Missionary Anglicanism, Slavery, and the Yorke-Talbot Opinion, 1701–30"

## Historiographical Note

Many works have analyzed Anglican missionary efforts to convert enslaved people around the Atlantic world in the early eighteenth century as part of studies of early American and Caribbean religious history and as part of studies of the development of slavery and antislavery. They include C. F. Pascoe, Two Hundred Years of the S.P.G.: An Historical Account . . . , 1701–1900, 2 vols. (London, 1901); C. E. Pierre, "The Work of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts among the Negroes in the Colonies," Journal of Negro History 1, no. 4 (October 1916): 349-60; Faith Vibert, "The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts: Its Work for the Negroes in North America before 1783," Journal of Negro History 18, no. 2 (April 1933): 171-212; the many works of Frank J. Klingberg, including Anglican Humanitarianism in Colonial New York (Philadelphia, 1940); H. P. Thompson, Into All Lands: The History of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (London, 1951), 44-91; Jerome W. Jones, "The Established Virginia Church and the Conversion of Negroes and Indians, 1620–1760," Journal of Negro History 46, no. 1 (January 1961): 12-23; David Brion Davis, The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture (Ithaca, N.Y., 1966), 197-222; Denzil T. Clifton, "Anglicanism and Negro Slavery in Colonial America," Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church 39, no. 1 (March 1970): 29-70; Robert A. Bennett, "Black Episcopalians: A History from the Colonial Period to the Present," Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church 43, no. 3 (September 1974): 231-45; S. Charles Bolton, Southern Anglicanism: The Church of England in Colonial South Carolina (Westport, Conn., 1982), 102–20; Michael Anesko, "So Discreet a Zeal: Slavery and the Anglican Church in Virginia, 1680–1730," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 93, no. 3 (July 1985): 247-78; John C. Van Horne, ed., Religious Philanthropy and Colonial Slavery: The American Correspondence of the Associates of Dr. Bray, 1717–1777 (Urbana, Ill., 1985), 16–38; Jon Butler, Awash in a Sea of Faith: Christianizing the American People (Cambridge, Mass., 1990), 129–63; Sylvia R. Frey and Betty Wood, Come Shouting to Zion: African American Protestantism in the American South and British Caribbean to 1830 (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1998), 63-79; Shawn Comminey, "The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts and Black Education in South Carolina, 1702–1764," Journal of Negro History 84, no. 4 (Autumn 1999): 360-69; Jon Butler, Becoming America: The Revolution before 1776 (Cambridge, Mass., 2000), 215-24; Daniel O'Connor et al., Three Centuries of Mission: The United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, 1701–2000 (London, 2000), 31–44; John K. Nelson, A Blessed Company: Parishes, Parsons, and Parishioners in Anglican Virginia, 1690–1776 (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2001), 259–72; Annette Laing, "Heathens and Infidels'? African Christianization and Anglicanism in the South Carolina Low Country, 1700–1750," Religion and American Culture 12, no. 2 (Summer 2002): 197–228; Patricia U. Bonomi, Under the Cope of Heaven; Religion, Society, and Politics in Colonial America, updated ed. (New York, 2003), vii-xi, 119-23; Andrew Porter, Religion versus Empire? British Protestant Missionaries and Overseas Expansion, 1700–1914 (Manchester, Eng., 2004), 17–28; Albert J. Raboteau, Slave Religion: The "Invisible Institution" in the Antebellum South, 2d ed. (New York, 2004), 97–128; Christopher Leslie Brown, Moral Capital: Foundations of British Abolitionism (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2006), 55–75; Rowan Strong, Anglicanism and the British Empire, c. 1700–1850 (Oxford, 2007), 84–103; Rebecca Anne Goetz, "Rethinking the 'Unthinking Decision': Old Questions and New Problems in the History of Slavery and Race in the Colonial South," Journal of Southern History 75, no. 3 (August 2009): 599–612, esp. 610–12.

Only a handful of eighteenth-century English legal cases touching on slavery are known to scholars. An unreported and apparently unstudied case involving an enslaved man may have come before Lord Hardwicke during his time as chief justice of King's Bench. According to a newspaper account printed in two London papers in 1735, a black man named Codrington Galway was brought

before a court sitting in the Guildhall for breach of the peace and "refusing to serve the Remainder of his Time with the Administrator of his former Master, who was lately Dead." The newspaper accounts said "the Court declared, that though a Negroe he was now a Christian, and in a Christian Country, which allow'd of no Slavery; and thereupon they set him at full Liberty to go where he pleas'd, but withal advised him to get into some honest Employment by Sea or Land, that he might not become a Vagrant." See the [London] General Evening Post, Dec. 6–9, 1735, [2]; Read's [London] Weekly Journal; Or, British Gazetteer, Dec. 13, 1735, [4]. Neither the facts of the case nor whether it was Hardwicke sitting at Guildhall who was involved in the case is entirely clear from the short press account. In one newspaper that printed the item, the story on Galway seems linked to a prior item on a decision by Hardwicke. In the second newspaper in which the account of Galway's case appeared, this link is less pronounced because of the way various paragraphs reporting on court cases were arranged. The reported declaration of the court seems to draw on Holt's earlier rulings and appears to be at odds with Hardwicke's views in the much better documented 1729 opinion and his 1749 decision in *Pearne v. Lisle*. The newspaper account closed with a suggestion that black people in England in this period may have feared the effects of the Yorke-Talbot opinion and/or the 1732 Credit Act. It observed, "the said Black, when before Sir William Billers, jump'd out of a Window a Story high, for fear he should be sent over Sea as a Slave" (ibid.). Billers was lord mayor of London in 1734. James Oldham says that the habeas corpus case of Rex v. Cartor (1732/33), which involved a possibly enslaved black woman whose master had her committed to Bridewell, appears to have come before King's Bench when Lord Raymond was still chief justice. See Oldham, English Common Law in the Age of Mansfield (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2004), 310 n. 20. On this case, see also George Van Cleve, "Somerset's Case and Its Antecedents in Imperial Perspective," Law and History Review 24, no. 3 (Fall 2006): 601–45, esp. 620.