“To live up to the Character of my Profession”: Jonathan Troup’s Enlightenment and the Politics of Reputation in Eighteenth-Century Dominica

by

Kylie Rachelle Peacock

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts

at

Dalhousie University
Halifax, Nova Scotia
August 2017

© Copyright by Kylie Rachelle Peacock, 2017

For Mom, Dad, and Leanne

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES …………………………………………………………………………… v

LIST OF FIGURES ………………………………………………………………………….. vi

ABSTRACT ………………………………………………………………………………… vii

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS ……………………………………………………………… viii

CHAPTER 1: Introduction …………………………………………………………….... 1

The Life and Times of Jonathan Troup …………………………………………….. 2

Relevant Historiographies ………………………………………………………….. 6

Methodology ……………………………………………………………………… 12

The Journal of Jonathan Troup …………………………………………………… 16

Chapter Layout …………………………………………………………………… 20

CHAPTER 2: His Character: Reputation, Honour, and Moral Capital in Free Black Culture in Dominica ………………………………………………………………………….. 23

Introduction ……………………………………………………………………….. 23

Professional Whites: A Network Summary ……………………………………… 27

The Boundaries of White Society in Dominica …………………………………... 34

Leisure Amongst White Society in Dominica …………………………………… 38

Slave and Free Black Culture in Dominica ……………………………………… 48

Conclusion ……………………………………………………………………….... 52

CHAPTER 3: The Medical Profession in Eighteenth-Century Dominica……………………... 56

Introduction ……………………………………………………………………….. 56

The Deadly Caribbean Environment ……………………………………………... 59

Opportunity in the Caribbean …………………………………………………….. 63

Troup's Medical Enlightenment ………………………………………………………….. 65

The Scottish Connection ……………………………………………………………….. 68

Medical Practice in Dominica ………………………………………………………….. 73

Conclusion …………………………………………………………………………….... 88

CHAPTER 4: "I am afraid your head is so much taken up with Natural Curiosities": Science,
Exploration, and the Expansion of Empire in Eighteenth-Century Dominica …………………. 91

Introduction …………………………………………………………………………….. 91

Sir Joseph Banks and the Royal Society ……………………………………………….. 93

Imperial Expansion Through Science ………………………………………………….. 95

Troup's Observations of Natural Curiosities …………………………………………. 100

Troup and Colonel Maxwell ………………………………………………………….. 111

Conclusion ……………………………………………………………………………. 114

CHAPTER 5: Conclusion ……………………………………………………………………. 116

BIBLIOGRAPHY ……………………………………………………………………………….. 125

LIST OF TABLES

Table 3.1 Jonathan Troup's Charges for Medicines and Attendance …………………….. 86

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.1 Map of Dominica Printed in 1775**,** Dominica from an actual survey compleated in the year 1773. (By Thomas Jefferys). London, printed for Robt. Sayer, Map and Printseller, no. 53 in Fleet Street, as the Act directs, 20 Feby. 1775," Map, *David Rumsey Map Collection* [1775] ...…………………………..…….……… 5

Figure 1.2 Portion of Troup Journal. Troup Journal, June 1, 1789 ………………………... 18

Figure 2.1 Troup Painting of Mullottoe Woman. Troup Journal October 20, 1789 ………. 50

Figure 4.1 Troup Painting of Rainbow. Troup Journal, August 4, 1789 …………………. 102

Figure 4.2 Troup Sketch of Spider. Troup Journal, August 11, 1789 ……………………. 109

ABSTRACT

This thesis argues that white professionals in eighteenth-century Dominica lived within a society in which social and moral character and reputation were vital to professional success and social advancement. These ideas about character and reputation drew from broader British Atlantic ideals but they were also shaped by the realities of life in the Caribbean. The members of Dominica's white professional society stressed the importance of reputation, honour, and moral capital as the measure of someone's value, both socially and professionally. This thesis explores the set of values associated with good character in Dominica and it examines the social networks, or the social ties and relationships between individuals, that operated in Dominica. It uses Troup's failure to navigate social networks and local understandings of character and shows how his desire to be both a learned Enlightenment scientist and a doctor led to his social and professional failures as a white emigrant in the Caribbean colonies. The research is based on transcriptions of the *Journal of Jonathan Troup, physician, of Aberdeen, Scotland and Dominica, West Indies*, a personal journal written during his time on the island of Dominica from 1789 to 1790.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The completion of this thesis would not have been possible without the support of many individuals. I must begin by thanking my supervisor, Dr. Justin Roberts. He encouraged me to pursue this work and fostered a creative learning environment. I would also like to thank the faculty of the Department of History at Dalhousie University for their continued support. To Val and Tina, thank you for the many hugs and compassionate conversations. I would also like to thank my readers, Dr. Jerry Bannister and Dr. S. Karly Kehoe for their support and helpful suggestions, and Dr. Shirley Tillotson, for chairing my defence.

To my fellow students in the Department of History, thank you for your invaluable friendships. Thank you for creating an intellectual environment and for listening to me talk about Troup. My most cherished memories of this program are with each of you.

I am particularly thankful for my friendships outside of academia. Christie, Meg, and Michelle, thank you for keeping me sane and always reminding me about life outside of this thesis. Daisy, thank you for listening to me and for telling me to keep going. Each one of you deserve more than this.

I would also like to say thank you to my family, Rachelle, William, and Leanne Peacock who have always supported me.

Most importantly, I must thank my partner, Mark. He has been continually supportive. His patience and encouragement made this work much easier. Thank you for unconditionally loving me even at 2:00a.m. when I did not put my transcriptions or word document down.

CHAPTER 1
Introduction

Jonathan Troup was only in Roseau, Dominica, for about eight months before he was asked to leave. Troup was a young medical doctor from Scotland who was hired by a fellow Scotsman, Dr. James Clark, to work on Dominica. However, when Troup arrived on the island, he was unable to foster meaningful relationships with the white professionals with whom he was expected to interact. Troup was hired to assist Dr. Fillan in his medical practice, but, instead, Troup wanted to explore the island and what it had to offer. Troup's interest in the study of the natural world and the non-white society hurt him. In September, only five months after his arrival, his relationship with Dr. Fillan started to noticeably deteriorate. The two men disagreed on all things medicine: diagnosing, prescribing, treating, and visiting. As well, they both disagreed on how men should be allowed to spend their leisure time. Troup wanted to focus on science and Dr. Fillan wanted him to focus on medicine. Both areas of science and medicine appear as two examples where Troup could not prove his good character. Troup's removal from Roseau marked the beginning of the end of his time in the Caribbean as a medical assistant. After being pushed out of Roseau for his misconduct as a medical professional, Troup tried going to the northwest coast of Dominica, to Prince Rupert Bay. His time there did not last long. Troup ran into some of the same problems in Prince Rupert Bay that he had in Roseau. Only four months later, Troup finally left Dominica, and sailed back home. After a large gap in his journal, it abruptly ends on August 9th, 1790 with a medical recipe and a drawing of two ships and the following caption: "Duchess of Portland tossing her main top mast".[1] Troup did not make his way back to Scotland until 1791. There, he attempted to practice medicine in Aberdeenshire and

---

[1] The *Journal of Jonathan Troup, physician, of Aberdeen, Scotland and Dominica, West Indies* is held at the University of Aberdeen Special Collections and Archives, GB 0231, MS2070. All notes that follow are a reference to this journal unless otherwise stated. Troup Journal, August 9, 1790.

Aberdeen. In 1799, Troup died in Corrachree, Aberdeenshire, at the age of 35.[2]

This thesis argues that white professionals in eighteenth-century Dominica lived within a society in which social and moral character and reputation were vital, particularly as it related to professional success. This thesis seeks to answer the following questions: What did Jonathan Troup need to do to be successful in Dominica? How did eighteenth-century white professionals define character? Did Jonathan Troup successfully establish himself as a man of good character and reputation while on Dominica? This thesis looks at the social networks, or the social ties and relationships between individuals, that operated in Dominica. It examines those ties and Troup's actions on the island to study Troup's failure as a white emigrant in Dominica. Thus, this thesis highlights the role of moral and social considerations of character and their importance to successfully establish professional ties and advance scientific knowledge.

The Life and Times of Jonathan Troup

Jonathan Troup was an eighteenth-century medical professional in Roseau, Dominica. He was born in 1764 and grew up in Aberdeen, Scotland. He was the son of Matthew and Margaret Troup, and appears to have had at least one brother.[3] Little is known about Troup's childhood, and any remaining accounts of his life do not begin until he is an adult. There are no pictures of Troup, but we know how tall he was; in his journal, he wrote, "I am 5 feet 6".[4] Troup graduated MA from Marischal College in 1786 and studied medicine at Aberdeen and Edinburgh for two years.[5] At the age of 24, Troup began his cross-Atlantic journey to Roseau, Dominica. During his

---

[2] University of Aberdeen Special Collections, Record View, http://calms.abdn.ac.uk/DServe/dserve.exe?dsqServer=Calms&dsqIni=Dserve.ini&dsqApp=Archive&dsqCmd=Show.tcl&dsqDb=Catalog&dsqPos=0&dsqSearch=%28RefNo%3D%27ms%202070%27%29.
[3] FamilySearch, Search Historical Records, https://familysearch.org/search/.
[4] Troup Journal, August 20, 1789.
[5] University of Aberdeen Special Collections, Record View, http://calms.abdn.ac.uk/DServe/dserve.exe?dsqServer=Calms&dsqIni=Dserve.ini&dsqApp=Archive&dsqCmd=Sho

time on the island, Troup encountered new people and experiences that he chronicled in his journal. Troup recorded every day in his journal and shares an intimate view of life as a professional in Dominica in the late eighteenth century.

On December 5th, 1788, Troup left Aberdeen, Scotland "on board the Smack the Swan" to go to London, England.[6] Troup was recruited to Roseau, Dominica to work under the distinguished medical professional, Dr. Andrew Fillan, as his medical assistant. Troup did not leave London, England until December 25th, 1788 where he boarded the *Duchess of Portland*. This voyage was not easy for Troup. Troup recorded details of the fluctuating weather that the ship went through, including a horrible storm where the boat almost sunk. This storm left the boat "[h]overing about in [the] Bay of Biscay in a miserable uncertain condition".[7] The boat was in horrible condition, and they ended up having to go back to England. Troup was stuck in England for two months until they could leave again. Finally, on April 4th, 1789, Troup and the other passengers set sail for a second time. After an eventful time on sea, Troup finally arrived on Roseau, Dominica on May 11th, 1789.

Dominica is a small, mountainous island located in the Windward Islands between Guadalupe and Martinique. Roseau, the capital, is on the southwest side of the island, and Prince Rupert Bay on the northwest coast. Figure 1.1 below shows a map of Dominica fourteen years before Troup arrived. Troup arrived during a period of unrest. The island went back and forth through different hands in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The British and the French were at constant war over the possession of the island. It was not until 1763 that the island was

w.tcl&dsqDb=Catalog&dsqPos=0&dsqSearch=%28RefNo%3D%27ms%202070%27%29, P. J. Anderson ed., *Fasti Academia Mariscallanae Aberdonensis: Officers and Graduates of the University and King's College, Aberdeen, 1495-1860*, vol. 11 (Aberdeen: Printed for the New Spalding Club, 1889 and 1893), 359.

[6] Troup Journal, December 5, 1788.

[7] Troup Journal, January 25, 1789.

formally ceded to Britain. After the cession, problems continued to occur. From 1778 to 1783, the French took possession. The island suffered three disastrous hurricanes, one in 1779 and the other two in 1780.[8] As well, Dominica was the scene of frequent military engagements during the Anglo-French wars, and thus, the island was meagerly populated and economically underdeveloped.[9] The French did not take possession for long and in 1784, British Governor John Orde came into power. Due to the changing political instability in government, the French and British residents did not get along. The population in Dominica in 1787, just two years before Troup arrived, was comprised of 1,236 whites and 14,987 black slaves.[10] The impact this instability had on Dominica was recorded in Thomas Atwood's, *The History of the Island of Dominica*. Atwood was chief justice, successively, of Dominica and Bahamas. In 1791, shortly after Troup left the island, Atwood wrote the following:

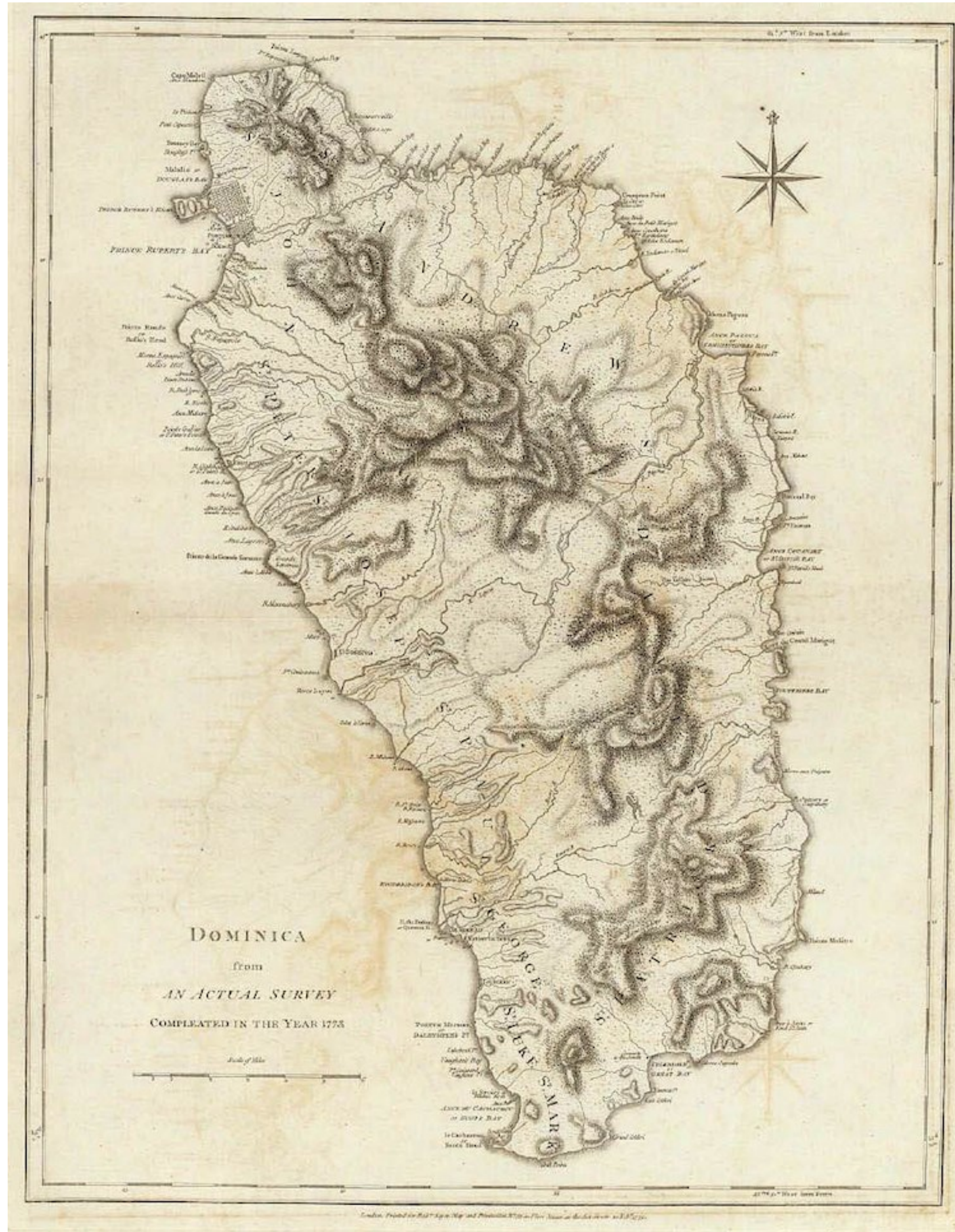
> It is greatly to be lamented, that although, the island of Dominica is so very capable of being rendered one of the chief, if not the best, the English have in the West Indies; yet, from a want of knowledge of its importance, or inattention, it is at this time almost as much unsettled, as when it was ceded to Great Britain, near thirty years ago.[11]

Indeed, Troup arrived on an island that had yet to be settled due to its changing hands of power. The island's political and economic instability would contribute to high tensions and professionals on the islands had to earn money for themselves and for the reputation of their island.

---

[8] Wallace Brown, "The Governorship of John Orde, 1783 – 1793: The Loyalist Period in Dominica," *The Journal of Caribbean History* 24 (1990): 146-177.
[9] Richard Sheridan, *Doctors and Slaves: A Medical and Demographic History of Slavery in the British West Indies, 1680 – 1834* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 302.
[10] Sheridan, *Doctors and Slaves*, 302.
[11] Thomas Atwood, *The History of the Island of Dominica. Containing a Description of Its Situation, Extent, Climate, Mountains, Rivers, Natural Productions, &c. &c. ... By Thomas Atwood* (London: Printed for J. Johnson, 1791), vi. Atwood's account was published just two years after Troup left the island.

Figure 1.1: Map of Dominica Printed in 1775



Source: "Dominica from an actual survey compleated in the year 1773. (By Thomas Jefferys). London, printed for Robt. Sayer, Map and Printseller, no. 53 in Fleet Street, as the Act directs, 20 Feby. 1775," Map, *David Rumsey Map Collection* [1775].

Relevant Historiographies

Troup's journal is rich in historical evidence and has been used by scholars but there remains much that could be done with it. There is no manuscript that solely focuses on Troup. The contemporary literature that exists on Troup uses him as a lens into a larger topic of interest such as the nature and extent of Scottish professional networks, medical professionals in the Caribbean colonies, and slavery. Few historians acknowledge that Troup, like any person, had multiple identities and competing roles. Nevertheless, the contributions made by academics regarding Troup have allowed for a more comprehensive study of his detailed experience in the Caribbean world. It is impossible to study Troup's role as a medical professional without consulting Richard Sheridan's important work, *Doctors and Slaves: A Medical and Demographic History of Slavery in the British West Indies, 1680-1834*. In this book, Sheridan details Troup's medical life on Dominica.[12] Sheridan sets out to explain why apart from new recruits from Africa, the slave population in the Caribbean sugar plantations suffered because of the deaths that exceeded births. His investigation into this question includes researching the education, training, abilities, and writing of European physicians who practiced medicine in West Africa and the Caribbean colonies. Most of Sheridan's work on Troup's journal is in the eleventh chapter on plantation medicine. Sheridan dedicates a few pages to Troup's time on the island, sharing only a glimpse of the slave medical practice Troup participated in on Dominica. Even though Sheridan's examination of Troup is short, his work as a whole is a major contribution to scholars who study the history of slavery and medicine in the Caribbean in the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries.

[12] Sheridan, *Doctors and Slaves*.

Troup also makes an appearance in T.M. Devine's, *Scotland's Empire and the Shaping of the Americas, 1600 – 1815*.[13] Devine sparingly refers to Troup in his chapter, *The Caribbean World*. He uses Troup to highlight the crucial role Scots, and specifically, Scottish doctors, played in the making of the British Empire and the American colonies. Devine is not so much known for his work on Troup, but instead for his major contributions to the Scottish and British Empire historiographies. Devine's work provides in-depth context to help scholars situate Troup amongst other Scottish men travelling from the British Empire to the Caribbean world.

Scottish historiography highlights the importance kin networks had in Scotland's role in the Atlantic world. Such literature tends to suggest that Scots such as Troup relied heavily on kin networks as they expanded into the Atlantic World and that these networks were shaped by Scottish values and identities.[14] Douglas Hamilton's 2005 book, *Scotland, the Caribbean and the Atlantic World, 1750 – 1820* addressed Troup directly in his study of the Scotland's engagement with the Caribbean.[15] In fact, Hamilton's book uses Troup's journal more thoroughly than any other recent book. Hamilton draws extensively on the journal in his chapter on Scottish doctors in the Caribbean. He offers several descriptive examples from Troup's journal to demonstrate professional networks and the medical profession in the Caribbean. His book also offers a larger understanding of Europeans abroad and Caribbean societies within a network framework. Hamilton's work is useful for this thesis as it uses a transnational Atlantic framework to examine key professional groups' usage of networks within an island that connected them throughout the

[13] T.M. Devine, *Scotland's Empire and the Shaping of the Americas, 1600 – 1815* (Washington: Smithsonian Books, 2004).

[14] For more on the importance of kin networks, see: Hamilton, *Scotland, the Caribbean and the Atlantic World*, Alan Karras, Sojourners in the Sun: Scottish Migrants in Jamaica and the Chesapeake, 1740-1800 (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992), Stephen Mullen, "A Glasgow-West India Merchant House and the Imperial Dividend, 1779-1867," *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies* 33 (2013): 196-233, and Steve Murdoch, *Network North: Scottish Kin, Commercial and Covert Associations in Northern Europe, 1603-1746* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2006).

[15] Douglas Hamilton, *Scotland, the Caribbean and the Atlantic World, 1750 – 1820* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005).

Atlantic. Hamilton's work is necessary to understand how Scots tended to function differently than the English during this period. Like many scholars, he stresses that networks, especially kin networks, were particular to the Scots at this time.

Although historians such as Douglas Hamilton and Stephen Mullen, have stressed the importance of Scottish networks in the early modern period, and highlighted the significance of those family and friend connections, a closer reading of the diary offers little evidence that kin networks and Scottish values with regards to those networks shaped Troup's experiences in Dominica.[16] Troup appears to have operated in Dominica in a society that tended to conform to English values around the maintenance of networks and the establishment of character. Although Troup was hired by a Scot and he interacted with Scots, he did not demonstrate a significant tendency to draw on Scottish kin networks the way historians suggest that other Scots did to establish himself and there is little in the journal to suggest that there was a difference between Scottish and English values in his establishment of character and reputation and his effort to secure professional advancement. What the journal suggests is a regional Caribbean variant of a broader amalgamated set of British cultural values and forms of networking. Thus, those secondary sources that pertain to English and, more broadly, British values of character and network will serve as the core of this work.

Only one published academic work has focused solely on Troup. Claire Swan published a short article on Troup, "A Life of Debauchery, Vice and Drunkenness': The Journal of Jonathan Troup, or Two Years in the West Indies" that was extremely insightful.[17] This article was published in 2006 and outlines the potential of Troup's journal for scholars. The main point

[16] For example, see: Hamilton, *Scotland, the Caribbean and the Atlantic World* and Mullen, "A Glasgow-West India Merchant House and the Imperial Dividend".
[17] Claire Swan, A Life of Debauchery, Vice and Drunkenness': The Journal of Jonathan Troup, or Two Years in the West Indies," *Scottish Archives* 12 (2006): 28-41.

Swan makes is that there is still a lot of work historians can do to analyze the journal. Swan touches on different themes present in the journal such as, Troup's interest in the weather, Troup's medical practice, and Troup's interaction with slaves. This article's most important contribution is the potential it articulately lays out for using Troup's diary in future research and teaching.

Although Troup's journal has been used for a variety of purposes, historians have yet to use the journal and the close inspection it offers of life in the Caribbean in the late eighteenth century to consider the relationship between social networks, identity and a concept that eighteenth-century Europeans of the genteel or professional classes called character. As a source, the journal offers unique insights into this nuanced and complicated relationship. This thesis links the concepts of network and character by exploring the historiographical tension between the two ideas. It explores what character meant in the late eighteenth-century British Atlantic and why Troup failed to achieve it in Dominica. Historians know that networks were present during the eighteenth century. Bernard Bailyn states that "[t]here were Atlantic networks everywhere – economic, religious, cultural".[18] Historians have tirelessly studied the importance of networks and how they formed the connections and movements that allowed the Atlantic world to thrive for so long.[19] Networks have been conceptualized by kinship or professional ties. The ties were characterized by more than those common connections, and Troup's journal is an example of this. Although the usage of kinship and professional networks were present on Dominica, the concept of character underlined these ties and was the common denominator.

---

[18] Bernard Bailyn, *Atlantic History: Concept and Contours* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2005), 100.

[19] For overviews on networks in the Atlantic world see: David Armitage, and Michael J. Braddick, eds. *The British Atlantic World, 1500–1800*. 2d ed. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), Bailyn, *Atlantic Histor*y, Bernard Bailyn, and Patricia L. Denault, eds. *Soundings in Atlantic History: Latent Structures and Intellectual Currents, 1500–1800* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2009), and Alison Games, "Atlantic History: Definitions, Challenges, and Opportunities," *American Historical Review* 111.3 (2006): 741-757.

This thesis contributes to our historiographical understanding of professionals in the eighteenth century. Rosemary O'Day's work, *The Professions in Early Modern England: Servants of the Commonweal*, was a standard reference point on professionals for this thesis. O'Day explores the development and change over time of different professions in England throughout the early modern period. Particularly, she discusses the growth of the medical profession and she discusses some of the terms used by scholars to indicate a doctor. For example, O'Day considers the differences and similarities between physicians, surgeons, and apothecaries. Although O'Day suggests varying features for the different professions, she also suggests a useful model of study, or guiding characteristics that defined professionals during this era. In addition to O'Day's works on early modern professionals, it is helpful to look at work by David Hancock, Paul Langford, and Nuala Zahedieh.[20] Each scholar offers insightful academic studies on merchants in the early modern period. It is beneficial to understand how merchants functioned as a professional group during this era in order to understand some of the key concepts of Georgian England. Hancock's book, *Citizens of the World: London Merchants and the Integration of the British Atlantic Community, 1735 – 1785*, is especially helpful as it details the importance of reputation for merchants throughout the Atlantic world. Additionally, Hancock provides useful chapters on gentility and improvement of status for professional men such as merchants. Similarly, Paul Langford's classic work, *A Polite and Commercial People: England 1727 – 1783*, also touches on key concepts of Georgian England, but more broadly, not only including merchants, but the middling-class more generally. Langford's chapter on politeness is

[20] David Hancock, *Citizens of the World: London Merchants and the Integration of the British Atlantic Community, 1735-1785* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), Paul Langford, *A Polite and Commercial People: England 1727 – 1783* (Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), and Nuala Zahedieh, *The Capital and the Colonies: London and the Atlantic Economy 1660-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

the authoritative work on such a topic. Finally, Zahedieh's manuscript, *The Capital and the Colonies: London and the Atlantic Economy, 1660 – 1700*, highlights merchants' personal characteristics, such as trust, that played an increasingly important role to the professional success of colonial merchants. Thus, it is important to understand how some of these key concepts that circulated throughout the Atlantic world, and specially, in England, were applied elsewhere, such as the Caribbean colonies, but in a different context based on social and geographical factors.

Finally, it is important to include a note on language. There is much historiographical debate about the use of the term "creole." Scholars have assumed different positions on the sophisticated nuances of Creole and Creole culture. On the one hand, some scholars argue that there was no white creole culture on the island, or that it is misleading to talk about separate white and black world or societies in the Caribbean. For example, Karl Watson's work, *The Civilised Island, Barbados: A Social History, 1750 – 1816*, argues that there was a cultural fusion between West African and European culture in the creation of Barbadian identity.[21] On the other hand, scholars such as Trevor Burnard, imply that there was a separate white network of people and cultures in the Caribbean colonies.[22] Similarly, in David Lambert's book, *White Creole Culture, Politics and Identity During the Age of Abolition*, he identifies the intentional efforts to create a white creole identity, separate from blacks, in the Caribbean, specifically, Barbados in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century.[23] In Troup's journal, he uses the

---

[21] Karl Watson, *The Civilised Island, Barbados: A Social History, 1750 – 1816* (Ellerton, Barbados: Caribbean Graphic Production, 1979).
[22] Trevor Burnard, *Mastery, Tyranny, and Desire: Thomas Thistlewood and His Slaves in the Anglo-Jamaican World* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004). Burnard makes statements in this book that suggest that he conceptualizes separate white and black cultures and networks in the Caribbean. For example, he refers to "white society in mid-eighteenth century Jamaica" (ix) or the diaries "offer a wealth of material about white society" (29) or he refers to Edward Long as "an astute observer of white Jamaican society" (71).
[23] David Lambert, *White Creole Culture, Politics and Identity During the Age of Abolition* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

term “creole” to refer to free mixed-race individuals on the island. Essentially, he used creole when he referred to the people who most British Atlantic scholars would refer to as “free blacks” but who some scholars would call mixed race or “free coloured” people. Thus, whereas Troup uses “creole” in his journal, this thesis will utilize the term free blacks to describe the individuals of mixed African and European descent whom Troup called creoles.

Methodology

This thesis uses a new lens to reinterpret what elements were needed to create a successful character within white Dominican society. What exactly did character mean at that moment in time, at that location, for those people? There is relatively little known about the role that moral or social character played in networks and the exact makeup of character. Historians have studied elements of character such as honour, status, social capital, ethics codes, and reputation, but character has received less scholarly attention. Largely, the historiography of character in the eighteenth-century Atlantic world relates to credit and debt. This is not to take away the importance of credit and debt in relation to character, but instead, to highlight the role of moral and social considerations of character and their importance for successfully establishing professional ties and advancing scientific knowledge. This thesis offers a new way to conceptualize network and character in the eighteenth-century Atlantic world in order to understand propertied Dominican society more clearly.

