 Oldmixon was a Whig historian and pamphleteer who allowed his historical perspective to be limited by his
best expressed the "Old Guard" stance in regard to baptism. Scoffing and asserting as groundless the supposed scandal resulting from, and also the charge that, masters denied their slaves baptism, Oldmixon argued that the "poor Wretches" did not show any disposition to abide by Christian doctrines. This condition was attributed by Oldmixon to their fondness for "Idolatry, that unless the government of Barbados was empower'd to set up an Inquisition, they would never be converted." Oldmixon conceded that planters were not "over forward" in having their slaves converted, for the slaves then would expect better usage. However, unlike Godwyn, who attributed this situation simply to the planters' motivation of fear that they would have to treat their slaves better if they were Christians (i.e., give them better food, clothing, working hours and other conditions of life), Oldmixon assigned to the planters a more lofty motive, the fear that the slaves would "profess Christianity with their Lips, while their Hearts retain'd their old Diabolical Idolatry." Although it is always dangerous to "second-guess" motives, it would seem fair to assume that Godwyn's assessment of the political beliefs. The British Empire in America was written to convince Englishmen of the advantages of possessing American plantations. But since his historical writings were marred by the "contentious and opinionated nature of his personality" and the "main object in writing was to promote the cause of his party," they are of little value now. See the DNB, XIV, sub. Oldmixon.

7 Oldmixon, British Empire in America, II, 118.
8 Ibid.
planters' motives was probably nearer the mark since what we know about the planters' zeal for religion would indicate that, if they were not adverse to religion, at least they were indifferent to it as reflected by the empty churches. Aside from their own religious indifference, the white oligarchies in both Barbados and Jamaica had a mixed feeling toward the Negro population, a feeling vacillating between fear and hatred. While neither feeling had been conducive to convert-making, other views of the reasons for the reluctance of planters to have slave-converts have been put forward. William Knox in a small tract called "Of the Negroe Slaves in the Colonies," argues in a rather curious manner, for after discussing the "dull stupidity" of the Negro as stifling any desire for instruction, Knox contended that the planters were correct in saying that instruction rendered the slaves less willing to labor as experience and reflection bore this out. Curiously though, after charging the Negroes


10 William Knox, "Of the Negroe Slaves in the Colonies," in Three Tracts Respecting the Conversion and Instruction of the Free Indians and the Negroe Slaves in the Colonies (London: Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1770), pp. 16-27. Knox, an official, and a controversial one, wrote this pamphlet at the bidding of William Secker, Archbishop of Canterbury. Knox's life was very much tied up with colonial affairs. Lord Halifax had first introduced Knox to government service by appointing him to His Majesty's council and to the post of provost-marshal of Georgia. Knox, who had spent from 1757-1761 in Savannah, later became an agent in Great Britain for Georgia and East Florida, a position he lost when in a series of pamphlets he defended the Stamp Act. For details of Knox's life see the DNB, XI, sub. Knox.
with this "stupidity," Knox expressed his concern that if the Negro were taught to read one book, "he would of himself read another." Curiosity in reading has not been generally a characteristic of a stupid person and certainly not of one whom Knox might fear through reading would come to be instilled with the ideas of rebellion.

Knox's apologies for the planters was a publication of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, and although published in the eighteenth century, it very well reflects the thinking and arguments of the seventeenth. Knox observed that no planter was so "grossly barbarous" as not to wish that his Negroes might work with good will, nor so blinded as not to perceive that Negroes instructed in religion could serve their masters better. Instead, it was the height of folly to expect of any owner of Negroes to permit them to be told, that he violates all divine and human laws by retaining them [the Negroes] in his service, or to allow them to have any notions of a religion, whose sanctions he [the owner] must appear to them contemn, by making them his slaves.

Knox was not arguing for a system of slavery, but since such a system existed, the blame was not totally to be

11Ibid., p. 17.
12Not all would agree with Knox—certainly not at an earlier period. See Carpenter, Protestant Bishop, p. 252. Planters were imputed to be "notorious."
13Knox, "Of the Negroe Slaves in the Colonies," p. 27.
laid at the planters' feet. For instance, Knox noted that the right of a planter to his Negro was founded on the acts of the provincial assembly, framed within the King's instructions and submitted to the approbation of the Privy Council.\(^\text{14}\)

It was the Council that had ultimate power, and according to Knox, if the Lords of the Council were "sufficiently zealous in the cause of liberty and religion," they would effect a change. The conclusion was that if slavery were a violation of the laws of nature and humanity, certainly the American planters did "not alone bear the weight of that iniquity," nor were "they only to be called upon to remove the evil."\(^\text{15}\)

