

*Books for Barbados and the British
Atlantic Colonies in the Early
Eighteenth Century: 'A Catalogue of
Books to be sold by Mr. Zouch'*

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TWO COPIES SURVIVE of an undated, thirty-page imprint titled *Barbadoes. A Catalogue of books, to be sold by Mr. Zouch, in the town of St. Michael, alias the Bridge-Town*.¹ Catalogues of books exported to a British colony are unusual, but with 'Barbadoes' as the heading on the title-page its geographical specificity is emphasized. The extensive and wide-ranging retail catalogue that is the subject of this study was printed in London for a bookseller in Barbados and has hitherto escaped extended notice. While it has a date—1750—assigned by ESTC, it can be dated more precisely, as will be shown. This catalogue offers evidence of a kind that is unusual and quite possibly unique—not just in the West Indies, but also in other colonies at this time. The second part of this essay sets this catalogue in some of its contexts—geographically and commercially. The third part is concerned with another, and related, kind of unexplored and

1. One is in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, the other in the Library of Congress. See below.

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underexploited evidence for the history of the North Atlantic colonial book trade at this time, and adds further to the context of the printed catalogue that is discussed here. It turns from the secular evidence of the commercial book trade, where success depended on cash returns, to the world of evangelical or missionary endeavor, where the returns sought for cash investment were of a different nature. As a commercial document, the catalogue itself only reveals part of its purpose, so these latter two parts are offered as a help towards interpreting this.

With the expansion of overseas possessions as a result of exploration and of European wars, booksellers in early eighteenth-century Britain faced a challenge. They sought to supply the changing overseas markets that came with the increasing prosperity of some of the British colonies and they required new mechanisms to do so. Their overseas customers were very similar in their preoccupations and in their demands to customers in London: they asked booksellers for specific kinds of books and, when kept abreast of what was new, were a source for developing trade.

London booksellers knew the British market; they also knew a good deal of the market in the older North American colonies. Many of the demands in these markets—to what exact extent we do not know—were replicated in the West Indies colonies, which enjoyed close links with the American mainland settlements in Carolina and northwards.² But by 1700 the West Indies were growing increasingly affluent, enjoying the wealth brought by the sugar trade. How much were planters' tastes changing as prosperity grew, and demand for the comforts and luxuries of

2. For the part of Barbados in the founding and early development of Charleston and South Carolina, see John J. McCusker and Russell R. Menard, *The Economy of British America, 1607-1789* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985), esp. 169-88, and Warren Alleyne and Henry Fraser, *The Barbados-Carolina Connection* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Caribbean, 1988).

home life developed among families or other groups that found themselves settled temporarily or permanently in the Caribbean world? While the hot and damp climate may have been inimical to many of the kinds of luxury goods that were familiar in Europe, it did not mean that—either through ignorance or hope—people did not still expect them. For Barbados, there is plenty of evidence of a wealthy lifestyle—at least among some of the population. Studies of furniture, the pictures that were commissioned, and expensive household goods such as china or silver attest to the taste for luxurious surroundings. The climate apparently did not prevent the export of fragile—and sometimes very valuable—musical instruments. In 1686 the cargo of the *Scipio Africanus* included a pair of harpsichords amidst a lot of more ordinary household goods.³ In 1716 Henry Feake, a Quaker merchant in Barbados, left his bass viol to one of his slaves,⁴ and in 1722 James Rawlin in St. Michael's parish bequeathed to his son '1 cromong [Cremona] violin which I at all times constantly played on myself.'⁵ There is evidence in architecture: Richard Blome noted the abundance of well-built houses in Bridgetown in the 1670s, as did the visiting French Dominican, Father Jean-Baptiste Labat in 1700, adding that they were in the English style.⁶ There is further evidence of wealth in the kinds of clothes that were worn, and the extent to which some people sought to follow fashion.

While this tells us much about the rich, and something about the less well-off, we know little about how tastes for books were

3. The National Archives of the U.K., CO 33/14 f.45.

4. Joanne McRee Sanders, *Barbados Records. Wills and Administrations, 1639-1725*, 3 vols. (Houston, Texas: Sanders Historical Publications, 1979-81) 3:117-18.

5. Sanders, *Barbados Records* 3:277.

6. Richard Blome, *A Description of the Island of Jamaica, with the Other Isles and Territories in America to which the English are Related* (London: Printed by J.B. for Dorman Newman, 1678), 74; Blome, *The Present State of his Majesties Isles and Territories in America* (London: Printed by H. Clark, for D. Newman, 1687.), 41; Jean-Baptiste Labat, *Nouveau Voyage aux Isles de l'Amérique* 2 vols. (La Haye: P. Husson, 1724) 2: 131, 137.

developed and we know still less about the means by which these tastes were fostered and supplied, particularly in the first decades of the eighteenth century. Evidence for the West Indies from the mid-century onwards is easier to find.⁷

Barbados

The voyage from England to Barbados took between six and nine weeks, depending on the kind of ship, the season, the weather, and the route. The risk from privateers could never be ignored whether during war or peace.⁸ For a brief period, between 1702 and 1711, there was a service of packet boats that aimed to make the round trip from Falmouth in Cornwall to Barbados and back north to pick up the Gulf Stream to return to Cornwall in about a hundred days: in practice most voyages took a little longer. For all ships, the usual outward route was across the Bay of Biscay and south to Madeira, before picking up favorable winds and the north equatorial current to head south-west over the Atlantic to Barbados. The winter passage to Madeira was difficult and dangerous, and it was also wise to avoid the Barbados hurricane season, roughly between August and October. The island was the first landfall on the western Atlantic, where cargoes could be off-loaded either for onward transmission or for later sale in other colonies in the western hemisphere. For trade, just as for the British Navy, it was of strategic importance.⁹ Antigua, Montserrat,

7. Roderick Cave, 'The West Indian planter and his reading,' in Cave, *Printing and the Book Trade in the West Indies* (London: Pindar Press, 1987), 34–60, is overwhelmingly concerned with the second half of the century, and has little to say about Barbados. For the diaries and reading of the Jamaica planter Thomas Thistlewood, who arrived in Kingston, Jamaica, in 1750—i.e., more than a generation after the period dealt with here—see especially Douglas Hall, *In Miserable Slavery: Thomas Thistlewood in Jamaica, 1750–1786* (London: Macmillan, 1989) and Trevor Burnard, *Mastery, Tyranny, and Desire: Thomas Thistlewood and his Slaves in the Anglo-Jamaican World* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004).

8. Ian K. Steele, *The English Atlantic, 1675–1740: An Exploration of Communication and Community* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), esp. 21–40.

9. The island was an essential and profitable stage in the trading of the Royal African Company. Ships from West Africa brought slaves either to Barbados, where they were sold sometimes to owners based in nearby islands, or to the Leeward Islands and Jamaica, to sell their cargoes there. See David W. Galenson, *Traders, Planters, and Slaves: Market Behaviour in Early English America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 51, 119.

Nevis and St. Christopher were all within about a three-day sail, and St. Lucia, St. Vincent and Grenada in the Windward Islands were closer still. For slave ships, it was the first landfall after leaving Africa, a situation that added to its prosperity. Barbados was a natural trading post as well as being convenient for Dutch, French, and Spanish interests. Details of re-exports from Barbados remain to be properly analyzed—and the surviving records do not give details of the book trade—but the phenomenon is an ever-present one.

The book trade in the western hemisphere has been the subject of some statistical study.¹⁰ Summaries of book exports from Britain (and on present evidence there is no reason to suppose that much was received in Barbados from elsewhere) are available in the London customs records, where annual statistics reveal patterns not just year by year, but also comparisons that can be made with other colonies. Exports were valued at a standard rate of £4 per hundredweight. Between 1701 and 1714, the Barbados figure, by estimate of value for every hundredweight, ranged from a low of £43 in 1708 to a high of £167 in 1702 (the ledgers for 1705 and 1712 are missing). The average was £102. The other large West Indies market, Jamaica, had an average of £109, with a low of £36 in 1710 and a peak of £253 in 1703. The adjacent years 1702 and 1703 for peak imports to these islands are worth remark, and must reflect more than a

Prices for Africans were subject to demand, age, sex, and health, but persons sold as slaves in Barbados in the early eighteenth century seem to have brought slightly higher prices than those sold about a week later after the voyage to Jamaica. See Pedro Welch, 'Commerce in Bridgetown: The First 150 Years,' in *Beyond the Bridge: Lectures Commemorating Bridgetown's 375th Anniversary*, ed. Woodville Marshall and Pedro Welch (Bridgetown: Barbados Museum & Historical Society, 2005), 59–81, at 61–63.

10. The following is based on figures gathered in Giles Barber, 'Books from the old world and for the new: the British international trade in books in the eighteenth century,' *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century* 151 (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 1976): 185–224. See also Barber, 'Book imports and exports in the eighteenth century, in *Sale and Distribution of Books from 1700*, ed. Robin Myers and Michael Harris (Oxford: Oxford Polytechnic Press, 1982), 77–105. The question is further examined for the mainland colonies by James Raven, 'The export of books to colonial North America', *Publishing History* 42 (1997): 21–49. Raven attempts to relate the weight of books to the numbers of volumes.

single incident.¹¹ (Other islands—Antigua, the Bermudas, Montserrat, Nevis and St. Christopher [St. Kitts]—were of much less significance in the book trade.¹²) In 1715 the figures for Barbados and Jamaica were respectively £132 and £56, rising in 1716 to £229 and £89. In those years, something exceptional was happening in Barbados. The Barbados figure for 1716 was approaching half as big again as the largest one since 1700—the peak of £167 in 1702. Apart from 1703, when a high Jamaica figure had swollen the total, the 1716 total for the West Indies as a whole was not only higher than any year since the beginning of the century but it was also not to be overtaken until 1727, when the figure for Antigua was unusually high.

Some of these figures (it is not clear how many) need to be treated with caution. They record exports from London, not necessarily long-term imports to Barbados and the other colonies. To repeat: books were sometimes simply in transit through Barbados—as indeed they were through the other larger colonies. We shall return to this issue below.¹³

In 1710 the population of Barbados is estimated to have comprised just over 13,000 white men and women, and more than 52,000 blacks, mostly slaves. Thanks partly to disease the white population had been in decline for several years.¹⁴ By 1715 just

11. The figures for the book trade are very small in the context of trade overall, and much remains to be investigated concerning its economic, as distinct from social, place in international trade. But it should perhaps be noticed that in 1702 England and Wales imported only £358,000 worth of sugar, the main export of Barbados, compared with £599,000 in 1701 and £565,000 in 1703. Imports of this staple have never been lower in the years since. See B. R. Mitchell, *British Historical Statistics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 462.

12. For a glimpse of book ownership in St. Christopher on an unusual scale, see Richard S. Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves: The Rise of the Planter Class in the English West Indies, 1624–1713* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1972), 139–40.

13. See also the remarks on this phenomenon by James Raven, 'The importation of books in the eighteenth century,' *The Colonial Book in the Atlantic World*, vol. 1 of *A History of the Book in America*, ed. Hugh Amory and David D. Hall (2000; Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007) 183–97, at 186.

14. Hilary McD. Beckles, *A History of Barbados, from Amerindian Settlement to Caribbean Single Market*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 53. But for different, lower, figures in 1712, see *Calendar of State Papers: Colonial Series. America and West Indies 1712–14*, no.45, and Richard S. Dunn, 'The Barbados Census of 1680: Profile of the

over half the white population was aged nineteen or less and about 42 percent were aged between twenty and forty-nine. Of those aged forty and above, women outnumbered men.¹⁵ St. Michael's parish, including Bridgetown, the most important port, was by far the most heavily populated, with about a quarter of all white inhabitants of the island. While such population patterns would affect the markets for books, it is appropriate here only to note them: too little work has been so far done on the relationships between population patterns and patterns of demand for particular kinds of printed matter.

There are obvious points to consider. First, there is a natural relationship between the size, occupations and educational attainments of the white population and the numbers of books needed. Secondly, in the context of what are sometimes rather small figures, there can seem to be extraordinary changes from year to year caused by the arrival of perhaps only a few more shipments. A greater problem is the matter of the survival of the books themselves. Many more copies of books from this time have survived in the libraries of east coast North America than have survived in a climate where heat and humidity are natural and highly effective enemies of paper and of books. The characteristics of the Barbados climate noted by Richard Blome about metal apply just as much to paper and books: 'The *Air*; though hot is very moist, which causeth all *Iron-tools*, as *Knives, Swords, Locks, Keys, &c.* to rust, so that without constant usage, they will soon become eaten up with rust.'¹⁶

Richest Colony in English America,' *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 26 (1969): 3-30. For the 1715 census, see Michael J. Chandler, *A Guide to Records in Barbados* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1965), 35-36. For periodic summaries of the population between 1655 and 1768, see Patricia A. Molen, 'Population and Social Patterns in Barbados in the Early Eighteenth Century,' *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 28 (1971):287-300, at 289. For additional periodic summaries, 1630-1780, see McCusker and Menard, *The Economy of British America*, 153. For comparison with another colony, such as the population of Boston, estimated in 1710 at 9,500, see Pedro L. V. Welch, *Slave Society in the City: Bridgetown, Barbados, 1680-1834* (Kingston: I. Randle, 2003), 53. See also Welch, 'Celebrating Bridgetown: the first 100 years,' in *Beyond the Bridge*, ed. Marshall and Welch, 4-36.

15. Molen, 'Population . . . in Barbados', 294-95.

16. Blome, *A Description of the Island of Jamaica*, 31.

This lends unusual value to other kinds of evidence. In the absence of books to handle, and to see, we must rely even more on documentary records, which for the West Indies are patchy and vary from island to island. The earliest probate list of books owned in Jamaica dates from 1684–85, and seems to represent a mixture of personal property and books intended for sale.¹⁷ The detailed probate records for Jamaica between 1674 and 1701 have no such equivalent in Barbados: no doubt much on the subject remains to be recovered in details of property mentioned in some of the five thousand surviving wills for Barbados from 1650 to 1725.¹⁸ Evidence from other inventories is slight, although one from 1649 mentions a collection of forty-five volumes.¹⁹ It is also important to note that our knowledge of books exported to British possessions in the West Indies depends on evidence that lacks the richness of the resources available to the study of books and reading in the Spanish colonies in the seventeenth century. Unlike the archives in Seville, those in London do not record the titles of books that were being handled, nor do they record quantities of individual titles.²⁰

Some of the evidence for book ownership, as distinct from the book trade, in Barbados, is anecdotal. Other kinds are tantalizing

17. Roderick Cave, 'Thomas Craddock's books: a West India merchant's stock,' *The Book Collector* 25 (1976): 481–90, repr. in *Printing and the Book Trade in the West Indies*, 181–90. This contains eighty-nine entries, some of them multiple.

18. Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves*, 264–72. For the Barbados wills, see Sanders, *Barbados Records*; Chandler, *Guide to Records in Barbados*, 34; and Beckles, *History of Barbados*, 85. Sanders does not record all mentions of books. According to Geraldine Lane, *Tracing Ancestors in Barbados: A Practical Guide* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 2006), 63, the earliest surviving post-mortem inventory for Barbados dates from 1764. C. F. E. Hollis Hallett, *Early Bermuda Wills, 1629–1835* (Bermuda: Juniperhill Press, 1993) likewise frankly emphasises people rather than property.

19. Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves*, 76.

20. See, for example, Pedro J. Rueda Ramírez, *Negocio e intercambio cultural: el comercio de libros con América en la Carrera de Indias (siglo XVII)* (Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 2005). This is concerned with books only in the first half of the seventeenth century. See also J. H. Elliott, *Empires of the Atlantic World: Britain and Spain in America, 1492–1830* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 205–6 and 248, for contrasts between Spanish and English colonies in parts of mainland North America in the use and management of books. For further details of British and German colonies in mainland North America, see *The Colonial Book in the Atlantic World*, ed. Amory and Hall.

in their brevity. When Labat visited in 1700, he found in the Governor's house 'un cabinet de livres sur toutes sortes de matieres, fort bien choisis, & en bon ordre.'²¹ Before he left the island, he also made a point of presenting to the Governor some French books, although unfortunately he does not tell us their titles. The wills of residents of Barbados in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries provide glimpses of the ownership and use of books. For example, in the mid-1680s, the schoolmaster in St. James's parish (Holetown and surroundings) was Thomas Clerk, who specifically taught reading.²² Various other teachers are recorded in the early eighteenth century, including Thomas Walker (fl. 1713), a Quaker,²³ John Greenidge (d. 1716),²⁴ and John Frank (d. 1719).²⁵ In 1679 Peter Hancock, of St. Peter's parish, in the northwest part of the island, left instructions that his books were to go to John Black.²⁶ In 1693 William Howe of the same parish left in his will a library of law books—but gives no further details.²⁷ In 1704 John Springham, a doctor, left to his son the 'books and instruments of my profession,' and in the same year Thomas Maxwell, of Christ Church parish, in the south, bequeathed to his nephew 'my Latin, Greeke, and French, and English physick books.'²⁸ In 1711 David Castello, a Jewish merchant who also owned property in Amsterdam, left a copy of the Hebrew Pentateuch, and in the same year Elisha Holder, of St. Joseph's parish, bequeathed to his wife most of his household goods, expressly excluding his book press and his

21. Labat, *Nouveau voyage aux isles de l'Amérique* 2:132. The governor at this time was the Hon. Ralph Grey, who held the appointment from 1698 to 1703.

22. Sanders, *Barbados Records* 2:190 (will of Amos Jefford, proved January 13, 1684/5).

23. Sanders, *Barbados Records* 3:117.

24. Sanders, *Barbados Records* 3:145.

25. Sanders, *Barbados Records* 3:125.

26. Sanders, *Barbados Records* 1:162.

27. Neville Connell, 'Furniture and Furnishings in Barbados during the 17th century,' *Journal of the Barbados Museum and Historical Society* 24.3(1957):102-21, at 117. See also Sanders, *Barbados Records* 2:180: I am grateful to the late Geraldine Lane for help with this.

28. Sanders, *Barbados Records* 3:319, 230. His nephew may have been in England.

books.²⁹ In 1716 Henry Feake, the Bridgetown Quaker merchant and a man of some substance, left to his grandson his Greek, Latin, and French books and his law books.³⁰

It can be assumed that many people did not bother to mention their books if they seemed of little value; and people who owned Greek and Latin books were certainly in a minority. Nonetheless, for all their incompleteness, such stray references in wills, and the presence in Barbados of professional classes including doctors, clergy, lawyers and schoolmasters, suggest a market for books that, if not as profitable as that in the New England colonies, was at least worth a bookseller's pursuit.³¹ Family needs sat alongside professional ones. But those who wanted books had to organize their own channels for supply. 'I am pretty well furnished with every thing that is new,' wrote one person with interests in the natural sciences, 'but my correspondent sending them but once a year by the fleet, they are old before they reach me.' He was duly grateful for pamphlets and natural history prints that were sent by a sympathetic correspondent.³² Demands from the planters and from the merchants and skilled craftsmen clustered round the port of Bridgetown and the smaller settlements at Holetown and Speightstown created markets to be exploited.

For more than a century after its foundation, the colony pursued its formal and informal business without many of the assumptions that marked societies in Europe increasingly dominated by and

29. Sanders, *Barbados Records* 3: 58, 167. For Dutch and Dutch-Jewish trading with Barbados in the seventeenth century, see Jonathan Israel, *Dutch Primacy in World Trade, 1585-1740* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989) and the several articles by Yda Schreuder that have appeared in the *Journal of the Barbados Museum and Historical Society*: 'The Influence of the Dutch Colonial Trade on Barbados in the Seventeenth Century,' 48 (2002): 43-63, 'A True Global Community: Sephardic Jews, the Sugar Trade, and Barbados in the Seventeenth century,' 50 (2004): 166-94, and 'Evidence from the Notarial Protocols in the Amsterdam Municipal Archives about Trade Relations between Amsterdam and Barbados in the Seventeenth Century,' 52 (2006): 54-82.

30. Sanders, *Barbados Records* 3: 117.

31. The range of urban skills in Bridgetown is emphasised by Welch, 'Celebrating Bridgetown,' 10-11. See also Hilary McD. Beckles, *White Servitude and Black Slavery in Barbados, 1627-1715* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1989).

32. 'T. Walduck's letters from Barbados, 1710-11,' *Journal of the Barbados Museum and Historical Society* 15 (1948): 137-49, at 143, 145.

dependent on the printed word. When, for example, legislation was passed in Barbados at the beginning of the eighteenth century concerning the advertisement for sale of slaves or chattels, it was explicitly ordained that such advertisements were to be written up as notices to be posted on church doors.³³ By then, in much of Britain printed advertisements had become the norm; but in the first decades of the eighteenth century the British colonies in the West Indies still had to depend on imports for all their printed matter. The first newspaper in Jamaica was not established until 1718.³⁴ The first active printers in Barbados, David Harry and Samuel Keimer, arrived from Philadelphia only in 1730, when they established their printing shop in Bridgetown. Their newspaper, the *Barbados Gazette*, appeared probably from 1731.³⁵ The acts of the Barbados Assembly were printed, in 1721 and then again in 1732, but not in the West Indies. The King's Printer, in London, was one of those who held the monopoly for law printing.

Mr. Zouch, the importer of the books listed in the catalogue that is the subject of this essay, acted as clerk of the Barbados Assembly from at least 1712 until 1714 and was later involved in the publication of the printed *Acts of Assembly* (1648–1718).³⁶ Arthur Zouch

33. *Acts of Assembly Passed in the Island of Barbadoes, from 1648 to 1718* (1732), 264. For scribal publication in the Chesapeake colonies in the seventeenth century, see David D. Hall, 'The Chesapeake in the seventeenth century,' in *The Colonial Book in the Atlantic World*, ed. Amory and Hall, 55–82, at 61–65; the first, unauthorized, printed edition of the laws of Virginia was printed in probably 1684. Practices in northern colonies are explored in David D. Hall, 'Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-century New England: An Introduction and Checklist,' *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 115 (2006), 29–80, and in his *Ways of Writing: The Practice and Politics of Text-making in Seventeenth-Century New England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008). See also David S. Shields, *Oracles of Empire: Poetry, Politics, and Commerce in British America 1690–1750* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990).

34. Robert Baldwin, who arrived probably from London, established the *Weekly Jamaica Courant* in 1718. See also Roderick Cave, 'An inventory of the First Jamaica Printing House,' in *Printing and the Book trade in the West Indies*, 175–80.

35. Bradford F. Swan, *The Spread of Printing: the Caribbean Area* (Amsterdam: Israel, 1970); Cave, *Printing and the book trade in the West Indies*; Howard S. Pactor, *Colonial British Caribbean Newspapers: A Bibliography and Directory* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1990), 18.

36. Jerome S. Handler, *A Guide to Source Materials for the Study of Barbados History, 1627–1834* (New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll, 2002), 17, 23, etc. To date, I have found nothing to connect him with Francis Zouch, a Londoner who in 1703 was apprenticed to the stationer Peter Tanner and who was freed on May 1, 1713.

was listed in the census of white inhabitants taken in 1715 as aged forty (the other person listed in his household was an unnamed woman aged thirty-eight, and there were no children).³⁷ His catalogue, of about that date, by no means the only evidence for the use of books in these years, is easily the richest, most detailed and most extensive source. It is unparalleled in what it reveals, both for Barbados and for the London book trade. No such catalogue is known to have been produced for any other colony. It is remarkable in being a retail catalogue, not one of an auction. The earliest printed catalogues of imported books for the British colonies on the North American mainland date from a little later than this Barbados catalogue and are from Boston.³⁸ Arthur Zouch, the lawyer turned bookseller who is the central figure in the following pages, was either foolhardy or more confident of a market. But his catalogue is not the sole evidence available to us about the book trade, or even about the reading of books in Barbados beyond the summaries of the London export figures.

This accumulation of evidence about the book trade in the British West Indies and the nearest large colonies in North America, as distinct from book ownership, private or institutional, dates mostly from a few years later than the document that has occasioned the present study.³⁹ To it, we may add publications that were manifestly intended specifically for use in, or in relation to, Barbados. In 1684, for example, the London instrument maker and map-seller John Seller published an *Almanack for XXX yeares. . . . Calculated for the meridian of that famous island whose latitude is 13:10 north, longitude from Pico Teneriff 238d: (& may wel*

37. The National Archives CO 28/16, f.205v.

38. In 1718 Thomas Fleet and Samuel Gerrish each organised an auction of imports, presumably choosing this method of sale so as not to be left with unsold stock, although no example survives of Fleet's catalogue. See Robert B. Winans, *A Descriptive Checklist of Book Catalogues Separately Printed in America, 1693-1800* (Worcester: American Antiquarian Society, 1981), 4-6.

39. For Virginia, see, for example, Louis B. Wright, *The First Gentlemen of Virginia: Intellectual Qualities of the Early Colonial Ruling Class* (San Marino: Huntington Library, 1940), and Hall, 'The Chesapeake in the Seventeenth Century.' The library of the new College of William and Mary burned down in 1705, and nothing was done to reestablish it until 1716. See John M. Jennings, *The Library of the College of William and Mary in Virginia, 1693-1793* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1968).

serve for all ye Caribe islands). As it came from a map printer and publisher, published from his house in Wapping, in the midst of the port of London, it is not surprising that the whole of this forty-page booklet was engraved.⁴⁰ London was not alone in providing such aids. At Boston, in 1711, a young graduate of Harvard College named Edward Holyoke produced *An almanack of the celestial motions, aspects & eclipses . . . Fitted to the meridian of the island of Barbadoes, being about 15 deg. 15 min. westward of the meridian of London, and in 13.20 of north latitude*. The sixteen-page booklet was printed by Bartholomew Green in Boston, for Benjamin Marston, a merchant in the port of Salem, and was according to the imprint specifically 'for the use of the island of Barbadoes.'⁴¹ Evidence of such publications as these, intended at least as much for sea navigation as for use on land, has only just survived; two copies are now known of Holyoke's work, and the copy of Seller's almanac in the British Library is unique. It is probable that there were further editions of such works.

Zouch's catalogue

The date suggested by the *English Short-Title Catalogue* for *Barbadoes. A Catalogue of books, to be sold by Mr. Zouch, in the town of St. Michael, alias the Bridge-Town* is 1750, clearly far too late on the evidence of the typography (an earlier style) and publication dates of the listed books (none later than 1716). Moreover, the inclusion of a few books published in the winter of 1715-16 gives an even more specific terminus ad quem.⁴² The book trade had changed measurably by 1750 and the range of reading available had been

40. For Seller (1632-97), see the notice by Laurence Worms in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

41. ESTC 006428585. For Holyoke, who served as president of Harvard from 1737 to 1769, see Clifford K. Shipton, *Biographical Sketches of those who attended Harvard College in the classes 1701-1712*, vol. 5 of *Sibley's Harvard Graduate* (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1937).

42. The correct date was referred to by Phyllis J. Guskin in her 'Not originally intended for the press: Martha Fowke Sansom's poems in the *Barbados Gazette*,' *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 34 (2000): 61-91. Nonetheless, the later date was accepted by William St. Clair in his study of the British West African slave trade, and alluded to in his discussion of the books available in West Africa in the 1770s and 1780s. William St. Clair, *The Grand Slave Emporium: Cape Coast Castle and the British Slave Trade* (London: Profile, 2006), 65.

transformed with a thriving periodical literature, dozens of novels, and smaller, more portable formats. The Barbados catalogue is not just of another generation: many of the kinds of books it records had passed out of fashion by the middle of the century.

It is also singular as a catalogue of books exported to a British colony other than mainland North America. More importantly, the title suggests that this was not the whole of Zouch's stock: 'Gentlemen and others may be supplied with great variety of books not contained in this catalogue.' As for the source of the books, this is stated quite specifically:

'N.B. All the Books in this Catalogue, &c. are Printed for and sold by *J. Browne*, at the *Black-Swan* without *Temple bar* in *London*.'

A close look at the names on the first page of this catalogue, Zouch and J. Browne, offers clues to the selection and sale of the books in Barbados. Zouch, who appears to have retired from the Assembly by the 1715-16 session, was described as the 'late Clerk,' in an act to discharge the arrears due to him.⁴³ As we shall see, the date of this legislation is relevant. In taking up bookselling, Zouch may not have been the first to do so in Barbados. When a stationer, Jeremiah Shackmaple, died in 1681, he left instructions that he was to be buried in the new churchyard of St. Michael's parish, that is, Bridgetown.⁴⁴ But we know nothing more of this business.

