

FUENTES DOCUMENTALES EN INGLATERRA TOCANTES
A LA HISTORIA DE CANARIAS

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A. Introduction

The availability in England of documentary sources concerning the history of the Canary Islands is a reflection of England's role as one of the world's major maritime nations from the sixteenth century onwards, and the position of the islands at the crossroads of three continents: Europe, America and Africa. For Spain, and for Spanish historians, the commercial and strategic importance of the Canary Islands is identified primarily by their function as a staging post for shipping undertaking the hazardous crossing from the peninsula to America. Christopher Columbus established this as the safest and most sensible route to the New World, and for more than three centuries thereafter the vast majority of Spanish vessels undertaking the outward journey put in at the island ports, notably Santa Cruz de Tenerife, to take on fresh water and foodstuffs, to undertake repairs, and to seek shelter from storms and the hostile attentions of corsairs, privateers and naval vessels of other European powers. The English came to the waters around the Canaries both as predators - not always successfully as Rear-Admiral Horatio Nelson discovered in July 1797, when he lost his arm - but also as traders. In the sixteenth century they brought cloth - notably the highly-prized *pañós de Londres* - and took away sugar¹. By the seventeenth century, when Canarian sugar was incapable of competing with that of the West Indies, the emphasis had shifted to wine, and the choice *malvasia*, or «malmsey» of Tenerife occupied a dominant place in the London market². Despite competition from the Portuguese islands, notably Madeira, wine exports to England continued to grow in the course of the century, and the return flow brought an increasing number of English merchants to the islands as

1. See FELIPE FERNÁNDEZ-ARMESTO, *The Canary Islands after the Conquest* (Oxford, 1982), pp. 158-60, 168-9.

2. See GEORGE F. STECKLEY, «The wine economy of Tenerife in the seventeenth century: Anglo-Spanish partnership in a luxury trade», *Economic History Review*, XXIII, 1980, pp. 335-350.

residents: 158 have been identified for the period 1600 - 1730, some in Gran Canaria and Palma, but the majority in Tenerife. By 1694-5 the 15 leading English merchants in Puerto de la Cruz, the busiest of the Canarian ports, handled 75 per cent of imports, with cloth accounting for 60 per cent of the totals³. The English colony abandoned Puerto de la Cruz de 1704, during the War of the Spanish Succession, to be replaced by Frenchmen and other Europeans. By the 1730s the trade had been partially re-established, but the wine economy was not to return to the prosperity of the seventeenth century, even after easier access was provided to the American market in the period after 1765.

In the second half of the eighteenth century and in the first half of the nineteenth the Canaries were more important to England as the provider of foodstuffs for vessels engaged in long voyages, and as a means of penetrating the lucrative trade with Spanish America than as a major consumer of British goods or a major supplier of the English market. As wine production was curtailed by vine diseases in the early nineteenth century, cochineal, in demand for the dyeing of cloth, provided a temporary respite, until this product, too, was hit by the development of chemical dyes in Germany in the 1870s. It was at this low point in the economic fortunes of the Islands that their geographical proximity to the natural route between England and West Africa again became of major importance - the famous German explorer, Alexander von Humboldt, had considered them, indeed, to be part of Africa, writing to his brother from Tenerife on 23 June 1799:

«I am really quite ecstatic at finding myself on African soil at last, surrounded by coconut palms and bananas»⁴.

For hundreds of years ships had always called at either the Canary Islands or Madeira on their way home to Europe from Africa, primarily to take on water and provisions: With the rapid expansion of trade from England, mainly through the port of Liverpool, to West Africa in the latter part of the nineteenth century, the small-scale purchase of local products - lemons, wine, bananas - by ships crews gave way in the 1880s to first trial shipments of bananas to Liverpool, and then to considerable English investment by Elder Dempster and Fyffes, in both banana production and shipping and marketing. Alfred Jones

3. *Ibid.*, 346.

4. DOUGLAS BOTTING, *Humboldt and the Cosmos* (London, 1973).

of Elder Dempster began his long association with the Islands in 1884, when he established his Grand Canary Coaling Station at Puerto de la Luz, and he went on, of course, to form the Interinsula Steamship Company, and establish a large marine engineering workshop, a cold-storage plant, two hotels, and a patent slip at la Luz. By the end of the century, the value of exports - mainly bananas and tomatoes - from the Canaries to the United Kingdom had soared from under £100,000 a year in the 1880s to over £1,000,000; in 1919-20 it had reached over £4,000,000. After wartime interruptions, agricultural exports revived in the 1950s, until eclipsed by tourism as the major link between the Canaries and Britain.

