Abstract

The provision of salted fish to enslaved persons is widely regarded as the best indicator of planters’ commitment to maintaining the health of their enslaved charges. This article supports the prevailing view that slaveholders recognized the connection between health and fish consumption. However, based on an analysis of purchases of salted cod by Newton Plantation, Barbados, between 1805 and 1837, the article challenges existing scholarly estimates of average fish consumption, and simultaneously disputes Barbadian planters’ claims regarding the amounts of salted cod that they gave to their enslaved people during amelioration.

Introduction

The material life of enslaved Caribbean people rested on the same three pillars as our own – food, clothing and shelter – although, as in all things, the stakes were higher for the enslaved people. While it is difficult to rank such fundamentals, it is indisputable that there could be no life, even one as marginal as that of enslaved persons, without food, and it is a truism that fish occupied a special place in their diet. In 1775, a contemporary writer described fish as “the meat of all the slaves in all the West Indies”, echoing a more recent judgment by historian J.R. Ward that plantation expenditures on fish are “the best single measure of proprietors’ willingness to spend money on their slaves”. Although enslaved people occasionally ate fresh fish from local waters, imported fish was the norm. In the British Caribbean, Jamaica was unique in that, because
of substantial Scottish immigration after 1740, its main imported fish was brine-salted (that is, pickled) Scottish herring.\(^3\) By contrast, dried, salted cod from New England, Nova Scotia and Newfoundland overwhelmingly dominated the fish imports of Barbados. But how much fish did enslaved people in the British Caribbean actually eat, and what was its significance in their diet and culture? This article seeks to answer those questions with special reference to Newton Plantation, Barbados.

Regardless of the importance of fish, there is no doubt that its supply was irregular, the enslaved people’s diet changed over time, and feeding practices varied not only from colony to colony but also from plantation to plantation within individual colonies. Natural disasters such as droughts or hurricanes were highly destructive to food-crop production, and man-made disasters such as wars were disruptive to food imports. But other more consistent factors exercised greater influence on the types and quantities of food that enslaved people normally ate. Foremost among these was the distinction between import-fed and home-fed colonies, with Barbados and the Leeward islands of Nevis, Antigua, and St Christopher figuring prominently among the former, and Jamaica and the Windward Islands of Tobago, Grenada, St Lucia, and St Vincent among the latter.\(^4\) Size was a major determinant of the degree to which a particular island would be home-fed or import-fed. At 10,960 square kilometres in area, Jamaica was the third largest island in the Caribbean Sea, after Cuba and Hispaniola, and it was twenty-five times larger than Barbados. Land on which to grow food crops was therefore widely available in Jamaica but scarce in Barbados. Topography was also influential, for on islands that were flat or gently sloped, including Barbados and St Christopher, almost all of the arable land was eventually given over to sugar cultivation. But in hilly or mountainous colonies, notably Jamaica, plantation owners reserved lowland areas for cane and expected their enslaved charges to grow their own food on provision grounds in the uplands, which in some cases were as much as sixteen kilometres away from the labourers’ quarters.\(^5\) The produce from provision grounds is not to be confused with plantation provisions (also called estate provisions), which refers to crops that were grown on the plantations, principally in the import-fed colonies, to feed enslaved people as a complement to their imported food rations. The main local foods were corn ("Guinea" and "Indian"), yams, eddoes, okras, cassava and pigeon peas.\(^6\) Enslaved people in all colonies grew some vegetables in the tiny plots or kitchen gardens adjoining their quarters, and they kept small livestock (pigs, fowl, goats and poultry). However, much of the livestock
was bred to be sold at market and was not intended for personal consumption.7

The state of the slave trade and the organization of the plantations themselves profoundly influenced food consumption. As long as enslaved labour was cheap and easy to replace, as it generally was from the mid-1660s until 1770, the racist logic of the plantation labour system left little motive for planters to increase rations or provision-ground allotments.8 To the contrary, it made more sense to work the enslaved people to death, and this appears to be exactly what happened. For example, between 1712 and 1734 the enslaved Barbadian population rose from 41,970 to 46,362, showing a modest gain of 4,392.9 But 75,893 enslaved persons were imported into Barbados in the same period, which suggests that 71,501 of them might have died. Even if we allow for the possibility that some of them were re-exported, it is undeniable that the plantation system was a killing machine. It was only when prices for enslaved labour began to rise after 1770 that planters paid significant attention to the treatment of their enslaved charges, natural reproduction now making as much economic sense as purchase. This so-called amelioration policy should have become imperative after the abolition of the slave trade in 1807, as abolitionists hoped it would; but it failed (the reasons for which are beyond the scope of this essay).