More is known about J. [Jonas] Browne, or Brown, the son of Daniel Browne, a bookseller at Temple Bar in London and thus at the center of the British book trade. Daniel had been trading on his own account since the early 1670s, when he had advertised both his shop and what seems to have been a pioneering circulating library for plays.⁴⁵ He continued his interest in handling drama, and had a further trade in legal stationery. In 1710-11 James Logan, from Philadelphia, had found in 'old D

43. *Acts of the Assembly passed in the island of Barbadoes, from 1648, to 1718* (1721), 295.

44. Sanders, *Barbados Records* 2:316. There is no record of such a name amongst those apprenticed to London stationers.

45. Advertisement in J.M., *The Atheist Silenced* (1672).

BARBADOES. ³

A
CATALOGUE
OF
BOOKS,

To be Sold by

Mr. Z O U C H,

In the Town of

ST. MICHAEL,

Alias the BRIDGE-TOWN,

In the said ISLAND;

Where Gentlemen and Others may be
supplied with great Variety of Books not con-
tained in this Catalogue.

N. B. All the Books in this Catalogue, &c. are
Printed for and Sold by *J. Browne*, at the *Black-
Swan* without *Temple-bar* in *London*.

Figure 1. Title page of the undated catalogue of books supplied by J. Browne of London for sale by Mr. Zouch in Bridgetown, Barbados. Courtesy, Trinity College, Cambridge.

Brown's stock a copy of Dupin's *Ecclesiastical Writers*, and in 1714-16, the period with which we are most concerned here, Brown's warehouse in Exeter Exchange was an established venue for book auctions.⁴⁶

In 1704 the young Jonas had been bound apprentice to Thomas Benskin and, when finally freed by patrimony in 1717, he was already sharing in bookselling.⁴⁷ In 1713 he was involved with his father and others in the publication of *The Young Accomptant's Debitor and Creditor* by Abraham Nicholas, a London writing-master, and concerning himself also in law publishing. The same year saw books over his name on English proverbs and a group of instructional books for students and preachers by John Barecroft. In 1714 he was one of the subscribing booksellers for ordinary paper copies of Thomas Creech's translation of Lucretius, his name appearing in the imprint between two much more important figures, Benjamin Tooke and Jacob Tonson.⁴⁸ *The Mausoleum*, Lewis Theobald's poem on the death of Queen Anne published in 1714 in folio with a lavishly spacious page design, was printed for Browne. The catalogue at the end listed a dozen titles, including collections of poems as well as practical books, most of which were included in Zouch's catalogue. *The Mausoleum* was sold by James Roberts, a bookseller in Warwick Lane, and many of Roberts's cheaper books are to be found in the catalogue of books for Barbados.

Like his father, Jonas Browne was an auctioneer. Sales are known to have been held at his address, the Black Swan outside Temple Bar in the Strand, in October 1713 and August 1715, and more sales followed the Barbados catalogue.

46. Edwin Wolf 2nd, *The Library of James Logan of Philadelphia, 1674-1751* (Philadelphia: Library Company of Philadelphia, 1974), xli; for his auctions, see A. N. L. Munby and Lenore Coral, *British Book Sale Catalogues, 1676-1800: A Union List* (London: Mansell, 1977).

47. D. F. McKenzie, *Stationers' Company Apprentices, 1701-1800* (Oxford: Oxford Bibliographical Society, 1978), nos. 697, 1176.

48. David Foxon, *Pope and the Early Eighteenth Century Book Trade*, rev. and ed. James McLaverty (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 2-3.

In the first years of the eighteenth century, a catalogue such as Zouch's was not merely unusual.⁴⁹ It was pioneering. English booksellers were used to auction catalogues of old or second-hand books, which had been printed in London since 1676. They were also used to catalogues of books imported from continental Europe: during the 1670s and 1680s Robert Scott had dominated this market, and had relied heavily on printed catalogues. There were occasional auctions of imported books, organised by booksellers such as Paul Varenne or David Mortier. Since the spring of 1712 the bookseller Edmund Curll had been issuing catalogues of his own publications.⁵⁰ The retail catalogue, from which customers could choose, was somewhat less familiar. More particularly, no other catalogue of books for export from Britain at or even close to this time is known. This catalogue was an innovation in several respects.

Who was principally responsible for the choice of books offered in this catalogue? Was it Browne, the London bookseller able to draw on his own or his father's stock and on his knowledge of the trade, or Zouch, who was better able to judge the market in Bridgetown? Other London booksellers had already sent parcels of books to the North American colonies on consignment, that is, as speculations.⁵¹ There was a natural tendency in some of the consignment trade to lard it with slow sellers, and books with which the British book trade was over-supplied.⁵² Hugh Amory, in writing of the affairs of a small-scale bookseller in Boston at

49. Graham Pollard and Albert Ehrman, *The Distribution of Books by Catalogue from the Invention of Printing to A.D. 1800* (Cambridge: Roxburghe Club, 1965), remains the principal authority on British sales.

50. Paul Baines and Pat Rogers, *Edmund Curll, Bookseller* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 61.

51. For example, Awnsham and John Churchill sent books on consignment to Pennsylvania in 1699. Wolf, *The Library of James Logan*, xviii–xix.

52. For remarks on remainders, see Hugh Amory, 'Under the Exchange: The Unprofitable Business of Michael Perry, a Seventeenth-century Boston Bookseller,' in his *Bibliography and the Book Trades: Studies in the Print Culture of Early New England*, ed. David D. Hall (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005), 80–104, at 85. This article was originally published in *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 103 (1993):31–60.

the end of the seventeenth century, has remarked on the ways that colonial libraries—from the south to New England—were ‘so unexpectedly uniform.’⁵³ Zouch’s richly varied list, encompassing practical books, professional books, books of devotion, and books for leisure, and replete with the latest playbooks from the season’s London stage, seems to counter the evidence that has been found by Edwin Wolf, Richard Beale Davis, and others. It suggests a widely-read customer-base, as eager for the latest books from London as any customer in Britain. But how much it can be treated as more general evidence of colonial culture, whether in Barbados, in the West Indies, or the mainland colonies, depends on how far we believe Zouch was acting on what he knew, rather than dealing simply as a speculator, and how far he envisaged a trade beyond Barbados.

Like most other retail catalogues, no prices are included. Browne had mentioned only one price among the books listed in his 1714 catalogue appended to *The Mausoleum*, the writing-master Charles Snell’s *Guide for Book-Keepers*, sold for a shilling. Although the prices of new books were regularly advertised in London, both in the long-running term catalogues (which ended in 1711) and in the *Monthly Catalogue* from 1714 onwards, these were London prices.⁵⁴ They did not take into account any extra expenses incurred by booksellers in obtaining stock, and which could therefore be passed on to their customers, nor did they account—except occasionally—for more than the simplest of bindings. Variable prices were accepted, and it was obvious that the cost of transporting books several thousand miles must likewise add to their prices. The Zouch catalogue does not mention

53. Amory, ‘Under the Exchange,’ 87. See also Richard Beale Davis, *A Colonial South-ern Bookshelf: Reading in the Eighteenth Century* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1979) and Edwin Wolf 2nd, *The Book Culture of a Colonial American City: Philadelphia Books, Bookmen and Booksellers* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988).

54. Edward Arber (ed.), *The Term Catalogues, 1668–1709 A.D., with a number for Easter term, 1711*. 3 vols. (1903–6); *A Catalogue of All Books, Sermons, and Pamphlets . . . To Be Continued Monthly (The Monthly Catalogue)*, ed. David Foxon (London: Gregg, 1964). A facsimile of the 1714–17 edition.

whether his books were ready bound, or simply supplied in sheets, or perhaps stitched up but in only temporary paper covers. This was quite normal in book trade catalogues. The cost of binding would have added to the price, assuming that there was such skill available in Bridgetown or other destinations. For books sent on to the mainland colonies, there were more opportunities for customers to arrange their own binding.

So we come to the question of determining exactly when this catalogue was published. Thanks to the length of the voyage between England and Barbados, we have in effect two publication dates—one for London, and the other for Barbados, when the catalogue became operative. A London date can be established with some accuracy thanks to the contemporary trade literature. The first item in the 'Miscellanies' section is *A Catalogue of All Books Sermons and Pamphlets Published since April 1714*. No such title is now known, but in May 1714 the London bookseller Bernard Lintot commenced a *Monthly Catalogue*. The first issue contained six double-column pages in folio, priced at threepence. After the first issue it was expanded to eight pages, until Lintot was obliged to produce numbers covering two months rather than one, keeping the old title, however. The project foundered after the issue for March/April 1717. In addition to listing new books, the *Monthly Catalogue* included notices of proposals for works such as Alexander Pope's translation of Homer and Urry's edition of Chaucer.

In all such lists of new books it is hazardous to tie dates of entry to dates of publication. There can be many reasons for delay between actual publication and listing, including simple forgetfulness. The most important political events of 1715 were the rebellion of the Scots and the death of Louis XIV on September 1. Zouch's catalogue offers nothing about the Scots threat, which concluded for the present with their defeat in November, but it does contain *The Life and Reign of Lewis 14th Late King of France*, a work in which the curious could also read about his mistresses and his progeny both lawful and unlawful, as well as a copy of his

will and an account of his funeral. Listed in the *Monthly Catalogue* for October 1715, it was one of several contemporary publications on this subject.

Lintot's catalogue can be useful in dating the Zouch catalogue, but with caveats. A comparison with Lintot's *Monthly Catalogue* for September 1715 onwards reveals only a handful of books in both. In the issue for October–November 1715, they are Jonathan Richardson's *Essay on the Theory of Painting*, printed for John Churchill, and *Nature Display'd, Being a Plain and Easie Solution of the Difficulties Concerning the Divine Being and its Various Operations on the Human Systems*, printed for J. Roberts with 1716 on the title-page. John Perry's *State of Russia under the Present Czar*, published by Benjamin Tooke, is listed in the issue for December.⁵⁵ In January, the *Monthly Catalogue* listed two works that also appear in Zouch's list: John Gay's poem, *Trivia, or the Art of Walking the Streets of London*, and also a small book concerning the life and death of Thomas Tenison, Archbishop of Canterbury. As *Trivia* was published by Lintot on January 26, 1716—in both a subscribers' edition with engraved decorative plates and a trade edition—we might have expected it to be included fairly promptly.⁵⁶ How are we to explain its presence in the catalogue? While the independent evidence, both in the correspondence of Gay's friend Alexander Pope and in the trade, is unequivocal, one possible explanation is that Zouch was simply listing it because he was able to collect subscriptions for a book yet to be published. More difficult to explain away is the biography of Tenison, who died on December 14, 1715. His will was of particular importance to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, in whose fortunes he had taken a leading and formative interest, and especially for Barbados, which benefited substantially. The will, which was

55. This was entered in the printer's ledger on November 22; see *The Bowyer Ledgers*, ed. Keith Maslen and John Lancaster (Bibliographical Society and Bibliographical Society of America, 1991), no. 278.

56. John Gay, *Poetry and Prose*, ed. Vinton A. Dearing and Charles E. Beckwith, 2 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1974), 2:546. It was entered in the printer's ledger on January 19; see *Bowyer Ledgers*, ed. Maslen and Lancaster, no. 281.

also published separately in January by another bookseller, price sixpence, was not in Zouch's list. In fact, very few of the books recorded in the *Monthly Catalogue* for December 1715 and January 1716 figure in the Zouch list, perhaps reflecting the fact that most of the consignment had already been assembled by Jonas Browne in London.

To summarise: a comparison of the appearance of titles in Zouch's catalogue with the only trade list of a periodical kind available to us suggests that virtually all the consignment of books for Barbados was assembled in the late autumn of 1715—perhaps in time to make the journey before the winter—but the catalogue could not have been printed until early January 1716 at best.

Notwithstanding the statement on the title-page of the catalogue, by no means all the books were 'printed for' Browne. Whilst no doubt he could easily obtain everything listed, he had not invested in the publication of all of them even to the extent of agreeing to buy some copies on publication. The absence of his name from title-page imprints is less conclusive in demonstrating this (many books in the eighteenth century were shared by booksellers whose names were not printed) than the dates of publication. These may have been books in print and available new. But they were not necessarily newly published.

Although Barbados was facing a challenging period under its new governor Robert Lowther, the timing was propitious in other respects.⁵⁷ The end of the war of the Spanish Succession, and the subsequent Treaty of Utrecht signed on April 11, 1713, brought the chance of stability in international trade. In Britain, the unexpected death of Queen Anne on August 1, 1714 and the

57. For Lowther's disputes with others in the colony, see for example John E. Findling, 'The Lowther-Gordon controversy,' *Journal of the Barbados Museum and Historical Society* 34 (1971-4):131-44. For contemporary printed contributions, see William Gordon, *A Sermon Preach'd Before the Governor, Council & General Assembly of the Island of Barbados . . . 18 August 1716* [1717], with a long preface by Lowther; *The Barbados Packet . . . Giving an Account of the Most Material Transactions that have Lately Happened in a Certain Part of the West Indies* (1720). For more general remarks on the ecclesiastical, civil and military government of the colony, and on its agriculture and export trade, see [William Cleland], *The Present State of the Sugar Plantations Consider'd* (1713).

arrival on the throne of the new Hanoverian dynasty, marked an obvious time of change. In France, the death of Louis XIV, who had been on the throne since 1643, also marked the close of an era. Subsequent historians have described these events as initiating a transition from conquest to commerce.⁵⁸ On a practical level, changes such as security for ships and their cargoes affected the ways in which people thought and acted. But there were also smaller issues, not on such an international scale. The appearance in the winter of 1713–14 of White Kennett's *Bibliothecae Americae Primordiae. An Attempt towards Laying the Foundation of an American Library*, after a long delay resulting from the preparation of a complicated index, focused attention on the need for books of all kinds.⁵⁹ Kennett's purpose was to assemble and list a collection of books relating to the Americas, beginning with the twelfth century, and to provide historical support down to modern times.⁶⁰ Even so, as we might wonder how useful in Barbados was Edward Topsell's edition of Gesner's encyclopedic and endlessly fanciful *History of Four-Footed Beasts*, last published in 1658, it must be remembered that Zouch's catalogue provided a welcome chance for the trade to dispose of slow sellers, and to seek sales in a world where novelty was not the only criterion for publishing.