The documentation available in English archives for the history of the Canaries reflects this long and changing association over almost five centuries. For ease of analysis and comprehension, the paper will be structured according to the nature and location of documentation, rather than on a chronological basis. The obvious archive with which to begin is the *Public Record Office*.

B. *Public Record Office*⁵, Ruskin Avenue, Kew, Richmond, Surrey TW9 4DV This repository consists essentially of the national archives, and its existence dates from an Act of Parliament of 1838 which provided for the bringing together of all Public Records derived from (a) the King's Court and the various branches through which it discharged its administrative, financial and judicial functions and (b) State Papers from the accession of Henry VIII onwards, together with records of the Admiralty and other government departments of later origin. It is from the second source that documents relating to the Canaries are likely to derive, although as the Office contains many millions of records, it is possible to give only general guidance in this paper. The documents relating to each department are divided into classes, and the class lists, some of which have indexes and others 'calendars', containing extracts, are available for consultation in the search room. The most important sections are:

State Papers Office. This contains the State Papers, domestic and foreign from 1509 to 1782, when the Home and Foreign Offices were established. For the early period, see *Calendar of State Papers Spanish 1485-1586* (16 vols, 1862-1896), which contains many references to the Canaries. The sub-division *State Papers Foreign*, consisting of the general correspondence from ambassadors and others abroad, with miscellaneous letters and

5. See *Guide to the contents of the Public Record Office* (3 vols., London, 1963-8).

papers, contains no less than 255 volumes relating to Spain (reference S.P. 94) for the period 1577-1780. There are also likely to be references to the Canaries in the small class *Portugal* (reference S.P. 89), containing 92 volumes. In each case reference should be made to the detailed registers available on open shelves in the search room.

Foreign Office

The records of this department, established in 1782, form a continuous series with the State Papers, Foreign, although a certain degree of overlapping does occur.

The principal classes relevant for the Canaries are

- (i) *General Correspondence* of the Foreign Office:
consisting of original dispatches and reports from British diplomatic and consular representatives abroad, of correspondence with foreign missions in England, of miscellaneous correspondence with individuals, and of drafts or copies of letters sent from the Office.
See *Spain* (F.O. 72), 1781 to 1905, 2,234 volumes, again accessible via detailed registers available in the Office.
For the period after 1906, all foreign office materials are classified under subject headings - e.g. *Commercial* (F.O. 368), 1906-1919, 2269 volumes; *Consular* (F.O. 369), 1906-1933, 2340 volumes - and detailed annual indexes provide references to countries and subject headings.
- (ii) *Embassy and Consular Archives*:
comprising the archives of British diplomatic missions and consular establishments overseas, arranged in alphabetical order of countries. They are generally classified as (a) correspondence; (b) letter books (entry books of out-letters and, less frequently, of in-letters); (c) registers of correspondence (sometimes including indexes, registers of passports, etc.); and (d) miscellanea (the contents being summarised in each case). The Embassy and Consular Archives are complementary to the Foreign Office General Correspondence, containing original letters from the Foreign Office and drafts of dispatches from the envoys abroad.

References to the Canaries will be found in the indexes to the following:

Spain

Correspondence (F.O. 185). 1783 to 1923. 1,743 volumes, etc.

Letter Books (F.O. 186). 1784 to 1861. 23 volumes.

Registers of Correspondence (F.O. 187). 1810 to 1924. 58 volumes.

Miscellanea (F.O. 227). 1704 to 1906. 17 volumes.

Correspondence respecting maritime jurisdiction in Gibraltar waters, extraordinary and other disbursements, shipping cases, claims against the Spanish Government, commercial negotiation, etc.

The considerable increase in British commercial activity from the last quarter of the nineteenth century is reflected in the composition of 12 further volumes relating specifically to the Canary Islands:

SPAIN

CONSULATES

Canary Islands (F. O. 772). 1764-1770; 1832 to 1931. 12 volumes.