This failure, which accounted for the revival of abolitionist sentiment in the 1820s, is borne out by evidence that the enslaved population of the British sugar colonies declined by 14 percent (from around 775,000 to 665,000) between 1807 and 1834.10 According to Barry Higman, this was "the central feature of the experience of the British Caribbean slave population", distinguishing it from the mainland North American enslaved population, which was able to sustain itself by natural means. In the entire British Caribbean, Barbados was the only colony to achieve absolute growth in its enslaved population during this period, a phenomenon that has sparked improbable claims that its planter class was uniquely intelligent and benevolent.11 These claims ignore glaring evidence to the contrary, including the obstinate and often violent Barbadian planter resistance to emancipation.12

On the plantations themselves, unequal treatment of enslaved individuals was systemic, even if practices varied from place to place and in different periods. "Slave drivers" and plantation tradesmen received a double ration of salted fish, while children received proportionately less (half in Barbados). Drivers, who oversaw the weekly distribution of food rations, were empowered to increase or decrease rations as a means
of reward or punishment. New arrivals from Africa were subjected to a "seasoning" process that could last as long as three years, during which they were given easier work and more and better food, which, in some places, included increased rations of salted fish. Likewise, sick persons were given fresh mutton, fresh and salted fish, rice, wine, and "feathered stock" in order to speed their return to the field.

Some observers contended that small slaveholders were more prone to neglect their enslaved charges, and that the bigger the plantation, the more likely it was that individuals would receive a regular food supply. Others argued the opposite, claiming that field persons on large plantations were "generally treated more like beasts of burden, than like human creatures", that lesser slaveholders treated their enslaved charges better, and that especially in urban centres enslaved people enjoyed lives of relative "ease and plenty". This contradictory evidence underscores the significance of human factors. The lot of the enslaved individual was partially a function of the character of his or her overlord or manager, and examples of kindness and cruelty could be found among the latter, regardless of stature.

In Barbados and the Leeward Islands, rations were reduced during crop time (harvest) in the knowledge that the enslaved people would augment their diet by consuming raw cane or cane juice, which are rich in calories. The practice was not universal and may have been confined to the import-fed islands, since in some instances in eighteenth-century Jamaica enslaved people who were found eating cane were beaten severely. Crop time, which lasted from December or January until between April and June, fell during the driest months of the year, when stores of local fruits and vegetables became increasingly scarce. Significantly, enslaved people in Barbados attained their highest level of health during this very period because of the calories they derived from cane and cane juice. Crop time was followed by "hard-time", which lasted from July to November, after which the wet season brought a profusion of local fruits and vegetables. Because hard-time coincided with the preparation of fields for planting, labour demands continued to be intense, and the emaciated condition of the enslaved population during planting season testified to the inadequacy of rations. Therefore, even in the absence of wars and natural disasters, the overriding dietary pattern was one of "periodic episodes of severe nutritional stress and near starvation".

Understandably, food consumption patterns changed over time. In the late 1640s, when Barbados was beginning to embrace sugar produc-
tion, enslaved praedial males received weekly rations of two mackerels (which doubtless were salted) and enslaved females one; in addition, each adult received one large bunch of plantains or two small ones. The chief deviation from this pattern occurred in March, when they were able to gather land crabs on Sundays. The French priest Antoine Biet, who spent three months in Barbados in 1654, observed that for all meals the slaves only get potatoes which serve them as their bread, their meat, their fish, in fact, everything. The slaves raise some poultry so as to have eggs which they give to their little children. They are only given meat one time in the whole year, namely Christmas Day, which is the only holiday observed on this island.

In 1661, Felix Christian Spoeri, a Swiss doctor, wrote that overseers on the larger Barbadian plantations gave each household “a parcel of land on which the slaves plant their food and from which they have to maintain themselves without burdening their master”. This would appear to be a reference to the garden plots adjoining the slave quarters; if it referred to provision grounds proper, then the practice soon died out, for by 1670 nearly all of the arable land had been appropriated for sugar cultivation. By 1742, the prospects of enslaved people in Barbados were perhaps even more grim, for John Smith, a New Jersey Quaker, noted in that year that most planters gave their enslaved charges “hardly any thing to eat but a pint of Corn a day for each Negro and a little Salt”. Smith’s account confirms other evidence stressing the predominance of corn, especially Guinea corn, in the diet of enslaved Barbadians. Since corn was also the main feed for plantation cattle, this speaks volumes about the planters’ mindset. Although the role of salted cod in the diet of enslaved people at this time is unclear, it appears that those persons undergoing seasoning received the lion’s share. Given the high mortality rates on the plantations and the staggering scale of labour imports, this would have constituted a sizeable “market”, perhaps even accounting for the vast majority of fish consumed. It is also impossible to escape the conclusion that the colony’s white inhabitants were important consumers of salted cod (in 1750, there were 16,772 Whites in Barbados, 63,410 enslaved persons and 235 Free Blacks or Coloureds).

