Lyons silk riots that Marx would refer to as marking the beginning of class conflict in France, Saint-Marc Girardin wrote:

Let us not dissimulate; reticence and evasion will get us nowhere. The uprising at Lyons has brought to light a grave secret, the civil strife that is taking place in society between the possessing class and the class that does not possess .... If you take any industrial town and find out the relative number of manufacturers and workers, you will be frightened by the disproportion: every factory owner lives in his factory like a colonial planter in the middle of his slaves, one against a hundred; and the uprising at Lyons is to be compared with the insurrection at Saint-Domingue.4

Physically and psychologically this is Robinson Crusoe in his fort, the discourse of colonialism providing the terms with which class conflict can be articulated. This makes it appropriate to end by recalling the words of some final native Caribbeans, the Tupis questioned at Rouen in 1562 by Montaigne:

Some demanded their advise, and would needs know of them what things of note and admirable they had observed amongst us .... They said .... ‘they had perceived, there were men amongst us full gorged with all sorts of commodities, and others which hunger-starved, and bare with need and povertie, begged at their gates: and found it strange, these motyys so needy could endure such an injustice, and that they tooke not the others by the throte, or set fire on their houses’.5

Notes

The procedure for references adopted in these notes is as follows: within each chapter the first reference to a text is given in full (with the exception of some primary text when the full reference is reserved for Section A of the Bibliography), and subsequent references are to author or to author and abbreviated title.

Introduction

1 Quoted by Lewis Hanke, Aristotle and the American Indians, Bloomington, 1959, p. 8. The Bishop had just presented to the Queen, Antonio de Nebrija’s Gramática, the first grammar of a modern European language, and had been asked by the Queen ‘What is it for?’.
2 Although not addressed to colonial discourse in general, the best introduction to the topic is still the Introduction to Edward Said’s Orientalism, London, 1978, pp. 1–28.
6 This was the lengthy document required in Spanish law to be read to the Indians by a notary before hostilities could be commenced.
Captains muttered its theological phrases into their beards on the edge of sleeping Indian settlements, or even a league away before starting the formal attack, and at times some leather-lunged Spanish notary hurled its sonorous phrases after the Indians as they fled into the mountains... Ship captains would sometimes have the document read from the deck as they approached an island.

(Lewis Hanke, *The Spanish Struggle for Justice in the Conquest of America*, Philadelphia, 1949, p. 34)

7 In convention anthropological terms the cultures of the Native Caribbean were pre-historic in the sense that they had no writing, but such a notion needs careful handling. To divide cultures by the presence or absence of writing is to risk establishing a false division between the transparent and the opaque: writing is not an unproblematic guide, and needs interpreting with as much care as archaeological evidence. It is also not self-evident just what should count as writing: see Jacques Derrida’s reading of Claude Lévi-Strauss’s ‘The writing lesson’ (*Of Grammatology*, trans. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, Baltimore, 1976, pp. 101–40; and cf. Gordon Brotherston, ‘Towards a grammatology of America: Lévi-Strauss, Derrida and the native New World text’, in *Europe and Its Others*, ed. Francis Barker, Peter Hulme, Margaret Iversen, and Diana Loyalex, Colchester, 1985, vol. II, pp. 61–77). The Caribbean ‘documents’ would therefore include both the ubiquitous petroglyphs that are mostly undeciphered, and the stone and wooden carvings whose symbolism remains opaque to us.