The Contents of the Catalogue

Remembering always that the catalogue does not claim to be a comprehensive account of Zouch's imported stock, it will be recalled that the title page also mentioned a 'great variety of books not contained in this catalogue.' It may be reasonably surmised that while there was no doubt an element of exaggeration, there

58. J. G. A. Pocock, *Barbarians, Savages and Empires*, vol. 4 of *Barbarism and Religion*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 297.

59. This was published on both ordinary and large paper. For Kennett's large paper copy given by him to Peterborough Cathedral, where he was dean from 1708 and then bishop from 1718 until his death in 1728, see Cambridge University Library Pet.Q.2.5.

60. Madoc ap Owen Gwyneth, Prince of North Wales, was said to have visited the West Indies in 1170, according to Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations, Voyages, and Discoveries* (1589), 506.

was at least something more than that it was not thought appropriate to list.

The catalogue is divided into fifteen parts with pagination, as follows:

- 3-6 Law
- 6-17 Miscellanies
- 18 Dictionaries
- 18-20 Ecclesiastical and civil history
- 20-21 Greek and Roman history
- 21 Voyages and travels
- 22 Geographical, astronomical, &c.
- 23-26 Divinity
- 26-27 Devotional
- 27-29 Philosophy, chemistry, physick and surgery
- 29-31 Poetry
- 31-33 Plays
- 33-34 Letters, novels and romances
- 34-35 Schoolbooks
- 35 Maps and prints

In all, the catalogue listed about a thousand titles. It was perhaps Browne's nascent interest in legal publishing, joined to Zouch's own legal background, that caused this subject to be given pride of place on the first pages of the catalogue. While some section titles lent themselves readily to their subjects, others did not. Nor was there any order within sections with respect to booksellers, date of publication, price, or author. In this random world, customers could thus discover Alexander Smith's *History of the Lives of the Most Notorious Highwaymen, Footpads, House-Breakers, Shop-Lifters and Cheats of Both Sexes* (1714) next to Pliny's *Natural History*. Edward Ward's *Adam and Eve Stript of their Furbelows; or, The Fashionable Virtues and Vices of Both Sexes Expos'd to Publick View* (July 1714, price 2s.6d.) was next to Sprat's *History of the Royal Society*. Volumes of coffee-house jests sat next to the *Lives of the Fathers*. If it is

tempting to see in this assortment some tendency towards the more practical books such as *The Gentleman Accomptant* or Charles Suell's *Accounts for Landed-men* or *The Compleat Horseman, or Perfect Farrier*. Rather, one notices that such books were listed on the same pages of the catalogue as Steele's *Gentleman's and Ladies Library*, Swift's *Tale of a Tub*, the works of Locke, Hobbes and Machiavelli, Montaigne's essays, Lady Chudleigh's essays (1710) and *The Dutch Fortune-Teller*. Next to Thomas and Roger Gale's scholarly edition of Antoninus on Roman Britain (1709) was Joseph Moxon's highly practical *Mechanick Exercises*, dealing with carpentry and joinery, and presumably in the most recent edition of 1703 where readers could also learn about brick-laying and the construction of sundials.

Volumes on modern architecture and landscape by Colen Campbell and Leonard Knyff described the practices of wealthy landowners in Britain. These were neither inexpensive nor even priced in the middle range of contemporary books. For example, the first volume of Campbell's *Vitruvius Britannicus*—a work that became a touchstone for English architectural taste in the first half of the eighteenth century—appeared in April 1715. Published by subscription, and initially offered in two volumes (the second produced in March 1717) with two hundred large engraved plates, it was available either on royal paper at three guineas, or on imperial paper at four guineas.⁶¹ Conceived on an ambitious scale and containing detailed architectural engravings of buildings broadly in the British Palladian tradition, it offered an up-to-the-minute view of taste. A third and final volume was published in 1725. There were also an otherwise unidentified two volumes of *Noblemen's Seats*, which may have referred to the first volumes of Knyff's bird's-eye views of noblemen's and gentlemen's large houses, *Britannia Illustrata* (1707 ff.).⁶² Thanks to its perspective

61. Advertisements in the *Post Boy*, June 1; the *Daily Courant*, June 25; and the *Monthly Catalogue*, June 1714.

62. Timothy Clayton, *The English Print, 1688–1802* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 52–54. For a discussion of architectural books in the American colonies, see *American Architects and their Books*, ed. Kenneth Hafertepe and James O'Gorman (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2001). The architectural and landscape

views, this much more ad hoc collection also gave information about the layout of gardens and estates. Was Zouch making a pitch for estate owners in Barbados—whose attention paid to their gardens, and particularly the trees, had been noticed by Labat?⁶³ How much Knyff and Campbell between them prompted plantation owners to reconsider their own estates or to plan for their return to England is perhaps a subject worth investigation elsewhere. More immediately, such books might have found a ready appeal on the American mainland.

The colony was fertile, had its indigenous fauna, and was suited to several familiar British crops, as well as others introduced from Africa, usually attributed to seeds that slaves brought with them. In the 1650s Richard Ligon had successfully grown seeds of cabbages, turnips, lettuces, and various herbs in Barbados and written enthusiastically about his achievement.⁶⁴ Crop cultivation for food was a vital part of the economy, as was the sugar crop, which dominated the island. However, increasing gentlemanly ambitions in some parts of the community brought further requirements and desires, often more suited to leisure than to everyday livelihood. The books imported in 1715 were, in many cases, more relevant to these pursuits than to the market economy. Gardening and landscape design had become a British passion, fully reflected in the assortment of books now placed before the expatriate estate owners: the 1706 folio edition of John Evelyn's *Sylva*, in which was included his *Kalendarium Hortense* (London) and Wyse's *Compleat Gard'ner* (an abridged adaptation in smaller format of Evelyn's translation of the French royal gardener de la Quintiniye, with editions dating from 1699); a translation of François Gentil's *Le Jardinier Solitaire*, the

books in the Library of William Byrd of Virginia by 1744 included Campbell's *Vitruvius Britannicus*, and *Britannia Illustrata*.

63. Labat, *Nouveau Voyage aux Isles de l'Amérique* 2:137.

64. Richard Ligon, *The True and Exact History of the Island of Barbados* (1657; Barbados National Trust, 2000). Several aspects of the relationships between colonies and home countries are discussed in *Colonial Botany: Science, Commerce, and Politics in the Early Modern World*, ed. Londa Schiebinger and Claudia Swan (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007).

Solitary or Carthusian Gard'ner, Being Dialogues Between a Gentleman and a Gard'ner (1706); Pierre Le Lorrain's *Curiosities of Nature and Art in Husbandry and Gardening* (1707); Stephen Switzer's *Nobleman, Gentleman and Gardener's Recreation* (1715, price 4s.); the architect John James's *Theory and Practice of Gardening* (a translation from A. J. Dezallier d'Argenville's work that introduced the ha-ha feature to English gardens, 1712), and, more generally, John Mortimer's much printed *Whole Art of Husbandry*. Books that developed the taste for French gardening and landscape that influenced English design in the first years of the eighteenth century were being exported at the same time to the West Indies.

Much of the existing literature on Barbados was concerned with its natural history, and it was customary for publications to combine it with Jamaica and some of the other islands. Richard Blome's *Description of the Island of Jamaica*, including accounts of the other British islands, had appeared in 1672 and then again in 1678. Botanical investigations such as those of Sir Hans Sloane resulted in significant publications. In 1696 Sloane published his ground-breaking *Catalogus plantarum quae in insula Jamaica sponte proveniunt*, adding information on Madeira, Nevis, St. Christopher and Barbados. This was a 232-page book in octavo. In it, Sloane drew together the existing literature, adding to it his own accurate and fresh observations, and as a result rationalized much that had become confused. It laid the foundations of much subsequent botany. Then—and this time in folio—in 1707 there appeared the first volume of Sloane's long-planned *Voyage to the Islands Madera, Barbadoes, Nieves, S. Christophers and Jamaica: With the Natural History of the Herbs And Trees, Four-Footed Beasts, Fishes, Birds, Insects, Reptiles, &c. of the Last of Those Islands*. Copiously illustrated with plates often showing the specimens actual size, it also includes miscellaneous information on living conditions and other practical matters; the second volume was published in 1725. Sloane's work has dominated the literature on the West Indies

ever since.⁶⁵ An English translation of the work of Pierre Pomet, *A Compleat History of Drugs* (1712), included a long account of the cultivation of sugar-cane. This was published by subscription in two quarto volumes, and Daniel Browne was among the many booksellers named.⁶⁶

Practical books on seamanship and navigation were strongly represented in the catalogue. They included James Hodgson, *The Theory of Navigation Demonstrated* (printed by Ichabod Dawks for Richard Mount and Co.), James Atkinson's *Epitome of the Art of Navigation* (1708, and just republished by Mount in 1715), the anonymous duodecimo *Military and Sea Dictionary* (4th ed. of 1711, including 'the new exercise of firelocks and bayonets'), and Henry Wilson's *Navigation New-modell'd* (published in July 1715 for 6s.). Again, not all maritime books were recently published: John Aspley's *Speculum Nauticum, A Looking-Glass for Sea-men*, had been last published in its ninth edition in 1678, but by 1716 had been overtaken by more recent work by John Seller, Matthew Norwood, and others.

For use on shore, customers were offered at least one book that, however recently published, must have seemed an odd choice: *Fires Improv'd, Being an New Method of Building Chimneys, so as to Prevent their Smoaking*. Published by John Senex and Edmund Curll in August 1715, it was translated and adapted by J. T. Desaguliers from the French of Nicolas Gauger. It suggested an ingenious method of gaining as much from fires as possible by not wasting their heat, and instead directing heat where it was most wanted, even into bed. Why such a book, written for France, should have been thought necessary in the tropics is not clear. More obviously practical, were copies of Philippe de la Hire's

65. *Sir Hans Sloane: Collector, Scientist, Antiquary, Founding Father of the British Museum*, ed. Arthur MacGregor (London: British Museum Press, 1994).

66. The list of subscribers included one from the West Indies, Dr. Charnock in Jamaica. The addresses and occupations of several other subscribers suggest that this book found a wide interest among those whose work took them overseas.

Gnomoniques, or the art of shadows improv'd . . . in the drawing of sundials, translated by John Leeke (2nd ed., published by Joseph Moxon in 1693). There were many volumes of Robert Boyle on chemistry and related subjects.⁶⁷

Quite apart from a substantial selection of books on medicine and surgery, including both advanced studies and such basic essentials as Chamberlain on midwifery, there were other books that can be broadly classified as useful for families. Many of them were well-established titles, part of the ordinary reading expected for women. Fénelon's well-known *Instructions for the Education of a Daughter* had been most recently printed in 1713. The Marquis of Halifax's *Ladies New Year's Gift; or Advice to a Daughter*, originally printed in 1688, appeared in a new edition in 1716. Mme Scudéry's *The Female Orators, or the Courage and Constancy of Divers Famous Queens and Illustrious Women* had appeared in 1714. *The Ladies Library* appeared in three volumes in the same year, its publication shared partly by J. Brown at the Black Swan. Richard Allestree's *The Ladies Calling*, first published at Oxford in 1673, had been most recently printed in 1713.

Literature in a different vein, and by no means primarily for women, included a work derived from Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, *Memoirs of Fairy Land. Written above an Hundred Years Ago, Now First Translated from the Original Legends of Eutopia* (printed for J. Roberts in 1716), attributed to Colin Clout. Despite its title, *A Tale of a Swan + A Tale Concerning a Swan; How that Swan Did Swim; and Several Other Matters fit for Babes to Hear, Know, and be Instructed in. To be Told by Nurses to Their Children When They Teach Them to Speak*, was a sixpenny political pamphlet and not for children.

The dominant language in Barbados was English. There was a Dutch community in Bridgetown; on his visit in 1700, Father Labat frequently remarked on the familiarity with the French

67. For many aspects of scientific activity and communication in the early eighteenth century, see Raymond Phineas Stearns, *Science in the British Colonies of America* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1970), and for early eighteenth-century Barbados, see 350-56.

language of his hosts and their households. This knowledge of French reflected both the island's proximity to French colonies and the experiences of its residents in Europe. A handful of French titles, but none in Portuguese or Spanish, were included in Zouch's catalogue. Claude Mauger's long-established French grammar, which had reached its twenty-second edition by 1714, is a rare exception, along with French and English dictionaries by Abel Boyer and Guy Miège. The Boyer work was probably his *Royal Dictionary Abridged* (third edition). 'Carefully corrected and improv'd with above two thousand words, extracted out of the most approved authors,' its 1715 publication and profits were shared between Daniel and Jonas Browne and about twenty others.

Poets were well represented. Heading the contemporary names that are now remembered was Alexander Pope (*Windsor Forest*; *Essay on Criticism* [1711]; *The Rape of the Lock*). The first four books of his translation of the *Iliad* were published in June 1715. Jonathan Swift's *Miscellanies in Prose and Verse* had appeared in 1711, and John Gay's brand-new *Art of walking the streets of London* has been mentioned above. Matthew Prior's *Poems on Several Occasions* had been published in 1707 in an unauthorized edition, and then legitimately in editions from 1709 onwards. Lady Chudleigh's *Poems on Several Occasions*, originally published by Lintot in 1703 and followed by a new edition in 1709, was reissued in 1713 in an attempt to clear sales. Zouch also offered *Essays on Several Subjects in Verse and Prose* (1710).

The volumes of poetry appear to have been selected to keep customers up to date with London fashion with many 1715 imprints. The ballad collection, *A Pill to Purge State-melancholy* had been published at the start of the year 1715. Other poems published for the first time that year included Mr. Preston's *Aesop at the Bear-Garden* (March), Lewis Theobald's *Cave of Poverty* (March; printed for Jonas Browne and sold by Roberts) and Edward Ward's *England's Reformation* (April), one of several works in Zouch's list by this prolific author. *The Miller of Trumpington*.

