NEW CARIBBEAN STUDIES

TELLING WEST INDIAN LIVES

LIFE NARRATIVE AND THE REFORM OF PLANTATION SLAVERY CULTURES 1804-1834

SUE THOMAS

Telling West Indian Lives

NEW CARIBBEAN STUDIES

Edited by Kofi Campbell and Shalini Puri

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Sue Thomas

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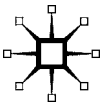

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for my grandsons Nathaniel and Sebastian

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Abbreviations

CMS	Church Missionary Society
E	Mary Gilbert, *An Extract of Miss Mary Gilbert's Journal*, ed. John Wesley
H	Mary Prince, *The History of Mary Prince, a West Indian Slave, Related by Herself*, ed. Sara Salih
HS	*The Hart Sisters: Early African Caribbean Writers, Evangelicals, and Radicals*, ed. Moira Ferguson
HSOW	Robert Wedderburn, *The Horrors of Slavery and Other Writings*, ed. Iain McCalman
M	John Gilbert et al., *Memoir of John Gilbert, Esq. Late Naval Storekeeper at Antigua. To Which Are Appended, A Brief Sketch of His Relic, Mrs. Anne Gilbert, by the Rev. William Box, Wesleyan Missionary. And a Few Additional Remarks by a Christian Friend*
MMG	Henrietta F. Gilbert, *Memoirs of the Late Mrs. Mary Gilbert, with Some Account of Mr. Francis Gilbert, in a Letter to the Rev. Mr. Benson*
N	Susanna Strickland, ed. *Negro Slavery Described by a Negro: Being the Narrative of Ashton Warner, A Native of St Vincent's*
NA	National Archives (U.K.)
NLS	National Library of Scotland
OED	*Oxford English Dictionary Online*
SAPP	Anne Gilbert, "A Short Account of Peregrine Pickle (Now Baptised Peter) a Negro Belonging to His Majesty and Employed in the Naval Yard at English Harbour, Antigua"
SMl	Sarah Moore, Jr., letter to Richard Pattison
SMGGH	Anne Gilbert, *A Short Memoir of Grace Gilbert Hart, a Child Belonging to the English Harbour Sunday School*

WI	"West Indies," *Methodist Magazine* 44 (1821), 947–949
WMMS	Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society/West Indies/Correspondence, School of Oriental and African Studies Library, London

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Introduction

The year 1804 marks an epochal moment in history: the formal establishment of the Republic of Haiti after a protracted period of armed anticolonial struggle and the abolition of slavery there. Historian Hilary McD. Beckles describes 1804 as "at once torpedo launch and the inauguration of a new order in which it was demonstrated that the rights of man could be achieved through resistance from below by the disenfranchised." He argues that this "new order" "was accompanied by a literature within which the enslaved spoke back and countered the ideological representations established within the texts of slave owners and their authorized supporters. Slaves wrote memoirs, letters, and narrated their life stories to collaborators in the anti-slavery struggles," situating them "within the wide, elastic vanguard of anti-slavery consciousness and politics." The oppositional life narrative accords with a broader range of "resistance strategies" of bondspeople that were "features of everyday life."[1] The West Indian life narrative named by Beckles is *The History of Mary Prince, a West Indian Slave, Related by Herself*, currently the best known and most anthologized and studied of West Indian life narratives. The notice of the publication of the first edition of *The History of Mary Prince* in the *Christian Advocate* in 1831 urged that Prince's "heart-rending story" "is told with every appearance of perfect truth; and unless it can be proved to contain exaggerated statements, ought of itself to be sufficient to bring slavery to a speedy and perpetual end. What, then, if this is only one of thousands of cases of equal wrong?"[2] Three editions were published in 1831; the narrative was brought to renewed historical attention in 1987 by Moira Ferguson's edition and by its inclusion in Henry Louis Gates, Jr.'s anthology *Classic Slave Narratives*.[3]

Telling West Indian Lives: Life Narrative and the Reform of Plantation Slavery Cultures 1804–1834 supplements the dichotomies Beckles draws between planters and slaves and complicates his model of historical causation by placing Prince's narrative in a longer and more generically diverse genealogy of regional life story and drawing out the reach of reform within and beyond the West Indies. The word "telling" in the title not only refers to the manifold

effectiveness and affect of the life narratives that are my primary sources, but also highlights the importance of the connection between oral and written forms of life narration. I highlight the importance of life narrative as a site for the understanding of West Indian colonial cultures and colonial history of the late plantation slavery period and of close historical research on life narrative, including its genres over time. In *The Intimate Empire: Reading Women's Autobiography*, the opening chapter of which is about *The History of Mary Prince*, Gillian Whitlock opines that "autobiographic writing is important for thinking about colonialism's culture and vice versa." Her use of the term "autobiographic" references Leigh Gilmore's practice of "reading for the positioning of the subject, and for recognizing the changing social, cultural and political formations which affect the production and reception" of particular texts.[4] My reading of extant early West Indian life stories is attentive to their telling as social, cultural and political acts and crucially, to use anthropologist David Scott's terms, the historical "conditions of possibility" for the narrating subjects "to be and to act."[5]

Ferguson's larger interdisciplinary scholarly project of the late 1980s and 1990s focuses on women writers and the cultures of abolition in Britain and the eastern Caribbean. Her publications from the project include—in addition to two editions of *The History of Mary Prince* (1987 and 1997)—*Subject to Others: British Women Writers and Colonial Slavery, 1670–1834* (1992), *Colonialism and Gender Relations from Mary Wollstonecraft to Jamaica Kincaid: East Caribbean Connections* (1993), *The Hart Sisters: Early African Caribbean Writers, Evangelicals, and Radicals* (1993) and *Nine Black Women: An Anthology of Nineteenth-Century Writers from the United States, Canada, Bermuda, and the Caribbean* (1998). Her scholarship on the Hart sisters—Anne Gilbert (1768–1834) and Elizabeth Thwaites (1771–1833)—and Mary Prince (born c. 1788) is structured by narrative arcs that David Scott would identify as consonant with "the story-form of Romance." He argues that in the historiography of Caribbean plantation slavery, this now-dominant story-form has distinctive features arising from an essentialization of slavery as a "totalizing principle of degradation and dehumanization" for subject peoples. The story-form is animated by what he terms "rhythms of redemption" and vindication: "displac[ing] a racist and colonial claim about the possibility of black political agency," the "assumption that New World slaves were incapable of self-emancipation and required the intercession of humanitarians and politicians of goodwill."[6] Ferguson characterizes Thwaites, Gilbert and Prince in her Introduction to *Nine Black Women* as committed to "intellectual, spiritual, and physical freedom. Using their texts as tools of resistance, they use bold, double-voiced articulations about race and gender to question and undermine traditional concepts of inferiority and

superiority." She places them as inaugurators—with Mary Seacole, Harriet Jacobs, Harriet Wilson, Jarena Lee, Nancy Prince and Mary Ann Shadd Cary—of a "new black female cultural politics . . . [a]ctive agents in their own destiny."[7] The "repressive violence" of slavery "works to provide the generative background against which a humanist epic of resistance can unfold, . . . help[ing] to set in motion the dialectic of repressive domination and revolutionary overcoming." While fully endorsing the proposition that slavery was "a regime . . . 'of calculated brutality and terrorism,' " Scott compellingly urges a rethinking of historical causality in plantation slavery cultures, a rethinking attuned to "how colonial power reshaped or reorganized the conceptual and institutional conditions of possibility of social action and its understanding" at a crucial site of the making of modernity. He positions Caribbean people as "conscripts" of the "cognitive-political terrain of modernity."[8]

A neglected and under-read performative and scribal context of early West Indian life narrative has been the transatlantic evangelical revival of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and its cultures. To address this gap in current scholarship, I draw out ways in which dimensions of cultural and religious creolization produced by the revival have created "conditions of possibility" for the narration of lives. In *Come Shouting to Zion*, Sylvia R. Frey and Betty Wood document the success and reach of the evangelical revival among African diasporic peoples in the American south and the West Indies by 1830. They attribute it to a creolization of forms of worship and the way "evangelical institutions came to constitute important loci wherein African peoples could develop a sense of belonging and assert a cultural presence in the larger society through the creation of their own moral and social communities."[9] The relating of life narrative in various genres, written and oral, was crucial to the formation of these communities, especially among Methodists and Moravians. Their missionary enterprises were part of the "unprecedented level of *movement* of people, goods, and ideas" produced by "material, economic and political conditions in the eighteenth century" that, D. Bruce Hindmarsh argues, led to a more "self-conscious" religiosity and significant "renewal of spiritual autobiography among evangelicals."[10] Methodist genres of life narrative included speaking at class meetings and love feasts, exhorting, the account or experience, the journal, the happy death, and the spiritual memoir. Moravian genres included speaking at meetings, exhorting, love feasts, participation in "speakings," and the *Lebenslauf* or life course. The narrators of the primary texts I discuss are evangelical converts. In writing about the *Lebenslauf* of Archibald Monteath (d. Jamaica, 1864), Maureen Warner-Lewis highlights three reasons for the neglect of Christian spiritual life narrative in the historiography and literary historiography of plantation

slavery cultures: that the "piety of the narrator's sentiments are [*sic*] likely to be distasteful to some, even contemptible," that rather than being "for the anti-slavery agenda" it was produced largely for pious audiences, and that the spiritual life of the bondswoman or bondsman "does not satisfy the post-1970s unidimensional lionization of the slave as resister, runaway or rebel."[11] Moving away from a missionary-centered approach to West Indian Christian religious historiography, Warner-Lewis works to reconstruct the subject formation of Monteath in *Archibald Monteath: Igbo, Jamaican, Moravian*. There is in the standard historiography characterized by Warner-Lewis too simple a binary between Christian piety and antislavery. As Gauri Viswanathan points out, "regardless of whether conversion is an assimilative or an oppositional gesture, the specific circumstances, historical context, and political climate in which conversion occurs might suggest a more complicated trajectory."[12]

Importantly, too, Viswanathan draws attention to the difficulties contemporary historians and cultural critics often experience in finding "an adequate vocabulary or language" in which to discuss "belief, conviction, or religious identity in a secular age of postmodern skepticism."[13] The problem of developing a finely grained analytical method and language is also complicated by a tendency in the present to collapse distinctive denominational histories and cultures, including cultures of life narration, confession and testimony, into a single Christian category.

Telling West Indian Lives is organized as a study of life narrative that circulated around a number of reform projects with transatlantic reaches between 1804 and 1834: a Creole benevolent sphere envisioned by Antiguan Anne Gilbert and supported by her husband John, and especially the Female Refuge Society (Chapter 1); the expansion of the English Harbour Sunday School Society network in Antigua with Church Missionary Society support (Chapter 2); African Caribbean Methodism (Chapter 3); Spencean Philanthropy and ultraradical British politics (Chapter 4); and Moravianism in the Caribbean and the Anti-Slavery Society in Britain (Chapter 5).

In Chapter 1, "Anne Hart Gilbert and John Gilbert: Creole Benevolence and Anti-slavery," the autobiographical subjects are Anne Gilbert, committees of the Female Refuge Society, and John Gilbert; the biographers and editors are Grace Dawes and Henrietta Gilbert writing about Anne and John Gilbert, and Francis and Mary Gilbert, respectively. Francis and Mary Gilbert were the uncle and aunt of siblings John Gilbert, Grace Dawes and Henrietta Gilbert. They were instrumental in helping to establish and maintain Methodism in Antigua. As Sarah Richardson argues in relation to British philanthropic women, it is important to draw out the "intellectual arguments" and historical contexts of projects situated at a "complex" confluence of "gender, philanthropy, and imperialism."[14] Anne Gilbert was a Methodist,

a free woman of color in the legal terminology of her day. Ferguson's accounts of the careers of Anne Gilbert and Elizabeth Thwaites in *The Hart Sisters* and *Colonialism and Gender Relations from Mary Wollstonecraft to Jamaica Kincaid* draw principally on Methodist sources. She had located two pieces of Gilbert's writing: an 1804 letter to the Rev. Richard Pattison about the "Rise & Progress of Religion in Antigua," which Ferguson titles "History of Methodism" in *The Hart Sisters*, and her contribution to an 1835 memoir of her white Creole husband John Gilbert (1767–1833). I unexpectedly discovered material authored or co-authored by Anne Gilbert in the Church Missionary Society archive. The Church Missionary Society was an Anglican organization. In its archive I found annual reports of the Female Refuge Society, transcribed letters by Gilbert and a memoir she wrote of her niece Grace Gilbert Hart. They had been sent to the Society by her brother-in-law William Dawes, after whom Dawes Point in Sydney, Australia, seen in iconic images of the Sydney Harbour Bridge, is named. The Wesleyan Methodist archive held more material by Gilbert than her letter to Pattison, including an account of the conversion of an Islamic man to Methodism, published in heavily edited form in the *Methodist Magazine* in 1821. The extant annual reports of the Female Refuge Society I was able to trace in the Church Missionary Society archive and Colonial Office papers and Gilbert's 1824 letter to Mrs. Luckock, wife of a missionary for the Society for the Conversion of Negro Slaves, are manifestoes of reform of late plantation slavery culture. The reports from the 1820s, in particular, are also collective cross-racial female life writing. They had a profound impact across the Atlantic on the direction of female antislavery activism in Britain as it gained momentum from the mid-1820s. Gilbert's memoir of her niece (1821) is the earliest verifiable publication of an Anglophone African Caribbean woman. In 1835 Grace Dawes edited a tribute to John and Anne Gilbert that contains memoirs by both of them. I use a comparative approach to the text to explore its cultural project and aesthetics.

Jon Sensbach notes that "[h]istorians have only recently begun to examine seriously women's roles as cultural innovators and transmitters, particularly in the diaspora of African peoples" brought about by the transatlantic slave trade. The materials I found would enable a deeper analysis of Gilbert's role as a cultural innovator and transmitter in the contexts of "the Afro-Atlantic freedom struggle, and the rise of black Christianity."[15] Gilbert's vision of a Caribbean future focused on the cultural and moral improvement of an "independent peasantry," a widespread model of freedom among enslaved and freed people in Caribbean plantocracies.[16] The community building integral to improvement was furthered by means of what may be theorized as an "emotion" culture[17] around the education of "creditable, though humble, and

industrious young people" and the establishment of an affective sociality of care and compassion. Gilbert's ethic of compassion, an ethic she promulgated in her teaching and community example, focused on opening hearts and purses to the suffering and emotions of others. Her models of civic conduct are drawn from African diasporic practices, biblical exemplars, Methodist discipline and early Christian ideals of sharing goods in common. Gilbert positions the Creole benevolent sphere she developed as a "negative opposition" to the blighting miasma of late plantation slavery culture, underscoring the local political implications and scope of the projects. She notes acerbically in her letter to Mrs. Luckock that to its critics the Female Refuge Society, despite its ecumenical evangelicism, was a sign of "methodistical intrusion and innovation." The Society aimed to break exploitative cycles of seasoning of impoverished young girls of color for racialized sexual economies of concubinage and prostitution. The cycles were pernicious at English Harbour, which was the site of a large naval dockyard. From 1780 to 1814, in the context of imperial rivalry and wars between the British and French, the dockyard was supported by the development of "a massive garrison complex at Shirley Heights."[18] Edward L. Cox, while not familiar with Ferguson's scholarship on Anne Gilbert and Elizabeth Thwaites, observes that "[s]cholars have generally portrayed free coloureds in the Caribbean 'as having identified themselves with the dominant whites' who controlled the colonies' major socio-political and economic institutions" and notes the paucity of research on "radical free-coloured activities and possibilities."[19] The Creole benevolent sphere that Anne Gilbert played a leading role in developing is a signal instance of such radicalness, and telling life narrative across a range of genres was crucial to its everyday workings and fundraising.

Chapter 2, "William Dawes in Antigua," contextualizes a series of letters from an anguished Dawes to the Church Missionary Society that may be read as spiritual autobiography. Dawes (1762–1836) is one of those " 'imperial men' who moved across . . . societies, their own identities . . . ruptured, changed and differently articulated by place,"[20] who are attracting increasing historical attention. He and his second wife Grace settled in Antigua in 1813. Characterizations of Dawes's work in Antigua to date have been largely shaped by sketchy and inaccurate accounts of his career there, usually represented simply as "work[ing] on behalf of the anti-slavery cause,"[21] in entries on him in the *Australian Dictionary of Biography* and the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.[22] The Antiguan educational and philanthropic network in which Dawes played a prominent role is not mentioned in standard accounts of the history of schooling in the West Indies or of the Church Missionary Society. The historiography of organized literacy education among enslaved people and non-elites in the eastern Caribbean

tends to begin, rather, with the work and the historical moment of William Hart Coleridge, the first Anglican bishop of Barbados, appointed in 1825, in the wake of the British government's shift to an official policy of amelioration of slavery in 1823, which included the promotion of Christian religious education. In *From Oral to Literate Culture: Colonial Experience in the English West Indies*, Peter A. Roberts argues that the acquisition of literacy "can never be separated from its cultural ecology." He draws out the "lack of effect of literacy" in contexts where it is not "accompanied by other freedoms and facilities," for example, dismantling of discriminatory social and economic segregation and opportunities to benefit from literacy in daily life. He suggests that literacy in the educational projects he examines was "seen simply as a medium for the retention, acceptance and propagation of Christian doctrine and literature," "a method of controlling the nonwhite population" that never challenged "the routine and production of the plantation."[23] Distinctive aspects of the cultural ecology of Dawes's work for the Church Missionary Society and benevolence in Antigua were inspired by the non-denominational Protestant social and cultural reform projects initiated by Anne Gilbert, the English Harbour Sunday School and the Female Refuge Society.

In Chapter 3, "Methodist Life Narratives," I focus principally on autobiographers Elizabeth Thwaites, née Hart and Sarah Moore, Jr (?-c. 1837/8), though reference is made to Ann Claxton, Samuel Paynter and Robert Wedderburn; the biographer is Anne Gilbert, writing about Grace Gilbert Hart and an Islamic convert to Methodism named variously Mahummud, Peregrine Pickle and Peter. I contextualize their narratives generically and in the print, testimonial and oral cultures of evangelicism in the Caribbean and in Britain. By attending to representations of gender, embodiment and the spiritual senses, I draw out the agency of the authors and the locations of the texts in colonial reform projects.

Wedderburn (1762–1835), who has been recognized since the early 1990s as a "strategically central actor in the formation and dissemination of revolutionary traditions, an intellectual organic to the Atlantic proletariat,"[24] is the subject of Chapter 4, "Robert Wedderburn and the 'cause of humanity.' " Born free in Jamaica, he was the son of Rosanna, a bondswoman, and her Scottish master James Wedderburn. Robert Wedderburn's life writing and some of his radical Spencean journalism and political pamphlets are collected in *The Horrors of Slavery and Other Writings* (1991), edited by Iain McCalman. Spencean Philanthropists had great faith in the power of the popular press to effect social and political reform. In his 1816 *Essay on Printing by a Spencean Philanthropists* [*sic*] Arthur Seale, who printed Wedderburn's Spencean journals *The* "*Forlorn Hope*" and *The Axe Laid to the Root* (both 1817), writes: "Printing is the best gift that Nature, in its clemency has

granted man. It will ere long change the face of the universe."[25] In *Address of the Society of Spencean Philanthropists to All Mankind, on the Means of Promoting Liberty and Happiness* (1816), Thomas Evans hails the printing press as a means to "the ultimate triumph of truth,"

> communicat[ing] knowledge, not merely to the powerful and opulent, but to the unprotected and indigent multitude, who suffer all the evils attendant on the prevailing unjust system of landed monopoly and usurpation . . . . As the evil originated in violence, so the remedy is to be sought in reason, and obtained by the conversion of public opinion.[26]

The Society of Spencean Philanthropists was formed in 1814, the year in which Thomas Spence died. Malcolm Chase points out that for the Spencean Philanthropists

> the embodiment of Antichrist is not the Pope of Rome, but government based on a system of private property. This eschatology was a subject of peculiar urgency to the Spenceans and goes some way towards explaining their adoption of precipitate political strategies—for their Biblicism did not lead them to adopt a quietist posture, waiting upon divine intervention to expedite reform. On the contrary, the vigorous historicity of their view of Moses, Christ, and Alfred [the Great]—coupled with a starkly materialist social philosophy—led them to affirm strongly the role of human agency in securing the rule of God and nature.[27]

Evans's 1816 manifesto urged that "enlightened" philanthropy would commit to a new social order in which "universal justice" in the form of "the securing to every member of the community his indefeasible right to an equal share of the property of the land and its appurtenances" would prevail.[28] For Wedderburn, the position of the oppressed poor in Britain was analogous to that of enslaved people and vigorous oratory and print text were the means to further the "melioration of the state of society, and the freedom of the whole human race."[29] In this chapter I recontextualize the politics of literacy and grammar in the period and his *The Horrors of Slavery; Exemplified in the Life and History of Rev. Robert Wedderburn, V.D.M.* (1824), parts of which had already appeared in *Bell's Life in London*, in relation to material about him and about slavery published in the journal in 1823 and 1824 and Olaudah Equiano's *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa, the African. Written by Himself* (1789).

In Chapter 5 I turn to *The History of Mary Prince, a West Indian Slave, Related by Herself*. Recent scholarship on and fiction inspired in part by Prince's narrative, in concert with larger trends in study of slave narratives,

have focused on the "commodification" of the narrative for an abolitionist political constituency, addressing such issues of mediation as "the framing of the genre, editing the emotional and political fabric of the material, producing the publication, and . . . arranging for forewords to be written,"[30] and the ways this complicates readings of the resistant voice of the slave and of sexual experience. This approach accords with John Sekora's demand that contemporary critical practice in relation to slave narratives needs to "engage in radical strategies to hear the silence of the narratives. It will attend to the gaps, the elisions, the contradictions, and especially the violations. It will turn original purposes on an angle, transform objects into subjects, and abolish the abolitionists."[31] Thomas Pringle, the Secretary of the Anti-Slavery Society in Britain, edited Prince's narrative and Susanna Strickland, later Moodie, was Prince's amanuensis. Pringle's and (less often) Strickland's work has been read as another paratextual "zone transacting ever-changing modes of white domination and of resistance to that domination."[32] While this approach has been valuable in countering what Sarah Salih describes as "over-reading" of *The History of Mary Prince*, "*The History* as uniquely authored/uttered by Mary Prince,"[33] it is a strategy that is "solidif[ying] and harden[ing] into a disciplined and cumulative research apparatus," "begin[ning] to slide from criticism toward method, or . . . from a revolutionary paradigm to a normal one," causing a "loss of critical force."[34] Mary Prince converted to Moravianism in c. 1822. I read her narrative in relation to historical Moravian discourses, practice, and cultures of life story and *Lebensläufe*, or life courses, by and about freed slaves Salome Cuthbert and Cornelius, to the handling of life testimonies of Betto Douglas and Ashton Warner by Pringle and Strickland, respectively, and to the libel cases around Pringle's editing of Prince's text and proslavery attacks on it. In 2012 Mary Prince was made a national hero of Bermuda, her birthplace.

In 1834 slavery was replaced by an apprenticeship system in Britain's West Indian colonies other than Antigua and Bermuda, both of which freed enslaved people. Controversially the British government paid £20 million in compensation to slaveholders for loss of their property in people. *Telling West Indian Lives* is committed to reconfiguring the literary, cultural, historical, and political memories of late plantation slavery and the understandings of the agency of life narrative and narrators in negotiating the conditions of modernity of their times and places.

CHAPTER 1

Anne Hart Gilbert and John Gilbert: Creole Benevolence and Antislavery, 1815–1834

A generation after their deaths, Anne Gilbert, née Hart, and John Gilbert were remembered in Antigua as the true consolidators of Methodism in Antigua, rather than John Gilbert's uncles Nathaniel Gilbert, who established the first Methodist Society outside Britain in 1760, and Francis Gilbert.[1] Anne, though, even then was not remembered as the first known published Anglophone African Caribbean woman writer. My discussion of Anne draws on a far wider and richer range of primary sources than those known to other scholars in the field and broader archival research.[2] Her genres were the biographical tract, memoir, personal letters, conversion narrative, local religious history, poetry, and co-authored annual reports of charities with a collective autobiographical subject. Her writing had a local and transatlantic reach; after 1825 some of her co-authored reports achieved wide circulation and influence in Britain through the activism of female antislavery societies. What Anne Gilbert's pious network in Antigua called affecting anecdotes and happy deaths (Christian death-bed scenes, a stock evangelical genre) were texts extracted from personal letters to William Dawes, her brother-in-law, and Grace Dawes, née Gilbert, her sister-in-law, and incorporated in their correspondence. William Dawes and Grace Dawes, William's second wife, had settled in Antigua in 1813. The wider circulation of the affecting anecdotes furthered Anne's political and spiritual causes. Ferguson's collection *The Hart Sisters: Early African Caribbean Writers, Evangelicals, and Radicals* contains only parts of *Memoir of John Gilbert, Esq. Late Naval Storekeeper at Antigua. To Which Are Appended, A Brief Sketch of His Relic, Mrs. Anne Gilbert, by the Rev. William Box, Wesleyan Missionary. And a Few Additional Remarks by a Christian Friend* (1835): Anne's memoir

of her husband John and, as separate appendices, William Box's eulogy for Anne (the "Brief Sketch") and the remarks. John had died in 1833, Anne in 1834. Ferguson's editing is not sympathetic to the complexity of the interplay of voices, to a reading of the *Memoir* as a portrait of a marriage, or to the mix of autobiographical and biographical genres. The "Christian Friend" and editor, not identified by Ferguson, is Grace Dawes. She reports that John had begun writing his memoir after his retirement in 1832 "at the entreaty of his sisters" (her and Martha Gilbert, *M*, 1). His narrative breaks off shortly after his review of marrying Anne in 1798 in defiance of white hostility to the legitimation of their cross-racial union and a scene of him proudly taking her arm to walk "arm-in-arm" with her from chapel services braving public opinion and potential public insult (*M*, 26). Grace Dawes added Anne's completion of John's memoir after his death, an unsigned biographical account of John that Grace had written, John's memorial requesting a pension from the Office of Lord High Admiral, three spiritual letters by John, a letter about John by Daniel Garling, Box's eulogy, and Grace's "remarks." Anne had, Box notes, "destroyed all the documents which had reference to her religious progress" (*M*, 76). Grace Dawes edited the volume as a tribute to John and Anne, and the shared ethos of benevolence that sustained their marriage, their faith, and their community leadership roles.[3] Her editorial decisions, grounded in consciousness of a family and Methodist tradition of life writing, implicitly place the lives in a generational progression from those of John's and her uncle and aunt, Francis and Mary Gilbert. A cross-generational and comparative approach to its field of cultural production and to its intimacies of affect[4] allows its cultural politics and Creole poetics to become intelligible.

In an 1804 letter to the Methodist missionary Richard Pattison, Anne Gilbert highlights the work of a colored and a black woman, Sophia Campbell and Mary Alley, respectively, in leading the fledgling Methodist Society after the deaths of Nathaniel Gilbert (c. 1721–1774) and Francis Gilbert (c. 1724–1779). In his funeral sermon for Nathaniel, Francis Gilbert took as his text "Mark the perfect Man, and behold the upright: for the End of that man is Peace" (Psalms 37:37), and praised his "*good works*," "great integrity, humanity and universal benevolence."[5] For John Wesley, universal benevolence was a sign of the true Christian who modeled his or her love on God's love, "embracing neighbours and strangers, friends and enemies . . . every child of man, of whatever place or nation,"[6] and provided the justification for missionary enterprise. Sylvia Frey and Betty Wood argue that Alley and Campbell "were the real missionaries to the Africans outside of the Gilbert household" and that they "devised a sphere for women . . . providing financial and institutional support to the revival ministry."[7] Anne and John Gilbert, and Anne's sister Elizabeth and her husband Charles Thwaites, worked

to extend this sphere of Creole benevolence on cross-racial, cross-gender, cross-denominational lines to support and sustain local communities. Anne Gilbert's benevolent projects were inspired by spiritual and temporal concerns: a religious sublime focused on salvation of souls and a vision of national modernization focused on the fostering of "a race of creditable, though humble, and industrious young people . . . in these Colonies," through regulating moral conduct, through setting the example of "the spiritualizing influence of [Protestant] religion,"[8] and through othermothering, a form of African and African diasporic community activism. Race here refers to West Indians in general. For her the luxury, licentiousness, and selfishness of the plantocratic elite were setting immoral and false standards of aspiration that were economically and socially unsustainable, and an ethic of care toward others in need, especially women and children, was a crucial basis of community and individual responsibility. She represents the foundations of early Methodism in Antigua as having been akin to "the Primitive Church" (*HS*, 62), a reference to Wesley's conceptualization of the values of the early Christian Church—"holy living," "asceticism," rejection of "materialism" and idolatry of wealth, "speech . . . for God's glory," "[t]he apostolic virtue of suffering and persecution," the expression of communal "*Love*" through "a disciplined habit of giving to the poor"—providing models of religious, social, and moral reform and mission practice.[9]

In 1804 the missionary John Baxter gave the scale of the Methodist congregation in Antigua as 3,516 "blacks and colored" and 22 "whites."[10] The blending of cultural heritages—diasporic African and Christian—was producing a creolized church among the laity. Descriptions of Antiguan congregations from the turn of the eighteenth century[11] suggest that they were what is termed "shouting Methodists," practicing a creolized style of worship structured around oral interaction between preacher and audience, and emotive, embodied performance of the power of God descending upon them,[12] which manifested the "ecstatic qualities" of African religious observances.[13] Gilbert's writing also affirms a creolization of African and Methodist philosophy. For her, "creative power" is of the spirit, although she names the power in Methodist terms "enthusiasm"[14] rather than *Ashe*.[15] Paget Henry draws attention to African ideas of the " 'ontic unity' of the self . . . as a cosmogonic challenge that was analogous to the creating of society out of the wilderness,"[16] an idea manifested in a creolized Christian form in Gilbert's writing.

The moral sensibility through which Anne Gilbert maps cultural and historical geography in her writing helped make English Harbour, "where vice of every kind" reportedly "held its undisturbed dominion" in 1803 (*M*, 30), habitable for her, and energized her benevolence and writing. David Lambert

and Alan Lester have argued for sustained study of the "historical geographies of imaginative and material connection" that underpinned what they term "colonial philanthropy."[17] While they highlight the increasing global reach of colonial philanthropy, conceptualizing it as a network or web, its center for them is Britain. Rather, I focus on the historical and literary geographies of Creole benevolence, with a colonial hub, and the ways in which Anne Gilbert's articulation of the difficult emotions to which her charitable work gives rise evoke her embodied experience of place and time. Her literary geography of Antigua from 1815 to 1834 takes in such sites as Sunday schools, schoolrooms, foster homes, benevolent meetings and exhibitions, the seedier streets of English Harbour, hovels, death beds, her home, the dockyard, Islamic networks, the class structures of Antigua's plantation slavery culture, and the journeys of the poor.

Creole Benevolence

John and Anne Gilbert's funeral sermons were preached on the theme of salvation, "Blessed *are* the dead which die in the Lord from henceforth: Yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labours; and their works do follow them" (Rev. 14:13, chosen by Anne for John);[18] and "The righteous hath hope in his death" (Prov. 14:32, chosen for Anne).[19] English Harbour was the primary scene of their pious labors, and what Anne would describe as their "*renunciation of self*, and *entire dependence on the atonement of our blessed Saviour*" (*M*, 41). The labors focused largely on Creole benevolent enterprises, at least two of them established by Anne: the cross-denominational Protestant multiracial English Harbour Sunday School, the first Sunday School in the West Indies, in October 1809 with help from her sister Elizabeth Hart Thwaites, and the Female Refuge Society. The latter was conceived in 1815, but seemingly began charitable work in 1816 with a donation of £100 from the Church Missionary Society toward it and the English Harbour Sunday School Society's schools at English Harbour and Bethesda.[20] Anne Gilbert was Agent of the Female Refuge Society (except for a brief period when John Gilbert was not employed at the English Harbour Naval Dockyard) and Superintendent of the Girl's Department of the English Harbour Sunday School.

Bishop of London Beilby Porteus in his 1808 *Letter to the Governors, Legislatures, and Proprietors of Plantations in the British West-India Islands* advocated moral regulation of what he read as black male polygamy; the Female Refuge Society targeted social problems arising from what it read as cross-racial and cross-class male profligacy supported by the institution of concubinage, the local justifying myth that "vicious degradation is . . . the

natural consequence of poverty,"[21] and a racist gap in the provision of parochial relief to the destitute. Porteus's diocese of London also included the West Indies. The Female Refuge Society's work was "to rescue from vice, want, and ruin, free Girls of colour, from six to twelve years of age, being the illegitimate children of fathers who have departed this life, or have abandoned them and quitted the country."[22] Their parents were often a formerly enslaved woman and a manager or overseer, the father having bought "the Mother's freedom before their birth, or if after, . . . theirs also."[23] The mothers were in West Indian parlance "housekeepers" for their partners. "Housekeeping" was a prevalent social institution; Gilbert terms it concubinage or "illicit connexion," insisting that it corrupts the social body, and suggests through allusion that its pernicious effect was a form of racialized sexual enslavement for which destitute young women were seasoned, just as slaves fresh from Africa were trained (seasoned) for the labor regimes of plantation cultures.[24] In Antigua, as in other West Indian colonies, the children of a freed female slave inherited her freedom. Only destitute white people in Antigua were eligible for parochial relief; in 1830 free colored people "petitioned the British Parliament directly for a redress" of this and other inequities.[25] An 1816 article in the *Missionary Register*, based around a letter of William Dawes, outlines the community needs addressed by the Female Refuge Society. Dawes points out that the "duration" of concubinage "is always precarious," especially around a naval establishment. The female children of impoverished women are at particular risk of being "dispose[d]" of as "concubines," a life "to which they have constant solicitations after the age of fourteen or fifteen years." The mothers "are, for the most part, sunk in sin, poverty, and wretchedness," and their girls "daily witness scenes, the most improper and shocking that can well be conceived."[26] In Anne Gilbert's view, consent to concubinage is "driven by poverty and evil example," and the institution is a sure "road to disgrace and misery." White men tempt enslaved and free women with the prospect of worldly "promotion," which she characterizes through biblical allusion to the parable of the rich man and Lazarus as "being clothed in purple and fine linen, and faring sumptuously every day." (It is Lazarus, a "beggar . . . full of sores . . . desiring to be fed with the crumbs which fell from the rich man's table" who is "carried by the angels into Abraham's bosom." John Wesley explains in his sermon on the parable that the rich man had set his "affection" on worldly "things.") Gilbert's benevolent projects aim to teach children "to value a respectability of higher character" than that afforded by comparative wealth: "chaste industrious habits," "severer duties of self-denial and humility."[27] The Female Refuge Society fostered some girls, and funded schooling for others. Its procedure was that mothers request that their children be fostered or educated, and the children remained in their

local community. Efforts were made to sponsor female siblings. The Female Refuge Society was run on principle by women. It accepted female subscribers only, and donations from women and men. Grace Dawes was Treasurer of the Female Refuge Society. Anne Gilbert draws out for Mrs. Luckock the collusion of Christian churches in sanctioning sexual seasoning by, in effect, tolerating "corrupt" and corrupting local racialized sexual institutions. She writes contemptuously, too, of "Ladies, who wish to be considered extremely decorous and delicate, promot[ing]" sexual seasoning "by the sale of Slaves for such purposes, and by exactions of hire, which they know cannot be raised in any other way."[28]

Personally Anne and John Gilbert were committed to relief of the poor and were generous to personal supplicants and, as annual reports amply show, Creole charities.[29] John records in his memoir that his conversion to Methodism was accompanied by a "great dread of riches . . . joined with a desire to be liberal," inspired by the biblical injunction, "Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth, for where your treasure is your heart *will be* also" (*M*, 18). Anne writes, "we were of one heart and one mind . . . we could never persuade ourselves to refuse assistance to those who had not common necessaries" (*M*, 39–40). In 1803 John Gilbert became the first clerk in the Storekeeper's Office at the English Harbour Naval Dockyard; from 1807 until 1832 (with a brief break from February 16, 1817 to June 26, 1818), he was Storekeeper and Naval Officer (*M*, 56).[30] He became a Methodist lay preacher in 1797. He was the only white lay preacher.[31] The financial security afforded the couple by John's position enabled the realization of benevolent vision. "At the time of his death," Anne records, "Mr. G. was secretary and treasurer to four charitable institutions in this neighbourhood, and the friend, director, and upholder of three others" (*M*, 40). "There were many poor people to whom he made a weekly allowance . . . indeed, none applied in vain that it was within the compass of his ability to relieve" (*M*, 39). Anne and her sister Elizabeth had begun religious and reading instruction of enslaved children in 1787–1788.[32] John's sister Grace Dawes enumerates a range of Anne's charitable work: the English Harbour Sunday School; the Female Refuge Society; "a weekly school, to teach writing and arithmetic"; "a large Infant School, supported by the Ladies' Society in London"; the English Harbour Female Juvenile Association; dispensing charitable funds; and "leader of several classes in the Methodist Society" with associated pastoral care (*M*, 89–90). Anne and John Gilbert were also consulted for their "medical knowledge" of "simple stomachics,"[33] which suggests a role in the perpetuation and dissemination of African diasporic herbalist practice.

Both the English Harbour Sunday School and the Female Refuge Society became the model for other benevolent enterprises in the region. The

English Harbour Sunday School became the model for a network of non-denominational Protestant Sunday Schools in Antigua funded by the Church Missionary Society, which by the mid-1820s taught people from "more than sixty Estates . . . to the number of two thousand," instructing in "reading and in the principles of the Christian Religion."[34] This larger operation, developed and managed by William Dawes, whose work I discuss more fully in Chapter 2, folded in the late 1820s as a result of Anglican-funded schooling being brought under the episcopal control of the first bishop of Barbados, William Hart Coleridge, from 1825. The model, which, to respect general parental wish, did not tie literacy training to church attendance, was extended to other islands in the eastern Caribbean.[35] Tobago, Dominica, and St Kitts were within Dawes's sphere of influence. The Female Refuge Society became the model for the Distressed Females' Friend Society (later the Female Orphan Society) in Antigua[36] and the Female Benevolent Society of St Kitts.[37] In the late 1820s efforts were made to establish a Jamaican Refuge Society.[38] The Distressed Females' Friend Society operated around St John's, also fostering destitute children with the consent of their mothers. More prosperous than the Female Refuge Society, the Distressed Females' Friend Society also paid weekly allowances to a number of women no longer able, because of advanced age or illness, to support themselves through work. Both William and Grace Dawes worked tirelessly to raise funds for both organizations by writing to well-placed contacts in England. The letters of appeal and exhortation consolidate the pious affect they invest in the projects and the writing itself. Twenty to twenty-five percent of the donations to the Distressed Females' Friend Society were usually raised by William Dawes. He and Anne Gilbert were particularly successful in cultivating the vice-regal patronage of Sir Benjamin and Lady Anna d'Urban during Sir Benjamin's governorship of Antigua from 1820 to 1824. They encouraged Lady d'Urban in particular to take up wide-ranging benevolent work in the community.

Anne Gilbert: Woman and Community

Anne Gilbert's benevolent agency was inspired by two models of exemplary female conduct: one biblical, one drawn from African diasporic culture. In an 1824 letter to Mrs. Luckock, wife of a missionary from the Society by Royal Charter for the Conversion of Negroes, seemingly intended for a wider circulation, she describes the work of the Female Refuge Society and the Distressed Females' Friend Society, which operated around St John's, as a "sort of negative opposition" to the moral corruption of the colony, "barely tolerated" and often "calumniate[d]" and "persecute[d]" "as methodistical

intrusion and innovation."[39] In the period "innovation" was synonymous with revolutionary modernity.[40] Gilbert informs Mrs. Luckock:

> I am not anticipating any rapid progress in improvement; at present I feel as if all that we can do is to take good Mr. Cecil's advice: "If we cannot prevent evil, let us hang upon its wings and retard its progress." . . . I am so circumstanced with respect to the rising generation, that I see all the bearings of every thing moral, civil, or political, upon their cause. Being always upon the watch, I spy the enemy at a great distance, and make preparation to guard my little flock before they are attacked.[41]

Anne Gilbert's "emancipation anxieties"—around civil emancipation of the free colored class—are encoded as melodrama around the theme of concubinage, and as in other texts by West Indians of the period structured by "courtship and marriage melodrama" examined by Deborah Wyrick, the anxieties "domesticat[e] massive political and ideological change under the aegis of the family."[42] For Gilbert and the biracial female committees that ran the charities, the major sign of plantation slavery corruption that they could tackle was cross-racial concubinage and the social problems it generated. Around the naval base at English Harbour, in particular, Anne Gilbert identified these problems as prostitution, alcoholism, child neglect, and exploitation, including collusion in the rape of a pubescent daughter and coercion or sale of daughters into prostitution, squalid living quarters, acute poverty, and disease. She saw them as integral to a racialized plantation slavery economy damned as a "howling Wilderness,"[43] practicing a "demoralizing and wretched plan of destruction," which "buried in poverty and disease . . . so many of [her] own sex,"[44] and set about exposing the system, and making public the poverty and the disease, and the necessary interventions of the Female Refuge Society. "[H]owling Wilderness" is an allusion to Deuteronomy 32:10. In this chapter of the Bible, Moses represents Israel as a debased nation: "perverse and crooked" (v. 5), given to "strange *gods*," "abominations" (v. 16), "vanities" (v. 21), "their vine *is* of the vine of Sodom, and of the fields of Gomorrah: their grapes *are* grapes of gall, their clusters *are* bitter: . . . Their wine is the poison of dragons, and the cruel venom of asps" (v. 32–33).

In *Legitimate Acts and Illegal Encounters: Law and Society in Antigua and Barbuda*, Mindie Lazarus-Black, who is unfamiliar with the Female Refuge Society, associates the work of the Distressed Females' Friend Society with a marked rise in marriage rates among free colored people in the 1810s and 1820s and acceptance of a "legalistic kinship order," which was "a sign of status, a practical way to protect property, and a symbol of one's . . . Christianity." The women who managed the Society, she argues,

"were working out a pattern . . . in which law, order, and formal institutions are basic to conceptualizing and managing the family."[45] For the Female Refuge Society the issue was more practical protection of children than status or Christianity. Lazarus-Black draws on Anglican statistics. In Antigua, as elsewhere in the West Indies, only Anglican ministers could officiate at legal marriages. Non-Anglican marriages were recognized in Antiguan law in 1844. Anne Gilbert recognizes the informal marriages solemnized by Methodist and Moravian ministers.[46] Her role as Agent of the Female Refuge Society was to act as first point of contact for mothers or guardians who wished to have children fostered or educated, to manage the everyday operation of the charity, and to plead to the Committee the cases for supporting individual girls.

The earliest extant reference to the biblical model of female agency is in a handwritten copy of the 1823 Report of The English Harbour Female Juvenile Association, a subscription charity in which Anne Gilbert was the leading force; she also refers to the model in her account of the work of the Female Refuge Society and the English Harbour Sunday School in *Memoir of John Gilbert* (*M*, 37). Hindmarsh notes that female Methodist life writers sometimes identify with female characters in the Bible.[47] The Report, addressing a pious audience, describes the biblical ideal—"She stretcheth out her hand to the poor; yea, she reacheth forth her hand to the needy" (Proverbs 31:20)—as a "fair model of female excellencies," where fair, often a descriptor of beauty, is explicitly drawn out as meaning "just."[48] In *Memoir of John Gilbert* Anne Gilbert alludes to Proverbs 31:28: "Her children arise up, and call her blessed" (*M*, 37). The model is drawn from Proverbs 31, a biblical chapter that outlines the qualities of the "virtuous woman" whose "price *is* far above rubies" and whose "own works praise her in the gates" of heaven on the day of judgment (v. 10, v. 31). The Association supported "distressed" young women, providing board, schooling, and "Bedding and Clothing," often while they were waiting to be taken under the care of the Female Refuge Society. The articulation of the model of "excellencies" enjoins and instances a very particular community sensibility, everyday ways of comporting oneself in place in relation to others: "Listen to the cry of the wretched/To the widow's and the orphan's groan"; the management committee "will not see a destitute suffering female and 'Shut up the bowels of their compassion from her.' "[49] The first injunction is remembered from a Charles Wesley hymn, "Jesus, the gift divine I know," for believers "Seeking for full redemption," which urges that benevolence proves "perfect purity and love" in the heart, one's "faith's integrity." John Wesley quotes it in his published sermon on God's Love to Fallen Man.[50] In the hymn the believer's ideal interiority is represented through metaphors of cultivation. Jesus is the "living water"; the believer pleads that God should

"plant" his merciful "nature" in her or his "heart."[51] The second allusion, not shutting up the "bowels of compassion," is to John 3:17. In this usage bowels refers to "feeling," "heart," bowels "[c]onsidered as the seat of the tender and sympathetic emotions" (*OED*). In Proverbs 31:26, compassion is represented as the "wisdom" of the virtuous woman: "She openeth her mouth with wisdom; and in her tongue *is* the law of kindness."

The core activity of the Female Refuge Society, fostering children, is a practice that Stanlie M. James highlights as central to an African diasporic history of othermothering:

> African communal societies were characterized by high degrees of interdependence and the belief that individual self-development and personal fulfilment were dependent on the well-being of all members of the community. Fostering children was one means of promoting these communal values and ensuring the likelihood of co-operative interaction . . . . The African tradition of fostering was adapted to meet the needs of the enslaved community.

James explains that community othermothers in African diasporic cultures have "over time . . . exhibited the ethic of care so critical to the survival and well-being of their communities." "Based upon her knowledge and her respected position, a community othermother is," she argues, "in a position to provide analyses and/or critiques of conditions or situations that may affect the well-being of her community. Whenever necessary, she serves as a catalyst in the development and implementation of strategies designed to remedy these harmful conditions."[52] Patricia Hill Collins suggests that the concern of community othermothers to inculcate "a more generalized ethic of caring and personal accountability" is integral to Afrocentric feminist thought.[53] Othermothering activism, she shows, has historically focused on "education as a cornerstone of Black community development."[54] The inflections Anne Gilbert gives to the biblical model of female excellence, which is explicitly set against the "clouds of Selfishness, Prejudice, Apathy and Indolence,"[55] also stress "communal values" and "co-operative interaction." Both models of women in community are transculturated in Anne Gilbert's advocacy and practice of benevolence. Vignettes of John Gilbert in Anne's contribution to the *Memoirs of John Gilbert* show how much both were sustained by their otherparenting roles (*M*, 37–38). The 1823 Committee of the Female Refuge Society urges that social cohesion can only be effected by what it terms "reciprocation of mutual benefit" among "differing orders of society" through benevolence.[56] The model, it argues, is based on a "firmness" of "moral energies" that "constitutes the strength of a community" in "an age when power no longer pleads prescriptive right."[57] Francis Canavan elucidates

Edmund Burke's proposition that " '[p]rescription is the most solid of all titles,' " arguing that for Burke prescription, legitimation through use and precedent "gave 'right and title' not only to real property but to inherited liberties, religion, and political authority."[58]

An explicit reference in Gilbert's 1804 letter to Pattison to part of Samuel Magaw's commentary on enslavement in his discourse given at the opening of the African Church of the City of Philadelphia on July 17, 1794, indicates Anne Gilbert's views on the responsibility of white plantocratic elites for the degradation of enslaved people. This church was one of the first black churches in the United States. Magaw took as his text a motto of the church, "The people that walked in darkness have seen a great light," explaining to his audience:

> You have "walked in darkness," as being slaves in this country—for slavery, and darkness, or ignorance, go hand in hand. Can a poor African, dragged in fetters from his native land,— and here, driven and tormented under the lashes of cruelty, be any thing else than dark,—dark! Can a people, kept back from knowledge, expressly for this reason—lest it should unfit them for being beasts of burden,—can they be any other than dark? . . . [A]t the very best, slavery is a hard allotment. It sinks the mind, no less than the body; weakens its capacity; destroys all principle; corrupts the feelings; prevents man from either discerning, or choosing aright in any thing. Yes, and in, [*sic*] the proportion that it exists any where, it has its effect in vitiating the general manners.

While he represents Africa stereotypically as a place of darkness, he elaborates further that all humans have "walked in darkness" as sinners.[59] Gilbert urges that before the introduction of Moravianism and Methodism to Antigua, "[t]he torch of Moral and divine truth was carefully hid" from enslaved people "lest by it they should discover that they were Men, and Brethren, and not Beasts, and Reptiles" (*HS*, 58), adding "or as Doctor Magaw observes 'kept back from knowledge, expressly for this reason lest it should unfit them for beasts of burden' " (*HS*, 58–59). In her formulation Christianization is enabling, facilitating an assumption of rights based on shared humanity. In the 1823 Report of the Female Refuge Society, its Committee writes:

> The deplorable state of moral feeling among the negroes and lower class of the coloured, female population has long been acknowledged. We are not called upon to pity one poor wanderer from the paths of virtue, but to survey a whole population sunk in ignorance and guilt—not merely to regret an occasional dereliction of conduct, but an annihilation of virtuous feeling so total and complete, that it has forgotten to seek refuge in shame, and learned to triumph in its own dishonor.

It then turns from this account of common sentiment to accuse elites of setting deplorable standards of civic and moral conduct:

> The morality of the lower classes it must be confessed, is greatly dependent on that of their superiors. An animated portraiture of moral excellence may excite their admiration, but it is that beau ideal translated into actual life and conduct which will command their homage and excite their imitation. This is precisely what the higher classes should furnish to the lower; and the objection, that private evil neutralises public good, when allowed its utmost force, proves, not that we are to be content with doing nothing, but the necessity of a more extended reformation, as the prime moving principle, to which this Society ought only to be considered an auxiliary.

Some of the formative reading within the Hart family on the question of social bonding and obligation may be traced in Elizabeth Hart Thwaites's 1794 letter to an acquaintance on the "controverted" subject of slavery, a topic she acknowledges she had only discussed before "freely" with her sister Anne (*HS*, 104). As signs of her "think[ing] seriously," meaning piously, she quotes from a number of texts that address the subject of social cohesion and obligation: the Bible; William Cowper's poem "Charity" (1782); Hannah More's essay "Thoughts on the Importance of the Manners of the Great, to the General Society" (1788); and Edmund Waller's poem "Of Divine Love." Cowper urges that "God, working ever on a social plan,/By various ties attaches man to man": monogenesis, commerce, and the cultural exchange and influence effected by trade contact. Commerce, though, has benign and "odious" forms. The benign is characterized by "genial intercourse and mutual aid" and the "odious" and "loathsome" by slavery. Commerce, through cross-cultural exposure,

> . . . catches all improvements in his flight,
> Spreads foreign wonders in his country's sight,
> Imports what others have invented well,
> And stirs his own to match them, or excel.
> 'Tis thus, reciprocating each with each,
> Alternately the nations learn and teach,
> While providence enjoins to ev'ry soul
> An union with the vast terraqueous whole.[60]

For the Hart sisters, Christianization is benign on this model. Hannah More's essay was inspired by George III's Proclamation for the Encouragement of Piety and Virtue and for the Preventing of Vice, Profaneness and Immorality, gazetted on June 1, 1787. It is addressed to "those who, filling the higher

ranks of life, are naturally regarded as patterns, by which the manners of the rest of the world are to be fashioned." She insists that "persons of rank and fortune who live within the restraints of moral obligation, and acknowledge the truth, of the Christian religion" should act consistently "to subdue a worldly temper, to control irregular desires, and to have a clean heart" to set Christian social standards.[61] One of the passages Thwaites cites is More's praise of the incipient "noble" campaign for the "abolition of the African Slave-Trade" as prospectively giving Jesus " 'the heathen for His inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for His possession' " (*HS*, 110). More enthuses that abolition will "restore the lustre of the Christian name, too long sullied with oppression, cruelty and injustice" (*HS*, 111).[62] More and Thwaites identify as Christian subjects disgusted by Christendom's connivance with the evils of slavery. Waller opines that humans should take divine love as their model, a love "unconfined/With arms extended" to "embrace" others:

> Self-love will cease, or be dilated, when
> We each behold as many *selfs* as men,
> All of one family in blood allied,
> His precious blood, who for our ransom died.
>
> (quoted in *HS*, 111)[63]

Thwaites's interpretation of this model is that "in so foul a place" as a degrading West Indian plantation slave culture, the sanctification promised by serious or evangelical religion ("evils within rectified, or rather cured") will make moral habitation of one possible (*HS*, 111).

Brycchan Carey's comments on the heroine of sentimental rhetoric in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries are an apposite point of departure for an analysis of the (auto)biographical scope of the annual reports of the Female Refuge Society. The sentimental heroine, he writes,

> is likely to be either a victim of someone else's actions, or a benefactor who alleviates the sufferings of others. These two types clearly promote two sorts of behaviour. The first suffers from a wrong which the reader or listener is urged to condemn while the second follows a course of action which the reader is invited to emulate. In either case, their superior sensibility is highlighted, their suffering—or their joy at relieving suffering—is dwelt upon, and the audience is asked, directly or indirectly, to share in their feelings.

The narrator of sentimental discourse "usually seeks to establish his or her credentials as a sincere man or woman of feeling, and this in itself is a form of ethos."[64] The object of the Female Refuge Society's annual reports, though, is not to excite fashionable performance of sensibility in readers, a la the "man of

feeling" and his female counterpart in late-eighteenth-century British culture who exhibited a "repertoire of conventions associated with the sentimental rhetoric of the body: fainting, weeping, sighing, hand-holding, mute gestures, the beat of the pulse, blushing—and so on."[65] Rather the reports aim to inspire practical piety through readers or listeners opening "*christian* hearts" and extending "*christian* hands."[66] The 1828 Committee explicitly derides the false, histrionic sensibility stimulated by the fictive griefs of sentimental literature.[67] The 1822 Report develops a type of the "Man of Benevolence": "his own heart is the theatre and witness of his triumphs, and in the flow of tranquil pleasure which steals in silence upon the retirement of his secret thoughts, he finds a reward far dearer and more enduring than any that the plaudits of his fellow creatures could bestow."[68] To a Muslim man, Gilbert cites as the ethos of her local community engagement Matthew 6:2–3, with its injunction "when thou doest *thine* alms, do not sound a trumpet before thee, as the hypocrites do in the synagogues and in the streets, that they may have glory of men."[69] "Mercy appeals not to the head, but to the heart," opines the 1823 Committee.[70] The human body is the house of feelings,[71] and benevolence a quality of embodied inwardness in place, which manifests itself symbolically in the open heart and open hand. Where the *Third Report* (1818) cites biblical "gracious promises"—"*Blessed is he that considereth the poor: the Lord will deliver him in time of trouble*," etc. (Psalms 41:1–3)—by 1822 a direct instrumental appeal is made to British ideals of universal benevolence, and these ideals and local "misery" authorize a collective self-fashioning of the Committee as female activists.[72] The 1822 Committee writes, "Religion and humanity were intended for the sway of empire."[73] In 1808 Bishop Porteus had anticipated a new phase of "truly *Imperial works*" for the "English Nation": a "*universal benevolence*" that would "immortalize it to the latest posterity."[74]

The preparation of the annual report of the Female Refuge Society was the responsibility of its Committee of that year, and thus the authorship is collective. The Treasurer would have provided the accounts. The composition of the Executive is included in the extant 7th and 13th reports. In 1822 the president was Mrs. Duncombe Taylor, the vice-president Mrs. William Musgrave (daughter of Patroness Lady d'Urban and wife of the Attorney-General), the treasurer Mrs. Dawes, the agent Mrs. John Gilbert, and the secretary Mrs. Gilbert.[75] Mrs. Duncombe Taylor's death was noted in the *Eighth Report*. Mrs. T. F. Horsford, the wife of an evangelical Anglican minister who had preached in aid of the Society, took on the vice-presidency.[76] The core group of office holders—Agent Anne Gilbert, Treasurer Grace Dawes, and Secretary Grace Gilbert—were connected by family ties, as were general Committee members.

Drawing on the rhetoric of sensibility, the collective narrative voices of the reports of the Female Refuge Society construct two sentimental figures of the virtuous woman in distress: the Committee as a benevolent heroine in financial distress and surrounded by enemies and hostility; and the fatherless, illegitimate, innocent, free colored girl exposed to moral miasma and in desperate need of safe "housing," both physical and moral. The first is an autobiographical figure; the journey of the second from miserable "hovel" to conjugal domestic happiness and industry is the object of the benevolent heroine's endeavor and interest.[77] The material refuge provided by the Female Refuge Society becomes metonymic of prospective moral refuge in health and respectability and spiritual refuge in the atonement. The deployment of type in representing the girls offers privacy to the recipients of charity; their individual cases are not particularized. Only one girl, Eliza Stopford, who drowned in a shipping disaster, is identified by name in the extant reports. An 1826 character reference from Heyliger A. Porter, wife of the President of the Council of Tortola, and her husband George, with whom Stopford had stayed for ten months is included in the *Thirteenth Report* as testimony to the ethos of the rescue project and as an epitaph.

Margaret Cohen makes the point that modes of representation "with a circumscribed focus can travel well if they perform cultural work that is meaningful across diverse social contexts." She gives the example of sentimental fiction:

> Sentimental fiction appealed to societies where liberal ideals were taking shape but had not fully emerged, and we can understand it as negotiating one question both central and problematic to the liberal project, which is how to have a society founded on both equality and freedom. Sentimental fiction offers as solution an idealized aesthetic and ethical sphere of sociability, founded on the bonds of sympathy.[78]

Her argument resonates strongly in the context of the Female Refuge Society's use of sentimental discourse. The 1822 Committee articulates just such an "aesthetic and ethical sphere of sociability":

> It is no disgrace to mourn over the crimes, or weep over the sufferings of humanity: for it is those finer sensibilities which link man to his fellow men in bands of amity and love that are the ornament and glory of our nature . . . [C]ompassion pleads for the children of misfortune and sorrow asks the meed of sympathy. [79]

The financial distress and social problems highlighted in the reports undercut a key platform of the proslavery campaign—that a paternalistic "planter ideal"

encompassed "the benevolence of slaveholders"[80]—and exposed the limits of Anglican benevolence, the failure of parochial support and the shortcomings of a gradualist approach to the abolition of slavery. The Female Refuge Society links the planter ideal with moral miasma and blight.[81] The circulation of the annual reports in Britain—with their Creole benevolent sublime—helped to map what David Lambert calls "a moral geography of humanitarian duty," which "inscribed a demarcation between slave and free worlds," and mandated British humanitarian intervention in plantation slavery colonies.[82]

The 1822 Committee offers an extensive account of its ethos and reassures its local and transatlantic audiences that its public conduct does not justify charges of "notoriety" and "enthusiasm." It argues it has not "forsake[n]" what it terms "the proprieties and retirement which become our sex." Rather it is working to "impart to others," "outcasts from Society," the "blessings" of evangelical domesticity, the "influence of kind and charitable deeds" being "peculiarly the province of Women." Its work is described in language that emphasizes not threat to, but continuity with, conventional feminine domestic occupations: "spreading over [society] the gentler adornments of a moral beauty, which may charm by its softness and attract by its grace."[83] A more characteristic trope the Committees use for the work of the Female Refuge Society is cultivation. Michel-Rolph Trouillot sees the provision grounds of plantation slavery cultures—"small plots in which slaves were allowed to grow their own crops and raise animals on the margins of the plantations on land unfit for the main export crops"—and the produce markets they sustained as potential sites for the emergence of forms of selfhood constitutive of an alternative modernity in a plantation slavery economy.[84] The Female Refuge Society's field, which might also be read as a potential site for the emergence of forms of selfhood constitutive of an alternative modernity, is a plantation slavery economy moralized in biblical terms as a "desert waste"[85] and "moral desolation."[86] The soil it tills is the human heart and intellect. Given the emphasis on personal conversion experience in evangelicism, the cultivation of evangelical piety is a secondary consideration. In the period "enthusiasm"—characteristically parodied as "Ecstasies . . . . Visions, Raptures . . . converting Dreams . . . . MANIA"[87]—was synonymous with Methodism and more generally evangelicism. The 1822 Committee invokes enthusiasm "as an attribute of praise" rather than "reproach," finding it synonymous with "genius," "inspiration," "eloquence," and "life," as they apply to literature, the arts, oratory, and "animation," respectively. It is, for it, "the living energy" of "religion and virtue."[88] The terms of its defense of enthusiasm echo parts of "The Moralists: A Philosophical Rhapsody" (1706) by Anthony Ashley Cooper, third Earl of Shaftesbury.[89]

The Society raised funds through collecting annual subscriptions and donations. The accounts in the *Third Report* (1818) show that the Society paid for the "board and instruction of 4 poor free girls placed out by the Society to be usefully brought up" and for "schooling of 2 poor free girls" from an income of £69 13s 7½d currency.[90] By 1828 its budget had risen to £431 10s 8d currency. The girls were by this time boarded together in a rented house run by a paid superintendent. It fostered 14 girls. The girls were taught "reading, writing, and arithmetic," needlework and millinery, and religion and "great pains are taken with them, to cultivate natural intellect, raise the tone of mind, and qualify them for instructing others hereafter."[91] Modeling industry, the Society was now running a needlework and millinery business, paying the older girls for their labor, with profits (£97 18s 3½d currency) contributing to their upkeep. By the mid-1830s it could report that a substantial number of the girls had become teachers.[92] David Barry Gaspar's research on manumitted female slaves in Antigua in the late 1810s and 1820s shows that seamstresses were generally able to support themselves.[93] As my account suggests, the Society was never wealthy enough to foster or fund schooling for children on a large scale. In its annual reports the Committee urged that the fostered children provided role models in the community, and that the unmet demand for fostering of children by birth mothers showed a growing respect for its standards. It also pointed to the work of Societies modelled on it.[94]

In 1818 the Female Refuge Society had four local subscribers; in 1828 24 local subscribers and the support of the Antigua Repository, founded by Lady d'Urban. Lady d'Urban's husband Sir Benjamin d'Urban was Governor of Antigua from 1819 to 1826. Ladies (here a class and racial signifier) contributed to the Repository fancy work that was auctioned annually with the proceeds being distributed to various island charities.[95] Lady d'Urban was the first Patron of the Female Refuge Society; vice-regal patronage continued under Lady Ross. It was Lady d'Urban who instigated the millinery training with a gift of straw for plaiting. In the early years of the Female Refuge Society, the Church Missionary Society occasionally channeled monies to it beyond the initial donation; by 1828 the Female Refuge Society's transatlantic support base had expanded, especially in the wake of the formation of female antislavery societies in Britain in 1825 and after. The possibility of a transatlantic reach, mooted in 1815 by William Dawes, praised in Antigua as a man "whose heart devised liberal things, though possessing himself little power to accomplish them from his own resources, but favoured with influence over some who considered themselves as stewards appointed by God to benefit their fellow creatures,"[96] was reportedly crucial in encouraging Anne Gilbert to establish the Female Refuge Society. Much admired by William Wilberforce and Zachary Macaulay, he was a former Governor

of Sierra Leone for the Sierra Leone Company, and former member of the Committee of the Church Missionary Society. In 1820, on Macaulay's recommendation, he was appointed Superintendent of Church Missionary Society Sunday Schools in the eastern Caribbean. The larger scale of the later extant reports of the Female Refuge Society pitched to a local and transatlantic audience is remarkable: the 1818 report is two pages long; the 1822 report 19 pages.