Regardless who might be guilty, the fact remained that there was little interest exhibited in schooling any child, White or Black, whether on the part of official or clerical circles, as Barbadians did not feel compelled either to read the Bible or to study the catechism and many planters were totally indifferent about education.\(^\text{16}\) Surely it was true that by 1700 most of the grandees of Barbados were educating their sons in England and because most of these sons appeared as "great Gallants in Apparrel," it was deduced that the planters had grown exceedingly rich.\(^\text{17}\) Such an observa-

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\(^{14}\text{Ibid., pp. 26-27.}\)

\(^{15}\text{Ibid., p. 20.}\)

\(^{16}\text{Carl and Roberta Bridenbaugh, No Peace Beyond the Line, pp. 396-97. See also Jordan, White Over Black, p. 97.}\)

\(^{17}\text{Thomas Tryon, Letters, Domestick and Foreign, To Several Persons of Quality (London: Printed for George Conyers, 1700), p. 192.}\)
tion as this, and other observations of their "luxurious Living, and Gaiety of the rich Commodities that were exported to Barbados Yearly" gave the English the impression that increased taxation would not be oppressive to the Barbadians. The fact was that many Barbadians were not suffering financially but were excessively adamant in their refusal to admit any real or imagined incursions into areas that they had already determined were theirs by a long standing custom. For that reason, it was not surprising that Thomas Tryon's novel suggestion of segregated education fell on deaf ears. Tryon had suggested that two boarding schools ought to be erected in each parish, one for the English and one for the Negro children. The children in both schools were to be taught how to dress, spin, and weave cotton so that eventually fine calicoes and muslins could be produced.\(^{18}\) His proposal for a "publick works" system which would educate, discipline and gainfully employ at the same time, probably made Tryon one of the first advocates for a separate but equal education for Whites and Negroes.

Men such as Tryon, and William Loddington, who saw the settling and christianizing of the New World as the work of their generation, certainly were astute observers of the scene, as also was the Society of Friends, which was more active than any group in laboring among the Negroes. Many times the question has been raised why the Friends long have been so active

\(^{18}\)Tryon, Letters, Domestick and Foreign, pp. 195-96.
in many moral reforms. It has been pointed out that neither superior intelligence, education, goodness, nor advantageous position was their lot any more than of any other group, but what in effect gave the Society extra latitude was the fact that the Quakers felt rather than reasoned that some things were right and other things wrong.\textsuperscript{19} Moreover, it was the responsibility of every Friend to follow that right regardless of dangers, difficulties, or possibilities of results.\textsuperscript{20}

Such determination wedded to a course of action added a dimension of fearlessness in God's cause, the "stuff" of mountain-movers. This sense of right then enabled Quakers to tilt the scale in the midst of conflicting arguments.

In the initial phase of its history the Society of Friends has been described as the "first concerted missionary effort in the American colonies...."\textsuperscript{21} Their success has been attributed in part to both the failure of the Church of England in the Caribbean and to the fact that many former puritans wished to lead even more spiritual lives. However that may be, Quaker missionary vitality waned and suffered irreparable loss through emigration and death,\textsuperscript{22} but what is


\textsuperscript{20} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{21} Carl and Roberta Bridenbaugh, No Peace Beyond the Line, p. 393.

\textsuperscript{22} Levy, "Early Puritanism," p. 307.
most surprising, in spite of the many sincere Quaker efforts on behalf of Negroes, the Negroes never in Quaker history and in no part of America have ever become in large numbers members of the Society of Friends. Perhaps the Negro felt that becoming convinced of the inner Truth did not fulfill his religious needs and instead found religions with more warmth in liturgical expression more appealing. Or from a totally different view, one might put forward the argument that the Quakers' aggressiveness in manners did not augur well for the Negro, who was already in a serious precarious social position, and therefore he shied away from religious radicals. Whatever the reason, the fact remained that the Negro, for the most part, was never attracted to the Society.

The Quakers, like other people of their day, did not see slavery in a bad light, and although George Fox was the first of the Quakers to voice some questions about slavery, he was very far from being an abolitionist. It has been said of Fox and of his followers that they became the most ardent social reformers of their day without consciously intending it. From an early period, Fox had been "staggered


by the discrepancy between the religion of the Gospel and the religion of Churches," and thus, recognizing no limitations, whether of caste, class, or race, he instead appealed to "that of God" in everyone. Because of this universal appeal Fox has been ranked among the first of Protestants to grasp the idea of foreign missions. Though perhaps not first in religious publications, Fox and the Quakers made exceedingly good use of the literary press to spread their views; prior to 1715, over 4,269 publications were issued by Friends with Fox the author of some 300 of these.