In order to maximize the historical benefit of Jonathan Troup’s journal, this thesis utilizes a social network analysis methodology. A social network refers to a set of actors (nodes) and the ties among them, but can be further broken down to include more specific definitions of the

members and the ties that link a network.[24] There are four main principles that compose the larger methodology of social network analysis. The first is that the individuals are part of a mutually dependent network and are therefore not independent actors within the social structure around them; they rely on others in their networks to succeed. Second, this methodology understands social networks, or groups, formed between individuals as the basis for the transfer of resources that are both tangible and intangible. Third, social networks are understood to have the capacity to be both beneficial and harmful to the individuals that operate within them, as they can inhibit or increase the opportunities presented to the individual. Finally, social network analysis considers the social network as the foundation on which larger social structures, like kinship and class, are built. Social institutions then do not define social networks, but were defined by the patterns developed through many different social networks. This final point is summed up nicely by Eugenia Roldán Vera and Thomas Schupp who argue that "a 'social network' is defined as the amalgamation of ties among actors, whereas 'social structure' is the pattern those ties assume."[25]

Social network analysis has two different approaches that must be clearly distinguished and differentiated. These two approaches are beneficial when used individually or have the ability to be incorporated to form a new methodology. The whole network approach is more commonly used when there is access to a more complete set of records that can be employed to observe an entire collection of ties in a social network. The egocentric approach looks at the social network of a specific individual, the ego, and is best used when working with a journal or

[24] Katherine Faust, and Stanley Wasserman, *Social Network Analysis: Methods and Applications* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 9.
[25] Eugenia Roldan Vera, and Thomas Schupp, "Network Analysis in Comparative Social Sciences," *Comparative Education* 42 (2006): 405-429.

a set of personal correspondences.[26] The latter approach is favourable with the central source employed in this thesis. With Troup's journal being the chief source of analysis regarding his travels, this facilitates a discussion of Troup's perceived world during a limited period of time. This includes how the reader interprets the way Troup saw and managed his ties and relationships with others.

There are 218 individuals that Troup made mention of throughout his time in Roseau who I will count as part of his personal community in Dominica.[27] The number of people in Troup's personal community was calculated by sifting through the typed transcriptions of his journal and recording all people he made mention of between his first day on the island on May 11th, 1789 and his last day in Roseau on December 19th, 1789. This number includes both the people he knew the names of, as well as people he mentioned that lack a proper name. Troup would often refer to these unnamed characters as someone's son, daughter, or niece. For example, on November 23rd, 1789, Troup recorded the following: "Mrs. Winston her Daughter & Niece are come out the Latter has sprained her leg & Dr. C. is sent for Now I expect Penny's Case will be told".[28] Out of the 218 people in Troup's personal community, 15.6% of those are people for whom Troup did not mention their proper name.[29] These people will still be included in Troup's personal community, as in some tangible or intangible way; they played a role in Troup's adventure in Roseau, Dominica. Even though it is improbable that these people contributed a significant role to Troup's time in Roseau, they remain people Troup took the effort to include in

---

[26] Vincent Chua, Julia Medej, and Barry Wellman, "Personal Communities: The World According to Me," in *The SAGE Handbook of Social Network Analysis*, ed. P. Carrington and J. Scott (London; Thousand Oaks, Calif.: SAGE Publications, 2011), 101.
[27] 218 is an approximate number. This number includes specific names, and people Troup does not include the name of. For example: country gentleman.
[28] Troup Journal, November 23, 1789.
[29] Rounded to one decimal place. 15.6% or 14 out of the 218 people.

his journal, and thus are worth the inclusion. This leaves the remaining 84.4% of people from Troup's personal community to be people for whom he included their proper name.[30]

Additionally, this thesis draws on microhistory as a methodology. This approach is similar to a biographical approach, though, it exhibits different features that can be seen in Jill Lepore's article, "Historians Who Love Too Much: Reflections on Microhistory and Biography".[31] Lepore argues that there is not one single definition for a microhistory study, but instead proposes four defining features of this type of work. Within Lepore's four propositions, she compares microhistory to biography. First, she suggests microhistories serve as a symbol for the culture as a whole, instead of the biography which is largely founded on the significance of one individual's contribution to history. Second, microhistorians trace their characters through records to address themselves to solving mysteries about a person's life as a way to explore the culture, whereas biographers tend to profile an individual and tell their life story. Third, Lepore states that microhistorians typically stay away from intimacy, but biographers usually worry too much about becoming too intimate with their subjects. Finally, Lepore proposes that the microhistorian takes on the alter ego of someone who investigates or judges the character, whereas the biographer's alter ego is normally the subject of the biography. A seamless example of microhistory done well is Laurel Thatcher Ulrich's Pulitzer Prize–winning *A Midwife's Tale: The Life of Martha Ballard, Based on Her Diary, 1785–1812*. Ulrich's work flawlessly examines Martha Ballard's diary. She looks at the daily mundane details and records that actually explain

[30] Using this type of methodology, like most methods, has a set of unique strengths and weaknesses. An obvious weakness is the approximate number tallied that represents individuals Troup writes about, due to the completeness of the source. Without a published copy of Troup's journal, all transcriptions are based on what I have personally deciphered from his journal. Thus, from this point forward, it will be known that the numbers associated with these calculations are approximate from the analysis done on the compiled transcriptions from Troup's journal.
[31] Jill Lepore, "Historians Who Love Too Much: Reflections on Microhistory and Biography," *The Journal of American History* 88 (2001): 129-144.

and give insight into the larger historical context of the lives of women in eighteenth-century New England. Ulrich shows the importance of small details and the significance of looking at the life of an individual to prove elements of a culture as a whole. As well, microhistory as a methodology is more welcoming to studying some of the smaller, less heroic players in history, such as Jonathan Troup. Troup's story is not one of success, but of failure. Thus, his life and journey tell a very different narrative than those of the great men of history. These master narratives often ignore unique sources and stories, such as Troup's, and forget that stories of failure are just as significant and insightful as stories of success. Furthermore, this thesis attempts to use similar techniques as microhistorians such as Lepore and Ulrich. It utilizes Troup's journal and his daily recordings as a case study to understand the greater historical context of how Dominica functioned in the eighteenth century.

The Journal of Jonathan Troup

The research for this thesis focuses on the *Journal of Jonathan Troup, physician, of Aberdeen, Scotland and Dominica, West Indies*. This journal is a part of the collection of documents on Jonathan Troup, the medical professional from Aberdeen. The journal is currently located at the University of Aberdeen Special Collections and Archives, and can be accessed online. [32] It consists of one volume, with 176 handwritten pages. Originally, there were more pages, but some of the pages have been removed at the beginning of the volume, in addition to a few pages that are ripped. Within the journal there are copies of letters, written in English,

[32] To access the *Journal of Jonathan Troup, physician, of Aberdeen, Scotland and Dominica, West Indies* see: University of Aberdeen Special Collections, Record View, http://calms.abdn.ac.uk/DServe/dserve.exe?dsqServer=Calms&dsqIni=Dserve.ini&dsqApp=Archive&dsqCmd=Show.tcl&dsqDb=Catalog&dsqPos=1&dsqSearch=%28%28text%29%3D%27ms%202070%27%29.

French, and Latin, and at times, Troup quotes or comments on Greek literature. At times, Troup rewrites entire letters he sent or received. Figure 1.2 below shows a random excerpt of Troup's journal that was used for this thesis. In addition to the written work of Troup, throughout the journal he includes ink and water colour drawings. More specifically, Troup records details pertaining to the medical practice, slave and free black societies, and the natural curiosities on that island that fascinated him. He described the cases he attended to, his diagnoses of ailments, and his preferred treatment options or prescriptions. Troup treated the white society, in addition to the slave and free black societies, and this allowed him to comment on a wide variety of social life on the Caribbean island. Troup also included text on his own personal life on Dominica, including his personal relationships with his employers, colleagues, and other island inhabitants, along with personal anecdotes related to his health and professional work.

Figure 1.2: Portion of Troup Journal

Source: Troup Journal, June 1, 1789

Troup's journal also contains many important observations concerning the climate and topographical status of Dominica. Troup's illustrations compliment his writing. While other eighteenth-century diarists such as Thomas Thistlewood, included drawings in their diaries, those illustrations do not compare to Troup's. Troup's illustrations show an immense amount of detail and colour compared to similar journals of that era. There are over 90 illustrations in Troup's journal that often reflect what he is writing about on that day. They range from very small graphics shoved in the corner of a page, to full page graphics that take up an entire journal page. His work ranges from illustrations of the clouds forming, to an interesting insect he found, to a detailed drawing of a local free black woman. This journal is suggestive of a private memoir,

instead of one intended for further dissemination or publication. Troup archived his personal experiences of exploration through this journal, and it does not appear to be written to persuade others of any one argument or idea. Troup's journal can be viewed as a genuine account of a European medical professional's life on Dominica in the late 1780s. This narrative account is an extremely valuable personal testimony that has significance for historians. Other primary sources were consulted in the process of writing this thesis, but this journal was an intimate form of writing, and because of that, is at the centre of this work.

Troup's journal shares similarities and shows differences with other eighteenth-century diaries or journals. Richard Ward notes that by the seventeenth century, diary writing was an established way for people to keep personal records and during the early modern period there was a fast expansion in the form.[33] Ward continues and explains that consequences of the English Reformation included the focus on the individual, the importance of self-examination, and the Puritan emphasis on the direct relationship between an individual and God.[34] These results supported diaries as a way to keep one's account, in addition to keeping an account on oneself. Ward argues that particular to the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, the private diary as a record of daily events became part of larger stream of practice.[35] Troup's journal shares similarities with well-known eighteenth-century diarists such as Martha Ballard, James Boswell, and Thomas Thistlewood.[36] For example, Troup and Thistlewood both wrote in their journals every day. Both men included daily rainfall and noted weather conditions. Like

---

[33] Richard Ward. *Print Culture, Crime and Justice in 18th-Century London* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2014), 36.
[34] Ward, *Print Culture, Crime and Justice*, 36.
[35] *Ibid*.
[36] To view Martha Ballard's diary, see: DoHistory, Martha Ballard's Diary Online, http://dohistory.org/diary/. To view James Boswell's diary, see: Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, The Boswell Collection, http://beinecke.library.yale.edu/collections/highlights/boswell-collection. To view Thomas Thistlewood's diary see: Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Diary, From Thomas Thistlewood Papers, http://brbl-dl.library.yale.edu/vufind/Record/3472441.

Thistlewood, Troup also copied passages from books he was reading, merging the form of the diary with the kinds of commonplace books kept by many gentlemen.[37] Troup and Thistlewood both appear to have used their diary for personal use only. Similarly, Ballard kept mundane records in her diary. The structure of her diary is a mix between a day book and an almanac. She recorded debts and rewards, in addition to her midwifery accounts. Trevor Burnard argues that Thistlewood and Boswell shared much in common. They both had a thirst for sexual adventure and a love of learning.[38] Troup also shared these interests with Thistlewood and Boswell. Boswell's diaries are more revealing than Thistlewood's about his feelings, emotions, and attitudes towards others.[39] Likewise, Troup showed more self-analysis in his writing than Thistlewood. Thus, Troup shares both similarities and differences with other eighteenth-century diarists.

Chapter Layout

Chapter Two investigates the relationship between character and white British identity in Dominica. It seeks to explain the meaning of what whites in eighteenth-century Dominican society called character. It looks at important eighteenth-century concepts such as reputation, honour, and moral capital. It explores how these notions defined character on the island, and ultimately, defined the process of establishing professional ties with peers. In doing so, this chapter consults studies on eighteenth-century merchants, as a point of comparison on the significance of these concepts within Georgian England. It explores how Troup spent his time on

[37] For example, see: Kenneth Lockridge, *On the Sources of Patriarchal Rage: The Commonplace Books of William Byrd and Thomas Jefferson and the Gendering Power in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: New York University Press, 1992).
[38] Burnard, *Mastery, Tyranny, and Desire*, 27.
[39] *Ibid*.

the island, and more specifically, it looks at how Troup intermingled with slaves and free blacks. This chapter shows how Troup had difficulty navigating his social surroundings, and this contributed to his failure to establish relationships with significant men on the island.

Chapter Three studies Troup's experience of medical practice on Dominica. It describes how Troup studied medicine while under the watch of his employer, Dr. Fillan. It follows the professional relationship between Troup and Dr. Fillan, and exposes the deteriorating relationship between them. This chapter reveals that Troup and Fillan commonly disagreed on how to run a medical practice, and in that process, uncovers what it meant to be a good medical professional in eighteenth-century Dominica. This chapter shows that Troup had to meet the standards of the medical profession on the island in order to be deemed a man of good character.

Chapter Four focuses on Troup's interests in the study of the natural world. It reveals Troup's fascination with the flora and fauna on the island and details Troup's fondness of observation, collection, and recording of the natural curiosities. It uncovers Troup's desire to be a man of science and demonstrates the connection between discovery and imperialist motivations towards natural history and the advancement of Scientific knowledge. This chapter explores the term 'colonial naturalist' and places Troup within the broader notion of British imperialism in the eighteenth century. It reveals Troup's preference to spend time studying the natural world, instead of practicing medicine. The chapter concludes with a discussion of Troup's interest in natural curiosities and how these interests fulfilled his sense of self but worked to his professional disadvantage by undermining his character and his status in a professional network.

Finally, Chapter Five considers Troup's dismissal from Roseau and recounts his short time at Prince Rupert Bay. This chapter will explore why medicine and science played such a detrimental role in Troup's life on the island. It will examine how Troup ultimately failed as a

medical professional due to his lack of establishing a position in the social network of white professionals in Roseau, Dominica.

The aim of this research is to explore the relationship between social networks and character on the island of Dominica and how that relationship along with Troup's conflicting goals of being both a physician and an enlightened naturalist shaped his prospects on the island and led to his failure in the colonies. Through an examination of Jonathan Troup's career in Roseau, Dominica, it will become evident that white professional society in late eighteenth-century Dominica was one in which the relationships built and maintained through socially constructed notions of localized character determined success or failure.

CHAPTER 2
His Character: Reputation, Honour, and Moral Capital in Free Black Culture in Dominica

Introduction

On May 11, 1789, at approximately 9:00 in the evening, four months preceding his Atlantic Ocean voyage, the young Dr. Jonathan Troup, a Scottish emigrant, arrived at Roseau, the capital of Dominica, a slave society in the British Caribbean.[40] The island's most prominent doctor, Dr. Andrew Fillan, "an excellent attentive Practitioner generally beloved by inhabitants" and a fellow Scot, greeted Troup that evening.[41] This was the first of many face-to-face interactions involving Troup and his employer, Dr. Fillan, that created an interconnected network of social relations.[42] The two men of medicine would be working closely, as Troup was recruited to Dominica by Dr. James Clark, who wrote an excellent reference for him to work under Dr. Fillan as his medical assistant.[43] Troup wrote in a concise manner, but pleasantly, of his first interaction with Dr. Fillan. His record of this first encounter was the only thing he wrote of his first evening on the island. In this important interaction and the subsequent recording of events, Troup documented vital information pertaining to Dr. Fillan and the important presence that Dr. Fillan had as a key figure on the island. In this entry, Troup recorded that Dr. Fillan controlled two-thirds of the medical practices in the town and surrounding garrison of Roseau, which constituted a substantial proportion, as there was a total of sixteen practitioners, and that Dr. Fillan resided within the island for fourteen years.[44] In addition to Dr. Fillan, Troup met Mr. John

---

[40] The *Journal of Jonathan Troup, physician, of Aberdeen, Scotland and Dominica, West Indies* is held at the University of Aberdeen Special Collections and Archives, GB 0231, MS2070. All notes that follow are a reference to this journal unless otherwise stated. For example, see: Troup Journal, May 11, 1789.
[41] *Ibid*.
[42] A face-to-face interaction will be defined in this thesis as a mutual action between people where two or more individuals are clearly in each other's presence. Even though Troup interacts with some people through letters, those interactions are not included in the definition of face-to-face interactions and will further be discussed in forthcoming chapters.
[43] Troup Journal, September 4, 1789.
[44] Troup Journal, May 11, 1789.

Carson, who was also an assistant to Dr. Fillan's medical practice. It was these two white, Scottish, men, among other similar men on Dominica, who would play a large role in the collapse of Troup's social connections on the island, and ultimately lead to his failure while on his excursion.

This chapter explores the meaning of what whites in eighteenth-century Dominican society called "character." It looks at Troup's relationships on the island to discuss the ways in which individuals operated within a society built on notions of character. It is only by understanding the meaning of character that one is able to understand why Troup did not make successful professional ties. To understand how Troup needed to gain social and moral capital and establish professional ties, one must understand that Dominica functioned as a culture of character. This chapter presents Dominica as a culture of character through which Troup needed to navigate in order to make and strengthen his social connections. As a medical professional Troup is largely regarded as a failure; he did not gain a medical practice in Dominica because he insisted on certain conditions. Much of this stems from historians such as Douglas Hamilton and Richard Sheridan, who have both written about Troup.[45] Sheridan wrote: "it would appear that Dr. Troup lost his struggle to gain a medical practice in Dominica."[46] However, this is problematic, because both Hamilton and Sheridan ignored considerations of moral and social character as a reason for his failure. For Troup to successfully establish professional ties, he had to prove himself a man of good character; he had to cultivate all the elements of good character: reputation, honour, and moral capital. It was not easy.

The concept of character has not been studied in detail by early modern Atlanticists, but

---

[45] Douglas Hamilton, *Scotland, the Caribbean and the Atlantic World, 1750 – 1820* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), Richard Sheridan, *Doctors and Slaves: A Medical and Demographic History of Slavery in the British West Indies, 1680-1834* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985).
[46] Sheridan, *Doctors and Slaves*, 305.

when it has it has usually been studied within the context of the culture of credit and debt.[47] Margot Finn noted in her study of debt in English culture that character signified personal credit in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. As Finn puts it, "Character functioned … as the basis upon which lenders extended credit to borrowers and consumers and as a broader social and cultural measure of personal worth."[48] The perceptions of personal worth allowed for the use of goods and services acquired on credit to construct creditworthy characters. Craig Muldrew calls this an 'economy of obligation'. This was an economic culture where character, reputation, and trust were key, especially regarding credit.[49] As Muldrew shows, "more than anything credit was a public means of social communication and circulating judgement about the value of other members of communities."[50] If an individual was unable to access credit they were most likely judged by the community as a person with bad character. Credit created character, and character created credit.

Deidre Lynch suggests that character acquired new meanings, forms, and values in the later eighteenth century.[51] This meaning of character not only changed over time, but also over geographical and social contexts. In eighteenth-century Dominica, the role of personal characteristics determined character. Personal characteristics such as leadership, manners, and good social standing were attributed to genteel status. This was not a new concept. As early as

[47] For an overview on credit and debt in the early modern period see: Margot C. Finn, *The Character of Credit: Personal Debt in English Culture, 1740 – 1914* (Cambridge, U.K.; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), Craig Muldrew, "Interpreting the Market: The Ethics of Credit and Community Relations in Early Modern England," *Social History* 18 (1993): 163-183, Craig Muldrew, *The Economy of Obligation: The Culture of Credit and Social Relations in Early Modern England* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998).
[48] Finn, *The Character of Credit*, 19.
[49] Muldrew, *The Economy of Obligation*, 3.
[50] *Ibid*., 2.
[51] Deidre Lynch, *The Economy of Character: Novels, Market Culture, and the Business of Inner Meaning* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 126.

1583, a nobleman, Sir Thomas Smith, provided the following definition of a gentleman that highlighted a man's behavior and reputation:

> For whosoever studieth the lawes of the realm, who studieth in the universities, who professeth the liberall sciences, and to be shorte, can live idly and without manual labour, and will beare the port, charge, and countenaunce of a gentleman, he shall be called master, for that is the title which men give to esquires and other gentlemen, and shall be taken for a gentleman.[52]

Smith's definition is important as it emphasizes personal characteristics. Contemporaries used the word "port" meaning a man's power within community, "charge" referred to his level of responsibility within the community, and "countenance" related to his social manners.[53] Although Smith places emphasis on a gentleman's education, his discussion of personal characteristics stands out. Troup's journal echoes Smith's sentiments. On October 5th, 1789, Troup stated: "A Gentleman who has been 20 years in Island came to me & being M.A. he told me not to boast of it nor of any man's but my own abilities would do here where a Character was establish that then I could produce my Diplomas I thankt him very much".[54] Troup's education was important, but his character was more important. On multiple occasions, Troup was reminded of the significance of character to a man's profession on Dominica. For instance, on October 30th, 1789, Troup chronicled a quarrel between a few gentlemen. Troup dined with Mr. Allis and recounted when Mr. Corlet made verbal attacks in the presence of other gentlemen. Mr. Allis told Troup that he was certain that there was no intentional harm done by Mr. Corlet, but that his "nonsense was ill timed & in a mixt company where he was not so acquainted with all present & did not know what sentiments the Company have with regard to his Character".[55] Mr.

[52] Penelope J. Corfield, "The Rivals," in *Land and Society in Britain, 1700-1914: Essays in Honour of F.M.L. Thompson*, ed. Negly Harte and Roland Quinault (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), 5.
[53] Corfield, "The Rivals," in *Land and Society in Britain*, 6.
[54] Troup Journal, October 5, 1789.
[55] Troup Journal, October 30, 1789.

Allis wanted Mr. Corlet to make an apology as he was worried it "may detract from my Character & treat me in the same way… And it will be a good lesson in C^c for Corlet not to insult any Gentleman however intimate ".[56] This interaction is particularly important as it shows white men on the island were concerned about their own character and the character of individuals they were involved with. As well, this communication between Troup and Mr. Allis shows the importance of characteristics such as politeness, manners, and larger notions of gentility when gentlemen interacted with one another. In another instance, Troup highlights the importance of trust on Dominica. In August 1789, Troup complained of a Mr. Homes who is of a "[c]haracter who have little opinion of their own but run & says everything to Company".[57] Troup appears not to trust this man who gossips and spreads opinions throughout the island. With so much focus on credit and debt and the economic realities of exploitative economic colonies, it is often forgotten that social and moral character played an extremely vital role in many less obviously economic aspects of life and social formation the Caribbean colonies in this period, and Jonathan Troup's journal is a prime case to exploit this view.

Professional Whites: A Network Summary

The basis of Jonathan Troup's significant network came from white professionals on Roseau, Dominica. [58] As Rosemary O'Day suggests: "[s]tudy of the professions brings the

---

[56] *Ibid*.
[57] Troup Journal, August 30, 1789.
[58] It is important to note that I have decided to use the term white professionals to describe this network. Troup did not call these men his network, nor did he directly call them white professionals. On the importance of networks in Atlantic world history see: David Armitage, and Michael J. Braddick, eds. *The British Atlantic World, 1500–1800*. 2d ed. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), Bernard, Bailyn, *Atlantic History: Concept and Contours* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2005), Bernard Bailyn, and Patricia L. Denault, eds. *Soundings in Atlantic History: Latent Structures and Intellectual Currents, 1500–1800* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2009), and Alison Games, "Atlantic History: Definitions, Challenges, and Opportunities," *American Historical Review* 111.3 (2006): 741-757.

historian up against a semantic problem: the word profession and its derivatives traditionally bore different meanings."[59] A profession, for early modern English people, was not a uniform nor unified entity. Although the professions had similar origins, the early modern professions were not identical to one another.[60] Rather, each profession was unique. There were certain defining characteristics that were applied to professions as a useful model for study:

> As a body of people who offer a service to clients on the basis of expertise; who grounded their expertise and authority in a body of theoretical knowledge as well as practical skill; who claim a monopoly; who follow a code of ethics in performing their services; who have an internal organization that disciplines its members; and who have a large degree of autonomy in their work[.][61]

O'Day suggests that it is useful to ask these questions to highlight features of professions. It is not a checklist, but it is a useful guiding tool to analyze the characteristics and contexts of professions in the early modern period. There were similar characteristics or expectations between professionals and men of good character; often being one in the same. Early-modern merchants throughout the Atlantic world illustrate this point and it is useful to look at what some scholars have argued. Merchants did not necessarily need great financial resources to pursue a career. However, they did need to establish a good reputation. David Hancock suggests that merchants throughout the early-modern period needed to establish themselves as gentleman in order to gain respect and station.[62] Hancock emphasizes that there were no precise attributes to being a gentleman in the eighteenth-century, as the term was extremely vague for this period.[63] Nevertheless, he highlights the importance of a good education, good dress, refined external behaviours, and available finances in the lives of merchants looking to establish their gentleman

---

[59] Rosemary O'Day, *The Professions in Early Modern England, 1450 – 1800: Servants of the Commonweal* (Harlow: Longman, 2000), 13.
[60] O'Day, *The Professions in Early Modern England*, 6.
[61] *Ibid*., 9.
[62] David Hancock, *Citizens of the World: London Merchants and the Integration of the British Atlantic Community, 1735-1785* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 279.
[63] Hancock, *Citizens of the World*, 280.

status. Nuala Zahedieh also touches on these points and argues: "Reputation, or trustworthiness, was built on a universally accepted code of conduct, which had evolved alongside an increasingly commercial society, combining rules of reason and religion, interest, and honour."[64] A merchant's credit or debt did play a large role in their reputation, but Zahedieh also highlights merchants' personal characteristics, such as trust, that played an increasingly important role to the professional success of colonial merchants.[65] Paul Langford additionally brings forth the idea of a polite society, a central theme in England for merchants and the middling class during the eighteenth century.[66] Langford's seminal manuscript, *A Polite and Commercial People: England 1727 – 1783*, described the rapid social change England experienced in the eighteenth century and turns the historical focus on the middling class. Langford asserts that politeness was an essential element in society and stressed the importance of polite modes of behaviour in regulating and conferring status across the social range.[67] Similar to Hancock and Zahedieh, Langford asserts social concepts, such as politeness that were more attainable to those who were not born into rank or had a place in a political hierarchy.[68] It is important to note these characteristics of merchants and the middling class that historians have highlighted, because they are similar to characteristics that professionals, such as Troup, had to strive for on Dominica. What is fundamentally different are the patterns that defined each of these key concepts. For example, Langford asserts that for an individual to have real character, they needed real

[64] Nuala Zahedieh, *The Capital and the Colonies: London and the Atlantic Economy 1660-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 94.
[65] For more on colonial merchants in the British-Atlantic world see: David Hancock, *Citizens of the World: London Merchants and the Integration of the British Atlantic Community, 1735-1785* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995) and Zahedieh, *The Capital and the Colonies*.
[66] Paul Langford, *A Polite and Commercial People: England 1727 – 1783* (Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press, 1989).
[67] Langford, *A Polite and Commercial People*.
[68] Paul Langford, "The Uses of Eighteenth-Century Politeness," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 12 (2002): 311-331.

property.[69] Such property came, in its most secure form, in landed property. These key Georgian England concepts of expectation for merchants were no different for medical professionals in Dominica, but what was different were the very specific defining features or attributes of that time and place. Troup's first task on the island was similar to the merchants; he had to establish himself a reputation as a good man.

Honour was a central part to one's character and reputation. There is not one easy definition of honour, but it can be understood as a multi-faceted, complex practice that was subjected to diverse social usages.[70] The notion of honour was situational, as it was located in a specific place and time.[71] Honour culture, as historians of the U.S. South and Colonial Latin America have shown, was a code of morality that was central to one's claim to a certain positon in the social hierarchy of a society[72]. It was one of the keys to networking and climbing a social ladder but it had distinctive regional variants. A useful definition of honour has been provided by William Ian Miller:

> Honor is above all the keen sensitivity to the experience of humiliation and shame, a sensitivity manifested by the desire to be envied by others and the propensity to envy the successes of others. To simplify greatly, honor is that disposition which makes one act to shame others who have shamed oneself, to humiliate others who have humiliated oneself. The honorable person is one whose self-esteem and social standing is intimately dependent on the esteem or the envy he or she actually elicits in others.[73]

---

[69] Langford, *A Polite and Commercial People*, 294. See: "Land demonstrated good character."
[70] Verónica Undurraga, "Honor". In *Oxford Bibliographies* in Atlantic History, http://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780199730414/obo-9780199730414-0247.xml (Accessed July 25, 2017).
[71] Lyman L. Johnson, and Sonya Lipsett-Rivera, *The Faces of Honor: Sex, Shame, and Violence in Colonial Latin America* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998), 2.
[72] For more information on honour in the US south, see: Bertram Wyatt-Brown*, Southern Honor: Ethics and Behavior in the Old South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982). Wyatt-Brown's book was a finalist for the Pulitzer Prize and the American Book Award. For more on the importance of honour in colonial Latin America, see: Johnson, and Lipsett-Rivera, *The Faces of Honor.*
[73] William Ian Miller, *Humiliation: And Other Essays on Honor, Social Discomfort, and Violence* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1995), 84.

