

North East Slavery & Abolition Group ENewsletter	
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CONTENTS

Page

1	Editorial; Consuming the Past: Library Resources for Postgraduate Students
2	Captain James Wilson; Re. James Grahame; Slavery Compensation
3	Anthony Morris Storer, Morpeth's MP 1780-84
4	Black Military Musicians at Alnwick
6	Newcastle Radicals and Thomas Hardy
7	Abolition and Missionary Supporters
8	Algiers and White Slaves; Newcastle and Slave Insurrections
9	<i>The Northern Tribune</i> 1854-55
12	Parish Records
15	Charles Duncan O'Neal

EDITORIAL

Although the previous issue was back in September it does not mean that the work on the North East and slavery and abolition has come to a standstill. Far from it. While numbers were not as high as we would have liked at the Black History Month workshops in October. There was good feedback: 'a very interesting afternoon', 'enjoyable', 'a fascinating day'. We have welcomed new members to NESAG. John Charlton has continued to give talks around the region e.g. Kenton Local History Society, in addition to the talks on his book on Tyneside youth politics in the late 50s and early 60s. His book *Hidden Chains* continues to sell well. NESAG's work is to be featured in a Conference on 28 June in Newcastle (see details below). The Slavery Compensation Project team at University College London led by Professor Catherine Hall, is planning an event in Newcastle on 25 September which will also feature our work. A taster of some of the information from the project is included in this issue. As a result of the new light shed on North East radicalism during the project, John Charlton is working in partnership with a range of organisations to obtain funding for an archival mapping, research, oral history and outreach project on the long sweep of North East radical history. I have been able to share information on the free produce movement with Anna Kett, who gave a talk on 23 March about the movement to the Quaker History group that meets at Friends House in London. Members like Peter Livsey and Valerie Glass continue to research, and Peter has been involved in developing teachers resources from the material at the Lit & Phil. Patricia Hix is now at the stage where she will be finalising her study of the Ladies Minute book for publication as an annotated transcript. As some of the items in this issue show there is a continual flow of new information which enriches our knowledge and understanding.

CONSUMING THE PAST: LIBRARY RESOURCES FOR POSTGRADUATE STUDENTS

This interdisciplinary Conference and Training Day is being organised by Northumbria, Durham and Newcastle Universities for 28 June, and will have a session at the Lit & Phil at which Sean will talk about the material found there during the Remembering Slavery project.

The organisers, who include postgraduate students, explain the thinking behind the day. 'As researchers we 'consume' texts, reading, interpreting and reusing material found in archives or specialist electronic resources. Libraries are a key tool in this process. Library-based research is

no longer restricted to the book, but also encompasses archived materials, electronic databases and local resources. This conference provides an opportunity to explore both the practical and theoretical issues arising from attempts to understand the past: training sessions will investigate the use of archival resources in the arts and humanities whilst panellists will consider how texts themselves conceptualise and appropriate the past.'

The day is funded by Vitae and will include a training session by a representative of the British Library, exhibiting new ways of accessing printed texts and manuscripts, as well as a keynote address from Dr Matthew Grenby (Newcastle University). After the event a wine reception and tour will be held at the Lit & Phil.

The organisers are asking students and academics for research papers exploring the interpretation, appropriation, and reconstruction of the past. The provisional programme would allow for six papers. Possible themes include (but are not limited to):

- The ways in which historical and artistic depictions of the past are appropriated and consumed within different cultures and time periods.
- The contemporary reconstruction of the past in the historical novel.
- Explorations of the extent to which critical theory may be a useful and/or anachronistic tool for dealing with older texts.
- Rethinking periodization.
- Exploring the boundaries of oral and textual culture.
- The theme of memory in historical writing and fiction.
- The advantages and/or disadvantages of using electronic resources (such as Early English Books Online).
- The ways in which textual editing reconstructs texts through a range of possible interventions.
- Consideration of how far it is realistically possible to access the past.

The deadline for registration will be 1 June, and further details will be sent to NESAG members.

CAPTAIN JAMES WILSON

A house in Ruskin Park (formerly No. 170) in Herne Hill, London, was the home of Captain James Wilson. There is a commemorative tablet "In the house of which this shelter is a remainder lived 1799-1814 Captain James Wilson, who was born at Newcastle-on-Tyne 1760 and after an adventurous life at sea during which he was present at the Battles of Lexington and Bunker's Hill and was confined nearly two years in the Black Hole at Seringapatam, served the London Missionary Society 1796-98 as Honorary Commander of the 'Duff', the first British Missionary Ship of modern times". Source: www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=49777

According to Stephen K. Batalden et al (ed) in *Sowing the word: the cultural impact of the British and Foreign Bible Society 1804-2004* (2004), in 1796, the LMS chartered the Duff to carry missionaries to the Pacific Islands. Wilson's memoirs can be seen on: www.archive.org/details/memoirsofcaptain00grifrich

REV. JAMES GRAHAME

Rev James Grahame, who was appointed as curate at Sedgfield in 1810, became a friend and correspondent with Annabelle Milbanke, later Lady Byron. He had practiced law in Edinburgh, published a poem *The Sabbath* (1804), then took orders. In 1809 he, James Montgomery and Elizabeth Benger had published *Poems on the Abolition of the Slave Trade*. Grahame's is titled 'Africa delivered'. The book was republished in 1971 by Books for Libraries Press (New York) in its Black Heritage Library Collection. This has been partially copied by Google and placed on the web. When Annabelle was going to London in April 1811 Grahame asked her 'to interest Wilberforce in the case of Forest Charlton, who had been committed to Morpeth Gaol for agitation against the slave trade.' Grahame died on 14 September 1811. (Malcolm Elwin. *Lord*

Byron's Family. Annabella, Ada and Augusta 1816-1824. John Murray 1975, p. 94 & 95). A poem on his death can be seen on:

<http://spenserians.cath.vt.edu/CommentRecord.php?action=GET&cmmtid=10023>.

- It would be very useful if a NESAG member could research the details of Forest Charlton's case.

SLAVERY COMPENSATION

The Compensation Project team is planning a event on slave compensation in Newcastle for 25 September. More information will be provided before then.

As a pre-taster compensation information listed below about individuals with North East connections comes Nicholas Draper's book *The Price of Emancipation. Slave-Ownership, Compensation and British Society of the End of Slavery* (Cambridge University Press 2010). The book is based on Nick's PhD. He is now a member of the Slavery Compensation Project team at University College London led by Professor Catherine Hall. The information is supplemented by information about other aspects of their lives.

Members of Parliament

The following MPs appear in the compensation records as slave owners:

- **Lord William Powlett** elected MP for Durham 1820, 1826 and 1830 (p. 280)
- **John Gladstone** elected MP for Berwick-on-Tweed 1826 (p 285). He was a Tory.
- **John Bradshaw**, Berwick-on-Tweed elected 1835 (P. 282) He was a Whig.