- Vaugon's* Compleat Body of Surgery
 The Last Will and Testament of *Basill Valentine*
Basil Valentine of natural and Supernatural Things,
 with the Secrets of Antimony
 The Triumphant Chariot of Antimony
Salmon's English Physician, or Druggitt Shop open'd
 — His Family Dictionary or Household Com-
 panion
Salmon's Bates Dispensary
 — His Anatomy of Humane Bodies
 — His Supplement to the New *London* Dipen-
 satory
Boerhaave's Institution in Physick, by which the Prin-
 ciples and Fundamentals of that Art are digested
 and explained, as they relate to Theory and
 Practice, being a Compleat System of all necessa-
 ry to be known in the Practice of Physick
 by *Dr. Boerhaave*
 Experimental and Natural Philology, by *Rob. Boyle*,
 2 Vol.
Boyle's Experiments touching Cold
 — His Experiments of the Air and its Effects
Boyle's Medicinal Experiments
 — Usefulness of Natural Philosophy
 — Physiological Essays, &c.
 — *Tentamina quaedam Physiologica*, &c.
 — Of Colours
 — Their Experiments on the Joy *Nucleus*, &c.
 — Things above Reason
 — Hydrostatical Paradoxes
 — Occasional Reflections
 — Medicinal Experiments
 — Of Humane Blood
 — Origine of *Fevers* and Qualities
 — About the Origine and Vertues of Gems
 — *Experimenta & Obser. Physica*
Bolton's Surgery
 Light to Alchemy

Wilson's

- Wilson's* Chymistry
Colloquia Chirurgicalia, or Art of Surgery
Wilson's Surgery
Remedeus's Dispensatory
Le Febré's Chymistry
Coke's Marrow of Surgery
 Queen's Closet open'd

P O E T R Y.

- T**Ryal of Wit, by *John Lacy*, Esq;
Esq's Verses at the last publick Commence-
 ment at *Cambridge*
 A Poem presented to *K. George* upon his Accession
 to the Throne, by *Mrs. Cantilour*
Homer's Iliad, the 1st Book Translated by *Mr. Tabbill*
Clarendon, Address'd to the Earl of *Cire*
Windsor-Forrest, by *Mr. Pope*
 An Ode on the Death of the Queen *Anne*
 On the late Queen's Death, and his Majesty's Ac-
 cession to the Throne, by *Mr. Young*
 Cave of Poverty, by *Mr. Theobald*
Elpis at the *Bear-Garden*, by *Mr. Preston*
 Fables Ancient and Modern, by *Mr. Dryden*
 The *Iliad* of *Homer*, Translated by *Mr. Pope*
 The Art of English Poetry, by *E. Bysshe*, 4 Vol.
Hudibras Redivivus, or a Burlesque Poem on the
 Times
Cowley's Works Compleat, 3 Vol.
Greeth's Lucretius, 2 Vol. with Notes
 The History of *Joseph*, by *W. Ross*
 Poems on several Occasions, by *Smith*
Dryden's Virgil
 Poems on several Occasions, with the Song of the
 Children paraphras'd, by the *Lady Chudleigh*
 ? *Ozid's*

Figure 2. An opening (pages 28 and 29) showing the end of the list of titles in science and medicine and the beginning of a group of literary selections including poetry and drama prepared for shipment to Arthur Zouch in Barbados. Courtesy, Trinity College, Cambridge.

Being an Exercise upon Chaucer's Reeve's Tale had been published by Jonas Browne in May (one shilling). The anonymous *Evening Thought* had appeared in June, and John Henley's *History of Queen Esther*⁶⁸ and Thomas Tooly's *Homer in a Nut-shell: or, the Iliad of Homer in Immortal Doggrel. By Nickydemus Ninnyhammer* (July). The makeshift *New Collection of Miscellany Poems for 1715* had been printed for G. Davis, and sold by E. Lewis. Quality apparently mattered less than novelty, and in their formats these books ranged from folio to a meanly printed duodecimo.

But there was also a taste for earlier poets and playwrights: Spenser's *Faerie Queene* held an established place in the canon unchallenged by the other late Elizabethans save for Shakespeare himself. Among seventeenth-century authors were John Suckling, John Milton, Abraham Cowley and Samuel Butler (*Hudibras*). Most of all there was John Dryden, now fifteen years dead, whose *Fables* and collected plays sat beside his translation of Virgil as well as separate editions of his poems *Absalom and Achitophel*, *The Hind and the Panther*, and *The Medal* (1709). The edition of Shakespeare on offer seems to have been that by Nicholas Rowe in nine volumes (1714): Congreve's edition of the poems (July 1715), was not listed. Drama seems to have been thought as saleable as poetry: there were collections of plays by Congreve, Beaumont and Fletcher, Farquhar (Lintot, March 1715), Behn, Southorne (Lintot, March 1715), Wycherley, Otway (1712), and Molière (6 vols., Lintot, September 1715). Again, the number of recent issues on the list suggests that novelty was important.

68. The fuller title was John Henley, *The History of Queen Esther. A Poem in Four Books Wherein is Describ'd, I. The Grandeur of the Persian Empire, and the Succession of its Emperors, from Cyrus down to Xerxes: The Character of Vashti his Empress. His Entertainment of the Nobles, and the Manner of Sacrificing to their God the Sun. II. Queen Esther's Appearance at Court, and how she came to be settled in Persia. The wretched State of the Jews, during their Captivity in Syria. The good Offices of Mordecai to Esther: Her Beauty, and other Perfections, describ'd. III. Esther's Gratitude to Mordecai; His Character and Advancement. The approaching Danger of Him and the Jews, by the Rise of Haman. His Character, and how by a false Misrepresentation, he gains an Order for the Destruction of all the Jews in Persia. IV. The Distress of the Jews; Mordecai's Concern for them. Esther at his Request intercedes with the Emperor in their behalf. Haman conspires his Death; his Villany detected, and his Execution on the Gibbet which he erected for Mordecai.* Henley was described as B.A. of St. John's College, Cambridge.

The taste for theatrical entertainment in Barbados and the West Indies colonies is well attested. In Jamaica there was a theater by about 1682.⁶⁹ Zouch was ready to meet a demand established to at least some extent, with a stock that otherwise seems surprisingly contemporary. Amongst several dozen plays 'Printed in Twelves with a neat Elziver Letter, and Cutts' were some of the latest. Cheap editions of new plays available separately after première performances at the Lincoln's Inn Fields Theatre in 1715 included *The Slip* (performed and published in February) *Love in a Sack* (performed in June; published in July), *Woman's Revenge, or a March in Newgate* (performed in October; published in November), *Wit at a Pinch* (performed in October; published in December), and *The Cobbler of Preston* (staged in January 1716 and advertised in the February 1716 *Monthly Catalogue*).⁷⁰ There were about twice as many comedies as tragedies. The taste for revivals and reinterpretations of classical themes in tragedies, seen elsewhere in the catalogue in contemporary poetry and in translations from prose authors, was especially marked: Ajax, Cato, Alexander, Electra (a translation), Diocletian, and Manlius Capitolinus, the fourth-century military hero, all figured. It is worth remark that only in the section on plays did Zouch make any comment about the appearance of his books. This was partly because no other subject was presented in so uniform a way or, in other words, was so consistently packaged for its intended market. The small formats, fashionable type (the 'neat Elziver Letter,') and illustration (the 'Cutts') were all important ways in which the book trade both led and reflected taste.⁷¹

69. Welch, *Slave Society in the City*, 138, quoting Karl Watson, *The Civilized Island: Barbados* (Barbados: Caribbean Graphic, 1979), 114-16, and Errol Hill, *The Jamaican Stage, 1655-1900: Profile of a Colonial Theatre* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1992), 19-20.

70. Details of performances are taken from Emmett L. Avery, *The London Stage, 1660-1800: A Calendar of Plays, Entertainments and Afterpieces. pt. 2, 1700-1729* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1960).

71. Cf. Edmund Smith, *Works*, 'printed on a fine paper, and Elzevir letter,' 1714; John Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes* 1 (1812), 79. Edmund Curll used the same term in 1712 to advertise his pocket edition of Petronius. Baines and Rogers, *Edmund Curll*, 61.

Imaginary prose included old-fashioned romances such as *Cassandra* and *Cleopatra*, originally published in 1652. Mateo Alemán's *Guzman d'Alfarache, or the Spanish Rogue* had been most recently printed in English in 1707–8. There were translations of the poet Paul Scarron and *Gil Blas*. Fresh editions of the *Arabian Nights* that had appeared in 1713 and 1715 and of Behn's novels in 1705 were listed along with the more recent *The Adventures of Rivella*—a conversation claiming to be by Sir Charles Lovemore but more usually attributed to Delarivière Manley (summer 1714)—and the *Court of Atlantis* printed for Roberts probably in the same year.

Not everything was for adult audiences, although, somewhat misleadingly, the section headed 'School books' opened with 'Bibles, Common Prayers and Testaments of several Sorts and Sizes, some richly Bound.' However, the listing of 'Psalters, Primmers and Horn-Books' is in a combination that hints at the structure of the curriculum for beginning readers. Along with some unidentified spelling books and catechisms were the standard fare of classical learning—grammars by Lily and by Edward Leedes, Corderius, Phaedrux, and books on parsing (or, as it was described here, 'posing'). The new elementary school founded under the will of Henry Drax and opened in 1695 would have made use of several of these books.⁷² A small assortment of maps and prints on the last page listed the heads of illustrious men and concluded with 'all sorts of Globes.' While this provides a suitably geographical coda, it is also a perfunctory one. The London print trade had much more to offer than portraits, pictures of Oxford and Cambridge colleges—perhaps Loggan's—and public buildings, as well as 'all sorts of Scripture Stories and Drolls,' and pictures of public buildings. There was, for example, nothing

72. Henry Drax left money in 1682 to provide for a free school, mainly to educate poor whites and prepare them for lesser management positions on the sugar plantations. The school was opened for teaching in 1695 under a schoolmaster named Allen. He was followed in December 1695 by the Reverend James Hull, who was appointed by St. Michael's vestry. See Keith A. P. Sandiford and Earle H. Newton, *Combermere School and the Barbadian Society* (Kingston: University of the West Indies, 1995), 1–4.

here of the wealth of engraved images available in London of natural history, nothing of mythology, and no historical scenes.⁷³

‘What’s new?’ a reader looking simply for distraction or pleasure might ask of a bookseller. Zouch went some way towards answering such an appeal. A further question is: ‘What did he *not* offer?’ While this list of books was evidently designed for comfortable as well as practical living—with books for the library and parlor as well as books to manage business and help in skilled occupations—it offers no indication that any of them were unduly lavish.

Zouch gives few details of formats, and as the books are listed within their subject sections in random order, it is impossible to guess whether, when it might have been possible, he could offer a choice between a modest or grander edition. Titles such as *Vitruvius Britannicus* and Sloane’s *Natural History* were among only a small number of expensive books that were noted. Could there have been more? For example, when he listed Beveridge’s devotional stand-bys, *The Great Necessity and Advantage of Publick Prayer and Frequent Communion*, which appeared in both octavo and duodecimo editions in 1714, and the two-volume, *Private Thoughts upon Religion*, he specified two editions, one ‘a smaller print and cheaper.’ But that was the exception. Pope’s translation of the *Iliad*, for example, was published in both quarto and folio. Likewise, Samuel Garth’s poem *Claremont*, a celebration of landscape gardening set at the Earl of Clare’s country house at Esher in Surrey was printed for Tonson in folio and for James Roberts in octavo. The two editions followed each other in quick succession in early summer 1715, but in neither instance does Zouch specify which he had.⁷⁴

73. Clayton, *The English Print*, provides a broader conspectus of the range of choice available in London at this time.

74. For these and other poems, see David Foxon, *English Verse 1701–1750*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975). It should also be pointed out that, later in life, Zouch held property at Esher.

Some titles and subjects are surprising for their absence from Zouch's catalogue. No book published for the first time in 1715 was to become more famous than Isaac Watts's *Divine Songs*, a collection primarily addressed for the use of children and including verses that have won an established place in popular memory.⁷⁵ In a list otherwise so strong in legal books, it is surprising not to find Edmund Gibson's recent study of the laws of the Church of England, *Codex Juris Ecclesiastici Anglicanae* (1713). For a catalogue aimed so directly at a general audience, it is no great wonder that we do not find Isaac Newton or major editions of Greek and Roman classics. The thin representation of astronomy is more remarkable, although Zouch did offer William Whiston's lectures on the subject published in summer 1715. There was next to no music, the *Newest Country Dances* and five volumes of Henry Playford's collection of songs, *Wit and Mirth, or Pills to Purge Melancholy*, being rare exceptions. It may be dangerous to be categorical about at least some of these and other absences. While he would no doubt have listed the more important titles (and there is little of the very cheapest literature—costing only threepence or sixpence), Zouch was careful to encourage enquiries for books not listed—or, as his title-page put it, the 'great variety of Books not contained in this Catalogue.' He did not indicate whether such unlisted books were available from stock or could be specially ordered from London. Perhaps both alternatives were possible.

To summarize, after what is inevitably a very selective overview of a catalogue of about a thousand titles, the shipment provided by Jonas Browne for Zouch sought to provide both reading for recreation and reading according to practical need.⁷⁶ It answered daily skills, from navigation to surgery to building. The legal needs of Barbados and the other colonies were fully acknowledged in about

75. For example, 'Let dogs delight to bark and bite, For God has made them so,' and 'How doth the little busy bee Improve each shining hour.'

76. The actual number is unclear, as the catalogue includes a few summaries such as, 'Several dozen of single sermons.'

ninety books on this subject, while theological, ecclesiastical, and devotional needs were addressed with the larger volumes of standard literature, dozens of printed sermons, and the cheap popular books for lay devotion, as well as Bibles, catechisms and prayer books. We do not know whether the supply of schoolbooks was intended to encourage better arrangements for education or was a reflection of what Zouch had learned over the past two or three years in public office. In issues such as these, the question must remain open as to how far the selection of books was made by Browne, in London, and how much by Zouch, in Barbados. Perhaps the most likely explanation is that it was a combination of the two, Zouch suggesting areas of interest and some specific titles, and Browne expanding the list in this spirit.