Miller's definition of honour suggests that in a honour-based culture, an individual's value and status are essentially reputational.[74] Thus, an honour-based culture is one in which reputation and trust are vital, particularly in the formation and extension of social networks. Similar to the culture in Colonial Latin America, honour in Dominica was extended to individuals based on their reputation and character, or trustworthiness, as determined by the community. Without confirmation by society, an individual's claim to honour was ultimately unsustainable.[75] If an individual's claim to honour was rejected by peers, his or her reputation in society was put at risk. Troup had to successfully manipulate the network, showing Dr. Fillan, and the men who already gained their status as honourable men in the network, that he too earned the conferment of honour.

In 1789, when Troup arrived on Dominica, there were several groups of professionals: merchants, lawyers, doctors, and clerics. Although the diverse professions held varying expertise, services, and values, they all held a common characteristic: power. A considerable amount of financial and social support ran through this network, as did a steady amount of power. Troup's primary contact in this network was his employer, Dr. Andrew Fillan, who resided in Roseau as the chief medical doctor. Fillan's presence was felt by all as he was the leading doctor in Dominica. Fillan's direct path to success is unknown, but by the time Troup arrived, he had been on the island for fourteen years and was pre-eminent among the island medics. Fillan created a medical enterprise that included control of two-thirds of the medical practices in town, an apothecary shop, and many men working under him.[76] His fellow

[74] Johnson and Lipsett-Rivera, *The Faces of Honor*, 6.
[75] *Ibid*., 7.
[76] For example, see: Troup Journal, May 11, 1789. Dr. Andrew Fillan's initial educational degree is unknown, but in 1791 he was conferred by Marischal College with a Doctorate of Medicine, and around the same time he received a fellowship from the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh.

professional colleagues throughout Dominica looked to him for advice, treatments, and ailments, demonstrating his immense level of expertise in the field. For example, on June 3rd, 1789, Troup transcribed letters that were sent to Dr. Fillan from others looking for medical advice. The letters outlined their concern regarding a slave, Antoine: "I ask that you examine whether he is fit to work… I am sending for the remedy for the negre, tomorrow. At the same time, send me a phial like yesterday to stop the spitting."[77] In another instance, Troup transcribed a letter requesting medicine from Dr. Fillan: "However, I found at the bottom of the vase where I vomited an egg of phlegm. I spit up quite considerably, my spit was viscous…I ask that you tell me what I need to do".[78] In both cases, the individuals writing the letters closed with the following statement to Dr. Fillan: "I have the honour to sincerely be, monsieur, your very humble and obedient servant."[79] This short line on a letter had substantial importance. In eighteenth-century epistolary conventions, this meant that the recipient of the letter was a member of royalty, nobility, or of extreme dignity.[80] This shows Fillan's authority and power. Therefore, his judgement of an individuals' character carried meaningful weight in Roseau. Andrew Fillan controlled the medical profession and had strong social connections with other professionals in town, which meant that if he judged someone to be of bad character, he would not keep them on the island.

In addition to Fillan, this network also included professionals across Roseau.[81] Dr. John Carson, who worked as Fillan's assistant, was the person Troup interacted with the most besides

[77] Troup Journal, June 3, 1789.
[78] Troup Journal, July 14, 1789.
[79] Troup Journal, June 3, 1789 and July 14, 1789.
[80] Anni Sairio and Minna Nevala, Social Dimensions of Layout in Eighteenth-Century Letters and Letter-Writing Manuals, http://www.helsinki.fi/varieng/series/volumes/14/sairio_nevala/.
[81] It important to note that white professionals would often blur these classifications, resulting in varying social roles, or titles. Many of the white professionals on Dominica, such as merchants, lawyers, and doctors, acted as attorneys for absentee plantation owners. For example, on July 30, 1789, Troup met with Dr. Mudie, another island medical professional, but he was also manager of the plantation, Belle Visii.

Fillan.[82] He was with Troup so much as he was his co-worker. Carson and Troup attended to medical cases together. Mr. Fraser and Mr. Smith, local merchants and slaveholders, had consistent interactions with Troup, too.[83] Troup was employed by Fillan to attend to their slaves. Mr. Knox, Mr. Rainy, and Mr. Kemp were slaveholding merchants as well, and had a presence in this network through their status as professionals and their social connections with Fillan. Mr. Archbald, Mr. Winston, and Mr. Cobham were no different.[84] However, it is important to assess the quality of interactions. Even though Dr. James Clark did not have a high number of face-to-face interactions with Troup, he did play a substantial role in the network.[85] Clark was not on the island for the majority of Troup's employment. Even though Clark arrived in November 1789, seven months after Troup's arrival in Roseau, he still played a significant role as the man who recruited Troup to Dominica. While Troup and Mr. Fraser had dinner together one night, Fraser told Troup that "Dr. Clark gave Dr. Fillan an excellent character of [him to Fillan]".[86] Clark played a significant role as the man who judged Troup's character and recruited him to the island. Despite the fact that the men in this social network only encompassed a small portion of the total names mentioned throughout Troup's journal, it remained an important avenue for Troup to establish social connections on Dominica. As O'Day puts it: "Professionals were important to society because there were so many of them, but also because of the ethos which underpinned them was so pervasive of elite and middle-class society."[87] It was the recognition of this ethos and the profession's inherent authority that gave them their power. O'Day argues that

---

[82] Dr. John Carson and Johnathan Troup had 66 face-to-face interactions. Dr. Andrew Fillan and Troup had 65 face-to-face interactions.
[83] Mr. Fraser had 38 face-to-face interactions with Troup. Mr. Smith had 28 face-to-face interactions with Troup.
[84] Mr. Archbald had 22 face-to-face interactions with Troup, Mr. Winston had 19, and Mr. Coham had 17.
[85] Dr. James Clark and Troup had 10 face-to-face interactions.
[86] Troup Journal, September 30, 1789.
[87] O'Day, *The Professions in Early Modern England,* 256.

it was this power that enabled so many professionals to become leaders in both local and national society.[88]

The Boundaries of White Society in Dominica

As Troup settled on Dominica, it did not take him long to explore the island. He was a curious man with an interest in observation. Troup was an empiricist and he believed "[t]he Empiric cannot go far he only learns by experience from Vulgar & these are the simplest & most common things".[89] This interest did not always benefit Troup. He wrote often about the time he spent observing and interacting with the slave and free black societies on Dominica. Within his journal, Troup discussed his thoughts about the diverse individuals, often criticizing them. Troup's most detailed notes in his journal are most often about his observation of the natural world and the slave and free black societies. Not only did Troup write about his observations, but he also illustrated them. Troup's journal is littered with drawings and paintings of early slave and free black societies. Troup believed he could spend his leisure time however he pleased: "I told him I would do that still in my Leisure hours & there are many in Man's life".[90] Other professionals on the island did not feel the same. Other professionals on the island noticed how much time Troup spent intermingling. Although Dominica was a mixed-race society, Fillan made it very clear about how much time and in what capacity Troup could spend interacting with these people. Troup recorded a few different instances where Fillan or Clark was not happy with how he spent his leisure time. For example, Troup stated: "Dr. Fillan complained of me to Mr. Rainy for my indolence".[91] In another instance, Troup commented: "Dr. Clark called upon me

[88] *Ibid*., 257.
[89] Troup Journal, October 17, 1789.
[90] Troup Journal, November 21, 1789.
[91] Troup Journal, August 23, 1789.

called me ungrateful for my conduct since I came to this Island I told Him I would clear up everything before Dr. Fillan & Mr. Rainy – They convened I did not choose to speak of Practice But mentioned that Dr. Fillan seemed to express so much ill nature – that I could not bear him".[92] Troup's journal demonstrates that there was a fine line between the kind of interactions and the amount of time white professionals were allowed to spend with others. Although Fillan and Clark were unimpressed with this situation, Troup continued to intermingle with Dominica's racially mixed society; putting his character into question.

People in the Caribbean faced many challenges in the second half of the eighteenth century. Hamilton notes that the most notable challenge was the disjunction between the free white residents and the communities of enslaved blacks and free people of colour.[93] British colonists throughout the Caribbean struggled to maintain their British identity and maintain control over the enslaved populations. The 15, 400 black slaves in Dominica vastly outnumbered the 1, 200 whites by a ratio of nearly 13 to 1 in 1790.[94] By comparison, in Jamaica in the 1770s and 1780s, the enslaved outnumbered whites by approximately 12 to 1. In Tobago and Grenada, the ratio was upwards of 22 to 1, as new planters promoted the rapid transformation of the islands to sugar colonies.[95] The 1791 account of Dominica from Thomas Atwood provides historians with a detailed account of the composition of the society in Dominica in the eighteenth century.[96] Atwood, a chief judge of Dominica, and afterwards, Bahamas, wrote that, "The negros in Dominica, under the description of slaves, are between fifteen and sixteen thousand; but not

---

[92] Troup Journal, November 21, 1789.
[93] Hamilton, *Scotland, the Caribbean and the Atlantic* World, 32.
[94] John J. McCusker, "The Economy of the British West Indies, 1763-1790: Growth, Stagnation or Decline," in McCusker, *Essays in the Economic History of the Atlantic World* (New York: Routledge, 1997), 312.
[95] Hamilton, *Scotland, the Caribbean and the Atlantic World*, 33.
[96] Thomas Atwood, *The History of the Island of Dominica. Containing a Description of Its Situation, Extent, Climate, Mountains, Rivers, Natural Productions, &c. &c. ... By Thomas Atwood*. (London: Printed for J. Johnson, 1791).

more than half belongs to the English inhabitants”.[97] The others were owned by Dominica’s large French population, and this specific linguistic diversity caused even more problems of identity and allegiance in the islands.

There were different reasons why white societies stuck together and made a division in these islands. Whites felt threatened by the diverse characteristics of their island settlements including the black slaves, plantation regimen, the antics of buccaneers and enemy raiders, the deadly tropical fevers and explosive storms. In addition, colonists were afraid of being run over or rebelled against by the people who looked different than them. The diverse languages, religions, ethnicities, cultures, appearances, and countries of origins that characterized the British-Atlantic empire were commonly feared.[98] This fear provided cohesion in the white society. The commonality of perceptions of one’s skin colour became a key identifying factor for those coming and residing in the Caribbean.

Whites bonding together was a way to establish social connections and assert reputation amongst one another. Troup’s journal shows that elements of traditional white British culture existed in Dominica in the eighteenth century as a way for whites to form a network. This was one way for whites to proclaim their Britishness and reinforce their genteel status. At the beginning of Troup’s stay he took part in social events with the white society. But, towards the end of Troup’s time on Roseau, he declined invitations to socialize with other whites, such as Fillan or Rainy. Troup’s journal exhibits two distinct categories of activities that whites took part in on Dominica. The first is activities that whites did solely with other whites. The second category is voluntary activities that whites did with slaves and free blacks. However, a more

[97] Atwood, *The History of the Island of Dominica*, 224.
[98] Brooke N. Newman, “Gender, Sexuality, and the Formation of Racial Identities in the Eighteenth-Century Anglo-Caribbean World,” *Gender & History* 22 (2010): 585-602.

accurate description of the second category includes activities whites did to slaves and free blacks to take advantage of them. Although whites intermingled with slave and free black societies in Dominica, it was on a voluntary basis and it was not always voluntary for non-whites.

Dominica was not unique from other island colonies that brought over and continued traditional British culture through food, dress, and holidays. This was a way for white men to meet other similar men and form social connections. Troup celebrated Christmas with fellow British men and shared traditional food, drink, and dance. For example, on June 4th, 1789, Troup celebrated the King's birthday by firing fourteen rounds on his pistols, and then he watched the Battery of Roseau fire a round, too.[99] Similarly, on January 18th, 1790, Troup wrote that he celebrated the Queen's birthday with an ox and notes a number of soldiers dined upon it.[100] After the feast, the men continued to celebrate her Majesty's birthday by firing off gun shots to signal their loyalty to the throne. As well, these men frequently congregated at local taverns to drink and socialize, similar to the social traditions back home. On September 23rd, 1789, Troup went to Clappar's Tavern and consumed some punch, it was not uncommon that these men would hold meetings at taverns similar to their home turf.[101] Troup's participation in elements of British culture on Dominica showed that there was some motivation for these men to act in a civilized way.

[99] Troup Journal, June 4, 1789.
[100] Troup Journal, January 18, 1790.
[101] Troup Journal, September 23, 1789, August 29, 1789, November 5, 1789, December 25, 1789, and January 2, 1790.

Leisure Amongst White Society in Dominica

Leisure was an important activity for white men in the British Atlantic. Even when men were over 4,000 miles away from home, they still took part in activities that demonstrated their wealth and status. Since most leisure activities were expensive, only the wealthy could access them. For example, reading was an expensive past time in the eighteenth century. Books were still expensive. Due to the hot, humid heat on the island, it was not uncommon for members of the white society to stay inside during their leisure time. In addition to reading and sharing books, whites on Dominica drew, painted, played music, dined, and drank. As a white professional, Troup would have been expected to take part in leisure activities. Stevin Shapin suggests, "The gentleman was a master for whom others labored. He could be recognized by his idleness, and the practical equation between leisure and gentility was acknowledged even by commentators who argued in favor of vocation and virtue."[102] Shapin notes that it is important to acknowledge that in contemporary usage, leisure, or even idleness, did not mean the absence of activity, only the absence of valued activity.[103] Troup's journal reveals the various types of leisure activities men could join in the Caribbean colonies.

British men in Dominica asserted their wealth and status through reading popular magazines, books, or newspapers from Britain.[104] Although literacy rates showed improvement in England at the beginning of the eighteenth century, reading and writing was a sign of wealth, education, and gentility. This was the same in Dominica. Reading for pleasure and education was popular among the white society. Troup's journal shows that white men in Dominica had

---

[102] Steven Shapin, *A Social History of Truth: Civility and Science in Seventeenth-Century England* (Chicago: University of Chicago, Press, 1994), 51.
[103] Shapin, *A Social History of Truth*, 52.
[104] For example, see: Troup Journal, December 1, 1789, December 8, 1789, January 2, 1790, January 4, 1790, and February 22, 1790.

personal collections of books, and their libraries illustrated a broad series of subjects ranging from philosophy, to history, and literature. On multiple occasions Troup borrowed books from fellow professionals. For example, in July 1789, he borrowed *Rollin's Bell lectures* from Mr. Lowndes.[105] A month later, Troup borrowed *Stahl's Chemistry* from Mr. Rainy and at the same time lent him *Nicholson's Philosophy*.[106] Troup was not special in this matter. Other eighteenth-century diarists, such as Jamaican planter, Thomas Thistlewood, recorded reading numerous books throughout his time on the island.[107] Trevor Burnard suggests that "Thistlewood's delight in books and reading gave him an entrée into a circle of similarly inclined white Jamaicans."[108] Burnard further suggests:

> "Borrowing books from like-minded friends was one way, of course, in which moderately prosperous readers distant from the centers of book publishing could keep up to date without having to undertake the laborious and expensive process of ordering books from Britain. It was through books, especially those dealing with botany, that Thistlewood cemented his most intense friendships."[109]

This was the same case for Troup. Reading and exchanging books allowed Troup to access the same social circles as men of similar status as he, and gave him the opportunity to form relationships.

Nevertheless, what is fascinating is that Troup borrowed books that contained knowledge and advice that pertained to an individual's reputation. For example, Troup borrowed *Chesterfield's Letters Volume 3* from Mr. Fraser and *Blair's Lecture on Rhetoric* from Mr. Archbald.[110] The book, *Letters to His Son on the Art of Becoming a Man of the World and a*

---

[105] For example, see: Troup Journal, July 27, 1789.
[106] For example, see: Troup Journal, August 15, 1789.
[107] For a detailed description of the amount and types of books Thistlewood read see: Trevor Burnard, *Mastery, Tyranny, and Desire: Thomas Thistlewood and His Slaves in the Anglo-Jamaican World* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 2004), 106-115.
[108] Burnard, *Mastery, Tyranny, and Desire*, 108.
[109] *Ibid*., 110.
[110] For example, see: Troup Journal, July 27, 1789 and November 13, 1789.

Gentleman, was published in 1774 by the wife of Philip Dormer Stanhope, 4th Earl of Chesterfield. The book contained correspondence between Chesterfield and his son. The letters spanned over thirty years and 400 letters. This book was significant as it outlined advice for gentlemen, including rules for gentleman and proper manners. In similar taste to Chesterfield's letters, *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres* by Hugh Blair, was a practical guide on composition and language. The intention of this guide was to help individuals with mobility and social success. For Blair, an education in literature was socially useful, both in its ability to elevate one's social status and its ability to promote virtue and morality. Blair also acknowledged that a person must have virtue and personal character, as well as knowledge of literature to be an effective speaker or writer. Additionally, Troup read the 1788 issue of *The Gentleman's Magazine*.[111] *The Gentleman's Magazine* was a well-known English magazine that was created in 1731 and lasted up until 1922. It was a monthly digest of news and commentary on any topic the educated public might be interested in, from commodity prices to Latin poetry.

On many occasions, Troup recited poetry in his journal. Most commonly, Troup recorded work by Alexander Pope, the eighteenth-century English poet. For instance, on October 15th, 1789, Troup logged excerpts of Pope's work, *An Essay on Criticism*:

> So Modern 'pothecaries taught the Art
> By Doctor's bills to play the Doctor's part
> Bold in the Practice of Mistaken Rules
> Prescribe apply & call their Master's fools –
> ____________
> Learn hence for Ancient Rules a just esteem
> To copy Nature is to copy them
> Music resembles Poetry in each are nameless
> graces which no methods teach[112]

[111] For example, see: Troup Journal, January 4, 1790.
[112] Troup Journal, October 15, 1789.

Troup discussed poetry with fellow white professionals. One evening during a dinner with Mr. Allis, Mr. Corlet, Mr. Ross, Mr. Swiny, Mr. Archbald, and Mr. Copley, Troup remarked on their conversation, stating: "The conversation was wholly engrost by Corlet's damned nonsense of Poetry".[113] Reading and exchanging magazines, books, and poetry was a way for whites on Dominica to assert their reputation as educated, polite, genteel men.

There is an intriguing case of tension in identity when Troup is on the island. Even though the white men attempted to prove their good character through personal characteristics such as gentility, trust, and a good reputation, many of those same men actively participated in unruly behaviour. Richard Dunn argues that the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries show that Europeans who sojourned in the Caribbean all tended to behave "in a far more unbuttoned fashion than at home."[114] The same is to be said of the eighteenth century in Dominica.

Troup drank heavily while in Dominica. After doctors went to plantations for medical consultations, it was not uncommon for them to stay for drinks and dinner after they were done. British men tended to drink heavily in the Caribbean. Dunn commented that the heat on the islands made them thirsty, but they were not satisfied by the local fermented drinks.[115] Instead, they turned to sugar production and thus, rum became a popular drink. Madeira and brandy were other popular drinks for island gentry. Troup often drank madeira, for instance, on September 26th, Troup celebrated Captain Urquhart's promotion with madeira.[116] The two men ate granadilla and drank this wine. There were many other instances where Troup dined and drank heavily with other white professionals and principal gentlemen. For example, on July 13th, 1789,

[113] Troup Journal, October 18, 1789.
[114] Richard Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves: The Rise of the Planter Class in the English West Indies, 1624-1713* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1972), 12.
[115] Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves,* 277.
[116] For example, see: Troup Journal, September 26, 1789.

Troup stayed and dined with Mr. Trans, Dr. Fillan, Mr. Carson, and Mr. Rainy, after he had made a medical visit to a "Negroe [with] sprained hands".[117] These dinners usually included heavy drinking, and this case was no different. After they dined, Troup and the men drank a large amount of wine, and the next morning, Troup vomited because of the volume of wine. In another instance, on August 9th, 1789, Troup stayed after he completed a medical visit and dined with Mr. Andrew Smith, Mr. Edwards, Mr. Laury, and Mr. Walker.[118] Again, this interaction ended in many drinks. Dinner and drink invitations signified more than a leisure activity in Dominica. It appears that there was a shared understanding by white professionals to accept social invitations from other professionals on the island. It was not polite to decline invitations. Over time, Troup declined invites from his employer, Dr. Fillan. On September 26th, 1789, Troup stated: "when Dr. F[illan] sent for me to Dine I sent him word I had dined better on the Shark today than on his fish yesterday".[119] Troup then commented: "separation will soon follow".[120] This coincided with Troup's unhappiness on the island and Fillan's unhappiness with Troup.

Troup familiarized himself to the local custom of keeping free black mistresses and raping black women slaves. In Burnard's study of diarist Thomas Thistlewood, he states: "Living openly with slave or free mulatto concubines brought no social condemnation. White men were expected to have sex with black women, whether black women wanted sex or not."[121] Dominica was no different from Jamaica in this regard, and Troup's journal is littered with instances of himself and other white males sexually abusing black slave women and free black women. For example, on August 9th, 1789, after Troup dined with Mr. Andrew Smith, Mr. Edwards, Mr.

---

[117] Troup Journal, July 13, 1789.
[118] Troup Journal, August 9, 1789.
[119] Troup Journal, September 26, 1789.
[120] *Ibid*.
[121] Burnard, *Mastery, Tyranny, and Desire,* 5.

Laury, and Mr. Walker, he noted he "ma[de] love to a number of Girls in [his] drunken fit".[122] Troup described how his employers, Fillan and Clark, had "6 child from Mallatoe Girls".[123] Troup recorded that not all men had ownership of their mixed-race children. For example, Troup said that Mr. Carson had a free black child, but he did not own it: "Mr. Carson has child 5 months old to a handsome black Girl of Dr. Clarks a native of Antigua it is Mallatoe a Girl he does not own it."[124] Another example is white men with little property who kept mistresses specifically for sexual encounters. For example, Troup noted, "spoke with young Daniel he finds it expensive to maintain Mullattoes & he is thinking of fixing himself in the Matrimonial noose".[125] A month into Troup's employment on Dominica, he reported he had developed a venereal disease, gonorrhea, from a "Negro wench of Dr. C[lark]".[126] Troup was not the only individual who complained of gonorrhea. For instance, Troup treated Mr. George Judah who had "virulent Gonorrhea since 25 February last".[127] On August 19th, 1789, Troup saw two men with gonorrhea, Mr. Bryan at Bath Estate, and a principal gentleman at Woodbridge Estate.[128] Troup's case of a venereal disease and the case of his fellow men, did not stop him from continuing to have sexual encounters with slaves or free black women. Notwithstanding the fact that Troup often blamed alcohol for his sexual encounters with women, he also pointed to the realities of a white man living in an exploitative and wealthy slave society. Troup agreed when a Mr. Thorp said the following: "what can a young man do here loose his time in evenings he can't apply to books Whores & Money must be his Rescuer & cause of most of his misfortunes".[129]

[122] Troup Journal, August 9, 1789.
[123] Troup Journal, May 12, 1789.
[124] Troup Journal, May 17, 1789.
[125] Troup Journal, November 24, 1789.
[126] Troup Journal, June 6, 1789.
[127] Troup Journal, June 14, 1789.
[128] Troup Journal, August 19, 1789.
[129] Troup Journal, August 17, 1789.

Troup heavily drank and took advantage of women, but he also criticized the men in Dr. Fillan's circle, including Dr. Fillan, and their behaviour. There was a fascinating tension in Troup's own moral code. Troup demonstrated disgust with the Dominican slave society. An example that demonstrates this tension is Troup's relationship with love interest Mary Ford. When Troup's journey to Dominica was delayed because of a storm, the ship had to head back to England. While the ship was repaired, Troup met a young woman by the name of Mary Ford. Troup was absolutely infatuated with her. Troup was not in England for long until the *Duchess of Portland* went back on its journey to Dominica. But, Troup's affection for Mary crossed the Atlantic with him. Troup often wrote that he missed and thought about Mary, and he even wrote love letters to her. For example, on September 13th, 1789, Troup wrote: "if I can get Mary & a moderate Livelihood God Bless us I'm content".[130] In another instance, Troup recounted a picture he saw that looked like Mary Ford: "A beautiful picture of a Lady with her first Child struck me sensibly & I never saw an object bear a greater resemblance to Miss Mary Ford – And I'll visit that house every opportunity for the sake of the picture God grant I may get the Original".[131] The perfect image Troup had of Miss Mary Ford contrasted with the image he had of slaves and free blacks in Dominica. Troup made the following comment regarding why he did not desire a white Creole woman, Miss Lee: "Miss Lee a capital Painter Music Miss & a spinsterness she is a pleasant enough Girl but a large mouth rather clumsy habit a fine skin indeed the Country will reduce her".[132] This example is fascinating as it also highlights Troup's perception of white Creoles. The tension in Troup's moral code was also seen when he commented on Dr. Clark and Dr. Armurer's free black daughters. Troup remarked: "They are

[130] Troup Journal, September 13, 1789.
[131] Troup Journal, October 6, 1789.
[132] Troup Journal, April 30, 1790.

very obscene women I have seen them when He take their Boys 2, 3 years old & make a little Black Girl of same years lie down & make them move as if they were in act of copulation".[133] Troup described how the daughters treated their slaves and forced their own children into sexual acts. Thus, Troup was in an uncomfortable position. He was torn between the social expectations associated with his role as a white male British professional and his sexual behaviour with blacks in Dominica. On the one hand, Troup was a participant in Dominica's racially mixed slave society. On the other hand, Troup wanted to be in Britain with Miss Mary Ford. Troup had a moral dilemma.

Troup's interactions with slaves and free blacks did not always include sexual encounters. His preoccupation with the slave and free black societies began early in his time on Dominica. Troup was interested in their culture: food, dress, language, and housing. It is difficult to quantify how much time Troup spent observing and interacting with these different societies. Although Fillan and other white professionals on Dominica participated in social events with slaves and free blacks, Troup's journal shows that there was a fine line between what was and was not accepted. It was expected that Troup partake in social events where drinking and sexual encounters were involved, but Troup was not supposed to spend his leisure time observing and collecting information about these people. Troup drew the line too far. As each month passed, Troup spent an increasing amount of time with slaves and free blacks. This change over time coincided with Troup's deteriorating relationship with Dr. Fillan.

Troup often retreated to the slave quarters for social purposes and to remove himself from the day-to-day of the medical practice. Although this was not necessarily against the accepted norm in the wider Caribbean context, as this was normal practice for European professionals,

[133] Troup Journal, October 26, 1789.

Troup's superiors, and the men in their social circle, were not pleased with the amount of time Troup spent with people who did not hold the same status, and essentially, those who were of a different racialized group. Troup's attempt to participate in social events within the free white society in Roseau, Dominica was not enough to secure himself a spot in the group of men who held a high social status, which, consequently meant wealth, power, and influence. Troup's interactions with the slave society on the island indicates that white professionals and slaves interacted with them on a voluntary social basis.[134] The British on the island often blurred racial boundaries in their social interactions, demonstrating that the races were not necessarily as divided as the dominant historiographical narrative suggests or as whites on the island might have hoped. In Troup's journal, there are frequent moments in which the British, free blacks, and African slaves interacted within society. The above examples of Troup's interactions with slaves and free blacks prove that racial boundaries were pushed in Roseau. Troup was not the sole person intermingling either, as noted, other European, white males, were often in attendance too. For example, Troup was often invited to "Mullattoe Balls" that were held in Roseau. On September 12th, 1789, Troup attended one of these "Mullattoe Balls" where there too was Mr. Carson, Mr. Ross, a whole slew of drunken sailors, and free black women and men.[135] There was excessive drinking and lots of dancing and music playing during these festivities. Attendees could also eat dinner there, feasting together regardless of racial class. Troup keenly observed that slaves also attended these balls, which promoted the social interactions between the free and enslaved society, both white and black. Troup's journal shows that racial boundaries in eighteenth-century Dominica were malleable, and not as binary as some may believe the

[134] Claire Swan, "'A life of debauchery, vice and drunkenness': The Journal of Jonathan Troup, or Two Years in the West Indies," *Scottish Archives* 12 (2006): 28-41.
[135] Troup Journal, September 12, 1789.

Caribbean world was.