MPs allied to the West India interest over emancipation:

- **George F. Young** elected for Tynemouth and North Shields in 1833 and 1835. (p. 301) He attended the City of West India planters and merchants on 27 May 1833 'as representative of an important seaport, and as chairman of the one of the largest associations of ship-owners in the kingdom.' (p, 35) Young is described as a gentleman from London 'exclusively engaged in shipping, and well acquainted with the maritime interests of Britain' (William and Edward Finden (engraved). Views of ports and harbours. 1838. p. 10)
- **Alderman William Thompson** (1793-1854) elected for Sunderland in 1833 and 1835. (p. 301-2) He had been MP for the City of London (1826-32) and would switch from Sunderland to Westmoreland in 1841 after Lord Lowther's appointment as Postmaster General.

Rev. Edward Cooke. Rev Edward Cooke of 'the Bye Well Vicarage, St. Peter' (Bywell St. Peter), Northumberland was a beneficiary of compensation. He counter-claimed for 83 slaves on Apple Bay, 1,010 slaves on Cootrn Bay, 70 slaves on Johnson's Gut, 116 slaves on Little Carrot Bay, and 25 slaves on Spring Gut in the Virgin Islands. (p. 315) On 12 September 1829 he petitioned Lord Crewe's charity for augmentation (Northumberland Collections Service: NRO 452/C/2/451).

Anthony Wilkinson. Coxhoe Hall in County Durham is famous for being the birth place in 1806 of Elizabeth Barrett Browning, the daughter of the Jamaican slave owning Edward Moulton Barrett and Mary Graham-Clarke, the daughter of the Newcastle entrepreneur and Jamaica plantation owner John Graham-Clarke. The Barretts moved to Hertfordshire in 1809. Coxhoe Hall was sold to Anthony Wilkinson of Durham in 1817. He was Sheriff of Durham County in 1837. He was the owner of a plantation (Manchester) for which he received compensation. (p. 339) He may be the Anthony Wilkinson who went from Houghton-le-Spring to Witton Castle and was involved in the assignment of mortgage and bond transactions in Consett and Knitsley (in the records of the Consett Iron Company Durham County Record Office D/Co 31/5(9)-(11)). In 1823 this Wilkinson took out insurance with the Sun Fire Office on what appears to be 49 Upper Grosvenor St, Grovenor Square. (Guildhall Library - MS 11936/498/1005796, 3 July 1823. An 1826 survey map showing his estates in the Durham County are in Durham University's Special Collections (Sheraton DHC11/VI/16 & Tursdale Hoggersgate and Hett Moor Estates DHC11/VI/47).

Augustus Hardin Beaumont. Nick tells a lot more about August Hardin Beaumont, the American who went to Jamaica, ran radical newspapers and upset the slave plantocracy, and then came to Britain, where he was invited by the Newcastle Radicals to be their Parliamentary candidate. The book contains information about his scathing opinion of British absentee owners, and his many compensation counter-claims.

- If any reader has further information about the individuals mentioned above, please email them to Sean for inclusion in the next NESAG newsletter.

ANTHONY MORRIS STORER, MORPETH'S MP 1780-84

During the 2007 Project Anthony Morris Storer was shown as having slave plantation interests in Jamaica. In November Sean met Peter Fullerton at the Slavery and the English Country House Conference. Peter is descended from the Storer family. Storer involvement in Jamaica began about 1700 when Anthony Storer (1675-1719), an army officer, went there with his regiment. He married Elizabeth Ann Morris, the daughter of Col. Sir Christopher Morris, who had been in the British expeditionary force sent by Oliver Cromwell to capture Jamaica from the Spanish. Colonel Morris had acquired land in Westmoreland, the western county of the island, and settled there. Anthony Storer also acquired land in Westmoreland and called the property "Belleisle".

His son and heir Thomas Storer (1712-1793) built a fortune out of his slaves producing sugar. He married Helen the daughter of Colonel James Guthrie, who owned the Strathboogie estates, commanded the Westmoreland militia, was "Custos" of the county of Westmoreland. Thomas Storer purchased a town house in Golden Square, a fashionable new Georgian terrace in London off Regent Street, and sent both his sons to Eton. He also acquired two other estates in Westmoreland (Jamaica) called Frome and Fontabelle. The three Storer properties together were known as the "Cabaritta Estates" after the River Cabaritta which flowed through them.

His eldest son and heir Anthony Morris Storer (1746-1799) went to Eton from about 1760-1764 at the same time as Charles James Fox, Earl Fitzwilliam and Lord Carlisle. He and Carlisle then went to Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. In London society he excelled at dancing, skating, gymnastics, music and conversation.

As Carlisle's man he was M.P. for Carlisle from 1774 to 1780, during which time he was in America in 1778 and 1779. He was MP for Morpeth from 1780 to 1784, becoming a Commissioner of the Board of Trade in 1781. In 1782 he acted as go-between between Lord North and Fox. In 1783 Fox appointed him as Secretary of the legation in Paris. He quit politics with the fall the Coalition. In September 1781, according to Horace Walpole's testimony, Storer was seized with a passion for collect books and prints. He inherited the family fortune when Thomas died in 1793. He purchased Purley Park, between Pangbourne and Reading, hiring Humphrey Repton to improve the estate. He spent a expended a considerable sum including building a house. He died in 1799 before it was finished. in improving and ornamenting the grounds. He is buried in Purley church. His fortune Purley and Jamaican estates were inherited by his nephew, Anthony Gilbert, the only son of his brother Thomas James.

Nick Draper of the Slavery Compensation Project has been sharing information with Peter Fullerton. The compensation for estates once owned by Anthony Morris and Anthony Gilbert Storer was largely paid into Chancery in England in a law suit between Charles Armstrong and other creditors versus Ann[a] Katherine Storer, Anthony Gilbert's widow. This suit was still running in 1846. There were also unsuccessful claims and counterclaims by Ann[a] Katherine Storer: she counter-claimed as annuitant under the will of A. Storer dated 25th January 1797 for the £2175 9s 7d compensation for an additional group of 109 slaves on Belle Isle (which was awarded to John Campbell as receiver in another suit, this time in the Jamaican courts); and her claim as owner of 27 slaves on Pool's Rock appears to have resulted in her assigning the compensation to Robert Kite, a London merchant and presumably a creditor of the estate.

(The range of Robert Kite's trade involvements can be seen in the archive listing at York on

BLACK MILITARY MUSICIANS AT ALNWICK

Peter Livsey reports that he found the following information on black soldier musicians in Alnwick in *Diary of a Tour through Great Britain in 1795* by Rev. William Macritchie, Minister of the Parish of Clunie, Perthshire, with an introduction and notes by David Macritchie. (London: Elliot Stock, 62, Paternoster Row, E.C. 1897).

'In the evening, on the parade before the gates of the Castle, see Colonel Blake's Regiment drawn up. They have a tolerable Band of music per-formed by blacks and Indians but as for the soldiers they make but a sorry appearance, consisting for the most part of mere boys and old men, the outcasts of the London jails, &c., poor, decrepit, nerveless, worn-out debauchies. How exceedingly unlike those old Northumbrian heroes whose very statues now look down from these walls upon them with pity and contempt!'

