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Howard University**



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THE CARIBBEAN COLLECTION AT THE MOORLAND-SPINGARN RESEARCH CENTER, HOWARD UNIVERSITY

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Since the early 1960s there has been increasing interest in Caribbean life and affairs; consequently, the discovery of new sources of materials and centers for research on the region are of particular importance to the growing number of Caribbeanists. The Moorland-Spingarn Research Center at Howard University in Washington, D.C. is funded by the university and receives additional finances annually from numerous donors; it is a vital part of the university's library system and operates under the supervision of the office of the Vice-President for Academic Affairs. Among the thousands of books, articles, manuscripts, newspapers, photographs, prints, and recordings on the black diaspora are myriad materials on the Caribbean. This Caribbean collection is as extensive and important an investigative tool as many of the better-known repositories in the United States or Canada; but this century-old holding is hardly known. Probably one of the main reasons for this oversight is that Caribbean source material may appear to be outside the academic scope of Howard University; hence, Caribbeanists frequent traditional centers such as the Institute of Jamaica in Kingston and the Bodleian and West India Committee Libraries in Britain.

THE ACQUISITION OF CARIBBEAN HOLDINGS BY THE CENTER

The acquisition process began and developed because of a close and long affinity between the Caribbean region and Howard University: two years after its inception, the first Caribbean student matriculated at the university,¹ beginning an interest in the region that has matured over the decades.

Soon after Howard University was incorporated by the U.S. Congress as an institution of higher learning in 1867, the faculty began to acquire books on blacks around the world, including the Caribbean. The founders of the university were mostly Congregationalists and missionary-minded; thus, they were interested in literature written by and for missionaries working in all lands populated primarily by blacks. This trend automatically placed works on Africa, as well as the Caribbean, in the earliest collection. Furthermore, the university's first librarian, Danforth B. Nicholas (1867-73) was an avid collector of materials related to blacks. It was he who encouraged General Otis O. Howard, a founder and third president of the university (1869-73), to request Louis Tappan to

deposit his collection of government documents, books, pamphlets, and newspaper clippings with the university's library.² Tappan, a leading abolitionist and a key founder of the American Missionary Association, had joined the American Colonization Society in 1828 and his library included literature on various aspects of Caribbean life in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. One of the publications in his collection, written by William Lloyd and entitled *Letters from the West Indies* (1837), mentions Tappan's antislavery work.³ Tappan's collection of over sixteen hundred items was incorporated into the university library in 1873, after his death, and includes extensive and valuable pro- and antislavery documents and works on the Caribbean, some authored and published by the most prominent spokesmen and writers of British and American antislavery societies. These papers and publications formed the nucleus of the center's Caribbean holdings and became the foundation upon which additions were made.

In 1914 the second substantial contribution was made to the Caribbean materials at Howard University when Jesse E. Moorland (1863–1940), an alumnus and trustee of the university, donated his extensive research collection of over three thousand volumes on black literature. Moorland made periodic additions that total over 125,000 index items⁴ and cover a wide range of subjects on the Caribbean and its multicultural environs. The Caribbean literature of the Moorland Collection includes eighteenth and nineteenth century works and secondary social, educational, and political studies on all the major geographical divisions that comprise the Caribbean. Alain Locke, the first Afro-American Rhodes Scholar, writer, university professor, and patron of the New Negro Movement greatly aided in the selection of Caribbean materials that were added systematically to this growing special collection during the 1920s, then called the "Moorland Foundation." The appointment in 1930 of Dorothy B. Porter as the foundation's curator resulted in the collection becoming a flourishing research library. She developed a special classification system for the collection and most Caribbean publications were arranged into small units within the foundation's holdings.

Soon after World War II, Arthur B. Spingarn (1878–1971), America's most knowledgeable bibliophile of black authors worldwide (during the 40s and 50s) sold his special collection of over thirty thousand items to the university. This third major addition made the Moorland Foundation one of the most valuable research libraries on black authors and black life in the United States.⁵ Spingarn had corresponded closely with Caribbean editors, writers, publishers, scholars, and secondhand book dealers for over fifty years. Consequently, he became well known to the vanguard of Caribbean literary circles, and his collection includes a number of first editions (many of them personally autographed), as well as rare books on the area in English, Spanish, French, and Dutch. Among the best known of the rare Caribbean works in the Spingarn Collection are the writings of Cuban poet, Plácido, christened Gabriel de la Concepción Valdés (1809–44); the essays on Haitian trees and fruit by Frederic Reynaud-Burr; the works of other Haitians like composer, Oswald Durand; historian, Duracine Valal; the prolific Pompei Valentin Thomas P. Gragnon-La Coste; the early poetry of Isaac

Toussaint-l'Ouverture, including his *l'Haitiade, poem epique* (1828); and one of the only accounts of slavery in the British West Indies told by a black, Ashton Warner of St. Vincent (1831).

The most recent substantive addition to the Caribbean holding was the acquisition of the Kurt Fisher Collection in 1972. Fisher, an Austrian archaeologist and ethnologist, conducted studies on pre-Columbian culture in Hispaniola. This Haitian collection contains both rare and fascinating, unpublished as well as published, documents and manuscripts spanning almost one hundred and seventy years of the Haitian republic's history. The more than five hundred items include decrees, military orders, proclamations, and selected issues of a few early nineteenth-century Haitian newspapers. The earliest document is a French 1716 *Rules and Statutes of the Compagnie Royale de Saint Domingue*. The most outstanding documents are irregular 1802 correspondence of the three leading early Haitian revolutionary leaders Toussaint l'Ouverture (1743–1803), Jean Jacques Dessalines (1758–1806), and Henri Christophe (1767–1820). These letters explain, in part, the activities of Captain-General Le Clerc and his attempt to save Saint Domingue for France and subdue l'Ouverture. Other very useful research tools are the periodical official correspondence of many Haitian presidents from Nissage-Saget (1870–74) to François Duvalier (1957–70).

In September 1973, the university Board of Trustees reorganized the foundation into a research center under the directorship of Michael R. Winston. The existing facilities were restructured and expanded to accommodate a greater influx of researchers, and a more extensive global acquisition program was initiated to maintain closer contact with publishers and book dealers of Caribbean publications. The task of securing pertinent and relevant Caribbean literature continues at the center in order to preserve the depth and magnitude of the collection.