1 Columbus and the cannibals


3 The quotations are from Louis-André Vigneras’s revised version of Cecil Jane’s translation of Columbus’s *Diario* (*The Journal of Christopher Columbus*, London, 1960), slightly amended in places. References to this text take the form of J plus page number, and follow the quotation. Where the language is especially important the original will either follow, as here, or be incorporated parenthetically. Carlos Sanz’s edición (Diario de Colón, Madrid, 1962) which includes a facsimile of Las Casas’s manuscript has been used: references are to both edition and facsimile, and brief, un referenced quotations can easily be traced through their date. On rare occasions the Spanish has been altered where Sanz has appeared to misread the manuscript. Columbus’s *Letter*, a short retrospective account of his first voyage, will be important at the end of this chapter. It is included in Vigneras’s edición of the Journal. For the Spanish, and other translations, see Christopher Columbus, *La carta de Colón anunciando la llegada a las Indias*, ed. Carlos Sanz, Madrid, 1958. For some of the arguments concerning the status of the *Journal*, see the two articles by Emiliano Jos, ‘El libro del primer viaje. Algunas ediciones recientes’, *Revista de Indias*, X, 1950, pp. 719–51, and ‘El Diario de Colón: su fundamental autenticidad’, *Studi Colombiani*, II, 1952, pp. 77–99; and Samuel Eliot Morison, ‘Texts and translations of the Journal of Columbus’s first voyage’, *Hispanic American Historical Review*, XIX, 1939, pp. 235–61.

4 Columbus, *Diario de Colón*, fol. 26v.


6 Columbus, *Diario de Colón*, fol. 26v.

7 ‘Khan’ is the established spelling in English but it is important that in Marco Polo and Mandeville it is always written ‘Can’ or ‘Caan’ (for its relevance see p. 22). Strictly speaking Cathay was simply the province where the Khan had his capital – as Columbus knew from Marco Polo; but it is the richest geographical signifier. For Columbus’s idea of Chinese geography see Figure 5. In some ways the city of Quinsay and the port of Zaiton (both in the province of Mangi – controlled by the Grand Khan) are more important than Cathay itself to Columbus. Quinsay was, according to Marco Polo,
Nature and Nations, three hundred forty seven men, women, and children, most by their owne weapons; and not being content with taking away life alone, they fell after againe upon the dead, making as well they could a fresh murder, defacing, dragging, and mangling the dead carcasses into many pieces, and carrying some parts away in derision, with base and brutish triumph. (Waterhouse, p. 14)

The experience of 1622 also brought the English closer to their traditional European enemies (cf. note 70): Oviedo's opinion of the West Indian natives could be quoted with approval to show 'how farre, it agrees with that of the Natuies of VIRGINIA' (Waterhouse, p. 30).

91 Waterhouse, p. 24.

5 Robinson Crusoe and Friday

2 Daniel Defoe, The Life and Adventures of Robinson Crusoe (1719), ed. Angus Ross, Harmondsworth, 1965, p. 172. All subsequent page references are to this edition and are, where appropriate, parenthetically in the text.
3 See pp. 68–9.
4 For the relevant geography see also The farther Adventures of Robinson Crusoe (1719), London, 1925, pp. 33–4. Defoe may well have used the map in William Dampier, A New Voyage Round the World, 2 vols, London, 1697–9, i, facing p. 24.
6 Watt, p. 68.
7 The first phrase is Pat Rogers's in his Robinson Crusoe, London, 1979, p. 51; the second is Watt's, p. 84. The two main studies usually invoked for this spiritual motif are G.A. Starr, Defoe and Spiritual Autobiography, Princeton, 1965; and J.P. Hunter, The Reluctant Pilgrim: Defoe's Emblematic Method and the Quest for Form in Robinson Crusoe, Baltimore, 1966.
8 Cf. Watt, p. 248.
9 Watt, p. 264.
10 Watt, p. 108.
11 Watt, p. 23.
12 Watt, p. 28.

13 Watt, p. 140.
14 Watt, p. 216 (my italics).
17 Watt, p. 98. The phrase is Clara Reeve's from The Progress of Romance (1785).
18 Cf. Watt, pp. 77–82. The providential sea narrative had continued to flourish over the century between the Sea Venture and Alexander Selkirk's story, which circulated in 1712 under the title Providence Displayed. See, for examples, James Janeway's collection, Tokens for Mariners, Containing Many Famous and Wonderful Instances of God's Providence in Sea Dangers and Deliverances, London, 1708.
19 Watt, p. 15. It might be said that Defoe is 'deliberately' exploiting the ambiguity that Richardson had tried to avoid — but how could we tell? He speaks Robinson Crusoe, as it were, deadpan, with the straight face that could be dry humour or humourless seriousness, but is not going to let us know.
23 Hymer, p. 12.
26 Hymer, p. 22.
27 Hymer, p. 13.