The Editor of the Diary commented: 'With regard to these 'blacks and Indians,' some further information seems desirable. If this was one of the East India Company's regiments, they were probably East Indians. On the other hand, it is possible that they were simply gypsies from Rothbury and Coquetdale. As at the present day in Hungary, the gypsies of the British Islands were formerly notable musicians ; and it is certainly the case that one celebrated Northumbrian gypsy, who came of a family of hereditary musicians, was 'regimental piper in the Northumberland Militia' not many years before the date of this Diary, prior to which period he had been retained by the Duchess of Northumberland as her special piper. [See Mrs. E. R. Pennell's article, 'A Gypsy Piper,' in the *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, vol. ii., No. 5, January, 1891. For some remarks on black men as musicians in British regiments, see also a note by the present annotator in *Notes and Queries* (Series VII., vii. 448) and subsequent comments (Series VII., vii. 517; and Series VII., viii. 32, 97, and 237)']

The Fencibles

Peter comments: Alnwick was the seat of the Percy family, and the home of the Royal Northumberland Fusiliers (5th Foot). Colonel Blake's Regiment was the Northumberland Fencibles. Sir Francis Blake, 3rd Baronet (c. 1774 - 10 September 1860) was a Northumbrian landowner, politician and baronet. He was commissioned captain in the Northumbrian Militia in 1794 and appointed colonel of the Northumberland Fencibles in 1795. He was Berwick-on-Tweed's MP from 1820 to 1826 and 1827 to 1834. He owned estates: Twizzell Castle, Tillmouth House, Seghill and Duddo.

John Ellis, an expert on black soldiers, and a member of Black & Asian Studies Association, comments:

'I have found one Black soldier in the regiment who served from 1810-1815, and then transferred to another regiment when he later received a pension. However, there might be others who served but did not receive a pension. The comments from 1795 seem an accurate reflection of what people thought ("Scum of the earth" etc), and a few Black soldiers served in irregular units in both the UK and Ireland. Fencible units were locally raised units (paid and equipped by local worthies - which tallies with the bio), and a number were sent to serve in Ireland when it periodically "kicked off". The later comments about local gypsies is also in line with what we know. The memory of the service of Black soldiers was being erased as their bemedalled ranks drew their pensions, being excluded from history so that the Diary editor could not even countenance their ranks in the military.'

Additional Information. Back in June 2000 Ted Crawford, a member of the *Revolutionary History* collective and Socialist Platform Books, wrote to Kathy Chater, a member of Black & Asian Studies Association. about an article she had published in the *Genealogists Magazine*. The

letter shows another interesting connection between the 5th and black troops.

'While researching a step g-g-g grandfather I came across a hitherto totally unknown aspect of British military history. George Hill, the stepfather of my g-g grandmother, Eliza Archange Wallen, was a poor captain in the 5th Foot. "While in England he heard from Stephenson who wrote to offer him the first majority in his new regiment. Hill, a married man with a large family, standing second on the captains' list accepted Stephenson's offer. Hill eventually joined the 85th ..." (HM Walker, *History of the Northumberland Fusiliers, 1674-1902*, 1919, p.244) (The 5th Foot was a prestigious regiment and a member of it, Lt-Col Stephenson, was responsible for raising a regiment called the York Rangers.) The York Rangers was a regiment raised with a bounty of ten guineas per man "from men of colour"(WO26/39, f.196) in Canada, North American and Britain (WO/40/19, f.21) in a uniform similar to that of the 60th Rifles.(WO/3/336, p.147. There are 3 or 4 other Regiments with similar names raised and disbanded in the wars from 1793 to 1815 so it is very confusing.) There is a possibility that he went back to Canada to recruit blacks for them there. They were intended for garrison duty in the colonies but during the invasion scare were stationed in the Isle of Wight since as blacks they were regarded as a "foreign corps" which was forbidden the mainland of Britain. (The same thing was true of the Kings German Legion and had been the rule for Foreign units since the Hanoverian Succession in 1715 I believe.) The York Rangers numbered 150 men when they were disbanded in 1805 and their rank and file fit for duty were transferred to the West African Regiment as were a proportionate numbers of officers and NCOs, many of whom had come from the 5th Foot while those in excess were transferred to other battalions of the line or back to the 5th. (WO40/22, f.3.) Hill got transferred with the same rank to the 85th Foot in Jamaica on 7 March 1805 aged 47 years. (WO76/254) and, coming back to England in 1808 died in the Walcheren campaign of 1809.'

In emailing with him about including the above in this issue Ted does give a note of caution: 'I am not sure that the 5th was Northumberland Fusiliers at that period' Obviously this have to be checked.

NEWCASTLE RADICALS AND THOMAS HARDY

During one of the NESAG Workshop sessions in October Sean showed a list of items at Northumberland Collections, including mention of a letter to Thomas Hardy in 1794. Peter Livsey has looked at and transcribed it. While it does not shed any light on the abolition of the slave trade issue it does illustrate radical links between Newcastle and the London Corresponding Society. The black abolitionist Olaudah Equiano, who visited Newcastle was a member of the Society and a friend of its Secretary Thomas Hardy.

'Newcastle on Tyne
April 24. 94.
Mr. Hardy

Sir, By desire of a No. of friends to a radical reform in the Constitution here, I have made free to trouble you. We live in a place where an aristocratic magistracy endeavors to stop the genial and benign spirit of natural liberty from spreading - notwithstanding a very great number are found here that dare assert the natural and unalienable rights of man, and bear testimony against the tyrannical encroachments of assumed powers on these rights. A good number have formed themselves into societies, and meet weekly admitting none but known friends, and have assumed no name, but that of Newspaper(s) Company. They were in great spirits whilst the British Convention continued to act, but after their suppression, a damp was cast upon the whole. Subscriptions were begun and many ready to be sent of(f) the very week they were suppressed, and the Gazetteer stopt - which have since been remitted to London for the help of the persecuted worthies Muir and Palmer. Being charmed (?) with your masterly (?) and bold approbation of the conduct of your delegates and noble martyrs for truth, Margarot and Gerald, and finding your name signed secretary to the London Corresponding Society, we wish to copy your example, and beg if you think us worthy of your notice give us your views and intentions, as

soon as convenient, which I hope will be a means to stimulate and encrease(?) our numbers. Lest this should not come to you, as I have an uncertain direction, I forbear troubling you more at present, in hope of being favoured with your future correspondence. Farewell, hoping the Hydra of Tyranny and Imposition shall soon fall under the guillotine of truth and reform.

Yours with all due respect etc.,'

Direct to James Smith joiner, to the care of Mr. Hunter, publican, Butcher Bank [William Hunter was publican of The Angel at the foot of Butcher Bank.]

[On the outside a different hand has written, "Letter to Mr. Hardy 1794 from Smith a joiner."]

Source: NCS ZRI/25/17: Ridley (Blagdon) MSS. Public Office and Public Affairs - Parliamentary. Deposited 1964. A copy is also in the National Archives Treasury Solicitor's records at TS11/966/3510B.

Peter has been researching for an article for *North East History* on Newcastle in the year 1794, called 'Reign of Terror.'