The annual reports of the Female Refuge Society achieved their widest reach through philanthropic networking with the female antislavery societies under the patronage of the Duchess of Beaufort, which included the Female Society for Birmingham, founded in 1825. Claire Midgley comments:

> The foundation of the Female Society for Birmingham was followed by the formation of a network of other ladies' anti-slavery associations. Together these groups marked the change from abolition as an individual woman's commitment, to anti-slavery as a collective female endeavour. It was to be a change with major repercussions not only on the role of women in the movement but also on the nature of the anti-slavery campaign as a whole and on the role of women in British society.[97]

Inspired by the annual reports of the Female Refuge Society, the Female Society for Birmingham averred that it was "determined to endeavour to awaken (at least in the bosom of English *women*) a deep and lasting compassion, not only for the *bodily sufferings* of female Slaves, but for their *moral degradation*."[98] Between 1825 and 1833 it donated £95 sterling to the Female Refuge Society,[99] characterizing the scope of the charity as "the relief and protection of young females, daughters of Negro Slaves, whose mothers are not in a situation to preserve them from the contagion of ill example,"[100] "rescuing from seduction a few of the wretched females, the children of slaves, doomed to live in vice."[101] The Female Society for Birmingham also distributed the annual reports of the Female Refuge Society in its workbags and albums. Midgley writes:

> The workbags were aimed at "the affluent and influential classes of the community" and were presented to the King, to Princess Victoria, to aristocrats, to the wives of prominent male abolitionists such as Mrs Clarkson and Mrs Wilberforce, to the author Maria Edgeworth and to the prison reformer Elizabeth Fry. Workbags were also supplied to the ladies' associations with whom the Birmingham group was in contact, and in 1826 alone two thousand of the workbags were distributed through England, Wales and Ireland.

Records show that 73 female antislavery societies were active in Britain between 1825 and 1834.[102] The Ladies' Association for Salisbury, Calne,

Melksham, Devizes, &c also singled out the Female Refuge Society for support in its Resolutions of association.[103]

Anne Gilbert: Woman of Letters

The Methodist missionary Rev. William Box's reference to Anne Gilbert destroying "documents which had reference to her religious progress" (*M*, 76) suggests that she used writing in her everyday life, as Methodists were encouraged to, as a means of working through an "ongoing internal struggle for perfection," "to both liberate and control" her "emotions."[104] Phyllis Mack examines the ways in which Methodists were by and large "commit[ted] to both Enlightenment values," evident in "the rationale for belief in universal human rights and in social and material progress," and "Christian tradition." Through an examination of Methodist writing in the eighteenth century, she shows that "the energy that empowered these men and women as they embraced modernity was generated by a transformation in the quality of their religious life. Their struggle to fuse self-transcendence and agency, assisted by new, other-directed political and social ideologies, enabled these introspective people to become activists."[105] Anne and John Gilbert embraced what evangelical Christians called vital religion and sensible or embodied experience of the Holy Spirit. In Anne's representations of that embodied experience in her 1804 narrative about her own embrace of vital religion and her 1821 memoir of her niece Grace Gilbert Hart, a religious prodigy who died of croup aged five, both texts for a pious Christian audience, the self is filled with a Scriptural holiness in the form of exemplary biblical precepts.[106] The new, other-directed activisms for her (othermothering being traditional in African and African diasporic cultures) would have been Anglican support for "universal benevolence" in the wake of Britain's abolition of its slave trade in 1807, the model of the subscription charity, and the development of transatlantic benevolent and antislavery networks. These new developments provided the "means" for her othermothering.[107] Setting example was crucial to Anne Gilbert's conceptualization of benevolence.

In Anne Gilbert's more personal letters, her agency as a writer addressing "[p]lans in operation for the moral improvement" of the young[108] is explicitly grounded in liberation and management of everyday emotions aroused by seeing and contemplating the objects of her benevolence. Toni Morrison has suggested that writers who had experienced enslavement, "discouraged . . . from dwelling too long or too carefully on the more sordid details of their experience," deferred to "popular taste" "by taking refuge in the literary conventions of the day."[109] Biblical allusion—"howling Wilderness," "desert waste," and the like—often offers Gilbert, a granddaughter of

enslaved people, a register of compressed metaphor that enables moralization of "the more sordid details" of life around English Harbour and more generally under plantation slavery economies and their military infrastructures. The stock oral genre of appeals to her for help is the "tale of woe." She writes up some as "affecting anecdotes," "anecdotes" being understood as "[s]ecret, private, or hitherto unpublished narratives or details of history" (*OED*), to demonstrate the urgency of appeals for greater funding to help to relieve the poverty of more children in the situations described or known to her. Her relating of what William and Grace Dawes term affecting anecdotes about her everyday experience does not provide her the distance of ready-made religious symbolism or the management of self/other relations through easy invocation of salvageable/damned or respectable/disorderly dichotomies. In these letters she indicates what her "eyes behold"[110] as she walks through the poorer parts of English Harbour, as she visits the sick and dying; she intimates the stories of the mothers and girls who approach her for assistance (and their journeys around the colony). She names messier, more "disorderly" emotions and states in herself: anxiety, depression, agitation, distress, sickening, trembling, tumult, distraction, heart failing.[111] It is this language of disorderly emotion that fleshes place and time more viscerally and occasionally speaks of identifications beyond those of shared femaleness.

It is the disorderly emotions and states that render much of what she observes "wretched beyond description." Gilbert writes to William Dawes, for instance, on April 28, 1825:

> I feel much burthened on account of these poor children. Sunday after Sunday, and often through the week, my eyes behold, destitute, neglected female innocence upon the brink of ruin and disgrace. I see their imploring looks. I see their tears as they leave the door. I pass by them at the doors of rum shops in rags, with a bottle of rum in their hands, which is to intoxicate their wretched mother, and attract vice to their miserable abodes. It falls to my lot to pronounce the painful negative, when such of their agonized Mothers as are alive to their own wickedness and the danger of their children, say, "O pity, pity my poor little girls." I sometimes feel as if I was hardly doing right, and yet what *can* I do? I am so often under the necessity of suppressing my feelings and acting with painful decision on the opposite side, that I am afraid I shall grow hard hearted, and contract an indifference to the sorrows of my fellow creatures.[112]

As Judith Butler points out,

> that physical metaphors seize upon nearly every occasion to describe linguistic injury suggests that this somatic dimension may be important to the

> understanding of linguistic pain. Certain words or certain forms of address not only operate as threats to one's physical well-being, but there is a strong sense in which the body is alternately sustained and threatened through modes of address.[113]

For Gilbert pronouncing the "painful negative" threatens her physical and moral well-being. She fears that she might "contract an indifference to the sorrows of my fellow creatures." Her articulation of the threat offers a brief, compressed glimpse of her inner life. There are some instances in her letters of her using formulaic religious discourse to stave off this threat in face-to-face encounters, for example, to a mother who tells her a "tale of woe," only to be sickened by the manifest inadequacy of the religious platitude:

> She told me that Mr L. the Father of the children, died about four months ago—that he had bought her from C.N.S. Estate before the birth of the eldest girl—that she had been going with him from Estate to Estate—that he died at F's, and that, as she did no belong to that property, she was under the necessity of quitting it immediately after his death. That not knowing what to do, with her little girls, she had placed them with a good woman at Willoughby Bay, where they would be near Mrs Thwaites and the School, but that she found she could not send them a sufficiency of food, and that she was obliged to remove them, that she had now brought them to beg me to take them under the care of the Female Refuge Society—that since the death of their Father, their [*sic*] had attended the School very irregularly for want of clothes, & that on Sundays, when they could not go, the expressions of grief which were uttered by the children, almost broke her heart—that she felt as if she was sinning against God and against them, and yet she could not help it. I told her that I felt very much for her, but more for the children, who were innocent sufferers, but that the Female Refuge Society had already thirteen girls, who they were greatly embarrassed to support, and that if the funds of that Society were increased, there were at least twelve more children, whose names were on the English Harbour School List, who attended very irregularly for want of clothing, and were in situations more wretched than I could describe, and that I did not see how we could pass by those for whose benefit the Female Refuge Society was instituted, especially as some of them were nearly related to the most promising girls under our care. My refusal was received by her with the most affecting expressions of anguish and despair. I recommended her to pray to the Father of Mercies to help her little ones and open some door for her relief . . . . These details are distressing and sickening to me while I write them.[114]

The reproduction of religious platitudes and clichés, Gilbert implicitly acknowledges, causes linguistic injury to both parties. And her drawing of

a veil over "situations more wretched than [she] could describe" is perhaps more a form of self-protection from the material and moral injury of her "painful negative" than a self-censoring to meet the tastes and sensibilities of her benevolent audience.

Anne Gilbert's agency as a woman of letters and benevolence proved controversial for Bishop of Barbados William Hart Coleridge and his archdeacon in Antigua, Thomas Parry. In 1825, as a matter of courtesy, the vice-presidency of the Female Refuge Society was offered to Mrs. Parry, but she refused "on the plea of her inadequacy to so '*public* a situation.' "[115] Among other acerbic remarks "disparaging to the female sex" attributed to Parry by William Dawes in 1825 are: " 'Women should be made to know their inferiority. They should never write for publication', but the most extraordinary of his ideas respecting them was, 'that they should not be supposed to know so much as they really did know!' " Parry, whose anti-Methodism Dawes notes, reportedly complained that the public activities of the Female Refuge Society were a sign of "want of delicacy in women of character" that "did more injury to the morals of Society than anything else," and implied that male sexual licentiousness should remain a private matter.[116] What was at stake for him was patriarchal, Anglican clerical and racial control of the public sphere. Dawes was forced to defend himself more vigorously against religious charges of improperly mixing with Methodists.[117] In *White Creole Culture, Politics and Identity during the Age of Abolition*, Lambert argues that anti-Methodism in the mid- to late 1820s had a "racial dimension, because free people of colour were prominent in the missionary church. As a locus of reactionary Anglicanism, racial supremacism and embryonic settler nationalism," he argues, "the complex nature of white resistance to antislavery can be read in anti-Methodism."[118]

Coleridge and Parry's efforts to Anglicanize the Church Missionary Society-funded school network by dismissing non-Anglican teachers and catechists, including Gilbert's brother-in-law Charles Thwaites, removing evangelical texts from the curriculum, tying literacy training to Anglican church attendance, setting school hours that did not suit the Sunday labor expected of enslaved children, and replacing literacy training with oral rote learning alienated parents and children.[119] Attendances dropped to the point where the Church Missionary Society folded its Antigua operations in 1829, pensioning off William Dawes, and selling some school buildings to the Methodist Missionary Society.

The Female Orphan Society was still operating in the 1840s,[120] but the Female Refuge Society became moribund after the death of Anne Gilbert, its driving force, in 1834.

Reading the Memoir of the Marriage of Anne and John Gilbert

In 1835, *Memoir of John Gilbert, Esq. Late Naval Storekeeper at Antigua. To Which Are Appended, A Brief Sketch of His Relic, Mrs. Anne Gilbert, by the Rev. William Box, Wesleyan Missionary. And a Few Additional Remarks by a Christian Friend* was privately published in Liverpool, where Grace Dawes's stepson William Rutter Dawes, her widowed stepson-in-law John Jones, and her step-grandchildren lived.[121] That a memoir of John would be sent to England was foreshadowed in the *Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine* in 1833.[122] Grace's sister Henrietta F. Gilbert's life of her aunt and uncle, *Memoirs of the Late Mrs. Mary Gilbert with Some Account of Mr. Francis Gilbert, in a Letter to the Rev. Mr. Benson*, was privately published in London in 1817. Henrietta had been Mary Gilbert's companion from 1785 until her aunt's death in 1816. The marriage of Francis and Mary Gilbert also features in *Spiritual Letters: By Several Eminent Christians* (1767 [*sic*]). Of the 70 letters, 32 are identifiably written by Mary Gilbert, signed variously, M.L., M.G. and M.F., five by Francis Gilbert (F.G.), and three by John Fletcher (J.F.).[123] The memoirs were keepsakes for families, and publicized private and local experience, embedding individual lives in a transatlantic religious community. Both memoirs are written and compiled primarily for a pious readership and set examples of Methodist affect, living and dying, and understanding of religious progress based on doctrine. Part of the vast print and testimonial culture of the Methodism of their day, they exemplify the belief that life writing and narrative, as much as literature, "has the capacity to intervene in history, to help construct it."[124] They are memorials to Christian character, to God's providence, to religious discipline and education, and to the good works to which Methodism committed the faithful. Both husbands died before their wives, and the wives' moving representations of their grief are accorded narrative force by their biographers/editors.

Both memoirs contain a mix of biographical and autobiographical forms. Henrietta Gilbert incorporates some of her aunt's life writing in *Memoirs of the Late Mrs. Mary Gilbert*: extracts from diaries, a brief character sketch of her husband Francis Gilbert, and two professions of faith, one dated 1771, the other undated. *Memoirs of the Late Mrs. Mary Gilbert* is written as a letter to Joseph Benson, the editor of the *Methodist Magazine* from 1803 to 1821. Grace Dawes provides brief connecting material between the elements of the joint memoir, explanatory comment in footnotes, and spiritual letters by John that illuminate his manner as a lay preacher and are indicative professions of faith (like Mary Gilbert's). Grace Dawes has written reviews of the characters

of John and Anne, seemingly having respected the integrity of her subjects' own memoirs.

Anne Hart (1768–1834) and John Gilbert (1767–1833) married in Antigua in 1798, and Francis Gilbert (c. 1724–1779) and Mary Leadbetter, née Walsh (1733–1816) married in England in 1767. All became Methodists, although we should remember that Methodism was for most of the eighteenth century "a renewal movement within Anglicanism."[125] Francis Gilbert and siblings John and Henrietta Gilbert and Grace Dawes were white Creoles. At the time, as Carolyn Vellanga Berman notes, Creole was a "synecdoche for the slave colonies" and the "morally dubious practices of slavery."[126] Perhaps pointedly, John and Anne Gilbert use the term "native" rather than Creole (*M*, 2, 18) and Henrietta writes of Antigua as her family's "native place" (*MMG*, 6). For Anne slavery is the synecdoche of "vice and wretchedness" (*M*, 28). Francis's brother Nathaniel Gilbert is credited with having founded Methodism in Antigua in 1760, having been first introduced to John Wesley's ideas by reading Francis's gift Wesley's *Earnest Appeal to Men of Reason and Religion*. Francis, who left Antigua for Jamaica as a young man, joined the Methodist Society in England c. 1750, becoming an itinerant Methodist preacher in 1758, and later a local preacher. Nathaniel Gilbert took his family to England in 1757, and he and two of his slaves, one named Betty, became converts after listening to John Wesley preach in 1759. On his return to Antigua in 1760 he began preaching to his slaves. Francis returned to Antigua to preach between 1762 and 1764 and between 1773 and 1775. When Nathaniel Gilbert was in England between 1758 and 1760, he hired the widowed Englishwoman Mary Leadbetter, who had been converted to Methodism by Charles Wesley, and was known to and admired by both John and Charles Wesley,[127] as his children's governess. She would, controversially for the Nathaniel Gilbert family, marry Francis while as his housekeeper she was caring for Nathaniel's five daughters in England. They had been brought to England in 1764 to be educated. Mary Gilbert lived and worked in Antigua during 1759–1762, 1773–1775, and 1781–1791, proselytizing in the local community. Henrietta Gilbert silently corrects Thomas Coke's omission of Francis Gilbert's ministry in Antigua in *A History of the West Indies, Containing the Natural, Civil and Ecclesiastical History of Each Island: With an Account of the Missions Instituted in Those Islands* (1808–1811). While Coke acknowledges Mary Gilbert's proselytization, he represents her as a "subordinate means" to the "instrumentality" of John Baxter,[128] a lay preacher, in maintaining a Methodist community after Nathaniel Gilbert's death. Henrietta Gilbert boldly declares her aunt to have been, defying gender conventions, a "female missionary" to Antigua (*MMG*, 7). John Fletcher, John Wesley's preferred successor, born Jean Guillaume de

La Fléchère in Switzerland, was the spiritual mentor of Francis and Mary Gilbert. Francis was in Fletcher's class at Madeley.[129] In 1759 John Fletcher had turned down John Wesley's suggestion that he work as a missionary in Antigua, stating to Charles Wesley that he had "neither sufficient zeal nor sufficient grace & talents to expose" himself "to the temptations and toils of a mission in the Indies" and that he did not feel that God was "calling" him "there."[130]

The connections between John Fletcher, Francis and Nathaniel Gilbert, the next generation of the Gilbert family in England, and the evangelical parish church at Madeley in Shropshire, were strong. As there are four Nathaniel Gilberts across four generations of the family, I will, for clarity, now begin to distinguish them from each other as Nathaniel Gilbert I, Nathaniel Gilbert II, Nathaniel Gilbert III, and Nathaniel Gilbert IV. John Gilbert's cousin Nathaniel Gilbert III (1761–1807) was raised by Francis and Mary Gilbert between the ages of seven and ten, and he and another cousin Melvill Horne were curates at Madeley during 1781–1785 and 1786–1792, respectively.[131] In 1781 John Fletcher married Methodist preacher Mary Bosanquet. Henry Moore's *The Life of Mrs. Mary Fletcher, Consort and Relict of the Rev. John Fletcher, Vicar of Madeley, Salop* (1817) was published in numerous nineteenth-century editions and became a "canonical" text for "women in England and America."[132] Nathaniel Gilbert III and Melvill Horne were the first chaplains appointed to Sierra Leone, and it was through this work that William Dawes met them. John and his siblings were split up first after the death of his mother c. 1776, and further after they became orphans in c. 1780. Grace Dawes (bapt. 1774–1844) was raised by her great-aunt Grace Bryant until her death in Saint Vincent in c. 1787, and then by her aunt Mary Horne, Melvill's mother.[133]

The death of John's widower father, also named John, whom he describes as his "chief companion" at the time (*M*, 3), when John was about 12, also deprived him of spiritual guidance, and his journey to Methodism took him through formalist Anglicanism, deism, atheism, freemasonry, and dalliance with Moravianism.[134] His spiritual life came under the influence of two Gilbert cousins. One introduced him to "the system of infidelity" from which he was rescued in 1793–1794 by the instruction of the Rev. Nathaniel Gilbert III, who shared his home in St John's for about a year after leaving Sierra Leone, and whom he calls his "spiritual father" (*M*, 9, 17). The obituary of Nathaniel Gilbert III in the *Christian Observer* singles out for special praise his ecumenical Christianity, noting that he "cultivated, in an eminent degree, a Catholic spirit for those who differed from him in doctrine."[135] The ecumenical tolerance of John Gilbert and William Dawes could well be, in part, one of his legacies.

The will of Nathaniel Gilbert I, father of Nathaniel II, Francis, and John Sr., clearly a source of family rancor, features in both *Memoirs of the Late Mrs. Mary Gilbert* and *Memoir of John Gilbert* and underpins a set of family narratives about material dispossession being part of a providential design. Nathaniel Gilbert I left an estate valued at over £40,000 sterling, including the plantation Gilberts and its enslaved labor force, to his eldest son, Nathaniel II. Nathaniel I disinherited Francis, who had disgraced himself in youth through financial ruin brought about by misplaced trust and dissipation, and left a "*pittance*," according to Henrietta Gilbert, for each of his younger children. She assures readers of *Memoirs of the Late Mrs. Mary Gilbert* that her uncle Francis was "never a worshipper of Plutus, never, at any period of his life, bowed at his shrine," and that Mary was "a wife born for adversity" (*MMG*, 11, 16). Nathaniel II left for his brother Francis £60 a year and Francis's sister Jane Boddily left for him an annuity of £35 to go to Mary after he died.[136] The pursuit of this annuity took Mary back to Antigua in 1781.[137] Thomas Coke regards the non-payment of the annuity from Gilberts as providential;[138] Henrietta, citing Mary's personal sustaining myth, represents the return as having been occasioned by a "providential intimation" (*MMG*, 18).

John Gilbert describes his father's legacy from the will, £1,000 and £100 toward books,[139] as "inconsiderable" (*M*, 2). He writes that his father, a doctor by training, had bought sugar plantations in Saint Vincent to capitalize his family, which ruined his "temporal prospects" (*M*, 3). While he does not elaborate, the purchase was made at a time of dispossession of Carib land by British settlers in the wake of the 1763 Treaty of Paris under which France ceded the island to Britain. This dispossession would lead in the early 1770s to the First Carib War. John's father's signature as Speaker of the Assembly appears on the document "The Humble Address and Memorial of the Council and Assembly of the Island of St. Vincent to His Majesty, on the subject of the Charibbs, in that Island." The legislatures complain about vigorous black Carib resistance to the further opening of land to settlers. The failure to open up more land to British settlers, they insist, places an undue taxation burden on the first settlers, and poses a security risk. They see their "lives and properties left to the mercy of savages, bound by no ties civil or religious, disaffected to your Majesty, and ill-disposed towards your subjects."[140] These concerns were used to justify military intervention against the Caribs. John records that his inheritance was "but two or three slaves, who were unprofitable to me, and whom I afterwards sold for about £50 sterling" (*M*, 3). At the time John and his siblings became orphans, his cousin Nathaniel Gilbert III had inherited Gilberts, which John describes as, for his family, a "mansion, formerly the abode of

opulence . . . now become the shelter of poverty" (*M*, 6). An aunt arranged his apprenticeship in the Naval Storekeeper's Office and relatives raised his siblings Henrietta, Martha (bapt. 1771), Grace, and George (c. 1775–1801).[141] The trauma of revisiting having been orphaned and learning to cope at an early age with "different expectations" in life as Anne calls them (*M*, 27) is still apparent in his published memoir, represented and managed in retrospect as part of a providential "dispensation" (*M*, 18). The personal sustaining myth of Nathaniel Gilbert III also emphasizes a providential design in his having to cope with unrealized expectations of wealth. At his father's death in 1774 he reportedly found Gilberts "overwhelmed with debt" and the family reliant on

> his mother's small jointure. At her death that resource failed, and the revenues of the estate being wholly appropriated to pay the creditors of his father and grandfather, he, his brother, and three unmarried sisters were cast, altogether unprovided for, on the world. This was a severe, but it proved a wholesome discipline; and both he and his family have often blessed God, that he had seen meet thus to afflict them. Disappointment, poverty, neglect, and occasionally even hunger, (for he sometimes wanted a meal, and sometimes was indebted for it to the grateful attachment of the poor slaves on his father's estate) conspired to wean him from the world, and to lead him to the sanctuary of religion for shelter and consolation. He fled from Antigua [in 1781], as from a scene of sorrow, vice, and humiliation.[142]

John, like Francis Gilbert and Nathaniel Gilbert III, experiences financial ruin as a young man, a ruin brought about not by a profligate life or inheritance of a debt-ridden estate, but by the benevolent ethos that sustained both his Methodism and his companionship with Anne. Acknowledging himself to have been "set upon being rich" as a young man, the "liberal" ethos of his conversion is "Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth, for where your treasure is there your heart *will be* also" (*M*, 18). Anne writes of the shared ethos, "I have often felt inexpressible satisfaction that he was so minded" (*M*, 39). The boundary between the sensible and the insensible soul in John's memoir is established by abandonment of idolatry of earthly wealth. His haunting anxiety after his conversion is the moral incoherence attendant on being in monetary debt that raises acute doubt about divine providence. Neither Anne nor John mentions their children; Grace Dawes refers to Anne as a "wife and mistress of a family" and Rev. Box mentions children (*M*, 86, 82). John's anxiety, then, is also linked to the possibility of cross-generational repetition of the trauma of being poorly provided for by a father. As already mentioned, destitute colored people were not eligible for parochial relief in Antigua.

Central to the "*oneness* of sentiment" shared by Mary and John Fletcher and Mary and Francis Gilbert (*MMG*, 9), by contrast, is the practice of a spiritual exercise known as recollection, the aim of which is to achieve a "mortified spirit" that will enable easy passage "to delightful prayer."[143] The delight may include spiritual visions. John Fletcher writes of recollection as

> a dwelling with one's self, and being abstracted from creatures towards God: It is outward and inward: Outward recollection consists, first, in silence, which cuts off superfluous words, speaks of necessity, and that for the glory of God: secondly, in solitude, or a being wisely disentangled from the world, a keeping quietly to one's business, or a shutting the door of one's senses; in an inward deep attention to Jesus' love, and in a continual care of entertaining holy thoughts, for fear of spiritual idleness . . . . Recollection appears vastly necessary; because for want of it, prayer is useless, imagination and wanderings prevail, the heart gets loose and roves every where.[144]

John Fletcher and Francis Gilbert both encouraged and monitored this exercise in their wives, as diary entries by Mary Fletcher and Mary Gilbert published in their memoirs show.[145] Mary Fletcher and Mary Gilbert use their visionary experiences and prophetic dreams, as other Methodist women who assumed spiritual leadership roles did, to justify transgression of gender norms.[146]

The practice of recollection provides Mary Gilbert's missionary work in Antigua with a "compass" and "chart" (*MMG*, 3). In a letter to a brother written in Antigua on June 21, 1860, Mary writes that her "home" is her "heart" and there she is "fighting the good fight of faith" against "a body of sin thrusting sore at" her, "sometimes inticing" her "back into *Ægypt*."[147] Henrietta Gilbert approvingly represents her work in Antigua to the Rev. Benson as condescension:

> In the new world, our female missionary, (do not start at the term, Rev. Sir, till you hear further,) bent down her attention, and all the resources of a cultivated refined mind, to the instruction of poor untaught Africans; alike disregarding the sneers of the worldling, (some of whom were compelled to admire the form religion wore in her,) the advice of those who wished her less singular, and the astonishment of all; meeting with various success.
>
> (*MMG*, 7–8)

The formulation "poor untaught Africans" resonates with typical missionary discourse. It is, as Maureen Warner-Lewis notes, a racialized language of "deprecation" and "snobbery."[148] Henrietta Gilbert also points to Mary's crossing of racial and class norms, and the limits of the crossing:

> My zealous aunt . . . overcame her natural diffidence, and not only met a class of white, and another of coloured women, but opened her house on Friday evenings, for females of all colours, coloured and black men, excluding white from the privilege, under a too humble idea, of not being useful to them, and want of freedom in speaking before them. These meetings commenced with singing and prayer, a chapter was then expounded, and she closed as she began.
>
> (*MMG*, 19–20)

Class meetings "encouraged intimate discussion and mutual confession."[149] Mary does not have classes for black women (more likely to have been enslaved, and with owners opposed to such occasions of intimacy and revelation), although they are welcome to attend her Friday meetings.

John Gilbert's autobiography in *Memoir of John Gilbert* is structured around his discovery of the sanctuary of evangelical religion, what he calls providential "*favour*" (*M*, 71): conversion to Methodism, conversion to an other-centered benevolent ethos, and the companionship of Anne. This plotting of his life is reinforced by Grace Dawes's editorial decisions, "design[ed]" to "illustrate the grace of God" in individuals "conspicuous and respected" in their "immediate sphere of action, though little known beyond it" (*M*, 1). The *Methodist Magazine* (1798–1821), later the *Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine*, featured spiritual memoirs under the rubric "The Grace of God Manifested." The first of John's spiritual letters she includes, dated August 1797, exhorts a sister on the theme of not laying up treasures on earth. Those who do are described as given to "carnal reasoning" (*M*, 58), which he opposes to an inward religion. Spiritual letters are, like other Methodist life writing, "a method of self-discipline, . . . an exercise in rhetoric," "exemplary texts" that "would teach and inspire."[150] In a spiritual letter of February 22, 1820, he exhorts a minister in the name of "Christian benevolence" on the theme of conversion as "new birth," a "change . . . expressed in Scripture by several other significant figures, such as a 'new creation,' 'a resurrection from the dead,' 'a new man,' 'a clean heart,' 'a right spirit,' &c., all meaning, unquestionably, a signal change in the hidden man of the heart, by the agency of the Holy Spirit" (*M*, 66). In John's life the fulsome embrace of his benevolent ethos and of Anne is the sign of the "new man." The scriptural figure of "new birth" comes to apply to their contributions to the local history of Methodism, good works staking, in Doris Sommer's terms, a "*generative* rather than a *genealogical* claim" to place.[151] Grace Dawes works to draw out the ways in which their life together exemplifies the larger social ambitions of evangelicism in the period: "act[ing] in the world without compromising faith"; "creating a space for godliness in public life"; "elevating the status of religion in private and public life"; "harness[ing] the secular to the sacred."[152]

The *Memoir* implicitly lays claim to the spiritual legacies of the introduction of Methodism to Antigua.

It is Grace Dawes who supplies the term companion for Anne on the first page of the *Memoir*, designating her John's "most endeared friend and companion" (*M*, 1). Their lives, each reviewed from several sources, are companion pieces in the volume. In a more private tribute, Grace uses as the epigraph for her account of Anne the text Anne chose for John's funeral sermon, Rev. 14:13: "Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord; yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labours; and their works do follow them" (*M*, 83).[153] The shared ethos of John and Anne assumes the proportion of the major actor in the accounts of their marriage. Grace Dawes's choice of the term "companion," too, echoes John's description of his father as a companion in his childhood, and places Anne as becoming the steadying spiritual guide John lost at his father's death. She imagines Anne in death as having "rejoined the kindred spirit with whom she enjoyed such sweet communion on earth," "soar[ing] with him through the regions of unlimited space, admiring, adoring, and rejoicing in the wonders of creating and redeeming love" (*M*, 84).

While on his visit to Antigua in 1793–1794, Nathaniel Gilbert III introduced John to the Hart family. Grace Dawes describes Nathaniel as having been "intimately acquainted and highly esteemed in the family" and quotes a friend of Anne's comment on her having been "[r]eligiously and usefully educated" (*M*, 85). John highlights the qualities that made him propose to Anne: "unblemished reputation," "well informed," "eminently pious" (*M*, 22). Grace Dawes highlights a life "successfully devoted to the benefit of others," an "active and capacious mind" (*M*, 86), and her special praise of Anne alludes to biblical models of female excellence: "whatever her hand found to do, she did it with her might, remembering that there was no wisdom, nor knowledge, nor device in the grave, whither she was going" (alluding to Ecclesiastes 9:10); "the heart of her husband trusted in her" (alluding to Proverbs 31:11 on the "virtuous woman" whose "price *is* far above rubies," v. 10). She compares Anne's pedagogical initiatives among the "lower classes of society" with those of Hannah More, the English "benefactress and ornament of her sex," who also "incurred obloquy and slander" over them (*M*, 87), but notes the added difficulty of working against proslavery opposition. Anne's "excellent mother," in Anne's friend's account of her quoted by Grace Dawes, had died when Anne was 12 and she had then "performed the duties of a parent to a young and numerous family . . . Her cares . . . embraced the negroes upon her father's estate at Popeshead, and such of the neighbouring slaves as chose to benefit by her instructions." The family friend comments on her role in having brought about the abolition of slavery in Antigua in 1834: "It may

justly be said that she was almost the founder, in that part of the country, of those religious and moral principles which distinguish the Antigua negroes, and have brought us through such a momentous change without commotion or bloodshed" (*M*, 85). Grace Dawes notes Elizabeth's help of her sister Anne, and commends the "order and regularity" of the Hart family's "arrangements." She portrays the scene of Anne and John's first meeting on the model of a sentimental painting:

> Two youthful sisters, surrounded by a number of little ones, endeared to them by the near ties of kindred, to whom they were imparting the elements of useful and religious knowledge, and who looked up to them, particularly to the elder, with the reverence of filial love, and ready obeisance, was an interesting subject even for a painter.
>
> (*M*, 85)

The consistently Christianized Creole woman meets her aestheticized standards of civility, and, as an "interesting subject" engages curiosity and the affect of friendship. Grace Dawes later amplifies on the friend's acknowledgement of Anne's role in ameliorating slavery, scrupling over naming beneficiaries of Anne's benevolence to respect their privacy.

Box says of Anne Gilbert in his eulogy, "no departed saint could be more appropriately denominated 'a mother in Israel' " (*M*, 76–77) and Grace Dawes amplifies his elaboration of why he identifies and recognizes her in this way. Deborah is the biblical "mother in Israel," the only female judge of her era, a prophetess and a leader in battle, leading the tribes of Israel to victory against an oppressive rule. Crucially, Grace Dawes's praise of her sister-in-law does not recognize the place of the African diasporic practice of othermothering in her familial, benevolent, and social conduct of herself, especially in her promotion of the fostering and support of destitute free colored children (with maternal approval) and community education.

Anne's father Barry Conyers Hart is acknowledged by John to be "a man of colour, who had a legitimate family, . . . much respected in the community, notwithstanding his complexion, and . . . proprietor of a sugar estate," but with so large a family that "there was no hope of his giving his daughters any marriage portions" (*M*, 22). In his will of December 15, 1759, John Hart, Esq., former Governor of Maryland (1714–1720) and Captain-General of the Leeward Islands (1721–1727), left to Barry Conyers Hart "£200 at 21 & 50 c. yearly." He also bequeathed his "mulatto Fanny her freedom & £15 annually." That Barry and Ann Hart named their first son John Hart and their second Jacob Timothy Clarkley Hart (after Ann's father Timothy Clearkley) would suggest that Barry was John Hart's illegitimate, though

recognized, colored son. In 1760 Barry Hart is described as a yeoman.[154] He and Ann Clearkley were "of a decidedly [Christian] religious character" and were praised as having "intelligent and highly cultivated minds."[155] Ann's mother Frances Clearkley, a black woman, had been converted to Methodism by Francis Gilbert. Horsford notes that "[h]aving pecuniary means, she gave her children a good education." Barry Hart is described as a "restless and dissatisfied slave-holder."[156] Grace Dawes puts on record that John "from conscientious motives . . . had for many years ceased to be an owner of slaves" (*M*, 47). Under the terms of Anne's marriage settlement, her property in slaves was "conveyed" to her father, held "in trust for her own use and that of her Heirs and Assigns."[157] Such arrangements of marriage settlements were characteristically made to "ensure the safety of . . . property from the debts of . . . husbands."[158] John Gilbert had been a bankrupt in the mid-1790s (*M*, 18). Slave registration lists show that Barry Hart's children generally held small numbers of slaves, between two and five each.[159] In the 1817 slave registration list from Antigua, John Gilbert records that Anne held five slaves under the marriage settlement: Phoebe (aged 53), Margaret (aged 44), Eliza (aged 19), James (aged 16), and Nathaniel (aged 16). She manumitted Eliza in 1820 "preparatory to her Marriage [to an enslaved man] . . . as a reward for her obedience and fidelity," an act that would have ensured that their children were born free.[160] John is still shown in the 1821 slave registration list as holding Phoebe, Margaret, James, and Nathaniel under the terms of the marriage settlement. Anne manumitted four slaves, two female and two male—possibly Phoebe, Margaret, James, and Nathaniel—on May 15, 1821, paying a fee of £2 14s on each manumission. Seven slaves, four female and three male, were manumitted by her on June 10, 1825, with a fee of £1 16s paid on each manumission.[161] No slaves are recorded in the 1824 slave registration lists as being owned by Anne or John Gilbert. Gaspar, who has studied manumissions in Antigua between 1817 and 1826, notes that enslaved people

> could be freed in several ways during the long period of slavery, but certainly by the 1820s these were mostly by deed, purchase, or will. "Manumission by deed could be granted directly by a slave-owner as a favor or 'gift' in recognition of special services or relationships," but slaves could also purchase themselves from their owners, paying only an agreed amount for the deed to be executed. That sum could be considerably less than the actual market value of the slaves. Many were also purchased by white or nonwhite free benefactors or by friends who then freed them. It is possible that in some cases the slaves themselves may have contributed to the purchase price with money they had earned or saved. Several owners of slaves freed them in their wills or by bequest. Whatever the route to manumission "the ultimate power to grant or withhold freedom lay in the hands of the slaveowner."[162]

Eliza was seemingly freed by deed. The other slaves, the costs of whose manumissions Anne Gilbert bore, did not have to purchase their freedom. Gaspar notes that there are "persons who facilitated manumission in some conspicuous form . . . [T]he simple designation of them and others in documents as having borne the expenses of each case of manumission makes it difficult to identify their connection with the slave set free."[163]

John acknowledges that in worldly terms, he brings to the marriage "connexions" rather than "property," and those of a kind that would "incur" for the couple "bitter persecution" over a mixed-"complexion" marriage (*M*, 22). He represents his decision to marry Anne, then, as both providential and rational. While he does not record the fact, at this time he was, as I have noted, the only white Methodist lay preacher in Antigua. In his narrative to this point, his whiteness is implicit in his social, cultural, and symbolic capital—family connections and an early home education including "arithmetic" and "Latin," taught by his father, "a man of learning," with a "Bachelor of Physic" from Cambridge, and "English and French, writing, and geography," taught by his mother, who had been "brought up in a convent in Paris" (*M*, 2–3). In her account of him, Grace Dawes represents him as a man of the Enlightenment in his intellectual inquiry and ecumenical Methodism.

The successful marriage of John and Anne is implicitly juxtaposed with the system of concubinage, the social outcomes of which were addressed by the Female Refuge Society, highlighted as good works by Anne, Box, and Grace Dawes, the Society's Treasurer. Anne was John's second wife. He married the daughter of a woman with whom he was boarding, identified only rather formally as Miss Lorin in 1789; 14 years older than him, she died of an apoplexy in c. 1797. The marriage of Anne and John was so controversial that John was forced to resign his commission in the militia under threat of court martial and his commission as a notary public was withdrawn because he had so "basely degraded" himself (*M*, 24). There were rumors that he would "be committed to jail as a madman" (*M*, 23), and a relative requested that clergymen on land and sea not perform the marriage. The night of the marriage the door of his business office was "painted, one-half white, and the other yellow" by unknown parties (*M*, 26). John writes in his memoir, "if I had determined upon seducing and degrading the object of my regard and esteem, I should have been considered by the ungodly aristocracy of the country as having acted quite properly, and incurred no reproach from them, as she was a woman of colour" (*M*, 25). He is referring to the prevalent practice of concubinage among the planter class, "the ungodly aristocracy," and distinguishing his "reformed" masculinity from its. In the British imaginary the white Creole man had

become synonymous with debauchery, and the colored Creole woman with the concubine.[164] Earlier in the memoir he acknowledges the "occasional commission of another sin, very general among the inhabitants of the West India Islands," "many more profligate than" him (*M*, 11). Anne records with pride that early in their marriage, at a time of their own financial need, he used most of a "sum of eight hundred dollars awarded him by arbitration" to "purchas[e] the freedom of a young person who had some claims upon him, and who was saved from vice and wretchedness by being rescued from slavery" (*M*, 28). The account suggests that John may have fathered a child by a bondswoman prior to his Methodist conversion and marriage to Anne.

Anne observes that "French emigrants who fled from Guadaloupe and Martinique during the revolution in France" were very sympathetic to her and John's plight as a couple, seeing them "as oppressed strangers in our native land" (*M*, 27). Her allusion is to Exodus 22:21, Exodus 23:9 and Jeremiah 7:6 ("Thou shalt neither vex a stranger nor oppress him: for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt"; "Also thou shalt not oppress a stranger: for ye know the heart of a stranger, seeing ye were strangers in the land of Egypt"; "*If* ye oppress not the stranger, the fatherless, and the widow, and shed not innocent blood in this place, neither walk after other gods to your hurt"). She implies that racial and religious persecution is ungodly, an abomination (Jeremiah 7:10), a cause of God's "wrath" to "wax hot" (Exodus 23:24). The paradox of being "strangers" in their "native land" suggests that social "ties of friendship" or family were cut and that social attitudes would expel them from their rightful "place" in the community (*OED*). Like Anne and John, the emigrants struggled to earn a "subsistence" for their "families," the men, "[s]ome of high rank in their native country," pursuing "various employments opposed to their former habits and education," and the women "of fashion and refinement" setting a social example by earning livings to assist (*M*, 27). Anne would have considered herself a woman of refinement rather than of fashion.

Spiritual Letters: By Several Eminent Christians is also a vindication of the marriage of Mary Leadbetter to Francis Gilbert. The letter Mary signed as M.F., dated 1768, begins as a spirited defense of the marriage in response to the "displeasure" of her sister-in-law Elizabeth, Nathaniel Gilbert II's wife. Francis is styled as Mr. F—in the published letter. Mary sharply reminds Elizabeth that she has not married for money ("a golden mine").[165] Even Henrietta Gilbert feels compelled to write in 1817 of her aunt's "evident proofs" that she had not married from "worldly motives" (*MMG*, 16). The range of Mary's and Francis's published letters suggests a companionate marriage based on shared piety and spiritual practices.

In depicting her grief at John's death, Anne splices together quotations from Edward Young's *The Complaint, and the Consolation; or, Night Thoughts*, "Night the First, on Life, Death and Immortality":

> The disenchanted earth has lost its lustre,
> The great magician's dead!
> No, not dead!
> He lives! He greatly lives! A life on earth
> Unkindled, unconceived; and from an eye
> Of tenderness lets heavenly pity fall
> On me, more justly numbered with the dead.
>
> (*M*, 44–45)

Young writes:

> . . . the disenchanted earth
> Lost all her lustre: where her glittering towers?
> Her golden mountains where?—all darken'd down
> To naked waste: a dreary vale of tears:
> the great magician's dead![166]

And earlier in the poem,

> They live! They greatly live a life on earth
> Unkindled, unconceived! And from an eye
> Of tenderness, let heavenly pity fall
> On me, more justly number'd with the dead.[167]

The "tenderness" of their "affection" for "each other" had, she writes, "increased" over nearly "thirty-five years, with many scenes of sorrow and suffering endured together" (*M*, 44). That tenderness has been the magic in their lives. Her quotation implicitly positions her in her grief in "a dreary vale of tears," "desart," "solitude," a "melancholy vault,"[168] and she acknowledges that this may affect her capacity as a memoirist: "I cannot, in my present state of mind, attempt to do more than relate circumstances as they occur to my recollection, and that without regard to systematic arrangement" (*M*, 33).

The literary, historical, and material geographies of Anne Gilbert's benevolence, grounded in a creolization of African diasporic and Christian models of female excellence and community orientation, underpinned a racially inclusive vision of national reform and modernization of social relations under plantation slavery. The transatlantic circulation of the annual reports of Female Refuge Society, and the inspiration of their benevolent sublime,

influenced the direction and scope of female antislavery activism in Britain. Creole benevolence and the models of personal and social conduct and sensibility developed through it made English Harbour habitable, although not home, for Anne Gilbert. As edited by Grace Dawes, the *Memoir* of Anne and John Gilbert becomes a foundational romance of a reformed church and a reformed relation of individual responsibility to community through benevolence, and a legitimation of the promise of spiritual equality that grounded Methodist appeal to subject peoples. In 1835, shortly after slavery was formally abolished in Antigua in 1834 (no apprenticeship system having been introduced there), the generative claim to place through community-building and foundational romance are both an interested and critical reading of history and the poetics of Methodist life writing about marriage and friendship, and a project of constructing moral coherence as a marker for the future of evangelical enterprise in the region. Crucially Grace Dawes's romance does not recognize the ways in which Anne's benevolence and social vision instantiate the African diasporic practice of othermothering.

CHAPTER 2

William Dawes in Antigua

William Dawes (1762–1836), who was born in Portsmouth, the son of the clerk of works in the local Ordnance Office, Benjamin Dawes, served the British empire in several of its theatres: naval engagement in the marines, New South Wales (as a marine officer, astronomer, and surveyor with the First Fleet and compiler of the fullest study of the local indigenous language around Port Jackson at the time of first British settlement), Sierra Leone (as agent of the Sierra Leone Company, governor for three terms and Commissioner), and Antigua (as agent of the Church Missionary Society, and, between 1820 and 1829, Director of its Schools in the West Indies). David Lambert and Alan Lester argue that people with what they term "imperial careers" "had opportunities to transcend their initial impressions, to insinuate themselves into personal, business, official, religious and friendship networks. They came as they saw it, to 'know' the local 'native' peoples, and to articulate more considered and comparative reflections on the colonial societies in which they had dwelt."[1] The opinion among historians is that beyond the language notebooks and his meteorological journal from his sojourn in New South Wales, Dawes's papers have been lost, destroyed by a hurricane. In this chapter I outline and analyze Dawes's project and educational and benevolent networks in Antigua, drawing primarily on an extensive correspondence in the Church Missionary Society Archive. His letters facilitate, in particular, new understandings of his evangelical religiosity, his collaborative work toward the amelioration of slavery, and his attitudes to women, understandings that challenge the directions of some current Australian revaluations of his colonial legacy.

I outline briefly the scope of these revaluations and discuss the limits and parameters of extant archival material, Dawes's efforts to establish himself in Antigua, and the scope of his work for the Church Missionary Society and Creole benevolent organizations. To draw out more fully his attitudes

to religion, amelioration, plantation slavery, and women, I analyze the complexities of his autobiographical representations in Antigua in his letters to the Church Missionary Society Committee and its Secretaries and the work diaries he prepared for the Committee during what he identifies as a "momentous crisis" produced by the shock waves from the 1823 slave rebellion in Demerara, a fierce backlash against Methodists and evangelicals in the region, which he terms "most horrid aversion to all serious religion," and a high church Anglicanization of ameliorative reform. Dawes writes to the Committee on September 20, 1824, "during the state of suspense in which we are, the mind is unavoidably exercised with a variety of hopes & fears."[2] As Clare Brant points out, "Evangelical Christians had particular conventions for articulating spiritual distress: a suffering soul used letters to cry out." Dawes's sense of crisis and defensiveness produce a reflective, more metaphorical and retrospective interpretation of his work, more usually summarized by him in chronicle form, tables of educational progress, and presentation of financial accounts. Indeed these letters function as fragments of personal and collective spiritual autobiography.[3]

Since the mid-1990s, aspects of Dawes's career in New South Wales have whet the interest, in particular, of creative writers and historians of linguistics and cross-cultural contact, astronomy, and meteorology.[4] Web and print editions of the language notebooks, *The Notebooks of William Dawes on the Aboriginal Languages of Sydney* and *William Dawes' Notebooks on the Aboriginal Language of Sydney*, respectively, have been released recently and are leading a revival of the Dharuk language.[5] His relationship with an Eora girl Patyegarang, his principal informant in the compilation of his language notebooks, has inspired Paul Carter's poetic sound installation *The Calling to Come* (1996); this relationship and a crucial moment of dissent, his rebuke of Governor Arthur Phillip over a reprisal raid against Eora people are fictionalized in Jane Rogers's *Promised Lands* (1998), and Kate Grenville's *The Lieutenant* (2008). Ross Gibson has recently called for a "national conversation" in Australia "about what Dawes was learning" through his conversations with Patyegarang. For Gibson it is "an immersive, ever-altering mode of knowing people and places," which "[u]nmoored" him "from many standard European prejudices," "tempting" Gibson "to think of him as a secular mystic." In projecting the possibility of there having been an alternative ethical genealogy of relationship between indigenous people and white settlers in Australia, Carter, Grenville, and Gibson read his spirituality through modernist and postmodern paradigms. Their versions of Dawes's spirituality are examples of what Bill Ashcroft, Frances Devlin-Glass, and Lyn McCredden term the post-colonial sacred in contemporary Australian culture, a "sacred of interrelationship—an ethics which is open not just to the agency of the

human ego but also to the other, to the land, and to that which is not human."[6]

The extant letters from agents and missionaries in the West Indies in the Church Missionary Archive date from 1820. For the earlier period from 1799, researchers need to rely on the Minutes of the Church Missionary Society Committee, which contain cursory summaries of letters received from the West Indies and a record of Committee decisions (not its debates). Some of the Minutes are barely or only partly legible or altogether illegible. This makes it difficult to piece together a precise chronology of Dawes's establishment of himself in Antigua between 1813 and 1820, when he accepted the position of Superintendent of Church Missionary Society Sunday Schools in the West Indies. As Liz Stanley points out, correspondences are "dialogical" (an exchange between writers and recipients), "perspectival" ("tak[ing] on the perspective of the 'moment' as this develops within a letter or a sequence of letters"), and "strongly *emergent*." With this last descriptor she draws attention to the ways in which letters "are not occasioned, structured or their content filled by researcher-determined concerns. Instead, they have their own preoccupations and conventions and indeed their own epistolary ethics."[7] Most of Dawes's letters and the journals he forwards concern everyday aspects of his management of his roles as Superintendent and supporter of the work of a number of local ecumenical organizations and charities: the Antigua Auxiliary Bible Society, the English Harbour Sunday School Society, the Distressed Females' Friend Society, the Female Refuge Society, and the English Harbour Female Juvenile Association. His presentation of his work and benevolent interests to the Church Missionary Society Committee validates Governor Sir Benjamin d'Urban's characterization of him to Lord Stanley in 1824 as a "Most Active and Zealous" agent. "[T]here was no one who had general intercourse or particular access to the deceased who was not impressed with the highest respect for his character, and admiration of his talents as a Man of Science," Dawes's obituarist in the *Antigua Weekly Register* observed, commending his "earnest desire to aid in the amelioration of the Negro race, and to instruct the rising generation of that people."[8]

A few months before the Demerara Rebellion of 1823, Dawes warns the Church Missionary Society that teachers "sho^d^ be especially guarded against meddling with the politics or prevailing system of the country [slavery], & even of expressing an opinion on these subjects,"[9] and such prudential guardedness generally structures his correspondence with the Committee. He is acutely conscious of the way plantocratic elites in the British Caribbean defined themselves in opposition to and were deeply suspicious of evangelical missionary activity and influence.[10] He was accused of such meddling with slavery in Antigua, it being asserted of the Antigua Auxiliary Bible Society,

of which he was a founder and one of the vice-presidents, that its "object is not of a religious but political nature," that its members were "auxiliaries of the African Institution."[11] He draws attention, in particular, to the ways in which the othering of the evangelical as antislavery activist by elites finds alarmist and vehement expression in anti-Methodism, especially in the wake of slave rebellions in Barbados in 1816 and Demerara in 1823. He is aware that his outgoing mail is possibly being monitored. An examination of extant Antiguan newspapers of the period and his correspondence and work diaries shows that he did not take an active part in the organized political life of the colony that he found vehemently proslavery. After the Demerara rebellion, he found local elite opinion "wrought up to a higher pitch of resentment" on the topic of slavery by readership of only the proliferating proslavery newspapers from Britain.[12]

William and Grace Dawes married in 1811 and settled in Antigua in 1813 with William's daughter from his first marriage Judith, Grace's sister Martha Gilbert, and by William's account 200 "choice Books in Divinity."[13] His son from his first marriage William Rutter Dawes was left in the care of Thomas Scott, the evangelical Anglican autobiographer, theologian, and biblical commentator, for whom "rational intellect itself," exercised through reading books of divinity, was "the setting for the drama of [evangelical] conversion" and affirmation.[14] Scott was Dawes's compass in matters of theology and biblical interpretation, as his letters home show. Because of his links with members of the Clapham Sect, Dawes is mistakenly represented in a few sources as settling in Antigua at the specific behest of William Wilberforce.[15] Dawes's first post in Antigua was as attorney to the plantation of his wife's second cousin, the Rev. Nathaniel Gilbert IV. Gilberts, as the property was known, was a "middling-size sugar plantation of 300 acres that had between 150 and 200 slaves," liberated, like other enslaved people in Antigua, in 1834. In the mid-1830s the Rev. Nathaniel Gilbert IV received compensation of £3290 7s 4d for liberation of 179 slaves on two estates.[16] Through Grace, William and Grace Dawes had a financial stake in the success of the plantation as they drew an annuity of £20 and a legacy of £500 "charged contingenting upon the Estates of the Rev. Nathaniel Gilbert in Antigua." They released both on December 31, 1822.[17]

In resigning from the Committee of the Church Missionary Society preparatory to travelling to Antigua, Dawes asked to be "accredited as a Catechist" "as he should have the superintendance of a considerable number of Negroes."[18] There was a falling out between Dawes and the then owner of Gilberts shortly after his return to the estate in February 1815. Grace's brother John and sister-in-law Anne opened their home to the Dawes family while it set about reestablishing itself. While guests of John and Anne Gilbert,

William Dawes worked with them to realize plans for the establishment of the Female Refuge Society and the Antigua Auxiliary Bible Society, both regarded as incendiary by established Church ministers. By early 1816 he was assisting with the English Harbour Sunday School, and

> had opened an Early School, at Six o'Clock on Sunday Morning, for the Religious Instruction of Men and Youths—a Monday Evening School for catechizing Men and Youths; and for teaching Reading, Writing, and Arithmetic—and a Thursday Evening School, for Men only, in which they are catechized and taught to read.

Grace Dawes had "opened a Thursday Evening School, for the Instruction of Females."[19] By 1819 Dawes was agent for the Church Missionary Society and running three businesses—a druggist store, set up with financial help from the Church Missionary Society; a newspaper, the *Antigua Journal*; and a rum improvement operation—which he was required to give up to take on the position of Superintendent of Church Missionary Society Sunday Schools in the West Indies in 1820 at an annual salary of £300 sterling. He was recommended for the post by leading antislavery campaigner Zachary Macaulay, a former co-governor of Sierra Leone for the Sierra Leone Company, who reportedly reminded the Committee of the Church Missionary Society that Dawes was "a most eligible person . . . from his known prudence, economy, and integrity, and from his intimate acquaintance with the state of things in the West Indies." "I should deem it an honour to live and die in such a cause," Dawes wrote to the Church Missionary Society in response to the offer of the position. Dawes had been interested in educational initiatives in New South Wales and Sierra Leone, and had taught mathematics at Christ's Hospital from 1799 to 1800.[20]

The English Harbour Sunday School, reputedly the first Sunday School in the West Indies, was founded by Anne Gilbert in September 1809, with the assistance of Elizabeth and Charles Thwaites.[21] It opened for students in early October. Bishop Porteus proposed to encourage Sunday Schools in the region in *A Letter to the Governors, Legislatures, and Proprietors of Plantations in the British West-India Islands* (1808).[22] The Rev. James Curtin sent a copy to John Gilbert. A discussion of the *Letter* with a Moravian missionary Rev. Light reportedly inspired Anne Gilbert to establish the English Harbour Sunday School.[23] The Moravian mission, established in Antigua in 1756, was the most successful of the Christian missions there. The first effort to found a Moravian Sunday School was made in St John's in 1810 with a Methodist "assistant teacher." In 1825 Brother C. F. Richter reported that all attempts to maintain a Sunday School there had "been frustrated," abandoned most

recently in favor of instruction twice during the week. Porteus set a limit on literacy for enslaved people, proscribing the teaching of writing, arguing that the bar would "always preserve a proper distinction and subordination between them and their superiors, and present an insurmountable barrier against their approaching to anything like an equality with their masters."[24] Anne Gilbert's core projects included the teaching of writing. I have located extant annual reports of the English Harbour Sunday School Society for 1822, 1824, 1825, and 1829,[25] and my account of its work draws on these reports, two 1816 accounts of the developing network in the *Missionary Register* based on letters by Dawes, and Dawes's correspondence with the Church Missionary Society.

By 1822 the English Harbour Sunday School Society was managing six schools, maintaining its original commitment "not to annex the Schools to any particular denomination of Christians whatever."[26] The English Harbour Sunday School itself was then teaching 122 boys and 163 girls. Eight of the girls were identified as white, 100 as free (black and colored), and 55 as enslaved. The extant annual reports of the English Harbour Sunday School Society show that it was satisfied if children attended the school regularly and were orderly, not demanding "marks of piety," which is understandable given the evangelical emphasis on personal conversion experience.[27] The Society accommodated the express wish of parents that Sunday schooling not be tied to churchgoing or sectarian consolidation.[28] The parental wish suggests an interest in ensuring that children acquired literacy. Patricia T. Rooke observes more generally of the historical importance of instruction in literacy by missionaries in the West Indies that what it "provided was in the long run primarily pedagogical . . . for the majority of people who attended their schools and curiously far less . . . spiritual." "Literacy," Olwyn Mary Blouet points out, "was valued for the prestige and authority gained within the slave community." Maureen Warner-Lewis quotes a comment made by " 'old untaught Negroes' " in Jamaica published in 1840 " 'that those who know *de book* look down upon them.' "[29] Subscriptions to the English Harbour Sunday School Society were used largely to provide board, clothing, and shoes for impoverished students, especially girls. Throughout the 1820s Dawes was president of the English Harbour Sunday School Society, and John Gilbert was its vice-president.[30] Dawes explains to Governor Sir Benjamin d'Urban in 1823 that it

> is a Catholic Institution, to every office in which, pious persons of all denominations of Protestant Christians are admissible. The Church Catechism, and Watts's Catechisms are taught. Children of all classes under 14 years of age are received and continued in the school until they are 16; at which time they are

> dismissed unless circumstances render it conducive to their best interests that they should continue in which case they are appointed to the office of teachers or continued as scholars.[31]

In 1822 the Church Missionary Society took over the Country Schools of the English Harbour Sunday School Society: Hope, Bethesda, Sion Hill, Old Road, Popeshead, Cook's, Golden Grove and Union. The oldest of these, Bethesda, was founded in 1813 by Charles and Elizabeth Thwaites. By 1824 the schools Dawes managed taught students from around 60 estates and had become by far the major literacy provider in Antigua. The table General View of Sunday School Returns, Antigua, dated December 31, 1824, shows the scope the Church Missionary Society network achieved in Antigua:

> About Town, The Hope, Cedar Grove, Bethesda, Sion Hill, Grace Bay. Total 2002: 80 black men, 55 black women, 8 coloured men, 12 coloured women, 759 black boys, 850 black girls, 131 coloured boys, 107 coloured girls. 108 in the Bible, 217 in the Testament, 229 3 & 4 Syllables, 268 2 Syllables, 410 1 Syllable, 770 Alphabet. The Hope is the largest school with 574 total, 375 average attendance.

The gender ratios challenge Roberts's generalization that in relation to schooling, "the female slaves did not occupy the minds of the British or other Europeans."[32]

The Church Missionary Society school network developed by Dawes maintained the ecumenical stance of the English Harbour Sunday School Society. Dawes recruited Charles Thwaites as the Superintendent of the Church Missionary Society Sunday Schools in Antigua in 1817. Thwaites was very ably assisted by his wife Elizabeth. Citing the absence of evangelical Anglican clergy in Antigua and a prohibition on missionaries "interfering with Schools" when he arrived on the island, Dawes writes defensively in 1826:

> When therefore I had to select Assistants in the important work of instruction, I did not make leaving the Methodists a condition with those who were paid, nor interdict uniting with them to succeeding ones. My aim was to make Bible Christians, and to that end, while the inculcation of the principles of the Christian Faith was not neglected, teaching our Pupils to read the Scriptures for themselves was our grand object.

In an 1824 letter, Anne Gilbert urges Mrs. Luckock that "Orthodox Mission[s ought] have only one and the same end in view; namely, the *conversion* of the Slaves and free people: not their conversion to a *name* or *party*, but their

conversion from those sins which the Word of God condemns." In September 1827, Dawes terms his cooperation with Methodists and Moravians "bringing many benighted souls within the pale of the Church Universal."[33] Of his Methodist conversion, Olaudah Equiano (1745–1797) writes: "Now the bible was my only companion and comfort; I prized it much, with many thanks to God that I could read it for myself, and was not left to be tossed about or led by men's devices and notions."[34] Equiano's *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa, the African. Written by Himself* (1789) was the most popular published slave narrative of the late eighteenth century, running to nine revised editions in Britain.

The Moravian missionary the Rev. Jens Olufsen, who married, according to Moravian rites, Daniel James and Mary Prince, whose *The History of Mary Prince, A West Indian Slave Related by Herself* was published in England in 1831, superintended the Grace Bay Sunday School "supported" by Dawes. It was the "most flourishing school" under Moravian instruction. The two estates that figure in Prince's account of being drawn to dissenting religion—Date Hill and Winthorps—had Sunday Schools that were part of the network Dawes directed, both superintended by Charles Thwaites.[35]

Dawes's educational project was supported by a local printing operation he supervised that produced lessons, tracts, and a hymnbook, and imported bibles, catechisms and tracts. Roberts, who is not familiar with the project, generalizes that "printing presses in the West Indies were in no way associated with educational institutions and the production of educational material." Some examples of the lessons for students being taught one-syllable and two-syllable reading proficiency and a pious tract do survive. Dawes sent samples of the lessons to the Church Missionary Society, suggesting that they might be assembled in old-fashioned hornbook form. Roberts explains that a hornbook was generally "a text made of durable material containing the alphabet, the Lord's Prayer and Roman numerals," seemingly not "commonly used in the West Indies." The sample lessons from Antigua contain spelling and pronunciation exercises (for example, "ab eb ib ob ub" and "can cane car care"), word lists, word groups (Eatables, Apparel, Belong to a House, Parts of the Body, The World, Trees, Plants Fruit etc., Number Weights etc., Titles), lists showing separated syllables, and reading text prepared for the one-syllable class on religious and moral themes. Lessons would be "pasted on boards" to give students "opportunities of learning at home during the week."[36] The extant tract, *A Short Memoir of Grace Gilbert Hart, a Child Belonging to the English Harbour Sunday School* (1821) by Anne Gilbert, in the genre of the happy death, is a memoir of her niece, a free colored goddaughter of William and Grace Dawes, who died of croup aged five in 1820. It is the first known published text by an Anglophone African Caribbean woman writer. The biographical genre of

the happy death that culminates in an account of a triumphal death in the confidence of grace was, Charles Thwaites attests in 1829, popular with students, and more so if a peer were commemorated. He was trying to persuade the Wesleyan Methodist Society in Britain to continue William Dawes's practice of publishing local material from Antigua. A "small book of hymns" was "selected and printed" in Antigua for the school network. Elizabeth Thwaites wrote hymns that might have been selected.[37]

The educational network that William Dawes managed might usefully be compared with Moravian (United Brethren) schooling in Antigua. He had access to resources to develop infrastructures—buildings, a paid teaching personnel including paid catechists, local printing—and a strong sense of system, apparent as much in the extant lessons as in his overseeing of the infrastructures. In 1824 d'Urban reported that of the estimated 31,064 slaves, 550 "habitually attend[ed]" Church of England services, 11,680 United Brethren services, and 6,650 Methodist services. The Moravians were teaching 620 children, and the Church Missionary Society schools just over 2,000. In 1825 there were five Moravian Sunday schools outside St John's. Including the nondenominational Grace Bay Sunday School, 500 children were being taught. Brother John Taylor outlined a standard "method of instruction":

> invit[ing] the negroes and people of colour, both children and adults, bond or free, to attend them [mission stations] at such hours as could be spared from their ordinary duties . . . . Besides learning to read, our scholars commit to memory texts of scripture, &c which they repeat twice a week, in a meeting held in the church, the Missionary adding some explanatory remarks. Many of the adults possess copies of the Bible, and the children are supplied with New Testaments.

The Moravian minister Rev. Lewis Stobwasser, particularly virulent in his outlining of the "deeply rooted" "moral depravities" of black people, describes in 1823 a practice of presenting Sunday School students with "a lesson, pasted on a small board, which they put into a small bag or pocket they have for that purpose," repeated regularly daily under the instruction, if possible, of an adult "Negro" trained and seemingly unpaid "for the instruction of others."[38] Dawes loaned the Moravian Sunday Schools lessons.