Troup preferred to spend his leisure time observing or trying to interact with those who were enslaved or free blacks, to learn more about their day-to-day functioning in order to collect information about them. His journal frequently contains observations of slaves' family life, diet, provisions, clothing, housing, workloads, and punishment. Troup provides a rare and almost anthropological look at eighteenth-century slave society and practices. Commonly, Troup took interest in the language and entertainment of the free blacks and the enslaved. For example, Troup was fascinated by the differences in language: "Negro & Creole 'Me for I' Wa ye do What you do – They take the adjective for substantive (when they wish to affirm strongly – 'True for true Instead of answering yes They give their consent by a Node of the head".[136] In another instance, Troup tried to understand the naming practices regarding slaves. Troup noted: "The Negroes have their last Name after their Masters as Robin Lee belonging to Major Lee & so in they have their names after Mens, Gods, & places & things as Hamlet, Bacchus, York, Ball, Manna".[137] Troup continued this list of possible slave names for a page. Troup furthered his understanding of free blacks and African articulation, and the names of the enslaved, by noting differences in speech. For example, Troup recorded that, "[t]he Article A & the seldom used".[138] He also realized that pronouns were barely used. In another case, Troup saw an Iboe dance. This type of dance included slaves standing on their hands and other slaves playing a wide variety of instruments. At the Iboe dance, Troup was interested in the drumming and exotic instruments that the slaves were playing. The drums were made from barrel trees that had been hollowed out to resonate the rhythmic sounds of their music. In another case Troup retreated to slave quarters

[136] Troup Journal, August 26, 1789.
[137] Troup Journal, February 14, 1790.
[138] Troup Journal, August 26, 1789.

for social purposes as he "Got the loan of a violin form a Negroe on the works" and then played himself to sleep.[139]

Slave and Free Black Culture in Dominica

Troup's journal also provides an interesting account of slave and free black culture in eighteenth-century Dominica. Troup wrote about and illustrated the difference in appearance between the free blacks, enslaved, and white Europeans on the island, offering a taxonomy and ethnography of race that was sartorial. For example, on the following page is one of Troup's many drawings that are in his journal. Figure 2.1 shows Troup's illustration of a "Mullattoe woman in her morning Dress".[140] Troup continued to describe how most free black women on the island were taken as slaves, or more specifically, as housekeepers, and how they were rather fond of dancing. Troup continued into specific detail about their dress, mentioning they prefer the colours red, yellow, and green, except when they wear white when they go to church. Troup believed that these women were "more extravagant than our women" as they had a variety of gold earrings, lockets, and beads, in addition to lace and silk.[141] However, as Troup continued his description, it becomes more obvious that he is criticizing these women. Troup continued his record by stating: "In general they have quite immodest discourse all of them Whores & they throw themselves into a number of tempting Positions – sometimes almost quite naked – They comb & pick the lice out of one another's heads & think nothing of it – nothing gives them shame they are capable to do anything".[142] In another instance, Troup commented on free black women stating: "The Creoles are imperious overruling women know nothing but Eat drink Game

[139] Troup Journal, February 9, 1790.
[140] Troup Journal, October 20, 1789.
[141] *Ibid*.
[142] *Ibid*.

curse & beat the Negroes".[143] Troup did not show the same hatred for free black men as he did for women. In a particularly interesting case, Troup was acquainted with a French free black man named Joseph who was "reckoned an excellent accoucheur".[144] Joseph told Troup that he was brought up in France and "had Studied in Paris Montpellier & other capital places … he had learned Anatomy & surgery with Midwifery".[145] It appears that Troup liked this man, or, at least wanted to gain local knowledge from him. Whether Troup actually trusted Joseph or not, is unknown. Furthermore, later in his journal, Troup made the following comment regarding free blacks: "Some can read & write Most can do neither".[146]

---

[143] Troup Journal, November 3, 1789.
[144] Troup Journal, July 16, 1789. Oxford English Dictionary defines accoucheur as the following: person (originally only a man) who assists a woman in childbirth". "accoucheur, n.", *OED Online*, Oxford University Press, http://www.oed.com.ezproxy.library.dal.ca/view/Entry/1191?redirectedFrom=accoucheur (Accessed July 13, 2017).
[145] Troup Journal, July 17, 1789.
[146] Troup Journal, October 20, 1789.

Figure 2.1: Troup Painting of Mullottoe Woman

Source: Troup Journal, October 20, 1789

Troup's observations of free blacks and slave life on Dominica show that there were distinctly different societies on the island. Troup's account paints an image of the different cultures that were created and maintained by free blacks and those who were in enslaved in the early modern period in Dominica. Even though there were different racialized societies in Dominica, the societies interacted with one another on a voluntary basis. Whites decided when, where, and how they wanted to interact with others. While Troup was captivated by non-whites, and spent many pages of his journal writing and illustrating what he heard and saw, in the end, he ultimately criticized these non-whites. Troup's observing and collecting reinforced his own

British identity. He highlighted what he saw as the non-white's degenerative nature to emphasize his own personal characteristics, including gentility, politeness, and trust. He did this to oppose their 'alieness'. However, as Troup saw the stark differences between himself and the others, at the same time, Dr. Fillan saw these activities as a sign of Troup exhibiting less 'Britishness' and slipping into African ways. Fillan took these close and intimate interactions Troup had with non-whites, as an intentional choice to shy away from the national and racial identity that himself and other men in his circle were still holding on to after being on the island for so long. Christer Petley notes that life in places that had contact between Britishness and otherness raised uncomfortable questions about the possible dangers of degeneracy and cultural change.[147] Fillan was also unhappy with the amount of time Troup spent with non-whites. Fillan was clear that Troup should spend more time attending to the medical practice, or socializing with other white professionals, instead of sticking his head in the 'Other' world. Thus, the fact that Troup was consistently interacting with free blacks and the enslaved for social purposes, demonstrated to Dr. Fillan that he was becoming morally degenerate and distancing himself both geographically and socially from his appearance as a genteel and civilized British subject. Troup was not adhering well enough to the racial boundaries that many whites struggled to maintain. Even though his experience with the cultural difference of the slaves helped reinforce his sense of himself as a white British male, Troup failed to demonstrate his moral character to his peers by maintaining his distance. This was part of the struggle of a world where the reality was day-to-day racial mixing in the island and the power system was grounded in racial boundaries and binaries. Almost every British man engaged in exploitative sexual activity with black women and

[147] Christer Petley, "“Home” and “this country”: Britishness and Creole Identity in the Letters of a Transatlantic Slaveholder," *Atlantic Studies* 6 (2009): 43-61.

spent time experiencing African and free black culture but they criticized each other for transgressing racial boundaries. To maintain one's reputation and culture in Dominica was to keep one's distance, physically or emotionally, from the enslaved but it was a boundary that everyone crossed. Dr. Fillan wanted Troup to conform to his way of things; medically, scientifically, and socially, and these three areas were all similarly characterized by elements of traditional Britishness and by the maintenance of boundaries between white Europeans and non-white slaves.

Conclusion

Even though Troup came to the island with a great reference from Dr. Clark, he learned that those Scottish and professional networks that initially landed him on the island would not continue to help him. Troup could not rely on his educational background or his professional status as an excuse for his social interactions with free blacks and the enslaved. As a newcomer, he might have been even more fascinated by free black and African culture but he was also more subject to criticism. Troup was in a position where he had to prove he was a man of good character to the other white professionals. Even someone such as Troup, an educated man in a good profession was vulnerable. This highlights the fact that even individuals with status and education could be highly vulnerable, even on the margins of the empire where such things were supposed to matter less.

Social connections were extremely important to white professionals on Dominica in the eighteenth century. This was a multi-racial environment, nonetheless, Troup was expected to integrate himself within the white society, rather than mixing throughout the multi-racial environment. At the beginning of his time on the island, Troup attempted to foster connections

throughout the spectrum of the white society and tried to maintain close connections with other white professionals and principal gentleman. Yet, he also delved into time with free blacks and slaves. It was not too long before Dr. Fillan realized that Troup did not stand up to the standards of the island for principal gentleman and professionals. The problem with Troup's failure to spend enough time in his professional role or with the right social networks is that it undermined his reputation and hurt others estimation of his honour and morality. Dr. Fillan's feelings towards Troup were not exclusive. On November 19th, 1789, Troup was annoyed and angry as he stated, "I told Mr. C. I would never do anything for him but would use him as a Gentleman but the principal thing I found fault with him was the bad Character he gave of me to Mr. Rainy".[148] Another example was on November 23rd, 1789 when Troup went to go see Mr. Knox, a principal gentleman on the island with whom Troup interacted a lot more than others.[149] On that specific day, Knox was getting ready to sail to England within the next day or two. Mr. Fraser was also there when Troup went to visit Knox, and both Knox and Fraser mentioned to him that, "all the Town talk of [him] after dinner – So much the better if ever [he] should enter into business [his] Character would be searched & scrutinized".[150] Knox and Fraser were both principal gentlemen on the island who were in Dr. Fillan's direct social network. This shows that Fillan's judgement of Troup extended beyond himself and to other men in his network, who too believed Troup did not establish himself as a man of good character on the island, and believed this would impact his time there then and in the future.

Troup did not seem as concerned that the men of the highest social status, wealth, and

[148] Troup Journal, November 19, 1789.
[149] Troup and Knox had a total of 23 face-to-face interactions throughout the course of Troup's journal. Thus, based on the number of face-to-face interactions, Knox was the fifth most person that Troup interacted with face-to-face on the island.
[150] Troup Journal, November 23, 1789. Mr. Fraser was also a principal gentleman, like Knox, and was in the top five people that Troup interacted with while on the island. Fraser was ranked third, having 38 face-to-face interactions with Troup.

success on the island were the ones who thought of Troup as a failure and a man of bad character. The first sign of worry that Troup showed regarding his character was on November 25th, 1789 when he realized that his character was at stake on the island and he noted: "especially when my Character was at the stake – And I fully determined before God and a clear conscience that I shall have my Character".[151] Troup believed he could only obtain a good reputation if he left the island altogether: "And I find it is not to be head any otherwise than by a separation".[152] Troup failed. He failed to establish professional ties with the men he needed to connect with the most. His fascination with Afro-Dominican culture, his refusal to spend enough time in the right social networks, his sexual dalliances and his failure to do his professional work properly had destroyed his character. The following morning, Troup still felt that he needed to leave Dominica but he had added some practical reasons to his decision after ruminating for the night: "I still persist in the same Opinion and I have formed my resolution to sail by first Opportunity for Martinique which will perfect me in the French & enable me to act my part on emergencies with greater propriety".[153] Perhaps Troup believed that he could have more autonomy over his profession if he moved.

In the end, Troup's failure to gain his reputation in Dr. Fillan's social network hindered Troup's goals of becoming a renowned scientist and established medical professional. Troup had competing goals and competing identities and his failure to reconcile them hindered his ability to make meaningful social relationships with Dr. Fillan and the men in that social circle. Although this theme will be explored further in the forthcoming chapters, it is already evident that Troup exhibited different interests day-to-day than the other white men on the island.

[151] Troup Diary, November 25, 1789.
[152] *Ibid*.
[153] Troup Diary, November 26, 1789.

In Dominica, social connections within white society were critical to one's reputation and social advancement, and for Troup to make and maintain these social connections with the men who had the most influence over his success, he had to establish himself as a man of good character. To prove his character, Troup would have to measure up to the social standards on the island that were in place and that Dr. Fillan and his social circle followed. Good character to these men meant living the life as one would back home in Britain. Dr. Fillan wanted to see Troup embrace his British identity on the peripheries and act as an extension of Europe. However, this did not necessarily mean Dr. Fillan and his social circle followed these standards that they expected, exhibited by the excessive drinking and taking advantage of women, but, they thought that as British subjects, they had the liberties to push the boundaries how they pleased while in the Caribbean colonies. Troup had no chance of growth within the most important social network on the island that could lead him to success; fame, wealth, and status. Instead, he focused on what interested him the most, free blacks, the enslaved population, and the study of the natural world. The chapter reveals that character in late eighteenth century Dominica was judged collectively by white individuals based on intersecting and mutually reinforcing ideas about reputation, honour, identity and morality.

CHAPTER 3
The Medical Profession in Eighteenth-Century Dominica

Introduction

Jonathan Troup's recruitment to Dominica as a medical assistant was part of a much larger effort to recruit white medical men from Europe to the Caribbean colonies in the eighteenth century. They were deemed increasingly essential to the survival of the plantation complex and to the survival of the resident white settlers. Planters came under pressure from the rising slave prices and the antislavery movement of the late eighteenth century, which led to new plantation management strategies and amelioration laws to improve the health of slaves. For example, in 1788, the Assembly of Jamaica enacted *Code Noire,* which required a doctor or surgeon to submit annual reports on the amount and causes of slave mortality on each plantation.[154] From 1674 to 1807, both slave and sugar prices increased in the Caribbean.[155] What is most fascinating is that slave prices increased much more than sugar prices. For example, from 1780 to 1807, sugar prices increased from 26.90 to 41.42 shillings per cwt., or by 54%, while the price of newly-arrived male slaves rose from 19£ 6s. 8d. to 46£ 12s. 2d., or by 141%.[156] During the final years of the eighteenth century, around the same time Troup arrived on Roseau, Dominica, the slave trade reached its all-time high. On average, there were more than three times the number of slaves arriving in the period 1780 to 1805, than in the last quarter of the seventeenth century. *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database* reveals that 100,000 Africans were brought to Dominica between 1760 and 1800.[157] As soon as the British acquired Dominica

---

[154] T.M. Devine, *Scotland's Empire and the Shaping of the Americas, 1600-1815* (Washington: Smithsonian Books, 2004), 233.
[155] David Eltis, Frank D. Lewis, and David Richardson, "Slave Prices, the African Slave Trade, and Productivity in the Caribbean, 1674–1807," *Economic History Review* 58 (2005): 673-700.
[156] Eltis, Lewis, and Richardson, *Slave Prices, the African Slave, and Productivity in the Caribbean*, 680.
[157] David Eltis et al., Estimates: The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database, http://www.slavevoyages.org/estimates/U52I0m3B.

they began shipping Africans at a very high rate. Between 1764 and the end of the decade, at least 14, 007 Africans arrived.[158] In the 1770s, the minimum number of arrivals was more than double the previous decade and approximately 34, 385 Africans arrived in Dominica.[159] However, during the French re-occupation of Dominica between 1778 and 1783, only one single ship arrived in Dominica, and it appears that no Africans arrived, or at least not directly. Nonetheless, the British took occupation back, and between 1783 and 1789, 38, 384 Africans were documented.[160] Troup arrived right after this massive influx of Africans in Dominica. This massive influx perhaps contributed to the changing culture of Dominica, the fear of rebellion, the desire to maintain boundaries of white society, and the desperate need for plantation doctors. Concern over the health of slaves was a pressing matter of business for slave traders, merchants, slaveholding planters, and their employees, including slave ship captains and physicians, well before abolitionists highlighted issues of health and mortality in their campaigns to end the slave trade. As many planters argued, healthier slaves were more productive and reproductive, and every day that a planter allowed their slave to rest, was a day of lost labour.[161] The management strategies that planters utilized were geared toward maximizing the amount of work slaves could do, while trying to keep them as healthy as possible in order to capitalize on yield, and thus, profit.[162]

While significant work has been done on slavery, health, and medicine in the eighteenth-

---

[158]Eltis et al., Estimates: The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database, http://www.slavevoyages.org/estimates/eOPyp0m6.

[159] *Ibid*., http://www.slavevoyages.org/estimates/9IYAv4yp.

[160] *Ibid*., http://www.slavevoyages.org/estimates/tOhR1ADu.

[161] Justin Roberts, *Slavery and the Enlightenment in the British Atlantic, 1750 – 1807* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 161.

[162] Roberts notes that historians must be careful when they use the terms "health" and "sickness" when discussing plantation life in the British Atlantic. He writes: "A slave who was sick enough to be removed from the workforce could have been suffering from a wide range of maladies (broken bones, mental illnesses, infections, viruses, etc.), and a working slave was not necessarily a well slave." Roberts, *Slavery and the Enlightenment*, 162.

century British Caribbean, there is room to expand our understanding of the establishment of professional status and the maintenance of professional conduct in the Caribbean colonies.[163] The medical professional's role in the plantation complex perpetuated the institution of slavery. Medical professionals were invested financially and psychologically in the perpetuation of slavery, and many of those men depended on those estates for their regular income. Young men went across the Atlantic to make money, in addition to establishing themselves as both medics and landowners. This specific type of opportunity would never have presented itself for these men at home in England, Scotland, or the rest of Europe for that matter.[164] To understand the journey of a white male such as Jonathan Troup, is to gain a lens into the physical and conceptual medical spaces that created and extended ideas of otherness and racialized treatment in the British Caribbean in the eighteenth century.

This chapter explores the relationship between networks, reputation, and medical practice in the eighteenth-century Caribbean as seen through a case study of Jonathan Troup. It begins by exploring why Europeans went to the colonies as medical professionals during a time when the Caribbean was a graveyard for people coming from outside of the colonies. It then discusses the medical enlightenment and Scottish medical networks to understand Troup's knowledge of medicine. It determines the day-to-day medical tasks that Troup was involved in by exploring the various injuries and illnesses to which Troup attended. This chapter concludes with a discussion

---

[163] For more on the British Caribbean disease environment see: Hilary Beckles and Verene Shepherd, eds. *Caribbean Slave Society and Economy: A Student Reader* (Kingston, Jamaica: Ian Randle Publishers; London: James Currey Publishers, 1991), Juanita De Barros, Steven Palmer, and David Wright, eds. *Health and Medicine in the circum-Caribbean, 1800–1968* (New York: Routledge, 2009), Douglas Hamilton, *Scotland, the Caribbean, and the Atlantic World* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), and Richard Sheridan, *Doctors and Slaves*: *A Medical and Demographic History of Slavery in the British West Indies, 1680 – 1834* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

[164] De Barros, Palmer, and Wright, *Health and Medicine in the circum-Caribbean*, 43.

of Troup's failure as a medical professional. It looks at the main reasons Troup failed to establish himself as a reputable doctor on the island.

The Deadly Caribbean Environment

While the Caribbean colonies offered opportunities to European medical men, they would have to survive this "demographically deadly" environment first.[165] For the hundreds of thousands of Europeans, who migrated to the Caribbean colonies in the early modern period in search of wealth, reputation, and status, lifelong health was not promised.[166] High mortality rates for whites in the Caribbean colonies were the norm throughout the eighteenth century as people died from diseases, but especially yellow fever.[167] Although the mortality rates for whites in eighteenth-century Dominica have not been studied, the rates in other British West Indian islands were catastrophic. In Jamaica, for example, the white mortality rates had been estimated to have been far worse than that in early modern England and New England.[168] Vincent Brown notes that white life expectancy in Kingston, Jamaica, was nearly as poor as it was for Europeans in West Africa. Brown indicates that decades earlier in West Africa, more than 60% of newcomers died with a year and only one man in ten survived more than three years.[169] Those travelling to the Caribbean colonies arrived in a harsh environment where they were susceptible to endemic and epidemic disease, in addition to the exposure of the elements, insects, poisonous plants and

---

[165] Trevor Burnard, "The Countrie Continues Sicklie': White Mortality in Jamaica, 1655-1780," *The Society for the Social History of Medicine* 12 (1999): 45-72.
[166] Burnard, "The Countrie Continues Sicklie'," 46.
[167] *Ibid.*, 45. The detailed analysis of white mortality that Burnard has for Jamaica has not been done for Dominica but high mortality for whites was pervasive in the Caribbean.
[168] *Ibid*., 50, Amanda Thornton, "Coerced Care: Thomas Thistlewood's Account of Medical Practice on Enslaved Populations in Colonial Jamaica, 1751–1786," *Slavery & Abolition* 32 (2011): 535-559.
[169] Vincent Brown, *The Reaper's Garden: Death and Power in the World of Atlantic Slavery* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2008), 2.

animals, accidents, punishment, slave insurrections and warfare.[170] For instance, five days after Troup arrived on Roseau, Dominica, he woke up early, had tea and ate breakfast with "excellent white flour Rolls & not so good Butter".[171] Troup then proceeded to describe what was done during the day. Troup described the weather and mentioned that the principal time for visiting patients was in the morning because "between 12 & 2 hottest time of day very little to do". [172] Instead of visiting patients during the intense Caribbean heat, Troup stated that he would instead "dress & play music" during those hours.[173]

Only one day later, Troup learned how easy it was for him to get sick: "Fever & Vomit with spasmodic fits & faintishness strong habit taken in night time vomited Bile… second vomited 3rd purged 3-4 times rather better".[174] This was the first, but it would not be the last time Troup was ill and had to treat himself as a patient while on Roseau as he adapted to the hot climate, the new disease environment, and food that rotted quickly in the humid heat. While Troup made it off the island alive, he did observe frequent deaths among white inhabitants on Dominica. For example, Troup commented: "Drs. & Managers of Estates die more than any set of people from then greater exposure on all occasions".[175] In another instance, Troup noted the death of a Scottish plantation manager, who was "[a] very young stout healthy lad".[176] Yet, as these deaths of white men on the island occurred, Troup did not react in surprise. Following comments related to the death of other white men, Troup would go on about his day. Perhaps

---

[170] However, to highlight the risk of white mortality in the Caribbean colonies throughout the eighteenth century is not to take away from the awful life prospects and treatments of newly arrived Africans in the colonies.
[171] The Journal of Jonathan Troup, physician, of Aberdeen, Scotland and Dominica, West Indies is held at the University of Aberdeen Special Collections and Archives, GB 0231, MS2070. All notes that follow are a reference to this journal unless otherwise stated. Troup Journal, May 16, 1789.
[172] *Ibid*.
[173] *Ibid*.
[174] Troup Journal, May 17, 1789.
[175] Troup Journal, July 30, 1789.
[176] Troup Journal, June 19, 1789.

Troup accepted that there were risks to engaging in work in the Caribbean colonies. Troup's first week on the island only gave him a glimpse into the challenges and barriers that stood in the way of success for European medical men in the Caribbean.

The heat was not the only weather condition colonists faced. As Matthew Mulcahy suggests, hurricanes played an increasingly important role in the lives of colonists in the British Caribbean.[177] These storms were entirely new to European settlers and quickly became a source of great fear. Settlers feared for their environment. Hurricanes destroyed staple crops and provisions, leveled plantations and towns, disrupted shipping and trade, and resulted in major economic consequences for planters and widespread hardship for slaves. Prior to Troup's arrival, the island suffered three disastrous hurricanes, one in 1779 and two in 1780.[178] On a few occasions, Troup wrote that hurricanes were expected. For example, on August 24th, 1789, Troup noted: "A hurricane may be expected it blows in Cause of Sun & trade wind – prodigious Ranges of Dark arches".[179] In another instance, Troup remarked that the ships were preparing for hurricanes.[180] He then described the weather conditions. On September 12th, 1789, Troup recounted a hurricane in Dominica:

> Wind thunder & Lightning with Darkness increased – Wind from Channel or South & Clouds impelled by L. & thunder from North to South…now everything worse & worse blowing perfect Hurricane – one flash from its appearance & shock…1 foot of water By Dr. Clarks door – in a torrent a Cliff of Rock from Morne Bruce – into Winston's Canes swiping & destroying them…making new channel by overflowing its Banks After Rain Constant thunder for ½ hour in Channel – with Lighting now & then now all Mountains are uncovered no Dark lower clouds but silver superior streaks & streamers in Zenith[181]

---

[177] Matthew Mulcahy, *Hurricanes and Society in the British Greater Caribbean, 1624–1783* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006).
[178] Wallace Brown, "The Governorship of John Orde, 1783 – 1793: The Loyalist Period in Dominica," *The Journal of Caribbean History* 24 (1990): 146-177.
[179] Troup Journal, August 24, 1789.
[180] For example, see: Troup Journal, October 20, 1789.
[181] Troup Journal, September 12, 1789.

Troup's description of the hurricane shows the impact it had on the town of Roseau. Troup described the amount of water by Dr. Clark's door and how the weather destroyed some of Mr. Winston's sugar canes crops. Thus, Troup's journal shows that hurricanes had a direct impact on Dominica during the eighteenth century.

Constant warfare was another threat settlers faced when they arrived in the Caribbean colonies. Troup arrived during a period of unrest in Dominica. The island went back and forth through different hands in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The British and the French were at constant war over the possession of the island. It was not until 1763 that the island was formally ceded to Britain. After the cession, problems continued to occur. From 1778 to 1783, the French took possession. As well, Dominica was the scene of frequent military engagements during the Anglo-French wars, and thus, the island was meagerly populated and economically underdeveloped.[182] The French did not take possession for long and in 1784, British Governor John Orde came into power. Due to the changing political instability in government, the French and British residents did not get along. The population in Dominica in 1787, just two years before Troup arrived totaled 1, 236 whites and 14, 987 black slaves.[183] The impact this instability had on Dominica was recorded in Thomas Atwood's, *The History of the Island of Dominica*. Atwood was chief justice, successively, of Dominica and Bahamas. In 1791, shortly after Troup left the island, Atwood wrote the following:

> It is greatly to be lamented, that although, the island of Dominica is so very capable of being rendered one of the chief, if not the best, the English have in the West Indies; yet, from a want of knowledge of its importance, or inattention, it is at this time almost as much unsettled, as when it was ceded to Great Britain, near thirty years ago.[184]

---

[182] Sheridan, *Doctors and* Slaves, 302.
[183] *Ibid*.
[184] Thomas Atwood, *The History of the Island of Dominica. Containing a Description of Its Situation, Extent, Climate, Mountains, Rivers, Natural Productions, &c. &c. ... By Thomas Atwood* (London: Printed for J. Johnson, 1791), vi.

Indeed, Troup arrived on an island that had yet to be settled due to its changing hands of power. The island's political and economic instability contributed to high running tensions professionals on the islands had to earn money for themselves and for the reputation of their island.

Douglas Hamilton suggests that the greatest fear for whites in the Caribbean was an uprising by the enslaved population.[185] Slaves vastly outnumbered whites. For example, in Dominica, the 15, 400 black slaves outnumbered the 1, 200 whites by a ratio of nearly 13 to 1 in 1790.[186] Hamilton notes that all Caribbean islands experienced slave uprisings. He provides examples of various uprisings, such as Tacky's Rebellion in Jamaica that created chaos from Westmoreland to St. Thomas between April and June 1760. In another example, he provides details of Fedon's Rebellion, which took place in 1795 in Grenada. Hamilton suggests that this was "probably the most significant uprising".[187] At the very same time, the Haitian Revolution swept through Haiti, lasting for twelve years and ended in the founding of a state free of slavery.[188] Thus, whites feared these uprisings and rebellions due to the adverse effects they produced. Many whites feared loss of life, estates, and income.

Opportunity in the Caribbean

If the Caribbean colonies were so risky for white inhabitants from outside of the Caribbean, why did professional men of the middling class such as Troup choose to cross the

---

[185] Hamilton, *Scotland, the Caribbean and the Atlantic World*, 37.
[186] John J. McCusker, "The Economy of the British West Indies, 1763-1790: Growth, Stagnation or Decline," in McCusker, *Essays in the Economic History of the Atlantic World* (New York: Routledge, 1997), 312.
[187] Hamilton, *Scotland, the Caribbean and the Atlantic World*, 38.
[188] For more information on the Haitian Revolution, see: Laurent, Dubois, *Avengers of the New World: The Story of the Haitian Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2004).

Atlantic to risk their lives? There was a perception among people who had already gone to the colonies that wealth was relatively easy to acquire. The path to fortunes was not always linear, and there were barriers, but there were different ways medical men could make money outside of their medical practice. Medical professionals were not always only medical professionals, some were plantations owners, plantation managers, and merchants.[189] The production of staples such as sugar, or coffee allowed these men to profit from planting and trade. One of the most widely cited examples of men taking on different roles in the eighteenth century is the mid-eighteenth-century Jamaican overseer Thomas Thistlewood. Trevor Burnard has extensively studied Thistlewood's diaries and argued that Thistlewood was not only a medical doctor, but a planter and natural philosopher, or scientist. Thistlewood took on many different roles in Jamaica in order to make a sizeable profit. In addition to possible wealth, an adventure waited for those men who could balance their professional life with their social life. Whether an individual was keen to advance science, or just interested in science and natural history, the Caribbean offered the lure of an exotic world filled with natural curiosities. This was the great age of empiricism where people wanted to see specimens and observe first hand.

The Caribbean did not only offer an economic setting, but a setting where men could let loose. Richard Dunn states: "everyone knew the Caribbean was a stage for mettlesome gamblers."[190] Dunn characterized the Caribbean as glamourous, exciting, and profitable. He went on to state that colonists "armed themselves with a code of conduct that would never be tolerated at home."[191] Copious amounts of alcohol, late night dancing, and engaging in sexual acts with

[189] In the eighteenth century, more single men were going to the Caribbean, verses America, where more families were migrating to.
[190] Richard Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves: The Rise of the Planter Class in the English West Indies, 1624-1713* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1972), 9.
[191] Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves*, 10.

enslaved women were activities many white men took part in when they arrived in the colonies. For example, Troup wasted little time in Roseau taking a mistress himself, like his two employers, Dr. Fillan and Dr. Clark.[192] Troup was often called upon to alleviate the venereal diseases of men whose escapades returned to haunt them. Troup himself had to wait less than a month before he was afflicted, in his case "Got G.V. from Negro wench of Dr. C".[193] Neither the resulting weeks of discomfort and inconvenience, nor his witnessing the distress of patients suffering from gonorrhea, however, stopped him from continuing to "make Love to a number of Girls in [his] Drunken fit".[194]

As for why Troup went to Dominica, the precise reason is unknown. Troup never revealed why he chose to go to the colonies when he did, or why Dominica was where he went. Troup participated in and enjoyed some of the social events, though it was not as easy for him to achieve his other ambitions in the medical world. Therefore, men from outside of the Caribbean went there for different reasons, but most usually went for the opportunity of wealth. Troup might have also gone to the Caribbean to develop his skills as a doctor or even to learn more about science as he was fascinated by the opportunities to learn first-hand about medical practice in an alien world.