ABOLITION AND MISSIONARY SUPPORTERS

Last year Patricia Hix put together a number of spreadsheets listing the names of people actively involved in supporting a range of organisations in Newcastle, many of whom actively supported the anti-slavery movements:

- **Baptist Auxiliary Missionary Society** of Newcastle and its Neighbourhood between 1820 and 1830:
 - (a) Newcourt Chapel Subscribers: Mr & Mrs J. L. Angas, T. Graham, Miss Hewitson, Miss, Miss A. & G. Richardson, Hadwen Bragg, D. Oliver, Rev William Turner
 - (b) Tuthill Stairs Chapel Subscribers: Jospeh Angus, Joseph Dixon, Miss, Miss, A., Alice and George George Richardson, Henry & Thomas Thompson, James Taylor, Mr Dixon, Miss Hewitson
 - (c) Unspecified: Miss D. Richardson, Miss A. Graham, John & Miss M. Thompson, John Aydon
- **Methodist Missionary Society** of Newcastle 1815-1822: (a) Newcastle: Joseph Hedley, H and Mrs Thompson, J. Irwin, J. L. Angas, Mr & Mrs Taylor
 - (b) Gateshead: John and Mrs Ann Coultherd (Coulthard?)
 - (c) Sunderland: Thomas & Mrs D. Parker, Miss & William Dixon, John Richardson, I. Taylor
 - (d) Monkwearmouth: James Pringle, J. Morrison, Isaac, John & Matt Thompson
 - (e) Unspecified: Robert Hedley, R, Mr, Miss & Mrs Taylor, Mrs & Miss Morrison, Mr & T. Thompson, Mrs Hewe(i?)tson, Miss Hewitson, J, Mrs & Miss Pearson, Mrs Richardson, Rev. J., Mrs, Miss & Mr Storry (Storey?)
- **Newcastle Bible Society** 1811-1832 - members of families mentioned in the minute book of the Ladies Negro Friend & Emancipation Society: John Coulthard, Henry, Mrs Hannah & Miss Hewitson, Mrs Mary, Miss C, & James Morrison, Daniel Oliver, S. W. Parker, Jonathan Priestman, Exec Isaac Richardson, George, John, Edward, Rebecca, Miss Ann, Mrs, Mrs D., Misses L & E. Richardson, Joseph & Miss Rooke, Mr, Mrs J. L. and Miss Angas, William & Miss Beaumont, Rachel Priestman ?, Elizabeth & John Aydon, Miss Milburn, Miss A., Mrs & John Pearson, Mr & Mrs Scott, Mr & Mrs Storey, Thomas & Mrs Thompson, Miss Parker (Hexham), Rev. James, Mrs & John Pringle, Thomas & Mrs Dixon, Mrs Irvin, Isaac Taylor, Rev. G. F. Mortimer & John Bruce.
- **Newcastle Auxiliary Missionary Society** 1820-21: Rev. J Pringle, J. L. Angas, John Aydon, J. Thompson.
- **Newcastle Missionary Association of Young Men** 1821: John Aydon, W.D. Graham, Ralph Pearson
- **British & Foreign Bible Society** 1847: George Richardson, life long member by bequest of Isaac Richardson; Rev. T. Binney (Peckham), Rev. R. Binney (Tanderagee).

- **Church Missionary Society** for Newcastle and its Vicinity in aid of the London Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East 1818-33: William, Ralph & Ralph, jnr, Storey, Edward & Miss Story (Storey?), Mr, Mrs, Miss Ann, Miss M, Thomas & William Pearson, Mr Coulthard (Bill Quay), C. Coulthard, Rev. Anthony, Thomas, Miss H. & Mrs Hedley, Miss J. Morrison (Durham branch), James, Miss, A & M Morrison, Rev. Henry Parker (Bolam), H. Parker, Miss Parker (Hexham), Miss A. Parker, Miss Ann, Miss M.. Miss, Mrs. W., Mrs, E.O., C.O. & S. Richardson, H. Richardson (Warkworth), John Richardson (Customs), Masters F. & W., T., Miss J. & Mrs Edward Richardson, Miss Thompson (Summerhill), Misses P. & E., Mrs, R., John, Mr, Mrs Turner, Masters B & R. Thompson, J. Mrs and E. Graham, Rev. J., Mr, Mrs & Miss Taylor, Milburn, Daniel & Mrs Oliver, Rev. T. Dixon, Miss Dixon (Durham Branch, Warkworth), G. & John Dixon, Robert Pringle (Warkworth), Henry Hewitson, Mrs Hewitson (Stanhope) & Miss Angas.

ALGIERS AND WHITE SLAVES

Patricia Hix writes:

'I went to Trinity House, Broad Chare, Newcastle upon Tyne on 29 September last year during the Heritage Open Day. There is a painting there by John Wilson Carmichael (1800-1860) commissioned by the Brethren for 40 guineas of the 'Bombardment of Algiers' in 1816 by an Anglo Dutch Fleet which freed 1000 white slaves and ending Barbary enslavement of Europeans.

The building is not open except on Heritage Open Days or by appointment. However a lot of schools use it. There is a web site http://trinityhousenewcastle.org.uk/historic_buildings.asp. Sadly the BNP have latched onto this issue of white slaves back as far as the 1600's and are campaigning for reparations!

NEWCASTLE AND SLAVE INSURRECTIONS

In an undated (probably 1823) pamphlet 'Negro Savery. No VIII. Insurrections in the West Indies. St Lucia - Trinidad - Dominica - Jamaica - Demerara, two resolutions of the Newcastle-upon-Tyne Auxiliary Missionary Society were quoted as 'a fair specimen of the general sentiment':

"That this Meeting is decidedly of opinion, that the disturbance among the Negroes of that colony (Demerara) is to be attributed to the immoderate labour extracted from them - to the severity of treatment in which they were subjected - to the opposition of the planters to the religious information of the Slaves - and to withholding the instructions of Government concerning the whip: - That the trial of Mr. Smith has been excited and carried on in direct opposition to the well-defined and impartial procedure of every English court of judicature, and which would have resulted in the death of Mr. Smith, but for the interposition of his Majesty, our most gracious Sovereign: - That the moral and legal innocence of Mr. Smith is apparent; and that this Committee, instead of being "ashamed of his bonds," believe that many of the Whites residing on the plantations are indebted for the preservation of their lives to the Christian precepts of his duties as a Christian Missionary, of which testimony has been borne the Episcopal Chaplain of the Colony, in the following terms: - 'I feel no hesitation on declaring, from the intimate knowledge which my most anxious inquiries have obtained, that in the late scourge which the hand of an All-wise Creator has inflicted on this ill-fated country, nothing but those religious impressions which, under Providence, Mr. Smith has been instrumental in fixing - nothing but those principles of the Gospel of peace which he has been proclaiming - could have presented a dreadful effusion of blood here, and saved the lives of those very persons who are now (I shudder to write it) seeking his: - "That this Meeting will support, to the utmost in its power, the efforts of contemplated by the Directors of the Parent Society, for obtaining in this country a reversal of the sentence passed by the Court-martial at Demerara on their greatly persecuted Missionary."

THE NORTHERN TRIBUNE 1854-55

An Introduction

The Northern Tribune was a 'Periodical for the People' published in 1854 and 1855 at Joseph Barlow, 1 Nelson St and 28 Grainger St in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and Holyoake and Co, 147 Fleet St. Its motto was 'Light! More Light!'. It was reprinted by Greenwood Reprint Corporation, Westport, Connecticut in 1970.