SCOPE OF CARIBBEAN MATERIALS IN THE CENTER

The Caribbean materials are scattered throughout the manuscript and library divisions of the research center, and include books, periodicals, magazines, newspapers, manuscripts, letters, theses, dissertations, seminar papers, pamphlets, photographs, drawings, maps, clippings, and microfilm data of various kinds. Some of the rarer material includes government documents, private letters, and first editions of both historical as well as literary works. The total number of entries in the center's two card catalogs (Moorland and Spingarn, respectively) represent over 4,500 specific publications, documents, and artifacts in the Caribbean collection.

The largest unit of Caribbean holdings is in the library division, which contains printed material from books to newspaper clippings. Using the special classification system developed by Porter in the 1930s, the Caribbean holdings are located in four general areas within the Moorland Collection and within another subsection of the Spingarn Collection. The subjects cover a range of fields that can be divided into seventeen basic areas: art, anthropology, communications, demography, economics, education, geography, history, health,

international relations, linguistics, literature, medicine, music, political science, sociology, sports, and religion. The largest concentration of materials deals with the English-speaking Commonwealth Caribbean territories. Haitian literature in both French and English is also well represented. Other works in French are publications on Martinique, Guadeloupe, and French Guiana. Spanish literature focuses on Cuba, the Dominican Republic, and Puerto Rico, while the few Dutch works generally relate to Surinam and the Netherland Antilles. Within the library division of the center are three subdivisions that also contain Caribbean materials very helpful to the serious researcher. First is the Howardiana section, which contains published works of past and present university personnel; second is the newspaper section that subscribes to five dailies published in the Caribbean; and, finally, the vertical file system, which has a wealth of newspaper clippings and magazine articles about the Caribbean.

The manuscript division has no special Caribbean holdings, but scattered throughout the personal and institutional papers and collections are letters, documents, prints, photographs, occasional diaries, albums, scrapbooks, and artifacts from and about the Caribbean. Among the papers deposited in this division of prominent personalities who had close ties with the Caribbean are: the Louis Tappan Antislavery Papers (1814–73), the Georgia Fraiser Goins Papers (1883–1964), the Archibald H. Grimke Papers (1849–1930), U.S. Consul to Santo Domingo (1894–98), and the Frederick Douglass Papers (1817–95) (U.S. Ambassador to Haiti, 1889–91). The Thomas Clarkson Papers (1814–46) contain his correspondence with English philanthropists and abolitionists until his death in 1846, and include letters from personalities deeply involved in the abolition of slavery in the Caribbean: Thomas Fowell Buxton, Lewis Tappan, Robert Vaux, and Joseph Sturge. Many of these letters bear notes in Clarkson's handwriting. The William Henry Hunt Papers (1898–1941) have materials on the Caribbean (box 5) collected when he was a U.S. Consul in Guadeloupe, French West Indies (1927–30). Other documents on the Caribbean are included in the Jan Earnst Matzelliger Papers (1852–99); the Arthur B. Spingarn Papers (1818–1971); the Papers of Mabel K. Staupers (1890–) especially box 7; the Papers of Dantès Bellegarde (1877–1966) include the dissertation on "Bellegarde in Haitian Social Thought," prepared by his grandson, Patrick Bellegarde-Smith, and the recently acquired papers of French Guianese poet, Léon Gontran Damas (1912–77), who with Aimé Césaire and Léopold Sedar Senghor in the mid-1930s developed the theory of *negritude*. The Alain Locke Papers (1886–1954) contain papers, letters, and other materials on various Afro-Caribbean artists involved in the Harlem Renaissance, from Claude McKay of Jamaica to Eric Walrond of Panama. However, the largest unit of Caribbean material within the Locke Papers is the holdings on René Maran, the prolific Martiniquais novelist (box 50), containing correspondence, manuscripts, clippings in French and English (1926, 1927, 1949), and photographs.

The division also possesses correspondence of individuals who are of Caribbean origin: among the best known are Toussaint l'Ouverture, the Haitian independence leader; Marcus Garvey, the Jamaican Pan African Nationalist; and Claude McKay, Jamaica-born poet and writer of the Harlem Renaissance. Also

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within this division is the prints and photographs department, which houses over one thousand photographs and prints of Caribbean personalities and scenes from the eighteenth century to recent times. In spite of all this, K. E. Ingram's *Manuscripts Relating to the Commonwealth Caribbean Countries in the United States and Canadian Repositories* (1975), a definitive guide to source materials on the English-speaking Caribbean, failed to mention the Moorland-Spingarn Research Center in its survey of centers in Washington D.C., but includes others containing far less material.⁶

A BRIEF SKETCH OF THE CARIBBEAN LITERATURE

The strongest facets of the Caribbean works in the center are the antislavery, Haitian, and Caribbean Commonwealth publications. Other outstanding strengths of the collection are a number of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century editions on the British West Indies, Caribbean periodicals and journals, selected microfilmed newspapers, over one hundred theses and dissertations, unique Caribbean prints and photographic albums, and a wide range of first edition publications by Caribbean poets, novelists, playwrights, and historians since World War II. The center has over twenty-five contemporary bibliographical guides to various types of Caribbean materials from private manuscripts to government documents. The most extensive are the standard guides to historical materials of the English-speaking Caribbean, although Hispanic Caribbean guides are equally as helpful; the center also has a good representation of guides on Caribbean literary works.

Pre-1900 Caribbean Literature

The Moorland-Spingarn Research Center has almost four hundred pre-1900 publications on the Caribbean; two-thirds of these were published in the nineteenth century. Motivated by a desire to provide a vehicle for meaningful understanding and research, early librarians either had selected these works or they became a part of the collection with the incorporation of individual holdings. Many of these first edition volumes on slavery and emancipation in the Caribbean from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries from Jamaica to Trinidad are not known to be in any other special collection.