Troup's Medical Enlightenment

When Troup arrived in Dominica, medicine was undergoing significant change, inspired by changes in Enlightenment thinking and in the process of the professionalization of medicine.

---

[192] For example, see: Troup Journal, May 12, 1789, On Troup's first full day in Roseau, he recorded that he visited Dr. Clark's house, "a very neat house" and that [b]oth Drs have 6 child from Mallatoe Girls called … after the Man who takes them in keeping Polly Clark".
[193] Troup Journal, June 6, 1789.
[194] Troup Journal, August 9, 1789.

Empiricism, progress and reason, the buzzwords of the enlightenment, were reshaping medical practice. One of the most prominent areas impacted by this switch from Revelation to Reason was the field of medicine, and medical discovery. Traditional medicine before the Enlightenment had concerned itself with sickness due to demonism, or the Will of God, as opposed to subsequent theories of imbalance and mechanistic faults throughout one's body, faults that could be corrected through human intervention and appropriate treatment and that could be discoverable or knowable with experimentation or observation. The body had begun to be viewed as a "machine operating by natural laws", according to Cunningham and French, and these laws could be studied, and treated with a scientific philosophy.[195] Medicine's visible progress acted as a hallmark for enlightenment theory, and its advances.

Before these new reductionist theories of medicine, health was understood to be under the sole dictation of priests and Roy Porter described it as: "fictitious souls in futurity".[196] As medicine progressed, ailments were cured in the present and by the hands or mortals on earth. In comparison to larger systems undergoing enlightened overhaul, such as political and economic entities, medicine was readably tangible and subject to rapid change in bodily health. As Porter writes, medicine became the "general index of progress".[197] Furthermore, health could be extended beyond change in a single body, but extended to the health of the public and populations. With the advent of pivotal medically engineered changes such as vaccinations, public hygiene, and improvement in overall environment conditions, drastic changes in health would demonstrate the rapid progress of science. These impacts flagged a "new age of secular control", providing changes on a scale incomprehensible without the Word of God, yet attained

[195] Cunningham and French, *The Medical Enlightenment*, 2.
[196] Roy Porter, "Was There a Medical Enlightenment in Eighteenth-Century England?" *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 5 (1982): 49-63.
[197] Porter, "Was There a Medical Enlightenment in Eighteenth-Century England?" 49.

with empirical observation and the epistemological questions asked of medical ailments.[198]

This new medical enlightenment heavily influenced Troup's practice as a medical professional. Troup was a self-proclaimed empiricist and made medical decisions based on observation: "But I go beyond I always consult nature & from reason judge what will best assist her from my knowledge of anatomy & the animal oeconomy".[199] Empiricism, as defined by Oxford English Dictionary, is: "A conclusion or piece of evidence derived from observation, investigation, or experiment".[200] Troup's strong belief in empiricism caused disputes with Dr. Fillan and his fellow colleagues. For example, Troup and Dr. Fillan were following the case of Penny, an enslaved girl of Mr. Winston's. When Troup first saw her in August, she had a sore threat and swelling of the breasts.[201] Troup noted her "deglutition & Lockt Jaw" and that "[s]he speaks a little swallows a little & spits a good deal".[202] Troup spent a good deal of time observing and recording her symptoms and decided to give her medicine to induce sweating and relieve involuntary muscle spasms. The next time Troup went to see Penny, Mr. Carson was just leaving her, and Troup made sure Mr. Carson knew that his practice "had the best effects."[203] Again, when Troup got to Penny, he spent a page describing what he observed. Troup noticed that the other doctors who saw Penny, including Dr. Fillan, had misdiagnosed the problem. Troup commented: "And if I had not been better founded in my principles than either Dr. Fillan & Carson the woman would have tried the Blister she had seemed to have little effect".[204] After Troup left Penny, he ran into Dr. Fillan and Dr. Fillan asked how Penny was doing. Troup

---

[198] *Ibid*., 50.
[199] Troup Journal, September 4, 1789.
[200] "empiricism, n.", *OED Online,* Oxford University Press, http://www.oed.com.ezproxy.library.dal.ca/view/Entry/61344?redirectedFrom=empiricism (Accessed June 17, 2017).
[201] For example, see: Troup Journal, August 19, 1789.
[202] *Ibid*. Deglutition is the action or process of swallowing.
[203] Troup Journal, August 20, 1789.
[204] *Ibid*.

boasted about his successful treatment, and Dr. Fillan reacted surprised. Troup claimed that it was his empirical thinking that led him to his success with Penny. His detailed observations of her appearance led him to his conclusions. Therefore, in the very simple sense, Troup was an enlightened man in his medical practice. He swore by empiricism and demonstrated it through his practice. He observed and collected medical experiences in order to make decisions. That being said, it is important to note that even though Troup prided himself on empiricism and observing the patient, that does not mean he was representative of other late eighteenth-century enlightenment ideas about liberty, humanitarianism, and the abolition of the slave trade and slavery.

Troup had to start fresh when he arrived on Roseau. He could no longer rely on previous notions people in Scotland or Britain had of him. Even though Troup may have had preexisting social connections at home, those relationships could no longer help him while he was on Dominica. To gain respect as a medical professional, Troup was judged within the new social network he was introduced to – the white professionals. This network of men functioned within distinctively local principles of what it meant to be a professional. Troup had to prove himself a man of good medical practice within the Dominican context. For Troup to be successful on Dominica, he would have to create and maintain new social relationships with Dr. Fillan, and fellow whites, especially the men who owned or managed plantations and who would be seeing Troup on a regular basis.

The Scottish Connection

While Troup had to create, and maintain new relationships on the island, he did have one thing in common with a large amount of the men in Dr. Fillan's social network; he was Scottish.

On September 4th, 1789, Troup noted: "[Mr. Morson] made mention of Great Learning at Aberdeen a hint that I had Got my share of it".[205] Troup graduated from Marischal College in Aberdeen in 1786 with a Masters of Arts degree.[206] He then studied medicine at Aberdeen and Edinburgh University before he emigrated to Roseau, Dominica where he acted as Dr. Fillan's medical assistant.[207] Troup's educational background was not very different from other doctors going to the Caribbean in the eighteenth century, and Troup was by no means impressive. The Scots had a significant impact on Caribbean medicine during this period. Scotland became a hub for medical education in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. More specifically, Edinburgh rapidly became the leading centre for medical education in Britain, and perhaps also in Europe during the eighteenth century.[208] There are a few reasons why Scotland stands out in medical school history. First, the arrival of large numbers of medical students in Edinburgh was influenced by the unwillingness of students to travel to France because of what was perceived as political instability there. While Scottish medical schools such as Edinburgh and Marischal did have much to offer due to their established medical faculties, it was mainly the instability of the regimes in continental Europe that played a major role in their decision to study in Scotland at the time. Second, students had family connections in Scotland, but more specifically because Medical Schools did not exist in their own countries yet. Students from the United States or the

[205] Troup Journal, September 4, 1789.
[206] P. J. Anderson ed., *Fasti Academia Mariscallanae Aberdonensis: Officers and Graduates of the University and King's College, Aberdeen, 1495-1860*, vol. 11 (Aberdeen: Printed for the New Spalding Club, 1889 and 1893), 359. Note eighteenth-century medical practice did not require a degree.
[207] When Troup left Scotland, it was December 1788, but it was not until May 1789 that he arrived on the island of Dominica. See: University of Aberdeen Special Collections, Record View, http://calms.abdn.ac.uk/DServe/dserve.exe?dsqIni=dserve.ini&dsqApp=Archive&dsqCmd=Show.tcl&dsqSearch=RefNo==%27MS%202070%27&dsqDb=Catalog.
[208] Matthew H. Kaufman, *Medical Teaching in Edinburgh During the 18th and 19th Centuries* (Edinburgh: Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh, 2003), 5.

Colonies travelled to Scotland.[209] For example, Walter Grant travelled from Jamaica to study medicine at Marischal College in Aberdeen and graduated as a doctor of medicine in 1753.[210] Between 1744 and 1830 there was a total of 259 Caribbean students who were enrolled to study medicine at the University of Edinburgh, and 219 who graduated.[211] Finally, students who were excluded from Oxford and Cambridge because of their religion were welcomed in Scotland. Between 1751 and 1800, over 85% of medical graduates in Britain were trained in the Scottish universities.[212] At the University of Edinburgh alone, there was a total of 280 M.D. graduates between 1781 and 1790, and the number of Aberdeen graduates grew from 10 before 1750 to 27 after 1750.[213] Scots, by sheer volume and training were well suited to respond to the Caribbean need for medical professional skills in the eighteenth century.

While it is impossible to estimate the exact number of Scottish professionals in all the eighteenth-century colonies, Scots largely filled the professional occupations. Antigua is one example of which the statistical evidence survives and has been calculated to show that Scotsmen dominated the medical profession in the eighteenth century. For example, in 1731, Antigua had 22 doctors and around 50% were Scots.[214] The figures increased, and by 1750, there were 32 doctors, 19 of whom were Scottish or trained in Scotland.[215] When Troup arrived in

---

[209] For example, many of the American students who studied in Edinburgh were Quakers who came from Virginia, South Carolina, and Pennsylvania. The University of Pennsylvania School of Medicine was the first and only medical school in the American colonies when, in the fall of 1765, students enrolled for "anatomical lectures" and a course on "the theory and practice of physik." See: Penn University Archives and Records Center, School of Medicine: Historical development, 1765 – 1800, http://www.archives.upenn.edu/histy/features/1700s/medsch.html.
[210] P. J. Anderson (ed.), *Fasti Academiae Marischallanae Aberdonensis: Selections from the records of the Marischal College and University, 1593–1860*, vol. 11 (Aberdeen: Printed for the New Spalding Club, 1898), 117.
[211] Sheridan, *Doctors and Slaves*, 60.
[212] Devine, *Scotland's Empire*, 233, Sheridan, *Doctors and Slaves*.
[213] University of Edinburgh. *List of the Graduates in Medicine in the University of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh: Printed by Neill & Company), 1867, William Munck (ed.), *The roll of the Royal College of Physicians of London* (London: Royal College of Physicians, 1878). The figures for Aberdeen are a combination of those for King's College and Marischal College.
[214] Hamilton, *Scotland, the Caribbean and the Atlantic World*, 114.
[215] *Ibid*.

Roseau, he quickly met other medical doctors on the island who were also from Scotland and trained in a Scottish university. Dr. Fillan's degree is unknown, but in 1791 he received a doctorate of medicine conferred upon him by Marischal College and around the time same he received a fellowship from the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh.[216] Dr. Clark, Dr. Fillan's partner, and the man who recommended Troup to the island, received a doctorate of medicine from King's College, Aberdeen, in 1773.[217] In addition to his two employers, Troup also met other medical colleagues on the island who were born and educated in Scotland.

The Scottish professional connections that fostered at Scottish institutions were not limited to the mainland, and indeed spread across the Atlantic world to the colonies. Troup's presence on Dominica was the result of his recruitment by Dr. Clark. Troup was told that Dr. Clark provided Dr. Fillan with an "excellent character" of him and that he was on the island as a direct result of having been recruited by Dr. Clark.[218] The exact connection between Troup and Dr. Clark is unclear, but perhaps Dr. Clark was aware of Troup's Scottish training and common local background. However, a gentleman in Roseau assumed there was a kinship link between Troup and Dr. Clark, but Troup set him straight: "Mr. Morson took me for a Relative of Dr. Clark's I told him the truth".[219] Troup and Clark did not share a kinship link, nonetheless, the Scottish connection they had still held weight. A Scottish connection on Dominica meant protecting the good reputation Scots had for medical training and practice. For example, on the evening of September 11th, 1789, Troup was told by Dr. Fillan to go see one of Mr. Beaubois's enslaved boys. The boy was complaining of pain in the liver and the stomach, and of having a

[216] Anderson, P. J. (ed.), *Officers and graduates of University and King's College, Aberdeen, 1495–1860* (Aberdeen: Printed for the New Spalding Club, 1893), 134.
[217] Anderson, P. J. (ed.), *Officers and graduates of University and King's* College, 142.
[218] Troup Journal, August 30, 1789.
[219] Troup Journal, September 4, 1789.

high fever. Troup went to check on the boy, but decided not to treat him until the following morning. Thus, on September 12th, Troup went back to the enslaved boy and opened him in the morning. Troup used over a full page to write about what he saw when he opened this enslaved boy up: “The Mesenteric vessels enlarged – The intestines rather inflated…Palpitation & different breathing … & weight in Region of Heart & Liver – with syncope & —— extreme Lassitude were the principal symptoms”.[220] Troup, as per Fillan’s directions, looked for an abscess and believed it was pointing inwards, so he prescribed medicines according to that observation. Dr. Fillan later looked at the opened enslaved boy and believed the abscess was pointed to the stomach, and therefore, prescribed differently than Troup did. Troup attacked Dr. Fillan on his incompetency and said: “But the name of a Scots Dr. & of the time he has been is Island with the most of people protect his ignorance”.[221] This example suggests that a Scottish medical doctor was assumed to be well-qualified and professional in their conduct while on Dominica. Perhaps Troup was worried by a sense of his own reputation, or by a sense that the good reputation and name of the Scottish profession was being damaged by negligence.

Troup did not attempt to utilize his professional connections while on Roseau. Troup had access to and could draw on the support and patronage of the Scottish network and social connections, as these Scottish networks underpinned Scottish activity in the Caribbean in the eighteenth century. These Scottish networks were not restricted to one island, and they operated in a transatlantic British relationship between members in Grenada, Scotland, London, and Bristol. The network Troup had to establish himself in had standards that were socially constructed based on very local notions of proper conduct in the medical profession. Troup was unable to rely solely on his ‘Scottishness’ to achieve a good medical professional reputation on

[220] Troup Journal, September 12, 1789.
[221] *Ibid*.

Dominica and therefore had to learn what Dr. Fillan specifically wanted. Thus, Troup is an example of someone who used their Scottish professional medical connections to move around the Atlantic. While much has been written about Scottish reliance on kin networks, it is this Scottish professional network that Troup sought to rely on. Nonetheless, Troup's journal reveals that connections made before an individual's arrival on the island only went so far. A bill of good character in one location in the British Atlantic, did not necessarily translate in another geographical area.

Medical Practice in Dominica

There were two main methods of medical practices used by white medical professionals in the eighteenth-century Caribbean. First, the medical professional was employed directly by a planter to attend to estates in his possession. The second method was based in surgery practice, and this was when the medical professional, either alone, or in partnership, provided care to a number of plantations on an *ad hoc* basis.[222] Troup was based in this second method, surgical practice, and found himself visiting several plantations. While it is not known how many estates were under Dr. Fillan's practice, Troup visited a total of 24 estates during his time on Dominica, in addition to visiting the inmates at the prison in Roseau.[223] He attended to the enslaved as often as to the white population, either collectively or on an individual basis.[224]

Although Hamilton notes that Troup treated both the white and black populations in

[222] Hamilton, *Scotland, the Caribbean and the Atlantic World*, 120.
[223] In 1788, a year before Troup arrived in Roseau, there were over 250 coffee estates and 50 sugar plantations in Dominica. These coffee plantations produced half the coffee in the British Caribbean. See Atwood, *The History of the Island of Dominica*, 72-81.
[224] In 1788, one year before Troup arrived in Roseau, Dominica, the population breakdown was as follows: "1,236 whites; 445 mulatoes; 14,967 slaves". Statistics are quoted from Francis Carleton Grell, "Politics of Survival and Change in Dominica, 1763-1973: An Interpretation of the Political Life Experience of Dominicans in the Colonial and Post-Colonial Situation," PhD diss., McMaster University, Hamilton, 1976.

Dominica, perhaps there was not such an easily labelled racial dichotomy in Dominica in 1789 and such lumping obscured the remarkable variety of patients he treated. Troup attended to free blacks, enslaved children, white plantation owners, white doctors, and others. It appears that Troup treated patients based on their social connections. These social connections also extended to the enslaved on the island, and Troup was ultimately indebted to the owners and managers that were in Dr. Fillan's practice. Thus, Troup did not have as much of a say in whom he treated on the island. For example, on July 10th, 1789, Troup treated a "Creole very sensible woman" who had ring worm in her arm and leg.[225] It appears that Troup did not seem to have specialized in a particular kind of patient.

Troup's first job as Dr. Fillan's medical assistant was treating a French slave who had suppuration of the gum: "[I] drew the upper Dens Canina of a French slave & suppuration in Gum".[226] This was not the last time Troup had to treat someone on Dominica for oral health issues. There were 10 other instances on the island where Troup had to relieve someone from pain and draw a tooth, or multiple teeth out. Approximately half of these cases were to the enslaved and the other half to white males on the islands such as doctors, soldiers, and plantations owners. Drawing teeth was just one of the many ailments or injuries Troup attended to while under employment of Dr. Fillan. The majority of cases Troup saw were injuries. For instance, on May 18th, 1789 not long after he arrived on the island, Troup saw to an enslaved boy who was cut with the back of a sharp saw by his mistress who inflicted a cut two and a half inches long above his left eye, "from the Hair down in a direction with the fibres of frontalis".[227] Troup then described bandaging and dressing this enslaved boy. Soon after, Troup was called to

[225] Troup Journal, July 10, 1789.
[226] Troup Journal, May 15, 1789. This would have been similar to present day gum disease.
[227] Troup Journal, May 18, 1789. Fibres frontalis is a muscle that covers part of the skull.

a boy of Mr. Laurie's who had fallen out of a twelve-foot-high window, down onto stones.[228] To determine whether the boy's skull was fractured, Troup cut to the bone and was happy to only find a small scratch: "Scalping the Skull base of its Digestion Muscle…on a small place where I observed a scratch".[229] This case was still within Troup's first week on the island and perhaps he was not comfortable with his job yet as he was not happy that no one was around to assist him. Troup remarked: "As Dr. Fillan & Mr. Carson were asleep I having no body to assist me Mr. Laurie run for Mr. Carter Best Surgeon in Island He agreed no fracture".[230] In another case, Troup treated an injury to a sailor who had "smashed all flesh off the last joint of little finger… this was done with an Anchor".[231] Other examples include an enslaved boy stung by a scorpion and an enslaved man who was scolded with boiling rum.[232] Some of these examples, such as Troup attending to the boy cut with a saw by his mistress and the boy who apparently fell out the window, suggest that Troup was actually attending to slaves after their masters had attacked or abused them.

In addition to the injuries that Troup oversaw, his time was also taken up by treating various illnesses. Some of these ailments included ringworm, fever, diarrhea, giggers, and abdominal pain. Giggers, also known as jiggers or chigoes, were a common ailment that doctors dealt with in the Caribbean islands. The chigoe is a small species of sand flea that is found in the Caribbean and in South America.[233] The female insect burrows beneath the skin of humans and causes itching and painful sores. Although whites were susceptible to this insect, in Griffiths Hughes', *The Natural History of Barbados*, writes: "The former are seldom or never known

[228] For example, see: *Ibid*.
[229] *Ibid*.
[230] *Ibid*.
[231] Troup Journal, June 7, 1789.
[232] For example, see: Troup Journal, August 12, 1789 and September 11, 1789.
[233] J. S. Handler, "Diseases and Medical Disabilities of Enslaved Barbadians from the Seventeenth Century to Around 1838. Part I," *The West Indian Medical Journal* 57 (2008): 605-620.

among White Inhabitants nor often among our native Slaves; but chiefly among new Negroes brought hither from the Coasts of Guiney."[234] Perhaps the lack of foot covering or shoes among blacks made them very vulnerable to these bites. Doctors and planters were concerned about these bites, as they did not want to lose the ability for their enslaved workers to work. Troup came across five cases of patients having giggers, and four of those cases were to slaves on plantations. For example, Troup followed an enslaved boy, Ingelo, since August 1789, and on September 12th, he commented: "Saw Ingelo The Pledge Negroe with Dancing fits he is so much plagued with Giggers in his toes Eating flesh nerves".[235] Troup also attended to ringworm, a skin infection. Despite its name, ringworm is not a worm or a parasite. Ringworm is an infectious disease that is easily transmitted. On August 27th, 1789 Troup went to Mr. Cobham's as one of his girls had sore eyes.[236] Troup noted that the girl had ringworms on her arms. In another instance, Troup visited Mr. Rainy who just bought a new enslaved boy. Troup observed the boy and commented: "Negroe Boy who has a softness & tumour on the vertex of head in one place a small pimple & matter opened & thick pus discharged swelling I attempted to get at so strong & the tumour could be prest on all sides".[237] Including this case, Troup treated six different cases of tumours, two of those were to enslaved children. Troup also treated a white boy who passed a worm that was a foot long, a white man with gonorrhea, another white man with a dry bellyache, and a white woman who had a tooth extracted.[238]

Smallpox was a contagious illness characterized by vomiting, pain in the loins, fever, and eruptions that spread all over the body. The majority of smallpox victims contracted the disease

[234] Griffith Hughes, *The Natural History of Barbados. In Ten Books. 1750* (London: 1750), 41.
[235] Troup Journal, September 12, 1789.
[236] For example, see: Troup Journal, August 27, 1789. Troup does not identify if this girl was a child of Mr. Cobham's through birth, or if this was an enslaved girl. However, I assume this is an enslaved girl, due to the diagnosis of ringworm.
[237] Troup Journal, September 14, 1789.
[238] Troup Journal, September 2, 1789, June 14, 1789, June 20, 1789, and October 18, 1789.

by inhaling the virus through close personal contact with the individual infected. Thus, the slave ships crossing the Atlantic in the Middle Passage were ideal for transmission of the disease.[239] In his time on the island, Troup only inoculated one enslaved boy at Dr. Clark's.[240] In addition to this one case, he also saw three others, two enslaved children, and one free black girl, who had smallpox.[241] For example, Troup discussed an enslaved boy of Mr. Warner: "has been of a bad habit of body from time of his having S. Pox Tho' he never complains of anything has one or two black bloody blotches on his hand and his skin is of a livid black appearance especially in his face".[242] The day-to-days tasks of the Dominican doctor were not always consistent, especially for a junior such as Troup. Each day did not look the same for Troup. There were a few patients he had to follow up with due to illness, but new ailments and injuries were always popping up. However, as keen as Troup was to see different medical cases on the island, it cannot go unnoticed that Troup would not treat one disease; yaws.

Yaws was a disease in Dominica that stands out as being treated differently based on racialized differences. Troup did not treat patients with yaws. Yaws, also known as frambesia or ulcers, is a contagious disease that is characterized by skin eruptions and an asymptomatic incubation period, fever, pains, and the appearance of sores that develop into ulcers.[243] Medics were repulsed by yaws patients because their bodies were usually covered in ulcerous eruptions. Yaws was highly contagious through physical contact, and patients had to be removed to a remote place away from others. Richard Sheridan suggests that the disease was "facilitated by overcrowding, filthy habits, unsanitary conditions, and high temperature."[244] White doctors

---

[239] Kenneth Kiple, *The Caribbean Slave: A Biological History* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 144.
[240] For example, see: Troup Journal, May 27, 1789.
[241] Smallpox was introduced into the Caribbean in 1518-1519. Sheridan, *Doctors and Slaves*, 249.
[242] Troup Journal, July 28, 1789.
[243] Sheridan, *Doctors and Slaves*, 83.
[244] *Ibid*.

feared how highly contagious yaws was, and would try to give cases of yaws patients to other doctors, more specifically, black assistants. Yaws came to be known as a 'black disease' and one that was associated with sexual licentiousness or debauchery.[245] On August 11th, 1789, Troup was confronted with a patient who had yaws, but he said: "The Case of Yaws taken from me & to sent to Dr. who cures only sores a man by Regimen & Experience alone aged 70 years".[246] Troup did not identify who exactly the doctor was that he passed this case along to, though he made it clear that he would not treat any one with that disease. Towards the end of the month, Troup noted that there were "[a] Number of Negroes in Yaws", and suggested someone should give them Sulphur.[247] This last section reveals the multitude of illnesses and injuries Troup attended to while on Dominica. It gives a glimpse into Troup's day-to-day tasks as a medical assistant for Dr. Fillan. Troup was busy traveling from one estate to the next, often visiting multiple patients in one day. Nevertheless, Troup's journal reveals much more than what type of illnesses and injuries Troup attended to. Troup's journal suggests that the number of visits and how an individual diagnosed and prescribed treatments to patients were the elements on which reputation was judged within the Dominican medical practice.

Troup failed at both characteristics of the medical profession on the island. Troup did not visit the plantations enough and he and Dr. Fillan disagreed on many different medical cases – disagreeing on ailments and prescriptions. Only four months after Troup arrived in Roseau, did he start to comment on the possibility of leaving Roseau, either to another town on the island, or another island altogether. Due to the constant disputes between Dr. Fillan and Troup regarding his personal views on medical practices, Troup was unable to establish himself a reputable

[245] Katherine Paugh, "Yaws, Syphilis, Sexuality, and the Circulation of Medical Knowledge in the British Caribbean and the Atlantic World," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 88 (2014): 225-252.
[246] Troup Journal, August 11, 1789.
[247] Troup Journal, August 26, 1789.

medical professional in Dominica, and thus, was unable to create a space for himself within the group of men he needed social and financial support from the most.

Troup did not record in his journal exactly how many times he was supposed to visit each estate; but, a look into the standards of other medical practices in the Caribbean at the same time, can at least shed some light on expectations. In 1789, Dr. Robert Thomas, a medical doctor in Nevis, testified before the Privy Council Committee that surgeons were expected to attend slave hospitals once or twice a week at least, and daily if required.[248] James Grainger, a Scottish medical doctor, wrote in 1764 about the diseases and treatments of slaves in the Caribbean.[249] Grainger wrote: "No medical practitioner can do justice to an estate, who does not visit the sick twice a week, either himself or his assistant, or oftener if necessary."[250] Similarly, Sir Michael B. Clare, M.D., a leading practitioner in Jamaica, testified that it was universal practice for the doctor to visit the estate twice a week.[251]

Troup seemed to visit estates when he pleased. On June 12th, 1789, Troup dined with Dr. Greenway and Dr. Wardrobe at Dr. Fillan's and then headed out to Mr. Winston's estate for a visit.[252] Once there, Troup opened a large tumour and discharged three pints of white matter. Troup went back to Mr. Winston's estate the next day and found the tumour to be in good shape, commenting: "with thin watery liquid like wine which I discharged – he rested well last night But this morning a tumor arose on his loins on right side of Lower Lumbar Vertibre of the size of one's fist – with pain in his Belly."[253] It was not uncommon for Troup to visit multiple estates in

---

[248] Sheridan, *Doctors and Slaves*, 300-301.
[249] James Grainger, "*Essay on the More Common West-India Diseases; And the Remedies Which That Country Itself Produces: To Which Are Added, Some Hints On The Management, &c. Of Negroes,"* (Edinburgh: Printed for Mundell & Son, And Longman & Rees, London, 1764).
[250] Grainger, "*Essay on the More Common West-India Diseases," 92.*
[251] Sheridan, *Doctors and Slaves*, 306.
[252] For example, see: Troup Journal, June 12, 1789.
[253] Troup Journal, June 13, 1789.

one day. For example, on June 29th, 1789, Troup visited both Woodbridge and Glennie Estates for the first time.[254] On July 7th, 1789, Troup visited a black woman who was almost ready to deliver a baby, then on July 10th he "went out of Town to visit a Negro of Mr. Jardin's about 5-6 miles off", and then the following morning he went to visit Mr. Curry's estate.[255] Then, on July 14th, 1789, Troup visited four estates, all in that one day. He visited Woodbridge Estate, Glennie Estate, Cobham Estate, and finally, Bath Estate.[256] At the first estate he treated an older woman whose case of mal d'estomac was better, at the second a child with dysentery, at the third a slave woman who was blistered, and at the fourth, no special treatment of any kind.[257] In addition to visiting multiple estates in one day, it was not uncommon for Troup to have to travel outside of Roseau to attend to an estate. For example, on July 16th, 1789, Troup travelled to Mr. Gemmet's estate to tend to a "Negro woman who was delivered of 4 healthy children on February Last – & all very well at present."[258] This estate was outside of Roseau, and Troup had to travel further to make it there.