There were a number of regular features: Songs for the People, Britain's Worthies, Our Library (review of books), Our Villages, Our Local Record, Portraits of the Poor. Its engraver was W. J. Linton.

Principles

The first issue set out its principles.

The object was 'the Education of the People.

'That Society has means of conduct at command which former ages did not possess, none will deny. Countless blessings that our Forefathers but dreamed of, we are now enjoying. Schemes of social improvement that existed but in their imaginations, we see in daily operation around us. Measures of political freedom that they fought and bled for, are now recognised as Law. Yet it is questionable whether the mental, moral, and physical condition of the People has improved proportionately with our increase of material wealth. In our battle for Bread, the nobler ends of Life are overlooked.... To induce a reverence for a worthier Ideal of Life, to enforce a belief in something holier than 'the Ledger,' to teach a more ennobling faith than the cold materialistic creed of this, 'work-day-world,' and to proclaim that *Man as man* whatever his outward garniture, is greater and grander than all the creations of his genius, shall be the animating spirit of our enterprise.' (p.1)

The editors stated that they would state their convictions 'calmly by fearlessly, and shall encourage a similar out-spokenness in others.' (p. 1)

The plan was to devote half of each issue to general topics and half to local matters. The latter would concentrate on how local people were availing themselves 'of the facilities for social and intellectual improvement'. (p.2) The editors recognised that it was not possible for the general papers serving Tyneside to devote much space to what was happening in all the small villages. (p.2-3)

'If the People are to obey the Laws, we maintain they ought to have a voice in their enactment. If they must pay taxes, we hold that they should have some say in their distribution. To enact the duties and responsibilities, and yet refuse to rights, of citizenship, we hold to be arbitrary and unjust. For the extinction of this anomalous and unnatural condition of affairs, we shall lead with all the vigour and earnestness of a most devout conviction.' (p. 3)

They regarded lack of education as 'the main parent of Crime'. (p. 3) Therefore they would promote all forms of education, leisure recreation and decent living conditions. (p. 4)

The second issue also includes a further statement about the Tribune's approach 'What We Want':

'Our work is educational. We want to teach men the first principles of life, to raise their aims; so to enlarge their views and purify their characters.

There are evils that demand to religious hand to redress them. The slave is to be freed; the State and Society to be reorganized; woman is to be elevated to her natural place; political corruption

to be buried in its grave. Pauperism is to end, war to cease, and the insane lust of our times for gold and pleasure is to be tamed and corrected. All great civilizations begin with God.

Preach in the name of God! The literati will smile: ask the literati what they have done for their country. The priests will excommunicate you: tell the priests that you know God better than they, and that you do not want any mediator between God, his Law and yourselves. The people will understand you and will repeat with you: We believe in God the Father Intellect and Love, Creator and Educator of Humanity.

And with these words you and the People shall conquer.' (p.64)

Ambrose Crowley's Factory

The first issue contains an article 'Our Villages: Winlaton', Along with a description of the iron works established by Ambrose Crowley, it reproduces the text of an advertisement from *The Post Boy* of around 1697 or 1699.

'Mr Crowley at the Doublet in Thames Street, London, ironmonger, doth hereby give Notice, that at his Works, at Winlaton, near Newcastle upon Tyne, any good Workmen that can make the following Goods, shall have constant Imployment, and their Wages every week punctually paid, (viz.) Augers, Bed-screws, Box and Sad-Irons, Chains, Edge-Tools, Files, Hammers, Hinges, *Hows for the Plantations*, Locks, especially Ho-locks, Nails, Patten Rings, and almost all other sorts of Smiths Ware.' The editors highlighted the hoes and added a footnote: 'It is said, that the last *'Hows'* sent from this Country to the Slave Plantations in the West Indies, were made at Winlaton!' (p. 26) And they add that 'the making of *'Hows for the Plantations,'* has ceased with that infamous traffic for which they were intended,'. (p.27) The works still employed over 1,000 men in 1854.

Trading With West Indies and North America

In 'Sketches from Life. Tyne Semen of the Olden Time' Robert Sutherland reviews the development of the Tyne and North East shipping and trade and discusses some individual seamen. It contains the following sentences: 'Fifty years ago the trade of the Tyne was confined to the London coal trade, the Baltic and Netherlands trades, voyages to the Whiter sea, the West Indies and North America.' (3rd issue, p. 96)

Anti-Slavery Views

A number of issues contain small news and comment items on slavery and anti-slavery.

In 'America they are congratulating the escaped Irish rebel Mitchell - (would that O'Brien has escaped with him!), and continuing their republican slave huntings and democratic pro-slavery persecutions (the last note-worthy matter being a sentence of six month's imprisonment pass on a lady, a Mrs Douglas, for teaching negroes to read and write (wicked unchristian woman!)).' (Issue 2. p. 43)

'In America, notwithstanding the infamous Fugitive Surrender Bill, with which the Northern compromisers hoped to satisfy the slaveowners, the whole question of slavery comes again into dispute: the South wanting to introduce slavery into the Nebraska territory, Louisiana. And the North will give way. For truckling cowardice begets continual compromise.' (4th issue, p. 115; column of round-up of news 20 February-22 March 1855)

'The protest of 3,000 clergymen of Massachusetts against the introduction of slavery into the Nebraska territory has not been received by the Senate - one dissentient vote being sufficient for its exclusion. Free America!' (5th issue, p. 150' Miscellaneous notes)

'The Nebraska Bill has passed the United of States Senate. Another triumph for the slaveholders.'

(7th issue, p. 245; miscellaneous section.)

'America. The villainous Fugitive Slave Bill will yet dissolve the American Union. Better so, since the constitution of the United States sanctions and permits iniquities which no despotism can exceed, - better that the whole should be overthrown, and the Northern States at least be free from the guilt now lying at their door. For it is the North and not the South that must be blamed for American slavery. The North is stronger, the North is the majority, the North defines the constitution, the North passes and maintains the laws. The South is the slave-owner, but the North is the slave-driver. The Fugitive Slave Bill was a law passed to provide bloodhounds at the expense of the whole Union, to hunt down the fugitives from, slavery. The names of the bloodhounds are Massachusetts, New York - To read the names of the 'Free States of America - they are the bloodhounds. 'On the 2d of June the fugitive slave, Anthony Burns, was surrendered at Boston to his master by the United States' commissioner. He was immediately conveyed on board a revenue cutter which, without delay, set sail for New York. The militia lined the street from the Court House of the place of embarkation, where 50 armed policemen were stationed; and the fugitive was escorted by 145 regular troops, including a detachment of artillery with a nine-pounder loaded with grapeshot. Business was generally suspended, and many of the buildings were draped with black. An immense throng assembled in the streets, which greeted the military with groans and hisses, but, with the exception of several trifling collisions, incidental to all large gatherings, there was no violent exhibition of the deep and intense feeling that evidently prevailed.' The Puritan Fathers of the old Bay State had not been content with 'groans and hisses, and trifling collisions.'" (Issue 8, p. 280; monthly round-up 20 June - 20 July)

