

RECLAIMING HISTORIES OF ENSLAVEMENT FROM THE MARITIME ATLANTIC

AND A CURRICULUM:

THE HISTORY OF MARY PRINCE

by

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation explores *The History of Mary Prince, A West Indian Slave, Related by Herself* (1831) from an historical perspective. I place Prince in the story of British Abolition, and examine Prince's and her family's relationships with their Bermudian slave-owners, and Prince's relationships with Moravian missionaries in Antigua. Oral traditions regarding Prince from Grand Turk Island and Antigua directed my archival explorations, which resulted in findings that confirm and broaden aspects of Prince's story. I also located two still-standing residences associated with Prince in Bermuda.

As well, I analyze the collaborative writing team that produced Prince's slave narrative from the perspective of Abolition. Mary Prince was the storyteller, Susanna Strickland (later Moodie) was the compiler, and Thomas Pringle was the editor and financial backer of the project. Additionally, I consider Ashton Warner's *Negro Slavery Described* (1831), which was a product of the same team, but with Warner as storyteller. I suggest that the two slave narratives were a duology to be read in tandem. I draw out a central image from both slave narratives—the enslaved, bound, and flogged black woman—and propose that abolitionists used this image to bring about social change by witnessing.

My thesis includes a curriculum based on *The History of Mary Prince*, which works with Bermuda's Social Studies curriculum, and I have created a website, maryprince.org, to supplement this curriculum. The website also stands alone as an educational resource for students and teachers worldwide. The fundamental goal of

the curriculum is to open students' historical consciousness to the Middle Passage and to colonial enslavement so that they may understand a root cause of racism in the Americas. To aid with this, I have theorized an educational approach to open historical consciousness that is procedural in nature, and includes autobiographical survivor accounts, primary sources, visiting significant sites, secondary sources, and fictionalized accounts. I use the metaphor of "nesting dolls" to explain this approach. I also argue that creolization is a path of hope and that a history-infused food garden is a place where we may learn about our creolized identity.

DEDICATION

To the possibilities of remembrance.

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1. Introduction and Overview

1.1 Introduction

In 2005-2009, I was Head of English at British West Indies Collegiate in the Turks and Caicos Islands. The school is located on Providenciales, one of the larger islands comprising the Turks and Caicos Islands archipelago, which is south of the Bahamas and 302 kilometers north of Port-au-Prince, Haiti. In 2008, my husband Gary and I moved to Grand Turk Island, another island in the archipelago. I continued working at British West Indies Collegiate, flying between the two islands every week.

We lived on Grand Turk Island for six months, in a house nestled right on the beach. Historically, Grand Turk Island, and nearby Salt Cay and South Caicos, is where Bermudians made solar-evaporated salt with the labour of slaves. Behind our house was a derelict salt pond, one of many left from the days of enslavement. Beachside was Cockburn Harbour and, I suspect, one of three beaches that had been used historically for loading ships with salt. Schooners, brigantines, and sloops shipped the salt to northern colonies—Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island, and Nova Scotia—to be used to preserve food before the days of refrigeration. While living on Grand Turk Island I decided to take up Mary Prince and her story as a doctoral project.

Grand Turk Island, Salt Cay, and South Caicos are sites of a catastrophic history. It was on these islands that thousands of slaves worked in wretched

conditions in the Bermudian salt industry prior to Emancipation. They were starved, beaten, and murdered. They stood in the brine of the salt ponds for long hours under an unrelenting sun, and their feet and legs were covered with sores. In some cases, the salt ate their flesh to the bone. They were locked up at night so that they would not abscond to nearby Haiti where they would be free and could seize citizenship.

Mary Prince was a slave on Grand Turk Island from approximately 1802 to 1812. She was born in Bermuda in 1787 or 1788, and she lived in three different British overseas territories—Bermuda, Grand Turk Island, and Antigua—and under five successive Bermudian slave-owners. She also lived in England, and it was there that she walked out the door of her fifth slave-owner's house onto the streets of London to be a free woman. She sought out the London Anti-Slavery Society, which assisted her. Prince worked with other abolitionists to bring her *The History of Mary Prince, A West Indian Slave, Related by Herself* to print. The pamphlet was first published in February 1831.

Prince was the storyteller of the collaborative storytelling, compiling, and editing team that brought her story to print. Susanna Strickland (later Moodie) was the compiler, and Thomas Pringle, the paid secretary of London's Anti-Slavery Society, was the editor and the financial backer of the project. Strickland and Pringle also worked on a second project, but with Ashton Warner as storyteller. His *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 was also published in 1831, shortly after Prince's *The History of Mary Prince*.

Colin Brooker, a Grand Turk Island elder, now deceased, shared the oral tradition of Prince's story, as it pertains to Grand Turk Island, with me.¹ He had inherited Woodville, an Island "mansion," and had purchased the neighbouring property, once the home of Mr. D—, Prince's fourth slave-owner. Mr. D— has now been identified as Robert Darrell, and his son, known as Dickey in Prince's slave narrative, as Richard.² Brooker also told me of the long rectangular shed located on the Rose Neith property, which is nearby to both Woodville and Robert Darrell's one-time Grand Turk Island residence. Brooker related that this was the shed in which Prince was locked up at night. Its heavily barred windows definitely suggest days of enslavement, and it fits with Prince's story that she and others "slept in a long shed, divided into narrow slips, like the stalls used for cattle" (Prince 72).

My research led me to Antigua, Bermuda, London (UK), and Bethlehem (USA). I visited Bethlehem because Prince had become a Moravian during her Antiguan years, and the Moravian Church Archives of the Eastern West Indies are located in

¹ Brooker told me these stories in 2008 during happenstance conversations. This was two years prior to the commencement of my PhD studies. His stories, and those of Shirley Brown, also told in happenstance conversations in 2008, kindled my interest in Mary Prince and her time spent working in the Bermudian salt industry of Grand Turk Island.

² Nigel Sadler is first to mention that the Mr. D— of Prince's story is Robert Darrell. He does so in "Slave History of the Turks and Caicos Islands: The problems encountered researching slave history," which was published in 2001 by the Turks and Caicos National Museum.

Bethlehem, where they were relocated in 1968.³ The Rt. Rev. Dr. Kingsley Lewis of the Moravian Church, whom I met in Antigua, shared the oral tradition of Prince, pertaining to Antigua, with me. According to him, Prince returned to Antigua prior to Emancipation Day on 1 August 1834, was re-enslaved, but released. I also visited the Maritime History Archives at the Memorial University of Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island's Public Archives and Records Office in search of records illustrating that Bermudian merchants shipped salt and other products to, and conducted trade with, Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island, the two territories to which I am most connected in Atlantic Canada.

When in London, I visited the British Library, and I was able to handle a first edition of Prince's slave narrative. There is an inscription on the cover in Thomas Pringle's handwriting. It says "The Rev. Mr. Mortimer. With the Editor's best respects." Prince refers to the Rev. Mr. Mortimer in her narrative: "Nor must I forget among my friends, the Rev. Mr. Mortimer, the good clergyman of the parish, under whose ministry I have now sat for upwards of twelve months" (92), she relates. The British Library also furnished me with two microfilm reels from the Library of the

³ I travelled to Antigua at Christmas 2011, after commencing my PhD studies. While in Antigua, I visited Spring Gardens, the Moravian church and mission to which Prince had belonged during her years in Antigua. There was a Christmas concert at the church, which I attended. I met The Rt. Rev. Dr. Kingsley Lewis, Bishop of the Moravian Church. We sat on a pew at the back of the church and he told me stories from the oral tradition of Antigua about Prince. It was not formal or intended data collection. As with Brooker and Brown, it was a very enjoyable, happenstance conversation. Lewis also told me that the Antiguan Moravian archives had been moved to Bethlehem, Pennsylvania in 1968.

Society of Friends. One contained a copy of the first edition of Prince's narrative; the second contained a copy of the third edition.

Five chapters comprise this dissertation, plus a related website, maryprince.org. I have also included an updated timeline of Mary Prince's life as an appendix. Because this is an interdisciplinary PhD embracing four subjects—Education, English, Gender Studies, and History—there is a crossing of knowledge boundaries between these subject areas and between the Faculty of Education and the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences. As well, different discourse conventions of these disciplines are reflected in the different chapters.⁴ Moreover, this is a manuscript thesis. Each chapter is intended to be a separate publishable paper.

Much of my work has been to verify Prince's *The History of Mary Prince*. Through archival findings, historical and current photographs of the residences of Prince's and her parents' slave-owners, and other important sites, such as the Spring Gardens Moravian Mission in St. John's, Antigua, I have verified Prince's story. Not only does this detail bring Prince's story to life, but also it is important for pedagogical reasons. I discuss this in chapter 5, which is about historical consciousness and curriculum.

Chapter 1, Introduction and Overview—this current chapter—is divided into two sections. The Introduction contains a brief explanation of how my PhD project came about and sets expectations for what is to be covered in subsequent chapters.

⁴ Because I am working with a manuscript thesis model, including the subject areas of Education, English, Gender Studies, and History, I chose MLA as my citation style.

The Overview is a general survey of resources I read that helped me to understand the implications of my research findings better and to inform and develop my dissertation. These resources assisted in situating Prince in the story of enslavement, resistance, and Abolition, and they assisted in theorizing a pedagogical approach to open students' historical consciousness.

Chapter 2, *Mary Prince: Rebel, Abolitionist, and Storyteller*, places Prince in the story of Abolition. Her slave narrative was published at the height of the anti-slavery campaign, and was a significant tactic in Abolition's success. An earlier version of this chapter was published in Salem Press's 2014 *Critical Insights: The Slave Narrative* edited by Kimberly Drake.

Chapter 3, *Histories and Geographies of The History of Mary Prince*, delves into the lives of Prince's and her parents' slave-owners. It also explores the impact of the Moravian missionaries in Antigua who influenced Prince during her time in that territory. In this chapter, Prince is contextualized in the different territories of her enslavement, and the transportation, selling, and monetization of slaves is discussed.

Chapter 4, *Thomas Pringle's Management of the Project of Mary Prince's The History of Mary Prince and Ashton Warner's Negro Slavery Described*, considers the possibility of Prince's and Warner's testimonies, and the paratextual materials published with them, as a duology meant to be read in tandem. By turning attention to Pringle's role as editor and manager of the texts, much is revealed about the texts, especially how they work together, and within, the larger project of Abolition.

Chapter 5, A Curriculum Based on *The History of Mary Prince, A West Indian Slave, Related by Herself*, develops the idea of opening students' historical consciousness. My hope is that by engaging with *The History of Mary Prince*, paratextual materials appearing with Prince's testimony, and with primary sources that confirm her story, plus secondary sources and fictionalized accounts, students will feel a claim of the past regarding the Middle Passage and colonial slavery.⁵ Perhaps because of this claim, students will reconsider their present relationships and begin to work for a more democratic future. To assist both students and educators, I have developed a website, maryprince.org, which is part of this dissertation. It contains a link to a first edition copy of *The History of Mary Prince*, primary sources, secondary sources, maps, several short pieces that explain aspects of Prince's story, plus instructional materials based on the work of Peter Seixas and Tom Morton's *The Big Six Historical Thinking Concepts*. Bermuda's Middle School 2 and Senior School 3 Social Studies curricula have openings where this curriculum may be used.

My research is important for several reasons. First, it adds to the story of the transportation and sales of slaves between British colonies after the Abolition of the Slave Trade Act was passed in 1807 but before the Slavery Abolition Act of 1833. Mary Prince and her sister Hannah were both transported from Bermuda to West Indian colonies. Information gleaned from the Slave Registers of former British

⁵ The Middle Passage is the part of the transatlantic slave trade in which captive Africans were shipped across the Atlantic Ocean to the Americas where they were subsequently enslaved.

Colonial Dependencies for Antigua indicates that the transportation and selling of slaves between colonies during this time may have been common. Evidently, even though the British arm of the transatlantic slave trade was closed, a type of slave trading was still underway in the colonies. This relates to the monetization and treatment of slaves, which changed because of abolitionist scrutiny and the Abolition campaign.

Secondly, my research has added to knowledge of abolitionists' historical use of witnessing to bring about social change. Over time, abolitionists of the past created an array of materials: poetry, images of torture, autobiographical survivor accounts, testimonies by authoritative people who had been in the colonies and witnessed atrocities there, and reports and pamphlets. Possibly, readers and viewers responded in ever-greater numbers to the historical and social claims these materials placed upon them, and because of this, they joined the ranks of the abolitionists.

Thirdly, my archival research confirms aspects of Mary Prince's story. This ties to the work of Seixas and Morton, who indicate the importance of evidence not only in building a history, but also in learning how to think like historians. Their six historical thinking concepts work together, not independently. Evidence, which is interpreting and thinking about primary sources, is one of the concepts. With evidence that confirms *The History of Mary Prince*, her story becomes more than an enslavement story or the story of a freedom seeker. It can become the basis of a valid historical argument on a number of historical topics.

Fourthly, by thinking about the pedagogical approaches of other educators in their successes and failures as they attempted to open their students' historical consciousness, I discerned a developing pattern: Educators enjoyed greater success when they employed a variety of resources with their students. These resources might be autobiographical survivor accounts; documentary photographs and films; oral histories and oral traditions; historical documents; fictional accounts in various forms, such as poems, songs, novels, and art; and/or visiting significant sites on land. From this, I developed a theoretical pedagogical approach that is procedural, but interrelated, in nature and uses Seixas and Morton's framework. I use the metaphor of nesting dolls to explain this approach. The smallest doll, which is at the heart of a program of study, represents autobiographical survivor accounts, such as Mary Prince's *The History of Mary Prince*. The next doll in the set represents primary source evidence. The third doll represents visiting significant sites, and the fourth and fifth dolls represent secondary sources and fictional accounts, in that order. The resources contained on maryprince.org assist educators taking this approach.

Fifthly, my reading for this PhD also brought about a second metaphor that might be useful to educators. This is the metaphor of the creolized garden, which represents our complex creolized identity in the Americas and helps us to understand who we are: a new people. Just as people were transported across the Middle Passage, so, too, were food plants. Food plants from Africa and Europe have intermingled with indigenous American plants and united with them in the soil of the Americas. The result is a new type of garden where African and European plants

grow in the American indigenous food plant complex.⁶ Although the Middle Passage is a terrible remembrance, it was also the genesis of our creolized identity in the Americas, and educators might use the metaphor of the creolized garden to teach about identity.⁷ This approach opens to the history of the Middle Passage and colonial enslavement. Because racism in the Americas is the afterlife of the Middle Passage and slavery, this opening may also address race issues.

Finally, my research speaks to social action. Slavery has not ended and the work of abolitionists is not complete. The labour conditions and human trafficking recollected by Mary Prince have outlived colonial slavery. Perhaps by revisiting the story of Abolition and understanding how abolitionists of the past brought about social change, we may take next steps in the work of Abolition.

1.2 Overview

I drew on a rich body of historical literature and scholarship to develop the historical context for my thesis. Neil Kennedy, in “William Crashaw’s Bridge: Bermuda and the Origins of the English Atlantic, 1609-1624,” explains how Bermuda and Bermudians were connected to other British colonies through family and trade from the first years of the colony’s establishment. *Butler’s History of the Bermudas* is

⁶ In the past, these New World fusion gardens represented liberation, prosperity, and abundance. I discuss these gardens in chapter 5.

⁷ Creolization is a result of the mixing of African, European, and Aboriginal American peoples in the Americas. Brutal violence underlay the process of creolization because the Middle Passage and colonial slavery were at its heart. This mixing of peoples resulted in new cultures and identities, which are still in the process of becoming. In the condition of creolization, new identities that have been created supersede what had existed before. By noting that we are a creolized people, I do not mean that race does not exist. We are also a racialized people.

a modernized transcription of Bermuda's early-governor Nathaniel Butler's journals, which covers the period 1609-1622. This offers a useful backdrop to the early years of the colony, particularly for the purposes of this dissertation concerning plants indigenous to Bermuda and of those transferred in from Africa, other colonies, and other regions of the world. Michael J. Jarvis's *In the Eye of All Trade: Bermuda, Bermudians, and the Maritime Atlantic World, 1680-1783* is a broad overview of Bermuda and her people during the period 1680-1783. Of particular interest is information Jarvis gives about Bermudian enslavement, the division of labour, and the Darrell and Trimingham families who owned Prince and her family members. Jarvis also provides information on the Bermudian salt manufacturing industry of Grand Turk Island, Salt Cay, and South Caicos. Prince worked in that industry for approximately ten years from 1802 to 1812. Jarvis's epilogue, "From Seaport to Sentry Post: The Decline of Maritime Bermuda, 1783-1820," is worthwhile to my project because it covers the years of Prince's life on Bermuda and Grand Turk Island. Henry C. Wilkinson's *Bermuda from Sail to Steam: The History of the Island from 1784-1901* similarly provides background information, but covers a more recent period in Bermuda's history. As with Jarvis's book, it covers topics pertinent to my dissertation, such as the movement of slaves between colonies.

Virginia Bernhard, in *Slaves and Slaveholders in Bermuda, 1616-1782*, gives an overview of the early development of slavery in Bermuda. Her perspective is that slavery in Bermuda differed from other English colonies in the Caribbean or on the American mainland because of close relationships that developed between slave and

slave-owner. Bernhard maintains that because of these close relationships, Bermuda experienced fewer runaway slaves, less violent uprisings, and less severe punishments for slaves than in other English colonies. Jarvis somewhat echoes Bernhard's view of comparatively benign enslavement existing in Bermuda's past, writing "[w]e must temper our inclination to describe the relationship between white and black Bermudians in terms of abstract roles like master and slave" (268). James E. Smith also put forward the idea of benign enslavement existing in Bermuda in his book *Slavery in Bermuda*. Smith suggests that enslavement in Bermuda was "characterized by mildness and leniency" (73).

However, Cyril Packwood, Quito Swan, and Edward A. Chappell contest the notion that Bermudian enslavement was comparatively benign. Cyril Packwood's book *Chained on the Rock: Slavery in Bermuda* focuses entirely on Bermudian enslavement. It is invaluable in understanding Prince and her family members' lives as slaves in Bermuda. Quito Swan, in "Smoldering Memories and Burning Questions: The Politics of Remembering Sally Bassett and Slavery in Bermuda," discusses Bermudian politics regarding the memorialization of Sally (Sarah) Bassett and the erection of a ten-foot statue of Bassett at Bermuda's Cabinet Office grounds in Hamilton. Bassett was burned at the stake for the alleged attempted poisoning of her granddaughter Beck's slave-owners, the Forsters, and of Nancy, another slave of the Forsters. Swan offers insights into what it meant to be a female slave living in Bermuda and in close proximity to male slave-owners. Edward A. Chappell, in "Accommodating Slavery in Bermuda," analyzes existing structures of historic big

houses in Bermuda, and their outbuildings, as well as inventories, newspaper advertisements, and registers. Chappell finds assertions regarding a softer version of slavery in Bermuda dubious, writing that his research “does not validate the claim for a more meaningfully integrated, racially harmonious society than in the Caribbean or the North American mainland” (90). Laid out together, these nine articles and books, covering almost three centuries, 1609 to 1901, form a rich tapestry which contextualizes the Bermuda and Grand Turk Island sections of Prince’s slave narrative.

Edward Harris, in his beautifully illustrated four-volume set, *Heritage Matters: Essays on the History of Bermuda* gives pithy forays into exciting and interesting topics of Bermudian history, including enslavement. For example, one essay by Harris appearing in Volume Three, “Freedom before Emancipation,” examines the sale of an enslaved woman by her slave-owner to her husband, a free black man. Possibly, this is an example of a slave-owner’s compassion, though payment for the enslaved woman was still required. Mary Prince never found herself in such a situation. Though Prince had saved money for self-manumission, her slave-owner John Adams Wood Jr. refused to sell her on any terms.

Harris, the Chief Executive Officer of the National Museum of Bermuda, is also the editor of the National Museum of Bermuda’s annual publication the *Bermuda Journal of Archaeology and Maritime History*, which additionally furnished me with multi-disciplinary peer-reviewed essays on different aspects of Bermuda’s history. Clarence Maxwell’s “‘The Horrid Villany’: Sarah Bassett and the Poisoning

Conspiracies in Bermuda, 1727-1730," for instance, provided insight into slave rebellion in Bermuda. Slave rebellion in Britain's overseas territories worked with Abolition to bring about Emancipation.

The *Bermuda Journal of Archaeology and Maritime History* replaced the earlier *Bermuda Historical Quarterly*, where I also found valuable resources, specifically "The Journal of John Harvey Darrell." This article, which is excerpted from Darrell's old notebooks by his daughter Harriet E. D. Darrell, gives background to the Darrell family, who, through purchase and gifting by the patriarch Captain George Darrell, owned the mother of Mary Prince, Prince as an infant and young girl, and some of Prince's siblings.⁸

Books published by the Bermuda National Trust proved invaluable, specifically Andrew Trimingham's *Bermuda's Architectural Heritage: Devonshire*; Dace McCoy Ground's *For Everyone, Forever*; and David White's *Bermuda's Architectural Heritage: Paget*. Not only did these books give background information on the architectural history of Bermuda, but they also identified two structures owned by Prince's slave-owners and associated with her life in Bermuda. Adrienne Antoinette Lightbourn Butz's *The Letter Book of Captain John Lightbourn Sr. and William Astwood*, which contained a transcription of old family papers Butz found at the bottom of a drawer in 2012, proved very useful. It is a series of letters dated 1806 to 1812 between Captain John Lightbourn Sr., a salt proprietor living on Grand Turk Island, and his nephew William Astwood, a lawyer living in Bermuda. Prince's

⁸ I have attached a pdf of "The Journal of John Harvey Darrell" to my website maryprince.org. It is found under the Primary Sources tab.

time on Grand Turk Island overlaps the 1806 to 1812 dates, and details in the *Letter Book* illuminate elements of her slave narrative, such as the paucity of provisions on the island during this time, and the movement of slaves between Bermuda and Grand Turk Island.

H. E. Sadler's *Turk's Islands Landfall: A History of the Turks and Caicos Islands*, gives a backdrop to the history of Grand Turk Island, where Prince's fourth slave-owner, Robert Darrell, put her to work in the salt ponds. It gives valuable information about salt proprietors, or salt-rakers as they are sometimes termed, and salt production. Cynthia Kennedy's "The other white gold: salt, slaves, the Turks and Caicos Islands, and British colonialism," likewise provides insight into the salt industry, and the plight of salt pond slaves. Neil Kennedy's "Impermanence and Empire: Salt Raking in the Turks and Caicos Islands," similarly focuses on the Grand Turk Island salt industry. Both Cynthia Kennedy and Neil Kennedy look to Prince's slave narrative for understanding the trauma experienced by the slaves who worked in salt production on the island. Nigel Sadler's "Slave History of the Turks and Caicos Islands: The problems encountered researching slave history," and *Slave History in the Turks and Caicos Islands* proved invaluable. Sadler discusses slave runaways from the islands, and is first to propose that slave-owner Robert Darrell is the Mr. D— of Prince's slave narrative.

*Antigua and the Antiguan*s, published in 1844, provides interesting, if dated, anecdotes about Antiguan life. Volume Two devotes fourteen chapters to "Negroes" and several more to subjects related to "colour." Often these bear on details in

Prince's slave narrative, such as "employment of the women," especially washing, huckstering, and pretended illness. Brian Dyde's *A History of Antigua* provides a more scholarly overview of Antigua's history, and covers subjects such as the Grace Jones case. Abolitionists contested the unfree status of the enslaved woman Grace who had been taken to England by her slave-owner where she was free, but then returned to Antigua where she was re-enslaved. Dyde also gives information on the early Moravian and Methodist churches in Antigua. Prince writes that though she first attended a Methodist prayer meeting, she later became a member of the Moravian congregation at Spring Gardens, St. John's. I note that over half of the Antiguan section of Prince's slave narrative is devoted to church-based experiences. Natasha Lightfoot's *Troubling Freedom: Antigua and the Aftermath of British Emancipation* provides information on Antigua's society during Prince's years in the colony. Emancipation brought freedmen and freedwomen control over their bodies and time, but it also brought them poverty. Lacking were the essentials necessary for individuals and families to thrive: land, housing, and employment. Lightfoot also provides insight into the causes of Antigua's 1831 and 1858 uprisings, and into Antigua's Moravian mission and the missionaries' use of exclusion conferences in an attempt to establish church discipline. Mary Prince recalls marrying freedman Daniel James at Spring Gardens, Christmastime 1826. In January 1834, James was excluded from the church for an extramarital affair.

Leon H. Matthis's *Gracefield Moravian Church: Gracefield A Northern Star* provides information on the Spring Gardens congregation, particularly at the

moment of Emancipation. *Periodicals Accounts Relating to the Mission of the Church of the United Brethren, Established Among the Heathen*, Volume XII also gives accounts of the Moravian mission at Antigua. In the period prior to Emancipation, there were reported rebellious incidents, including the April 1831 burning of Antigua's Lyons plantation. Natasha Lightfoot reports that the Lyons plantation was only one of twenty-three plantations set ablaze during the 1831 revolt. Paul Peucker's and Lanie Graf's "A Little Spark: Samuel Isles in Antigua" provides further background information, especially on the first Moravian couple ministering on Antigua, Samuel and Mary Isles. The Isles had previously been at the Moravian mission on St. Thomas. Finally, Jon F. Sensbach's *Rebecca's Revival: Creating Black Christianity in the Atlantic World* gives an authoritative account of how over time the Moravian church created a successful congregation at St. Thomas, which acted as a support and central hub for the denomination's expansion throughout the Eastern West Indies.

Several additional historical texts are relevant to chapter 5, which is partially about the memorialization of slavery and the possibility of the garden as a site of memorial practice. Judith A. Carney's and Richard Nickolas Rosomoff's *In the Shadow of Slavery: Africa's Botanical Legacy in the Atlantic World* is about the beneficial transfer of food plants by captive Africans from Africa to the Americas. Lydia Mihelic Pulsipher's "They Have Saturdays and Sundays to Feed Themselves: Slave Gardens in the Caribbean" discusses three types of slave gardens kept historically by slaves on Montserrat. James Beattie in "Recent Themes in the Environmental History of the

British Empire” proposes garden history as a possible area of future research.

Beattie recognizes the garden as a “fascinating micro-historical framework within which to understand a vast array of colonial experiences” (134).

Many texts forming a backdrop to my thesis are focused on Abolition, or on an aspect of Abolition. Seymour Drescher’s *Abolition: A History of Slavery and Antislavery* gives an account of slavery and antislavery over the last five centuries. Drescher makes the case that Abolition was a new feature of civilization because it went against prevailing worldwide conventions, and that it changed the world dramatically. He divides Abolition into two cycles. The Abolition cycle spanned twenty years from 1787 to 1807, and the Emancipation cycle was fifteen years from 1823 to 1838.⁹ Drescher also discusses abolitionist institutions, such as the English Society for Effecting the Abolition of the Slave Trade, formed in 1787, and the roles of renowned abolitionists such as Thomas Clarkson, an evangelical Anglican, and Elizabeth Heyrick, a Quaker. His discussion of women abolitionists and their societies is extensive. Women were politically active in increasing numbers. Women signed petitions, boycotted slave-made commodities, such as sugar and cotton, and worked as poets and public speakers.¹⁰

Clare Midgley’s *Women Against Slavery: The British Campaigns, 1780-1870* creates a different picture of women’s anti-slavery activities than had previously been portrayed. White upper class, middle-class, and working-class women were

⁹ Although Emancipation took effect 1 August 1834, there was provision for a six-year apprenticeship program. The apprenticeship program was contested, ending two years ahead of schedule on 1 August 1838.

¹⁰ Drescher does not mention Prince or Strickland, nor does he mention Pringle.

involved, although the roles they played in the campaign differed. Black women in Britain were also involved in the movement. Judith Jennings's *The Business of Abolishing the Slave Trade, 1787-1807* breaks down the Abolition cycle. Jennings discusses the twelve men who comprised the English Society for Effecting the Abolition of the Slave Trade—also called the London Abolition Committee—and magnifies the roles of the four central figures, all Quakers, and how they determined and then carried out their plans through research and through the publication of that research. Christopher Leslie Brown's *Moral Capital: Foundations of British Abolitionism*, ends with the 1787 formation of the Society, which is where planned political action of the movement began. His main concern is to discern what prompted the founding leaders of Abolition to make individual choices to contest slavery. Because of these individual's decisions to act to end slavery, support for Abolition increased.

João Pedro Marques's, "Slave Revolts and the Abolition of Slavery: An Overinterpretation" shows that rebellious acts by slaves—individual acts, such as poisonings and refusals to work, to large-scale uprisings—were partially responsible for bringing about Emancipation. He notes that the anti-slavery campaign gained ammunition from instances of slave resistance, and that abolitionists used successive rebellions to underscore the idea that while slavery existed colonies were in danger of insurrection. At the same time, the increasing strength of the anti-slavery forces gave direct (possibly from dissenting religious groups such as Baptists), and indirect, encouragement to slaves who fought the

system. Robin Blackburn's *The American Crucible: Slavery, Emancipation and Human Rights* offers a new timeline of slavery in the Americas, and he divides the period into three epochs. These are the baroque, linked to silver and gold (1500-1650); the mercantile, linked to sugar and tobacco (1650-1800); and the industrial, linked to cotton and coffee (1800-1888). Blackburn points out that the Atlantic slave trade was legislated out of existence because a large-scale social movement grew up outside the slave zone, and its abolitionist discourse became a part of national politics. Yet Blackburn, like Brown, confesses that he does not truly understand Abolition and can offer "only a very tentative outline of an approach to understanding abolition—at some points just a checklist, at others generalizations which strive not to be too general, or simply wrong" (277). Blackburn does, however, argue that the modern notion of human rights is a twentieth-century invention with roots going back to the anti-slavery tradition of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Nicholas Draper's *The Price of Emancipation: Slave-Ownership, Compensation and British Society at the End of Slavery* not only discusses the £20 million in compensation paid to slave-owners as a result of the Slavery Abolition Act of 1833 (£5 million in cash and £15 million "in kind" through the Apprenticeship Program), but he also shows the extent of absentee slave-ownership in Britain, and identifies concentrations of slave-owners, tracing their influence in politics, business, and the established Church. Individual cases, which pertain specifically to the third section of the *Slavery Abolition Act*, discussed by Draper proved especially useful to me. Randolph Vigne's biography *Thomas Pringle: South*

African pioneer, poet & abolitionist has proven indispensable. Much was written about first-wave abolitionists, such as Granville Sharp, Thomas Clarkson, and William Wilberforce; but until this biography, there has been little about Pringle, who is a central historical figure of my thesis.

Several texts informed me about gender and racial relationships during the time of enslavement. Trevor Burnard's *Mastery, Tyranny, & Desire: Thomas Thistlewood and His Slaves in the Anglo-Jamaican World* describes, in detail, the moral corruption caused by slave-ownership. Operating previously to the Abolition cycle—prior to 1788—Thistlewood was a plantation manager of Jamaica's Egypt Estate. He kept a diary, 10,000 pages in length, and spanning thirty-seven years that concluded in 1786. As Burnard explains, "Thistlewood's diaries . . . give firm evidence for the systematic and widespread practice of sexual molestation of black women by white men of all backgrounds" (259). Jennifer Morgan, whose research centers on South Carolina in the 1600s and early 1700s, in *Laboring Women: Reproduction and Gender in New World Slavery*, suggests that from the earliest days of English colonies slave-owners "hop[ed] that their coffers would be enriched by the birth of enslaved children" (92). Slave-owners worked to make this a reality by organizing the enslaved into male-female pairings, with the hope that they would have children. "Only through a black woman's body could a struggling slave owner construct munificent bequests to family and friends. By using the term and concept of 'increase,' he created a larger bequest than he actually possessed" (Morgan 92). Sasha Turner in "Home-Grown Slaves: Women, Reproduction, and the Abolition of

the Slave Trade, Jamaica 1788-1807” argues that, in Jamaica, slave-owners and estate managers were not interested in the reproductive capabilities of enslaved women until 1788, when abolitionist scrutiny changed the treatment of enslaved women. Prior to 1788, slaves could be easily replaced by purchase from slave ships bringing captive West Africans to the Americas.

Several slave narratives by British subjects informed my work. Mary Prince’s *The History of Mary Prince, A West Indian Slave, Related by Herself* went to print three times in the year of its publication in 1831. Prince reports on enslavement practices in Bermuda, Grand Turk Island, Antigua, and London, England. Her slave narrative vanished for decades, reappearing in 1987 in Henry Louis Gates’s anthology *Classic Slave Narratives*. In 1993, Prince’s slave narrative appeared in the University of Michigan Press version, which is edited and includes an introduction by Moira Ferguson. Revised in 1997, this is the version I most often refer to in this dissertation. Ashton Warner’s *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* was published shortly after Prince’s *The History of Mary Prince* in 1831. It was compiled by the same team as Prince’s slave narrative, but with Ashton Warner as storyteller. “The Narrative of Louis Asa-Asa, A Captured African” was included with Prince’s slave narrative at the time of publication. A victim of the transatlantic slave trade, Asa-Asa was captured in Africa when he was thirteen years old, and, after being either sold or traded six times, he was

transported to Europe on a French vessel, the *Pearl*. Oluadah Equiano wrote his own slave narrative, *The Interesting Life of Oluadah Equiano or Gustavus Vassa, The African*, published in 1789. Captured in what is now Nigeria in about 1745, he was transported across the Middle Passage and sold in Virginia. His slave narrative depicts the horrors of his kidnapping in Africa and the cruelties of slavery in America and the West Indies.

Slave narratives written, or related, by non-British women—American and Bermudian—illuminate gaps in Prince’s narrative. Harriet Ann Jacobs’s *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl: Written by Herself*, which was published under a pseudonym, Linda Brent, is one. Born in North Carolina in 1813, Jacobs reports sexual abuse perpetrated by a male slave-owner against herself and other enslaved women. She also reports of sexual abuse perpetrated by slave-owners’ sons, and one instance of a slave-owner’s daughter who coerced one of her father’s plantation slaves to have sexual relations. Louisa Picquet’s *Louisa Picquet, the Octaroon: or Inside View of Southern Slave Life*, compiled and published by abolitionist Reverend H. Mattison in New York, also sheds light on Prince’s slave narrative. Picquet, who was one-eighth black, had a light complexion and white features, yet because of slave laws, she remained enslaved, showing that her enslavement at that time did not result from the complexion of her skin, but from her enslaved mother’s womb. Like Prince, Picquet was sold between slave-owners several times. Mattison, the compiler and publisher of Picquet’s slave narrative, concludes the text by pointing out the deep moral corruption revealed in the slave-owning families, resulting from the

institution of enslavement. A third American slave narrative that illuminates Prince's *The History of Mary Prince* is Sojourner Truth's *The Narrative of Sojourner Truth*, which was compiled by abolitionist Olive Grant. An abolitionist and a women's rights worker, Truth was born into slavery in New York in 1797, to Africa-born parents. Truth escaped in 1826. Similarly, in 1828 when Prince was in London, she self-manumitted by walking out her slave-owner John Adams Wood Jr.'s door and not returning. As with Truth, Prince was also involved in abolitionist work. Nellie E. Musson's *Mind the Onion Seed* includes several slave narratives taken from the oral tradition about Bermudian enslavement. They are stories that were passed on through the generations, until they were written down. *Mind the Onion Seed* is a valuable resource for my project because it illuminates details given by Prince in her slave narrative, such as the food provided to slaves by their slave-owners, and the work of enslaved women, which I discuss in chapter 5.

Several neoslave narratives also form a backdrop to my dissertation. Following Philomena Mariani, Rinaldo Walcott defines neoslave narratives as "critical fictions" (139) explaining that these critical fictions are "multigenre: novel, history, literary criticism, social and cultural critique" (140), and that the best of them are what Sylvia Wynter terms "counternovels" (140). Walcott gives Toni Morrison's *Beloved*, Paula Marshall's *Praise Song for the Widow*, and Anne Williams's *Dessa Rose* as examples of counternovels, pointing out that "[c]ounternovelists write back to officially sanctioned histories, disturbing the popular acceptance of history as 'truth'" (141). I define neoslave narratives more

broadly: Modern historical works set in the time of enslavement, neoslave narratives are fictionalized accounts that disrupt commonly accepted histories about past enslavement, but they may take forms other than written texts. They might be novels, biographies, poems, memoir, plays, short fiction, songs, screenplays, and films, but they might also appear as artwork, memorials or other sites of memory. In addition to disrupting prevailing histories, creators of fictionalized accounts recreate the past with the hope of bringing healing to the present and to set a new path for the future.

Three neoslave narratives with a Canadian connection, and in a written form, are Afua Cooper's *The Hanging of Angélique*, Lawrence Hill's *The Book of Negroes*, and Lorna Goodison's *From Harvey River: A Memoir of My Mother and Her People*. Cooper's *The Hanging of Angélique* is a slippery text. As Cooper states, *The Hanging of Angélique* is "a story that is part slave narrative, part historical analysis, part biography, and part historical archaeology" (12). The historical subject, Marie-Joseph Angélique, a Portuguese-born, enslaved black woman, was blamed for the burning of Old Montreal in 1734. The book is based on Cooper's extensive research conducted over a number of years, including research in public and private archives, correspondence between colonial and metropolitan officials, parish records, and trial documents. *The Hanging of Angélique* challenges the repression of the history of Canadian slavery, and suggests the importance of the recovery of that history. The Illustrated Edition of Lawrence Hill's *The Book of Negroes* includes many wonderful visuals illuminating Hill's extensive research. The main character, the fictional

Aminata Diallo, was abducted in West Africa at the age of eleven and transported across the Middle Passage to South Carolina. Years later, Aminata, in New York, registered her name as one of 3,000 souls in the “Book of Negroes,” an historic ledger listing black Loyalists who sailed from Manhattan to Nova Scotia. Later, Aminata was one of 1200 who sailed to Sierra Leone, making the return trip to Africa. Lorna Goodison’s *From Harvey River: A Memoir of My Mother and Her People*, depicts Harvey River, Jamaica, as an Eden. Harvey River, founded in 1840 by her great grandfather William Harvey, a white Englishman, and his brother John, was a place of creolization: “It was amazing how all the mixing of bloods produced people who looked like Indians and Gypsies. People who, if they were flowers, would be birds of paradise and Catalpa orchids” (Goodison 27). I consider *Harvey River* not only a neoslave narrative, but also a valuable resource illustrating creolization and self-acceptance, which is a major theme of chapter 5. Goodison’s poetry enhances her memoir, and several pieces may also be understood to be neoslave narratives. “Annie Pengelly,” for example, found in *Guinea Woman: New & Selected Poems*, set in pre-Emancipation Jamaica, illustrates an insanely jealous, white female slave-owner who tortured the fictional character Annie, an enslaved child, by keeping her awake at night, as she kept vigil. The Illustrated Edition of Lawrence Hill’s *The Book of Negroes*, Lorna Goodison’s *From Harvey River: A Memoir of My Mother and Her People*, and Goodison’s poetry that enhances her memoir, such as “Annie Pengelly,” are particularly relevant to my dissertation because I suggest including them in a

pedagogical approach to open students' historical consciousness. I discuss this pedagogical approach in chapter 5.

Lawrence Hill's *The Book of Negroes* and Afua Cooper's *The Hanging of Angélique* are reflected in Jessie Sagawa's and Wendy Robbins's article, "Resister and Rebel Storytellers: Slave Narratives and Neo-Slave Novels by and/or about Women Connected to Canada." Sagawa and Robbins suggest four works that are each in some way connected to Canada. They are Dionne Brand's *the full and change of the moon*; Afua Cooper's *The Hanging of Angélique*; Lawrence Hill's *The Book of Negroes*; and Mary Prince's *The History of Mary Prince, A West Indian Slave, Related by Herself*. It is a bit of a stretch to include Prince's *The History of Mary Prince*, but because Susanna Strickland (later Moodie) compiled the text, *The History of Mary Prince* is included. Susanna Strickland, newly married to John Dunbar Moodie, emigrated to Upper Canada in 1832, where she later authored *Roughing It in the Bush*, and *Life in the Clearings Versus the Bush*, accounts of life in Upper Canada. Sagawa and Robbins suggest that these four works might be included in the canon of Canadian literature. I concur, but would add a fifth: Goodison's *From Harvey River: A Memoir of My Mother and Her People*, specifically because of its rich portrayal of creolization.

Another useful category is eyewitness accounts of the treatment of slaves by people who were not enslaved. The *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, which was founded in 1825 by abolitionist Zachary Macaulay, for example, includes testimonial accounts of people who had witnessed the treatment of slaves by slave-owners. Beginning in 1828, Thomas Pringle acted as co-editor with Macaulay of this monthly publication;

Pringle refers liberally to the *Reporter* in the dual project of Prince's *The History of Mary Prince* and Warner's *Negro Slavery Described*. The *Reporter* also included activities of abolitionists in different colonies, Parliamentary procedures related to Abolition, and details of the activities of pro-slavery lobbyists. Robert Walsh's *Notices of Brazil* depicts Walsh's travels through Brazil to investigate the conditions of slaves, which he found appalling. He wrote *Notices of Brazil* in support of Abolition, and Pringle cited him extensively in his supplement to *The History of Mary Prince*. The testimonies of the four Christian ministers—Rev. Joseph Orton, Rev. John Thorpe, Rev. J. M. Trew, and Rev. W. Wright—appearing with *Warner's Negro Slavery Described*, discuss enslavement practices in Jamaica and the Cape of Good Hope. Mercenary John Gabriel Stedman's *The Narrative of a Five Years Expedition against the Revolted Negroes of Surinam* records his years in Suriname and gives eyewitness accounts of slaves, slave-owners, and maroons. Also included are detailed accounts of gruesome punishments and executions of slaves.

Illustrated material, too, has been informative. Political radical and abolitionist poet and engraver William Blake provided sixteen of the eighty illustrations for Stedman's book. Blake rendered his engravings from drawings made by Stedman. One is "Flagellation of a Female Samboe Slave," which depicts the flogging torture of a bound, enslaved, black woman. Thirteen years later in 1809, "The Barbarous Cruelty inflicted on a Negro—at Surinam," an illustration by an anonymous illustrator, appeared in the twenty-two-page pamphlet, *The Curious Adventures of Captain Stedman*. Perhaps this later illustration was a continuance of

the polemic promoted by Blake with the earlier “Flagellation of a Female Samboe Slave.” In her book chapter “Anti-Abolition Writes Obscenity: The English Vice, Transatlantic Slavery, and England’s Obscene Print Culture,” Colette Colligan, following the thought of Marcus Wood, suggests that Blake’s engraving of the flogged enslaved black woman stands on the threshold of pornography and purposefully confronts viewers with their own corruptibility (70). She notes that the image of the flogged enslaved black woman, which was introduced by abolitionists to promote their cause, also elicited a “prurient gaze” in some viewers, and that publishers of pornography appropriated this image (68-70).

Also relevant to my work is scholarship about collaborative writing, and, more specifically, about the various individual collaborators whose combined efforts produced *The History of Mary Prince*. As the title suggests, Sophie McCall’s text *First Person Plural: Aboriginal Storytelling and the Ethics of Collaboration*, focuses on Aboriginal storytelling. Specifically, McCall focuses on those of the oral and told-to traditions. Although she concentrates on Aboriginal storytelling, her ideas speak to the abolitionist team that crafted and published Prince’s *The History of Mary Prince* and Warner’s *Negro Slavery Described*. Collaborative authorship is complex, she suggests, and, in the past, it has been fraught with problems, such as the appropriation of voice, race and power issues, the binary of speaker/author, cross-cultural misunderstanding, and failure in translation. However, McCall suggests that just as the editor collects, shapes, interprets, and determines the form the narrative will take, the narrator (or storyteller) chooses, arranges, and orders her or his

memories. In every communicative event there is a gap. McCall further argues that in spite of problems inherent to collaborative authorship, the outcome of listening to many wide-ranging texts, including told-to stories, is a better understanding.

Michael Peterman's biography of Susanna Moodie, *Susanna Moodie: A Life*, proved useful in giving background information on the early period of Strickland's life, as did a compilation of Moodie's letters, *Susanna Moodie: Letters of a Lifetime*, which Peterman co-edited with Carl Ballstadt and Elizabeth Hopkins. Two letters in the collection refer to Prince.

Winfried Siemerling considers blackness in Moodie's Canadian texts in *The Black Atlantic Reconsidered: Black Canadian Writing, Cultural History, and the Presence of the Past*. Siemerling raises questions about Moodie's convictions. On one hand, Moodie strongly condemns slavery, but, on the other, her portrayal of black people "frequently also amounts to caricature and stereotype" (Siemerling 81), which is based on racial assumptions of the time. Moodie's condemnation of slavery served to "endorse British superiority" (Siemerling 82) since slavery had been abolished in the British Empire but continued unabated south of the border.

Many academic chapters and articles are devoted to *The History of Mary Prince*, and they have informed my dissertation. The University of Michigan Press's version of Prince's *The History of Mary Prince* includes Moira Ferguson's introduction, "The Voice of Freedom: Mary Prince." Working from Bermuda's archives and supplied with additional historical facts, Ferguson makes best guesses

on several dates associated with the movement of Prince between Bermuda, Grand Turk Island, Antigua, and London, England.

Sara Salih's "Introduction" to the Penguin Classic version of Prince's *The History of Mary Prince* has also been useful. Salih points out that Pringle had a clear agenda in mind and that the preface, supplement, and appendices are inseparable from Prince's slave narrative and merit equally close attention (xiii). Salih also offers good material on the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*; notes the influence of religion, especially dissenting Christian sects, on Abolition; and understands the slave narrative as propaganda.

Sandra Paquet's "The Heartbeat of a West Indian Slave: *The History of Mary Prince*" points out that as slave narrative, Prince's *The History of Mary Prince* brings together the two dimensions of personal narrative and historical project. She notes the complexity of voice and identity in Prince's *The History of Mary Prince* because of its collaborative nature, but she also argues that the blend of black vernacular and white text privileges a black voice that essentially redefines what it means in 1831 to be a West Indian in the production of literature.

Jessica L. Allen's "Pringle's Pruning of Prince: *The History of Mary Prince* and the Question of Repetition" takes another tack, suggesting that Pringle's tampering with the text "reveals the ways in which racism and imperialism influenced the narrative and how the narrative, in turn, reflects these social realities" (510). Pringle's "paratexts overwhelm Prince's story" (511), Allen suggests. His priority

was not to recover a West Indian vernacular, but to transform the oral narrative into more “palatable propaganda for white English audiences” (Allen 518).