Among the rarest are Louis Dubroca's *Vida de Jean Jacques Dessalines, Gefe de Negros de Santo Domingo; con notas muy circunstanciadas sobre el origen, caracter y atrocidades, Dades de Los Principal es Gefes de Los Negros Desde El Principio de La Insurreccion en 1791* (1805) and Joseph Sturge's *Narrative of the Cruel Treatment of James Williams, A Negro in Jamaica* (1837). Although some of these publications can be classified as superficial travelogues, a large majority have great value as the only existing contemporary records of social life and customs of Caribbean peoples during the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries. Hence, much of this literature is useful to those seeking an accurate picture of conditions—social, economic, or political—during those decades. Some of the most valuable have

been reprinted recently by American publishing houses for the first time in more than one hundred years.

It is necessary to understand the rudiments of pre-1900 Caribbean historiography before attempting to evaluate objectively this category of works at the Moorland-Spingarn Research Center. Furthermore, the unique acquisition process that created the center and the availability and desirability of certain genres of English publications on the Caribbean, has produced the center's present balance of Caribbean literature, which is overwhelmingly saturated with writings on the formerly British West Indian colonies. Chronologically these writings span colonization to 1899 and represent several basic literary forms, each of which seems geared to a specific era. The most popular literary models in the seventeenth century are exploratory accounts and travelogues; the eighteenth-century works are generally magisterial planter histories and proslavery apologist writings; and the nineteenth-century works are abolitionists' accounts, missionary treatises, and civil servant appraisals.

There are five published documents in the center that were first produced during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. These facsimiles are Sir Walter Raleigh's *The Discoverie of the Large and Bewtiful Empire of Guiana* (1596, 1966), Robert Harcourt's *A Relation of a Voyage to Guiana* (1616, 1928), Cosmo Brunett's *Three Relations of the West Indies 1659-1660* (1680, 1969), Edward Ward's *A Trip to Jamaica: With a True Character of the People and Island* (1698, 1700, and 1923), and John Ogilby's *Description and History of the Island of Jamaica* (1671). Ogilby (1600-76) wrote one of the first histories of Jamaica after the British replaced the Spanish as rulers of the island in 1655.

The sixty-eight works from the eighteenth-century, most of which are first editions, concentrate on the British and French West Indian colonies; the majority of material in the latter refers to conditions in Saint Domingue (later Haiti). The most significant themes are the slave trade, slavery, and its abolition, and the publications are basically of three types: (a) general-descriptive; (b) narrative accounts of conditions in specific territories; and (c) pro- and anti-slavery literature. The most interesting work in the first category is Père Jean Baptiste Labat's *Nouveau voyage aux Iles de l'Amérique* (1722), of which the center has five of the original six-volume set, published twenty-one years before the more popular eight-volume edition of 1743. Labat was a thirty-year-old Jacobin monk who worked in Martinique, French West Indies in the 1690s and travelled to Gaudeloupe, Dominica, Barbados, St. Vincent and, Santo Domingo between 1700 and 1703. As a Frenchman, Labat is critical of the English, and his account ranks among the first objective evaluations of life in these colonies. The earliest historical work on Haiti in the collection is Pierre-François Xavier's *Histoire de l'isle espagnole ou de Saint-Domingue* (1733).

Most of the literature on slavery was published after 1770. Some are government documents embracing summaries and abstracts of evidence given before the Select Committee of the House of Commons in Britain on the slave trade between 1790 and 1792. The earliest discourse on slavery in the Caribbean is Malachy Postlethwayte's *The African Trade* (1745). Postlethwayte (1707-67)

was a British merchant who desired to expand the slave trade at the exclusion of the French. The most penetrating and convincing antislavery works in the collection are by the leaders of the abolition movement: Ottobah Cugoano's *Thoughts and Sentiments on the Evil of Slavery* (1791), Alexander Falconbridge's *An Account of the Slave Trade on the Coast of Africa* (1788), Granville Sharpe's *An Essay on Slavery* (1773), Francis Hargrave's *An Argument in the Case of James Sommersett, A Negro* (1772), and Thomas Clarkson's *Letters on the Slave Trade* (1791); each work was vital to the fight against slavery. Cugoano had been captured as a slave in Africa and served in the West Indies before he lived as a free man in London; Falconbridge had been a medical practitioner on board a slaver; Sharpe was in the forefront of early abolition movements and with Hargrave and others convinced the British courts to declare slavery illegal in Britain. Clarkson proved to be one of the greatest advocates against slavery and his experience on the African coast at Fort St. Louis and Gorée during 1789–90 contributed significantly to the dialogue about the abolition of slavery.

The center also has accumulated some of the best works on slavery with a variety of Caribbean perspectives. Three of the four original volumes of Edward Long's classic *History of Jamaica* (1774) are part of the collection. Long (1734–1813) was born in Jamaica, studied law in Britain, returned to the family's plantation, and served in the Jamaica House of Assembly. He held that blacks were naturally inferior and immoral and hence black slavery in the Caribbean was not improper. Among those with opposing views were J. B. Moreton, *Manners and Customs in the West Indies* (1790) and Bryan Edwards' coherent and beautifully written *History of the British Colonies in the West Indies* (1793–94). Edwards is far more objective than his colleagues; he condemns slavery and hints that blacks, like other races, are both good- and bad-natured.

There are also eighteenth-century works that concentrate on various geographical units of the Caribbean. These publications include William Duke's *Memories of the First Settlement of the Islands of Barbados and other of the Carribbee* [sic] *Islands* (1742–43), who as clerk of Barbados' House of Assembly prepared this work from original seventeenth-century documents; H. E. Holder's *Short Essay on the Subject of the Negro Slavery with Particular Reference to the Island of Barbados* (1788); Thomas Atwood's *History of Dominica* (1791); William Young's *Account of Black Charibs* [sic] *in the Island of St. Vincent* (1795); Jean Baptist Thebault de Chauvalon's *Voyage à la Martinique* (1763); and Charles Leslie's *A New and Exact Account of Jamaica* (1741); all portray legal and social conditions of the increasingly complex Caribbean colonies as the sugar industry flourished and the demand for more slaves increased. The moving report of cruelty and sadism in John Gabriel Stedman's *Narrative of a Five Years' Expedition Against the Revolted Negroes of Surinam* (1796, 1806) reinforces the view of slavery's inhumanity.