Dawes became very distressed over the process by which Church Missionary Society Sunday schools were brought under the ecclesiastical control of the newly created Anglican diocese of Barbados between 1825 and 1828, and a revival of dances—Benna dances, balls hosted by the local plantocracy, and slave balls—which were, he believed, seducing scholars from the Sunday School network he managed. His agitation is realized in self-justifications and appeals; sending on the same day or within days of each other long letters to

the Church Missionary Society, some addressed to the Secretaries of the Committee and some more fraught ones marked "Private" for the attention of the evangelical Rev. Edward Bickersteth; mooting a correspondence in cipher; incorporating epistolary intelligence from a range of correspondents, including Anne Gilbert and Elizabeth Thwaites; and reporting the voices of enslaved people. The arrival of the Church Establishment, "long looked for and long hoped for," he writes, occasions "disappointment & grief of heart" at a relaxing of strict moral discipline that would surely "end in rebellion against all authority" and at the abandonment of literacy as a goal of religious instruction in the reformed school network. What is at stake for Dawes is the character of ameliorative reform and modernization in the Caribbean and the character of a regional reform network in which he was a key player. As in Britain, " 'Serious Christians' needed to construct a social order in which the scenes of domestic or church life would always be preferred to 'the gaieties and follies of an ensnaring world' and this meant building a framework within which individuals could find help, care and support." Dawes reports that the Bishop William Hart Coleridge's "grand object," managed in Antigua by Archdeacon Thomas Parry, entails "supplanting the C.M.Soc.$^{y's}$ Schools, & abolishing the Wesleyan Methodist Mission altogether."[39]

He represents himself to the Church Missionary Society Committee as an agent of the "clamours of English benevolence." In 1823 he reports telling school pupils that the Church Missionary Society are "a body of good men in England who earnestly desired their spiritual welfare, and thought the best means of promoting it was teaching them to read the Bible," enjoining gratitude for the extension of the "privileges" of literacy, and stressing "their awful responsibility to God, if they neglected to improve" "their minds." He is aligning himself with metropolitan opposition to the spiritual and moral condition of plantation slavery cultures, a condition measured in his eyes in the want of evangelical Christianization among the population, and the general character of the Anglican clergy, and mapping what David Lambert terms "a moral geography of humanitarian duty." Dawes represents the evangelical schools and their influence as gardens beginning "to bud and blossom as the rose" within the wider plantation and provision ground economies, "the rising generation both free and slave . . . forming into habits of purity, decency, and piety." For him, "alas! this fair and lovely prospect is in danger of being overclouded with darkness and confusion."[40]

The rose is a stock symbol of Englishness, though "blossom as the rose" is an allusion to Isaiah 35:1, which positions Antigua as a moral "desert"; in Dawes's formulation the delicacy of the exotic "blossom" is threatened by the bringing of the schools under ecclesiastical control, and by his loss of bearings in the process. Parry even forbade "his Catechists to use Scott's

Commentary on the Bible" among other evangelical texts. The image of overclouding is drawn from one of Ralph Erskine's *Gospel Sonnets* (1720); the allusion implies the threat of "black despair" and "trembling on the utmost brink of wo." Dawes excoriates in particular "libidinous Planters" and "a lukewarm Clergy whose lives disgrace even their inadequate views of Xtian Theology, or who, with more decency of conduct, formally adhering to the Church of England while strangers to the heart-warming influences of the Holy Spirit, diffuse a baneful influence around them." His language of indignation, like that of other evangelicals, "clarified enemies without and enemies within" his religious community. In his work journal entry of February 18, 1822, he notes the comparison he had drawn in conversation "between the enormous wickedness of the inhabitants of this Island at this time & that of the Antediluvians [*sic*]," a group renowned for "extreme depravity."[41]

What is at stake for the Bishop of Barbados William Hart Coleridge and his Archdeacon in Antigua Thomas Parry in reform of Antiguan Sunday schooling is the rooting out of evangelicism, termed "fanaticism,"[42] establishing cordial relations with the plantocracy, imposing patriarchal parochial authority, relegating women to the private sphere, Anglicizing the relation between Sunday School attendance and churchgoing, and extinguishing Church Missionary Society cooperation with Methodists in Antigua, their racially inflected characterization of non-denominational Protestant cooperation. The changes led to the collapse of the school network. Anne Gilbert would describe the Bishop, Archdeacon, and High Church catechists as "ungodly Agents," whose influence caused her "feelings of alarm," "depression" and trembling.[43] Coleridge and Parry severely curtailed Dawes's work and influence.[44] As with Anglican clergy elsewhere in the West Indies, "the planters were their friends and their patrons, part of the same social world." In Antigua, as in Barbados, studied by Lambert in *White Creole Culture, Politics and Identity during the Age of Abolition*, "[both] the welcome offered to the Anglican bishop and the threat to the Methodist missionary [in the wake of the 1823 Demerara Rebellion] were . . . responses to [the] reformist shift [to amelioration] and the resurgent antislavery campaign in the early to mid-1820s."[45] Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall highlight, too, a growing tension within the Anglican Church in Britain between evangelicals and the church establishment over evangelical reformist tendencies and the role of the laity: "To make use of laymen, never mind laywomen, broke with the traditions of the established church and veered dangerously close to the vulgar enthusiasms of Methodism."[46]

Coleridge's insistence that catechists be licensed by him, that they be placed under parochial direction, and that they cooperate fully with slaveowners over the "time and frequency of instruction" accorded with the

guidelines adopted by the Barbados Branch Association of the Society for the Conversion and Religious Instruction and Education of Negro Slaves in the British West India Islands founded in 1825. An Antigua Branch was also formed.[47] Pointedly, Coleridge insisted that writing not be taught to enslaved people.

Dawes's moral mapping of Antigua in relation to British benevolence would prove controversial. The Church Missionary Society successfully begged the Colonial Secretary to suppress his criticism of the character of the Anglican clergy in a letter on religious education he prepared for Sir Benjamin d'Urban in 1824 and admonished him over his indelicate criticism and occasional attendance of Methodist services mentioned in the letter.[48] An uncensored copy of the letter was soon given to Bishop Coleridge after his arrival.[49] Shortly after being admonished, Dawes changed his customary valediction "Yours faithfully" (which, though stock, resonates with the evangelical ideal of justification by faith) to "Your obedient Servant." The change connects his obedience with his dependence on them. The white population was very sensitive to the character given its class in humanitarian discourse around plantation slavery, especially as antislavery activism began to shift public opinion in Britain in favor of emancipation. In 1829, for instance, the proslavery *Antigua Free Press*, excoriated "the secret enemies of the Colony, who, under the mask of Christian charity, have inflicted their assassin like wounds on the character of the community in which they live and from whom they derive their subsistence."[50] In September 1825, Dawes abandoned a plan to send Elizabeth and Charles Thwaites to England to publicize what they all thought the scandalous work of Coleridge and Parry, realizing, in the wake of the treatment of the Methodist missionary William Shrewsbury in Barbados, that they would all be subjected to "banishment." He cautions Bickersteth that the "transpiring" of the confidential letters, for which he believes he has "undoubted authority," could lead to successful defamation prosecutions, as his authority relies "in many instances on slave evidence," but is prepared to accept the legal penalty.[51] Earlier that month he had closed a letter to Bickersteth with a cipher scheme.

Dawes produces the West Indies as an aberrant moral space largely through fixing on the figures of the libidinous planter and plantation employees (bookkeepers and managers) and their sexually predatory conduct toward non-white women. His correspondence on the issue supports John Luffman's observation in 1789 that in Antigua what Lazarus-Black terms "miscegenetic concubinage . . . was more commonly practiced by middle- and lower-ranking free men, such as overseers and estate attorneys, than by the elite."[52] Dawes traces the formation of a class of impoverished freed women and colored children to this conduct and a system of concubinage, with free

colored girls in his view "doomed [by custom] . . . to a life of prostitution." A compound allusion of his to James 5:4, John 3:17, and Proverbs 21:13 is particularly telling. In excoriating Parry's attacks on female management of the Female Refuge Society and women writing for publication (an apparent reference to the annual reports of the Female Refuge Society distributed in Britain by female antislavery societies and locally), Dawes writes: "I trust the cry of the destitute ones, against whose woes their fellow-creatures stop their ears and shut up their bowels of compassion, will enter into the ears of the Lord God of Sabaoth."[53] I am interested in the reframing of James 5:4, a verse critical of the wealthy and powerful, and pertinent to the institution of slavery: "Behold the hire of the labourers who have reaped down your fields, which is by you kept back by fraud, crieth: and the cries of them which have reaped are entered into the ears of the Lord of sabaoth." John Wesley comments on this verse in context: "Those sins chiefly cry to God concerning which human laws are silent. Such are luxury, unchastity, and various kinds of injustice." Thomas Scott refers to "tremendous vengeance . . . for . . . personal and public iniquities."[54] Dawes's allusion represents slavery as an ungodly abomination tolerated by human laws. Sexual predation and the institution of concubinage are for Dawes the major signs of the sinfulness of plantation slavery about which he can speak publicly. His letters record many individual narratives that illustrate the hierarchies of gender, race, and class that underpin sexual exploitation and circulate further many recorded by others, but especially by Anne Gilbert in her letters. Within the schools he managed, "primary importance" was attached to the "promotion of Chastity among the young."[55]

For Elizabeth Thwaites, a song sung by "young slaves" in 1825 encapsulates a disquieting spirit of "independence" expressed in the wake of the Bishop condoning dancing:

> Me no care for Daddy, Me no care for Mammy,
> Me will break thro' the rule,
> Me will have um, Me will have um, Aye[.]

Dawes includes the lines in quoting from a letter of hers about the increasing difficulty of maintaining discipline among Sunday School scholars. He writes to the Church Missionary Society Committee of the "demoralizing effect which the Bishop's toleration of dances &c. has produced. I think it not too much to say that he has compromised his Dignity, his Religion & every proper feeling, to procure favor with the Planters, & that, of some of the most licentious among them." For Dawes and his evangelical circle, dancing is dissipation on a par with "gambling" and "obeah," an offence against school

discipline punishable by exclusion, discipline being supported by parents and inspectors, who would report infractions to the schools.[56]

The Bishop's presence at balls in Antigua on his visit was translated for enslaved people by the local plantocracy as "the King's Parson had just said, it was no harm to dance." Dawes reports that at one ball the Bishop had admired the dresses of some young black women, slaves, and determined to report in England "how happy the negroes were here"; Dawes read the dresses as the "price" of the "unchastity" of the many who had been "seduced out of the C.M.S. Schools by their wicked masters" and the "anguish of soul" of their mothers "on account of it." (Parry was reportedly deeply affronted by the simple dress of Elizabeth Thwaites when he met her, labeling her a "downright" Methodist.) Planters reportedly opened their balls by dancing with enslaved women whom they had seduced; Mr. Salmon forced two devout Methodist leaders John Knight and Martha to dance, dressing John as the Bishop; other reluctant young enslaved people were forced by vigilantes or encouraged to dance in a process called "unsainting," which would make them "independant," formulations that were a cruel travesty of their legal status. Slave balls were held at which reportedly "the negroes personated the gentry . . . used their plate, carriages, watches, ladies jewels &c. &c. The dancing ladies are so extravagant as to change their dresses three times in one night, & so much as sixteen dollars has been paid to open the dance." Bishop Coleridge was routinely impersonated. Quite a few non-white revelers were hauled before magistrates and sentenced to be whipped for small infractions of the law. The perceived extravagance was an issue for a benevolent network with limited funds to distribute among the needy. Young dancers and singers of "lewd songs" reportedly had hopes "of finding admittance into the Archdeacon's Schools, if turned out" of Church Missionary Society Schools.[57]

Benna dances, perhaps testing the limits of plantocratic tolerance of mockery, were held in a tent on Lyon's Estate. Anne Gilbert calls Benna an "African Dance" as distinct from a "grand negro dance" (the slave ball). In a letter marked Private, Dawes explains to the Rev. Bickersteth that "[t]he Benna is an obscene African dance, nearly obsolete in this Island, but now reviving." It was revived after emancipation in 1834, becoming a distinctive local satirical "song-dance" form. Gilbert reports to Dawes that a missionary who tried to remonstrate with the Benna dancers "met with a very unkind reception. The answer to everyone is 'The Bishop says it is no harm to dance.' "[58] The scenario offers rich material for satire: the pomp surrounding the Bishop's visit; his interpretation of happiness among enslaved people; dancing as a sexual metaphor and flamboyant display of sexual partners among the elite; the reduction of amelioration of slavery to questions around dancing; the concept

of unsainting; some women's instrumental use of sexuality in concubinage; and outraged evangelical zeal.

Molestation becomes the metaphor Dawes uses to express his indignation at the interference in his management of the Church Missionary Society schools and evangelical cooperation he fostered through it, a role he "conceived had been assigned to" him "by the Providence of God." The metaphor of molestation signals his and his friends' sense of abandonment and disempowerment when the Church Missionary Society Committee does not acknowledge the propriety of their distress, reading it rather as almost "distrust" of the Archbishop and "jealousy" of their project, and Dawes's collage of voices in his letters as a sign of union with the Methodists, a racialized combination it fears and condemns on grounds of church purity.[59]

What becomes at stake for the Church Missionary Society is the "irregularities" that have "crept in" to the Church Missionary Society schools in Antigua:[60] non-Anglican catechists appointed by Dawes on the strength of their moral character, and the failure to link Sunday schooling and Anglican churchgoing. The latter, as I have pointed out, was to respect parental desires in relation to education of their children. In response to Dawes's letters, the Church Missionary Society invited Archdeacon Parry to comment on its Antiguan operations. His report holds up the "essential" ideal of the "well-ordered Parish in England"—"under the direction of the Clergyman of the Parish; and the children invariably attend Church"—and focuses on Dawes's appointment of non-Anglican teachers. Parry disparaged the idea of a school "for all denominations" as being "more properly speaking, for none." His anxiety about illicit Methodist connections is apparent in his description of the typical Church Missionary Society school "becoming a conventicle."[61] In response to Parry's report, the Church Missionary Society directed Dawes again to cooperate with the Bishop and Archdeacon. Dawes's fears that literacy training might be threatened were sound. Accounts of schooling in Antigua in the 1830s report more emphasis on rote memorization of scripture and religious texts.[62] In 1828, Parry dismissed Charles Thwaites over his refusal to renounce his Methodism. Fifteen months later he was employed by the Wesleyan Missionary Society that had taken over a few of the Church Missionary Society schools.

When the Church Missionary Society closed its operations in Antigua in 1829—attendance at its schools having dropped from its peak of 2002 to 39—it awarded Dawes, then 67 and in poor health, an annual pension of £75 sterling whilst ever he needed it. He had broken a thigh in 1828. In 1829 he would describe his health over the previous ten years in the "torrid zone" as "gradually dying of heat, as if I should be now placed before a large fire roasting to death." The lurid image, so different from the mundane tone of his

recording in his work diaries of bouts of rheumatism, a complaint exacerbated by the climate, suggests that it is also a metonym for his spiritual "disappointment & grief of heart." He returned to the trade of druggist, sharing business premises with his nephew William Dawes, a watchmaker. In advertising his return to the business of Licensed Vender and Dispenser of Medicine, he put up for sale his astronomical and meteorological instruments, astronomy and mathematics books, his horse, and "unfashionable gig."[63]

Methodists and Moravians celebrated the abolition of slavery in 1834 in Antigua as a sign of the success of their missions on the island. The *Methodist Magazine* carried a report that quoted the advice of a joint committee of the Legislature of Antigua to the Governor, favoring immediate abolition in 1834 over the introduction of an apprenticeship system: "we are perfectly satisfied, that no possible future efforts, during so short a term of years, can bring the slaves of most of the other colonies to *the same state of religious and social improvement, as that to which those of Antigua have already reached*."[64] As William A. Green points out, though, economic factors were also significant:

> [t]o a large extent Antigua proprietors maintained their slaves on imported provisions. Under the apprenticeship system their maintenance costs would have remained stable while the amount of labour performed by their workers would have diminished by 25 per cent. Having the dual advantages of a dense population and a comparatively large body of resident proprietors, the Antigua planters were disposed to gamble in favour of full freedom.

Dawes's letters to the Church Missionary Society peter out shortly after he was pensioned off, so his response to early abolition is not on record. Slaveowners on the island would still receive their share of the £20 million in compensation that the British government granted in exchange for abolition of slavery.

Dawes's correspondence with the Church Missionary Society is double-voiced: the Creole benevolent project of which he was part was certainly committed to Christianization, but its scope was broader, shaped by a vision of an emerging local modernity in which the dominant culture of an economically and sexually predatory plantocratic elite would be challenged by a socially engaged and caring, orderly, literate younger generation. Dawes's character in his correspondence is the epitome of English middle-class evangelical manhood with a "stress on moral earnestness, the belief in the power of love" of Jesus as expressed in the ameliorationist ideals underpinning his educational and benevolent labors, "and a sensitivity to the weak and the helpless."[65] Not only was he inspired by laywomen, he himself encouraged laywomen in their pedagogical and charitable work and used his influence to

raise funds to support charities assisting destitute women and girls. Dawes helped facilitate the extension of the reach of the Female Refuge Society; its annual reports had a major impact on the direction of female antislavery campaigning in Britain. Dawes writes of students being "seduced from" or "seduced out" of the Church Missionary Society schools he managed, language which places a gendered purity at the core of their moral character and his, with seduction functioning as a focal point in their and his policing of boundaries between collective self and collective other. It becomes a symbol of moral predation and betrayal of a vision of reform. A vision of gendered purity is the affective core of Dawes's spiritual self-account.

CHAPTER 3

Methodist Life Narrative

A literary historiography of early Caribbean evangelical life narrative poses particular challenges. The much dispersed archive of extant Caribbean evangelical life narratives is scarcely known, and, as such, part of under-researched oral, and vast and local print, cultures. *An Extract of Miss Mary Gilbert's Journal* (1768), edited by John Wesley, was in its sixth edition in 1813.[1] Mary Gilbert was the daughter of Nathaniel Gilbert II and a cousin of John Gilbert. A "Life" of Cornelius, a Moravian helper in Saint Thomas, was published in slightly different English versions in *Periodical Accounts Relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren, established among the Heathen* in 1803, in the *Methodist Magazine* in 1805, as a pamphlet in Antigua in 1820, and in the Church Missionary Society journal the *Missionary Register* in 1823.[2] The *Methodist Magazine* (formerly the *Arminian Magazine*) alone would reach an audience of a hundred thousand people at the turn of the nineteenth century.[3] I discuss Cornelius's "Life" in Chapter 5. At least in Antigua in the late 1810s and the 1820s, there was a local multi-denominational evangelical print culture with a predominantly eastern Caribbean reach. Secular readers and scholars of evangelical life narrative today are not particularly attuned to the historicity of religious sensibilities. Neither are they especially familiar with the genres of evangelical life narrative. As Steven Cohan and Linda M. Shires point out, recognition of genre projects for an audience, "a horizon of expectation and intelligibility based on conventions learned from prior knowledge of the genre."[4] Certainly the genres are "exercise[s] in [pious] rhetoric" as much as "an exploration of the writer's [or subject's] interior life," and "a method of self-discipline."[5] Misrecognition of genre is a problem in current scholarship on particular narratives. In this chapter I discuss Methodist experiences or accounts and a spiritual memoir, focusing in particular on life narratives by Elizabeth Hart Thwaites, Sarah Moore, Jr., and Anne Hart Gilbert, but also making reference

to other texts. The agentive selves revealed, affirmed, and represented in narrative and the liminal spaces of public speaking, practical, other-directed reform, teaching and prophecy provide evidence of creolization of community leadership forms across cultures. These selves were, in David Scott's terms, "constituted by the Christian project as it took shape in the modern conditions of Caribbean slave plant[ocracies]" through negotiation of which converts " 'must make their history.' "[6]

West Indian evangelical life narratives circulated within particular local colonial communities, largely in oral form; in written form they reached beyond the Caribbean to different witnessing and affective audiences. Beyond the Caribbean, evangelical life narratives would be, among other things, reassurances of the efficacy of missionary enterprise and of the wisdom of investment of subscription income. For the Methodist hierarchy in Britain, written life narratives from the West Indies circulated in print or handwritten form among congregations or read at Methodist meetings in Britain would be demonstrations of the value of the missionary network. Addressing subscribers supporting the West Indian Missions as "Respected Friends," Thomas Coke, who was instrumental in founding and managing Methodist overseas missions from 1784 to 1814, describes his *History of the West Indies* as a record of "evidences of Christianity," written in the interest of accountability. His purpose, he writes, is

> to give some account of the issues of your liberal actions, that you may, from these circumstances, calculate upon the effects of your munificence, and permit that calculation to operate in the direction of your future course . . . The sacred monument, which, under God, you have been instrumental in raising to the efficacy of the divine grace, among the swarthy inhabitants of the torrid zone, cannot fail to fill you with gratitude towards God.[7]

Coke includes in the *History* some brief West Indian life narratives: happy deaths (in which the dying find peace in the promise of redemption) and personal histories. Authored or taken down by missionaries, they are one genre of his "evidences," in his eyes part of a "sacred monument . . . to the efficacy of the divine grace" and of his *History*'s contribution to "*the memory of the world*."[8] The happy deaths and personal histories recorded in his *History* are severed from the local affective communities of their subjects.

Methodist Experiences

In response to a general request for local West Indian experiences, the missionary Richard Pattison, then stationed in Antigua, sent to the Methodist

Missionary Society in London two experiences written in Antigua in 1804, one by Elizabeth Hart, later Thwaites (1771–1833), of c. 2,800 words, and one by Sarah Moore Jr., of c. 3,000 words. In his cover letter Pattison notes that the experiences he is sending are in the "hand writing" of the authors and have not been edited. "I am authorised to say," he adds, "that the Committee may make what alterations or Abridgements or bury them in Oblivion, as they shall judge proper."[9] William Sturgeon, stationed in Saint Vincent, sent the shorter experience of Ann Claxton (1773–1830) making no such warrant.[10] These are, to the extent I could locate, the earliest written West Indian autobiographical experiences by women. Claxton's experience was edited in England and published in the *Methodist Magazine* in 1805.[11] Thwaites's experience, possibly in abridged form, might have been copied and read at Methodist meetings in Britain. Sarah Moore Jr.'s, which featured "dreams & visionary Sights," "Manifestation[s]," and a vivid account of being attacked repeatedly by Satan and other spirits, was marked "not copy this."[12] Her narrative, though, would not have been "bur[ied] in oblivion" in her lifetime. Moore, Thwaites, and Claxton would also have told aspects of their experiences orally at class meetings and love feasts (meetings at which bread and water were served, a collection was made for the poor, and "Christian experience" was related).[13] While I focus primarily on Thwaites's and Moore's experiences, I also refer to Claxton's experience, Equiano's account of his Methodist conversion, and two published self-authored experiences by West Indian men: "The Experience of Samuel Paynter, a Negroe of Antigua," signed S.P., published in the *Arminian Magazine* in 1790, and Robert Wedderburn's self-published "Truth Self-Supported; or A Refutation of Certain Doctrinal Errors Generally Adopted in the Christian Church" (c. 1802), sometimes dated to 1790,[14] a generic blend of the Methodist experience and Unitarian tract, a sign of a sequence of denominational conversion. Only five short paragraphs of "Truth Self-Supported" are devoted to his Methodist conversion; Paynter's experience comprises the equivalent of two pages of text.

The Hart, Moore, and Claxton families traced their Methodist religious genealogies back to the first generation of Methodist converts in Antigua.[15] Thwaites and Moore were classified racially as "free coloured" in their day.[16] Claxton was the "first white convert to Methodism" in Saint Vincent, the island to which her parents emigrated from Antigua.[17] Claxton and Thwaites were class leaders. While a Methodist, Moore led classes and was an exhorter in the chapel at St John's. "Exhorting," John H. Wigger explains, "consisted of simply telling one's testimony of conversion or relating life experiences in the faith, with the goal of imploring one's listeners towards greater holiness and fuller service." The distinction between exhorting and preaching

was that preachers expounded on a biblical text.[18] Oral testimony was integral to Methodist class and band meetings and love feasts and the communal accountability they encouraged. Mack notes in *Heart Religion in the British Enlightenment* that "[c]lasses consisted of ten or twelve members, sometimes of both sexes. Bands consisted of six or seven members, organized according to gender and marital status." These fora "encouraged intimate discussion and mutual confession."[19] In 1790 Paynter, a wheelwright and exhorter, who was of the first generation of Methodist converts in Antigua, had recently purchased his freedom. He resettled in Grenada in c. 1790, working as a mechanic. There he was designated colored.[20] Born free in Jamaica in 1762, Robert Wedderburn, the son of an enslaved mother Rosanna and a white owner James Wedderburn, settled in England in 1778. I discuss his later life writing and political activism in Chapter 4.

Compared to Thwaites's, Moore's written English is not nearly as proficient in spelling, grammar, and punctuation. Thwaites's written experience was published for the first time in *The Hart Sisters: Early African Caribbean Writers, Evangelicals, and Radicals* (1993). Moira Ferguson's titling of the experience "History of Methodism," though, obscures the genre in which Thwaites writes. Thwaites's proficiency in written English was developed through work as her father Barry Conyer Hart's scribe.[21] Moore's written experience retains the rhythms, rhetoric, and some of the Creole grammar of performative oral testimony. Her spelling is often phonetic. In quoting from her letter to Pattison in this chapter, I do not point out errors in her prose through the use of *sic*. Wedderburn characteristically used scribes.[22] There is no comment on Paynter's literacy in the *Arminian Magazine* or Claxton's in Sturgeon's letter.

Paul Wesley Chilcote traces the emergence of the literary genre of the experience to the late 1730s, and John Wesley's soliciting of personal written "reflect[ions]" on "journey[s] of faith" from followers, "contemporary accounts of Christian experience" to be read "as a means of encouragement within the context of mutual accountability."[23] Thwaites justifies publicizing her experience in written form as pious acknowledgement of God's "goodness and mercy" and "obedien[ce]" to Pattison's invitation (HS 89); Moore's justification is her object of "promot[ing] His Great Glory" and to meet the invitation. Thwaites's and Moore's experiences are structured by the stock topoi of the genre as outlined by Chilcote: "struggle, leading to transformation, leading to questioning, leading to restored assurance"; a "metaphor of light . . . used to describe a journey from darkness to illumination"; the important role of "encounter" with scripture and Methodist preaching in bringing about conversion; "how God's grace . . . affects the heart"; and conversion leading to concern for others.[24] The depth of the encounter with scripture is registered in the complexity and range of biblical allusions.

Chilcote observes that allusion to hymns is a particular feature of early Methodist life writing by women.[25] Shane White and Graham White in their study of "Listening to Southern Slavery" refer to J. H. Kwabena Nketia's observation that "in African cultures a 'narrator may change from speech to song and back again, according to the requirement of the story.' "[26] The extensive and particular use of hymns in Moore's and Wedderburn's experiences might also draw on African diasporic oratory. In 1780 John Wesley organized *A Collection of Hymns for the Use of the People Called Methodists* into sections corresponding to stages of religious progress and life, and for particular religious occasions. Section I of Part III, for instance, arranges hymns under the headings "Praying for Repentance," "For Mourners Convinced of Sin," "For Persons Convinced of Backsliding," and "For Backsliders Recovered."[27] After 1780, then, allusions to hymns may mark for a Methodist audience particular states of religious experience and progress. The verse of the hymn cited by Thwaites as expressing her "desponding heart" a few days after a Covenant meeting is from Section 7 of the 1780 hymnbook "Christian Ordinances and Institutions for Covenant Services," generalizing her despair to a stock pattern of intelligibility for Methodist audiences. Claxton cites a Charles Wesley hymn. Verses from four hymns (by Charles Wesley, Isaac Watts, and Joseph Hart) and allusion to another express the language of the heart in Moore's experience and are threaded through the narrative. Wedderburn closes "Truth Self-Supported" with five hymns, "which he leaves to the Readers' own conscience, to refer to their proper places, in the foregoing Discourse" (*HSOW*, 72). They are a shift from prose to a personally chosen set of songs that offer a musical counterpoint to or recapitulation of his experience of religious progress, and a testing of his audience's knowledge of hymns.[28] Three are identifiable. The titles of two by Isaac Watts are not given, and the audience is challenged to identify the placement of the last hymn in *A Collection of Hymns for the Use of the People called Methodists*. The first hymn is "By nature all men are sinners" by Watts, the second is "Repentance flowing from the patience of God" by Watts, the third is unidentifiable today, the fourth is titled "The Wisdom of God," and the fifth is one of the hymns "For Believers Seeking for Full Redemption" in *A Collection of Hymns*. The climax on the last hymn boldly suggests that the Unitarian principles he has outlined rather than conformity to Methodist theology signal the promise of full redemption.

Methodists such as the Wesleys and George Whitefield "insist[ed] upon a protracted crisis of conscience under the law [of God] as the necessary prelude to the experience of grace" and a new birth as a Methodist.[29] Like Paynter, Equiano and Wedderburn record with doctrinal precision the centrality of the moment of conviction in their conversions; critics today typically do not recognize the conventionality of the language or the historicity of a denominational religious sensibility. Equiano writes, "the Scriptures became

an unsealed book, I saw myself a condemned criminal under the law, which came with its full force to my conscience, and when 'the commandment came, sin revived, and I died.' "[30] Wedderburn, who describes his Methodist conversion in the third person in *Truth Self-supported*, says,

> confident that God had sealed him unto the day of redemption, not only sealed, but removed him by *HIS* power from a legal state of mind, into a state of Gospel Liberty, that is to say a deliverance from the power or authority of the law, considering himself not to be under the power of the law, but under Grace.
>
> (*HSOW*, 67)[31]

What is striking in Paynter's retrospective account of the meanings of grace for him as a bondsman is his recourse to metaphors of slavery and his sense of "a newly agentive self" with "authority over" his "own weakness."[32] Methodist conversion is represented as an "escape" from sin "for his [eternal] life." Paynter remembers the texts of specific sermons by Nathaniel Gilbert II that brought about his conviction (or, more colloquially, convince) of sin: Matthew 11:28 and Luke 13:3. In his commentary on Matthew 11:28—"Come unto me all ye that labour, and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest!"—John Wesley elucidates the promise of rest: God "alone (for none else can) will freely give you (what ye cannot purchase) rest from the guilt of sin by justification, and from the power of sin by sanctification."[33] In Paynter's eyes his weaknesses are sin, despair at enslavement, and fear of his owner. The convert Paynter draws "consolation" and inner "fortitude" from the "example and . . . precept" of his "master Jesus Christ" who "taught that it is through tribulation that we must enter into his kingdom," and affirms that "his grace is still sufficient to bear me conqueror through the oppositions I daily meet with."[34] His experience exhibits what Mack considers "a specific [Methodist] kind of sensibility, a combination of self-discipline and spiritual exuberance."[35] That exuberance reaches a climax in the final paragraph, in which Paynter expresses exaltation through allusion to verses from psalms of rejoicing. The narrative arcs and language of Paynter's written experience would have been developed in the oral performative context of exhorting.

As a convert, Thwaites eschews "Company, conversation and Books which did not tend to the Glory of God, together with Music's charms and Worldly attachments" (*HS*, 93); Moore the "Vanity of Worldly Mindedness" (SMl); and Claxton "lightness & giddiness of Spirit," "gay & dissipated Companions," and a "habit of levity" that made her "heart . . . every day more hard."[36] While referring to having been brought up in the formal practices and "duties" of a Christian family, Thwaites dates her first intimations of a

need for serious Christianity to a "wound" effected by "severe Earthquakes": a "troubled mind," uncertain of her prospect of salvation. She writes of having been "exceedingly terrified" and of "tormenting fears." She proceeds to compare the effect on her of "alarming and impressive" preaching with the terror engendered by "earthquakes, Thunder and lightning," "rous[ing] her to greater seriousness" (*HS*, 89–91). A particularly graphic image in Thwaites's narrative records her response to a powerful sermon by Mr. McDonald: "I was as it were broken to pieces and all my bones were out of Joint," an allusion to Psalm 22:14 (*HS*, 94). John Wesley interprets "all my bones are out of joint" to mean "I am as unable to help myself, and as full of torment, as if all my bones were disjointed."[37] For her it is the agency of "the word" of "the chosen messenger of the Lord" that brings "life and liberty" in the "Service of our God," "peace" to the troubled mind (*HS*, 94, 93, 92). Her account of the crucial place of a particular sermon in her conversion, like Paynter's, Wedderburn's, and Equiano's, affirms Hindmarsh's observation that Methodist "converts" frequently recorded a "sense of personal, individual address . . . so strong" that they "thought the preacher was singling them out."[38] Moore's "personal, individual address" comes directly from Jesus. Moore was bedridden with illness from June 4 to September 1797. She records that her dead grandmother was "present with all solemn attention and reverence" when Jesus spoke to her "by the Spirit and by . . . visionary intercourses," "dreams & visionary Sights, by Night & by day; inviting me to those streams of Grace that flow from Him," effecting her conversion between June 4, 1797 and "the first of Jany 98 at one oclock in the morning" when "the Holy Ghost was sent down to" her to be "received . . . with much gladness" and God became her protector (SMl). Wigger notes of Methodist converts, "The vast majority could remember the exact date and time of day at which they were converted."[39] As with early African-American Methodist speakers Maria Stewart and Jarena Lee, for Moore the "belief in God's divine protection, became a source of self-empowerment, an authorization to act in the world."[40] Diane Austin-Broos points out that "Christian cosmology, anchored in God, presented an ontology in which sin was located in the person and addressed by moral discipline and rite . . . The religions of West Africa brought a cosmology in which a multiplicity of spiritual forces, including ancestral living-dead, pervaded and defined the world."[41] With a resonant phrase, which sexualizes her potential weaknesses, Moore blesses Jesus for keeping her "from falling free" (SMl). It suggests a personal need for the discipline contingent on service to Jesus. Conversion promises Claxton reformation through "serious thought" about the state of her soul and God's "*Perfect Love*."[42] Anne Gilbert highlights the communal importance of exacting standards of personal discipline in her account of Methodism in Antigua

(*HS*, 69, 74), So, too, do Charles and Elizabeth Thwaites in work diaries and letters.[43]

Early Methodism encouraged engagement with "questions about the origin and nature of feelings and the transference of feelings from one person to another" and "ethical responsibility" and its discipline enjoined "practical piety."[44] Concern for others is integral to Methodist discipline. As Cynthia Lynn Lyerly argues, "[d]iscipline was central, literally and figuratively, to the [Methodist] church." Lyerly explains that

> [t]he *Discipline* broke down Christian obligations into three categories. First came the duty to do no harm by "avoiding evil of every kind," such as breaking the Sabbath, violating the Golden Rule, drinking liquor, marrying an unbeliever, fighting, buying and selling slaves, wearing "costly apparel," and "laying up treasures on earth." Second came the duty to do good. Methodists were to care for the "bodies" of others by tending to prisoners, the poor, and the sick. To care for others' "souls," Methodists were to reprove, exhort, evangelize, and set a good example. Third came the duty to obey "all the ordinances of God"—to attend church, take the sacrament, pray as families and as individuals, read the Bible, and regularly fast.[45]

Equiano invokes Methodist discipline when he pointedly refers to the golden rule in questioning a British audience about the conduct of slave-trading: "O, ye nominal Christians! might not an African ask you, learned you this from your God? Who says unto you, Do unto all men as you would men should do unto you?"[46] In a 1794 letter, Thwaites acknowledges that her family has "property consist[ing] in slaves," and comments: "Those of them that are in any way enlightened are themselves uncomfortable, and would be extricated. They are unhappy at their deviation from the golden rule, 'Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, even so do ye unto them' " (*HS*, 108). She argues that "most of the free people in this part of the world, of all complexions, are supported, by the toils of slaves, in every degree of idleness and excess. Slavery affords them a wide field for the indulgence of every diabolical disposition, in which they 'riot unscared' " (*HS*, 109). The golden rule was not generally applied to broader questions about the ethics of colonization and imperial expansion. As Eugene D. Genovese notes, while John Wesley "struck hard at the foundations of Caribbean slavery," "under the leadership of Thomas Coke" the church "eased toward accommodation."[47] Discipline in everyday life was expected equally of all church members, irrespective of ethnicity, gender, or class.

Both Thwaites and Moore affirm their commitments to a service of God that is "perfect freedom" (*HS*, 93) or "perfect liberty" (SMl), which gives them authority to act in the temporal world. Moore articulates her "perfect liberty"

in the language of capital: "I have mortgaged my self & all I have and am, into His dear hands, never, never more, in time, or Eternity, to be my own: but to spend my Strength both mortal & immortal, in *His* service" (SMl). She encloses with her experience a letter that ranges over her work as a class leader, visitor of the sick and dying, and recorder of a happy death. In using the word "perfect" of their service, Moore and Thwaites allude to the Methodist concept of perfection, suggesting that it allows them to, in John Wesley's words in his sermon on "Christian Perfection," " 'grow in grace,' . . . and daily to advance in the knowledge and love of God."[48]

In "*Doers of the Word": African-American Women Speakers and Writers in the North (1830–1880)* Carla L. Peterson highlights the importance of "liminal spaces," which enabled black women to negotiate public spheres, spaces " 'betwixt and between the positions assigned and arrayed by law, custom, convention and ceremonial,' and in which the creation of *communitas* becomes possible."[49] Liminal spaces were also important for black men. Public speaking provided a liminal space for Paynter and was the foundation of Wedderburn's radical political activism in England. In 1804 Thwaites nominates her relationship with her sister Anne Gilbert as her enabling liminal space: "We walked hand in hand . . . of one heart and soul. We . . . would not be influenced by the opinions of the Day" (*HS*, 92–93). She is alluding to Acts 4:32: "And the multitude of them that believed were of one heart and of one soul: neither said any [of them] that ought of the things which he possessed was his own; but they had all things common." John Wesley comments that this "union" is "truly Christian love."[50] In 1794 Thwaites acknowledges that her family is wealthy enough that she is not "obliged to provide for" herself, although she did teach her numerous younger siblings (*HS*, 105). After her father's circumstances changed in 1801, she supported herself by teaching in a private school she ran in St John's. She married Charles Thwaites in 1805, and they moved to English Harbour.[51] As I have outlined in Chapters 1 and 2, Gilbert and her husband John worked tirelessly, with the help of Elizabeth and Charles Thwaites and later William and Grace Dawes, to develop a nascent sphere of Creole benevolence, largely ecumenical and evangelical, around local Sunday schooling and philanthropy. The work of the sisters in this sphere enabled crucial othermothering roles within their communities. Between 1817 and 1827, Elizabeth and Charles Thwaites worked in two of the liminal spaces Peterson identifies—public speaking and travel—in the role of itinerant Sunday School teachers. William Dawes fulsomely praises Elizabeth Thwaites's work for the Church Missionary Society in an 1827 letter to its Secretaries.[52] Charles Thwaites's work diaries for the Church Missionary Society and the Methodist Society show his and Elizabeth's busy round of teaching and pastoral care.[53] Elizabeth also acted as one of the local

almoners for the Association for the Relief of Some Cases of Great Distress in the Island of Antigua, particularly among the discarded Negroes, a charity based in Britain and usually administered in Antigua by Moravian missionaries.[54] Claxton remained single, "liv[ing] solely for Christ and His cause," working as a catechist and exhorter.[55]

For Moore the liminal space was public speaking, for which she reportedly had great talent, a talent that brought her into conflict with Methodist missionaries.[56] Fighting her exclusion from the Methodist society in 1811 "for rising up against the Ministers" (including as an exhorter "interrupt[ing] . . . the Preachers" during services, not "act[ing] subordinately to them"), she writes to Thomas Coke, "I have been speaking in public before I went to the Methodist Chapel & thank my God He has never been a barren Wilderness to me. I will never want a place to declare His name in."[57] In 1803 Thomas Richardson writes of Methodist women in St John's that they "hold public meetings every week," and that he was "astonished at their eloquence and unction. Their abilities far exceed those of most of the women I have heard either speak or pray in England."[58] Their standard dress was "white linen gowns, petticoats, handkerchiefs, and caps," interpreted by Coke as a symbol of Christian purity;[59] Peter Brown, a Moravian missionary in Antigua, however, observes in 1773 that white was worn by "Negroes" to "go to funerals or to their special occasions . . . . If one wishes to appear modest, one wears white." Mechal Sobel comments that white also symbolizes purity in African contexts.[60] Richardson notes of a covenant meeting that the "devotion was very animated, and several were so affected before the conclusion of the hymn, that they wept aloud."[61] In the letter that accompanied her written experience, Moore implicitly positions herself as one of "those whom providence raised up to aid" Methodist ministers, "keeping the little flock together" (SMl).

On January 22, 1811 Moore was "publicly read out of the [Methodist] Society" by the missionary Thomas Isham. So, too, were her siblings Jane, Ann, and Thomas, and her white brother-in-law Joseph Phillips, a steward of the chapel, who, after being jailed and bankrupted in Antigua over a controversy involving his work for the Association for the Relief of Some Cases of Great Distress in the Island of Antigua, particularly among the discarded Negroes, would later work for the Anti-Slavery Society in London and provide a character reference for Mary Prince. Isham had, by Phillips's account,

> already prevented S.M. from Exhorting in the Chaple [*sic*] on Sunday Eve^{g} & in so doing he behaved so outrageous as to excite the greatest Alarm in the Neighbourhood & the following day it was reported that their [*sic*] was a riot

> in the Chaple [*sic*] & it was said the Governor meant to escheat the chaple [*sic*] to the Crown & shut it up.[62]

Sarah Moore's letter to Thomas Coke about the misconduct of Isham and fellow missionary John Toland—including their shameful treatment of an enslaved woman, Nancy—would lead to the disgrace of Isham, who died shortly after, and the dismissal of Toland. In contesting his dismissal, Toland wrote disparagingly to the Missionary Committee of Moore possibly "getting wrapt up in her old Spirit of prophecy again."[63] Moore urges Coke that slave ownership is a sign of excessive worldliness "too apt to choak the good seed,"[64] an allusion to the biblical parable of the sower in Matthew 13, with thorns as the implicit metaphor for slave ownership. John Wesley comments on the parable: "Who sowed good seed in his field—God sowed nothing but good in his whole creation. Christ sowed only the good seed of truth in his Church."[65] Moore's letter has the tone of a jeremiad. In characterizing Isham's ministry, she alludes to 1 Timothy 3 on the qualities of the good bishop:

> 4 One that ruleth well his own house, having his children in subjection with all gravity;
> 5 (For if a man know not how to rule his own house, how shall he take care of the church of God?)

She writes that Isham's "house is a true emblem of a bedlam & the spirit of rebellion" is rife among his family and slaves and that "[t]he affairs of the Church are in a jumbl'd dark situation."[66] Moore's appeal against her expulsion from the Methodist Society in 1811 was successful.

On October 21, 1816, a Methodist Leader's Meeting in Antigua excluded her from the Society on a charge of Sabbath-breaking, the prosecuting missionary Samuel Woolley asserting that she "passively agreed" to the employment of a slave gang on two Sundays.[67] Her and her family's protracted efforts on her behalf to appeal the decision failed.[68] Her brothers Thomas, John and William claimed that ever since the fact of her letter to Coke became known, she had "become a target of revenge" among missionaries, including Woolley, and "had been treated like a Spy in the Society to which she belongs: indeed we have heard that the sentiments of some of the Preachers is that she had better be got rid of from amongst the Methodists."[69] Moore converted to Moravianism and evidently became a helper, preaching in her home to largely female audiences on Sunday evenings. Horsford, who does not mention the conviction for Sabbath-breaking, claimed that she fell out with Methodist missionaries over their refusal to acknowledge her vocation to preach, causing "a misunderstanding, which led Miss Moore to unite

herself with the Moravians." "On a simple erection, made in the shape of a pulpit, she took her stand, and held forth the word of life," he writes in 1856.[70] He claims that she preached in Antigua and England; I could find no record of the latter in Moravian archives in Britain.[71] Moravian helpers, usually called " 'godfather' " or " 'godmother' " by congregation members, "were frequently used in the offices of public and private exhortation, the reading and exposition of Scripture, the burial of the dead and other pastoral duties."[72] Moore was a member of the congregation to which Mary Prince belonged in the 1820s.

Moore grounded her sense of vocation to preach in her power of prophecy based on spiritual visions. Mack comments more generally of leading eighteenth-century Methodist women that their prophetic dreams were "important as a justification and direct inspiration for female preaching. Women's authority to preach was based on an 'extraordinary call.' "[73] In writing of Moore's sense of vocation, Horsford refers to Mary Fletcher's "special and extraordinary dispensation from above" to preach.[74] Mary Fletcher preached between 1773 and her death in 1815. Sobel notes: "During [John] Wesley's lifetime more than forty women, who were regarded as 'extraordinary messengers,' had been accepted as nominal preachers, but they were rapidly excluded after Wesley's death in 1791."[75] A sense of the efficacy of prophecy, spiritual visions, and of a "mystical Providence" characterize both Sub-Saharan African and Methodist spiritual idioms. In *Spirituality as Ideology in Black Women's Film and Literature,* Judylyn S. Ryan notes Peter J. Paris's comment that

> African societies have had priestesses and prophetesses from time immemorial" . . . By way of differentiating between the roles of priest/ess and prophet/ess, in his discussion of religious authorities in *African Religions: Symbols, Ritual and Community*, Benjamin Ray asserts that "the distinctive mark of a prophet is his inspired sociopolitical leadership, while the distinctive mark of a priest is his ritual and symbolic authority." The role of priestess is not always separable from that of prophetess since both are mediators between humans and the spirit realm, between humans and God, divinities, and ancestors.[76]

Jean McMahon Humez draws attention to the place of "visionary and supernatural abilities" in the religious experiences of nineteenth-century African-American spiritual leaders, Methodists Rebecca Jackson, Elizabeth, Jarena Lee, and Amanda Smith, and Baptist Nat Turner.[77] Wedderburn, too, claimed prophetic powers.[78] Like African-American visionary Rebecca Jackson in her life narratives, Moore "immerses herself and the reader of her autobiography in spiritual experience." As Humez notes of Jackson, "This ability is a function of the unusual intensity and single-mindedness of [her] commitment to

a life of vision."[79] In a discussion of the history of myal in *Neither Led nor Driven: Contesting British Cultural Imperialism in Jamaica, 1865–1920*, Brian L. Moore and Michele A. Johnson observe more generally:

> The third personality in the Christian trinity, the Holy Spirit, fit [*sic*] all too well into the cosmos of spirits that the Afro-creole culture had recognized and nurtured . . . . [T]hat the "spiritual" nature of the conversion should be given more weight than the "word" [the bible] spoke of a process not only of assimilation but also of inversion . . . . [I]t was the spirit which indicated the authentic experience. This was the true conversion.[80]

In Moore's experience, the spiritual carries the kind of religious and narrative weight they describe. Fifty-five percent of the narrative is taken up with an account of her spiritual experiences; the rest describes the faith grounded in these experiences.

The place of the grandmother in the series of visions accompanying Moore's conversion is intriguing, suggesting as it does Moore's faith in a spirit world and in guardian spirits. Warner-Lewis observes that "constant awareness of an otherworld of spirits, particularly ancestral spirits, was an aspect of traditional African religion."[81] Equiano explains the concept of the guardian spirit among the Ibo: "Those spirits which are not transmigrated, such as our dear friends or relations, they believe always attend them, and guard them from the bad spirits or their foes."[82] Moore's grandmother might well have represented her most intimate link to an African cultural heritage and, given the family claim to having been among the first generation of Methodist converts, to an originary moment of Christian conversion for her family. Joan Anim-Addo writes: "If grandmothers have not been written about in history, they have certainly been celebrated in the literature of the Caribbean region." They often "take on the role of 'other mother' within kinship, so necessary to African-Caribbean realities."[83] It is likely that the grandmother took on this role for her grandchildren, as Moore had six sisters and three brothers. In 1818 her brothers represent her mother as matriarch of several generations, suggesting a cross-generational and cultural transmission of othermothering practice.[84]

John Fletcher influentially elaborated "the doctrine of the spiritual senses" in *Six Letters on the Spiritual Manifestation of the Son of God*. Leigh Eric Schmidt explains Fletcher's idea of spiritual seeing and spiritual hearing, observing that it "helped capture (and construct) a suprarational world of experience—one dramatically unveiled to those whose internal senses were opened up by the Holy Spirit . . . . [T]hey served as a way of authorizing, framing, and invoking these divine voices, a way of encountering such

revelatory presences."[85] As noted in Chapter 1, John Fletcher practiced and recommended a spiritual discipline called recollection to heighten ecstatic spiritual manifestations, as did Francis and Mary Gilbert. Both Thwaites and Moore refer to the eye of faith, or as Charles Wesley puts it in the hymn "The Promise of Sanctification" to which Moore alludes, "faith's interior eye." John Wesley includes the hymn in "Brief Thoughts on Christian Perfection," Chapter 13 of *A Plain Account of Christian Perfection* and in the section "Seeking for full redemption" of the 1780 Methodist hymn book. John Wesley draws a distinction between the bodily eyes and the eye of faith. The eye of faith sees sublime spiritual visions or manifestations, "Display[s]" of "glory from above," which leave believers "Lost in astonishment and love" in the words of Charles Wesley's hymn.[86] Thwaites, for instance, records that at conversion, the moment her "Soul was set at liberty," she "viewed a smiling Saviour" "with the eye of faith," "a clear manifestation of his favour" (*HS*, 92). Equiano also describes the role of the "eye of faith" in the effecting of his conversion:

> in this deep consternation the Lord was pleased to break in upon my soul with his bright beams of heavenly light; and in an instant as it were, removing the veil, and letting light into a dark place, I saw clearly with the eye of faith the crucified Saviour bleeding on the cross on mount Calvary: the scriptures became an unsealed book.[87]

Moore's experience also includes a harrowing and detailed account of having been subjected to a "formidable attack" by Satan beginning on the "last Thursday in Sep^t 1803"; Thwaites simply refers to being "tortured with horrid injections from the Enemy" (*HS*, 94), "injections" being a locution for "evil thoughts suggested by the devil" in common usage in the seventeenth century (*OED*). She uses the word "horrid" again in relation to evil later in her experience: "the evils of Slavery (horrid system!)" (*HS*, 96). Thwaites's use of the idea of "injection," as the *Oxford English Dictionary* points out generally, suggests a " 'throwing in' or active introduction from without" (*OED*). This accords with "the way passivity and agency, and ideas about inside and outside, functioned in Methodist psychology." There is, as Mack outlines,

> a realization that the self had more than one component, and that there existed a core self (sometimes referred to as the soul) where the individual's emotional integrity resided. If she was disgusted by her own acts and impulses, it must mean that those impulses did not really belong to this core self; rather, they were ideas put inside her or suggested to her by Satan that could be confronted, conquered and expelled. The sins still belonged to her, but they were alien to

> her innermost being. She might have been corrupted by Satan's evil influence, but there was a part of her that Satan did not get at.[88]

This mapping of a "compartmentalized self" would lead Thwaites to construe the sins of enslaved people as signs of "habit and custom" rather than innate depravity (*HS*, 96).

Moore's account of the struggle with temptation maps the compartmentalized self in a different way, externalizing it in a spirit world visible to the eye of faith and at times to the bodily eyes. She meets a "dreadful form" while out riding, which later reveals itself in a dream to be Satan come to "destroy" her "self" if he can. She refers to Job's resilience and "command[s]" Satan to leave "in the name of GOD," which he does, only to return repeatedly to surround her family's home, making "such dreadful noises as was never heard before by any in Antigua." Some of the attacks were heard by white missionaries, Pattison and Thomas Patterson, who had been called to witness them. She proceeds, and I quote at length to draw attention to the oratorical qualities of the narrative, her sense of God and God's name as protector, and the drama of her endurance and triumph "over Satan . . . aided by divine power":[89]

> three times I saw the Wicked Spirit with my bodily eyes stand before me. I went on the 9th of Octo^r^ to this very place where he met me he attacked, tho not visible to be seen but he shew'd his power & I might have been kil'd had not that kind providence guarded me and rescued me, but bless GOD I got the Victory & he raged worse. The last time he appear'd to me he brought three other wicked spirits that were once dwellers on this earth with him, It was at one oclock in the morning I ask'd him to stop and hear what I wou'd say, he stood, while the three trembling stood also, I asked him "if when he was in Heaven happy with his GOD If Mankind drew him from the shining Corts above, I beg'd him to remember the enjoyment of the bliss he once dwelt in, I ask'd him if It was from the reflection that he shou'd never get or dwell there more made him so mad against the followers of the Lamb"—I assured him he would never get his end with me, that all he done & may do will only stir me up against him more & I never fight my own battles but *one* mightier than him or me stood for me & Jesus Christ is his Name, on which he utter'd something which I coud not understand, I assured him I did not fear him when GOD was with me & advised him and his attendants to quit the place, for the Almighty & the happy Angels with my Self saw their Shame & Misery, & they only exposed themselves, to scorn & ridicule—he storm'd, threw him self upon several in the Chamber, who were much press'd with his weight, the other three flew out of my sight crying *woe woe* the house all got up & we sat up as usual till five in the morning. One night an unhappy Spirit got at my window by the bed side & made doleful lamentations for the space of an half-hour. Satan has Cald one of my Brothers by name & has been heard to speak at several

> times, he has beat the dogs & orderd them to get out, he has laughd at us when we have been talking about him, but, thanks be unto GOD, none has been hurt by him none than sometimes with a sulfurous heat for an hour or so but the Lord has not sufferd him to do this often, nor long for it wou'd certainly have done much harm—1804 has met him here now and then he comes, but he seems almost wearied, It has done much good to the house & through the Church, the Island was alarm'd, much persecution arose on acco[t] of it, but the Lord has confuted it all. Poor Satan, he cannot learn although he tries hard for it. (SMl)

Mack would interpret the dream figure of Satan as an introjected other against whom the convert "defines" her "own changing identity," "externalizing a part of the self in order to defeat it."[90] But one might also read the attacks as signs of the "inner turmoil" of conversion, a "struggle between African and European religious and cultural ideologies," which Warner-Lewis suggests assumes "moral, cultural, psychic and cosmological dimensions." The narrative features "motifs of the wandering, restless spirits of the dead" and of sleep as the "door to dreams . . . inhabited by spirits" that Warner-Lewis identifies as integral to African spiritual cosmology.[91] "[C]alling the name of God" will "drive away" an "evil spirit," notes Martha Beckwith, "but some say the evil duppy will vanish only at the name of Jesus Christ."[92] Moore's calling on Jesus's name to vanquish Satan, her calling on God's merely temporarily having driven away the spirit needs to be understood in this context. Moore's reference to "persecution" is a passing one. Others may have more directly interpreted the attacks as a sign of an obeah practitioner having been "put upon" her,[93] that is, paid "by an unfriendly party to induce insanity or unsociable behaviour."[94] For Moore it is divine protection, including the talismanic utterance of the name of Jesus, and not the force of temporal law that "confute[s]" the attacks (SMl). The attacks and menace coincided historically with French efforts to invade and capture Antigua and consequent imposition of "martial law" and "much unrest among all classes"[95] and regionally with the Haitian Revolution.

Moore's "inner turmoil" also manifests itself in illness, which she comes to read as a sign of God's special favor, perhaps because it heightens her visionary experience. She records that "[t]he Lord my GOD saw it necessary, since my Conversion, to afflict my body, for I am always poorly I have never enjoy'd my health as before Conversion," and, citing 2 Corinthians 4:17, "that these light afflictions which are but for a moment, worketh out for me a far more exceeding & Eternal weight of Glory" (SMl). The idea of special favor accords with her sense of her extraordinary call to preach. As Schmidt notes of such extraordinary calls, "this was fundamentally an issue of divine agency . . . far more a matter of being chosen than choosing."[96] In Moore's account of a

"Manifestation" of heaven, she has prayed to be "honored" "with a sight" of "Glory" and her pleas have been answered: "I fell motionless to the ground; I entered another World" (SMl). Moore notes that Satan tempts her especially when she is ill. He threatens at these times her confidence in the prospect of a happy Christian death. Her spiritual visions dramatize defeats of doubt, temptation, and sin. The connection between illness and sin accords with the "notion of personal sin as a source of physical affliction" in the "creole cosmos" of enthusiastic African-descended Christians outlined by Austin-Broos.[97] Austin-Broos suggests that this idea is a creolization of West African religious understandings: "one role of ancestors, ghosts, and nature spirits was to map out interdiction in the world, and breach of interdiction often was evidenced by the experience of malaise."[98] Anne Gilbert, too, interprets the vomit associated with her final illness—erysipelas in the hand—as a sign of personal sin, her final words about it being " 'That is sin, sin, sin!' . . . and soon afterwards, without a struggle or a groan" she died (*M*, 82).

Moore's only defense against the charge of Sabbath-breaking and her excuse for not attending her trial in 1816 was illness, which resonates in the context of this connection between illness and sin. At the time the Moore family was leasing a property Rose Hill and conducting a business venture. It did not own slaves, and needed "to engage people to work" the "ground."[99] In a plantation slavery economy, the available labor was a slave gang, organized by a bondsman on Mr. Williams's estate, and its members could only work on their free day, Sundays. The gang worked at Rose Hill on two Sundays. Missionary Samuel Woolley paid the organizer of the gangs to give evidence against Sarah Moore ("bribed" according to her brother-in-law Joseph Phillips);[100] the organizer identified her as the person who commissioned the work and arranged payment for it. He reported that he had told her that the only day on which the work could be done was a Sunday and that she replied that he "*must do it as a job when*" he "*could and she wanted it done*." Her brother Thomas claimed in a letter to the leaders' meeting that heard the charge that the work was done "without her privity or consent" or the "consent, approbation, or appointment" of her two sisters. He said he "could . . . prove" that the timing of the work was "necessitous on the part of the persons employed" and that the "employing of them" by him and his brothers "was without a view to the abuse of" the "rule" against Sabbath-breaking.[101] Efforts on the part of Moore and her family to have the conduct of the trial investigated foundered over the principle of the Methodist hierarchy upholding the "character & decision" of a properly constituted local Leaders' Meeting. What is notable is that male family members took up the letter writing on her behalf.[102]

Anne Gilbert's Methodist Biographies

Anne Gilbert's ethic of caring, as I outlined in Chapters 1 and 2, centers on development and engagement of the "finer sensibilities" in creating "bands of amity and love that are the ornament and glory of our nature" and in cohering community.[103] She represents herself as a shepherdess in relation to this community. Her memoir of her niece Grace Gilbert Hart and account or experience of Mahummud/Peregrine Pickle/Peter's conversion seek to engage these sensibilities in readers or an audience listening to them being read and to reaffirm in local contexts the value and virtue of choosing, like Moses, to "suffer affliction with the people of God."[104] In relation to Jamaica, Austin-Broos has highlighted "the logic of affliction" in African Creole cultures, and an "engagement between affliction and Christianity," which marked "a redefinition of the form of Christianity that the missionaries had brought" there.[105] *A Short Memoir of Grace Gilbert Hart, a Child Belonging to the English Harbour Sunday School*, seemingly the first publication by an Anglophone African-Caribbean woman, was published in Antigua in 1821 by William Dawes. In the genre of the happy death, Anne Gilbert writes her free colored Creole niece into a genealogy of commemorative spiritual (auto)biographies of children who died before reaching adulthood in the more extended white Creole Gilbert family, *An Extract of Miss Mary Gilbert's Journal* and *A Short Account of the Life and Death of Miss Alice Gilbert, Daughter of Nathaniel Gilbert, Esq; of the Island of Antigua: Who Died on the 27th of August 1772, in the Nineteenth Year of Her Age* (1773), both edited by John Wesley. John Gilbert's cousins Mary Gilbert (1751–1768) and Alice Gilbert (1753–1772), daughters of Nathaniel Gilbert II, had died as teenagers in England in the household of their uncle and aunt Francis and Mary Gilbert. Anne Gilbert's niece, probably the child of her brother Joseph Nicholas Hart,[106] is usually called Grace Hart in correspondence, so the inclusion of the name Gilbert in the title of the memoir highlights family and affective connections. Anne Gilbert understands the genre of "A Short Account of Peregrine Pickle (Now Baptised Peter) a Negro Belonging to His Majesty and Employed in the Naval Yard at English Harbour, Antigua" to be the account or experience, and the narrative is structured by stock topoi of the genre elaborated earlier in this chapter. She describes herself as having "traced his footsteps" to conversion (SAPP). Her account of their shared journey to his conversion draws out her "attune[ment] to the flow of emotion" between them, such attunement, Mack notes, being a Methodist ideal of "agency."[107] "A Short Account of Peregrine Pickle (Now Baptised Peter) a Negro Belonging to His Majesty, and Employed in the Naval Yard at English Harbour, Antigua" was published in the *Methodist Magazine* in 1821 in heavily edited form, and this

text was republished in *Missionary Notices* and the *Christian Secretary*.[108] The two versions attest to different conceptions of the kinds of cultural work the narrative might perform.

A Short Memoir of Grace Gilbert Hart, a Child Belonging to the English Harbour Sunday School survives in two handwritten versions in the Church Missionary Society archive. The first version, sent from Antigua with a letter dated May 1 and 5, 1821, is in the handwriting of William Dawes, who commissioned the narrative. A scribe copied Dawes's hastily handwritten version into the Mission Book 1820–1827.[109] Anne Gilbert is not identified as the author of the memoir in either version; the attribution of authorship is based on Dawes's letter of April 22, 1820, and the sources on which the narrative is based. "A Short Account of Peregrine Pickle (Now Baptised Peter) a Negro Belonging to His Majesty and Employed in the Naval Yard at English Harbour, Antigua" is held in the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Archive, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. Peregrine chose the baptismal Christian name Peter. The experience was edited for publication in the *Methodist Magazine* in the "interest" of "show[ing] the deep prejudices against the religion of Christ implanted in the heart by Mahomedan delusion, and display[ing] the power of grace in Christ in effectually subduing them."[110] Jabez Bunting had recently taken over editorship of the journal after Joseph Benson's death. The editor of Anne Gilbert's manuscript made major cuts and used the reported conversations between her and Peregrine/Peter in the account as the basis of an untitled narrative dramatizing the "subduing" of "Mahomedan delusion" (WI 947). Gilbert did keep records of her spiritual life, destroying them before her death in 1834 (*M*, 76), from which she might have reconstructed conversations with Mahummud/Peregrine/Peter for her "Short Account."

Grace Gilbert Hart (January 13, 1815–March 17, 1820), goddaughter of William and Grace Dawes, died of croup while visiting her uncle Nicholas Lynch's family in Saint Kitts with her mother, and the commemoration of her life was soon envisaged as potentially having an exemplary effect within her community. Gilbert writes of her shortly after receiving news of her death:

> She is a loss to the Sunday Schools; the rapid progress she made in learning, her love of the Bible, her sweetness of manners, & her whole deportment, were a stimulus to most of the Girls in her class. But let us bow to the stroke! This darling child has outstripped us all, & is in possession of a Crown that fadeth not away.[111]

Her articulation of grief here and in *A Short Memoir of Grace Gilbert Hart* is characterized by the sentimentalized language—"*little*," "*sweet, soft, delightful,*

darling, etc."—which Laurence Lerner argues is at the core of an "affectional poetics" in cultural representation of child deaths in the nineteenth century.[112] In a letter of April 22, 1820, William Dawes writes:

> Some of the circumstances of Grace Gilbert Hart's life and death, are so remarkable, that we have thoughts of publishing a little Memoir of her, and I believe Mrs. Gilbert will undertake to write it. Several of the Children in the English Harbour Sunday School, appear to have been affected by her death; and it is in the hope of further benefit to them, as well as to others that we wish to have some record of this dear Child[.][113]

Grace Gilbert Hart is possibly named after her godmother, Grace Dawes, née Gilbert. *An Extract of Miss Mary Gilbert's Journal* with a signed preface "To the Reader" by John Wesley and "A Short Account of Miss Mary Gilbert," an anonymous five-page summary of her life by her aunt Mary Gilbert, was published in 1768 and appeared in a sixth edition in 1813.[114] *A Short Account of the Life and Death of Miss Alice Gilbert, Daughter of Nathaniel Gilbert, Esq; of the Island of Antigua: Who Died on the 27th of August 1772, in the Nineteenth Year of Her Age* (1773) is based on the journal of her aunt Mary Gilbert, and so was seemingly prepared by her or with her assistance, and was also published in several editions. Wesley proclaims Miss Mary Gilbert a religious "prodigy" after reading her journal,[115] and in his preface "To the Reader" praises her "[r]eflections occasionally interspersed" as "always just, frequently strong and affecting; particularly those on death, or the shortness of life, especially from the mouth of a child" (*E*, iii). Choosing as her epigraph Matthew 21:16, "Out of the mouths of Babes and Sucklings Thou hast perfected praise," Anne Gilbert draws on her own memory of her niece; conversations, and a deathbed scene reported by others; family correspondence about the visit to Saint Kitts; and the record of Grace's personal spiritual inspiration in turned-down pages of her bible. Grace's religious sensibility and discernment are indicated by a list of the biblical verses she had marked in her bible or learnt by heart, what her uncle John Gilbert might characterize as a "*repository*" of "infinite and infallible wisdom . . . treasured up for . . . use" (*M*, 60). Anne Gilbert had written to Grace Dawes: "This Heaven taught Infant had Chapters turned down in her Bible which she called 'sweet chapters,' & said when she read them she felt as if she was good, & then afterwards something happened to make her bad again."[116] The "sweet chapters" and verses Grace knew by heart parallel Anne Gilbert's indication of her own special sources of spiritual inspiration in "Rise & Progress of Religion in Antigua" (*HS*, 65–66).

As a pedagogical genre, the happy death demonstrated the efficacy of evangelical spirituality. "The approach of death, that twilight zone between

life and eternity, was the final testing point of Methodist spirituality," writes David Hempton.