Fox wielded an effective pen, but credit for perceiving slaveholding as a wrong does not belong to Fox but rather to a sometime companion, William Edmundson. Rather, it was Edmundson who made a courageous anti-slavery announcement in slave-trading Newport, and it is he who ranks first in "the great succession of anti-slavery apostles." The statement Edmundson made was unequivocal and compared and contrasted with those of Fox and Godwyn, the latter appear weak. After the death of Fox and Edmundson, the society did little in the cause for some time, but then in 1727, a

26 Rufus Jones, "The Psychology of George Fox," in ibid., p. 84.
27 Elbert Russell, "George Fox as a Pioneer," in ibid., p. 93.
29 Drake, Quakers and Slavery, p. 10.
resolution of the whole Society on the subject of slavery was issued at the yearly meeting in London.

It is the sense of this meeting, that the importing of Negroes from their native country and relations, by Friends, is not a commendable nor allowed practice, and is therefore censured by this meeting. 30

Although it was nearly another century before members of the Society of Friends in the western colonies purged themselves of slaveholding, the Society does have the distinction of being the "first of the professedly Christian bodies to make the practice of slaveholding inconsistent with membership." 31

Such a high mark of distinction for the Society which obviously failed to capture either the masses or the classes, stemmed from this distinctive leader, who has been described as one of the greatest of religious leaders by a Dean of the Church of England. 32

Although Fox never grasped all the political or social ramifications of slavery, but reacted simply against "man's inhumanity to man," and also to the dictum of the Lord to teach all nations, it is difficult to accept a view that Fox was among that class of writers who only "incidentally" mentioned an abolition of the slave-trade in their writings, while Godwyn was one who wrote expressly


31 Grubb, "George Fox as a Social Reformer," New Appreciations of George Fox, p. 146.

32 Dean Inge, "Fox," The Church of England Newspaper (Aug. 1, 1924), in ibid., p. 163.
on the subject but who had no opportunity of promoting it.  

In reality, when tying the slave-trade into the evils of slavery, quite the opposite was true, for Fox was more of an activist than Godwyn, and Godwyn had just as much opportunity to forward a cause on the island of Barbados as had Fox. The fact was also that Godwyn resided on the island longer than Fox.

Thomas Clarkson, in his work，《The History of the Rise, Progress and Accomplishment of the African Slave-Trade》, made the point that no great event ever takes place without previously disposing causes; the groundwork, in other words, is laid well before the event by writers who by researching and expressing views on an issue and keeping the issue alive must be credited with being the precursors of a movement. Clarkson categorized persons as contributors in three different ways:

First, some have written expressly on the subject, who have had no opportunity of promoting it by personal exertions; [Second,] Others have only mentioned it incidentally in their writings; [Third,] Others, in an elevated rank and station have cried out publicly concerning it, whose sayings have been recorded.  

Clarkson, as has been noted, placed Godwyn in category one and Fox in category two. Godwyn's work, the author observed, was the first undertaken in England expressly in
favor of the cause of abolishing the slave trade. Clark-son aptly described Godwyn's style in The Negro's and Indians Advocate as one that aroused "the pity of the reader in an affecting manner and exposes with a nervous eloquence, the brutal sentiments and conduct of their [the Negroes] oppressors." What is not mentioned is that Godwyn had really been spurned into action by the writings of George Fox, and that no lengthy perusal of the writings of Godwyn and Fox are needed to discern that Godwyn was not merely an echo of Fox, but rather much of what Godwyn said is curiously similar to the very wording and argumentation of Fox. If Fox's writings lacked a personal venom that Godwyn's possessed, one must remember that Fox had no personal unpleasant encounter with the Establishment, for although he and his whole movement were consistently under fire for their beliefs, such an attack upon an entire group only steels them in adversity and effects a spiritual growth. However, in Godwyn's case the situation was far different for he was angry with peers within his own Church and such frustration and harassment more often than not evoked a sharpened tongue laced with rancor.

