

Slavery, Geography and Empire in Nineteenth-Century Marine Landscapes of Montreal and Jamaica

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To Mom (Barbara Elaine Nelson)
and Dad (Maxwell Barrington Nelson)
with love, respect, and gratitude

6 Imaging slavery in Antigua and Jamaica

Pro-slavery discourse and the reality of enslavement

William Clark's Antigua

The dedication in James Hakewill's *A Picturesque Tour of the Island of Jamaica, from drawings made in the Years 1820 and 1821* (1825) boldly announced his colonial allegiances,

To the Noblemen and Gentlemen, proprietors of Estates in the West Indies; to the resident gentlemen, (from many of whom the Author received so much kindness); and to the merchants of the United Kingdom, connected with those valuable colonies; this picturesque tour of the island of Jamaica is respectfully dedicated, by their most obedient, and very humble servant, James Hakewill.¹

Whereas earlier traditions of mapmaking and landscape, like Seller's atlas discussed in detail above (Chapter 5), bore dedications to aristocracy in recognition of those who provided both funding and sanction, Hakewill's book made a more intimate, territorially specific acknowledgement to those who facilitated his Jamaican sojourn and the book's creation, and to the merchants back in Britain, the intended audience.² Although he did not include a list of subscribers, B.W. Higman has noted that the fact that several of the plantations, which Hakewill depicted were owned by aristocratic families and Members of British Parliament, demonstrates Hakewill's desire to ensure sales amongst both groups.³ The dedication hinged upon the connection of slavery with proprietorship, elevating its status as a noble enterprise, and the status of these men by virtue of their birth and relationship to the colonies; their ownership of plantations on which slave labour was seen as a necessary supplement.

Hakewill's Jamaican book was not his first endeavour with travel books. Indeed, the artist, draughtsman, and architect had previously published *Views of the Neighbourhood of Windsor. . .* (1813)⁴ and *A Picturesque Tour of Italy, from drawings made in 1816–17* (1820).⁵ Hakewill's Jamaican work was initially published as seven folios, each with three plates. The final folio which he published in 1825 also contained a title and dedication pages, an introduction, and a historical sketch of the island with a list of the author's preferred order for the plates and a further list of the over 200 Jamaican views which he had created between 1820 and 1821.⁶ While the majority of the views which he created during his Jamaican sojourn are at present undiscovered or lost,⁷ Hakewill's

extant Italian sketchbooks – full of extensive notes and drawings – reveal the nature of his artistic process which entailed careful preparation in his close observation and rendering of sites prior to his selection of a certain focus or vantage point which ended up in the finished print.⁸ The Italian book, dedicated to the Right Honourable Lord Dunstanville, well prepared him for his Jamaican enterprise, since it included 63 plates also derived from on-the-spot drawings.⁹ But within the saturated realm of Italian tourist literature, his claim of distinction in the Italian context (his specialized focus on architecture) could not be extended to Jamaica since, in the European belief, the island still lacked a wide variety of comparably noteworthy buildings or ruins. Oddly then for the architect, only one of his Jamaican prints focused on the plantation Big/Great House, *Bryan Castle Great House, Trelawny*.¹⁰

The majority of Hakewill's landscapes represented some aspects of what Benítez-Rojo has called *la flota* or the fleet system, a part of the Caribbean machine.¹¹ However, as stated above, Hakewill did not invent this colonial landscape tradition, but inherited one already commenced by men like Seller and Beckford. Although his contemporary William Clark's *Ten Views in the Island of Antigua . . .* (1823) occupied the same politically tenuous space as the Hakewill book – between the British abolition of the slave trade (1807) and full abolition (1833) – the focus of Clark's images is explicitly upon the representation of the *labouring* bodies of enslaved blacks. Indeed, unlike Hakewill, Clark's prints are decidedly genre studies and not landscapes. A part of this artistic distinction and how it manifested in the obfuscation (Hakewill) or focus (Clark) upon the labour of enslaved Africans surely had to do with the different paths that each man took in travelling to the British Caribbean, their motivations for creating these illustrated books, their class statuses, local affiliations, and labour.

Clark, as an overseer on the sugar plantations of Admiral Tallemach (as his extended title proclaims), occupied a white middle class that still relied (at least in part) upon physical labour for economic survival. Hakewill, as a professional architect, may have also been considered middle class, but of another sort for which intellectual labour allowed greater access to upper-class white society. While Hakewill's access to artistic education is obvious due to his architectural profession, we have yet to determine if Clark gained access to professional art education.¹² Both men resided in their respective islands (Hakewill in Jamaica for two years and Clark in Antigua for three) for long enough to gain a clear understanding not only of the centrality of sugar cultivation for the economies of both islands, but of the intersection of entrenched racial and class hierarchies and the troubled and often violent nature of cross-racial interaction.¹³

Published in 1823 just two years before Hakewill's book, Clark's included 10 coloured aquatints¹⁴ compared to Hakewill's 21, and, unlike Hakewill's book which claimed to be focused on landscape aesthetics, as Clark's full title declared, the earlier book functioned more as an illustrated "how-to" manual on Caribbean sugar cultivation.¹⁵ Known by its original Native inhabitants as *Wadadli* or *Waladli*,¹⁶ the island that would come to be known simply as Antigua was first encountered by Columbus during his second voyage in 1493 after which he renamed the island Santa Maria de la Antigua after a church in Seville.¹⁷ Today the islands of Antigua (Spanish for "ancient"), Barbuda (Spanish for

“bearded”)¹⁸ and Redonda (Spanish for “round”) form one independent nation (since 1981), the capital of which, St. John’s, is located in Antigua.¹⁹ Antigua is comprised of 280 sq. km (108 sq. miles), Barbuda 161 sq. km (62 sq. miles), and Redonda 1.3 sq. km (0.5 sq. miles).²⁰ Visited by the Spanish in 1520 and the site of a failed French attempt at settlement in 1629, consistent British interest began in the early seventeenth century. As Jerry Dupont has articulated, “In 1625 both islands were included with St. Christopher and Nevis in Letters Patent extending a formal British claim and protection to their territory. In 1628, a family of English planters on St. Christopher, the Littletons, obtained a Royal Grant of the entire island of Barbuda.”²¹ Considered a part of the Leeward Islands, the first permanent British settlement was established by Thomas Warner and a few British families on Antigua in 1632 and the British governor and commander of the region, although based at Antigua, also governed the neighbouring islands of Anguilla, the Virgin Islands, and Dominica.²² Sir Christopher Codrington²³ is widely hailed as the first person to successfully embark upon sugar cultivation, an economic and agricultural practice that by Clark’s time had become the norm.²⁴ In 1680, the Codrington family was granted the use of Barbuda as a private preserve.²⁵ In 1821, during the precise moment when William Clark took up his position as overseer on the estates of Admiral Tallemach, the total population of Antigua was calculated at 37,226, comprised of 31,064 or 83.45 per cent enslaved peoples of African descent (14,531 females and 16, 533 males), and 6,162 or 16.55 per cent whites.²⁶