The Haitian literature on this period comprises important compilations of codes and laws. Jerome Pétion de Villeneuve's *Reflexions sur la noir et denonciation d'un crime affreux commis a Saint-Domingue* (1790) and Guillaume T. Raynal's *Essai sur l'Administration de St. Domingue* (1785) vividly describe conditions just prior to the revolutionary years; Bryan Edwards' *Historical Survey of the French Colony in the Island of Saint Domingue* (1791) helps us capture the views of the British

colonialists regarding the circumstances that led to the Haitian revolution; and Médérie-Louis Élie Moreau de Saint-Méry's *Description topographique, physique, civile politique et historique de la partie Française de l'isle Saint-Domingue* (1797) is easily the center's most classical work from this century.

Nineteenth-Century Caribbean Literature

The nearly three hundred nineteenth-century works cover a variety of topics, subjects, views, and studies in three languages: Spanish, French, and English. Each work presents its unique preception of life in the Caribbean during a most critical period for that multicultural region, and reveals differences in local life styles, metropolitan policies, and even literary idiosyncrasies. The Haitian writings have by far the largest concentration of publications (nearly 100), followed by Jamaica and Cuba. In addition, forty works deal with the English-speaking Caribbean in general; another forty-nine discuss the merits and demerits of the abolition of slavery in the Caribbean; and additional documents comprise Great Britain Parliamentary Papers on correspondence of British commissioners at Havana, Rio de Janeiro and Surinam on the continuing slave trade in the 1840s.

The major nineteenth-century abolitionist works of Thomas Clarkson, James Stephen, Granville Sharpe, Zachary Macaulay, and William Wilberforce are the most compelling and provocative of the collection. Clarkson's most useful works are the English translation of his Latin dissertation of 1785, also in its first Philadelphian 1804 edition entitled, *An Essay on the Slavery and Commerce of the Human Species Particularly the African* (1804), and his later evaluation of slavery in *The History of the Rise, Progress and Accomplishment of the Abolition of the African Slave Trade* (1804), both of which provided some of the earliest and strongest arguments against continuing the slave trade in the Caribbean. James Stephen, a former resident of Barbados and member of the Clapham sect, penned *England Enslaved by Her Own Slave Colonies* (1826), articulating the benefits of free labor over slave labor. Sharpe's *Serious Reflections on the Slave Trade and Slavery* (1805) and Macaulay's *Negro Slavery or a View of Some of the More Prominent Features* (1824) are also considered classics of the abolition movement. Wilberforce's piercing pen in *A Letter on the Abolition of the Slave Trade Addressed to the Freeholders and other Inhabitants of Yorkshire* (1807), as well as in *A Letter to His Excellency . . . on the Slave Trade* (1814), undoubtedly reveals his persistent desire to bring slavery to an end. Those interested in examining the attitude of the British Parliament towards slavery can review the House of Commons Select Committee Reports for 1791, 1806, and 1841–45 as well as the treaties for the abolition of the traffic in slaves. Equally valuable are numerous pamphlets on slavery conditions in the British West Indies primarily published by the anti-slavery societies in Britain; these essays reveal the social conflict and complexity of dismantling the slave society. The most vivid reports are David Barclay's *An Account of the Emancipation of the Slaves of Unity Valley Pen In Jamaica* (1825), and others by anonymous authors including, *Predisposing Cause to Insurrection in Demarara* (1824?) and *An Account of a Shooting Excursion on the Mountains near Dromilly Estate in the Parish of Trelawny, Island of Jamaica* (1825).

The general works of the nineteenth century discuss many of the pressing issues confronting the Caribbean during this period. It is interesting that over half of these publications were printed between 1800 and 1838, when persons from all walks of life were paying great attention to the inhumane conditions in the colonies. The authors of these works represented varied backgrounds and occupations, and differed greatly in their rationale for the existing conditions in the Caribbean: some were simply curious travelers, dedicated missionaries, or honest stipendiary magistrates; others were newspaper editors (Joseph H. Kimball, Joseph J. Gurney, William Sewell), abolitionist leaders (Joseph Sturge, Thomas Harvey), medical practitioners (George Pinckard, George A. Waller, William Lloyd, Richard S. Fisher), leading clergymen (D. P. Kidder, Edward B. Underhill, James Thorne, Hope M. Waddel, R. Madden), military and naval officers (John Davey, Thomas S. St. Clair, Studholm Hodgson), novelists (J. J. Thomas, Anthony Trollope, Charles Kingsley), British civil servants (C. S. Salmon, Andrew Halliday), and historians (Bryan Edwards, Thomas Southey, Charles Kingsley, James A. Froude). Within the last decade many of these works have been considered so vital to a better understanding of the postemancipation Caribbean that several of these classics have been reprinted.

An evaluation of the nineteenth-century publications by specific geographical units clearly shows the dedication of the center's early bibliographers to make the collection useful. Among the most informative and valuable publications on Barbados are John Poyer's *History of Barbados* (1801), Robert Schomburgk's classic *History of Barbados* (1848) and S. J. Fraser's *Barbados Diamond Jubilee Directory* (1897). They contain vital statistics of literary and agricultural societies on the island, and also represent the most comprehensive critiques of conditions in this predominantly sugar-producing British colony in the Caribbean prior to and after emancipation.

The Cuban literature of this period includes selections from the works of Plácido, Manzano, Rodrigues, Echemendia, Silveria, Median, and others in such anthologies as José Socorro de Leon's *Cuba Poética, colección escogida las composiciones en verso de los poetas cubanos desde Zequeira hasta nuestros días* (1858); Francisco Calcagonos' popular *Poetas de color* (1878); Francisco Martín Llorente's *Presencia negra en la poesía popular cubana del Siglo XIX* (1939); and Luis Rodríguez-Embil's *La Poesía negra en Cuba* (1939). The earliest Cuban documents on slavery are the 157-page *Documentos de que hasta Ahora se compone el expediente que principiaron los cortes extraordinarios sobre el trafico y esclavitud de los negros* (Madrid: 1814). Equally valuable is the ambitious four-volume work of Don Jacobo de Pezuela, *Historia de la Isla de Cuba* (1868), which surveys the most crucial events in Spain's leading colony up to the administrations of Captain-Generals Francisco Serrano and Domingo Dulce just prior to the bloody Ten Years' War. Most of the English works on Cuba were published after 1850 when an increasing number of Americans and British began to observe Spain's largest colony in the Americas with eager eyes; one is the English commissioner at Havana, R. R. Madden's translation of the poems of the Cuban slave Juan Francisco Manzano (1797–1854), called *Poems by a Slave in the Island of Cuba* (1840).