Troup and Dr. Fillan's first dispute on the island was regarding Troup's dissatisfaction with having to go visit an estate again. On August 5th, 1789, Troup was asked by Dr. Fillan to go see the slaves at Bath Estate as Mr. Carson received a note from Mr. Kemp asking someone to visit again. Dr. Fillan asked Troup to ride a horse up to the estate, but Troup was unhappy when he found out he would have to attend to that estate again, in addition to having to wait over an hour for the horse that would take him to Bath. When Dr. Fillan asked Mr. Carson how Troup's visit at Bath was, Troup responded: "he supposed I had been there NO."[259] Dr. Fillan was not

---

[254] For example, see: Troup Journal, June 29, 1789.
[255] For example, see: Troup Journal, July 7, 1789, July 10, 1789, and July 11, 1789.
[256] Troup Journal, July 14, 1789.
[257] Dirt eating and mal d'estomac became synonymous for one another. Troup could not understand eating dirt. He was at a loss to understand one of the most perplexing killers of Africans in the Caribbean.
[258] Troup Journal, July 16, 1789.
[259] Troup Journal, August 5, 1789.

happy with Troup's response and had gone to Bath himself. Troup did not seem to care much about this first dispute with Dr. Fillan and how it would impact his professional life on the island. Instead, Troup reacted as such: "I don't much care tho' I were clear of him – In every thing he shows an obstinate opinion which in his own clear head must dictate for every one".[260] Later that month, Troup found out that Dr. Fillan complained about him to Mr. Rainy about his laziness.[261] Troup was displeased with this comment and said that Dr. Fillan was ignorant and he would "show him the Contrary".[262] Two days later, in the afternoon on August 25th, Dr. Fillan sent Troup to see Mr. Rainy's slaves. While asking Troup to go there, Dr. Fillan found the opportunity to find fault with Troup's medical practice:

> But he finds fault with me for not going every minute & waiting up with a Pat – There is far more in this than if you go but once a day & cure your patient – You must cringe & bow & be continually attending upon trifles – just to keep Patients…I'll not cringe…Damned Insignificance & Ignorance…Few or no Patients –Tis all because I wont cringe to him[263]

A few days later, on August 30th, Dr. Fillan criticized Troup again, saying that he was neglectful.[264] Dr. Fillan was not the only person who directly criticized Troup for his lack of attention and detail to his patients. For example, on September 5th, 1789, Mr. Carson told Troup that Mr. Cobham, a principal gentleman on the island, and owner of slaves wished to have Troup see one of his enslaved boys.[265] When Troup went to see Mr. Cobham, he noted: "he quarreled me for inattention I told him I was surprised – if it that I was the best judge of these matters But as he thought he was".[266] Troup only visited Mr. Cobham's estate 20 times while on the island, and would even go a month between visits. For example, between September 5th, 1789 and

[260] *Ibid*.
[261] Troup Journal, August 23, 1789.
[262] *Ibid*.
[263] Troup Journal, August 25, 1789.
[264] For example, see: Troup Journal, August 30, 1789.
[265] For example, see: Troup Journal, September 5, 1789.
[266] *Ibid*.

November 21st, 1789, Troup did not visit Mr. Cobham's estate. Perhaps, the conversation Mr. Cobham had with Troup about his inattention and neglect to his patients deterred Troup from attending to his needs.

Hamilton notes that the regulation of the medical profession in the Caribbean was not a challenge that was immediately taken up.[267] There were no means to actually ensure that men were properly trained to practice medicine. Those practicing medicine in the Caribbean did not need an academic degree, and there was a large issue around the regulation of medicine in the colonies. For example, it was not until 1826 that the Jamaica assembly obtained a licensing law and it was not until 1833 that it was put in full force.[268] Trinidad and Jamaica were the only two islands in the Caribbean known to have had licensing laws.[269] Dominica did not appear to have any written rules in place. Troup was not following any specific guide, manual, or treatise when he was on Dominica. Troup read books that influenced his practice, though published work on how to take care of the enslaved on plantations did not become popular until the nineteenth century. For example, Dr. David Collins, a successful doctor-planter, and resident in St. Vincent for over 20 years, wrote *Practical Rules for the Management and Medical Treatment of Negro Slaves in the Sugar Colonies* in 1803.[270] Collins makes a few references to the amount or types of visits medical professionals must make to the enslaved who are sick: "the former of whom makes his ordinary visit once or twice a week… and that he visits the negro daily; but you, or some of your family, should see that whatever medicines he orders are regularly administered".[271] Collins devoted an entire chapter to the seasoning of blacks. In his opinion,

[267] Hamilton, *Scotland, the Caribbean and the Atlantic World*, 119.
[268] *Ibid*., Sheridan, *Doctors and Slaves*, 50-51.
[269] *Ibid*.
[270] Dr. Collins, *Practical Rules for the Management and Medical Treatment of Negro Slaves in the Sugar Colonies* (London: Printed By J. Barfield, 1803).
[271] Collins, *Practical Rules*.

there were six causes that accounted for the death of approximately ¼ of the news slaves that arrived within three or four years after they first arrived. Collins's goals were to correcting preexisting practices on plantations, to extend the lives of newly imported Africans, and to gradually train them to habits of industry and obedience.[272]

Troup's lack of visitations to patients made him seem lazy and neglectful to Dr. Fillan. Dr. Fillan was viewed by local inhabitants as knowledgeable, skilled, considerate, and widely respected for his character and professional conduct, and did not have the time for Troup to ruin that reputation on his practice's behalf. As noted in Chapter Two, Dr. Fillan believed Troup spent too much time exploring the natural curiosities and non-white societies on the island, instead of dedicating himself to medical practice. Troup defended his time spent on leisure by stating to Dr. Clark and Dr. Fillan, "I told him I would do that [collect natural curiosities] still in my Leisure hours & there are many in Man's life".[273] As well, Troup did not please other white professionals on the island who relied on Troup's services to their slaves. Ultimately, Troup's lack of professional conduct on the island contributed to his inability to establish professional ties on Dominica.

Another revealing aspect of Troup's journal was his disagreement with Dr. Fillan about ailments and prescriptions. Troup developed his medical understanding using the prolific and prominent ideology of humoral medicine. Humoral medicine was all about equilibrium. Throughout the eighteenth century, humoral medicine was practiced, and taught to understand the balance of a human body, and the state of imbalance to describe disease. During a bodily homeostasis four liquids, or 'humors', would remain in balance and provide an appropriate foundation for physiological function. If one of the humors overcame the others, the body would

[272] *Ibid*., 44-74.
[273] Troup Journal, November 21, 1789.

present itself with disease.[274] Each humor was associated with a specific organ and demonstrated the origin of disease. Blood was associated with the heart, phlegm with the brain, black bile represented the spleen, and yellow bile the liver. If the heart was imbalanced and resulted in an excess of blood, visible symptoms such as external redness, headaches, and rapid heart rate could occur. A patient with symptoms of dizziness, or vertigo, would be a product of surplus phlegm, the humor of the brain. Black bile appeared to follow its colour connotation, as opposed to the organ of origin, and explained psychological indicators such as phobias. Lastly, and potentially the closest to modern day medicine, yellowed skin indicated sickness in the liver, therefore an excess of the yellow bile humor. As a result of this theory of imbalance, prescriptions were aimed at restoring humoral balance within the body. Common medicines or procedures were developed to release the excess humor and restore balance. Common practices were to release fluid through several procedures such as purging, vomiting, bloodletting, blistering, and sweating. Thus, Troup used these conventional methods on the different populations he visited.

Bloodletting presents as the most 'logical' reaction to a body that is proposed to be in excess of blood itself. As the procedural name suggests, a vein was torn, which allowed an exit for surplus blood.[275] Similarly, the application of leeches could draw blood, or the use of heated cups placed on the skin to create a vacuum and draw blood to the surface. As a less invasive approach the digestive track could be used as an entrance, and exit, for humoral restoration. Both the use of dietary changes, and gastroenterological purging provided access to bodily repair. Food was understood to undergo changes to produce phlegm, blood, and either yellow or black

[274] J. Worth Estes, "The Practice of Medicine in 18th-Century Massachusetts," *The New England Journal of Medicine* 305 (1981): 1040-1047.
[275] William A. Jackson, "A Short Guide to Humoral Medicine," *Trends in Pharmacological Sciences* 22 (2001): 487-489.

bile within the body. As an obvious approach the restriction of certain foods, or prescription of others as a means of repair were often suggested to aid in recovery. Alternatively, laxatives or cathartics could purge the body of surplus humors and work towards the attainment of balance.[276] Additionally, each humor had characteristics that could be counteracted with treatment. Blood was a warm, wet fluid, whereas phlegm was wet, yet cold. Both yellow and black bile were classified as dry but yellow was warm and black was cold. Common practice was to apply treatment that was opposite in nature of the humoral characteristic such as the consistency or temperature of the prescribed medication.

Although this fundamental understanding of disease was somewhat misguided, the collection of observable patient symptoms was key to the scientific practice of medicine during the late eighteenth-century medical enlightenment, and it demonstrates the primacy of empirical thought. The collection of symptoms and diagnosis based on tangible evidence was a process Troup prided himself on. Troup adhered to the principles of humoral medicine for his treatment. Troup's journal shows that he generally used conventional medicines such as bark, tartar emetics, jalap oil, James' Powder, and opiates. Table 3.1 shows the piecework charges Troup made for medicines and attendance on patients and it shows the most common treatments or prescriptions Troup used.

---

[276] *Ibid*.

Table 3.1 Jonathan Troup's Charges for Medicines and Attendance

	Pounds (£)	Shilling (s)	Pence (d)
Purge	0	4	6
Purging Infusion	0	6	0
Blister	0	6	0
Cooling Powder	0	6	0
Dose of Rhubarb	0	6	0
V.S. Boy	0	8	3
Camphor	0	4	6
Vomit	0	4	6
Drawing Tooth	0	8	3
6 Doses of Bark	0	12	0
Opening large Abscess	0	16	0
Innoculation & Medicine for Child	1	13	0
Anodyne Pill	0	3	0
Chamomile flowers for Tea	0	6	0
Visit to New Town	0	12	0
Anodyne Mixture	0	10	6
Purging Draught for Lady or Gentlemen	0	7	6
Visit on board ship to Captain	1	13	0
Medicines & Dressing for Negroes cut heel	1	13	0
Visit express to Plantation of Monsieur Le Grand & bleeding Madame Le Grand	2	1	3

Source: Troup Journal, October 2, 1789.

On August 2nd, 1789, Troup treated Mr. Kemp who was "worse than when I saw him first he was so much relieved by V.S. & Sol of T. Emit.".[277] V.S., or venesection, was the most common form of bloodletting, and the most common form that Troup used on Dominica. Troup performed venesection approximately 33 times while on Dominica. When Troup referred to "Sol of T. Emit", he was referring to a tartar emetic, which was a salt used in medicine to induce vomiting. An emetic is the general term used for any agent that produces nausea or vomiting.

[277] Troup Journal, August 2, 1789. Bloodletting was divided into a generalized method done by venesection and arteriotomy, and a localized method done by scarification with cupping and leeches. Venesection was the most common procedure. Troup uses the short form "V.S" for bloodletting by venesection.

Another emetic Troup prescribed was syrup of ipecac. When the root and powder became widely available in Europe in the eighteenth century, its indications were studied more extensively. It was established that, in small doses, ipecac was a diaphoretic and expectorant, and in larger doses, it was an emetic and cathartic.[278] Troup prescribed approximately 45 prescriptions that requested that patient use tartar emetic. In addition to those cases, Troup prescribed six different patients to use ipecac. For example, on July 14th, 1789, Troup visited Mr. Glennie's Estate where he concluded that a slave was in dysentery, an infection of the intestines resulting in diarrhea and blood, and part of the prescription included ipecac.[279] Troup believed that medicines in Dominica were simple, but proper application was dependent on experiences and observation.[280] However, Troup did not feel that Dr. Fillan prescribed or applied medicines 'properly'.

The pharmacy, or apothecary shop was an integral part of Dr. Fillan's practice. The prescriptions on the island were usually furnished by his pharmacy, and doctors could be found making up medicines there – both for their own use or for sale to other doctors and customers. The pharmacy provided a great profit for Dr. Fillan's business, but Troup did not feel that this money was well earned. Troup believed Dr. Fillan's prescriptions were motivated by profit, rather than by concern for the well-being of the patient. For example, Troup recorded: "They think of nothing here but pouring in Medicines The more they can give so much money gained without consulting the cure or wellfare of Pat[ient] But if I had Practice I would have but small list of Medicines How Dangerous in Society Let never the Desire of riches".[281] Troup also accused Dr. Fillan of overdosing his patients with mercury and Jesuit's bark: "as he employs 8/1

---

[278] Rosalind Ashton, and Constance LeBlanc, "The Poisonous Past: Circe, Helvetius, Touéry, and a Brief History of Emergency Decontamination," *Dalhousie Medical Journal* 37 (2010): 29-31. Cathartics are purgatives that have laxative effects.
[279] Troup Journal, August 14, 1789.
[280] For example, see: Troup Journal, May 20, 1789: "Medicines here very simple but proper applications different but from Experiences".
[281] Troup Journal, September 11, 1789.

in everything indiscriminately".[282] Still, Troup was not without his own faults, and admittedly, on September 9th, said,"I inadvertently gave a vomit of T. Emit to Boy for man without asking his Complications – He vomited blood from it".[283]

Conclusion

During the month of September 1789, just four months after Troup started his practice as a medical assistant to Dr. Fillan, Troup and Fillan's relationship steadily deteriorated. The arguments between Troup and Fillan involved their different views on how to treat patients. On September 13th, Troup went to Bath Estate to see Miss McKinny, who had a common fever from a cold, in addition to pains all over her skin.[284] Dr. Fillan wanted Troup to prescribe her a medicine to make her vomit, but Troup did not think the same and commented: "[Dr. Fillan] was displeased I did not give the vomit as he said".[285] In another instance, on September 25th, Troup saw an enslaved boy with hydrophobia.[286] The following day, the boy was worse, he had been bitten by a mad dog. Dr. Fillan did not believe Troup that this ailment could last in the boy's body for a year. A few days later, Troup commented that the mad dog got loose and bit some of the enslaved. Again, Dr. Fillan did not believe Troup that it was hydrophobia, and Troup described Dr. Fillan as an "ignorant blockhead".[287] Over the month, the relationship between himself and Dr. Fillan worsened rapidly. He remarked that separation was soon to follow between them. The following day, Troup refused a dinner invitation from Dr. Fillan and was not asked again. He did not see him for some days and remarked that he would "let Dr. F. know I am

[282] Troup Journal, September 12, 1789.
[283] Troup Journal, September 9, 1789.
[284] For example, see: Troup Journal, September 13, 1789.
[285] *Ibid*.
[286] Troup Journal, September 25, 1789. Hydrophobia is an extreme or irrational fear of water, especially as a symptom of rabies in humans.
[287] *Ibid*.

not to be mocked & shuffled off".[288] It appears that Troup was offended by Fillan's insults against how he practiced medicine. Over time, Troup grew more and more fed up with Fillan's assaults against him and his practice. At the same time, Fillan grew tired of Troup's lack of attention to his medical practice.

In the end, Troup and Dr. Fillan's relationship fell apart. Troup was never able to prove to Dr. Fillan that he was worthy of a good professional reputation on Dominica. He was rejected by Dr. Fillan due to his malpractice, a malpractice that undermined the reputation of Dr. Fillan and the entire medical profession on Dominica. Troup was not only embarrassing Dr. Fillan and the Dominican medical practice, but also the gentlemen who used Troup as their doctor to supply medical services to their slaves. Mangers, owners, bookkeepers, lawyers all profited off the plantation system in the eighteenth century, and if their slaves were not in 'good health', they had the potential to lose profit. Dr. Fillan could not afford to lose customers in his practice for financial reasons, but also for social reasons. The men who paid Dr. Fillan to attend to their patients, were also the men who were in the social network that provided social support for Dr. Fillan and his medical practice. These men all had a status to uphold within this network, and would not make room for someone who could not follow the very localized, Dominican ideals of what it meant to be a professional. Thus, on November 21st, 1789, Troup was confronted by Dr. Clark who had recently returned to Roseau from his trip to Scotland. Dr. Clark called upon Troup and called him "ungrateful for [his] conduct since [he] came to this Island".[289] Dr. Clark also told Troup that Dr. Fillan "seemed to express so much ill nature".[290] Troup believed he did not commit any faults, and did not want to acknowledge what Dr. Clark was speaking to him

[288] Troup Journal, September 31, 1789.
[289] Troup Journal, November 21, 1789.
[290] *Ibid*.

about. The dispute heightened as Dr. Clark told Troup: “But I wish I had not brought you out I’ll write your Friends what a man you are”.[291] When Troup told Dr. Clark that he had done everything Dr. Fillan required him to do, Dr. Clark disagreed, and said: “he said you did not go to Mr. Kemp – &c &c”.[292] This was the last conversation between Dr. Clark and Troup before they discussed possible next options for Troup. Dr. Clark was not happy with what he heard from Dr. Fillan about the medical practice. Not only was Troup being pushed off Roseau, Dominica from his employers, but his professional and personal reputation--because, as the first chapter demonstrated, the two were intertwined--was potentially threatened from the short, but personally and professionally disastrous time he spent on Dominica.

[291] *Ibid*.
[292] *Ibid*.

CHAPTER 4
“I am afraid your head is so much taken up with Natural Curiosities”: Science, Exploration, and the Expansion of Empire in Eighteenth-Century Dominica

The fact is he is no Naturalist – he crubs her operations — gives Meds indiscrimately at random as other Empirics But I go beyond I always consult nature & from reason judge what will best assist her from my knowledge of anatomy & the animal oeconomy

Jonathan Troup, 1789

Introduction

After dinner on September 25th, 1789, Troup went down to the water as he heard that some sharks were taken ashore.[293] Upon his arrival, he noted that one of the sharks had “a Negroe’s head & Neck & hand & a Horse tail” inside of it.[294] Troup believed that these carcasses were the result of frightened captives having thrown themselves overboard in an attempt to swim home, believing that they would have been eaten by the white man upon their arrival.[295] After Troup observed the scene, he bought the remains in order to further his understanding of anatomy.[296] This was not the only instance where Troup went to the shore to explore his surroundings. For example, on October 23rd, 1789, Troup went to the shore and found “[the] lower Jaw of a Human head finely prepared & white also a Tortoise Rib & part of shell something like a stone petrifaction & the Anatomy of the prickly pear”.[297] Troup was an amateur anthropologist, and his journal is filled with similar accounts where he heads down to the beach or market to find skulls, bones, and other items to study. Troup’s empirical nature was not only

---

[293] The *Journal of Jonathan Troup, physician, of Aberdeen, Scotland and Dominica, West Indies* is held at the University of Aberdeen Special Collections and Archives, GB 0231, MS2070. All notes that follow are a reference to this journal unless otherwise stated. For example, see: Troup Journal, September 25, 1789.

[294] *Ibid*.

[295] For example, see: Troup Journal, October 23, 1789. “The Masters of African vessels cant persuade The New Negroes, that they are not to be killed & eat by White men & of consequence many of them throw themselves overboard to return to their own country directing their course [smudge] contrary to that of the ship if you attempt to take them they dive & are no more”.

[296] For example, see: Troup Journal, September 25, 1789. “I bought his head & fin for ½ Dollar & Pot to boil him for one Dollar in his Jaw there are 9 Rows of teeth & on Gum the mark of 4 Rows that have been thrown off so that if… that he gets a Row of teeth every year he must be 13 years old – The Heart is small in proportion one large … & thin with large fleshy whitish … but in … extremely thick fleshy & red…Value at Mouth of the … Eyes small in proportion…in his Back when he swallows”.

[297] Troup Journal, October 23, 1789.

regarding medicine, but also to science, and consequently, the two areas overlapped for Troup. In the eighteenth century, most physicians and surgeons were trained in botany, and likewise, most botanists were trained as medical doctors. Medical training, especially at universities such as Edinburgh and Leyden incorporated a substantial amount of instruction in natural history throughout the eighteenth century. David Mackay notes that a consequence of the role botany played in medicine was that many of the plant collectors sent out in this period by Kew Gardens, Sir Joseph Banks, the East India Company, or the British government, were medical professionals trained to recognize useful plant species.[298]

As seen in Chapter One and Two, social and professional connections were vital in the eighteenth-century Caribbean, specifically in Dominica, and the two overlapped. Networks grounded in perceptions of character or reputation and in the common practice of professional medicine overlapped with and reinforced not only each other but also other networks that functioned in the eighteenth-century British Atlantic. Science in the British-Atlantic world was founded on the exchange of knowledge and objects and these networks operated under the notion that participants could seek knowledge, specimens, prestige, books, recognition, and advice. This chapter adopts the term 'colonial naturalist' from Kathleen Murphy.[299] This term describes Troup as a historical actor within British imperialistic ventures. Murphy uses the term colonial naturalist to define "individuals in British plantation societies who were actively engaged in the study of the natural world."[300] She describes these historical actors as individuals whose participation in the natural world usually took the form of sending or receiving correspondence

[298] David Mackay, *In the Wake of Cook: Exploration, Science & Empire, 1780-1801* (London: Croom Helm, 1985), 13.
[299] Kathleen Murphy, "Translating the Vernacular: Indigenous and African Knowledge in the Eighteenth-Century British Atlantic," *Atlantic Studies* 8 (2001): 29-48.
[300] Murphy, "Translating the Vernacular", 42.

relating to the natural world, collecting natural curiosities, or publishing scientific observations in local newspapers or in the transactions of societies. Troup did not publish any scientific observations, though he was an observer and collector of plants and species, and attempted to correspond with Sir Joseph Banks from the Royal Society of London. There is no direct evidence that Troup was paid by Sir Joseph Banks or the Royal Society of London to observe and collect while in Dominica, but Troup was passionate about being recognized by the leading natural philosophers in Britain at the time.

This chapter explores the relationship between networks and the expansion of imperial science. It begins by introducing Sir Joseph Banks and the Royal Society of London as key players in the expansion of imperialist science expeditions on the periphery. It then discusses Jonathan Troup's role as a colonial naturalist in Roseau, Dominica and how his keen interest in the study of the natural world took up most of his time on the island. It will look at the different ways in which Troup spent his leisure time. This chapter will prove that Troup was more intent on making a name for himself as a renowned scientist than on improving his professional medical practice by working on relationships with Dr. Fillan and white professional colleagues. To conclude, this chapter looks at the relationship Troup did choose to commit to, with Colonel Maxwell, and how this relationship was part of a much larger effort to imperialize the Caribbean colonies through the expansion of science.

Sir Joseph Banks and the Royal Society

Sir Joseph Banks, the British botanist, is one of the most widely cited actors in the discussion of natural science in the eighteenth century.[301] A discussion of Banks' life and role as

[301] For more information on Sir Joseph Banks see: David Mackay, *In the Wake of Cook: Exploration, Science and Empire, 1780–1801* (New York: St. Martin's, 1985).

a botanist provides context to understand what Troup aspired to be; a renowned scientist. Ten years prior to Troup's arrival in Roseau, Dominica, the prominent Sir Joseph Banks became president of the Royal Society of London and he continued in that role for 41 years. Joseph Banks was born in London, England, in 1743. During his presidency of the Royal Society of London, from 1778 to 1820, he played a vital role in many scientific activities stemming from London, with a particular focus on the scientific expeditions to the New World.[302] His ties with King George III were evident by way of these expeditions, and demonstrate the role of imperialist attitudes towards the cultivation and discovery of natural entities as a means of bettering scientific understanding and ultimately, strengthening Britain's mercantile position, and destroying potential British rivals.[303] Banks held an accredited degree in natural history, but maintained a keen interest in and passion for the study of the natural world during his time as a young student, focussing particularly on entomology and botany. From his time as a student he fostered a connection with Dr. Daniel Solander, the Keeper of Natural and Artificial Productions at the British Museum. Through this professional experience and network, Banks was appointed as a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1766 and partook in three expeditions to build a foundation of scientific discovery and commitment. Initially returning in 1767, Banks created a name for himself known for discoveries in eastern America with outstanding documentation and Enlightened scientific method, all before age 24. Through this dedication to professionalism in discovery, Banks developed scientific stature and distinguished collection of plants and specimens, leading to his eventual appointment as the Royal Society's president. A year following Banks' appointment as the president, he moved to a slot of land totalling close to 50

[302] Neil Chambers, *The Letters of Sir Joseph Banks a Selection, 1768-1820* (London: Imperial College Press; River Edge, NJ: Distributed in the USA by World Scientific Pub, 2000).
[303] Mackay, *In the Wake of Cook.*

acres. It was on this property that he developed and maintained a large farm and garden to pursue scientific experiments and observation. This passion was not left unnoticed by King George III, who was impressed with the natural scientist's motivation for discovery and meticulous sampling of unexplored areas. The friendship formed between Banks and King George III would influence the Royal Society's activities, and its allegiance to the monarch. From this relationship, Banks would oversee dispersed Royal funds and priority setting for discovery. For example, Banks oversaw the funds allocated to William Herschel from 1781 to 1820 for telescopes and the primary development of the Ordnance Survey of the United Kingdom. Even though Banks published few scientific papers, his collection of specimens was immense for an individual with no formal credentials in botany or entomology. His relationship with King George III demonstrates the intimate linkages of discovery and imperialist motivations towards natural history and Enlightenment and the importance of social connections. King George III's hand in the Royal Society exhibits his role in scientific progress in the name of the King and how it can benefit the people and their society. The sought-after knowledge of new and alien specimens lends itself to the thievery of local knowledge in new lands, and the intellectual theft of natural knowledge for colonial gain.

Imperial Expansion Through Science

Over the course of European expansion from the sixteenth century onwards, the imperial context held great opportunities for productivity in the area of botany, and natural history more generally.[304] David Mackay writes that besides Spanish imports of bullion, the wealth of the

[304] The Oxford English Dictionary defines imperialism as: "The extension and maintenance of a country's power or influence through trade, diplomacy, military or cultural dominance, etc." "imperialism, n." OED Online. June 2017. Oxford University Press.

colonies were in their tropical vegetable products such as spices, medicinal drugs, tea, coffee, and oils.[305] This was an opportunity to introduce new products into England. It was recognized that food on the periphery, along with cash crops could be the main commercial assets on the new colonial acquisitions, and that plant collecting and transferring were the means to strengthen Britain's mercantile position and destroy the monopolies of its rivals.[306] Mackay notes:

> the main objective of those promoting plant transfers were unabashedly economic, and had as their purpose the closer integration of imperial possessions with an industrializing mother country. English cotton mills might be supplied with fine raw cotton from within the empire, following the transplantation of cotton seeds. The Navy might be supplied with hemp and flax grown in Ireland or Canada. The Dutch stranglehold over the spice trade might be broken by the production of spices in British dominions. Coffee, indigo, cochineal, tea, silk – all might be produced within the Empire.[307]

Thus, botany and natural philosophy became greatly intertwined with "great power rivalry" as colonial powers wanted to guard their colonial treasures from competition.[308] Science and science expeditions for plants, specimens, and other curiosities was one more way for Britain to exercise control.

A key component to science networks and scientific expeditions in the eighteenth century was correspondence. Correspondence most commonly took the form of letter writing to and from institutions and individuals across the Atlantic. These institutions, such as the Royal Society of London or the Parisian Jardin des Plantes, relied on these contacts to supply them with specimens, which would establish connections and further expand networks to colonists across the British Atlantic.[309] Susan Scott Parish argues: "the world of letter writing and specimen

---

http://www.oed.com.ezproxy.library.dal.ca/view/Entry/92285?redirectedFrom=imperialism (Accessed June 18, 2017).

[305] Mackay*, In the Wake of Cook*, 14.

[306] *Ibid*.

[307] *Ibid*., 125.

[308] *Ibid*.

[309] For more information on the history of the Jardin des Plantes see: The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, *Jardin des Plantes*, Encyclopaedia Britannica, https://www.britannica.com/place/Jardin-des-Plantes (Accessed June 2017).

exchange made up the day-to-day practice of natural history."[310] There was one occasion when Troup wrote a letter to Sir Joseph Banks at the Royal College of London. On August 1st, 1789, Troup wrote to Banks and a Dr. Monro of Edinburgh about a black woman on the island who had quadruplets.[311] Troup sent these two letters to London via a packet. This was the not the first time Troup wrote about the woman who birthed four children. Troup first mentioned this history of this case on July 16th, 1789. Troup explained that on that day he went down to Mr. Gemmet's estate, which was a bit further down from Roseau, because he wanted to inquire about "[the]Negro woman who was delivered of 4 healthy children on February Last".[312] Troup spent two entire pages of his journal writing about "[the] Particular History of the Case", which, for Troup, was quite a bit for something that was not about the natural world he preferred to study.[313] By word of Mr. Gemmet, the owner of the enslaved woman, Troup wrote very specific details about the delivery of the four babies including their appearance and the state of the enslaved woman after she had the babies. For example, Troup recorded: "Mr. Gemmet called the 3 Girls after the Cardinal Virtues Faith Hope & Charity in order of their delivery all of the same size & equally plump & firm except Hope".[314] Troup also wrote details about the history of the enslaved couple who had the children: "Both Mother & Father have been 13 years on Estate Man bought at Barbadoes from court of Guinea woman bought from an African vessel from Corramantine".[315] Not only did Troup recount the history of this case to Banks, but he also included information about how he arrived on the island, the storm in the Bay of Biscay on his

---

[310] Susan Scott Parish, *American Curiosity: Cultures of Natural History in the Colonial British Atlantic World* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 107.
[311] Troup Journal, August 1, 1789.
[312] Troup Journal, July 16, 1789.
[313] *Ibid*.
[314] *Ibid*.
[315] *Ibid*. The last word in this quote should read, Coramantien, a British-held fort and slave market on the Gold Coast of Africa.

way to Roseau, and remarks on the "negligence of Physicians [there]".[316] Troup took extra time and space within in his journal to record all of the details from Mr. Gemmet, and this appears to have helped Troup write his letter to Banks a few weeks later.