Voice, as Kremona T. Todorova points out in “I Will Say the Truth to the English People: *The History of Mary Prince* and the Meaning of English History,” has been a matter of critical concern for many scholars working with *The History of Mary Prince*. She suggests that the genre of the oral tradition empowered Prince, who needed the assistance of Strickland to get her story to the public, thus preserving the immediacy of Prince’s life, which, in contrast to empirical facts of history, cannot be articulated by anyone except the storyteller. However, Todorova suggests that Pringle had a compulsion for the facts and that in his attempts to verify the narrative he removed its vivacity and turned it into a series of retrievable past events (290). Through his editing, Pringle attempted to control Prince, especially her sexuality (Todorova 294). The narrative was published as a history, and this is significant, Todorova suggests, because it speaks to English national identity (295). Pringle painted John Adams Wood Jr. to be the antithesis of what it meant to be English, making Wood the “other.” This was threatening at the time because it disrupted the prevailing story of English history (Todorova 300).

Sue Thomas gives a thorough analysis of the two libel cases in which Pringle was involved in her article “Pringle v. Cadell and Wood v. Pringle: The Libel Cases over *The History of Mary Prince*.” Her work is based on extensive archival research, including, for example, at the National Library of Scotland, where she was able to access correspondence from the Blackwood papers. Thomas’s work contextualizes

the Pringle v. Cadell and Wood v. Pringle court cases, explains the lead up to them, what transpired in the courtrooms, and what came about as a result. Prince testified in both court cases, and Thomas includes a good discussion of that testimony and what it revealed about Prince and the writing team. Thomas also suggests that Prince returned to Antigua after 1 August 1834.

Thomas devotes a chapter to Mary Prince in *Telling West Indian Lives: Life Narrative and the Reform of Plantation Slavery Cultures, 1804-1834*. The chapter is titled, “The History of Mary Prince, A West Indian Slave, Related by Herself.” Again, through extensive archival research, Thomas contextualizes Prince’s time in Antigua as a member of the Spring Gardens Moravian congregation in St. John’s. She points out that Prince becomes a “Moravian speaking subject through participating in speakings, attending services and classes, singing hymns, and becoming a communicant” (*Telling West Indian Lives* 125). Furthermore, Thomas points out that as a Moravian-speaking subject, Prince would have been familiar with religious and testimonial storytelling. With regard to the writing team and to Prince’s role as storyteller, Thomas writes, “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” (*Telling West Indian Lives* 129).

Michele Speitz, in “Blood Sugar, and Salt Licks,” points out that questions of authorship and veracity trouble Prince’s text, because it is a product of a collaborative team. She views Strickland as Prince’s “amanuensis” and notices that Pringle’s “anxious prefatory remarks disavow any biased editorial work” (Speitz par.

1). Significantly, Speitz brings the importance of salt to the British economy to the forefront, pointing out that abolitionists attacked sugar and rum, but left salt production by slaves out of their discourse. Speitz identifies salt as a metaphor used in the text to signify horror, trauma, and physical brutality. The salt that preserved colonists' food ruined Prince's body.

Gillian Whitlock helpfully contributes two major essays on Prince and *The History of Mary Prince*. In "Autobiography and Slavery: Believing the *History of Mary Prince*" Whitlock affirms Sara Sulari's argument put forward in Sulari's book *The Rhetoric of English India* that the rhetoric of binaries, in which ruler and ruled, imperial and subaltern subjects, are divided, needs rethinking. Whitlock suggests that there are necessary intimacies between these social groups—that there are intersections and connections between them, a multiplicity of histories—and that the work of decolonization is to recognize this inter-subjectivity in cultural formation and texts. Whitlock points out that the project of Prince's *The History of Mary Prince* displays the "meeting of two very different subjects on the borderline of identity" ("Autobiography and Slavery" 9): Prince and Strickland. As with Speitz, Whitlock sees Strickland as an amanuensis, "the conduit through which the *History* is written down"; Whitlock also views Strickland as "Prince's foil: the white English woman who is able to embody the precepts of femininity, domestic respectability and innocent womanhood . . ." ("Autobiography and Slavery" 17). In regard to Pringle, Whitlock describes his contributions—the preface and lengthy supplement—as "marginalia" ("Autobiography and Slavery" 15) and she suggests

that Pringle obtrusively remains on the “borders of the page, a *sotto voce* presence throughout” (“Autobiography and Slavery” 16). Whitlock also discusses reading the body of Mary Prince, suggesting that it was the scars on her ruined body that spoke the truth to the British public, not the veracity of her words.

Whitlock’s second essay “Volatile Subject: *The History of Mary Prince*” offers a similar argument, except that she notes that Prince’s *The History of Mary Prince*, which she believes is marked by race, not gender, because of the very significant gaps in it regarding sexuality and sexual abuse, “is the life cycle of a slave, quite archetypal and staged” (79). She suggests the collaborative team skirted Prince’s sexuality and the topic of sexual abuse because society of the day deemed such material compromising and, therefore, thought it would detract from the readership they desired.

Gaps and silences are also the focus of Christopher Carranza’s “Gaps and Silences: Unconventional Methods of ‘Speaking’ in the Narratives of Mary Prince and Harriet Jacobs.” He argues that gaps and silences can be read as a subversive discourse. Both slave narratives have coded descriptions of unmentionable truths, such as sexual abuse, so that they will not deter readers. These gaps can be a simple manoeuvring, such as leaving out or changing names, or they can be more complex allusions and euphemisms. In the case of Prince’s *The History of Mary Prince*, Carranza notes that Pringle sometimes usefully fills a gap by way of an editorial footnote. Carranza also notes that both Prince and Jacobs use the oppressor’s language to resist that oppressor.

Jenny Sharpe's "'A Very Troublesome Woman': Who Speaks for the Morality of Slave Women?" points to Prince's complex social positioning, observing that Prince was both the victim of slave-owners and active in self-manumission. In this reading, Prince may have had a sexual relationship with Captain Abbott to avoid the sexual advances of undesirable white men and to gain social advantage.¹¹ Sharpe also puts forward the notion that some of the gaps and silences in Prince's *The History of Mary Prince* were self-imposed and not imposed by the editor, Pringle. Prince, she suggests, needed to belong to the abolitionist camp, and she, therefore, hid certain circumstances of her life, especially those dealing with sexuality, that she believed would exclude her.

K. Merinda Simmons's "Beyond 'Authenticity': Migration and the Epistemology of 'Voice' in Mary Prince's 'History of Mary Prince' and Maryse Condé's 'I, Tituba,'" suggests that "authenticity" deployed in feminist and postcolonial readings of women's narratives is too narrow a construct. Simmons suggests that the subject's migrations between families and territories disallow an "authentic" diaspora experience. I point out here that in Prince's *The History of Mary Prince*, for example, Prince's recollected experiences with different slave-owners in different territories are markedly different and that the movement of slaves between owners and territories is, in itself, part of the diaspora experience. Localized stories of movement by slaves are part of the larger overarching story. Simmons also points

¹¹ Prince revealed her relationship with Captain Abbot when she was on the witness stand in the Wood v. Pringle court case. She also revealed an earlier relationship with a man called Oyksman.

out that there is often a fine point put on the “voice” in the text, because of the collaborative team.

Simmons also posits that Paquet’s notion of the unique West Indian vernacular that is attributed to Prince is limiting and not viable for speaking on behalf of the entire West Indian collective. Similarly, I point out, Prince’s dynamics of race, gender, and work, for example, are not fixed constructions, but are unique to her. One only needs to read other slave narratives to see this. Sally, Ashton Warner’s spouse, for example, was a field slave living and working on a sugar plantation on St. Vincent Island. Her experience of enslavement differs distinctly from Prince’s experience. Simmons also tells us that the historical timing of Prince’s *The History of Mary Prince* is important in its reading. It was published in 1831, approximately two and a half years prior to the passing of the Slavery Abolition Act of 1833. She suggests that the amplification of the omitted and suppressed sexuality of Prince’s narrative—sexual abuse as well as Prince’s strategic use of sexuality—allows for a more inclusive reading. Drawing on Whitlock, she says that Prince’s body, disfigured and grotesque from floggings, ultimately proves the veracity of her story.¹²

Gérard Genette’s *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation* informs my thought about *The History of Mary Prince*, Pringle’s supplement and other documents that were included with it, and the reading public. Paratext is the textual material often supplied by editors, publishers, and printers that surrounds the main text of a

¹² My archival research to authenticate and to verify Prince’s story, as well as the research of others, such as Moira Ferguson and Sue Thomas, also proves the veracity of Prince’s story.

published work. Genette writes that paratext is “a threshold . . . a vestibule that offers the world at large the possibility of either slipping inside or turning back (2). Moreover, paratext is not a sealed border. It is a peripheral zone where the paratext controls the reading of the main text.

The importance of visiting significant sites of enslavement is a concept I discuss in chapter 5. Cynthia Chambers in her article “‘The Land is the best teacher I have ever had’: places as pedagogy for precarious times,” writes that significant sites can be “like family and friends to whom we are bound by history, memory and love (34) and that visiting is a “form of renewal, a way of renewing and recreating places and beings, and their relationships to one another” (35). Sites of slavery are definitely not about love, but Chambers’s idea that we are bound to places by history and memory are relevant to my dissertation. Although Chambers writes about the Blackfoot, perhaps her insights can be carried over to sites of enslavement, such as Louisiana’s Whitney Plantation.

Louisiana’s Whitney Plantation opened its doors in 2014. The only plantation museum in Louisiana focused on the remembrance of enslavement, it exists as a curriculum of enslavement history. The Whitney Plantation tells the story of the slaves who lived and worked on the plantation, and whose labour enriched the plantation owners, the Haydel family of Germany, making their grand life possible. Featured are slave quarters, statues of enslaved children, as well as memorial walls upon which are inscribed the names of every enslaved person to have lived at the Whitney Plantation since it was founded in 1752. The Whitney Plantation website

(whitneyplantation.org) instructs readers on related topics, such as details about slave-owners, historic buildings, memorials, the slave trade in Louisiana, and the transatlantic slave trade.

Central to the memorialization of sites of enslavement is the memory of the Middle Passage. Rinaldo Walcott's "Pedagogy and Trauma: The Middle Passage, Slavery, and the Problem of Creolization" suggests that the trauma of the Middle Passage and slavery, along with the genocide of Native Americans and the thefts of their lands, is a "rupture" (135) in the story of the Americas. He draws on Paul Gilroy's argument in "Not a Story to Pass On: Living Memory and the Slave Sublime," that "[b]lack people have not adequately dealt with the traumas of slavery" (Walcott 135). Working through this trauma, Walcott suggests, might aid black peoples to understand better their current lives. Walcott, who was teaching at York University, Canada, at the time his chapter was published, reports on student responses to courses he taught, where he "stag[ed] a pedagogical encounter with neoslave narratives," (135) in the hope that the historical consciousness of his students would open and that they would be engaged. He argues that the complex concept of creolization is an issue of pedagogy, and he views the Middle Passage as the genesis of creolization in the Americas.

Roger I. Simon's *The Touch of the Past: Remembrance, Learning, and Ethics*, is comprised of a series of essays—four are co-authored—that address not only the problem of welcoming the stories of others, but also of learning about and from these stories in a way that brings "democratic transformation" (*The Touch of the*

Past 3). Following the thought of Jacques Derrida in “Intellectual courage: an interview,” Simon suggests that there is a disconnect “between the ‘idea of democracy’ and what presents itself in its name” (qtd. in *The Touch of the Past* 6). For democratic transformation to occur, what passes for democracy and its existing practices need to be continually critiqued, and the “conflictual work of repair, renewal, and invention of desirable social institutions” (*The Touch of the Past* 6) undertaken. The essays are situated in the context of historical events where violence was perpetrated on persons because of their membership in a larger group.

In an included chapter, “Remembrance as Praxis and the Ethics of the Interhuman,” which Simon co-authored with Mario Di Paolantonio and Mark Clamen, educational relationships, institutional forms, and elements of memorial practices that might sustain attentiveness to those of the past and, by this attentiveness, bring about transformation, are explored. Here they do not mean attentiveness to mere documentary evidence or a spectacle of suffering. They ask: What does it mean to be “touched” (Simon et al. 136) by the testament of another? They answer: It means taking the stories of others seriously and accepting them as “matters of counsel” (Simon et al. 137). However, they note that there is an inability to hear these stories. Also, that there is an inability to be transformed by them, and this is caused by one’s historical condition, which may be worsened by the media’s bombardment of information, after which little is still known. To change this, one needs to learn how to “live with ghosts,” (Simon et al. 138) especially the singular lives of individuals, rather than the generalized histories of mass violence. Simon, Di

Paolantonio, and Clamen staged a learning practice termed historiographic poetics. This is a practice of “remembrance-as-learning” (Simon et al. 147), which is a group process open to ongoing conversation. Testimonies from the past were encountered—diaries, poems, songs, art, film, or some other form. The hope of the project was critical learning and the on-going production of radical historical consciousness.

Simon’s text *A Pedagogy of Witnessing* extends his concerns to curation and curatorial judgment in creating an exhibit’s spatial and temporal dimensions through a *mise-en-scène* (7). *Mise-en-scène* is the design aspects of a production through which a story is told. Concerned with the curation of difficult knowledge, Simon compares and contrasts two divergent exhibitions of the Allen and Littlefield collection of lynching photographs taken between 1870 and 1960 in the United States of America. These exhibitions were held at the Andy Warhol Museum and the Chicago Historical Society. Although based on the same perpetrator photographs, curatorial decisions resulted in major differences in how the exhibitions were staged and in responses from the public. Simon concludes that curating difficult knowledge “must ultimately be concerned with the question of how exhibitions might be presented so as to serve a transitive function that would open up an indeterminate reconsideration of the force of history in social life” (*A Pedagogy of Witnessing* 219).

Ann Chinnery, in her article “‘What Good Does All This Remembering Do, Anyway?’ On Historical Consciousness and the Responsibility of Memory,” questions Simon’s focus on using testaments in bringing about transformative historical

consciousness in individuals. She suggests that testimony may not be as powerful an address as it once was because those born between the mid-1970s and the late 1990s grew up watching television shows such as *Oprah* and *Dr. Phil*, and they may have become immune to the power of testimony. She bases this on her own teaching at Simon Fraser University, where her students did not respond to their reading of Eden Robinson's counter-novel *Monkey Beach* as she had hoped they would.

Chinnery suggests that the power of critical historical consciousness may not rest only on testimony and that historical policy documents are also effective in a pedagogical approach to open historical consciousness. *Monkey Beach*, which is set a few hundred miles north of Vancouver, is about residential schools and how they continue to have a devastating effect on Aboriginal families, decades after their doors were finally closed.

Pascale R. Bos's "Empathy, Sympathy, Simulation?: Resisting a Holocaust Pedagogy of Identification" also finds historical documents useful in attempting to open and engage her students' historical consciousness. Bos, who teaches courses about the Holocaust at American universities, follows Henson Bratu's thought that Holocaust studies may be a "screen memory" for atrocities closer to home (411). A screen memory is a recollection of one event that unconsciously represses the recollection of another associated event. Perhaps the American nation is fascinated with the Holocaust because it is struggling to find a way to memorialize traumas closer to home—the Middle Passage, race relations, and the treatment of Aboriginal peoples.

Toby Daspit, in “Moving In and Out of Shadows: Confronting Specters of Slavery in a High School African American Studies Program,” revisits his time as a white teacher in charge of the first African American program of its type in Louisiana authorized by the Louisiana School Board of Elementary and Secondary Education. The program, African American Studies: Oral Traditions of the African American Community in Iberia Parish, was taught at Shadows-on-the-Teche, a National Trust for Historic Preservation museum and a former plantation home. The Shadows was the home of the Weeks, who had made a fortune in sugar. Daspit taught the course in 1992. The article is about being a Southern white teacher and researcher and the problematic dynamics of working with a primarily African American student body on the topic of slave history.

Peter Seixas and Tom Morton, both historians and educators, add another dimension to pedagogical approaches in critical learning and the opening of historical consciousness. Their book, *The Big Six Historical Concepts*, is a complete framework for teaching historical thinking—or for developing competencies that enable individuals to think like historians. The hope is that the ability to think historically will lead to the opening of historical consciousness. The six historical thinking concepts are designed to be integrated into all aspects of teaching—from writing objectives, to deciding on strategies, and to assessment. Seixas and Morton’s six historical thinking concepts are procedural, interrelated, and they “function as problems, tensions, or difficulties that demand comprehension, negotiation and, ultimately, an accommodation that is never a complete solution” (Seixas and Morton

5). The six historical thinking concepts are given the following designations: Historical Significance, Evidence, Continuity and Change, Cause and Consequence, Historical Perspective, and The Ethical Dimension. With permission from Peter Seixas, I have utilized these six historical thinking concepts in 5.4 A Suggested Outline of a Program of Study about Mary Prince using maryprince.org. They also appear on maryprince.org under the Historical Concepts tab.

Considering the food garden as a metaphor for creolization, I look at Prince's work as a labourer in the food gardens and provision grounds of her slave-owners. Sadly, the horrific working conditions she and other slaves endured, have not ceased to exist in 2017. Eric Schlosser's *Fast Food Nation: The Dark Side of the American Meal* attests to this. His chapter "The Most Dangerous Job" looks at American slaughterhouses and meat packing plants, where a large portion of the workers are illegal immigrants who earn a third of what regular production workers earn (176). Working with heavy equipment and sharp blades, slaughterhouse and meat packing workers often are severely injured while on the job. Large companies exploit their labour and their health.

Finally, the Food Empowerment Project (F. E. P.), a non-profit organization based in the United States of America, connects issues of justice for workers in the food industry, including slaughterhouse workers and enslaved children, with consumers' food choices, justice, health, and the environment. The F. E. P. website, found at foodispower.org, includes several well-researched essays regarding food justice that extend beyond the borders of the United States to territories and

countries that produce food for the consumption of Americans and other nations, including Canada and Bermuda. “Child Labour and Slavery in the Chocolate Industry” is one such essay. “Peeling Back the Truth on Bananas” is another. The exploitative labour practices Prince remembers performing for her slave-owners, both in salt ponds, and in provision grounds, still exists today. The work of Abolition continues, and, I suggest, that political campaigns such as World Vision’s NO CHILD FOR SALE and the Free the Slaves campaigns, and the scholarly activism of Historians Against Slavery, may be understood as modern day Abolition activities.

The resources covered in the Overview—from monographs, chapters, and journal articles, to autobiographical survivor accounts, fictionalized accounts, and websites—together create a textual and visual landscape in which this PhD project is situated. Although historical research drives my project, the outcomes have moved beyond history’s borders. In large part, this is due to the broad range of textual resources I read as part of my PhD program.

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2. Mary Prince: Rebel, Abolitionist, Storyteller

I hope they will never leave off to pray God, and call loud to the great King of England, till all the poor blacks be given free, and slavery done up for evermore.

Mary Prince, 1831

2.1 Introduction

Mary Prince is the storyteller of *The History of Mary Prince, A West Indian Slave, Related by Herself*. She was born in 1787 or 1788 in Bermuda, and was recognized as a Bermudian National Hero in 2012. The date and location of her death is unknown, but scholars assume it to be London, England, during or after 1833, because historical records last place her there in that year. However, my research indicates that Prince may have returned to Antigua in the fall of 1833. After the passing of the Slavery Abolition Act, Prince could return to the West Indies and remain free. I discuss this in more detail in chapter 3. Prince is the first known freed black woman from the West Indies to recount a slave narrative, and she is understood to have been a rebel, an abolitionist, and a member of a successful abolitionist collaborative writing team that brought her story, *The History of Mary Prince*, to print in 1831.

In late 1830 and early 1831, Prince told her story to Susanna Strickland (later Moodie) who compiled it with the editorial assistance of Thomas Pringle, the paid secretary of London's Anti-Slavery Society. The published work also included contributions on the Antigua section from abolitionist pamphleteer Joseph Phillips, who had lived and worked in Antigua for over twenty years. *The History of Mary*

Prince was printed three times in 1831. Prince's narrative was a significant part of a successful abolitionist strategy that moved the British Parliament to pass the Slavery Abolition Act, which received Royal Assent 28 August 1833, and took effect 1 August 1834. The Act included provision for a six-year apprenticeship program, whereby those who had been slaves previously had to continue working for the men and women who had enslaved them. This was contested with the result of granting full emancipation 1 August 1838, two years before schedule.

One historical view of Bermudian enslavement is that it was benign in comparison to other British colonies and to the American mainland. Forty years ago, James Smith suggested Bermudian enslavement was "characterized by mildness and leniency" (73). Two decades later, Virginia Bernhard expanded on this idea, suggesting that the close living proximity of slave and slave-owner "broadened the perimeters of acceptable conduct" between them (234). Quito Swan contests this, explaining that the close living proximity between blacks and whites in Bermuda incorrectly implied "an unprecedented intimacy that led masters to treat enslaved persons like family members" (80). Although slaves and slave-owners lived in close proximity, it did not mean all slave-owners treated their slaves as family members.

Michael Jarvis adds "[w]e must temper our inclination to describe the relationship between white and black Bermudians in terms of abstract roles like master and slave because within Bermuda's intensely interracial maritime society, highly complex personal relations developed between white and black members of households over time" (268). Jarvis implies that a complex reading of the

relationships between black and white household members shows a variety of possible associations.

Prince's narrative supports Jarvis's view. Prince relates a relatively happy childhood whilst living with Betsey and Sarah Williams. "This was the happiest period of my life," (57) Prince relates, but then qualifies her statement with "[because] I was too young to understand rightly my condition as a slave" (57). Even though Prince's childhood was "happy," as an adolescent girl of twelve years old she was sold at auction, and was sold twice more as a mature woman. She was flogged, sexually abused, and she witnessed the murders of two enslaved women, Hetty and Sally, all at the hands of Bermudian slave-owners. Of her fourth slave-owner, Robert Darrell, she relates: "[n]othing could touch his hard heart—neither sighs, nor tears, nor streaming blood; he was deaf to our cries, and careless of our sufferings" (72). It may be that Prince was lucky to have been the slave of Betsey Williams when she was a child, and that her terrible experiences of later years were more typical of enslavement in Bermuda.

Rebecca Peniston's 1813 will provides a glimpse into where the idea of Bermudian benign enslavement may have originated. In her will, she provided that three of her slaves, Beck, Kate and Fanny were to be set free. She specified that Beck, who was "very sickly and infirm, may have her life in the room she now occupies or one as comfortable and have the attendance of her daughter Dinah" (Trimingham 13-14). Peniston's intention was that upon her death women who had worked in her

household would be freed and that accommodation and care for the “sickly and infirm” Beck would continue.

A second example of a slave-owner who, upon his death, set slaves free is Samuel Tatum. His will also shows that slaves were assets that a slave-owner might pass on to succeeding generations. Although in his will he gave his two elderly slaves Moll and “old” Mary their liberty, he also bequeathed four other slaves, Kitt, Daniel, Marote, and Mary to his children and grandchildren (Tatem 211-212). These four continued on as enslaved persons with the next two generations of his family.

A final example is Violet Richardson who was freed in 1831, the same year Prince’s *The History of Mary Prince* was first published. Her husband Stephen Benjamin Richardson purchased her for £30 Bermudian currency from her slave-owner, William Hugh Peniston (Harris 63). A free black man, her husband Stephen was “born a slave at St. George’s in 1800, but had obtained his freedom sometime before 1830” (Harris 63). Peniston manumitted Violet, but not without monetary compensation.

It is important to tell the whole story, not just a portion of it. Even the best treated slaves were still just that, enslaved. Although such narratives might support perspectives of so-called “benign” enslavement, the details also suggest a much more complex reading. For example, laws for crime and punishment also demonstrate that Bermudian enslavement was not benign. The Bermuda Acts, 1704-94, which were in place when Prince was a child, attest to this. Three of the several laws that are listed are as follows:

[S]laves banished from the Island but returning of their own will would suffer death; male slaves having bastards by white women would be whipped by the hangman under the gallows; and slaves convicted of stealing oranges, pineapples, or other fruit would be severely whipped on the naked back throughout the parish where the crime took place. Three lashes, well laid on, were to be delivered at every 30 paces. (Packwood 149-150)

As well, slaves undertook conspiracies and rebellious plots to overthrow their slave-owners, showing that they were not content with their status (Packwood 162).

The purpose of this chapter is to give an authoritative and informed reading of Prince's *The History of Mary Prince* based on traditional sources but also on my own findings from the Government of Bermuda Archives; the Moravian Archives in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania; the Slave Registers of former British Colonial Dependencies, 1813-1834, for both Antigua and the Bahamas; from stories shared with me in casual happenstance conversations by knowledgeable elders, which I later corroborated through archival investigations; and from research undertaken by scholars working with both the National Museum of Bermuda and the Bermuda National Trust. My version broadens the scope of Prince's story, illuminating the circumstances of her life and the lives of her family and of other slaves.

2.2 Mary's Life

The History of Mary Prince broadens the story of Bermudian enslavement. Prince was sold at public auction for £57 Bermudian currency when she was twelve years old. Prince also had five slave-owners in her lifetime, and she was treated

differently in each of the households in which she lived. As an adolescent and as an adult, she suffered greatly. According to Swan, her “painful life of violence, physical and sexual abuse dispels the assertion that whites treated enslaved blacks as family members” (80).

Prince’s five slave-owners were all Bermudians, although not all of them lived in Bermuda. When she was an infant, Mr. Charles Myners (Minors)¹³ owned both Prince and her mother, but brother slave-owners Francis and Daniel Trimmingham (Trimingham) owned her father, a man named Prince, who worked for them in Crow Lane, Bermuda, as a sawyer.¹⁴ When “old” Mr. Minors died, Mary Prince and her mother were sold to “old” Captain Darrel (Darrell).¹⁵ He gave them as a gift to his granddaughter Betsey Williams. Mary Prince was a playmate for Betsey and her mother worked as a household slave.

When she had just turned twelve years old, Prince was hired out to work for Mrs. Pruden (Prudden).¹⁶ Her employment was to care for the baby, Daniel. His

¹³ I am using parenthetical text to indicate the spellings of proper nouns appearing in *The History of Mary Prince* as they are written in archival documents. I will do this the first time the proper noun is used in my dissertation. After that I will use the archival spelling of the proper noun whenever it appears, unless it is part of a quotation. It seems that Susanna Strickland wrote down what she heard Prince say, but did not check for accuracy in regard to the spelling of these places and names.

¹⁴ Although Prince tells us in her narrative that a man called Mr. Trimmingham owned her father Prince, archival records show that the brother entrepreneurs Francis and Daniel Trimmingham owned him. See note 17.

¹⁵ When Mary Prince uses the term “old” she means the senior generation of a family when fathers and sons, and mothers and daughters, shared the same names.

¹⁶ The Bermuda National Trust has identified the Prudden house Mary Prince worked in as a child. Privately owned, it is now called Murrell’s Vale. More can be read about this house here: White, David L. *Bermuda’s Architectural Heritage: Paget*.

sister, Fanny, taught Prince the alphabet and how to spell many small words. Not long after this, Betsey's mother, Sarah Williams, died, and, against Betsey's wishes, Mary and her two younger sisters, Hannah and Dinah, were sold. Betsey's father, Captain John Williams, wished to remarry, and he sold the three sisters to raise money for the wedding (Prince 60). Prince recollects having two younger brothers who were not sold that day. In a footnote appended to Prince's narrative, its editor, Thomas Pringle, indicates that Prince eventually had seven brothers and three sisters (in Prince 76).

Mary Prince and her sisters were sold by auction at "Hamble Town" (Hamilton), Bermuda. Prince was bought for £57 Bermudian currency by Captain I—, who has since been identified as Captain John Ingham (Ferguson 4-5). At the time, this was about £38 sterling, a large sum of money to be paid for so young a slave.¹⁷

Bermuda National Trust: Bermuda, 2010. 11-15. I also include information in chapter 3.

¹⁷ The Bermuda Parish Assessments of the time verify the unusually large sum paid for twelve-year-old Mary Prince. For example, the 13 August 1806 Paget Vestry Assessments for the two brother proprietors and slave-owners Francis and Daniel Trimingham, list and value Mary Prince's father Prince separately. Each enters the following in the Paget Parish book: "1/2 Prince 50". This indicates that the brothers shared ownership of Mary Prince's father and that his total value was £100 Bermudian currency. Thya, Jobson, and Will are similarly shared by the Trimingham brothers and valued at £100 Bermudian currency. This is the highest figure given for the value of a male slave. The highest given for a female slave is £60 Bermudian currency. Daniel Trimingham lists and values Venus, Pamela and Moll at £60 Bermudian currency each; Francis Trimingham similarly lists and values Bell and Clarifsa. Daniel Trimingham values four unnamed children at £80 Bermudian currency, or £20 each. A young child, Jemmy, is valued at £5 by Francis Trimingham. Other slaves are listed and, depending on their gender and age, their values fall between that of a child, £5 Bermudian currency, and either £100 for a man, or £60 for a woman.

Captain Ingham and his wife lived in Pembroke Parish, in a house “built at the bottom of a very high hill” (Prince 64).¹⁸ They proved to be cruel taskmasters, which incited Prince’s rebelliousness. Mrs. Ingham, Prince recalls, “caused her to know the exact difference between the smart of the rope, the cart-whip, and the cow-skin, when applied to my naked body with her own cruel hand” (66). Because of a broken earthen jar for which she was held responsible, Captain Ingham, Prince recollects, “tied me up upon a ladder, and gave me a hundred lashes with his own hand” (68). When a cow came loose and ate a sweet potato slip, she relates, “taking off his heavy boot, he struck me such a severe blow in the small of my back, that I shrieked with agony and thought I was killed” (69). The cruelty Prince experienced at the hands of the Captain and his wife initiated her running away.

Prince ran to her mother who was living close by at slave-owner Richard Darrell’s home.¹⁹ Richard Darrell was the son of “old” George Darrell who had bought Mary Prince and her mother when “old” Mr. Minors died. He was the half-brother of Sarah Williams and, therefore, the uncle of Betsey Williams. The circle of slave-owner relations is even tighter because Richard Darrell’s full-sister Catherine Trimmingham, who was also the half-sister of Sarah Williams, and, therefore, the aunt

¹⁸ The Bermuda National Trust has identified the Ingham house Mary Prince lived in as an adolescent. Owned by the Trust, it is currently let out on a 99-year lease. More can be read about the house here: Ground, Dace McCoy. *Held in Trust, For Everyone, Forever*. Bermuda National Trust: Bermuda, 2008. 40-41. I also include information in chapter 3.

¹⁹ Richard Darrell purchased Cavendish, a house in Devonshire Parish situated on ten and a half acres, in 1797 (“Journal of J. H. Darrell” 130). The Devonshire Parish Records, 1798-1839, place him there before 1 July 1800. Therefore, when Mary Prince ran away, she ran to Cavendish. See chapter 3.

of Betsey Williams, was the wife of Daniel Trimingham (“Journal of J. H. Darrell” 131-132).²⁰

At Richard Darrell’s, Prince’s mother hid her in a “hole in the rocks” and brought her food at night (Prince 70). When Mary’s father Prince found out, he took her back to the Ingham farm but admonished Captain Ingham, saying, “The sight of her wounds has nearly broke [my heart]. – I entreat you, for the love of God, to forgive her for running away, and that you will be a kind master to her in the future” (Prince 70). Mary also “took courage” (70) saying, “that I could stand the floggings no longer; that I was weary of my life, and therefore I had run away to my mother; but mothers could only weep over their children, they could not save them from cruel masters—from the whip, the rope, and the cow-skin” (70). The admonishment was partially effective, for Captain Ingham did not beat her that day. However, a few years later, he sold her.

When she was about fourteen or fifteen, Captain Ingham put Prince on a ship bound for Grand Turk Island. He had sold her to Mr. D—, whose son was named Dickey. The vendue (auction) master put Prince up on the Grand Turk auction block to find out how much she was worth: She was valued at £100 Bermudian currency, again a large sum for a female slave at this time. An 1807 letter from William Astwood penned in Bermuda to his uncle Captain John Lightbourn living on Grand Turk confirms this. He discusses the purchase of a different female slave, saying she

²⁰ This is the Daniel Trimingham previously mentioned in note 14. See chapter 3 for more about the Darrell family.

has “every good quality, but the price Enormous, say one Hundred Pounds” (Butz 27).²¹

Thomas Pringle concealed the identity of Mr. D—, as he had with Captain Ingham, who was recorded in the slave narrative as Captain I—. This was because these two men, along with Captain Ingham’s wife, Mary Spencer Ingham (*née* Albouy), whose identity was also concealed, displayed a “conduct of peculiar atrocity” (Pringle, preface 56). Furthermore, Pringle writes that, though they were deceased by the time of the 1831 publication of *The History of Mary Prince*, by revealing their identities, “it might deeply lacerate the feelings of their surviving and perhaps innocent relatives” (Pringle, preface 56). Perhaps he may have also acted to protect Prince, the compiler of the project Susanna Strickland (whose identity he also concealed), and himself from court action and/or from possible verbal, print, or

²¹ In the *Letter Book of Captain John Lightbourn Sr. and William Astwood*, the 27 May 1807 letter penned in Bermuda by Astwood to his uncle Captain Lightbourn residing in Grand Turk is revealing. Astwood writes that Aunt Lightbourn (the wife of Captain Lightbourn) “is in great need of a wench, as she at present has more fatigue on her than she is able to bear. She is about buying a wench of Capt. Benjamin Pitt, which is one that has every good quality, but the price is Enormous, say one Hundred Pounds, which sum he can have for her from two People” (Butz 27). Therefore, £100 Bermudian currency was a large sum for a female slave—one with every good quality—at this time. Astwood reports that the “Enormous” sum was paid, because in a subsequent letter to Lightbourn, dated 17 July 1807, he relates that “I mentioned to you a short time past that Aunt Lightbourn, was about purchasing a Negro Woman, from Capt. Benjamin Pitt. She accordingly a few days past did so, and agreeable to her request, I this day paid One Hundred Pounds, which amount I debited to you” (Butz 28). It may be that large sums were paid for slaves at this time because the termination of the British arm of the transatlantic slave trade brought with it a halt to easy access to captive Africans. With its closing, British colonial slave-owners had to rely on colonial slaves to populate their houses, plantations, and other businesses. Women may have been especially costly because it was through their reproductive systems that slave-owners depended on future generations of slaves. I discuss this in greater detail in chapter 4.

physical attacks by the living descendants of these three slave-owners. His approach may have been warranted because John Adams Wood Jr. sued him for libel in 1833. It may also be that by concealing their names, Pringle implied that any slave-owner could be implicated in this type of foul treatment of the enslaved.

I lived in the Turks and Caicos Islands in 2005-2009, including six months on Grand Turk Island. Oral tradition shared with me by knowledgeable elders there prompted me to conduct an archival search, which corroborated what they had told me—that Robert Darrell was the Mr. D— of Prince’s story. Listings in the 1822, 1825, 1828, and 1831 Slave Registers of former British Colonial Dependencies for the Bahamas confirm that Mr. D— is Robert Darrell (The National Archives of the United Kingdom (TNA): T/71 456, no. 886; T/71 457 no. 379; T/71 458 no. 263; and T/71 459, no. 285). His son, Richard, is also listed—Dickey being an abbreviated form of Richard. No other father and son proprietors whose surname begins with the letter “D” are recorded in these Slave Registers. Moreover, although this Richard (Dickey) is not the same person as the man who owned Mary Prince’s mother, the Darrell family played a large role in Mary’s life from the day she was purchased by “old” George Darrell when she was an infant.

Rebellious slaves were often split from their families and sold out of the colony as punishment, and this may be what happened to Prince. On Grand Turk Island, she continued to be treated cruelly. She had hoped, she recollects, “when I left Capt. I—, that I should have been better off, but I found it was but going from one butcher to another” (72). She recalls that Robert Darrell “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" (72-73).

On Grand Turk, Prince worked in very harsh conditions as a member of a gang of salt pond slaves, making valuable solar-evaporated salt for their slave-owner Robert Darrell. She relates that, "[o]ur feet and legs, from standing in the salt water for so many hours, soon became full of dreadful boils, which eat down in some cases to the very bone" (72). Here, Prince and other slaves were locked up at night in a long shed so that they would not escape; absconding to nearby Haiti by stolen boat had become a common occurrence.²² Haiti was a new state formed in 1804 at the conclusion of the Haitian Revolution. The Haitian Revolution was a successful slave revolt.

When Prince was twenty-four or twenty-five in approximately 1812, Robert Darrell returned to Bermuda, taking her with him.²³ She recalls that 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 than all the licks. Sometimes when he called me to wash him I would not come, my eyes were so full of shame" (Prince 78). This speaks of sexual abuse on the part of Robert Darrell. Back in Bermuda, she was able to stand up to him, telling him that "he was a very indecent man—very spiteful and too

²² See page 24 of this chapter for details of large numbers of Grand Turk Island, Salt Cay, and North Caicos slaves escaping to Haiti.

²³ After Prince left Grand Turk, she was told by slaves who had also returned to Bermuda but after her, that a "flood came down and washed away many houses, filled the place with sand, and overflowed the ponds" (Prince 77). This must be the Great August Hurricane of 1813, which struck the island on 22 August of that year. See chapter 3.

indecent; with no shame for his servants, no shame for his own flesh" (78).²⁴ She left the house, went to the neighbours', and "cried until the next morning" (78). As a result of her courage in confronting Robert Darrell, and probable pressure from the neighbours, he put her out to work at Cedar Hills (Cedar Hill), but all the money she earned went back to him. Prince recollects, "I had plenty of work to do there—plenty of washing; but yet I made myself pretty comfortable" (78).²⁵

After working at Cedar Hill for approximately two years, Prince learned that Mr. John Adams Wood Jr. was going to Antigua; she also wished to go there. She recollects, "I did not wish to be any longer the slave of my indecent master" (78), so she asked Robert Darrell to let her go "in Mr. Wood's service" (78). Subsequently, Robert Darrell sent her to Antigua with her fifth and last slave-owner John Adams Wood Jr. Once there, Wood purchased her for £100 Bermudian currency. Therefore, Robert Darrell recovered his initial "investment" in Mary Prince, not to mention all the money he earned from her labour both in the salt ponds of Grand Turk and at Cedar Hill.

In Antigua, Prince worked for Wood and his wife, Margaret Gilbert Wood (*née* Albouy), as a household slave. She preferred her name Mary Prince (as evidenced by

²⁴ Prince's conversion to the Moravian faith when she was in Antigua, 1815-1828, may have influenced her memories of the "indecency" and "shame" she recalls when "washing" Robert Darrell.

²⁵ A house in Warwick Parish, Bermuda, that stood during Mary Prince's lifetime, but since has been turned into condo units, is called Cedar Hill, not "Hills." This may be an instance of error by the compiler Susanna Strickland. See chapter 3.

the title of her slave narrative); however, the Wood family referred to her as Molly.²⁶ She appears in the Slave Registers of former British Colonial Dependencies for Antigua in the 1817, 1821, 1824, and 1828 registers as “Molly Wood,” where she is designated as “black” (TNA: T/71 244 and T71/247-249).²⁷

Increasingly, Prince displayed rebelliousness and was punished for it. Once, when Mr. Wood was angry with Prince, she recalls that he gave her a note, “and bade me go and look for an owner” (81). She went to Adam White, a free black man and a cooper, who immediately went to Mr. Wood to make the purchase, but he was informed that she was not for sale. The next day, Mr. Wood whipped her (Prince 81). She fought over a pig with another slave woman, and Mrs. Wood sent her to the magistrate. There she was put in the Cage overnight, “and the next morning flogged, by the magistrate’s order, at her desire” (Prince 80). Yet when Justice Dyatt heard the case, he said Prince was in the right and ordered the pig returned.

Prince’s rebelliousness continued to escalate. Interested in the Moravian church and its teachings, she relates that “[w]hen I carried the children their lunch at school, I ran round and went to hear the teachers” (83). Disobeying her slave-owners, she had her name put down in the Spring Gardens Moravian missionaries’ book, thus joining the congregation. They taught Prince to read and to

²⁶ Perhaps the Woods called Mary Prince Molly because their daughter’s name was also Mary. However, previous slave-owners may have given her this appellation, and for the same reason. Mrs. Ingham’s name was Mary, as was the name of Robert Darrell’s wife, and a daughter.

²⁷ In the Slave Registers, slave-owners also used “coloured” and “mulatto” to distinguish slaves. In some Slave Registers, such as the Bahamas, a further category was added that distinguished “African” slaves from “Creole” slaves.

write, and, eventually, she was admitted a candidate for the Holy Communion (Prince 83). Also, without permission of the Woods, she married Daniel James, a free black man.²⁸ When Mr. Wood heard of the marriage, he “flew into a great rage” (Prince 84). Mrs. Wood was even more vexed: “She could not forgive me for getting married, but stirred up Mr. Wood to flog me dreadfully with his horse-whip” (Prince 85).

Then, in either late July or August 1828, when Prince was forty and suffering from rheumatism, the Woods took her to London, England, where she was to work as a nanny to their son. She recollects “I was willing to come to England: I thought that by going there I should probably be cured of my rheumatism, and should return with my master and mistress, quite well, to my husband” (86). As Prince recalls, her husband Daniel “was willing for me to come away, for he had heard that my master would set me free,—and I also hoped this might be true; but it was all a false report” (86).²⁹ Once in London, Prince was also expected to do household work, such as laundry at a London washhouse.

²⁸ When she married Daniel James in 1826, Prince took his last name and was thereafter (sometimes) known as Mary James. The 24 June 1829 petition to British Parliament on her behalf demonstrates this. It begins thusly: “A Petition of Mary Prince or James, commonly called Molly Wood, was presented and read (“Mary Prince’s Petition,” 127-128).

²⁹ The Antiguan slave Grace Jones had been taken to London by her slave-owner Mrs. Allen in 1822. In 1825, two years after Jones’s return to Antigua in 1823, a customs officer seized her on the pretense that she had been illegally imported. Jones had been registered in 1817 in the Slave Registers for Antigua, but because no official certificate had been procured to take her to London, or to return her to Antigua, she was deemed a free British subject held in slavery. A court case ensued that eventually arrived at the High Court of Admiralty and was heard by Lord Stowell. He ruled that temporary residence in England without manumission only

In London, Prince walked out the Woods' door into the streets a free woman. As she was no longer owned by Wood, he could not list her in the 1832 Slave Registers of former British Colonial Dependencies for Antigua as his property, but his declaration says "and except Molly who accompanied me to England, and there quitted my service" (TNA: T/71 250).

2.3 Abolition and Rebellion

Walking out that door was Prince's penultimate act of rebellion. Her final act was seeing her story put into print, thereby turning the tables on her slave-owners. However, this begs the question: *How was she able to walk out the Woods' door to freedom?* The following is a brief history of abolitionist and rebellious events, which led up to Prince's self-manumission.

When Prince walked out the Woods' door, slavery was not supported by the British legal system, although it was still sanctioned in Britain's colonies. English Language Anti-Slavery, which had its first glimmerings in the late 1600s, had

suspended slavery and that upon return to a place where slavery was legal a slave without manumission would be re-enslaved. The case concluded in 1827, and the ruling was not what abolitionists had hoped for. Less than a year later, Mary Prince sailed for England with the hope of freedom. Eventually, she made her way to the offices of the London Anti-Slavery Society where she asked, "if they could do anything to get me my freedom, and send me back to the West Indies" (Prince 91). She was taken to a lawyer, George Stephen, "who examined very strictly into my case; but told me that the laws of England could do nothing to make me free in Antigua" (Prince 91). Prior to leaving Antigua for England, Mary Prince and her husband Daniel James apparently were naïve of the laws governing freedom and slaves. More information about Grace Jones can be found here: Dyde, Brian. *A History of Antigua: The Unsuspected Isle*. London: MacMillan Education Ltd., 2000. 120-121.

become organized by the 1770s, the decade of Prince's birth.³⁰ Several enormous strides had been made, most significantly Justice Lord Mansfield's ruling in the 1772 *Somerset v. Steuart* case, which severely curtailed the powers of colonial slave-owners who brought enslaved men and women to Britain, and the *Act for the Abolition of the Slave Trade* that was passed by British Parliament 25 March 1807. This Act abolished the slave trade in the British Empire, but it did not abolish slavery itself. Finally, on 28 August 1833, the *Slavery Abolition Act* was enacted. It came into effect in the overseas territories almost a year later on 1 August 1834. The Act's third section made provision for slaves who had been in Britain or Ireland. Slaves who had been in Britain or Ireland were freed as of 28 August 1833.

The beginnings of the *Somerset v. Steuart* case go back to 1765 when Granville Sharp, who afterwards became a major proponent of the Anti-Slavery movement, found a gravely injured young black man, Jonathan Strong, on the doorstep of his brother William's medical practice. Two years later, when Strong was fully recovered and working as a free man, his former owner, David Lisle, sought to reclaim him and to ship him to the West Indies against his will. Because of this incident, Sharp realized that slave-owners in Britain possessed unrestricted power that was a potential threat to British liberties. Sharp's worry was that West Indian slaveholding might gain a foothold in Britain (Brown 93).

Five years later, the *Somerset v. Steuart* case brought these issues to a head. James Somerset, a slave owned by Charles Steuart, landed with Steuart on British

³⁰ English Language Anti-Slavery refers to the English-speaking Abolitionist movement, which crossed oceans, nations, and territories.

soil in November 1769. A few days later, Somerset attempted to escape but was captured and imprisoned on a ship bound for Jamaica. Three persons came forward, claiming to be Somerset's godparents and demanding his freedom, and legal action was sought.

Justice Lord Mansfield heard the case in February 1772, with Sharp as Somerset's chief backer. Mansfield's ruling, a milestone on the road to Abolition, implied that slavery was not legal in England and Wales, but remained legal in the rest of the Empire. Subsequently, "[t]he Somerset case led directly to a series of court cases in Scotland, which concluded in a 1778 ban on slaveholding in North Briton" (Brown 99). Thus, "[t]he Somerset case helped establish the British Isles, in the minds of the British, as a unique asylum for liberty" (Brown 101). This meant that, in 1828, when Prince walked out the Woods' door, she was free in England, but she was not free in the West Indies, nor was she free in Bermuda.

Over a hundred years earlier, in the late 1600s, a handful of travelling British clerics found slaves in appalling circumstances both on mainland America and in the West Indies, and they reported these findings to congregations in England. Reverend Morgan Godwin, for example, travelled to Virginia in 1667 expecting to teach Christianity to the slaves there, but colonial settlers repelled him, informing him that the enslaved were "beasts of burden" (Brown 69). Subsequently, Godwin went to Barbados where he learned that slave-owners resorted to "castration, amputation, maiming, and decapitation as a means to control their slaves, and [that] there was a law prohibiting Quakers from converting their slaves to Christianity" (Brown 69).