These comprise an entry-book for the Orotava Consulate, 1878 to 1950 and 11 volumes relating to the Tenerife consulate: an entry book of out-letters 1764-1770, 2 volumes for 1832 to 1842; 2 indexes of correspondence for 1850 to 1931, and 7 registers of correspondence for 1879 to 1931.

Further sections which are likely to yield references to the Canaries are:

High Court of Admiralty, which had cognisance of all cases affecting piracy, privateering, ships and merchandise on the high seas and overseas (a typescript list is available in the office).

Admiralty, which contains the records of the Royal Navy from 1660 (see *P.R.O. Lists and Indexes XVIII*, 1904, and *P.R.O. Lists and Indexes Supplementary VI : Lists of Admiralty Records to 1913*, 2 vols, reprint 1966-7, plus typescript lists.

Board of Customs and Excise: the surviving records of the national customs system (two typescript lists available)
and

Board of Trade

Original Correspondence (C.O. 388). 1654 to 1792. 95 volumes, etc. Papers relating to foreign and domestic trade, accounts and establishments, claims for losses inflicted by the Spaniards, etc. Refe-

rences to the papers will be found in the general registers of the Board (C.O. 326) under the headings 'Trades' and 'Miscellanies'.

C. *The British Library, Department of Manuscripts*⁶, Great Russell St, London The Department of Manuscripts of The British Library (often referred to by its former name of The British Museum) has been collecting material by means of purchases, donations, and bequests since its foundation in 1753. It now possesses valuable documents on most topics and periods including a considerable number of interest for the history of the Canaries. The printed catalogues cover accessions up to 1945 (see T.C. Skeat, *The catalogues of manuscript collections in the British Museum*, 2nd ed, 1962), and card indexes in the Students' Room describe later acquisitions.

The principal sets of documents containing material on the Canaries are as follows, the individual items being arranged in chronological order.

Sloane Manuscripts

The collection of Sir Hans Sloane (1660-1753), purchased in 1753 by the Act of Parliament which established the British Museum as their repository. They are numbered 1 - 4100.

Correspondence of Viscount Falkland chiefly relating to Ireland and to the Canary Islands 1610-32, including (ff.204-49b) Spanish papers relating to the Canary Islands, 1610-24. (Sloane 3827.)

Journals by John Smith of voyages to the Canaries, Smyrna, Venice, & C 1664-9. (Sloane 1700.)

Log of a voyage from Madeira to Canary, and thence to England. 1679-80. (Sloane 1487, ff. 65-103b.)

Journal of a voyage to the Canaries and back. 1681-2. (Sloane 2504, ff. 174-93b.)

List of trees and seeds from the Canary Islands, by T Simmons. 1694. (Sloane 3328, ff. 88, 90.)

Journal of voyages to the Canaries under Captain W. Baker. 1700 and 1701. (Sloane 3237, ff. 14-26b, 30-38b.)

6. The documentary references in this section are taken from: PAASCUAL DE GAYANGOS, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Spanish Language in the British Museum* (4 vols., London, 1875-93).

N. MATTHEWS and M. DOREEN WAINWRIGHT, *A Guide to Manuscripts and Documents in the British Isles relating to Africa* (ed. J. D. Pearson) (London, 1971).

N. MATTHEWS and M. DOREEN WAINWRIGHT, *A Guide to Manuscripts and Documents in the British Isles relating to the Middle East and North Africa* (London, 1980).

Additional Manuscripts

This is the largest and most varied of the British Library's collections, and embraces the material other than specific collections acquired since 1753. Its enumeration runs from 4001, following that of the Sloane Manuscripts, and has so far reached 62,450 (June 1982).

Chart of the Mediterranean and the Black Sea, with a portion of the Atlantic, from the British Islands in the North to the Canaries in the South; the coast-lines, and the names of the principal towns. By Jaume Oliuer, a native of Mallorca; at Messina, 1559; with coloured figures of the Virgin and Child; the «Soldan» of Babilonia, & c., representations of animals and armorial shields.

Vellum roll, xvi. cent. (Add. 21029).

Glossary of Arabic words, with philological notes and extracts, relating chiefly to the languages of North Africa and the Canary Islands, by George Cecil Renouard, English chaplain at Smyrna; with a few private accounts, & c. c. 1810-14 (Add. 27619).

«Henriquez Verdadera Fortuna De Las Canarias, 1714.»