30 We expect, in two or three Days, a most flaming Proposal from the South Sea Company ... for erecting a British Colony on the Foundation of the South-Sea Company's Charter, upon the Terra Firma, or the northernmost Side of the Mouth of the great River Oronooko. They propose, as we hear, the establishing a Factory and Settlement there ... and they doubt not to carry on a Trade there equal to that of the Portuguese in the Brazils, and to bring home an equal quantity of Gold, as well as to cause a prodigious consumption of our British Manufactures. This, it seems, is the same Country and River discovered by Sir Walter Raleigh, in former Days, and that which he miscarried in by several Mistakes, which may now easily be prevented. (Weekly journal, 7 February 1719, p. 56; quoted by Novak, Realism, Myth, and History, p. 26)


35 Cf. Martin Green's definition: 'In general, adventure seems to mean a series of events, partly but not wholly accidental, in settings remote from the domestic and probably from the civilized (at least in the psychological sense of remote), which constitute a challenge to the central character' (Dreams of Adventure, Deeds of Empire, London, 1960, p. 23).


37 Archives Nationales, Paris, K 1349, fols 14 and 15, quoted by Fernand Braudel, The Wheels of Commerce, trans. Sian Reynolds, London, 1982, p. 453 and n. 248. The voyage which results in Crusoee's shipwreck in the Caribbean would have made him an adventurer in this sense, the Brazilian planters being keen to avoid
the high prices charged by the licensed slavers; by this time much of the slave trade to South America was contraband (J.H. Parry, *The Spanish Sea-borne Empire*, London, 1966, p. 268).

38 What might seem a contradiction, namely the coupling of Crusoe’s rationalistic book-keeping outlook on life — even down to what Weber calls the ‘systematization of ethical conduct’ (*The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, trans. Talcott Parsons, London, 1930, p. 123) — with his, according to some accounts, ‘irrational’, ‘impulsive’ urge to wander, can be made some sense of through the full connotations of the word ‘adventure’. The ‘spiritual’ reading would readily introduce the term ‘puritanism’ here, but it will not quite do. It certainly suggests the requisite concern with the individual, and puritanism — *vide Pilgrim’s Progress* — is not averse to the probationary qualities of adventure. But Crusoe’s adventures — as the etymology suggests — are much more Odyssean improvisations than they are moral pilgrimages into the unknown: he is, simply, more John Smith than John Winthrop. The problem in discussing these facets of Crusoe’s character is in a way — a presumably symptomatic way — the same as the problem in discussing the relationship between colonialism and capitalism. Certainly the rationalism that Marx and Weber both saw behind capitalism is only attributable to the phase of primary accumulation through the invocation of some ‘rational’ Hegelian world-spirit: it is hardly there in the historical record.

39 In his *History of the Principal Discoveries* part of Defoe’s defence of his proposed South American colony is that Sir John Narborough landed on that part of the coast (now southern Argentina)

and in order to obviate the Pretences of any other Nation, as far as those Pretences may be grounded upon Possession, took a formal Possession of this very Country in the Name of King Charles the Second, his then reigning Sovereign; declar’d he found the same uninhabited by any European Nation, and fixing up a Cross of Wood, with an Inscription cut in Brass fixt upon it, he proclaim’d King Charles Sovereign of the Country: This I mention (not that I think any Body has a Right to dispossess the Natives of a Country) to intimate, that at least the English have as good a Title to it as any other Nation whatsoever. (p. 298)

Crusoe is a literal cross (*Kreuznauer*).