Upon his return to England, “enraged against a colonial ethos that made profit the ‘chief Diety,’” (Brown 69) Godwin wrote scathingly about his experiences and preached regularly in London and its near vicinity on “England’s obligation to convert Africans to Christianity and to treat them with humanity” (Brown 70).

However, proponents of anti-slavery eventually made gains in the American colonies. For example, slaveholding became a major topic of debate for American Quakers. They distanced themselves from slave traders and discouraged slaveholding within the sect. In the 1760s, Quakers located in communities along the Delaware River engaged in promoting their ideas to the broader public for the reformation of society (Brown 99).

Anthony Benezet and several other Quakers were attracted to a 1769 pamphlet published by Granville Sharp that challenged slaveholding in Britain. They began a transatlantic correspondence in which they shared ideas and information on the subject of abolitionism, which became essential to the success of anti-slavery campaigns on both sides of the Atlantic, both prior to the American War of Independence and afterwards.

The push for abolition began in earnest on 22 May 1787, when the all-male, twelve-member London Abolition Committee, also called the Society for Effecting the Abolition of the Slave Trade, was formed (Jennings 35). The Committee, whose members hailed from two Protestant Christian sects, exemplified the non-denominational nature of abolitionism: nine Quakers, and three Evangelical Anglicans (Jennings 35). Although all the founding members were important to the

Committee's ultimate success, three individuals are particularly memorable: a Quaker, James Phillips, and two Evangelical Anglicans: Thomas Clarkson and Granville Sharp.

The work of James Phillips, a publisher, was vital to communications. He published tens of thousands of copies of various abolitionist pamphlets throughout the years, many of which found their way across the Atlantic to Anthony Benezet and others in the United States. Thomas Clarkson was often on the campaign trail to abolish slavery. Given the task of collecting information to support the abolition of the slave trade, his work included interviewing thousands of sailors and obtaining physical evidence of the trade, such as equipment used to restrain captives on slave-ships.³¹ Granville Sharp, a lawyer, was Chair, and the Committee's official correspondence bore his name.³²

English Language Anti-Slavery was a movement of diverse, but related, and coordinated, activism. It included social and monetary contributions of wealthy influential women, some aristocratic, who offered patronage, including Elizabeth Bouverie. Bouverie was a charitable recluse who owned the Barham Court estate at Teston (Brown 342-343). Barham Court is where Thomas Clarkson and William Wilberforce often met with like-minded individuals (Brown 342). However, it was

³¹ More information about Thomas Clarkson's campaign can be found in Marcus Rediker's *The Slave Ship: A Human History*. New York: Penguin, 2007. 308-342.

³² William Wilberforce, an Evangelical Anglican, has been thought of as a chief champion of the cause because he was the Parliamentarian who brought the Abolition of the Slave Trade Bill to Parliament annually until it finally passed in 1807. Although he offered the Committee his support in 1787, he did not officially join until 1791 (Jennings 35).

Bouverie's friend, Margaret Middleton, who lived at Barham Court with her husband Charles, who insisted that Barham Court be used as a place to discuss issues of slavery. Christian Latrobe, a Moravian who stayed at Barham Court for four months, reported to his daughter that the "abolition of the slave trade . . . was the work of a woman" (Brown 349). At the time, Margaret Middleton was called the "honoured instrument of bringing the monster within the range of the artillery of the executive justice of this kingdom" (Brown 349). White women's involvement in the movement developed and grew into a broad pattern of activism. Drescher observes, "Women appeared on the first publicized list of abolitionist subscribers in Manchester, in 1787, constituting 68 out of 302" (217). Drescher also notes that another list in London in 1788 "included the names of more than 200 women, about 10 percent of the total" (217). From the early years of organized English Language Anti-Slavery, women took up the cause of Abolition.

In the 1820s, following the hard-won 1807 date, and in the final push for Emancipation, women took a much greater and more public role. In 1824, Elizabeth Heyrick, a Quaker, published a pamphlet titled, *Immediate, not gradual abolition, or, An inquiry into the shortest, safest, and most effectual means of getting rid of West Indian Slavery* (Drescher 249). After 1825, women emerged as an independent organizational component of the British anti-slavery movement. They joined the national petitioning for parliamentary reform in 1830-1832. In May 1833, on the day scheduled for the introduction of the Emancipation Bill to the House of

Commons, “the largest single antislavery petition in British history arrived at the doors of Parliament” bearing the signatures of 187,000 women (Drescher 250).

Finally, the activism of the slaves themselves made the Anti-Slavery movement unstoppable. The 1831 publication of *The History of Mary Prince, A West Indian Slave, Related by Herself*, played a significant part in moving British public sentiment forward to Emancipation. Modeled on prior slave narratives penned by men, such as Olaudah Equiano’s *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, Or Gustavus Vassa, The African. Written by Himself*, published in 1789, which aided in moving British sentiment forward to Abolition of the trade in captive Africans, *The History of Mary Prince* was the first by a woman. Similar to Equiano’s narrative, *The History of Mary Prince* caused a sensation amongst its readership and was “widely read” in Britain (Bressey and Wareham 29). The same collaborative abolitionist team produced a second slave narrative that was also published in 1831, on the heels of Prince’s *The History of Mary Prince: 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*.³³

Historians have acknowledged other black West Indian women for their activism and resistance to slavery. Rebecca Proppen, for example, a black Moravian, born a slave in 1718, worked with other black preachers to establish the earliest

³³ I discuss *Negro Slavery Described* in Chapter 4, where I suggest that the two slave narratives, Prince’s and Warner’s, were meant to be read in tandem.

African Protestant Congregation in the Americas at St. Thomas. Jon F. Sensbach observes:

In what became one of the great social and religious movements of modern history, black women and men began to blend Christianity with the religions they had brought with them from Africa, creating a faith to fortify themselves against slavery. Though hardly anyone knows her name today, Rebecca Protten helped to ignite the fires of a new kind of religion that in subsequent centuries has given spiritual sustenance to millions. (3)

Mary Prince, who became a Moravian in Antigua, benefitted indirectly from Protten's work, which had branched from St. Thomas to Antigua in 1756 (Peucker and Graf n. pag.).

Instances of slave resistance, whether on ships at sea, on land, by individuals or by organized groups, are many and varied. This is the case in the three territories in which Prince was enslaved: Bermuda, Grand Turk Island, and Antigua. In Bermuda, the island territory of Prince's birth, there are ten recorded slave uprisings; Clarence Maxwell explains that in the eighteenth century two were "major violent events" (38). These events are the Conspiracy of 1761, a large-scale revolt in which Bermudian slaves planned to end the lives of local slaveholders, and the burning at the stake of Sarah Bassett. Bassett was an elderly woman, who, in June 1730, was convicted of attempting to poison her granddaughter Beck's slave-owners (Thomas and Sarah Foster) and the Foster family's slave girl, Nancey.

Slave rebellion was also common in Grand Turk Island. In the Bahamas Islands, which included Grand Turk Island in Prince's time, there are reports of dramatic and well-organized escapes to Saint Domingue, now called Haiti. In 1798, for example, fifteen slaves belonging to James Dean of nearby Salt Cay escaped to Saint Domingue; and, in 1823, all of John Lightbourn's slaves escaped from their barracks at Hawkes Nest on Grand Turk and sailed to Haiti. At the same time, all the slaves at Wade's Green Plantation on North Caicos escaped using sloops stolen from Wade Stubbs, and a further exodus occurred in the schooner *Polly*, which was stolen from Henshall Stubbs (N. Sadler 17-18).

In 1833, the year in which the British Parliament passed the Slavery Abolition Act, a detachment of the West Indies Regiment was stationed on Grand Turk Island because salt proprietors were alarmed by local slave disturbances. The risk of slaves absconding and the corresponding theft of ships prompted slave-owner Henshall Stubbs to carry out coastguard duties with one of his own vessels (N. Sadler 18). Additionally, slave records list 142 runaways in the Bahamas between 1822 and 1825, with 128 or ninety percent absconding from the Turks Islands (N. Sadler 18).

In that same period, there are examples of slave uprisings in Antigua. Moravian missionaries at St. John's and Newfield report on an insurrection in early April 1831, which resulted in a number of black men being tried for their lives as incendiaries, but only one, a member of their Newfield congregation, "suffer[ing] the extreme rigour of the law" (*Periodicals Accounts* 37).

Writing in the congregational diary for Newfield on 18 March 1831, Brothers J. G. Muntzer and J. Coates explain that about a fortnight earlier “an order was issued by Government, by which the Sunday’s market was abolished, and decreeing, that whoever bought or sold that day would be subject to a penalty” (*Periodicals Accounts* 269). In addition to being a weekly social time for slaves where they might see or hear news of friends or relations from other parts of the Island, the market was where slaves could buy and sell provisions that they had grown or products they had made. Mary Prince, for example, describes how she “by degrees acquired a little cash” (81). When Mr. and Mrs. Wood were gone from their home, “I took in washing,” she recalls, “and sold coffee and yams and other provisions to the captains of ships Sometimes I bought a hog cheap on board ship, and sold it for double the money on shore; and I also earned a good deal by selling coffee” (81). Slaves regarded closing the Sunday market as Government interference with, and restriction of, their economy, and there was considerable unrest within the congregation. Natasha Lightfoot gives 20 March as the day the Government order banning the Sunday market came into effect (67). That night, six plantations were set ablaze. Fourteen more were set the next night, and three more between 22 and 23 March (Lightfoot 68). Brothers Muntzer and Coates report that on 7 April fire, which caused extensive damage, broke out on the Lyon’s estate: “[f]ifty-seven negro houses were consumed, besides kitchens, outhouses and pigsties” (*Periodicals Accounts* 270).

Uprisings in Barbados in 1816, Demerara in 1823, and Jamaica in 1831-32 are examples of larger scale slave resistance, which involved thousands of slaves and resulted in the deaths of both black and white persons. On 14 April 1816, a few hundred Barbadian slaves took up arms, and many others soon followed suit. The military garrison, populated mainly by a free black militia, intervened. After three days of fighting, a third of the island was burnt, and the insurrection of 500 slaves was put down. One hundred and twenty black people died in battle, a further 144 were executed, and 132 were deported. One white person died (Marques 27).

On 18 August 1823, some 12,000 slaves took up arms in Demerara. Again, the militia intervened, resulting in the deaths of 173 black people, and a further eighteen black people were either deported or sent for flogging and hard labour (Marques 31). Eight years later, on 27 December 1831, approximately 20,000 Jamaican slaves rebelled in an armed struggle. Jamaican authorities reported that they had crushed the insurrection at the end of January 1832. The rebels destroyed or damaged 226 properties; 540 black people and fourteen white people were killed; and 175 black people, who received sentences other than execution, were flogged, forced into hard labour, or deported (Marques 35). The rebellion, which was blamed on the missionaries, resulted in looted and burned churches. Several missionaries were tarred, feathered, and jailed (Marques 35).

The Anti-Slavery campaign gained ammunition from instances of slave resistance, whether by local disturbance, escape, or bloody armed insurrection. As Marques observes, abolitionists used “successive rebellions to get across the idea

that while slavery existed, the colonies would be powder-kegs ready to explode at any moment” (37). Additionally, as the anti-slavery forces grew in strength, infiltrating and influencing government, they directly and indirectly encouraged slaves who fought the system (Marques 37). It seems that British Abolition, at least in its second wave, encouraged slave resistance, so that interplay between the two forces, abolition and slave resistance, brought about Emancipation.

2.4 London

Mary Prince stepped into this fray when she walked out of her slave-owner’s door in London in 1828. She first went to Mr. Mash, “the man who used to black the shoes of the family” (Prince 89) and asked his wife to find someone to take her to the Moravian missionaries at Hatton Garden. There, she received assistance to remove her things from the Woods’ home (Prince 90). In November 1828, she arrived at the Anti-Slavery Office in Aldermanbury, where she received some assistance and made many acquaintances, “especially some Quaker ladies, who hearing of my case, came and sought me out, and gave me good warm clothing and money” (Prince 91). Eventually, she obtained work as a charwoman from Mrs. Mash’s friend, which led to six-months’ work for a Mrs. Forsyth. Unfortunately, Mrs. Forsyth left London, leaving Prince with eleven weeks of no work and, therefore, no income. The money Prince had saved in service was gone, so she returned to the Anti-Slavery Society for assistance. Thomas Pringle, the secretary of London’s Anti-Slavery Society, and his wife Margaret, employed her as a domestic servant (Prince 91-92).

The first political action taken by abolitionists on Prince's behalf was a petition presented to Parliament 24 June 1829 asking if she might return to Antigua, but *not* as a slave ("Mary Prince's Petition," 127-128). It was unsuccessful. The work on the slave narrative commenced over a year later in November 1830. Editor Thomas Pringle states in the preface that writing the slave narrative was first suggested by Prince: "She wished it to be done, she said, that good people in England might hear from a slave what a slave had felt and suffered" (T. Pringle, preface 55). He notes, however, that "it was a letter of her late master's . . . that induced me to accede to her wishes without delay" (T. Pringle, preface 55).³⁴

Prince's *The History of Mary Prince* is an eyewitness account in a told-to format, and it benefitted from a strong storytelling, compiling, and editing team. Thomas Pringle, in addition to his role as paid secretary of London's Anti-Slavery Society, was co-editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, a successful writer, and the editor of several periodicals and annuals.³⁵ He was experienced in dealing with the slaveocracy. Susanna Strickland was a young writer, newly converted to Methodism and Abolition. Joseph Phillips, who assisted on the Antiguan section, had not only lived in Antigua for over twenty years, but he had also worked as Wood's clerk, and was an abolitionist pamphleteer in his own right.

In his preface to *The History of Mary Prince*, Pringle refers to Prince's West Indian dialect as a "peculiar phraseology" (T. Pringle, preface 55). He notes that

³⁴ I discuss the events leading up to the letter authored by John Adams Wood Jr., Pringle's reaction to the letter, and Pringle's subsequent contribution to *The History of Mary Prince* in Chapter 4.

³⁵ See Chapter 4.

“[t]he narrative was taken down from Mary’s own lips . . . [and that] it was pruned into its present shape” (T. Pringle, preface 55). Furthermore, he states “[i]t is essentially her own, without any material alteration farther than was requisite to exclude redundances [sic] and gross grammatical errors, so as to render it clearly intelligible” (T. Pringle, preface 55).³⁶ Therefore, it can be argued that although Pringle edited, and Strickland compiled, Prince’s unique voice is present in the final published version. It is still Prince’s story.

After *The History of Mary Prince* was published, a public altercation and two court cases ensued. James MacQueen, a pro-slavery advocate, wrote maliciously about Pringle in *Blackwood’s Magazine*. MacQueen had already clashed publicly with Joseph Phillips over Phillips’s work with the Birmingham Ladies Society for the Relief of Negro Slaves. Phillips had acted as their agent in Antigua in helping distressed slaves, but MacQueen did not believe that abandoned and distressed slaves existed. In Ferguson’s words, “Macqueen lashed out at Mary Prince’s veracity and railed splenetically about her morals and the morals of Pringle and emancipationists in general” (27).

Lord Chief Justice Tindal heard the *Pringle v. Cadell* case on 21 February 1833 (Thomas 114). MacQueen was conveniently unavailable. Therefore, Pringle sued Thomas Cadell, the publisher of *Blackwood’s*, and won the case. Although Pringle had requested £2000 sterling in damages, he was awarded £5 plus costs; Cadell paid him £160 (Thomas 114). The second court case, *Wood v. Pringle*, was heard five days

³⁶ Again, please see Chapter 4 for a discussion of Pringle’s management of the production of *The History of Mary Prince*.

later on 27 February 1833, Wood having charged Pringle with libel (Thomas 114). Sir James Scarlett, the judge ruling on the case, found Prince's story exaggerated, despite the fact that Prince's back had been found "chequered with the vestiges of severe floggings" (M. Pringle, Ferguson 130-131). Wood was awarded £25 but not costs (Thomas 114). This was because, as Ferguson concludes, the court date had come up suddenly, and "Wood won by default because Pringle could not produce witnesses from the West Indies to prove his allegations" (28).

2.5 Conclusion

My research in Grand Turk Island in 2008; in Antigua in 2011; in Bermuda and in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania in 2013; and in London, England in 2014 confirm Prince's enslavement story. I located both Prince and her slave-owners in the Slave Registers of former British Colonial Dependencies, 1813-1834; located her parents in the Paget Vestry Assessments, 1805-1824 and the Devonshire Parish Records, 1798-1839; and identified two houses in Bermuda where she and her relatives lived and worked when she was a child and adolescent.³⁷

These primary sources broaden Prince's story and illuminate the circumstances of her life and the lives of her family and of other slaves. Learning the monetary value of Bermudian slaves in the early 1800s, for instance, when she was sold at age twelve for £57 Bermudian currency, and then twice more for £100 when she was a grown woman, is enlightening. This is when the highest price listed for a

³⁷ See details about Mary's family, her and their slave-owners, and residences associated with them in chapter 3.

female slave in the Paget Vestry Assessments, 1805-1824 and the Devonshire Parish Records, 1798-1839 for the years 1800 to 1808 is £60, and when female slaves of “every good quality” commanded the sum of £100. This demonstrates that slave-owners considered Prince valuable and promising.

These sources also highlight the fact that slave-owners profited handsomely from the reproduction and subsequent sales of slaves. How much did John Williams raise for his wedding when Prince and her sisters were sold at the Hamilton auction? What is the combined amount Prince and her ten siblings (seven brothers and three sisters) brought their slave-owners on auction day? If they averaged £50 Bermudian currency each, which is a low estimate, the amount is a staggering £550. In the Paget Vestry Assessments for 11 August 1806 Daniel Trimingham lists the value of his house at £200 Bermudian currency, and Francis Trimingham lists his house at £250. Slaves were a large part of colonial slave-owners’ wealth, worth more, in certain instances, than their homes.

Counter-stories such as Prince’s *The History of Mary Prince* create an opening for understanding and change. They can make the hidden more visible and highlight a different past. In Bermuda, for example, Britain’s oldest remaining colony, “the legacy of this past continues to weigh heavily on the black Bermudian community with continuing economic disparity, higher incidences of incarceration, stop and search, redundancies, and lower incomes” (Winfield 1). In Bermuda, where Prince has been acknowledged and honoured as a national hero, a white minority continues to retain much of the wealth.

This chapter opened by recalling Mary Prince's concluding words of her narrative, a plea that "slavery be done up for evermore" (94). Although almost 200 years have passed since *The History of Mary Prince* was first printed, and although legalized slavery has ended in Britain and the countries and territories that still are, or once were, her possessions, there is still work to be done. Abolition and Emancipation can be understood as an ongoing and broad cultural position of moral activism—not specific events fixed in time that brought closure to its proponents. Mary Prince not only won her own freedom but also, through her story, worked for the freedom and betterment of others. Her story is still effective in the work of abolition today.

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3. Histories and Geographies of The History of Mary Prince

They can't do without slaves, they say.

Mary Prince, 1831

3.1 Introduction

To understand Prince's life better, I researched the lives of her slave-owners and the slave-owners of her parents. I also researched the Antigua-based Moravian missionaries Prince mentions in her slave narrative. I conclude that both Prince's and her parents' slave-owners were wealthy merchant-privateers, merchant-planters, or, in the case of her last slave-owner John Adams Wood Jr., a merchant-rentier. They were all Bermudians. The majority, if not all, increased their wealth through enterprises located in the West Indies. The Moravian missionaries Prince knew in Antigua were much different from her and her parents' slave-owners. The missionaries hailed from several European countries, including Germany, Switzerland, Norway, Denmark, Ireland, and Britain. They had travelled to the Antigua mission as married couples, or they had come alone, marrying soon after arrival. If not transferred to a mission in a different territory after spending several years in Antigua, most of these missionaries died at their posting. Few returned to their home countries. The focus of their lives was service to others through education and through missionary work.

Prince's slave-owners and her parents' slave-owners had grand Bermudian residences. Some were located in close proximity to one another. This meant that

Mary Prince and her extended family likely had regular face-to-face interactions with each other, or, at the very least, they would have known the circumstances of each family member. They also had face-to-face interactions with their slave-owners. As Edward Chappell observes, “Enslaved Bermudians lived everywhere in their owners’ households and beyond” (70). They lived in the attics, cellars, and outbuildings. Tradesmen worked and lived in their slave-owners’ shops, and enslaved sailors did the same aboard their slave-owners’ ships. Women lived and worked in kitchens. Some slept in closets, in slave-owners’ bedchambers, or in passageways. They scrubbed and swept, cooked and cleaned, delivered food and retrieved it, provided fuel for heating and cooking, maintained buildings, and cared for animals.

Wealthy Bermudians with business interests in the West Indies, Prince’s slave-owners and her parents’ slave-owners extended the labour of their Bermudian slaves to their West Indian holdings. For example, Mary Prince recollects working for approximately ten years in the Bermudian salt industry of Grand Turk Island for Robert Darrell. John Adams Wood Jr. transported slaves, including Mary Prince, between colonies, and the brother entrepreneurs Daniel and Francis Trimingham, who shared the ownership of Mary Prince’s father, Prince, had partial shares in a sugar plantation on Mustique Island. Most probably Bermudian slaves were transported there.

When in Antigua, Prince lived at the residence of her fifth and final slave-owner, John Adams Wood Jr., and his family. Although she gives details about life

with the Wood family and of dealings with other slaves living in the household, many of her recollections of the time in Antigua are devoted to church-based experiences. It was as a Moravian, under the tutelage of Moravian missionary women, that Prince realized she might be free.

The purpose of this chapter is to broaden the reading of Prince's *The History of Mary Prince* by relating the results of my research that pertain to Prince, her family, her (and their) slave-owners, and the Moravian missionaries that provided Prince with an education. I found two residences associated with Prince in Bermuda, which are Cavendish Hall, Richard Darrell's one-time residence, and Elizabeth Watlington's residence. Elizabeth Watlington was Betsey Williams's aunt, the sister of Betsey's father, John Williams. With the assistance of Grand Turk Island elders, I also located the site of Robert Darrell's historic Grand Turk Island residence, as well as the long shed Prince recollects sleeping in at night when she was enslaved on that island.³⁸

I also found records of Prince, her parents, and the Moravian missionaries who provided her an education in archival documents. I located Prince in the Slave Registers of former British Colonial Dependencies for Antigua 1817, 1821, 1824, 1828, and 1832, and in the No. 3, List of Exclusions, St. John's, Moravian Church, Antigua, 1833-1856. The Slave Registers for Antigua are available online, and the

³⁸ Colin Brooker, now deceased, and Shirley Brown, both Grand Turk Island elders, told me stories pertaining to Mary Prince's story in Grand Turk Island, and The Rt. Rev. Dr. Kingsley Lewis, Bishop of the Moravian Church, did the same for Antigua. These were conversations that happened serendipitously. I did not intend to collect data. Nonetheless, the stories they told me influenced my future research, as mentioned in the "Introduction."

List of Exclusions is in the collection of the Moravian Church Archives. I located Prince's father in the Paget Vestry Assessments, 1805-1824, and her mother in the Devonshire Parish Records, 1798-1839. These two documents are in the collection of the Government of Bermuda Archives. Finally, I located the Moravian missionaries, recollected by Prince in her narrative, in *The Catalogue of Clergymen and Their Families, Antigua, 1755-1927*. This last document is also in the collection of the Moravian Church Archives.³⁹

My findings add new sections to the tapestry of Prince's story, giving colour and detail to, and, sometimes, explanations of, occurrences in her life, the lives of her family members, and of other slaves. They also give direction for future research in Antigua. Based on this work, I have created a new timeline for Prince's life, which corrects past errors, and modifies and adds to other timelines already in existence—such as the timeline appearing in the 2000 Penguin edition of *The History of Mary Prince* edited by Sara Salih (xl-xli).

This new timeline appears as an appendix to this dissertation. My additions to the timeline include more detail about her early years in Bermuda and Grand Turk Island, her years in Antigua, and her years in London. Included, for example,

³⁹ I investigated Bermuda's and the United Kingdom's archives, but the archives in the Turks and Caicos Islands are in a sorry state, in spite of best efforts by the Turks and Caicos National Museum; unfortunately, and possibly because I had arrived at Antigua unannounced and was unknown, I was denied access to the public archives in that territory, though I had travelled there for that specific purpose. Archival documents from Antigua's Moravian congregation, of which Prince had been a member, were relocated to the Moravian Church Archives in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, in 1968. My investigations at that archive proved very fruitful. I also investigated the Maritime History Archive, located at the Memorial University of Newfoundland, and Prince Edward Island's Public Archives.

are the natural catastrophes that Prince recollected in her narrative: the 19 February 1801 earthquake that hit Bermuda and the 1813 Great August Hurricane that hit Grand Turk Island. Also included are the years in which Prince appears in the Slave Registers of former British Colonial Dependencies for Antigua; the years she is a Moravian congregation member in Antigua; and important events in London, such as the publication of *The History of Mary Prince* in late February 1831, the 21 February 1833 *Pringle v. Cadell*, and the 27 February 1833 *Wood v. Pringle* court cases. The final entry is 12 January 1834, which is recorded in the No.3, Exclusion List, St. John's, Antigua, 1833 to 1856 where the accompanying text suggests that Prince may have returned to Antigua.

3.2 Five Slave-Owners

"I was born at Brackish-Pond in Bermuda, on a farm belonging to Mr. Charles Myners" (57) recollets Mary Prince in the opening statement of her narrative. Moira Ferguson suggests Prince's birth year to be "about 1788" (1), which is confirmed in the Slave Registers of former British Colonial Dependencies for Antigua, although she could have been born in 1787.⁴⁰ Also recollected by Prince is

⁴⁰ In the Slave Register of former British Colonial Dependencies for Antigua that was recorded 19 September 1817, John Adams Wood Jr. indicates that Mary Prince is thirty years old. This means she was born in 1787. However, in the subsequent Slave Register, which was recorded on 30 April 1821, he indicates that she is thirty-three years old, which indicates she was born in 1788. However, I suggest that because three years and seven months have elapsed between the taking of the two Registers, the discrepancy is because she had not had her thirty-fourth birthday at the time of the second Register. If the second Register had been taken in September 1821, exactly four years after the first, her year of birth would be 1787. Therefore, I believe Mary Prince to have been born between May 1st and September 18th 1787.

that she had five slave-owners before self-manumission at the age of forty in London in 1828. All five were Bermudian, although not all lived in Bermuda.

Captain George Darrell purchased Prince and her mother from Mr. Minors when Prince was an infant. He gave both of them to his grandchild, Prince's second slave-owner, "little Miss Betsey Williams" (Prince 57) as a gift. Betsey's mother, Sarah Williams, died about ten years later, when Prince was approximately twelve years old. Prince recollects, "I had scarcely reached my twelfth year when my mistress became too poor to keep so many of us at home; and she hired me out to Mrs. Pruden" (58). When Sarah Williams died, Prince stayed on at the Prudden household for three more months, before being sold at auction (Prince 60). The Ewing Register, 1791-1820, which is one of several registers anthologized in *Early Bermuda Records, 1619-1826*, confirms Sarah Williams's death. The date of 23 April 1798 is given as the day of her burial (Hollis Hallet 332). This discrepancy in the time of events reveals a problem with Prince's recollection of her early years. If the Ewing Register is correct, then Prince would have been ten, or possibly eleven, when Sarah Williams died, not the twelve years that she remembers.

Captain John Williams, Betsey's father, who was often away in the West Indies, returned to Bermuda and decided to remarry. Against Betsey's wishes, and to raise money for his forthcoming wedding, he sold Prince and her two younger

This calculation is not confirmed in the 22 October 1824 Register, however, where Wood lists Prince as thirty-six, making her birth year 1788. Again, the vagaries of memory may be the issue, but in this case, Wood's memory. By the time of the third assessment, he may have based his figure on the previous assessment, and simply added three years to Prince's age.

sisters, Hannah and Dinah, at the slave auction in Hamilton. At the time of the slave narrative, Hamilton would have been nothing more than a small concentration of facilities related to the maritime economy situated at Crow Lane. Crow Lane was the colloquial name of the eastern section of Pembroke Parish, although a portion of it extended into Paget Parish. This was, and still is, where the three parishes, Pembroke, Paget, and Devonshire meet.

At the slave-auction, different slave-owners purchased each of the three sisters. Captain John Ingham, Prince's third slave-owner, a privateer with a farm in Spanish Point and a store in Hamilton, purchased her for £57 Bermudian currency. Spanish Point was the colloquial name for the westernmost part of Pembroke Parish.

Prince's fourth and fifth slave-owners had residences in West Indian colonies. Robert Darrell, her fourth slave-owner, had homes in both Bermuda and Grand Turk Island. Captain Ingham sent Prince to Grand Turk Island, where Robert Darrell bought her at auction for £100 Bermudian currency.

Prince recollects that although she was sent specifically to her new slave-owner Robert Darrell by Captain Ingham, and that she was sent to his home upon her arrival there, the vendue master put her on the auction block the day after she arrived (71). This was to "know how much I was worth" (71) she explains. The fair way to ascertain the price of a slave was by auction, especially when difficult transport could have affected health. For example, Prince remembers a difficult crossing of almost four weeks where provisions and water ran very low (Prince 71).

Prince worked for Robert Darrell in the salt ponds of Grand Turk Island for approximately ten years before returning to Bermuda with him. Back in Bermuda, she eventually was put to work at Cedar Hill. Two years later, Prince's fifth slave-owner, John Adams Wood Jr., took her to his residence in Antigua. He also had a residence in Bermuda. Once in Antigua, Wood purchased Prince for £100 Bermudian currency.

The circumstances of Prince's sale to John Adams Wood Jr. differed from her earlier sale to Robert Darrell. She had requested Robert Darrell "to let me go in Mr. Wood's service" (Prince 78), because she wished to get away from Darrell, her "indecent master" (78).⁴¹ The *Legacies of British Slave-ownership*, an online initiative of the University College of London's History Department, classify John Adams Wood Jr. as a transatlantic "large-scale absentee rentier." He derived his income from investments, including a large number of slaves situated at different plantations in Antigua. At Emancipation, for example, he successfully claimed for "737 enslaved in 25 different claims in Antigua" (*Legacies of British Slave-ownership*); in addition to

⁴¹ Robert Darrell's "indecentcy" may have been sexual exploitation, which was referred to as his "ugly fashion of stripping himself quite naked and ordering me to wash him in a tub of water" (Prince 77). When Prince refused to "wash" him any longer, Darrell hired her out to work at Cedar Hill. Michael Jarvis, in *The Eye of All Trade*, tells us that by the early 1700s Bermudian slaves were often hired out in wage-earning jobs. Owners and employers "ceded a portion of earnings to slaves as an incentive to do substantially independent and self-motivated work" (107). Apparently, Prince did not keep any of her earnings while at Cedar Hill. She recollects "every Saturday night I paid the money to my master" (78). Conversely, Prince indicates keeping earnings when she was in Antigua.

this, he had claims in Bermuda.⁴² Prince recollects that Mrs. Wood “found that I could work, and she wanted to buy me” (78). Presumably, the original arrangement between Prince, Darrell, and Wood was that Prince would be hired out once in Antigua, but Mrs. Wood intervened. Wood wrote to Robert Darrell and, upon hearing back, purchased her (78).

3.3 Bermuda

There are at least eight residences associated with Prince in Bermuda, more if the residences of the slave-owners of her sisters and brothers and their work places are included. For example, to whom were her sisters Hannah and Dinah sold at auction? What happened to her youngest sister Rebecca, who is mentioned in the Grand Turk Island section of Prince’s story? And what about her seven brothers, all unnamed? Though interesting, these lines of inquiry do not necessarily form part of the body of this research, although details about some family members do enrich and strengthen it.

Of the following eight sites connected to Prince, the Bermuda National Trust has identified three; with the assistance of the Trust, I have identified two more. Two remain elusive; and one final site needs to be confirmed. These eight sites are the Minors’ farm and house, Devonshire Parish; Daniel Trimingham’s house, Paget Parish; the Williams’ house, Devonshire Parish; the Pruddens’ house, Paget Parish; the Watlingtons’ house, Devonshire Parish; the Inghams’ farm and house, Pembroke

⁴² The Registers indicate the name of the person making the claims, and the numbers of the enslaved she or he is claiming. The names of individual slaves are not given.

Parish; Richard Darrell's house, Devonshire Parish; and Robert Darrell's house,

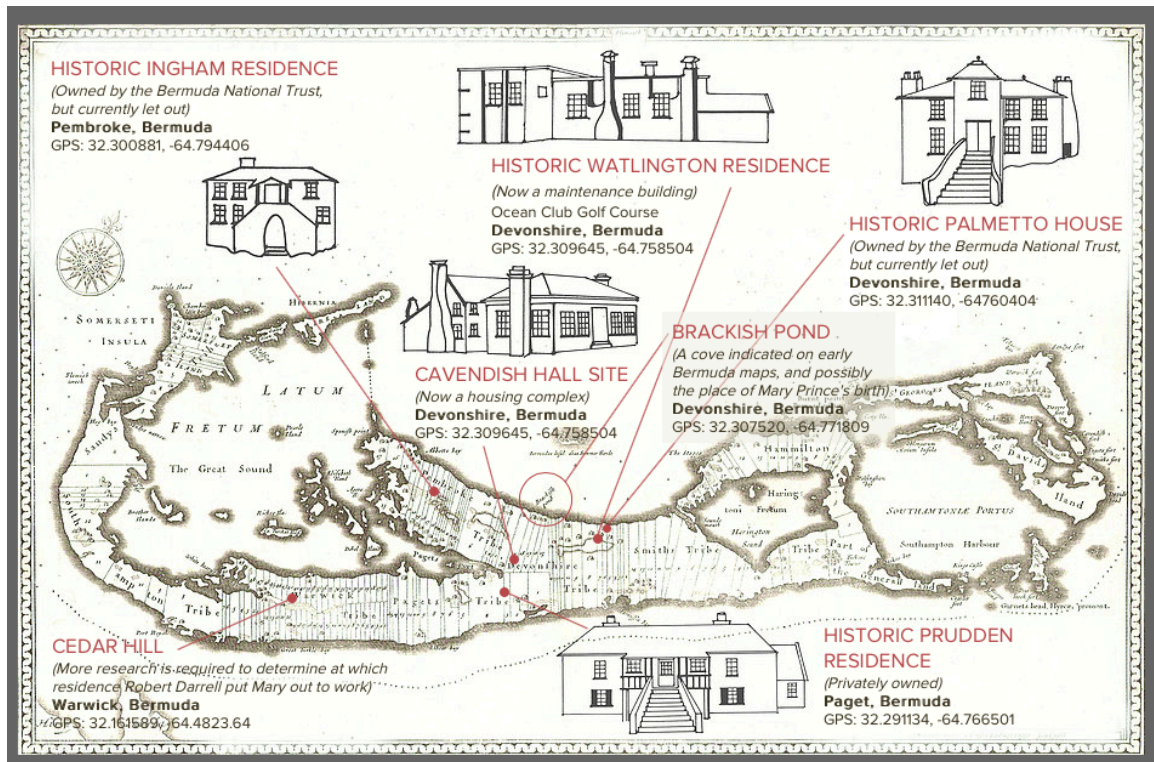


Figure 1. Map of Bermuda showing five slave-owners' residences, the location of Cedar Hill, where a sixth residence may be possibly located, and Brackish Pond, a cove appearing on early Bermuda maps. The map gives the GPS coordinates of each site, and it appears on maryprince.org under the Learn tab. The original map is from Wikimedia Commons. The added drawings and details about sites significant to Prince's story are by the author and Brenda Hewer.

(probably) Warwick Parish.

If the Minors' farmhouse still stands, it has undoubtedly been restored or renovated, and may have wide welcoming arms leading to a second floor veranda, the prevailing style of the homes of its day—but where was it situated? John Speed's 1626 map of Bermuda, *A Mapp of the Sommer Ilands, Once Called the Bermudas*,

indicates a “Brackifh Pond” on the north shore of Devonshire Parish.⁴³ The pond is a small cove suitable for anchorage. Writing over two centuries later, in 1860, Theodore L. Godet points out that Brackish Pond is near The Wells, “a Government establishment for supplying water to the navy should there be no water at the naval tanks on St. George’s Island” (91). Brackish Pond is also the name of a much larger feature of Devonshire, a marsh included in Thomas Hurd’s 1797 map of Bermuda, *A nautical survey of the Bermuda islands taken by order of the right honourable the Lords Commissioner of the Admiralty between 1789 & 1797*.⁴⁴ At one time, Brackish Pond referred to all of Devonshire Parish. When Mary Prince says she was born at Brackish Pond, she could have meant the cove, the marsh, or the entire parish.

Mary Prince recalls that her father, Prince, was a “sawyer belonging to Mr. Trimmingham, a ship-builder at Crow-Lane” (57). The Trimmingham family was inter-generationally prominent. Not one man, but two brothers, Francis and Daniel Trimmingham, owned Prince. They descend from John Trimmingham, a lucky and skilled mariner with assets of £3,075 in 1727 and, according to Jarvis, one of the wealthiest Bermudians in the early eighteenth century (271). Less than one hundred years later, the 13 August 1806 Paget Vestry Assessments, 1805-1824 show Francis and Daniel as both being wealthy and owning equal shares of Prince.

⁴³ John Speed’s map was based on an earlier map surveyed by Richard Norwood in 1616-1617 and published in 1622 (Jarvis 25).

⁴⁴ The Global Information System (GIS) work by Kirby Calvert, Kirsten Greer, and Megan Prescott, appearing in “Blog #8: Geotagging Images Then and Now” on the *Empire, Trees, and Climate in the North Atlantic: Towards Critical Dendro-Provenancing* website partially focuses on Devonshire’s Brackish Pond marsh. Figure 20 gives a close up of Hurd’s Brackish Pond. Both The Watlington House and Palmetto House, discussed later in this section, are apparent.

Similarly, Francis and Daniel Trimingham list six other male slaves as being jointly owned. They list female slaves and children separately on each of the two assessments. That Prince and the six other male slaves were shared may indicate that, in addition to sharing their labour, the Trimingham brothers shared the fruits of their reproduction—their children. In this regard, Cyril Packwood, in his book *Chained on the Rock: Slavery in Bermuda*, cites Bermuda's Governor Richard Cony in a 1685 letter: "It is a custom here that when one man's slave marry with another's, the two masters divide the children among them" (74). Packwood further elucidates that when slaves wished to marry an "agreement and contract had to be signed between the owners" (101). This "sett[ed] the question of ownership of any offspring resulting from the union" (Packwood 101). The chief reason for this was the future labour and value as assets that the children represented. "Halving" prevailed in many cases. This meant the first-born child became the property of the mother's owner, and the second-born the property of the father's owner. The ownership of subsequent children alternated between the two slave-owners (Packwood 116).

In the case of the sales of Mary Prince and her sisters, it appears that halving was not practiced. The original arrangement would have been between Charles Minors and the Trimingham brothers. Perhaps there was a different arrangement from the beginning of Prince's parents' union, or perhaps it changed when Captain George Darrell bought Mary Prince and her mother for his granddaughter Betsey Williams. Possibly, because of the financial difficulties of John Williams, the

Trimingham brothers agreed to his sale of the girls, if they kept ownership of the boys, in spite of Betsey's protest they not be sold. Given the Trimingham brothers' need for skilled sailors, coopers, sawyers, masons, and carpenters, it may have been profitable to secure these future labourers for the expansion of their business ventures. When Prince and her two sisters were sold, she recalls that she left behind "my dear little brothers" (61). Though the boys lived with their mother, the Trimingham brothers may have had claims on them. Eventually, and depending on their ages and the contractual agreement between the concerned slave-owners, the boys may have been relocated to Trimingham properties where they would learn a trade necessary to Bermuda's maritime economy.

In the 6 August 1806 assessment in the Paget Vestry Assessments, 1805-1824, Francis Trimingham lists ten slaves, in addition to the seven male slaves whose ownership he shared with his brother, Daniel. Daniel also lists ten for a first residence and six for a second at Durham Hall. Between them, and including the seven shared male slaves, the Trimingham brothers list thirty-three slaves for their Bermuda holdings. The total reported value of these slaves is £1850 Bermudian currency. The value of the shared male slaves is £660 Bermudian currency, about one-third of the total value of all the Bermudian-based Trimingham slaves.

The Trimingham brothers' wealth came from their Bermuda holdings and from a West Indian plantation. Daniel Trimingham's will of 8 May 1808 indicates a one-fourth share in an "Estate or Plantation in the Island of Mustique under the Government of the Island of St. Vincent in the West Indies" (Will Book 13, 118).

Francis Trimingham's will of 29 June 1813 indicates that he, too, had a part share in the plantation (Will Book 14, 17). The 1817 Slave Register of Former British Colonial Dependencies for St. Vincent indicates that the sons of Francis and Daniel, first cousins Francis and George Trimingham, report fifty-nine slaves at the Adelphi Estate on Mustique, with nineteen of these slaves living at their Kingston, St. Vincent properties. Adelphi is a Greek word meaning "brothers of the same womb"—a fitting name for the sugar plantation of brothers Francis and Daniel Trimingham.

The Keith Matthews Name Files, located at the Memorial University of Newfoundland's Maritime History Archives, indicate that Francis and Daniel, along with their relatives Nathaniel and John, also owned shares in several vessels that traded between Bermuda, various West Indian ports, England, and Europe. The *Seaflower*, for example, is a sloop of which Daniel Trimingham indicates he has a three-eighths share. This is recorded in the 6 August 1806 assessment found in Paget Vestry Assessments, 1805-1824. *Seaflower* made thirteen trips to Newfoundland between 1807 and 1811. The vessel carried sugar from St. Vincent to Newfoundland, and left Newfoundland with cod. Given the various peregrinations of slaves among colonies, Mary Prince's brothers may have worked for the Trimingham brothers not only in Bermuda, but also at other ventures, such as their Mustique plantation. For instance, a sailor by the name of Prince, though listed as "African" rather than Bermudian, was aged twenty-six when the 1817 Slave Register for St. Vincent was taken (TNA: T71/493, p. 404). This Register further indicates that he was situated at the Kingston properties of the Trimingham cousins, Francis and

George. Therefore, this young man would have been born in 1791, and have been three to four years younger than Mary Prince.

Item	Value
Daniel Trimingham	Brick over £3386
House	£200
12 1/2 Acres Land	
8 Dr. Halls	
3 1/2 Dr. Jones's	
22 Acres at 16 pp. Acres	352
Half Store & Loke	100
Timbers at home	100
Half Cut Timbers	75
Half Boat	£25 25
14 Cows	40
Horses	20
Venus	£60
Pamela	60
Matt	60
Hannah	100
Kitt	100
Sam	70
4 Children	80
Half Tyger	50
1/2 Johnson	50
1/2 Prince	50
1/2 Will	50
1/2 Joe	50
1/2 Tom	40
1/2 Kitt	50
3/8 Sloop Seaflower & Co's	675
3/8 Sloop Dappier	75
1/2 Dr. built up Dill	300
1/2 Goods in Store	100
Goods & Chattels	100
Total	2922
Francis Jones Senr	
House	800
52 Acres Land	816
2 Cows	£20 20
Romeo	£60
Sam	£40 100
Station	40
Susan	60
Goods & Chattels	14
Total	1850
Carried over	£8158

Figure 2. Paget Vestry Assessments, 1805-1824, August 1806, p. 8, for Daniel Trimingham, showing "1/2 Prince 50" and his 3/8 share in the sloop *Seaflower*. Courtesy of the Government of Bermuda Archives. Image by author.

The ownership of Mary Prince's mother and father was interwoven with Betsey Williams's maternal family, the Darrells. Darrell family members may have acted to keep Mary Prince's parents together when the slave-family was divided and their three enslaved daughters, Mary, Hannah, and Dinah, were sold at auction. Daniel Trimmingham's wife Catherine was the daughter of Captain George Darrell, who had purchased Mary Prince and her mother from Charles Minors for a gift to his granddaughter, Betsey Williams. Therefore, Catherine was Betsey's aunt.

Betsey's mother, Sarah Williams (*née* Darrell), was the older half-sister to both Catherine and Richard Darrell. Captain George Darrell and his first wife, Jane Albouy, had six children, Sarah being the youngest. His second wife, Mary Jennings, had four children, including Catherine and Richard (Darrell 131-132). Richard Darrell played a part in the story of Mary Prince as well. Prince's mother was living at his residence when Prince ran away from the Ingham farm (Prince 70).

By May 1808, Catherine's husband Daniel Trimmingham had commenced building Montrose, a stately home in Paget Parish (Will Book 13, 116-117). He states in his will that "[t]he house wherein I now dwell, I order and direct at a suitable time to pull down" so that the materials can be "converted in making necessary outhouses and conveniences" at the residence known as Montrose. Furthermore, he writes that the "[t]ract of land whereon I now reside [is] commonly called Thorntons." In David White's *Paget*, it is noted that "Montrose, on Berry Hill Road . . . was built on the third of three Norwood shares—this one called Thornton's" (19). Therefore, there were two differently named houses, situated close by one another.

Montrose, which is less than 500 metres from the head of Hamilton Harbour, is also approximately 250 metres from the border of Devonshire Parish.



Figure 3. Montrose House, Bermuda. Photograph by author, December 2013.

Mrs. Prudden, to whom Prince was hired out when Sarah Williams became too poor to keep the family slaves at home, was “a lady who lived about five miles off, in the adjoining parish, in a large house near the sea,” (58) recollects Prince. The Williams’ poverty is borne out in the Devonshire Parish Records, 1798-1839 for 1 July 1800. John Williams Jr.’s holdings are meager. The house is listed at £200 Bermudian currency and the land at £60 Bermudian currency. Where others list slaves, livestock, furniture, and possibly interests in cargo and trading vessels, Williams lists nothing. This also shows that Prince, her mother and siblings, and

other slaves who once may have lived at the home of Betsey, Sarah, and John Williams had been relocated by 1 July 1800. Therefore, the slave auction at which Prince and her two sisters were sold occurred prior to this date.

The Bermuda National Trust has located the residence of the Prudden family, where Prince's employment was "nursing a sweet baby, little Master Daniel" (Prince 59). She remembers growing "so fond of her nursling that it was my greatest delight to walk out with him by the sea-shore, accompanied by his brother and sister, Miss Fanny and Master James" (59). The privately owned house is located on Point Finger Road in Paget Parish (White 13), less than 500 metres from Crow Lane. Prince's memories of walking the shore with the three Prudden children may be of a location close to Crow Lane.



Figure 4. Prudden House, now called Murrell's Vale. Photograph by author, December 2013.