The works on the French West Indies include some on the events leading up to the French abolition of slavery in 1844: Théophile Hue's *Martinique et Guadeloupe: conseils coloneaux session de 1840 sur la question de l'émancipation* (1841), M. Le Contre Amiral la Place's *Observation sur l'émancipation des noirs* (1844), and four works of the Martiniquais delegate to the French Chamber of Deputies, M. Jollivet in *Discourse de . . . sur les petition demandant l'abolition de l'esclave* (1844) and *Des petitions demandant l'émancipation immediate des noirs dans les colonies francaises* (1847). Other treatises on slavery are by Thomas Branagan (1804), Arthur Desjardins (1891), Charles La Vavas seur (1839), Felix Milliroux (1877), Sunonde de Sesmondi (1814), Alexis Tocqueville (1839), Victor Schoelcher (1847), and Lucien Pierre (1897).

The publications on the former colony of British Guiana include Henry Bolingbroke's four-hundred-page *A Voyage to the Demerary, Containing a Statistical Account of the Settlements* (1807), one of the first descriptions of the territory after it was finally captured by the British from the Dutch in 1803. John H. Berman's *Missionary Labours in British Guiana* (1847), William H. Brett's *The Indian Tribes of Guiana* (1852) and his later *Legends and Myths of the Aboriginal Indians of British Guiana* (1880), along with L. Crookall's *British Guiana* (1898), all document the Amerindian presence and culture in Guyana's vast "interior" during the nineteenth century. Other landmark works are John Scoble's *British Guiana* (1838), Edwin Wallbridge's *The Demerara Martyr* (1848) (a sympathetic memoir of the Rev. John Smith), Robert H. Schomburgk's *A Description of British Guiana* (1840), George W. Bennett's *Illustrated History of British Guiana* (1866), and the outstanding work of James Rodway in *History of British Guiana . . . 1668–1891* (1894). The Guyanese literary works include those of Egbert Martin (1859–87), who was among the earliest indigenous poets to have his work published in England. His works at the center include *Leo's Poetical Works* (1883), *Scriptology* (1885), and *Leo's Local Lyrics* (1886).

Jamaican literature in the collection focuses on slave conditions, effects of the abolition of slavery, the missionary's role in postemancipation Jamaica, and the circumstances surrounding the Morant Bay crisis of 1865. Works on slave conditions are William Sells' *Remarks on the Condition of the Slaves in the Island of Jamaica* (1823), J. Stewart's *View of Past and Present State of the Island of Jamaica* (1823), George W. Bridges' *Annals of Jamaica* (1828), and Matthew G. Lewis' *Journal of a West Indian Proprietor* (1834). Postemancipation volumes are Henry Stern's *Jamaica Apprenticeships* (1837), James M. Phillippo's *Jamaica Its Past and Present State* (1847), and John Clark's *A Brief Account of the Settlement of the Emancipated Peasantry* (1852). Three of the best nineteenth-century discussions on the Morant Bay Crisis are William F. Finlason's *Justice to a Colonial Governor* (1868), Bedford Pim's *The Negro and Jamaica* (1866), and George Price's *Jamaica and the Colonial Office* (1866). These works summarize the major points of view of British civil servants and local Jamaican sympathizers immediately following this watershed in British West Indian history.

On account of Trinidad's neglected status as a Spanish colony until 1797, and its relatively unimportant role immediately after British conquest, there are few works that concentrate specifically on the colony during the nineteenth

century. The most significant of those in the collection are John Baptist Philip's letter to the Secretary of State for the Colonies entitled *An Address to the Right Honorable Earl Bathurst* (1824), Edward L. Joseph's *History of Trinidad* (1838), Lionel M. Fraser's *History of Trinidad* (1814, 1839), William Burnley's (chairman of the local agricultural and immigration society) *Observations on the Present Condition of the Island of Trinidad* (1842), and Pierre-Gustave Louis Borde's two volume *Histoire de L'île de Trinidad sous le gouvernement Espagnol* (1882).

Haitian nineteenth-century literature constitutes the strongest unit in this division. It is an accumulation of works from all the individual collections (Tappan, Moorland, Spingarn and Fisher), and works are both in English and French (the latter predominates). Much of this literature focuses directly or indirectly on the political, social, and economic conditions faced after independence in 1804. One work of special interest that falls outside this description is S. J. Ducoeur-Joly's *Manuel de habitants de Saint Domingue* (1802). This report has preindependence statistics on the country's agricultural production and includes the first French-Creole vocabulary for understanding the Haitian masses; also, it includes Jean D. Poupée-Desportes' "Medecine domestique de Saint Dominique." Among the specifically government documents are *Le Constitution de la Republique Haitienne* (1848) and Louis J. Janvier's *Les Constitutions d' Haiti* (1886), which includes the country's constitutions from 1801 to 1885.

Caribbean Journals and Newspapers

The Moorland-Spingarn Research Center contains editions of over two hundred distinctly Caribbean journals and periodicals, although there are complete holdings for only a quarter of them. They cover a wide variety of subject areas, and were published in sixteen countries, the most well-represented of which are Haiti, Jamaica, Cuba, the U.S. (mainland), Trinidad, Britain, Latin America, and Guyana. The center has first editions of almost half of these journals and periodicals; most were gifts to the university or to Arthur Spingarn, who annually reviewed literature on black-oriented subjects for the journal *Crisis* between 1936 and 1968. The average span of these periodicals is about five years, but the center has all issues of about 20 percent of the total.

Among the most useful journals on Caribbean agriculture are: *America Proa* (Kingston 1933, 1934, 1950-53), *The Journal of the Board of Agriculture of British Guiana* (Georgetown 1913, 1914, 1918-27), and *Revue de Agricole d'Haiti* (Port-au-Prince). The most representative on the arts are: *América: Revista de la Asociación* (Havana 1940), *Centre d' Art* (Port-au-Prince 1972), *Dialogue: Revue Culturelle* (Fort de France 1956-58), *Entr' Acte* (Port-au-Prince 1951), *Kaie* (Georgetown 1965, 1967), *La Republique* (Haiti 1881), *Studio* (Port-au-Prince 1946), and *Savacou* (Kingston 1970, 1971).