Certainly Godwyn, like Fox, was concerned with the salvation of the souls of slaves but what Godwyn condemned,

\[\text{\textsuperscript{35}} \text{Ibid., p. 32.}\]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{36}} \text{Ibid.}\]
again like Fox, was the lack of Christian teaching, not slavery itself. 37 Nowhere in Godwyn's writings was there any expression of the evil of Christians buying kidnapped Africans. 38 Godwyn's affirmation, similar to Edmundson's, that Christianity made Negroes more obedient, would eventually lead to the admittance of slaves but to "separate folds for the black Lambs of God." 39

Supporters both of the impact and the import of the claim of Godwyn assert that he should never be forgotten as he was the first clergyman of the Church of England who appealed on behalf of the Negro in the West Indian Islands, and "under circumstances of deepest discouragement." 40 Perhaps one reason the Church of England has grasped so desperately at enhancing the image of Godwyn has been that the Church far too long had neglected to preach the gospel to the Blacks in the West Indies. Godwyn's activity could only partially redeem a Church which had both accommodated and compromised itself in order not to antagonize planters. 41

However, in view of the whole eventual abolition

37 Durham, Caribbean Quakers, p. 79; Schlatter, Social Ideas, p. 72.
38 Schlatter, Social Ideas, p. 72.
39 Ibid.
41 Haynes, Negro Community, p. 41; Carl and Roberta Bridenbaugh, No Peace Beyond the Line, p. 357.
movement, it seems petty to split hairs over who at this
given period contributed more and who had a greater impact,
Fox or Godwyn? Nor would it be fair to devaluate either of
their contributions because neither opposed slavery per se.
What Godwyn and Fox did was to raise serious and penetrating
questions, questions which they themselves even had difficulty
formulating, but which like deeply embedded seeds in a soil
not totally adverse to growth, have a way of coming to frui-
tion. Maturation was slow, but it was inevitable, for once
ideas have penetrated a mind, they have an insidious way of
reappearing, reshaping and regrouping. And once the con-
science has been pricked, such ideas prove formidable.

Like other great prophets, neither Godwyn nor Fox
were appreciated by their own countrymen and though neither
man witnessed much success, both of them were undaunted in
their efforts to spread the Gospel. It would be for poster-
ity to remove totally the evils of slavery but these men
should be remembered for implanting the questions and rais-
ing the doubts about the institution in the English-speaking
world. Both would have been most gratified to have known
that the British government took a step in their own century
when the Jamaican masters were urged to baptize all Negroes
that can be made "sensible of a Deity and the Christian
Faith." 42

42 Dunn, Sugar and Slaves, p. 243. (C. O. 139/1/42,
55-58).
Gratified they would have been, but not surprised, for both Godwyn and Fox subscribed to the idea that the truth will triumph. When and where it would triumph they could not predict, but that it would they never doubted, for as Godwyn firmly believed, "Magnus est veritas..., & prevalebit," and with such a sentiment Fox was in total agreement.

\[43\text{Great is the truth and it shall prevail. See Godwyn, Supplement, p. 12.}\]
APPENDIX I

ACTS RELATING TO PUBLIC WORSHIP DURING THE
ADMINISTRATION OF GOVERNOR BELL

Whereas divers opiniated and self-conceited persons
have declared an absolute dislike to the Government of the
Church of England, as well by their aversion and utter neg­
lect or refusal of the Prayers, Sermons, and Administration
of the Sacraments, and other Rites and Ordinances thereof,
used in their several Parish-churches, as by holding Con­
venticles in private houses and other places; scandalizing
Ministers, and endeavouring to seduce others to their erron­
eous opinions, upon a pretence of an alteration of Church­
government in England. All which their misdemeanors have
begotten many distractions; a great reproach and disparage­
ment to the Church and to Ministry; and disturbance of the
Government of this Island; for suppression of which their
disorderly courses, It is hereby ordered, published, and
declared, and all persons whatsoever inhabiting or resident,
or which shall inhabit or reside in this Island, are, in His
Majesty's name, hereby strictly charged and commanded, that
they, and every of them, from henceforth give due obedience,
and conform themselves unto the Government and Discipline of
the Church and especially those which are at large expressed
in the fronts of most English Bibles: Which Acts of Parlia­
ment the Ministers of every Church and Chapel in this Island,
are hereby required to read publickly and distinctly in their
several Parish Churches and Chapels, that thereby all Persons
may know what is their duty in this behalf, and the Penalty
they incur by their contempt and neglect thereof, which all
that appear faulty in, must expect to have strictly put in
execution against them.

And all Justices of the Peace, Ministers, Church­
wardens, and other His Majesty's officers of this Island,
that may give furtherance to the execution of the aforesaid
Acts, are hereby required in His Majesty's name, to do their
endeavour therein to the utmost of their powers, as they ten­
der their several Duties to Almighty God, and their Allegiances
to our Sovereign Lord the King; and the due execution of sev­
eral Places and Offices whereto they are called.