Unsurprisingly, competing ideas about the nature of the slave system in Antigua often emerged along racial lines. For instance, in his narration of plate 2, *Digging, or rather Hoeing, the Cane-Holes* (1823) (Plate 11) Clark claimed that the slaves were “always allowed relaxation during the hottest hour, and on this occasion, an extra allowance of rum, with a plentiful supply of sugar and water”.²⁷ In contrast to Clark’s claims of the civility of slave treatment, while visiting Date Hill with her owners, Mr and Mrs Wood, Mary Prince described the pitiable lives of the “field negroes”. Prince explained,

They are worked very hard and fed but scantily. They are called out to work before daybreak, and come home after dark; and then each has to heave his bundle of grass for the cattle in the pen. Then, on Sunday morning, each slave has to go out and gather a large bundle of grass; and, when they bring it home, they have all to sit at the manager’s door and wait till he comes out: often have they to wait there till past eleven o’clock without any breakfast.²⁸

In genre works like *Planting Sugar-Cane* (1823) and *Carting and Putting Sugar-Hogsheads on Board* (1823) (Figure 6.1), Clark, who surely knew from his job the inner workings of sugar estates, took pains to render the corporeal specificity, and the distinctiveness of dress, manner, and activity of the Antiguan slave population and, as I will discuss further below, even Antigua’s free black population. Much like the English Thomas Thistlewood, an overseer on Jamaican plantations whom I shall discuss in great detail below in this chapter, Clark, who in his title stated that he had “a residence of three years in the West Indies, upon the estates of Admiral Tallemach”,²⁹ would have been in an optimal position to



Figure 6.1 William Clark, *Carting and Putting Sugar-Hogsheads on Board*, from *Ten Views in the Island of Antigua . . .* (1823), hand-coloured aquatint, 31.5 × 45 cm, Folio A 2010 10, 4515711–00037, Paul Mellon Collection, Yale Center for British Art, New Haven

interact in intimate ways on a daily basis with the enslaved under his authority.³⁰ Indeed, overseers tended to have more direct and ongoing contact with the slave populations of the plantations, which they ran than the owners who were often absentee landlords and landladies. While Hakewill's landscapes arguably constitute the British imperial connection between colony and metropole mainly through his written text's celebration of the "noble gentlemen merchants", Clark's images like *Carting and Putting Sugar-Hogsheads on Board* (1823) visually activated the material and geographical trajectories between internationally networked imperial sites. Indeed, Clark wrote that the hogsheads³¹ in the image were bound for England, "a voyage of uncertain duration, usually made in four weeks; but too often occupying two months, from the captain's being compelled to cross the Atlantic under the disadvantages of varying winds".³² As the last of ten plates, this image, which has widely come to be known simply as *Shipping Sugar*, played an important role in explicitly visualizing the process by which Antiguan slave-produced products reached the stores and kitchen tables of Clark's European readers.

The foreground of the image is dominated by enslaved black male labourers who are in the midst of loading hogsheads of sugar onto a waiting boat in Willoughby Bay. Clark used the five black men in the immediate foreground to illustrate the various aspects of

preparation, which plantation goods underwent before shipment. In the left foreground and moving away from the picture plane, a black male is seen leading a team of three mules pulling a wain (cart) with a large hogshhead in front of a storehouse, which, as Clark explained were built on the beaches for estates remote from the sea to hold sugar and rum.³³ However, closer to the picture plane, Clark positioned a grouping of five men, four black and one white. The racialized class status of the men is discernable both through their dress and activities. While the suit-wearing white man furthest to the left bends to inspect or even read an inscription on a barrel, the four black men are in much more active poses, connoting their physical exertion in the process of loading the barrel.³⁴ Clark cleverly posed the pair further to the left in diagonal stances leaning into and bracing against the hogshhead, each with one leg bent at the knee and the other outstretched in a diagonal line to connote their exertion and forward movement in the process of rolling the barrel. The other two black men, equally active, stand shin- to knee-deep in the sea, tilting the small 20–30 ton craft known as a droger towards the shore to receive the impending cargo.³⁵ The presence of these two men in the sea and the subsequent invisibility of their feet resulted in the erasure of their missing shoes, which Clark exposed in his rendering of the bare feet of the two barrel-pushing slaves on shore.

As mentioned above, Clark exposed the race and class hierarchies of Antiguan slavery through both dress and activity. In comparison to the poorer-looking attire of the enslaved black men (hats, jackets, pants, kerchiefs, suspenders, and bare feet) the white male sports the more refined and surely more expensive ensemble of light-coloured pants and hat, a white shirt and a blue coat with tails. But it is his actions also that set him apart from the surrounding black males and position him as their supervisor, if not owner. While the five black males in the foreground are all engaged in work that demanded a great deal of obvious physical exertion, the white man's labour is intellectual and mental. The print then dramatizes the racial distance between the white man's labour as intellectual and the black men's as physical. Although Clark's inclusion of a detailed blooming cactus in the extreme left foreground indicates his interest in tropical flora and fauna, this print is decidedly focused on human activity. As I mentioned above, the white male, stooped and absorbed amidst a cluster of three hogshheads, turns his attention, not yet to the sea, or even to the assembled black males, but to the inspection of the barrel, most likely examining markings, a label³⁶ or the soundness of the container itself.³⁷ As such, while the image posited the black men as useful only for their physical skill and dexterity, brute force or bodily exertion, it is the mental exertion of the white male which sets him not just apart from but above the black Antiguan majority.³⁸ In the distance the foreground scene is repeated, this time with another hogshhead-filled wain, more male slaves, and three smaller drogers each representing a different stage of the loading and transfer of the hogshheads from the smaller crafts to the two awaiting ships.³⁹ As Rupert has noted in the context of Curaçao, the men who transited the hogshheads from the shore to the awaiting boats were known as lightermen.⁴⁰

As if this endless cycle of the cultivation, processing, and shipping was not sufficiently communicated by the groups of busy black male slaves, Clark further drove home the point

by depicting a billowing plume of grey smoke escaping from a works building (most likely a curing-house and stills) of a distant plantation on a hill overlooking the sea to the right of centre in the middle ground of the print.⁴¹ My deduction of the specific smoke-spouting works building is based upon the fact that furnaces were necessary to the process of the transformation of sugar cane juice into rum and molasses. Clark depicted the method in plate 8, *Exterior of Curing-House and Stills* (1823) (Figure 6.2), in which three fiery furnaces are clearly represented below two parallel chimneys spewing merging plumes of grey smoke. A shoeless black male slave feeds one of the furnaces, as another black man approaches with a large and heavy armful of fuel. The heaviness of his load is indicated by the way that Clark represented the backward angle of his upper body, which seems to strain under the weight. On the landing of the curing house to the right of the three black stills in which the rum was processed, several male slaves strain to push a hogshead towards a scale overseen by a white male with document in hand.⁴² The distant plantation in *Carting and Putting Sugar-Hogsheads on Board* (1823) was Weatherhill Estate where Clark was employed as the overseer.