In Jamaica, the provision-ground system was enshrined in law in 1678, with overlords being required to set aside one acre (0.4 hectare) of land for the feeding of every five of their enslaved charges. The latter attended to their grounds on Saturday afternoons, Sundays, and during the Christmas and Easter holidays, selling the excess of their yams, plan-
tains and potatoes at Sunday market and using the returns to buy salted fish, salted beef and pork. The system was so successful that the produce from the provision grounds even helped to sustain the white population. As always, there were exceptions. Because plantations on Jamaica’s southern plain were distant from the uplands, their owners dispensed with provision grounds and relied instead on imported rations. After the American Revolutionary War, it became more common for Jamaican plantation owners to supplement provisions to their enslaved charges with rations of pickled herring. In Jamaica and elsewhere the war-induced shortages of imported foods also prompted a search for new tropical food crops that might improve self-sufficiency. Ackee, cocoa, mangoes and breadfruit proved to be the most successful solutions to that problem. The Jamaican national dish of salted cod and ackee was born out of this effort, which is ironic, given the primacy of herring in the diet of enslaved Jamaicans. The presence of salted cod in this recipe is undoubtedly related to disruptions in the Scottish herring supply during the period.

The Revolutionary War provoked a different reaction in the import-fed colonies, where planters set aside more land for raising plantation provisions and encouraged their enslaved charges to rear stock. In Barbados, the enslaved people produced so much poultry by the early nineteenth century that the white population came to depend on it as their main source of protein. Abolition of the slave trade overlapped with high prices for salted fish and other provisions during the Napoleonic Wars and the War of 1812, lending additional weight to a remarkable transition. By 1815, some Barbadian planters were allegedly employing up to two-thirds of their land for growing provisions.

Article 22 of the Code Noir, introduced in 1685 to regulate the lives of enslaved persons in the French Caribbean, had required enslavers to provide each enslaved person ten years of age or older with two pounds (907.2 grams) of salted meat or three pounds (1.4 kilograms) of salted fish per week; children under the age of ten were to receive a half ration after they had been weaned. These guidelines, which provided for extremely modest amounts of fish and meat, were almost universally ignored, with the provision-ground system giving French plantation owners a convenient excuse to ignore their legal obligations. In the British sugar colonies, early legislation displayed an obsession with control and punishment, and it was not until abolitionists began to attack slavery in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries that some colonies passed laws containing guidelines for food rations. These
tended to be low [1.25 pounds (567 grams) of fish per week in the Leeward Islands] and, even when they were somewhat higher [4 pounds (1.8 kilograms) a week in Trinidad], there was often backsliding. Thus, enslaved people on the larger Trinidadian plantations “received relatively generous allowances of salted fish but little else, while those on small holdings were totally dependent on their provision grounds”.40

By the 1820s additional sugar production from Britain’s most recent wartime colonial acquisitions had created a market glut that forced sugar prices down to levels not seen since the mid-eighteenth century (figure 1). Among their defensive measures, planters in the older sugar colonies converted land back to sugar cultivation, put more enslaved people in the fields, and drove them harder in order to boost production and offset low prices, all of which probably negated any improvement in the latter’s material circumstances as a result of amelioration.41 Ward’s research shows a 52 percent rise in fish imports per enslaved person in Jamaica between 1815 and 1834, which, even if we allow for the shortcomings of a measurement that excludes Whites and Free Coloureds as fish consumers, is suggestive of some gains.42 In practice, most enslaved Jamaicans at this time could expect to receive a single pickled herring a day, and some dried, salted cod twice a year (at Christmas and Harvest Festival).43

Although several Barbadian planters testified before a select committee of the House of Assembly in 1818 that they gave their enslaved people a weekly allowance of one pound of salted cod, contemporary

Figure 1 Total Annual Salted-Cod Consumption on Newton Plantation, and Median Long Sugar Price, 1805–1837.