For supposing a Man, or Family, in the state they were, at first peopling of the World by the Children of Adam, or Noah; let him

plant in some in-land, vacant places of America, we shall find that the Possessions he could make himself upon the measures we have given, would not be very large, nor, even to this day, prejudice the rest of Mankind, or give them reason to complain, or think themselves injured by this Man’s Incroachment, though the Race of Men have now spread themselves to all corners of the World, and do infinitely exceed the small number [which] was at the beginning. (John Locke, *Two Treatises of Government*, ed. Peter Laslett, New York, 1965, p. 335 (II, 37))

For Locke America was uncultivated and therefore not possessed. See pp. 157–8.


47 René Descartes, *Discourse on Method*, trans. F.E. Sutcliffe, Har-
mondsworth, 1968, pp. 51–2. Cf. ‘Everything revolves in our minds by innumerable circular motions, all centering in ourselves . . . . Hence man may be properly said to be alone in the midst of crowds and the hurry of men and business’ (Daniel Defoe, Serious Reflections of Robinson Crusoe, London, 1720, p. 2).


Descartes, p. 78. As Gilson points out, this is ‘l’idéal baconien de la science’ (René Descartes, Discours de la méthode: Texte et commentaire, ed. Etienne Gilson, Paris, 1976, p. 440).


Brown, p. 569. One of the providential narratives that flourished around the turn of the century recounts the deliverance of a ship’s company ‘from the Devouring Waves of the Sea’; amongst which they Shipwreck: and also, From the cruel Devouring Jaws of the Unhumble Cannibs of Florida’ (Jonathan Dickenson, God’s Protecting Providence, Philadelphia, 1700, title page; quoted by Hunter, p. 61).

Kavanagh, making a similar point, speaks about the ‘optics of compensation’; ‘an obsessive repetition of the claim to a unity and identity of the self coming to grips with the obvious proofs of its arbitrariness and insufficiency’ (p. 418).


55 The next two paragraphs are closely based on Maddox, pp. 38–9.
56 Maddox sees a hint here of Protestant distaste for the ‘cannibalistic’ Eucharist.
58 Hymer, pp. 27–9.
60 Dewey Ganzel suggests that the whole episode is a late interpolation (‘Chronology in Robinson Crusoe’, Philological Quarterly, XL, 1961, pp. 495–512). This would be striking evidence of textual disturbance. The arguments are complex, based on five chronological references to a 28 + year cycle (rather than the predominant 27 + cycle); but there are also two anticipatory remarks of Crusoe’s— to a meeting with cannibals in his twenty-fourth year on the island, and to the usefulness of his fortifications—that apply only to the dream events.

61 This follows closely Locke’s phrasing in paragraph 23 of the Second Treatise (Two Treatises, p. 325).

62 In this very precise sense Crusoe is in a ‘state of nature’ according to Hobbesian theory. The motif of ‘rescue’ continues from the previous chapters. The Algonquin response operates in terms of ‘gift’; Europeans (viz Prospero and Crusoe) in terms of forced labour; between Europeans there must be a written contract. Hobbes specifically contrasts ‘gift’ with ‘contract’ (I, 14 (p. 193)).

64 Jameson, p. 141.
67 There were no goats native to the Caribbean (though Selkirk had goats on Juan Fernández), but the islands had a variety of small edible mammals.
renowned for their boatmanship although it is still a matter of dispute whether they used sails before 1492: see M.B. McKusick, 'Aboriginal canoes in the West Indies', in Papers in Caribbean Anthropology, comp. Sidney Mintz, New Haven, 1960.


71 See Pat Rogers, 'Crusoe’s home', Essays in Criticism, XXIV, 1974, pp. 375–90.

72 He has, in that Rousseau-esque paradox, to learn his unalienation—hence the importance of Robinson Crusoe as a model for Emile. And unalienated he was an ideal model for the marginal economists: see note 41.