Poor Stocking Weaver Helps Penniless Negro

In one of several items headed 'Portrait of the Poor' Dr. Spencer. T. Hall wrote about Matthew Whitehead, a poor Nottinghamshire stocking weaver who had his own library and played the flute. One snowy winter he came across a negro. 'Whatever the snow had left uncovered had been robed in hoar-frost; and the only dark object in the whole scene was a negro, forlorn, shivering, and chattering, on the steps, upon one of which he had taken a seat. Having ascertained that the poor fellow had left the lodging-house without breakfast and without money, Matthew immediately took him home, where eight or nine basins of milk-porridge were already set out for the family meal. The next thing he did was to ask his wife to place an empty basin and spoon on the table in addition, and to have the whole household summoned around him. Then, drawing their attention to the hungry and shivering negro, who he said needed no other credentials than his skin to prove himself a homeless wanderer, he put a spoonful of the porridge from his own basin into the empty one, and asked who would be the first to follow his example. The idea was instantly caught, and each one speedily contributed a spoonful. Still the new share was not yet quite equal to the rest, so they each contributed a little more until it was; and sitting down by the warm fire-side to eat it, the grateful black enjoyed with them a comfortable meal, and then went on his way rejoicing, with some coppers in the his pocket besides; non of them per-(p.129) ceptibly poorer, and he doubly blest. What a beautiful practical lesson, to be remembered by the whole of that family through life!' (4th issue, p. 130).

Blackett and India

The sixth issue includes a portrait of John Fenwick Burgoyne Blackett of Wylam Hall, born 1821, who was elected to Parliament in 1852 as MP for Newcastle. His father Christopher had been MP for south Northumberland from 1837-41. After Harrow and Oxford he travelled, tutored at Oxford, qualified as a barrister but did not practice, and then wrote for the *Globe* newspaper in London. As a Liberal he supported 'a vigorous measure of Parliamentary Reform', provision of secular education, abolition of the Taxes against Knowledge, favour the eventual separation of Church and State, and interested in the 'prospects of our Indian possessions'. 'In the debates on Sir Charles Wood's Indian measures last session, he took an active part against the Government, being one of the most assiduous and effective leaders of the India Reform party.' He had lectured in Newcastle and Shields in favour of Indian reform, spoke in Newcastle and London in support of pro-Turkey meetings, supported the foundation of the Blaydon Mechanics Institution. (p. 187-9)

Italian Novel and *Uncle Tom's Cabin*

A book review of 'Lorenzo Benoni's *Passages in the Life of an Italian* (Constable and Co; Hamilton and Adams) states: 'If sufficiently read, Lorenzo Benoni can hardly fail to effect for the Italian cause that which Uncle Tom accomplished for the cause of Negro Emancipation. One difference there is between this book and Mrs Stowe's great work - the author never indulges in any of those canting rhapsodies which blemish the pages of the American authoress.' (7th issue, p. 235)

Death of a Moslem Leader

Issue 10 includes an account of, and the reaction to the, death of Ali Murid written by Goodwin Barmby. (p. 337- 40). Murid was a Moslem warrior leader killed by the Russians.

Napoleon and American Negroes

In a story set in France it is stated by a Bonapartist that Napoleon's bones from St Helena were sham. 'The Emperor was carried away by American negroes from Saint-Helena to the barbarous island where he remains concealed there with his eagles, his bees, and his little hat'. (2nd volume, issue 2, p. 18.)

Final Issue

The paper stopped with issue 9 of volume 2. It explained that the abolition of the penny stamp on newspapers 'will cause a revolution in journalist-literature, and in all periodical publications partaking of a political character. Indeed for political periodicals there will be no place; they must become newspapers or nothing. The *Tribune* circulation is partly local, partly general. The latter must be appropriated by a metropolitan newspaper. Life-enduring ties bind us to this district and it would be quite impossible in Newcastle to superintend a paper published in London. Under these circumstances we have made arrangements with Messrs Holyoake & Co to unite the *Tribune* with the *Reasoner*; the amalgamated journal to be issued in London, from the well known publishing office, 147 Fleet St, under the title of 'THE REASONER AND LONDON TRIBUNE.'

It was to be 24 pages and be a weekly. the first issue to appear on 11 March.

'It is almost superfluous to say that in the amalgamated paper the political principles of the *Tribune* will be asserted as frankly and fearlessly as hitherto.' The Tribune staff will help inc. Cooper, Macccall, Harney, Dr Lees, Henry N. Barnett, Barmby and Alexander Bell.

'We cannot at this moment announce the arrangements for a local democratic Newspaper, but our readers and the public will, we hope, speedily have satisfactory intimation of the beginning of such a journal. In conclusion we earnestly urge our friends to support the new organization lately established in Newcastle: THE REBUPRICAN BROTHERHOOD, which promises to take root and flourish. In the Republic we think we discern the surety of England's future. *The Republican Record*, a tract issued by the Brotherhood. Henceforth to be published monthly .. shall have our zealous support, and in its pages we hope to render the Republican case some small but hearty service.'

Thanks to the readers and success to Holyoake and the new Tribune.'

PARISH RECORDS

Across the country many family and local historians as well as those involved in Black and Asian history in Britain have found details of the births, deaths and marriages of many black people from the Caribbean, the Americas, Africa and the East Indies. They are identified because the

entry made includes reference to their colour or where they came from, or their status. Sean discussed issues relating to parish records in one of the October workshops.

He gave the following North East examples:

- **Sunderland.** Death of Anthonie, 'a blacke moore, fro panns" in 1613.
- **Gateshead.** On 16 December at St. Mary's 'Joseph Wells a Tawnie Moore, being brought into England by Thomas Clarke' was baptised aged 16.
- **Bishopswearmouth.** 27 March 1695 'A person aged about twenty years, a Tawny, borne at the Bay of Bengall in the East Indies, and being taken captive by the English, in his minoritie; was (after due examination of himself and wittnesses) Baptised, and named John Weremouth' at St Michael's, by me T[homas] O[gle] curate.'
- **Hexham.** March 1715 a negro named Wandoe was baptised. He had been brought into the country by Captain Roger Carnaby. In his will dated 31 March, 1713, Carnaby left 10/- 'to my black boy Wandoe, my present man servant.' A Roger Carnaby was involved in importing slaves into America in 1703/4, including suppressing an on board revolt.
- **Houghton-le-Spring.** 10 November 1723 Elizabeth, the daughter of Francis Sellar, Mr Chilton's 'moor' was baptised. A Francis Sellar is buried in the churchyard of St Michael & All Angels Church in Houghton-le-Spring.
- **Newcastle.** On April 21 1762 'A black boy from the Malabar coast, who was brought over in Admiral Pocock's fleet was baptised at St. Nicholas' church in Newcastle, by the name of Thomas Gateshead.' (16) Malabar was in India, so he could have been a dark-skinned Indian. However, it is also possible that he was African as there were many enslaved taken across to India.
- **Norham.** John London was 'a negro boy' aged about 8 belonging to John Craster of Shoreswood baptised on 15 September 1763.
- **Berwick.** George Sylla was 'an African and servant to Mr Ralph Foster, a merchant of Berwick. Baptised 1/3/1767'
- **Chatton.** John Crow was an 'adult black near 16 years old. Baptised 28/3/1768' A James Crow, servant of John Reavley, Chatton, was baptised on 17 January 1770. It is not clear whether the two Crows are related.
- **Sunderland.** Holy Trinity Church registers record: Hugh/ Jacob Clark 'a negro man aged 26 yrs' on 26 July 1771, and George Gooch, 'a negro boy aged approx. 17 yrs' in 1773.
- **Blackett Shafto,** servant to William Shafto of Jamaica, was baptised in 1778.
- **Eglington.** Charles Reed was the 15 year old negro son of Francis Reed of Virginia, a servant to Captain Charles Ogle. Charles was baptised on 17 April 1778 in St. Maurice Church.
- On 25 March 1818 John Conway 'a native of Sierra Leone Africa was baptised & christened' by the Vicar J. Stephenson; 'he is supposed to be 16 yrs old.'