evidence for Newton Plantation shows that its enslaved people were actually receiving an average of just over a quarter of a pound weekly, reflecting little or no change from the late eighteenth century (figure 2).44 It is important to bear in mind that Newton Plantation was a large plantation (458.5 acres or 185.7 hectares) and reputedly one of the island’s more progressive ones, having adopted ameliorative policies at an early stage.45 A slight spike in average weekly salted-cod consumption on Newton Plantation to a decadal high of seven-tenths of a pound (317.5 grams) in 1825 might be construed as evidence of planter reaction to revived abolitionist sentiment in Britain, and of planter compliance with the British government’s official adoption of an amelioration policy in 1823. However, the government’s orders-in-council that heralded the new policy were mainly concerned with ensuring that enslaved persons received religious instruction.46 On Newton Plantation, the boost in the ration of salted cod is more likely to have been part of a localized effort to rebuild the size of the enslaved population after epidemics reduced it from 287 in 1824 to 271 in 1826.47 Happily for the plantation’s managers, this coincided with a period in which prices for salted cod were the lowest since 1805 (figure 3).

In 1833 the British Parliament passed the Abolition of Slavery Act (3 and 4 Will. IV c.73), laying out a course for the abolition of slavery. The first step, which amounted to partial emancipation, was an apprenticeship system that was to take effect on 1 August 1834. The act specified

Figure 2 Average Weekly Salted-Cod Consumption Per Enslaved Person on Newton Plantation, 1805–1837

that the apprentices (which the enslaved people were henceforth called officially) would be entitled to food and other allowances according to the terms of existing colonial laws. The Colonial Office pressured Barbados, whose laws governing slavery had no such provisions, to adopt a weekly standard of two pounds of salted fish. In August 1835, the Barbadian legislature reluctantly complied, approving a standard of “two pounds of cod fish or herrings, shads or other pickled fish” for apprentices over ten years of age, and half that amount for those under ten.48 But there was a catch. With the written permission of a special justice of the peace, planters could substitute “any other kind of provisions, or any money payment or allowance of time” for fish and other foods mentioned in the act. Although apprentices on Newton Plantation did manage to break through the one-pound-per-week threshold in 1835, by 1837, the last full year under slavery, they had yet to receive two pounds (figure 2).

Not surprisingly, the upward trend in average weekly salted-cod consumption on Newton Plantation during the 1830s coincided with an increase in total consumption, which reached a peak of 135 quintals in 1837 (figure 3).49 In the same period, the plantation began to buy salted meats at times other than Christmas and Harvest Festival. However, any impression of material progress by enslaved people (and later apprentices) must be tempered by other considerations. The Abolition of Slavery Act had declared that children under the age of six were to be freed immediately, and that all children born after 1 August 1834 were to be considered as free. From that date plantation workforces shrunk

---

Figure 3 Total Annual Salted-Cod Consumption on Newton Plantation, and Average Price Per Quintal of Salted Cod, 1805–1837.
(by 15.4 percent on Newton Plantation), which would automatically have caused figures for average weekly fish consumption to skew upward. There were approximately 14,000 free children in Barbados during the apprenticeship period, and their parents’ lives continued to be ruled by the dictates of the plantation. Many plantation owners and managers used the legislation as an excuse to stop all rations to children, and while most apprenticed parents probably shared food rations with their children, their ability to replace previously rationed amounts must have been limited. This seems to be confirmed by a description of the free children of Barbados as “the most destitute people in the colony”.50 Moreover, sharing would have neutralized most, if not all, real gains in the ration of salted fish given to adult apprentices.

Despite widespread predictions of doom, Barbadian planters enjoyed improved economic circumstances in the 1830s. After reaching a nadir in 1830 and 1831, sugar prices climbed steadily until 1836, and remained attractive during the final two years of the apprenticeship period.51 Price recovery inspired planters to boost production, so much so that Barbadian sugar exports reached a then all-time high of 23,679 tons (21,476.9 tonnes) in 1838.52 But to achieve this, planters had to cut back on the amount of land previously reserved for plantation provisions, and this, in turn, caused greater reliance on imported foodstuffs, including salted cod, which planters were in a better position to buy because of their enhanced spending power.53 Their spending power received an additional boost when the imperial government decided to grant an indemnity of £20 million to Caribbean and other slaveholders in its various jurisdictions to compensate them for the “loss” of their enslaved charges. In Barbados, compensation averaged over £20 per individual, a figure that must be borne in mind in any assessment of the modest material gains achieved by the new apprentices.54