The location of the Williams house, in which Mary Prince and her siblings grew up, is still not established, but it was not in Paget, because she recalls that the Prudden house was “in the adjoining parish” (58). Three months after Sarah Williams’s death, Prince returned from the Prudden household to be prepared for the slave auction at Hamilton. I looked at *The Bermuda Gazette* for this time period, but found no advertisement for the girls’ sales, although there were other auctions listed. Prince recalls that when she arrived at the Williams’ house, Betsey Williams, who was about the same age as Mary Prince, “in great distress” cried out ““Oh, Mary! my father is going to sell you all to raise money to marry that wicked woman. You are *my* slaves, and he has no right to sell you; but it is all to please her [soon-to-be

step-mother].” Next, Prince recalls: “she then told me that my mother was living with her father’s sister at a house close by, and I went there to see her” (Prince 60).

Betsey Williams’s grandmother was Elizabeth Williams; her 1806 will shows that she had one daughter, who was, therefore, the only living sister of John Williams (Will Book 13, 110-112). Her will indicates this daughter was Elizabeth Watlington, Betsey’s only aunt on her father’s side of the family. Linda Abend, researcher with the Bermuda National Trust, was able to identify the home of Elizabeth Watlington. As with other homes acquired by the British military by compulsory purchase, it was completely renovated in the mid-nineteenth century. Its upper floor has been removed, and it is now in a deteriorated condition, although its core structure, identifiable by three chimneys, shows what would have been a substantial house for nineteenth-century Bermuda. Currently, it serves as the maintenance building of the Ocean Club Golf Course, which is located in Devonshire.



Figure 5. Watlington House, now the maintenance building of the Ocean Club Golf Course, Bermuda. Photograph by author, December 2013.

The location of Elizabeth Watlington's house helps to strengthen the supposition that the home in which Mary Prince and her siblings grew up was Palmetto House, a beautifully-kept property in Devonshire owned by the Bermuda National Trust but currently rented out. Palmetto House, situated approximately half a kilometre from the Watlington house, is approximately 2.5 kilometres, as the crow flies, from the Prudden home. Certainly, this is not the five miles distance that Prince recollects in her narrative (Prince 58). However, the road and pathways were twisting, making them longer, and, at the age of twelve when Prince was walking back and forth between the houses, the distance may have felt like five miles, especially with the

knowledge of her imminent sale hanging over her. Additionally, it is unclear how she would have been able to assess the distance accurately.

Plausibly, Palmetto House may be the home in which Prince grew up with her siblings. According to his mother's 1806 will, Captain John Williams died after the Prince sisters were sold at the Hamilton auction (Will Book 13, 110-112). Margaret Lloyd, researcher and writer for the Bermuda National Trust, writes in the Source Notes of the Trust's *Devonshire* volume, that "the researcher's best guess of the line of descent" in regard to Palmetto House is that Samuel Williams (abt. 1750/d. 1797) was the sixth Williams to live in the house, and that he was followed by Benjamin S. Williams (abt. 1780/d. 1843) (78-79). However, given the age and marital status of Benjamin at the time of Samuel's death—seventeen, and unmarried—it may be that Benjamin's elder brother, John Williams, Betsey's father, lived in the house prior to Benjamin. John Williams may have had the house for a number of years. Samuel may have vacated the premises and taken up residence elsewhere before his passing.



Figure 6. Palmetto House, Bermuda. Photograph by author, December 2013.

When the three Prince sisters, Mary, Hannah, and Dinah, were put up for auction and sold, Mary was bought by Captain I— of Spanish Point for £57 Bermudian currency. Based on records located in the Bermuda Archives provided to her by an un-named archivist, plus C. F. E. Hollis Hallett's *Bermuda Index 1784-1914*, Moira Ferguson identified Captain I— as Captain John Ingham, his wife Mrs. I— as Mary Spencer Albouy, and their son as Benjamin (34-35). Prince recalls that the slave-owning couple had a son, Benjy, who was about her age (63). My findings confirm this. Groom Marriages, a register included in *Early Bermuda Records, 1619-1826* lists the 26 September 1789 marriage of John Ingham and Mary Spencer Albouy (165).

The Richardson Register, also included in *Early Bermuda Records, 1619-1826*, lists the baptism of their son Benjamin on 16 October 1790 (158).

The Bermuda National Trust identified the home of Captain John Ingham and his wife Mary Ingham (Ground 40-41). Below the house is the Pembroke Marsh, where it is easy to imagine fields of sweet potatoes and other provisions, as well as the grazing farm animals that Prince recollects she and Hetty cared for. The enslaved living at the Ingham farm staked the cows so that they could get to grasses, but not to the plants grown for human consumption. Prince recalls that she and Hetty, a French black woman seized from a ship by Captain Ingham, cared for sheep, eleven milk cows, a cow fed for slaughter, a hog, and a horse (65 and 67).

On 19 February 1801, a powerful earthquake shook Bermuda, and Prince



Figure 7. Ingham House, Bermuda. Photograph by author, December 2013.

recalls it in *The History of Mary Prince* (68-69). Ferguson found the earthquake mentioned in the 22 November 1831 issue of *The Royal Gazette* (37). I found similar evidence, but in the 21 February 1801 issue of *The Bermuda Gazette*.

The day before the earthquake, a “squall of wind and rain” (Prince 68) had come on suddenly and had filled an old earthen jar with water. When Prince went to empty it, the jar broke apart in her hands, and, though it was an accident, Mrs. Ingham blamed her for its destruction. As a result, she was flogged, first by Mrs. Ingham, and, the next day, by the Captain: “He tied me up upon a ladder, and gave me a hundred lashes with his own hand, and master Benjy stood by to count them for him” (Prince 68). According to Prince, the earthquake hit when the beating was over: “Part of the roof fell down, and everything in the house went – clatter, clatter, clatter” (69). In the ensuing confusion, she recollects she “crawled away on my hands and knees, and laid myself down under the steps of the piazza, in front of the house” (69). Prince lay under the piazza until the next morning when, in spite of grievous injury to her body from the beating, she was forced to work (Prince 69).

A piazza, another name for the veranda of a house, may also refer to an open space, such as a market square, or the area in front of a ground-level opening to a home or shop. Theodore L. Godet, writing about Bermuda in 1860, indicates that many of Hamilton’s shops had “an open piazza in front, two or three yards wide, the ceiling being supported by slender pillars” (85). The piazza at the Ingham farmhouse is a noticeable feature, but not necessarily unique. Because the Ingham house is built on a fairly steep hill, it has lateral stairs that approach from two sides and meet in

the middle at the second floor. Under the stairs, there is storage space and a lower entry to the house, which correspond to Prince's description of her hiding place.

"Some little time after this" (69), Prince recollects that she was the victim of a second extremely violent incident perpetrated by Captain Ingham. This time a cow got loose from its stake, and ate "one of the sweet-potatoe slips" (Prince 69). She was milking a cow when the Captain found out. She recollects that he took "off his heavy boot, [and] he struck me such a blow in the small of my back, that I shrieked with agony, and thought I was killed" (69). The cow, upset by the violence, kicked over the bucket of milk, which further enraged the Captain, so that he continued with the beating: "I cannot remember how many licks he gave me then, but he beat me till I was unable to stand, and till he himself was weary" (69-70). After this, Prince ran away. Captain Ingham had previously beaten Hetty to death because the work that she had been ordered to do had not been completed (Prince 67), and Prince may have assumed she was next. She recollects that she "went to my mother, who was living with Mr. Richard Darrel" (70).

Richard Darrell and his brother Josephus were involved in Bermuda's maritime economy. For example, their ship *President*, a 133 $\frac{3}{4}$ ton brigantine, made fourteen trips to Newfoundland from 1807 to 1811 (Maritime History Museum, Keith Matthews Name Files). The *President* also visited Quebec City. Another ship owned by the Darrell brothers was *Improvement*. Bermuda-built in 1815, the *Improvement* plied the waters between Bermuda and a Trinidad sugar plantation

(Government of Bermuda Archives, Customs Records 11/18).⁴⁵ Thus, the Darrell brothers' trade spanned some 4500 kilometres from the colonies of British North America to Trinidad.

At the time Prince ran away from the Ingham farm, Richard Darrell was living at Cavendish, a stately home situated in Devonshire Parish. John Harvey Darrell recounts in his compiled papers, entitled the "The Journal of John Harvey Darrell," that his father, Richard Darrell, had purchased the house in 1797, and that it was situated on ten and a half acres (130). At the time of purchase, however, it was in disrepair and needed restoration work before Richard Darrell and his family moved there from Salt Kettle, located in nearby Paget Parish (Darrell 132). The Devonshire Parish Records, 1798-1839, place Richard Darrell at Cavendish before 1 July 1800, which is at least eight months prior to the 19 February 1801 earthquake, so it is to this house that Prince ran.

These same records also support the assumption that the eldest female slave listed by Richard Darrell in the assessments was Prince's mother, and that her name was Dinah. John Harvey Darrell, writing in reference to a memory of Dinah when he was less than five years old and still living at Salt Kettle, mentions her in his journal as "Old Dinah, the cook" (132). At this time, Dinah, if she was indeed Mary Prince's mother, would have been in her thirties; however, John Harvey Darrell, retelling his memory of Dinah when he was a child, was an older man reflecting on his past. He may have given her the appellation "Old" from a child's point of view, or it may be

⁴⁵ The custom records listing the *Improvement's* arrival at Bermuda laden with sugar do not give the name of the Trinidad sugar plantation.

what the family called her in later years as she aged, because the assessments indicate that she lived with Richard Darrell as an older slave. If she is the mother of Mary Prince, she may also have been referred to as “Old” Dinah because she shared her name with her daughter, Dinah, Prince’s second youngest sister, just as “old” George Darrell had a son named “George Darrell, who was lost at sea about 1805” (Darrell 131).

The *Devonshire Parish Records*, 1798-1839 for July 1800, August 1803, November 1808, and October 1812, consistently list and value Dinah at £50 Bermudian currency; however, in the December 1816 assessment, she is given the decreased value of £5 Bermudian currency. This is in keeping with the valuations of other adult slaves in the assessments whose values decrease over time, showing that they are elderly and not as productive as they had once been. The only other female slave also listed consistently in the same assessments for Richard Darrell is Ruth, but she is younger than Dinah. In the July 1800 assessment, Ruth was valued at £20 Bermudian currency; in the August 1803 assessment £30 Bermudian currency; and in the November 1808 assessment £50 Bermudian currency, which was her valuation right through to the 1816 assessment. Because Ruth was young in 1800, reaching maturity by 1808, she could not have been Mary Prince’s mother.

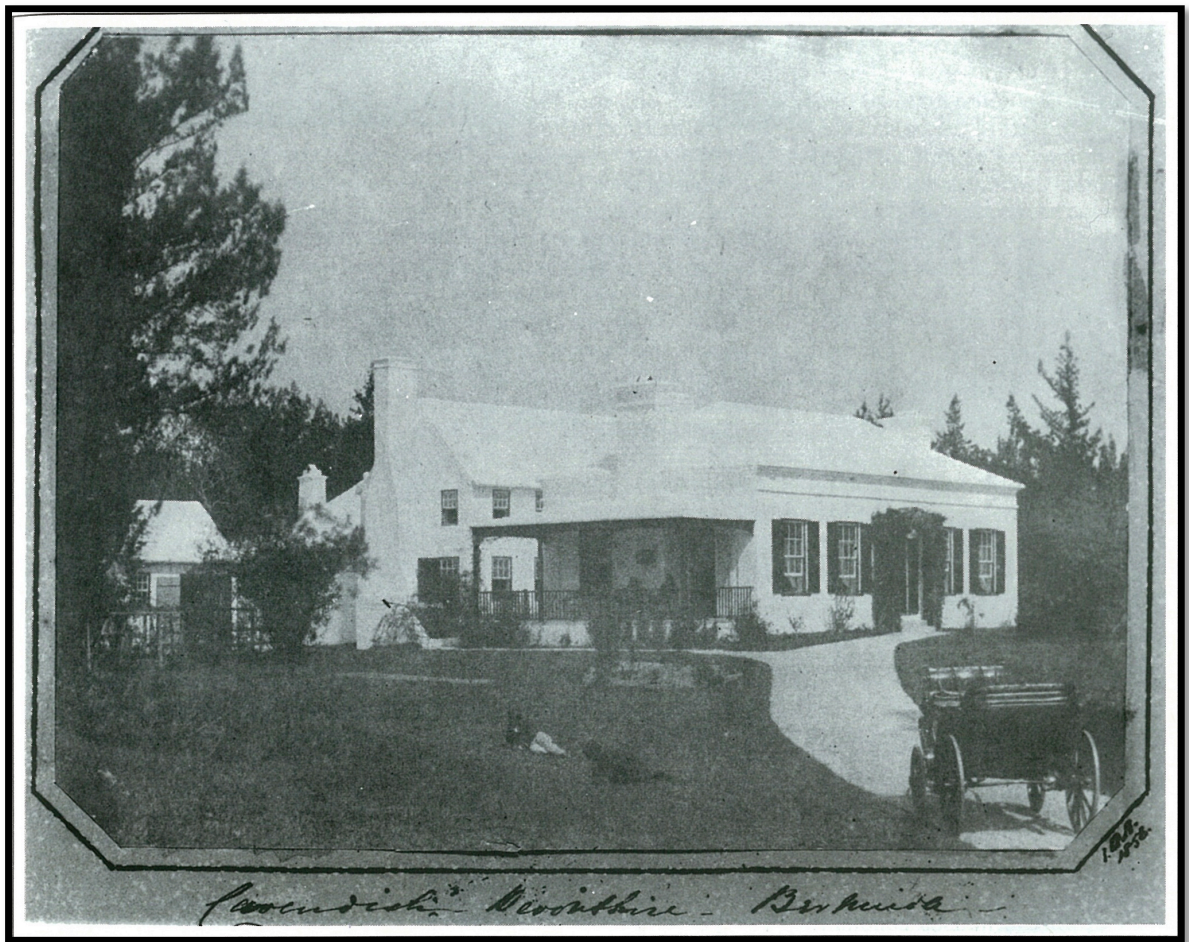


Figure 8. Cavendish. Bermuda Historical Society Collection, Government of Bermuda Archives. Photograph taken from Andrew Trimingham's 2004 book *Devonshire*, p. 11, where the caption reads: "A very early photograph (1856) from John Harvey Darrell's own album shows the old part of Cavendish (before its upper storey was removed by the military)."

Prince does not give the names of her mother or of her brothers in *The History of Mary Prince*, but she recollects that she was the eldest of the children, and that her sisters were named Hannah, Dinah, and Rebecca, in that order from eldest to youngest. Of the Hamilton auction, when she and her sisters were sold, she relates "I, as the eldest stood first, Hannah next to me, then Dinah; and our mother stood beside us, crying over us" (62). She further explains how, when her mother arrived

at Grand Turk Island to work in the salt ponds, “she had a sweet child with her—a little sister I had never seen, about four years of age, called Rebecca” (76). Thomas Pringle offers further details about Mary Prince’s family, writing in a footnote,

Of the subsequent lot of her relatives she can tell but little. She says her father died while she and her mother were at Turk’s Island; and that he had been long dead and buried before any of his children in Bermuda knew of it, they being slaves on other estates. Her mother died after Mary went to Antigua. Of the fate of the rest of her kindred, seven brothers and three sisters, she knows nothing further than this—that the eldest sister [Hannah], who had several children to her master, was taken by him to Trinidad; and that the youngest, Rebecca, is still alive, and in slavery in Bermuda. Mary herself is now about forty-three years of age. (in Prince 76)

An enslaved child named Beck (a familiar moniker for the name Rebecca) is valued at £25 Bermudian currency and listed in the October 1812 Devonshire Parish Records, 1798-1839 for Richard Darrell. Beck is listed again in the December 1816 assessment but valued at £40 Bermudian currency, showing increased value as she grows up and becomes more productive. It is plausible she is Prince’s youngest sister, and if this is the case, this strengthens the assumption that Dinah is Prince’s mother.

Brought Forward	£207 66	Brought Forward	£207 66
Richard Darrell		Estate of John Croson	
House 400, Land 180 580		Furniture 10, Soc 80 120	
Timber 75, furn ^{re} 200		Sack 80, Meriam 35 115	
Dinah 50, Ruth 50 100		Cattle 16, S. Land 750 766	
Nancy 50, Brown 45 95		Timber 500, --- 500	
Yorick 45, Sam 40 85		Edward Cro	
Dick 45, Clarifass 70		or	
Beck 25, Sam 80 105		Richard Wood	
Ben 35, Sue 35 70		House 300, Land 285 585	
Trin 15, Eugenius 25		Timber --- 200	
Marcus 10, Susanna 5 15		Estate John Doe	
2 Children 10, Ann 10 20		House 380, Land 90 470	
Cattle 32, Stock 600 632	1997	Timber 30, Sue 50 80	
John Davis Senr		Stephen 60, Dick 60 120	
Houses 300, Land 30 330		Sack 35, Will 30 65	
Soc 70, Jack 70 140		Aberdeen 25, Mary 20 45	
Phillis 50, Nanny 50 100		Furniture 20, Cattle 16 36	
Harry 40, Ben 60 100		Estate William Foot	
Soc 35, Boy 30 65		House 25, Land 375 400	
Children 20, Boat 10 30		Timber 300 --- 300	
Furniture 40, Cattle 40 80	845	Mary Gibbons	
John Davis Junr		Sary 50, Marrius 60 110	
Frederick 70, Ann 10 80		Soc 50, Marcus 35 85	
Furniture 40, Stock 100 140	220	Furniture 25, Sheep 24 49	
Robert Davis		Ann Gilbert	
Stock &c. &c. ---	200	Furniture 40, Bellard 50	
Rebecca Davis		Yash 50, Sue 50 100	
Lilly 40, Will 70 110		Will 35, Hannah 30 65	
Sam 50, Mary 40 90	200	Dick 30, Cattle 32 62	
Estate Ben ^r Dill		Ann Greatbatch	
House 200, Land 90 290		Land 345, Timber 300 ---	
Timber 30, furn ^{re} 40 70		Durham Hall	
Minerva 30 --- 30		House 60, Land 375 435	
Cattle --- 16	406	Timber --- 150	
Carried forward	£246 34	Carried forward	£301

Figure 9. Devonshire Parish Records, 1798-1839, 12 October 1812, p. 100, for Richard Darrell. Courtesy of the Government of Bermuda Archives. Image by author.

Their younger brothers did not accompany the three Prince sisters when they went to the Hamilton slave auction to be sold. Prince relates in *The History of Mary Prince*: “When I left my dear little brothers in the house in which I had been brought up, I thought my heart would burst” (61). The Devonshire Parish Records, 1798-1839, in the July 1800 assessment for Richard Darrell, lists three children: Brown valued at £15 Bermudian currency, Yourich valued at £10 Bermudian currency, and a “child” valued at £10 Bermudian currency. Some or all of these children may be Prince’s brothers. The Devonshire Parish Records, 1798-1839 in Figure 9, shows that their values had increased by 1812. Their possible younger sister Rebecca (Beck) is listed with them, as well as other young male slaves and children who may be their other brothers.



Figure 10. Rock wall at Cavendish. Probably, the wall was partially excavated in 1969. Photograph by Valerie Richmond, 2014.)

When Mary Prince ran away from the Ingham Farm, she was in a dangerous situation. As Packwood observes, “A price was set on a runaway’s head, and when recaptured he [or she] was usually severely punished” (177). Her mother, who concealed her daughter’s whereabouts, was also in danger because she harboured a runaway. She “dared not receive me into the house, but she hid me up in a hole in the rocks near, and brought me food at night, after every body was asleep,” Prince recollects (70).

As with the Watlington house, and many other fine homes located in Devonshire, the British military took over Cavendish by compulsory purchase (A. Trimingham 10-13); and, similarly, removed the upper story when making renovations. In 1969, Cavendish became a housing development and its structure was further changed. It may be that the “hole in the rocks” in which Prince was hidden by her mother, was not completely removed as a feature of the land. Valerie Richmond, a Bermudian who lives in the oldest section of Cavendish, Cavendish Close, Devonshire, suggests that a rock wall probably partially excavated in 1969 may have been the location of Prince’s hiding place (Richardson “Cavendish”). It features a cavity large enough to accommodate a human body. Before the wall was shorn to make way for a walkway, the entrance to the cavity may have been from the top.

The final structure related to one of Prince’s slave-owners in Bermuda is the home of Robert Darrell, known as Mr. D— in the slave narrative. Darrell had homes in both Bermuda and Grand Turk Island. When Darrell returned to Bermuda in

approximately 1812, he brought Prince with him and settled at his Bermuda residence, leaving his Grand Turk Island properties and salt business in the hands of his son Richard (Dickey). But to where in Bermuda did he return? In his journal, John Harvey Darrell explains:

About thirty years ago there was living in Warwick Parish old Capt. Nathaniel Darrell, the father of Nathaniel R. Darrell of Jamaica, Joseph Taylor Darrell and others. He was a client of mine and although he told me he was in his 81st year, his memory and faculties seemed perfect. I inquired of him about family connections of the Darrells of Warwick Parish. He remembered a good deal about them for sixty or seventy years before that time but could give me no information as to the original connection between the Warwick and Devonshire Darrells. (129)

John Harvey Darrell died in 1887. Therefore, Captain Nathaniel Darrell's memories presumably would date back to the eighteenth-century. It seems that these two Darrell families, one in Devonshire, and the other in Warwick, were not closely related by the time of Mary Prince's enslavement story. Like the Trimingham's, the Darrells are an old family in Bermuda and the extended family was spread throughout the territory at the time Mary Prince was in Bermuda. Although the Assessments of Warwick Parish did not survive (Ferguson 31), *Early Bermuda Records, 1619-1826* list a Robert Darrell. In the volume's Richardson Register he is listed in Groom Marriages. He married Mary Ball 13 July 1780. Both were from Smith's Parish (*Early Bermuda Records, 1619-1826* 163). He is also listed

in the 1789 Assessment, but by then Warwick is indicated as his parish (*Early Bermuda Records, 1619-1826* 235).

Therefore, Robert Darrell and his son Richard may have been members of the Warwick Darrell family, and their Bermuda residence was located and still may stand in Warwick Parish. In this section of her narrative, Prince says that she was “several years the slave of Mr. D— after I had returned to my native place” (77). While at Darrell’s Bermuda residence, Prince defied him, refusing to “wash him in a tub of water,” which was his “ugly habit” (Prince 78). After this, she was hired out to work at Cedar Hill.

Ferguson locates a Cedar Hills in St. George’s (40-42). I have found a second house called Cedar Hill (not “Hills”) now turned into condos in Warwick. It is on the crest of a hill, about 500 metres from Warwick Pond as the crow flies, and about half way between Warwick Pond and the north-facing shore. Therefore, future research may show that the Bermudian home of Robert Darrell was in Warwick Parish, and, perhaps, located close by to Cedar Hill.

3.4 Grand Turk Island

Knowledgeable elders Colin Brooker and Shirley Brown of Grand Turk Island shared with me the oral tradition of Mary Prince as it pertains to that territory.⁴⁶

⁴⁶ I met both Colin Brooker and Shirley Brown when I lived on Grand Turk Island. A proper archive does not exist in the territory, in spite of attempts by the Turks and Caicos National Museum to secure government funding to provide for one. Effort has been made to save some archival material that had been improperly stored in the old police station on Grand Turk Island but that was only partially successful. Other materials in the possession of individuals are not readily shared. Therefore, the

That Mr. D— was Robert Darrell of Bermuda and Turks Island, who had a son, Richard Darrell, is corroborated by listings in the 1822, 1825, 1828, and 1831 Slave Registers of former British Colonial Dependencies for the Bahamas (TNA: T/71 456, no. 886; T/71 457 no. 379; T/71 458 no. 263; and T/71 459, no. 285). Both Robert and Richard Darrell are listed, although Robert died in 1825, leaving his salt business in the hands of his son. No other father and son proprietors' names begin with "D," and Richard's name matches with the abbreviated form "Master Dickey," by which he was known in Prince's slave narrative.⁴⁷

Colin Brooker, now deceased, came into possession of Woodville, the Wood "mansion" located on Middle Street, Grand Turk Island, through his wife's family, an old Island family with roots dating back to the nineteenth century. Just across Darrell Alley from Woodville is the historical property of Robert and Richard Darrell. Brooker, knowing its history from the oral tradition of his wife's family and that of the Island, purchased it.

Situated in the oldest part of Cockburn Town, on the corner of Market and Middle Streets, the Darrell property was located directly across from the salt yard. A

foundation of my findings is the oral account passed to me by Colin Brooker and corroborated by Shirley Brown, an extended member of Colin's family. Island surnames associated with Brooker and Brown are Tatem, Astwood, Stowe-Wood, and Richardson, for example.

⁴⁷ More information about these father and son proprietors of the salt industry may be found in three previous articles authored by me, "Mary Prince and Grand Turk," "Mary Prince, Grand Turk, and Antigua," and "Turks Islands' Salt, Enslavement, and the Newfoundland-West Indian Trade." Also in Neil Kennedy's "Impermanence and Empire: Salt Raking in the Turks and Caicos Islands" and Cynthia Kennedy's "The Other White Gold: Salt, Slaves, the Turks and Caicos Islands, and British Colonialism."

prime business location, this was, and still is, less than a block from the salt ponds in one direction, and a little over a block to the docks for shipping in the other. Archival photographs in the collection of the Turks and Caicos National Museum show that the house was a squat two-storied wooden structure, and this concurs with what Prince recollects: “Grand Quay is a small town upon a sandbank; the houses low and built of wood” (71). A covered veranda with jalousie shutters ran along two sides of its upper storey and, in the yard behind the house, was a separate Bermudian kitchen. Though the residence was demolished in the 1950s to make way for a small apartment building, the separately built kitchen still stands, as does a small structure that may have served historically as a slave dwelling. It is divided in half by a partition, and there are two separate entrances, one to each of two rooms that would have been cramped living quarters for slaves who may have lived there.



Figure 11. Robert Darrell's residence on Grand Turk Island with salt yard in foreground. Courtesy of the Turks and Caicos National Museum, TCNM 2000.15.06.

A long rectangular shed is located on the historical Rose Neith property. The Rose Neith property is situated on the opposite side of Middle Street and approximately one hundred metres north of the historical property of Robert and Richard Darrell. Oral accounts indicate that it is the oldest structure in the Turks and Caicos Islands, and that it is the “long shed” in which Prince and other slaves were locked up at night. Prince recollects that she and others “slept in a long shed, divided into narrow slips, like the stalls used for cattle” and that “[b]oards fixed upon stakes driven into the ground, without mat or covering, were our only beds” (72). The structure’s heavily barred windows suggest the days of enslavement, although future research is required to learn if they are original to the structure and, if not, when they were added. Likewise, future dendrochronology work on the window headers and other timbers may help to date the building.



Figure 12. The “long shed,” Grand Turk Island. Photograph by author, 2008.

There are problems with the timeline of Prince’s narrative as she relates it. One is the number of years she spent on Grand Turk Island. On one hand, Prince relates that she was the slave of Captain John Ingham for five years after her father, Prince, accompanied her back to the Ingham farm when she had run away to her mother who was living at Richard Darrell’s: “For five years after this I remained in his [Captain Ingham’s] house, and almost daily received the same harsh treatment” (70). If this were true, it would mean that she didn’t leave Bermuda until 1806, which is five years after the earthquake. On the other hand, she relates, “I think it was about ten years that I had worked in the salt ponds at Turk’s Island when my master left off business, and retired to a house he had in Bermuda, leaving his son to

succeed him in the island” (75). This would put her back in Bermuda in 1816, However, she later indicates that she left her fifth slave owner, John Adams Wood Jr., and his family “after I had lived with them for thirteen years” (88). She left them in 1828.⁴⁸ Following this timeline would mean that she had lived with them in Antigua since 1815.

The date of the Great August Hurricane of 1813 helps to settle some of the matter. The hurricane struck Grand Turk Island on 22 August of that year, and “demolished 120 dwellings on Grand Turk, and nearly as many on Salt Cay . . . [plus] it destroyed half a million bushels of salt and left 1600 people virtually destitute” (H. E. Sadler 206). In *The History of Mary Prince*, Prince relates that after she left Grand Turk Island, she was told by slaves who had also returned to Bermuda, but after her, that a “flood came down and washed away many houses, filled the place with sand, and overflowed the ponds” (77). This suggests that she had returned to Bermuda before August 1813 when the hurricane hit, and that the ten years she spent in Grand Turk Island must be approximately 1802/3 to 1812. At the latest, she would have left the Island just prior to 22 August 1813.

Prince recollects that her mother “worked for some years on the island, but was taken back to Bermuda some time before my master carried me again thither” (76). Richard Darrell very likely sent Prince’s mother with her younger sister, the four-year-old Rebecca, to Grand Turk Island to work in the ponds. Either Richard

⁴⁸ Mary Prince’s petition presented to Parliament on 24 June 1829 includes this statement: “that about ten months ago the Petitioner arrived in London, with her master and mistress, in the capacity of nurse to their child” (petition 127). Ten months prior to June 1829 is August 1828.

Darrell had a business interest in the salt industry, or Prince's mother was put out to work for another slave-owner, and her wages were sent back to Richard Darrell in Bermuda.

Neil Kennedy, in "Impermanence and Empire: Salt Raking in the Turks and Caicos Islands," indicates that after 1764, enslaved women "were preferred for work in the ponds because they were less easily employed elsewhere in Bermuda's maritime economy" (85). Robert and Richard Darrell's entries in the 1822, 1825, 1828, and 1831 Slave Registers for Bahamas show this to be true. In each year, female slaves comprised approximately sixty percent of the Darrell slaves, and male slaves comprised forty percent; slave-children, aged six and under, are exempt from the calculation.

As shown in Figure 9, Richard Darrell first lists and values Beck (Rebecca) at £25 Bermudian currency in October 1812 when her name appears in the Devonshire Parish Assessments, 1798-1839. At the time of this assessment, she was valued as more than a child, but not yet a fully productive worker. She is not listed in either of the two previous assessments in August 1803 or November 1808. If she is the youngest sister of Mary Prince, she was born after August 1803 and she was absent from Bermuda in November 1808. However, she is listed in the assessment subsequent to the October 1812 assessment, which was taken in December 1816. Therefore, it is likely that Mary Prince, who did not know of her younger sister Rebecca until she arrived on Grand Turk with her mother, most probably left Bermuda for Grand Turk Island before or soon after August 1803.

As an older woman reflecting on her past, Prince's memory was quick to grasp memorable details, such as the names of slave-owners and of other slaves, and events that were telling in her life, such as the cruelties meted out to her and to other slaves by some slave-owners. However, her memory was not as clear when it came to lengths of time when she was a child and a youth, when she did not have memorable events to fix her memory in time, such as school graduations, weddings, births, baptisms, and funerals, all written into a family bible as the members of prominent slave-owning families might have done. My reading is that her memory was remarkable, and the gaps unsurprising. Colonial records and other archival documents help to reconstruct her story.

Prince first appears in the Slave Registers of former British Colonial Dependencies for Antigua in November 1817 (TNA: T71/244, p. 814). This date coincides with her recollections that by 1828, when she left the Wood family and was freed by self-manumission, she had "lived with them for thirteen years" (Prince 88). By 1830, when the slave narrative was compiled by Susanna Strickland, "it was about fifteen years" since "Mr. Wood took me with him to Antigua, to the town of St. John's, where he lived" (Prince 78).

Regarding her trip from Bermuda to Grand Turk Island, Prince recalls "[w]e were nearly four weeks on the voyage, which was unusually long," and "our provisions and water ran very low, and we were put on short allowance" (71). Had it not been for the kindness of other passengers who had brought their own food, Prince would have almost starved. Upon her arrival at the Island, the provisioning of

food did not improve. Prince recollects that she and the other slaves of Robert Darrell were fed on Indian corn three times a day. At nine in the morning, after a grueling five hours in the ponds, they were given Indian corn boiled in water; at twelve, they had corn soup, called “blawly”; and at the end of the workday, when they returned to Darrell’s house, each person was given an allowance of raw Indian corn. They pounded this corn in a mortar and boiled it in water for their meal (Prince 71-72).

Adrienne Butz’s book, *The Letter Book of Captain John Lightbourn Sr. and William Astwood*, sheds light on the severe rationing that Prince and other slaves working alongside her would have suffered. The food shortage was Island-wide, caused by drought and uncertain international politics, and it also affected Bermuda. Captain Lightbourn’s 28 November 1806 letter to Astwood is the first letter of a series that discusses the paucity of provisions on the Island at the time Prince was working in the ponds:

Provisions is [sic] very scarce, not one Bushel of Corn on the Island for sale, and many people not a morsel of Bread. There is a few barrels of Flour for sale but very few of us can purchase and to purchase that to feed the Negros on is destruction and gives no satisfaction to the slaves. (Butz 21)

This theme recurs many times in subsequent correspondence between Lightbourn and Astwood, culminating in Astwood’s 24 October 1812 letter regarding the worsening situation due to the breakout of war with America in June, 1812, which had caused embargoes beginning from an even earlier date. “Since when owing to

the unhappy War with America, not opportunity has appeared for your Island. I fear that the generality of the inhabitants of Turks Islands, has suffered much for the want of Provision" (Butz 73). The lack of provisions was clearly a very serious situation in both Bermuda and Grand Turk Island. When the Great August Hurricane of 1813 hit the Island, an already grave situation became desperate.

When Robert Darrell put his salt business in the hands of his son Richard, and returned to his Bermuda residence, he may have had a special concession to transport Mary Prince with him. Henry C. Wilkinson, in *Bermuda from Sail to Steam: A History of the Island from 1784 to 1901*, writes that "In 1806, in view of the Bahamas annexation [in 1799], the Bermuda custom-house no longer acknowledged the free interchange of slaves between the two colonies" (208). The object was to stop importation of slaves from the Bahamas to Bermuda, which was overcrowded. Bermudian slave-owners themselves sent problematic, rebellious, and excess slaves to America or to West Indian colonies where they were put on the auction block. As a result, this hindered "coloured workers at Turks Islands from returning to their home" (Wilkinson 208). Neil Kennedy points out that further to this, the "abolition of British participation in the transatlantic slave trade in 1808 complicated the seasonal migration of slaves from Bermuda to the ponds" (85).

However, Wilkinson relates that special concessions were given to some slave-owners concerning bringing slaves home to Bermuda. Nathaniel Butterfield, for example, brought slaves from the Turks Islands for his father's Bermuda estate, and Edward Eve brought slaves from the Bahamas (Wilkinson 208). Captain John

Lightbourn writes of sending a “Negro man Cesar who is afflicted with the Scurvy” to Bermuda in 1808 (Butz 37). The slave-owners of Mary Prince, her mother, and her sister Rebecca, returned them to Bermuda. In the case of Prince, who was valued at £100 Bermudian currency, this may have been because of her worth. She was a valuable asset that could be one-day redeemed. Similarly, Beck, who might have shown promise to become a highly valued asset in a few years’ time, was not left behind. Either the ban on the inter-island movement of slaves between the two colonies was not enforced, or Prince and her family members benefitted from special concessions given to some slave-owners to transport their slaves. Conversely, some slave-owners may have used the ban to leave slaves they did not want in Bermuda in the Turks Islands.

Prince’s story points to the transportation and selling of slaves between colonies. Not only was she transported to Grand Turk Island and sold there, but also, after returning to Bermuda, she was transported to Antigua and sold. My research augments this aspect of her story. Prince’s fifth and last slave-owner John Adams Wood Jr. transported and sold both male and female slaves between British West Indian colonies after the 1807 Abolition of the Slave Trade Act.⁴⁹ This indicates that

⁴⁹ John Adams Wood Jr.’s 30 April 1821 declaration in the Slave Registers of former British Colonial Dependencies for Antigua, for example, indicates a decrease of one slave, William, whose name had been recorded in the previous 1817 Slave Register, and who had been sold, but it also indicates an addition of three new names, Sue, John and William White. Sue and John had been imported from Bermuda: Sue in 1819 when she was twenty-five years old; William White had been purchased from Antionette White (TNA: T71/247, p. 329). That Sue and John are imported from Bermuda may speak to Wood having personal slaves in Bermuda, as well as in Antigua. It may also be that Wood was transporting slaves for other slave-owners, as

although the trade in captive Africans directly from the coast of Africa was closed, slave trading was still underway between colonies in the British West Indies. Just as more female than male slaves worked in the Grand Turk Island salt industry, because of a lack of work for them in Bermuda's maritime economy, more female slaves than male slaves were transported out of Bermuda.

3.5 Antigua

Mary Prince was a household slave of John Adams Wood Jr. and his wife Margaret Gilbert Wood (*née* Albouy) for thirteen years in Antigua. About ten months after Prince's arrival in London with the Woods, on 24 June 1829, abolitionists presented a petition to Parliament on her behalf, hoping for a ruling that would allow Prince to return to Antigua a free woman. The petition begins as follows: "A Petition of Mary Prince, or James, commonly called Molly Wood, was presented and

he had transported Prince for Robert Darrell. That he had personal slaves in Bermuda is demonstrated in his 19 September 1817 declaration where he mentions his slave "Marion and her children now in the Island of Bermuda" (TNA: T/71 244, p. 814), and his 26 April 1828 declaration where he indicates Penelope, listed as ten years old on the Slave Register, who had been "removed from Bermuda" and his slave-woman "Lenty in Bermuda" (TNA: T/71 249, p. 801). Wood's declaration in the Slave Register for 22 October 1824 indicates the addition of three slaves, Jim, Sam and Simon, but also a decrease of three, Dick, who had died, and Kitt and Sue who had been sold, Sue in St. Vincent (TNA: T71/248 p. 823). Sue was enslaved in, and transported between, at least three different colonies, Bermuda, Antigua, and St. Vincent, and this reflects on Prince's story, for she, too, was enslaved in, and transported between, three different colonies before self-manumission. Pringle, in a footnote, also reveals that Prince's sister Hannah was taken to Trinidad by her slave-owner and that she had several children with him (in Prince 76). Perhaps this points to what may be a larger pattern than previously realized—that female slaves were transported out of Bermuda to other colonies because they were less easily employed in Bermuda's maritime economy.

read; setting forth, That the Petitioner was born a Slave in the colony of Bermuda, and is now about forty years of age" ("Petition," 127).

The petition, which failed, illuminates the importance of archival records in confirming her story. It clarifies that she was known by three names. She went by Mary Prince. When she married Daniel James at "about Christmas 1826" (Prince 84), she was then known as Mary James, but she was also "commonly" known as Molly Wood. The informal name, "Molly," first appears in the Antiguan section of *The History of Mary Prince*. "Molly, Molly, there's your dinner" (Prince 79), the Woods' cook says as she shoves Prince's food in the door of the little shack on the Woods' property, where Prince lay ill with rheumatism and with St. Anthony's Fire in her left leg. Wood registered Prince as Molly and listed her as "black" in the Slave Registers of former British Colonial Dependencies of Antigua for 1817, 1821, 1824, and 1828 (TNA: T/71 244, p. 814; T/71 247, p. 329; T/71 248, p. 823; T/71 249, p. 801). She is not registered in the 1832 Slave Register, but Wood's declaration states, "and except Molly who accompanied me to England, and there quitted my service" (TNA: T/71 250, p. 702).

Prince became an adherent of the Moravian faith soon after her arrival at Antigua. By late 1830, when she began work with Strickland and Pringle on *The History of Mary Prince*, she had been a Moravian for a minimum of eleven years. As a black Bermudian, she would have been familiar with both the Church of England and with Wesleyan Methodism. In ministering to Bermuda's black population, Wesleyan Methodists were, as Packwood writes, "the trailblazers" (134). They were active in

Bermuda when Prince was an adolescent and a young woman. Although there was a large Methodist community in Antigua prior to Mary Prince's arrival, the "trailblazers" in Antigua were Moravians. Missionary couple Samuel and Molly Isles arrived in 1756 from St. Thomas where they had served for eight years (Peucker and Graf). The first Moravian chapel, "a small hut at Spring Gardens" in St. John's, was built five years later in 1761 (Dyde 92). By 1775, a proper chapel was built, and "within 15 years, there were five Moravian preachers at work, another chapel had been erected at Grace Hill . . . and there were well over 5,000 converts" (Dyde 92).



Figure 13. "Sandbox Tree," United Brethren (Moravian) Mission Station, Antigua, circa 1822. Courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University.

Johann Heinrich Stobwafser, the son of a Moravian minister, rendered four historical images of Antigua in 1830, which were based on his time in Antigua prior to 1822. One image is of Spring Gardens, showing seven people gathered around a large shade-providing tree surrounded by several structures of various sizes. This “Sandbox Tree” is the tree under which Samuel Isles and other missionaries taught their students in the early days of the Mission.⁵⁰ Because Prince arrived at Antigua in 1815, and sought out Moravian teachers by 1819, if not earlier, this image depicts the time Prince would have been frequenting the Spring Gardens mission.

Jon F. Sensbach, in *Rebecca’s Revival: Creating Black Christianity in the Atlantic World*, explains that the Moravian “baptismal ritual had reverberations for many inductees, since water often held a sacred place in West African cultures and was similarly used in religious ceremonies to connect initiates to the ancestral world” (88). Moravian missionaries in the Danish Islands, and later St. Thomas, adapted many of these customs to those of Christianity to support their own message. During the time of the transatlantic trade in captive Africans, ties to kin were broken, and slaves sought out new relationships in the West Indies. These might be other captives met during transport across the Middle Passage, or other plantation or household workers.

⁵⁰ Johann Heinrich Stobwafser, “Ansichten von Missions-Niederlassungen der evangelischen Bruder-gemeinde/Vues des Etablissements Missionnaires fondé par la communauté évangélique des Freres-*Unis* . . . (Basle, n.d. [1830?]).” United Brethren (Moravian) Mission Station, Antigua, British West Indies, 1830.

Moravian missionaries used this to their advantage. They created “a lattice of spiritual mentors and fictive kin who helped incorporate Africans into the evangelical family, then continued to teach and nurture them” (Sensbach 92-93). Perhaps the Isles brought this practice with them from St. Thomas and used it in Antigua, making conversion to the Moravian faith more attractive to Africans and their descendants. Sue Thomas adds that Moravian missionaries in Prince’s time learned the language of the people they intended to teach; in Antigua, this would have been local Creole (*Telling West Indian Lives* 124). Thomas adds that Moravian missionaries acted under very specific instructions to teach about Christ, but not to engage in doctrine that caused divisiveness between Christian denominations (*Telling West Indian Lives* 125). Thomas, who has researched Prince’s Antiguan years and Moravian connections extensively, concludes that “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” (*Telling West Indian Lives* 125).

Prince reports attending a Methodist prayer meeting at a plantation called Winthorps. “They were the first prayers I understood” (82), she recollects. This is probably because the prayers were in the local Creole, as the prayers at Moravian meetings would also have been. Although the Methodist meeting impressed her, she had her “name entered in the [Moravian] Missionaries book; and [she] followed the church earnestly” (Prince 83). She attended without the consent or knowledge of her slave-owner, Wood: Whenever she took the Wood children their lunches at school, she would go by the church to hear the teachers. “The Moravian ladies (Mrs. Richter,

Mrs. Olufsen, and Mrs. Sauter) taught me to read in the class; and I got on very fast” (83), she recollects.

Moravian church records, like colonial records and other archival documents, confirm, and, at times, enhance Prince’s story. The Catalogue of Clergymen and Their Families, Antigua, 1755-1927 indicate that Prince possibly was visiting with Mrs. Richter, Mrs. Olufsen, and Mrs. Sauter (Sautter) as early as August or September 1816, but that she was definitely visiting with them by 1819. They and their husbands, who were all Deacons in the Church, are given numbered entries and detailed listings organized by date and gender in the Catalogue (Moravian Church Archives).

Johanna Elizabeth Richter (*née* Heidrick) arrived in Antigua 20 October 1806. She “fell asleep” 30 December 1820, and was buried the next day, 31 December, in the Spring Gardens burial ground. Two Mrs. Olufsens are listed. The first, Christine Barbara Olufsen (*née* Wirth), arrived at Antigua 1 August 1816, but “Departed this Life” only six weeks later, on 12 September 1816. The second, Ann Margaret Olufsen (*née* Mattern), arrived at Antigua in January 1818, a single woman, but soon married Jens Olufson, the widower of Christine. She left Antigua on 4 April 1829, three months after the death of her husband, Jens, who died 4 January 1829. Mary Sautter (*née* Schuster) arrived at Antigua 30 December 1802. She left for St. Kitts on 16 October 1823 (Moravian Church Archives, Catalogue of Clergymen and Their Families, 1755-1927, Women’s Listing, nos. 27, 29, 35, 36).

If Prince refers to the first Christine Olufsen, then she was attending meetings prior to September 1816 when Olufsen passed away. She is definitely attending by 1819 because Johanna Richter passed a few days after Christmas 1820. Prince's initiation at the Christmas Methodist prayer meeting when she was at Winthorpe's plantation with her owners, the Woods, presumably was at least one year prior to Richter's death. This is seven years before Prince recalls her marriage to Daniel James: "We were joined in marriage, about Christmas 1826, in the Moravian Chapel at Spring Gardens, by the Rev. Mr. Olufsen" (84). She also recollects: "I always thought about what I had heard from the missionaries, and wished to be good that I might go to heaven. After a while I was admitted a candidate for the holy Communion" (83). These historical records show that in late 1830 and early 1831, when Prince was working on her narrative with Susanna Strickland and Thomas Pringle, she had been a Moravian for a minimum of eleven years. Possibly, she had been a Moravian for fourteen years.

Her attachment to the Moravian faith is confirmed by her attempt to join the Fetter Lane Moravian congregation in July 1832, after she left the employ of Thomas and Margaret Pringle (Thomas, "New Information on Mary Prince" 82). While in the employ of the Pringles, Prince received religious instruction from Rev. Young, a neighbour, and Rev. Mortimer, a Church of England man (Prince 92-93). She left the Pringles in June 1832 and received a "weekly allowance" from Thomas Pringle for her needs (Thomas "Court Case" 147). As Thomas suggests, Prince may have left the Pringles' employment because of the severe rheumatism she recalls suffering from

in her narrative, and because of the “disease in the eyes,” noted by Pringle, which may have threatened her eyesight (Thomas, *Telling West Indian Lives* 121). These disabilities may have made it difficult for Prince to perform her duties in the Pringle household. The money Pringle gave to Prince may have been profit from the sales of *The History of Mary Prince*. A fund had been organized for the “future benefit” of Prince based on the sales of the pamphlet, and this was advertised by way of a postscript added in the second edition (M. Pringle 129). Prince was not admitted to the Fetter Lane Moravian congregation, possibly because of public attacks by pro-slavery lobbyist James MacQueen in *Blackwood’s Magazine*, which described Prince as sexually licentious and innately barbaric and corrupt (Thomas, *Telling West Indian Lives* 135). Nonetheless, Prince’s attempt to be reunited with a Moravian congregation shows that her conversion to the Moravian faith as a much younger woman was an important aspect of her life.