This was one of Troup's attempts to share scientific observations with someone of significance in the science world. These empirical observations are almost as useful as sharing specimens. They are part of a knowledge exchange, essentially trading knowledge for patronage, reputation, or support of some sort. Susan Scott Parish supports the notion of these new found cross-Atlantic networks that differed from civil societies of Europe. For example, Parish suggests that most colonials experienced "neither the strain nor the opportunity of performing in person within polite society."[317] Parish explains that correspondence across the Atlantic was just as important as colonists who were in Britain. Most naturalists lived at a distance from each other, and Parish argues: "the letter and the shipped specimen more than the face-to-face encounter characterized the mediums of transatlantic natural history."[318] Through this concept we see that colonial naturalists, such as Troup, operated outside of the standard practices found within genteel circles of science in Europe, and instead functioned within critical long-distance correspondence networks within the larger networks of science and scientists. Thus, if Troup wanted to make an impression on Banks, or members of the Royal Society, he had to send specimens, or novel observations that would prove his skills as a scientist. Consequently, if Troup wanted to make a name, or reputation for himself, he needed to study, observe, and collect natural curiosities while on Dominica. With Troup's ambition to be a renowned scientist, communicating with Sir Joseph Banks was just one way that he attempted to prove he was a true

---

[316] Troup Journal, August 1, 1789.
[317] Parish, *American Curiosity*, 107
[318] *Ibid*.

empirical scientist and could act as a distant eye witness for those back in London. London was framed as the centre of scientific activity, but correspondents agreed that empiricism allowed distant colonial naturalists to have authority.[319] Not once in the rest of his journal did Troup mention writing to Banks again. The only other time that Troup mentioned Banks was when he described how Mr. Carson let him look at a copy of the London Medical Journal, 1789, and within that copy there was a report on a "Case of Numerous Births" communicated to Banks by a surgeon from Lancashire, England.[320] There is no evidence that Troup was in frequent communication with Banks, or any other men of scientific significance from London, or the Royal Society of London, or even the greater geographical area of Europe. Though, Troup was not on the island to act as colonial naturalist collecting plants, specimens, and other scientific knowledge, like other white males in the eighteenth century. Instead, Troup was on Dominica as a medical assistant to Dr. Fillan. Troup's job was to attend to the medical work Dr. Fillan needed him to do. Conversely, Troup much preferred studying the natural world around him; the plants, the insects, and any other curiosity he could find. It was not that Troup could not be both interested in medicine and science, or hold more than one identity in the British Atlantic, but Troup needed to find a way to establish ties to build a reputation for himself. Troup eventually found that the white professional men on the island who he needed to build relationships with, did not agree with the amount of time he spent studying the natural world, versus paying attention to his medical profession.

---

[319] *Ibid*.
[320] Troup Journal, November 25, 1789.

Troup's Observations of Natural Curiosities

Troup's journal is littered with descriptions and illustrations of what he studied, observed, and collected. There were very few days in Troup's journal where he did not either record the temperature, or spend time writing about the weather. His journal contains thorough detail of varying weather patterns throughout the island. Some of Troup's longest journal entries are the ones where he described the weather. For example, on August 4th, 1789, Troup spent over four of his journal pages describing in words, drawings, and paintings a storm on the island.[321] Troup wrote: "tremendous hurling continued noise 4 peals great fall of rain 1 peal another…clouds appear again a large a flash of lightning thunder vaulted black cloud separated & rising from mountain above Roseau forming".[322] A few pages later, Troup continued his description of the storm and wrote: "But the blue sky appears with white black streaks The Sun shines 2 rainbows very beautiful appear to East rain cleared", and then included the painting below.[323] Figure 4.1 shows one of Troup's many illustrations of the weather. Troup's keen interest in meteorology was not uncommon for eighteenth-century colonial men. Similar to Troup, Thomas Thistlewood, the Jamaican plantation owner of land and slaves, was also intensely interested in science, especially meteorology.[324] Trevor Burnard notes that as early as 1752, Thistlewood began a weather journal that noted the strength and direction of the wind each day, in addition to the conditions of the atmosphere, including thunderstorms, rain, and unusual meteorological

---

[321] Troup Journal, August 4, 1789.
[322] *Ibid*.
[323] *Ibid*.
[324] For a detailed account of Thomas Thistlewood and his diaries see: Trevor Burnard, *Mastery, Tyranny, and Desire: Thomas Thistlewood and His Slaves in the Anglo-Jamaican World* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004). For a detailed review of how Thistlewood's diaries and his weather record keeping can contribute to the understanding of the Caribbean climate during the eighteenth century see: Michael Chenoweth, "The 18th Century Climate of Jamaica: Derived from the Journals of Thomas Thistlewood, 1750-1786," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 93 (2003): i-153.

events.[325] Thistlewood's account of meteorological sightings were done in a systematic manner, similar to his other writing, until his death in 1786. However, meteorology in the eighteenth-century was much more than observation and prediction of the weather, and was involved in varying life sciences topics. To ritually record was a sign of one's keen scientific interest in the natural world more broadly. Meteorology played a large role in agriculture, medicine, and plant and human geography. The weather had a major influence on agriculture and heath, and individuals knowledgeable about the weather played a role in numerous projects in the last third of the eighteenth century.[326] Botanists began to consider the role of climate in the geographical distribution of plants, and this perhaps, is one of the reasons that Troup was so intensely interested in the weather and recording of weather.

---

[325] Burnard, *Mastery, Tyranny, and Desire*, 120.
[326] Tore Frangsmyr, J. L. Heilbron, and Robin E. Rider, *The Quantifying Spirit in the 18th Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 144.

Figure 4.1: Troup Painting of Rainbow

Source: Troup Diary, August 4th, 1789

Medical theories and practice in the eighteenth century were dependent on concurrent ideas about meteorology. Under the ancient and medieval humoral theories, there were four basic types of humoral bodies that were reflected in the universe's four basic elements of water, fire, earth, and air.[327] The notion of the humoral body continued into the eighteenth-century and ultimately relied on the environment as a major impact on disease. Thus, the weather, including the temperature, rainfall, thunderstorms, etc., played a key role in how medical professionals studied and conceptualized the body and disease in the eighteenth century. Joyce Chaplin writes

[327] For more on the humoral body, refer to Chapter Three in this thesis, in addition to the following work: Parish, *American Curiosity*, and Roy Porter, *Flesh in the Age of Reason* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2004). As well, see Hippocrates, *On Airs, Water, and Places* (Michigan: University of Michigan Library [Reprints from the collection of the University of Michigan Library], 1881).

eloquently about the impact of natural philosophy on medicine during this period and notes: "[n]atural philosophy explained that climatic factors create bodily variation."[328] For example, contemporaries understood miasma not solely as a disease, but as a quality of certain environments that was responsible for a handful of diseases such as malarial fever, diarrhea, dysentery, and diphtheria.[329] Numerous medical professionals kept weather observations, as they expected certain weather patterns to correlate with certain diseases. Thus, as Troup was committed to the humoral theory of the body in his observations and treatments of patients, perhaps Troup recorded the temperature and weather patterns as regularly as possible, in hopes of becoming both a better medical professional and scientist. Therefore, in this sense, Troup's observations and recordings of the weather could contribute to both his medical and his scientific identities. One can predict that Troup may have wanted to share his weather findings with either Sir Joseph Banks, or the larger community of scientists at the Royal Society of London. Meteorological observations and meticulous lists of weathers were just one of many ways men in the eighteenth century in the larger British Atlantic world could contribute to the creation of scientific knowledge.

Another way in which Troup showed his strong interest and curiosity for the natural world was through observation and collection of different island artifacts. As mentioned at the onset of this chapter, Troup often observed and collected different objects he or others found around the island. Troup was intrigued by any item that could further his knowledge and study of natural philosophy in the eighteenth century. These items included anything from animal bones,

---

[328] Joyce Chaplin, "Natural Philosophy and an Early Racial Idiom in North America: Comparing English and Indian Bodies," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 54 (1997): 229-252.
[329] Linda L. Nash, *Inescapable Ecologies: A History Environment, Disease, and Knowledge* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 67. Miasma was a form of pollution, or bad air.

to human skulls, or local plants. Troup found any opportunity in his day to observe and collect. Only a few days after he arrived in Roseau, Troup was already interested in the collection of curiosities for study: "Catch N.º of cockroaches spiders fire Flys…With Candle Flys & land crabs".[330] In another instance Troup went down to a man on the island who had a poisonous serpent from Trinidad or St. Lucia.[331] Troup recorded the appearance of this serpent: "about 2 ½ feet long & small", and also recorded that this man had a bird's bill, and a "fine clapper".[332] Within these details, Troup wrote longer descriptions of the varying flora and fauna he saw, and historians have noted that these descriptions contributed to Troup as a "talented anthropologist".[333] Troup was ambitious to observe and collect the natural world around him, although he often did not have friends, or relationships with people in which he could share this passion with. Thus, when Troup had the opportunity to visit a man who owned a collection of curiosities, he appeared hopeful in his journal entry: "Gentleman from Island of Damarara belonging to Dutch in the Spanish main he has a Number of Curiosities which I am to see". [334]

The fact that Troup was an aspiring colonial naturalist is particularly evident when looking at how involved he was to observe and collect island artifacts. Parish demonstrates that in practice, European science depended on the role played by informants such as free and enslaved blacks.[335] On the one hand, colonials saw free and enslaved blacks as knowledge holders regarding the natural world. On the other hand, they were seen as potentially dangerous because of the knowledge they held. These local informants grew up with the fauna and developed a very localized understanding of the biological diversity. The local informants

[330] Troup Journal, May 17, 1789.
[331] For example, see: Troup Journal, October 11, 1789.
[332] *Ibid*.
[333] Claire Swan, "'A life of debauchery, vice and drunkenness': The Journal of Jonathan Troup, or Two Years in the West Indies," *Scottish Archives* 12 (2006): 28-41.
[334] Troup Journal, October 11, 1789.
[335] Parish, *American Curiosity*.

consistently lacked any form of individual acknowledgment, but rather a collective 'nod of the head' to recognize their primitive understanding. This world of discovery in plantation societies was indeed built on models of colonialism, yet existing as a unique unit in the face of network development and subsequent models of discovery and knowledge translation between cultures. These plantation societies were small, established, and isolated areas of scientific networks, with a substantial amount of knowledge being obtained through localized informant based discussions. As discussed in Murphy's work, the often young men who travelled to plantation colonies acted as a highway of knowledge transfer from the novel environments of the Atlantic world back to the European societies. This provided a translation and filter from the local 'primitive' knowledge from 'vulgar' people, to the so-called Enlightened, based on information in European models. The application of the term 'vulgar' helped colonists separate knowledge stemming from themselves and from the 'Other'. This term further racialized the idea of knowledge and what was to be considered genuine, as opposed to the crude understanding from African descent. A stark example of this, put forward by Murphy, is the translation of scientific dialect from the 'basic' local languages to universal terminology, often Latin, as a precursor to information being passed back to the European societies. Steven Shapin argues that not only were the local individuals made to be anonymous, but rather they had to be made invisible before the knowledge could be transferred back to the scientific base in Europe.[336] Shapin continues to note that these 'invisible technicians' contributed not only monotonous laboratory work, but provided higher level analysis to the understanding of new findings. Thus, the discoveries could not be developed without the crucial role of local informants, regardless of their invisible mentions at the surface.

[336] Steven Shapin, "The Invisible Technician," *American Scientist* 77 (1989): 554-63.

The knowledge passed on from the free blacks and enslaved communities from the Caribbean relied on oral transmission and future generations passing down information. This knowledge could not be trusted in the Enlightened world of Europe, one that listened only to systematic experimentation, meticulous documentation, and discovered knowledge. Information gathered from slave populations was termed to be an African slave's 'experience' or 'observation', as opposed to the 'knowledge' of an African slave.[337] The use of these terms indicates the removal of pure knowledge from Caribbean slave populations, replaced with the notion of crude experiential or accidental discovery. The unacceptance of local medical knowledge follows the same pattern as natural knowledge, a pattern of racialization and demotion of 'vulgar' observations.[338]

This role of natural discovery is vitally important for medicine when the terms Physician and Natural Historian were close to being synonymous. The linkages between natural science and medicine were outstandingly intertwined throughout Europe, during the period that Troup was working in Roseau. Troup's superseding interest in natural history during his time under Dr. Fillan may have been applauded and encouraged in a European society, but Dominica was no exception in establishing a new, and endemic plantation society that coerced professionals to play by the local rules of society. This local society may have been driven by something other than scientific discovery, such as economic gain, or professional prestige. Since mortality rates and disease occurrence were so high in the Caribbean, the stakes were, too. There was money to be made in the colonies, and it appears that Fillan just wanted Troup to practice medicine and not be so engaged in natural philosophy or the cultivation of knowledge more broadly. Of course, Troup's affinity for natural understanding and communications with Sir Joseph Banks would fit

[337] Murphy, "Translating the Vernacular," 36.
[338] *Ibid*., 34.

the European models from which he travelled, but not the local network on Dominica.

Troup was a young, enthusiastic, amateur colonial naturalist, but the local group of men who Troup worked with and for, did not support this area of Troup's interest. Within the larger social connections running out of London from the Royal Society of London, Troup's ambition to collect and observe may have been viewed positively, but to Troup's employers and colleagues, Troup was spending too much time studying the natural world. While other colonial men in the British Atlantic were praised for their natural scientist skills, Troup's relationships, and essentially, his reputation on Dominica was deteriorating. For example, Thistlewood achieved significant acclaim from his intellectual circle due to his natural science pursuits, including botanical and horticultural pursuits.[339] However, for Troup, his preoccupation with the natural world played a major role in Dr. Fillan and Dr. Clark's decision to dismiss him from his medical assistant position on Roseau, Dominica. Mr. Rainy had warned Troup that his time spent on the natural world was hurting him: "after I had showed him some specimens of Natural productions he said there was one thing still more needful The One thing needful To act up to the dignity of my profession & of a Man He mentioned I would hurt myself by confinement I told him not".[340] Still, Troup proceeded to use any time he could to observe and collect. Troup even placed an advertisement in the local newspaper for natural productions, showing his ambition to collect on the island, "I gave Mr. Lowndes my advertisement for Natural Productions to be inserted into the Sunday Papers".[341] It appears that by the end of October 1789, six months after Troup's arrival, that he had some sort of collection of natural curiosities. Troup did not include a specific list in his journal of what he was collecting, but he refered to his collection more than a

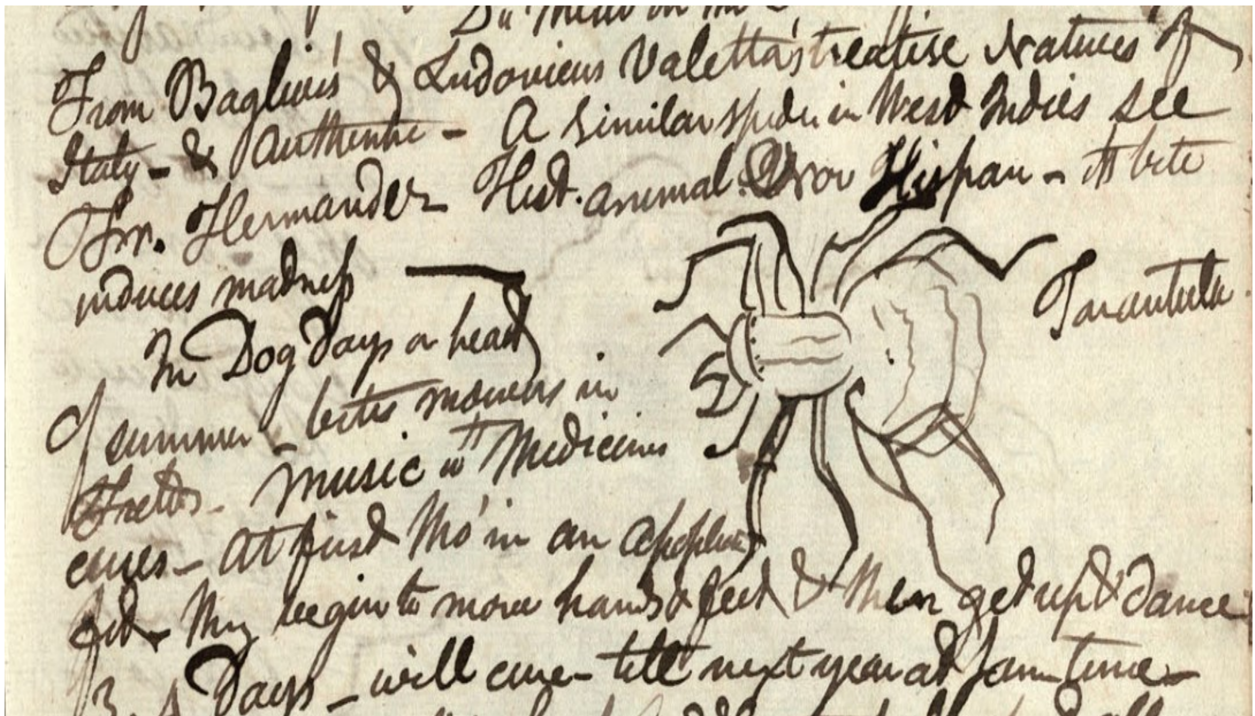
[339] Burnard, *Mastery, Tyranny, and Desire*, 124.
[340] Troup Journal, October 18, 1789
[341] Troup Journal, September 6, 1789.

few times. For example, Troup wrote: “Got for a Doge one of the most beautiful red velvet mushrooms or blossoms I ever saw in life & imitates a large tassle of red velvet done in a serpentine form about size & shape of a large piny Rose but to feel as soft as velvet the boy called it a Cock’s Comb it is a great addition to my collection of Natural curiosities”.[342]

Observing and collecting specimens and all sorts of curiosities commonly included the task of illustrating those findings. Eighteenth-century natural history texts were filled with illustrations that played a key role in the dissemination of scientific knowledge throughout the British Atlantic. Illustrations were also a way for colonists on the periphery to show men back home that they could properly observe the natural world, and they were no less intelligent than their peers in London.[343] Troup’s own account is littered with drawings and oil paintings, most commonly illustrating the weather, including clouds, storms, and the wind, and varying flora and fauna, including snakes, plants, and birds.[344] Figure 4.2 is an example of one of Troup’s illustrations. Throughout Troup’s journal there are approximately 90 different illustrations.

[342] Troup Journal, October 30, 1789.
[343] Parish, *American Curiosity*, 17.
[344] Note that Troup’s illustrations also include slaves and depictions of early slave life and society. These elements of Troup’s illustrations were discussed in Chapter Two.

Figure 4.2: Troup Sketch of Spider



Source: Troup Journal, August 11, 1789

Troup's illustrations do not seem to have a specific format, or even rhyme or reason for what he did or did not choose to illustrate. Perhaps Troup did not plan to share these specific drawings and paintings with others, and instead, wanted to keep them to himself for his own personal records. This is plausible for the following two reasons. First, the lack of formatting, as mentioned previously. Troup would fit in an illustration wherever he had room. Sometimes there were words covering his illustrations, or illustrations covering his text. Sometimes Troup labelled his work, and sometimes you had to read his journal entries to figure out exactly what he was trying to convey. Thus, Troup did not seem too keen to share these specific natural world drawings due to their lack of formal presentation, and they may have been for Troup's personal advancement of scientific knowledge. Second, it appears that Troup's journal was not meant to be shared. The journal seems to be a genuine source, and was Troup's personal journal. Therefore, these illustrations may not have been for others, as they may have only been rough

sketches.

When Troup was not observing, or collecting natural curiosities, he was often reading about them and the scientific world to advance his knowledge and practice as a scientist and a medical man; he believed both went hand in hand. For example, on July 30th, 1789, Troup read work by James Keill, M.D., on animal oeconomy. After reading this, Troup stated: “Natural Philosophy & History of Diseases must go hand in hand in the improving…Every man practices from his notions of animal oeconomy”.[345] Troup read other work related to natural philosophy, such as the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society.* This was a scientific journal that was published by the Royal Society and in it contained articles exclusively devoted to science, making it the first of its kind in the world. Troup also read work by William Nicholson, a renowned chemist and natural philosopher from the eighteenth century. On a few different occasions, Troup mentioned reading his work and even lending his work to others on the island. When Troup was not reading these books, he would sometimes quote lectures from prominent educators such as Joseph Black, Alexander Munro, and William Blair. For example, on November 15th, 1789, Troup recited parts of a lecture from William Blair: “who judge by Rule are mere pedants not Critics for Genuine Criticism is ultimately founded on Feeling & Taste & Feeling are necessary to guide us in the appreciation of Rules”.[346]

There were several activities Troup would rather have been doing while he was on the island, and he rarely hesitated to voice his opinion about his employer overworking him, in addition to being able to do whatever he wanted on free time as opposed to study medicine. Not everyone felt the same way that Troup did about the availability of free time outside of the practice. Dr. Fillan and other doctors and planters did not agree with Troup’s apparent eccentric

[345] Troup Journal, July 30, 1789.
[346] Troup Journal, November 15th, 1789.

pursuits. Troup was accused of neglecting the practice of medicine, being indolent, and secluding himself too much from society. Troup was an extremely curious person, and Dominica's society let his curiosity run free. During his off time, when he was exploring the island, its natural landscape, its weather patterns, the flora and fauna, the animals, he was also painting and drawing in his journal. He illustrated pictures of fish, birds, insects, seashells, cloud formations, and other natural curiosities of the island. Through his writing and illustrations, it is evident that Troup did not stick to the social norms of the island, thus displeasing Dr. Fillan and the men in his social circle – doctors, planters, managers, and various principal gentleman. Troup pursued his personal interests, and decided he could spend his leisure time in any way that he preferred. This often meant socializing in very different ways than the men in Dr. Fillan's social network chose to spend their free time.

Troup and Colonel Maxwell

Troup found little companionship on the island when it came to his interest in the natural world. No one in Dr. Fillan's social network showed as strong of an interest as Troup did, and they often condemned him for spending too much time observing and collecting, instead of focusing on his medical practice. However, Troup did find one person, Colonel Maxwell, who had similar interests. Troup was drawn towards Colonel Maxwell, but Maxwell was not in the group of white professionals. Maxwell did not appear to spend time with this group. Maxwell was a high-ranking officer from the island of Grenada, who frequently visited Roseau. The first time Troup interacted with Colonel Maxwell was on August 21st, 1789 when he described dining with Colonel Maxwell, President Stewart, Captain McCullock, Mr. Daniel, and Lieutenant

Murray at Morne Bruce.[347] These men enjoyed an evening of drinking under the sun until a storm started. Troup described the flashes of lightning and the loud noises that shook the house. The next morning, Troup complained of an upset stomach, most likely from the excess of alcohol under the beaming sun the evening before. The next interaction Troup had with Colonel Maxwell was on October 11th, 1789.[348] Again, Troup went to Morne Bruce to meet with Colonel Maxwell and a few other men. Troup noted he went there to dive. It was not until December 2nd, 1789 that Troup recorded Maxwell's intense interest in curiosities of the island. Troup was at Morne Bruce earlier that morning for breakfast with Captain Urquhart and then Maxwell arrived from Grenada on board a packet boat.[349] Maxwell and Troup then dined together and that is when Colonel Maxwell exclaimed his interest in Troup and Troup's work on the island, unrelated to his assigned job as Dr. Fillan's medical assistant. Maxwell was more interested in what flora and fauna Troup was collecting and attempting to discover on the island. Maxwell must have heard from someone on the island that Troup was disobeying Dr. Fillan and spending too much time pursuing his personal interests and exploring, rather than attending to the plantations. Nonetheless, Maxwell took this in a different manner than Dr. Fillan and his peers, and instead, Maxwell saw the potential in Troup's curious mind. Although Colonel Maxwell's connection to Troup appeared to be advantageous for Troup's personal gain, one might think the

[347] For example, see: Troup Journal, August 21, 1789. Morne Bruce is located on the eastern side of the island's capital, Roseau. Named after James Bruce, a captain of the Royal Engineers who designed many of Dominica's forts in the 1700s. The site was selected by the British as a military garrison. In 1791, Thomas Atwood recorded the following about Morne Bruce: "Bruce's Hill, which is just above Roseau, has several fine batteries, with one for mortars, commodious barracks, and several blockhouses. It had a fine stone cistern in the time of the French, but which, being built by them, they thought proper to destroy and blew it up, a few days before they evacuated the island, thereby rendering it useless." Thomas Atwood, *The History of the Island of Dominica. Containing a Description of Its Situation, Extent, Climate, Mountains, Rivers, Natural Productions, &c. &c. ... By Thomas Atwood* (London: Printed for J. Johnson, 1791), 188-189.
[348] For example, see: Troup Journal, October 11, 1789.
[349] Troup Journal, December 2, 1789. Captain Urquhart was part of a lower infantry in Dominica and travelled often, sometimes going to Barbados. As well, Captain Urquhart and Troup had a total of 11 face-to-face interactions, making Urquhart the ranked fifteenth in the number of face-to-face interactions Troup had with people.

relationship was solely intended for Colonel Maxwell's personal gain. Where Troup was a young and educated man keen on exploration and natural discovery, he was an ideal candidate for imperialistic exploitation. Of course, Troup could potentially be blinded by the fame and notoriety of natural discovery in the Caribbean colonies.

When Colonel Maxwell exclaimed to Troup that he was excited to meet with him and "begged if [Troup] would make out a List of all the Animals in Dominique", Troup was ecstatic at what he thought was an opportunity for him to gain success and reputation within the Caribbean.[350] Troup hoped that having his name on this list he was asked to compile would help his employment prospects throughout the Caribbean. In the same journal entry for December 2nd, 1789, Troup wrote: "This will let my Name be known in West Indies from my advertisement".[351] The following day, Troup confirmed in his journal that he was going to undertake the task of completing a "List of the Animals of Dominica to Colonel Maxwell".[352] It is clearer still that Troup was extremely dedicated to Maxwell's task as the next day, on December 4th, 1789; he wrote down that he compiled a large list of animals in Dominica for Colonel Maxwell.[353] It appears that Troup was too elated by the attention he was getting from Colonel Maxwell at the time to realize just how his actions, or lack thereof were impacting his status of employment and the potential for future employment. While Troup was complimented and praised by Colonel Maxwell on his terrific list, Dr. Clark, Dr. Fillan, and Mr. Rainy were making efforts to remove Troup from the island.[354]

Troup made it clear that he much preferred interacting with Colonel Maxwell and the

---

350 *Ibid*.
351 *Ibid*.
352 Troup Journal, December 3, 1789
353 Troup Journal, December 4, 1789
354 For example, see: Troup Journal, December 11, 1789. "[H]e Rose from the large Company at the Mess & took me by the hand & thanked me before the just Gentlemen in the Island ——— McLaughlan – Graham, Eyre – Laing Dr. Thomson Captain Urquhart & Montgomery".

men who spent time around Maxwell. Troup believed that his interactions with and favours for Maxwell would bring him more success than trying to get along with Dr. Fillan and his colleagues. Troup spent a significant amount of time conversing with Maxwell. Most of these conversations were about varying natural curiosities on the island. Troup was extremely attracted to the idea that Maxwell was a man of similar interest who could help him gain popularity with his exploration of the natural curiosities on the island.

Conclusion

In the final weeks of Troup's time in Roseau, when both Dr. Clark and Dr. Fillan were on the island, they let Troup know that they were not pleased with how he spent his time on the island. Dr. Clark told Troup that he wished he did not bring Troup out to Dominica, and that he was "afraid [his] head is so much taken up with Natural Curiosities".[355] The conversation continued and Dr. Clark remarked: "You expect to come & make a tool of us to collect curiosity for the Royal Society I told him I would do that still in my Leisure hours & there are many in Man's life".[356] Still, there is no direct evidence that Troup was hired by the Royal Society of London to collect curiosities, Troup appeared to have a stronger passion for his relationship with those who appeared to be advantageous to his potential status as a renowned scientist. The negative comments made by Troup's employers reinforce that the observation and collection of natural curiosities was not a priority for the men in Dr. Fillan's social network. These men were more concerned with the medical profession, and their own health, and most importantly, the health of their slaves. Troup's passion for natural curiosities was another reason why he

[355] Troup Journal, November 21, 1789.
[356] *Ibid*.

ultimately failed to establish and maintain a good reputation for himself on the island, and was why he was forced to leave Dr. Fillan's medical practice in December of 1789.