As figure 1 shows, the experience of Newton Plantation reinforces the conclusion that there was little correlation between the price of sugar and consumption of salted cod. Except for 1806, consumption was essentially stagnant between 1805 and 1824, years during which the price of sugar rose and fell dramatically. From 1825 to 1831 consumption was significantly higher, but in those years the price of sugar was actually trending downward. Only between 1832 and 1838 did the price of sugar and salted cod consumption generally rise in tandem; but whereas consumption was at historic highs, the price of sugar was nowhere near the heady levels of 1813–1816.
Jamaican abolition legislation was silent on the subject of food, reflecting the pervasiveness of the provision ground system, but planters did give new land to apprentices so that they could grow more of their own food, and they gave them additional time for the same purpose, reducing the workweek from 45 to 40.5 hours. However, former enslaved people who expected a continuation of rations received a rude awakening when their overlords drew a distinction between “allowances” of clothing, housing and provision grounds, to which they felt apprentices were still entitled, and “indulgences” of herring and salted cod, which they now stopped on the presumption that apprentices would use their extra free time to grow more food for sale, and to use the proceeds to buy their own fish. Although indulgences were gradually restored, at least on the larger plantations, they were usually conditional on good behaviour and the performance of extra work on the plantation, or work for hire on neighbouring plantations, the proceeds from which would accrue to the apprentice’s employer. Despite Ward’s depiction of the period – for Jamaican planters, at least – as one of “modest prosperity”, conditions probably deteriorated for apprentices who were unable or unwilling to devote more time and effort to provision grounds. The plight of free children in Jamaica does not seem to have been as dire as in Barbados, but Jamaican planters ignored other elements of the Abolition of Slavery Act, notably those requiring them to provide education for the children of apprentices, who, to the contrary, were said to be “growing up for the most part in ignorance and idleness”. With full emancipation in 1838, food rations ceased in all the colonies and the former enslaved people were left to provide for themselves out of their paltry wages of approximately a shilling a day, plus whatever stock and vegetables they could raise on their own land. On at least one Jamaican plantation, freed people replaced their rations of herring and salted cod with shellfish harvested along the coast. In Barbados, flying fish became more important, although, for reasons that are unclear, the local fishery remained underdeveloped until the twentieth century. Based on a crude comparison of fish imports and enslaved populations for Barbados and Jamaica during selected years between 1680 and 1845, Richard Bean calculated an effective weekly ration of slightly more than one pound of preserved fish per person. This is both misleading and grossly optimistic, ignoring, as it does, the different feeding strategies in the colonies, changes over time and periodic (and often lengthy) interruptions in supply because of human and natural factors.
It also assumes that enslaved people consumed all of the imported fish, but much of it doubtless ended up in the bellies of Whites and free people of colour, whose numbers rose over time. The evidence for Newton Plantation, which was a large and progressive operation, shows that average weekly salted-cod consumption was slightly over a quarter of a pound until the mid-1820s, and that it did not reach one pound until the last three years under slavery. Fish consumption was probably even lower in home-fed colonies, especially before the American Revolutionary War, although enslaved people in those colonies derived more of their food from provision grounds. With or without rations, their diet consisted almost entirely of grains, cereals and vegetables. They could obtain fresh meat by consuming their own livestock, but much, if not most, of it was reserved for market. They could also acquire salted beef and pork at market, and planters occasionally gave some to them at Christmas and Harvest Festival, but salted fish was the chief source of nonvegetable protein.

Although a few scholars have tried to quantify protein levels in the diet of enslaved people, the task appears to be impossible. Nonetheless, the general conclusion that protein levels were woefully inadequate is irrefutable. Salted fish was a precious supplement to the largely plant-based diet, and it enjoyed privileged status among enslaved people throughout the British Caribbean. By contrast, enslaved people in import-fed colonies retained portions of other rationed foods, such as corn, as feed for their livestock or to be sold at market. (In Jamaica, where corn rations were virtually unknown, salted cod was much prized by enslaved people.) It is equally instructive that enslaved people often took shad, herring and mackerel to market to exchange them for salted cod. The fact that slaveholders and drivers punished enslaved people by reducing or removing their salted fish ration also speaks volumes about its status in the food hierarchy, as does the use of extra rations of salted fish in the "seasoning" of newly arrived persons from Africa. The link between salted fish and health was recognized by enslaved people and planters alike.