> To die a good and holy death, free from anguish and uncertainty, was the aspiration placed before the Methodist faithful in the pages of the *Arminian Magazine*, a periodical read by as many as a hundred thousand people by the end of the eighteenth century . . . . [T]he testimony of pious infants facing death was thought to have particular power of emotional persuasion . . . . Here were stories of earthly renunciation and heavenly anticipation in which lives well spent in disciplined holiness were given the ultimate reward of triumphant glory.[117]

Emily Tatar argues of happy deaths written for children that they helped

> prepare children for death by offering the consolation of spiritual salvation. It is after all not easy for anyone to answer the concerns raised by a child in Lucy Cameron's *History of Margaret Whyte, or, The Life and Death of a Good Child* (1837). "How can we tell that we shall ever live to grow up? Many children die much younger than either of us; and even if we do not think of preparing for death, what will become of us?"[118]

An earlier edition of *The History of Margaret Whyte* was a favorite book of Grace Gilbert Hart. In 1829 Charles Thwaites writes that the enslaved children in the Wesleyan Methodist Sunday Schools "delight" in reading records of the happy deaths of their classmates (*HS*, 133). The happy deaths incorporate them in what was by then a global Methodist narrative community in which life writing featured strongly. Anne Gilbert's close dramatization of Grace Gilbert Hart's deathbed and its "power of emotional persuasion" accords with the value placed in Methodism on "the narrative of the death": it had, as Hindmarsh observes, "a special authority as the seal of the integrity of that life—in the double sense of the life lived and the life written."[119]

This value is particularly apparent in the 12-page *A Short Account of the Life and Death of Miss Alice Gilbert*, in which only the first two paragraphs are devoted to her life before she contracted measles, "which terminated in a Consumption." What is recorded of her earlier life are sporadic signs of "serious impressions" of religion, especially after her sister Mary's death, the "sudden death of a Negro Woman in the family" (possibly her childhood nurse), and the receipt of some "very pious letters" from her mother. Her aunt Mary Gilbert comments, "she enjoyed but little of the comforts of religion; for being frequently exercised with sore temptations, her evidence were much clouded." Alice Gilbert's manner of dying redeems her. She proves her faith and the wisdom of parental insistence on evangelical education by her

resignation to death and "[h]er ardent desires to benefit others in her latest moments."[120]

The gendered pastoral role of visiting the ill and women's role in caring for the sick and dying in their homes placed women in positions to become recorders and narrators of the theatre of happy deaths. Mack points out that Methodist women were especially encouraged to become "visitors to the sick." "Wesley," she notes, "defined the office of visiting the sick as a work of mercy that would be an exercise in humility, an aid in cultivating social affections, and a means of attaining grace."[121] While missionary John Baxter did compile two brief happy deaths (of John Cory and Christopher Nibbs) in 1794, he added, "we cannot see all our people when they are near their end, through the rapidity of disorders which prevail in this country."[122] Even though Anne Gilbert was not present when her niece died, her preparation of a happy death accords with the gendering of authorship of the genre, both for oral and written presentation.

An Extract of Miss Mary Gilbert's Journal is a trauma narrative, and the paratexts disturbingly misregister the depth and scope of Mary Gilbert's depression and anxiety. Mary began keeping the diary in midwinter 1765 when she was 13, separated from parents, brothers, "dear friends" (*E*, 9), and her home island. She had arrived in England in late May 1764. As Roberts notes, observing the "psychological and financial" costs of the practice among a white elite, "sending children to England to be educated started not only because there were no schools in the colonies in the early years but also because the planters thought that their children should be educated at home (*ie* England)."[123] Mary, Polly to her governess, died in January 1768 of a "putrid fever."[124] Before *An Extract of Miss Mary Gilbert's Journal* appeared, the local preacher had already published his funeral sermon for her, delivered on the text of Luke 23:28: "Daughters of Jerusalem, weep not for me, but weep for yourselves and your children."[125] "A Short Account of Miss Mary Gilbert," placed immediately after John Wesley's preface, anticipates that the extracts will encourage young readers to emulate her singular piety. The "afflicting circumstance" of "separation from the best of parents" is acknowledged in the account but as an incentive "to a more than ordinary improvement of time."[126] Hindmarsh notes that when he was 21 Wesley "began to keep a diary as an exercise in more exact management of his time," having been inspired to do so by Jeremy Taylor's recommendation of the practice in *Rule and Exercise of Holy Living* (1650). In the diaries he recorded his "temper of devotion" on a numerical scale.[127] He himself published what were purportedly extracts from his own journals, and the title he gave Mary Gilbert's edited journal places it generically.

Mary Gilbert's anxieties about an "insensible soul" are realized in a recurring trope of death in life. She writes, for instance, on January 10, 1765,

"I was very cold and dead all the day, and found neither power nor inclination to pray or read, which I yielded to; and passed the day without performing these duties" (*E*, 10–11), and on April 27, 1765, "I was in a very cold dead frame all the day, and when I retired to prayer in the evening, I found no life" (*E*, 19). Wesley sees a resemblance between Mary Gilbert and Jane Cooper (1738–1762),[128] a servant, whose prose he praised in his anonymous Preface to *Letters Wrote by Jane Cooper: To Which Is Prefixt Some Account of Her Life and Death* as "*simple and artless in the highest Degree*."[129] One might compare Mary Gilbert's trope with Cooper's characterization of spiritual dullness in a letter to Mrs. J.C.M. on November 29, 1761:

> I want to know the most effectual Way to grow in Grace; how to improve by all Things; how to make a good Use of the Dulness which often creeps upon my mind, and makes my Soul stupidly unactive. I want to be all Attention to GOD; to have every Faculty of my Mind fixedly waiting upon him; But I find myself beat off of this by Weariness or Listlessness.[130]

One might also compare Mary Gilbert's image with 21-year-old Mary Stokes's representation of a depression in 1771, which at times makes her "ready to wish" herself "inanimate": "my soul . . . has, indeed flagged, and moved heavily along . . . . I seemed without a God, while darkness, worse than Egyptian, covered my soul. The struggles of my breast were past description. How often has every sinew seemed unstrung, and my heart rending to pieces."[131]

Tracing the genealogy of Anglophone literary use of a more sensationalized Caribbean form of death in life, zombification, back to Lafcadio Hearn in the 1890s, Marina Warner argues in *Fantastic Metamorphoses, Other Worlds* that it becomes "a vehicle to express a new, psychological state of personal alienation, moral incoherence and emptiness" and a "competition for ownership, for self-possession, for mastery."[132] In Mary Gilbert's journal, the competition is between the desire for vital religion, recorded in formulations like "I found my soul alive" on May 14, 1765 (*E*, 20), and its behavioral norms, such as suppression of "levity" (*E*, 24), and a psychic numbness. She fears being cut off from eternal life, and from reunion with family and friends for whom she has "the most tender affection" in that life (*E*, 9). The psychic cost of the pursuit of sanctification (represented as an everyday monitoring of soul aliveness) is apparent in numbness, "fall into fretting" (*E*, 24), a morbid fear that she is "naturally of such a trifling spirit" (*E*, 13), and a hoarding of "scripture truths." Aunt Mary Gilbert recounts with pride:

> As soon as she learned to write, she seldom failed noting down whatever appeared useful in any author she read; and having a very retentive memory, she stored it with scripture truths, so that many of her relatives and others, were greatly surprised at her readiness in repeating, and finding out almost any text

> in those sacred pages. She likewise wrote several books of well-collected texts, in proof of some of the fundamental doctrines of the Church of England, such as, The fallen state of Man, the Necessity of Repentance, and the New Birth, and of Holiness.
>
> (*E*, v–vi)

Aunt Mary in her earlier role as governess encouraged the studious habit; some of her own collections of texts (biblical verses) on doctrines ("Proofs of the Necessity and Duty of Repentance," "Promises of Pardon," "Exhortations to Holiness") are enclosed in a letter collected in *Spiritual Letters*.[133] In Antigua the child Mary Gilbert would cut herself off from worldly play in a "closet within her governess's chamber," "reading, praying, and meditating," seeking approval of her "remarks" on her reading (*E*, v). Leadbetter reportedly advised her charge to see her "deadness" as God "proving and trying" her faith (*E*, 12). The advice and Wesley's interest in the daily "temper of devotion" may explain the prominence of the traumatic image in the edited journal. As Victoria Burrows observes of the psychic numbness of Antoinette Cosway Mason in Jean Rhys's *Wide Sargasso Sea*, it is a state of "supposed psychic safety": "As a life-consuming feeling of inner deadness, it represents symbolic death, a state of radically impaired existence of an emotionless 'death in life.' Paradoxically, psychic numbing protects the person from a sense of degrading helplessness by keeping the inner self isolated and safe."[134] At times in Mary Gilbert's representation of psychic numbness, she does record a sense of the isolation of the inner self, as in her diary entry of January 9, 1765: "I found my soul in a very dead frame, and continued so all day" (*E*, 10).

Grace Gilbert Hart's legal status as free colored in contrast to the white Creoles Mary and Alice Gilbert is not made explicit in *A Short Memoir of Grace Gilbert Hart, a Child Belonging to the English Harbour Sunday School*, although, as the Harts were a prominent free colored family, the difference would have been known to the tract's Antiguan audience. Anne Gilbert implicitly draws out the material differences in family circumstances between Grace Gilbert Hart and Mary and Alice Gilbert. Grace Gilbert Hart does not have an English governess, or private access to a well-stocked library. She attends a Weekly School, perhaps the one Anne conducted, and "could read prettily" by the age of four and a half when she began attending the English Harbour Sunday School in October 1819. Her reading, apart from the Bible, is drawn largely from the Sunday School library, which contains "little Books . . . with which the Christian World now abounds, and which are so happily calculated for the spiritual improvement of youth" (*SMGGH*). Antiguan locals and the Church Missionary Society were aware that the library had been built largely from a donation of books ordered from England by Martha Gilbert, whose resources for the purpose had been exhausted.[135]

At the time of the donation she drew an annuity of £20 and a legacy of £500 from the estate Gilberts.[136] Showcasing an exemplary student, the tract might also have proved useful in raising subscriptions to fund the continuing work of the Sunday School and its ancillary charities. With pleasure Anne Gilbert records that a friend of hers saw Grace as a fitting future successor to her as Superintendent of the Girl's Department of the English Harbour Sunday School.

Alluding to Deuteronomy 32:10 in writing of her niece's death, Anne Gilbert represents her as having been "rescued from all the distracting scenes of this howling Wilderness" to be "safely Housed in the Paradise of God." The allusion characterizes plantation slavery culture as a "perverse and crooked" form of modern power (Deuteronomy 32:5). John Wesley glosses "howling wilderness" as "a type of that desolate and comfortless condition in which all men are before the grace of God finds them out; where instead of the voices of men, is nothing heard but the howlings of ravenous birds and beasts."[137] Gilbert's characterization of the temporal world as a howling wilderness resonates with her proselytizing of Sunday School scholars in the English Harbour Female Juvenile Association about everyday benevolence as the core of community sensibility: "Listen to the cry of the wretched/To the widow's and the orphan's groan" and open the "bowels" of "compassion."[138] It also, given the intimacy of her relationship with her niece, suggests that the exodus typology, so central to African diasporic Christianity, is crucial to her worldview and that of her Antiguan Methodist readers. Safe housing (material and moral) was also the object of the Female Refuge Society.

Mahummud, later Peregrine Pickle, who renamed himself Peter after his conversion to Methodism, was the son of an Islamic spiritual leader, and by Anne Gilbert's account "a native of Senegal, and born in a town called Sowaana. He is not very black, but of the Complection of some of the Negroes from the Fullah Country." In his telling of the story of his enslavement to Gilbert, when he was about 24, "his King went to war with a neighbouring King, about some of their religious tenets, and he was taken prisoner, and sold as a Slave on board an American Schooner" (SAPP). Marcus Rediker notes that "Islam had begun to spread through Senegambia in the ninth century and by the eighteenth century was a defining, although still-contested, reality of the region." Mahummud's personal history fits a larger regional pattern of contestation of Islam through declarations of jihad "against non-Islamic groups (and merely nominal Islamic leaders)" and sale of captives "to the slavers."[139] Research in the *Transatlantic Slave Trade Database* establishes that the slave ship that carried Mahummud to the Caribbean was the *Tartar*, captained by James Taylor, operating out of Charleston, South Carolina. The main slave purchases were made over a period of nearly a year

at Rio Pongo. The ship departed for the Americas on January 9, 1808, with 168 slaves aboard; eight died on the 24-day voyage across the Atlantic Ocean. Of the 160 enslaved people aboard on arrival in Barbados, 73.8 percent were male.[140] Peter recounted to Gilbert the suicide of one of the men. The "young man," in response to the way "a white man came and look'd at them," reportedly said (undoubtedly in Arabic dialect), "I don't like this; I will not belong to any body but my God; let us jump overboard and drown ourselves" (SAPP). As Simon Gikandi observes, "the movement of the enslaved spirit was dominated by fear of the future, itself a symptom of an acute sense of regressive time." For the young man the prospect of enslavement was already "a space of death."[141]

The *Tartar* was seized and condemned under the terms of the Abolition of the Slave Trade Act of 1807. The provisions of the Act especially relevant to Mahummud's history were:

- Any ships found to be involved in the slave trade were liable to be seized and condemned. The master and owner were liable to be fined £100 per slave and the ships and goods forfeited to the Crown.
- Africans "freed" from the illegal slavers were not free to do as they wished. Instead, men were enlisted into the army, navy, or royal marines—to "be considered, treated, and dealt with in all respects as if he had voluntarily so enlisted or entered himself". Women, children, and those not suitable for "enlistment" were bound as apprentices to land owners, the military and local government, as laborers and domestics, for up to 14 years.
- Bounty or head money was paid to the captors of illegal vessels in proportion as agreed by act for distributing prize money. The bounty was £30 for every man and woman and £10 for children under 14 delivered to the appropriate authorities.
- Customs or excise officers or Royal Navy officers could seize illegal slavers. The High Court of Admiralty, vice-Admiralty courts and other courts of record, condemned the ships.[142]

The *Tartar* was seized by Admiral Alexander Cochrane, who employed Mahummud as a servant to a son on the voyage of his flagship from the Virgin Islands to Barbados.[143] Mahummud's African name "link[s] him to a set of social and moral obligations" and an Islamic "polity."[144] Peregrine Pickle is the name of a character in Tobias Smollett's 1751 novel *The Adventures of Peregrine Pickle* who was taken under the protection of Commodore Hawser Trunnion. Cochrane's interest in Mahummud, who spoke an Arabic

dialect and was literate in the dialect, may have led to his first renaming, or what Gikandi generally terms "unnaming," a "process" that "unhinged" him, like other slaves, "from communities of kinship."[145] Enslaved people on board the *Tartar* were disembarked at Barbados on February 2, 1808, and the ship was condemned in the Vice-Admiralty Court of Barbados in early 1808. Mahummud was "enlisted" as a King's Negro, working first at the naval dockyard in Barbados and then at the English Harbour naval yard from 1816 until his death in 1829.[146] Roger Norman Buckley points out the value of the work this "specialist corps" performed. Established in the late seventeenth century, it

> comprised pioneers and artificers. The business of the pioneers was to keep buildings, roads and fortifications in good repair . . . . The artificers were tradesmen—masons, smiths, caulkers, carpenters, sawyers, coopers, shipwrights, wheelers, and sailmakers . . . . Each principal fortification and dockyard had its contingent of the "King's Negroes." And from what information has survived . . . this corps was quartered in barracks set aside for their specific use. The tasks performed by the corps of slave pioneers and artificers were hardly ordinary daily work. They were often given the dangerous construction work of building earthworks, building and repairing fortifications, and breaking paths for the infantry and artillery during active operations. Perhaps most important, their duties as craftsmen provided them with constructive opportunities usually offered by industry and commerce . . .[147]

The nature of Peregrine's "enlistment" is apparent in the fact that he is entered in slave registration lists from Antigua in 1817 (the first list) until his death.[148] The editor of Anne Gilbert's account cuts the history of the slave voyage recorded by her from information supplied by Peter and dates around it. Her 1804 letter to Pattison shows evidence of the respect the King's Negroes and their families had for her. She observes that her "complexion" helped generate trust and friendship (*HS*, 72) and she put her literacy in English at their service.[149]

The central drama of Gilbert's account is her convincing of Peregrine to reflect on the comparison of Christianity, as practiced among Methodists at English Harbour, and Islam. Gilbert observes that there were in 1821 four or five other Islamic men among the King's Negroes in Antigua, one of whom was a Methodist convert, and the others being converts to Moravianism. There were, she reports, "many Mahometans among the black Troops and discharged Soldiers." When Peregrine arrived in Antigua, his spiritual needs were met by an enslaved imam based in St John's and supported in old age by the president of the island's Council, the Honourable Thomas Norbury

Kerby. When Gilbert offered Peregrine an Arabic bible, he offered her the loan of a written prayer for the sick that circulated among the Islamic community in Antigua (SAPP). Glen reports that the Muslim population of Antigua was estimated to be 1,400 in 1836.[150] Gilbert terms "Mahometanism" "superstition" and a "System of error" (SAPP). The heavily edited version of Gilbert's narrative published in the *Methodist Magazine* cuts the reference to the imam, heightens the conflict of faiths, and demeans Islam further. While Gilbert, for instance, reports the fact and date of Peter's baptism by the missionary Abraham Whitehouse, in the published account the record of the date is cut and the baptism is described as "renouncing all the delusions of the False Prophet" (WI 949). The Islamic prayer for the sick is described there as having "some charm," implying superstition (WI 949).

The editor of the *Methodist Magazine* altered both Gilbert's and Peregrine/Peter's speech, rendering it less conversational, carelessly usually having Peter speak of himself in the third person, fabricating a conversation between John Gilbert in the role of catechist and Peregrine and speech for Anne, and erasing Anne Gilbert's emphasis on Peregrine/Peter's feelings and sensible experience of the Holy Spirit. She includes a report of his testimony at a love feast that emphasizes feeling in the heart, "inward witness of the Spirit."[151] His doubt, too, is expressed in the language of sensible (meaning embodied) witness. The editor regarded Peter's affirmation of his conversion at a love feast as the climax of the narrative, and cut the following seven paragraphs of Anne Gilbert's narrative. In these paragraphs she refers to her consultation with Peter over details in the narrative, doubt on Peter's part that occasioned recourse to his newfound Methodist support network, his feelings (natural affection) for family and Senegalese communities, his desire to become literate, and the Islamic community in and around English Harbour; she also appeals for funds to expand the Methodist chapel and for texts in Arabic. An editorial gloss on Peter's progress is added in place of this material:

> This is indeed one among many other remarkable instances, that Jesus is hastening his kingdom, and bringing along with him millennial grace and glory in the West, as well as in the East. We are daily crying, "Thy kingdom come, thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven: For thine is the kingdom, the power, and the glory, for ever and ever" .
>
> (WI 949)

The possibly powerful affect of attending a love feast and experiencing "its communal intimacy"[152] is apparent in Equiano's account of a love feast he witnessed during his conversion to Methodism:

> I was so amazed as not to know what to think of the company; my heart was attracted and my affections were enlarged . . . . This kind of Christian fellowship I had never seen, nor ever thought of seeing on earth; it fully reminded me of what I had read in the Holy Scriptures of the primitive Christians, who loved each other and broke bread, in partaking of it, even from house to house . . . . After this I was resolved to win heaven, if possible.[153]

Anne Gilbert reports Peter's affirmation at the love feast:

> He rose trembling and said, "I thank God! I come here, I no know God. I say Jesus no God. Mahomet my God. But now I know Jesus God. He *my* God, I *feel* him in my heart; I *have* him in my heart;" and he clasped his arms over his breast. (SAPP)

In the *Methodist Magazine* this is amended to

> He said, "I come to Antigua, I no know the true God; I say Mahomet my God. I go to chapel, I go away, I laugh at it. Such and such people (mentioning their names) talk about Jesus; I say, No, Jesus no God. Mahomet my God. My heart then hard; but now I know Jesus God, Jesus my God; I have him in my heart"; and he clasped his arms across his breast.
>
> (WI 949)

For the editor this was Peter's moment of arrival as a Christian.

Gilbert is more careful in recording Peter's journey from an Islamic upbringing to the affirmation at the love feast, and represents the love feast as a step on a testing journey rather than an arrival. She includes, for example, details of the slave voyage of the *Tartar* and Peter's masters before his arrival in Antigua. In the *Methodist Magazine* he is simply noted as being "a native of Senegal" (WI 947), his African name is not given, and the editor's only narrative interest in his enslavement is that he was sold into slavery as a prisoner of war by Islamic people. He is named Peregrine through Anne Gilbert's addressing him in conversation; his renaming of himself Peter is noted. Gilbert records the haunting words of Mahummud's "companion" in slavery who despairingly committed suicide and the ill-use of Peter by the Naval Storekeeper in Barbados "in a manner so painful to his feelings, that he left the Storekeeper's house, and preferred working in the Naval Yard." The "Master Attendant was very kind to him, and endeavoured to instruct him, as well as he could, in the Principles of Religion." Gilbert's narrative sets her husband John apart from the abusive Naval Storekeeper at Barbados, and her conversion of Peregrine against the failure of the Master Attendant's efforts. She records the displeasure of Peter's "Mahometan friends" and wife at

the prospect of his conversion. The editor of the *Methodist Magazine* cut the reference to the wife who "robbed him, abused him, threatened to bewitch or kill him, and though she neglected him for others, took every opportunity of getting into his house, and carrying off any thing that she could lay her hands upon; vowing vengeance against any woman whom he should take as a [Christian] wife" (SAPP). The editor mangled Peter's reported account of in "his misery" "travell[ing] across the Country three times" to seek advice from Islamic friends and introduced the idea that they had in effect excommunicated him. While in Gilbert's narrative they "set before him the sin (as they called it) of renouncing the Religion of his forefathers" (SAPP), in the published narrative

> [h]is countenance frequently showed great wretchedness of mind, and he tells us now, that at that time he frequently told his Mahometan friends (three in number) that his mind was wretched, having some doubts regarding the validity of *their* religion. They did all they could to frighten him; and have renounced all communion with him, and, in their opinion, consigned him over to present and eternal ruin.
>
> (WI 949)

As an instance of mangling, his travel "three times" is the source of the number of his friends. The effect of the misrepresentation is again to heighten the drama of the conflict of faiths. The (auto)biographical subjects of Gilbert's narrative are Peregrine and herself, the parties to the attunement of emotion central to the conversion. The editing of her narrative is unsympathetic to the model of creolized Methodist agency at its core.

Spiritual redemption is the core of the life narrative genres I have discussed in this chapter: the experience or account; the happy death; and the spiritual memoir. The narratives—that would have circulated in written and oral forms—offer evidence of the historical soundscapes of plantation slavery cultures and complex processes of creolization and translation in the inscription of religious lives, including translation of African diasporic oralcy and African Caribbean cosmology to the page. That the experiences and happy deaths circulated in both oral and written form, being committed to paper after oral shapings, enable us today to reconstruct some of the relations between oral and literate narrative cultures in the early West Indies. The lives of Thwaites, Moore, Paynter, Wedderburn, and Anne Gilbert that can be reconstructed from archival fragments are marked by important leadership roles in their communities. Their authority to act in the public realm is drawn from African diasporic and Methodist cultures, powerfully demonstrating Genovese's argument that "the spread of Methodism" in the period among people of African heritage was characterized by "a decided

Afro-Christian syncretism."[154] Their experiences highlight the concepts, practices, and institutions that underpinned their social, cultural, and religious activism and the reform cultures of which they were part. Thwaites's and Moore's written experiences of 1804 show a grounding of female agency in Methodist concepts of perfection, discipline, and the spiritual senses. Invocation of Methodist discipline was a foundation of their and Gilbert's opposition to the institution of racialized plantation slavery. The concept of the spiritual senses provided a language in which they could articulate and a license to tell their spiritual visions and spiritual hearing. A crucial difference between the written experiences of Moore and Thwaites is the relative weight accorded to the spiritual dimension of conversion and scriptural conviction of faith, and the mapping of embodied self linked to that relativity. Moore's experience illustrates more graphically the inner turmoil of conversion and the ontological dimensions of spiritual creolization. The lay roles of Thwaites, Gilbert, and Moore in the Methodist church accommodate community leadership practices drawn from African cultures, othermothering in the case of Thwaites and Gilbert, and prophecy in the case of Moore. Wedderburn, too, the subject of my next chapter, drew his political and religious authority from prophecy. The sharing of experiences and biographical narratives in various genres was crucial in the organization of a creolized Methodist communal life. Anne Gilbert was scathing about missions that focused on the "the yearly return of numbers added" to their congregations.[155] Her biographical Methodist narratives are grounded in an affective poetics of community.

CHAPTER 4

Robert Wedderburn and "the cause of humanity"

In 1817 Robert Wedderburn (1762–1835) published in his Spencean Philanthropist newspaper *The Axe Laid to the Root, or a Fatal Blow to Oppressors* "A Hodge Podge Effusion Produced by Reading Cobbett's Register, Vol. 32, No. 34," an issue William Cobbett addressed to William Benbow, then imprisoned indefinitely for his radical political activities. Cobbett's paper was read aloud at gatherings of the Society of Spencean Philanthropists,[1] a group committed to the abolition of private property and universal suffrage. In the issue dated November 29, 1817, to which Wedderburn refers, Cobbett defended the freedom of the ultra-radical press against charges of "*sedition and blasphemy*" and of being "*very cheap*," and the political genius and grammar of the poor.[2] Wedderburn's "Effusion," signed R.W., begins with

> Burst forth, my soul, and with the breath of truth blow in a flame the fire kindled by Cobbett, never to be extinguished. Burn up the hay, straw, stubble, wood, yea, every thing that cannot stand the refiner's fire. The cocatrice is discovered, her eggs are exposed, her nest is composed of materials qualified for burning. The witch of Endor cannot prevent it.

The densely packed allusions (1 Corinthians 3:12, Malachi 3:2, Isaiah 29:5, 1 Samuel 28:7) attest to biblical fluency and conceptualization of political and journalistic activism in a just cause as divinely authorized. Wedderburn prophesies that the "day of retribution is at hand" for the "boroughmongers" who represent civil Corruption.[3] His effusion, a genre understood as an "outpouring" of "genius" (*OED*), culminates in a vow of fervid commitment to working heroically against political repression and social inequalities: "I remain a worn out flint tailor, striving to immortalize my fame in the

cause of humanity, regardless of death or imprisonment, which ought to be the sentiment of every individual who is deprived of his just right."[4] His soul's truth is "the refiner's fire" purging the nation of erroneous doctrines, the allusion to 1 Corinthians 3 implying that his politics are built on the foundation of Jesus and the atonement. In the first issue of *The "Forlorn Hope," or a Call to the Supine. To Rouse from Indolence and assert Public Rights*, the forerunner of *The Axe Laid to the Root*, Wedderburn urges of the Spencean Philanthropists that the "melioration of the state of society, and the freedom of the whole human race, are the moving springs which guide their actions, and have induced them to appear advocates at the bar of reason, to plead the cause of mankind."[5] Thomas Evans, the librarian of the Spencean Philanthropists, argues in his self-published *Christian Policy, the Salvation of the Empire* that "Christianity being founded in natural justice, is more a political than a spiritual institution: the spiritual part being introduced as an auxiliary to effect the establishment of the political. Christianity, is, in fact, true philosophy, and philanthropy."[6] Charged with and acquitted of "blasphemy and sedition" in September 1819, Wedderburn, who had a Unitarian minister's license,[7] reportedly claimed in court that he "exercised a spirit, which he designated 'the true and infallible genius of prophetic skill,' for a long time" and that his powers, grounded in "sleeping visions," led his "followers" to rank him "high in the regions of truth."[8] As I noted in Chapter 3, prophecy and an idea that the "task of the priest is to sustain and renew the life of the community he serves" are integral to African spiritual heritages[9] and to creolized Christian evangelical cultures.

In 1820 Wedderburn, who had been dubbed a "notorious firebrand" by Home Secretary Lord Sidmouth,[10] and "the Devil's Engineer,"[11] was convicted on a charge of "having used blasphemous language with the intent to excite impiety and irreligion in the minds of His Majesty's subjects, and to vilify the Christian religion." The charge related to oratory at his Hopkins Street chapel, "a centre for insurrectionary activity,"[12] on the topic "Whether the refusal of Chief-Justice Abbott to allow Mr. Carlile to read the Bible in his defence was to be attributed to the sincere respect he had for the sacred writings, or to a fear lest the absurdities it contained should be exposed?"[13] Robert Carlile had been jailed in 1819 on a charge of blasphemy and seditious libel for an article about the Peterloo Massacre in his newspaper the *Republican*. Iain McCalman comments of Wedderburn's oratory:

> His coarse and profane language: his colour and physique (often described as stout); and the spectacular events of his life—the slave background, rejection by his wealthy family, experiences as a fighting sailor, criminal and pauper—were,

> to say the least, arresting. He displayed the traits characteristic of many populist leaders—physical bulk, roguery, flamboyance, bombast, emotional religiosity and a thirst for martyrdom. And, whether consciously or not, his speeches and performances echoed styles, themes and motifs fashionable in contemporary English and French melodrama.[14]

In defending himself against the charge of blasphemy, Wedderburn outlined his personal history as a Christian, and described himself as "the offspring of a slave, . . . neglected by a Christian father." The jury found Wedderburn guilty but "recommended him to mercy in consequence of his not having had the benefit of parental care."[15] As David Worrall notes, the recommendation is "a politely inadequate comment on Wedderburn's slave-owning father."[16] Wedderburn was sentenced to two years' imprisonment in Dorchester Gaol, and was thereafter to enter into a bond to behave well for three years.[17] While on the bond, he published the fullest account of his life, the pamphlet *The Horrors of Slavery: Exemplified in the Life and History of the Rev. Robert Wedderburn, V.D.M.* (1824). *The Horrors of Slavery* was sold in London by radical booksellers Robert Carlile and Thomas Davison, and would have been circulated through the library Wedderburn was running at the time.

The Horrors of Slavery is both life writing and jeremiad, and includes material republished from *Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*: letters by Wedderburn and his white half-brother Andrew Colvile and editorial commentary on them. *Bell's Life in London* recommended the first of Wedderburn's letters to the conscience of all British parliamentarians as a justification of intervention to prevent further perpetration of "revolting atrocities" in plantation slavery colonies.[18] Srinivas Aravamadun argues that for Equiano "the book"—the Bible and literacy—"is embraced as a prerequisite for becoming a representative 'voice' in British culture." Characterizing Equiano's "political vocabulary in an era of potential restitution" as a "muted challenge," Aravamadun hails Wedderburn as "a plebeian prophet," a voice of "angry and violent protest," but does not analyze the "anarchic chiliasm" he reads in it.[19] Wedderburn embraced biblical fluency, creolized Christianity, oratory, and the popular press as the means of political activism and manful claiming of political rights. His extant oeuvre ranges over the genres of political journalism, the pamphlet, the letter to the editor, the handbill, and the poster. Historians have exercised and recommended caution in the reading of spy reports as windows onto his oratory,[20] but the issue of the mediation of voice by scribes (so central to recent discussion of *The History of Mary Prince*) has not engaged critical attention. In the first section of this chapter I contextualize his use of scribes and understandings of this practice by considering

the politicizing and racializing of grammar in the 1810s and 1820s. In the second section I read *The Horrors of Slavery* in relation to the occasion of Wedderburn's text and Wedderburn's implicit placing of it in a genealogy of African British writing.

Politicizing and Racializing Grammar

In autobiographical references, Wedderburn often highlights the limits of his literacy. The transcribed text of a surviving handwritten 1831 letter Wedderburn wrote to Francis Place that McCalman includes in *The Horrors of Slavery and Other Writings* (*HSOW*, 78) is testimony to his "limited access to [the] cultural capital" of literacy caused by the failure of his father to provide for his formal education.[21] At his 1820 trial, Wedderburn described himself in court as "an indifferent reader"[22] and conceded that "he could not write, but that he had caused his ideas to be committed to writing by another person" (*HSOW*, 139). Cause may mean both "to effect, bring about, produce, induce, make" and "[t]o speak familiarly, converse, talk, chat."[23] Wedderburn is asserting agency in his use of an amanuensis. As Aravamudan has argued, the "conflation of the category of subjecthood with the agency that comes from the complex technology of literacy" is a relatively recent phenomenon. "Humanism [as it has developed in the academy] seizes on literacy as self-exposure and makes it a foundational act on which it builds an aesthetic edifice."[24] A "written defence," prepared with the assistance of George Cannon (who also wrote under the name Erasmus Perkins), was read at Wedderburn's trial. Wedderburn's publications from prison—*A Letter Addressed to Rev. Solomon Herschell, the High Priest of Israel . . . Concerning the Origin of the Jewish Prophecies and Their Expected Messiah* (1819), *A Critical, Historical and Admonitory Letter to the Right Rev. Father in God, His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury* (1820) and *High Heel'd Shoes for Dwarfs in Holiness, Being Plain Directions to Weak Christians How They May Escape the Snares of the Devil and the Dreadful Gulphs of Scepticism and Infidelity* (1821)—were "largely ghosted" by Cannon. McCalman duly notes that

> [a]ll were written in Cannon's ironic, scholarly style and deployed the same patristic and ecclesiastical authorities, as well as Greek and Hebrew citations, used in his earlier *Political Register* articles. They contained footnotes to the *Theological Inquirer* and passages duplicated from a theistic tract (published under the Perkins' [*sic*] pseudonym in 1820) advocating a materialist-sensationalist psychology of the mind.[25]

Seemingly, also during his imprisonment, Wedderburn began writing "little sixpenny romances" with the assistance of George Midford. In 1823 Midford was brought before a magistrate on a charge of having "obtained money under false pretences" from Wedderburn. In evidence, Wedderburn describes himself as " 'fruitful in imagination, but no great scholar,' " and acknowledges that he paid Midford "to touch . . . up" the romances "grammatically."[26] The title of the romance in progress mentioned in court *Beatrice; or, the Bleeding Beauty* suggests that the genre was the Gothic bluebook. Alison Milbank points out that examples of this very popular genre, often marketed by their publishers as "pamphlets,"

> survive only in a few collections, mostly without their original covers. In dimension between 3½ to 4 inches wide and 6 to 7 inches high, with an engraved and often coloured frontispiece, they sold at sixpence for 36 pages, and a shilling for 72 pages . . . . [M]any of these tales were read to pieces, and . . . those that survive are among the rarest of bibliographic curiosities.[27]

Wedderburn's title, if indeed it was completed and published, does not appear in Angela Koch's comprehensive bibliography of extant Gothic bluebooks.[28]

Olivia Smith points out that in the period

> [t]he basic vocabulary of language study—such terms as "elegant", "refined", "pure", "proper", and "vulgar"—conveyed the assumption that correct usage belonged to the upper classes and that a developed sensibility and an understanding of moral virtue accompanied it. Grammar, virtue, and class were so interconnected that rules were justified or explained not in terms of how language was used but in terms of reflecting a desired type of behaviour, thought process or social status.[29]

It is reported in *The Address of the Rev. R. Wedderburn, to the Court of King's Bench at Westminster* (1820) that "the court considered his language was of a nature which they could not tolerate" (*HSOW*, 133). The editor of *Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, who published the letters from Wedderburn that he would develop into *The Horrors of Slavery* (1824), describes his "diction" as "humble."[30] Cobbett had written of grammar in the article Wedderburn found so inspiring that

> it is to literary composition what a linch-pin is to a waggon. It is a poor pitiful thing in itself; it bears no part of the weight; communicates nothing to the force; adds not in the least to the celerity; but still the waggon cannot very well and safely go on without it; she is constantly liable to reel and be compelled to

> stop, which at the least, exposes the driver to be laughed at, and that, too, by those who are wholly unable to drive themselves.
>
> Therefore, trifling, and even contemptible, as this branch of knowledge is *in itself*, it is of vast importance as to the means of giving to the great powers of the mind their proper effect; and also as the means of enabling the People to criticize the speeches and the writings of the insolent Order of the Pigtail [the bewigged gentry and nobility], not one out of one thousand of whom knows anything worth speaking of even of this snivelling science. The grammarian from whom a man of genius learns his rules has little more claim to a share of such man's renown than has the goose, who yields the pens with which he writes; but, still the pens are *necessary*, and so is the grammar.[31]

He shifts the discursive field of "proper" from one of manners to one of rightfulness.

The political issue Cobbett was addressing was the dismissal of popular petitions for reform that were not written with correct grammar. Smith notes that

> [b]etween 1797 and 1818 (and later as well), parliament dismissively refused to admit petitions because of the language in which they were written. As Parliament's refusal remained the same no matter what the petitions' style, the pitch of the argument grew increasingly intense. In 1793, 1810, and 1817 such petitions were presented from various social groups. The few that were accepted were ordered to lie on the table and not referred to Committee.[32]

Cobbett urges that the dismissal on grounds of language was allowing

> men of a hundredth part of the *mind* of some of the authors of the Petitions . . . to cavil at them on this account, and to infer from this incorrectness of arrangement, that the Petitioners were a set of *poor ignorant creatures*, who knew nothing of what they were talking about; a set of the "*Lower Classes,*" who ought never to raise their reading above that of children's books, Christmas Carrols [*sic*], and the like.

He proposed to produce an affordable grammar book for the poor, complaining that the gentry and aristocracy had a "monopoly of the study of Grammar" at universities and grammar schools.[33] In 1818 he published *A Grammar of the English Language*. Olivia Smith comments that

> Cobbett's unique contribution to the practice of language was to formulate a vernacular, written language which was suitable for public discourse . . . . Cobbett's grammar was written to teach labourers how to write for

> the specific purpose of their political defence . . . . It provided an alternative to modes of education which did not teach the vulgar how to write . . .[34]

In a satirical cartoon of Robert Owen's millennial speech at the London Tavern on August 21, 1817, George Cruikshank uses a forward black radical's calling on the authority of his birth to identify him to a knowing audience as Wedderburn. Owen's speech, in which he excoriated "the error of all religions," outlined a new system of poor relief.[35] Cruikshank's cartoon suggests that Wedderburn's trademarks as an orator, debater, and public figure are his drawing on three sources of authority: the authority of his experience as the son of a bondswoman, the campaign against slavery led in parliament by William Wilberforce, and Christian religion. The New Testament and "Wilbeforce [*sic*] on Slavery" are in his right- and left-hand-side coat pockets, respectively, as he raises his left fist in the air toward Owen. He shouts, "I understand Slavery well! my mother was a slave. This would be but an improved system of Slavery—& without the solace of Revealed Religion & Faith."[36] Cruikshank draws him in profile with stereotypical African lips, nose, forehead, and hair. A *Times* report of a meeting at Finsbury Marketplace in November 1819 positions Wedderburn racially and in class terms: "Wedderburn (the black as he is called, but more properly speaking a man of colour) stood forward, and after an address, fraught with the beauties of Billingsgate slang, advised the people to come to the next meeting with *harms* (arms)."[37]

Wedderburn characteristically identifies himself racially as tawny or African. In 1817 he writes of the Jamaican population being "black, white, or tawny" (*HSOW*, 86). The meaning of tawny, a word derived in English from the term "tawny-moor," as distinguished from "blackamoor," is given as "Yellow, like things tanned" in Samuel Johnson's *A Dictionary of the English Language*.[38] In a comprehensive study of descriptors of complexion and its racializations over time and cultures, Jack Forbes notes that the term tawny in English was initially largely a descriptor of native Americans, but that this meaning "did not endure, being eventually replaced by the concept of 'redskin.' "[39] In a 1788 letter to the *Public Advertiser* condemning James Tobin's *Cursory Remarks upon the Reverend Mr. Ramsay's Essay on the Treatment and Conversion of African Slaves in the Colonies* (1785) and *A Short Rejoinder to Mr Ramsay's Reply: With a Word or Two on Some Other Publications of the Same Tendency* (1787), Equiano uses the term tawny to describe complexion. In an argument for intermarriage of consenting black- and white-skinned people, Equiano notes that "the complexion of the offspring should be tawney," that prejudice on this basis is "malevolence" and "foolish," and that "as no contamination of the virtues of the heart would result from the union, the

mixture of colour could be of no consequence."[40] Tobin had excoriated the "rapid increase of a dark and contaminated breed" in Britain, caused by the "strange partiality" of "the lower orders of women" for "negroes."[41] Equiano's use of the word tawny suggests that it might have been a descriptor favored among Britain's non-white communities. Johnson's dictionaries of the day give the meaning of mulatto as "One begot between a white and a black, as a mule between different species of animal." As Jack Forbes comments, this "common interpretation . . . is a nasty one, rather pejorative and dehumanizing . . . another example of the 'nigger'-like words coined by dominant social castes to refer to the objects of their oppression." He notes, "*it is very likely that from the beginning the English used the term 'mulatto' to refer to a wide range of brown mixed-bloods, especially since the precise ancestry of most such persons could not be known*."[42]

Wedderburn's contemporaries do describe him as "mulatto," a practice continued in recent historical and critical accounts.[43] Wedderburn's half-brother Andrew Colvile describes Wedderburn's mother Rosanna as a "negro woman-*slave*" and Wedderburn as a "mulatto" (*HSOW*, 52–53); in his response, Wedderburn tacitly corrects him, calling Rosanna "a woman of colour" (*HSOW*, 45) and his siblings "tawny children" (*HSOW*, 61). Bondswomen of color were predominantly used as "female domestics because planters regarded them as weak and not suitable for hard field labour."[44] Wedderburn reports in *The Horrors of Slavery* that Rosanna "was a lady's maid, and had received an education which perfectly qualified her to conduct a household in the most agreeable manner" (*HSOW*, 46). Wedderburn was born free in 1762; in 1768 there were in Jamaica an estimated 3,700 free colored and free black people, 17,000 white people, and 167,000 enslaved people. On the title page of *Truth Self-Supported*, Wedderburn identifies himself explicitly as "A Creole from Jamaica" (*HSOW*, 116), creole indicating birth in the West Indies and not of itself being a racial signifier.

In *The Horrors of Slavery* Wedderburn writes of his birth and upbringing in Jamaica and refers to his long residence in Britain, describing himself in his dedication to Wilberforce, who had visited him in prison, as "[a]n oppressed, insulted and degraded African" (*HSOW*, 44). According to Robert Carlile, Wilberforce found Wedderburn to be "an honest and conscientious man."[45] The term tawny-moor suggests that people designated as such were viewed and treated as types of Africans. Wedderburn's formulation of his African identity indicates how it has been produced by racism: oppression, insult, degradation. In *The Axe Laid to the Root*, Wedderburn proclaims that "the press" is his "engine of destruction," in which he "must give vent" to

"prophetic inspiration and the greatness of the work" he is "to perform" in taking a firm antislavery stand (*HSOW*, 96).

The Horrors of Slavery; Exemplified in the Life and History of the Rev. Robert Wedderburn, V.D.M.

In early 1824, *Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle* published two articles on slavery, "JAMAICA, FEB. 5" on February 8, and the ironically titled "The Blessings of Slavery" on February 15, both of which came to the attention of Wedderburn. The paper, which was antislavery and "pro-Reform,"[46] published Wedderburn's censored response to the second article on February 29, cutting "certain expressions which we think it would be to little purpose to insert, still, the sentiments they convey are only those which a man when speaking of such scenes of horror in which he himself and his dearest connections were parties concerned, might naturally be supposed to feel."[47] The article on February 5 reported the discovery of a rebellious plot in December 1823, the punishment of reputed conspirators, and the response of the Jamaican House of Assembly to measures for the amelioration of slavery. Eight slaves charged with conspiracy to rebel in the parish of Saint Mary's had been executed by hanging just before Christmas. They were mostly from Frontier Estate, a site of earlier insurrectionary foment. (Tacky, an overseer on Frontier Estate, had led a slave rebellion in 1760.) The evidence against the alleged conspirators was scant enough that the proceedings against them would become the subject of a British parliamentary enquiry, the findings of which were discussed in the House of Commons in 1826.[48] The article in *Bell's* editorialized on the outraged response of the Jamaican House of Assembly to the amelioration measures recommended by the British Parliament in 1823, representing slavery as "trafficking in human blood" founded on the dishonesty of "steal[ing] the unoffending African from his native wilds," planters as "*Gentlemen* Slave-drivers," and trade in slaves as treatment of people as "human cattle," which traduced any claim of planters and other slaveholders to being "*humane*."[49] The italicization of Gentlemen was designed to highlight that "Slave-drivers" had no genuine claim to be considered as such. The Jamaican House of Assembly's repudiation of measures aimed at the amelioration of slavery followed closely on rejection of demands for greater equality made in a petition to it on the part of free colored people.[50]

In his journalism and in his oratory, Wedderburn characteristically referred to slave holders as "receivers and stealers of Africans." The language of theft is biblical. Exodus 21:16 states: "And he that stealeth a man, and selleth him, or

if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death."[51] Quobna Ottabah Cuguano offers a variant of this verse as "LAW OF GOD" on the title page of *Thoughts and Sentiments on the Evil and Wicked Traffic of the Slavery and Commerce of the Human Species, Humbly Submitted to the Inhabitants of Great Britain* (1787).[52] Wedderburn's word "receivers" criminalizes slaveholding. In *The Axe Laid to the Root*, there is a passage in which for effect Wedderburn code-switches to patois to present the voice of an African witnessing relatives being stolen:

> TOP Tife, top tife, top tife! Dat England man, dat white man, de Christian buckera tiffey my pickenninney, he hungry, he go yam 'im! Oh! der go noder, he tiffey my mamma, he be Cotolic Christian, he rosse my mamma in de fire, for yam, what me do for my mamma? Oh! me belly ache, me die![53]

Yam or nyam means eat; Wedderburn reverses the stereotype of the African as cannibal and highlights the ingestion of the stolen slaves as consumable commodities in the transatlantic capitalistic system. Alan Rice observes that "rumours and folktales abounded in Africa about the incidence of cannibalism on the slave ships."[54]

"The Blessings of Slavery" was a report of a meeting of West India proprietors, bluntly called by *Bell's Life in London* "Slave Proprietors" and "Slave-Dealers." The proprietors' meeting was held to discuss

> attacks [that] had been incessantly made upon them, by misrepresenting the condition of the Negroes, and calumniating the character of their *masters*, to inflame the public mind, and by such course of proceeding to move both Parliament and the Government to adopt measures which involved an utter violation of the *sacred rights of property*.

"Slavery in the British system," Cecilia A. Green observes,

> was based on strong presumptions of those "advanced" principles around which an emerging capitalist ethos had accreted. Those were the principles of liberty, contract, and absolute rights in property, as vested in the free-standing individual and liberal juridical subject/person, with devastating winner-take-all consequences when combined with a system in which the human "other" was the object of property and property rights.[55]

At the meeting a proslavery petition prepared by the Standing Committee was read. Amid much heckling, Major D'Albaic addressed the meeting on the subject of measures toward the abolition of slavery, including "diffusion of knowledge among the negroes [as] a preparative for final emancipation." He

could not find a seconder for the five resolutions he put to the meeting. The first two were reported: "It is the opinion of this Meeting that rational and defined liberty is a blessing to which the WHOLE RACE OF MANKIND HAVE AN ORIGINAL TITLE"; "the Meeting *anxiously* looked forward to that *desirable* 'period when the black population should be admitted as free labourers.' " John Fuller, "one of the most vehement in his gross interruptions of Major D'Albaic," opined that the King "ought to lighten *their* (the Slave-dealers' burden)" by "issu[ing] a Proclamation, stating, that there was no intention of Emancipating the Slaves." The article repeated the idea that slaves had been "stolen" "from Africa,"[56] a point Thomas Fowell Buxton had voiced in a landmark speech in the House of Commons on May 15, 1823.[57]

The article's editorializing on the conduct of the meeting is worth elaborating in some fuller detail. The proprietors' assumptions about the intelligence of "*their* species of *personal property*," assumptions motivated by "sordid interest," are challenged:

> Are they prepared to *prove* that color alone forms a contrast in intellect; and that the influence of education would be lost upon a people whose degradation, and whose *lives* are in their hands, *merely* because their skin is of a darker hue than their own?— Do they mean to tell us that, according to the color of the skin, the feelings of the heart and the intellectual powers of the mind are regulated . . . ?

To counter claims of the "HUMANITY" and "KINDNESS with which Slaves are treated 'NOW,' " examples of inhumane practices are adduced: the separation of mothers from infants through sale of the children; the sale of concubines and their children by their partners and fathers, respectively; and the threat to sell William Edwards, a man who said he had been freed, "but has no document thereof," if he were not reclaimed by his owner from the Clarendon Workhouse within a stipulated time.[58] The article, the newspaper reported in a subsequent article titled "Blessings of Slavery" on February 29, resulted in a "tolerable share of abuse" from outraged proprietors, and from an MP styling himself "A FRIEND TO FAIR DISCUSSION." *Bell's Life in London* says that it is reproducing Wedderburn's edited letter as "the best possible *proof* of the truth" of its "assertions" about the general conduct of "West India Proprietors":

> Let our Ministers read it (and we know they will), and every Member of Parliament peruse it with attention. These (the Slave-dealing part of them only excepted) are themselves bound by the dearest ties of sympathy and affection, common to all mankind. They are SONS, HUSBANDS, and FATHERS— and must, therefore, be imbued with those more noble attributes of our

> nature—HUMANITY and AFFECTION—and when they *have* perused it—if they admit it to be fact, can they, we ask, *can they* hesitate in the line of conduct they ought to pursue to stop such revolting atrocities!

The editor adduces as a sign of the truth of Wedderburn's account of the treatment of his mother, himself, maternal grandmother, and uncle and aunt his willingness "to proclaim his own degradation in terms so explicit."[59]

He does not mention Wedderburn's credentials as a radical, and treats his background and ethnicity more kindly than they had been in the paper on March 2, 1823. Wedderburn had been mocked then by John Wight in an unsigned report of the court case involving Wedderburn and Midford. Wight describes Wedderburn as a "Tailor and Breeches-maker, Field-preacher, Radical Reformer, Romance writer, Circulatory librarian, and Ambulatory dealer in drugs, deism, and demoralization in general," and makes fun of his back and vision problems and obesity, which were impeding his ability to earn a living as a tailor. He designates him "a man of colour—something the colour of a toad's back."[60] In the title of the article " 'Life' *and* Literature; or, The Progress of Genius," the word genius viciously mocks Wedderburn's literary aspirations. Christine Battersby explains that by the late eighteenth century "[i]t was genius that was evoked to explain the difference between civilised man and both animals and savages . . . . Genius was the bedrock of European culture."[61]

There is much in the articles in *Bell's Life in London* to draw a response from Wedderburn, material that provides a sense of his reception of them. There is the spectacle of West India proprietors demanding the King's acknowledgement of their "*sacred rights of property*" in people. "Oh, what barbarism!" Wedderburn writes in concluding his first letter to the editor (*HSOW*, 51). He mentions James Wedderburn's sale of his mother while pregnant and his free birth in the first issue of *The Axe Laid to the Root*, the autobiographical reference grounding an attack on slavery as "felony, . . . wickedly violat[ing] the *sacred rights of man* . . . [and] natural justice . . . in the enlightened age of reason" (my italics, *HSOW*, 81). Wedderburn's sense of outrage about the proprietors' meeting can only have been exacerbated by the failure of Major D'Albaic's resolutions. Both D'Albaic and *Bell's* endorse plans for the education of enslaved people, and *Bell's* forthrightly defends the intelligence of non-white people. Wedderburn's father James Wedderburn was a medical practitioner. Wedderburn states in *The Horrors of Slavery* that "his mental powers were none of the brightest, which may account for his libidinous excess" (*HSOW*, 46). In his first letter to *Bell's Life in London*, Wedderburn endorses some of the language of the earlier articles, offering the editor his "sincere thanks" for the "observations on the Meeting of

the Receivers of Stolen Men" and calling slave proprietors "Slave-Dealer[s]." James Wedderburn is identified as a "Slave-Dealer" on the title page of *The Horrors of Slavery* (*HSOW*, 43). In the concluding paragraph of *The Horrors of Slavery*, Wedderburn seems to allude to the conspiracy to rebel in Jamaica reported in *Bell's Life in London* on February 8. He spells out that he has not returned to Jamaica, fearing the "hatred" of "the planters" for "any one having black blood in his veins, and who dares to think and act as a free man, . . . they would most certainly have trumped up some charge against me and hung me" and that there is "the prospect of a general rebellion and massacre" (*HSOW*, 61). *Bell's Life in London* uses typography (italics and capitalization) as a form of emphatic editorialization.

Wedderburn's first letter, as published in *Bell's Life in London* on February 29, 1824, in an article ironically titled "The Blessings of Slavery" uses italics, capitalized words, and exclamation marks for emphasis. They enact on the page the Jamaican "socio-linguistic ritual of 'tracing' or 'throwing word' " or "busing": " 'Loud (and often prolonged) personal attack,' " though the editor has cut the " 'vulgar terms and/or obscene language' " characteristic of the oral genre.[62] The names of perpetrators of cruelty to enslaved women—James Wedderburn, "one BOSWELL," and Captain Parr—are also capitalized. James Wedderburn is named as having "FORCED" his mother "to submit to him, being *his Slave*, THOUGH HE KNEW SHE DISLIKED HIM!" He was "HER THIRD SON BY HIM!!!" While he was to be born free, James Wedderburn had "sold" his "mother" when she was pregnant with Robert. Boswell had his mother "FLOGGED in the most indecent manner, though PREGNANT AT THE SAME TIME!!!" Captain Parr "*chained a female Slave to a stake, and starved her to death!*" (*HSOW*, 51). His attack on James Wedderburn's coercive housekeeper/master relations is fuller and more sustained in *The Horrors of Slavery*. In 1817 Wedderburn had referred to Boswell's cruelty in *The Axe Laid to the Root*, in a warning to planters to "[p]repare for flight . . . for the fate of St. Domingo awaits you . . . . My heart glows with revenge, and cannot forgive. Repent ye Christians." He draws out here the nominal Christianity of planters, and implies that Boswell may have been the father of his mother's unborn child, "taking" his "negro wenches" to his "adulterous bed, in preference" to his "wedded wife" being a habit of his (*HSOW*, 86).

Responding to "The Blessings of Slavery" in a letter published in an article titled "Brother or No Brother—'That Is the Question?,' " Colvile described Wedderburn's narrative of his birth as a "foul slander" of his father, and reproached the editor of *Bell's* for not having checked its veracity, explaining that James Wedderburn had denied paternity of Robert to him, after Robert had approached Colvile for financial assistance "upon the *strength*

of his name" some 22 or 23 years earlier (*HSOW*, 53). The editor of *Bell's* subtitled the article "A Letter from *Another* Son of the Late Slave-Dealer, James Wedderburn, Esq.," and declared Robert's narrative of the "brutalities" of the father to be true (*HSOW*, 52), commenting that the "dearest ties of consanguinity are trampled on by a sordid thirst of interest" (*HSOW*, 55). Colvile insists that his father had never had sex (a "connection of *that kind*") with Rosanna. Invoking the stereotype of the hypersexual black woman, Colvile represents Rosanna as having been so promiscuous that "*she could not tell who was the father*" of Robert Wedderburn, a child conceived "[s]everal years" after James Wedderburn had sold her (*HSOW*, 52–53). He also recasts Rosanna as a "She Devil," "the troublesome, resistant woman,"[63] another stereotype of the bondswoman: "this woman had so violent a temper that she was continually quarrelling with the other servants, and occasioning a disturbance in the house" (*HSOW*, 52). Proslavery writers characteristically presented master/housekeeper relations as consensual and attractive to non-white women "because of the benefits bestowed on them."[64] In his letter of response to Colvile, Robert Wedderburn, while acknowledging his mother's "*rebellious* disposition," claiming to have "inherited" his from her, testifies, "my unfortunate mother" was "a woman virtuous in principle, but a Slave, and a sacrifice to the unprincipled lust of my father . . . My honoured father's house was, in fact, nothing more than a *Seraglio of Black Slaves*, miserable objects of an abandoned lust, guided by avarice . . . [a] den of iniquity" (*HSOW*, 59). He counters Colvile's representation of his approach for money by pointing out his biblically authorized "*right*" as the older son by a "hated" mother to "a double portion" of his father's property as an inheritance rather than non-recognition (Deuteronomy 21:17). Editorializing on Wedderburn's second letter, *Bell's Life in London* opines of his father and half-brother that "the man who accumulates wealth by the blood of his fellows, must ever be dead to the feelings common to our nature" (*HSOW*, 57). James Wedderburn's estate had included Jamaican plantations valued at £302,628 14s. 8d.[65] Writing of the "mammonist motivations" of "Scots doctors," Douglas J. Hamilton comments that "[p]ractice in the Caribbean often led to doctors acquiring considerable wealth, partly from their professional roles and partly from their diversification into other realms of West Indian profits: planting and trading."[66] Wedderburn's report of sales of Rosanna suggests that she was during his youth traded among a network of Scots doctors. In the mid-1830s, Andrew Colvile received slave compensation monies of nearly £71,000 from the British government.[67] In 1834 he owned slaves in Antigua, British Guiana, and Jamaica.

In developing the *Bell's Life in London* correspondence into *The Horrors of Slavery: Exemplified in the Life and History of the Rev. Robert Wedderburn,*

V.D.M. Robert Wedderburn positions the text in relation to the writing of Equiano in the paratexts and peritext. Wedderburn's familiarity with Equiano's *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa, the African* is suggested by the opening sentences of *The Horrors of Slavery*: "The events of my life have been few and uninteresting. To my unfortunate origin I must attribute all my miseries and misfortunes" (*HSOW*, 44). He is referring to both Equiano's title and comment in his opening paragraph that

> there are a few events in my life which have not happened to many; it is true the incidents of it are numerous; and, did I consider myself an European, I might say my sufferings were great; but when I compare my lot with that of most of my country-men, I regard myself as a *particular favourite of Heaven*, and acknowledge the mercies of Providence in every occurrence of my life.

Equiano explains that his Igbo name Olaudah "signifies vicissitude, or fortunate also; one favoured, and having a loud voice and well spoken."[68] Like Equiano, Wedderburn includes a likeness of himself in two-thirds face portrait style, wearing a coat, waistcoat, shirt, and cravat; Equiano is looking to his right and Wedderburn to his left. The frontispiece to Ignatius Sancho's *Letters of the Late Ignatius Sancho, and African* (1782) also shows the author in two-thirds face portrait style looking to his right. The inscription under Equiano's likeness is "Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa, the African" and that under Wedderburn's "Robert Wedderburn. Son of the late James Wedderburn Esq. of Inveresk" (*HSOW*, 42), a claim to his patronym, denied by Colvile in his letter to *Bell's Life in London*. The claim might have been reinforced by family resemblance for those who knew his father and his father's family personally. For readers familiar with Cruikshank's cartoon, the likeness also gives the lie to his recourse to crude racial stereotype in representing Wedderburn. In Equiano's likeness, the subject holds a bible in his hand opened at Acts 4:12 ("Neither is there salvation in any other [than Jesus]: for there is none other name under heaven given among men, whereby we must be saved"), an allusion to what Aravamudan calls "the evangelical sentence," which refers to "Christ's conversion of the 'Ethiopian' eunuch."[69] Vincent Carretta points out that the open bible "illustrat[es] his literacy and his piety."[70] There is also a biblical epigraph on the title page, Isaiah 12:2 and 4, in which the prophet proclaims God as his salvation and protection ("I will trust and not be afraid, for the Lord Jehovah is my strength and song"). Wedderburn seemingly marks his difference from Equiano by not holding an open bible, a gesture signifying literacy. Equiano includes in his narrative an account of the Bishop of London Robert Lowth turning down his

1779 memorial to be ordained, with the object of returning to Africa as a missionary.[71] On the title page of *The Horrors of Slavery* Wedderburn's name is given as "Rev. Robert Wedderburn, V.D.M." The acronym V.D.M. signifies a Christian preacher without a university degree. In 1819 a *Times* report had pointedly called Wedderburn "the 'political preacher.' "[72] The formulation "exemplified in the life of" was characteristically used to that day in titles of pious (auto)biographies.[73]

On the title page Wedderburn identifies himself as "Son of the late JAMES WEDDERBURN, Esq. of Inveresk, Slave-Dealer, By one of his Slaves in the Island of Jamaica," and as "Brother" of "A. COLVILLE, Esq. alias WEDDERBURN of 35, Leadenhall Street" (*HSOW*, 43). With the word "alias" Wedderburn contrasts his claim to the patronym with his father's and brother's willingness to trade it to secure a financial inheritance. Wedderburn republishes his challenge to his half-brother in *Bell's Life in London* to sue him for libel: "in the Courts of Justice I will defend and prove my assertions" (*HSOW*, 60). The publication of Colvile's address and of his own (23, Russell Court, Drury Lane) at the end of the dedication supports his characterization of Colvile as the "more fortunate brother" (*HSOW*, 45). More tacitly, Equiano is also a "more fortunate brother," brother being used in the sense of fellow-man, as it was in the antislavery slogan, "Am I not a man and a brother?" Paul Edwards remarks that "Equiano is a reformer, Wedderburn a rebel . . . Wedderburn's stance is confrontational, showing nothing of Equiano's pragmatic adaptability . . . . Equiano must be recognized as an important voice guiding respectable opinion towards legislation for the abolition of the slave trade."[74] Wedderburn's sense that his radicalism brought him into greater conflict with repressive British law is highlighted by inclusion of the information on the title page that he was "Late a Prisoner in His Majesty's Gaol at Dorchester, for Conscience-Sake" (*HSOW*, 43). Wedderburn's title page also promises "**Remarks on, and Illustrations of the Treatment of the Blacks,** and A VIEW OF THEIR DEGRADED STATE, AND THE **DISGUSTING LICENTIOUSNESS OF THE PLANTERS"** (*HSOW*, 43).

A comparison of the dedications in *The Horrors of Slavery* and the *Interesting Narrative* is instructive. In his Dedication of his *Interesting Narrative* to the houses of the British Parliament, Equiano refers to the "horrors" of the "Slave-Trade," but owns that he has been "infinitely more than compensated by the introduction I have thence obtained to the knowledge of the Christian religion, and of a nation which, by its liberal sentiments, its humanity, the glorious freedom of its government, and its proficiency in arts and sciences, has exalted the dignity of human nature." He signs himself "Your most obedient, And devoted humble Servant,"[75] part of a "conventionally humble rhetorical

ethos."[76] *The Horrors of Slavery* is dedicated to Wilberforce. Wedderburn hails him as one whose "name stands high in the list of the glorious benefactors of the human race," and who is a "tower of strength" for the enslaved people on whose "behalf" he campaigns. Perhaps encouraged by the vehement editorial recommendation of his first letter to *Bell's Life in London* to all British parliamentarians, he offers to support "any motion in parliament" moved by Wilberforce by appearing "before the bar of that most Honourable House" to "prove" the truth of his autobiographical narrative (*HSOW*, 44). To his dedicatee, he signs himself, "Your most obedient, and most devoted servant." The word "humble" does not appear. In the dedication he acknowledges having met Wilberforce when he was in Dorchester prison and Wilberforce's gifts—"advice" and "two books beautifully bound in calf"—that have proffered him "much ghostly consolation" (*HSOW*, 44). A. Colvile describes his and Wedderburn's father as the "respected dead" in his letter to *Bell's Life in London* (*HSOW*, 53); Wedderburn addresses Wilberforce as "Respected Sir" (*HSOW*, 44).