«Verdadera noticia de Las Canarias, y Breve noticia de la milagrosa imagen de Nuestra Señora del Pino de Gran-Canaria. Dedicada a la misma Reina de Cielos y tierra en todos instantes de su Concepcion Purissima y siempre inmaculada el R P Fr. Diego Henriquez minorita, hijo de la Provincia de Sant Diego de Canaria lector jubilado exdefinidor y calificador del S. Oficio de la Inquisicion de estas Islas y examinador synodal deste obispado.»

The original work prepared for the press, and preceded by the ordinary 'aprobaciones' of Fray Thomas de Castro, Fray Domingo Mireles, Doctor Don Joseph Benito de Loretto, Pedro Cabera de la Mota. Apostolical Notary of the Canary Islands, Juan Vicentelo, Alexandro Gonzalez de Barcia, and Agustin de Torres Zavala; all of which bear the date of 1714, though the work seems to have been dedicated on the 15th August, 1725, to Alexandro Gonzalez de Barcia, of the Royal Audiencia of the Canary Islands. (Add. 25326).

«Semi-Historia De La Fundaciones, Residencias O Colegios Que Tiene La Compania de Jesus en Las Islas Canarias: Origen,

Progresos y estado presente de ellas. Con una breve descripción de aquellas siete islas, un resumen de su conquista y algunos problemas concernientes a ellas, singularmente a la famosa (isla encantada o de San Borondon.»

The original manuscript written shortly after 1740 by Father Mathias Sanchez, a Jesuit. It is preceded by laudatory verses from Father Rafael de Cordova and Brother Alonso de la Pena. (Add. 25090). ff. 221.

Collections of papers of the Board of Trade, including:

Report of trade to Africa and the settlements there; the African trade; a case against the Governor of Senegal; memoirs of the Canaries, sent to Lord Shelburne. 1776-82 (Add. 14034).

Royal Manuscripts

The collection of successive sovereigns of England from Edward IV, transferred to the British Museum by George II in 1757.

Letter from Queen Elizabeth I to Philip II of Spain on behalf of the agents of Anthony Hickman, merchant, in the Canary Islands, 1561. Latin copy. (Royal 13 B. I, f. 144b.)

Lansdowne Manuscripts

The collection of William Petty, 1st Marquess of Lansdowne (1737-1805), purchased from his executors in 1807.

Short history of the Canary Islands. 17th cent. (Lansdowne 792/4, f. 97).

Egerton Manuscripts

A collection built around the manuscripts bequeathed to the British Museum in 1824 by Francis Henry Egerton, 8th Earl of Bridgewater (1756-1829).

'Le Canarien': a history of the conquest of the Canary Islands by 'Gadifer de la Sale et Jehan de Bethencourt, Chevaliers, nez du royaume de France' in 1402-4, written by 'Frere Pierre Boutier, Moyne de Saint Jonyn de Marnes, et Monsieur Jehan le Verrier, prebstres, chappellains et seruiteurs des chevaliers desus nommes'. This manuscript probably represents the work

in its original form: the text differs widely from that of the printed editions. 36 ff. (Eg. 2709.)

Portolano executed in Italy about 1540, including maps of the Atlantic Ocean with the East coast of America and all Africa (ff. 4b, 5), the Indian Ocean (ff. 5b, 6), the coasts of Spain, and part of Africa including the Canary Islands (ff. 7b, 8), with a general chart of the world (ff. 13b, 14) and a hemispheric map of the old world (ff. 14b, 15). (Eg. 2854.)

Portolano made about 1562 with the names in Spanish, including maps of the South Atlantic from the Canary Islands to Tristan de Cunha (ff. 4b, 5), and South Africa from Tiera Negada (Gold Coast) to Strecho de Meca (Straits of Perim) with many islands of the Indian Ocean (ff. 8b, 9). (Eg. 2860.)