Although the diet of enslaved people was inadequate and monotonous, food in general and salted fish in particular possessed significance beyond their obvious value to people for whom the threat of starvation was omnipresent. Because dried and salted fish were common in Western Africa, where most enslaved people in the Americas originated, the availability of similar products on the plantations may have eased the transition to a new culinary regime. Most enslaved persons cooked
their food in the yard in front of their huts, often in a pot suspended over an open fire. In Barbados, a favourite dish was "pepper-pot", a vegetable-based stew augmented with salted fish (or salted meat when available), and seasoned with hot peppers.68 Because the yard was a communal zone, cooking was an activity that fostered social interaction and, with it, the development of a culture among the enslaved people that was peculiarly their own.69 Dishes like pepper-pot, salted fish and ackee were the most significant culinary symbols of that culture.70

While the special status of salted fish owed something to cultural factors, other considerations must be taken into account. On the most basic level, salted fish added flavouring to a predominantly starchy diet. In the Jamaican interior, enslaved people referred to it not as fish but simply as "salt", a testament to its utility in the cooking process. However, its practical advantages may have extended to more significant areas, because enslaved persons in the British Caribbean who had the least access to provision grounds, and who were therefore the most dependent on rations of imported foods, also had the highest rates of natural reproduction.71 This mystery may never be fully explained, but it could very well be, as Robin Blackburn has proposed, that the additional labour demands of the provision ground system overtaxed the physical abilities of enslaved females and acted as a check against fertility.72 If this is true, then, it was not salted fish per se that enhanced longevity. Rather, its presence would have been synonymous with conditions that improved the odds of survival.73

Acknowledgements

I would like to acknowledge my employer, Parks Canada, for funding the research that made this essay possible. I am grateful to John T. O’Brien of Dalhousie University and Kevin Farmer of the Barbados Museum and Historical Society for their comments on earlier drafts of the manuscript. The library staff of the Barbados Museum and Historical Society and the staff of the Barbados Department of Archives offered invaluable assistance during my research trips to their institutions. I am also indebted to Grace L. Warner of Dalhousie University for preparing the figures.
NOTES


3. Ibid., 105.


13. Drax, “Instructions For the Management of Drax-Hall; and the Irish-Hope


16. Pinckard, 112.


20. Dickson, 7.


28. Handler and Corruccini, 75.

29. In Barbados, the annual mortality rate declined slightly from around 5 percent in the early eighteenth century to 3.7 percent in the period 1750–1775 (see Richard B. Sheridan, *Sugar and Slavery: An Economic History of the British West Indies 1623–1775* [Lodge Hill: Caribbean Universities Press, 1974]), 142.


31. Patterson, 217.


34. Craton and Walvin, 135.

36. Pinckard, 105.


41. Blackburn, 428.

42. Ward, 223. In 1830, there were 18,903 Whites in Jamaica, 319,074 enslaved persons and 40,073 Free Coloureds (see Engerman, “Population History”, 496).


44. For 1818, see the evidence in *The Report from a Select Committee of the House of Assembly, appointed to inquire into the Origin, Causes, and Progress, of the late Insurrection* (Barbados: Printed by W. Walker, Mercury and Gazette Office, 1818). For the 1790s, see Handler and Lange, 87.


46. On the tepid Barbadian response to the British government’s amelioration policy, see Woodville Marshall, “Amelioration and Emancipation (with Special Reference to Barbados)”, in Ibid., 74–75.

47. BMHS, Newton Plantation Accounts Ledger, fols. 123, 135. For evidence of the perceived connection between salted fish and good health in Jamaica, see British Sessional Papers (hereafter BSP), 1836, XV, *Report from the Select Committee on Negro Apprenticeship in the Colonies*, 249.

48. BSP, 1846, XV, Appendix, 39.

49. BMHS, Newton Plantation Accounts Ledger, fols. 199–204.

50. Levy, 44.

51. Noel Deere, *The History of Sugar* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1950), 2:531. See also figure 1, which does not include 1838.
52. Ibid., 1:194.
55. Levy, 42.
56. BSP, 1836, XV, 291, 410.
57. Ibid., 411, 498.
58. Ward, 234.
59. BSP, 1836, XV, viii.
61. Greville John Chester, *Transatlantic Sketches in the West Indies, South America, Canada and the United States* (London: Smith, Elder, 1869), 47.
64. Sheridan, 162–64; Higman, *Slave Populations*, 212; Dirks, 132.
68. Pinckard, 117.
69. Walvin, *Questioning Slavery*, 139.
70. On the cultural origins of salted fish and ackee, see Warner-Lewis, 99.
72. Blackburn, 428.
73. Kiple, 46–47.