In the inter-connection between these two plates, Clark achieved the anonymization of black slave labour and the individualization of free white labour, the latter largely through the inclusion of what appears to be two portraits in *Exterior of Curing-House*



Figure 6.2 William Clark, *Exterior of Curing-House and Stills* from *Ten Views in the Island of Antigua . . .* (1823), hand-coloured aquatint, 31.5 × 45 cm, Folio A 2010 10, 4515711–0033, Paul Mellon Collection, Yale Center for British Art, New Haven

and Stills (1823). While brown skin, black hair and dark eyes in generalized faces characterize Clark's black figures, two of his four white male subjects who face the viewer at a close distance have decidedly more detailed and specific facial features which recall portraiture more than genre. While the red-coated man with the golden top hat in the left foreground would appear to be the owner, I would hazard an educated guess that the male in the blue jacket on horseback in the right foreground, raising his black hat to wipe the sweat from his brow, is William Clark himself. While the "labour" of the standing white male at left is strictly verbal (as implied by his interaction with the white man in a blue coat and tails, black top hat and red-striped pants), Clark, distinguished by his mount on a horse (a more prized and expensive animal in the Caribbean than the mules that haul the wains), is more physically active due in part to his need to control his moving horse and oversee the plantation's workforce. But Clark's attention is decidedly not on the assembled slaves but directed outwards, towards the viewer/reader. Arguably, his elaborate gesture of fatigue, overheating, and even exhaustion is for these whites, and served to distinguish Clark's labour not only as exceptional in the midst of the endless exertions of the black slaves, but to articulate Clark's specific middle-class whiteness as distinct from that of the plantation owner's upper-class racial position.

The tropical picturesque as pro-slavery discourse

If we are to believe his title, Hakewill arrived in Jamaica sometime in 1820. Assuming that he sailed directly from Britain, if his voyage aboard a ship was anything like the planter Matthew Lewis' journey in 1815, it would have taken about seven and a half weeks.⁴³ Similarly, Peter Simmonds' unpublished, personal, illustrated travel journal in which he documented his 1831 trip from Falmouth, England to Jamaica indicates that his journey took just under eight weeks.⁴⁴

Compared to Clark's 10 genre scenes, Hakewill's book included 21 prints, mainly topographical landscapes, that could have been arranged as a tour of the island from the urban centres in the south, proceeding to the east, then up and across the northern coast before culminating in the south.⁴⁵ However, many other variations were possible due to Hakewill's initial serial method of publication, which allowed the reader to combine all or some of the folios in the manner that they saw fit.⁴⁶ As yet, due in large part to the absence of the recuperation of correspondence to or from Hakewill before, during or immediately after his Jamaican sojourn, his specific path to Jamaica is unknown. While it is completely plausible that Hakewill approached or was courted in Britain by absentee planters familiar with the success of his previous illustrated books, it is also possible that he set out on an adventure of his own design and became formally acquainted with the white Jamaican plantocracy only once he had arrived on the island. At any rate, as Barringer has noted, amongst the planter class and "their extensive network of families and allies in Britain, there was a substantial market for imagery (in the form of paintings, watercolors, and high-quality prints) depicting the plantation as tranquil and contented, prosperous and refined."⁴⁷ Middle-class Britons also comprised a substantial market for

such topographical landscape prints, which allowed them to become armchair tourists.⁴⁸ At a time of heightened abolitionist attack against the supposed deviance of white Creoles, Hakewill's white Europeanness may have made him feel ethnically superior to his hosts and likely supremely confident in his abilities to attain the support of the local, white Creole Jamaican elite.

Although Hakewill would have undoubtedly partaken of inland travel, he may also have made use of smaller ships known as cutters, to move more quickly between his desired locales.⁴⁹ Derived from watercolours, most likely preliminary pencil sketches, and possibly even photographs taken with his camera lucida,⁵⁰ Hakewill's hand-coloured aquatints were produced by "laying on broad, flat areas of highly keyed, but evenly modulated tints".⁵¹ As David Boxer has noted, they were etched in black ink, hand-coloured with watercolours, and lightly varnished.⁵² Fortunately, Hakewill's extant watercolour sketches provide insight into his artistic process and travels on the island. At least six "highly finished presentation watercolors" originally belonging to George Watson Taylor still exist.⁵³ While *Lyssons Estate, St. Thomas in the East, Jamaica* (c. 1820–21), *Haughton Court, Hanover, Jamaica* (c. 1820), and *Llanrumny Estate, St. Mary's, Jamaica: The Property of G.W. Taylor Esqr. MP* (c. 1820–21) reveal that Hakewill visited and depicted more regions and plantations than he ended up representing in his publication, the three extant watercolours of Holland Estate indicate that he likely made multiple sketches from various vantage points and parts of each plantation, developing an archive from which to select his final image for mass production.⁵⁴ But it is *Mill Yard Holland Estate, St. Thomas in the East* (c. 1820–21) and *Llanrumny Estate* specifically which indicate that Hakewill absolutely witnessed various specialized aspects of plantation field labour. Together the two landscapes expose the ideological work of Hakewill's much censored final selection of 21 plates.

At the time of his visit, Jamaica was a British colony that had been divided into the three counties of "Middlesex, Cornwall and Surry", each comprising several parishes.⁵⁵ Not too long before, in 1801, Robertson had completed a survey measuring the island at 2,724,262 acres (11,024 sq. km).⁵⁶ The names and topographies that the images represent indicate that Hakewill travelled the length and breadth of the island, including images from the political and economic centres of Kingston and St Jago de la Vega (Spanish Town) as well as a variety of rivers, a waterfall, a monument, a Great House, and several plantations. The images were meant to represent the actual lands, homes, and structures of the white men and women, the planter class with whom he resided. In other words, his focus was mainly on the representation of plantations.