«Papeles y Consultas. Del Consejo De La Inquisición» (1565-1718). Tom VII; relating principally to proceedings by the Inquisition of La Gran Canaria (one of the Canary Islands) against foreigners, as follows:

1. Proceedings against John Sanders, an Englishman, charged with profaning a sacred image; Feb. 1565. f. 2
2. Proceedings against Bartholomew Cowel, merchant of Barnstaple; Dec. 1593, with a letter of the Inquisitor of Canaria (Dn. Claudio de la Cueva) to the Council, about the confessions made by Cowel, here called Coello. f. 26
3. Proceedings against Duarte (Edward) Monox, captain of an English trading vessel; June-Sept. 1604. f. 52
4. Proceedings against Miguel Hernandez, a Portuguese sailor, born at San Juan del Puerto in the Algarve, but having his residence at Porchimua (Portsmouth) in England, 1608-9. f. 64
5. Proceedings against Gaspar Claysen, alias Gaspar Nicolas, a Fleming; April, 1611 - Jan 1612. f. 125
6. Proceedings against Juan Tanal or Tanar (John Tanner?), English merchant residing in the island of Teneriffe; Oct, Nov 1624. f. 159
7. «Testimonios de quatro processos contra Henrique Ysan, mercader ingles que reside en lo ysla de Tenerife;» with various other papers and orders respecting the prosecution of English residents in the Canary Islands, 1626-1627. f. 182
8. Proceedings against Edmund Smith, English consul in the islands of Teneriffe; 1699-1700. f. 247
9. Proceedings against Don Juan de (la) Camara, alias Don Ignacio

- Piña, a Portuguese, equerry to the English ambassador at Madrid; Feb-Dec 1718. f. 490
10. Original letter of Cardinal Giulio Alberoni, minister of Philip V to the Inquisitor D Jacinto de Arana (y Cuesta), directing him not to make further search for the person of D. Juan de la Camara who had fled from Madrid; dat. Balsayn, 4 Oct 1718. f. 530
 11. Copy of the answer made by Don Jacinto de Arana y Cuesta to the above; Madrid, 6 Oct 1718, with letter of the president of Castille (D. Luis de Mirabal y Spinola) to him, and report made to the Council on the case of Don Juan de la Camara; holog. f. 532
 12. Original note of the President of the Council of Castille (Don Luis de Mirabal) to D. Jacinto de Arana y Cuesta; dat. Madrid, 9 Oct 1718; and report of the latter on the orders received at various times from the king respecting the prisoner Don Juan de la Camara (see above No 10). f. 534 (Eg. 1512) ff. 536.

«Milagro En Tenerife, 1648;» depositions relative to a miraculous image in the Canary Islands.

«Expediente formado a instancias del capitan de fragata Don Ignacio Pacheco Solis en 22 de Diciembre de 1761, de las diligencias autuadas para comprobar el milagro acaecido el año de 1648, en que una imagen de San Juan pintada al olio y colocada en el altar de una capilla en la Iglesia de Nuestra Señora de la Concepción, del patronato de su familia, sudo copiosamente por mas de 40 días;» orig. (Eg. 466) ff. 38

*D. Miscellaneous Record Offices and Libraries*⁷. The manuscript holdings of the British Library relating to the Canary Islands are rich and varied; those of the equivalent institutions in Scotland and Wales are virtually non-existent, but two items of some interest have been located:

Scottish Record Office, H M General Register House, Edinburgh Polwarth Muniments.

Letter (copy) John Crosse, Consul in Tenerife to the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations discussing in detail British trade with the Canary Islands including references to West Indian trade, 28 Dec 1718. (Transcript: H M C 67 II, 9-16.)

7. Sources as for section C. and P. WALNE (ed) *A Guide to Manuscript Sources for the History of Latin America and the Caribbean in the British Isles* (London, 1973).

National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth

Lists of the hand of Thomas Pennant (1726-98), naturalist, traveller and writer, of the flora of Barbary, Senegal, Ethiopia, the Canary Islands, Madeira and the Azores. Latin, English. 18th century. (MS. 2552.)

Somewhat more important are two County Record Offices and three further provincial collections in England, which contain individual items relating to the Canaries from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century:

County Record Office, County Hall, Ipswich

Long Papers.

Letter Book, William Commyns, Tenerife, including references to trade in cloth with Africa and West Indies 1788 - 91 (S1/13/3.3).

County Record Office, County Hall, Beverley

'The Adventures of Cousin Charlie in the islands of Teneriffe, Grand Canary and Madeira' with illustrations, photographs and poems. April 1878. (75/24.)

City of Liverpool Public Libraries, Liverpool

Papers of the Norris family of Speke Hall, including:

Letter from John Hopwood to his brother-in-law Richard Norris, a prominent merchant, about a trading voyage to the Canary Islands. 11 July 1693. (920 NOR 41.)