It is important also to recognise what this catalogue was not. Zouch was not in a position to offer subscriptions to the journals that were a growing part of publishing. The few examples of periodicals that he had were old, such as the newspaper accounts of the death of Queen Anne in the previous year and collected reprints of the *Tatler*, *Spectator*, and *Guardian*. By 1715, London had a thriving newspaper trade, including the *London Gazette*, the *Daily Courant*, the *Post-Boy*, the *Evening Post*, and *St. James's Evening Post*, the last launched as recently as June 1715. There is no sign that Zouch was planning to challenge any existing means of satisfying the colonial thirst for news, which presumably was supplied by the ships of ordinary merchantmen as well as incidentally by the Navy. Second, the catalogue's theology was Anglican. There was little here that could be said to be addressed to a specifically nonconformist clientele, nor is it surprising that, given the widespread hostility to Quakers in the West Indies, there was nothing specifically addressed to those interests.⁷⁷ There was, of

77. P. F. Campbell, *The Church in Barbados in the Seventeenth Century* (St. Michael: Barbados Museum and Historical Society, 1982), 71–5; Harriet F. Durham, 'Laws of Barbados directed at Quakers, 1676–1723,' *Journal of the Barbados Museum and Historical Society* 34 (1971–4), 73–76; Welch, *Slave Society in the City*, 119–20. For a fuller assessment of a single year, see Larry Greg and James McDonald, 'The Quaker community on Barbados in 1680,' *Journal of the Barbados Museum and Historical Society* 52 (2006): 83–108.

course, nothing intended for Roman Catholics. Third, although there were representative examples, there was little evidence of the thriving trade in everyday pamphlet literature on contemporary British politics, but this may have formed part of the stock that the catalogue did not list. Fourth—and again perhaps considered not worth listing—there was little for less-educated readers, such as chapbooks, ballads, or the cheaper tracts, of which such large quantities were produced and subsequently lost to history.⁷⁸ As a result, we can learn nothing about possible reading by the black population, both free and enslaved—who formed the overwhelming majority of the Barbados population. Nor does the catalogue suggest distinctions in the reading habits of those possessing substantial property and the indentured servants on whom they partly relied. It was a collection of books for established readers, not for the encouragement of literacy or for religious mission.⁷⁹ Finally, it is a catalogue of the London trade, lacking imports from continental Europe, on which Britain still depended for much learned publishing in the classics, mathematics, philosophy and the natural sciences.

So, while we are brought a long way forward in what we know, we still only have a partial answer to the question of what was read in early eighteenth-century Barbados. The catalogue offers a wealth of specific detail about which books were available in Barbados and the British West Indies in the second decade of the eighteenth century. This document is both much earlier than anything similar for the British export trade to this area and to the north, and also of a kind quite different from those otherwise available to us. Yet, we can still only speculate about what was intended for women, let alone bought for or by them. We have no information here about the extent to which the books found their

78. Margaret Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories: Popular Fiction and its Readership in Seventeenth-Century England* (London: Methuen, 1981).

79. For local hostility towards converting slaves to Christianity, see, for example, Susan Dwyer Amussen, *Caribbean Exchanges: Slavery and the Transformation of English Society, 1640–1700* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 114–16, and for indentured servitude, 123–29; and Beckles, *White Servitude*.

primary market in Bridgetown, rather than in the planters' houses in the countryside, let alone the extent of re-export. The 1680 census had identified 351 English households in Bridgetown, and 231 married couples.⁸⁰ Were such households more likely than others to buy books? In their occasional mention of books, the surviving wills, to which I alluded earlier, provide only a fragmentary picture of the patterns of book ownership.

Beyond Barbados

It is now time to speculate a little. Statistically, the catalogue looks anomalous. In an island with a population of about 6,500 who could be described as of book-buying age, i.e. in their wage-earning adulthood, the catalogue offered about one title for each 6.5 people. But the number of people who actually bought books, even occasionally, will have been very much lower. Most people do not buy books, and there is no reason to think that Barbados was unusual in its appetite. In other words, the catalogue looks like over-supply if it was intended just for the island. For a catalogue that seems so straightforward, exactly what kind of evidence does it provide? It tells us nothing of its intended audience. We do not even know who paid for the stock, or what terms of credit were granted to Zouch. It is a catalogue assembled in London not, so far as can be seen, in response to any extended agenda deriving from requests sent from Barbados itself. Zouch's earlier experience was as a legal officer, not as one who was obviously informed about the more enthusiastic readers in the colony. It is an ambitious list. In itself, it suggests a high degree of interest, and a wish to indulge, in publications dating from the mid-seventeenth century, and particularly in more recent ones. But it does not tell us how many families or plantation-owners or managers took even the mildest interest in reading. Such evidence as we have from wills does not suggest a widespread demand, still less a deep one. When we place the evidence already mentioned, of other household

80. Dunn, 'The Barbados Census of 1680.'

goods, including a keenness to be abreast of London fashions and tastes, alongside Zouch's list, we are faced with a document that is both contradictory and confirmatory. It is contradictory in its sheer size. As a commercial speculation the range of books said to be held in Bridgetown suggests much more than was needed just by the population of Barbados. It was bold, either foolhardy or intended for an additional purpose.

An examination of some further aspects of the early eighteenth century book trade in Barbados itself, in the British West Indies, and in some of the colonies of British North America suggests contexts for Zouch's activities. It is likely that Zouch was seeking much more than a solely Barbadian market. The documents used in the following discussion do not figure in the obvious recent accounts of the North American book trade, yet they offer a wealth of information concerning book ownership and the perceptions of some of those in Britain who sought to shape the colonies in ways they believed were for the best.

There is no evidence that the books all remained in Barbados, or indeed that they were only intended for the local trade. Bridgetown was a major entrepôt for other islands in the West Indies, and for many of the east coast colonies.⁸¹ The slave ships that called first at Barbados after the transatlantic crossing from West Africa continued their voyages to Jamaica and to the mainland of North America. As a consequence, it is at least possible that we witness in this catalogue, and in Zouch's stock, books that were also intended, or at least contemplated, for other British possessions in the West Indies, and even for the colonies of the Chesapeake and Delaware rivers, and perhaps further north.

Just as much of the ordinary trade in the British West Indies was closely linked to the colonies on the east coast of mainland North America, so too was the trade in books. The natural tendency of most people who have worked on the history of the book is to treat the two parts of the world separately. There are many studies

81. Steele, *The English Atlantic*; Welch, *Slave Society in the City*, 60-62.

of book ownership in the southern states in the colonial period, and there are some concerning the British West Indies,⁸² but the two areas need to be considered together, both in discussing the book trades and in discussing book ownership. The celebrated case of the water-damaged shipment of Dutch-printed English Bibles received by the Boston bookseller John Usher in 1675 is a reminder of this northerly onward trade: the books had been shipped to him via Barbados.⁸³ In 1688 a shipment of two dozen Bibles is also recorded as having arrived in Boston via Barbados. While it may be guessed that this was not unusual, surviving accounts of shipping and other records are far from comprehensive.⁸⁴ Virginia received mail from London through Barbados as well as through the northern ports. Trading between Barbados and the southern colonies of North America was especially close, not least because Barbados, an economy based so much on sugar, depended on imports for much of its food and timber. Personal links were also strong: many of the early settlers of the Carolinas in particular having left Barbados as the island became overcrowded in the seventeenth century.⁸⁵ Settlers in Virginia turned to Barbados for slaves, sugar, rum, molasses, and occasional other supplies including chocolate and oranges.⁸⁶

82. See, for example, Charles T. Laughler, *Thomas Bray's Grand Design: Libraries of the Church of England in America, 1695-1785* (Chicago: American Library Association, 1973); Davis, *A Colonial Southern Bookshelf*. In *The Colonial Book in the Atlantic World*, ed. Hall and Amory, most essays concentrate on supplies obtained through the northern routes. The chapter by Calhoun Winton, 'The Southern Book Trade in the Eighteenth Century' (224-46) is concerned with a later period than that under discussion here.

83. Worthington C. Ford, *The Boston Book Market, 1679-1700* (Boston: Club of Odd Volumes, 1917), 8; Hugh Amory, 'British Books Abroad: The American Colonies,' in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, vol. 4, 1557-1695, ed. John Barnard, D. F. McKenzie and Maureen Bell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002) 44-52, at 52.

84. Raven, 'The export of books to colonial North America,' note 43, draws attention to the further work needed.

85. McCusker and Menard, *The Economy of British America*. See also Dunn, 'The Barbados census of 1680,' 29.

86. See for example *The Correspondence of the Three William Byrds of Westover, Virginia, 1684-1776*, ed. Marion Tinling 2 vols (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1977), 50-51, 75, 89, 137, 147; Kevin J. Hayes, *The Library of William Byrd of Westover* (Madison: Madison House, 1997) offers disappointingly little detail on the means by which the Byrds assembled their exceptional library.

This said, it should be no surprise that the trading figures for books varied so much from year to year. Statistically, some of the figures involved were very small. More notably, books are to a very large extent luxury objects. Their supply depends both on the availability of spare cash and also on the willingness or trading instincts of a bookseller. Nonetheless, when we compare the West Indies figures with the other parts of what was called the Western trade, we find that in three (1702, 1704, 1706) of the thirteen years between 1701 and 1715 for which we have records, more books were sent from Britain to the West Indies than direct to all the North American colonies combined. In seven of those years, Barbados alone handled more than did the colonies of Virginia and Maryland. This does not necessarily mean that all these books remained in Barbados.

The missionary societies and the trade in books

Apart from customs and other shipping records and the vagaries of their survival and their detail, the papers of the two main British missionary societies describe the distribution of books. The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK) was founded in 1699, and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) in 1701. Though the latter was more obviously missionary in its purposes, in many respects the two societies were in competition with each other. The name of Thomas Bray, a leading figure in the history of the SPCK is well known, and his work in establishing libraries in the colonies has attracted attention. But the records of these two societies remain to be properly explored for the considerable details that they provide of books exported, sometimes in bulk, to the West Indies and North American colonies. The following is offered as a partial context to the West Indies imports, and further work is likely to be rewarding.

The SPG concentrated its efforts on the North American colonies and on the British West Indies.⁸⁷ Chaplains were sent out

87. H. P. Thompson, *Into All Lands: The History of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1701-1950* (London: S.P.C.K., 1951).

both to the new settlements and to the longer-established towns, and collections of books were provided to supplement their calling. Whilst these collections contained a high proportion of books suitable to missionary work, there was an admixture of more secular subjects, for the society was keen that its missionaries should have some broader knowledge.

In Barbados, the Society's affairs after 1710 were dominated by the legal and practical details of establishing a college following the death of Christopher Codrington in that year, and of ensuring that his sugar plantations continued to provide an income.⁸⁸ The college named after him was opened only in 1745. Whilst the first need was for construction materials, the purpose of the college implied also a library, and benefactors came forward early. Some of the gifts were in money, to buy books: Colonel William Codrington, executor of Christopher Codrington (d. 1710) gave hope of a very large sum.⁸⁹ Another gave £5.⁹⁰ Other gifts were in kind, such as that of Thomas Tenison, archbishop of Canterbury, who presented the six volumes of Walton's polyglot Bible (1656–57), Samuel Purchas's *Purchas his Pilgrims* in five volumes, the most recent edition of Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*, a copy of Thomas Aquinas's *Summa Theologiae*, and the three volumes of John Ray's *Historia Plantarum* (1686–1704). These were large folios, books for a library, rather than for casual everyday use.⁹¹ Another benefactor, Judge Dudley Woodbridge, had more ambitious schemes, and

88. Scott Mandelbrote, 'The vision of Christopher Codrington,' in *All Souls under the Ancien Régime: Politics, Learning, and the Arts, c.1600–1850*, ed. S. J. D. Green and Peregrine Horden (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 132–74.

89. St. George Ashe, *A Sermon Preached before the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel . . . 18th of February 1714* (1715), 69; *Codrington chronicle: an experiment in Anglican altruism on a Barbados plantation, 1710–1834*, ed. Frank J. Klingberg (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1949), 127; Mandelbrote, 'The vision of Christopher Codrington,'

90. Edward Parry. See Ashe, *A Sermon*, 70.

91. *Codrington Chronicle*, ed. Klingberg, 28–29; *An Abstract of the Proceedings of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel . . . 1715* (1716), 34. For Tenison, see Edward Carpenter, *Thomas Tenison, Archbishop of Canterbury: His Life And Times* (London: S.P.C.K., 1948).

helped plan a catalogue of books collected in England that was to help encourage further donations for the college library.⁹² By no means did all these plans become realities. Woodbridge's catalogue seems never to have been printed, but on the death of John Smalridge in 1732 a catalogue was made of the library, although the building was still not complete and would not be opened until a few years later. This list was naturally overwhelmingly theological, but among the smattering of books on other subjects were works including James Drake and James Keill on anatomy, John Mortimer on husbandry, abridgements of the laws of the British colonies in the West Indies and North America, and literature including Cicero, Ben Jonson and Abraham Cowley.⁹³

Meanwhile, in 1707 the chaplain appointed to the island was Charles Cunningham. In January 1707/8 the SPG shipped out to Cunningham the core of a working theological library, consisting of twenty-three titles, some published very recently and some slightly older.⁹⁴ The total value was £10.0s.6d., and to this was added an unspecified parcel of tracts for more general distribution, valued at £5. The purpose of the collection was to provide the new chaplain with the resources to support the doctrines of the Established Church. It can be assumed that he had also the basics of any parochial collection, the Bible, the Book of Common Prayer, and the Book of Homilies.

The books sent to Cunningham, listed below, were single copies for the library. The society's strict accounting regime meant that a price, presumably that paid by the society, was attached to each one. It must be assumed that the books were bound, usually in sheep or the slightly more expensive plain calf, but there is no indication of what proportion of the price this represented.⁹⁵

92. Ashe, *A Sermon*, 70.

93. Rhodes House Library, USPG papers C/WIN/BAR 11, no. 135.

94. Rhodes House Library, USPG papers X.753, p. 134.

95. As bibliographical details are not given in the list, those most probably relevant have been supplied here.

William Burkitt

Expository notes, with practical observations, on the New-Testament.

3rd ed.

F°. For Thomas Parkhurst and Jonathan Robinson, 1707. £1.5s.