Sean pointed out that there will be others in the North East who did not get baptised, marry or die while in the region, but might have done so elsewhere in the country as they travelled around with their owners and employers. As is shown above little is known about those whose race was recorded in the parish registers. Surprisingly little is known even about the black boxer portrayed in the famous painting by W.C. Irving 'The Blaydon Races', or the black boxer known as the 'Black Diamond' who is said to have lived in the village of Seaton Burn.

On the other hand other sources have enabled us to know a lot about some people who visited the region, like Bill Richmond, Percy, later Duke of Northumberland's boxer from America; Olaudah Equiano the black abolitionist who visited Newcastle in September 1792; the six mixed race children by George Goodin Barrett who sent them to Newcastle to be looked after by John Graham Clarke, the businessmen and slave plantation owner; and Mary Trespack, the servant to Elizabeth Barrett Browning, whose father had married Clarke's daughter. Then there was Tom the servant to the abolitionist and Northumberland coal mine owner Elizabeth Wortley Montagu, and William Johnson, one-time servant to the Earl of Strathmore.

Peter Livesey has been building up the biography of William Fifefield from St Kitts who lived in Newcastle for 40 years, and because he married and had children there are parish record

entries. Another soldier Tommy Crawford settled in Darlington, married and had a son who died aged 13 in 1830.

Because of its role as a major port area people living close to the Tyne would have regularly seen black sailors, sometimes from Royal Navy ships, but mostly on merchant ships. In July 1831 a black Royal Navy sailor, Africanus Maxwell, died after falling or being thrown from a quay in North Shields, while out drinking with two fellow sailors from his ship the 'HMS Orestes.' The inquest and their trial for murder were fully covered in the 'Tyne Mercury'. The men were acquitted.

On May 28 1832 'A man of colour, named Edwards, performed a somewhat novel and arduous feat on the north turnpike, near Newcastle. Holding the nath of a carriage wheel in his left hand, he rolled it along the turnpike with the utmost ease, and in this manner though the ground was very slippery, ran sixteen miles in two hours. A great number of people collected to witness the performance.'

Finally there was Mary Ann Macham who arrived in North Shields in 1831 or 1832, having escaped from slavery in Richmond, Virginia. She became servant to various members of the Spence family until she married a local man, James Blyth, in 1841, when she was aged about 35. They appear not to have had any children. By 1881 she was a widow living in Nelson Street, North Shields. By 1891 she was living with what appear to be relatives of James in South Benwell. Newcastle. She died in 1893 and was buried in Preston Cemetery, North Shields.

Tips for Using Parish Records

From his own experience and with advice from Kathy Chater, an active member of Black & Asian Studies Association, Sean outlined the following tips for using parish records:

- Printed transcripts are better to search, especially computerised ones, because you can see v. quickly if it's a non-standard entry, e.g. baptism X s. of Y and Z. Then look at originals.
- As most black people in 18th century started off as servants of the better-off, choose parishes that have country houses/lord/ladies/esquires - somewhere halfway up a Welsh mountainside or in the middle of a Cambridgeshire fen with three shepherds and 3,000 sheep will not contain many black servants.
- Don't go through marriage registers - generally a waste of time because so few black people are recorded as black in their marriage entries. When you do find a baptism/burial, *then* look for the marriage.
- An advantage of printed transcripts, such as by the Parish Records Society, were indexed, so it is possible to find the same name in other entries, even though the reference to colour of origin may not be added. It also enables the tracking of children after marriage.

New Information

Since the October workshop Valerie Glass has found a new entry in the Tweedmouth Parish Registers:

- 16 August 1770. Baptism of Charles August, a black born at Malabar in the East Indies. Given there were African slaves in India it is possible that Charles August could be either an African or an Indian.

Looking through the mass of papers accumulated during the Project I have found the following notes sent to me but with no indication of who did so.

- Bishopswearmouth. 25 March 1818. St Michael's Church. 'John Conway, a native of Sierra Leone Africa was baptised & christened this day by ... Vicar J. Stephenson, he is supposed to be 16 yrs old.'

Untold Histories

The people above are just a few examples of the thousands of black people whose stories are untold and because of the paucity of archival material may never be told. Based on her PhD involving building a database of black people in parish records and other documents, Kathy Chater tells the overall story in her book *Untold histories. Black people in England and Wales during the period of the British slave trade, c. 1680-1807* (Manchester University Press). At £60 it is very expensive so you may want to order it through your Library.

CHARLES DUNCAN O'NEAL

Charles Duncan O'Neal was a Barbadian doctor in Newcastle and Sunderland in the Edwardian period. The following preliminary sketch by Sean Creighton and Peter Freshwater (1) needs to be augmented by original research particularly in Sunderland.

Introduction

Charles Duncan O'Neal was a Barbadian who trained as a doctor at Edinburgh University, practised in Newcastle, and for a short while was an elected Councillor in Sunderland before he went back to Barbados in 1910. He is said to have known Keir Hardie. There he became the founder and leader of the Democratic Party.

Black Doctors in Britain

Jeffrey Green, the author of *Black Edwardians*, says that Afro-Caribbean medical men were far from rare in Britain. 'The colonial system brought them to UK Ireland or Canada on scholarships (or family wealth) but employment back in their natal lands was very restricted, with junior ranking in the official = Colonial medical service where freshly qualified whites often were appointed over black experienced doctors (as with Bond in Jamaica) and, of course, a limited private sector as so many locals were not in a cash economy. The locals preferred white or light-skinned doctors (Ludlow Moody in Jamaica). Added to that was the very real pull of their experiences here, working with British patients and medical colleagues who usually lacked the colour focus of the colonies; and of course they were young men, probably educated at British-focus schools or even (like Coleridge-Taylor's father) in Britain before attending medical schools, and they formed friendships and put down roots. Add to that the widespread belief that a black doctor not only offered British training but also obeah skills, and their role was quite solid in the UK.

The light-skinned Guyana born Risien Russell was a professor at UCL around 1900 and a highly respected nerve specialist who treated anti-suffrage author Mrs Humphry Ward and explorer Henry Stanley, and wrote articles and had a Harley Street practice. Dr J J Brown was very well regarded in Hackney, despite charging more than other local doctors.