The leading periodicals in the field of economics include: *The Commonwealth Today* (London 1957), formerly *Commonwealth Development* (1951-53, 1956, 1961); *The Caribbean* (Port-of-Spain 1947-58); *New World Quarterly* (Kingston 1965-68); *Social and Economic Studies* (Mona 1953-76); *Quarterly Economic Report* (Port-of-Spain); *Overseas Trade* (Port-of-Spain 1955, 1974, 1975); *Bulletin Tri-*

mestriel de Statistique (Port-au-Prince 1951, 1973, 1974); *Guyana Today* (Georgetown 1975), *Trinidad and Tobago Financial Statistics* (Port-of-Spain 1966, 1970, 1971); and the *West Indian Committee Circular* (London 1952, 1954). The analyses and data given in these works portray both negative and positive assessments of economic and social conditions in the Caribbean from the post-West Indian Federation era to the postindependent period in the Commonwealth Caribbean. Articles on education can be found in journals that also cover other subjects. However, among those with special educational orientation are: *Overseas Education* (1930–35, 1955, 1962), *The Colonial Review* (1940–57), *Bermuda Educational Journal* (1941–42), and *Caribbean Educational Bulletin* (Rio Piedras, P.R. 1969–).

Journals concentrating on history are the most numerous, and represent the research of scholars from historical associations at Fort-de-France, Nassau, Port-au-Prince, Hamilton, Port-of-Spain, Bridgetown, Havana, Mona, Kingston, and Georgetown. The greatest concentration of excellent articles are in the *Bahama Review*, *Bermuda Historical Quarterly*, *Bulletin societe d'histoire et de geographie et geologie d'Haiti*, *Caribbean Historical Review*, *Caribbean Review*, *Caribbean Quarterly*, *Journal of Caribbean Studies*, *The Caribbean*, *Forum*, *Journal of Barbados Museum and Historical Society*, *The Journal of Caribbean History*, *The Jamaica Journal* (formerly *Jamaica Historical Review*), the *Journal of Inter-American Studies*, and the *Bulletin de la societe d'histoire de la Guadeloupe*.

Caribbean literature is discussed in over twenty journals. The most outstanding published recently outside the Caribbean are *Black Images* (since 1972, Toronto, Canada) and the *Journal of Commonwealth Literature* (London); the best journal prepared by a school is *Horientes: Revista de la Union*, connected to the Catholic University of America. A few Haitian journals in this field date back to the late nineteenth century and include: *L'Echo* (1881), *La Republique* (1881), *Les Mousquetaire*, *Journal Litterairi* (1882), and *La Juene Haiti* (1893, 1894). Among the leading contemporary literary journals representing the English-speaking Caribbean are: *Bim* (Barbados), *Kairi* (Port-of-Spain), *Kyk-over-al* (Georgetown) and *Spotlight* (Kingston), all indispensable in understanding the role of poetry and novels in Caribbean society.

In 1971, the center began collecting and microfilming issues of the leading English-speaking dailies printed in the Caribbean: Barbados' *Advocate News*, Guyana's *Guyana Graphic*, Jamaica's *Daily Gleaner*, Antigua's *Outlet*, Trinidad and Tobago's *Express*, and the U.S. Virgin Islands' *Daily News*. Other newspapers covering short periods with various specific issues in focus have also been microfilmed. The Haitian newspapers, with their dates, are: *La poste* (1923), *Les Groits* (1948–50), *Haitian Journal* (1943, 1946–48), *The Haitian Sun* (1952–54), *Les informations techniques et commerciaux* (1 Aug. 1969), *L'intransigeant* (Jan.–Feb. 1946), *La phalange* (1943–44), *Panorama* (June–July 1961), *Reflets d'Haiti* (Oct. 1955), and *La ruche* (Jan. 1946). The other microfilm newspapers include: Bahamas' *The Tribune* (1973, 1974) and *Nassau Guardian* (1973); Jamaica's *Jamaica Times* (1952), *Sunday Tribune* (Spanish Town, 1962); Guyana's *Daily Chronicle* (1944, 1964, 1972) and *Mirror* (1963–72); the Virgin Islands' *West End News* (1963); and Trinidad's *Trinidad Guardian* (1958, 1959), *The Nation* (1962), and *Tapia* (1973). With the recent reassessment of newspapers as an important primary source,

these papers are most useful to researchers in setting an analytical framework for interpreting Caribbean history of this period.

Caribbean Theses and Dissertations

Although graduate studies were offered at the university soon after the first classes began in 1867, theses and dissertations were not required until 1918; many of the authors are nationals of the Caribbean. The first thesis on the Caribbean was prepared by Luveta Helen Williams in 1927, supervised by the Head of the Department of History, Charles H. Wesley; her topic was "Negro Colonization Projects in the Americas and the West Indies during the Nineteenth Century," which outlined the most successful attempts in Haiti and British Honduras. Most of the theses, seminar papers, and dissertations were done in the departments of economics, history, education, romance languages, and English.

The ten doctoral dissertations on the Caribbean in the collection were completed between 1970 and 1976 and represent the departments of African studies, English, history, and political science. The first was prepared in the Department of African Studies in 1970 by Lezmore E. Emmanuel and is entitled "Surviving Africanisms in the Virgin Islands English Creole." It deals with linguistic Africanisms spoken by Virgin Islanders and shows how specific words, syntactical patterns, and semantic systems parallel those in the Yoruba, Twi, Tshibaba, Fon, and Ibo languages.

Students from the history department prepared five of the dissertations: Benjamin Teplitz's "The Political and Economic Foundations of Modernization in Nicaragua . . . 1893-1903" (1973), Michael Thompson's "Puerto Rican Nationalism and United States Decolonization, 1898-1953" (1976), Glenn Phillips' "The Changing Role of the Merchant Class in the British West Indies, 1834-1867" (1976), Ernest Wright's "French Politics in the West Indies: A Study of Assimilation Policy in the History of Martinique and Guadeloupe, 1789-1900" (1976), and Emmanuel Saunders' "Black American Settlers in Trinidad, 1815-1850" (1976). Two dissertations were completed in the Department of Political Science: Wesley W. Daley, "The Political Growth of Jamaica, 1938-1969" (1971); and the mammoth work of Hilbourne A. Watson, "The Political Economy of Foreign Investment in the Commonwealth Caribbean since World War II." The perspectives are primarily a reinterpretation of events in the Third World. The English department's dissertations were Leota S. Lawrence, "The African Heritage in West Indian Writings" (1976) and Joan P. Bathersfield's "Black Religion in the Caribbean Novel" (1977).