That Almighty God may be served and glorified, and
that He give a blessing to our labours; It is hereby enacted,
that all Masters and Overseers of Families have Prayers openly
said or read every Morning and Evening with his Family, upon penalty of forty pounds of Sugar; the one half to the Informer, the other half to the public Treasury of this Island.

That all Masters of Families who live within two miles of their Parish Church or Chapel, shall duly repair thereto, Morning and Evening, on the Sabbath, with their Families, to hear Divine Service; and they which live above two miles from such Church or Chapel, to repair to such Church once a month at least, under forfeiture, according to the Law of England in such case provided. If a Servant make default of repairing to the Church, according to the true intent of this Act, if the default be in his Master, then his Master is to pay ten pounds of Cotton for every such default; if the neglect be in the Servant, he is to be punished at the discretion of the next Justice of the Peace.

That every Minister begin Prayers every Sunday, by nine of the clock in the Morning, and Preach once that day at the least.

And forasmuch as little care hath been observed to be taken by Parents, or Masters of Families, for the instruction of their Children, or Servants under years of Discretion, in the Fundamentals of the Christian Religion, or the knowledge of God; and as little endeavours used therein by any of the Ministers of this Island, so that Religion comes thereby to be scandalized, and the worship of God contemned, and all manner of Vices, through the ignorance of persons concerning God and the true Religion, It is ordained and enacted by the Governor, Council, and Assembly, and by the Authority of the same, That the respective Ministers of this Island in their several Parish Churches or Chapels of Ease, on every Sunday in the afternoon, do there publicly exercise the duty of Preaching, or of the Catechizing and questioning all the Youth, and others that shall come before them, in the points of the Christian Faith, and endeavour by such questions to instruct them concerning God, and the Fundamentals of the Christian Religion and all the Articles of the Christian Faith....

APPENDIX II
APPENDIX II

EARLY RECTORS OF PARISHES IN BARBADOS

St. Michaels

Thomas Lane, M.A. ..................before...1637
Thomas Rich ...........................................applied...1655
Thomas Hooper ...........................................1657
William Frith, M.A. .....................1663
Isaac Roett ...........................................1678
James Fawkett ..................................1683
William Walker ................................1691

Christ Church

William Johnson ..................................1658
John Kenny ...........................................1680
Gilbert Ramsey ......................................1692

St. Phillip

Job Brooks .....................................before...1672
Benjamin Cryer .....................................before...1686
Charles Irvine ......................................1704

St. George

William Norris ......................................1649
Daniel Dyke ........................................1682-1690

St. John

William Leslie ......................................1653
Isaac Roett ..........................................1676
Benjamin Cryer ......................................1678
Francis Walsall ......................................1683
Benjamin Callon ......................................1693

St. James

John Page ........................................before...1668
Charles Irvine ......................................1693

281
St. Thomas

  John Wilson .................................. before...1682
  Adam Justice .................................. before...1705

St. Joseph

  William Nelson ................................ 1678
  Adam Justice ...................................
  Thomas Napleton ................................ 1718

St. Peter

  Adam Justice ................................... 1712

St. Lucy

  Thomas Gibbs ................................... 1682
  Edward Brice ................................... 1716

St. Andrews

  (none listed)

APPENDIX III

FAMILY STRUCTURE IN BRIDGETOWN (BARBADOS)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>351 English Households, Bridgetown, 1680</th>
<th>54 Jewish Households, Bridgetown, 1680</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Married couples</td>
<td>231</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children</td>
<td>330</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Childless couples</td>
<td>98</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widows, widowers</td>
<td>31</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single householders</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Servants</td>
<td>402</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slaves</td>
<td>1,276</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean number of persons per family</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>6.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean number of white persons per family</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>3.4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mean number of children per family</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean number of servants per family</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean number of slaves per family</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Richard Dunn, Sugar and Slaves: The Rise of the Planter Class in the English West Indies, 1624-1713 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1972), p. 107. Dunn noted that the 1680 census recorded the 54 Jewish households in Bridgetown separately. The totals were not broken down to show the number of wives and children nor did the Jews possess servants. It was further observed that both the English and Jewish Bridgetown households were scarcely "families" as most persons living under one roof were not related. See ibid., p. 106.
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The dissertation submitted by Winnifred Winkelman, History, has been read and approved by the following Committee:

Dr. William Trimble, Chairman
Professor, History, Loyola

Dr. Joseph Gagliano
Professor, History, Loyola

Dr. Sheldon Cohen
Professor, History, Loyola

The final copies have been examined by the director of the dissertation and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated and that the dissertation is now given final approval by the Committee with reference to content and form.

The dissertation is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

November 13, 1975
Date

[Signature]
Director's Signature