In the new material written for *The Horrors of Slavery*, Wedderburn elaborates more fully his knowledge of his mother and father's relationship, as "testimony to the injustice and inhumanity" of James Wedderburn (*HSOW*, 47). His testimony is, as Innes notes,

> graphic and indignant . . . Wedderburn underlines his contempt by inverting Biblical imagery and references or yoking them together with "low" barnyard similes: his father is described as "strutting" among his female slaves "like Solomon in his grand seraglio, or like a bantam cock in [*sic*] his own dunghill"; "slaves did increase and multiply, like Joseph's kine; and he cultivated those talents well, which God had granted so amply."[77]

Wedderburn plays on the human/animal species boundary used by proslavery writers to justify the treatment of bondspeople. In representing his father's licentiousness, he carefully references it to his power and sense of right over "personal property," an implicit and scathing commentary on the blasphemy of the faith of the West India proprietors's meeting in the "sacred rights of property." As Helen Thomas notes, *The Horrors of Slavery* is a "narrative saturated with terms of proprietorship . . . and of interrupted inheritance."[78] Wedderburn forthrightly addresses what Carla Sassi calls "a delicate site of taboo—the dynamics of miscegenation" in the West Indies[79]—exposing the way customary practices around internal slave-trading in Jamaica took account of the likelihood of masters installing female slaves as housekeepers: "slaves that are esteemed by their owners have generally the power of refusal, whether they will be sold to a particular planter, or not." This practice in

part underpins the proslavery myth that sexual and family relations between master and enslaved housekeeper were consensual.[80] Wedderburn reports that his father "was determined to have possession" of his mother in spite of his knowledge "that if *he* offered to purchase her, he would meet with a refusal" (*HSOW*, 47). James organized the purchase through intermediaries. Wedderburn implicitly challenges the proslavery "idea that planters and their white employees cared excellently and disinterestedly for pregnant and lying-in women," a myth circulated between 1780 and 1834 in the context of dispute between colony and metropole over improving the birth rate among bondswomen.[81] A "Man-Midwife" and medical doctor, James would sell bondswomen pregnant by him, and use the pregnancies as occasion to increase the sale price. When Rosanna was pregnant with Robert, tensions between her and James Wedderburn escalated to the point that Sir John Wedderburn offered her "asylum in his house, against the brutal treatment" of his brother. The "ill-treatment" impaired his mother's health. Robert "was obliged to be weaned, to save her life" when he was "four months old" (*HSOW*, 48). This account is a scathing indictment of James's inhumanity, insensibility, unmanliness, and lack of professionalism. (Altink notes that in "the eighteenth century, many young men embarked upon midwifery as a means of gaining entry into general practice.")[82] The owner Boswell referred to in the first letter to *Bell's Life in London* as having had the pregnant Rosanna flogged is identified in *The Horrors of Slavery* as a medical practitioner. Wedderburn writes bluntly of the emotion still provoked by his trauma over the treatment of his mother and his father's failure to recognize him as a son—"my blood boils in my veins"—representing the tract as a worthy substitute for "revenge" not enacted against his father in his lifetime, and provocatively, given the 1823 Demerara Rebellion and the wave of subsequent slave unrest, projects a sequel devoted to "particulars of the treatment of the blacks in the West Indies, and the prospect of a general rebellion and massacre there, from my own experience" (*HSOW*, 61).

Wedderburn's highlighting of the trauma of having witnessed as a child the flogging of Rosanna ordered by Boswell and the flogging of his aged maternal grandmother Talkee Amy for allegedly practicing witchcraft draws attention to the formative influence on him of the experience of having been unmanned by his powerlessness to intervene. Cathy Caruth has famously observed that "[t]o be traumatized is precisely to be possessed by an image or an event."[83] Wedderburn's account is a timely intervention in what would soon become a very contentious issue both in debates over amelioration of slavery and in relations between the British parliament and local legislatures in the West Indies. His grandmother had raised the owner who ordered the whipping "from eight years of age," and Wedderburn reports that until then "he had

treated her as a mother" (*HSOW*, 49). Wedderburn had earlier emphasized his trauma in autobiographical references in *The Axe Laid to the Root*. Altink points out that the whipping of women became an issue in

> antislavery writings in the 1820s and early 1830s, especially in those advocating immediate emancipation . . . . To convey the immorality of flogging slave women in a naked state, some antislavery writers gave very vivid descriptions, in an almost voyeuristic way, of the exposed body parts . . . . Others, however, avoided any direct references to the women's nudity, mainly in an attempt to demonstrate their own sensibility . . . . [A]ntislavery writers . . . often described scenes where a woman was held down by one of her own children or where her children were among the spectators of the event. They argued that the flogging had a detrimental impact on the children; it gave them an incorrect understanding of right and wrong in society. According to Reverend Trew [writing in 1831], the only lesson that children learned from watching their mother being flogged was "a wish to desecrate the wretch that made their mother weep". And it furthermore "weakened," if not completely "destroyed," the children's already less than ardent affection for their mother.[84]

Wedderburn refers simply to his mother having been flogged "in the most indecent manner" while pregnant (*HSOW*, 51). His indignation is testimony to his filial and moral sensibility as a child and adult. He vehemently attacks in the name of justice generally, and justice to his mother and grandmother in particular, the reputations of the owners who ordered the floggings. While antislavery activists position the witnessing child as an object, Wedderburn writes as a subject.

The first of the articles in *Bell's Life in London* to draw Wedderburn's attention reports the Jamaican House of Assembly's outraged response to the Colonial Secretary Lord Bathurst's recommendation of amelioration measures that included "legislative measures for preventing the punishment of flogging in every case where the offender is a woman."[85] *Bell's Life in London* reported the response, interpolating an editorial commentary on the inhumanity of the plantocracy. The Assembly rejected the recommendations, representing the British government as having "sanctioned the principles laid down by our enemies [*i.e.* the enemies to trafficking in human blood:] in the mother country, and pledged themselves to enforce such measures as shall tend ultimately to the *final extinction of Slavery in the British Colonies;* [what an inhuman pledge! . . .]." The Assembly also railed against the British government's failure to acknowledge its right to financial compensation in exchange for reform, claiming that the government had "shown an inclination not only to dispose of *our property* without our consent, but even to violate those *common rules of honesty* which ought to govern nations as well

as private persons!"[86] In the wake of this standoff, the whipping of women would became a topic of acute contention between proslavery and antislavery lobbies, including over the issue of the civilizational claim of colonies to Englishness as demonstrated by proper exercise of gendered sensibility.[87]

A court report indicates that in 1823 Wedderburn was writing sixpenny romances, running a circulating library, doing some tailoring, and maintaining a profile as an orator and reformer. McCalman speculates that he was working for William Dugdale, "who was beginning a long career as a publisher of infidel, libertine and ultimately pornographic literature." *The Horrors of Slavery* was published from and sold at Dugdale's shop in Drury Lane. Spy reports still place Wedderburn in radical circles—the British Forum in the 1820s, and "Robert Taylor's famous infidel-radical services in March 1834"—and chart a short-lived attempt by Wedderburn to found a new debating chapel The New Assembly Room in White's Alley in 1828. He was sentenced to jail in Newgate prison for two years with hard labor in 1830, aged 68, for keeping a brothel, "a resort," McCalman notes, to an "old artisan practice of supplementing income."[88] McCalman suggests that a shift in radical politics in the 1820s—toward a culture of self-improvement and respectability—posed a "crisis of adaptation" for radical leaders of the 1810s like Wedderburn.[89] The spy Abel Hall, a former Cato Street conspirator, reported that Wedderburn's "moral and philosophical lectures" on Christian Diabolism at the New Assembly Room were "delivered . . . 'in the most vulgar manner that could possibly be imagined' " and that the meetings, which "rarely attracted more than a few dozen supporters," "degenerate[d] into nothing more than 'abusive conversation.' "[90] The verbal sparring might have been modelled on the Jamaican ritual of throwing word. McCalman measures Wedderburn's importance in his promulgation of the idea "that a deep kinship existed between anti-slavery and popular radical causes." He notes, for example, that in the 1820s, "Carlile's *Republican* and Jonathan Wooler's *Black Dwarf* ran detailed exposés of planter avarice and cruelty, and gave strong support to the slave revolts in St Domingo and Demerara" and that British Forum celebrations of Paine's birthday "denounced 'the infamous traffic in slaves', toasted the republicans of St Domingo and future insurrections in the West Indies, and sang Cooper's 'Lament of the Negro.' "[91] "The British Forum was opened five times a week for reading, singing and debating" at a coffee-house in Clerkenwell Green; "its republican, infidel, agrarian reform and anti-slavery debates attracted old and new ultras. Wedderburn and members of 'that school' were regulars."[92] Wedderburn appears to have been buried in London on January 4, 1835.[93] Heuman points out that "[b]y the spring of 1824, the fortunes of the Anti-Slavery Society had declined dramatically after its initial success in convincing the Government to ameliorate the condition

of the slaves" in 1823.[94] The Anti-Slavery Society began to publicize the testimony and cases of individual bondspeople in the *Anti-Slavery Monthly Reporter* and antislavery campaigners began to incorporate them or accounts of them in other publications. As Nicole N. Aljoe notes, the "fragmentary narratives" "embedded" here were drawn from a range of sources: "letters, extracts, copies of documents, speeches, trial proceedings, parliamentary discourse . . . missionary documents, . . . reports from people recently returned from Jamaica, . . . island newspapers mailed to subscribers in London."[95] The recognition of the potential reach and affect of such narratives may be a sign of the example set by the reception of Wedderburn's letters to *Bell's Life in London* and *The Horrors of Slavery*, in which he wrote so forthrightly and persuasively in the cause of humanity.

CHAPTER 5

The History of Mary Prince, a West Indian Slave, Related by Herself

In early 1831, a particular conjunction of people and events encouraged and enabled Thomas Pringle, the Secretary of the Anti-Slavery Society in Britain, to publish on his own undertaking *The History of Mary Prince, a West Indian Slave, Related by Herself*, generally remembered today as the only slave narrative of a West Indian woman. Within months, three editions of the narrative had been published; plans for a fourth edition were dropped after Mary Prince's owner in Antigua John Wood instigated libel action against Pringle over his handling of Wood's response to Anti-Slavery Society interventions to secure Prince's freedom in Antigua as well as Britain. Prince's owners John and Margaret Wood, who lived in Antigua and had acquired Prince in c. 1817, had brought her to England in June 1828. She left their temporary home in London in 1828 in the midst of disputes over her alleged poor conduct and insubordination. By the terms of Lord Stowell's 1827 decision in the test case of Grace Jones, Prince's status as a slave was temporarily suspended during her continued residence in England. Knowing that "[t]o be free is very sweet" (*H*, 31), she chose to stay in England rather than return to slavery in Antigua (where her husband Daniel James lived). Since 1829 she had worked as a servant in the home of Thomas and Margaret Pringle. "The idea of writing Mary Prince's history," Pringle states in his Preface, "was first suggested by herself" (*H*, 3). A new parliamentary session during which the unconditional abolition of slavery was to be debated was about to open. The narrative was "taken down" by the amanuensis Susanna Strickland, later Moodie, then staying with the Pringles (*H*, 3), and edited by Pringle, who also supplied extensive paratextual material. The mediation of Prince's voice complicates critical readings of the slave narrative.

Salih urges the importance of "approach[ing] the text in its historical articulation" by "read[ing] *The History* amidst its extended textual supplementation, paying close attention to the texts that were published with 'the history' . . . while further supplementing these with documents that did *not* originally appear with the text," a research and critical practice necessary to counter the "dual dangers of presentism and essentialism."[1] This chapter exemplifies this research and critical practice. In the first section, I read Prince's Moravian conversion and the dual interpretive perspective the conversion offers her intertextually and in relation to the narrative's paratexts, working to resituate and complicate our understandings of the genealogies of *The History of Mary Prince, a West Indian Slave* and of early slave narratives. In the second section, I recontextualize the work of Pringle as an editor and Strickland as an amanuensis. I read Pringle's editorial work alongside his handling of the "case" of bondswoman Betto Douglas, which includes among his primary sources first-person narratives attributed to her (a petition, recorded evidence at a hearing, and a letter), and the relation between his choice of epigraph for *The History of Mary Prince* and his Preface. As the epigraph is on the title page, it is not usually included in recent editions of the text. I place Strickland's work on *The History of Mary Prince* alongside her Introduction to and choice of epigraph for *Negro Slavery Described by a Negro: Being the Narrative of Ashton Warner, a Native of St. Vincent's* (1831), which she recorded and edited, and her later fictionalizations of an encounter between a proslavery woman from the West Indies and the amanuensis of a slave narrative titled *History of Mary P—*, in Moodie's story "Trifles from the Burthen of a Life" (1851), later expanded as part of the novel *Flora Lyndsay, or Passages in an Eventful Life* (1854).[2] Material from the Introduction is reworked in the fictional scenes, which may be read as an effort to write the amanuensis back into the writing scene of slave narrative. In the final section of the chapter, I turn more fully to the reception of *The History of Mary Prince* in the 1830s and examine and contextualize extant materials about the two libel cases to which the reception gave rise: Pringle v. Cadell and Wood v. Pringle.

Mary Prince and the Moravian Speaking Subject

Salih observes, without further analysis, "Prince's *History* is, as much as anything, the progress of her movement towards an eventual embracing of Christianity."[3] Prince was baptized an Anglican in 1817, although she says she received "no farther instruction at that time from the English Church" (*H*, 29). The dates of Moravian missionary postings and internal chronology suggest that Prince converted to Moravianism in c. 1822.[4] During Prince's employment by Thomas and Margaret Pringle, she was instructed in literacy

and religion by Margaret Pringle and received religious instruction from Rev. Young, a neighbor, and Rev. Mortimer, an Anglican (*H*, 36–37). Prince left the employ of the Pringles in June 1832, and Thomas paid her a weekly allowance of 10 or 12 shillings whilst she was "out of place" (Appendix Three, *H*, 102). Illness—the severe rheumatism she speaks of in her narrative, and perhaps the "disease in the eyes" threatening blindness noted by Pringle in his Postscript to the second edition (*H*, 4)—may well have made it very difficult for her to do paid work. A month later, in July 1832, in an assertion of religious agency, she applied to join the Fetter Lane Moravian congregation in London.[5] This suggests that her conversion was more than nominal or instrumental in worldly terms, that Moravianism satisfied some of her spiritual and personal needs. For many critics, though, the representation of Prince as a Christian in the narrative is inauthentic, a projection of the values of Pringle and Strickland—neither of whom was Moravian—and a role-playing on Prince's part for a British Christian audience. Moravianism is a largely empty signifier in critical scholarship on Prince.

In *The Signifying Monkey: A Theory of African-American Literary Criticism* Henry Louis Gates, Jr. has influentially argued that "[t]he black tradition is double-voiced."[6] The double-voicing has, in his view, four major forms in slave narratives published before 1815: "making the white written text speak with a black voice," tropological revision as a mode of intertextuality and implicit acknowledgement of literary genealogy, "double consciousness," and dual perspective. Gates draws out the importance of moments in which Equiano records a growth in self-consciousness in his *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa, the African. Written by Himself*.[7] Vincent Carretta, in his edition of Equiano's *The Interesting Narrative and Other Writings*, highlights these moments as signs of "dual perspective"—"speak[ing] of the past both as he experienced it at the time and as he reinterprets past events from the perspective of the time in which he is recalling them"—and noting that "dual perspective is inherent in retrospective autobiography and even more pronounced in a spiritual autobiography."[8]

Prince acknowledges at two crucial points in her narrative a growth in self-consciousness that enables her to reflect on her earlier self. Prince's first such reflexive moment is in the second paragraph of her *History*. Born in Bermuda in 1788, the property of Charles Myners, Prince was subsequently bought by George Darrell for his young granddaughter, Betsey, thereby passing into the hands of Captain and Sarah Williams, and was then traded among "a larger network of an extended family": Captain John and Mary Ingham, Robert Darrell, and then John and Margaret Wood. Mary Ingham, Margaret Wood, and Sarah Williams's mother Jane Darrell were all members of the Albuoy

family.[9] Prince reflects on her relationship with "little Miss Betsey Williams," who was around her own age. Prince remembers, "I was made quite a pet of by Miss Betsey, and loved her very much. She used to lead me about by the hand, and call me her little nigger. This was the happiest period of my life." She adds, "for I was too young to understand rightly my condition as a slave, and too thoughtless and full of spirits to look forward to the days of toil and sorrow" (*H*, 7). Miss Betsey has treated her as she might a companion animal, and exerted her proprietorial prerogative in objectifying her in a language of racism as "her little nigger." The sometimes companion animal that can be led by the hand is a monkey. As a mature, reasoning, and narrating subject, Prince acknowledges her naivety as a child. She does so alluding to Jeremiah 20:18: "Wherefore came I forth out of the womb to see labour and sorrow, that my days should be consumed with shame." I am quoting here from the King James Bible; in plainer English language translations, "labour" is usually rendered as "toil."[10] The prophet Jeremiah, who endured persistent persecution, succumbs to anguish in the final verses of Chapter 20, having drawn sustenance in verse 11 from the prospect of God's vengeance on his "persecutors" who "shall not prevail; they shall be greatly ashamed; for they shall not prosper." Walter Brueggemann notes of scholarly interpretation of Jeremiah's lamentations a consensus that they reveal an "intense conflicted spiritual life." God's usual response to Jeremiah's lamentations is a "divine command to be strong in the face of the hard task of [prophetic] utterance"; in Chapter 20, "a profound negativity [on Jeremiah's part] is left unanswered and unresolved."[11] Prince highlights and criticizes sharply the operation of the species boundary (human/animal) in master/slave relations. In the peroration that closes her narrative, for instance, she punctures dominant planter myths of "African degeneracy" and the "happiness" of slaves,[12] declaring the humanity of slaves in the face of their treatment as "no more . . . than beasts" (*H*, 37). Jeremiah denounced the sins of the Israelites, their "failure . . . to keep the Mosaic covenant";[13] Prince, drawing inspiration from his example and scripture, insists that the species boundary drawn by English people in the West Indies shows that they "forget God and all feeling of shame" (*H*, 37). Shame is crucial to her naming of the conditions under which slaves are forced to live and her characterization of their owners. In Christian thought the capacity for shame separates humans and animals.

In insisting that the English in the West Indies "forget God," Prince implicitly invokes a range of Old Testament warnings of the stakes of so doing: "ye shall surely perish" (Deuteronomy 8:19); incurring the "wrath of the Lord . . . insomuch as he abhorred his own inheritance" (Psalm 107:40); "ye defiled my land, and made mine heritage an abomination" (Jeremiah 2:7); "be ye horribly afraid, be ye desolate" (Jeremiah 2:12); "they shall reap

the whirlwind" (Hosea 7:9).[14] As in other early slave narratives by Christian converts, "the language of the Bible" offers trenchant "paradigms of protest, rebellion" and projected legal and "social transformation."[15] The jeremiad would become in the United States, as Daniel Howard-Pitney observes, "the earliest expression of black nationalism and key mode of antebellum Afro-American rhetoric. *Black jeremiad* is [Wilson] Moses' term for 'the constant warnings issued by blacks to whites, concerning the judgement that was to come from the sin of slavery.' "[16] The allusion to Jeremiah in the second paragraph of a dictated narrative is instructive; Baruch ben Neriah acted as Jeremiah's scribe.

The second reflexive acknowledgement of a growth in self-consciousness is in Prince's account of her conversion to Moravianism. Prince states of the Moravian Church, "I never knew rightly that I had much sin till I went there" (*H*, 29). She was about 34, a domestic slave of the Woods. John Wood was a merchant in St John's. The use of the word "rightly" in these reflexive moments lays claim to a moral perspective, and hints at the contemporary discourse of "natural rights." In appendices Strickland includes in *Negro Slavery Described by a Negro: Being the Narrative of Ashton Warner, a Native of St. Vincent's*, the Rev. William Wright refers to "the natural rights" of the slave "derived from our common parent."[17] The "common rights of God's rational creatures," a phrase used by the Rev. Joseph Orton in another Appendix,[18] include a legally recognized "civil existence,"[19] and "property . . . in their own persons" and "in their families."[20] At a Methodist prayer meeting "at a plantation called Winthorps," Prince had been moved by the participants confessing "by turns their own griefs as sinners," and becoming conscious of her "sins," she says,

> I felt sorry for my sins also. I cried the whole night, but I was too much ashamed to speak. I prayed God to forgive me. This meeting made a great impression on my mind, and led my spirit to the Moravian church; so that when I got back to town, I went and prayed to have my name put down in the Missionaries' book.
>
> (*H*, 28–29)

This is Prince's first explicit reference to a book in her narrative. She is referring, in a local idiom, to registering to attend a Moravian speaking. Speakings were private conversations, "intimate occasions intended to probe the state of an individual's 'heart.' "[21] The "great impression" that the Methodist prayer meeting made on Prince is created by the affect ("felt sorry," "cried," "ashamed") aroused by the confessional stories told. The Methodist community in Antigua was overwhelmingly black and colored. The prayers were,

Prince reports, "the first" she "ever understood" (*H*, 28). The language would have been Creole and the prayers probably extempore. The Anglican church served the planter and white merchant classes. In 1819 the Rev. W. Chaderton, the rector of St Paul's, Antigua, comments on the question of religious instruction of slaves by Anglican clergy:

> We must acquire new methods of thinking, of reasoning, and of expressing ourselves; and when we have effected this change, to make any progress in our work we must go in continual and painful pursuit of reasonable opportunities to address these people; and we must altogether abandon the care of our present congregations, as it would be utterly impossible to attend to both . . .[22]

The Moravian church urged its missionaries "to learn the language" of the people among whom they proselytized;[23] in Antigua this would have been the local Creole. The example Prince gives of confession at the prayer meeting is Henry's, and it is a telling one. A "black driver," "[he] confessed that he had treated the slaves very cruelly; but said that he was compelled to obey the orders of his master. He prayed them all to forgive him, and he prayed that God would forgive him" (*H*, 72–73). Public confession is a reparative act to a community, and is made to an audience that will potentially understand the imperatives under which he acted. He acknowledges moral loyalty to two authorities above his master and colonial law: to his community and to God. Members of the narrative community share with and entrust to each other their stories of shame.

Speakings were conducted by Moravian ministers or laity, by people of the same gender as the would-be convert or congregation member. They were very popular in Antigua, far more so than classes. John Mason points out that speakings conducted by Moravian missionaries with bondspeople could provide "a particularly rare moment of [them] being recognized as an individual and fellow human being" by white people.[24] Speakings with women would be conducted by either a wife of a missionary or by a female helper. It was Moravian practice that "women's spiritual and pastoral needs" be met largely by women.[25] Moravian missionaries did not proselytize in the white community; the helpers were from their black and colored congregation, and were called "godmothers" or "godfathers." The Moravian (United Brethren) mission in Antigua was founded in 1756 and the first local helper was appointed in 1772.[26] As I pointed out in Chapter 2, in 1824 Governor Sir Benjamin d'Urban reported 1823 data showing that 550 slaves attended Anglican services, 6,650 attended Wesleyan Methodist services, and 11,680 attended United Brethren services, altogether 18,880 of an enslaved population of 31,064. Brother Christian Frederick Richter reported the slave

congregation in St John's as 5,000; there were another about 1,500 free black and colored members of the St John's congregation. Three missionaries and their wives were then based in St John's, sharing this heavy pastoral load with helpers.[27] Initially silenced by shame at her sense of sin, Prince becomes a Moravian speaking subject through participating in speakings, attending services and classes, singing hymns, and becoming a communicant. The Moravians ran a school in St John's between 11 a.m. and 3 p.m. on Mondays and Wednesdays[28] at which, unbeknown to the Woods, she was instructed in literacy by the missionary wives Sisters Richter, Olufsen, and Sauter. "Whenever I carried the children their lunch at school, I ran round and went to hear the teachers," she reports. "After we had done spelling we tried to read in the Bible. After the reading was over, the missionary gave out a hymn for us to sing" (*H*, 29). The "sharing" of her shame with a missionary wife or "godmother" during speakings could help her to assuage "the condition of isolation and estrangement" that John D. Barbour notes "constitutes much of the curse of shame," to develop distance from the shamed self "in the process of objectifying it in words."[29]

Prince's vocabulary in her account of being drawn to Moravianism is doctrinally precise and allusive, in ways that suggest the language is largely her own. Pringle's background was Presbyterian and Strickland's Anglican, although she was a recent Congregationalist convert when she acted as Prince's amanuensis.[30] In his Supplement to *The History of Mary Prince*, Thomas Pringle writes that Prince's "views of christianity" are "indistinct" (*H*, 55). Moravian missionaries at the time acted under very specific instructions "to preach Christ, and to continue in that doctrine which is clearly set forth in the Bible, without entering into controverted points," which separated Christian denominations.[31] The Moravian revival in the eighteenth century was led by Count Nicolaus Ludwig Zinzendorf. Katherine M. Faull points out that

> Zinzendorf conceived of religion not as a matter of reason but rather a matter of the heart, a *Herzenreligion*. Accordingly, knowledge of God cannot be attained through the exercise of reason but rather through an exercise of feeling and the will. For Zinzendorf, religion was a living "impression" (*Eindruck*) made on the heart and soul (*Gemüt*) of the individual.[32]

The Methodist prayer meeting made a "great impression" on Prince's "mind" (reason and imagination); this impression "led" her "spirit" ("heart and soul") to the "Moravian church" (*H*, 29). The Moravian litany of "Baptism for Adults" with which she was familiar uses a hymn with lines, "May Christ thee sanctify and bless,/His Spirit's seal on thee impress."[33]

The language of Prince's longer account of her desire for pardon of sins suggests that Hymn 239 of the Moravian hymn book of the day had particular resonance for her. She says, "When I found that I was a great sinner, I was very sorely grieved, and very much frightened. I used to pray God to pardon my sins for Christ's sake, and forgive me for every thing I had done amiss" (*H*, 29). Hymn 239 is in Section XIII of the Moravian hymn book, "Of God's Call of Grace to the unconverted Sinner." The hymn apostrophizes the sinner. The savior

> hath seen thy grievous thrall,
> And heard thy mournful cry:
> He hath pardon to impart,
> Grace to save thee from thy fears;
> See the love that fills his heart,
> And wipe away thy tears.[34]

Moravian theology is distinctively Christocentric. Faull comments: "It is only through Jesus that the Moravian men and women come to a consciousness of their own sense of religion."[35] Hymn 239 invites sinners to "tell him all thy case" and states that "from each" of Jesus's "thousand wounds" on the cross,

> as with a tongue
> The voice of pardon sounds! . . .
> Tho' he thy transgressions hate,
> He feels for thy distress . . .[36]

Hindmarsh observes that

> [h]ymns truly punctuated the whole of Moravian life and were made personal and applied as responses to particular community narratives. It is no surprise, then, to find that most Moravian autobiographies quote hymns directly or indirectly—in fact it is so common that we must regard it as a convention of the genre . . . Typically hymns were chosen for the high points of the narrative, especially the moment of conversion, or to conclude the account.[37]

The allusion to Hymn 239 is at the high point of Prince's embedded conversion narrative.

Other Moravian hymns speak of Jesus being shamed at his crucifixion. One used in the litany of the service for "Baptism of Adults from the Heathen" refers to "Our crucified Saviour, Who hast to shame submitted"; Hymn 739 in Section XXXV, "Of the Holy Communion," speaks of "the

shameful cross."[38] The Moravian "Church Litany" and hymns encouraged identification with Jesus's suffering. Part of the "Church Litany" is

> By thy griefs and sorrows,
> By thy prayers, and tears,
> By thy having been despised and rejected,
> *Bless and comfort us, gracious Lord and God*
> By thine agony and bloody sweat,
> By thy bonds and scourgings . . .
> *Bless and comfort us, gracious Lord and God!*[39]

In the litany of "Baptism of Adults from the Heathen," the minister addresses the newly baptized person with the words, "Now art thou buried with Christ, by baptism, into his death; therefore, from henceforth live, yet not thou, but Christ live in thee!"[40] Faull draws attention to the centrality of the *Vergegenwärtigung* or personal "re-presentation, of Christ's life and death" in Moravian spiritual narrative, which often reveals the intimacies of contemplation of "Christ's passion." The "devotional vocabulary" of the so-called " 'sifting period' (that lasted in Europe from 1743–1750 and in America from 1743–51)" was notably, and controversially "sensual," especially around the meanings of the blood streaming from Jesus's body (a transfiguration of shame to redemption), and its excesses were subsequently repressed within the church, although traces of it are found in later life narratives.[41]

In his essay "The Muse of History," Derek Walcott trenchantly observes in his account of the stakes of Christian conversion in the Caribbean that the "subject African" brought to the Americas "understood too quickly the Christian rituals of a whipped, tortured and murdered redeemer."[42] The whipped, tortured, and murdered figures in Prince's narrative are those of ill-used slaves like herself and those whose treatment she has witnessed, and summarizes as shame. The Moravian identification of Jesus's passion as shame provides a trenchant vocabulary of denunciation; there is no eroticization or transfigurative spiritual reach of the shamed body in Prince's narrative. The figure "all over streaming with blood" in Prince's narrative is Hetty, an othermother-figure for her after she was sold away from her family at the age of about 12, whom Prince "call[ed] . . . Aunt" (*H*, 15). "Substitute kinship, a feature of resistance adopted in slavery," Anim-Addo observes, "compensated for some of the destructive impact of slavery on the black family."[43] Hetty died an awful death, having been "stripped quite naked," "tied up to a tree," and whipped while pregnant by Captain Ingham. She was "brought to bed before her time, and was delivered after severe labour of a dead child," and then "repeatedly flogged by both master and mistress afterwards." Prince

relates, "I cried very much for her death. The manner of it filled me with horror. I could not bear to think about it; yet it was always present to my mind for many a day" (*H*, 15–16). Given the ubiquity of slaveowners' sexual use and abuse of their bondswomen, one cannot rule out the possibility that Captain Ingham was the father of the dead child and Mary Ingham the jealous wife. Prince reports of her next owner, Mr. D—(recently identified as George Darrell, though, of course, his identity would have become common knowledge among Bermudan, Turks Island, and Antiguan readers):

> Nothing could touch his hard heart—neither sighs, nor tears, nor prayers, nor streaming blood; he was deaf to our cries, and careless of our sufferings.—Mr. D—has often stripped me naked, hung me up by the wrists, and beat me with the cow-skin, with his own hand, till my body was raw with gashes.
>
> (*H*, 20)[44]

"I have been a slave myself—," she declaims, "I know what slaves feel—I can tell by myself what other slaves feel, and by what they have told me" (*H*, 38). Telling their stories is a bid for temporal redemption from slavery—"all the poor blacks be given free, and slavery done up for evermore" in the closing words of her narrative (*H*, 38).

C. L. Innes notes that there are "three key terms or concepts which reverberate throughout" Prince's "narrative": " 'heart', 'truth' and 'freedom.' "[45] These concepts are imbricated in Moravian theology, though the freedoms imaginable are freedoms of the mind and spirit. Long-serving Moravian missionary in Antigua Brother Lewis Stobwasser writes,

> The education of the Negro children has been entirely in the hands of their parents, or of other Negroes, who, in most instances, were by no means able to do any thing for their moral or religious improvement . . . . What opportunities had Satan then to fortify them against religion, and to enslave their minds![46]

Pacquet argues that in Prince's narrative "heart is a centre of resistant subjectivity and interiority"; in the scene of Prince being sold away from her family, "heart" is, she writes, "an alternative to the material measure of the marketplace as a measure of the moral and ethical sensibility that governs the well-being of individuals in society."[47] Heart also has this valency in Moravian discourse. But like other narrators and authors of early slave narratives, Prince "translate[s] the paradigm of spiritual deliverance into a schema of secular liberation . . . and political protest."[48] Within the Creole benevolent networks in Antigua led by Anne Gilbert, the hard heart is the sign of the corruption of plantation slavery cultures. Prince's opening of her heart for her audience and

for her "good friend" Strickland (*H*, 38) has a precedent in her participation in speakings.

Given Prince's fairly limited literacy training, her familiarity with the genre of Moravian conversion would have been acquired through Moravian cultural practices, which include, as well as speakings, hymn singing, and Bible reading, other "oral forms of religious testimonial and storytelling," which might provide "models" for narrative "composition":[49] exhortation, testifying at love feasts (meetings of thanksgiving), and the *Lebenslauf* (life course). *Lebensläufe*, Moravian memoirs, were read at Moravian funerals and meetings. It is important to acknowledge that arcs of Prince's narrative and the Creole vocabulary of the original dictated text would already have been developed in some of these oral performative contexts. Zinzendorf's motive for encouraging the collation of memoirs was the enabling of communities to farewell congregation members at their deaths. Members were advised to, "if possible, write down something of their own course of grace or dictate it to someone."[50] An account of their deaths would be added by a witness to it. From 1747, it was common practice that the "memoir of the departed person . . . be read at the service of song, or *Singstunde*, on the day he or she was buried in order that one could wish 'vale to their soul, just as when as a final gesture one gives a handshake and says farewell.' "[51] Versions of a *Lebenslauf* might also be "included in the *Gemeinnachrichten*, the handwritten 'newsletter' that was circulated to all the Moravian communities around the globe,"[52] or in church journals such as *Periodical Accounts Relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren, Established among the Heathen*. Conversion was a high point in the narratives.

In 1829 the *Lebenslauf* of Antiguan Salome Cuthbert (c. 1732–1828) was published in *Periodical Accounts*. Cuthbert died after Prince left Antigua for England and belonged to the Gracehill congregation rather than the Spring Gardens congregation in St John's, and, like Prince, would have been familiar with the conventions of the *Lebenslauf*. In the dictated section of her *Lebenslauf*, Cuthbert says that the Methodist meetings she began attending c. 1774 "did not make any abiding impression on me," implying that the Moravian services she later attended did.[53] It is contemplation of the implications of Jesus's crucifixion in relation to her own sinfulness that converts her to Moravianism. Her preparation for baptism is assisted by speakings with Sister Bibiana Brown, the wife of long-serving missionary Brother Peter Brown.[54] Cuthbert's dictated narrative of two paragraphs makes no reference to her enslavement, focusing rather on the spiritual journey from the Methodist meetings to the climactic moment of her and her husband's "admission to the Holy Communion in the year 1781."[55]Her narrative, like many other self-authored or dictated sections of *Lebensläufe*, is "shaped by

liturgical rhythms, stressing the importance of formal ecclesiastical rites."[56] For Cuthbert, these rites were baptism and communion. For Prince, given her earlier baptism, these rites include communion, the admission of her would-be husband to baptism and communion, and marriage according to Moravian rite. Moravian marriages were not recognized in Antiguan law before 1844.[57] A missionary or missionary wife has provided the account of Cuthbert's subsequent life and her death (nine paragraphs), including such staples of the genre as employment, change in marital status, and mention of children and grandchildren. In this second part, references to her employments as a slave and her having been freed are made. Here Cuthbert is compared with a biblical figure, Anna (Luke 2:36–38), a prophetess, who, like her, had a long widowhood and life, and devoted herself to the church, its community, worship, and prayer.[58] Prince, like free colored Methodist leader Anne Gilbert and the multiracial evangelical Creole benevolent sphere she developed in Antigua, models her converted self in part on the "virtuous woman" of Proverbs 31, a model discernable through allusion.[59]

The missionary or missionary wife who completed Cuthbert's *Lebenslauf* describes Cuthbert executing her "general helper" role at Gracehill as a "most faithful mother" to "other negro-servants," "reproving, admonishing, and advising them for their temporal and spiritual welfare."[60] The role clearly accommodates the othermothering practices around community leadership, education, and fostering, which are important in African diasporic cultures.[61] Helpers were expected "to maintain diligent pastoral care," "to assist the members with spiritual advice and experience," "to visit the sick and ascertain the needs of the poor," "to endeavour to preserve the peace and to reconcile differences," "to meet with the different groups of the congregation under the immediate superintendence of the missionaries," and "to converse freely and confidentially with groups of communicants, baptised adults and catechumens concerning their lives, seeking to lead them onward in the way of faith and holiness"; "they were frequently used in the offices of public and private exhortation, the reading and exposition of Scripture, the burial of the dead and other pastoral duties."[62] Giving evidence in Wood v. Pringle, Prince revealed that her first recourse when she discovered her long-time partner Captain Abbott having sex with another woman was to take the woman "next day to the Moravian black leader." The helper's efforts to keep the peace and mediate between the women failed on this occasion, as the unnamed other woman "denied" her actions, and Prince reportedly "licked [i.e. whipped] her again" (Appendix 3, *H*, 102). When she was 12 (c. 1800), Prince had been hired out by Sarah Williams to the local Pruden family; within months of Mrs. Williams's death, Captain Williams sold her away from her family to finance his marriage to a long-time mistress. The pain of

separation from her mother and siblings is harrowingly recorded. As already noted, the early othermother in Prince's life is Hetty.[63] While there are women who help Prince between Hetty's death and her conversion, none fulfils an othermothering role.

The stock opening of a *Lebenslauf* is "I was born."[64] Cuthbert opens her account with "I was born at Body-Pond in Antigua."[65] Prince's narrative begins, "I was born at Brackish-Pond, in Bermuda" (*H*, 7). The first paragraph of the *History of Mary Prince* also provides the standard information about parental occupation and family social position usually given in the opening paragraphs of *Lebensläufe*. Gates, rather, traces the genealogy of the "I was born" opening sentence of slave narratives back to Ukawsaw Gronniosaw's *A Narrative of the Most Remarkable Particulars in the Life of James Albert Ukawsaw Gronniosaw, An African Prince, as Related by Himself* (1772), a foundational slave narrative. C. L. Innes notes of the opening of *History of Mary Prince,*

> There is no genealogy, no list of ancestral forebears, no description of geographic features or landscape—only the bare assertion of existence. Here Mary Prince's narrative contrasts with Asa-Asa's, or Equiano's and Gronniosaw's, and those of others who remember an African (and free) childhood, a place of origin to which they belong and which they can claim as their own.[66]

Negro Slavery Described by a Negro: Being the Narrative of Ashton Warner, a Native of St. Vincent's, taken down and edited by Strickland, begins "I was born in the Island of St Vincent's, and baptized by the name of Ashton Warner, in the parish church, by the Rev. Mr Gildon."[67] The opening paragraph, though, moves far beyond the scope of that in *History of Mary Prince* to give the history of Warner's aunt Daphne Crosbie's efforts to manumit family and friends.

Faull observes that the *Lebenslauf* authorizes "inclusion of detail of one's secular life in order to demonstrate the action of God's will and grace";[68] that Cuthbert and Cornelius, a helper in Saint Thomas, choose to tell so little of their lives to elucidate "something of their own course of grace" exhibits a recourse to a Moravian ideal of quietism. It is significant, then, that these are the Caribbean life narratives published by the Moravian church during the plantation slavery period. As I pointed out in Chapter 3, the English translation of Cornelius's life, compiled by missionaries, had a wide appeal in the early nineteenth century, being published in slightly different versions in 1803, 1805, 1820, and 1823 for Moravian, Methodist, and Anglican audiences. "[A]ble to write and speak the Creol, Dutch, Danish, German and English languages," Cornelius refused to leave "any written account of his

life, though often encouraged to do it," thinking himself, and this speech is reported in quotation marks, "a poor sinner, and the chief of sinners" and Jesus's "great mercy" being "alone . . . worth speaking of."[69] Hindmarsh notes generally that such formulations are a distinctive and "characteristic Moravian diction" evincing an "ideal of the spiritual life"—quietism (stillness is John Wesley's term)—a "whole ethos of self-yielding, self-abasing resignation to the will of God and the will of the community."[70] Prince invokes this ideal in naming herself a "great sinner" (*H*, 29). The missionaries in Saint Thomas in Cornelius's last days "only relate so much" of his life "as our long acquaintance with him enables us to do" and add one of his discourses (sermons) already recorded in Christian Oldendorp's *Geschichte der Mission der evangelischen Brüder auf den Caribischen Inseln S. Thomas, S. Croix und S. Jan* (1877). The missionaries chart Cornelius's progress as a pious Moravian, including the "strong . . . impression" Brother Frederic Martin's admonitions about worldliness had on him, the "grace" he experienced after he became a communicant, and his exemplary quietism.[71] A master mason, Cornelius, who was baptized in 1749 and became an assistant in 1754, purchased his freedom in 1767. He earlier purchased the freedom of his wife, and later that of his children. He died in 1801, at age 84 by his reckoning. His Christocentric discourse is on the theme of Jesus's "mercy." He is drawn to prophetic biblical verses,[72] and represents "negroes" as the Ethiopians of Isaiah 18:7, Gentiles, "*a people scattered and peeled.—A Nation meted out and trodden under foot*" who will be "*brought . . . to the place of the name of the Lord of Hosts, the Mount Zion*."[73] In his view Jesus's mercy has the capacity to make the person and a community "with a believing heart . . . whole" and "well." The peroration on the theme of "giv[ing] ourselves *wholly* to our Saviour"[74] illustrates fulsomely Zinzendorf's idea that faith is a "matter of the heart."[75] In its seven sentences the heart is mentioned four times, including in the statement of personal faith: "I have experienced his grace in my heart, and felt his love towards me: This he gives me daily to feel."[76]

Prince's life does not exhibit the depth of quietism of Salome Cuthbert's or of Cornelius's demurring over writing a memoir. Prince, by contrast, emphasizes in her peroration, which Pringle notes is "given as nearly as . . . possible in Mary's precise words" (*H*, 37n.), that the condition of the slave is not one of grace, but of being "disgraced and thought no more of than beasts" by shameless slaveowners, "whip[ped] . . . in such a disgraceful manner" (*H*, 37). Shame also provides a vocabulary in which to discuss sexual assaults by Mr. D—:

> He had an ugly fashion of stripping himself quite naked, and ordering me then to wash him in a tub of water. This was worse to me than all the licks.

> Sometimes when he called me to wash him I would not come, my eyes were so full of shame. He would then come to beat me. One time I had plates and knives in my hand, and I dropped both plates and knives, and some of the plates were broken. He struck me so severely for this, that at last I defended myself, for I thought it was high time to do so. I then told him I would not live longer with him, for he was a very indecent man—very spiteful, and too indecent; with no shame for his servants, no shame for his own flesh.
>
> (*H*, 24)

As O'Callaghan observes, in the accounts of such moments of confrontation, it is "important . . . to attend to traces of an oral Creole account in the scribal text" in the "socio-linguistic ritual of 'tracing' or 'throwing word.' "[77] Ownership of shame is transferred to Darrell.

Increasingly in the wake of the British abolition of its slave trade in 1807, Christianization of enslaved people was represented as crucial to amelioration of their conditions. The 1823 slave amelioration measures passed by the British parliament—and widely resisted by local West Indian legislatures—proposed an intensification of efforts to Christianize slaves, especially through religious instruction, encouragement of monogamy, and a ban on the whipping of bondswomen. In relation to the imperatives of amelioration, the import of Prince's shaming of slaveowners is that the promise of Christian baptism—"*newness of life*" according to Moravian liturgy, "new birth" in Methodist idiom[78]—cannot be fulfilled for the bondswoman or bondsman and a questioning of the status of slaveholding cultures as branches of a true Christendom.

In his account of contact between Wotjobaluk people and Moravian missionaries in southern Australia, Robert Kenny writes of a partial "convergence" of spiritual "idiom" between belief systems as an aspect of the "dynamic of conversion."[79] A sense of the efficacy of prophecy and of a "mystical Providence"[80] characterize both Sub-Saharan African and Moravian spiritual idioms. Cornelius relies on prophetic verses to ground his faith, understanding of grace, and communal Providence; the experience or account of Sarah Moore, Jr., a free colored Moravian helper in St John's, formerly a Methodist, who preached in her home on Sunday evenings in the 1820s and 1830s to largely female audiences[81] is a remarkable testimony to the syncretization of African and Christian spiritual idioms, especially around prophetic vision and a spirit world that shapes one's destiny.[82]

Prince chafes under the resignation to Providence enjoined on slaves by the Moravian hierarchy in Europe, and the chafing, called "fretting" toward the end of her narrative (*H*, 37), underpins the identification with Jeremiah in his anguish. Pringle writes in the Supplement of being moved by Prince's "spirits daily sinking under the sickening influence of hope deferred" (*H*, 42). With

reference to stock biblical justifications of slavery, Moravian missionaries were instructed to teach enslaved West Indian people

> to be obedient to their masters, for it is not a matter of chance, but of God, that they are come into that state, and he has his wise reasons for it, which we do not altogether understand . . . Christ has not promised, what the world calls good and easy days, to those who follow him . . . . [I]f a negro who is a slave, should imagine, that after his conversion, he should no more be treated severely by his master, he might perhaps experience the contrary to his own confusion . . . . Our Lord Jesus Christ himself experienced very great difficulties in this world, but he bore them patiently. We, through his grace, are to do the same.[83]

Prince "confess[es]" that such resignation is "a hard and heavy task" (*H*, 37). The Moravian Church in Antigua owned nine slaves in 1821.[84] The attitude of the Woods to her marriage frustrates the "newness of life" promised by her and her free husband's conversion. "I had not much happiness in my marriage, owing to my being a slave." Mrs. Wood, she reports earlier, "was always abusing me about him. She did not lick me herself, but she got her husband to do it for her, whilst she fretted the flesh off my bones" (*H*, 30). The verb "to fret" is used to describe the gnawing action of small animals; fretted flesh, though, also suggests the body that bears the marks of whipping. Prince, then, makes an analogy between the effect of physical punishment and the effect of violence exacted through language. Butler's comment that "[c]ertain words or certain forms of address not only operate as threats to one's physical well-being, but there is a strong sense in which the body is alternately sustained and threatened through modes of address" is apposite.[85] Under the terms of the 1798 Amelioration Acts, the marriage imposed financial obligations on the Woods and provided some protections for Prince, including the criminalization of rape of her by white men.[86]

In plantation slavery culture, the power of naming generally rested with slaveowners; Christian converts sometimes chose their baptismal names. Cornelius, Salome, Mary, and Daniel (Prince's husband's name) are biblical names. Cornelius, for example, is a Gentile, baptized by Peter, an act that gives rise to the lesson, "Then hath God also to the Gentiles granted repentance unto life" (Acts 11:18). Salome is mentioned in Mark 16:1 as one of the women who witnessed Jesus's resurrection in the sepulchre. Prince had been baptized an Anglican by Rev. James Curtin, a missionary for the Negro Conversion Incorporated Society, in 1817. The Woods called Prince Molly and this is the name entered in slave registration lists from Antigua.[87] Pringle writes in a footnote:

> She possesses a copy of Mrs Trimmer's "Charity School Spelling Book," presented to her by the Rev. Mr Curtin, and dated August 30, 1817. In this book her name is written "Mary, Princess of Wales"—an appellation which, she says, was given her by her owners. It is a common practice with the colonists to give ridiculous names of this description to their slaves; being, in fact, one of the numberless modes of expressing the habitual contempt with which they regard the negro race.—In printing this narrative we have retained Mary's paternal name of Prince.
>
> (*H*, 29n)

If Prince had chosen the baptismal name Mary—possibly after Mary, mother of Jesus, or Mary Magdalene—the "appellation" mocks her measure of liberty in so doing. Prince applied to join the Fetter Lane Moravian congregation in London under the name Mary Prince. That Curtin writes the derogatory name in the one-syllable word spelling book suggests his acceptance of the values of the white elite. Antiguan resident Dr. Thomas Coull, who drew the publication of *The History of Mary Prince* to the attention of leading British proslavery journalist James MacQueen, calls the narrative *Life of Mary, Princess of Wales*.[88] He had connections with the Darrell family.[89]

In a July 1831 article in the *Glasgow Courier*, MacQueen attacks Prince's relation of her story as a spectacle of dissimulation. Recycling a satirical stereotype of Methodist religious enthusiasm to call into question the sincerity of Prince's religious conversion and the truth of her narrative, he states that Pringle "sees nothing but purity in a prostitute, because she knew how and when to utter the name of the Deity, to turn up the whites of her eyes, and to make a perfect mockery of religion."[90] He conflates Prince's Moravianism with Methodism and antislavery agitation with Methodism, Methodism becoming a metonym for evangelicism. In an 1828 article on Sierra Leone in *Blackwood's Magazine*, he gives vent to his view of the sexual licentiousness of African women; it is for him a sign of their innate barbarism.[91] In labelling Prince a prostitute, MacQueen falls back on his racist view of her as a type, and suggests the fraudulence of her demand for "natural" rights concomitant with Christian religious conversion. In quoting from a letter purportedly by Daniel James, he italicizes a reference to Prince as his "*late wife*"[92] to highlight his sense of the shallowness of ties solemnized by Moravians and of Christianization of people of African descent.[93] The attacks were damaging to Prince. Her application to join the Fetter Lane congregation was turned down on grounds of her character and circumstances.[94]

Pringle outlines the Anti-Slavery Society's unsuccessful efforts to secure Prince her full freedom in a Supplement to *The History of Mary Prince* and also his efforts to establish the truth of Prince's account of her life. The account includes editorializing commentary on the conduct of the Woods,

especially John Wood. Pringle omitted from a reproduced letter of Wood to Mr. Taylor, Secretary to the Governor of the Leeward Islands Sir Patrick Ross, his allegation of Prince's sexual "depravity" as a more general sign of "her baseness" (*H*, 44). Pringle replaced the allegation with three asterisks, because, he explains in a footnote,

> it is too indecent to appear in a publication to be perused by females. It is, in all probability, a vile calumny; but even if it were perfectly true, it would not serve Mr. Wood's case one straw.—Any reader who wishes it, may see the passage referred to, in the autograph letter in my possession.
>
> (*H*, 44)

This action would expose Pringle to libelous humor and become the basis of one of the specific counts of libel cited by Wood, a count that meant that Prince could be subjected to questioning about her sexual history in court. It also grounds David Dabydeen's use of Pringle as a type of the antislavery recorder of slave narratives in his 1999 novel *A Harlot's Progress*.[95] Prince cites a doctor's description of her to Mrs. Wood as a "sickly body" (*H*, 76), "quite done up" in the language of her closing peroration by the work regimes of slavery, and it is the sickly body of the slave, predominantly a female body in her narrative, which becomes metonymic for her of the institution and ethics of slavery. Prince anticipates that abolition will mean that "slavery done up for evermore" (*H*, 84). Barbara Baumgartner argues that Prince uses her "physical ailments" as a " 'rhetoric of complaint' " about her work conditions and lack of civil freedoms under slavery. "In relating her life story, Prince employs strategies of omission and deflection regarding all matters relating to sex, including any abusive sexual experiences from which she probably suffered." As Baumgartner observes, it is "Pringle's decision to print the letter" of John Wood in the Supplement, and to address the allegations of depravity at some length, which redirects attention "from the disabled-turned-resistant body (Prince's portrayal) to a sexualized body (Pringle/Wood portrayal)," leading to an apparent "conflat[ion]" of "textual and sexual integrity," which "undermines Prince's credibility."[96] Jenny Sharpe points out, "Prince's voice-agency is linked to her sexuality inasmuch as the truth of her testimony hinges on her abstinence from extra-marital relations, forced or otherwise."[97]

In Prince's evidence in Wood v. Pringle, she reportedly referred to relationships with a free black man named Oyskman and a white man Captain Abbott. She was excluded from the Moravian congregation for "seven weeks . . . in consequence of her connexion" with the latter. I have read two reports of the trial; scholars have generally relied on a tendentious summary in the *Times*. The *Times* report is, however, a very brief summary suitable for the

column space available in a daily newspaper (c. 5,000 words or 40 minutes of speaking time covering a trial that lasted 17 hours "without interruption");[98] it omits the terms of the judgment in relation to costs, leaves legal questions opaque, and contains errors.[99] Names are misspelled and the implicit chronology of Prince's reported account of her relationship with Samuel Abbott is historically inaccurate.[100] The extensive trial, then, has been harshly and misleadingly edited for publication, the editing even suggesting that her testimony incriminated Pringle. In the *Times* summary Prince concedes that she "told" her amanuensis Susanna Strickland about Oyskman and Abbott "when that lady took down her narrative. These statements were not in the narrative published by the defendant" (Appendix 3, *H*, 103). In its report, the *Christian Advocate* noted that the prosecution offered no evidence or proof of Prince's "immorality."[101] The Woods's married daughter Mary Caroline Bennet reportedly testified under cross-examination that she "[n]ever heard of any charge of immorality against Mary Prince."[102]

To read the gap, silences and suppressions around sex and sexuality in Prince's narrative critics have adopted an intertextual approach, referring details of the text to other slave narratives like Harriet Jacobs's *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl, Written by Herself*, to histories of women under slavery, and to popular songs of the period. Jenny Sharpe's reading of *The History of Mary Prince* in *Ghosts of Slavery: A Literary Archaeology of Black Women's Lives* is a fine example of this intertextual approach. Following Toni Morrison, she argues that the silences around sex and sexuality are what must be "forgotten" "to make" slave experience " 'palatable to those who are in a position to alleviate it.' " She presents her own intertextual approach as a response to the research question, "How can we read the slave narrative as a record of what the slave could not speak into being or was obliged to forget?"[103] David Scott argues that "postcolonialism has continued to be concerned with exposing the *negative* structure of colonialism's power and with demonstrating the colonized's agency in resisting and overcoming these conditions."[104] For Sharpe, Moira Ferguson, A. M. Rauwerda, and others the silencing or strategic disremembering around sex and the sexual exploitation of enslaved women are key signs of the "*negative* structure of colonialism's power."[105] The omissions from *The History of Mary Prince* suggested by the *Times* report of Wood v. Pringle, omissions about which Prince might well have given much more testimony touching on the editing of her narrative and her part in it, have been used by contemporary scholars to suggest that Pringle and Strickland suppressed her sexual history in order to present her as a Christian convert, a characterization of editor and amanuensis that draws on a religious stereotype of prudish dissenters and evangelicals. *The History of Mary Prince* circulated with other pamphlets *The Black Widow* and *Poor Black Kate*,

about Betto Douglas and Kate, a bondswoman of the Mosses, respectively, the antislavery agitation around neither of whose "cases" was predicated on them being Christian converts.[106] Jenny Sharpe reads Prince's relationships with Abbott and other men referred to in her *History* as almost certainly "arrangement[s] . . . to serve as [a] concubine in exchange for her purchase price," and suggests that this aspect of the instrumental use of enslaved women's sexuality has been occluded by Pringle; Strickland scarcely figures in her chapter on Prince. In Sharpe's reading, acting as a white man's concubine is strategic on Prince's part, concordant with enslaved women's negotiation of "greater autonomy" through "reappropriation of their presumed availability."[107]

While Joseph Phillips, whose corroboration of Prince's narrative is included in the Supplement, urges of Wood's letter, "The tale of the slave Molly's immoralities, be assured, was not intended for Antigua so much as for Stoke Newington, and Peckham, and Aldermanbury" (*H*, 52), that Prince had been a concubine would not have shocked a British public. It might have been read as a sign of the notorious sexual laxity, the "morally dubious practices" of British colonists in plantation slavery cultures.[108] Ferguson's claim that the Anti-Slavery Society demanded that the "[w]omen whose cause they sponsored . . . not be seen to be involved in any situation (even if the women were forcibly coerced) that smacked of sin and moral corruption"[109] is far too sweeping. In editorializing on the case of Betto Douglas, Pringle acknowledges that she had been "kept in concubinage by a white man, probably the attorney or overseer on the estate, such being, with very rare exceptions, the common practice of the whites connected with plantations in all our slave colonies," and highlights the radical inequalities of such relationships that problematize the question of consent. He writes that the white man "whether she were a willing object or otherwise, possessed such means of enforcing compliance as no poor creature in such circumstances could well be expected to resist."[110]

Through humbled analogy Strickland reveals in her Introduction to *Negro Slavery Described by a Negro* that her labors as amanuensis and editor have also been inspired in part by the sublime example of "disinterested benevolence" proffered by Warner's aunt, Daphne Crosbie, a freed slave. Crosbie had used a small legacy from her common-law husband, described by Warner as "a coloured gentleman" (*N*, 18), to buy out of slavery her family, including her sister with baby Ashton at her breast, and former co-workers. (Aged ten, and apprenticed to a cooper, Ashton Warner was re-enslaved on dubious legal grounds by a Mr. Wilson, the new owner of the estate on which his mother had been a slave.) The first Appendix in *Negro Slavery* is the Deed of Manumission that Crosbie as a "free black woman" signed with her mark X on May 23, 1821, to free Plassey, John Baptiste, Ashton, Margaret,

and Archibald, "giving and hereby granting . . . all the rights and privileges of free-born British subjects" (*N*, 66–67). (The year given may be a misprint, as it does not accord with the chronology of Warner's narrative.) Strickland describes her as "labouring with Christian love to redeem others who had shared with her the sorrows and shames of servitude" "under every disadvantage of colour and education," "affectionate and generous . . . devoting all her little property to the emancipation of her former companions in bondage," a person who would "do honour to any nation and to any rank" (*N*, 14). Warner describes Crosbie as "Christian, though a black woman" (*N*, 19), referencing perhaps the ways in which Christianity was often "a dense transfer point—a repository of qualities available for diversion into British national character and whiteness."[111] Strickland implicitly draws out her own difference as a privilege that obligates her to action: she is free by birth, not manumission, white, English, of a well-educated class. Her own labor is a "widow's mite" for the antislavery cause. "[T]hose who love the truth will not deem it unworthy because its value is but humble," she writes (*N*, 16). Strickland as editor does not question or quibble with Warner's account of Daphne Crosbie having "a good character": "There was not a person on the island who did not speak well of Daphne Crosbie: black or white it was all the same" (*N*, 20). Strickland adopts a relativist position on Crosbie's relationship with her de facto husband, as does Pringle on Prince's relationships through inclusion of the voice of long-time Antiguan resident Joseph Phillips.

At the Writing Scene: Thomas Pringle and Susanna Strickland

In March 1833, barely a month after the judgment against him in Wood v. Pringle, Pringle places Prince's narrative among a range of "melancholy histories," which counter the "fairy tales" about domestic slaves peddled by a line of proslavery writers such as Bryan Edwards (*The History, Civil and Commercial, of the British Colonies in the West Indies*, 1793), Henry Nelson Coleridge (*Six Months in the West Indies in 1825*, 1826), and F. W. N. Bayley (*Four Years Residence in the West Indies*, 1830). Those tales, in Pringle's view, present " 'domestic favourites' " as "fettered only by silken chains, and, like the pampered minions of a Turkish haram, knowing no severer duties than to minister to the pleasures and share in the luxuries of their indulgent lords."[112] In *Blackwood's Magazine*, MacQueen had misquoted Joseph Phillips's characterization of Prince as having been viewed by the Woods as "their most respectable and trustworthy female slave" (quoted in *H*, 50), transcribing this as "a *confidential and favourite servant*," and citing evidence of indulgences to Prince noted by various Antiguan residents.[113] In the *Glasgow Courier*, MacQueen represented Rev. Curtin as having thought Prince "when she

attended his church, . . . the plump, gaily-dressed favourite, if not pampered servant, and without a single complaint against her owners."[114] Appearing as a character witness for the Woods in Wood v. Pringle, Dr. John M'Goul reportedly said that Prince "appeared to be favourite with her mistress."[115] The word melancholy has a number of resonances: "depressing" and "deplorable" for the subject of the history and the reader, and "conducive to reflection" on the institution of slavery on the part of subject and reader (*OED*). The three named histories that have "plainly unveiled" "the real history of the house of bondage," and are representative of those "of a hundred other victims of colonial 'humanity,' " are those of Prince, Betto Douglas, and Kitty Hilton.[116] The phrase "house of bondage" is a biblical allusion to slavery (Exodus 13:3). For Pringle the genre of Prince's narrative is the history as opposed to fantasy or myth ("fairy tales"); antislavery efforts on behalf of individual slaves are "cases." The term history in the title of Prince's life, probably provided by Pringle as the editor, echoes its use in John Jea's *The Life, History, and Unparalleled Sufferings of John Jea, the African Preacher: Compiled and Written by Himself* (c. 1815) and Wedderburn's *The Horrors of Slavery; Exemplified in the Life and History of the Rev. Robert Wedderburn, V.D.M.* (1824).[117] MacQueen insists in *Blackwood's* that Pringle "compiled and published" a "pretended history" of Prince; later in the *Glasgow Courier* he writes that Pringle "wrote and made up the story."[118] In the furor over *The History of Mary Prince*, to which Pringle drew Strickland's attention,[119] her work as an amanuensis is not acknowledged outside Wood v. Pringle. Placing Pringle's and Strickland's work in broader contexts and reading it intertextually alongside related material by them enables a fuller and more nuanced appreciation of it.

Betto Douglas's claims to freedom were first brought to Pringle's attention by the publication of a British House of Commons Parliamentary Paper "Of all Communications respecting the prosecution of a Person of the name of *Cardin*, for the cruel treatment of a Female Slave belonging to the Earl of Romney" (No. 287) in 1827. Pringle had taken on the role of Secretary of the Anti-Slavery Society in September 1826. The "Communications" show that Betto Douglas, from Saint Kitts, whose age was given as 52 in 1826 and who is identified as a "mulatto," believed that an attorney of Lord Romney's John Goldfrap had successfully recommended to Lord Romney that she be freed, and that the current attorney Richard Cardin had not followed instructions issued by her owner. She had two children Cleisby and Sawney Frazer, whom she also believed were to be freed if she could raise a purchase price of "twenty-five joes each." She worked as a domestic slave in the home of the Cardins. One day in 1822, Douglas had been told by Mrs. Cardin to look after the younger Cardin children Helen and William. One of Douglas's sons had an

accident "cutting physic-nut . . . a stick run in his foot, and [Douglas] thought he was cramped." She "begged" the "young ladies" of the house to look after Helen and William "while [she] prepared a poultice for his foot." Mrs. Cardin "got into a rage" with her, "scold[ing]" her "for not being with the [Cardin] children," and told her husband that she "would not have [Douglas] any more with them."[120] As Anim-Addo points out, "In the racialised battle for complete control of the enslaved's body, maternity is read as an affront, resistance and contradiction warranting further and exemplary punishment."[121] In West Indian parlance Richard Cardin then hired Douglas to herself, meaning that, as James Stephen put the matter in his gloss on the case, she could "work for her own benefit under such employers as she could find, paying a monthly rent for that use of her own bodily faculties, clear of all charges for her maintenance."[122] The rent, she remonstrated to Cardin, was too high, and struggling to make the rental payments, she approached the son of Goldfrap's successor, who had received Romney's letter of instruction, to revive the issue of her and her sons' manumissions. When she got into arrears on the rent, Cardin imprisoned her for two weeks, until her children made up the debt by borrowing the necessary shortfall. With the support of Goldfrap, she petitioned the Governor Charles Maxwell on April 26, 1825, on the question of her right to manumission.

Cardin was so enraged at being called to account and possibly also at Douglas's refusal to continue paying the rent that he had Douglas, "then ow[ing] for three months hire," put in the stocks on Romney's property for over six months of 1825 (from May 17 to December 2), with little relief. Magistrates, acting under Maxwell's instruction after he heard news of the cruel treatment, ordered her release pending an investigation of Cardin's treatment of her. The magistrates found that the exact duration of the imprisonment in the stocks could not be proved on the evidence of Douglas and a sick nurse, probably also a bondswoman, therefore they could not "decide the question of the punishment being excessive" and commented that "Betto Douglas's conduct has evinced great insubordination, highly injurious to the property," "recommend[ing]" that she "be returned to the estate, and placed at such light work as Mr. Cardin may please to direct." Cardin had refused to testify about his treatment of her on the grounds that he could incriminate himself.[123]

The Attorney-General of Saint Kitts preferred a Bill of Indictment against Cardin for his cruel confinement of Douglas in the stocks that caused her "great pain and anguish" and was "against the peace of our said Lord the King, his crown and dignity." The Grand Jury returned the Bill "regretting that a prosecution should have been founded on so frivolous a complaint, and supported only by the slender evidence adduced before them, whereby

the feelings of an honourable, humane and respectable man [Cardin] have been considerably wounded unnecessarily, and his character . . . attempted to be assailed." Maxwell referred the papers around the case to Earl Bathurst, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, who expressed his disgust at the judicial findings and at Cardin's "utterly . . . disproportionate" "punishment" of Douglas. It takes some work and close reading to piece together this narrative from the various papers. The papers include Douglas's petition signed with her mark X, prepared for her, and a transcription of her evidence before the magistrates from which the questions posed to her have been deleted. The evidence, which may have been cut rather than reported verbatim for the transcript, retains a range of idiomatic expressions.[124]

In covering this case for the *Anti-Slavery Monthly Reporter* in June 1827, Pringle uses cited details of the transcript, liberal quotation from Earl Bathurst's reply to Maxwell, and lengthy summary and editorializing on his own part to show how it offers

> striking illustrations of the spirit and influence of slavery—not merely as it prompts the master to acts of cruelty and oppression, but as it operates to subvert and vitiate the best sympathies of our nature, to such an extent as to render slaveholders, generally speaking, unfit to discharge the functions of legislation or of judicature towards the enslaved population.