As Thomas suggests, many critics think the Christian representation of Prince inauthentic—that it is a portrayal of Prince contrived by Strickland and Pringle for a British Christian audience (*Telling West Indian Lives* 121). Thomas’s work on Prince’s Moravian connections tells a different story, one that has been previously under-researched. She concludes that Prince’s Christian background—her Moravian connection—is authentic. My research about the Moravian missionaries, who provided Prince an education, supports Thomas’s conclusions that Prince’s Moravian affiliation is genuine.

An oral story of Prince in Antigua, told to me at Christmas 2011 by The Rt. Rev. Dr. Kingsley Lewis, Bishop of the Moravian church, is that Prince did not die in London. According to Lewis, she returned to Antigua after the *Slavery Abolition Act* was passed in 1833, but prior to 1 August 1834 when it came into effect in the overseas territories. She was re-enslaved upon her arrival at Antigua, but subsequently was released.⁵¹ The third section of the 1833 Slavery Abolition Act bears out this possibility, stating:

[A]ll slaves who may at any Time previous to the passing of this Act have been brought with the Consent of their Possessors, and all apprenticed Labourers who may hereafter with the like Consent be brought, into any part of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, shall from and after the passing of this Act be absolutely and entirely free to all intents and Purposes whatsoever. (Debates in Parliament, Session 1833)

Prince, who arrived in London with her owners in 1828, would have satisfied this requirement and, therefore, was free as of 28 August 1833 when the Act received Royal Assent.

In his book *The Price of Emancipation*, Nicholas Draper discusses cases related to this section, but none correspond exactly to the hypothesis that Prince returned to Antigua after 28 August 1833 but before 1 August 1834. For example, two enslaved mariners from St. Vincent, Joe aged forty-eight and Sam aged twenty-

⁵¹ As with Colin Brooker and Shirley Brown, my conversation with The Rt. Rev. Dr. Kingsley Lewis was casual. I was at Spring Gardens for a Christmas concert, and he was also in attendance. We sat in a back pew while he told me the stories.

eight, “claimed and obtained their freedom under the 3rd section of the Abolition Act. They have been in England” (Draper 126). Again in St. Vincent, two female slaves, Abba and Kitty Brown, filed proceedings in the colonial court against the executor of their former slave-owner James Wilson (Draper 126).⁵² However, the correspondence regarding these cases was after 1 August 1834. Therefore, I suggest that all four slaves, who were free under section 3 of the Act, were facing a term in the apprenticeship program provided for in the first section of the Act instead of liberty. However, they made successful appeals pursuant to section 3. If Prince did return to Antigua as a free woman after 28 August 1833 but before 1 August 1834, Wood may have attempted to re-enslave her, but the law would have been on her side because she had been in England.

The *Slavery Abolition Act* of 1833 also provided that £20 million be paid in compensation to slave-owners. Although the compensation records do not give the names of slaves, only the total number of slaves being claimed, it is clear from other cases that Wood would not have been able to claim for Prince. Draper gives examples of slave-owners who tried unsuccessfully to claim for slaves who had been in Great Britain. For example, F. A. Loinsworth, in England from Bombay, tried unsuccessfully to claim for two slaves he had brought with him, and who were

⁵² This may be the same James Wilson, deceased owner of the Cane Grove estate, a sugar plantation on St. Vincent, who illegally re-enslaved Ashton Warner. Warner is the storyteller of the second slave narrative prepared by Susanna Strickland and Thomas Pringle that was published close on the heels of Prince’s *The History of Mary Prince*. Warner’s narrative is titled *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*.

working as domestic servants in his household (Draper 226). Similarly, Frederick William Martiny of Belize tried unsuccessfully to claim for a slave he had brought to England to work as his daughter's nurse (226). However, Wood, a wealthy transatlantic rentier, registered thirty claims for over 1,000 slaves on thirteen estates in Antigua (*Legacies of British Slave Ownership*). He was successful in twenty-five of these claims, receiving £10, 584 13s 0d in compensation for 737 slaves (*Legacies of British Slave Ownership*). He was also successful in two claims in Bermuda which suggests that he, or family members, also maintained a residence, or residences, there (*Legacies of British Slave Ownership*).

Near the conclusion of *The History of Mary Prince*, Prince states, "I still live in the hope that God will find a way to give me my liberty, and give me back to my husband. I endeavour to keep down my fretting, and to leave all to Him, for he knows what is good for me better than I know myself. Yet, I must confess, I find it a hard and heavy task to do" (93). Strickland compiled these words in the closing months of 1830 or in the first few weeks of 1831. By this time, Prince and her husband Daniel James had been separated for a little over two years; Prince left Antigua in late July or August 1828. They had spent approximately a year and a half together as a married couple prior to her departure. The Banns of Marriage, Spring Gardens Moravian Church, Antigua, 1795-1826, which are also located in the Moravian

Church Archives, does not confirm their marriage. The last four pages of the book, where the marriage might have been listed, have been removed.⁵³

Nonetheless, an entry in the List of Exclusions, St. John's Moravian Church, Antigua, 1833-1856 (Moravian Church Archives) does confirm their marriage, and also confirms charges of infidelity against Daniel James made by John Adams Wood Jr.⁵⁴ Registers of Exclusion are historical records that Moravian authorities kept, which list unworthy deeds committed by congregation members, whereby some individuals were excluded from church privileges, such as Holy Communion. A 12 January 1834 entry lists both Daniel James and Mary Ann Williams in the left column, with the following text next to their names on the right: "Proved to have been in the custom of fiddling at dances in the Town; and, by the acknowledgement of both parties to have lived in concubinage with Mary Ann Williams, during the absence of his Wife (Mary Prince) in England" (List of Exclusions, Moravian Church Archives).

⁵³ The Moravian Church Archives are secure, so this damage likely happened prior to 1968 when they were moved to Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, from Antigua.

⁵⁴ John Adams Wood Jr. charged Daniel James with infidelity in his 20 October 1830 letter to Mr. Taylor, secretary to the Governor of Antigua, Sir Patrick Ross. Thomas Pringle contested this charge, citing an April 1830 letter from Daniel James to Mary Prince, although there was a six-month gap between letters. Pringle writes that Daniel's letter was "couched in strong terms of conjugal affection; expressing his anxiety for her speedy return, and stating that he had lately 'received a grace' (a token of religious advancement) in the Moravian church, a circumstance altogether incredible if the man were living in open adultery, as Mr. Wood's assertion implies" (T. Pringle, supplement 106). The 12 January 1834 entry for Daniel James in the List of Exclusions, St. John's Moravian Church, Antigua, 1833-1856 shows that Wood's charge was justified.

Dec 15	B. Thomas Thibauts (Rose)	"	her abode. Confessed to Mr Kellner that Larion ⁿ Thibauts (s) is with child by him.
1834 Jan 12	Ch. Abaahumalgray's	"	For not attending to the summons of H. Mark Coates, to answer the charge of fiddling, drinking, fighting, & otherwise disorderly living.
"	B. Daniel James	"	Proved to have been in the custom of fiddling at dances in the Town; and, by the acknowledged ment of both parties, to have lived in concu- binage with Mary Anna Williams, during the absence of his Wife (Mary Prince) in England.
"	cc Mary Anna Williams }	"	
"	St. Peter's Ann	"	about H. & Ben. Wood informs us that Anna

Figure 14. List of Exclusions, St. John's Moravian Church, Antigua, 1833-1856, showing 12 January 1834 entry regarding Daniel James. Courtesy of the Moravian Church Archives. Image by author.

Mary Prince was adamant that she wanted to return to Antigua and to her husband Daniel James, but not as a slave:

I would rather go into my grave than go back a slave to Antigua, though I wish to go back to my husband very much – very much – very much! I am much afraid my owners would separate me from my husband, and use me very hard, or perhaps sell me for a field negro; – and slavery is too too bad! I would rather go into my grave. (T. Pringle, supplement 95)

Thomas Pringle had accompanied Prince to solicitor George Stephen's premises in either late November or early December 1828, when she had been just three months absent from the Woods' London residence. They had gone to Stephen to request that he "investigate and draw up a statement of her case, and have it submitted to counsel, in order to ascertain whether or not, under the circumstances, her freedom could be legally established on her return to Antigua" (T. Pringle, supplement 95).

Over four years later, on 27 February 1833, Prince was recorded for the last time in a London-based public record when she testified at the *Wood v. Pringle* court case.

I suggest that Prince returned to Antigua in the fall of 1833 and that she either already knew about, or upon her arrival discovered, her husband Daniel living in “concubinage” with Mary Ann Williams. The wording “*To have lived in concubinage with Mary Ann Williams, during the absence of his Wife (Mary Prince) in England,*” presents a strong argument that Prince returned to Antigua. Firstly, “to have lived . . . during the absence of” speaks of a past condition that has ended. Secondly, the 12 January 1834 date of the entry in the Register fits with the oral account that Prince returned to the territory. Finally, perhaps it was upon her return, or as a result of her return, that the authorities of the Moravian church were made aware of Daniel’s—who was a Brother in the Church—“concubinage” with Mary Ann Williams. Natasha Lightfoot in *Troubling Freedom: Antigua and the Aftermath of British Emancipation*, points out that in some instances “[e]xposing philandering husbands and their lovers to the Moravian church discipline process offered women a space to voice their grievances against both parties” (159). Perhaps it was Prince who initiated the exclusion conference that resulted in Daniel’s exclusion. Even though Daniel had not seen Prince for six years and may have felt she had deserted him, the Moravian authorities would have deemed his new partnership with Mary Ann Williams sinful.

Possibly, Mary Prince, who would have been forty-six years old in 1834, did live out her life on her Island home of choice, Antigua, a free woman at last. If Prince

returned to the territory, her life back in Antigua would have likely been difficult. Not only would she have been embroiled in the exclusion conference involving her husband, but she would have returned to Antigua to experience the chaotic aftermath of Emancipation when freedmen and freedwomen were blocked access to land, underpaid if they were able to find work, and mired in poverty (Lightfoot 3). However, more research is needed in Antigua to verify the possibility that Prince returned to Antigua, and, if found true, to complete the story of the latter part of her life.

3.6 Conclusion

The critical historical approach I have used, whereby I take into account archival documents and photographs, the oral accounts, plus current photographs and maps, confirms, and, in some instances, fills in gaps and enhances *The History of Mary Prince*. My research offers insight into the interwoven family networks of Prince's and her parents' slave-owners, which affected the networks of Prince's own enslaved family. The approach illuminates the close proximity of the Bermudian residences of these slave-owners, and it offers insight into the economic values of enslaved Bermudians during the early years of the nineteenth century. Additionally, it reveals information regarding slave trading and the transportation of slaves between colonies, and it adds to Sue Thomas's recent work on Prince's connection with the Moravian church.

The wealthy elite of Bermuda owned Prince, her parents, and her siblings. Prince's story, broadened with my research, shows that some of these families had

many slaves, whom they co-owned and, possibly, whose reproductive rights they shared. The financial value these slave-owners attributed to their slaves is staggering, and formed a significant portion of their wealth. John Harvey Darrell recollects his father Richard emphasizing the value of Bermudian cedar, remarking that it was “the real staple production of the Colony” (Darrell 135). He “would tell how many distressed families he had known had been relieved from difficulty by a sale of cedar timber” (Darrell 135) Harvey recollects. Yet how much relief was brought to a distressed slave-owning family by the sale of slaves, such as John Williams who sold Prince and her two sisters Hannah and Dinah at auction so that he had the necessary funds to marry a second time?

My research also underlines the transportation of slaves between colonies by these families. Prince reports that she, her mother, and her sister Rebecca, were transported between Bermuda and Grand Turk Island. She also recalls that her mother and Rebecca arrived at Grand Turk Island aboard “a sloop come in loaded with slaves to work in the salt water” (76). This indicates the inter-island transport of large numbers of slaves between Bermuda and Grand Turk Island for the purposes of the salt industry.

The transportation of slaves between colonies also exposes a type of slave trading, which continued in the British Empire after the 1807 Abolition of the Slave Trade Act. The reports of John Adams Wood Jr. in the 1817, 1819, 1824, and 1828 Slave Registers of former British Colonial Dependencies for Antigua, for example, indicate the transportation of slaves to other West Indian territories—from

Bermuda to Antigua to St. Vincent—and that, in some instances, such as Mary Prince, the transported slaves were sold. This may point to a larger pattern than previously realized—that female slaves, especially, were transported out of Bermuda to other colonies because they were less easily employed in Bermuda’s maritime economy.

The Moravian church figures more prominently in Mary Prince’s life than was thought previously. My research in the Moravian Archives at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, adds to the work of Sue Thomas, developing the Antiguan section of Prince’s life. Possibly, the Moravian archives hold the key to understanding the latter part of her life. Once Prince returned to Antigua, her relationship with Daniel James may have ended or been rekindled. She may have remarried and taken yet another surname so that a future researcher must look not only for Mary Prince or Mary James in order to trace her in the archives. If welcomed into a Moravian congregation in Antigua, it may not have been Spring Gardens at St. John’s. She may instead have settled with another congregation on a different part of the Island.

When searching for stories of subaltern historical characters in the archives, as with Mary Prince and her family, it is important to realize that archives, whether kept by a government or by another institution, are sites of memory keeping and knowledge production controlled by those in authority. Historically, those having authority over archives have been colonials and, because of this, the stories fashioned from archives have been largely from the colonial perspective.

In the case of enslavement, different levels of government, including the military and institutions such as churches, kept records in which slaves might be

mentioned, but only secondarily. Examples of this are the Paget Vestry Assessments, 1805-1824 and the Devonshire Parish Records, 1798-1839 kept in the Government of Bermuda Archives. In these documents, slaves are listed because they are assets of their slave-owners.

Future researchers of enslavement have many possible resources in which to find traces of the lives of slaves, but they must come at these resources “sideways,” not straight on. By “sideways,” I mean they must look for evidence of the lives of slaves in the documents of enslavement perpetrators. These documents are, for example, slave-owners’ letters, journals and wills; land documents; church records; parish records; custom records; Royal Navy records; ships’ logs; and the Slave Registers of former British Colonial Dependencies. Researchers will also find evidence about the lives of slaves in abolitionist materials.

Researchers might also be advised that, as David Lambert wisely points out, they should never treat enslavement as just another research topic (180).

Researching enslavement means to examine the dispossession, victimization, and subjugation of individuals, families, and larger groups of people. It means bringing forward the stories of people who might otherwise be lost to time. As such, researching enslavement and the lives of people affected by enslavement is a moral undertaking.

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140-149.

4. Thomas Pringle's Management of Mary Prince's The History of Mary Prince and Ashton Warner's Negro Slavery Described

How can slaves be happy when they have the halter around their neck and the whip upon their back? and are disgraced and thought no more of than beasts? — and are separated from their mothers, and husbands, and children, and sisters, just as cattle are sold and separated?

Mary Prince, 1831



Figure 15. "The Barbarous Cruelty inflicted on a Negro—at Surinam" by anonymous, published in *The Curious Adventures of Captain Stedman*, 1809. Rare Book Collection. New York Public Library. Astor, Lenox, Tilden Foundations.

4.1 Introduction

When I started my PhD studies and first considered the members of the abolitionist storytelling, compiling, and editing teams that brought *The History of Mary Prince, A West Indian Slave, Related by Herself* and *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*, to publication, I was most fascinated by Mary Prince and Ashton Warner, the storytellers themselves. Over the course of my studies, my gaze widened to include Susanna Strickland and Thomas Pringle. Now close to the completion of my studies, I find Thomas Pringle particularly intriguing.

Pringle was the chief editor and financial backer of both *The History of Mary Prince* and *Negro Slavery Described*. Had it not been for him, neither venture would have happened. Although Mary Prince first suggested the idea of writing her story, Pringle made the decision to undertake it (T. Pringle in Prince 55). Susanna Strickland suggested the second slave narrative, Ashton Warner's *Negro Slavery Described*. She writes: "It occurred to me that I might publish, with some small advantage to the cause, the following little history, taken down from the narration of a young negro [Ashton Warner]," (Strickland in Warner n. pag.). Although it was Strickland's idea to compile and publish Ashton Warner's story, Pringle undertook it, compiling and editing the testimonies of four Christian ministers, which was added as a lengthy appendix.

The History of Mary Prince project did not come without personal sacrifice for Pringle. Pro-slavery lobbyist James MacQueen publically vilified him, suggesting he was having sexual relations with Prince, whom he and his wife Margaret had taken into their home as a paid domestic servant, and he saw court action twice (Thomas “Pringle v. Cadell” 113-114). Sue Thomas points out that Pringle was not a wealthy man and would have been in serious financial trouble had it not been for supportive abolitionist groups who collected funds on his behalf to pay his court expenses (Thomas “Pringle v. Cadell” 129). Why, then, did Pringle expose himself to social rebuke and risk possible financial ruin? His underlying reasons were to promote Abolition and to attract a readership that would pressure British Parliament to enact a Bill making freedom perpetual for any slave who set foot on British soil.

As an abolitionist, a professional writer, and an editor with established connections, Pringle was well-positioned to publish both slave narratives, yet his importance to them has been overlooked. Because of this, some of the ways in which the texts worked and influenced readers have also been overlooked. Conventionally, Mary Prince, as the central figure in the authorship of *The History of Mary Prince*, received the greater attention. By concentrating on Pringle’s role and brilliance as editor, publisher, and manager of not only Prince’s *The History of Mary Prince*, but also of Warner’s *Negro Slavery Described*, much is revealed about the way the texts are read together; the way the texts were situated in the Abolition movement; the major concerns regarding the corrupt nature of colonial enslavement appearing in the texts; and the nature of appeal the texts made to their readership.

In addition to his work as paid secretary of London's Anti-Slavery Society, Pringle was a professional writer. Randolph Vigne affirms that Pringle was a "breadwinning" journalist (181). A Scottish immigrant to South Africa, his first ventures there where he had hoped "for a life in 'periodical literature'" (Vigne 123) had soured. He had butted heads with colonial powers, and was branded an "arrant dissenter" by Governor Somerset (Vigne 123). He returned to London financially ruined, with only "£5 in his pocket, debts to meet in London as well as [a] mountain of them in the Cape" (Vigne 179).

Editors and publishers sought Pringle out upon his return to England in 1826 (Vigne xi). He was editor of periodicals such as *Oriental Herald* and *Friendship's Offering*, and he edited successful annuals that sold upwards of ten thousand copies (Vigne 182-184). Pringle was friends with and worked with Sir Walter Scott (Vigne 183) and Samuel Taylor Coleridge (Vigne xi), and he recruited Alfred, Lord Tennyson and John Ruskin to publish in the periodicals he edited at the start of their careers (Vigne 184). Pringle was also co-editor, along with founder Zachary Macaulay, of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, a monthly magazine and campaign tool for Abolition. In these positions, he had a heightened role in the work of Abolition. He developed a supportive network and professional affiliations—people such as the printers Samuel Bagster, who printed *The History of Mary Prince*, and Samuel Maunder, who printed *Negro Slavery Described*. Because of his varied roles in support of Abolition, Pringle's finger was on the pulse of the movement.

Pringle decided to take up *The History of Mary Prince* after reading a letter written by John Adams Wood Jr., Prince's fifth and final slave-owner. The letter was not addressed to him, but to Mr. Taylor, the secretary of Antigua's Governor, Sir Patrick Ross. However, Pringle was given a copy. In the letter, Wood gave several reasons for his refusal to give Prince her freedom. One reason was that if he gave Prince her freedom, she could return to Antigua but she would not be under his authority and control. This had implications for Wood. He writes "[i]t would be to reward the worst species of ingratitude, and subject myself to insult whenever she came my way" (Pringle, supplement 100). However, was Prince to be banished from Antigua because of charges of ingratitude? Did Prince actually owe Wood or his family members any gratitude? Were the colonial police so weak that Wood, a wealthy slave-owner, could not be protected from a poor black woman? Pringle concludes that it is "preposterous" that Wood should make this claim (Pringle, supplement 102-103).

Wood appears to be unaware of the essentially self-condemning nature of his letter to Taylor; however, the letter offered Pringle the opportunity to make a major contribution to the mission of Abolition. He took it. Pringle approached Mr. Edward Moore, agent of the Moravian Brethren in London, and requested that Moore write to Rev. Joseph Newby, a Moravian missionary in Antigua, for assistance. Newby was to negotiate with Wood for Prince's manumission. At the same time, William Allen, a Quaker, wrote to Sir Patrick Ross, Antigua's Governor, with whom he was on friendly terms. Ross was to use his influence in persuading Wood to consent. On

both counts, the plan failed. Wood responded to Ross's attempted intervention by writing the letter in question to Ross's secretary, Mr. Taylor. Ross sent a copy of the letter to Allen, in London, and Allen gave it to Pringle. In the ensuing three months, the storytelling, compiling, and editing team got to work.

Pointing out in the preface to *The History of Mary Prince* that he was publishing in a "private capacity," (in Prince 56) Pringle developed both Prince's slave narrative and his own essay—the supplement that was published with *The History of Mary Prince*—in the service of Abolition. In his supplement, he attacked Wood specifically, and colonial slave-owners generally, held British national identity up for scrutiny, and argued persuasively that British Parliament take action in moving towards Emancipation lest the dehumanizing corruption of colonial slave-ownership further infiltrate British society.

Meanwhile, *Negro Slavery Described* presented Pringle with an opportunity not only to develop Warner's story, but also to highlight the testimonies of four Christian ministers published with it.⁵⁵ The testimonies confirmed aspects of both

⁵⁵ Pringle compiled, edited, and prepared the testimonies of the four Christian ministers appearing as an appendix to Warner's *Negro Slavery Described*. The first testimony is by Rev. Joseph Orton. The second and third are by Rev. John Thorpe and Rev. J. M. Trew, respectively, and the last is by Rev. W. Wright. The first two testimonies were in a told-to format. Both Orton, a Wesleyan Methodist missionary who had been in Jamaica for six years, and Thorpe, a Church of England man who had been Curate to Trew, and had been in Jamaica for three years, told their stories to Pringle who redacted them. Telltale signs are "Mr. Orton said," (T. Pringle, in Warner 27) and "Mr. Thorpe said," (T. Pringle, in Warner 35) indicating that Pringle wrote down what he heard. Trew and Wright personally wrote the second and third testimonies. In the case of Trew, a clergyman of the Church of England, Pringle took an excerpt from *Nine Letters to the Duke of Wellington*, which Trew had published

Prince's and Warner's stories, and they also supported the thesis of Pringle's supplement that accompanied *The History of Mary Prince*—that colonial slavery dehumanizes and corrupts and, therefore, must be brought to an end.

4.2 A Summary of Scholarly Discourse Regarding Pringle's Editorial Contributions in *The History of Mary Prince*

I have been unable to find scholarly discourse about Warner's *Negro Slavery Described*. Until now, Warner's narrative seems to have been disregarded, but much is written and debated in regard to Prince's *The History of Mary Prince* and the storytelling, compiling, and editing team that brought it to print in 1831. The focus of this scholarship has shifted and evolved over time.⁵⁶

Moir Ferguson's introduction to the University of Michigan Press version of Prince's slave narrative, "The Voice of Freedom: Mary Prince," was first published in 1987, and included in the 1997 revised edition. Working from the Government of Bermuda Archives, Ferguson provides the beginnings of an historical foundation. She supplies additional historical facts and makes best guesses on several dates associated with the movement of Prince between Bermuda, Grand Turk Island, Antigua, and London. She does not mention Warner's *Negro Slavery Described*, and

under the pseudonym "Ignotus." Pringle added extensive introductions to each testimony, giving invaluable background information on each man.

⁵⁶ Because the original text taken from Mary's lips and written down by Susanna Strickland has not survived, this scholarship has been solely about the compiled and edited version of Mary's story published in 1831.

overlooks Pringle's importance in the development and success of Prince's narrative. Ferguson charges Pringle with shielding slave-owners (18).⁵⁷

Several scholars writing after Ferguson have assigned Pringle the role not only of a shielder, but also of a meddler. Gillian Whitlock, for example, dismisses Pringle's contributions, and places him "on the borders of the page a *sotto voce* presence throughout" (*Intimate Empire* 15-16). Whitlock also suggests that he "stage-managed" Prince (*Intimate Empire* 32). Michelle Speitz proposes, "Pringle's notably anxious prefatory remarks disavow any biased editorial work" (par. 1). By this, Speitz implies that Pringle's remark in the preface about "pruning" Prince's narrative was a disclaimer by which he removed himself from any culpability concerning the gaps and silences that exist in the narrative. Jessica Allen notes that Pringle tampered with Prince's narrative and that this "reveals the ways in which racism and imperialism influenced the narrative and how the narrative, in turn, reflects these social realities" (510). Allen suggests that Pringle and Strickland textually colonize Prince's narrative. Pringle's paratexts "overwhelm" Prince's story (Allen 511), she observes, pointing out that his priority was to create a text palatable for a white English audience: that Pringle removed parts of Prince's story, which readers may have found offensive; included his own explanations by way of preface, supplement and footnotes; and did not keep Prince's original Creole dialect, but simplified it.

⁵⁷ Pringle did the opposite. In his supplement, he attacked John Adams Wood Jr. specifically and colonial enslavement generally.

Kremena T. Todorova argues for an historical approach to *The History of Mary Prince*, pointing out, however, that Pringle's "pruning" is rather more extensive than he claimed (293). She also notes that through his editing, he attempted to control Prince, especially her sexuality (Todorova 294). Todorova proposes that the debates Prince's narrative helped to provoke shifted from the evils of slavery to conflict between the English (British) and West Indian colonists, and that Pringle purposefully orchestrated this. In his supplement, Pringle argued that John Adams Wood Jr., a representative of colonial slave-owners, was the antithesis of "true" Englishness. Therefore, Todorova suggests, Pringle created Wood as the "other," which raised the question of English national identity. Because of this Prince's *The History of Mary Prince* puts forward a different perception of English history (Todorova 286).

Unlike scholars who have seen Pringle's interventions as meddling, Sandra Paquet proposes that when Pringle undertook the project of *The History of Mary Prince*, he transformed Mary's oral narrative into written text that purposefully privileged her voice (41). He published her slave narrative with supporting materials that gave it context. Though mediated by Pringle, the slave narrative's exhibition of West Indian vernacular is an historical first and this makes the document historically valuable. Sarah Salih, in her introduction to the 2000 Penguin edition of Prince's *The History of Mary Prince*, usefully points out that the project is a composite text assembled by Pringle and that he had a specific agenda. Salih suggests that the paratext published with *The History of Mary Prince* is inseparable

from it and must be given equally close attention as the slave narrative itself (Salih xiii). Christopher Carranza argues that whenever Prince's narrative needs clarification because of a gap or silence, Pringle provides an explanation (69). Therefore, Pringle's footnotes may be viewed as a benefit, rather than as an interruption.

There are many gaps and silences in Prince's slave narrative, and these have often been attributed to Pringle's handiwork. However, Jennifer Sharpe proposes that these gaps and silences may have been self-imposed by Prince, and that, therefore, they may not have been entirely the handiwork of Pringle. She suggests that, rightly or wrongly, Prince hid aspects of her life, especially those dealing with her sexuality, because she believed their inclusion would exclude her from the abolitionist camp (Sharpe 151). Meanwhile, Sue Thomas adds that Prince's testimony in the *Wood v. Pringle* libel case attributes possible pruning of her story to Susanna Strickland: that not all Prince told Strickland appeared in the final published copy of the slave narrative (Thomas, "Pringle v. Cadell" 128).

I believe that Pringle—and Strickland—tampered with Prince's text, but that the appeal of the slave narrative lay precisely in the collaboration of the storytelling, compiling, and editing team. The team approach brought the project to fruition, but, because Pringle was the team's editor, he may be viewed as the manager, or architect, of the project.

Sophie McCall's *First Person Plural: Aboriginal Storytelling and the Ethics of Collaboration* deals with Aboriginal stories of the oral and told-to traditions, but her

ideas speak to the process in which the abolitionist team crafted, and then published, both Prince's and Warner's slave narratives in 1831. Collaborative authorship is complex, McCall suggests. In the past, it has been fraught with problems, such as the appropriation of voice, race, and power issues, the binary of speaker/author, cross-cultural misunderstanding, and failure in translation. However, McCall notes, "in recent decades, as Aboriginal writers, editors, translators, scholars, and community members have become more involved in developing innovative approaches to the task of recording and preserving oral traditions, it has become clear that told-to narratives remain a vibrant form of cultural expression" (6). McCall does not approach told-to narratives as "inherently examples of textual colonization by White recorders of Aboriginal oral narrators" (6). Instead, she sees them as potentially more egalitarian projects. Perhaps McCall's approach to told-to narratives concerning Aboriginal texts may be carried over to an analysis of Prince's and Warner's slave narratives and of other slave narratives.

Pringle is forthcoming—to a degree—about the development of Prince's narrative. In the second paragraph of his preface, he notes,

The narrative was taken down from Mary's lips by a lady who happened to be at the time residing in my family as a visitor. 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 other than was requisite to exclude redundancies [sic] and gross grammatical errors, so as to render it clearly intelligible. (in Prince 55)

In other words, Pringle explains that the narrative is not exactly as told—that the team shaped, interpreted, and determined the form the narrative would take.

Furthermore, Prince herself would have determined which memories to share, the order in which she would share them, and how to tell them. Strickland would have also made decisions regarding which ones to include, which ones to leave out, and initially how to turn them into text. Finally, Samuel Bagster, the printer, would have worked with Pringle on the layout of the pamphlet, making him another member of the team. Thus, the final published text is truly the work of a team, though the story is Prince's.

The same can be said for Warner's *Negro Slavery Described*, except that Susanna Strickland played a larger role. She wrote the introduction and added three editorial comments to the narrative. Pringle prepared the testimonies of the four Christian ministers, which were added as an appendix, and he supplied editorial comments to the slave narrative. The printer for *Negro Slavery Described* was Samuel Maunder.

Both *The History of Mary Prince* and *Negro Slavery Described* are the result of complex collaborative undertakings. Each has a distinctive and compelling voice, and both worked in favour of Abolition. Additionally, the narratives were a way for

Prince and Warner to tell their stories and to represent in pamphlet form their, thus far, unrepresented experiences.

4.3 The History of Mary Prince and Negro Slavery Described as Duology

By thinking hypothetically of Pringle as the manager of Prince's slave narrative and assuming an intentionality on Pringle's part, his stewardship may be seen to have been greater than previously realized, not because of the pruning he mentions, but because his publication strategy and management included the two slave narratives, *The History of Mary Prince* and *Negro Slavery Described*. Perhaps the two slave narratives can be thought of as a duology and meant to be read in tandem.

Possibly, just two weeks or less separate the printings of *The History of Mary Prince* and *Negro Slavery Described*. Pringle referred extensively to the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* by way of footnotes throughout both projects. The last reference in his supplement, which closed the project of Mary Prince, is to No. 76 published 15 February 1831. Therefore, Prince's *The History of Mary Prince* appeared after this date. Warner's slave narrative appears to have been available shortly after Prince's *The History of Mary Prince* because the advertisement authored by Susanna Strickland and included with Warner's *Negro Slavery Described* is dated 1 March 1831. This indicates that the two narratives may have been published within two weeks of each other.

To understand better how *The History of Mary Prince* and *Negro Slavery Described* work together, understanding each text's constituent parts, such as letters,

poems, and appendices is vital. The first edition of Prince's *The History of Mary Prince* included an excerpt of a poem by William Cowper, which appeared on the title page; a preface and a supplement, both written by Pringle; and a short slave narrative titled "The Narrative of Louis Asa-Asa, A Captured African." The excerpted stanza by Cowper comes from "The Negro's Complaint," a poem against the slave trade that was written in 1788, which is possibly the year of Prince's birth.⁵⁸ In the preface, Pringle explains how he produced Prince's narrative: that it is a told-to story. He also explains how the letter authored by Prince's last slave-owner Wood supported his decision to take on the project and that the "more immediate object of the publication will afterwards appear" (Pringle, in Prince 55) by which he means he will deal with this—with Wood—in his supplement. Louis Asa-Asa's narrative, which is about Asa-Asa's kidnapping in Africa as a twelve or thirteen-year-old boy, and his transport on the French slave ship the *Pearl*, follows Pringle's supplement.⁵⁹

⁵⁸ Prince was born in 1787 or 1788. See chapter 3.

⁵⁹ Abolitionist lawyer George Stephen brought it to Pringle's attention. Neither Prince's nor Warner's slave narratives explain the capture and subsequent enslavement of Africans, but Asa-Asa's does. Asa-Asa's testimony also reveals that, although English participation in the slave trade had ended, other European countries still engaged in it: captive Africans were being transported north to Europe, and English guns were being used as trade goods. The introduction to Asa-Asa's narrative, which has no title, but is likely to have been authored by Pringle, also reveals that the *Pearl*, which was driven into St. Ives, Cornwall, because of a storm, was restored to the French Government, rather than kept as a prize (Asa-Asa 132). Although Britain had banned the slave trade in Britain and her colonies, it was not banned in France. France and Britain entered into a treaty to abolish the slave trade in 1835; France did not abolish slavery in her colonies until 1848. Diplomacy may have hampered British authorities from claiming the *Pearl* as a prize.

The third edition of *The History of Mary Prince* shows two additions to the first.⁶⁰ These are a postscript dated 22 March 1831 and a letter dated 28 March 1831. Pringle added the postscript concerning Prince's failing eyesight to the second edition and informs readers that any funds raised from the sales of *The History of Mary Prince* will go to her. The postscript appears at the end of the preface. Pringle's wife Margaret authored the letter, although it is additionally "certified and corroborated" (M. Pringle 131) by three other people: Susan Brown, Martha A. Browne, and Susanna Strickland. Susan Brown was Margaret Pringle's sister and Martha A. Browne was a friend. The letter identifies Strickland as the "lady who wrote down in this house the narratives of Mary Prince and Ashton Warner" (M. Pringle 131). Included after Pringle's supplement, but before Asa-Asa's narrative, the letter is addressed to Mrs. Townsend (Lucy Townsend), one of the secretaries of the Birmingham Ladies' Society for the Relief of Negro Slaves. The letter describes scarring on Prince's body from past floggings.⁶¹

⁶⁰ I have been unable to locate a second edition of *The History of Mary Prince*. Sarah Salih reports that when she compiled, edited, and wrote an introductory essay to the 2000 Penguin edition of Prince's *The History of Mary Prince*, she, too, was unable to find a second edition. Moira Ferguson, likewise, indicates that she was unable to locate a second edition when she was working on The University of Michigan Press editions of Prince's *The History of Mary Prince*.

⁶¹ Because only six days separate Margaret Pringle's letter from the postscript, it is probable that the letter was also added in the second edition, but it may have been added in the third. Both the first and third editions are twenty-four leaves, or forty-eight pages in length, including the front and back covers. The inside text is forty-six pages in length. Samuel Bagster, the pamphlet's printer, closed up and reduced the size of some text appearing in the first edition so that the two additions, the postscript and the letter, were able to fit into the same forty-eight page parameter. This was probably because of a printing issue. Bagster would have used three octavos to create the pamphlet, but would not have wanted to introduce a fourth.

The second slave narrative of the duology, Warner's *Negro Slavery Described*, is presented with a stanza excerpted from a longer poem by Thomas Pringle; a table of contents; an advertisement authored by Susanna Strickland dated 1 March 1831 informing readers that Ashton Warner had passed away and that the profits from the sales of *Negro Slavery Described* would go to his aged mother and to the enfranchisement of his enslaved wife and child; a lengthy introduction by Strickland; and an appendix containing Warner's Deed of Manumission and the testimonies of the four Christian ministers.

Pringle's name is not attached to the stanza appearing on the cover of *Negro Slavery Described*. The stanza is excerpted from "The Bechuana Boy" (1830), which appeared in *The Christian Observer*, Volume 30; Thomas Pringle is identified as the author. Perhaps Pringle did not want to be viewed as self-aggrandizing by the reading public, so he left out his name; however, by placing his stanza on the cover, Pringle's puts his opening stamp on *Negro Slavery Described*. It may also be that Strickland put Pringle's stanza on the cover as a quiet dedication to honour him.

Strickland took credit for the compiling work of *Negro Slavery Described*. "By S. Strickland" appears on the cover page of the pamphlet. She concluded her compiling work and the introduction to *Negro Slavery Described* on 19 February 1831. "S. S." appears at the conclusion of her introduction next to this date (n. pag.).

Bagster's alterations did not affect the layout of Prince's *The History of Mary Prince*, nor of Pringle's supplement. The text that was shifted was in the preface and Asa-Asa's narrative. A different printer, Samuel Maunder, was the printer used for *Negro Slavery Described*. Possibly, two printers were used to expedite the printing of the slave narratives. Both printers were based in London.

She then passed it on to Pringle who had been working on the testimonies of the four Christian ministers. A postscript appearing at the bottom of Warner's slave narrative is dated a week later, 25 February 1831, and signed "ED," the designation I ascribe to Pringle. Here Pringle explains that Warner had died the same day in London Hospital of a "rapid inflammatory complaint" (T. Pringle in Warner 21). "Requiescat! He is now where 'the wicked cease from troubling and the weary are at rest'" (T. Pringle in Warner 21) Pringle characteristically adds in his effusive style.

Additions authored by both Strickland and Pringle were made to the manuscript while it was in print. An undated note by Strickland appears above Pringle's 25 February 1831 postscript. She opens it with "[w]hile these pages are passing through the press," (Strickland in Warner 21) indicating that *Negro Slavery Described* was in the process of being printed. Similarly, Pringle's postscript begins "[s]ince the above note was put in type . . ." (Pringle in Warner 21). The final addition to *Negro Slavery Described* was Strickland's advertisement, dated 1 March 1831, which she signed "S. Strickland."

The strategy to produce two companion slave narratives was astute because the texts together cover a larger sphere of corruption and disruption caused by the institution of slavery. Prince, forty-three or forty-four years old at the time, was married to Daniel James, a free black man, but she was childless. She had lived in Bermuda, plus two West Indian colonies, Grand Turk Island and Antigua. When in London, she was separated from her husband and alone. Prince's narrative was set

in both the Abolition cycle, 1787-1807 and the Emancipation cycle, 1823-1838.⁶²

Warner, twenty-three years old at the time and from St. Vincent, was married to Sally, an enslaved woman, and they had a young son who was also enslaved. Warner also had family who were free: his mother, his stepfather, and his aunt. Warner's narrative was set in the Emancipation cycle. Readers of the slave narratives were able to consider similarities and differences in enslavement not only between the different territories, but also between the different decades in which the stories took place. They could also look at the enslaved family unit, as well as the lives of enslaved individuals both male and female.

Both works included testimony about the flogging of enslaved, bound, black women and about the corruption of West Indian slave-owning families, two themes that it appears were brought purposefully forward by abolitionists to elicit political action in the English (British) population, especially English women.⁶³ Flogging enslaved, bound, black women was set before English readers as a concise representation of the barbarity of slave-ownership, and the image of the enslaved, bound, and flogged black woman connected both slave narratives to the larger project of Abolition of which they were a part.

The corruption of slave-owning families was embedded in how some slave-owning families viewed the reproductive potentials of enslaved women. They saw their futures, and the futures of their family's successive generations, inscribed on

⁶² See chapter 1 for an explanation of the Abolition and Emancipation cycles.

⁶³ There are many related themes between *The History of Mary Prince* and *Negro Slavery Described*: the feeding, transportation, selling of enslaved persons, and labour, for example.

the bodies of enslaved women through their children. Enslaved children represented future labour, or future profit, if sold.

Negro Slavery Described brought forward a third major theme: the injustice of colonial law to the enslaved, largely because “negro evidence” was inadmissible in court. Colonial law worked to protect slave-owners, not the enslaved, allowing slave-owners to misuse the bodies of enslaved persons. Enslaved or free, a black person seeking justice would not get it, because of the corrupt nature of colonial law.

Taken alone, each of *The History of Mary Prince* and *Negro Slavery Described* has its particular appeal. Read in tandem—with the ancillary documents—they make for a more complete and far more powerful reading. Each slave narrative puts an historical claim on readers. Read together, and with the third slave narrative, “The Narrative of Louis Asa-Asa, a Captured African,” which offers a third window into the experience of enslavement, these historical claims become even more compelling and demanding, and possibly led to social action by readers. The trio of slave narratives included indignities and violence perpetrated against children, women, and men, in Africa, the West Indies, and Bermuda. The transportation and selling of colonial slaves between British colonies, as well as the transportation of captive Africans to France, was also included. This latter point spoke to diplomacy and possible political concessions between Britain and France, in spite of Britain ending the transatlantic slave trade in her own colonies. Additionally, images of beaten and flogged women and men were incorporated into the pages of the three slave narratives. The difficult knowledge this information and these images

conveyed spoke to the hearts and minds of Pringle's readers and may have led to readers' personal transformations and to their adherence to the cause of Abolition.

4.4 The Image of the Enslaved, Bound, and Flogged Black Woman

The image of the enslaved, bound, and flogged black woman is a central theme both of *The History of Mary Prince* and *Negro Slavery Described*, and a theme in most of the paratextual material Pringle included with their publications. This image connects each slave narrative to the other. It also ties them, as a unified project, to the first stage of Abolition (the Abolition cycle) and to the Emancipation campaign of the day. Abolitionists used the image of the enslaved, bound, and flogged black woman in the Abolition cycle and in ongoing Emancipation work. By placing this image before the English public, Pringle may have hoped to address the public's culpability in the institution of colonial enslavement. He may have also hoped to elicit self-recrimination in the English public with the hope that this might work to transform their attitudes towards slavery. He spared no effort in underlining this image by way of his footnotes to *The History of Mary Prince*, in his supplement, and by his inclusion of the testimonies of four Christian ministers, of which he was the compiler and editor.

The image of the enslaved, bound, and flogged black woman was a campaign tool used extensively by abolitionists in Britain's 1831 general election. Reporting on campaign events seventeen years later, Britain's Hansard records: "[T]o rouse the feelings and passions of the people . . . there were placed before half the hustings in the Kingdom full-length pictures of white planters flogging negro women" (qtd. in

Price and Price LXXIX).⁶⁴ The polling was held 28 April to 1 June, just two and a half months after Prince's *The History of Mary Prince* was first published, and two months after Warner's *Negro Slavery Described*. The election was a landslide win for the Whigs, who supported parliamentary reform. Abolitionists hoped that, if elected, Whigs would support Emancipation. Just as the full-length images worked as an effective campaign tool in the election, so, too, did literary representations of flogged, enslaved, bound, black women function in the dual project of *The History of Mary Prince* and *Negro Slavery Described*.

Richard Price and Sally Price suggest that the image entitled "The Barbarous Cruelty inflicted on a Negro—at Surinam," which is included at the beginning of this chapter (Fig. 15), likely was similar to the full-length images appearing at England's hustings during the 1831 election (Price and Price LXXIX). An image of an enslaved, bound, and flogged black woman by "anonymous," it was published in *The Curious Adventures of Captain Stedman* in 1809.⁶⁵

⁶⁴ Hansard is the name of the official transcripts of Parliamentary Debates in Britain and Commonwealth countries.

⁶⁵ John Stedman's *Narrative of a Five Years' Expedition, Against the Revolted Negroes of Surinam* has gone through many publications. *The Curious Adventures of Captain Stedman* is a much-shortened pamphlet containing samplings from Stedman's narrative.

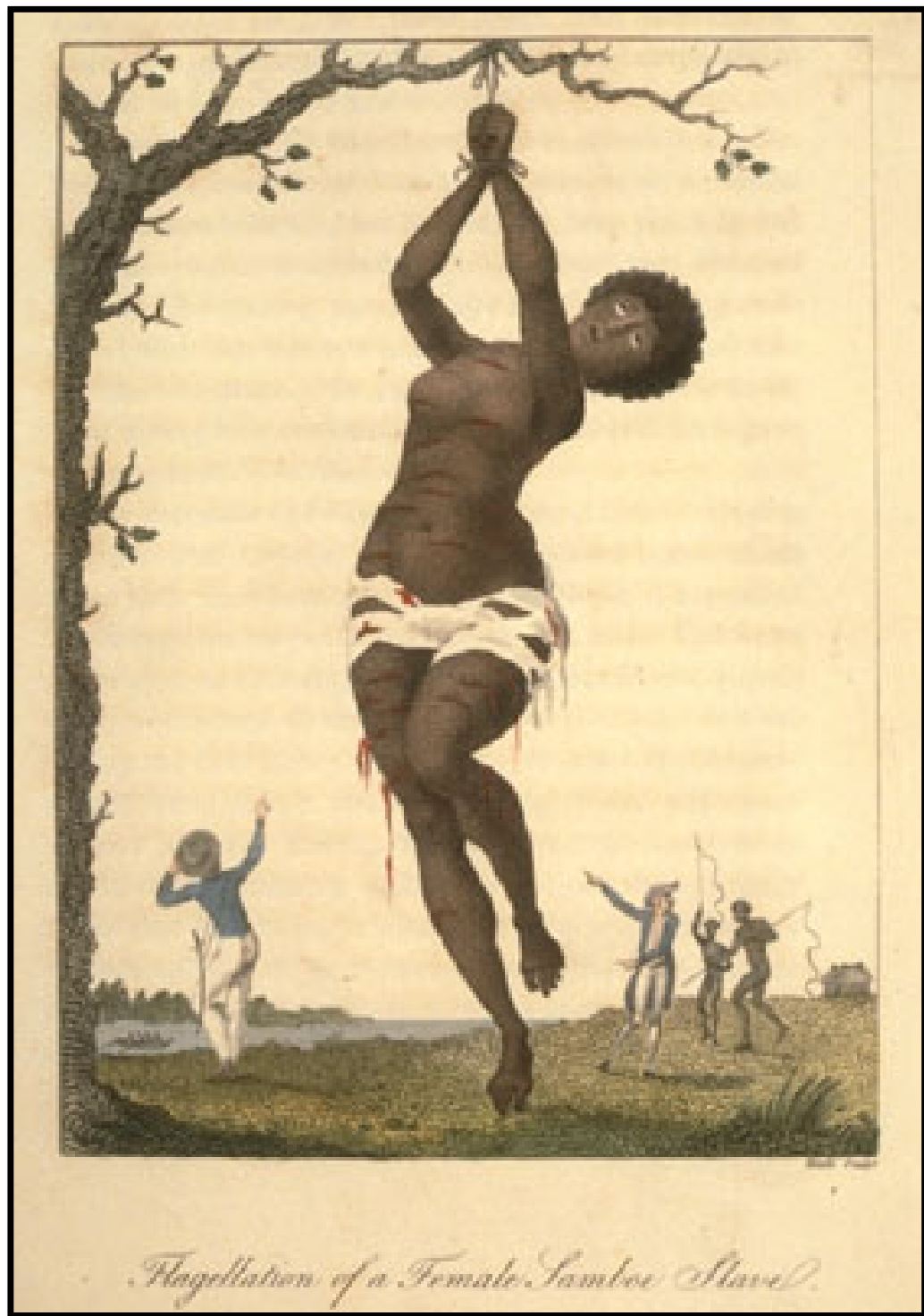


Figure 16. Flagellation of a Female Samboe Slave, engraved by William Blake, 1793, and appearing in John Stedman's *Narrative of a Five Years' Expedition, Against the Revolted Negroes of Surinam*, London, 1796. Courtesy of John Carter Brown Library at Brown University.