The Department of Economics has produced the largest number of masters' theses, the earliest completed in 1958. The subjects range from industrial development to central banking; taxation to international trade. The first thesis from the Department of Romance Languages was completed in 1941 and written by Vincent Byas, who made a study of "Daniel Thaly: Poet Laureate of Martinique." Some of the more provocative are: Marie M. B. Racine's "Linguistic Study of Southern Haitian Creole Phonology" (1965) and Jean A. Purchas-

Tulloch's "El Folklore Afro-Cubano en la Poesía de Nicolas Guillén" (1972). The theses from the Department of English include meticulous analyses of works authored by some of the leading Caribbean English-speaking novelists, specifically Claude McKay, George Lamming, Vidiadhar S. Naipaul, Walter A. Roberts, Herbert De Lisser, Edgar A. Mittelholzer, Derek Walcott and Edward Ricardo Brathwaite.

Caribbean Prints and Photographs

Another important, but infrequently used, resource within the Research Center are the prints and photographs on the Caribbean that are housed in the manuscript division. They include hundreds of individual, group, and scenic photographs, post cards, brochures, souvenir books, newspaper and magazine clippings, maps, and a few albums. Many of the photos and prints date even to the late eighteenth century. Among the personalities are leading British and American abolitionists and missionaries, as well as political leaders, especially from Haiti, Dominican Republic, and Cuba. Among the earliest is a copy of the Toussaint l'Ouverture photograph which first appeared in Marcus Rainford's *History of Saint-Domingo* (1799). More recent photos include those of Paul Magloire, Elie Lescot, and François Duvalier of Haiti and Fulgencio Batista of Cuba.

There are also a few engravings and maps. Two of the most popular are copies of "The Signing of the Treaty of Peace between the British and the Maroons during 1738 in Jamaica" and the famous "Ford and Gall Map of Jamaica," dated 1858. Three of the best albums are: George F. Goins' album, which contains photos of Haitian presidents and other notables; the Messrs. Poyer Album of pictorial views of Barbados during 1898; and an album of eighteen lithograph plates on Trinidadian scenes created by the nineteenth-century Trinidadian artist, Jean M. Gabazon. Gabazon (1814-88) was of French parentage; he studied in England and France before he was tutored by French painter, Paul de la Roche. His works on Trinidad were created between 1851 and 1857. His most striking drawings in the center collection include: "Entrance to the St. James Barracks," "Sleeping Corbeaux Town, near Port-of-Spain," "Life at Orange Grove Estate, Tacarigua," and the "Los Gallos Point off Icacos Bay," all in excellent condition.

The library division has a vertical file system that covers a variety of topics. These files have hundreds of newspaper and magazine clippings arranged alphabetically, and contain general and specialized information on the Caribbean. These clippings are taken from about fifty different dailies or weeklies, and subjects include racial tensions, economic poverty, West Indian politics, and assimilation. The earliest clipping discusses "The Decline of Jamaica" and was taken from the *Leeds Mercury*, Tuesday, 12 December 1865. Among the most perceptive is an editorial in the *New York Age* of 25 January 1933 on the federation of the West Indies, twenty-five years before the actual union was made in the late 1950s.

Caribbean Contemporary Literature, 1900–1978

The most voluminous section of the Caribbean collection contains works produced after 1900, reflecting the stream of publications on the Caribbean, both within and outside the region, particularly since 1940. The broadening fields and new perspectives of authors seem to have forced the center to limit its contemporary collection to Afro-centric literature. As a result, a high percentage of the Caribbean contemporary literature concentrates on the English- and French-speaking Caribbean. This literature is primarily economic and social in nature. However, the works of the growing number of poets, novelists, and playwrights make up significant segments of the collection. Contemporary literary works on the Caribbean are categorized: (a) Hispanic literature, (b) French Caribbean literature, (c) Haitian literature, and (d) Commonwealth Caribbean literature. Within each category are two basic types: first is actual poetry, novel, and dramatic script either as complete works or as anthologies; second is the analytical, historical, and critical literature that give purpose, function, and perspective to the literary works.

The Afro-centric concentration of the Hispanic literature adds strength to the collection. Most of the early works are part of the Spingarn collection but the greatest quantity is from the Moorland holdings. Early twentieth-century Cuban poetry was authored by Regino Eladio Boti y Barreiro (1913), Arturo Clavijo Tisseur (1937), Manuel Garcia y Mesa (1938), and Nicholas Guillén (1931, 1948, 1964, 1967). Guillén's most recent works in the center include *Tengo* (1964), *El Gran Zoo* (1967), and *La Rueda Dentada* (1967). Some Cuban novels in the center are authored by Simeon Poveda Ferrer (1920), Jesús Lopez-Silvero (1926), Chiraldo Jiménez (1931), Ramon Vasconcelos (1936), Luis Felipe Rodríguez (1937), Irma Pedroso (1940), and Martin Mor a Delgado (1957). Other works are of playwright Arturo Clavijo Tisseur, and Afro-Cuban folklorists Lydia Cabrera, José L. Franco, and Fernando Ortiz.

French Caribbean literature has a satisfactory representation but also shows some deficiencies. The collection has the works of leading poets and novelists of this region, including the publications of Leon Goutran Damas in *Pigments* (1937), *Retour de Guyane* (1938) and *Vielles Noires* (1943), along with twenty of Martinique's René Maran's works from *La Maison du Bonheur* (1909) to *Bacouya le Cynocephale* (1953). Extracts from the poetic works of the well-known Martiniquais Aime Césaire and the less-known Guadelopean, Guy Tirolien can be found in anthologies like Norman R. Shapiro's *Negritude: Black Poetry from Africa and the Caribbean* (1970).