Going much further than the circumspect Bathurst in his commentary on individuals and the judiciary, he sharply criticizes Lord Romney. The case also shows, he argues with reference to the income Romney derived from the rent and a harsh punishment regime,

> [t]he real source of those revenues which enable the owners of West Indian estates to vie with the nobles of the land in every luxurious enjoyment; which enable them even to purchase those seats in parliament that give security to their uncontrolled power of exaction; and thus enable them also to maintain a system which violates with impunity every obligation of justice and humanity, every maxim of constitutional law, and every precept of the gospel.[125]

He editorializes on the conduct of Cardin and Romney in the same vein as he does on the conduct of John Wood, using the commentary to condemn the institution of slavery. In reading the parliamentary paper, Pringle, it emerged, made an inaccurate inference that he had to correct in a subsequent issue of the *Anti-Slavery Monthly Reporter*: that Douglas had "purchased, of Lord Romney, the freedom of her two sons."[126] In his first coverage of the case, he had editorialized with notable pathos on the character of this "poor worn-out female . . . this poor creature":

> She had already meritoriously exerted herself, while health and strength were continued to her, and before the ravages of age had enfeebled her frame, to effect the redemption of her two sons—magnanimously preferring their emancipation to her own. And when this meritorious conduct had produced an impression on the agent of Lord Romney, and on his Lordship also, leading them to use language calculated to excite a confident expectation of receiving her own gratuitous manumission from the bounty of his Lordship—she is threatened, at her advanced age, with flogging and the field, for daring to prefer such a claim.

In noting Douglas's contribution of "nine pounds a year" to Romney's income, he writes of "the toil of a wretched female, who has already worn out her strength, not only by the labours of nearly half a century for her master's benefit, but by effecting besides the redemption of her two sons from the stocks and the cartwhip."[127] In the correction Pringle states that the error, "does not affect the enormity of the case," which is one of "cruelty" on the part of Cardin and unacceptable conduct on the part of the grand jury "who presented, as a nuisance, the Governor's reference of that atrocity to a court of justice."[128]

In representing Douglas as a victim of cruelty and an oppressive plantation slavery culture and as deserving of pity and activism on her behalf, Pringle draws on her evidence, which is closer to her oral speech than the petition. He quotes passages that show her self-assertion in remonstrating with Cardin and his son Richard over the rent and her understandings of the direction from Romney to manumit her. In his Preface to *The History of Mary Prince*, Pringle explains his editorial practice:

> It was written out fully, with all the narrator's repetitions and prolixities, and afterwards pruned into its present shape; retaining as far as was practicable, Mary's exact expressions and peculiar phraseology. No fact of importance has been omitted, and not a single circumstance or sentiment has been added. It is essentially her own, without any material alteration farther than was requisite to exclude redundancies and gross grammatical errors, so as to render it clearly intelligible.
>
> (*H*, 3)

Undoubtedly, traces of her patois or Creole were amended. A comparison of passages from the record of the oral examination of Betto Douglas by magistrates and Pringle's recounting of her case reveals examples of removal of possible redundancy and correction of grammar, especially through amendment of punctuation. In the record of examination, for example, Douglas reportedly said,

> . . . Mr. Cardin told me I must go and work out for three and a half dollars a month; I told him I was not able to give that price, and he would insist on it, and I went; and after I found it was so hard, I went to him again and told him the times were hard I was not able to give that price, that I sold all I had to pay the money; and he would insist; I then said I had nothing to give him unless I went upon the highways and committed something bad; he would insist upon the money.[129]

The punctuation is supplied by the recorder, who would have regulated Creole pronunciation and grammar and probably some Creole phraseology. Pringle quotes this passage as

> Mr Cardin told me I must go and work out for three and a half dollars a month. I told him I was not able to give that price: and he would insist, and I went. And after I found it was so hard, I went to him again, and told him the times were hard—I was not able to give that price—that I sold all I had to pay the money: and he would insist. I then said I had nothing to give him, unless I went upon the highways, and committed something bad. He would insist upon the money.[130]

In dealing with the same documents, James Stephen quotes Maxwell's letter in full and two paragraphs of the grand jury's comments on the case, though giving Cardin's name as "Mr. C." and editorializing through italicization not acknowledged as his own. He describes Douglas as a "poor old woman."[131]

The Margate Anti-Slavery Society published a heavily edited version of Pringle's article in a pamphlet *The Black Widow; a True, Interesting and Affecting Story*, subjoining its own editorial commentary (an observation on the "meanness" and "misery of the slave system" and a passage from a 1789 song by William Cowper commissioned by the Abolition Society), two anecdotes about African benevolence, and quotations urging Christians to embrace the antislavery cause. It included Pringle's account of Douglas's evidence, with some changes of punctuation.[132] The affecting quality of Douglas's reported voice inspires the Margate Anti-Slavery Society to editorialize in the first-person voice of an enslaved African persona "Still in thought as free as ever" created by Cowper in "The Negro's Complaint." The poetic persona defiantly denounces enslaving "[m]en from England."[133] The Margate Anti-Slavery Society editorializes by quoting the closing lines of the ballad:

> Slaves of gold! whose sordid dealings
> Tarnish all your boasted powers,
> Prove that you have human feelings,
> Ere you proudly question ours.[134]

Williamson notes that " 'The Negro's Complaint' was probably the most popular of many street ballads composed by British songwriters in support of the abolition campaign," and observes that songs by "white impersonators" of enslaved voices "project simplified images of enslaved Africans." In "The Negro's Complaint," the persona is a generic figure, a victim of "oppression" and "suffering," and "fierce."[135] As Carey demonstrates, the ballad's "arguments . . . are based in the sentimental philosophy of sympathy . . . . The ending turns the reader inwards and thus away from voyeuristic contemplation of the slave's suffering. It also demands action, urging the reader to turn away from false sensibility and embrace the political action that comes with true feeling."[136] The title *The Black Widow; a True, Interesting and Affecting Story* positions Douglas as a vulnerable woman deserving of benevolent sentiment. As already noted, *The History of Mary Prince* was circulated by antislavery societies with *The Black Widow*.

Pringle uses a passage from "The Negro's Complaint" as the epigraph to *The History of Mary Prince*, but his placing of the quotation sets up different functions for it than the use of an excerpt by the Margate Anti-Slavery Society. The epigraph, attributed to Cowper, is

> By our sufferings, since ye brought us
> To the man-degrading mart,—
> All sustain'd by patience, taught us
> Only by a broken heart,—
> Deem our nation brutes no longer,
> Till some reason ye shall find
> Worthier of regard, and stronger
> Than the colour of our kind.
>
> COWPER[137]

Situated as it is on the title page, the epigraph announces a genre—the complaint developed through relation of a life—and a combative purpose—the denunciation of the racialized labor regime of plantation slavery—but most importantly a crucial difference of voice. As Genette points out in *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, titles of texts often comment on the epigraph.[138] The authentic voices of bondspeople (*The History of Mary Prince, a West Indian Slave. Related by Herself* and the appended *The Narrative of Asa-Asa*)[139] are set up as superseding the less authentic voice of the black persona authored by a white writer. In the hierarchies of the title page, Pringle owns the Supplement (*With a Supplement by the Editor*), and Cowper the impersonation of a "Negro's" voice. In the Preface, Pringle bears witness to the authenticity of Prince's narrative. Genette points out that the function of a preface

is "monitory": "*to get the book read* and *to ensure that the text is read properly*," advising "this is *why* and this is *how* you should read this book."[140] In the Preface, Pringle subordinates the work of the editor, amanuensis, and assistant (Joseph Phillips) to Prince's relation of her story and her ownership of it. Pringle draws out the ethics underpinning this subordination, including "exclusively appropriat[ing]" "any profits . . . from the sale" of the text "to the benefit of Mary Prince herself" (*H*, 4). In *Vulnerable Subjects: Ethics and Life Writing*, G. Thomas Couser points to the vulnerability of illiterate or barely literate subjects in collaborations with writers and addresses the question of "divulgence" of the mediation of voice: "when mediation is ignored, the resulting text may be (mis)taken for a transparent lens through which we have direct access to its subject"; scrupulous "divulgence" of the scope of mediation "is likely to reflect ethically sound collaboration."[141] Prince's narrative is more expansive than the life fragments related by reported testimonial voices of bondspeople in the cases of ill-treatment and abuse, like that of Betto Douglas, presented to British parliament and agitated by the Anti-Slavery Society. Of these female testimonial voices Anim-Addo notes that speech is "permitted only within the terms of a 'complainant' " in relation to a specific instance of abuse.[142]

As Pringle's mistaken inference about Douglas having manumitted her sons and the misspelling of the name of the minister who married Prince and James in the petition the Anti-Slavery Society presented to the House of Commons (Ellensen for Olufsen, Appendix 2, *H*, 99) indicate, checking the details of a narrative, as Pringle and Phillips did, is prudential and in Prince's prospective interest as much as theirs rather than necessarily a mark of distrust. Pringle's care in checking the *History* also acknowledges what is "now a critical commonplace," that life narrative "is necessarily *hetero*biography as well" in that the representation of a self entails "representing others."[143] He invited comment on the manuscript by some people named in the narrative, and where there were discrepancies of memory invited Prince to reflect on them, recording outstanding points of contention.

In the winter of 1831, Strickland, while visiting the Pringles, had acted as an amanuensis for two slave narratives, those of Prince, owned in Antigua, and Ashton Warner, ownership of whom was claimed in Saint Vincent. She wrote an Introduction to *Negro Slavery Described by a Negro: Being the Narrative of Ashton Warner, a Native of St. Vincent's*, provided an unattributed epigraph (a verse from Thomas Pringle's "The Bechuana Boy"), footnotes, and an Appendix "CONTAINING THE TESTIMONY OF FOUR CHRISTIAN MINISTERS, RECENTLY RETURNED FROM THE COLONIES, ON THE SYSTEM OF SLAVERY AS IT NOW EXISTS" (*N*, title page). Pringle's footnotes to *The History of Mary Prince*

provided a model for her annotations of Warner's narrative. Strickland's work on the narratives was done shortly after a religious conversion to Congregationalism. As Susan Glickman points out, "The Congregationalists, like other Dissenting sects, believed in confession, in self-examination, in the writing of memoirs detailing one's spiritual development."[144] Characterizing herself as having been a member of a "well-educated . . . apathetic and deluded class," Strickland writes in her Introduction to *Negro Slavery Described by a Negro* of a sublime conversion experience, a conscientization on the question of slavery and the Haitian Revolution effected by face-to-face encounter with people enslaved in the West Indies:

> Providence recently and unexpectedly threw in my way of conversing with several negroes, both male and female, who had been British colonial slaves, and who had borne in their own persons the marks of the brand and the whip, and had drank the bitter cup to its dregs. To their simple and affecting narratives I could not listen unmoved. The voice of truth and nature prevailed over my former prejudices. I beheld slavery unfolded in all its revolting details; and, having been thus irresistibly led to peruse the authentic accounts of the real character and effects of the system, I resolved no longer to be an accomplice in its criminality, though it were only by keeping silence regarding it.
>
> (*N*, 11)

Her work as amanuensis and editor is pointedly set against that of a "party [the proslavery lobby] whose corrupt influence over a large majority of the lighter vehicles of popular information has enabled them to gain possession of the public ear and to abuse public credulity, to an extent not generally appreciated." She names two of the journals: the *Quarterly Review* and *Blackwood's Magazine* (*N*, 5). As Shoshana Felman points out,

> to testify . . . before an audience of readers or spectators—is more than simply to report a fact or an event or to relate what has been lived, recorded and remembered. Memory is conjured here essentially in order to *address* another, to impress upon a listener, to *appeal* to a community.[145]

Listening to Prince and Warner and being impressed by their pointed speech for sister and fellow slaves challenged Strickland "to imagine herself in the ethically and politically complex position of the bystander or potential collaborator."[146] Examining her conscience, she works to enable their voices "to gain possession of the public ear" (*N*, 5). Prince reportedly called Strickland "her dear Missie and Biographer."[147] The name Missie means honey bee. It is also a colloquial term for something sweet or admired. The bee is a pollinator and maker of honey from nectar, but can also sting.

Sekora's observation that the prefatory material of slave narratives "can be seen as *causal* to the narratives they precede"[148] is amply demonstrated in Strickland's Introduction to *Negro Slavery Described by a Negro*. Strickland's conversion account instantiates a common reading of Emmanuel Levinas's "Other-centered philosophy": "the face of the Other is itself the 'trace' of an absolute Other—i.e., God. In this sense, the other person serves to recall ethical responsibility from a transcendent reality rather than itself being the original source of ethics."[149] "[T]he voice of truth and nature" she hears from the lips of Prince and Warner reveals both their "animat[ion] with a portion of his [God's] own divine spirit" and "slavery . . . in all its revolting details" (*N*, 11) as being a crime before God. By 1831, the idea that slavery was a crime before God was a commonplace antislavery principle.[150] She avers,

> Let the history of Hayti, since the abrogated rights of humanity were there re-conquered by the African race, . . . unanswerably demonstrate that the negro does feel, keenly feel, the wrongs inflicted upon him by his unrighteous enslavers, and that his mind, barren as it has been rendered by hard usage, and desolated with misery, is not unwatered by the pure and gentle streams of natural affection.
>
> (*N*, 10)

For Strickland the "sublime virtues" of truth and nature are not so much, pace Edmund Burke, "embodied in 'the authority of a father', venerable, and distant,"[151] as they are signs of God and shared humanity embodied in black people. This affirms for her a monogenist account of racial differentiation, in which the institution of British racial slavery acts on black people as "mental and bodily abasement," which threatens to reduce them to "a living machine whose actions are guided and enforced by the will of another," who "drags on from day to day his brutalised existence" (*N*, 14). She repeats the image of the machine in her later fictional portrayals of the encounter between slave-owner Mrs. Dalton and the amanuensis who worked on a slave narrative titled "History of Mary P—," Rachel M— in "Trifles from the Burthen of a Life," and Flora Lyndsay in *Flora Lyndsay, or Passages in an Eventful Life*.[152] Her formulation draws on an emerging anti-industrial tropological scheme, in which the machine "becomes the symbol of degeneracy itself."[153] While Strickland/Moodie does not use the term, she describes the condition of the zombie: "a living person who has been vacated of all the faculties and qualities that make up personhood: of memory, of will, of thought, of sensation and emotion, in short of consciousness."[154] Strickland's tropology—like her representation of her interlocutors having "borne in their own persons the marks of the brand and the whip, and [drunk] the bitter cup to its dregs"—is

a telling instance of the "flourish" she tells friends James and Emma Bird she has to eschew in "adhering" to Mary Prince's account. She writes of "adhering to her [Prince's] own simple story and language without deviating to the paths of flourish or romance."[155]

Strickland's practice as amanuensis is suggested in her characterization of it as "adhering to" Prince's "own simple story and language" and respectful of "authentic," "simple and affecting narratives" that project the "voice of truth and nature." To adhere is to "follow or observe strictly or without deviation" (*OED*). As a play on words, in Strickland's context adhere suggests in the direction of hearing. Rachel M— and Flora Lyndsay insist to the proslavery Mrs. Dalton, who excoriates "The History of Mary P—" as "a tissue of falsehoods from beginning to end," "an imaginary tale, got up for party purposes," that the "narrative" is "strictly true."[156] Rachel tells Mrs. Dalton that she "took" the narrative "down" from Mary P—'s "own lips"; Flora tells her that she "wrote it" "from the woman's own lips."[157] The formulations emphasize close face-to-face interaction and that the voice and narrative belong to Mary. Mrs. Dalton proceeds to snub Rachel/Flora. Strickland uses as her epigraph to *Negro Slavery Described by a Negro* lines from Pringle's "The Bechuana Boy," a poem based on his relationship with Hinza Marossi, through the drafting of which, as Matthew Shum elaborates, he reflects on the virtues of a "*very simple* style . . . to excite some sympathy in *very common* readers, for this class of unfortunate strangers," an "aim to attain the simple language of truth and nature."[158] The "*very common* readers" are identified in the 1825 letter as "women, children, counting house clerks, country functionaries & Aides de Camp, etc."[159] For Samuel Johnson the "common reader" had tastes "uncorrupted by literary prejudices."[160] In an 1829 letter Pringle concedes that in the draft of "The Bechuana Boy" he was circulating privately at the time, he has "not adhered *strictly* to his [Marossi's] real story in every point" and that he has deviated to "*poetical licences*."[161] As I noted in Chapter 1, there are several biblical injunctions against oppressing the stranger. Prince describes herself as a stranger in England (*H*, 32, 34). Pringle represents her as a fitting object of "the benign Scriptural mandate . . . to mitigate and relieve . . . the afflictions of 'the stranger and the exile who is in our land within our gates' ".[162] Shum observes,

> The canonical case for "simple" language was made by Wordsworth in the 1800 preface to *Lyrical Ballads*, where he declared his intention to eschew "arbitrary and capricious habits of expression" in favor of "language really used by men"; similar claims were made by Walter Scott in his preface to *The Lay of the Last Minstrel* (1805) when he declared a wish to adopt the "rudeness" and "simplicity" of earlier poetic forms.[163]

Wordsworth urges that ordinary people "convey their feelings and notions in simple and unelaborated expressions."[164]

"The Bechuana Boy," first published in *Friendship's Offering* in 1830, is narrated mostly in the first-person singular voice of the boy, and Strickland has chosen as epigraph to *Negro Slavery Described by a Negro* a verse in his voice in which he asserts the opacity of his experience for the English:

> And tears and toil have been my lot
> Since I the white man's thrall became;
> And sorer griefs I wish forgot—
> Harsh blows and burning shame!
> Oh, Englishman! Thou ne'er canst know
> The injured bondsman's bitter woe,
> When round his heart, like scorpions, cling
> Black thoughts that madden while they sting!

Shum points out that the verse's "concluding couplet, with its clinging and stinging scorpions of the mind, . . . attempts . . . to 'conceive or imagine that we are in' this experience, that this is how it feels to be a bondsman. Repeatedly the poem invites such figural or imaginative exchange."[165] Ashton Warner's narrative, like Prince's, opens out such "[b]lack thoughts" and "imaginative exchange" for readers. Warner's narrative did not reach the audience Prince's did. He died while the pamphlet was in press, his last wish reportedly being that proceeds from sale of the pamphlet be used to support his aging freed mother, struggling to support herself as a higgler (street-vendor), and to manumit, if funds were sufficient, his wife, who was a field slave, and son. On December 30, 1832, Pringle reports in a letter to the now married Moodie: "The history of Ashton Warner has sold but indifferently & this will be, I expect from £15 to £20 of loss—which of course falls on me as it was all my own management. There is no help for it."[166]

The character Mrs. Dalton, a bit more fully elaborated in *Flora Lyndsay*, is fabricated largely from stereotypes of the white Creole woman and speaks of slavery using proslavery platitudes. Like Matilda Sophia Hanson in Mrs. B. Hofland's *The Barbadoes Girl: A Tale for Young People*, who is placed in England with the Harewood family, in *Flora Lyndsay* Mrs. Dalton was imperious in her dealings with others as a Jamaican child in the home of her Scottish grandmother, after having tyrannized over "slave attendants," "irritable, volatile and spoilt."[167] Mrs. Dalton's children have a similar temperament. The character Miss Leigh says of Mrs. Dalton in *Flora Lyndsay,* "Creoles seldom possess the fine red and white of our British belles."[168] White Creole

women were noted for the "sallowness of their complexions," a "complexion in which the lily predominates rather than the rose."[169] Like Miss Betsey Williams, who treated Prince like a pet, Mrs. Dalton treats the enslaved boy she has with her aboard the ship like a "pet animal."[170] Mrs. Dalton excoriates what the narrator calls Rachel's/Flora's "enthusiasm" in speaking against slavery in the interests of benevolence: the "restoration of a large portion of the human family to their rights as immortal and rational creatures."[171] In "Trifles from the Burthen of a Life" Mrs. Dalton also charges that antislavery activists are, rather, motivated by "the vanity of making a noise in the world."[172] In *Flora Lyndsay* Moodie slightly reworks the scene in which Mrs. Dalton and the amanuensis discuss slavery and "The History of Mary P—." There Mrs. Dalton insists that antislavery activists ("slave adorers") are "in reality . . . more anxious to bring themselves into notice than to emancipate the slaves" and asks Flora whether she belongs to the "odious" Anti-Slavery Society, as she "understand[s] that many pious women make themselves vastly busy in publicly discussing the *black* question."[173] "Pious" here means sanctimonious. MacQueen refers in *Blackwood's Magazine* to "Pringle and his associates" "employ[ing] their time in poking their noses into every scene of black filth, debauchery and uncleanness."[174] Flora acknowledges that she was not a member of the Anti-Slavery Society, but rather a sympathizer who respected its work.

After the first edition of *The History of Mary Prince* was published, Pringle received "enquiries . . . from various quarters respecting the existence of marks of severe punishment on Mary Prince's body" including the Birmingham Ladies' Society for Relief of Negro Slaves (*H*, 64). In Prince's narrative, as I have already suggested, the sickly body of the slave becomes a metonym for the unethical truths of slavery. Aljoe notes that Prince's peroration "never lets the reader forget that her testimony resides not only in the words that describe her experience but also in the physicality of the body that has 'felt what a slave feels.' "[175] The enquiries prompted two "inspection[s]" of Prince's body for "marks of former ill-usage" (*H*, 64–65), possibly at the instigation of Margaret Pringle, to whom Thomas read the letter of inquiry from the Birmingham Society. The inspections were a violation of the "modesty and decency" Prince claims as inherent to human dignity in the peroration (*H*, 37). Susanna Strickland is a corroborating (and perhaps reluctant) signatory to the letter Margaret Pringle sent in reply to Lucy Townsend, one of its secretaries. The reply is printed in the third edition of *The History of Mary Prince.* Salih notes that the Birmingham Society gave £5 "to originate a Fund for the support of Mary Prince" and £5 "towards the ransom" of the wife and son of Ashton Warner, hoping other antislavery associations would follow suit (quoted in *H*, 88).

In her narrative, Prince uses the word butcher to describe the appalling abuses of bondspeople under plantation slavery. When she is sold away from her mother and family, she speaks of "strange men, who examined and handled me in the same manner that a butcher would a calf or a lamb he was about to purchase, and who talked about my shape and size in like words—as if I could no more understand their meaning than the dumb beasts" (*H*, 11). Ownership by Captain Ingham and Robert Darrell "was but going from one butcher to another" (*H*, 20). The language resonates with her jeremiad against the species boundary that structures master/slave relations in the peroration of the narrative (*H*, 37). Slave-owners, she avers, "think that they had a right to ill-use" bondspeople "at their pleasure" (*H*, 15). She uses the word flesh to give graphic voice to the butchery: the enslaved children Cyrus and Jack with "flesh ragged and raw with licks [blows]" (*H*, 15); Mrs. Ingham "lay[ing]" the young Prince's "flesh open with the cow-skin" (*H*, 15); a "bucket of salt" flung "upon the raw flesh" of the whipped Daniel, a bondsman "lame in the hip" (*H*, 21); the elderly slave Sarah, "subject to several bodily infirmities, and not quite right in the head," whipped until her "naked flesh was so grievously wounded, that her body swelled and festered all over, and she died within a few days" (*H*, 22); and Margaret Wood "frett[ing] the flesh off" Prince's "bones" (*H*, 30). The language affirms Hortense J. Spillers's characterization of "captive" "flesh" (as distinct from body) as the "zero degree of social conceptualization," "a primary narrative" of the slave trade and racialized plantation slavery in its "seared, divided, ripped-apartness," "a concentration of 'ethnicity,' " "a total objectification."[176] The inspection of Prince's body in the Pringle home returns Prince again to the scarifying scenes of butchery as the appearance of the physical signs of the experiences is itemized through exposure of her body. In "Trifles from the Burthen of a Life" and *Flora Lyndsay* Rachel and Flora respectively testify to the truth of Mary P—'s narrative on the strength of Mary P—'s voice in telling it to them at the writing scene. The image places truth as emerging from the intimacy of the face-to-face encounter of narrator and amanuensis.

The Libel Cases over *The History of Mary Prince*

The credibility of *The History of Mary Prince* and Pringle's editorial practices in relation to it were vehemently attacked by James MacQueen, a rabid proslavery advocate, in three articles: "The Anti-Slavery Society and the West-India Colonists," *Glasgow Courier*, July 26, 1831; "The Colonial Empire of Great Britain: Letter to Earl Grey, First Lord of the Treasury, &c &c," *Blackwood's Magazine*, November 1831; and "The Rev. Mr. Curtin and the Colonial Office," *Glasgow Courier*, April 21, 1832. In November 1831,

Pringle brought a libel suit against Thomas Cadell, the London publisher of *Blackwood's Magazine*, edited from and also published in Edinburgh by William Blackwood, over the second of these articles. Pringle sued Cadell because MacQueen lived in Glasgow, outside the jurisdiction of the Court of Common Pleas that would hear the case. John Adams Wood, identified in Prince's narrative and railed against in the Supplement, sued Pringle for libel in 1832. Pringle v. Cadell was heard on February 21, 1833 and Wood v. Pringle before the Court of King's Bench on February 27, 1833. While Pringle had requested £2,000 in damages,[177] he was awarded only nominal damages of £5 and costs.[178] Cadell paid him £160. The legal costs of Cadell's defense were £465.[179] Under a private "gentleman's" arrangement, MacQueen was to bear all of the financial responsibility arising from the defense. Wood was awarded £25 in damages, but not costs. Coverage of Wood v. Pringle in the *Christian Advocate* estimated Wood's "extra costs" in bringing the action to be at least £250 and Pringle's costs as defendant to be at least £250, as his expenses were offset by the legal services of George Stephen having been provided on an honorary basis, his usual practice on antislavery matters.[180] Trial transcripts do not appear to have survived, if indeed they were made. There is, though, a sizeable body of extant published and manuscript material that throws light on what was perceived to be at stake in the conduct of the libel suits and in the trials themselves. The materials do not bring Mary Prince herself into greater historical visibility, although they do explain aspects of her appearance in the witness box in the trials.

Born in Lanarkshire, MacQueen was, according to an entry on him in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, at 20 (in 1798) "resident in Grenada . . . as manager of a sugar plantation . . . By 1821 Macqueen had settled at Glasgow where he became editor and part-proprietor of the 'Glasgow Courier.' "[181] MacQueen pursued his career as a proslavery advocate in writing books and articles for *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* and the *Glasgow Courier*, a newspaper he edited from the mid-1810s until 1830. The newspaper was "Ultra-Tory, Protectionist and High Church," with a "select circulation among the upper classes in Conservative circles,"[182] and "became the organ of the pro-slavery party."[183] Glasgow, as well as London, Liverpool, and Bristol were major centers of the West India interest, for, as George Stephen points out, "consignees and mortgagees of West India property" were concentrated in ports trading with the region.[184] In May 1829, MacQueen acknowledged publicly that he had recently become a joint proprietor of West India mortgages and property.[185] He was vehemently opposed to the shift in British government policy toward amelioration of slavery in 1823. Lambert who has examined his "imperial career" suggests that his work as an overseer on Westerhall estate in Grenada in the wake of Fédon's Rebellion (1795–1796)

"embedded him deeply in the culture of West Indian slaveholding" and "may also have hardened his views on racial difference."[186] As Lambert points out, "the controversy over slavery was fundamentally bound up with the contested articulation of white colonial identities between colony and metropole."[187] In his journalism, MacQueen addressed this contest and the economic value of the West Indian sugar trade obsessively. He had achieved notoriety as a proslavery advocate with the publication in 1825 of *The West India Colonies; and the Calumnies and Misrepresentations Circulated Against Them by The Edinburgh Review, Mr. Clarkson, Mr. Cropper, &c. &c Examined and Refuted* and *The Colonial Controversy, containing a Refutation of the Calumnies of the Anticolonists; the State of Hayti, Sierra Leone, India, China, Cochin China, Java, &c. &c.; the Production of Sugar, &c. and the State of the Free and Slave Labourers in those Countries; fully considered in a series of letters addressed to the Earl of Liverpool; with a supplementary letter to Mr. Macaulay*.[188] In *The West India Colonies* he urges that the abolition of slavery "will make the *freemen* in these possessions *Slaves*, and give rein to barbarism to trample down—to extirpate civilization."[189] MacQueen was a steadfast promulgator of the dominant planter myths that Gordon K. Lewis shows sustained proslavery thinking in the period:

> the myth of African degeneracy, the myth of Negro happiness, the myth of King Sugar. When those myths were challenged, the plantocracy responded with yet another final exculpatory myth: that the challenge came from demonic, subversive forces ready to risk even slave rebellion for the purpose of destroying a social order they hated too much to understand.[190]

In line with dominant High Church opinion, MacQueen cites the stock biblical justifications of slavery. For MacQueen the proper position of a black person in relation to a white person is "obedience" to a superior, and in the West Indies enslavement remains the most effective means of guaranteeing this. He represents the antislavery argument that slavery is a violation of the "*Natural* rights of man" as a major sign of Jacobinism.[191] MacQueen's efforts on behalf of the proslavery cause and in damning abolitionists in the 1820s and early 1830s earned appreciation in the West Indies. In 1827 Kenneth Macaulay reported that MacQueen "must have received, at least, £15,000 from votes of the West-Indian legislatures, and from public subscriptions in the colonies, for his services since 1823."[192]

Blackwood's Magazine maintained a strong proslavery stance, a position that encouraged the antislavery lobby to target it in 1831, along with the *Quarterly Review* and other proslavery journals, for an advertisement that drew MacQueen's ire. In his November 1831 article in *Blackwood's*, the

subject of Pringle's libel suit, he fulminated against this "venomous Anti-colonial Manifesto."[193] As his piece was going to press, he announced to Blackwood:

> Its [*sic*] my intention to get the West India Body to give you a sum of money for the present letter & to print it separate & circulate it as advertizement to the back of some of the worst anticolonial publications. Pringle must be met with his own weapons. I hope this will be agreeable to you, & shall look after it when I get to London.[194]

As libraries customarily remove advertisements in back matter in binding journals, what was in the "Anti-colonial Manifesto" and whether MacQueen succeeded with Blackwood and the West India interest on his proposal may prove impossible to trace.

In MacQueen's July and November 1831 articles that address *The History of Mary Prince*, he drew on correspondence from West Indian residents that represented the Woods as benevolent and liberal owners. Some of the same correspondence was cited in both of MacQueen's articles.[195] Benevolence and liberality to slaves were held in the West Indies to distinguish the gentlemanly from the brutish and degenerate slaveowner or manager of slaves.[196] MacQueen addressed Mr. and Mrs. Wood in the style of a gentleman and lady. MacQueen found Pringle's conduct in not seeking fuller authentication of Prince's narrative ungentlemanly, wanting in benevolence, dishonest and "unmanly."[197] In the November *Blackwood's* piece, Pringle's antislavery labors over "colonial immorality and uncleanness," of which Prince is, for MacQueen, metonymic, were described as degrading the lady-like attributes of "delicacy, modesty, and morality" in the women in his family. In *Blackwood's* MacQueen made unmistakable sexual innuendos that suggest that "Pringle and his associates" had a voyeuristic interest in "black filth, debauchery, and uncleanness" and that Pringle was probably having a sexual relationship with Prince, who was a "profligate slave," referring to Pringle's "secret closetings and labours with Mary, (in London servants are not removed from the washing-tub to the parlour without an object)."[198]

Cadell was mortified when, having been served with the writ for libel by George Stephen, he read MacQueen's article, describing Pringle to Blackwood as having been "alluded to so violently & personally in that Article" and recording his displeasure at an "offensive" reference to Zachary Macaulay.[199] MacQueen had implied that Zachary Macaulay had aided Pringle's effort to rush *The History of Mary Prince* into print, by recommending that he seek quick verification of Prince's story about her life in Antigua from the Anglican minister, the Rev. James Curtin, who was on leave of absence from clerical

duties in England at the time. Curtin, as already noted, had baptized Prince in 1817. In a footnote to his Supplement, Pringle quoted from, summarized, and editorialized on his response, received as the earlier pages of the pamphlet were being printed. Curtin had clearly been offended by Pringle's handling of his reservations about Prince's story. He had corrected points of detail in Prince's account of her contact with him in 1817 and defended the conduct of the Woods albeit, as Pringle pointed out, in fairly general terms. Pringle treated the discrepancies between Prince's and Curtin's recollections of her religious instruction as a probable misunderstanding on Prince's part. Curtin cooperated with MacQueen by supplying him with copies of correspondence between Pringle and himself. MacQueen quotes from them in "The Colonial Empire of Great Britain" to illustrate his sense of Pringle's undue haste in seeking support for Prince's account and of the insufficiency of his summary of Curtin's defense of John Wood.

Edward Foss, Cadell's solicitor, kept Blackwood informed about the progress of the libel suit and about Colonial Office interest in Curtin. In February 1832 he advised Blackwood that Pringle's solicitor had declared four counts of libel, but would not be pursuing the matter of the sexual innuendos in MacQueen's article.[200] Until December his approach to the defense would remain consistent:

> first—that Mr. Pringle has not given a *fair* account of the history of Mary Prince as he alledges [*sic*]—2nd—That he has published statements in the Pamphlett [*sic*] which are wilfully false—and 3dly That the Pamphlett [*sic*] itself contains passages of so libellous a nature as to deprive him of complaining that other persons use his own weapons. And to this I endeavour to shew that the passages themselves charged as libelous—are not essentially so—but merely fair—though severe—criticisms.[201]

Pringle may not have wanted to dignify the innuendos by citing them; doing so would also have opened his and Prince's sexual histories, sexual proclivity to voyeurism in antislavery circles, and Pringle's own domestic arrangements to examination in court.

In 1830 Bishop Coleridge had granted Curtin leave of absence on health grounds to return to the United Kingdom. An Irishman, Curtin was a Roman Catholic priest who converted to Anglicanism.[202] He had gone to Antigua as a missionary for the Negro Conversion Incorporated Society in 1798 and had been appointed as rector of St Mary's in 1819 on the recommendation of the Rev. Dr. Howley, then Bishop of London, later Archbishop of Canterbury. After this second appointment, Curtin continued also to work for the Society for the Conversion of the Slave Population, until Bishop Coleridge closed its operations in 1827.[203] He was William Dawes's bête noire among the

Anglican clergy in Antigua.[204] As Lord Brougham had not responded to three letters of his seeking a church appointment in England, Curtin approached Viscount Goderich with the same request in January 1832.[205] Goderich's response was to question whether he had extended his original leave of absence.[206] A correspondence then ensued on this issue, with Curtin variously advancing his age (66), medical condition (hernia and hydrocell),[207] an attack on him in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* of November 1831, and that he was to appear as a witness in Pringle v. Cadell as reasons for an extension of his leave of absence.[208] He would eventually return to Antigua in early October 1832 on the understanding that his church living was at stake.[209]

The November 1831 issue of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* carried a paragraph in which Curtin was described as

> a quiet, inoffensive, and somewhat timid man, anxious mainly to gain the good will of the planters, and to avoid all collision with them. He married a lady of the island, and thus became an owner of slaves—a circumstance which could not fail to influence his feelings and his tone on the subject of slavery and its adjuncts, Sunday profanation, concubinage, &c. &c.[210]

In 1832 Curtin owned 18 or 19 slaves.[211] The paragraph in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* was the subject of a letter to the editor of the high Tory, vehemently antiabolition *John Bull*, published on December 26, 1831. The letter makes innuendos about a sexual relationship between Pringle and Prince, alluding to Pringle's device of censoring Wood's allegation about Prince's sexual misconduct in *The History of Mary Prince* and to MacQueen's exposure of the allegation in *Blackwood's Magazine*:

> I will not dwell on the *Christianly* opinions here [in the paragraph] expressed by the "well-known" *pious* writer in the *Reporter*, who, it is also *well known*, keeps in his house a black—hush! Offend not the classic ear of Mr. PRINGLE, by giving utterance to a word of undoubted import.[212]

Pringle did not sue over the innuendo. Curtin, referring to the paragraph in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* in a letter to Goderich, writes: "my wish 'to conciliate the Planters', is not only for their own advantage but also for the real benefit of the Negro Slave."[213] Through allusion he concurs with the stock biblical justifications for slavery in the period, Ephesians 6:5–8 and Colossians 3:22–25.

Foss appealed to Viscount Goderich over his ordering of Curtin to depart for Antigua by March 1, 1832, and Curtin's position was raised in the House of Commons on April 16, 1832, by Mr. Duncombe, the MP for Hertford, who proposed that Curtin's leave of absence be extended by six months so that

he could appear in Pringle v. Cadell and before a House of Lords' Committee investigating colonial slavery. Goderich agreed that Curtin could remain in England, but on condition that an allowance equivalent to his salary be paid by the defense.[214] Foss conceded that "the expenses of Witnesses are in general paid by the party requiring their attendance," but maintained that this, in this instance costly, condition should be waived, giving as one of his reasons, the "public nature" of the "political benefit" to be derived from having a local resident refute allegations of cruelty against Antiguan slaveowners.[215] He was advised by Viscount Howick that under Statute 1 W.4 C.22, Curtin's evidence could be taken by interrogatories.[216] Mr. Patrick M. Stuart and Mr. Burge supported Duncombe's resolution before the House of Commons, Burge even claiming of Curtin that "no man had more deeply studied or was better acquainted with the capabilities of the negro intellect."[217] The motion was lost.

The loss of the motion provided MacQueen, writing anonymously, the occasion to return to the topic of the libel suit and *The History of Mary Prince* in "The Rev. Mr. Curtin and the Colonial Office," the lead story in the *Glasgow Courier* of April 21, 1832. Foss and Curtin had supplied him with copies of letters sent to them by Viscount Howick. MacQueen stated that the publication of his article in *Blackwood's* gave rise to Duncombe's resolution. MacQueen berated Pringle for suing Cadell rather than Blackwood or the author, failing to mention the question of the jurisdiction of the Court of Common Pleas. He represented Curtin as a man "indecently and basely traduced" by the antislavery lobby, so "dangerous[ly]" ill that his doctors think a return to Antigua would be "certain and immediate death," and deserving of fairer and kinder treatment as "a free-born Englishman—an aged and most respectable, and most respected Member of the Established Church of England."[218] The following day, April 22, 1832, an article in *John Bull* claimed that Goderich's order that Curtin's return to duty in Antigua was an instance of "the bias of the Colonial Office towards the Anti-Slavery Society." That Curtin's evidence could be taken by interrogatories is mentioned in neither the *Glasgow Courier* nor the *John Bull* article. The *John Bull* article was reprinted on the front page of the *Glasgow Courier* on April 26, 1832.

Curtin's evidence in Pringle v. Cadell[219] and to the Lords' Committee was taken before his departure for Antigua. Its presentation in Pringle v. Cadell is not reported in the *Times* coverage of the trial. He made a very poor witness before the Lords' Committee, especially under cross-examination. He and his evidence to the Committee were pilloried in print shortly before Pringle v. Cadell came to trial reputedly by George Stephen[220] in the incisive *A Letter from Legion to the Duke of Richmond, Chairman of the Slavery Committee of the House of Lords: Containing An Exposure of the Character of the Evidence on*

the Colonial Side, Produced before the Committee and by Pringle in an analysis of the same set of evidence in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*. Pringle introduces his analysis of Curtin's evidence with the following observation:

> in the whole host of pro-slavery witnesses, produced before the Lords' Committee, we have met with none more justly chargeable with a want of ingenuousness in the course of his examination, and whose answers are more dexterously calculated to mislead the ignorant and unwary, than those of this reverend gentleman.[221]

Sergeant Spankie, the lead pleader for the defense, Foss intimated to Blackwood on December 21, 1832, had written to him shortly before the proposed trial date of December 19, saying that he "would 'not undertake to defend my client in the manner evidently intended'—abusing the pleas—and refusing to heed the Cause if I meant to go into *these absurd justifications*." At a consultation involving Cadell and other counsel, Spankie adamantly maintained this position. Foss and the other counsel, Foss reported, felt that Spankie "was in a political funk," a view, however, denied by Spankie, but Foss promptly accepted Spankie's offer to withdraw from the case. The brief was then given to Frederick Robinson. The new team of counsels, having deduced something of what Stephen's strategy in prosecuting might be, requested that they might meet with Foss to discuss "the expediency of now withdrawing our pleas . . . with no other object than the benefit of the Defendant's Case." Foss pointed out that if the pleas were to be withdrawn at this stage "the probability is that we should not be allowed to examine a Witness."[222]

The pleas were withdrawn and Cadell's defense team did not cross-examine Mary Prince when she appeared as a witness in Pringle v. Cadell. She merely confirmed for Stephen, according to the *Times* report, "that she gave an account of her life to Mr. Pringle."[223] Sergeant Wilde, acting for Pringle,[224] drew attention to the withdrawal of the original pleas and suggested that the defense in offering those pleas might have been trying to intimidate Pringle into dropping the action because of the likely "expense to which he should be put in meeting those pleas by evidence."[225] In defending Cadell, Sergeant Coleridge reportedly urged that his client did not represent the proslavery lobby, as Pringle's legal team claimed, that as the "London publisher of an Edinburgh magazine," Cadell was ignorant of the contents of the issue at the time of publication, that MacQueen's article, "with the exception, perhaps, of one or two expressions which would have been better omitted," was a "fair discussion" of the issue and that Pringle himself had attacked "the character of respectable persons and one of these a lady, although he was so very tender of

any allusion to his own family." The prosecution was prepared to suffer judgment on the "one or two expressions."[226] Foss had advised Blackwood that "[i]f Pringle has . . . published libellous matter against Mr. MacQueen, there are several cases to shew that he cannot recover in an action for the same offence against himself."[227] The defense, then, seems to have tried to run this kind of argument against Pringle's declaration that MacQueen's comments on the delicacy and modesty of the women in his family were libelous by citing Pringle's treatment of Mrs. Wood in his Supplement.

Foss was jubilant at the award of nominal damages. He told Blackwood on February 21, 1833:

> I have advised Mr. Cadell not to sell another Copy of the particular Number till he hears from you:—because it is clear that by doing so he would be subject to another Action—which the Party, for the sake of the Costs, would be glad enough to bring.
>
> And I would advise you to have the sheet reprinted, with such alterations in the obnoxious parts as would relieve them from any possibility of attack—viz—those touching *Pringle—& the ladies*—personally. The Article will not be the less forcible for the alteration—& the expense will be the reprinting perhaps of half a sheet:—& this could be done without saying a Word to the Public.[228]

By this time, though, of course, orders for an 1831 issue would not be sizeable. Library copies of the journal would contain the unamended article. Foss would now vet MacQueen's contributions to *Blackwood's Magazine* for potential libel.[229]

In early 1832, John Wood sued Pringle for libel,[230] alleging that Prince's account of "misconduct and cruelty" on his part and that of his wife was untrue and that as the publisher of the falsehoods Pringle was liable for damages.[231] Wood also brought libel action over Pringle's apparent attributions of malicious intent to his conduct. Pringle was accused of insinuating that a letter of dismissal and poor reference Wood gave Prince in England was *designed* to prevent her from gaining employment there, "compel[ling] her to return to Antigua, at which place she would become a slave" and Pringle omitted from a reproduced letter of Wood to Mr. Taylor, Secretary to the Governor Sir Patrick Ross, his allegation of Prince's sexual "depravity" and "treated" it "as untrue." "The pamphlet also stated," according to the *Times* account of the grounds of the action, that Prince

> (who had been married to a free black in Antigua) had been incited by the plaintiff to be unfaithful to her husband, in order that that circumstance might be made use of against her as an instance of depravity; and the pamphlet also

> alleged that a statement which the plaintiff had made, to the effect that the free black had been himself unfaithful, and had taken another wife, was false, and had been invented for the purpose of inducing Mary Prince to desert her husband.[232]

The last two grounds relate to Pringle's editorial commentary on a sentence in his letter to Taylor, which Ross had forwarded to William Allen of the Society of Friends. The sentence reads: "In hopes of inducing her [Prince] to be steady to her husband, who was a free man, I gave him the house to occupy during our absence; but it appears the attachment was too loose to bind her and he has taken another wife" (*H*, 43). Pringle comments of Wood:

> Did he not write from England to his friend Mr. Darrel [*sic*], soon after Mary left his house, directing him to turn her husband, Daniel James, off his premises, on account of her offence; telling him to inform James at the same time that his wife had *taken up* with another man, who had robbed her of all she had—a calumny as groundless as it was cruel? I further ask if the person who invented this story (whoever he may be,) was not likely enough to impose similar fabrications on the poor negro man's credulity, until he may have been induced to prove false to his marriage vows, and to "take another wife," as Mr. Wood coolly expresses it?
>
> (*H*, 47–48)

Two of Wood's grounds of action, then, opened Prince's sexual history to examination in court. The difficulty of Pringle's defense is exemplified by the charges relating to Wood's purported interference in Prince's relationship with her husband. Pringle would have needed the supportive testimony of Darrell, a friend of John Wood and a probable relative of Robert Darrell, and James, Prince's possibly estranged husband, to counter them. In 1828 James P. Darrell was an employee of Wood.[233]

Wood's rebuttal of Prince's account of his and Mrs. Wood's treatment of her in his letter to Mr. Taylor, supporting testimonials forwarded to MacQueen, and the case presented in Wood v. Pringle challenge the antislavery moral geography of humanitarian duty to slaves with a local moral geography of his homes in Antigua. Wood and his legal team concentrate on the quality of the housing he provided Prince and Prince and James, and on the benevolence and ethic of care expressed through kindnesses and medical treatment during illness and the food sent from his house to hers. MacQueen represents Wood

> as inducing her to take a husband (in the hope of reclaiming her from the immoral habits to which she was addicted, and which led her to commit the

> most disgraceful lascivious acts) and for which her master was compelled to prevent her leaving the house after ten o'clock at night: a proceeding which this immaculate angel of the Anti-Slavery Society protested against, as she asserted "the night was her own time."[234]

The parenthetical comment and the comment "a proceeding which this immaculate angel of the Anti-Slavery Society protested against, as she asserted 'the night was her own time' " appear to be MacQueen's gloss on the charge of immorality Pringle omitted and material in Wood's letter to Mr. Taylor:

> Her moral character is very bad, and as the police records will shew; and she would be a very troublesome character should she come here without any restraint . . . . I induced her to take a husband, a short time before she left this [country], by providing a comfortable house in my yard for them, and prohibiting her going out after 10 to 12 o'clock (our bed-time) without special leave. This she considered the greatest, and indeed the only, grievance she ever complained of, and all my efforts could not prevent it.
>
> (quoted in *H*, 43)

Wood's assumptions warrant closer examination. In Wood's account Prince is not the agent of her own reclamation through conversion and marriage, the Woods as slaveowners are a necessary check on her moral profligacy, and Prince's enslavement is necessary in her own interests and in the interests of public order. Wood mocks the bindingness of the unofficial marriages solemnized by the Moravians, and the quality of their religious instruction of Prince and James. The 1798 Amelioration Acts pressed owners of pregnant female slaves to provide a two-roomed home for them. That John Wood did provide Prince and James a house in his yard suggests perhaps that he anticipated the possibility of pregnancy, or that Prince had been pregnant at one time in her marriage. Much might be compressed in Prince's comment, "I had not much happiness in my marriage, owing to my being a slave. It made my husband sad to see me so ill-treated" (*H*, 30).

The character witnesses for Wood—Sarah Pell, Robert Briggs, John M'Goul, Mary Caroline Bennet (his daughter), Captain Drysdale and Archdeacon Thomas Parry—describe him as "kind" (Pell), "very mild and gentle" (Briggs), "most kind, and a man of mild disposition" (Drysdale), and exhibiting "kindness" (M'Goul), and Prince as "very kindly used" (Bennet). Parry characterizes Wood as "always forward in benevolent undertakings."[235] His unreported views of Prince telling her life may be gleaned from the opinion that "women should never write for publication," duly noted by Dawes.[236]

The *Christian Advocate* keenly pointed out to its readers that though Wood had won his case,

> the defendant justified the libels, which charged WOOD with oppression, cruelty, and vindictively calumniating the character of his poor slave. Mr. PRINGLE succeeded in much of his justification; but the difficulty of proving in this country events which for the most part, occurred in the West Indies, and proving them, too, by the mouth of a poor uneducated slave, is obviously so great, that it becomes a matter of surprise how much Mr. PRINGLE could justify to the extent to which he did! Yet that the jury rightly estimated the case, is apparent by their verdict. For the reasons we have just mentioned, the defendant was advised to suffer judgment by default on two or three counts; but he justified his charges of oppression, and vindictiveness, and cruelty, to the extent, that a jury, though thus obliged to award some damages, considered 25*l*. as an ample compensation for all injuries sustained.[237]

The report in the *Times* simply stated: "Verdict for the plaintiff on the whole issues."[238] In a letter to Allan Cunningham shortly after the trial concluded, Pringle alludes to the *Christian Advocate*'s coverage as "giving a correct view of the case."[239]

Pringle and Stephen clearly believed that Wood in suing for libel had been backed financially by the West India lobby and MacQueen thought Pringle was being financed by the Anti-Slavery Society.[240] Wood's daughter, Mary Caroline Bennet, cross-examined in Wood v. Pringle about indemnities, claimed ignorance on the matter.[241] In 1838 Leitch Ritchie reported in a biographical sketch attached to a posthumous edition of Pringle's poetry that the libel suit was instigated "by the West Indies lobby in the name of Wood."[242] MacQueen reported to Blackwood on August 17, 1833:

> Since I wrote you I have had a letter from Antigua & find a friend of the Woods had sent them the results of the actions. He writes me that the Council & assembly wanted to pay the expenses but upon enquiry they found that if they brought in a Bill for that purpose the new Governor [Evan Murray McGregor] would not pass it in consequence of which they had resolved to collect it by private subscription which will take a little time.[243]

The Anti-Slavery Society did not underwrite the damages in Wood v. Pringle or Pringle's other legal costs. MacQueen fulminated to Blackwood in the same letter: "the penniless rogue Pringle was obliged to supplicate Foss to let the expenses remain till he could collect them by subscription."[244] The article on Wood v. Pringle in the *Christian Advocate*, after giving some details of Pringle's financial position, expressed a "trust that a subscription will immediately be set on foot to indemnify him." That he should meet the damages

and costs from his own pocket should "for the credit of the Abolitionists . . . not be permitted."[245] In a letter of March 6, 1833, Pringle writes to Allan Cunningham that he would "not be so *daft*" as to refuse this kind of support.[246] Wood, who owned many parcels of slaves, received slave compensation monies from the British government of just over £10,575.[247] Ironically, given MacQueen's contempt for Pringle's financial straits, he himself was severely embarrassed by the difficulty of his own efforts to reimburse Cadell and pay Foss's legal bills. By June 23, 1834, he had paid in irregular instalments only £453 toward a debt of gentlemanly honor of £625. MacQueen received slave compensation monies of £3,930 8s 11d from the British government from interests in five estates in Saint Kitts.[248] Lambert notes that "counter-claims" on property in Trinidad and Saint Kitts

> were made by MacQueen's creditors, previous owners of some of the estates, and former enslaved people, who had been guaranteed annuities to support them and their children. The total value of these counter-claims far exceeded the sum awarded to MacQueen and his partner. As a result, they were to hand over all the money and estates at the end of 1836.[249]

Prince's appearance in Wood v. Pringle is the last known record of her. As noted, Pringle had reportedly been giving her an allowance of 10 shillings a week from his own pocket since June 1832. Pringle died on December 5, 1834. On March 6, 1833, Pringle anticipates that when slavery is abolished "Mary Prince shall go back to her husband, & Betto Douglas to her children in spite of the spiteful Mr Wood and the contemptible Lord Romney and Macqueen, & the West India Club into the bargain." Of John Wood, Romney, and Richard Cardin, Pringle writes, "These people are utterly insane—but their day is nearly over."[250] Affirming the primacy of naturalized family ties, he names what Anim-Addo terms "mercantile madness," "the excesses of a mercantile system wilfully treating people as c[h]attle."[251] As Antigua and Bermuda did not introduce the apprenticeship system as a transition between slavery and emancipation, Prince would have been able to return to either colony as a free woman after August 1, 1834, life, health, the cost of a passage, and possibly a dependence permitting.

In August 1831, Betto Douglas had a letter written in her name sent to Pringle, asking him to intervene with Romney to secure her freedom. She was then a runaway, having lived "in covert for six years," maintained by "charitable and humane" friends, and unable to earn her "own living." Cardin had not accepted a purchase price offered for her and was punishing her through his use of her sons. They were "mestees," "nearly white," Romney would state, Douglas "having been the object of the licentious passion of

some white man," and in the general skin shade hierarchy of plantations, would not have been subjected to field or other heavy labor. One had been trained to a trade on the estate. Douglas was deeply mortified that Cardin had "them working at carrying ashes from the copper-hole, from between two and three in the morning until five or six, when they were driven into the mountains, where they remain all the live long day in the scorching sun, cutting wood." Again "exemplary punishment" is exacted to lacerate maternal feeling. Douglas reported that he threatened that "he only wants to catch me for one half hour, and then he does not care what becomes of me." Pringle forwarded a copy of the letter to Romney. In his reply Romney clarified his understanding of his dealings over her, but refused to free her, echoing Wood in his letter to Mr. Taylor, Secretary of Sir Patrick Ross, that manumission ought to be a reward for good conduct. Further correspondence from Saint Kitts in 1833 about Douglas's failing health prompted Pringle to agitate around her case again in the *Anti-Slavery Record* of March 30, 1833, publishing and editorializing on the correspondence and offering a "retrospect" of the case. Pringle describes Romney's "attitude" as "indeed, a melancholy, a humiliating spectacle!"[252] The British government would pay Romney £7,269 2s 5d in slave compensation monies.[253] Douglas's protector was Ralph Cleghorn (1804–1842), by the late 1820s an antislavery advocate and spokesman for free colored rights. In 1833 he and Nicholas J. Lynch, both free colored, were elected to the Saint Kitts parliament, and "they moved and seconded respectively the Assembly resolves of 22 July that committed the House to cooperate with the British government in passing slavery abolition legislation in 1834." Lynch was related to the Harts of Antigua.[254] In 1841 Cleghorn was "appointed . . . president and senior member of the Council of Nevis."[255] Romney freed rather than apprenticed his slaves in Saint Kitts in 1834, but Cardin did not exempt Douglas from apprenticeship.

* * *

By reading *The History of Mary Prince, a West Indian Slave, Related by Herself* intertextually in relation to oral practices and vocabularies of Moravian spiritual self-formation, and to genres of Moravian life narrative and conversion with which Prince was familiar, we can begin as critics to understand some of the distinctiveness of her voice, to begin to hear the traces of her voice over and amid the "crowded" "writing" scene of her narrative.[256] The approach, I suggest, is an important step in acknowledging the complexity of the cultural and historical situatedness of her narrative, and its "translation" of a range of "cultural" practices across genres of narrative—oral, read, and written, *Lebenslauf* and the protocols of slave narrative. It also enables

us to understand more fully the place of Prince and her text in a genealogy of evangelical narrators of slave narrative. Like them, she "claim[s] 'inspiration' from the spirit and the scriptures"[257] to speak out against slavery. Pringle's and Strickland's approaches to and reflections on testimonial and life narratives of enslaved people have been under-researched. Historicizing their work on Prince's narrative by placing it in relation to a range of other texts and intertexts suggests reflective consideration of questions around Prince's ownership of her narrative and their mediation of it and freshly draws out nuances of their racialized treatment of it. The libel cases around the editing and publication of *The History of Mary Prince* expose the political stakes of the narrative in the contest between proslavery and antislavery lobbies in Britain and the political terrain on which it was read there.

Conclusion

In *The Intimate Empire: Reading Women's Autobiography*, Whitlock advocates a strategy of "connected reading," a form of postcolonial literary archaeology in which the critic of life writing "sift[s] through the debris" of colonialism "making links between and across various narratives, tropes, sites, figures and moments." It is, she suggests, "a reading for supplementation rather than completion, for complexity rather than closure, for the making of truth rather than its revelation."[1] This is a strategy familiar from germinal makings of a tradition of slave narrative, for example, Gates's elaboration of the trope of the talking book, "the ur-trope of the Anglo-African narratives," a "Signifyin(g)" practice linking texts by James Gronniosaw, John Marrant, Quobna Ottabah Cuguano, Equiano, and John Jea.[2] By comparison with Whitlock's model, my approach in *Telling West Indian Lives: Life Narrative and the Reform of Plantation Slavery Cultures 1804–1834* has a deeper archival, interdisciplinary, and historiographical reach. The book, which blends literary criticism, literary historiography, and history, connects primary sources drawn from disparate archival sites; oral and scribal cultures of life story; reform cultures in the West Indies and Britain; and the analytical methods of the disciplines of literary criticism, history, and religious studies. Major research questions for me as a secular critic were how to read the religious and historical otherness of eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century evangelical texts and how to develop a finely nuanced analytical language in which to discuss them. To address these questions I have drawn on an extensive body of historical Methodist and Moravian sources, and of historical scholarship on African diasporic spirituality, evangelicism, and evangelical genres of spiritual autobiography, both oral and written, and early African-American evangelical figures. The archival traces of the (auto)biographical narrators I discuss are fragmentary; my analysis of the traces offers biographical insights and threads of biography.

Telling West Indian Lives draws renewed historical and literary attention to lived cultures of life story and narration, highlighting the formative influence of oral genres and soundscapes on written and dictated texts, varied genres

of life narrative, and the ways in which extant written narratives circulated as part of, and shaped, reform projects. Writing about the evangelical revival, Taves observes that "narratives of experience . . . retain the marks, bodily and social, of the contexts in which they were constituted and within which they normally are reproduced, whereas theories of experience usually do not."[3] By historicizing those marks, I have suggested how the agency of the narrators of the primary texts may be read and remembered, and worked to reconstruct the "cognitive-political terrain of modernity" on which their identities were articulated. That terrain includes local and global evangelical print culture: "the culture and relationships created by the consumption of printed material; and the cognitive and epistemic, or 'noetic,' worlds created through encounters with printed materials,"[4] encounters that include listening to printed text being read. Handwritten materials like the *Gemeinnachtrichten* (the globally circulated Moravian newsletter), too, were read aloud. The cultural complexity of the primary texts and their provenances has demanded a nuanced addressing of the racialized inequalities of intercultural exchange and petitioning, the gendered and racialized protocols of women writing, the conditions enabling the circulation of texts and the survival of the writing in archives, and intimacies of friendship, kinship, and co-production germane to specific (auto)biographical and testimonial acts. Of the life narratives I discuss, *The History of Mary Prince, a West Indian Slave* has to date generated the most critical interest. I analyze the text in relation to the life stories and testimony of other enslaved people—Salome Cuthbert, Cornelius, and Betto Douglas—but also demonstrate how productively it may be read in relation to genres other than slave narrative and reform projects other than British antislavery.

I have worked to complicate understandings of early West Indian life narrative and of late plantation slavery cultures by supplementing dichotomies in the field—planter/slave, plantation/provision ground or plot, Christian/African, and Christian assimilation/antislavery—and by placing the particularities of regional West Indian literature and history within Atlantic contexts, what has been termed a "*Cis*-Atlantic" approach.[5] The dichotomies shape the framing of research questions in literary and historical scholarship. My project, then, opens up new questions and illuminates what have been obscured lives and histories. I have, for instance, drawn attention to writing by people who were neither planters nor slaves, who were vocal campaigners against the ethics and institutions of plantation slavery. Provision grounds or plots, lands on which enslaved people cultivated subsistence and local market crops, have become emblematic of a creolized "folk culture—the basis of a social order" differentiated from the socioeconomic structures of the plantation.[6] Evangelical lay philanthropy, structures, and cultures, too,

were sites for the emergence of creolized practices and selves that challenge the Christian/African and Christian assimilation/antislavery dichotomies and constructions of Christian conversion as a trickster or masked pose of a more authentically African self. My study limns the historical differences among Christian denominations and their cultures of life story. Lambert and Lester argue that British "philanthropists inscribed the West Indies as an aberrant space requiring intervention" from the imperial center, and conflated philanthropy with Britishness.[7] Taking a Cis-Atlantic approach, I have charted the emergence of Creole benevolent enterprises—the Female Refuge Society and the English Harbour Sunday School Society—with a transatlantic reach. This attention to West Indian projects and the life narrative and writing that sustained them supplements scholarship on the cultures and "literature of slavery and abolition" in Britain, now a "sub-field of literary studies . . . occupying an important position at the heart of all our attempts to understand the culture and thought—as well as the politics and economies—of those many societies tangled up in the complex web of slave trading and slave holding."[8]

Telling West Indian Lives: Life Narrative and the Reform of Plantation Slavery Cultures 1804–1834 provokes fresh research questions about the "conceptual and institutional terrain of modernity" in late plantation slavery cultures, the "modern forms of subjectivity" in early West Indian life writing,[9] the negotiation of agency in lived cultures of life story, the genealogies of slave narrative, the travels of specific genres of life narration across cultures, and the gendered, racialized, classed political reach of life story.

Notes

Introduction

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4. Gillian Whitlock, *The Intimate Empire: Reading Women's Autobiography* (London: Cassell, 2000), 6, 4. She alludes to Leigh Gilmore, *Autobiographics: A Feminist Theory of Women's Self-representation* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1994).
5. David Scott, *Conscripts of Modernity: The Tragedy of Colonial Enlightenment* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004), 50, 94, 70, 96, 102.
6. Ibid., 94.
7. Ferguson, introduction to *Nine Black Women: An Anthology of Nineteenth-Century Writers from the Unites States, Canada, Bermuda and the Caribbean*, ed. Moira Ferguson (New York: Routledge, 1998), xiii.
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16. Michael Craton, *Testing the Chains: Resistance to Slavery in the British West Indies* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1982), 252.
17. Anu Koivunen, "An Affective Turn? Reimagining the Subject of Feminist Theory," in *Working with Affect in Feminist Readings: Disturbing Differences*, ed. Marianne Liljeström and Susanna Paasonen (London: Routledge, 2010), 19.
18. Anne Gilbert, letter to Mrs. Luckock, in William Dawes, letter to the Secretaries of the Church Missionary Society (CMS), August 24, 1824, in *Church Missionary Society Archive. Section V* (Marlborough: Adam Matthew, 1999), C W M1, Reel 2. Unless otherwise noted Dawes's letters are in this section of the *CMS Archive.* Female Refuge Society, *Fourth Annual Report of the Female Refuge Society* (1819). Anne Gilbert, letter to Mrs. Luckock. David B. Weaver, "English Harbour, Antigua: The Rise and Fall of a Strategic Military Site," *Caribbean Quarterly* 48, no. 4 (2002): 8.
19. Edward L. Cox, "Ralph Brush Cleghorn of St. Kitts (1804–1842)," *Slavery and Abolition* 28, no. 1 (2007): 41. He is quoting Arnold A. Sio, "Marginality and Free Coloured Identity in Caribbean Slave Society," *Slavery and Abolition* 8, no. 1 (1987): 167.
20. Catherine Hall, *Civilising Subjects: Metropole and Colony in the English Imagination 1830–1867* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 65.
21. Paul Carter, *The Calling to Come* (Sydney: Museum of Sydney on the Site of First Government House, 1996), 81–82.
22. Phyllis Mander-Jones, "Dawes, William (1762–1836)," in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, online ed. (Canberra: Australian National University, 2006), accessed March 7, 2009, http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/adbonline.htm; Derek Howse, "Dawes, William (1762–1836)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), accessed March 7, 2009, http://0-www.oxforddnb.com.
23. Eugene Stock, *The History of the Church Missionary Society: Its Environment, Its Men and Its Work* (London: Church Missionary Society, 1899); Roberts, *From Oral to Literate Culture: Colonial Experience in the English West Indies* (Kingston, Jamaica: University of the West Indies Press, 1997), 260, 246, 212, 273.
24. Peter Linebaugh and Marcus Rediker, *The Many-headed Hydra: Sailors, Slaves, Commoners, and the Hidden History of the Revolutionary Atlantic* (Boston: Beacon, 2000), 289.
25. Quoted in Malcolm Chase, "*The People's Farm*": *English Radical Agrarianism 1775–1840* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), 93.
26. *Royal Gazette* (Jamaica), Supplement, March 15–22, 1817, 10.
27. Chase, "*The People's Farm*," 84–85.
28. *Royal Gazette* (Jamaica), Supplement, March 15–22, 1817, 11.
29. "*Forlorn Hope*," no. 1 (1817), col. 4.
30. Barnor Hesse, "Forgotten Like a Bad Dream: Atlantic Slavery and the Ethics of Postcolonial Memory," in *Relocating Postcolonialism*, ed. David Theo Goldberg and Ato Quayson (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002), 146.