The first publication of Stedman's edited narrative, *Narrative of a Five Years' Expedition, Against the Revolted Negroes of Surinam*, which included eighty engravings, sixteen by William Blake, appeared in 1796. One of Blake's engravings, entitled "Flagellation of a Female Samboe Slave," similarly, was of an enslaved, bound, and flogged black woman.⁶⁶ Perhaps the 1809 image by "anonymous" is a continuance of a polemic initiated by Blake thirteen years earlier, and the full-length images appearing at England's hustings in 1831 carried this debate right to the ballot box.

Collette Colligan explains a possible abolitionist rationale that may have been behind the image of the enslaved, bound, and flogged black woman first depicted in Blake's engraving. Following the thought of Marcus Wood that Blake's engraving stands on the threshold of pornography, Colligan proposes that the image elicited prurience in some viewers and that this prompted political action, writing, "Blake demonstrates sympathy for the slave but enflames the passions in order to elicit political action—what one might identify as an abolitionist strategy of political arousal" (70). The image elicited sympathy for the enslaved woman, but also aroused lustful passions in the viewer, which transferred to political action. The political action was to curtail that corruption by ending the slave trade.

⁶⁶ The gruesome lines by Stedman that Blake's image illuminates are these: "The first object that attracted my compassion during a visit to a neighbouring estate, was a beautiful Samboe girl of about eighteen, tied up by both arms to a tree, as naked as she came into the world, and lacerated in such shocking manner by the whips of two negro-drivers, that she was from her neck to her ancles [sic] literally dyed over with blood" (339).

The textual representations of bound and flogged black women's bodies in *The History of Mary Prince and Negro Slavery Described*—Hetty, Sally, and Mary—may be read side-by-side with these visual representations. Because the textual representations take the imagery further by contextualizing the events surrounding the floggings, they may be even more moving for some readers.

Flogging, a type of torture, was a common form of male punishment in the age, used by the military, for example. Flogging was meant to demonstrate the torturer's power, to create fear, to force participation in the torture, even if only by observing it, to show that the torturer was "master" and that the victim of the torture was subjugated to her or to him. Pringle possibly managed the abolitionist strategy, which began with Blake's engraving of the enslaved, bound, and flogged black woman, to advantage in both *The History of Mary Prince and Negro Slavery Described*. This strategy crossed gender lines, turned the tables on "masters," and created sympathy, possibly even admiration, for their victims. Thus, sympathy was created for Mary Prince, Sally Warner, and Hetty, the enslaved woman flogged to death by Captain Ingham.

Enslaved women and their enslaved children were vulnerable to violence and susceptible to sexual exploitation by slave-owners. These women were the heart of enslaved families—they were mothers or potentially would become mothers. Torturing enslaved women struck at enslaved families and their extended kin; the knowledge that this was happening in British territories may have made readers feel blameworthy. It may also have elicited empathy in the readers who were keyed to

the vulnerability of enslaved women and their families. The flogging of the bodies of women, including pregnant women, and the violence visited upon the vulnerable families of men unable to protect their women and children may have brought empathy to bear. Moreover, the bodies of enslaved black women were used for reproductive purposes to enrich slave-owners and their families. This also struck at the enslaved family and is evident in *The History of Mary Prince* when Prince and her two sisters, Hannah and Dinah, were sold at auction.⁶⁷

Both *The History of Mary Prince* and Warner's *Negro Slavery Described* relate stories of pregnant enslaved black women who were bound and flogged.⁶⁸ Flogging a pregnant woman is not only an attack on the woman, but also an attack on her unborn child. Prince describes the flogging of the French enslaved black woman Hetty, who miscarried due to the torture, and later died as a result:

The consequence [of the flogging] was that poor Hetty was brought to bed before her time, and was delivered after severe labour of a dead child [H]er former strength never returned to her. Ere long her body and limbs swelled to a great size; and she lay upon a mat in the kitchen, till the water burst out of her body and she died. (67)

⁶⁷ Prince's mother had eleven children, and they contributed to the wealth of their slave-owner(s). Slaves were a large part of the wealth of Bermudian slave-owners. See chapter 2 for details.

⁶⁸ Prince does not relate stories about any children of her own or of a pregnancy, but she does relate being flogged. She recalls floggings by Captain Ingham, Robert Darrell, and John Adams Wood Jr. Captain Ingham's wife, Mary Ingham, also flogged Prince, and John Adams Wood Jr.'s wife, Margaret Wood, sent Prince to Antigua's Magistrate, where she was put in the Cage and flogged the next day. Prince's first flogging, meted out by Captain Ingham, was when she was about twelve years old, an adolescent girl on the cusp of sexual maturity.

Warner tells of his young wife Sally who was flogged both when pregnant and after her child was born:

When she was with child, she was flogged for not coming out early enough to work, and afterwards, when far advanced in pregnancy, she was put into the stocks by the manager, because she said she was unable to go to the field. [. . .] After our child was born, she was again repeatedly flogged for not coming out sooner to the field, though she had stopped merely to suckle the baby.

(13)

These stories about Hetty and Sally, and stories about Mary Prince, dovetail, binding the two slave narratives together.

The scholarship of historian Sasha Turner in “Home-grown Slaves: Women, Reproduction, and the Abolition of the Slave Trade, Jamaica 1788-1807,” sheds light on the historical implications depicted in the textual representations of the flogging of Hetty, Mary, and Sally.⁶⁹ Turner finds that, prior to the Abolition cycle, enslaved women’s pregnancies were dissuaded because they impinged on women’s labour. However, because of the abolitionist scrutiny during the Abolition cycle, and definitely after 1807 when the British arm of the transatlantic slave trade was shut down, pregnancies were more likely to be encouraged because slave-owners were unlikely to receive shipments of captive Africans to replenish their work forces.⁷⁰

⁶⁹ Even though Turner’s work is centered on Jamaica, not Bermuda, Grand Turk Island, Antigua, or St. Vincent, her findings build context for the historical periods covered in *The History of Mary Prince* and *Negro Slavery Described*.

⁷⁰ I point out here that, although the British arm of the transatlantic slave trade was closed after 1807, the transportation of slaves between British territories was still in

Pringle's management of Hetty's, Mary's, and Sally's stories showed that the flogging of enslaved black women continued through both the Abolition and Emancipation cycles but that the outcome of the flogging had changed. Possibly, this reflects Turner's findings that prior to the Abolition cycle women's pregnancies were dissuaded but during and after the Abolition cycle, pregnancies were more likely to be encouraged. Because of the lack of availability of slave labour after the abolishment of the transatlantic slave trade in 1807, the treatment of enslaved women changed.

Hetty's miscarriage and tragic death occurred in 1799 or 1800, close to a decade before the trade was banned. It seems that Captain Ingham was able to come by enslaved children easily at the time. He had two enslaved boys in his household. "One of these children was a mulatto, called Cyrus, who had been bought while an infant in his mother's arms; the other Jack, was an African from the coast of Guinea, whom a sailor had given or sold to my master," Prince relates (66). Hetty had been stolen from a ship, not purchased or gifted from within Bermuda, and she was also a "French black" (Prince 65). Hetty was not only a slave, but also a foreign slave. Because Hetty had cost the Captain nothing, had no connections in Bermuda, and was replaceable, he may have been more inclined to beat her to death, essentially to murder her.

play. Slave ships no longer arrived at ports with large numbers of African captives to sell, but smaller numbers of colonial slaves were still transported and sold between colonies. Prince is an example of this movement of slaves. See chapter 3.

Bermuda-born Mary Prince, who may have been purchased to eventually replace Hetty, including to bear children, cost the Captain £57 Bermuda currency, “a great sum for so young a slave” (Prince 63).⁷¹ Though Prince was not pregnant at the time, and does not recount any personal pregnancies in her slave narrative, her memories of what happened to her at the hands of the Captain and his wife are instructive. Possibly fearing for her life after Hetty was murdered, Prince ran away to her mother. The “great sum” the Captain had paid for her may have been her salvation. Running away was considered rebellious behaviour, and a runaway slave was in a precarious situation; but perhaps Prince was not killed for her defection because the Captain did not want to lose his initial investment. By waiting a few years, and then selling Prince to Robert Darrell, the Captain almost doubled his money. Darrell purchased Prince from Ingham for £100 Bermuda currency. As well, Prince had connections in the territory: Although she was a slave, her murder might have been more problematic socially for the Captain than Hetty’s may have been.⁷²

Sally’s pregnancy occurred in 1827 or 1828, well into the Emancipation cycle, and three decades after Hetty’s murder. It may be that because Sally’s son was a valuable and not easily replaceable commodity, the estate’s driver did not harm him.

⁷¹ Please see chapters 1 and 2 for a discussion of the monetization of Mary Prince, her family members, other Bermudian slaves, and the values accorded to them.

⁷² Possibly, Prince was bought by Captain Ingham to bear children and thereby to increase his wealth through reproduction. Her mother had borne many children, and he may have hoped the same would be true of Prince. He may also have seen that his access to an unending supply of slaves was coming to an end through the work of Abolition. When Prince did not become pregnant, he sold her to Robert Darrell on Grand Turk Island. Another possibility is that the Captain sold Prince to Robert Darrell for punishment. A rebellious slave who had run away, she lived and worked on that island as a member of a gang of salt pond slaves.

Ashton Warner recalls that it was Sally who suffered terribly at the hands of the driver, not their son. The driver expected Sally to carry the child to term, give birth to the child, and then to care for the child, all while performing her work in the sugar cane fields, unimpeded. Though tortured with the whip, Sally, similar to Prince, was not murdered, possibly indicating that she, too, was valuable and difficult to replace. If the slave owner did not ruin Sally's body or kill her, she might have many more children, each adding to the estate's value.

Pringle also heightened and underscored the trauma of enslaved, bound, and flogged black women in his supplement by including an excerpt of Robert Walsh's *Notices of Brazil*. The excerpt highlighted an image of a slave-owning white woman flogging an enslaved black adolescent girl.⁷³ A white woman, "undressed except [for] her petticoat and chemise, which had fallen down and left her shoulders and bosom bare" (qtd. in T. Pringle, "Supplement" 123) was beating a "black girl of about fourteen years old . . . with a large stick" (qtd. in T. Pringle, "Supplement" 123). Rather than a male slave-owner, the Brazilian woman is the perpetrator.

I concur with Whitlock (2000) who suggests that this is a "reversal," that "it is the body of the white woman that is unveiled, grotesque and passionate" (24). The Brazilian woman, "her hair . . . streaming behind, and every fierce and malevolent passion depicted in her face . . . was the very representation of a fury" (qtd. in T. Pringle, "Supplement" 123). The allusion to a fury, a Greek goddess of the underworld, vengeance, and destruction makes the white Brazilian woman a

⁷³ Walsh wrote *Notices of Brazil* after travelling through that territory. The manuscript was in support of Abolition.

monster. She is a participant in the disgracing of black enslaved women, as were Mary Prince's woman slave-owners Mary Ingham and Margaret Wood.⁷⁴

By emphasizing the image of the white Brazilian woman so clearly, Pringle seems to be setting out to attract the concerned interest of English women. Perhaps he purposefully held this image in front of English women, hoping they would be compelled to act. Not only was this an assault on English identity, but English women may have also viewed themselves as blameworthy in the dishonouring of enslaved women.

Pringle went to great lengths to underline the image of the enslaved, bound, and flogged black woman in *The History of Mary Prince* and in *Negro Slavery Described*. This image is a clearly expressed representation of the barbarity and corruption of colonial slave-ownership, connecting the earlier days of the Abolition cycle to the work undertaken in the fight for Emancipation. Enslaved women, and their enslaved children, were vulnerable to violence and to sexual exploitation by slave-owners. They and their children could be separated and sold. Enslaved men were also physically abused and unable to protect their families. By setting the image of the enslaved, bound, and flogged black woman before the reading public, Pringle hoped to address that readerships' culpability concerning the very existence of colonial enslavement. He may have also hoped to elicit empathy in these readers. Perhaps out of empathy, readers' hearts and minds would be transformed, and they

⁷⁴ Prince recollects that Mary Ingham had a "very dark complexion" (64), indicating that though she was a slave-owner, she was not white, and that the cruelty of colonial slave-owners did not depend on the colour of their skin, but on their characters and position as slave-owners.

would join the ranks of Abolition. With an increasing number of voices demanding British Parliament bring in Emancipation, the abuse and sale of enslaved children, women, and men would cease.

4.5 *The Selling of Enslaved Persons and Colonial Law*

The selling of enslaved persons and the corruption of colonial law are major concerns about the perverse nature of colonial enslavement. Both these themes appear in *The History of Mary Prince* and *Negro Slavery Described*. It may be that these themes had public appeal and because of this Pringle developed them by way of his footnotes in *The History of Mary Prince*, in his supplement, and in the testimonies of the four Christian ministers.

Slave-owners saw their own futures and dynasties inscribed on the bodies of their slaves through their children—their “natural increase” as they saw it. The children represented future labour that slave-owners could utilize or sell for profit. As Sasha Turner states, “[w]omen’s childbearing ability was the crux constructing ‘gendered racial’ differences under slavery” (40).

Prince remembers how she and her sisters were sold like animals taken to market. “I am going to carry my little chickens to market,” (61) Prince recalls her mother saying. Of the vendue master, Prince relates, “he was to offer us like sheep or cattle” (62). Pringle’s first footnote in the slave narrative, and the first on the topic of selling enslaved persons, is where he compares Prince’s remembrance of the auction to a similar description of an auction at the Cape of Good Hope, where an enslaved woman and her three children were sold along with other farm “stock”. They were

examined as if they were “so many head of cattle” (T. Pringle in Prince 63). Pringle manages this opening in the narrative so that readers understand how the wombs of enslaved women were the reproductive property of slave-owners and that the children of enslaved women added to their slave-owners’ assets. They could be sold in a fashion similar to farm animals.

The second footnote by Pringle on this theme appears at the point in Prince’s narrative when Robert Darrell takes her back to Bermuda from Grand Turk Island. Here, Pringle gives an account of Prince’s family members, including her “eldest sister [Hannah], who had several children to her master, [and] was taken by him to Trinidad” (in Prince 76). This is another opening managed by Pringle to understand the lives of enslaved women. First, Hannah, like her sister Mary, is taken from Bermuda to another West Indian colony, which demonstrates the mobility of enslaved women between colonies. Secondly, it raises the question of the children, all enslaved, who may have been sold at auction as their mother had been, in spite of their father being their slave-owner.

Pringle addresses this theme a third time in the excerpt from Robert Walsh’s *Notices of Brazil*. Walsh reports that “the contagion of slavery . . . seems to alter the very nature of a man; and the father has sold, and still sells, the mother and his children, with as little compunction as he would a sow and her litter of pigs” (qtd. in T. Pringle, “Supplement” 122). As with Prince and Pringle, Walsh compares the enslaved family to domestic farm animals. They are chattel—items of moveable

property that can be bought or sold. Moreover, in this case the slave-owner sold his biological children.

The breakup of enslaved families did not always happen because of a sale. Ashton Warner's testimony shows that he was taken from his mother and aunt at the age of ten when he was illegally re-enslaved by Mr. Wilson, the owner of Cane Grove estate. When his aunt purchased his mother's freedom, Warner was manumitted as an infant. In St. Vincent, it was the rule that when a mother was sold or freed, her children went with her as a unit, until about the age of five or six, when children became separate property (Warner 2). It may be that Wilson seized Warner because of difficulties populating the Cane Grove estate with slaves, after the British arm of the transatlantic slave trade was closed in 1807. Warner was re-enslaved in approximately 1817.

Warner's illegal re-enslavement as a child was sanctioned by corrupt colonial law, which underpinned the institution of slavery. The testimony of Reverend J. M. Trew, who had been in Jamaica, suggests that colonial law, or the slave-code, existed to "please the people of England," but that in Jamaica it [was] "obsolete," a "dead letter" (in Warner 43). This is because private interests overrode public duty.

The men in charge of estates had inter-connected networks of interests so that if an enslaved person applied for justice, she or he would not receive it. For example, a magistrate to whom an enslaved person might apply for justice might also have been a business partner or friend of the very man who had inflicted injustice upon the enslaved person making the application. The problem was

magnified because “negro evidence” was inadmissible in West Indian courts, and this was a “defect in the law” (Rev. J. M. Trew in Warner 45).

This might have been the case when Margaret Wood sent Mary Prince to an Antigua magistrate to be flogged because of a fight with another enslaved woman over a pig. Prince was put in the Cage and flogged at the order of the magistrate; however, when Justice Dyett heard the case, he said Prince was in the right, and he had the pig returned to her (Prince 80). The magistrate who ordered Prince detained and flogged may have been connected to Wood in some way, either socially, or through business dealings.

The corruption of colonial law spoke to the plight of Ashton Warner.⁷⁵ Because Warner’s family members were black, their testimonies held no weight. At one point, when speaking with Judge Hobson, the chief Judge in St. Vincent, about her son’s illegal re-enslavement, Warner’s mother offered to bring “respectable persons,” or white people, to give testimony about Warner’s claim (Warner 14). Hobson did not follow up on her suggestion. Finally, Warner ran away, finding his

⁷⁵ The network of men who denied Warner justice included five individuals—Wilson, the current Cane Grove estate owner; Dalzell, Wilson’s attorney; Jackson, an attorney hired by Warner’s family to work for them in proving Warner’s free status, who had also been the executor of Ottley, the previous owner of Cane Grove estate; Judge Hobson, St. Vincent’s chief Judge; and St. Vincent’s Attorney General. When Warner ran, he showed his manumission papers to a sixth man, the governor’s secretary. This man gave Warner a pass to travel to Grenada as a free man. From Grenada, Warner made his way to England. Because the governor’s secretary respected Warner’s legal documents and free status, it is apparent that his papers were acceptable. Those who wanted to hold Warner on Cane Grove estate had been able to work together to keep him there.

way to England, where he planned to seek out Wilson, who lived there, and to obtain his freedom and the freedom of his wife Sally and their child.

Thinking of Pringle, an ardent abolitionist steeped in abolitionist scholarship, as the architect, or manager, of the duology, allows for a reading of the texts with the goals of Abolition in mind. The selling of slaves, the breakup of enslaved families, and the corruption of colonial law were themes of interest to abolitionists, and it may be that Pringle set them before his reading public, hoping to shed light on the problem at hand. To dismantle colonial slavery, colonial law needed revision because it protected slave-owners. One way to dismantle colonial slavery was by witnessing.

4.6 Witnessing

Abolitionists from both the Abolition cycle and the Emancipation cycle used witnessing to bring about social and political change. Pringle had his feet, and his pen, situated squarely in this camp. Witnessing is when a person sees, hears, or knows something by personal experience, either firsthand or as a spectator or bystander. Readers of textual images and viewers of paintings, etchings, photographs, and films are, therefore, witnesses.

As Roger I. Simon professes in *A Pedagogy of Witnessing: Curatorial Practice and the Pursuit of Social Justice*, in the case of witnessing difficult or distressing scenes, witnesses may feel an affective force that leads to thought, and possibly to acknowledgment, about what they have witnessed, which may lead to social action (14). He explains that difficult images are presented “not simply as documents or

artifacts to be interrogated as to their truth value or status, but as perlocutionary signs of entreaty, embodying an affective force compelling one to respond” (Simon, *Pedagogy of Witnessing* 37). In other words, witnesses feel an emotional impact when presented with difficult images. What is at stake when faced with the pain of another is the future relationship between the witness and the one in pain. Either the witnesses can acknowledge those in pain, or they can turn away.

Difficult images are a type of counter-story, and counter-stories refute rather than confirm a version of history that persons may have previously thought true. These images may cause a reassessment and revision of previous versions of stories, which persons might have believed about their communities and themselves. Ultimately, the hope of presenting difficult images is to cause a transformation in viewers so that the life of the one in pain matters to them. Transformed, witnesses will reconsider their present and the historical past leading to it. Out of this hoped-for transformation may come social action.

Pringle made use of witnessing in both *The History of Mary Prince* and *Negro Slavery Described*, linking it to the larger context of Abolition. He did this through the images of enslaved, bound and flogged black women—Mary, Hetty, and Sally—that he set before his readers. He also directed readers’ attentions to images of Louis Asa-Asa, Ashton Warner, Ben and Old Daniel who had suffered as slaves. Ben and Old Daniel were members of the gang of salt pond slaves on Grand Turk Island. Susanna Strickland also contributed in several ways to the project in regard to witnessing. Additionally, Pringle used the combined testimony of Margaret Pringle, Susan

Brown, and Martha A. Browne, who, with Strickland, attested to Prince's ruined body. As well, he made use of Robert Walsh's testimony and the testimonies of the four Christian ministers. These men had witnessed slavery in overseas territories, and then testified about what they had experienced.

The textual images of the floggings of Mary, Hetty, and Sally were discussed previously in this chapter. These tied into the larger context of the images of enslaved, bound, and flogged black women used by abolitionist campaigners. The two publications also included textual images of Louis Asa-Asa and Ashton Warner who experienced cruelty at the hands of perpetrators. These perpetrators worked in different capacities within the culture of slavery. Asa-Asa recollects scenes of horror when kidnappers arrived at his African village to apprehend captives for the slave trade. He climbed a tree to escape, but they brought him down. Taken to the sea, his captors traded and/or sold him six times, before putting him aboard a slave ship. There he witnessed captives chained close together below deck. The captors cruelly flogged the slaves—one to death—and also flogged Asa-Asa. Once, the ship's captain cut his head (Asa-Asa 133-135). Ashton Warner was also brutally treated. Although he was not flogged, the Cane Grove estate manager Mr. M'Fie beat him about the head with an iron butt-hoop until it was stained with blood (Warner 16). Robert Darrell flogged Ben and, while he was suspended by his hands and unable to protect himself, Richard Darrell ran a bayonet through his foot (Prince 74-75). Old Daniel was lame in the hip and could not keep up with the gang. Robert Darrell had him stripped, laid on the ground, and beaten with a rod of rough briar. Then he threw

salt on Old Daniel's wounds. Old Daniel's wounds never healed and were often full of maggots (Prince 74). Images of Louis Asa-Asa's, Ashton Warner's, Ben's, and Old Daniel's vicious treatment at the hands of perpetrators expand the images of the foul treatment of enslaved women. Young men, husbands, fathers, and the elderly, were also brutally mistreated.

Susanna Strickland contributed in several ways to the project in regard to witnessing. First, in her introduction to *Negro Slavery Described*, she discusses her personal response to witnessing the pain of those who had been colonial slaves. She explains how she had been ignorant of the plight of colonial slaves and had been "one of the apathetical and deluded class" (in Warner n. pag.), who got their ideas from pro-slavery periodicals, such as the *Quarterly Review* and *Blackwood's Magazine*. She claims it was not until she met both men and women, such as Ashton Warner and Mary Prince, who had been British colonial slaves that her perception changed. Strickland explains that hearing the "voice of truth," she "resolved to no longer be an accomplice in its criminality, though it were only by keeping silence regarding it" (in Warner n. pag.).

Also in her introduction to *Negro Slavery Described*, Strickland explains how social action may be a result of witnessing. She offers her own story of a woman transformed from "apathy" and "delusion" to a woman actively involved in dismantling the institution of slavery. The hope of Strickland and the other abolitionist team members may have been that readers like Strickland would abandon former prejudices and take up the banner of Abolition. If Strickland could

make this transformation—to the point of participating in the production of two slave narratives—then other English women could also. Strickland’s introduction was a campaign tool for Abolition because it challenged other English women to embrace the cause and to engage in political action for social change in regard to enslavement.

Strickland was also a witness to the storytelling events of each project, and, along with three other abolitionist women—Margaret Pringle, Susan Brown, and Martha A. Browne—she witnessed Prince’s brutalized body. There is something affective and moving about the idea of young Susanna Strickland witnessing Mary Prince’s body and the trauma of her story, and this may have affected readers as well. Pringle made this revelation available to readers by including Margaret Pringle’s letter to Lucy Townsend for the first time in either the second or third edition of *The History of Mary Prince*.⁷⁶

Margaret Pringle reported what the four female abolitionists, including herself, had witnessed to Mrs. Townsend (Lucy Townsend), a fifth woman abolitionist, who was the founder and one of the secretaries of the Birmingham Ladies’ Society for the Relief of Negro Slaves. “[T]he whole of the back part of her body is distinctly scarred, and, as it were, *chequered*, with the vestiges of severe floggings” (M. Pringle, “Postscript” in Prince 130), Margaret Pringle writes.⁷⁷

⁷⁶ This letter is also where Strickland is identified as the compiler of both slave narratives. Prior to this she had been an anonymous team member.

⁷⁷ Soon after the Birmingham Ladies Society for the Relief of Negro Slaves was formed, seventy more women’s societies were established across Britain. Clare Midgley writes that “women, despite their exclusion from positions of formal power

The Birmingham Ladies Society was connected directly to *The History of Mary Prince* through the four women abolitionists who witnessed Mary's ruined body, but also through Joseph Phillips, an abolitionist who had been in Antigua. Phillips, who worked with Pringle on the Antigua section of *The History of Mary Prince*, had been the Society's collaborator when he was in Antigua. He had given aid to distressed slaves there on the Society's behalf.⁷⁸

The Birmingham Ladies' Society was one of many women's abolitionist organizations throughout England. With the inclusion of Margaret Pringle's postscript in the second or third edition of *The History of Mary Prince*, the witnessing of Prince's scarred and damaged body was passed to other women's abolitionist groups throughout England. Strickland's witnessing of the storytelling event also passed to readers who were then implicated in the knowledge the narrative conveyed. Through Margaret Pringle's letter and Strickland's work, they, too, had become witnesses to the terrible mistreatment of enslaved, bound, and flogged black women and to the related knowledge of systemic corruption that this image conveyed.

in the national anti-slavery movement in Britain, were an integral part of that movement and played distinctive and at times leading roles in the successive stages of the anti-slavery campaign" (3-4).

⁷⁸ Phillips also supplied *The History of Mary Prince* at a trade price to anti-slavery associations. This information can only be seen on the original third edition, where it appears at the bottom of the front page. This suggests that the reception of *The History of Mary Prince* was strong, resulting in not only second and third editions, but also trade copies that were available at a reduced price for wide distribution through the network of anti-slavery societies.

Robert Walsh, whose excerpted testimony from *Notices of Brazil* appeared in Pringle's supplement, and the four Christian ministers, whose testimonies were appended to *Negro Slavery Described*, were also witnesses reporting on the atrocities of colonial slave ownership, much as Susanna Strickland and the other abolitionist women working with Strickland were witnesses to the physical abuse that had been meted out to Mary Prince. The four Christian ministers, especially, may have been regarded as believable authorities because they were men of the church. Through their testimonies, readers became witnesses, and therefore, were faced with the decision to act, or to turn away.

Pringle and other members of the storytelling, compiling, and editing teams that created the duology of *The History of Mary Prince* and *Negro Slavery Described* may have hoped that the duology, amply supplied with images and stories of both slaves and slave-owners, and supported with paratextual materials, might create social action in its reading public. The stories portrayed in the duology were very different from stories of colonial slavery put forward by pro-slavery lobbyists. Perhaps the goal of Pringle and the team was that readers would acknowledge what they had read, that their thoughts about colonial slavery would be altered, and that, transformed, they would take up the cause of Abolition.

4.7 Conclusion

Considering Thomas Pringle the manager of Prince's *The History of Mary Prince* and Warner's *Negro Slavery Described* reveals much about how the texts work together as a duology and the way the texts were positioned in the Abolition

movement. Brought to the forefront are major concerns about the disruptive and corrupt nature of colonial enslavement—such as the sale of enslaved persons and colonial law—that appeared in the texts. The approach of witnessing found in the texts is also highlighted. Hypothetical though it may be to think of Pringle as the project manager, this approach gives distinctive meanings to the texts, and adds to the growing body of discourse about Mary Prince and her story.

Reading Prince's *The History of Mary Prince* and Warner's *Negro Slavery Described* as duology, such that the two slave narratives complement each other, also brings forward *Negro Slavery Described*, which has been overlooked as a unique testimony. Whereas Prince's text is situated within both the Abolition and the Emancipation cycles, Warner's narrative is situated in the latter cycle only. This is especially important because events in Warner's story, and comments in the testimonies of the four Christian ministers, illuminate an issue faced by Abolition in 1831, namely the corruption of colonial law that underpinned the institution of slavery. To dismantle slavery, it was also necessary to strike down colonial law.

Colonial law, the selling of slaves, and the flogging of enslaved, bound, black women were major concerns echoed in the texts, as they were in the larger project of Abolition. Reading the texts with Pringle, a leading abolitionist of his day, as project manager, animates the Abolition movement for readers. The duology of *The History of Mary Prince* and *Negro Slavery Described* worked as a campaign tool for Abolition, and the project takes on a political significance when it is contextualized in the Abolition movement.

Possibly the most interesting aspect is Pringle's use of witnessing in the texts, which is linked to the use of witnessing by the larger project of Abolition. His management of Susanna Strickland, not only as the texts' compiler, but also as a witness, is significant. The testimony of Strickland's transformation from uninterested citizen to ardent abolitionist is especially tender and poignant, and may put a social claim on modern day readers to take up the cause of Abolition, close to two hundred years after her words were put on paper.

Pringle acted in a private capacity to produce and to publish both *The History of Mary Prince* and *Negro Slavery Described*. This may have been to avert any forthcoming legal skirmishes from London's Anti-Slavery Society, of which he was the paid secretary. It also shows Pringle's initiative and dedication to the abolitionist cause, because he took on John Adams Wood Jr., and the plantocracy that Wood, as a private citizen, represented. Pringle may be credited for reading the political landscape of the time and for recognizing that *The History of Mary Prince* and *Negro Slavery Described* might receive a positive, if complex, reception. He saw opportunity, and he took it, in spite of negative repercussions to himself.

Pringle died at age forty-six on 5 December 1834 of a pulmonary complaint. Writing to his doctor James Kennedy, Pringle suggests that a crumb of bread went the wrong way down his throat and cut a small blood vessel in a lung, which did not heal (Vigne 217). Perhaps he was already suffering from tuberculosis or some other disease or condition not understood at the time. It happened the day after he had

signed, as secretary, the Anti-Slavery Society's announcement of the *Slavery Abolition Act* on 27 June 1834 (Vigne 209).

Had he lived, Pringle's plan had been to return to South Africa to take up human rights work. This is fitting of his character as a stalwart abolitionist and for seven years the paid secretary of London's Anti-Slavery Society. He was buried in London's Bunhill Fields, a non-conformist graveyard close by to Aldermanbury, where the office of the Anti-Slavery Society was located. In 1970, his remains were reinterred in a memorial chapel at his family's South African farm Eildon in the Bavianns River valley.

Zachary Macaulay, the founder of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, who co-edited the publication with Pringle, comments that the Anti-Slavery Committee,

felt themselves fortunate in being able to engage [Pringle] as their Secretary; and in that capacity, for upwards of seven years he continued to labour with signal assiduity and devotedness until . . .the extinction of colonial slavery, [to which] Mr. Pringle greatly contributed, by his practical knowledge of the evils of that iniquitous system, and by the unwearied exertion of his talents in the service of Society. (qtd. in Vigne 209)

Both in his role as secretary to London's Anti-Slavery Society and as a private citizen, Pringle was a major contributor to the success of the Emancipation cycle, 1823-1838. Judith Jennings writes of the importance of particular individuals who

devoted their lives to the cause of Abolition in the Abolition cycle, 1787-1807.⁷⁹ If a similar group of significant figures were suggested for the Emancipation cycle, Thomas Pringle's name would be included.

⁷⁹ Granville Sharp, James Phillips, Thomas Clarkson, and William Wilberforce, for example. See Jennings's *The Business of Abolishing the Slave Trade, 1783-1807*, pages 34-35.

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5. A Curriculum Based on The History of Mary Prince, A West Indian Slave, Related by Herself

Here I worked in the grounds. My work was planting and hoeing sweet potatoes, Indian corn, plaintains [sic], bananas, cabbages, pumpkins, onions, &c.

Mary Prince, 1831

5.1 Introduction

The History of Mary Prince, A West Indian Slave, Related by Herself is an autobiographical survivor account that may be used to teach about The Middle Passage, colonial enslavement, Abolition, modern day slavery, and the concept of creolization. More than this, my hope is that the historical consciousness of students may be opened and activated because of engagement with the testimony and with the expanded story of Mary Prince, which is based on historical evidence. This chapter presents a curriculum that is based on *The History of Mary Prince* and may be used by educators in an attempt to open their students' historical consciousness in regard to The Middle Passage and colonial enslavement.

As abolitionists, Mary Prince, Susanna Strickland, and Thomas Pringle may be understood as early human rights workers.⁸⁰ Prince was the storyteller, Strickland

⁸⁰ *The History of Mary Prince, A West Indian Slave, Related by Herself* was published in London and Edinburgh at the height of Britain's anti-slavery campaign. The previous chapters of this dissertation give details on the members of the writing team. Chapter 4 is the most extensive on this topic. Information about the team members also appears on maryprince.org.

was the compiler, and Pringle was the editor and financial backer of the writing team that brought *The History of Mary Prince* to print. A significant abolitionist strategy, the publication of the book aided the campaign that eventually brought about Emancipation, which took effect 1 August 1834, in the British Empire.⁸¹

Prince was a colonial slave, owned by five successive slave-owners, all Bermudians. She lived in three British colonial territories—Bermuda, Grand Turk Island, and Antigua—plus in London, England. Her vivid testimony recounts the life of an enslaved black child, and later woman, in Britain’s colonies.

Prince’s body was severely damaged by repeated beatings and floggings meted out to her by her slave-owners, but also from poor nutrition and from devastating labour practices—especially labour practices involved in making solar-evaporated salt, when she was enslaved on Grand Turk Island. Much of what Prince describes in her testimony regarding the feeding of slaves on Grand Turk Island, and the labour practices on that island in the days of colonial enslavement is similar to the condition of some modern day slaves.

When Prince was in Bermuda and Antigua, she was expected to perform several different jobs for her slave-owners. As a household slave, she was a nanny to their children and did domestic work, such as household laundry. When in Bermuda, Prince performed agricultural work, including tending food gardens. In Antigua, Prince sold food plants in the market.

⁸¹ Abolition, slave resistance, and Emancipation were discussed in the earlier chapters of this dissertation, particularly in chapter 1.

The food gardens Prince kept in Bermuda reflect a creolized food garden. The plants she recollects growing in those gardens originated in Africa, Europe, and the Americas. The plants travelled to Bermuda with the forced, or otherwise, migration of people, who carried food plants, as seeds, cuttings, or roots, from distant lands and planted them in new soil. Prince's testimony may be used as an opening to learn about the concept of creolization through the food garden, because the food garden, and the plants grown in the food garden, may be regarded as a metaphor for creolization.

Creolization is a result of colonialization, where African, European, and Aboriginal American people, through the Middle Passage, developed new identities in the Americas. Brutal violence underlay the process of creolization because at its heart was the Middle Passage and colonial slavery. Not only did bloodlines from these three groups mix, but also participants in the process of creolization actively selected—and still do select—cultural elements that together have become—and are still becoming—something new. In the condition of creolization, newly created identities supersede what existed previously.

In Bermuda, which was uninhabited when white people first arrived, Africans were brought to the territory and enslaved, as were Aboriginal Americans.⁸² Food

⁸² Clarence Maxwell, in "Race and Servitude: The Birth of a Social Order in Bermuda, 1619-1669," notes that the first blacks and Aboriginal Americans were brought to Bermuda on three different vessels. The *Edwin* brought one black man and one "Indian" in 1616; a year later, the *Hopewell* brought an undisclosed number; and, in 1620, the *Treasurer* brought twenty-nine people (Maxwell 41-43). Pirates and privateers also sold black people and Aboriginal Americans to Bermudians. Other blacks and Aboriginal Americans arrived by way of ships that wrecked on Bermuda's

plants were also brought to Bermuda. When used together in a dish, these food plants resulted in new food traditions—New World recipes. This is also true of other territories.

Many New World recipes are examples of creolization. A Bermudian New World dish is codfish and potatoes, traditionally served with Bermuda onion butter sauce, tomato sauce, avocado, and Bermuda bananas. These foods are not indigenous to Bermuda. Even the onion and banana, which are designated “Bermudian,” did not originate in Bermuda but were transferred from Africa.

Racism in the Americas is the afterlife of slavery. Perhaps by facing difficult learning about slavery of the past, students living in the present will not only alter how they live in the present, but also how they envision living in the future. My hope is that they will feel the claim of the past and will work towards democratic betterment and a more just future.

To assist students and educators in a program of study based on *The History of Mary Prince, A West Indian Slave, Related by Herself*, as part of this dissertation I constructed a website—maryprince.org—with Middle School readers and older readers in mind. Because I hope to attract a younger readership, I have taken care not to dwell on the brutal aspects of Prince’s recollections of enslavement. The many resources included on maryprince.org will assist educators who already include *The*

shoals. Kathleen Bragdon points out in “Native Americans in Bermuda,” that the first Aboriginal Americans to arrive in Bermuda originated in New England, New York, and the Caribbean. The New England Aboriginal Americans were Pequot from Massachusetts Bay; the New York Aboriginal Americans were Mahican; and the Caribbean Aboriginal Americans were “Spanish,” because they had been captured in raids on Spanish settlements in the Spanish West Indies (Bragdon 53-56).

History of Mary Prince with educational programs they offer, and it may influence educators who do not already incorporate the text in their programs to do so.

The website includes over fifty resources, including primary and secondary sources, suggested activities, and helpful pieces, which explain aspects of Prince's story, such as her slave-owners, the abolitionist writing team of which she was the storyteller, remembrance, and the idea regarding the creolized food garden previously mentioned. There are also several links to other websites of interest, including a link to a first edition of *The History of Mary Prince*. The website maryprince.org is an integral part of this non-traditional dissertation and should be considered as part of my research.

In section 5.2 of this chapter, I discuss Bermuda's current Social Studies curricula and how maryprince.org may be utilized in the territory's Middle School 2 and Senior School 3 Social Studies programs. Although the website is too advanced for Bermuda's Primary School 5 Social Studies program, I suggest two resources that might be useful for this age group.

Section 5.3 is where I consider several pedagogical approaches taken by others to engage students' historical consciousness. All have used some combination of autobiographical survivor account(s), other primary sources, secondary sources, and fictionalized accounts with differing degrees of success. Based on my readings of these approaches, I have devised a "nesting doll" approach, which has at its heart one or more autobiographical survivor accounts. The innermost doll represents the autobiographical survivor account(s), and the successively larger dolls in the set

represent the related resources—primary sources, visiting significant sites, secondary sources, and fictionalized accounts. This approach may allow for sustained, recursive intertextual reading, viewing, and experiential learning of a variety of resources, all for a richer learning experience.

I propose an outline of study regarding *The History of Mary Prince* using maryprince.org, in section 5.4. Here I discuss the diverse resources included on the website and, based on the “nesting doll” approach, suggest a specific pedagogical undertaking that is procedural in nature—meaning it is a step-by-step—and builds on the framework designed by Peter Seixas and Tom Morton in their *The Big Six Historical Concepts*. Seixas and Morton’s framework engages students in historical inquiries and helps students to think like historians.

In section 5.5, I consider visiting sites of enslavement in Bermuda. Included are sites along the African Diaspora Heritage Trail and sites related to Mary Prince and her family. Using the “Mary Prince Bermudian Sites of Memory” map, which is included on maryprince.org, I suggest that students and educators might visit these sites, if possible, for a richer learning experience. Visiting significant sites is a sensory experience that connects people to the land and to ancestors. Even if students do not have a personal or historical connection to a given piece of land, it is important for them to visit that piece of land because they need to understand the history connected to it.

Section 5.6 is where I discuss the food garden as a place to learn about creolization, and the relationship of the food garden to Mary Prince and her

testimony. I include information about other slave-kept gardens, and I give suggested learning outcomes associated with a study of the food garden as a place of creolization. I propose that school curricula might embrace this approach, and that the creolized food garden might be embedded in school gardens. Food gardens are places where people may sense independence and prosperity, and they are sites people might embrace as places of memorial practice.

In section 5.7, I examine food justice, modern day slavery, and *The History of Mary Prince*. Slavery has not ended. Many details about enslavement recollected by Prince are still at work in modern day slavery. Just as slavery has not ended, neither has the work of Abolition. An activity on maryprince.org—Continuity and Change, found under the Historical Concepts tab—offers information about modern day slavery. In this section, I also provide links to modern day abolitionist organizations, and suggest social actions that students may take.

5.2 The History of Mary Prince and maryprince.org in the Context of Bermuda's Social Studies Curricula

The transatlantic trade in captive Africans and the institution of slavery in the Americas is a catastrophic legacy of colonialism. A crime against humanity, it is a terrible and brutal knowledge, but it also provides an opening for new moral and ethical understandings. An educational outcome from engaging with this knowledge is that it may engender an historical consciousness in which the individual, transformed, lives the present with the past and the future in mind. Moreover, the

individual who possesses an ethical historical consciousness, living as if the lives of others matter, may choose to participate in the development and betterment of civilization.

Racism in the Americas is the afterlife of slavery and of the genocide of Aboriginal American peoples. Rinaldo Walcott, in his chapter “Pedagogy and Trauma: The Middle Passage, Slavery and the Problem of Creolization,” draws on Paul Gilroy’s argument in “Not a Story to Pass On: Living Memory and the Slave Sublime,” that “[b]lack people have not adequately dealt with the traumas of slavery” to argue that the trauma of the Middle Passage and slavery—and the genocide of Native Americans and the theft of their lands—is a “key rupture implicated in the invention of the Americas” (Walcott 135). However, is it only black people who have not adequately dealt with the traumas of slavery? The tragedy and injustice of both the Middle Passage and the genocide of Aboriginal American peoples must be dealt with by the descendants of both survivors and perpetrators alike. In many cases, an individual may be descended from both survivors and perpetrators; however, even if an individual is descended from neither group, as in the case of recent immigrants, she or he needs to think about this history because it underlies the racial division and strife currently afflicting society. Furthermore, understanding these histories is imperative for the healing process.⁸³

⁸³ The genocide of Aboriginal Americans and the theft of their lands is an equally important topic to the Middle Passage and colonial slavery, but for the purpose of this dissertation, my work will focus on enslavement.

In Bermuda, the territory of Prince's birth, Bermudians are dealing with racial strife. Lynne Winfield, long-time president of Citizens Uprooting Racism in Bermuda (CURB), provides an example of current racial conflict in Bermuda. Winfield writes, in an email dated 17 March 2016, "no doubt you have heard about our recent civil disobedience (blocking of East Broadway—entrance into Hamilton—from 6:30 a.m. – 8:15 p.m.), and the ongoing 'illegal' strikes and occupation of the grounds of the House of Assembly since last Friday. Also, a Bermudian, Ms. Enda Matthie, has been on a hunger strike since Tuesday March 8th and has been living in a tent at the House of Assembly" (Winfield "Racial Strife").⁸⁴ This action by protestors was in response to proposals by Bermuda's Government to give long-term residents increased rights to apply for permanent residency and Bermudian status, a position viewed by the protestors as an attempt to marginalize the black population, which is reminiscent of racist policies of the past—racist policies founded in the Middle Passage, colonial slavery, and over one hundred years of segregation.

⁸⁴ Enda Matthie clarified in an email dated 9 November 2016 that her hunger strike lasted twenty days. Her purpose in undertaking the hunger strike was "primarily to see Parliament dissolve and to have an election called" (Matthie "Hunger Strike"). Immigration was only one of several issues motivating Matthie to undertake the hunger strike. A number of protests occurred over several weeks concerning the Government's proposed immigration legislation. These protests culminated in blockading the House of Assembly. Protestors linked arms and formed a human chain around the House of Assembly preventing elected members access to debate the proposed immigration legislation. As a result, the immigration legislation was withdrawn and a new body, the Consultative Immigration Reform Working Group, was struck. This working group is comprised of ten members, five chosen by the people, and five chosen by Government. The group's purpose is to examine past policies, to be fully consultative with stakeholders and the public, and to report to Government. Lynne Winfield is a member of this working group.

As Winfield points out in CURB's 2014 position paper on Permanent Residents Certificate Holders, titled "Bermuda's Immigration History: Race and the Quest for Votes," past "racialized immigration policies [have] ensured an increase in the white population" (23). Winfield explains that Bermuda's history of immigration is complex, involving,

repeated efforts to reduce the Black population through multiple banishments [or] transportation of hundreds of free Blacks over the first 218 years of Bermuda's history; followed by concerted efforts post-Emancipation to increase the white population through laws passed to encourage emigrants; and finally in the 20th century by immigration policies and birth control. (1)⁸⁵

My proposed approach using *The History of Mary Prince* takes an historical perspective and looks at the root causes of racism—the Middle Passage and colonial slavery. This approach works with Bermuda's Social Studies curricula. Bermuda's educational system is divided into the following age groupings: Primary School (PS, P1, P2, P3, P4, P5, and P6), Middle School (M1, M2, and M3), and Secondary School

⁸⁵ Bermudian laws that specifically focussed on the disenfranchisement of black Bermudians began in 1623 with An Act to Restrayne the insolences of the Negroes. Contemporary history includes Bermuda Youth Disturbances in 1968; primary schools desegregated in 1971; riots following the hangings of Larry Tacklyn and Buck Burrows in 1977; and a general strike protesting the continued failure of Government to improve the lives of black Bermudians in 1981 (Winfield "Bermuda's Immigration History" 27-32).