Writing on the symbolic relevance of the plantation landscape image, Casid has argued that,

... the mythic image of the plantation landscape dominated by sugarcane as ... a prodigious variety of introduced flora held in place by an ordering system of colourful segmentation spanned the century as a means to justify colonization and a discursive and material field in which to work out anxieties about mixture, particularly racial mixture.⁵⁷

Arguably, as will be discussed in further detail below (Chapter 8), Hakewill's images sublimate the pervasive white anxiety about human racial mixtures (sexual and social) through his refusal to represent Jamaica's pervasive racial hybridity as embodied in the mixed race populations. Hakewill's presence on the island in the 1820s and his focus on the holdings of wealthy British planters could not help but result in the representation of sugar cane estates. Indeed as Higman has argued, "The long list of 'views taken in Jamaica' demonstrates a similar concentration on the sugar estates of the most wealthy planters. He had nothing to do with coffee planters and illustrated only the occasional pen."⁵⁸ In the British context, the tradition of topographical landscapes as a means of recording and commemorating one's wealth dates back at least to the late seventeenth century. As Finley has argued, "Topographical landscapes were increasingly being commissioned by the aristocracy and substantial gentry, who wanted their vast estates and great houses to be recorded in this way, not only as an index of their belongings, but as tangible symbols of social and political power and evidence of personal achievement."⁵⁹ As Thompson has argued, by the time that Hakewill undertook his artistic project in Jamaica, the idea of the picturesque as tropical landscape had already become embedded within the plantation, in part through the initiative of planters like Beckford, discussed in the previous chapter.⁶⁰

According to William James Gardner, in 1780s Jamaica, "Upwards of seven hundred sugar estates occupied on an average one thousand acres each".⁶¹ Higman contends that the sugar estates operating around 1832 numbered around 670.⁶² It is crucial to understand just how much profit even a single acre of sugar-cultivated land could yield. According to Gilbert Mathison, a largely absentee planter, "An acre of land will in some places produce four tons of sugar, and two hundred and fifty or more gallons of rum; which may fairly be valued at one hundred and fifty pounds sterling – an immense return for a single acre of land!"⁶³ The planter Matthew Lewis observed that his slaves were able to produce 33 hogsheads a week.⁶⁴ Simply put, before and still during the time of Hakewill's visit, such plantations were not only ubiquitous, but also extremely prosperous. However, more often than not, his landscapes worked at erasing the presence of black slaves, especially as labourers, and even erasing the very presence of the lucrative sugar cane crop. This erasure marks a tension between text and image since Hakewill often gave precise tallies of estate slave populations based upon the merchants' legal data. But the absencing of the colonies' most precious and lucrative crop also registered Hakewill's and his patrons' response to the increasing external pressure of British abolitionism.

Given his two-year sojourn on the island, Hakewill likely developed quite intimate relationships with the white Creole Jamaican and British landowners whose properties he represented. Indeed, his relationships with Jamaican European and Creole elite may have begun in Britain since many owners of Jamaican plantations were absentee landlords, or made frequent visits back to Britain.⁶⁵ Although the island had taverns, inns, and lodging houses where rooms could be let, early nineteenth-century Jamaica did not yet possess a proper tourist infrastructure. Thus, instead of hotels, Hakewill would have most likely lodged with the planters and their families on the sugar estates that he depicted.⁶⁶ The upper classes of white Jamaican society were gracious to those of the same class and racial

backgrounds. As the plantation owner Matthew Lewis noted on his first journey to the island,

I had an opportunity of seeing many of the principal persons of the island during my residence here; and the civilities which I received from all of them were not only more than I expected, but such as I should be unreasonable if I had desired more, and very ungrateful if I could ever forget them.⁶⁷

We need then to consider how Hakewill's patronage from these wealthy sugar barons affected what he saw, wrote, and imaged and what in the end became his *Picturesque Tour*.⁶⁸ The counterpart of his landscapes in the discourse of maps are cadastral or estate maps which were historically not only a means through which to demonstrate the boundaries of one's property, but a way that "the state or individual landlords could more effectively control a tenant or peasant population".⁶⁹ The usefulness of such visual technology in a slave-holding territory, one in which the enslaved populations had demonstrated strong and ongoing resistance, would have been obvious to Jamaican planters.⁷⁰ Interestingly, there are unmistakable distinctions between Hakewill's imaging of Jamaican plantations and contemporaneous topographical plantation landscapes of the American South.

Vlach has noted that in the American case, the majority of plantation paintings were not landscapes, but house portraits,⁷¹ and as such, "The connections that planters sensed between their personal identities and their home effectively transformed a painting of one's house into something like a surrogate portrait".⁷² Thus, while Vlach has demonstrated that the plantation landscapes of the antebellum American South were often focused upon the Big House as a sign of the white owner's wealth and privilege, Hakewill's images of Jamaican plantations took quite a different tactic. In the case of the Southern US, Vlach has argued convincingly that a distinct vantage point became normative, that of a view of the planter's house from below, a strategy that resulted in the feeling of the viewer of being positioned below and having to gaze upwards at the house. Accordingly, Vlach has argued that

Viewing a plantation house from that perspective, one experienced a sense of the presumed authority of its owner. Since members of the planter class were certainly among the wealthiest Americans, they naturally assumed that they would be accorded a certain amount of deference. Or, to put it another way, they expected to be looked up to as superior individuals.⁷³

The images of their properties, centring on their homes from below, reinforced these elitist assumptions. In stark contrast, only one of Hakewill's 21 plates focused in any significant way upon a plantation Great House, *Bryan Castle Great House, Trelawny*. Rather, it would appear that in the inevitable conversations and negotiations over which of Hakewill's 200-plus sketches would be turned into prints, the Jamaican planter class seemed to privilege expansive vistas of their cultivated plantations, which included images of their extensive works as evidence of their wealth and prestige.

Although Hakewill claimed that the book, which included landscape prints, detailed descriptions of social life and custom, an introduction, and an historical sketch of the island, was intended to be “professedly and exclusively picturesque”, his allegiance to the white Europeans and Creoles who facilitated his two-year sojourn was unequivocally political. Indeed, it is a possibility that Hakewill did not randomly make his way to Jamaica, but was invited there by the planter elite⁷⁴ to help them further consolidate – during a time of obvious crisis – their identities as “creole gentleman planters”, authentic West Indians, in part by celebrating, through landscape representation, their planters’ prospects.⁷⁵ As Casid has argued, “The prospect of a colonial landscaping was also always prospective. The colonial landscape of imperial print culture represented not merely what was supposed to have been done but what might or, from the perspective of those invested in the plantation system, should be.”⁷⁶ At a moment when the British had already abolished the slave trade and abolitionist political activism was pushing towards full abolition, Hakewill’s picturesque landscapes were staked on the absence of the black slave labour whose bodies and toil constituted white British wealth and privilege.

A further and ongoing problem for British colonial officials was the task of encouraging white immigration to the island; a tricky and difficult one due to the reputation of the Caribbean and Jamaica as a “torrid zone” of death and disease (especially for whites), brought on by the specific attributes of climate and geography.⁷⁷ On the heels of the abolition of the slave trade in 1807, the looming demise of slavery made the prospect of increasing white migration even more far-fetched. As Kriz has argued, “In the islands these years were marked by a decline of the slave population, a decline in profits from sugar and rum, and white flight.”⁷⁸

Cases like that of Mary Prince, exposed in great detail through her published narrative, rallied Caribbean slave owners who ferociously defended their own (like Prince’s infamously abusive owners Mr and Mrs Wood of Antigua) by audaciously claiming a victim status and charging the true victims and their abolitionist supporters with “disgusting conduct” in the circulation of “statements coming from a quarter so jaundiced” that it compromised “the character of a society, which numbers many eminent and worthy individuals among its members”.⁷⁹ As this letter published in 1831 in the *Bermuda Royal Gazette* further proclaimed, “We shall select this case . . . as a specimen of the mode in which the *public mind in England is poisoned against their brethren in the West Indies* . . . [italics mine]”.⁸⁰ In a slightly earlier example, Cynric Williams used his *A Tour through the Island of Jamaica . . . in the year 1823* (1826) to argue that British people were ignorant of the general state of West Indian society, to contest the abolitionist ideas of the work and punishment practices of the Negro slaves held by “good Christians”, and to argue that the slaves’ lives were akin to the labouring folk of any country.⁸¹ Positioning the slave owners as noble Christians engaged in a legal enterprise sanctioned by Britain, Williams placed the abolitionists in opposition as ignorant outsiders who attacked the rightful wealth of the slave holders.