The Prior's Kitchen, The College, Durham

Grey of Howick Papers (NRA 6228)

I. Papers of Charles, 2nd Earl Grey, Prime Minister, 1830-4.
Section C : Subject Files

Canary Islands

1. Memorandum of information from Captain Brown sent to search the Canaries. December 1805.
2. Scheme of an attack on the Canaries. n.d.

William Salt Library, Eastgate St, Stafford

Dartmouth Papers, 1659-1830

(The 2nd Earl of Dartmouth, 1731-1802, held various high offices, including President of the Board of Trade, 1772-5).

Copy letter from Consul Magra to Earl of Rocheford concerning imports from various countries to the Canary Islands, and the state of British trade there. 10 September 1773. (D. 1778 V, 294).

The Commyns and Norris documents, cited above, are from the collections of merchant families whose trading activities included the Canaries but were concentrated elsewhere: the Norris family, for example, had important interests in the Caribbean, notably Barbados and Antigua; the items in the Grey and Dartmouth collections are simply stray manuscripts, albeit of considerable interest, in the general papers of great men in public life.

The many Bills, Committee and Commission reports laid before the Houses of Parliament since 1801 may be consulted in *Parliamentary Papers* (1801 →). But the *House of Lords Record Office* (Westminster, London SW1) contains a wide collection of papers for the preceding period. Two items relevant to the Canaries are:

1702

- 12 February Abstract of the Inspector General's accounts of imports and exports, from Michaelmas 1696 to Christmas 1699, includes Africa, Canaries, Madeiras, Straits, Turkey. (H.M.C.N.S. IV, pp. 434, 436.)

1707

- 19 November Trade (Privateers in the West Indies, & C.) Annex C, Report of the Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, includes a report on trade with the Canaries, and another on proposals for the carrying out of trade with Turkey through Germany, exports of the Turkey Company, & C. (H.M.C.N.S. VII, pp. 235-8).

The reference to «H.M.C.» which follows the citations of various documents mentioned above indicates that transcripts of them have been published by the *Historical Manuscripts Commission* (Quality House, Quality Court, Chancery Lane, London).

Two further items, both dating from 1599, in private hands may be consulted in a printed report of the Commission:

H.M.C. Vol 9

1. George Hanger to Sir Robert Cecil about the imprisonment of Thomas Brough in the Canaries. (Before 25 March) 1599. 1 p. (911).
2. Sir Thomas Leighton in Guernsey to Sir Robert Cecil about the capture of the Canaries by the Dutch fleet. 27 July 1599. (71.88).
3. Richard Tomson to Sir Robert Cecil referring to same. 15 August 1599. (179.78).

British Museum (Natural History) Cromwell Road, London, SW7

The six libraries in the Natural History Museum - (General, Botany, Entomology, Mineralogy, Palaeontology and Zoology) - contain a considerable amount of uncatalogued material, and a card index of recent accessions. Two sets of papers relevant to the Canaries are:

Letters and papers written by Sir Charles Lyell, J Y Johnson, S B Woodward and Don Maffeotti, relating to Madeira and the Grand Canary. c. 1855. (Palaeontology).

and

Two note-books by Hugh Scott (1885-1960), F.R.S., containing journal and notes written during holidays to the Canary Islands in 1955 and 1959. (General).

E. *Business Archives*⁸

Many of the documents referred to above concern the activities of English merchants in the Canary Islands. It is very difficult, however, for the researcher to locate in England systematic business records of individual traders or companies for the period before the nineteenth century. The reasons are twofold : the general explanation is that notarial records, which in the cases of the Canaries and the Hispanic world generally have proved during recent decades to be such valuable sources for the history of the Early Modern period, are not normally encountered in English archives; the second, more specific, reason is that the records of many companies engaged in the West African slave trade - and whose ships regarded the Canaries as a staging post

⁸. I am indebted for information regarding this section of the paper to Dr. P. N. Davies, Cmar, Croft Drive, Caldy, Wirral, Merseyside, L48 2JN, England.

in this wider enterprise - were often scanty to begin with, and where they were kept, were subsequently destroyed during the early nineteenth century as part of the process of purging the nation's collective guilt at having permitted the slave trade.