It is a problem finding out what and where they worked after graduating, as the annual *Medical Register* relied on the doctors supplying the information and when they were just working here and there (as with Alcindor 1899-1906) there is no detail ' (2)

Barbados 1879-1899

O'Neal was born on 30 November 1879 and at St Lucy, Barbados. He was schooled at the island's Harrison College. On his Edinburgh matriculation record of 1899 his home address was given as Nesfield, St Lucy.

Medical Studentship

Having come to Edinburgh to study in 1899 he started off living at 37 Warrender Park Road. He passed his Preliminary Examination in October 1899, followed by his 1st Professional

Examinations in March and July 1900, the 2nd in March 1902, the 3rd in March 1903, and the 4th in June 1904. He graduated with a MB ChB on 23 July 1904

No definitive list of medals and prizes has been found but *The Scotsman* newspaper on Saturday 23 March 1901 reports the 'School of Medicine of the Royal Colleges, Edinburgh, Prize-List for Winter Session 1900-1901' as follows: Class of Anatomy. Practical Anatomy - Juniors. Section B - C. D. O'Neal and J. G. Craig, Medallists; and Class of Clinical Surgery, Royal Infirmary. Juniors - 1. Tom Bragg, 92 (Prize) 2. C. D. O'Neal, 78

The Royal Colleges of Surgeons and Physicians of Edinburgh had input into the University's Medical Faculty and curricula.

Cricket

O'Neal played cricket as a member of the University's team and appears in the annual team photographs. In the 1901 photograph his name appears 'C. D. O. Neill' and he stands in the middle of the back row, apparently the only non-White member of the Team). In 1903 his name is spelt right as C. D. O'Neal; he is seated this time and is wearing a University Blue blazer. He does not appear in the 1902 team photograph. A 1904 photograph has not been found, either in *The Student* or in the University Archive albums of sports team photograph.

He is almost certainly the 'C. T. O'Neil from the West Indies' described in *The Story of Edinburgh University Athletic Club*:

'He was a most uncommon player, who scorned both pads and gloves, and his hitting was prodigious. The trees beyond the boundary wall abutting the grounds of Craighouse were at that time well over 80 ft. high. Yet on many occasions O'Neil landed beautifully timed drives right over their leafy tops, to the astonishment of the inmates of the Mental Hospital policies enjoying a quiet game of golf ... He was also a fielder and bowler well above average.' (3)

He was often mentioned in cricket reports in *The Scotsman* which, it must be said, records some of his poor performances as well as his triumphs. He had bad games as well as good ones. No newspaper reports of his playing cricket in 1904 have been found, the year in which he sat his finals and graduated - not surprising, really.

He was not the first Black member of the University cricket team. The only two definite earlier ones. The Anglo-Indian George Anthony John a medical student (1881-1885) possibly from Agra seems not to have graduated - perhaps his devotion to cricket caused him to fail his exams or otherwise drop out. He appears in Usher's book, probably, as J. C. John!) and one as yet unidentified Afro-Caribbean (1897 and 1898). Jeffrey Green thinks this might be Alcindor, who also studied at Edinburgh. (2)

Debates and politics

O'Neal spoke in one Student Union debate on 6 November 1903, reported in the *The Student* newspaper. The motion was 'That this House regrets the admission of women to the University'. O'Neal spoke from the floor:

'Mr O'Neal wanted domestic comfort; besides, Mrs Hemans and other great women had no university education.'

From this it appears that O'Neal was speaking in favour of the motion, as did the anonymous writer of the report. The motion was defeated by 61 votes to 48.

The only other possible reference found is the report in *The Student* of a meeting of the Afro-West Indian Literary Society:

[Saturday 2 December 1899] 'The Afro-West Indian Literary Society held their usual fortnightly meeting - Mr A. A. Ayton in the chair. The business of the evening was a debate on the Transvaal question. The subject of the debate was, "That the Action of the British Government in interfering in the Internal Affairs of the Transvaal is unjustifiable." Mr Bishop, seconded by Mr Neill, moved the affirmative, and the negative was led by Mr Akiwande Savage, seconded by Mr Hughes. After a heated discussion, in which several of the members took part, the motion was carried by one vote.'

Was this Mr Neill in fact Mr O'Neal? The record of the previous meeting was full of misprinted names, and it is possible, on the evidence of the 1901 Cricket Team photograph, that this was another. There is no way of checking whether the membership of the AWILS really did include a Mr Neill. We assume this is O'Neal, but we cannot be certain.

Keir Hardie

Keir Hardie certainly came to address Socialist and Labour meetings in Edinburgh during O'Neal's time, and O'Neal could well have attended them and have contrived to meet Hardie afterwards. Equally (or perhaps more likely), O'Neal might have met Hardie while he was in Sunderland and a Council member.

Sunderland and Newcastle

O'Neal was living in Sunderland by 1905, as he is listed as living at Whitburn, Sunderland in the *Medical Directory* for 1905.

Return to Barbados

O'Neal returned to Barbados in 1910, left the island to live and work in Trinidad and Dominica, and then came back to Barbados in 1924 where he helped form the Democratic League. He died in November 1936, so there should be an obituary in the Bridgetown press - see the *Herald*, for which he wrote and which closed in 1930, and also the *Advocate*. We have not looked for him in the Barbados files at the TNA (CO 28), but that is an obvious further source, as are relevant papers in the Barbados National Archives, Bridgetown. We don't think that any of the Barbados newspapers are digitally indexed, so that does mean a search. A bridge in Bridgetown is named after O'Neal and his portrait appears on the \$10 dollar note.(6)

He is a national hero of Barbados. (7)

Notes

- (1) This biographical sketch was started on because of information from Diana Paton, a NESAG member who teaches at Newcastle-upon-Tyne University. Hearing him mentioned as being a Councillor in Sunderland in the early 1900s, she informed Sean as Co-ordinator of the Group. Peter Freshwater, a former Librarian in Edinburgh and a member of the Black & Asian Studies Association, undertook the research in Edinburgh University's archive.
- (2) Email from Jeffrey Green to Sean Creighton 15 July 2009. For information about Alcindor see *West Indian Doctors in London: John Alcindor (1873-1924) and James Jackson Brown (1882-1953)* in *Journal of Caribbean History* Vol 20 No 1 June 1986 pp 49-77; *John Alcindor (1873-1924): a Migrant's Biography* in *Immigrants and Minorities* Vol 6 No 2 July 1987 pp 174-189; and a summary in Jeffrey Green, *Black Edwardians* (Frank Cass).
- (3) edited by C M Usher (Edinburgh, 1966; p. 142)
- (4) *The Student*, new series volume 1, no 340 (12 November 1903) p. 75.
- (5) *The Student*, 7 December 1899
- (6) Information supplied by David Killingray, a former Professor, and a member of BASA. See Keith Hunte, 'The struggle for political democracy. 'Charles Duncan O'Neal and

the Democratic League', in Glenford D. Howe and Don D. Marshall, eds, *The nationalist tradition of Barbados*, and Hilary Beckles, *A history of Barbados. From Amerindian settlement to nation state* (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 156-63, & 171, with a photo of 'O'Neale' on p. 174.

(7) www.barbados.gov.bb/charlesd.htm