Haitian literature is the most well-balanced category of the center's Caribbean literature. The outstanding works of over fifty poets and novelists, and an additional twenty-five historians, anthropologists, sociologists, and ethnologists are in the collection. The anthologies on Haitian literature by Massillon Coicou (1892), Louis Morpeau (1925), Emile Roumer (1925), Pradel Pompilus (1951), Edna Underwood (1934), Carlos Saint Louis and Maurice Lubin (1950), and Duracine Val (1933) give breadth to the collection. The Haitian literary genius of Oswald Durand in *Rives et Pleurs* (1896); the anthropological and

ethnological studies of Jean Price-Mars, Philippe-Thoby Marcelin and Pierre Marcelin; the novels of Jacques C. Antoine and Jacques Roumain, especially the latter's *Gouverneurs de la Rosée* (1944), Haiti's first novel; along with a dozen publications of Louis Dantès Bellegarde from history to literary critiques are pillars of the Caribbean collection.

Commonwealth Caribbean literature is also appreciably represented. The center's extensive holdings of Caribbean novels, short stories, and poems from the early twentieth century to the present is an accomplishment that will become even more staggering in the coming years as this literature further evolves into its own and the center remains a leading depository of these works. Furthermore, these works' portrayal of the socioeconomic conditions in the Caribbean will be useful in future evaluations of the region. The most valuable anthologies are prepared by Walter Jekyll (1907), Una Wilson (1947), J. E. C. McFarlane (1949), Arthur Seymour (1957, 1972), Frank A. Collymore (1959), Edna Manley (1943), Louise Bennett, Barbara Howes (1966), Andrew Salkey (1960, 1965), A. Hendricks, C. Lindo (1962), and John Figueroa (1973). Among the earliest twentieth-century literary works from the Caribbean are the novels of Herbert G. de Lisser, *Jane's Career: A Story of Jamaica* (1914)—de Lisser also wrote *Susan Proudleigh* (1915), *The White Witch of Rose Hall* (1929), and *Under the Sun: A Jamaican Comedy* (1937); Alfred Mendes, *Pitch Lake* (1934); Cyril L. R. James, *Minty Alley* (1936); John E. C. McFarlane, *Daphne* (1931); and Claude McKay, *Banana Bottom* (1933). The center also has early editions of the region's literary journals, including *Beacon* (Trinidad), *Focus* (Jamaica), *Bim* (Barbados) and *Kyk-over-al* (Guyana).

The Caribbean collection exhibits a strength in the English-speaking novelists and short-story writers, who number over forty of the best known. The major works of the leading literary figures of the contemporary Commonwealth Caribbean are an integral part of the center's collection. The works of Michael Anthony, Edward Ricardo Braithwaite, Jan Carew, Austin Clark, George Lamming, Edgar Mittelholzer, Vidiadhar S. Naipual, Andrew Salkey, Herbert de Lisser, and Claude McKay reflect the socioeconomic struggles of Caribbean peoples from (the lowlands of) Guyana to (the mountains of) Jamaica. Among poets, the works of St. Lucian born Derek Walcott tower above those of his contemporaries. His major publications deposited at the center include: *In a Green Night* (1962), *Selected Poems* (1964), and *The Castaway and Other Poems* (1965). The center's collection ranges from the four poetic works of the little-known George R. Margetson, the Kittitian, who wrote from Boston during the first two decades of the twentieth century, to the popular Barbadian historian-poet, Edward Kamau Brathwaite's trilogy, *Rights of Passage* (1967), *Masks* (1968), and *Islands* (1969).

The social science publications on the Caribbean since 1900 can be divided into (1) publications prepared by governmental agencies, both from local and metropolitan centers; (2) monographs created by Caribbean scholars—residents and nonresidents of the region who are supported by university grants and fellowships, etc., and (3) works prepared by leading Caribbean personalities, from politicians to economists. Many of these authors have become world re-

nowned as a result of their contributions to such concepts as Pan Africanism, negritude, economic development, neocolonialism, and Third World underdevelopment. Authors who are well-represented in the center collection are Marcus Garvey and Joel A. Rogers of Jamaica; George Padmore, Stokely Carmichael, and C. L. R. James of Trinidad; Amie Cesaire and Frantz Fanon of Martinique; economists Sir Arthur Lewis, William Demas, George Beckford, and Norman Girvan; political leaders Eric Williams of Trinidad, Cheddi Jagan and L. Forbes Burnham of Guyana; Michael Manley of Jamaica; sociologist Hon. Rex Nettleford and Guianese historian, Walter Rodney. These writers represent the broad spectrum of social, economic, and political thought that has emanated from Caribbean leadership in the last fifty years.

Each year the ambitious acquisitions policy of the center attempts to further strengthen the weak areas of the Caribbean collection and at the same time keep abreast of the material from this rapidly expanding area. A recent study by the author recommends that the center should in the future concentrate on acquiring more specialized research materials on specific Caribbean countries and themes, as well as strengthening the weaker areas of political science, sociology, and Hispanic literature. Nevertheless the Caribbean collection at Howard University's Moorland-Spingarn Research Center deserves to be acknowledged as one that can greatly aid the serious Caribbeanists in the study of social sciences and related disciplines. This collection has enough variety, transcending national and linguistic boundaries, and sufficient depth, in the case of Haiti and the Commonwealth Caribbean specifically, to warrant better acquaintance by scholars studying Caribbean life. Although materials within the center do not circulate outside the reading room, the Caribbean collection of books, papers, and documents is at the service of students and professionals.

NOTES

1. *Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Howard University, 1869-1870* (Washington, D.C.: Judd and Detweiler, 1879), p. 46.
2. *Annual Report of the President, 1873-1874* (Washington, D.C.: Howard University, 1874), p. 16.
3. William Lloyd, *Letters from the West Indies* (London: Darton and Harvey, 1838), pp. 250, 251.
4. Michael R. Winston, "Moorland-Spingarn Research Center: A Past Revisited, A Present Reclaimed," *New Directions: The Howard University Magazine* (Summer 1974), p. 20.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 21-25.
6. K. E. Ingram, *Manuscripts Relating to the Commonwealth Caribbean Countries in the United States and Canadian Repositories* (Epping, Essex: Bowker Publishing Company, 1975), pp. 38-71.