John Tillotson

Works . . . containing fifty four sermons and discourses. 5th ed.

F°. For B. Aylmer and W. Rogers, 1707. 18s.

Laurence Eachard.

A general ecclesiastical history . . . to the first establishment of Christianity by humane laws, under the Emperour Constantine the Great.

F°. William Bowyer, for Jacob Tonson, 1702. 14s.

Hugo Grotius

De veritate religionis Christianae. Ed. novissima

8°. Oxoniae, e Theatro Sheldoniano, impensis Ant. Peisley bibliop., 1700. 2s.6d.

Richard Allestree

The works of the learned and pious author of The whole duty of man

F°, Printed at the Theater in Oxford, and in London by Roger Norton, for Edward Paulet, 1704. £1.3s.

Thomas Bennet (attributed to)

An answer to the dissenters pleas for separation, or An abridgment of the London cases; wherein the substance of those books is digested into one short and plain discourse

8°, Cambridge: printed at the University Press, for Alexander Bosvile (London), 1700. 3s.6d.

Richard Hooker

Works . . . in eight books of the laws of ecclesiastical polity. There is also prefix'd the life of the author, sometime written by Isaac Walton

F°, For R.C., S.S., B.W., M.W., G.C., and are to be sold by H. Mortlock, J. Robinson, D. Brown, S. Crouch, E. Evets, J. Lawrence, R. Sare, S. Smith, A. Churchill, J. Taylor, T. Bennet, T. Horne, J. Knapton, T. Child, R. Knaplock, J. Wyat, R. Wilkin, E. Castle, A. Bosvile and D. Midwinter, 1705. 13s.

William King

A discourse concerning the inventions of men in the worship of God
5th ed.

12°, printed for Thomas Atkinson, 1704. 1s.6d.

Edward Stillingfleet

Origines sacrae; or, A rational account of the grounds of natural and reveal'd religion. 7th ed.

F°, Cambridge: printed at the University Press, for Henry Mortlock (London) 1702. 14s.

Gilbert Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury

An exposition of the Thirty-nine articles of the Church of England.
3rd ed.

F°, for Richard Chiswell, 1705. 11s.

Gilbert Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury

A discourse of the pastoral care.

8°, printed by R.R. for Richard Chiswell, 1692. 7s. (with the next)

Gilbert Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury

Four discourses delivered to the clergy of the diocese of Sarum

4°, For Richard Chiswell, 1694

Francis Bragge

Practical discourses upon the parables of Our Blessed Saviour. 2 vols
(vol 1 3rd ed.)

8°, For S. Manship, 1704-6. 16s. (with the next)

Francis Bragge

Practical observations upon the miracles of Our Blessed Saviour. 2 vols

8°, For Samuel Smith and Benjamin Walford, 1702-6.

Anthony Horneck

Several sermons upon the fifth of St. Matthew; being part of Christ's Sermon on the mount. 2 vols. 2nd ed.

8°, Printed by J.R. for B. Aylmer, 1706. 10s.

William Chillingworth

Works

F°, Printed by M. Clark, for A. and J. Churchill, 1704. 12s.

John Sharp, Archbishop of York

Fifteen sermons. 2nd ed.

8°, Printed by William Bowyer for Walter Kettilby, 1701. 4s.

Henry Compton, Bishop of London

Episcopalia, or letters to the clergy of his diocese

12°, Printed by Timothy Westly, 1686. 1s.

William Cave

Primitive Christianity. 6th ed.

8°, Printed for R. Chiswell, 1702. 4s.

Offspring Blackall

Fourteen sermons preach'd upon several occasions. 2nd ed.

8°, Walter Ketillby, 1706. 4s.

William Sherlock

A practical discourse concerning death. 13th ed.

8°, Printed for William Rogers, 1705. 3s.

John Edwards

The Socinian creed . . . Wherein is shew'd the tendency among them to irreligion and atheism

8°, Printed for J. Robinson and J. Wyat, 1697. 10s.

Peter King

The history of the Apostles Creed. 2nd ed.

8°, Printed by W. B[owyer] for Jonathan Robinson and John Wyat, 1703. 4s.

These books were matched title for title with a collection presented to James Thompson, the Society's chaplain in Jamaica, in the same month.

It was also possible that entire libraries could disappear. When in 1714 Joseph Holt, a minister stationed in Barbados, had to return 'in consideration of his family,' the Society not only found £100 to help him back to England. It also provided £50 to his successor 'for practical and Devotional Treatises for the Family, in case the library sent with Mr. Holt be not retriev'd.'⁹⁶ Both the archives of the SPG and the visitation records of the Bishop of London, whose jurisdiction included the West Indies, offer sources on what was owned and used more generally by parishes.⁹⁷ Despite the efforts of the SPG, it was not very much. Of the dozen series of answers sent to London by the clergy of Barbados in the 1720s, not one recorded a parish library of any kind.⁹⁸

The SPG sent frequent parcels to North American parishes, often multiple copies of the same title, whether the Book of

96. Ashe, *A Sermon*, 71. See also Lambeth Palace Library, Fulham papers xv, 207; William Wilson Manross, *The Fulham Papers in the Lambeth Palace Library: American Colonial Section* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965), 207.

97. Bishop Gibson's records are divided between Lambeth Palace Library and the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York, those for Barbados being in the former. (I am grateful to Scott Mandelbrote for drawing those in New York to my attention.) On his death in 1715, Thomas Tenison, Archbishop of Canterbury bequeathed £1,000 to allow the appointment of two bishops, one for mainland North America, the other for the islands: *An abstract of the proceedings of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel . . . 1715*, 3.

98. Lambeth Palace Library, Fulham papers xv, 203-14; Manross, *Fulham Papers*, 226-27.

Common Prayer or cheap devotional books. By 1712 it had established libraries in what are now the states of New York, New Jersey, North Carolina and South Carolina. In the West Indies, the parish of St Paul's, Nevis, in the Leeward Islands, had a library by 1711.⁹⁹ In 1723 Bishop Gibson presented a box of books to help form a library at Harbour Island in the Bahamas.¹⁰⁰ In the same year, Gibson received a complaint from St. Christopher not only about the inadequacy of an incumbent's stipend, but also concerning the lack of pious books.¹⁰¹ The thirty-two titles sent there in 1714, including many of the same titles that were sent to Barbados and Jamaica, had perhaps perished or been lost.¹⁰² In Jamaica, a priest named Barrett brought with him a collection of books in 1724 that he intended to form the basis of a parish library.¹⁰³ But parish libraries, and the needs of incumbents for their own spiritual well-being and that of their flocks, were very different from the needs of lay people for entertainment or teaching useful skills. The records of private book ownership in early eighteenth-century Maryland suggest libraries in which religion was important, but law, literature and classical texts or translations were commonly at least as important.¹⁰⁴

Some of the early hopes for libraries in the Americas were thus not sustained. At Annapolis on the Chesapeake River, which became the capital of Maryland in 1694, there was reported to be no parish library but there was a modest provincial library. It was at Annapolis that Thomas Bray, the person instrumental in formulating a policy for libraries in the colonies, had concentrated

99. Lambeth Palace Library, Fulham papers xix, 2-5; Manross, *Fulham Papers*, 269.

100. Lambeth Palace Library, Fulham papers xv, 15-16; Manross, *Fulham Papers*, 217.

101. Lambeth Palace Library, Fulham papers xix, 102-3; Manross, *Fulham Papers*, 273.

102. Rhodes House Library, USPG papers X.753, 179.

103. Lambeth Palace Library, Fulham papers xvii.175-80; Manross, *Fulham Papers*, 252.

104. Joseph Towne Wheeler, 'Books owned by Marylanders, 1700-1776,' *Maryland Historical Magazine* 35 (1940): 337-53; Carl E. Garrigus, Jr., 'The Reading Habits of Maryland's Planter Gentry,' *Maryland Historical Magazine* 92 (1997): 37-53. Garrigus examined 1,911 probate inventories, but in this article concentrated only on the estates valued at more than £400.

much of his energies. The library he provided in 1696 (the year of foundation of King William's School), aided by a gift of forty guineas from Queen Anne, contained 1,095 books, valued at £350: the average value of each book is some evidence of the nature of what he provided.¹⁰⁵ In the same year, some twenty-nine parish libraries were established in Maryland, their size ranging from 314 volumes in one instance to just ten in each of nine places. Bray's industrious determination that ministers in the new North American colonies should be provided with books quickly saw results, with additional libraries established to the north. He had set out his priorities, and his belief in the importance of the availability of standard theology, in his *Bibliotheca Parochialis: or, A Scheme of such Theological Heads both General and Particular, as are more Peculiarly Requisite to be Well Studied by Every Pastor of a Parish* (1697), together with a supplement, 'being an essay towards providing all the parishes of England, endow'd with not above ten pounds per annum, with a study of useful books, to enable the ministers thereof to instruct the people in all things necessary to salvation.' A greatly enlarged edition appeared in 1707. But before this, in 1696, he had also published *Proposals for the encouragement and promoting of religion and learning in the foreign plantations*, an appeal signed by the Archbishop of Canterbury and others. In addition to Annapolis, a library of 225 volumes valued at £300 was assembled in Charleston—at a rather higher average price per volume—and further money was found locally.¹⁰⁶ Virginia,

105. H. P. Thompson, *Thomas Bray* (London: S.P.C.K., 1954), 17; see also 'The present state of the Protestant religion in Maryland,' appended to Bray's *Proposals for the encouragement and promoting of religion and learning* (1696). Some of the early Annapolis library from King William's School (founded 1696) survives in St. John's College, Annapolis, and other books are in the Maryland Hall of Records. (I am grateful to the staff of St. John's College for help on this point.) See also Thomas Fell, *Some Historical Accounts of the Founding of King William's School and its Subsequent Establishment as St. John's College: Together with Biographical Notices of the Various Presidents from 1790-1894, also of some of the Representative Alumni of the College* (Annapolis, 1894).

106. For the Charleston library, see Laugher, *Thomas Bray's Grand Design*, 38-39, and James Raven, *London Booksellers and American Customers: Transatlantic Literary Community and the Charleston Library Society, 1748-1811* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2002), 34.

Maryland and the northern colonies in New York and Boston all benefited. Three libraries went to Bermuda, but as Bray's scheme developed, the amount of money allocated had to be reduced. Fifty parishes in Virginia shared just £30, and in Barbados the eleven parishes shared the meager sum of £5.10s, or ten shillings apiece.¹⁰⁷ This money could only have laid the shallowest of foundations and, by the time of the visitation returns of the 1720s, there was no sign of it.

Bray's libraries did not consist wholly of theology, and in some cases perhaps as much as one-third of their contents was of more general literature. Though much has rightly been made of the importance of Bray, and his was by far the largest and most generous scheme of its kind, others were working on a smaller scale. In Annapolis by 1713 the library had decayed and it lay neglected. The school that it was intended partly to serve was also suffering. A petition presented to the Assembly that a paid library keeper should be appointed, not least for the protection of the Anglican church from Roman Catholics, was rejected. 'It is the Opinion of this House that the Rector Gov^r and Visitors of the Freeschool ought to take care to preserve the Library and to appoint a Library keeper and pay him out of their Stock being as this House conceives very useful to the master and Scholars as well as the Clergy.' And so the library was passed into the care of secular rather than ecclesiastical authorities.¹⁰⁸

This background in part explains the great difference between the kinds of books provided for in Bray's libraries, and the much more secular selection offered by Zouch only a few months after this episode in Annapolis. It was not that Zouch eschewed theology and devotional books: far from it. But he extended the choice of titles so as to meet the aspirations and tastes of a much wider range of society.

107. Thompson, *Thomas Bray*, 21, 29.

108. November 6, 1713, *Archives of Maryland. Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly of Maryland, October, 25, 1711-October 9, 1714*, ed. W. H. Browne (Baltimore, 1909), 296-97.

Zouch's list also suggests further and more general conclusions. First, it makes clear, in a specifically early eighteenth-century context, the very great range of titles and subjects that were either found to be, or were deemed, necessary or desirable for the British colonies both in the West Indies and in the British colonies on mainland North America. Second, it stresses the importance of recent publications. Third, and conversely, it suggests that while recent work was of interest, perhaps even primary interest, there was a continuing demand for older books. How far were these choices of older and the most recent work, perhaps, a reflection of the concerns of new arrivals in the colonies, people retaining some memory of last season's books and still anxious to be as abreast with the latest reading as, possibly, with the latest fashions in clothes? Before speculating too adventurously on the likelihood or otherwise of such date-based criteria, we must remind ourselves that Zouch's catalogue bears many signs of having been selected in London, rather than being predominantly a response to requests from the island. It could hardly be otherwise. No doubt the selection reflected known tastes and preoccupations in the colonies. But it also provided an opportunity to advertise the most recent books in which Jonas Browne himself had a financial interest. Above all, the catalogue seems to have been an experiment. We do not know how many copies were printed, but only the two survive; there is nothing else like it either in the adjacent years or, indeed, for many years to come. It has no surviving parallels in other British colonies at this time. Booksellers' trade catalogues are notoriously rare, thanks to their ephemeral nature. But the balance of probability is that there were few, if any, counterparts to Zouch's catalogue. It seems to have been exceptional.

Missionaries and tracts

Though there were frequently elements in common in the libraries presented by the SPG for the use of missionaries in the West Indies and on the east coast of North America, some attempt seems to have been made to meet specific local needs in their

consignments from London. The Welsh communities in Pennsylvania, for example, had their own requirements.¹⁰⁹ At another level was the set of communion plate, with altar cloth and napkin, presented along with a Bible, prayer book and book of homilies in 1726 to Providence in the Bahamas. In the same spirit, the books provided by SPG for Barbados in 1707/8 differed from the parcel almost wholly of tracts supplied at about the same time to meet the needs of Charleston in South Carolina: by then, either Charleston specifically or South Carolina more generally had already received half a dozen parcels, whereas for Barbados this was the first.¹¹⁰ By 1715, when Zouch gathered his wide-ranging stock, libraries or small collections of books had already been shipped out by the SPG to Jamaica, Monserrat, Antigua, St. Christopher, and Barbados, quite apart from destinations in North America.