73 Rogers, 'Crusoe’s home', p. 386; quoting Pope’s ‘Epistle to Burlington’, 1. 56.

74 The phrase is Kavanagh’s (p. 417). Hunter (p. 99) makes the point that Puritanism sought the reassurance of an earlier, internally consistent world of space and time to alay the anxieties produced by ‘the challenge of modernity’. Crusoe’s psychosis is an index of how little, or how unsuccessfully, he was solaced by a Puritan worldview.

Mercurial, hastily constructed from the ruins of a once universal notion of hierarchy relating man as species to all orders above and below him, the sense of an individual as an un fissured touchstone of experience must be seen far more as an act of faith than as an immediate given of experience.

The providential pattern is then ‘but one of a series of crumbling timbers thrown across the chasm of the fissured self as it seeks to achieve some coincidence of consciousness with existence’ (Kavanagh, pp. 417 and 421).

75 Descartes, p. 62.

76 Descartes, p. 79.


78 For all their differences of style and language the parallels between The Tempest and Robinson Crusoe are many and startling, and have the colonial encounter at their root. See: J.R. Moore, 'The Tempest and Robinson Crusoe', Review of English Studies, XXI, 1945, pp. 52–6; Jeffrey Meyers, 'Savagery and civilization in The Tempest, Robinson Crusoe, and Heart of Darkness', Conradiana, II, 1970, pp. 171–9; and Jeanne de Chantal Zabus, 'The Tempest and Robinson Crusoe: A structuralist ‘attention’; English Studies in Canada, IX, pp. 151–63. I am particularly indebted at various points in this chapter to Diana Lozely, 'A play of shadows': Slaves and strangers in The Tempest, Robinson Crusoe, and Victory', MA Dissertation, University of Essex, 1982. To speak of Robinson Crusoe as a 'romance' is clearly to bring it generically closer to The Tempest than it would be as 'realist novel'.

79 Maddox, p. 36.

80 Maddox, p. 43.

6 Inkle and Yarico

1 Quoted from The Aeneid of Virgil, ed. T.E. Page, 2 vols, London 1926.


3 Nells Crouse, French Pioneers in the West Indies, 1624–1864, New York, 1940, p. 258.

4 Bryan Edwards, writing before the Second Carib War, had noted indignantly: 'By the 9th article of the peace of Paris, signed the 10th of February, 1763, the three islands of Dominica, St Vincent, and Tobago were assigned to Great Britain ... the Charaibles not being once mentioned in the whole transaction, as if no such people existed' (vol. 1, p. 391).

5 I.E. Kirby and C.I. Martin, The Rise and Fall of the Black Caribs of St Vincent, Kingstown, St Vincent, 1972, pp. 12–20. The Black Caribs had already resisted attempts to breach that line.
9 See Price’s full chronological bibliography, pp. 155–68.
13 In, respectively, Dryden’s *All for Love* (1677); Aphra Behn’s *Oronooko* (1688); Pope’s *Elisa to Abélard* (1717); Richardson’s *Clarissa* (1749); Bernardin de Saint-Pierre’s *Paul et Virginie* (1788); and John Davis’s *The First Settlers of Virginia: an historical novel* (1806).
14 *Lettres d’une religieuse portugaise* (1669) and Dryden’s *Amenis* (1697). On both of these see Hagsstrum, pp. 166–17. Around the *Lettres* — whose ‘authenticity’ is still disputed — gathered the same accretion of translations, imitations, sequels, answers, etc. as ‘Inkle and Yarico’ attracted.
22 Wylie Sypher is right to make the point that just because works like *Oronooko and Inkle and Yarico* have a slave as protagonist does not mean that they are in any straightforward sense ‘anti-slavery literature’ (Sypher, p. 137). An enslaved Yarico or Oronooko remain individuals wrongly enslaved rather than condemnations of the institutions of slavery. This would be true even of the most famous ‘anti-slavery’ work of all, Bicknell and Day’s *The Dying Negro* (1773), which celebrates an exceptional and sentimental individual as the continuation of its title makes clear: ‘a Poetical Epistle Supposed to be written by a Black, (who lately shot himself on board a vessel in the river Thames); to his intended wife’. So in general it might be more accurate to think of certain portions of the literature of sentiment being put to use by the anti-slavery movement as part of its campaign. For a general survey: Eva Beatrice Dyke, *The Negro in English Romantic Poetry*, Washington, 1942. And on the wider context see: David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution* (1770–1823), Ithaca, 1975; James Walvin (ed.), *Slavery and British Society 1776–1838*, London, 1982; Gordon K. Lewis, *Slavery, Imperialism and Freedom: Studies in English Radical Thought*, New York, 1978, chapter 1; Gordon K. Lewis, *Main Currents in Caribbean Thought*, Baltimore, 1983, chapter 4; and Edward Seebot, *Anti-Slavery Opinion in France During the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century*, Baltimore, 1937.
322 NOTES TO PP. 231–41