Matthew Lewis’ pro-slavery strategy was more in line with the picturesque landscape tactics deployed by Beckford in the previous century. Writing in his journal on 10 January 1816 about his impressions of his plantation Cornwall in Westmoreland, Lewis recorded,

On three sides of the landscape the prospect is bounded by lofty purple mountains; and the variety of occupations going on all around me, and at the same time, give an inconceivable air of life and animation to the whole scene, especially as all those occupations look clean, – even those which in England look dirty. All the tradespeople are dressed either in white jackets and trousers, or with stripes of red and sky-blue. One band of Negroes are carrying the ripe canes on their heads to the mill; another set are conveying away the *trash*, after the juice has been extracted; flocks of turkeys are sheltering from the heat under the trees; the river is filled with ducks and geese; the coopers and carpenters are employed upon the puncheons; carts drawn by six, others by eight, oxen, are bringing loads of Indian corn from the fields; the black children are employed in gathering it into the granary, and in quarrelling with pigs as black as themselves, who are equally busy in stealing the corn whenever the children are looking another way: in short, a plantation possesses all of the movement and interest of a farm, without its dung, and its stench, and its dirty accompaniments [*sic*].⁸²

Lewis' narrative works hard to transform the enslaved labourers into quaint peasants whose bodies and activities become the objects of humour and pleasure for an upper-class white viewer like himself. Instead of seeing the physical strain of the black slaves carrying heavy bundles on their heads, the danger of the process of mill-feeding which often resulted in amputated hands and limbs or the utter impropriety of the forced labour of enslaved children, the plantation labour becomes folly and amusement for his personal entertainment. The children's strain to control the corn-stealing pigs becomes a hilarious romp, and their shared blackness with the animals is a noteworthy peculiarity, which further likens Africans to animals. Meanwhile, the very bodies of the slaves become ethnographic specimens, the observation of which provides picturesque contrast with the beautiful natural environment. Amazingly, even the colours and patterns of the substandard and no doubt tattered and heavily soiled clothing of the slaves is aesthetically pleasing to Lewis.

Lewis' revelry in the beauty of his estate and the picturesque vision of his slaves stands out next to the more measured observations of the contemporaneous observer, the Reverend Bickell, who commented that slave appearance was in general decent, though many were dirty and ragged.⁸³ It is Lewis' pleasure in his witnessing of *his* plantation scene that allowed him to erase the constant ardour and brutality of the forced labour and transform the black subjects into aesthetic objects in his landscape. But above all, for Lewis, the "cleanliness" of the scene is what elevates the Jamaican plantation above the British farm. However, this cleanliness in the midst of corn-stealing pigs, cart-hauling oxen, and the constant compelled labour of the plantations slaves in their no doubt smelly and unclean garments (due to the types of labour, common material deprivation and lack of access to self-care), was a fiction and a testament to the ability of the white plantocracy to ignore the extreme suffering (which their insatiable capitalism initiated) all around them.

Increasing in intensity at this tenuous political moment, the external abolitionist attack was multi-pronged, dealing with the overall inhumanity of slavery, the lie of its supposed

civilizing mission, and the peculiarities of specific practices and habits of the planter class, like the sexual tendencies of white Creole males. According to Trevor Burnard, abolitionists

attacked the licentiousness of white Jamaican men from a different angle, an angle, moreover, that attacked the beliefs of white Jamaicans at their very core. For abolitionists, firmly attached to the developing culture of sensibility and middle-class bourgeois propriety of late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Britain, white men's sexual immorality was damning proof that a society based on slavery promoted godlessness.⁸⁴

Hakewill's refusal to represent the labour of enslaved Africans, a decision which explicitly removed blacks from the geographies in which he surely had daily viewed them, can be read in part as a response to such external abolitionist pressure, a pressure which resulted in the cleansing of the plantation which could provide an aestheticized if inaccurate view of Jamaican estates to white outsiders. But his choice was also a product of the logic of the picturesque itself and its colonial tradition in European literature and visual art. In a literary example of the sanitization of slave labour, Elizabeth A. Bohls has noted that within the diary of Janet Schaw, the eighteenth-century Scottish woman who travelled to Antigua and St. Kitts in 1774–75, slaves disappeared from her text for about 15 pages, only to reappear as prayerful visitors in a plantation church. This erasure occurred, tellingly, after Schaw described leaving the settlement of St John to visit several plantations.⁸⁵ The question then becomes: which type of body could the tropical picturesque accommodate?

Much like Sloane before him whose two-volume tome, *Voyage . . .*, included only one plate that directly acknowledged the labouring slave body, Hakewill's book was also a work of selective vision.⁸⁶ In Sloane's book, numbered 190, perhaps the most questionable plate is Michael van der Gucht's *A Ginn Cotton* (1725) in the "Natural History" section of volume 2. As Kriz has noted, the irony is that within a book focused on sugar-producing Jamaica, the largest fold-out plate was dedicated to cotton manufacture associated with the American South. Furthermore, the image itself did not visually represent a slave body. Rather, this direct reference was through Sloane's text and a description of the process by which the machine was operated by seated Negroes who turned wheels with their feet, which activated mechanical rollers.⁸⁷

The absence of the enslaved black labouring body had emerged as the norm in representations of the Caribbean. According to Kriz, "Seventeenth- and eighteenth-century illustrated books about the Caribbean tended to include African slaves as small-scale figures in topographical landscape views or as highly abstracted types in schematized scenes showing the cultivation and refinement of sugar cane."⁸⁸ However, the black body in the Caribbean landscape posed an inherent problem since, as Africans, they recalled another place and continent as well as the process of their violent extraction and forced relocation – the Middle Passage – and therefore, had to be indigenized in order to repress the memory of the inherent carnage that their diasporization recalled.