CHAPTER 5
Conclusion

Jonathan Troup was eventually dismissed by Dr. Fillan. On December 19th, 1789, Troup set sail from Roseau "in a small sloop" to Prince Rupert Bay.[357] Troup "had a tedious passage two days & two nights in sailing 30 miles" before arriving.[358] Initially, Troup did not plan to go to Prince Rupert Bay, but instead, he planned to go to the neighbouring island of Martinique. After many arguments with Dr. Clark and Dr. Fillan, Troup claimed he would "sail by first Opportunity for Martinique which will perfect me in the French & enable me to act my part on emergencies with greater propriety".[359] A few days later, Troup wrote a letter to Martinique and said he would "wait the issue of an Answer".[360] On December 10th, Mr. Smith received a letter regarding Troup's request to go to Martinique:

> In accordance with your wishes, my dear… I spoke to Mr. Gaubert about your friend; here is what he thinks the doctors or surgeons that have an established reputation and who therefore have more patients that they could not take him on as an associate, and they lead the practices, it is the same in this case as in others those who are not as well known do not need anyone this is the greatest number anyways, as your friend does not speak French fluently, he would not be very useful. He added that your friend could come here and by means of some formalities, he would obtain the permission to work, that he could start by treating the English and the Americans, that he would meet people, familiarize himself with our language, and that his talents would complete the rest[361]

Troup was anything but satisfied with this response and "[d]etermined not to go to Martinique".[362] The following day he decided he would go to Prince Rupert Bay on the other side of the island. He told Dr. Clark, who very much approved of his plan and then he "immediately wrote a letter to Captain Urquhart to speak to Captain Equcy of 60th Regiment to

[357] The *Journal of Jonathan Troup, physician, of Aberdeen, Scotland and Dominica, West Indies* is held at the University of Aberdeen Special Collections and Archives, GB 0231, MS2070. All notes that follow are a reference to this journal unless otherwise stated. Troup Journal, December 19, 1789.
[358] *Ibid*.
[359] Troup Journal, November 26, 1789.
[360] Troup Journal, November 29, 1789.
[361] Troup Journal, December 10, 1789.
[362] Troup Journal, December 11, 1789.

get a passage up to Prince Rupert's".[363] Then, only a few days later, Troup started yet another voyage, to a new town, to start a new adventure as a medical professional where he would once again have to try to prove to a new group of people that he was a man of good character.

Troup immediately jumped into his work once he arrived in Prince Rupert Bay and he applied to proprietors and attorneys for the medical practice on plantations and estates. While his negotiations with proprietors and attorneys were pending, he visited the slave hospitals and noted that most slaves had "[c]oughs & colds with pain in breast sore throat & c fever".[364] Troup had difficulties negotiating as he insisted certain demands be met. Troup requested a salary and other terms that were far from the customary practice in Prince Rupert Bay. On January 26th, 1790, Troup wrote the following letter to Mr. Alleyn:

Sir,

You are very kind in giving me the Care of your own Estate, Baldwyn's & the two belonging to the deceased Governor Stewart – In return, as far as my abilities & knowledge extend, I shall exert myself for the preservation of the Negroes upon the above Estates: – but to do this with justice to the them & satisfaction to myself I must have the best & freshest medicines London can afford – Also it will be necessary to visit the Estates once a week but when sickness & accidents occur – to be ready day & night — I know very well the nature of Estates – Indeed very little at times is to be made from them – Some years they will not pay the Medicines – I have some knowledge now of this Quarter, of the roads & distances to the Above estates – On the whole it will be impossible for me to attend the Estates in this Quarter under 20 shillings per annum for Each Negroe —– Or if it shall be more agreeable to the Attorneys to pay so much per visit or per annum for visits & the price of Medicines – I am perfectly satisfied – Upon any other conditions I am fully determined not to Practice on any of the Estates at Prince Rupert's ———

Mean time Sir, with my respects to Miss Winston & Pagan I have the honour to be your humble obedient servant

Jonathan Troup M.A.[365]

For a man who had only been in town for less than a month, with little to no reputation, Troup was asking for several substantive professional requirements. The end of his journal shows that

[363] Troup Journal, December 13, 1789.
[364] Troup Journal, December 23, 1789.
[365] Troup Journal, January 26, 1790.

he continued to refuse any other conditions offered by proprietors and attorneys, and one gentleman communicated to Troup, "you go upon a wrong place as to money matters your first aim should be to gain the Confidence of the people who employ & after 2, 3 years you can then make your price".[366] Troup responded with, "I will not kill myself for nothing".[367] Again, Troup complained about his salary, he commented, "[I] am fully determined not to practice here under 20 shillings for each negroe".[368] Troup's time practicing medicine in Prince Rupert Bay did not last long. It appears that in April of 1790 he started his journey back home to Britain after struggling to gain a medical practice, scientific fame, and a reputation for good character.

This thesis has explored the role of social networks and its relationship to the idea of character--or what was essentially a blend of moral and social capital--in late eighteenth century Dominican society through the chronicles of Dr. Jonathan Troup. Troup was a white, eighteenth-century medical professional who emigrated to Dominica from Scotland to establish a medical practice. Troup is not remembered as a significant figure in Atlantic-world history. He never became an established Caribbean doctor. He was a failure on every front, by his own standards and by the standards of his peers. He failed to navigate the social networks and meet the expectations and ethical and professional standards of his peers in Dominica. Yet, Troup's experiences offer an opportunity for historians to study failure. They have left us with a puzzle to solve. What did Troup try to achieve and why did he fail? It was not that he failed to secure work; it was not that the deadly environment of the Caribbean killed him. He failed because his goals and his standards did not mesh with his employers in Dominica; he failed because he had too many competing goals and identities; he failed because he was too fascinated by the natural

[366] Troup Journal, February 11, 1790.
[367] *Ibid*.
[368] Troup Journal, February 14, 1790.

curiosities and people in Dominica. He failed because he failed to read and understood what would harm or help his *character*, the central element of success in Dominica.

Chapter Two explores the perception of character in eighteenth-century Dominica. It begins by asking: What did Troup identify as character? What did that word mean? This chapter builds the base for the remaining chapters by answering this question. It explores the idea that character is a term that necessitates historical unpacking based on its specific context. The chapter reveals that character in late eighteenth century Dominica was judged collectively by white individuals based on intersecting and mutually reinforcing ideas about reputation, honour, identity and morality. This chapter switches the historiographical focus from character judged through individuals' credit and debt in an economic sense, to appreciating that this was a society that was grounded in demonstrating and reading social and moral "character" or social and moral capital. To climb the hierarchy, people like Troup needed wealth, patronage and connections and a network but they also needed to prove and maintain their character.

Chapter Two ultimately argues that the fate of one's character was intermixed with the maintenance of white British identity in Dominica. Troup's intermingling with slave and free black societies did not sit well with Dr. Fillan and the other white professionals. It undermined the myths of race and white supremacy in the island. Troup did not conform well to British notions of identity, such as politeness, gentility, and honour. Troup's encounters with slave and free black societies may have helped him reinforce the superiority of his own identity as a white British man in the eighteenth century. But, conversely, it did not please Fillan that Troup was spending substantial time with slaves and free blacks and this appears to have been more than a time management question for Fillan. He feared that Troup was transgressing moral and social boundaries by spending so much time in the wrong company. Troup failed to demonstrate his

moral character to his peers by maintaining his distance from non-whites. This was part of the struggle of a world where the reality was day-to-day racial mixing in the island while the power system and the myths of white supremacy were grounded in racial boundaries and binaries. Almost every British man engaged in sexual activity with black women and spent time experiencing African and free black culture but they criticized each other for transgressing these racial and moral boundaries.

Chapter Three looks at the relationship between character, the maintenance of social and professional networks and the practice of medicine on Dominica. Troup was recruited to the island by Dr. Clark, as a medical assistant for Dr. Fillan. Both Clark and Fillan were Troup's employers, but only Fillan was present on the island for much of Troup's stay. The chapter begins by exploring the reasons why white European medical professionals travelled to the Caribbean colonies when the disease environment was such a risk for their personal health. Those arriving in the Caribbean colonies were arriving in a harsh, diseased environment and were suddenly susceptible to endemic, epidemic, and novel diseases, in addition to the exposure of the elements, insects, poisonous plants and animals, accidents, punishment, slave insurrections and warfare. The detailed statistical analysis of white mortality that Burnard has done for Jamaica has not been done for Dominica but high mortality for whites was pervasive in the Caribbean.[369] Chapter Three continues by exploring the medical enlightenment and Troup as a man of this enlightenment who prided himself on being an enlightened man. He believed he was a true empiricist compared to his fellow medical colleagues on Dominica and, therefore, a better physician. It explores how enlightened thinking influenced Troup's medical practice on the island, and ultimately contributed to major differences between him and other medical

[369] Trevor Burnard, "The Countrie Continues Sicklie': White Mortality in Jamaica, 1655-1780," *The Society for the Social History of Medicine* 12, no. 1 (1999): 45-72.

professionals. It continues by looking at why Troup and Dr. Fillan disagreed so vehemently on methods used to practice medicine, and why this hurt Troup's reputation as a medical assistant. Fillan was displeased with the methods and the frequency with which Troup attended to cases, and could no longer trust him as his assistant. Troup's inability to adhere to the medical standards of practice on the island and his conviction that a more empirical practice constituted proper medicine contributed to his failure to establish a good name, or character, for himself while on Dominica and his failure to establish a professional practice.

Chapter Four examines Troup's somewhat competing interests in becoming a renowned scientist. Eighteenth-century medical professionals were commonly trained in botany in addition to medical practice and physiology. Troup was likely to have had lectures on natural history, and he would have likely read more on his own. Although Troup was not hired to Dominica by Dr. Clark to observe and collect the local flora and fauna, he made this a priority for personal reasons. Unlike other contemporary professionals in the Caribbean, such as Thomas Thistlewood, Troup was not praised for his work with plants, animals, or science more generally. The case was the opposite, and Troup's employers, colleagues, and other professional men criticized him for the time he spent studying the natural world. Gathering these natural curiosities helped him self-fashion as an Enlightened man and feed both his curiosity and his ego but it conflicted with what others perceived to be his purpose on the island and so it made him appear lazy. Without proper industry, his character became more tarnished. Troup was unable to form relationships with other professional men on the island because he was more concerned with observing and compiling catalogues of different curiosities he found, or pursued. This chapter also examines what studying the natural world looked like to Troup. It details his time illustrating his observations, recording the meteorological patterns, and corresponding to Sir

Joseph Banks from the Royal Society of London. It addresses larger historiographical issues such as the character of networks in science and of scientists in the eighteenth-century and their impact on the larger project of British imperialism. This chapter concludes by discussing how Troup's keen interest in natural curiosities stopped him from gaining the confidence of the men from whom he needed support. It suggests why Troup had such a difficult time being *both* a medical professional and a scientist while on Dominica and how these competing identities ultimately drove him out of Roseau, Dominica.

Troup's experiences in the society of Dominica in the latter half of the eighteenth century help to exhibit the localized nature of character. New professionals on the island had to prove their character fit into the socially constructed ideals of character on Dominica. Without the conferment of 'good character', a professional on the island could not succeed. This demonstrates the ways in which individuals had to manipulate society to maintain their character, and ultimately, their social position. Character was built by adhering to notions of reputation, honour, and morality and all of these, in the Dominican context, were connected to the maintenance of a white supremacist order and the policing of racial boundaries, even though these boundaries were often transgressed. The characteristics of honour, morality, and reputation were judged by men of importance on the island that included white slave holding men and white professionals. Social networks were essential to the success of white professionals in Dominica. It was a society in which good character and access to significant social networks had a determinative impact on the success of white emigrants such as Troup.

The failure of Troup's career in Dominica was due not just to his seemingly flawed character but also to the methods he used to practice medicine and his keen interest in the study of the natural world. Both medicine and science played a significant role in Troup's life on the

island. These two competing interests, and ultimately, identities challenged Troup. He was unable to balance the needs of his profession and his personal academic interests. This challenge that Troup faced speaks to the need for historians to expand their study of British Caribbean history beyond the bounds of slavery to study non-slave holding men who travelled to the Caribbean in search of financial gain and worldly exploration. Currently, there is an over-simplified image of these men who travelled to the Caribbean, but in reality, and in the literature their identity was continually being recreated based on the island's experience of them and their experience of the island.

By limiting the study of eighteenth-century Dominica to violence, political instability, and economic exploitation, scholars have neglected vital aspects of Dominican settler society. Looking at Dominica through the lens of social networks shows how professional individuals in late eighteenth-century Dominica functioned within a peculiarly local character-based society. The study of social networks allows scholars to ask questions in different ways through the analysis of the connections and relationships between individuals and the impact of those relationships. Troup's journal reveals the importance of good character only by looking at the day-to-day interactions of Troup and other white professionals, and how that fit into the larger picture of Dominica in the eighteenth century.

Ultimately, Troup's journey to a lucrative and dangerous Caribbean island was a failure. He was unable to gain any financial profit, have his own medical practice, or become a prominent scientist. He failed to establish himself within the network of men on the island because he did not prove to them that he was a man of good character. He was a man of bad reputation, no honor, and a lack of morality. Troup did not appear to change over time in his written journal, but rather came onto the island with an air of confidence that could not be

challenged. Troup's accumulation of bad character ultimately resulted in his dismissal from Roseau and forced him to seek new employment. Troup did not construct a lasting impression on the men of the island, and today is known for what his journal reveals of daily medical life and interactions with the enslaved, as opposed to his achievements in science and medicine. About a decade later, he was dead.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Manuscript Sources

Diary, From: Thomas Thistlewood Papers. *Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library*. http://brbl-dl.library.yale.edu/vufind/Record/3472441 (Accessed July 25, 2017).

Martha Ballard's Diary Online. *DoHistory*. http://dohistory.org/diary/ (Accessed July 25, 2017).

The Boswell Collection. *Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library*. http://beinecke.library.yale.edu/collections/highlights/boswell-collection (Accessed July 25, 2017).

Troup, Jonathan. *The Journal of Jonathan Troup, physician, of Aberdeen, Scotland and Dominica, West Indies*. University of Aberdeen Special Collections and Archives, GB 0231, MS2070.

Published Primary Sources

Anderson, P. J. (ed.). *Fasti Academia Mariscallanae Aberdonensis: Officers and Graduates of the University and King's College, Aberdeen, 1495-1860*, vol 11. Aberdeen: Printed for the New Spalding Club, 1889 and 1893.

Anderson, P J. (ed.). *Fasti Academiae Marischallanae Aberdonensis: Selections from the records of the Marischal College and University, 1593–1860*, vol. 11. Aberdeen: Printed for the New Spalding Club, 1898.

Atwood, Thomas. *The History of the Island of Dominica. Containing a Description of Its Situation, Extent, Climate, Mountains, Rivers, Natural Productions, &c. &c. ... By Thomas Atwood*. London: Printed for J. Johnson, 1791.

Collins, Dr. *Practical Rules for the Management and Medical Treatment of Negro Slaves in the Sugar Colonies*. London: Printed by J. Barfield, 1803.

"Dominica from an actual survey compleated in the year 1773. (By Thomas Jefferys). London, printed for Robt. Sayer, Map and Printseller, no. 53 in Fleet Street, as the Act directs, 20 Feby. 1775." Map, *David Rumsey Map Collection*, 1775.

Hippocrates. *On Airs, Water, and Places*. Michigan: University of Michigan Library [Reprints from the collection of the University of Michigan Library], 1881.

Hughes, Griffith. *The Natural History of Barbados. In Ten Books.* London: Printed for the Author, 1750.

Grainger, James. *An Essay on the More Common West-India Diseases; And the Remedies Which That Country Itself Produces: To Which Are Added, Some Hints On The Management, &c. Of Negroes.* Edinburgh: Printed For Mundell & Son, And Longman & Rees, London, 1802.

Munck, William (ed.). *The roll of the Royal College of Physicians of* London. London: Royal College of Physicians, 1878.

University of Edinburgh. *List of the Graduates in Medicine in the University of* Edinburgh. Edinburgh: Printed by Neill & Company, 1867.

Voyages and Estimates from *Voyages: The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database*. www.slavevoyages.org/tast/database/search.faces.

Secondary Sources

Armitage, David and Michael J. Braddick, eds. *The British Atlantic World, 1500–1800*. 2d ed. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.

Ashton, Rosalind and Constance LeBlanc. "The Poisonous Past: Circe, Helvetius, Touéry, and a Brief History of Emergency Decontamination." *Dalhousie Medical Journal* 37 (2010): 29-31.

Bailyn, Bernard and Patricia L. Denault, eds. *Soundings in Atlantic History: Latent Structures and Intellectual Currents, 1500–1800*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2009.

Bailyn, Bernard. *Atlantic History: Concept and Contours.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2005.

Beckles, Hilary and Verene Shepherd, eds. *Caribbean Slave Society and Economy: A Student Reader*. Kingston, Jamaica: Ian Randle Publishers; London: James Currey Publishers, 1991.

Biagioli, Mario. *Galileo, Courtier: The Practice of Science in the Culture of Absolutism*. Science and Its Conceptual Foundations. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993.

Brown Vincent. *The Reaper's Garden: Death and Power in the World of Atlantic Slavery*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2008.

Brown, Wallace. "The Governorship of John Orde, 1783 – 1793: The Loyalist Period in Dominica." *The Journal of Caribbean History* 24 (1990): 146-177.

Burnard, Trevor. "The Countrie Continues Sicklie': White Mortality in Jamaica, 1655-1780." *The Society for the Social History of Medicine* 12 (1999): 45-72.

Burnard, Trevor. *Mastery, Tyranny, and Desire: Thomas Thistlewood and His Slaves in the Anglo-Jamaican World*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 2004.

Chua, Vincent, Medej, Julia and Barry Wellman. "Personal Communities: The World According to Me." In *The SAGE Handbook of Social Network Analysis*, ed. P. Carrington and J. Scott, 101-115. London; Thousand Oaks, Calif.: SAGE Publications, 2011.

Corfield, Penelope J. "The Rivals." In *Land and Society in Britain, 1700-1914: Essays in honour of F.M.L. Thompson*, ed. Negly Harte and Roland Quinault, 1-40. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996.

Cunningham, Andrew and Roger K. French. *The Medical Enlightenment of the Eighteenth Century*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

Cassirer, Ernst. *The Philosophy of the Enlightenment*. Translated by Fritz C. A. Koelln and James P. Pettegrove. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009.

Chambers, Neil. *The Letters of Sir Joseph Banks a Selection, 1768-1820*. London: Imperial College Press; River Edge, NJ: Distributed in the USA by World Scientific Pub, 2000.

Chaplin, Joyce. "Natural Philosophy and an Early Racial Idiom in North America: Comparing English and Indian Bodies." *The William and Mary Quarterly* 54 (1997): 229-252.

Chenoweth, Michael. "The 18th Century Climate of Jamaica: Derived from the Journals of Thomas Thistlewood, 1750-1786." *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 93 (2003): i-153.

De Barros, Juanita, Palmer, Steven and David Wright, eds. *Health and Medicine in the Circum-Caribbean, 1800–1968*. New York: Routledge, 2009.

Devine, T. M. *Scotland's Empire and the Shaping of the Americas, 1600 – 1815*. Washington: Smithsonian Books, 2004.

Dubois, Laurent. *Avengers of the New World: The Story of the Haitian Revolution*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2004.

Dunn, Richard. *Sugar and Slaves: The Rise of the Planter Class in the English West Indies, 1624-1713*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1972.

Eltis, David, Lewis, Frank D. and David Richardson. "Slave Prices, the African Slave Trade, and Productivity in the Caribbean, 1674–1807." *Economic History Review* 58 (2005): 673-700.

"empiricism, n.". OED Online. June 2017. *Oxford University Press*. http://www.oed.com.ezproxy.library.dal.ca/view/Entry/61344?redirectedFrom=empiricism, (Accessed June 18, 2017).

Estes, J. W. "The Practice of Medicine in 18th-Century Massachusetts." *The New England Journal of Medicine* 305 (1981): 1040-1047.

Faust, Katherine and Stanley Wasserman. *Social Network Analysis: Methods and Applications*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

Finn, Margot C. *The Character of Credit: Personal Debt in English Culture, 1740 – 1914*. Cambridge, U.K.; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Fitzpatrick, Martin, Jones, Peter, Knellwolf, Christa and Iain McCalman, eds. *The Enlightenment World*. London, New York: Routledge, 2004.

Frangsmyr, Tore, Heilbron, J. L. and Robin E. Rider. *The Quantifying Spirit in the 18th Century*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990.

Games, Alison. "Atlantic History: Definitions, Challenges, and Opportunities." *American Historical Review* 111.3 (2006): 741-757.

Gay, Peter. *The Enlightenment: An Interpretation; The Rise of Modern Paganism*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1995.

Gay, Peter. *The Enlightenment: The Science of Freedom*. New York and London: Knopf, 1996.

Grell, Francis C. "Politics of Survival and Change in Dominica, 1763-1973: An Interpretation of the Political Life Experience of Dominicans in the Colonial and Post-Colonial Situation" PhD diss., McMaster University, Hamilton, 1976. Retrieved from https://macsphere.mcmaster.ca/handle/11375/6896.

Hamilton, Douglas. *Scotland, the Caribbean and the Atlantic World, 1750 – 1820*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005.

Hancock, David. *Citizens of the World: London Merchants and the Integration of the British Atlantic Community, 1735-1785*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Handler, J. S. "Diseases and Medical Disabilities of Enslaved Barbadians from the Seventeenth Century to Around 1838. Part I." *The West Indian Medical Journal* 57 (2008): 605-20.

"imperialism, n.". OED Online. June 2017. *Oxford University Press*. http://www.oed.com.ezproxy.library.dal.ca/view/Entry/92285?redirectedFrom=imperialism (Accessed June 18, 2017).

Jackson, William A. "A Short Guide to Humoral Medicine." *Trends in Pharmacological Sciences* 22 (2001): 487-489.

Johnson, Lyman L., and Lipsett-Rivera, Sonya. *The Faces of Honor: Sex, Shame, and Violence in Colonial Latin America*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998.

Kant, Immanuel. *What is Enlightenment?* Translated by Mary C. Smith. http://www.columbia.edu/acis/ets/CCREAD/etscc/kant.html (Accessed July 25, 2017).

Karras, Alan. *Sojourners in the Sun: Scottish Migrants in Jamaica and the Chesapeake, 1740-1800*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992.

Kaufman, Matthew H. *Medical Teaching in Edinburgh During the 18th and 19th Centuries*. Edinburgh: Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh, 2003.

Kiple, Kenneth. *The Caribbean Slave: A Biological History*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984.

Kors, Alan. ed. *Encyclopedia of the Enlightenment*. 4 vols. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.

Lambert, David. *White Creole Culture, Politics and Identity During the Age of Abolition*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Langford, Paul. *A Polite and Commercial People: England 1727 – 1783*. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press, 1989.

Langford, Paul. "The Uses of Eighteenth-Century Politeness." *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 12 (2002): 311-331.

Lepore, Jill. "Historians Who Love Too Much: Reflections on Microhistory and Biography." *The Journal of American History* 88 (2001): 129-144.

Lockridge, Kenneth. *On the Sources of Patriarchal Rage: The Commonplace Books of William Byrd and Thomas Jefferson and the Gendering Power in the Eighteenth Century*. New York: New York University Press, 1992.

Lynch, Deidre. *The Economy of Character: Novels, Market Culture, and the Business of Inner Meaning*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998.

Mackay, David. *In the Wake of Cook: Exploration, Science & Empire, 1780-1801.* London: Croom Helm, 1985.

McCusker, John J. "The Economy of the British West Indies, 1763-1790: Growth, Stagnation or Decline." In *Essays in the Economic History of the Atlantic World*, ed. J. McCusker, 204-216. New York: Routledge, 1997.

Miller, William Ian. *Humiliation: And Other Essays on Honor, Social Discomfort, and Violence*. New York: Cornell University Press, 1995.

Mintz, Sidney and Richard Price. *An Anthropological Approach to the Afro-American Past: A Caribbean Perspective*. Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues, 1976.

Mulcahy, Matthew. *Hurricanes and Society in the British Greater Caribbean, 1624–1783*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006.

Muldrew, Craig. "Interpreting the Market: The Ethics of Credit and Community Relations in Early Modern England." *Social History* 18 (1993): 163-83.

Muldrew, Craig. *The Economy of Obligation: The Culture of Credit and Social Relations in Early Modern England*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998.

Mullen, Stephen. "A Glasgow-West India Merchant House and the Imperial Dividend, 1779-1867." *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies* 33 (2013): 196-233.

Murdoch, Steve. *Network North: Scottish Kin, Commercial and Covert Associations in Northern Europe, 1603-1746*. Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2006.

Murphy, Kathleen. "Translating the Vernacular: Indigenous and African Knowledge in the Eighteenth-Century British Atlantic." *Atlantic Studies* 8 (2001): 29-48.

Nash, Linda L. *Inescapable Ecologies: A History Environment, Disease, and Knowledge.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006.

Newman, Brooke N. "Gender, Sexuality, and the Formation of Racial Identities in the Eighteenth-Century Anglo-Caribbean World." *Gender & History* 22 (2010): 585-602.

O'Day, Rosemary. *The Professions in Early Modern England, 1450 – 1800: Servants of the Commonweal*. Harlow: Longman, 2000.

"Origins is now part of the Findmypast Family." *Findmypast*. http://www.findmypast.co.uk/origins-is-now-findmypast. (Accessed July 10, 2017).

Parish, Susan Scott. *American Curiosity: Cultures of Natural History in the Colonial British Atlantic World*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006.

Paugh, Katherine. "Yaws, Syphilis, Sexuality, and the Circulation of Medical Knowledge in the British Caribbean and the Atlantic World." *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 88 (2014): 225-252.

Petley, Christer. ""Home" and "this country": Britishness and Creole Identity in the Letters of a Transatlantic Slaveholder." *Atlantic Studies* 6 (2009): 43-61.

Porter, Roy. "Was There a Medical Enlightenment in Eighteenth-Century England?" *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 5 (1982): 49-63.

"Record View." *Archives and Manuscripts - Special Collections - University of Aberdeen*. http://calms.abdn.ac.uk/DServe/dserve.exe?dsqServer=Calms&dsqIni=Dserve.ini&dsqApp=Archive&dsqCmd=Show.tcl&dsqDb=Catalog&dsqPos=0&dsqSearch=%28RefNo%3D%27ms 2070%27%29 (Accessed June 2017).

Roberts, Justin. *Slavery and the Enlightenment in the British Atlantic, 1750 – 1807*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

Sairio, Anni and Minna Nevala. “Social Dimensions of Layout in Eighteenth-Century Letters and Letter-Writing Manuals.” *Varieng: Studies in Variation, Contacts and Change in English*. http://www.helsinki.fi/varieng/series/volumes/14/sairio_nevala/ (Accessed June 2017).

Schiebinger, Londa L. *Plants and Empire: Colonial Bioprospecting in the Atlantic World*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2004.

School of Medicine: Historical development, 1765 – 1800. *Penn University Archives and Records Center*. http://www.archives.upenn.edu/histy/features/1700s/medsch.html (Accessed June 2017).

Shapin, Steven. “The Invisible Technician.” *American Scientist* 77 (1989): 554-63.

Shapin, Steven. *A Social History of Truth: Civility and Science in Seventeenth-Century England*. Chicago: University of Chicago, Press, 1994.

Sheridan, Richard. *Doctors and Slaves: A Medical and Demographic History of Slavery in the British West Indies, 1680 – 1834*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985.

Stone, Lawrence. *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England, 1500-1800*. New York: Harper & Row, 1977.

Swan, Claire. “A Life of Debauchery, Vice and Drunkenness’: The Journal of Jonathan Troup, or Two Years in the West Indies.” *Scottish Archives* 12 (2006): 28-41.

The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica. “Jardin des Plantes.” *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. https://www.britannica.com/place/Jardin-des-Plantes (Accessed June 2017).

Thornton, Amanda. “Coerced Care: Thomas Thistlewood's Account of Medical Practice on Enslaved Populations in Colonial Jamaica, 1751–1786.” *Slavery & Abolition* 32 (2011): 535-559.

Undurraga, Verónica. “Honor”. In *Oxford Bibliographies* in Atlantic History. http://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780199730414/obo-9780199730414-0247.xml (Accessed July 25, 2017).

Vera, Eugenia Roldan and Thomas Schupp. “Network Analysis in Comparative Social Sciences.” *Comparative Education* 42 (2006): 405- 429.

Ward, Richard. *Print Culture, Crime and Justice in 18th-Century London*. London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2014.

Watson, Karl. *The Civilised Island, Barbados: A Social History, 1750 – 1816.* Ellerton, Barbados: Caribbean Graphic Production, 1979.

Wyatt-Brown Bertram. *Southern Honor: Ethics and Behavior in the Old South*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1982.

Yolton, John, Rogers, Pat, Porter, Roy and Barbara Stafford, eds. *The Blackwell Companion to the Enlightenment*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1991.

Zahedieh, Nuala. *The Capital and the Colonies: London and the Atlantic Economy 1660-1700*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.