1952; and more generally, C.T. Foreman, Indians Abroad 1493–1938, Norman, 1943.
24 Steele, The Tatler, 171, 13 May 1710; Addison, The Spectator, 50, 27 April 1711.
25 As Bond suggests, pp. 137–9.
27 The Gentleman’s Magazine, XIX, 1794, p. 89. There is also a shorter report in The London Magazine, XVIII, 1749, p. 94.
31 The 1738 poem, in Price, Olympe de Gouges amended her Zamore et Mirza, ou l’heureux Naufrage (1786) by transforming its Caribbean protagonists into negroes and renaming it L’Esclavage des noirs, ou l’heureux Nauffrage (1786): see Seeber, p. 178. There also exists The Prince of Angole, a Tragedy; altered from the play of Oroonoko, and adapted to the Circumstances of the present Time, by J. Ferriar, Manchester, 1788.
34 Aphra Behn, Oroonoko: or, the Royal Slave, in Shorter Novels: Seventeenth Century, London, 1930, p. 154. Cf. the description of Friday referred to on p. 205.
36 Aphra Behn, Oroonoko, p. 151.
38 According to Craton (p. 147) the Black Carib community numbered more than 5000 at this period.
40 Young, An Account, p. 22.
42 ‘Memorial of William Young’, p. 577.
43 CO 101/13 (Governor Fitzmaurice to Hillsborough, 18 December 1768).
44 Young, An Account, pp. 54–6.
45 Parliamentary History, XVII, p. 609.
46 Parliamentary History, XVII, p. 607.
47 CO 101/16 (Memorial of the Council and Assembly of St Vincent).
48 Parliamentary History, XVII, p. 609.
49 Young, An Account, pp. 6–9.
51 ‘Black Carib’, in other words, was an awkward category that the British tried hard to refuse. For one thing it compromised their
ability to distinguish their colonial practice from that of the Spaniards, a distinction seen in the last chapter to be of great importance to Robinson Crusoe (see pp. 199–200). The indigenous Caribbean population found their place within British colonial discourse as the victims of Spanish cruelty: Bryan Edwards even sees the rebellion of St Domingue as providential retribution for the sixteenth-century genocide of the Hispaniolan natives (III, chapter XII). Blacks did not have this protected status so that, for example, when the importation of bloodhounds and chasseurs from Cuba to hunt down the Jamaican maroons was condemned in parliamentary debate by Sheridan and others (quoting Las Casas in support), Edwards could defend the practice— with a great display of sophistry and historical quotation— by maintaining that the maroons ‘were not an unarmed, innocent and defenceless race of men, like the ancient Americans; but a banditti of assassins: and tenderness towards such an enemy was cruelty to all the rest of the community’ (III, p. 346). So it helped if the Black Carib were regarded as really black and only falsely Carib.