31. John Sekora, "Black Message/White Envelope: Genre, Authenticity, and Authority in the Antebellum Slave Narrative," *Callaloo* 32 (Summer 1987): 511.
32. Beth A. McCoy, "Race and the (Para)Textual Condition," *PMLA* 121, no. 1 (January 2006): 156.
33. Sara Salih, "*The History of Mary Prince*, the Black Subject, and the Black Canon," in *Discourses of Slavery and Abolition: Britain and Its Colonies, 1760–1838*, ed. Brycchan Carey, Markman Ellis, and Sarah Salih (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan in association with the Institute of English Studies, School of Advanced Study, University of London, 2004), 125.
34. David Scott, "The Social Construction of Postcolonial Studies," in *Postcolonial Studies and Beyond*, ed. Ania Loomba, Suvir Kaul, Matti Bunzl, Antoinette Burton, and Jed Esty (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005), 386.

Chapter 1

1. Editorial, *Antigua Observer*, July 25, 1889. On the role of Nathaniel Gilbert in founding the first Methodist Society outside Britain, see Edgar W. Thompson, *Nathaniel Gilbert, Lawyer and Evangelist* (London: Epworth, 1960).
2. On the Hart sisters, Anne Gilbert and Elizabeth Thwaites, see Ferguson's Introduction to *HS*, her *Colonialism and Gender Relations from Mary Wollstonecraft to Jamaica Kincaid: East Caribbean Connections* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), and her account of them in her edition *Nine Black Women*; Merle Collins, "To Be Free Is Very Sweet," rev. of *Subject to Others: British Women Writers and Colonial Slavery, 1670–1834*, by Moira Ferguson, and *The Hart Sisters: Early African Caribbean Writers, Evangelicals, and Radicals*, ed. Moira Ferguson, *Slavery and Abolition* 15, no. 3 (1994): 96–103; John Saillant, "Antiguan Methodism and Antislavery Activity: Anne and Elizabeth Hart in the Eighteenth-century Black Atlantic," *Church History* 69, no. 1 (2000): 86–115; Sandra Pouchet Pacquet, *Caribbean Autobiography: Cultural Identity and Self-representation* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2002), 21–27; Evelyn O'Callaghan, *Women Writing the West Indies, 1804–1939: "A hot place, belonging to Us"* (London: Routledge, 2004); Joan Anim-Addo, *Touching the Body: History, Language and African-Caribbean Women's Writing* (London: Mango, 2007), 125–126; Robert Glen, "Narrative Voice in 'Peregrine Pickle . . . A Negro' (1821)," *C.L.R. James Journal* 13 (2007): 99–107; and Babacar M'Baye, *The Trickster Comes West: Pan-African Influence in Early Black Diasporan Narratives* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2009). See also Frey and Wood, *Come Shouting to Zion* and Robert Glen, "The History of Early Methodism in Antigua: A Critique of Sylvia R. Frey and Betty Wood's *Come Shouting to Zion: African American Protestantism in the American South and British Caribbean to 1830*," *Journal of Caribbean History* 35 (2001): 253–284, and " 'The History of Early Methodism in Antigua': A Response to Frey and Wood," *Journal of Caribbean History* 36 (2002): 171–178. On broader contexts of religion in the West Indies in this period, see as a sample Mary Turner, *Slaves and*

Missionaries: The Disintegration of Jamaican Slave Society 1787–1834 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1982); Michael M. Mullin, *Africa in America: Slave Acculturation and Resistance in the American South and the British Caribbean, 1736–1831* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992); Catherine Hall, *White, Male and Middle Class: Explorations in Feminism and History* (Cambridge: Polity, 1992); Emilia Viotti da Costa, *Crowns of Glory, Tears of Blood: The Demerara Slave Rebellion of 1823* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994); and Hall, *Civilising Subjects*. As noted in my Introduction, Roberts does not mention the educational work of the Hart sisters or the Church Missionary Society project in Antigua in *From Oral to Literate Culture*. The fullest nineteenth-century account of the Hart sisters is offered by Rev. John Horsford, *A Voice from the West Indies: Being a Review of the Character and Results of Missionary Efforts in the British and Other Colonies in the Caribbean Sea* (London: Alexander Heylin, 1856), Chapters 6 and 7.

3. Internal evidence establishes that Grace Dawes is the editor. The editor is a sister of John who returned to Antigua in 1813 and worked closely with Anne in the Female Refuge Society.
4. My formulation of this point alludes to Whitlock's study *The Intimate Empire*, which has also usefully renewed interest in the editing of colonial (auto)biography.
5. Francis Gilbert, *A Funeral Sermon, Preached by Francis Gilbert, on Sunday the First of May, 1774 on the Death of Nathaniel Gilbert, Esq; of the Said Island. Who Departed this Life 20th April, 1774* (Antigua: n.p., 1774), 5, 14.
6. John Wesley, "A Plain Account of Genuine Christianity (1753)," in *John Wesley*, ed. Albert Cook Outler (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), 184.
7. Frey and Wood, *Come Shouting to Zion*, 105. Frey and Wood mistakenly assume that Anne Gilbert is the wife of the Nathaniel Gilbert who is credited with founding Methodism in Antigua.
8. Anne Gilbert, letter to Mrs. Luckock.
9. Geordan Hammond, "John Wesley's Mindset at the Commencement of His Georgia Sojourn: Suffering and the Introduction of Primitive Christianity to the Indians," *Methodist History* 47, no. 1 (2008): 22–24.
10. Quoted in Thomas Coke, *A History of the West Indies, Containing the Natural, Civil and Ecclesiastical History of Each Island: With an Account of the Missions Instituted in Those Islands* (1808–1811; reprint, London: Cass, 1971), vol. 2, 456.
11. Ibid., 2: 361, 452.
12. Ann Taves, *Fits, Trances, and Visions: Experiencing Religion and Explaining Experience from Wesley to James* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), 78.
13. Paget Henry, *Caliban's Reason: Introducing Afro-Caribbean Philosophy* (New York: Routledge, 2000), 25.
14. Female Refuge Society, *Seventh Annual Report of the Female Refuge Society* (1822), in Sir Benjamin d'Urban, letter to Earl Bathurst, March 12, 1824,

National Archives (U.K.), C.O. 7/10/183. Hereafter the National Archives (U.K.) is abbreviated as NA.

15. Henry, *Caliban's Reason*, 30.
16. Ibid., 31.
17. David Lambert and Alan Lester, "Geographies of Colonial Philanthropy," *Progress in Human Geography* 28, no. 3 (2004): 321.
18. "West Indian Missions, ANTIGUA.—Extract of a Letter from Mr. Banks, dated St. John's, August 5th, 1833," *Methodist Magazine* 3rd S 8 (1834), 226. Grace Dawes chose this verse as the epigraph for her memoir of Anne (*M*, 83).
19. *M*, 83.
20. The minutes of the CMS Committee for March 21, 1816 record the donation "for the benefit of the English Harbour Schools" and "particularly for . . . the destitute Young Females." *CMS Archive. Section III*, G C 1, Reel 76, 2: 460.
21. Beilby Porteus, *A Letter to the Governors, Legislatures, and Proprietors of Plantations in the British West-India Islands* (London: T. Cadell, T. Payne, & F. C. and J. Rivington, 1808), 33. Dawes, letter to Rev. Josiah Pratt, April 1, 1820.
22. Female Refuge Society, *Thirteenth Report of the Female Refuge Society* (1828), in *CMS Archive. Section V*, C W 06, Reel 9, 3.
23. William Dawes, letter to the Secretary of the CMS, May 11, 1825.
24. Henrice Altink, *Representations of Slave Women in Discourses of Slavery and Abolition, 1780–1838* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 69–71; Anne Gilbert, letter to Mrs. Luckock.
25. Mindie Lazarus-Black, *Legitimate Acts and Illegal Encounters: Law and Society in Antigua and Barbuda* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1994), 85.
26. "Antigua: English-Harbour Sunday and Other Schools," *Missionary Register*, April 1, 1816, 142–143.
27. Anne Gilbert, letter to Mrs. Luckock and William Dawes, letter, May 11, 1825. Her allusion is to Luke 16:19. My quotations are from verses 20, 21, and 23. My quotations from the Bible are, unless otherwise indicated, from the King James Version. John Wesley, "The Rich Man and Lazarus," in *The Sermons of John Wesley*, ed. Thomas Jackson (1872 ed.), John Wesley Sermon Project, ed. Ryan N. Danker and George Lyons, 1999–2011, Wesley Centre for Applied Theology, Wesley Centre Online, accessed September 30, 2011, http://wesley.nnu.edu/john-wesley/the-sermons-of-john-wesley-1872-edition/sermon-112-the-rich-man-and-lazarus.
28. Anne Gilbert, letter to Mrs. Luckock.
29. Anne and John Gilbert supported the English Harbour Sunday School Society, Anne the Female Refuge Society, and the Distressed Females' Friend Society, and John the Antigua Auxiliary Bible Society. The annual reports of the English Harbour Sunday School Society for 1822, 1823, and 1824, of the Antigua Auxiliary Bible Society for 1823 and 1824, of the Female Refuge Society for 1822 and 1823, and of the Distressed Females' Friend Society for 1822 and 1823 survive in Sir Benjamin d'Urban's 1824 report on religious instruction and education prepared for Earl Bathurst, letter to Earl Bathurst, March 12, 1824. The

annual reports of the English Harbour Sunday School Society for 1825 and 1829, of the Female Refuge Society for 1818, 1819, and 1828, and of the Distressed Females' Friend Society for 1819 and 1828 survive in the *CMS Archive. Section V*, C W 06, Reel 9. The 6th Annual Report of the Distressed Females' Friend Society for 1821 survives in the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society Archives, West Indies/Correspondence, School of Oriental and African Studies Library, University of London, London. These archives are hereafter cited as WMMS.

30. Orphaned as a child, John Gilbert had worked at the English Harbour Naval Dockyard from 1781 to 1793, commencing shortly before his 14th birthday in the Storekeeper's Office, and taking on the role of store-porter in 1784, with additional responsibilities for "drawing working plans of buildings" and clerical matters (*M*, 55).
31. Thomas Coke, *A History of the West Indies*, vol. 2, 455.
32. G. Black, letter to editor, *Antigua Weekly Register*, February 18, 1840, 3.
33. Charles Janion, letter to Rev. Joseph Taylor, June 22, 1823, WMMS.
34. William Dawes, letter to the Secretaries of the CMS, May 8, 1827.
35. Archdeacon Parry, letter to Rev. E. Bickersteth, March 2, 1827, in *CMS Archive. Section V*.
36. On the Distressed Females' Friend Society, see Frances Lanaghan, *Antigua and the Antiguans: A Full Account of the Colony and Its Inhabitants from the Time of the Caribs to the Present Day, Interspersed with Anecdotes and Legends. Also, An Impartial View of Slavery and the Free Labour Systems; the Statistics of the Island, and Biographical Notices of the Principal Families* (London: Saunders and Otley, 1844), vol. 1, 258–259.
37. The Society is referred to in the *Thirteenth Report of the Female Refuge Society*, 7.
38. Efforts to found the Society are mentioned in the *Fourth Annual Report of the Ladies' Association for Salisbury, Calne, Melksham, Devizes, &c* (n.p., 1829), 8.
39. Anne Gilbert, letter to Mrs. Luckock.
40. *The Oxford English Dictionary* cites Edmund Burke on the French Revolution: "It is a revolt of innovation; and thereby the very elements of society have been confounded and dissipated." *The Oxford English Dictionary Online* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009). References to this edition are hereafter cited in text as *OED*.
41. Anne Gilbert, letter to Mrs. Luckock.
42. Deborah Wyrick, "The Madwoman in the Hut: Scandals of Hybrid Domesticity in Early Victorian Literature from the West Indies," *Pacific Coast Philology* 33, no. 1 (1998): 45.
43. Anne Gilbert, *A Short Memoir of Grace Gilbert Hart, a Child Belonging to the English Harbour Sunday School*, *CMS Archive. Section V*, C W O4, Reel 8.
44. Anne Gilbert, undated letter to Grace Dawes, in William Dawes, letter to Rev. E. Bickersteth, September 2, 1825.
45. Lazarus-Black, *Legitimate Acts and Illegal Encounters*, 85–86.

46. In correspondence she singles out only some, not all Moravian women as concubines. See, for instance, her letter to Mrs. Luckock.
47. Hindmarsh, *The Evangelical Conversion Narrative* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 149.
48. *Report of the English Harbour Female Juvenile Association March 1823*, in *CMS Archive. Section V*, C W 06, Reel 9.
49. Ibid.
50. John Wesley, "God's Love to Fallen Man," in *The Sermons of John Wesley*, accessed September 30, 2009, http://wesley.nnu.edu/john-wesley/the-sermons-of-john-wesley-1872-edition/sermon-59-gods-love-to-fallen-man.
51. Charles Wesley, "Jesus, the Gift Divine I know," in *A Collection of Hymns for the People Called Methodists. With a New Supplement*, ed. John Wesley (London: Wesleyan-Methodist Book-room, 1889), accessed September 30, 2009, http://www.ccel.org/w/wesley/hymn/jwg03/jwg0364.html.
52. Stanlie M. James, "Mothering: A Possible Black Feminist Link to Social Transformation?" in *Theorizing Black Feminisms: The Visionary Pragmatism of Black Women*, ed. Stanlie M. James and Abena P. A. Busia (London: Routledge, 1993), 47–48.
53. Patricia Hill Collins, *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment* (Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1990), 129.
54. Ibid., 147.
55. *Report of the English Harbour Female Juvenile Association.*
56. Female Refuge Society, *Eighth Report.*
57. Ibid.
58. Francis Canavan, *Edmund Burke: Prescription and Providence* (Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press and The Claremont Institute for the Study of Statesmanship and Political Philosophy, 1987), 115.
59. Samuel Magaw, "A DISCOURSE Delivered July 17th, 1794, in the AFRICAN CHURCH Of the City of Philadelphia, on the occasion of opening the said Church, and holding public worship in it the first time," in *Annals of the First African Church, in the United States of America, now Styled the African Episcopal Church of St. Thomas, Philadelphia, in its Connection with the Early Struggles of the Colored People to Improve their Conditions, with the Co-operation of Friends, and Other Philanthropists*, by William Douglass (Philadelphia: King and Baird, 1862), 66–67.
60. William Cowper, "Charity," in *Poems*, ed. Hugh l'Anson Fausset (London: J.M. Dent, 1931), 254.
61. Hannah More, *Thoughts on the Importance of the Manners of the Great, to the General Society*, 8th ed. (London: T. Cadell, 1791), 2, 3, 19, in *Eighteenth Century Collections Online* (Gale).
62. The quotations are from More, *Thoughts on the Manners of the Great, to the General Society,* 113–114.
63. I have corrected a transcription error, "delated" for "dilated." See Edmund Waller, "Of Divine Love: A Poem in Six Cantos," in *English Poetry*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Chadwyck-Healey, 1992).

64. Brycchan Carey, *British Abolitionism and the Rhetoric of Sensibility: Writing, Sentiment, and Slavery, 1760–1807* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 41, 40.
65. Markman Ellis, *The Politics of Sensibility: Race, Gender and Commerce in the Sentimental Novel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 19.
66. Female Refuge Society, *Fourth Report*.
67. Ibid., *Thirteenth Report*, 11.
68. Ibid., *Seventh Report*, 8–9.
69. Anne Gilbert, "A Short Account of Peregrine Pickle (Now Baptised Peter) a Negro Belonging to His Majesty and Employed in the Naval Yard at English Harbour, Antigua," MS. WMMS. Hereafter cited in text as *SAPP*.
70. Female Refuge Society, *Eighth Report.*
71. Female Refuge Society, *Seventh Report*, 12.
72. Ibid., 7, 14.
73. Ibid., 7.
74. Porteus, *A Letter to the Governors, Legislatures, and Proprietors*, 33–34.
75. Female Refuge Society, *Seventh Report*, 2. Mrs. Gilbert would have been the wife of Nathaniel Gilbert IV, John Gilbert's second cousin. There was a pattern in one branch of the Gilbert family of naming eldest sons Nathaniel. Where necessary for clarity I am distinguishing the four Nathaniel Gilberts referred to in this chapter by naming them Nathaniel Gilbert I, Nathaniel Gilbert II, Nathaniel Gilbert III, and Nathaniel Gilbert IV. Nathaniel Gilbert II was the founder of Methodism in Antigua.
76. Female Refuge Society, *Thirteenth Report*, 3.
77. Ibid., 6.
78. Margaret Cohen, "Traveling Genres," in *Transatlantic Literary Studies: A Reader*, ed. Susan Manning and Andrew Taylor (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007), 234.
79. Female Refuge Society, *Seventh Report*, 13.
80. David Lambert, *White Creole Culture, Politics and Identity during the Age of Abolition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 65–66.
81. Female Refuge Society, *Seventh Report*, 10–11.
82. Lambert, *White Creole Culture*, 141.
83. Female Refuge Society, *Seventh Report*, 8.
84. Michel-Rolph Trouillot, "The Otherwise Modern: Caribbean Lessons from the Savage Slot," in *Critically Modern: Alternatives, Alterities, Anthropologies*, ed. Bruce M. Knauft (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002), 229–230.
85. Female Refuge Society, *Seventh Report*, 11.
86. Female Refuge Society, *Eighth Report.*
87. Nathaniel Lancaster, quoted in David Hempton, *Methodism: Empire of the Spirit* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 35.
88. Female Refuge Society, *Seventh Report*, 9.
89. Anthony Ashley Cooper, third earl of Shaftesbury, "The Moralists: A Philosophical Rhapsody," in *Some Texts from Early Modern Philosophy*, ed. Jonathan

F. Bennett, accessed February 1, 2011, http://www.earlymoderntexts.com/pdf/shafcha5.pdf.

90. One pound sterling was worth two pounds, three shillings currency in 1828.
91. Female Refuge Society, *Thirteenth Report*, 7.
92. Ladies' Negro's Friend Society for Birmingham, West Bromwich, Wednesbury, Walsall, and their Respective Neighbourhoods, *Eleventh Report of the Ladies' Negro's Friend Society for Birmingham, West Bromwich, Wednesbury, Walsall, and their Respective Neighbourhoods* (Birmingham, 1836), 12.
93. David Barry Gaspar, " 'To Be Free Is Very Sweet': The Manumission of Female Slaves in Antigua, 1817–1826," in *Beyond Bondage: Free Women of Color in the Americas*, ed. David Barry Gaspar and Darlene Clark Hine (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2004), 71–73.
94. Female Refuge Society, *Thirteenth Report of the Female Refuge Society*, 9.
95. Anne Gilbert notes the fine needlework skills among the French emigrant community in Antigua that had "fled from Guadeloupe and Martinique, during the revolution in France." The women, she observes, "produced most beautiful specimens of ornamental work" (*M*, 27).
96. Lanaghan, *Antigua and the Antiguans*, vol. 1, 258.
97. Claire Midgley, *Women against Slavery: The British Campaigns 1780–1870* (London: Routledge, 1992), 44.
98. Female Society for Birmingham, *The First Report of the Female Society for the Relief of British Negro Slaves, &c &c.*, in *Records Relating to the Birmingham Ladies' Society for the Relief of British Negro Slaves, 1825–1919* (Wakefield: EP Microform, c. 1970), 3.
99. Ladies' Negro's Friend Society for Birmingham, West Bromwich, Wednesbury, Walsall, and Their Respective Neighbourhoods, *The Eighth Report of the Ladies' Negro's Friend Society for Birmingham, etc.* (Birmingham, 1833), 20.
100. Female Society for Birmingham, *The First Report of the Female Society for the Relief of British Negro Slaves, &c &c*, 10.
101. Ladies' Negro's Friend Society for Birmingham, etc., *The Eighth Report,* 18.
102. Midgley, *Women against Slavery*, 57, 47.
103. Ladies' Association for Salisbury, Calne, Melksham, Devizes, and others, *Third Report of the Ladies' Association for Salisbury, Calne, Melksham, Devizes, and others* (n.p., 1828).
104. Phyllis Mack, *Heart Religion in the British Enlightenment: Gender and Emotion in Early Methodism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 22.
105. Ibid., 295.
106. *HS*, 65–66; Anne Gilbert, *SMGGH*.
107. Anne Gilbert, undated letter to William Dawes, in William Dawes, letter to the Secretaries of the CMS, May 11, 1825. For her the Daweses are epitomes of this means.
108. Anne Gilbert, letter to Mrs. Luckock.
109. Toni Morrison, "The Site of Memory," in *Inventing the Truth: The Art and Craft of Memoir*, ed. William Zinsser (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1987), 109.

110. Anne Gilbert, undated letter to William Dawes, in William Dawes, letter to the Secretaries of the CMS, May 11, 1825.
111. *Report of the English Harbour Female Juvenile Association March 1823*; Anne Gilbert, undated letter to William Dawes, in William Dawes, letter to the Secretaries of the CMS, May 11, 1825; Anne Gilbert, letter to Mrs. Luckock; Anne Gilbert, undated letter to Grace Dawes, in William Dawes, letter to Rev. E. Bickersteth, September 2, 1825; Anne Gilbert, quoted in William Dawes, letter to the Secretaries of the CMS, September 2, 1825; Anne Gilbert, *SMGGH.*
112. Anne Gilbert, undated letter to William Dawes, in Dawes, letter to the Secretaries of the CMS, May 11, 1825.
113. Judith Butler, *Excitable Speech: A Politics of the Performative* (New York: Routledge, 1997), 4–5.
114. Anne Gilbert, undated letter to William Dawes, in Dawes, letter to the Secretaries of the CMS, May 11, 1825.
115. William Dawes, letter to the Secretaries of the CMS, July 2, 1825.
116. William Dawes, letter to Rev. E. Bickersteth, July 29, 1825.
117. See, for instance, William Dawes, letter to the Secretaries of the CMS, August 5, 1828.
118. Lambert, *White Creole Culture*, 142.
119. See William Dawes's exchange of letters with the Secretaries of the CMS between 1826 and 1828, *CMS Archive. Section V,* C W M1 and C W M2.
120. Lanaghan quotes its 1841 annual report in *Antigua and the Antiguans*, vol. 1, 258–259.
121. John and Judith Jones had named a daughter after Anne Gilbert. She died in infancy in Antigua. William Dawes records her death on September 4, 1822 in his work journal. *Church Missionary Society Archive. Section V*, C W O31, Reel 12.
122. "West Indian Missions," *Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine* 57 (1834): 226.
123. *Spiritual Letters: By Several Eminent Christians* (Chester, 1767 [*sic*]) in *Eighteenth Century Collections Online* (Gale). The date on the title page, 1767, is incorrect as letters sent in 1768, some relating to the death of Mary Gilbert, their niece, in 1768, are included. The publication of the spiritual letters was not authorized by Mary. The editor, identifying her only as M. L., observes "her exceeding great modesty" (3) and justifies publication on the grounds that readers "will be as much edified as agreeably entertain'd" by "the beauty of her language, the spirit of devotion, the justness of sentiments, and prodigious depth of Divinity that run through all her Letters" (4).
124. Doris Sommer, *Foundational Fictions: The National Romances of Latin America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 10.
125. Mack, *Heart Religion in the British Enlightenment*, 261.
126. Carolyn Vellenga Berman, *Creole Crossings: Domestic Fiction and the Reform of Colonial Slavery* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006), 3, 16.
127. For a brief overview of the connection between Mary Leadbetter and John Wesley, see Paul Cheshire, "John Walsh, Mary Leadbetter and 'A Short Account

of Miss Mary Gilbert,' " *Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society* 55, no. 1 (2005), 16–18.

128. Coke, *A History of the West Indies*, vol. 2, 438.
129. Francis Fletcher Bretherton, *Early Methodism in and around Chester* (Chester, 1903), 81.
130. John Fletcher, letter to Charles Wesley, March 22, 1759, in "*Unexampled Labours*"*: Letters of the Revd John Fletcher to Leaders of the Evangelical Revival*, ed. Peter S. Forsaith (Epworth: n.p., 2008), 62.
131. On Melvill Horne, see Suzanne Schwarz, "The Legacy of Melvill Horne," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 31, no. 2 (2007): 88–93. Nathaniel Gilbert III married Melvill Horne's sister Grace (*M*, *8*). Their son Nathaniel Gilbert IV married Horne's daughter Grace. William Dawes worked with Nathaniel Gilbert III training prospective Christian missionaries to Sierra Leone in Sussoo language and customs at Bledlow, where Gilbert was vicar.
132. Mack, *Heart Religion in the British Enlightenment*, 127.
133. A. Currer-Jones mentions that Dawes and Horne travelled together to Sierra Leone on the *York* in *William Dawes, R.M. 1762 to 1836: A Sketch of His Life, Work and Explorations (1787) in the First Expedition to New South Wales: Also as Governor of Sierra Leone, and in Antigua, West Indies* (Torquay: W. H. Smith, 1930), 36. Grace's christening was registered in Saint Vincent on October 5, 1774. *Register of Christenings, St Vincent and the Grenadines*, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines National Archives, Kingstown, Saint Vincent.
134. Because he was white, a Moravian minister advised him that he would need permission from authorities in Herrnhut to accept him in the congregation that was "limited to black and coloured people" (*M*, 17).
135. "Rev. Nathaniel Gilbert" [obituary], *Christian Observer* 6 (1807): 770.
136. Vere Langford Oliver, *The History of the Island of Antigua, One of the Leeward Caribbees in the West Indies, from the First Settlement in 1635 to the Present Time* (London: Mitchell and Hughes, 1896), vol. 2, 13.
137. Coke, *A History of the West Indies*, vol. 2, 432.
138. Ibid.
139. Oliver, *The History of the Island of Antigua*, vol. 2, 13.
140. *Authentic Papers Relative to the Expedition against the Charibbs, and the Sale of Lands in the Island of St. Vincent* (London: J. Almon, 1773), 51. On land speculation in Saint Vincent and the First Carib War, see Robin F. A. Fabel, *Colonial Challenges: Britons, Native Americans, and Caribs, 1759–1775* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000), 159–205. "The Humble Address and Memorial of the Council and Assembly of the Island of St. Vincent to His Majesty, on the subject of the Charibbs, in that Island" was published in *Authentic Papers*. The legislatures write:

> Permit us to observe, will all due respect, that your Majesty's subjects in this island purchased the Crown lands at no inconsiderable prices; and that they have adventured their health and fortune, and strained their credit, in

> the prosecution of settlements already beneficial, and likely to be extremely advantageous to your Majesty's Revenues.

Saint Vincent was returned to France in 1779; it was transferred back to British colonial control in 1783 under the Treaty of Versailles.

141. Martha and Grace were born in Saint Vincent. Some relatives eventually paid for George's education at Kingswood School, founded by John Wesley (*M*, *12*).
142. "Rev. Nathaniel Gilbert," 769.
143. J. F. [John Fletcher], letter to Miss H—, n.d., *Spiritual Letters*, 89–90.
144. Ibid., 90.
145. In her dying illness, Mary Gilbert records in her journal "distress" that her "nervous irritation" is such that she is unable "to perform" her "religious exercises with recollection" (*MMG*, 41). In recollection she occasionally experienced spiritual manifestations. She writes of her husband that he had "a watchful recollected spirit" (*MMG*, 16). Henry Moore, *The Life of Mrs. Mary Fletcher, Consort and Relict of the Rev. John Fletcher, Vicar of Madeley, Salop* (New York: J. Emory and B. Waugh, for the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1832), 84. Mary Fletcher writes that her husband's "strongest desire" is for "her spiritual growth" (110).
146. Mack, *Heart Religion in the British Enlightenment*, 244.
147. M. L. [Mary Leadbetter], letter to "Dear Brother," June 21, 1760, *Spiritual Letters*, 44.
148. Warner-Lewis, *Archibald Monteath*, 145.
149. Mack, *Heart Religion in the British Enlightenment*, 135.
150. Ibid., 23.
151. Sommer, *Foundational Fictions*, 87.
152. Christopher Leslie Brown, *Moral Capital: Foundations of British Abolitionism* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, 2006), 383–386.
153. "West Indian Missions," 226.
154. Oliver, *The History of the Island of Antigua*, vol. 2, 67, 68.
155. Horsford, *A Voice from the West Indies*, 190.
156. Ibid., 190.
157. *Slave Registers of Former British Colonial Dependencies 1812–1834* (Provo, UT: ancestry.com, 2007), online database, accessed September 1, 2011. The description is in the 1817 register.
158. Larry Koger, *Black Slaveowners: Free Black Slave Masters in South Carolina, 1790–1860* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1985), 88.
159. The 1821 and 1824 slave registers from Antigua show that an Elizabeth Thwaites owned two male and three female slaves. In the 1828 return James H. Thwaites, the guardian of Caroline Harriet Thwaites, describes the Elizabeth Thwaites who used to own the slaves as "deceased." *Slave Registers of Former British Colonial Dependencies 1812–1834*. Elizabeth Hart Thwaites died in 1833.
160. Dawes, letter to the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, March 28, 1820.

161. Antigua. A Return of the Number of Manumissions effected by Purchase bequest or otherwise from January 1, 1821 to December 31, 1826, NA, C.O. 7/20.
162. David Barry Gaspar, " 'To Be Free Is Very Sweet,' " 62. Gaspar quotes Barry Higman, *Slave Populations of the British Caribbean, 1807–1834* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984), 379–386.
163. Ibid., 65.
164. Altink, *Representations of Slave Women in Discourses of Slavery and Abolition, 1780–1838*, 72–74.
165. M. F. [Mary Gilbert], letter to "Dear Madam," March 1768, *Spiritual Letters*, 154.
166. Edward Young, *Night Thoughts or, The Complaint and The Consolation*, illus. William Blake, ed. Robert Essick and Jenijoy La Belle (New York: Dover Publications, 1975), 12–13.
167. Ibid., 5.
168. Ibid.

Chapter 2

1. David Lambert and Alan Lester, introduction: Imperial Spaces, Imperial Subjects to *Colonial Lives across the British Empire: Imperial Careering in the Long Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 2.
2. Dawes, letter to the Secretaries of the Church Missionary Society (CMS), September 20, 1824, *CMS Archive. Section V*, C W 031, Reel 12 (and unless otherwise indicated the letters and work journals of Dawes referenced in this chapter are on this reel); Dawes, letter to Rev. Josiah Pratt, January 14, 1824; Dawes, letter to the Secretary of the CMS, September 20, 1824.
3. Clare Brant, *Eighteenth-Century Letters and British Culture* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 25. Hindmarsh points to the importance of retrospective review in the practice of spiritual autobiography in *The Evangelical Conversion Narrative*, 264.
4. For readings of the language notebooks, see Jakelin Troy, "The Sydney Language Notebooks and Responses to Language Contact in Early Colonial NSW," *Australian Journal of Linguistics* 12 (1992): 145–170; Carter, *The Calling to Come*; Keith Vincent Smith, *Bennelong: The Coming In of the Eora, Sydney Cove 1788–1792* (Sydney: Kangaroo Press, 2001); Jeremy Macdonald Steele, "The Aboriginal Language of Sydney: A Partial Reconstruction of the Indigenous Language of Sydney Based on the Notebooks of William Dawes of 1790–1791, Informed by the Records of the Sydney and Surrounding Languages to c. 1905," MA diss, Macquarie University, 2005; Deirdre Coleman, *Romantic Colonization and British Anti-slavery* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Paul Carter, "Public Space: Its Mythopoetic Foundations and the Limits of the Law," *Griffith Law Review* 16, no. 2 (2007): 430–443; Ross Gibson, "Event-grammar: The Language Notebooks of William Dawes," *Meanjin* 68, no. 2 (2009): 91–99 and *26 Views of the Starburst World: William Dawes at Sydney*

Cove 1788–91 (Perth: University of Western Australia Press, 2012); and David Nash, "Wind Direction Words in the Sydney Language: A Case Study in Semantic Reconstitution," *Australian Journal of Linguistics* 33, no. 1 (2013): 51–75. Keith Vincent Smith provides new information about the circulation of the notebooks in "A Few Words from William Dawes and George Bass," *National Library of Australia News*, June 2008, 7–10. On Dawes's other work in New South Wales, see Robert J. McAfee, *Dawes's Meteorological Journal* (Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, 1981); P.S. Laurie, "William Dawes and Australia's First Observatory," *Quarterly Journal of the Royal Astronomical Society* 29 (1988): 469–482; Lindsay Parish, *William Dawes: The First White Man in the Blue Mountains* (Springwood: Braemar 530A Committee, 1989); Doug Morrison and Ivan Barko, "Dagelet and Dawes: Their Meeting, Their Instruments and the First Scientific Experiments on Australian Soil," *Historical Records of Australian Science* 20 (2009): 1–40. Dawes's great-grand-daughter A. Currer-Jones wrote a brief history based largely on family tradition and myths, *William Dawes, R.M. 1762 to 1836*. Inga Clendinnen discusses him in *Dancing with Strangers* (Melbourne: Text Publishing, 2003), and speaks about him in Episode 1: *They Have Come to Stay* of the documentary series *The First Australians*, dir. Rachel Perkins and Beck Cole (SBS, 2008). Dawes's work in Sierra Leone features in Anna Maria Falconbridge's *Two Voyages to Sierra Leone* (1794), republished in *Maiden Voyages and Infant Colonies: Two Women's Travel Narratives of the 1790s*, ed. Deirdre Coleman (London: Leicester University Press, 1999); Coleman's *Romantic Colonization and British Anti-slavery*; and in Cassandra Pybus's *Epic Journeys of Freedom: Runaway Slaves of the American Revolution and Their Global Quest for Liberty* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2006) and " 'Not fit for your protection or an honest man's company': A Transnational Perspective on the Saintly William Dawes," *History Australia* 6, no. 1 (2009), 12.1–12.7. I draw attention to Pybus's problematic and sensational interpretation of primary sources in " 'Not fit for your protection or an honest man's company' " in two articles: "William Dawes in Antigua," *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History* 12, no. 1 (Spring 2011): doi:10.1353/cch.2011.0011 and "A Transnational Perspective on William Dawes' Treatment of Women," *History Australia* 10, no. 1 (April 2013): 187–204. Mary Louise Clifford discusses Dawes's work in Sierra Leone in some detail in *From Slavery to Freedom: Black Loyalists after the American Revolution* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1999).

5. *William Dawes' Notebooks on the Aboriginal Language of Sydney*, ed. D. Nathan, S. Rayner and S. Brown (London and Sydney: SOAS and Darug Tribal Aboriginal Corporation, 2009); *The Notebooks of William Dawes on the Aboriginal Languages of Sydney*, accessed June 30, 2010, http://www.williamdawes.org. Ross Gibson has used the notebooks as the basis of a speculative biography of Dawes in New South Wales *26 Views of the Starburst World*.
6. Jane Rogers, *Promised Lands: A Novel* (Woodstock, NY: Overlook Press, 1998); Kate Grenville, *The Lieutenant* (Melbourne: Text Publishing, 2008); Gibson, "Event-grammar," 98, 93; Bill Ashcroft, Frances Devlin Glass and Lyn

McCredden, *Intimate Horizons: The Post-colonial Sacred in Australian Literature* (Adelaide: ATF Press, 2009), 2–3. Dawes also features as one of the protagonists of Ashley Hay's novel *The Body in the Clouds* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 2010). Grenville writes of Daniel Rooke, modelled on Dawes: "But the God of sin and retribution, of the mysteries of suffering and resurrection did not speak to him. He had no argument with God, but for him God was not in those words or those rituals." Rather he feels that "to think mathematically was to feel the action of God in oneself" and that God is present "in the night sky" (*The Lieutenant*, 13–14). Drawing on archetypes of the senex and puer in *The Calling to Come*, Carter interprets Dawes's relationship with Patyegarang in James Hillman's terms as an "opening" (152), threshold or "door" (156) that enables "new schemes, new forms, new visions" (154–155). Some of his key images (wind, window, and doors, a pun on Dawes) are drawn from Hillman's "Notes on Opportunism" (1972). Hillman urges in "Senex and Puer: An Aspect of the Historical and Psychological Present" (1967) that "an archetypal understanding of events can cure the compulsive fascination with one's case history." James Hillman, Henry A. Murray, Tom Moore, James Baird, Thomas Cowan and Randolph Severson, *Puer Papers* (Irving, Texas: Spring Publications, 1979), 7.

7. Liz Stanley, "The Epistolarium: On Theorizing Letters and Correspondences," *Auto/Biography* 12 (2004): 202–203.
8. Sir Benjamin d'Urban, letter to Earl Bathurst, 12 Mar. 1824, NA, C.O. 7/10/183; *Antigua Weekly Register* October 11, 1836.
9. Dawes, letter to Rev. Josiah Pratt, March 7, 1823.
10. On this deep suspicion, see Christa Dierksheide, "Missionaries, Evangelical Identity, and the Religious Ecology of Early Nineteenth-Century South Carolina and the British Caribbean," *American Nineteenth Century History* 7, no. 1 (2006): 65.
11. Dawes, letter to Rev. Josiah Pratt, March 26, 1824. In Barbados, a broadsheet hailing the "TOTAL DESTRUCTION OF THE CHAPEL" described "Methodist Missionaries" as "agents to the villainous African Society." Quoted in Lambert, *White Creole Culture*, 153. On the African Institution, see Wayne Ackerson, *The African Institution (1807–1827) and the Antislavery Movement in Great Britain* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 2005).
12. Dawes, letter to Sir Benjamin d'Urban, October 24, 1823, enclosed in d'Urban, letter to Earl Bathurst; Dawes, letters to Rev. E. Bickersteth, September 19 and October 14, 1825; Dawes, letter to the Secretary of the CMS, March 26, 1824.
13. Dawes, letter to Rev. Josiah Pratt, March 7, 1823.
14. Hindmarsh, *The Evangelical Conversion Narrative*, 278.
15. The original source is Currer-Jones, *William Dawes*, 71.
16. *Legacies of British Slave-ownership* (London: University College London, Department of History, 2013), accessed May 30, 2013, http://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/search/.
17. R. Glen, "The History of Early Methodism in Antigua: A Critique of Sylvia R. Frey and Betty Wood's *Come Shouting to Zion*," 272; Thompson, *Nathaniel Gilbert, Lawyer and Evangelist* (London: Epworth, 1960), 22; Samuel J. Hough,

and Penelope R.O. Hough, comp., *The Beinecke Lesser Antilles Collection at Hamilton College: A Catalogue of Books, Manuscripts, Prints, Maps, and Drawings, 1521–1860* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1994), 294. R.A. Marriott insists in his account of Dawes's son William Rutter Dawes, a famed astronomer, that William Dawes Sr. "ran a sugar plantation employing freed slaves." "Dawes, William Rutter (1799–1868)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, accessed March 7, 2009, http://0-www.oxforddnb.com.

18. CMS Committee Minutes, April 26, 1813, *CMS Archive. Section II*, vol. 1, G C 1, Reel 75.
19. "Antigua: English-Harbour Sunday and Other Schools," *Missionary Register*, April 1, 1816, 144.
20. He was allowed £100 to purchase drug supplies. CMS Committee Minutes, January 13, 1817, *CMS Archive. Section II*, vol. 2, G C 1, Reel 76. He was editor of the *Antigua Journal* from 1816 to 1821. The paper ran from c. 1788 until 1821. CMS Committee Minutes, March 13, 1820, *CMS Archive. Section II*, vol. 4, G C 1, Reel 77. Mander-Jones suggests that Dawes moved to Antigua on Wilberforce's recommendation to "work for the anti-slavery cause," and that "his work seems to have been unpaid" ("Dawes, William"). In 1823 his salary was £250 a year, as he was not able to commit all of his time to CMS business. Dawes, letter to Rev. Josiah Pratt, May 28, 1820, *CMS Archive. Section V*, C W M1, Reel 2. Wilberforce had recommended Dawes for the position of superintendent of schools in New South Wales in 1794 (Currer-Jones, *William Dawes*, 50). He established a "school for African children" in Sierra Leone in the early 1790s (Clifford, *From Slavery to Freedom*, 161).
21. The School was conducted in John and Anne Gilbert's home until 1817 when Sir George Grey and his son George purchased a property to house it; it had enjoyed the patronage of Lady Grey since 1812. Annual Report, *English-Harbour Sunday School*, March 31, 1829, *CMS Archive. Section V*, C W O6, Reel 9; William Dawes, letter to the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, November 15, 1821, WMMS. Currer-Jones states that William, Grace and Judith Dawes "started schools in the Island for the education of children of slaves" (*William Dawes*, 74).
22. Porteus, *A Letter to the Governors, Legislatures, and Proprietors* (London: T. Cadell, T. Payne, & F.C. and J. Rivington, 1808), 33–34.
23. "Antigua: English-Harbour Sunday and Other Schools," *Missionary Register*, April 1, 1816, 140.
24. Horsford, *A Voice from the West Indies*, 197; G. Oliver Maynard, *A History of the Moravian Church, Eastern West Indies Province* (n.p., [1968]), 38; *Particulars Respecting the Schools for Negro Children, &c. under the Direction of the Moravian Missionaries in the West Indies* (n.p., 1826), 10; Porteus, *A Letter to the Governors, Legislatures, and Proprietors*, 22n.
25. The 1822 report is enclosed in d'Urban, letter to Earl Bathurst. The 1824, 1825, and 1829 reports are held in the *CMS Archive. Section V*, C W O6, Reel 9.

26. Resolutions passed at a General Meeting of the English Harbour Sunday School Society, on Monday May 13th,1822, *CMS Archive. Section V*, C W O6, Reel 9.
27. *English Harbour Sunday School Society 31 March 1822* [annual report] (Antigua, 1822).
28. William Dawes, letter to the Secretaries of the CMS, October 1826.
29. Patricia T. Rooke, "Missionaries as Pedagogues: A Reconsideration of the Significance of Education for Slaves and Apprentices in the British West Indies, 1800–1838," *History of Education* 9, no. 1 (1980): 69; Olwyn Mary Blouet, "Slavery and Freedom in the British West Indies, 1823–33: The Role of Education," *History of Education Quarterly* 30, no. 4 (Winter 1990): 636; Warner-Lewis, *Archibald Monteath*, 145.
30. Dawes and John Gilbert also worked together to establish the Antigua Auxiliary Bible Society in 1815; Anne Gilbert and Grace Dawes helped establish in 1824 the Ladies' Bible Association to raise funds for the Antigua Auxiliary Bible Society.
31. The letter is enclosed in d'Urban, letter to Earl Bathurst.
32. General View of Sunday School Returns, Antigua, December 31, 1824, *CMS Archive. Section V*, C W O7, Reel 9. Roberts, *From Oral to Literate Culture*, 277.
33. Dawes, letter to the Secretaries of the CMS, October 1826; Gilbert, letter to Mrs. Luckock; Dawes, letter to the Secretaries of the CMS, September 4, 1827.
34. Olaudah Equiano, *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa, the African. Written by Himself*, in *The Interesting Narrative and Other Writings*, by Olaudah Equiano, ed. Vincent Carretta (New York: Penguin, 2003), 191.
35. *Particulars Respecting the Schools for Negro Children*, 7; Mary Prince, *The History of Mary Prince, a West Indian Slave, Related by Herself*, ed. Sarah Salih (London: Penguin, 2004), 28. Hereafter this edition of Prince's *History* is cited in text as *H*. My references to the paratexts of Prince's narrative are to this edition.
36. Roberts, *From Oral to Literate Culture*, 273, 244–245; Dawes, letter to the Secretary, June 9, 1820. An annotated fragment of the lesson set is in the *CMS Archive. Section V*, C W 04, Reel 8.
37. *Church Missionary Society Archive, Section V*, Reel 8, C W O4; Charles Thwaites in *HS*, 133; Dawes, letter to the Secretaries, August 5, 1828; Elizabeth Thwaites in *HS*, 97–99.
38. d'Urban, letter to Earl Bathurst; *Particulars Respecting the Schools for Negro Children*, 6–7; *Particulars Respecting the Schools for Negro Children*, 4.
39. Dawes, letter to the Secretaries of the CMS, September 2, 1825; Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780–1850* (London: Hutchinson, 1987), 100; Dawes, letter to the Secretaries of the CMS, September 19, 1825.
40. Dawes, letter to Rev. E. Bickersteth, July 29, 1825; Dawes, letter to Rev. Josiah Pratt, November 7, 1823; Lambert, *White Creole Culture*, 141; Dawes, letter to Rev. E. Bickersteth, July 29, 1825.

41. Dawes, letter to Rev. E. Bickersteth, January 6, 1826; Ralph Erskine, "The Manner of a Sinner's Divorce from the Law in a Work of Humiliation, and of his Marriage to the Lord Jesus Christ; or, the Way How a Sinner comes to be a Believer," accessed June 30, 2010, http://homepage.mac.com/shanerosenthal/reformationink/relawdivorce.htm; Dawes, letter to the Secretaries of the CMS, September 20, 1824, *CMS Archive. Section V*, C W M1, Reel 2; Brant, *Eighteenth Century Letters*, 282; Dawes, journal, February 9- March 5, 1822.
42. Dawes, letter to Rev. E. Bickersteth, July 29, 1825. This was the language used in Barbados of dissenters in the wake of the Demerara Rebellion. Anti-Methodism found expression there in destruction of a Methodist chapel and harassment of Methodist missionaries and congregation members. See Lambert, *White Creole Culture*, 140–173.
43. Quoted in Dawes, letter to the Secretaries of the CMS, September 2, 1825.
44. As director of schools he oversaw the education of around 2,000 students in Antigua alone; by early 1827 his influence was contained to three schools with around 200 students. Dawes, letter to the Secretaries of the CMS, May 8, 1827.
45. Hall, *Civilising Subjects* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 77; Lambert, *White Creole Culture*, 140–142.
46. Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*, 97.
47. Roberts, *From Oral to Literate Culture*, 228. See the Reports of the Antigua Branch Association for the Conversion and Religious Instruction of the Negro Slaves in the West Indies, *Antigua Free Press*, January 11, 1828 and *Antigua Weekly Register*, March 17, 1829.
48. Rev. J. Pratt, letter to Robert Wilmot Horton, Esq., National Archives (UK), C.O. 7/11, Miscellaneous Offices; Rev. J. Pratt, letter to William Dawes, March 2, 1824, *CMS Archive. Section V*, C W L1, Reel 1.
49. Dawes, letter to Rev. E. Bickersteth, July 29, 1825.
50. *Antigua Free Press*, January 1, 1829.
51. Dawes, letter to the Secretaries of the CMS, September 19, 1825.
52. Lazarus-Black, *Legitimate Acts and Illegal Encounters*, 81.
53. Dawes, letter to Bickersteth, July 29, 1825. Parry's reported view of the impropriety of women writing for publication is instructive given that he appeared as a character witness for Mary Prince's owner in Antigua John Wood and his wife in the libel case Wood brought against Thomas Pringle over his editorial handling and publication of Prince's narrative.
54. Biblos, *Bible Hub: Parallel Translations and Commentaries*, accessed August 1, 2009, http://biblehub.com; Thomas Scott, *The Holy Bible, Containing the Old and New Testaments According to the Authorized Version with Explanatory Notes, Practical Observations and Copious Marginal References*, 5th ed. (Boston: Samuel T. Armstrong, and Crocker and Brewster, 1827), 6: 587.
55. Dawes, letter to Rev. Josiah Pratt, June 8, 1824; quoted in Dawes, letter to the Secretaries of the CMS, September 2, 1825; quoted in Dawes, letter to the Secretaries of the CMS, June 18, 1825; Dawes, letter to the Secretary of the CMS, June 9, 1820.

56. Dawes, letter to Bickersteth, November 15, 1825. The inspectorate was an initiative of Charles Thwaites.
57. Dawes, letter to Bickersteth, October 14, 1825; Dawes, letter to Bickersteth, November 15, 1825; Dawes, letter to the Secretaries of the CMS, October 1826; Dawes, letter to Bickersteth, October 14, 1825; Dawes, letter to Bickersteth, September 19, 1825; Dawes, letter to Bickersteth, September 3, 1825.
58. Dawes, letter to Bickersteth, October 14, 1825; Dawes, letter to Bickersteth, September 3, 1825; Museum of Antigua and Barbuda, "Cultural Heritage: Some Aspects of the Antiguan and Barbudan Way of Life Past and Present," accessed June 30, 2010, http://www.antiguamuseums.org; Dawes, letter to Bickersteth, October 14, 1825. Benna is described by the Museum as having been "[i]ntroduced during post slavery life, which was little different from that which existed before."
59. Dawes, letter to D. Coates, May 5, 1829; Bickersteth, letter to Dawes, December 19, 1826, *CMS Archive. Section V*, C W L1, Reel 1.
60. Rev. E. Bickersteth, letter to Archdeacon Parry, December 2, 1825, *CMS Archive. Section V*, C W L1, Reel 1.
61. Bickersteth, letter to Parry, December 2, 1825, *CMS Archive. Section V*, C W L1, Reel 1; Parry, letter to Bickersteth, March 2, 1827, *CMS Archive. Section V*, C W 04, Reel 8.
62. Roberts, *From Oral to Literate Culture*, 246–248.
63. D. Coates, letter to Dawes, April 16, 1829, *CMS Archive. Section V*, C W L1, Reel 1; Dawes, letter to D. Coates, May 5, 1829; advertizement, *Antigua Free Press*, June 26, 1829.
64. "Wesleyan Missions in the West Indies," *Methodist Magazine* 57 (1834): 59–62; Maynard, *A History of the Moravian Church*, 45–47.
65. Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*, 110.

Chapter 3

1. Mary Gilbert, *An Extract of Miss Mary Gilbert's Journal*, ed. John Wesley, 5th ed. (1768, reprint London: G. Whitfield, 1799). The first (1768), fourth (1787), and fifth (1799) editions are in *Eighteenth Century Collections Online* (Gale).
2. "Life of Cornelius, a Negro-Assistant in the Brethren's Mission in St Thomas, as related in the Diary of Newherrnhut," *Periodical Accounts Relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren, established among the Heathen* 3 (1801–1805): 181–190; "The Life of Cornelius, a Negro Assistant in the Brethren's Mission in the Island of St Thomas," *Methodist Magazine* 18 (1805): 385–390; *The Life of Cornelius: A Negro Assistant in the Moravian Church at St Thomas* (St John's: Loving & Hill, 1820), a 12-page pamphlet; and "Memoir of Cornelius, an Aged Negro, Assistant in the Brethren's Church at St Thomas, who died in November 1801," *Missionary Register*, April 1823, 161–164. William Dawes had sent the Church Missionary Society a copy of the *Life* in 1821. The pamphlet is mentioned in Don Mitchell, *Mitchell's West*

Indian Bibliography: Caribbean Books and Pamphlets, 11th ed., 2012, accessed September 30, 2011, www.books.ai.

3. Hempton, *Methodism*, 67.
4. Steven Cohan and Linda M. Shires, *Telling Stories: A Theoretical Analysis of Narrative Fiction* (New York: Routledge, 1988), 77.
5. Mack, *Heart Religion in the British Enlightenment: Gender and Emotion in Early Methodism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 23.
6. David Scott, *Conscripts of Modernity*, 123, 107, 116. On page 116 he is quoting Talal Asad, "Are There Histories of Peoples without Europe? A Review Article," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 29, no. 3 (1987): 607.
7. Coke, *A History of the West Indies*, 1808–1811 (reprint, London: Cass, 1971), vol. 1, iii–iv.
8. Ibid., vol. 1, 19.
9. Richard Pattison, letter to Joseph Butterworth, June 13, 1804, WMMS.
10. William Sturgeon, letter to Joseph Butterworth, May 11, 1804, WMMS. Claxton's experience is 1,671 words long.
11. "Religious and Missionary Intelligence. From Mr. Wm. Sturgeon to Mr. Butterworth," *Methodist Magazine* 28 (1805): 378–381.
12. Sarah Moore, Jr., letter to Richard Pattison, May 1804, WMMS. Hereafter the letter is cited in text as SMl.
13. In 1809 James Townley outlined the nature of the love feast: "Love-feasts are also enumerated by the Methodists amongst those social meetings, which are peculiarly calculated to produce zeal and piety, mutual affection, and active liberality." "Agapæ, or Love-Feasts," letter, *Methodist Magazine* 32 (1809): 216.
14. The British Library catalogue gives the approximate date of publication as 1790. Iain McCalman records that "a watermark on one of the pages suggests 1802." Iain McCalman, "Anti-slavery and Ultra-radicalism in Early Nineteenth-Century England: The Case of Robert Wedderburn," *Slavery and Abolition* 7, no. 2 (1986): 116, n.19. "Truth Self-Supported; or A Refutation of Certain Doctrinal Errors Generally Adopted in the Christian Church" has been republished in a collection of his texts *The Horrors of Slavery and Other Writings*, ed. Iain McCalman (New York: Marcus Wiener Publishing, 1991), 65–77. Hereafter this collection is cited in text as *HSOW*.
15. Thwaites names Francis Gilbert as having converted her grandmother Frances Clearkley (*HS*, 89). On the Moore family and Methodism in Antigua, see Thomas, John and William Moore, letter to George Marsden, Richard [illegible], and Stewards of the Methodist Missionary Committee, March 21, 1818, WMMS. William and Marianne Claxton introduced Methodism to Saint Vincent, having been converted in Antigua by Nathaniel Gilbert II. Horsford, *A Voice from the West Indies*, 327.
16. Sturgeon, letter to Butterworth.
17. Horsford, *A Voice from the West Indies*, 329.
18. John H. Wigger, *Taking Heaven by Storm: Methodism and the Rise of Popular Christianity in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 29.

19. Mack, *Heart Religion in the British Enlightenment*, 135.
20. "Religious and Missionary Intelligence," *Methodist Magazine* 28 (1805): 381.
21. Horsford, *A Voice from the West Indies*, 195.
22. " 'Life' and Literature; or the Progress of Genius," *Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, March 2 (1823): 422.
23. Paul Wesley Chilcote, Introduction to *Her Own Story: Autobiographical Portraits of Early Methodist Women* (Nashville: Kingswood, 2001), 40.
24. Ibid., 40–41.
25. Ibid., 68.
26. Shane White and Graham White, "Listening to Southern Slavery," in *Hearing History: A Reader*, ed. Mark M. Smith (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2004), 250–251.
27. John Wesley, ed. *A Collection of Hymns for the Use of the People Called Methodists* (London: Methodist Book-room, 1889), in Christian Classics Ethereal Library, accessed September 30, 2012, http://www.ccel.org/w/wesley/hymn/jw.html.
28. The epigraph, too, contains a testing suppression. It is said to be I Corinthians 1:5, 27 and 28, and yet verse 5 "That in every thing ye are enriched by him, in all utterance, and *in* all knowledge"—is not printed. Wedderburn, *HSOW*, 65.
29. Hindmarsh, *The Evangelical Conversion Narrative* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 163.
30. Equiano, *Interesting Narrative*, 190. Lincoln Shlensky reads Equiano's reference to condemnation "under the law" as a personal interpretation of the biblical allusion to Romans 7:9—"the commandment came, sin revived, and I died"—rather than as a convention of Methodist conversion narrative. " 'To Rivet and Record': Conversion and Collective Memory in Equiano's *Interesting Narrative*," in *Slavery and the Cultures of Abolition: Essays Marking the Bicentennial of the British Abolition Act of 1807*, ed. Brycchan Carey and Peter J. Kitson (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2007), 122.
31. Helen Thomas, though, interprets this passage as Wedderburn, a political radical, "accentuati[ng]" his "own deliverance from the power of the *law* (the written word of [political] legislation), his empowerment by the *spirit* and the liberty of prophetic oralcy." Helen Thomas, *Romanticism and Slave Narratives: Transatlantic Testimonies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 257. Linebaugh and Rediker use this account to place Wedderburn as a "link in a long chain of Atlantic antinomians" (*The Many-headed Hydra*, 322).
32. Mack, *Heart Religion in the British Enlightenment*, 263.
33. Biblos, *Bible Hub,* Matthew 11:28.
34. Samuel Paynter, "The Experience of Samuel Paynter, a Negroe of Antigua," *Arminian Magazine* 13 (1790), 308–309.
35. Mack, *Heart Religion in the British Enlightenment*, 295.
36. Sturgeon, letter to Butterworth.
37. Biblos, *Bible Hub*.
38. Hindmarsh, *The Evangelical Conversion Narrative*, 144.
39. Wigger, *Taking Heaven by Storm*, 53.

40. Carla L. Peterson, "*Doers of the Word*": *African-American Women Speakers and Writers in the North (1830–1880)* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 56.
41. Diane Austin-Broos, *Jamaica Genesis: Religion and the Politics of Moral Orders* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 6.
42. Sturgeon, letter to Butterworth.
43. *CMS Archive*. *Section V*, C W M1 and C W M2, Reel 2 and C W O85, Reel 18.
44. Mack, *Heart Religion in the British Enlightenment*, 15, 9,
45. Cynthia Lynn Lyerly, *Methodism and the Southern Mind, 1770–1810* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 16.
46. Equiano, *Interesting Narrative*, 61.
47. Eugene D. Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made* (New York: Pantheon, 1974), 170.
48. John Wesley, "Christian Perfection," in *The Sermons of John Wesley*, accessed September 30, 2012, http://wesley.nnu.edu/john-wesley/the-sermons-of-john-wesley-1872-edition/sermon-40-christian-perfection.
49. Peterson, "*Doers of the Word,*" 17.
50. Biblos, *Bible Hub*.
51. Horsford, *A Voice from the West Indies*, 196.
52. Dawes, letter to Secretaries of the CMS, February 18, 1827.
53. Ferguson includes two extracts from Charles Thwaites's work diaries for the Wesleyan Methodist Society in *The Hart Sisters*, 133–140. See also n. 46 of this chapter for the location of work diaries for the CMS.
54. I discuss the controversy that developed in Antigua over her and Joseph Phillips's work for this charity in Sue Thomas, "Elizabeth Hart Thwaites's Appearances before the Antiguan House of Assembly Committee on the Correspondence of Mr Clarkson," *Notes and Queries* 59, no. 3 (September 2012): 391–394.
55. Horsford, *A Voice from the West Indies*, 330.
56. Ibid., 154.
57. Sarah Moore, Jr., letter to Thomas Coke, January 14, 1811, WMMS.
58. Quoted in Coke, *A History of the West Indies*, vol. 2, 361.
59. Ibid., 2: 437.
60. Quoted in John Mason, "Peter Brown of Bethlehem and the Revival of the Moravian Mission in Antigua 1770–1780," *Journal of Moravian History* 5 (2008): 62. Mechal Sobel, *Teach Me Dreams: Transforming the Self in the Revolutionary Era* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000), 129. In a 1997 study Austin-Broos notes:

    > In Jamaica, it is common for Pentecostal women to dress in white for communion services. This use of white garb to signify purity is shared with the practitioners of Zion Revival, Jamaica's older revival religion dating from the Great Revival of 1860–61 . . . Unlike Revivalists, the Pentecostal women do not wear turban wraps to cover their heads.
    >
    > (Austin-Broos, *Jamaica Genesis*, 18)

61. Quoted in Coke, *A History of the West Indies*, vol. 2, 361.
62. Joseph Phillips, letter to John Toland, January 22, 1811, WMMS. Sarah Moore contextualized for Thomas Coke Isham's actions against her and her family. She highlights Thomas Isham's alcohol use, bouts of illness after drinking that led to "neglect of preaching," quarrelling with other church members (ministers and laity), and Mrs. Isham's failure to maintain "rule and order in Spiritual & temporals," a shortcoming Moore taxed her over to the chagrin of Thomas Isham. The usual practice was for class leaders to pass on the class monies to stewards at leaders' meetings. Thomas Isham demanded the monies directly of her, and when she insisted on due procedure, sent her a threatening letter. She claims that he used his "influence" against her class leadership and barred her from the chapel, allegedly on the authority of the Methodist Conference, for withholding class monies and "rising up against the Ministers." Sarah Moore, Jr., letter to Thomas Coke.
63. John Toland, letter to the Missionary Committee, April 8, 1811, WMMS.
64. Nancy was distraught about the prospect of the Tolands and their slaves being relocated to Jamaica. The Ishams wished to purchase her, but Toland did not want to sell her. There was a shameful public dispute at the slave auctioneer's when Toland had Nancy appraised at "38 joes" and Thomas Isham rejected the price. Nancy publicly pleaded with the auctioneer her case for staying in Antigua—illness, family in the eastern Caribbean, and fear of being sold in Jamaica. Isham first "offered a female slave & two of her children in exchange" for Nancy and then raised a purchase price. Sarah Moore, Jr., letter to Thomas Coke. The Ishams were suspected of secreting Nancy. Phillips, Toland's attorney, refused to sell her to Thomas Isham. Toland campaigned for the means of legal redress against Sarah Moore, Jr. for two years.
65. Biblos, *Bible Hub*, Matthew 13:24.
66. Sarah Moore, Jr., letter to Thomas Coke.
67. Minutes of the trial of Sarah Moore at the Leaders Meeting held in St John's, October 21, 1816, WMMS.
68. The last extant letter from Phillips to an unnamed recipient is dated March 17, 1819, WMMS.
69. Thomas, John and William Moore, letter to Rev. James Wood and other missionaries of the Methodist Society, January 17, 1817, WMMS.
70. Horsford, *A Voice from the West Indies*, 154.
71. I have examined Moravian records in the Moravian Church Archive and Library in London, and the John Rylands Memorial Library at the University of Manchester.
72. Maynard, *A History of the Moravian Church, Eastern West Indies Province* (N.p., [1968]), 127–128.
73. Mack, *Heart Religion in the British Enlightenment*, 245.
74. Horsford, *A Voice from the West Indies*, 154.
75. Sobel, *Teach Me Dreams*, 181.
76. Judylyn S. Ryan, *Spirituality as Ideology in Black Women's Film and Literature* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2005), 62. She quotes from page

107 of Paris's *The Spirituality of African Peoples* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1995) and page 116 of Ray's *African Religions: Symbols, Ritual and Community* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1976).