The position is somewhat better for the period since the 1880s, when the Canaries' role as the provider of bunkering facilities for British companies trading with West Africa was transformed by (a) the improvement of port facilities and urban development at El Puerto de la Luz, and (b) the development of banana and tomato production mainly in Tenerife for the English market. To a considerable extent the principal developments of this period are already well known because of the availability of a number of valuable, contemporary published accounts - O M Stone, *Teneriffe and its six satellites : the Canary Isles past and present*, which was published regularly from 1884 to 1930; Osbert Ward, *The Vale of Orotava* (1903), A Samler Brown, *Guide to the Canaries* (1895), and the same author's *Report on the social and economical condition of the Canary Islands* (1892).

Two recent monographs by Dr P N Davies of the University of Liverpool should also be consulted: *Sir Alfred Jones: shipping entrepreneur par excellence* (London, 1978) and *The trade makers : Elder Dempster in West Africa 1852-1972* (London, 1973), deal respectively with the far-sighting individual who was personally responsible for the development of El Puerto de la Luz from 1884, and with the major Liverpool shipping company which he built up. The same author is preparing an authoritative study of Fyffe's, the London based company which as Fyffe, Hudson also began in this period to import bananas from the Canaries.

(For further information on actual production, purchasing and loading of bananas for Elder Dempster, see A H Stockley, *Consciousness of effort : the romance of the banana*, 1937, written by the man sent out to Las Palmas in 1888 to oversee the whole operation).

Fyffes archive has documentary material on the Canaries for the period after 1900. It is currently being catalogued by Dr P N Davies, to whom all enquiries should be addressed.

Ocean Transport and Trading, India Buildings, Liverpool: the Elder Dempster archives, which contain a small amount of primary material on the Canaries, are now owned by this major Liverpool company. Again, enquiries should be directed to Dr Davies.

Yeoward Brothers, Old Hall St, Liverpool: this smaller Liverpool company, one of whose representatives is commemorated in the name

of the only British school in the Canaries, also operated its own ships in the Canaries trade. Its papers contain some useful material, and again Dr Davies should be contacted if access is required.

It must be emphasized that there is no automatic right of access to business archives outside public archive collections, but firms are usually willing to grant access subject to certain conditions to accredited researchers.

More general information about business archives is available from the *Business Archives Council* (Dominion House, 37-45 Tooley St, London Bridge, London S.E.1, which preserves historical business records, keeps a register of business archives, and has an extensive library of business history. The Council has sponsored a survey of shipping records - P Mathias and A W H Pearsall (eds), *Shipping : a survey of historical records* (1971) - which provides useful information.

One unrelated source which may be of some interest is:

The Post Office, Post Office Records, Headquarters Building, St Martins - le - Grand, London EC1.

Canary Islands

Mail services, 1912 (Post 29/1128, 1129).

F. *British Library : Newspaper Library*, Colindale Avenue, Colindale, London NW9 5HE

Formerly the newspaper library of the British Museum, the British Library Newspaper Library at Colindale holds the national reference collection of newspapers, except for those published in London before 1800, which are held at the British Library Reference Division in Great Russell St, London. Newspapers are not documentary sources, of course, and thus strictly speaking do not fall within the scope of this paper. But it is important to draw attention to their importance as sources for the history of the Canaries, particularly for the period since the late 19th century, when British shipping and commercial interests promoted a rapid development of the islands' agricultural economy. Local and fruit trade journals are of particular importance in this context : Dr Peter Davies, who, as noted above, is preparing a major monograph on the history of *Fyffes* has kindly supplied, by way of an example, a list of such journals, available at Colindale, containing valuable information on the banana importing activities of this leading fruit company:

Covent Garden Gazette & Market Record, 1886
The Horticultural Times, 1886
The Liverpool Courier, 1890
The Fruit Grower, Fruiterer, Florist and Market Gardener, 1896,
1897, 1898, 1901.
Journal of Commerce, 1901, *The Fruit Trade News*, 1901
The Syren & Shipping, 1904
The Fruit Trade Mail, 1906
The Surrey Mirror & County Post, 1907
Bideford & North Devon Weenly Gazette, 1925
Stroud News & Gloucester County Advertiser, 1935
The Stroud Journal, 1935
Diario de Las Palmas, 1929
Fruit, Flower & Vegetable Traders' Journal, 1961