Almost wherever the parish—and the Society's interests reached as far north as Rhode Island and Massachusetts—collections of individual copies were frequently supplemented with bulk collections of tracts, catechisms, or other small books. These were cheap, and could be readily given away. Their distribution was among the specific duties of missionaries.¹¹¹

By the first years of the eighteenth century the London trade was manufacturing large numbers of such publications, as the price of print dropped and interest in missionary work both at home and overseas was developed. The price for quantities was discounted, as printers and booksellers alike recognised the cash value of pastoral care and evangelicalism. A few examples are in order. The seventh edition of a sermon preached by William

109. See *Correspondence and Records of the S.P.G. Relating to Wales, 1701–1750*, ed. Mary Clement (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1973). For background, see David Williams, 'The contribution of Wales to the development of the United States,' *National Library of Wales Journal* 2 (1941–42):97–108; D. H. E. Roberts, 'Welsh publishing in the United States of America,' *A Nation and its Books: A History of the Book in Wales*, ed. Henry Jones and Eiluned Rees (Aberystwyth: National Library of Wales, 1998), 253–64.

110. Rhodes House Library, USPG papers X.753, 135 (Charleston), 255 (Providence).

111. *A Collection of Papers Printed by Order of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts* (1706), 29.

Beveridge at Whitehall, *Of the Happiness of the Saints in Heaven* (1704), for example, cost threepence, or 20s. a hundred (2.4 pence each).¹¹² Copies of the seventh edition of *Private Devotions for Children* (1704) cost a penny each, or six shillings for a hundred (0.72 pence each).¹¹³ *A Pastoral Letter from a Minister to his Parishioners* (1705) cost the same.¹¹⁴ Three tracts were offered for threepence, or 20s. a hundred (2.4 pence): the anonymous *Short Discourse Concerning the Common Prayer* (1705), John Birket's *Godfather's Advice to his Son* (3rd ed., 1704), and Thomas Bennet's *Discourse of the Necessity of being Baptized with Water, and Receiving the Lord's Supper* (1707).¹¹⁵ The fourth edition of *A Companion to the Altar* (1705), a publication frequently bound up with the prayer book, cost fourpence, or 25s. a hundred (threepence), or sixpence apiece if bound separately.¹¹⁶ And it was not only the very cheapest books that were offered in this price structure. At one stage up, Samuel Clarke's *Whole Duty of a Christian, Plainly Represented in Three Essays* (1704) was marketed at sixpence, or a hundred for £2 (4.8 pence).¹¹⁷

The new missionary societies were partly dedicated to the sale and dissemination of this and similar cheap pamphlet literature on large scales. In price mechanisms that deserve further attention, the costs to the societies could be lower still: in 1707, the SPG paid just thirty shillings for 2,000 church catechisms sent to the Carolinas.¹¹⁸ Though we have no details of the tracts provided for Barbados in January 1707/8, they probably had much in common with the list of titles and quantities sent to Charleston a little earlier. The consignment included 100 *Christian*

112. *Term Catalogues* 3: 404. For some of the background to this, see Ian Green and Kate Peters, 'Religious publishing in England, 1640-1695,' in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, vol. 4, 1557-1695, ed. Barnard, McKenzie and Bell, 67-93.

113. *Term Catalogues* 3:419.

114. *Term Catalogues* 3:437.

115. *Term Catalogues* 3:478; 3:419, 499; 3:567.

116. *Term Catalogues* 3:458, 488.

117. *Term Catalogues* 3:418, 443, 498. Copies of the second edition (1704) were printed with a price: one shilling bound.

118. Rhodes House Library, USPG archives X.753, p143.

Mentors and *Double pastorals* and fifty copies each of Theophilus Dorrington's *Familiar guide to the right and profitable receiving of the Lord's Supper*,¹¹⁹ John Rawlet's anonymous *Persuasive to a Serious Preparation for Death*, and a work titled *Church Catechism*.¹²⁰ A dozen copies of Zachary Isham's recently published *Sick Christian's Companion* were also included.¹²¹ The cash value of the parcels of pamphlets sent to each place was almost exactly the same.

In pursuit of its interest in the conversion of slaves, in 1712 the SPG sent out Josiah (or Joseph) Holt to Barbados, as a catechist. Part of Holt's skills lay in medicine and surgery, and he was to address his attentions both to the slaves and to the indentured servants. For this, the Society provided a medicine chest, but no books or other publications.¹²² It was a pragmatic decision, since in reality it was difficult for a catechist to make any headway in detailed teaching: in fact, it is quite possible that the economic needs of the Codrington estate were uppermost in the minds of those in London as they sent out medical help. More generally, even if a tolerant plantation owner could be found, there remained the challenge of not one language but many. In 1717 Charles Cunningham wrote from Barbados that slaves represented eight or nine different nations and languages.¹²³ By then, Cunningham had been in the West Indies for at least a decade. English was the *lingua franca*, but slaves' command of it was not necessarily adequate to understand the message of Christianity. The Society's seal, printed as an engraving at the front of its publications, depicted a situation that represented missionary aspirations: a

119. The title page states: 'Price stich'd four-pence.'

120. *Term Catalogues* 3:434 (Hilary term 1704/5), 3d., or 20s. per hundred.

121. *Term Catalogues* 3:485 (Michaelmas, 1705), 4d.

122. *Classified digest of the records of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts*, 4th ed. (London: Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, 1894), 199, quoting the report for 1712. (This vast labor of love by C. F. Pascoe, later expanded and published with his name on the title-page as *Two Hundred Years of the S.P.G. . . . 1701-1900* (1901), should be used with caution, as the information on the early years is frequently at variance with the Society's own archive.)

123. Cunningham to the SPG, May 6, 1717. Rhodes House Library, USPG papers X.35.

boat approaching a shore peopled with an unclothed population, while on the boat stood a clergyman holding a Bible, apparently already preaching in a language—implicitly English—than none but he and the boat's crew could understand. There may have been occasions when such a scene developed. But any hopes of immediate effect were misjudged. The several languages of the West African slaves had been remarked in the 1650s, and language difference among newcomers remained an issue for as long as the slave trade existed. English, the language of control, of education and of Christianity, became dominant, but not immediately.¹²⁴ By default, the missionary societies' endeavors had to be concentrated on the European population, albeit with different purposes than those of Zouch.

All these various issues—religious, geographical, educational, racial, linguistic, financial, gubernatorial, and executive—contributed to the context of Zouch's catalogue. It was specifically linked to Barbados in its title. In its contents, it focused on the needs and recreations of the white English-speaking population, and more narrowly on those who maintained their interests formed in England, mostly London. But its potential readership, those who might benefit from these imports, reached far beyond Barbados, an island that was but the first in a chain of trade in the western hemisphere. For these reasons, the relationship of this catalogue to the work of the SPG is both suggestive and a diversion. Notwithstanding Codrington's will, which was written in 1703, the Society developed its work in Barbados comparatively late in its program—after Jamaica and other islands in the West Indies, and after Newfoundland, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey, the Carolinas, Virginia, Maryland, and Delaware. As in so much of its program, where personal appeal and opportunity weighed heavily, the reasons here too may have been simply

¹²⁴. Peter A. Roberts, *From Oral to Literate Culture: Colonial Experience in the English West Indies* (Kingston, Jamaica: University Press of the West Indies, 1997). For remarks made in the 1650s, see Ligon, *The True and Exact History of the Island of Barbadoes*, 46, partly quoted by Roberts, 78.

personal. But the extraordinary speed of the Society's expansion may also have contributed to setting Barbados, the richest of all the colonies, to one side while others were addressed. If the society's policy was to support those most in need, then Barbados ranked low. Its social structure was settled, there was a well established parish system, and it cannot have been clear exactly how a missionary intervention could help those who possessed very little, the slaves and the white indentured servants, in an island of strict authority and great social contrasts. In the end, only one consignment of books and tracts, described above, seems to have been sent before 1715, whereas other places received several. Thanks to the Codrington estate, and latterly to Codrington College, Barbados became the main focus for the society, not just in the West Indies, but even in relation to the North American mainland. The island became a cornerstone for the Church of England, just as it was for trade in slaves, foodstuffs, and manufactured goods—including books. But as a distribution center for religious propaganda in the early eighteenth century, before the foundation of Codrington College, it seems to have been of little importance. Therein lay one of the most important differences between Zouch and the societies. Whereas the societies dealt direct with individual colonies, with parcels of books or tracts targeted to particular communities, Zouch seems to have been speculating on reaching several markets.

Zouch's later career

Finally, and almost as a footnote, what of Zouch's own later life? His catalogue did not mark the beginning of a long career at the center of the Barbados book trade. By the time that the first printers arrived on the island in 1730, he had returned to England. In 1721–22 he was one of the subscribers to William Mayo's great map of Barbados that was to remain standard for generations to come.¹²⁵

125. A list of subscribers is included in Richard B. Goddard, *George Washington's Visit to Barbados, 1751* (Barbados: the author, 1997), 98–109. For a reproduction of the engraved list of subscribers, see Bernard J. Shapero's sale catalogue *Pilots of the Caribbean* (London,

Drawing on his own memories as well as on his reading and his acquaintance, in 1723 he was preparing to publish in London a substantial account of the island. The book was to be published by subscription, and the advertisement offered details:

The natural and Political *History* of BARBADOES; beginning with its first Settlement about the year 1620. and ending with the Administration of John Frere, Esq; in December 1720. Wherein are particularly contained its Constitution by Commissions, Letters-Patent, and Acts of the Assembly: The whole Process and Manner of making Sugar, and all other exportable Manufactories, the Produce of that Island. Interspers'd with many curious Particulars relating to the *Caribbees*, the *Virgin Isles*, and to *Virginia*. With Copper Plates of the Towns, Plants, Animals, Insects, Mills, Curing House, &c. All done from Originals by the best Hands.¹²⁶

The price to subscribers was to be a guinea. The prospectus was issued by John Walthoe, a bookseller in Middle Temple, whose specialty in legal titles might have been a convenient choice for Zouch in his legal life. But no trace of this book, or its engraved plates, seems to have survived. Zouch occasionally subscribed to the books of others: to an English translation of Hesiod (1728) and to the three volumes of Rapin-Thoyras's *History of England* (1737). His employment was in Doctor's Commons and in the Court of Arches,¹²⁷ and his death was recorded in the *London Magazine* in 1752: 'Mr. Arthur Zouch, one of the proctors of the arches Court of Canterbury, and of the court of chivalry.'¹²⁸ He had written his will in 1742 and he was buried at Esher, in Surrey.¹²⁹

2007), item 28. See also E. M. Shilstone, *Descriptive List of Maps of Barbados* (1938), and Tony Campbell, *The Printed Maps of Barbados from the Earliest Times to 1873* (Map Collectors' Circle, 1965), 16.

126. *Books Lately Printed for and Sold by J. Walthoe, junr, over against the Royal Exchange in Cornhill* [1723], 12.

127. See, for example, John Chamberlayne, *Magnae Britanniae Notitiae* (1741), 183.

128. *London Magazine* 21 (1752):385. He is not among the list of members in G. D. Squibb, *Doctors' Commons: A History of the College of Advocates and Doctors of Law* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977).

129. The National Archives PROB. 11/796; *London Evening Post*, August 22, 1752.

A note on copies of the catalogue

Only two copies of Zouch's catalogue are known to have survived. One is in Trinity College, Cambridge, and the other is in the Rosenwald collection in the Library of Congress.¹³⁰ The Trinity College copy (K.10.105) was presented to the College by Archdeacon Francis Wrangham in 1842, amidst a collection of perhaps 10,000 eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century pamphlets now bound into volumes some containing a dozen publications and more. The catalogue has been bound up in its present place since at least the mid-nineteenth century. Wrangham was an avid collector of out-of-the-way publications, and especially of rare pamphlets.¹³¹ This catalogue may have attracted his attention in connection with the memoir of the Reverend Thomas Zouch that he wrote as a preface to the edition of the latter's works, published at York in two volumes in 1820. The West Indies connection was kept up, in that Wrangham dedicated these volumes to John Lowther, MP, whose family owned extensive property there. The Barbados catalogue is bound third in a volume of twenty-two pamphlets published in England and Ireland between 1716 and 1815. Several of these pamphlets are from outside the prominent publishing towns of London and Dublin: Hull, Shrewsbury, Doncaster, Leeds and York. Most are sermons, but several are concerned with late-eighteenth-century arguments about slavery. Of the earliest contents, the most relevant to the present discussion is another work printed for Jonas Browne in 1716, H. B., *Arithmetick Vulgar and Decimal, the Extracting of the Square and Cube Roots, Mensuration, Compound Interest, and Annuities: with Arithmetical and Geometrical Progression . . .* (1716). This bears on the first page of the preface the signature of Joshua Calvert. The Calvert family, headed by Lord Baltimore, was closely connected

130. *The Lessing J. Rosenwald Collection: A Catalog of the Gifts of Lessing J. Rosenwald to the Library of Congress, 1943 to 1975* (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1977), no. 2653.

131. Alan Bell, 'Archdeacon Francis Wrangham, 1769-1842, Portrait of a bibliophile XX,' *Book Collector* 25 (1976): 514-26.

with Annapolis and the slave trade, and it may be asked whether Joshua was related to this part of the family: so far I have found no evidence. It is unclear when the volume of pamphlets was assembled, save that it was probably during Wrangham's later years.¹³²

132. On the Calverts, see for example (amidst a substantial literature) Anne Elizabeth Yentsch, *A Chesapeake Family and Their Slaves: A Study In Historical Archaeology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994). The fourth pamphlet, *The Dying Thoughts of the Reverend Learned and Holy Mr. Richard Baxter*, abridged by Benjamin Fawcett, 2nd ed. (Shrewsbury, 1775), bears the signature on the title-page of Marianne Thornton, perhaps the daughter of one of the most influential members of the Clapham sect, who linked their evangelical religion to public life. For her correspondence with Hannah More, see MSAdd.7674/1/F3-10, Cambridge University Library. There were links of family and friendship through William Wilberforce. For a more general account of Wrangham, see most recently the notice by David Kaloustian in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*; for Marianne Thornton and her father, see E. M. Forster, *Marianne Thornton, 1797-1887: A Domestic Biography* (1956) and the notice of Henry Thornton by Christopher Tolley in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

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