77. Jean McMahon Humez, Introduction to *Gifts of Power: The Writings of Rebecca Jackson, Black Visionary, Shaker Eldress* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1981), 6–7.
78. *Times* (London), September 22, 1819, 3.
79. Humez, introduction to *Gifts of Power*, 8.
80. Brian L. Moore and Michele A. Johnson, *Neither Led nor Driven: Contesting British Cultural Imperialism in Jamaica, 1865–1920* (Kingston: University of the West Indies Press, 2004), 52.
81. Warner-Lewis, *Archibald Monteath*, 149.
82. Equiano, *The Interesting Narrative*, 40.
83. Joan Anim-Addo, "A Brief History of Juliana 'Lily' Mulzac of Union Island, Carriacou and Grenada: Creole Family Patterns and Scottish Disassociation," in *Caribbean-Scottish Relations: Colonial and Contemporary Inscriptions in History, Language and Literature*, by Giovanni Covi, Joan Anim-Addo, Velma Pollard and Carla Sassi (London: Mango, 2007), 54.
84. Thomas, John and William Moore, letter to George Marsden et al.
85. Leigh Eric Schmidt, "Sound Christians and Religious Hearing," in *Hearing History: A Reader*, ed. Mark M. Smith (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2004), 228–229.
86. John Wesley, *A Plain Account of Christian Perfection*. The hymn is available in *A Collection of Hymns for Use of the People Called Methodists*, ed. John Wesley.
87. Equiano, *The Interesting Narrative*, 190.
88. Mack, *Heart Religion in the British Enlightenment*, 239–240.
89. Ibid., 240.
90. Ibid., 241.
91. Warner-Lewis, *Archibald Monteath*, 151, 150.
92. Martha Warren Beckwith, *Black Roadways: A Study of Jamaican Folk Life* (1929; reprint New York: Negro Universities Press, 1969), 90.
93. Ibid., 91.
94. Moore and Johnson, *Neither Led nor Driven*, 21.
95. Maynard, *A History of the Moravian Church, Eastern West Indies Province*, 37.
96. Schmidt, "Sound Christians and Religious Hearing," 225.
97. Austin-Broos, *Jamaica Genesis*, 62.
98. Ibid., 44.
99. Thomas Moore, letter to Samuel Woolley, enclosed in Minutes of the trial of Sarah Moore at the Leaders Meeting held in St John's, October 21, 1816, WMMS.
100. Phillips, letter to unnamed recipient, March 17, 1819, WMMS.
101. Minutes of the trial of Sarah Moore.
102. Phillips, letter to unnamed recipient, March 17, 1819, WMMS.
103. Female Refuge Society, *Seventh Report*, 12.
104. Gilbert, letter to Mrs. Luckock.

105. Austin-Broos, *Jamaica Genesis*, 54.
106. Joseph Nicholas Hart is listed as a member of the Committee of the English Harbour Sunday School Society in extant annual reports of 1822, 1823, 1824, 1825, and 1829. The standard genealogical source for information about the Hart family in Antigua in this period is Oliver, *The History of the Island of Antigua*, vol. 2. Anne Gilbert had nine brothers (67). There is no information about Joseph Hart's marriage(s) or children. The detail on this generation is very scant. Oliver's interest is white families.
107. Mack, *Heart Religion in the British Enlightenment*, 15.
108. Glen, "Narrative Voice in 'Peregrine Pickle . . . A Negro' (1821)," *C.L.R. James Journal* 13 (2007): 107, n. 14. Glen analyses the text as a slave narrative, rather than in relation to the conventions of the Methodist genre of the spiritual account or experience and its modelling of attunement. He suggests that Gilbert, "a would-be heroine," gives "pride of place" to her role in the conversion, marginalizing the voice of Mahummud/Peregrine/Peter through her "numerous narrative intrusions." He argues that in editing Gilbert's narrative, the *Methodist Magazine* staff gave more prominence to the "voice of the hero" (105–106).
109. The scribe has regularized punctuation and the format and style of the list of favorite biblical chapters and verses and biblical citation in the epigraph, introduced more paragraphing and capitalization of first letters in words, changed ampersands to "and," followed the import of Dawes's amendment to a heading in relation to the title, and added the information that the tract is No. 5 in a series.
110. "West Indies," *Methodist Magazine* 44 (1821), 947–949, the quotation being from 947. Hereafter cited in text as WI.
111. Dawes quotes from her letter in a letter to Rev. Josiah Pratt, April 1, 1820. She alludes to 1 Peter 1:4.
112. Laurence Lerner, *Angels and Absences: Child Deaths in the Nineteenth Century* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1997), 187, 192.
113. Dawes, letter to Pratt, April 20, 1820.
114. I have read the fifth edition, Mary Gilbert, *An Extract of Miss Mary Gilbert's Journal*, ed. John Wesley (London: G. Whitfield, 1799). Hereafter the title is cited in text as *E*. For the identification of her aunt Mary Gilbert as the author of "A Short Account of Miss Mary Gilbert," see Paul Cheshire, "John Walsh, Mary Leadbetter and 'A Short Account of Miss Mary Gilbert,' " 17.
115. He writes in his diary on visiting Francis and Mary Gilbert's home shortly after her death, "While I stayed here, I corrected Miss Gilbert's Journal, a masterpiece of its kind! What a prodigy of a child! Soon ripe, and soon gone!" (quoted in Bretherton, *Early Methodism in and around Chester*, 86).
116. Dawes quotes from the letter in his letter to Josiah Pratt, April 22, 1820.
117. Hempton, *Methodism*, 67.
118. Maria Tatar, *Off with Their Heads! Fairy Tales and the Culture of Childhood* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 15–16.

119. Hindmarsh, *The Evangelical Conversion Narrative*, 258.
120. *A Short Account of the Life and Death of Miss Alice Gilbert, Daughter of Nathaniel Gilbert, Esq; of the Island of Antigua: Who Died on the 27th of August 1772, in the Nineteenth Year of Her Age*, ed. John Wesley (1773; London: George Whitfield, 1798), 3, 9. The 1773, 1776, 1790, and 1798 editions are in *Eighteenth Century Collections Online.*
121. Mack, *Heart Religion in the British Enlightenment*, 189.
122. Coke, *A History of the West Indies* 2, 446.
123. Roberts, *From Oral to Literate Culture*, 199–200.
124. M.G. [Mary Gilbert], letter to Mrs. F— P—, January 1768, *Spiritual Letters*, 150.
125. Bretherton, *Early Methodism in and around Chester*, 87.
126. Mary Gilbert [nee Leadbetter], "A Short Account of Miss Mary Gilbert," iv, vi.
127. Hindmarsh, *The Evangelical Conversion Narrative*, 112, 114.
128. John Wesley, "To the Reader," *E*, iii.
129. John Wesley, Preface, *Letters Wrote by Jane Cooper: To Which Is Prefixt Some Account of Her Life and Death*, by Jane Cooper, ed. John Wesley, 2nd ed. (Bristol, 1764), iv.
130. Jane Cooper, *Letters Wrote by Jane Cooper: To Which Is Prefixt Some Account of Her Life and Death*, ed. John Wesley, 2nd ed. (Bristol, 1764), 20.
131. Mary Stokes, "The Experience of Mary Stokes," in *Her Own Story: Autobiographical Portraits of Early Methodist Women*, ed. Paul Wesley Chilcote (Nashville: Kingswood, 2001), 56–58.
132. Marina Warner, *Fantastic Metamorphoses, Other Worlds: Ways of Telling the Self* (2002; reprint, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 120, 129.
133. M.L. [Mary Leadbetter], undated letter to Miss L— H—, *Spiritual Letters*, 9–11.
134. Victoria Burrows, *Whiteness and Trauma: The Mother-Daughter Knot in the Fiction of Jean Rhys, Jamaica Kincaid and Toni Morrison* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 186, n. 29.
135. Dawes, letter to Pratt, April 22, 1820.
136. She released the annuity and legacy in 1822. William and Grace Dawes released a similar annuity and legacy. See Hough and Hough, *The Beinecke Lesser Antilles Collection at Hamilton College*, 294.
137. Biblos, *Bible Hub*.
138. English Harbour Female Juvenile Association, *Report*.
139. Marcus Rediker, *The Slave Ship: A Human History* (New York: Viking, 2007), 81. On the history of the slave trade in Senegal, see also Boubacar Barry, *Senegambia and the Atlantic Slave Trade*, trans. Ayi Kwei Armah (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998). The best-known historical source on enslavement of Islamic people in the West Indies around this period is Robert R. Madden, *A Twelve Months Residence in the West Indies during the Transition from Slavery to Apprenticeship; with Incidental Notices of the State of Society, Prospects, and Natural Resources of Jamaica and Other Islands*, vol. 2 (Philadelphia: Carey,

Lea, and Blanchard, 1835). Afroz has conducted the most sustained recent analysis of enslaved Islamic people there. See "From Moors to Marronage: The Islamic Heritage of Maroons in Jamaica," *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* 19, no. 2 (1999): 161–179; "Invisible Yet Invincible: The Muslim *Ummah* in Jamaica," *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* 23, no. 1 (2003): 211–222; "The Jihad of 1831–1832: The Misunderstood Baptist Rebellion in Jamaica," *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* 21, no. 2 (2001): 227–243; and "The Unsung Slaves: Islam in Plantation Jamaica—the African Connection," *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* 15, nos. 1–2 (1994): 157–170. Allan D. Austin includes an edited selection of life narratives by Muslim men enslaved in Jamaica in *African Muslims in Antebellum America: A Sourcebook* (New York: Garland, 1984), 525–583.

140. Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database, accessed September 30, 2011, http://www.slavevoyages.org/tast/database/search.faces, voyage 7501.
141. Simon Gikandi, *Slavery and the Culture of Taste* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011), 87.
142. National Archives (U.K.), *British Transatlantic Slave Trade: Abolition. Overseas Records Information*, accessed March 31, 2010, http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/catalogue/rdleaflet.asp?sLeafletID=409&j=1.
143. On Cochrane, see Stephen Howarth, "Cochrane, Sir Alexander Forrester Inglis (1758–1832)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), accessed March 31, 2010, online edition. He had two sons, Thomas John Cochrane (b. 1789) and Andrew Coutts Cochrane (b. 1799).
144. Gikandi, *Slavery and the Culture of Taste*, 218.
145. Ibid.
146. Glen, "Narrative Voice in 'Peregrine Pickle . . . A Negro' (1821)," 101.
147. Roger Norman Buckley, *The British Army in the West Indies: Society and the Military in the Age of Revolution* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1998), 128–129. On work at English Harbour, see Desmond V. Nicholson, *The Story of English Harbour* (St John's, Antigua and Barbuda: Historical and Archaeological Society, 1991) and *The King's Negroes: The Journal of Boatswain Fox, Antigua Navy Yard, 1820–1823* (English Harbour, Antigua: Dockyard Museum, 2002).
148. *Slave Registers of Former British Colonial Dependencies 1812–1834* (Provo, UT: ancestry.com, 2007), accessed September 1, 2011, online database.
149. She writes of a petition she helped "the Negroes belonging to His Majesty & others inhabiting English-Harbor" prepare and present (*HS*, 73).
150. Glen, "Narrative Voice in 'Peregrine Pickle . . . A Negro' (1821)," 105.
151. Hindmarsh, *The Evangelical Conversion Narrative*, 245.
152. Wigger, *Taking Heaven by Storm*, 88.
153. Equiano, *Interesting Narrative*, 184.
154. Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll*, 173.
155. Anne Gilbert, letter to Mrs. Luckock.

Chapter 4

1. Iain McCalman, *Radical Underworld: Prophets, Revolutionaries, and Pornographers in London, 1795–1840* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), 117.
2. William Cobbett, "To Mr Benbow, of the Town of Manchester," *Cobbett's Weekly Political Pamphlet* 32, no. 34 (1817): col. 1084.
3. R[obert] W[edderburn], "A Hodge Podge Effusion Produced by Reading Cobbett's Register, Vol. 32, No. 34," *Axe Laid to the Root* no. 5 (1817): col. 76.
4. Ibid., col. 76 and 78.
5. "*Forlorn Hope*," no. 1 (1817): col. 4.
6. Thomas Evans, *Christian Policy, the Salvation of the Empire*, 2nd ed. (London: n.p., 1816), 11.
7. Iain McCalman, *Radical Underworld*, 129.
8. *Times* (London), September 22, 1819, 3.
9. Benjamin C. Ray, *African Religions: Symbol, Ritual, and Community* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1976), 116.
10. Iain McCalman, introduction to *The Horrors of Slavery and Other Writings*, by Robert Wedderburn (New York: Markus Wiener Publishing, 1991), 23.
11. McCalman, *Radical Underworld*, 50.
12. Malcolm Chase, "Robert Wedderburn (1762–1835/6?)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. Lawrence Goldman, online ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).
13. *Times* (London), February 26, 1820, 3.
14. McCalman, *Radical Underworld*, 149.
15. *Times* (London), February 26, 1820, 3.
16. David Worrall, *Radical Culture: Discourse, Resistance and Surveillance, 1790–1820* (London: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1992), 180.
17. *Times* (London), May 10, 1820, 2.
18. "Blessings of Slavery," *Bell's Life in London and Sporting Gazette*, February 29, 1824, 68.
19. Srinivas Aravamudan, *Tropicopolitans: Colonialism and Agency, 1688–1804* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999), 281, 269.
20. McCalman, *Radical Underworld*, and Worrall, *Radical Culture*.
21. Aravamudan, *Tropicopolitans*, 264.
22. *Times* (London), February 26, 1820, 3.
23. "cause, *v.1*. 1.a.," "cause, *v.2*," (OED).
24. Aravamudan, *Tropicopolitans*, 270–271.
25. McCalman, *Radical Underworld*, 153–154.
26. " 'Life' *and* Literature; or, The Progress of Genius," 422.
27. Alison Milbank, "Gothic Satires, Histories and Chap-books. 3—Chap-books," in the digital guide to *Gothic Fiction: Rare Printed Works from the Sadleir-Black Collection of Gothic Fiction at the Alderman Library, University of Virginia*, Adam Matthew Publishers, http://www.ampltd.co.uk/digital_guides/gothic_fiction/AlisonMilbank3.aspx.

28. Angela Koch, " 'The Absolute Horror of Horrors' Revised: A Bibliographical Checklist of Early-Nineteenth-Century Gothic Bluebooks," *Cardiff Corvey: Reading the Romantic Text* 9 (December 2002): 45–111. http://www.cf.ac.uk/encap/corvey/articles/cc09_no3.pdf.
29. Olivia Smith, *The Politics of Language 1791–1819* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), 9.
30. "Blessings of Slavery," *Bell's Life in London and Sporting Gazette*, February 29, 1824, 68.
31. Cobbett, "To Mr Benbow," col. 1064.
32. Smith, *The Politics of Language*, 30.
33. Cobbett, "To Mr Benbow," col. 1063 and col. 1065.
34. Smith, *The Politics of Language*, 242.
35. W.H. Oliver, *Prophets and Millennialists: The Uses of Biblical Prophecy in England from the 1790s to the 1840s* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1978), 183.
36. "A Peep into the City of London tavern by an Irish Amateur on the 21st August 1817—or a Sample of the Cooperation to be expected in one of Mr Owen's Projected Paradises—Vide The Times & all the Papers," accessed September 30, 2011, http://www.britishmuseumorg. McCalman uses the figure of Owen from the cartoon on the cover of *The Horrors of Slavery*.
37. "Meeting of the Radicals," *Times* (London), November 2, 1819, 2.
38. Samuel Johnson, *A Dictionary of the English Language* (London: W. Strahan, 1755), in *Eighteenth Century Collections Online* (Gale). Editions of 1760, 1773, 1818, and 1827 give the same meaning.
39. Jack D. Forbes, *Black Africans and Native Americans: Color, Race and Caste in the Evolution of Red-Black Peoples* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988), 124.
40. Equiano, letter to the *Public Advertiser*, January 28, 1788, in *Interesting Narrative*, 331.
41. Quoted in Vincent Carretta, *Equiano, the African: Biography of a Self-Made Man* (New York: Penguin, 2005): 246.
42. Forbes, *Black Africans and Native Americans*, 194, 131, 194.
43. The Rev. Chetwode Eustace, a government informer, and Wedderburn's white half-brother Andrew Colvile call Wedderburn a mulatto (*HSOW*, 116, 53). So, too, do McCalman (*Radical Underworld*, introduction), Helen Thomas (*Romanticism and Slave Narratives*) and Michael Morris, "Robert Wedderburn: Race, Religion and Revolution," *International Socialism* no. 32 (November 2011): online, http://www.isj.org.uk/index.php4?id=763&issue=132.
44. Altink, *Representations of Slave Women in Discourses of Slavery and Abolition, 1780–1838*, 74.
45. Quoted in McCalman, "Anti-slavery and Ultra-radicalism in Early Nineteenth-Century England," 113.
46. Donald Gray, quoted in *Waterloo Directory of English Newspapers and Periodicals 1800–1900*, www.victorianperiodicals.com/serie3/showarticlespecial.asp?id=99192.

47. "Blessings of Slavery," *Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, February 29, 1824, 68.
48. United Kingdom, Parliament, "Papers Relating to the Manumission, Government, and Population of Slaves in the West Indies 1822–1824" (1825), *House of Commons Parliamentary Papers Online* (Proquest, 2006).
49. "JAMAICA, FEB. 5," *Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, February 8, 1824, 46.
50. Gad Heuman, *Between Black and White: Race, Politics, and the Free Coloreds in Jamaica, 1792–1865* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1981), 45.
51. "Slave-stealing and Murder Tolerated by a British Jury," *Axe Laid to the Root* no. 3 (1817), col. 36. Wedderburn is reported to have referred to this biblical verse at a Hopkins Street Chapel meeting in August 1819 (*HSOW*, 114).
52. A facsimile is reproduced in Quobna Ottabah Cuguano, *Thoughts and Sentiments on the Evil and Wicked Traffic of the Slavery and Commerce of the Human Species, Humbly Submitted to the Inhabitants of Great Britain*, ed. Vincent Carretta (New York: Penguin, 1999), 1.
53. Wedderburn, "Slave-stealing and Murder Tolerated by a British Jury," col. 32.
54. Alan Rice, *Radical Narratives of the Black Atlantic* (London: Continuum, 2003), 123.
55. Cecilia A. Green, " 'A Civil Inconvenience'? The Vexed Question of Slave Marriage in the British West Indies," *Law and History Review* 25, no. 1 (Spring 2007): para. 55.
56. "The Blessings of Slavery," *Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, February 15, 1824, p. 51.
57. United Kingdom, Parliament, *Historic Hansard 1803–2005*, May 15, 1823, accessed January 4, 2013, http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/1823/may/15/abolition-of-slavery.
58. "The Blessings of Slavery," February 15, 1824.
59. "Blessings of Slavery," February 29, 1824, 68.
60. " 'Life' *and* Literature; or, The Progress of Genius," 422. An abridged version, which did not name Midford or Benbow, was published as "The Two Authors" in John Wight's *Mornings at Bow Street: A Selection of the Most Humorous and Entertaining Reports Which Have Appeared in the* "*Morning Herald*" (London: Charles Baldwin, 1824). The chapter was reprinted in the New York newspaper the *Evening Star* on February 6, 1834. The republication of the chapter in the *Evening Star* leads Malcolm Chase in "Robert Wedderburn (1762–1835/6?)" to surmise that Wedderburn visited America shortly after his release from prison in 1833. Wedderburn withdrew the charge against Midford, occasioned by deception over his acquisition of books for a "circulating library" he ran, after "having been satisfied by the bounty of Mr. Benbow, the prisoner's patron," during a recess. Wedderburn's connections with William Benbow and George Midford place him within a radical and pornographic literature circle. In the early 1820s, Benbow was a "major radical bookseller, a leading supporter of Queen Caroline, and also a publisher of bawdy and obscene literature." By

the mid-1820s he was "concentrat[ing] on publishing pornography." Malcolm Chase, "William Benbow (*b*. 1784, *d*. in or after 1852)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008). The article by Wight identifies Midford as "principal contributor of balderdash to Benbow's 'Rambler's Magazine;' sixpence-a-sheet translator of Benbow's 'Adventures of Chevalier Faublas,' et cetera et cetera et cetera." The translation of "the libertinist-freethinking classic *Amours of the Chevalier de Faublas* by Louvet de Couvray," which "brought Benbow several prosecutions for obscene libel," is usually attributed to Cannon. See McCalman, *Radical Underworld*, 155.

61. Christine Battersby, *Gender and Genius: Towards a Feminist Aesthetics* (London: Women's Press, 1989), 3.
62. O'Callaghan, *Women Writing the West Indies, 1804–1939,* 167, 199 n.14. For her definition of "busing" O'Callaghan draws on Richard Allsopp, ed., *Dictionary of Caribbean English Usage* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 123. Rice, while not identifying the oral ritual, argues that Wedderburn "imbricates his voice through the use of various typographical estrangements so that the plain discourse of written English is, as Homi Bhabha would term it, hybridized" (*Radical Narratives of the Black Atlantic*, 13).
63. Barbara Bush, " 'Sable Venus', 'She Devil' or 'Drudge'? British Slavery and the 'Fabulous Fiction' of Black Women's Identities, c. 1650–1838," *Women's History Review* 9, no. 4 (2000): 778.
64. Altink, *Representations of Slave Women*, 71.
65. Linebaugh and Rediker, *The Many-headed Hydra*, 287.
66. Douglas J. Hamilton, *Scotland, the Caribbean and the Atlantic World 1750–1820* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), 112.
67. *Legacies of British Slave-ownership*.
68. Equiano, *Interesting Narrative*, 31, 41.
69. Aravamudan, *Tropicopolitans*, 245.
70. Carretta, *Equiano, the African*, 280.
71. Equiano, *Interesting Narrative*, 220–223.
72. "Middlesex Sessions-House," *Times* (London), October 1, 1819: 2.
73. This observation is based on a check of the British Library online catalogue (http://www.bl.uk/) to 1824 using the search term "exemplified in the life."
74. Paul Edwards, "Unreconciled Strivings and Ironic Strategies: Three Afro-British Authors of the Late Georgian Period (Sancho, Equiano, Wedderburn)," *Immigrants & Minorities* 12, no. 3 (1993): 45.
75. Equiano, *Interesting Narrative*, 8.
76. Carretta, *Equiano, the African*, 304.
77. C.L. Innes, *A History of Black and Asian Writing in Britain, 1700–2000* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 56–57.
78. Thomas, *Romanticism and Slave Narratives*, 268.
79. Carla Sassi, "The Caribbean in Post-Union Scottish Literature," in *Caribbean-Scottish Relations*, by Covi, Anim-Addo, Pollard and Sassi, 176.
80. Altink, *Representations of Slave Women*, 69.

81. Ibid., 16.
82. Ibid., 25.
83. Cathy Caruth, introduction to *Trauma: Explorations in Memory*, ed. Cathy Caruth (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), 4–5.
84. Altink, *Representations of Slave Women*, 131–133.
85. Ibid., 140.
86. "JAMAICA, Feb. 5."
87. Altink, *Representations of Slave Women*, 145.
88. McCalman, "Anti-slavery and Ultra-radicalism," 113–114.
89. McCalman, *Radical Underworld*, 182.
90. Ibid., 191.
91. McCalman, "Anti-slavery and Ultra-radicalism," 113–114.
92. McCalman, *Radical Underworld*, 196.
93. "England and Wales, Non-conformist Records," *FamilySearch*, accessed March 4, 2013, http://familysearch.org/pal/MM9.1.1/FQLD-XZY, RG 8/35.
94. Heuman, *Between Black and White*, 38.
95. Nicole N. Aljoe, *Creole Testimonies: Slave Narratives from the British West Indies, 1709–1838* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 43, 48.

Chapter 5

1. Salih, "*The History of Mary Prince*, the Black Subject, and the Black Canon," 125.
2. Both texts have been republished recently, "Trifles from the Burthen of a Life" in *Voyages: Short Narratives of Susanna Moodie*, ed. John Thurston (Ottawa: Ottawa University Press, 1991), 160–240 and *Flora Lyndsay, or Passages in an Eventful Life* in Early Canadiana online, accessed September 10, 2003, http://www.canadiana.org/ECO. "Trifles from the Burthen of a Life" was first serialized in *Literary Garland. Flora Lyndsay, or Passages in an Eventful Life* was originally published in London by Bentley.
3. Salih, introduction, xxi.
4. Prince states that she was taught to read by the Moravian missionary wives "Mrs Richter, Mrs Olufsen, and Mrs Sauter" (*H*, 29). The Sauters were transferred to Saint Kitts in 1823. Sir Benjamin d'Urban, letter to Earl Bathurst.
5. See Sue Thomas, "New Information on Mary Prince in London," *Notes and Queries* 58, no. 1 (March 2011): 82–85.
6. Henry Louis Gates, Jr., *The Signifying Monkey: A Theory of African-American Literary Criticism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), xxv.
7. Ibid., 131, 153.
8. Vincent Carretta, introduction to *The Interesting Narrative and Other Writings*, by Olaudah Equiano, rev. ed. (New York: Penguin, 2003), xxi.
9. Margo Maddison-MacFadyen, "Toiling in the Salt Ponds," *Times of the Islands: Sampling the Soul of the Turks & Caicos Islands*, Fall 2008, accessed September 1, 2011, http://www.timespub.tc/2008/09/toiling-in-the-

salt-ponds/. Maddison-MacFadyen is the first scholar to identify Mr. D—; in 1997 Moira Ferguson identified the Inghams in her introduction to the Revised Edition of *The History of Mary Prince: A West Indian Slave. Related by Herself* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997), 4–5.

10. Biblos, *Bible Hub*, Jeremiah 20:18.
11. Walter Brueggemann, *The Theology of the Book of Jeremiah* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 63–64.
12. Gordon K. Lewis, *Main Currents in Caribbean Thought: The Historical Evolution of Caribbean Society in Its Ideological Aspects, 1492–1900* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, c. 1983), 119. On the species boundary, see Helen Tiffin, "Unjust Relations: Post-colonialism and the Species Boundary," in *Compr(om)ising Post/Colonialism(s): Challenging Narratives and Practices*, ed. Greg Ratcliffe and Gerry Turcotte (Sydney: Dangaroo Press, 2001), 30–41.
13. Tiberius Rata, *The Covenant Motif in Jeremiah's Book of Comfort: Textual and Intertextual Studies of Jeremiah 30–33* (New York: Peter Lang, 2007), 2.
14. References to having forgotten God or of forgetting God appear in Deuteronomy 8:11, Psalm 106:21, Hosea 8:14 and Jeremiah 2.
15. Helen Thomas, *Romanticism and Slave Narratives: Transatlantic Testimonies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 166.
16. Daniel Howard-Pitney, *The Afro-American Jeremiad: Appeals for Justice in America* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1990), 12.
17. Rev. William Wright, "Testimony of the Rev. W. Wright on Colonial Slavery," in *Negro Slavery Described by a Negro: Being the Narrative of Ashton Warner, a Native of St. Vincent's*, ed. Susanna Strickland (London: Samuel Maunder, 1831), 143. Warner's narrative is hereafter cited in text as *N*.
18. Rev. Joseph Orton, "Testimony of the Rev. Joseph Orton on Colonial Slavery," in *Negro Slavery Described by a Negro*, ed. Susanna Strickland (London: Samuel Maunder, 1831), 72.
19. Wright, "Testimony of the Rev. W. Wright on Colonial Slavery," 143.
20. Orton, "Testimony of the Rev. Joseph Orton on Colonial Slavery," 72.
21. John Mason, "Peter Brown of Bethlehem and the Revival of the Moravian Mission in Antigua 1770–1780," *Journal of Moravian History* 5 (2008): 55.
22. Quoted in *The Report of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society; 1819* (London: Missionary Society, 1820), 41.
23. *Instructions for the Members of the Unitas Fratrum, Who Minister in the Gospel among the Heathen* (London: n.p., 1784), 16.
24. As John Mason notes, quoting from an 1813 letter of Lewis Stobwasser, a missionary based in Antigua, "Many unconverted did not attend 'their classes,' but came to 'every Speaking' in order to have their names recorded." Mason, "Peter Brown of Bethlehem and the Revival of the Moravian Mission in Antigua 1770–1780," 58.
25. Katherine M. Faull, introduction to *Moravian Women's Memoirs: Their Related Lives, 1750–1820* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1997), xxviii.

26. G. Oliver Maynard, *A History of the Moravian Church, Eastern West Indies Province* (N.p., [1968]), 128.
27. d'Urban, letter to Earl Bathurst. The free population comprised 1,980 white and 3,895 "Coloured and Black" people in a total population of 36,939. The figure of 6,500 in the St John's congregation is given by Maynard, *A History of the Moravian Church, Eastern West Indies Province*, 41.
28. *Particulars Respecting the Schools for Negro Children &c. under the Direction of the Moravian Missionaries in the West Indies* (N.p., 1826), 8.
29. John D. Barbour, *The Conscience of the Autobiographer: Ethical and Religious Dimensions of Autobiography* (Houndmills: Macmillan, 1992), 169.
30. John Thurston, " 'The Casket of Truth': The Social Significance of Susanna Moodie's Spiritual Dilemmas," *Canadian Poetry: Studies/Documents/Reviews* 35 (1994), 2. There are critics who claim, falsely, that she converted to Methodism. See, for instance, Moira Ferguson, introduction to the Revised Edition, 11, and Whitlock, *The Intimate Empire*, 20.
31. *Instructions for the Members of the Unitas Fratrum*, 44.
32. Faull, introduction, xxi.
33. *A Collection of Hymns, for the Use of the Protestant Church, of the United Brethren*, new and revised ed. (Manchester: n.p., 1809), xxiii.
34. Ibid., 74.
35. Faull, introduction, xxii.
36. *A Collection of Hymns, for the Use of the Protestant Church, of the United Brethren*, 74.
37. Hindmarsh, *The Evangelical Conversion Narrative: Spiritual Autobiography in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 186.
38. *A Collection of Hymns, for the Use of the Protestant Church, of the United Brethren*, xxiv, 204. The litany for Baptism might also include a hymn verse that refers to the "impress" of Christ's "Spirit" and the crucifixion (xxiii).
39. Ibid., viii–ix.
40. Ibid., xxvi.
41. Faull, introduction, xxxii–xxxiv.
42. Derek Walcott, "The Muse of History," in *What the Twilight Says: Essays* (London: Faber, 1998), 47.
43. Joan Anim-Addo, *Touching the Body: History, Language and African-Caribbean Women's Writing* (London: Mango, 2007), 122.
44. Pringle writes in his Preface to *The History of Mary Prince*,

> The names of all persons mentioned by the narrator have been printed in full, except those of Capt. I— and his wife, and that of Mr D—, to whom conduct of particular atrocity is ascribed. These three individuals are now gone to answer at a far more awful tribunal than that of public opinion, for the deeds which their former bondwoman accuses them; and to hold them up more openly to human reprobation could no longer affect themselves, while it might deeply lacerate the feelings of their surviving and perhaps innocent relatives, without any commensurate public advantage.
>
> (*H*, 3–4)

45. C. L. Innes, *A History of Black and Asian Writing in Britain, 1700–2000* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 70.
46. *Particulars Respecting the Schools for Negro Children, etc.*, 4–5.
47. Sandra Pouchet Pacquet, *Caribbean Autobiography: Cultural Identity and Self-representation* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2002), 47.
48. Helen Thomas, *Romanticism and Slave Narratives*, 168.
49. Humez, introduction, 46.
50. Quoted in Hindmarsh, *The Evangelical Conversion Narrative*, 174.
51. Faull, introduction, xxxii.
52. Ibid., xxxvii.
53. "Memoir of the Life of the Negro-assistant SALONE [*sic*] CUTHERT [*sic*], a Member of the Congregation at GRACEHILL (Compiled in part from her own narrative)," *Periodical Accounts Relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren, Established among the Heathen* 11 (1829–1831): 103.
54. Peter Brown worked in Antigua from 1769 to 1791. Sister Bibiana Brown was his second wife. See Mason, "Peter Brown of Bethlehem and the Revival of the Moravian Mission in Antigua 1770–1780."
55. "Memoir of the Life of the Negro-assistant SALONE [*sic*] CUTHERT [*sic*]," 103–104.
56. Hindmarsh, *The Evangelical Conversion Narrative*, 174.
57. "The Anglicans retained the exclusive right to wed couples in Antigua until 1844, eight years after the British Marriage Act allowed registered ministers of other denominations and civil authorities to celebrate marriages in England." Lazarus-Black, *Legitimate Acts and Illegal Encounters*, 62.
58. "Memoir of the Life of the Negro-assistant SALONE [*sic*] CUTHERT [*sic*]," 104.
59. See Chapter 1. Prince states that she is "unwilling to eat the bread of idleness" (*H*, 36), an allusion to Proverbs 31:27: "She looketh well to the ways of her household, and eateth not the bread of idleness."
60. "Memoir of the Life of the Negro-assistant SALONE [*sic*] CUTHERT [*sic*]," 105.
61. See Chapter 1.
62. Maynard, *A History of the Moravian Church, East Indies Province*, 127. Aljoe, who discusses Salome Cuthbert's memoir, has not researched the distinctiveness of Moravian life narrative, theology, and cultures. She attributes the community status conferred by Cuthbert's helper role to Cuthbert's *individual* agency in "remaking the image and rhetoric of the sacred." Confusing Falmouth in Jamaica with Falmouth in Antigua, she states that Cuthbert was taken to Jamaica by her owner and was a helper at New Carmel in Jamaica rather than Gracehill in Antigua. Aljoe, *Creole Testimonies*, 144, 23.
63. See Joan Anim-Addo, "Aunt Hetty—Other Mother," in *Haunted by History: Poetry* (London: Mango, 1998), 35 for a fine poem about their relationship.
64. See, for instance, the *Lebensläufe* collected by Faull in *Moravian Women's Memoirs*.
65. "Memoir of the Life of the Negro-assistant SALONE [*sic*] CUTHERT [*sic*]," 103.

66. Innes, *A History of Black and Asian Writing in Britain, 1700–2000*, 63.
67. Ashton Warner, *Negro Slavery Described by a Negro: Being the Narrative of Ashton Warner, A Native of St Vincent's. With an Appendix, Containing the Testimony of Four Christian Ministers, Recently Returned from the Colonies, on the System of Slavery As It Now Exists*, ed. Susanna Strickland (London: Samuel Maunder, 1831), 17.
68. Faull, introduction, xxxviii.
69. "Life of Cornelius, a Negro-Assistant in the Brethren's Mission in St Thomas, as related in the Diary of Newherrnhut," *Periodical Accounts Relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren, established among the Heathen* 3 (1801–1805): 181–182.
70. Hindmarsh, *The Evangelical Conversion Narrative*, 175. The phrase "poor sinner" is used in the Church Litany (*A Collection of Hymns, for the Use of the Protestant Church, of the United Brethren*, ix). In *Instructions for the Members of the Unitas Fratrum*, the phrase also occurs: "But what is the state of a person, who is in the first grace, love, and simplicity? He lies as a poor sinner at our Saviour's feet" (5). Aljoe, in discussing Cuthbert's narrative, writes of her "passive version of spiritual engagement," not recognizing the distinctively Moravian spiritual ideal of quietism. *Creole Testimonies*, 128.
71. "Life of Cornelius, a Negro-Assistant in the Brethren's Mission in St Thomas," 183.
72. Numbers 21:9, John 1:36, Isaiah 18:7, and Isaiah 60:3. "Life of Cornelius, a Negro-Assistant in the Brethren's Mission in St Thomas," 189–190.
73. "Life of Cornelius, a Negro-Assistant in the Brethren's Mission in St Thomas, as related in the Diary of Newherrnhut," 190.
74. Ibid.
75. Faull, introduction, xxi.
76. "Life of Cornelius, a Negro-Assistant in the Brethren's Mission in St Thomas," 190.
77. Evelyn O'Callaghan, *Women Writing the West Indies, 1804–1939: "A hot place, belonging to Us"* (London: Routledge, 2004), 167.
78. "Baptism of Adults from the Heathen," in *A Collection of Hymns, for the Use of the Protestant Church, of the United Brethren*, new and revised ed. (Manchester: n.p., 1809), xxv. John Wesley, "The New Birth," in *The Sermons of John Wesley*, accessed September 1, 2011, http://wesley.nnu.edu/john-wesley/the-sermons-of-john-wesley-1872-edition/sermon-45-the-new-birth/.
79. Robert Kenny, *The Lamb Enters the Dreaming: Nathanael Pepper & the Ruptured World* (Melbourne: Scribe, 2007), 235.
80. Ibid., 235.
81. Rev. John Horsford, *A Voice from the West Indies: Being a Review of the Character and Results of Missionary Efforts in the British and Other Colonies in the Caribbean Sea* (London: Alexander Heylin, 1856), 154.
82. Sarah, Moore, Jr., letter to Thomas Pattison, May 1804, WMMS. See Chapter 3.

83. *Instructions for the Members of the Unitas Fratrum*, 44–45.
84. *Slave Registers of Former British Colonial Dependencies 1812–1834*, online database.
85. Judith Butler, *Excitable Speech: A Politics of the Performative* (New York: Routledge, 1997), 5.
86. > One dollar was awarded to each couple who remained together for one year. A woman in a stable union received four dollars from her master by law upon the birth of her first child and one dollar for each subsequent child . . . Law relieved a mother with six children from heavy work when her youngest child reached the age of seven. Any master who failed to provide these rewards was subject to a penalty of fifty pounds. Another clause fined white men one hundred pounds for raping "married" slave women . . . A child of a slave marriage was not allowed to take the surname of the father or inherit legally whatever property he might have accumulated.

    The Acts also "urged masters to provide a pregnant female slave with her own two-room house." Lazarus-Black, *Legitimate Acts and Illegal Encounters*, 69–70, 88. These legalities, protections, and matters of obligation on the part of the Woods are not glossed in Pringle's footnotes.
87. *Slave Registers of Former British Colonial Dependencies 1812–1834*.
88. James MacQueen, "The Colonial Empire of Great Britain: Letter to Earl Grey, First Lord of the Treasury, &c &c," *Blackwood's Magazine*, November 1831, 749–750.
89. *Slave Registers of Former British Colonial Dependencies 1812–1834*. He received compensation monies of £4,303 13s 4d for freeing 287 slaves on two estates in Antigua. *Legacies of British Slave-ownership*.
90. James MacQueen, "The Anti-Slavery Society and the West-India Colonists," *Glasgow Courier*, July 26, 1831, 1.
91. James MacQueen, "British Africa—Sierra Leone. Report of the Parliamentary Commissioners," *Blackwood's Magazine*, January 1828, 63–89.
92. MacQueen, "The Colonial Empire of Great Britain," 748.
93. In 1833 he would expatiate on the theme of "the aversion of the negroes to marriage" and "premature enforcement" of marriage by "intriguing sectarians": "Separations are constantly taking place, and missionaries, by what authority I know not, authorize these separations, re-marry again—separate, and again re-marry parties, as their vicious conduct appears to render necessary." James MacQueen, "Letters to the Right Hon. E.G. Stanley, Secretary of State, &c. &c. Letter I," *Blackwood's Magazine*, August 1833, 246.
94. See Sue Thomas, "New Information on Mary Prince in London."
95. In Dabydeen's novel *A Harlot's Progress* (London: Cape, 1999), Mr. Pringle is the type of the instrumentalist editor/amanuensis of slave narrative, the gendered division of labor between editor and amanuensis in the work on Prince's narrative being entirely occluded. Mr. Pringle demands from the recalcitrant elderly slave Mungo "the gift of confession" (1) to write "Mungo's portrait in the first person narrative," "colour[ing] and peopl[ing] a landscape out of his

own imagination," "[a] book purporting to be a record of the Negro's own words (understandably corrected in terms of grammar, the erasure of indelicate or infelicitous expressions, and so forth)," which "would bring great dividends for the Committee for the Abolition of Slavery" (3).

96. Barbara Baumgartner, "The Body as Evidence: Resistance, Collaboration, and Appropriation in *The History of Mary Prince*," *Callaloo* 24, no. 1 (2001): 259, 262.
97. Jenny Sharpe, *Ghosts of Slavery: A Literary Archaeology of Black Women's Lives* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003), 140.
98. *Christian Advocate*, March 4, 1833, 68.
99. The *Times* report on Wood v. Pringle states, for instance, that for eight months preceding the trial Pringle was paying the unemployed Prince from his own pocket a weekly allowance of £10–£12, rather than ten shillings. Pringle's salary was £200 per annum. On the allowance, see *Christian Advocate*, March 4, 1833, 68–69.
100. She reportedly said that her relationship with him ended after he killed a man on board one of John Wood's vessels, and that she was then courted by Daniel James whom she married. In Saint Kitts in 1827, Samuel Abbott was convicted of the manslaughter of Samuel Frogman, a carpenter, on board the *Wellington*, and sentenced to six months' imprisonment. Prince married James in 1826. The manslaughter was committed on the high seas. Abbott was arrested at Crab Island (now Vieques) in Puerto Rico, and returned by Puerto Rican authorities to Antigua for trial. At the time only Saint Kitts and Barbados had authority to try people for crimes committed at sea, and so he was carried to Saint Kitts for trial. See Patrick Ross, letter to Earl Bathurst, January 26, 1827, and Richard Musgrave, letter to Patrick Ross, February 13, 1827, NA, C.O. 7/19, and Patrick Ross, letter to Robert Wilmot Horton, September 4, 1827, NA, C.O. 7/20.
101. *Christian Advocate*, March 4, 1833, 68.
102. Ferguson, ed. *The History of Mary Prince*, Appendix 6, 144.
103. Sharpe, *Ghosts of Slavery*, 123. She is quoting from Toni Morrison's essay "The Site of Memory," 110.
104. David Scott, *Conscripts of Modernity: The Tragedy of Colonial Enlightenment* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004), 6.
105. Sharpe, *Ghosts of Slavery*; Ferguson, introduction to the Revised Edition; A. M. Rauwerda, "Naming, Agency, and 'A Tissue of Falsehoods' in *The History of Mary Prince*," *Victorian Literature and Culture* 29, no. 2 (2001): 397–411.
106. Minutes, 1831, *Minute Book of the Sheffield Female Anti-Slavery Society*, H. J. Wilson Anti-Slavery Papers, John Rylands Memorial Library, University of Manchester.
107. Sharpe, *Ghosts of Slavery*, 138, 140.
108. Carolyn Vellenga Berman, *Creole Crossings: Domestic Fiction and the Reform of Colonial Slavery* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006), 16.
109. Ferguson, introduction to the Revised Edition, 4.

110. Thomas Pringle, "The Case of Betto Douglas, a Slave Belonging to Lord Romney," *Anti-Slavery Record*, March 30, 1833, 157.
111. Roxann Wheeler, *The Complexion of Race: Categories of Difference in Eighteenth-century British Culture* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), 15.
112. Pringle, "The Case of Betto Douglas, a Slave Belonging to Earl Romney," 168.
113. MacQueen, "The Colonial Empire of Great Britain," 747.
114. James MacQueen, "The Rev. Mr. Curtin and the Colonial Office," *Glasgow Courier*, April 21, 1832, 1.
115. Ferguson, ed. *The History of Mary Prince*, Appendix 6, 143.
116. Pringle, "The Case of Betto Douglas, a Slave Belonging to Earl Romney," 168.
117. The subtitle of Jea's narrative is "Compiled and Written by Himself" though he "never learned to write." Alan Richardson and Debbie Lee, ed. *Olaudah Equiano, Mary Prince, and Others: Early Black British Writing* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2004), 182. This suggests that Jea may have understood "Written by" to mean "composed by," rather than being a reference to scribal literacy.
118. MacQueen, "The Colonial Empire of Great Britain," 744; "The Rev. Mr Curtin and the Colonial Office," 1.
119. Thomas Pringle, letter to Susanna Moodie, December 20, 1831, in *Additional Letters to* The South African Letters of Thomas Pringle, ed. Randolph Vigne (Cape Town: Van Reebeeck Society, 2011), 17, downloaded January 5, 2012 from http://www.vanriebeecksociety.co.za/home.htm.
120. "Communications respecting the prosecution of a Person of the name of *Cardin*, for the cruel treatment of a Female Slave belonging to the Earl of Romney" (1827), House of Commons paper no. 287, 1, 3. *House of Commons Parliamentary Papers Online*.
121. Anim-Addo, *Touching the Body*, 100.
122. James Stephen, *The Slavery of the British West India Colonies Delineated, As It Exists Both in Law and Practice, and Compared with the Slavery of Other Countries, Antient and Modern. Vol. II: Being a Delineation of the State in Point of Practice* (London: Saunders and Benning and J. Hatchard and Sons, 1830), 430–431. *Extracts of Stephen's West India Slavery Delineated* was circulated in antislavery circles with *The History of Mary Prince*, *The Black Widow*, and *Poor Black Kate*. Minutes, 1831, *Minute Book of the Sheffield Female Anti-Slavery Society*.
123. "Communications respecting the prosecution of a Person of the name of *Cardin*," 3, 6.
124. Ibid., 9, 12.
125. Thomas Pringle, "The Case of Betto Douglas, a St. Kitt's Slave," *Anti-Slavery Monthly Reporter*, June 1827, 1, 7.
126. Thomas Pringle, "Case of Betto Douglas," *Anti-Slavery Monthly Reporter*, September 1827, 95.
127. Pringle, "The Case of Betto Douglas, a St. Kitt's Slave," 5–6, 7.

128. Pringle, "Case of Betto Douglas," 95.
129. "Communications respecting the prosecution of a Person of the name of *Cardin*," 4.
130. Pringle, "The Case of Betto Douglas, a St. Kitt's Slave," 1–2.
131. James Stephen, *The Slavery of the British West India Colonies Delineated. Vol. II*, 430.
132. Margate Anti-Slavery Society, *The Black Widow; a True, Interesting and Affecting Story*, http://www.recoveredhistories.org/pamphlet1.php?catid=615. The quotation is from p. 3.
133. William Cowper, "The Negro's Complaint," in *Contrary Voices: Representations of West Indian Slavery, 1657–1834*, ed. Karina Williamson (Kingston, Jamaica: University of West Indies Press, 2008), 476.
134. Margate Anti-Slavery Society, *The Black Widow*, 3.
135. Williamson, ed., *Contrary Voices*, 475, 7.
136. Carey, *British Abolitionism and the Rhetoric of Sensibility*, 101–102. Carey gives a good history of the poem in its period on 100–101.
137. A facsimile of the title page is reproduced by Salih in her Penguin Classics edition of *The History of Mary Prince*, [1].
138. Genette, *Paratexts*, 156.
139. Pringle refers to Asa-Asa's life narrative in his Preface as "the interesting narrative of Asa-Asa" (*H*, 4), which echoes the title of Equiano's *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa, the African: Written by Himself* (1789).
140. Genette, *Paratexts*, 197
141. G. Thomas Couser, *Vulnerable Subjects: Ethics and Life Writing* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2004), 38, 35.
142. Anim-Addo, *Touching the Body*, 86.
143. Couser, *Vulnerable Subjects*, x.
144. Susan Glickman, "The Waxing and Waning of Susanna Moodie's 'Enthusiasm,' " *Canadian Literature* 130 (1991): 22.
145. Shoshana Felman, "In an Era of Testimony: Claude Lanzmann's *Shoah*," *Yale French Studies* 79 (1991): 39.
146. Rosanne Kennedy and Tikka Jan Wilson, "Constructing Shared Histories: Stolen Generations Testimony, Narrative Therapy and Address," in *World Memory: Personal Trajectories in Global Time*, ed. Jill Bennett and Kennedy (Houndmills: Palgrave, 2003), 129.
147. Susanna Moodie, letter to James Bird, April 9, 1831, Letters, Susanna Moodie and Catherine Parr Traill, National Library of Canada, accessed September 10, 2003, http://www.nlc-bnc.ca/moodie-traill/t1-116-e.php?uid=2&uidc=ID&anchor=t1-3000-e.html.
148. Sekora, "Black Message/White Envelope," 511.
149. Jeffrey W. Murray, *The Face in Dialogue: Emmanuel Levinas and (the) Communication (of) Ethic***s** (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2003), 125.
150. On May 15, 1823 Thomas Fowell Buxton put a motion in the House of Commons, which declared

> That the State of Slavery is repugnant to the principles of the British Constitution, and of the Christian religion; and that it ought to be gradually abolished throughout the British colonies, with as much expedition as may be found consistent with a due regard to the well-being of the parties concerned.

Great Britain, Parliament, *Historic Hansard*. The Letter of Instructions of the Agency Committee of the Antislavery Society to its itinerant public speakers in the early 1830s insisted that the governing principle of all speeches should be " 'that the system of colonial slavery is a crime in the sight of God, and ought to be immediately and for ever abolished.' " George Stephen, *Anti-Slavery Recollections: In a Series of Letters Addressed to Mrs. Beecher Stowe* (London: Thomas Hatchard, 1854), 136.

151. Isaac Kramnick, *The Rage of Edmund Burke: Portrait of an Ambivalent Conservative* (New York: Basic Books, 1977), 96.
152. When Mrs. Dalton claims that black people "are an inferior race, they were made to work for civilized men, in climates where labour would be death to those of a different nature and complexion," Rachel M— expostulates in Moodie's "Trifles from the Burthen of a Life": "This is reducing the African to a mere beast of burden—a machine in the form of a man. The just God never made a race of beings purposely to drag out a painful existence in perpetual slavery" (227). Flora Lyndsay makes the same comment, though there are a couple of small variants in punctuation and spelling (Moodie, *Flora Lyndsay*, 123).
153. William Leiss, "Technology and Degeneration: The Sublime Machine," in *Degeneration: The Dark Side of Progress*, ed. J. Edward Chamberlin and Sander L. Gilman (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985), 147.
154. Warner, *Fantastic Metamorphoses, Other Worlds*, 122.
155. Strickland, letter to James and Emma Bird, late January 1831. Letters, Susanna Moodie and Catherine Parr Traill, National Library of Canada.
156. Moodie, "Trifles from the Burthen of a Life," 228; *Flora Lyndsay*, 125.
157. Ibid.
158. Quoted in Matthew Shum, "The Prehistory of *The History of Mary Prince*: Thomas Pringle's 'The Bechuana Boy,' " *Nineteenth-Century Literature* 64, no. 3 (2009), 294, 299–300. The first quotation is from an 1825 letter from Pringle to John Fairbairn and the second quotation is from an 1829 letter to an unnamed correspondent.
159. Ibid., 293–294.
160. Samuel Johnson, "The Life of Gray" (1781), in *The Lives of the Poets*, ed. G.B. Hill, 3 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1905), e-text ed. by Jack Lynch, accessed September 30, 2011, http://andromeda.rutgers.edu/~jlynch/Texts/gray.html.
161. Quoted in Leitch Ritchie, "Memoirs of Thomas Pringle," in *The Poetical Works of Thomas Pringle, with a Sketch of His Life by Leitch Ritchie*, ed. Leitch Ritchie (London: Edward Moxon, 1838), cxliv.

162. Pringle, "Postscript—Second Edition," 5.
163. Shum, "The Prehistory of *The History of Mary Prince*," 300.
164. William Wordsworth, Preface, *Lyrical Ballads* (1800), Vol. 1, xii, accessed September 30, 2011, http://www.rc.umd.edu/editions/LB/html/Lb00-1.html.
165. Shum, "The Prehistory of *The History of Mary Prince*," 308.
166. Pringle, letter to Moodie, December 20, 1831, in *Additional Letters*, ed. Vigne, 17.
167. Moodie, "Trifles from the Burthen of a Life," 228; *Flora Lyndsay*, 121. Mrs. B. Hofland, writes in *The Barbadoes Girl: A Tale for Young People* (London: A.K. Newman, 1830):

> passion and peevishness were also the traits of this unfortunate child [Matilda], who had been indulged in the free exercise of a railing tongue, and even of a clawing hand, towards the numerous negro dependents that swarmed in her father's mansion, over whom she had exercised all the despotic sovereignty of a queen, with the capriciousness of a petted child, and thereby obtained a habit of tyranny over all whom she deemed her inferiors, as appeared in the style in which she now conducted herself constantly towards the menials of Mr Harewood's family, and not unfrequently towards the superiors. (9–10)

168. Moodie, *Flora Lyndsay*, 114.
169. *The Penny Cyclopaedia of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge* (London: Charles Knight, 1837); Bryan Edwards, *The History, Civil and Commercial, of the British Colonies in the West Indies* (1793, reprint of 5th ed., New York: Arno, 1972), 12.
170. Moodie, "Trifles from the Burthen of a Life," 227; *Flora Lyndsay*, 123.
171. Ibid., 228–229; *Flora Lyndsay*, 124.
172. Moodie, "Trifles from the Burthen of a Life," 229. Lewis notes that proslavery advocates charged that their opponents were "nothing more than self-seeking publicists looking for advancement" (*Main Currents in Caribbean Thought*, 121).
173. Moodie, *Flora Lyndsay*, 123–124.
174. MacQueen, "The Colonial Empire of Great Britain," 751.
175. Aljoe, *Creole Testimonies*, 105.
176. Hortsense J. Spillers, "Mama's Baby, Papa's Maybe: An American Grammar Book," *Diacritics* 17, no. 2 (1987): 67–68.
177. Edward Foss, letter to William Blackwood, February 23, 1832, National Library of Scotland, MS. 4032, fol. 283. The National Library of Scotland is hereafter cited as NLS.
178. Foss, letter to Blackwood, February 21, 1833, NLS, MS. 4035, fol. 222.
179. Foss, letter to Blackwood, May 2, 1833, NLS, MS. 4035, fol. 224.
180. *Christian Advocate*, March 4, 1833, 68.
181. Gordon Goodwin, "Macqueen, James," *Dictionary of National Biography: From the Earliest Times to 1900. Vol. 8*, ed. Sir Leslie Stephen and Sir Sidney Lee (London: Oxford University Press, 1921–1922), 717.

182. T.C. Jack, quoted in *The Waterloo Directory of Scottish Newspapers and Periodicals, 1800–1900*, ed. John S. North (Waterloo, Ont.: North Waterloo Academic Press, 1989), 627.
183. James R. Grant, quoted in *The Waterloo Directory of Scottish Newspapers and Periodicals*, 627.
184. George and Stephen, *Antislavery Recollections*, 113.
185. James MacQueen, "The British Colonies. A Second Letter to His Grace the Duke of Wellington," *Blackwood's Magazine*, May 1829, 662. In "British Tropical Colonies. Letters to the Right Hon. E.G. Stanley. Letter 1," *Blackwood's Magazine*, August 1833, he mentions having visited some of his estates in Tortola in October 1832 (239). As Slave Registration lists show, by then he also owned property and slaves in Saint Kitts.
186. David Lambert, "The 'Glasgow King of Billingsgate': James MacQueen and an Atlantic Proslavery Network," *Slavery and Abolition* 29, no. 3 (September 2008): 390, 394–395.
187. Lambert, *White Creole Culture*, 5.
188. The first title was published in London by Longman, Hurst & Co., and the second was published in Glasgow.
189. MacQueen, *The West India Colonies*, ix.
190. Lewis, *Main Currents in Caribbean Thought*, 119.
191. MacQueen, *The Colonial Controversy, Containing a Refutation of the Calumnies of the Anticolonists*, 5.
192. Quoted in Lambert, "The 'Glasgow King of Billingsgate,' " 398.
193. MacQueen, "The Colonial Empire of Great Britain," 744.
194. MacQueen, letter to Blackwood, October 12, 1831, NLS, MS. 4030, fol. 165.
195. The July 1831 article is unsigned. The use of the same correspondence in both articles and a very similar treatment of it and parts of Prince's narrative in both indicate MacQueen's authorship. The article was reprinted in the *Bermuda Royal Gazette*. The unattributed reprint is collected in Ferguson, ed., *The History of Mary Prince*, rev. ed., Appendix 9, 152–157.
196. See, for instance, A Gentleman Resident in the West Indies, *Montgomery; or, the West-Indian Adventurer: A Novel* (Kingston, Jamaica, 1812); and [Christopher Edward Lefroy], *Outalissi, a Tale of Dutch Guiana* (London: J. Hatchard, 1826).
197. James MacQueen, "The Anti-Slavery Society and the West-India Colonists," *Glasgow Courier* July 26, 1831, 1 and "The Colonial Empire of Great Britain," 745.
198. MacQueen, "The Colonial Empire of Great Britain," 751, 744.
199. Cadell, letter to Blackwood, November 19, 1831, NLS, MS. 4029, fol. 113.
200. Foss, letter to Blackwood, February 23, 1832, NLS, MS. 4032, fol. 283–284.
201. Foss, letter to Blackwood., December, 1832, NLS, MS. 4032, fol. 285.
202. [Thomas Pringle], "Abstract of the Report of the Lords' Committees on the Condition and Treatment of the Colonial Slaves, and of the Evidence Taken by Them on that Subject; with Notes by the Editor," *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, February 1833, 475.

203. William Dawes, letter to the CMS, May 31, 1827. *CMS Archive. Section V*, CW O31, Reel 12.
204. In a letter to the CMS dated November 7, 1823, Dawes describes Curtin as "sadly deficient in self knowledge and according to the ideas I had formed on the subject, possessed of few if any of the requisite qualifications of a true missionary. His loquacity and egotism disgusted me, and our intercourse gradually died away." *CMS Archive. Section V*, CW O31, Reel 12.
205. James Curtin, letter to Viscount Goderich, January 20, 1832, and enclosures, NA, C.O. 7/35. The Archbishop of Canterbury's reference was very brief, attesting to longevity of work in the Caribbean and respectability. Wilberforce's reference has not survived.
206. Curtin, letter to Goderich, January 30, 1832, NA, C.O. 7/35.
207. Curtin, letter to Goderich, February 7, 1832, NA, C.O. 7/35.
208. Curtin, letter to Goderich, April 4, 1832, NA, C.O. 7/35.
209. Curtin, letter to Goderich, September 24, 1832, NA, C.O. 7/35.
210. Quoted in "Expositor," letter, *John Bull*, December 26, 1831, 7.
211. Sir George Stephen, *A Letter from Legion to His Grace the Duke of Richmond, &c &c &c Chairman of the Slavery Committee of the House of Lords containing an Exposure of the Character of the Evidence on the Colonial Side Produced before the Committee* (London: S. Bagster, [1833]), 130. Curtin received slave compensation monies of £178 14s 4d from the British government for liberation of 17 slaves. *Legacies of British Slave-Ownership*.
212. "Expositor," letter, 7.
213. Curtin to Goderich, April 4, 1832, NA, C.O. 7/35.
214. Viscount Howick, letter to Foss, February 11, 1832, NA, C.O. 393/4.
215. Foss, letter to Goderich, February 13, 1832, NA, C.O. 7/35.
216. Viscount Howick, letter to Foss, NA, C.O. 393/4.
217. United Kingdom, Parliament, *Historic Hansard*, April 16, 1832.
218. MacQueen, "The Rev. Mr. Curtin and the Colonial Office," 1. Other evidence pointing to MacQueen's authorship of the article include the fact that Sibthorp's aspersion on the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* had previously been used by MacQueen in "The British Colonies—Anti-Colonists," 198, and that the "baseness" of those supporting the libel suit over his article is a constant theme of his correspondence with Blackwood on the matter. See, for instance, MacQueen, letter to Blackwood, December 15, 1831, NLS, MS. 4030, fol. 169. "[V]ile publication" is his stock characterization of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* and Pringle's editorship of it. See, for example, "The British Colonies—Anti-Colonists," 201.
219. Foss billed the defense for the interrogation. See his letter to Blackwood, May 2, 1833, NLS, MS. 4035, fol. 224.
220. Henry Bleby identifies Stephen as the reputed author in his *Romance without Fiction: or, Sketches from the Portfolio of an Old Missionary* (London: Published for the author at the Wesleyan Conference Office, 1872), 284. Bleby was a nonconformist antislavery missionary in Jamaica during the 1830s, moving in the kinds of circles in which the authorship would be known.

221. [Pringle], "Abstract of the Report of the Lords' Committees," 514.
222. Foss, letter to Blackwood, December 21, 1832, NLS, MS. 4032, fol. 287–288. At first in the letter it seems that Cadell had refused the defense offered, but that Spankie did is clarified later.
223. Ferguson, ed. *The History of Mary Prince*, rev. ed., Appendix 5, 138.
224. Foss had wanted to retain Wilde, regarding him as "the most powerful advocate in the Court of Common Pleas," but suspected that his "political opinions" might preclude appearing for Cadell. Foss, letter to Blackwood, November 19, 1831, NLS, MS. 4209, fol. 189.
225. Ferguson, ed. *The History of Mary Prince*, rev. ed., Appendix 5, 137.
226. Ibid., 138–139.
227. Foss, letter to Blackwood, November 19, 1831, NLS, MS. 4209, fol. 189.
228. Foss, letter to Blackwood, February 21, 1833, NLS, MS. 4035, fol. 222.
229. See, for instance, MacQueen's agreement to cut potentially libelous material on the slavery question in his letter to Blackwood of November 29, 1833, NLS, MS. 4036, fol. 215.
230. MacQueen reported this move on Wood's part to Blackwood in a letter of April 10, 1832, NLS, MS. 4034, fol. 50.
231. Ferguson, ed. *The History of Mary Prince*, rev. ed., Appendix 6, 140–141.
232. Ibid., 141.
233. Notice, *Antigua Free Press*, July 4, 1828.
234. MacQueen, "The Anti-Slavery Society and the West-India Colonists," 1.
235. Ferguson, ed. *The History of Mary Prince*, rev. ed., Appendix 6, 142–145.
236. William Dawes, letter to Rev. E. Bickersteth, July 29, 1825, in *CMS Archive*, C W M1, Reel 2.
237. *Christian Advocate*, March 4, 1833, 68–69.
238. Ferguson, ed. *The History of Mary Prince*, rev. ed., Appendix 6, p. 149.
239. Thomas Pringle, letter to Allan Cunningham, March 6, 1833, in *Additional letters*, ed. Vigne, 22.
240. MacQueen, letter to Blackwood, December 15, 1831, NLS, MS. 4030, fol. 169.
241. Ferguson, ed. *The History of Mary Prince*, rev. ed., Appendix 6, 144.
242. Ritchie, "Memoirs of Thomas Pringle," civ.
243. MacQueen, letter to Blackwood, August 17, 1833, NLS, MS. 4036, fol. 206. As a chartered colony, Antigua had two houses of local parliament, a legislative council and legislative assembly. McGregor was the governor of the Leeward Islands.
244. Ibid.
245. *Christian Advocate*, March 4, 1833, 68–69.
246. *Additional Letters*, ed. Vigne, 23. Trying to set an example, the Birmingham Ladies' Negro's Friend Society gave him £10 toward the costs. *The Eighth Report of the Ladies' Negro's Friend Society, for Birmingham, West Bromwich, Wednesbury, Walsall, and Their Respective Neighbourhoods* (Birmingham, 1833), abstract of the cash account.

247. *Legacies of British Slave-ownership*.
248. Ibid.
249. David Lambert, *Mastering the Niger: James MacQueen's African Geography and the Struggle over Atlantic Slavery* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013), 182.
250. *Additional Letters*, ed. Vigne, 23.
251. Anim-Addo, *Touching the Body*, 106. The pun on chattel is Anim-Addo's.
252. Pringle, "The Case of Betto Douglas, a Slave Belonging to Lord Romney," 159, 160, 161–162, 160, 167, 168.
253. *Legacies of British Slave-ownership*.
254. He was the uncle in whose home Grace Gilbert Hart died. The owner of 13 slaves in 1834, he was paid £267 11s 5d in compensation monies. *Legacies of British Slave-ownership*.
255. Cox, "Ralph Brush Cleghorn of St Kitts (1804–1842)," 45, 51.
256. Whitlock, *The Intimate Empire*, 13.
257. Helen Thomas, *Romanticism and Slave Narratives*, 166.

Conclusion

1. Gillian Whitlock, *The Intimate Empire: Reading Women's Autobiography* (London: Cassell, 2000), 203–204.
2. Henry Louis Gates, Jr., *The Signifying Monkey: A Theory of African-American Literary Criticism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 131.
3. Ann Taves, *Fits, Trances and Visions: Experiencing Religion and Explaining Experience from Wesley to James* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), 10.
4. Leon Jackson, "The Talking Book and the Talking Book Historian: African American Cultures of Print—The State of the Discipline," *Book History* 13 (2010), 258.
5. David Armitage, "Three Concepts of Atlantic History," in *The British Atlantic World, 1500–1800*, ed. David Armitage and Michael J. Braddick (Houndmills: Palgrave, 2002), 15.
6. Sylvia Wynter, quoted in Elizabeth DeLoughrey, "Yams, Roots, and Rot: Allegories of the Provision Grounds," *Small Axe* no. 34 (March 2011): 60. DeLoughrey quotes Wynter's essay "Novel and History, Plot and Plantation," *Savacou* no. 5 (June 1971): 99.
7. Lambert and Lester, 329.
8. Brycchan Carey and Peter J. Kitson, introduction to *Slavery and the Cultures of Abolition: Essays Marking the Bicentennial of the British Abolition Act of 1807*, ed. Brycchan Carey and Peter J. Kitson (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2007), 7.
9. David Scott, *Conscripts of Modernity: The Tragedy of Colonial Enlightenment* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004), 129.

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