As Kriz has argued, "Transported Africans, after all, were not 'indigenous' people, so could not easily be deployed within an iconographic system predicated on the existence of clear distinctions between the native and the foreign."⁸⁹

To the extent that colonization was enacted through violence with material and physical consequences, Harley's comments on the centrality of maps in warfare are instructive. Harley has linked the strategic "emptiness" of mapped territories to the ability of military powers to kill those who inhabit the seemingly uninhabited (at least on the map) spaces that they wish to occupy.⁹⁰ It is in part the distance that the map provided, between viewer/colonizer and the land, and therefore a distance between viewer/colonizer and inhabitant/colonized, that allowed for the killing and destruction in a way that ameliorated any guilt or responsibility. I would like to consider Hakewill's topographical landscapes of plantations in the same vein; as a cartographic representation that proclaims colonial victory not through force, but through its imaging of a *peacefully* attained domestication. As we shall see, what is domesticated is the land, now orderly and cultivated and capable of housing "civilized" European inhabitants. But arguably, just as the Native subjects in the Montreal landscapes of Thomas Davies and Robert Sproule discussed above, so too are the enslaved Africans domesticated, when Hakewill deigned to represent them at all.

But what exactly does his persistent emptying of the Jamaican estates facilitate and accomplish in terms of this precise colonial moment of early nineteenth-century Jamaica, and for whom? What types of violence did this absencing and erasure enact upon the enslaved Africans whose blood, sweat, and tears were literally a part of the land and how the land became plantation/landscape? What does it mean when Hakewill not only repeatedly removed them from the land generally, but refused to represent them engaged in their most normative activity, toiling in the sugar cane fields? To what extent did this removal enact exactly what Harley argued, the ability of those in control of the map/landscape to conduct their violence in unseen and guiltless ways? And again, what does this have to do with 1820s Jamaica? As I will argue below, in part what is accomplished is the recitation of a peaceful landscape, which does not only imply a lack of violence, but the lack of a *need* for it.

Hakewill could have easily named his book *A Picturesque Tour of Jamaican Estates*. Although active sugar plantations were his key focus, Hakewill's Jamaica is a place where the economic might of the colony is represented as self-generating. Compared to Clark's Antiguan images in which slaves are almost constantly pictured in acts of physical exertion, Hakewill's Jamaica is a land where the labour of the slaves is always already complete. According to Mair,

It was sugar that placed Jamaica at a strategic point in the emerging international capitalist system of the eighteenth century, establishing it as Britain's most prized transatlantic colony. In 1805 it was the world's largest individual exporter of sugar. Sugar commanded the island's major resources of land, capital and labour. In 1832, sugar employed 49.5 per cent of the slave work force.⁹¹

But the resplendent estates, which he took pains to title by owner, are shown as magically present and not as the product of backbreaking black toil. Instead, the black subjects are often at leisure, lounging in green fields and any labour is mainly represented as the seemingly less arduous transport of already manufactured goods in hogsheads and puncheons by donkey or mule and cart to ports for shipment as in *The Bog Walk* (Figure 6.3) and *Montego Bay, from Reading Hill* (Figure 6.4). Equally odd is the case of the labour represented in *Bridge over the White River, St. Mary's* which depicts a group of four black slaves in the foreground, three adults and one child, with one naked adult standing in the river beating clothing while a basket of laundry sits on the shore nearby. The question of for whom they wash the clothing is left open by the nature of their task: is it for them or an absent white master or mistress?

The absence of black field labourers can be characterized as problematic given that the majority of Hakewill's landscapes represented views of various large sugar estates or plantations comprised of populations of hundreds of enslaved Africans. However, such

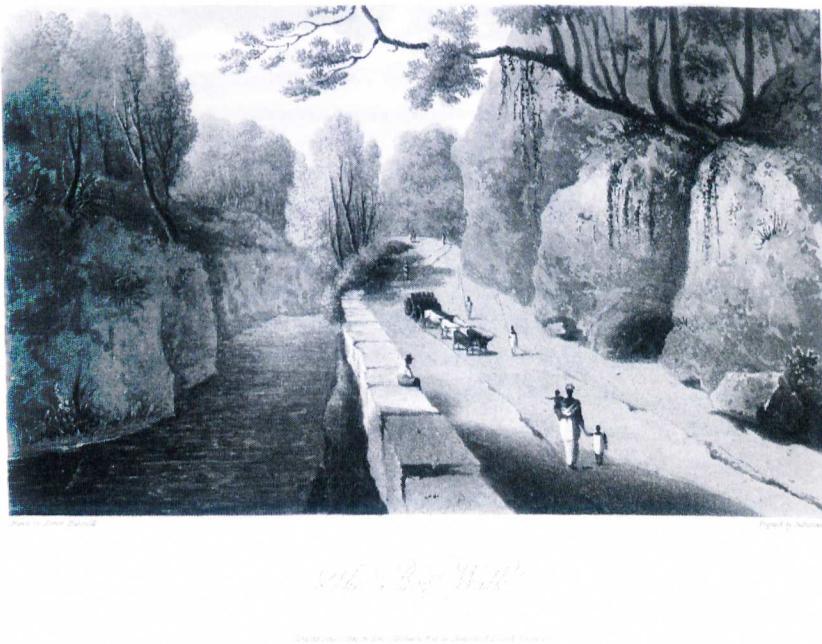


Figure 6.3 Thomas Sutherland after James Hakewill, *The Bog Walk*, from part 4 of *A Picturesque Tour ...* (1825), hand-coloured aquatint, fol. 32 cm, T683 (Folio A), 1266998–0060, Paul Mellon Collection, Yale Center for British Art, New Haven



Figure 6.4 Thomas Sutherland after James Hakewill, *Montego Bay, from Reading Hill*, from part 2 of *A Picturesque Tour ...* (1825), hand-coloured aquatint, fol. 32 cm, T683 (Folio A), 1266998-0024, Paul Mellon Collection, Yale Center for British Art, New Haven

an erasure from the published prints can be upgraded to deeply troubling when we consider Hakewill's extant watercolour *Llanrumny Estate, St. Mary's, Jamaica: The Property of G. W. Taylor Esqr. MP* (c. 1820–21) (plate 3).⁹² Hakewill placed the plantation works below a distant ridge of blue-green mountains, overhung by a cloudy sky. While what was most likely the plantation Great House and other smaller buildings sit upon a hill in the right middle ground, the focal point of the image is a cane field in the process of being cleared of its undulating green crop. Dotted across the bare soil of a semi-circular patch of land, tens of slaves are seen actively cutting and bundling the cane for transport. With the aid of livestock, the cane is moved down a narrow path that bisects the field, running from the left foreground, through the centre of the image and disappearing below a slight incline in front of the works. It is this path that leads our eye into the central activity of the painting, where the green cane towers over the miniaturized slaves.