52 CO 101/16 (Hillsborough to Governor Leybourne, 18 April 1772).
53 CO 101/16 (quoted by Marshall, p. 12).
54 Young, An Account, p. 51.
58 CO 101/16 (Leybourne to Hillsborough, 9 October 1772). Shephard (p. 30) speaks of a parliamentary inquiry, initiated by opponents of Lord North, which attempted to embarrass the government by resolving that the expedition was founded on injustice, and ordered the immediate negotiation of a treaty. Given the time-scheme involved it is difficult to see how this inquiry could have been responsible for halting the war. Cf. Marshall, p. 14; and Craton, pp. 150–1.
59 The treaty is reprinted in Kirby and Martin, pp. 33–8. Cf. the surveyors’ map and accompanying notes: John Byers, References to the Plan of St Vincent as surveyed from the years 1765–1773, London, 1777. The treaty was based on the 1738 settlement with the Jamaican maroons.
60 The translation used is by C. Day Lewis, The Eclogues, Georgics and Aeneid of Virgil, Oxford, 1966.
61 Edward Jenneringham’s version of the story had already amalgamated Yarico and Dido by introducing a new ending: ‘This Poniard by my daring Hand imprest / Shall drink the ruddy Drops that warm my Breast’.
65 See Chapter 3, p. 117.
66 ‘The possibility of joining the emotional and the political in such a curious blend is one open especially to a Roman poet because of the peculiarities of Roman social institutions’ (Monti, p. 33).
69 Bengal is the subject of one of Raynal’s sentimental set-pieces (I, pp. 475–6); on the Somerset case see, for example, Peter Fryer, Staying Power: The History of Black People in Britain, London, 1984, pp. 120–7. What did survive, however, was the evangelical morality to be found, for example, in one of the sub-texts of Mansfield Park, which implies that that there can be no moral economy in absentee, a symptomatic rejection of the kind of slave system on which the first British Empire was built.
70 CO 71/3. The sentiment, though not the exact phrase, can be traced back to Pliny, Natural History, 10 vols, London, 1668, IV, XV, p. xx. Young’s letter, which is not in fact totally sympathetic to the planters’ position, is of the greatest interest.
73 Mocquet, pp. 124–7. For the original French, see Jean Mocquet,
Notes to pp. 237–65


74 Though it had at one time been settled by native Caribbeans: see Ripley Bullen, ‘Barbados and the archaeology of the Caribbean’, *Journal of the Barbados Museum and Historical Society*, XXXII, 1966, pp. 16–19. The geographical touchstone of Barbados may also hint at a historical residue since there is a well attested story of thirty Arawak Indians going voluntarily to Barbados only to be made slaves after having become involved, it seems, in the wrangles between the two English factions disputing control of Barbados: see Jerome Handler, ‘The Amerindian slave population of Barbados in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries’, *Caribbean Studies*, VIII, no. 4, 1969, pp. 38–64.

75 1738 poem, in Price, p. 9.


78 William Young, *A Tour through the several Islands of Barbados, St. Vincent, Antigua, Tobago, and Grenada, in the years 1791 and 1792*, in Edwards, III, pp. 275, 279 and 301.


80 Shephard, p. 51.

81 Shephard, p. 22.


83 Shephard, pp. 53–4.

84 Craton, p. 190.

85 See Gullick, ‘Black Carib Origins’.

Afterword


3 Referring to the practices of the Jacobins he wrote:

To all this let us join the practice of carniválism, with which, in the proper terms, and with the greatest truth, their several factions accuse each other. By carniválism, I mean their devouring, as a nutriment of their ferocity, some part of the bodies of those they have murdered; their drinking the blood of their victims, and forcing the victims themselves to drink the blood of their kindred slaughtered before their faces. By carniválism, I mean also to signify all their nameless, unmanly, and abominable insults on the bodies of those they slaughter. (*Letters on a Regicide Peace*, in *The Works of Edmund Burke*, 12 vols, London, 1815, VIII, pp. 177–8)

In the earlier *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790) he had quoted Lally Tollendal’s letter describing the entrance into Paris of the King and Queen surrounded by ‘ces perfides janssiases, ces assassins, ces femmes carnivales’ (*Reflections*, Harmondsworth, 1979, p. 167).