(S1, S2, S3, and S4).⁸⁶ In 2010, Bermuda opted for the Cambridge International Examination (C. I. E.) for English, English as a Second Language, Math, and Science. Social Studies curricula were retained. The Social Studies curricula provide openings to teach about enslavement in P5, M2, and, beginning in September 2016, S3. All of these courses are mandatory. The Social Studies S3 course, *Bermuda Studies*, which is about to be launched, streamlines topics previously covered by Middle School curricula so that there is no duplication. It also allows for the introduction of C. I. E.'s History and Geography in one year of Senior School.⁸⁷

Bermuda's Primary 5 Social Studies curriculum, published by the Ministry of Education in 2012, includes the following objective: "[students will] describe how emancipation changed the lives of enslaved people in Bermuda" (Ministry of Education 18). This is situated in Phase B, Module B (1700-1918), "Politics and Law," and is part of a larger framework that is given eight weeks for completion. Specific resources include historical sites in Bermuda and non-fictional stories. My historical fiction children's book *Mary: A Story of Young Mary Prince*, which was inspired by *The History of Mary Prince*, and which is forthcoming in winter 2017, may be of use here, as may also be the "Mary Prince Bermudian Sites of Memory" map I have included on maryprince.org under the website's Learn tab.⁸⁸

⁸⁶ PS means Pre-school. Bermuda's S1 and S2 levels correspond to C. I. E.'s International Government Certificate of Secondary Education (I. G. C. S. E.), and Bermuda's S3 and S4 levels correspond to C. I. E.'s AS- and A-Levels.

⁸⁷ Lisa Marshall, Bermuda's Ministry of Education's Social Studies Officer, provided me with a draft of this curriculum.

⁸⁸ *Mary: A Story of Young Mary Prince* is to be self-published under the Sisters Publishing imprint. It is intended for Junior readers. The book follows the model of

This map gives the Global Positioning System (GPS) coordinates of Bermudian residences connected to Mary Prince and to her family. The website also includes photographs of these residences. Even though none of the residences are open to the public, it may be useful for students to know their locations. Perhaps they travel by one or more of them daily, live nearby, might live in one, or know someone who does. *Mary: A Story of Young Mary Prince* follows Mary Prince from the age of eleven to thirteen—from her last few days living at the home of child slave-owner Betsey Williams through to her transport off Bermuda to Grand Turk Island. All of the residences indicated on the map are settings featured in this story. The book, the photographs, and the map can be used together in Bermuda's P5 Social Studies curriculum.

The territory's Middle School 2 Social Studies curriculum, published by Bermuda's Ministry of Education, Sports & Recreation in 2007, includes a module, "Slavery and Its Abolition (1500-1870)." The History component of this module, which is given eight weeks to complete, includes the following objective: "[students will] describe the system of slavery from its introduction to its abolition in the British Empire" (Ministry of Education n. pag.). Embedded topics related to my project are "slave life/slave sales," "the British abolitionist movement (Wilberforce and Sharpe)," and "the ending of slavery in England (1808)" (Ministry of Education n. pag.).

Lawrence Hill's Illustrated Edition of *The Book of Negroes*. Excerpts from Prince's testimony, primary sources, original illustrations, historical images, photographs, and maps supplement the text. This book is not part of this dissertation but resulted from my research in Bermuda.

Three of the short essays included on maryprince.org may be useful here. The first two are “Mary Prince,” found under the Home tab, which includes a short explanation of the Slavery Abolition Act of 1833, and “*The History of Mary Prince & Bermudian Enslavement*,” found under the Learn tab, which briefly critiques the historical concept that Bermudian enslavement was comparatively gentler than enslavement in West Indian or American mainland colonies.

The third piece is “The Narrative of Louis Asa-Asa & The Transatlantic Slave Trade,” also found under the Learn tab. Asa-Asa’s slave narrative was included in *The History of Mary Prince*. In this piece, I mention the two cycles of Abolition. Wilberforce and Sharpe worked in the first, the Abolition cycle, spanning the years 1787-1807. Mary Prince, Susanna Strickland, and Thomas Pringle—members of the abolitionist collaborative storytelling, compiling, and editing team that brought *The History of Mary Prince* to print in 1831—worked in the second, the Emancipation cycle, 1823-1838. *The History of Mary Prince* was an effective abolitionist strategy and political tool, which helped to bring in Emancipation.⁸⁹ Even though Emancipation took effect 1 August 1834, true freedom did not begin for most British slaves until 1 August 1838 when the stipulated Apprenticeship Program, which was a component of the Slavery Abolition Act of 1833, concluded.

Because I theorize that studies about enslavement are most effective when anchored in autobiographical survivor accounts, a topic discussed in section 5.3 Pedagogical Approaches in Developing Historical Consciousness, I suggest that the

⁸⁹ Please see chapter 4 of this dissertation where I discuss this in detail.

“Narrative of Louis Asa-Asa” might be excerpted from the project of *The History of Mary Prince* and used separately as a resource for Bermuda’s Middle School 2 Social Studies program. Asa-Asa remembers being kidnapped and taken from his village, traded and/or sold six times on the African coast, and then transported to Europe, rather than to French colonies.

The *Bermuda Studies* curriculum, developed for S3 students, is where maryprince.org might be most effectively used. Unit A—Early Development of Slavery, Module A contains the following objective: “[students will] identify and explain the impact of slavery on the people of Bermuda.” Embedded topics are a “review [of] the transatlantic slave trade”; a “review [of] chattel slavery in Bermuda”; and a “study of Mary Prince as an example of Bermudian slavery” (Ministry of Education 10). Suggested resources include William Sears Zuill’s book *The Story of Bermuda and Her People* (1999), James Smith’s book *Slavery in Bermuda* (1976), Mary Prince’s slave narrative *The History of Mary Prince* (1831), appearing in the revised University of Michigan Press edition (1997), and Rosemary Jones’s book *Bermuda Five Centuries* (2004).

The website, maryprince.org, and this dissertation, will greatly develop and broaden what is covered in these resources. The primary and secondary sources, and the pedagogical suggestions and resources I include will be of benefit. Importantly, Mary Prince’s expanded role as an abolitionist, which I develop in my work, and the understanding that she was the storyteller of a collaborative abolitionist team, casts her in a new and significant light.

Learning about the Middle Passage and colonial slavery may be intertwined with learning about the concept of creolization. A trio of weighty pedagogical issues, these three topics might be approached as an integral part of Social Studies and related curricula, and not only in Bermuda. I believe that students younger than those in Middle School might engage with the topic of colonial enslavement and racism, provided that the resources utilized are age appropriate. However, the curriculum proposed and discussed in section 5.4 A Suggested Outline of a Program of Study about Mary Prince using maryprince.org is suited for Middle School students or older students because of the reading level that is required.

5.3 Pedagogical Approaches in Developing Historical Consciousness

Several educators have written on the pedagogical approaches they use to engage and promote historical consciousness in their students. For example, in “Remembering Otherwise: Civic Life and the Pedagogical Promise of Historical Memory,” Roger I. Simon explains that he addresses the issue of learning about mass violence—such as the imprisonment, forced labour, starvation, and mass extermination of members of the Jewish population during the Holocaust—through testaments of individuals who were firsthand witnesses of events or through testaments by persons who were told about events by a person who was a firsthand witness. Simon suggests that through engagement with these testaments a “radical form of learning” is enabled (“Remembering Otherwise” 7). This radical learning may be a way to usher in future democratic betterment because when an individual’s past, present, and future social relations are critiqued in the light of

social commemoration or remembrance, her or his social relations are then subject to reformation. Following the thought of Jacques Derrida in “Intellectual Courage: an interview,” Simon argues that the idea of democracy and that which presents itself as democracy do not line up. Thus, a democratic public life requires that existing practices are continually critiqued, and that there is ongoing work of repair, renewal, and invention of desirable social institutions (“Remembering Otherwise” 6).

Remembering is for the future, Simon argues, and historians are implicated in the formation of a culture in which the past matters to the present (“Remembering Otherwise” 2). How, Simon asks, do we remember people who have lived in specific historical events of mass violence in ways that promote democratic change? Some may think it is wise to put past differences aside in search for peace. Others recognize that the work of social transformation is not to forget the past but to “remember it otherwise” (“Remembering Otherwise” 9). Remembering otherwise means to take the stories of others into our lives as though they matter. It means working through cultural grief, and, in the process, rethinking both past and present relationships in a way that affects how we will live our lives in the future.

In “Remembering Obligation: Witnessing Testimonies of Historical Trauma,” Simon explains that the potentially transformative testaments that may initiate radical learning could “variously take the form of diaries or eyewitness statements, documentary photographs or films, novels, poetry, stories, songs, fictionalized film, or theatre” (50). According to Simon, testimony is either representations by those

who have lived through an event and have been moved to convey to others what they experienced, or testimony may be representations by those who have been shown or told about a lived reality and, who, in turn, have been moved to pass on to others the information they received (“Remembering Obligation” 50). Slave narratives, such as Mary Prince’s *The History of Mary Prince*, fit into Simon’s list of possible testaments because they provide firsthand testimony.

Simon co-authored “Remembrance as Praxis and the Ethics of the Interhuman” with Mario Di Paolantonio and Mark Clamen. The authors ask “what it could mean to live historically, to live with an upright attention to the traces of those who have inhabited times and places other than one’s own?” (“Remembrance as Praxis” 133). They suggest that in our current time there is an inability to hear the stories of others. To amend this, it is necessary to revisit past historical injustices, especially the singular lives of individuals given through testimony, rather than through generalized histories of mass violence. The authors borrow Derrida’s terminology “talking with ghosts” as a way to engage with the testimonies of others that demand our attention (“Remembrance as Praxis” 135). Through engagement with these testimonies, we are able to reassess and revise familiar stories, even if the difficult knowledge “wounds” or “haunts” us. Their hope is that through engagement with monuments, images, and texts, a “radical historical consciousness” will be invoked (“Remembrance as Praxis” 153).

Simon, Di Paolantonio, and Clamen have created and applied a pedagogical approach to open historical consciousness that they term “historiographic poetics”

("Remembrance as Praxis" 147). This approach is a form of collective study about remembrance as learning, and it is procedural in nature. The first step is individual preparation. All members of a group read substantially about the subject of their project, and they also independently study documents pertaining to it ("Remembrance as Praxis" 132).⁹⁰ At each meeting, a "juxtaposition" and an accompanying commentary are prepared by an individual group member. This is the second step. These juxtapositions and commentaries are electronically shared with all group members prior to the meeting in which they will be discussed. A juxtaposition is a set of testamentary texts and images that may include music, poetry, art, diaries, memoirs, and survivor accounts, and it may also be polylinguistic, polyvocal, and/or polytemporal. The accompanying commentary is about the experience the creator of the juxtaposition has as she or he attempts to engage with the testamentary materials included in the juxtaposition. For the final step, all group members respond in writing to the juxtaposition and its accompanying commentary ("Remembrance as Praxis" 149-50). This type of reflective writing is about an individual's own cognitive and affective processes and growth. It is not the type of reflective writing condemned by Pascale R. Bos where the writer identifies with a victim or victims. I discuss Bos's approach later in this section.

⁹⁰ The historical topic of Simon, Di Paolantonio, and Clamen's historiographic poetics project was the German occupation of Vilna, 1941- 1943, when most of Vilna's Jewish population was ghettoized and systematically murdered.

Ann Chinnery, in “‘What Good Does All This Remembering Do, Anyway?’ On Historical Consciousness and the Responsibility of Memory,” suggests that testimony may not be as powerful an address as it once was because those born between the mid-1970s and the late 1990s grew up watching television shows such as *Oprah* and *Dr. Phil*, and they may have become immune to the power of testimony. She bases this on her own teaching at Simon Fraser University, where Eden Robinson’s novel *Monkey Beach* did not put a claim on her students as she had hoped it would.

Written in the first-person point of view, the fictional nineteen-year-old Lisamarie narrates *Monkey Beach*. *Monkey Beach* is inspired by Robinson’s family stories, the stories of acquaintances, books, and other resources. Robinson’s father, a member of the Haisla nation, grew up in Haisla territory, near Kitimat, British Columbia, which is a few hundred miles north of Vancouver, and one of the novel’s settings. The book’s theme is how residential schools, decades after the doors were closed, continue to have devastating effects on Aboriginal families. My thought is that Chinnery’s students may have held *Monkey Beach* suspect, even though it is based partially on family stories, as they may have held suspect many of the stories told on *Oprah* and *Dr. Phil*. Perhaps they had become cynics, and doubted the merit of *Monkey Beach*.

In general, Chinnery’s students, who were pre- and in-service teachers, did not seem to alter their previously held stereotypical views about Aboriginal peoples, which Chinnery relates were the assumptions that “Aboriginal people on the whole are lazy, do not care about education (their own or their children’s), and that they

typically spend their days drinking or gambling away their government support payments” (400). Because of this, Chinnery brought to class and read aloud from historical racist policy documents, which had underpinned Aboriginal residential schooling in Canada. These were the

Indian Act of 1876 (which defined who was and who was not an Indian); the Gradual Civilization Act of 1857 (the policy of assimilation that sought in part to ‘take the Indian out of the child’); and sections from a bill put forward in 1920 by Duncan Campbell Scott, head of the Department of Indian Affairs, and under whose direction residential schooling became compulsory for all Aboriginal children between the ages of seven and fifteen. (Chinnery 400)

In this bill, Scott pledged to “get rid of the Indian problem Our objective is to continue until there is not a single Indian in Canada that has not been absorbed into the body politic and there is no Indian question, and no Indian Department” (qtd. in Chinnery 400).

Reading from the “cold text of government policy” (Chinnery 401) caused some of Chinnery’s students to be “filled with a kind of moral outrage and distress” (Chinnery 400). Chinnery doesn’t discount Simon’s view—that instead of merely learning about the past, we need to learn from the past in a way which unsettles us and causes transformation to occur—but she does suggest that the “ethical power of critical historical consciousness need not rest on the pedagogical power of testimony” (401).

Perhaps the racist policies read by Chinnery corroborated the story of residential schools Eden Robinson was conveying in her fictional work *Monkey Beach*. Chinnery's students engaged in making inferences from what they heard—they used reasoning to reach a conclusion. In addition, the documents told more of the story of residential schools, which reflected on the storyline of *Monkey Beach*. Chinnery relates that one student, a few days after hearing Chinnery read from the government policy, said, "I can't stop thinking about that stuff you read to us the other day. Why didn't I know about that before?" (400). Later Chinnery learned that other students had had similar responses. Not only does this speak to the educational preparation of these students, but it also suggests that the government policy Chinnery read was a key piece in her students' reasoning process and in initiating the opening of their historical consciousness. Just as the policy documents Chinnery read for her students corroborated Robinson's *Monkey Beach*, other primary sources might prove to be useful tools to corroborate stories some readers initially may doubt.

Historical policy documents and other documents excavated from the archives reveal stories that might not be found elsewhere. Archives are the repositories of stories in which readers often put great stock thinking that, rightly or wrongly, they are true. However, as sites of knowledge production, we do need to think critically about past colonial politics that governed archives. Ann Laura Stoler, in "Colonial Archives and the Arts of Governance," points out "Colonial archives were both sites of the imaginary *and* institutions that fashioned histories as they

concealed, revealed, and reproduced the power of the state” (97). However, archival documents may have been falsified purposefully, as in taxation records; dates, events, and persons may have been overlooked or omitted, as in the case of children born out of wedlock; and errors may have been made, as in a court reporter who may not have recorded the exact words of a person giving testimony. Furthermore, it is important to consider both the selection of what documents are in an archive and whose points of view are represented in the texts. To convince an audience, best practice may be to present a number of linking documents—archival materials, public policy documents, autobiographical testimony, oral histories, and counter-stories, for example—that together tell a story. Although the emphasis of Simon and his colleagues is on testimony—as defined by Simon in “Remembering Obligation: Witnessing Testimonies of Historical Trauma,” and quoted above—this approach is similar to theirs because it uses a collection of resources as they did in their historiographic poetics approach.

Pascale R. Bos’s article, “Empathy, Sympathy, Simulation?: Resisting a Holocaust Pedagogy of Identification,” is about her experience teaching a set of different courses on the Holocaust at the undergraduate and graduate levels in two American universities. Bos follows Bratu Hanson’s thought that Holocaust studies may be popular in the United States because they are a “screen memory” for atrocities closer to home, namely slavery, race relations, and the treatment of Aboriginal American peoples (411). A screen memory is a recollection of one event that unconsciously represses the recollection of another associated event. It may

mask a memory that is deeply, and emotionally, significant. Hanson writes: “[T]he fascination with the Holocaust could be read as a kind of screen allegory behind/through which the nation is struggling to find a proper mode of memorializing traumata closer to home” (qtd. in Bos 411). Perhaps both Bermuda and Canada also have screen memories. Maybe American slavery is a screen memory for enslavement and the genocide of Aboriginal American people in these territories.

Bos finds that many educators engaged in Holocaust studies believe they must help their students identify with the event; to do this they facilitate identification with the victims. She notes that they often turn to the use of literature and reflective writing for this purpose, asking students to compare their own life experiences to those of Holocaust victims. She disparages these methods, suggesting that they may promote narcissism where readers appropriate the real suffering of others and believe that “superficial resemblances between their own lives and the ones they read about are valid” when they are not (Bos 413). Bos finds writing about victims of the Holocaust gratuitous. “Comparing one’s own mundane daily struggles or experiences of misfortune to those of Holocaust victims means potentially belittling and trivializing the horrors of the Holocaust” (Bos 413). What Bos does find useful are “historical accounts given through photos, documentary footage, and in particular through autobiographical survivor accounts” (Bos 413). This, she suggests, creates sufficient awareness of the gravity and the loss that the events represent, without having students imagine or internalize them as their own.

In “Pedagogy and Trauma: The Middle Passage, Slavery and the Problem of Creolization,” Rinaldo Walcott reports on student responses to courses he taught at York University. He “staged pedagogical encounters” with literature, specifically “critical fictions” (135, 140) or neoslave narratives, which may also be termed counter-novels or counter-stories. A counter-novel or counter-story is an alternative or opposing narrative or explanation of an event that disrupts commonly held beliefs. Titles Walcott offered, for example, are Paula Marshall’s *Praisesong to the Widow* and Toni Morrison’s *Beloved*. Because these novels reflect the time of enslavement, they are neoslave narratives, a type of counter-story. He suggests that they critique and disrupt widely believed histories. His hope was that the traumatic history of the Middle Passage and colonial slavery might be worked through with the use of neoslave narratives and that this might aid black people to better understand their current lives.

Generally, Walcott’s students, many of whom were black, did not want to focus on slavery, suggesting that it was negative and must be left behind. He suggests that the popularity of Afrocentric pedagogical approaches, which tend to suppress the history of slavery in favour of an uncomplicated return to Africa, is the chief reason for this. An Afrocentric approach to curriculum often focuses on Egyptocentric history, and views slavery as an episode, or blip, in the much greater opening of African history from before the “Fall”—which is the Middle Passage and slavery. Walcott argues that the complex concept of creolization is preferable as an approach to curriculum, as opposed to an Afrocentric one. Such an approach would

mean that slavery could be more profoundly addressed, and seen as more than a defeat. Although the Middle Passage brought about a break with Africa, it was also the beginning of something new—a transformation of human identity. Thus, Walcott views creolization as a “path of hope” (139).

Walcott’s work suggests that the problem of effectively engaging students is not the use of literature, but the students’ educational backgrounds, the pedagogical approach that has been taken in the past, and the need to disrupt commonly held beliefs. Perhaps a combined approach of autobiographical survivor accounts, other historical accounts found in primary sources, secondary sources, and neoslave narratives might have been a more effective approach. This reflects Chinnery’s finding when she linked *Monkey Beach* with historical policy documents. It also indicates that this teaching needs to begin earlier.

Lawrence Hill’s *The Book of Negroes* is a neoslave narrative, which disrupts what was at the time of its publication, the widely believed story in non-academic circles of enslavement in Canada. Supposedly, pre-Confederation Canada was a haven for escaped American slaves and the country was not involved in the transatlantic slave trade and colonial enslavement. I bring *The Book of Negroes* into my discussion because the Illustrated Edition is an excellent example of a work of historical fiction that includes paratextual materials, such as archival documents, maps, diagrams, photographs, artwork, engravings, and autobiographical survivor accounts, upon which the novel is based. These materials enhance the storyline and provide context to the novel.

An engaging, ready-made package, the Illustrated Edition of *The Book of Negroes* may be used by teachers in an attempt to open their students' historical consciousness regarding the Middle Passage and colonial slavery. More can be gleaned from the Illustrated Edition than from earlier versions because of the added paratextual materials. It may be that the reading of any counter-story heightened and broadened by similar resources would be a richer learning experience. This draws on Simon, Di Paolantonio and Clamen's work, discussed previously, where they made extensive use of various forms of testimony, including photographs and art. It also reflects on Chinnery's finding—that other forms of evidence, in addition to those defined by Simon as testimony, are effective in teaching traumatic history and invoking historical consciousness.

Historical accounts, including autobiographical survivor accounts, underpin the work of authors who produce counter-stories, which are works of imagination standing on the shoulders of history. In the Illustrated Edition of *The Book of Negroes*, Lawrence Hill additionally—and very usefully—provides a list of the resources he used in his personal research for the book. Some are historical documents, including art, photographs, maps, and diagrams; others are autobiographical survivor accounts; and still others are historical tomes. Together, they form the bedrock of *The Book of Negroes*. Hill suggests that a way to make sense of the impact of the transatlantic trade in captive Africans is by “reading the

memoirs of freedom seekers” (495). Amongst those, he lists *The History of Mary Prince*.⁹¹

Toby Daspit, in “Moving In and Out of Shadows: Confronting Specters of Slavery in a High School African American Studies Program,” revisits his time as a white teacher in charge of a program titled African American Studies: Oral Traditions of the African American Community in Iberia Parish, the first African American program of its type in Louisiana authorized by the Louisiana School Board of Elementary and Secondary Education. Daspit’s article is about being a Southern white teacher and researcher and the problematic dynamics of working with a primarily African American student body on the topic of slave history. The course focused on the oral traditions of the African American community and on the history of the enslaved at Shadows-on-the-Teche, a National Trust for Historic Preservation museum and a former plantation home. The Shadows was the home of the Weeks family, who had made a fortune in sugar. Students developed oral history skills and studied primary documents at the Shadows, which is a “site of unimaginable oppression, and the most prominent symbol of slavery in the area” (Daspit 80). Daspit also implies that the academic preparation of educators to lead courses on enslavement underlies the success or failure of a program devoted to the topic.

⁹¹ Hill’s *The Book of Negroes* is itself titled after an historical document, a British naval ledger of the same name. The list of resources he provides on pages 495-496 of the Illustrated Edition of *The Book of Negroes* is a good beginning for a college or university level syllabus that could also include neoslave narratives, including his own *The Book of Negroes*.

What I find valuable in Daspit's account is that the course took place at a site of enslavement, Shadows-on-the Teche, rather than in a classroom. Although students made use of primary historical documents, which are kept at the Shadows, they also had the embodied experience of being at a site of enslavement despite the fact that an examination of the Shadows' website (shadowsontheteche.org) shows that the focus of the museum is not primarily enslavement. The website features informational components on the Weeks family, slavery, and the Civil War, including historical field trips, such as "Civil War Day" and "History Day Camp," as well as educational programs that work with Iberia Parish Schools for first grade, third grade, and Middle School. The site features the big house and surrounding gardens, but the outbuildings were demolished in 1918, meaning that no slave quarters are present. All that remains of one possible slave dwelling are corner stone markers.

In contrast to Shadows-on-the-Teche, Louisiana's Whitney Plantation, which opened its doors in 2014, is the only plantation museum in that state to focus on enslavement. More than a museum, the Whitney Plantation is a site of memory devoted to the remembrance of slavery. It tells the story of the slaves who lived and worked on the plantation, and whose labour made the grand life and wealth of the plantation owners, the Haydel family of Germany, possible. Featured are slave quarters, and statues of enslaved children, as well as a memorial wall upon which are inscribed the names of every enslaved person to have lived at the Whitney plantation since its founding in 1752.

The Whitney Plantation website includes many explanatory essays concerning the slave population, such as essays about resistance, the Louisiana slave trade, and the Atlantic slave trade. There are also details about the slave-owners, historic buildings and memorials, and a photo gallery. On site, visitors experience “museum exhibits, memorial artwork and restored buildings and hundreds of first-person slave narratives [which gives them] a unique perspective on the lives of Louisiana’s enslaved people” (whitneyplantation.com). The testimony of a student, Nola, a visitor to the Whitney Plantation, is one of several displayed on the website: “I . . . learned a lot of things my school doesn’t teach me. I think it’s important that more young black people come to visit and learn about their history” (whitneyplantation.com). I maintain that white people might also visit the Whitney Plantation or other memory sites of enslavement. White ancestors are implicated heavily in the Middle Passage and in colonial enslavement. I also maintain that being at a site of memory, fully embodied, brings home a sense of knowing, and of “owning,” enslavement to the individual experiencing the place. In all of its aspects, the Whitney Plantation is a curriculum of enslavement history.

In her article “‘The land is the best teacher I have ever had’: places as pedagogy for precarious times,” Cynthia Chambers writes about the importance of visiting sites because they can be “like family and friends to whom we are bound by history, memory and love” (34). She points out that visiting is a “form of renewal, a way of renewing and recreating places and beings, and their relationships to one another” (35). Sites of enslavement are not about love, but history and memory do

bind us to such places. In regard to visiting a site of massacre in Montana—where the American Calvary attacked and killed 173 Blackfoot people, mostly women and children—Chambers writes “the connection between the place and event was so visceral, the space erased the time [and] past became present” (31). Although Chambers writes of Blackfoot sites, perhaps her insights can be carried over to sites of enslavement, and to other important sites of memory. A person must visit an actual site for this transmission of sensual knowledge to occur. It takes place on the land, at the site. Perhaps by visiting the sites of Mary Prince’s enslavement, the gravity of her story will be felt and understood.

Autobiographical survivor accounts, photographs, documentary footage, historical documents, oral histories, the oral tradition, counter-stories, and the embodied experience of being at related historic sites are all resources utilized by Simon, Chinnery, Bos, Walcott, Hill, Daspit, and the architects of the Whitney Plantation, either singly, or in some combination, in the opening of, or the attempt to open, their students’ critical historical consciousness. Some report greater successes than others do. The emerging pattern, gleaned from their different, but related, approaches is that using a combination of resources is more effective than using just one.

Peter Seixas and Tom Morton, both historians and educators, add another dimension to pedagogical approaches in opening students’ historical consciousness. Their book, *The Big Six Historical Thinking Concepts*, is a complete framework for teaching historical thinking, which may also be viewed as a set of competencies that

enable individuals to think like historians. The six historical thinking concepts are habits of mind, designed for integration into all aspects of teaching, from writing objectives to deciding on strategies and to assessment. Seixas and Morton's approach is a "step-by-step process that is challenging but not overwhelming" (Seixas and Morton 7), and it "allows for *progression*: students can use the concepts to move from depending on easily available, common sense notions of the past to using the culture's most powerful intellectual tools for understanding history" (Seixas and Morton 3).

Seixas and Morton explain that there are problems inherent in the production of history. This is because of the relationship between historians and the pasts the historians are researching. Each historian has a unique interpretive lens that she or he brings to an historical inquiry and uses to select evidence, and with which to make choices in order to bring coherence and meaning from the past. The distance between an historian's present time and the specific past she or he is researching is also problematic, because of the type and quality of the evidence she or he is able to find. History arises from historians grappling with these problems. It "emerges from the tension between the historian's creativity and the fragmentary traces of the past that anchor it" (Seixas and Morton 2).

Historical thinking is the creative process undertaken by historians when they interpret evidence from the past and produce stories of history. It is a specific way of thinking, which Seixas and Morton believe can be taught. Because historians interpret evidence from the past—archival, architectural, archaeological, for

example—in order to construct historical stories, Seixas and Morton emphasize the importance of using evidence. They explain that historians use evidence for corroboration or “crosschecking” an historical interpretation (Seixas and Morton 43). Using evidence means “comparing and contrasting one or more sources with an interpretation, with the intention of confirming or refuting the interpretation” (Seixas and Morton 43). Evidence is “what a source becomes when it is analyzed, thereby becoming pertinent to an historical inquiry,” and a source is a “trace, relic, record, written account, oral testimony, archaeological artifact, or even DNA, that is being analyzed in the course of an historical inquiry” (Seixas and Morton 215). Perhaps, as I have already mentioned, Chinnery confirmed stories of residential school survivors as told in Eden Robinson’s *Monkey Beach* when she read from archived government policy documents. This suggests that a broad array of primary sources might be included with other resources used in pedagogical approaches that attempt to open students’ historical consciousness.

Teaching historical thinking implies paying attention to the ways historians do their craft, rather than only to their final products, which are the stories they tell. Seixas and Morton’s framework helps students and teachers think about how historians construct history from the past, and, in some instances, to begin constructing history themselves. The six historical thinking concepts are both procedural and interrelated, and, as Seixas explains, they “function as problems, tensions, or difficulties that demand comprehension, negotiation and, ultimately, an accommodation that is never a complete solution” (“A Model of Historical Thinking”

5). The hope is that by engaging with the six historical thinking concepts, and learning how historians think, students become aware of the links between the past, present, and future and that their historical consciousness is invoked.

Seixas and Morton's six historical thinking concepts are Historical Significance, Primary Source Evidence, Continuity and Change, Cause and Consequence, Historical Perspectives, and The Ethical Dimension. I have included a large component on maryprince.org that deals with these concepts as they relate to my historical research, secondary reading, and understandings regarding *The History of Mary Prince*. Not only is there a short discussion of each of the six historical thinking concepts as they might apply to Prince and her story, but also there are an additional six pages, each one devoted to a different historical thinking concept. Each of these six pages is based on Prince and her story and makes use of primary sources and secondary sources.⁹²

In summation, educators have used autobiographical survivor accounts, documentary photographs, documentary films, historical documents, oral histories, oral tradition, counter-stories, and the embodied experience of being at sites of memory to promote the opening and growth of their students' historical consciousness. They have used these in different combinations, and in different types of classes and settings, with varied responses from their students.

Using a set of five "nesting dolls," my pedagogical approach is organized around Seixas and Morton's framework and uses their materials, but at its core is

⁹² To avoid repetition here, please view maryprince.org where the concepts are laid out in a visually appealing way.

Mary Prince's autobiographical survivor account. It is procedural in nature and has five steps: First step, introduce the autobiographical survivor account. This is the innermost doll. Second step, introduce primary sources, such as historical photographs and documents. The next doll in the set represents this step. The third step is to visit significant sites, such as residences where Mary Prince lived as a girl. Step four is the introduction of secondary sources. These might be scholarly essays about enslavement. Step five is when fictionalized accounts, such as neoslave narratives, poetry, and fictionalized film, are presented.

Although the "nesting doll" approach is procedural, it is not intended to be hierarchical. Nesting dolls can be taken apart, and each one analyzed separately. They also operate as an interrelated set. An historical inquiry may be compared to nesting dolls because different sources may be engaged with and analyzed separately, but they also form a part of an increasingly larger set of interrelated sources. A teacher using this approach might have a set of nesting dolls handy to use as a pedagogical tool. She or he might use them to explain the nesting doll approach to students, and where the different resources being used fit into the approach.

In many ways, this is similar to the historiographic poetics approach used by Simon, Di Paolantonio, and Clamen. As with historiographic poetics, a variety of resources is utilized, but the range of the types of resources is expanded beyond the types of testimony that Simon, Di Paolantonio, and Clamen suggest. Also, rather than creating a juxtaposition of testimonies, which includes fictionalized accounts as

these three authors suggest, the resources are nested and keyed to one or more autobiographical survivor accounts.

This nesting doll concept works with Seixas and Morton's approach and framework, but a teacher must be creative and innovative to see how their six historical thinking concepts might be used. Using Mary Prince's slave narrative as the central autobiographical survivor account at the heart of an historical project is discussed in greater detail in the next section, 5.4.

5.4 A Suggested Outline of a Program of Study about Mary Prince using maryprince.org

I created maryprince.org, which is part of this dissertation, expressly for students and educators to use in a program of study about Mary Prince. My hope is that the website will get good traffic, and that educators will use the resources I have placed there, along with other suitable resources that might be available elsewhere. For example, Antiguan might make use of primary sources related to Antigua about Mary Prince. They might also visit the site of Spring Gardens Moravian Mission, which is located in St. John's, Antigua, and which Prince attended as a young woman.

I have created six pages located under the Historical Concepts tab of maryprince.org, based on the work of Seixas and Morton, and I include them for the use of students and educators.⁹³ Seixas and Morton's text *The Big Six Historical Thinking Concepts* is comprised of six chapters. Each chapter is about one of their

⁹³ Peter Seixas gave me permission via email to include *The Big Six Historical Thinking Concepts* both in this chapter and on maryprince.org.

historical concepts. My six pages correlate to their six chapters, but are based on *The History of Mary Prince* and maryprince.org. These six pages may be used as created, modified, or used as guide. Additionally, I have included several short explanatory pieces under the Learn tab, which are meant to assist the understanding of various topics and issues related to Prince, such as Prince's slave-owners, the abolitionist writing team, Asa-Asa and the transatlantic slave trade, the nature of Bermudian enslavement, the importance of remembrance, and my idea of the creolized food garden as a place of learning and remembrance. A much longer piece under the Home page explains who Mary Prince was, encapsulates her story, including her time in London and the writing of her slave narrative, and points to what may have happened in Prince's life after the Slavery Abolition Act of 1833 received Royal Assent.

Also included under the Learn tab are the "Mary Prince Timeline" and two maps—"Mary Prince's Journeys" and "Mary Prince Bermudian Sites of Memory." The timeline, which is also included as an appendix of this dissertation, updates events in Mary Prince's life with my research findings. The second map mentioned—"Mary Prince Bermudian Sites of Memory"—shows the locations of residences associated with Mary Prince. "Turks Island's Salt, Enslavement and the Newfoundland-West Indies Trade," a secondary source originally published in the *Newfoundland Quarterly* in 2012, is also included under the Learn tab. This article explains how solar-evaporated salt was made during Prince's time, when Robert Darrell put Prince to work on Grand Turk Island as a salt pond slave. It also connects the

commodity produced by slaves—the salt—to northern British colonies. Finally, under the Learn tab, I have included a link to an interview with historian Jennifer Morgan titled “How Historians Research (Doing Research).” The interview, which originally appeared on Uncommon Sense—The Blog in February 2016, is one of a series of interviews by Liz Covart, which are supported by the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture. This interview may be used when introducing the six historical thinking concepts of Seixas and Morton. Morgan broadens the concepts found in Seixas and Morton’s work. She speaks about the fragments of evidence she finds in the archives, what it means to be a brave scholar, and offers interdisciplinary perspectives in constructing an historical narrative. Morgan’s work is on African enslaved women and speaks to the story of Mary Prince.

The website, maryprince.org, also includes links to modern day abolitionist sites, such as No Child for Sale and Free the Slaves, plus related sites that provide additional resources about modern day slavery—Food is Power and ActiveHistory.ca. ActiveHistory.ca carries the article by Karlee Saponznik, “‘When People Eat Chocolate, They Are Eating My Flesh’: Slavery and the Dark Side of Chocolate.” These resources may be used with the Continuity and Change activity I include in maryprince.org under the Historical Concepts tab. The website also includes a link to Quakers in the World, which supplies information about historical anti-slavery champions, such as Elizabeth Heyrick who successfully led a sugar boycott in the 1820s. There are also links to museums and archives located in the

different territories where I undertook research, and to other helpful sites that have informed my study of Mary Prince. These links are embedded wherever pertinent throughout maryprince.org and listed on the Contact page.

I also include primary sources on maryprince.org. There is a link to a Google eBook copy of a first edition of *The History of Mary Prince* that is in the British Library's collection. There are photographs I took of historical sites, and historical images used with permissions from the John Carter Brown Library, the Turks and Caicos National Museum, and the Bermuda Historical Society. Also included are archival images from the Devonshire Parish Records and the Paget Vestry Assessments, used with permission from the Government of Bermuda Archives; and archival images from the Catalogue of Clergymen and Their Families, Antigua, 1755-1927, used with permission of the Moravian Church Archives. Pages from the Slave Registers of former British Colonial Dependencies for both Antigua and Bahamas are included. Lastly, I include "The Journal of John Harvey Darrell," which was originally published in the *Bermuda Historical Quarterly* in 1945. The journal gives insight into the life of a wealthy slave-owner's son at the time of Prince's enslavement and is highly relevant because the Darrell family is interwoven with Prince's family.

I suggest beginning a study of Mary Prince with her slave narrative, *The History of Mary Prince*.⁹⁴ Next, introduce primary sources that corroborate Prince's

⁹⁴ "The Narrative of Louis Asa-Asa, a Captured African" is paratext that accompanies Prince's slave narrative. As such, it should be included in a study of Mary Prince, as should all the paratext that was originally included with Prince's slave narrative. Educators might embellish such a program by also including *Negro Slavery Described*, which was developed by the same abolitionist compiling and writing

story—the Slave Registers of former British Colonial Dependencies for Antigua and for Bahamas, Bermuda’s Devonshire Parish Records and Paget Vestry Assessments, and the Catalogue of Clergymen and Their Families, Antigua, 1755-1927. This step is important because it engages students in making inferences, by which I mean using reasoning to deduce meaning from evidence.

These pieces of evidence also tell more of Prince’s story. For example, the images from the Devonshire Parish Records and Paget Vestry Assessments illuminate, among other details, the monetization of slaves. The names of slaves are listed with a monetary value attached to each one, allowing for a comparison of the value of several slaves, male, female, and of varying ages, with what Prince relates in her testimony. She recollects that in about 1800, at the age of twelve, she was sold for £57 Bermudian currency, “a great sum for so young a slave” (63). This promotes thinking not only about the monetization of slaves, but also about why Mary Prince obtained a high price when she was sold at auction. If Prince was a promising slave,

team, but with Ashton Warner as storyteller. Both Asa-Asa’s and Warner’s testimonies are told-to autobiographical survivor accounts, as is Prince’s. Asa-Asa was a victim of the Middle Passage. Captured in his village and sold or traded six times before being taken to Europe, the narrative tells a story of the slave trade. Ashton Warner, a young man from St. Vincent, had been a colonial slave, until, like Mary Prince, he set his feet on English soil. Warner’s narrative was published soon after Prince’s. I think that Prince’s and Warner’s slave narratives, and the paratextual materials published with them, were originally intended to be read in tandem, and I discuss this in chapter 4. These three slave narratives, handled by the same abolitionist team, and published within a few weeks of each other in 1831, triangulate, forming a powerful core of autobiographical survivor accounts that could be utilized in an educational project focused on enslavement. Please note that there is more detail about “The Narrative of Louis Asa-Asa, A Captured African,” and *Negro Slavery Described* in chapter 4 and also on maryprince.org.

why was she a promising slave? Although the records do not give any other descriptors or information about the enslaved people who are listed, students could compare the monetary values associated with their names. For example, Dinah, who was valued at £50 Bermudian currency by Richard Darrell, was Mary Prince's mother. Prince relates that later in life—when she was about fourteen years old, and again when she was about twenty-eight years old—she was sold for £100 Bermudian currency. Students might also read Prince's slave narrative with a sharp eye for the work and roles Prince performed. Did she perform different tasks than other enslaved women? What did slave-owners expect from her?⁹⁵

Next, introduce historical images, such as those of Cavendish Hall, Robert Darrell's Grand Turk Island residence, and the Sandbox Tree at Antigua's Spring Gardens Moravian Mission. These, too, tell more of Prince's story. The image of Cavendish Hall shows that the structure was grand, implying that the Richard Darrell family was elite.⁹⁶ The image of Robert Darrell's Grand Turk Island residence has in its foreground a section of the salt yard. It shows mounds of solar-evaporated salt ready for shipping. When enslaved by Robert Darrell on Grand Turk Island, Prince was a member of a gang of slaves working in the salt ponds there. The image

⁹⁵ It may be that the price of colonial slaves increased after the abolition of the transatlantic slave trade in 1807 because of a supply and demand issue. Captive Africans no longer arrived at port aboard a slave ship, meaning slaves were no longer easy to access and purchase. It may also be that Mary Prince was expected to bear children who would become the property of her slave-owners. Enslaved children were valuable commodities. Through reproduction, Mary Prince would increase the wealth of her slave-owners.

⁹⁶ I discuss Cavendish Hall, other residences associated with Mary Prince and her family, and the slave-owners who owned those residences, in greater detail in chapter 3. All were Bermudian elites.

of the Sandbox Tree at Antigua's Spring Gardens Moravian Mission shows several people gathered beneath the Sandbox Tree. Given the approximate year of the image, 1822, and the years, 1815-1828, that Prince was in Antigua, it is possible to visualize her as one of the people in the image.

After that, introduce current photographs, such as those of the Prudden and Ingham residences in Bermuda, and the Church of St. Mark, in London. Again, these tell more of Prince's story. For example, a close look at the Ingham residence shows a piazza at the front, which supports Prince's story. "I crawled away on my hands and knees, and laid myself down under the steps of the piazza in front of the house" (69), Prince relates, regarding an incident when she had endured a terrible flogging by Captain Ingham. Students might be asked to look at, and think about, other old Bermudian houses to see how common piazzas were at the time, and to think about how much weight to place on this evidence.⁹⁷ If in Bermuda, use the "Mary Prince Bermudian Sites of Memory" map included in maryprince.org to visit this and other identified sites associated with Mary Prince in that territory. Visiting these sites, though difficult because they are either privately owned or owned by the Bermuda National Trust but currently let out, may bring an understanding to students that

⁹⁷ In chapter 2, section 2.3 Bermuda, I note that a piazza, another name for a veranda of a house, may also refer to an open space in front of a ground-level opening to a home or shop. It may also be a market square. Theodore L. Godet, writing about Bermuda in 1860, mentions the many Hamilton shops that had "an open piazza in front, two or three yards wide, the ceiling being supported by slender pillars" (Godet 85).

can only be learned on the land at a significant site. As Chambers suggests, the land and visitors may be “recreated” or transformed with this knowledge.⁹⁸

Perhaps “The Journal of John Harvey Darrell” might be introduced next. John Harvey Darrell was the first cousin of Betsey Williams, Mary Prince’s second slave-owner who was a child and about the same age as Prince. An excerpt of a longer piece, “The Journal of John Harvey Darrell,” is a primary source, a written testimony. Here Darrell outlines his family history, specific incidents from his younger years, and the history of Cavendish Hall, a residence he received from his father Richard Darrell. An activity I include in maryprince.org uses “The Journal of John Harvey Darrell.” This activity is Historical Perspectives, found under the Historical Concepts tab. I ask readers: “Using evidence, can you explain what might have been the perspective of a wealthy Bermudian slave-owner’s son about his life in Bermuda and to the slaves owned by his family?” When students undertake this exercise, it is important that they do not engage in presentism, which is “imposing the thoughts, beliefs, and values of today onto historical actors” (Seixas and Morton 215). They should not identify with John Harvey Darrell. The point is to analyze “The Journal of John Harvey Darrell,” and to think about what Darrell’s perspective during the time

⁹⁸ Because the residences associated with Mary Prince are privately owned or owned by the Bermuda National Trust and currently let out, visiting them in the way of visiting the Whitney Plantation is not possible at this time. The Bermuda National Trust has other wonderful sites that have been developed and are open to the public. Verdmont House in Smith’s parish, situated near to Cavendish Hall and the Prudden residence, is one. However, there is no relationship between Verdmont House and Mary Prince. There is no autobiographical survivor account related by an enslaved Bermudian who actually lived at Verdmont House. Perhaps in the future the Bermuda National Trust will take action and create a visiting place for those who wish to engage more deeply with Mary Prince and her story.

of enslavement and to his family's slaves might have been like. It is important for students to understand the diverse perspectives of historical people associated, with not only Mary Prince and her family, but also with the larger domain of colonial enslavement, including the perspectives of slave-owners and their family members.

After constructing a foundation of understanding using the aforementioned resources, introduce secondary sources. This is when the article "Turks Islands' Salt, Enslavement and the Newfoundland-West Indian Trade" can be brought in. A secondary source based on primary evidence, the article is written with a fourteen-year-old reader in mind. If the reading level of students is sufficient, I also suggest using Edward A. Chappell's article "Accommodating Slavery in Bermuda" as a secondary source based on primary evidence. Because of copyright issues, this article is not included in, nor linked to, maryprince.org. However, it is listed on the website in Works Cited and in For Further Reading so that an interested reader may locate it. Not only does Chappell's article exemplify a scholarly piece of historiographical writing, but it also introduces a different type of evidence—architectural changes to big house and slave quarter design between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries in Bermuda. Although Chappell's work is not exclusively about Mary Prince and her slave narrative, he finds that the accommodations provided for slaves by slave-owners place them in close proximity to each other and that this may have put the enslaved in jeopardy. Specifically, Chappell finds that Captain Ingham's house in Spanish Point, Bermuda, conforms to Prince's brief description of its physical layout.

Finally, introduce artwork, fictionalized film, and the reading of neoslave narratives in the formats of poetry, short fiction, historical novels, memoir, and plays—all of which have been inspired by autobiographical survivor accounts, documentary photographs and films, historical images, maps, and other evidence. A fictionalized film I suggest using is *Belle* (2013), which is inspired by the story of Dido Elizabeth Belle, the daughter of an African or West Indian woman and a Royal Navy Captain. The film illuminates an event prior to the Abolition cycle, but which was a milestone on the road to Abolition: Lord Mansfield's judgment in the 1783 *Zong* case.⁹⁹ I also suggest Lawrence Hill's Illustrated Edition of *The Book of Negroes* and the six-part mini-series based on the book. Having the same title as the book, the mini-series first aired in 2015 and is available online. Hill partially based *The Book of Negroes* on Prince's slave narrative and astute readers of his novel and viewers of the mini-series may recognize events in the book and mini-series that are similar to Prince's testimony. I also recommend Lorna Goodison's poetry, particularly the poem "Annie Pengelly," a pearl found amongst many precious gems, in Goodison's

⁹⁹ In November 1781, 132 captive Africans died by drowning when the captain of the slave ship *Zong*, Collingwood, ordered sickly captives thrown overboard. Collingwood took this action because he thought the owners of the *Zong* would be compensated for the loss of its captive cargo. If the captives died of disease, there would be no compensation. The insurers of the *Zong* refused to pay, and the ship's owners took them to court. The first *Zong* case was heard March 1783. Lord Justice Mansfield oversaw the trial, which was decided by jury. The jury's decision favoured the owners, meaning the insurers had to pay for the captives drowned at sea. The insurers, dissatisfied with the outcome of the trial, applied to Mansfield to try the case again. Mansfield and two other King's Bench judges heard the case two months later in May 1783. New evidence was brought forward that invalidated the findings of the jury in the first trial. In the second trial, Mansfield ruled in favour of the insurers.

book *Guinea Woman: New & Selected Poems*. “Annie Pengelly” speaks to Mary Prince’s plight as a young girl enslaved by Captain Ingham and his wife, Mary. The poem concludes, “Annie Pengelly O. / I say, History owe you” (Goodison 68) as, indeed, history owes Mary Prince.