The watercolour *Mill Yard, Holland Estate, St. Thomas in the East* (c. 1820–21) (plate 2), also diverges sharply from the 21 published prints in Hakewill's book, including of course the specific view, *Holland Estate, St. Thomas in the East, Jamaica* (c. 1820), that

Hakewill deemed publishable. The estate was the property of George Watson Taylor (1771–1841), the heir to the vast fortune of Simon Taylor (1740–1813). Simon Taylor (discussed in greater detail below in Chapter 7) was one of the richest and most powerful people in Jamaican history.⁹³ In Hakewill's painting, the enslaved population of Taylor's plantation is no longer mere staffage. Rather, as the focus of the image set in close proximity to the plantation works, the painting is transformed from landscape to genre. With the boiling house clearly in view with chimneys spewing smoke, a group of five slaves, male and female, are depicted in the act of bundling cane for the mill, the process that would extract the cane juice and see it transformed into sugar, molasses, and rum. In the left middle ground, two slaves can be seen mounting the stairs that lead into a works building, one with a bundle of cane upon the head. The presence of two wains in the middle foreground drawn by oxen and donkeys or mules reminds the viewer that the cane must be hauled from the unseen fields. The active poses of three of the slave figures in the foreground just left of centre creates a stark comparison to the slave figures in the published Hakewill prints who were routinely invisibilized or idle. But Hakewill did not completely depart from the pattern of aestheticizing Jamaican plantation life. To the left and right of the hard working trio, two other slaves sit idly on the ground, the one at left on a pile of cane and the other at right, laid out on his belly chewing what is perhaps a piece of cane; what would have no doubt been seen as an act of terrible insolence. But although the slaves are labouring, Hakewill has removed the ever-present threat of violence from their midst with his refusal to render a driver or the overseer. As Barringer has noted, "Despite being brought into the foreground, the laboring figures lack the sense of extreme urgency that accompanied these processes (an urgency often enhanced by the use of the lash by drivers)."⁹⁴ Urgency was a central facet of the manufacturing process since unless ripe cane was cut, crushed, and the juice boiled within 48 hours of harvesting, the crop was ruined.⁹⁵

As I will discuss in greater detail below, Hakewill would have witnessed these types of scenes – and the threat of physical violence under which they were performed – on many occasions during his two-year sojourn in Jamaica. That these watercolours of Llanrumny and Holland Estates were not chosen to be transformed into the 21 plates in *A Picturesque Tour* . . . speaks to Hakewill's desire to appease his patrons' anxieties about exposing the ugly face of slavery to the foreign, British abolitionist gaze, by erasing the most pervasive and onerous details of the institution.

As Cundall has explained, "A sugar estate was in those days as self-contained as a small village".⁹⁶ The "intimacy" created by the spatial control over such vast spaces meant that Hakewill would have been granted personal access to the inner workings of the Jamaican plantations, including the slave population. Hakewill's own statistics placed the enslaved population at 317,138 and the free-coloureds and whites at only 25,000.⁹⁷ As Klepp and McDonald recall, "By 1805, slaves made up nearly three quarters of the island's nearly 400,000 inhabitants, but the brutal conditions of slavery caused population decline, requiring the constant importation of Africans to maintain and increase the enslaved workforce on which profits depended."⁹⁸ But this erasure is also problematic given the fact that it is not a product of the original configuration of

the picturesque for the metropole. Hakewill's erasure of black slave labour corresponds with and supports British pro-slavery propaganda, which equated the suffering of African slaves with that of the poor white working class. As Thompson has argued, "By representing the island's slave population through Britain's picturesque tradition, Hakewill reinforced the view that slaves differed only in location from Britain's working classes."⁹⁹

Matthew Lewis' views exceeded the supposed parity of the white British peasant and the enslaved Jamaican Negro. He iterated this falsehood explicitly in his entry for 13 January 1816:

... as far as I can as yet judge, if I were now standing on the banks of Virgil's Lethe, with a goblet of the waters of oblivion in my hand, and asked whether I chose to enter life anew as an English labourer or a Jamaica negro, I should have no hesitation in preferring the latter.¹⁰⁰

Furthermore, Lewis was either too ignorant of his new context and circumstances or too willfully blind to decipher the supposed perpetually jovial nature of the enslaved who were "always laughing and singing" and performing their work "with so much nonchalance" as forms of resistance (in other words, the determined practice of African spirituality and cultural expression as a means of solace in the midst of prolific surveillance and prohibitions, and the calculated performance of deference to the white master/mistress as a means of survival).¹⁰¹

Crucially, those that suffered under the yoke of slavery were not ignorant of this ludicrous ploy. Noting the absence of slaves after her "escape" to London, Mary Prince related, "No slaves here – no whips – no stocks – no punishment, except for wicked people. They hire servants in England; and if they don't like them, they send them away: they can't lick them. Let them work ever so hard in England, *they are far better off than slaves* [italics mine]."¹⁰² At the same time that textual and visual representations offered healthy, happy, and festive slaves as evidence of the benevolence of white planters and slave owners, a brutalized, poor white British populous became a familiar pro-slavery tool that worked to belie the central role of race in the strategic colonial oppression of millions of enslaved Africans. As Kriz has argued,

This kind of assertion was routinely offered in the context of a comparison between West Indian slaves and British workers in both pro- and anti-abolitionist speeches and publications from the 1780s onward, including James Tobin's anti-abolitionist tract that advised readers to compare Brunias's merry slaves with the working poor in Britain.¹⁰³

Indeed, pro-slavery advocates like George Hibbert characterized abolitionist agitation as slanderous nonsense. George Hibbert (nephew of the planter Thomas Hibbert) a titan of the London factoring business – who interestingly had never set foot in Jamaica – lamented the difficulty in countering the "shoal of calumniating libels against the

colonists, with which the tables of every public house and reading shop throughout the country are loaded".¹⁰⁴

Whereas what I have referred to as the visual technology of the picturesque was an objectifying tool for the poor, labouring body of the white in (rural) Britain, the objectification was amplified when applied to the enslaved, labouring body of the black in Jamaica. Hakewill's images largely refuse a black presence, even as staffage; a glaring omission since he produced his drawings made on-the-spot while residing for two years with wealthy planters on their sugar cane estates worked by thousands of black slaves.

As the questions posed earlier in this section suggest, Hakewill's refusal to represent enslaved Africans engaged, under duress, in their most normative agricultural labour had much to do with the moment of his visit and the timing and patronage of his book. Resistance had been a mainstay of Jamaican slavery even before the British conquest in 1655. Under the Spanish, Maroon communities that included peoples of African and Arawak descent had been established in Jamaica's mountainous terrain.¹⁰⁵ Left behind by the Spanish, the ranks of these defiant, self-liberated people only grew under British colonization, as successive groups of slaves fled their mainly British owners. Such collective resistance persisted throughout the seventeenth and into the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, largely instigated by enslaved populations in plantation settings. But resistance was also individual. Prior to and throughout Hakewill's time on the island, Jamaican newspapers were constantly peppered with fugitive slave advertisements describing the runaways who risked punishment and death to claim their freedom. Meanwhile, runaways with the misfortune of being re-captured regularly appeared on workhouse lists. The increasing activism of abolitionists and the abolition of the slave trade in 1807 arguably fuelled the resistance of the enslaved in Jamaica and throughout the Caribbean.