In accordance with Daspit’s finding, the academic preparation of educators to lead courses on enslavement underlies the success or failure of a program devoted to the topic. It is also important that the resources selected and used by educators are age appropriate, because of the violence and inhumane treatment of others that enslavement begat. The website I created, maryprince.org, plus the listings of resources found on its Works Cited and For Further Reading pages, and the Jennifer Morgan interview linked under the Learn tab, are places for interested educators to begin. I also recommend the For Further Reading section included by Lawrence Hill at the back of his Illustrated Edition of *The Book of Negroes*.

5.5 Visiting Enslavement Sites Associated with Mary Prince in Bermuda

Visiting enslavement sites associated with Mary Prince is the third step and an important feature of my proposed pedagogical “nesting dolls” approach that I hope will work to open students’ historical consciousness. As expressed by New Orleans Mayor Mitch Landrieu in his testimony that at Whitney Plantation you can “feel it, touch it, smell it” (whitneyplantation.com), my belief is that by visiting enslavement sites associated with Mary Prince, students will also be affected and transformed by the experience. Perhaps they will hold the story of Mary Prince in their hearts and minds and be changed by it—that they will begin to live in the

present with the past, and the future, in mind. This is similar to Simon's thought that individuals who have been shown or told about the lived reality of another will be moved to pass the information they have received on to others.

This happened to me when I lived for six months on Grand Turk Island in 2008. I was aware of the remnants of historic salt ponds—one was right behind my home—but their presence did not affect me until I realized that these were the very ponds where Mary Prince had made solar evaporated salt when she had worked as a salt pond slave for Robert Darrell. Because of the connection to Mary Prince and her story, which I had read as an undergraduate student at Simon Fraser University nineteen years earlier, my perspective shifted, and I began to live life historically. The experience was so powerful that I made a personal commitment to Mary Prince to get her story out to a wider audience. One hundred and seventy-seven years had passed since the first publication of her slave narrative, yet it “claimed” me, and it changed me. Walking alongside the salt ponds was a deeply intuitive experience, similar to what Chambers describes when the site of a massacre of Blackfoot people was so visceral to visitors the space erased the time between past and present. I felt haunted by, and connected to, not only Mary Prince, but also to other enslaved people who had lived and worked on Grand Turk Island. In terms of Simon, Di Paolantonio, and Clamen's work, I was engaged with, and talking with, ghosts. I have

referred to this experience briefly on the About page of maryprince.com.¹⁰⁰ Sites such as Grand Turk Island can be places of intense and transformative connection.

Bermuda's African Diaspora Heritage Trail, which is officially designated a UNESCO slave route project, is a self-guided tour that takes people to many different sites of enslavement and memorialization in Bermuda, but the sites are not necessarily focused on enslavement in the way that the Whitney Plantation is.¹⁰¹ For example, three included sites are the Commissioner's House at the Royal Naval Dockyard, which features artifacts and displays about slave life in Bermuda and about the transatlantic trade in captive Africans; St. Peter's Church, St. George, which features a slave graveyard; and Verdmont House, Collector's Hill, Smith's Parish, which features possible slave quarters.

Bermudian sculptor Carlos W. Dowling created bronze plaques that mark the different sites along the trail. Dowling's plaque for Verdmont reads "VERDMONT-SLAVE HOUSE—In 1782 the owner of Verdmont had 14 slaves. The men were labourers or skilled sailors and the women took care of the house, kitchen and garden." The house is grand, located on a ridge with views over the South Shore. The kitchen is in a separate building, and below it are the rough quarters thought to have

¹⁰⁰ I have also written about this experience in "This white woman has journeyed far: Serendipity, counter-stories, hauntings and ekphrasis as a type of poetic inquiry," published by *Morning Watch Journal of Educational and Social Analysis* in their *Special Edition: Narratives of becoming a researcher*," 2013.

¹⁰¹ The African Diaspora Heritage Trail (A. D. H. T.) is an international initiative that promotes socially conscious travel to sites in Africa, the Americas, Bermuda, the Caribbean, and Europe. The sites tell the stories of people of African descent and foster economic development and educational experiences. The Bermuda A. D. H. T. website may be found at adht.bm.

housed slaves at one time. In 1782, Vermont sat on fifty acres, some of which were dedicated to food gardens kept by slaves.



Figure 17. The statue of Sally Bassett at Bermuda's Cabinet Office grounds in Hamilton. Photograph by author, November 2013.

Dowling also created a ten-foot-tall statue of Sally (Sarah) Bassett, erected in 2008 on the Cabinet Office grounds in Hamilton, which is the seat of Government in Bermuda. The site was chosen over the place of Bassett's enslavement, which was the Foster residence, Southampton Parish, and the site of her execution, which was Crow Lane near Hamilton. Bassett, an enslaved sixty-eight-year-old black woman, was burned at the stake in 1730 for the alleged attempted poisoning of her granddaughter Beck's slave-owners, Mr. and Mrs. Foster, and Nancey, another slave of the Fosters. The statue was erected both to memorialize the struggle of black people against slavery and to publicly recognize their contribution to Bermuda's heritage.¹⁰²

There are no sites on the African Diaspora Heritage Trail in Bermuda associated with Mary Prince. This makes the map appearing on maryprince.org—"Mary Prince Bermudian Sites of Memory"—especially useful to students and educators in Bermuda. The map shows six sites associated with Mary Prince and her family. Five of these are Palmetto House, Watlington House, the Prudden Residence (now called Murrell's Vale), the Ingham House, and Cavendish Hall. The sixth is Cedar Hill, but the specific location at Cedar Hill has yet to be determined.¹⁰³

¹⁰² Quito Swan illuminates issues underlying the memorialization of Sally Bassett. In "Smoldering Memories and Burning Questions: The Politics of Remembering Sally Bassett and Slavery in Bermuda," he explains that the process of publicly memorializing slavery is fraught with contention, particularly in such a small colonial space as Bermuda, "a society that has historically criminalized black protest but now features a black government committed to the promotion of Bermuda's 'national' heritage" (71).

¹⁰³ I discuss each of these structures and their relationship to Mary Prince in chapter 2.

Photographs of all sites, with the exception of Cedar Hill, also appear on maryprince.org.

Though it is difficult to visit these sites currently because they are privately owned or let out by the Bermuda National Trust, they may still play a role in students' educations. These sites might be located near schools, on routes frequented by students, or a student or educator may currently live in one of them, or know someone who does, but be unaware of the significance. Even if it proves impossible to visit one or more of the sites, knowing their histories as they pertain to the story of Mary Prince will enrich students' learning considerably.

Visiting one, two, or all of these sites, or walking by on a school field trip fits with the third step of my nesting dolls approach to a study of Mary Prince. Walking by these sites is an important way of visiting in its own right. Walking in the footsteps of significant people who have gone before us—pilgrimages, protests, and marches, for example—are all meaningful types of walking. After introducing Prince's autobiographical survivor account, looking at, and thinking about primary sources that confirm her story, it is timely to visit these sites. Visiting significant sites, which is a firsthand experience, is like living and breathing a primary source. Sites of memory are primary sources of evidence that are experienced viscerally. After visiting these sites, introduce secondary sources, then the fictionalized accounts. If possible, find a link between the primary sources, secondary sources, and fictionalized accounts with the site that has been visited.

For example, Edward Chappell's book chapter "Accommodating Slavery in Bermuda" is a good choice to bring forward after visiting any of the Bermudian sites associated with Mary Prince and her family, if the reading level of the students is appropriate. The evidence that Chappell finds in his architectural study confirms aspects of Mary Prince's story, and his notes on Captain Ingham's house are particularly interesting. He indicates it was "built from scratch about 1800-1815" (Chappell 87). Mary Prince was taken there to work in 1800, so the house must have been newly finished or still under construction when she arrived. Its cellar kitchen was "at grade" and entrance was "through a lobby" (Chappell 87). Servants or slaves carried prepared food up interior steps to the best room on the upper floor that was "refined" (Chappell 87). By refined, Chappell means it was more elegant, indicating that the slave-owner and his family occupied the upper storey rooms. As Chappell points out, "Mary Prince slept on a blanket in the passage outside her new mistress's bedchamber, in Pembroke Parish, and her housemate Hetty was within earshot downstairs" (70). Whereas many, if not most, big houses had cellar or separate kitchens, the Ingham's newly built house had its kitchen on the lower floor. By regarding the placement of the structure's kitchen and sleeping spaces, Chappell's evidence confirms Mary Prince's recollections of her sleeping arrangements at the Ingham residence.

After visiting the Ingham house and after reading and thinking about Chappell's book chapter, Lorna Goodison's poem, "Annie Pengelly" could be introduced (Goodison 65-68). The poem, in the style of a monologue, is a neo-slave

narrative about “one small African girl” named Annie, but Annie was not her real name. The fictitious Annie’s real name, an African name, means “she who is precious to us” (Goodison 66). Female slave-owners tortured both Mary Prince and the fictional Annie Pengelly when they were girls. At the Ingham residence, Mary Ingham had tormented young Mary Prince: “I was licked, and flogged, and pinched by her pitiless fingers in the neck and arms,” relates Prince (66). Goodison’s story of Annie is similar. Given for a birthday present to a female slave-owner, she was terribly misused. She slept across her slave-owner’s feet at night to keep them warm, and, if she nodded off when the slave-owner wanted her awake, “Missus jook her with a pearl-tipped pin” (Goodison 68). Goodison concludes that,

... history owes Annie
thousands of nights
of sleep upon a feather bed.
Soft feathers from the breast of
a free, soaring bird,
one bright blanket,
and her name returned,
she who is precious to us. (68)

Though fictional, Annie, like Prince at the same age, was a maidservant. By including “Annie Pengelly” in the unit of study about Mary Prince, the story of Mary Prince is broadened, and a link between enslavement in Bermuda and enslavement in Jamaica is established.

5.6 Food Gardens and The History of Mary Prince

Bermuda's Middle School 2 Social Studies curriculum may be a "best fit" for introducing the concept of food gardens as a metaphor for creolization. The History component of the Module "Slavery and Its Abolition (1500-1870)" includes the objective "[students will] describe the system of slavery from its introduction to its abolition in the British Empire." An embedded topic is "slave life/slave sales." Here is an opportunity to learn about the work of enslaved women. One of the tasks that fell to enslaved women was tending food gardens. Michael Jarvis explains that historically the majority of Bermudian households kept "a kitchen garden or a small field or two for growing herbs and vegetables, but tending them fell to slave women, and their yield went largely for family consumption" (99). This supports Prince's narrative that when she returned to Bermuda from Grand Turk Island one of her tasks was "planting" and "hoeing" Robert Darrell's "grounds" (Prince 77).

Visiting historic food gardens and/or tending historic food plant species kept in school gardens fits with step three of my nesting dolls approach. Students might visit a garden kept by enslaved women, which is located with an historic structure such as a residence. An example of an historic food garden is found at Verdmont Historic House in Smith's Parish. The Bermuda National Trust owns and operates Verdmont Historic House as a museum, and school field trips to the property are encouraged. In *Verdmont: The Story of a House, Its People & Its Contents*, Diana Chudleigh explains that the home was built at the beginning of the eighteenth century on ninety acres (39). There is a separate kitchen, which also served as slave

quarters. On the hillside below the kitchen is a fruit and herb garden (Chudleigh 42). Students might also visit, or tend, a school garden, or a nearby community garden, that includes historic food plant species once kept by enslaved women. If possible, a “best approach” would be to visit an historic food garden, such as the food garden at Vermont Historic House, and to also visit, or tend, a school garden or a nearby community garden.

Visiting historic food gardens works with Peter Seixas and Tom Morton’s six historical thinking concepts. For instance, concerning Historical Significance, students might be asked these two questions regarding the “Bermuda” banana: *What is the historical significance of the “Bermuda” banana concerning plant transfer and creolization?* and *Why is it historically significant that Mary Prince lists bananas as one of several food plants she tended in Robert Darrell’s Bermuda grounds, 1813-1815?*

The food garden may be viewed as a site of memorial practice that moves beyond national histories. Food gardens demonstrate the migration of peoples, forced or otherwise, who carried food plants, as seeds, cuttings, or roots from distant lands and planted them in new soil. In the Americas, these plants intermingled with Aboriginal food plants. Some plants, such as bananas and yams, came aboard slave ships from Africa; other plants, such as carrots and turnips, arrived with Europeans; and still others, such as tomatoes and potatoes, which historically hailed from South and Central America, were transferred throughout the Americas.

Not a usual place for historical learning, food gardens may open up different possibilities for learning from other kinds of historic sites and monuments. Food gardens, and the plants grown in them, may be regarded as a metaphor for creolization. Plant complexity in food gardens reflects the human complexity of the descendants of the people whose migration moved the plants between continents and territories. Because food gardens can also symbolize resilience, abundance, nourishment, and prosperity—powerful qualities, which resonate within the human heart and give hope—they are a possible place of transformation and renewal. Perhaps, in food gardens, the pain of past cultural grief begat by the Middle Passage and colonialization can be not forgotten but amended to a memory of promise.

Judith A. Carney and Richard Nickolas Rosomoff point to beneficial plant transfer by captive Africans from Africa to the Americas, in their book *In the Shadow of Slavery: Africa's Botanical Legacy in the Atlantic World*. They write that a “critical feature of human migration the world over is the preservation of traditional dietary preferences across space and the dislocations of geography” (138). Though compelled by extreme violence, African captives—or possibly slave ship captains—brought traditional foods across the Atlantic in their migrations to the Americas.

In their food gardens, slaves combined African-sourced plants with Aboriginal American foods. Therefore, they and their descendants shaped the culinary traditions of slave societies by combining the foods of two different continents. Carney and Rosomoff suggest that memory dishes of the African diaspora began with enslaved women who “guided modest foods out of the

subsistence plot and into the cooking pot” (177). It was on their own hearths or in the plantation kitchens of their slave-owners that they created the “fusion cuisines and memory dishes that attest to the African presence in the Americas” (Carney and Rosomoff 177). The foods they grew and the cuisines they created tell the “story of exile, survival, endurance, and memory” (Carney and Rosomoff 186).

Lydia Mihelic Pulsipher discusses three types of gardens kept by slaves in “They Have Saturdays and Sundays to Feed Themselves: Slave Gardens in the Caribbean.” Her research is based in Montserrat, but she draws on “historical descriptions from the wider Caribbean” (Pulsipher 29). The gardens she writes about relate to other Caribbean locations, including nearby Antigua, which is a territory of Mary Prince’s enslavement. One of the maps included in Pulsipher’s article is of Betty’s Hope, an historical Antiguan sugar plantation.

Common grounds are the first type of gardens Pulsipher mentions. Also known as provision grounds, these gardens were plantation-managed. In provision grounds, a gang of slave-labourers grew one or two crops on relatively flat land for the benefit of slave and slave-owner alike (Pulsipher 27). Second mentioned are ravine and mountain grounds, which were slave-managed plots, kept, at first surreptitiously, off the plantation. Pulsipher reports that on Montserrat an amalgamation of more than forty African, Aboriginal American, and European food plants including trees, were grown in mountain and ravine gardens (Pulsipher 28). Third mentioned are household gardens slaves kept around their homes, which

were often separated by just a few metres and situated in a village, or villages, on a plantation (Pulsipher 31).¹⁰⁴

Importantly, Pulsipher remarks that in her conversations with garden practitioners in 1988, they indicate[d] “they were taught early by their elders that gardens have a significance far beyond their economic function” (32). She remarks,

Cultivating on high remote slopes early in the morning calls up feelings of freedom and independence, of affinity with nature, of the solidarity of Black people in landscapes where whites rarely tread. The cultivators feel close to ancestors who worked the same spots, and their labors give them the sense of prosperity that abundant food symbolizes. (33)

Mary Prince remembers tending two food gardens in Bermuda. At the Ingham farm, there were sweet potatoes in addition to milk cows, sheep, a hog and a feed cow, all of which Prince was responsible for (Prince 65, 67). At the “grounds” of Robert Darrell, also in Bermuda, her work was “planting and hoeing sweet-potatoes, Indian corn, plaintains [sic], bananas, cabbages, pumpkins, onion &c.,” and she also recalls caring for a cow (Prince 77). When in Antigua she took part in the Sunday Market, by which she “acquired a little cash” (Prince 81) to buy her freedom. She mentions selling “coffee, yams, and other provisions to the captains of ships,” and

¹⁰⁴ The article includes a lengthy list of food plants grown in the slave gardens, and includes wonderfully engaging visuals, maps and diagrams of gardening techniques. It also mentions the Sunday Market where slaves were able to sell goods, including food from their gardens, as Mary Prince did when she lived in Antigua. The article is suitable for Young Adult readers and could be a useful resource for this age group. Because of copyright issues, Pulsipher’s article is not linked to maryprince.org, but it is listed in the website’s For Further Reading section so that it can be found and accessed.

recollects that she sometimes “bought a hog cheap on board ship, and sold it for double the money on shore,” presumably after fattening it up (Prince 81).

The food plants Prince lists in her narrative reflect a creolized food garden. The plantains, bananas, and yams hail from Africa, the cabbage from Europe, and the sweet potatoes, Indian corn, and pumpkin from the Americas. The onion, probably a “Bermuda onion,” very likely originated in Tenerife, one of the Canary Islands, but it may also have been transferred from Madeira or the Azores archipelagos.

A slave narrative related by Bermudian elder Mary Elsie Tucker to her granddaughter, Julia Place, fills gaps in Prince’s *The History of Mary Prince* regarding her work as a household slave and garden practitioner, and the food provided by slave-owners to their slaves for sustenance. Tucker, also known as Grandmother Ashie, was born in 1813, when Prince would have been twenty-five or twenty-six.

Grandmother Ashie explains that it was children’s work to “mind the onion seed,” which meant keeping the birds from eating seeds set by onions with a “palmetto bird swat,” because the seeds were crucial for the next year’s onion crop (Musson 25). Perhaps this suggests that she was engaged in onion production at a site that was larger than a kitchen garden. Grandmother Ashie also relates that slaves were fed on chicken guts and table scraps, plus plants grown in food gardens.

Prince and Grandmother Ashie’s stories of working as enslaved garden practitioners in Bermuda enhance the theory that food gardens may be effective places to learn about creolization. Food is part of our daily existence, and with it come stories about food and growing food. These stories shape us meaningfully and

deeply. Since I learned about the stories of Mary Prince and Grandmother Ashie, the humble onion has taken on new significance for me. Growing, harvesting, preparing, and eating onions—even seeing a photograph of an onion—brings forward imagined images of Mary Prince and Grandmother Ashie as they tended onion plants in Bermuda’s kitchen gardens and “grounds.”

When I was visiting Bermuda in 2013 for research purposes, I came upon what might be termed “grounds”—or provision grounds—near Palmetto House, an historical dwelling owned by the Bermuda National Trust. Though not yet confirmed, there is plausible evidence that Palmetto House might have once been the home of Betsey Williams, the child slave-owner of Mary Prince, and the house in which Prince lived as a child.¹⁰⁵ The provision ground was on the North Shore Road at the Barker’s Hill roundabout. Young shoots of corn appeared in rows, and a “volunteer” squash plant grew at its edge, where I stood.¹⁰⁶ I wondered if Prince had worked this soil when she was a child. Had her mother and her siblings? Had she kept birds from eating seeds set by onions with a “palmetto bird swat,” as had Grandmother Ashie? Possibly, provision grounds such as this, once tended by the enslaved, might be embraced as sites of memorial practice.

¹⁰⁵ Please see chapter 3 where I explain why Palmetto House is likely to have been the home of Betsey Williams. In chapter 3, I also discuss other Bermudian sites associated with Prince. I illuminate these structures with photographs, and provide a map to show their locations. These same photographs and map—the “Mary Prince Bermudian Sites of Memory” map—are included on maryprince.org.

¹⁰⁶ A volunteer plant is one that grows from seed cast by a previous plant, rather than from a seed sown by a garden practitioner.



Figure 18. Food garden, or provision ground, on Bermuda's North Shore Road at Barker's Hill roundabout. Photograph by author, December 2013.

What about school gardens? Historically, the primary focus of school gardens was to learn about agriculture, and a large share of the work in maintaining them in Canada fell to women through women's institutes and other women's clubs, notes Conrad McCallum in "Planting the Seeds of Citizenship." McCallum points out that although other pedagogical benefits were experiential learning and nature study, "agriculture needed to be taught early in order to encourage an interest in farming in new generations" (n. pag.). Now the function of school gardens is "more likely to teach environmental awareness and issues related to healthy eating, food waste and food aid," both locally and globally, McCallum suggests (n. pag.).

I propose that another level of understanding be added to school garden curricula, which is the histories of food plants from continents and territories that have intermingled with indigenous American plants. It is also the histories of the indigenous plants. Moreover, it is the related histories of the migrants—enslaved or free—who carried these food plants to the Americas, and the histories of Aboriginal Americans whose food plants were grown alongside those from other continents and territories. As I suggested at the beginning of this section, Bermuda’s Middle School 2 Social Studies curriculum is possibly a “best fit” for this educational approach in Bermuda.

I further propose that school gardens be embedded in nearby community gardens, if possible. The knowledge base at a community garden is considerable. Often the backgrounds of the gardeners are diverse, and the gardeners range in age from the very young to the very old. They have many stories about the food plants they grow, the techniques they use and the recipes, sometimes historic, that they prepare. In Bermuda, if a school does not have a school garden, or if there is no nearby community garden, then students might visit the Bermuda National Trust’s Verdmont Historic House. The Trust provides an excellent teachers’ guide for the site titled *Verdmont Historic House and Garden*. The teachers’ guide, which is offered online by Bermuda’s Ministry of Education, lists twenty-six plants (28). The teachers’ guide also provides photographs, descriptions, and uses of eight plants “grown in the small rock garden at Verdmont” and of eight “common plants grown in Bermuda” (29, 30). In some instances, a date is given regarding the introduction of a

plant to Bermuda. For example, the teachers' guide indicates, "by 1621 pawpaw [also known as papaya] trees were plentiful" (30). Perhaps when visiting the garden at Vermont Historic House students might be encouraged to keep the ideas of the creolized food garden and of our creolized identity in mind.

A history-infused school garden curriculum might include the food-related stories of historic individuals, such as Mary Prince and Grandmother Ashie, as well as food-related stories from children's families and personal contacts. Additionally, such curricula might include resources such as Pulsipher's article, "They Have Saturdays and Sundays to Feed Themselves: Slave Gardens in the Caribbean." Pulsipher's article could be used for young adult readers in several ways. For example, included in the article are two historic engravings of slave dwellings. One is Trewlany Wentworth's 1834 engraving of Cayon, a St. Kitts village, depicting slave-dwellings in rows, banana and coconut trees, and pigs that slaves kept for food (Pulsipher 24). Another, by an anonymous artist, shows a slave dwelling surrounded by plants, and two female slaves, one doing laundry (Pulsipher 31). Additionally, there is a photograph, presumably taken close to the year of Pulsipher's article, 1990, of "Viola Sweeney's house at Baker's Hill, Montserrat" (31). Sweeney's house is the size of the earlier slave-dwellings, and, like them, surrounded by plants. Students might undertake an examination of these three images in the context of Seixas and Morton's historical thinking concept Continuity and Change, and the evaluative question that might be asked could be *Does change always imply progress?*

Another activity based on Pulsipher's article is mapping. Included with the article are four maps. The first shows the location of Montserrat in the Lesser Antilles, and the location of Pulsipher's research in Montserrat (Pulsipher 26). The second shows a portion of the 1710 map of Betty's Hope estate, Antigua, which indicates different areas of the plantation, including "Negroe Grounds" (Pulsipher 29). The third shows Miss Jane's Yard, Kinsale, Montserrat, which is a detailed mapping of an over one-thousand-square-foot area, including plantings, trees, houses, and animal shelters (Pulsipher 30). The fourth is a topographic map of Pulsipher's research area in Montserrat, showing folk place names, such as "Buckra Dine," "Nanny House Rock," and "Black Mango" (Pulsipher 32). Students might refer to these four maps and produce a similar set, but based on a school, community, or family food garden.

A third activity based on Pulsipher's article is that students might list the food plants mentioned in the article and then conduct research that establishes the origins of each plant.

Hoped for outcomes from history-infused school garden curricula are:

- to develop a connection to the past and to ancestors through the food plants grown in the garden;
- to collect the oral histories of garden practitioners in regard to the plants they grow;
- to make meals, perhaps creolized dishes, such as Bermuda's codfish and potatoes, from plants grown in the garden;

- to analyze the implications of food gardens in regard to food security and to possible improved nutrition resulting from food gardens;
- to understand that gardens have a significance far beyond their economic function—that the garden may also be a place of nourishment, abundance, and renewal;
- to understand that the plants grown in the garden are either indigenous, or were brought by ancestors, or by current gardeners, from other parts of the world;
- to understand that the complexity of the plants growing in the garden represents the human complexity of the people who moved the plants between continents and territories and Aboriginal American people; and
- to understand that like the plant complex of the garden, the people of the Americas, have a new human identity of creolization.

Although these outcomes progress beyond Bermuda's Middle School 2 Social Studies curriculum, they have as their beginning point "slave life," which is part of the "slave life/slave sales" topic embedded in the objective that students will "describe the system of slavery from its introduction to its abolition in the British Empire." As part of their work, enslaved women were set to tend food gardens, and this is keyed to "slave life." Understanding that the historic gardens enslaved women once tended reflect our creolized identity is a stride beyond the current Bermuda Middle School 2 Social Studies curriculum. This is not surprising because the creolized food garden

as a reflection of creolized human identity is a new concept that I propose in this chapter.

As John Dixon Hunt explains in *Greater Perfections: The Practice of Garden Theory*, “gardens have been privileged sites” because they “are concentrated or perfected forms of place-making” (10-11). Although Hunt writes of landscape architecture that may or may not include kitchen gardens, and certainly not slave food gardens, his ideas are relevant to the idea of a creolized food garden, and its importance to a complex creolized identity. Hunt writes that “[t]he garden is a medium that has been with us more or less since the beginning of recorded civilizations; widely different cultural systems have invoked gardens in their sustaining narratives” (13). This is true of the garden practitioners written about by Pulsipher who found a sense of prosperity, closeness to ancestors, and feelings of freedom and independence, when they worked in their food gardens. Perhaps the creolized food garden, reflecting a creolized human identity, is an appropriate metaphor for our time.

4.7 Food Justice, Modern Slavery and The History of Mary Prince

The working conditions of some enslaved women, such as the work Mary Prince performed as a garden practitioner, salt pond worker, nanny, and launderer, inform the present. This is because abhorrent labour practices, such as those suffered by Mary Prince in the Grand Turk Island salt ponds, have outlived colonial enslavement. These labour practices affect not only women, but also children and

men. The knowledge that these labour practices still exist may lead to students taking social action to rectify this situation, even if they begin on a small scale.

Similar to the creolized garden discussed in the last section, this theme progresses from the “slave life” topic in Bermuda’s Middle School 2 Social Studies curriculum. This is where secondary sources, step 4 in my “nesting dolls” approach, might be useful. Students could be introduced through current day Abolition websites, such as freetheslaves.net, to modern slavery. Because Mary Prince was a garden practitioner, it might be especially useful to introduce students to aspects of the food industry where child labourers produce food sold in Bermuda, the West Indies, and North American markets.

Peter Seixas and Tom Morton’s six historical thinking concepts might also be useful here. Under the Historical Concepts tab of maryprince.org, I have placed an activity under Continuity and Change. There are three images of exploited children shown on the page courtesy of World Vision. These are of a Bangladeshi garment worker, a Guatemalan coffee worker, and an Albanian chromium miner. The related question is *Enslavement officially ended in the British Empire 1 August 1834. Over 180 years later, enslavement still exists in the world. Was the Abolition movement, of which Mary Prince was a participant, a harbinger of a world-embracing anti-slavery movement that continues today?*

Mary Prince’s body was damaged from floggings and beatings that she endured at the hands of slave-owners, but also by the work she performed, especially when she worked on Grand Turk Island as a salt pond slave. The physical

consequences of working in the ponds—salt boils in the legs and feet, and blindness from the glare of the sun reflected off the white salt—speak of anxiety, misery, and fear.

Prince's damaged body and disfigurement are a result of labour practices that have outlasted colonial slavery. For example, Eric Schlosser, in *Fast Food Nation*, reports on meat packing in the United States, which he qualifies "the most dangerous job" (169). He cites the story of Kenny Dobbins, who over the course of his almost sixteen years working for Monfort, a meat packing company, injured his back, burned his lungs with overexposure to chlorine, broke his leg, shattered an ankle, and suffered a heart attack. When he could no longer work, Monfort dismissed him and discontinued his health policy.

Added to the physical consequences of toiling in the salt ponds was a lack of nutritious foods. Prince recollects that she and other members of the gang were fed Indian corn soup called "blawly" (72) three times a day. Ben, another member of the Darrell's gang of slaves was "very hungry" (Prince 74). He took a little rice and cooked it for his supper but was found out and severely punished.

Prince and the other slaves were starving, which is corroborated in Antoinette Butz's recent publication *The Letter Book of Captain John Lightbourn Sr. and William Astwood*, a series of letters between Lightbourn on Grand Turk Island and his nephew Astwood in Bermuda. "Provisions is [sic] very scarce here, not one Bushel of Corn on the Island for sale, and many people not a morsel of Bread. There is [sic] a few barrels Flour for sale but very few of us can purchase and to purchase

that to feed the Negroes on is destruction and gives no satisfaction to the slaves” (Butz 21) writes Lightbourn in a letter dated 23 January 1807.¹⁰⁷

An essay appearing on the Food Empowerment Project’s (F. E. P.) website, “Child Labor and Slavery in the Chocolate Industry,” reports that in West Africa enslaved child cocoa workers are, as was Prince, fed the cheapest food available—corn mush and bananas—and their bodies are scarred from machetes and poisoned from chemicals used to grow the cocoa. Another essay appearing on the F. E. P. website “Peeling Back the Truth on Bananas,” reports on current banana plantations, which are “rife with human rights abuses” (F. E. P. n. pag.). Children work in the banana industry because adult workers do not earn enough to meet a family’s basic needs. As with child cocoa workers, sharp tools are used, and there is lack of water and sanitation.

Mary Prince was sold as a child, transported between colonies, and, once in those colonies, she was sold there. Similarly, modern day West African children cocoa workers are “‘sold’ to traffickers or farm owners [but] by their own relatives” (qtd. in “Chocolate Industry”). Although Mary Prince was not sold by her relatives, but by slave-owners, Thomas Pringle refers to this happening to other women, and to children, by way of a footnote to Prince’s slave narrative and in his supplement

¹⁰⁷ Please read more about Prince’s time on Grand Turk Island in chapter 3 of this dissertation.

that accompanied her slave narrative. Some colonial slave-owners sold their own children, born of enslaved women.¹⁰⁸

Human trafficking is one reason the United Kingdom's Parliament enacted the Modern Slavery Act, which commenced March 2015. Other territories and nations, including Canada, might well follow in the United Kingdom's footsteps. It was only in 2010 that the Dolomtor-Kolompar human trafficking ring was apprehended in Hamilton, Ontario (Carter n. pag.). The criminal organization brought as many as nineteen victims from Hungary to the Hamilton area where the victims were forced to work against their will and fed food scraps (Carter n. pag.).

Prince's slave narrative, though produced for the abolition movement of the early 1830s, is relevant today. Slavery has not ended, and abolitionists from the past can be understood as early human rights workers. Educators and current human rights workers might use Prince's slave narrative, and the stories of abolitionists of the past and their activities, such as Elizabeth Heyrick, in their educational programs. Elizabeth Heyrick, a Quaker, writer, and social activist, successfully campaigned for a sugar boycott in the United Kingdom in the 1820s. This was not only to pressure the lords of King Sugar in the West Indies, who used enslaved labour to produce sugar, but also to make Parliament aware that British citizens wanted British slaves to be emancipated.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁸ I discuss the theme of slave-owners selling their own children who were born of enslaved women in chapter 3.

¹⁰⁹ An excellent site to find information about Elizabeth Heyrick and her abolitionist activities is quakersintheworld.org. This site gives also gives information about

Educators and human rights workers may also compare and contrast Prince's story to what is happening with enslavement today. The maryprince.org website may assist with this. Under the Contact page are links to “‘When People Eat Chocolate, They Are Eating My Flesh’: Slavery and the Dark Side of Chocolate,” which is an informative article about the chocolate industry, and to foodispower.org. There are also links to modern day abolitionist sites—nochildforsale.org and freetheslaves.net. The instructional activity mentioned at the beginning of this section—the Continuity and Change activity appearing under the Historical Concepts tab—may also be used. The photographs of exploited children from Bangladesh, Guatemala, and Albania appearing on this page show links between modern slavery and the production of commodities.

Students might investigate the sources of the coffee they, their families, and their friends, drink. Are the beans slave-produced? What about the clothes they wear? They might also investigate today's chocolate boycotts, which are similar to the sugar boycotts of previous times. A good place to begin is World Vision's The Good Chocolate Guide, which is available online at nochildforsale.org. The Good Chocolate Guide lists companies offering ethical chocolate. Its intended use is to inform consumers about brands that are produced ethically so that they will make wise choices when purchasing chocolate.

My hope is that by engaging students with *The History of Mary Prince*, and with information and activities about modern day slavery and slave-produced

other Quaker anti-slavery leaders and, importantly, has a section on “Anti-Slavery in the modern world.” It is included as a link on maryprince.org.

commodities, students will begin to think critically about the slaving past, how it is similar to what is still happening today, and that they will then work towards rectifying this situation.

4.8 Conclusion

A goal of this chapter is to address the possibility of using the testimony of Mary Prince in a project designed with the pedagogical hope to open and to engage students' historical consciousness about enslavement and its afterlife racism. I have theorized and proposed a pedagogical approach based on my reading of the approaches of others with the same agenda in mind, and I illuminate this approach with the metaphor of a set of five nesting dolls.

At the heart of my proposed nesting doll approach is the autobiographical survivor account, which is represented by the innermost doll. To this are added successive layers of resources—first primary sources, then visiting significant sites, after that secondary sources, and finally fictionalized accounts—much like successively bigger dolls in a set of nesting dolls that enclose the dolls that precede them. My approach is procedural and builds on the framework of Seixas and Morton as put forward in their book *The Big Six Historical Thinking Concepts*.

Fitted into this approach is the importance of visiting sites associated with the autobiographical survivor account, if possible. This is the third step of the nesting doll approach. Visiting a site is a firsthand experience that is lived viscerally. My thought is that it is like living and breathing a primary source that brings a sense of knowing and “owning” the place home to the individual encountering it.

Visiting important sites is related to my idea of the food garden as a metaphor for creolization. Food gardens of today are comprised of plants historically transferred from Africa and Europe to the Americas where they intermingled with American plants and became something new. These creolized gardens may serve as a place, not to forget cultural grief, but to amend it with a memory of promise. Following Walcott's thought, creolized gardens may be a path of hope.

Existing school gardens might be expanded to include the creolized garden, and with it a history-infused curriculum. If a school does not already have a school garden, it might be timely to start one. This curriculum might educate, not only about the food plant complex, but also about the stories of the migrants and their descendants who brought the plants to new lands, and about the stories of Aboriginal Americans whose indigenous food plants are the base of today's food plant complex in the Americas.

The maryprince.org website is an encapsulation of my doctoral research findings and other resources. I offer it to students and educators interested in learning about, or teaching about, *The History of Mary Prince, A West Indian Slave, Related by Herself* and colonial enslavement. My desire is that the website will get good traffic, that users engaged in the difficult remembrance that it represents will find a memory of promise in its pages, and that this will bring them to champion a less violent and more just society in our present time, and in times to come.

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SUMMARY AND DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

When I was Head of English at British West Indies Collegiate, in the Turks and Caicos Islands, 2005-2009, I asked my Senior High students if they knew who Mary Prince was. None did, though two students suggested Prince might have been a pirate, not unlike the infamous Anne Bonney, who had once sailed Turks and Caicos waters. The Collegiate subscribes to Cambridge International Examinations curricula, the same set of curricula followed by Bermuda, except that Bermuda has retained Social Studies. This explains why my students did not know who Prince was. Prince's history is a local history, and students engaged in international curricula might not readily learn of it, even students living in one of the territories of her enslavement.

Even so, I suspected teachers would include Prince and her story in their programs, if they had the information they needed for the undertaking. Perhaps individual students might take up a study of Prince and her story, if they were given the opportunity to undertake independent projects. These were reasons why I decided to initiate my PhD studies. I wanted to provide information to both students and their teachers about Mary Prince and colonial enslavement.

When I began work on my PhD, I was uncertain where the work would lead me. Initially, I was interested to write historical fiction inspired by Prince's story. My thought at the time was that historical fiction about Prince would provide teachers with necessary resources; however, as I was to learn, teachers would need more

than historical fiction to do an adequate job in their pedagogical approaches to *The History of Mary Prince* —if their purpose was to open their students' historical consciousness about colonial enslavement. I now recommend that an array of primary and secondary sources, visiting significant sites of memory, plus fictionalized accounts, accompany an autobiographical survivor account in an approach to open historical consciousness. Historical fiction is just one of the pieces and, although it can bring a story to life, it is by no means the most important piece.

My research points to seven areas of future research. Five are historical in nature. The first four of these are drawn from chapter 3. The first is to research Prince's life in Antigua, before she left that territory for London, England, and to determine if she returned to Antigua after the passing of the Slavery Abolition Act of 1833. If she did return, what was the latter part of her life like? Did she rejoin the Moravian Mission at Spring Gardens, or did she choose a different mission, such as the one at Newfield? Did she remarry so that a future researcher must look for yet another surname to locate her?

The second area of historical research drawn from chapter 3 is similar to the first. This is to research Ashton Warner's life in St. Vincent. He was enslaved on the Cane Grove estate, a sugar plantation owned by Mr. Wilson (possibly James Wilson). Because he related an autobiographical survivor account that includes the names of family members, lawyers, overseers, and the like, there are many possible openings for research.

Researching the Adelphi Estate on Mustique Island, which was owned jointly by Daniel and Francis Trimingham, and their related business at Kingston, St. Vincent, is the third area of historical research drawn from chapter 3. The story of their sugar plantation, the transport of slaves and sugar, shipbuilding, and other related ventures could prove to be interesting and revealing research. How many other colonies did they touch with their enterprise? Did they transport and sell slaves as had John Adams Wood Jr.?

The fourth area of historical research drawn from chapter 3 is the transportation, monetization, and sale of slaves between British colonies, after the 1807 date of the Slave Trade Abolition Act but before the 1833 Abolition of Slavery Act. Both *The History of Mary Prince* and *Negro Slavery Described* mention the transportation of slaves between colonies. A related story that begs research is embedded in Musson's *Mind the Onion Seed*, which is the sale of slaves by Bermudians to the American colonies on the eve of Emancipation.

The fifth area of historical research is drawn from chapters 4 and 5 because it has to do with abolitionist use of witnessing to bring about social change. Connected to this area are the pedagogical approaches used by Simon and other educators to open historical consciousness. Was Abolition partially successful because of the collection of texts and images that had developed over time and which abolitionists set before readers to bring about social change? I note that a large body of materials had developed, including, for example, Prince's, Warner's, and Asa-Asa's autobiographical survivor accounts. Abolitionist materials included shocking images

of torture, such as the 1796 engraving of the enslaved, bound, and flogged black woman by William Blake and the 1809 image of the enslaved, bound, and flogged black woman by anonymous published in *The Curious Adventures of Captain Stedman*. There was poetry, such as William Blake's "The Little Black Boy" first etched in 1794 and included in Blake's *Songs of Innocence*, and Samuel Coleridge's *Rime of the Ancient Mariner*, first published in 1798 in *Lyrical Ballads*, as well as poetry by lesser-known poets, such as Thomas Pringle.¹¹⁰ There were testimonies depicting the vulgarity and criminality of colonial enslavement that were authored by reputable individuals, such as the four Christian ministers whose narratives made up over half of the text in Warner's *Negro Slavery Described*, and there were reports, such as those appearing in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*.¹¹¹ There were also pamphlets, such as Elizabeth Heyrick's *Immediate, not gradual abolition, or, An inquiry into the shortest, safest, and most effectual means of getting rid of West Indian Slavery*. Did this array of materials place an historical and social claim on the public so that, over time, and in ever-greater numbers, they took up the banner of Abolition? It is amazing, and not wholly understandable, how in the space of fifty years, from the establishment of the Society for Effecting the Abolition of the Slave

¹¹⁰ Coleridge was an active abolitionist as was Blake. *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner* is thought by some scholars to have been based on the *Zong* massacre of 1781.

¹¹¹ *The Anti-Slavery Reporter*, a campaign tool for Abolition, was a monthly publication founded in 1825 by abolitionist Zachary Macaulay. Topics addressed in the *Reporter* included abolitionist activities, Parliamentary concerns dealing with enslavement, details about the activities of pro-slavery supporters, and anti-slavery news from other countries. Thomas Pringle co-edited the *Reporter* with Macaulay.

Trade in 1787 to the end of the apprenticeship program in 1838, what had been a “perennial” institution was terminated.

There are two future areas of research, which grow solely out of chapter 5 and are situated in the Education field. These are research related to the two metaphors already mentioned. The first is research related to my proposed nesting doll approach, which I theorize may work to engage and to open students’ historical consciousness. This research could be undertaken with the approach I suggest in 4.4 “A Suggested Outline of a Program of Study about Mary Prince” using maryprince.org. The second area of research relates to teaching the concept of creolization through the creolized food garden. This could be undertaken with the approach I suggest in 4.6 “Food Gardens and *The History of Mary Prince*,” where I suggest keeping a history-infused school food garden, and activities based on Lydia Pulsipher’s article “They Have Saturdays and Sundays to Feed Themselves: Slave Gardens in the Caribbean.” Additionally, a researcher might collect human and environmental histories about creolized food gardens that when brought together, would work as a resource for educators taking this approach.

Finally, my research calls for social action. Mary Prince’s damaged body and disfigurement were a result of labour practices that have outlasted colonial slavery. Slavery has not ended, and the work of historical abolitionists is not complete. Here in Canada the time is past due for a Modern Slavery Act.

A Canadian Modern Slavery Act might be based on the United Kingdom’s Modern Slavery Act, which received Royal Assent 26 March 2015. The Act has three

key areas: it creates two new civil orders to prevent modern day slavery; it establishes an Anti-Slavery Commissioner; and it makes provision for the protection of modern slavery victims. Included in the Act are explanations of offences; prevention orders; maritime enforcement; the Independent Anti-Slavery Commissioner; protection of victims; and transparency in supply chains (Modern Slavery Act 2015).

Mary Prince, Ashton Warner, Louis Asa-Asa, and other enslaved individuals they mention in their narratives—Hetty, Sally, Sarah, Daniel, Ben, Jack, Cyrus, Hannah, Dinah, Rebecca, Prince—plus the thousands upon thousands of enslaved people whose names appear in wills and registers—speak to me from the past, insisting that this work be done. A difficult remembrance, their stories are also memories of promise for a better, more just, future.

APPENDIX 1

MARY PRINCE TIMELINE

1787-1788	<p>Born at Brackish Pond, Devonshire, Bermuda. (A “Brackifh Pond” appears on early maps of Bermuda. It is a cove on Bermuda’s north shore. Brackish Pond was also the colloquial name for part of, or possibly the entirety of, Devonshire Parish.)</p> <p>Bought as an infant along with mother by “old” Captain George Darrell, and both are given to his granddaughter Betsey Williams as a gift.</p>
1799	<p>Put out to work at Prudden household, Paget Parish, to care for baby Daniel.</p>
1800	<p>Sold at “Hamble Town” (Hamilton) auction for £57 Bermudian currency to Captain John Ingham of Spanish Point, Pembroke Parish, Bermuda.</p>
1801	<p>February 19th earthquake in Bermuda. Soon after earthquake runs away to mother at Richard Darrell’s, which is Cavendish, Devonshire.</p>
1802 – 1806	<p>Sent to Grand Turk Island and purchased there at auction for £100 Bermudian currency by Robert Darrell. This probably happens prior to 1803.</p>

1812	Returns to Bermuda with Robert Darrell.
1813	Great August Hurricane hits Grand Turk Island, and ponds are overflowed with sand. Hired out to work at Cedar Hill.
1815	Leaves for Antigua with John Adams Wood Jr. who purchases her for £100 Bermudian currency upon arrival at Antigua.
1817	Appears in <i>Slave Registers of Former British Territories</i> for Antigua. Also appears in the 1821, 1824, and 1828 <i>Slave Registers</i> for that territory. Is baptized in November at the English [Anglican] Church by Rev. James Curtin.
1818 – 1819	Begins attending meetings at Spring Gardens Moravian Church (May be attending as early as 1816.)
1820	Mrs. Richter, one of the Moravian missionaries who taught Mary to read the bible, passes away in December.
1826	Marries Daniel James at Spring Gardens Moravian Church at Christmas. Rev. Jens Olufson performs the ceremony.
1828	Leaves for London, England, in late July or early August. Walks out Woods' door to freedom in late August or September. Arrives at London Anti-Slavery Society in November, and Pringle accompanies her to law office of George Stephen.
1829	Petition presented to Parliament on June 24 th .

- Works for Mrs. Forsyth in spring/summer.
- In December, begins working for Thomas Pringle and his wife as a domestic servant.
- Woods leave for Antigua.
- 1830 Receives letter from husband Daniel James in April.
- In July or August, Pringle uses social and political connections in Antigua (Governor Patrick Ross and Moravian pastor Joseph Newby) to pressure Wood to manumit Prince, but it is to no avail.
- Wood's 20 October 1830 letter to Ross's secretary Taylor is given to Pringle. Upon receipt of this letter, Pringle decides to go ahead with the storytelling, compiling, and writing project.
- 1831 Slave narrative is published the latter part of February. It goes to print three times this year.
- Ashton Warner's slave narrative, *Negro Slavery Described*, is published close on the heels of Prince's *History*.
- 1832 John Adams Wood's declaration in the Slave Register for Antigua says "and except Molly who accompanied me to England and there quitted my service."
- 1833 Appears as witness in February 21st *Pringle v. Cadell* court case, and in a second court case, *Wood v. Pringle*, on February 27th.
- Slavery Abolition Act gets Royal Assent on August 28th.
- Possibly returns to Antigua in the fall.

1834

Daniel James listed January 12th in the *No. 3, Exclusion List, St.*

John's, Antigua, October 20, 1833 to ___ where this is recorded:

“Proved to have been in the custom of fiddling at dances in the Town; and, by the acknowledgement of both parties to have lived in concubinage with Mary Ann Williams, during the absence of his Wife (Mary Prince) in England.”