A few decades earlier, Jamaican planters had narrowly escaped a full-scale rebellion during the slave insurrection scare of 1776.¹⁰⁶ This had been preceded by what Andrew O'Shaughnessy described as "one of the largest and bloodiest slave revolts in Jamaican history", Takyi's War (1760–61),¹⁰⁷ and two Coramantee uprisings (1765 in St Mary's and 1766 in Westmoreland).¹⁰⁸ As Kenneth Morgan has noted, "In the last phase of slavery in the British Empire, three large revolts broke out in the British Caribbean. They were in Barbados (1816), Demerara (1823), and Jamaica (1831/2)."¹⁰⁹ The period of Hakewill's sojourn, therefore, was rightfully characterized by white planter anxiety about the potential for catastrophic rebellion, catastrophic to the interests of the plantocracy. One antidote to such anxiety was to imagine one's plantation as the seat of picturesque tranquillity; an image which required that all of the unpleasantness of slavery be vanquished, including the labouring bodies of the unruly and potentially insurrectionary slaves.

Thomas Thistlewood and Vineyard Pen

There can be no doubt that an upper-class white man like Hakewill (a guest of the planters, living on sugar cane estates during this extended period of two years) would have had every opportunity to witness (and experience) the inner workings of slavery

many cases when appealed to, the magistrates did not intervene on behalf of the slaves due to their own personal and political affiliations with the planters.²⁷¹ The planters also comprised the members of the House of Assembly since the members were comprised of “Freeholders in the same parish where the election is to be made”.²⁷² Not only did the white sugar planters dominate the politics of the island (to the detriment of penkeepers and others as shall be discussed below in Chapter 8), the timetable of their deliberations was literally governed by their custodial obligations, with the House sitting in Spanish Town generally between October and Christmas, as Cundall notes, “the time of year when planters could be absent from their estates with least inconvenience”.²⁷³ Various sources concur that slaves who attempted to appeal to magistrates for assistance in stopping their torture and abuse were regularly returned to their plantations only to be punished further for their supposed insolence by the same owners, overseers, and drivers.²⁷⁴

Therefore, the complexity of slave life was mindboggling, a constant negotiation for survival in the midst of various exploitative forces. The system itself was designed to pit slave against slave for scarce resources, to exploit the vulnerable, to break the strong-willed and self-possessed, and to position the weak at the mercy of the white ruling class. Morgan’s insights into the lives of the slaves at Vineyard Pen extend far beyond this St Elizabeth property:

. . . slaves struggled daily to overcome their dehumanization. Their world consisted of sickness, near starvation, rape, and brutal punishment . . . slaves responded to these outrages by engaging in a remarkable drama of social exchange and cultural survival. They ran away, planted their grounds, cooked their own dishes, learned about native plants, made music, danced, played games, told stories, carved calabash bowls, lived in families, and named things. They *maintained their humanity* under severe conditions [*italics mine*].²⁷⁵

Dignity for slaves was something they strove for despite the constancy of both petty and grave insults and injustices. For enslaved females, the main targets of sexual violence, and for enslaved males, rendered impotent by their inability to intervene, they were denied the most basic right to determine the structure of their personal lives and intimate relations.

Notes

- 1 James Hakewill, *A Picturesque Tour of the Island of Jamaica, from drawings made in the Years 1820 and 1821* (London: Hurst and Robinson, Pall-Mall; E. Lloyd, Harley Street, 1825), n.p. The version of the original used is paginated in certain parts and not in others: page numbers are cited when appropriate.
- 2 B.W. Higman argued that Hakewill’s reference to the “noblemen and gentlemen” was directed at the absentee planters in Britain, while his term “resident gentlemen” was meant to acknowledge the men he had met in Jamaica. B.W. Higman, “James Hakewill: A Biographical Sketch”, in James Hakewill, *A Picturesque Tour of the Island of Jamaica* (Kingston, Jamaica: Mill Press, 1990), n.p.
- 3 Higman, “James Hakewill”, n.p.

- 4 This book is also known as *The History of Windsor and its Neighbourhood* and is described by Higman as “a large and handsome volume illustrated by 21 plates and 14 vignettes engraved by well-known engravers, such as J. Landseer”. Higman, “James Hakewill”, n.p.
- 5 Hakewill commissioned Joseph Mallord William Turner to work up his sketches for the Italian publication. Kay Dian Kriz, “Torrid Zones and Detoxified Landscapes: Picturing Jamaica, 1825–1840”, *Slavery, Sugar, and the Culture of Refinement: Picturing the British West Indies 1700–1840* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), p. 250, note #30.
- 6 Boxer, “Foreword”, in James Hakewill, *A Picturesque Tour of the Island of Jamaica* (Kingston, Jamaica: Mill Press, 1990), n.p.
- 7 During their extensive research for *Art and Emancipation in Jamaica: Isaac Mendes Belisario and His Worlds*, Tim Barringer and Gillian Forrester did not discover any of Hakewill’s preliminary Jamaican drawings or watercolours other than the six in the collection at Yale Center for British Art, New Haven. E-mail, Lisa Thornell-Gargiulo, Senior Curatorial Assistant, Department of Prints and Drawings, Yale Center for British Art, to author, 28 July 2014.
- 8 James Hakewill, *Notes by James Hakewill on Travelling to Italy* (1819), pen and ink on paper, 88 × 114 mm, Turner Bequest CLXXI, D13878, Tate, London, UK.
- 9 Hakewill’s images were re-drawn by J.M.W. Turner and engraved by a variety of artists.
- 10 While Hakewill spelled Trelawny with only one “e” in the title of his print, *Bryan Castle Great House, Trelawny*, he spelled it with two (Trelawney) in his list of sketches. James Hakewill, “Views of Jamaica”, *A Picturesque Tour of the Island of Jamaica* (Kingston: The Mill Press, Limited, 1990), n.p.
- 11 Antonio Benítez-Rojo, “Introduction: The Repeating Island”, *The Repeating Island: The Caribbean and the Postmodern Perspective*, trans. James Maraniss (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1992), p. 8.
- 12 Alexander Lee and Tim Barringer, “Life and Labor in Jamaica, 1807–34”, § “Plantation Labor and the Enslaved”, *Art and Emancipation in Jamaica: Isaac Mendes Belisario and His Worlds*, eds. Tim Barringer, Gillian Forrester, and Barbaro Martínez-Ruiz (New Haven: Yale Center for British Art in Association with Yale University Press, 2007), p. 318.
- 13 In comparison, Joseph Kidd was most likely motivated to venture off to Jamaica by his brother’s personal narration of the island. Thomas, a resident of Trelawny, Jamaica in 1828, reportedly owned 20 slaves, 30 livestock, and a dry goods store. The store was advertised in the *Falmouth Post* (22 March 1836). Kriz, “Torrid Zones”, pp. 160, 249 (note #17). Kriz used as her source the *Jamaica Almanack* (1828).
- 14 Clark’s images included: (1) *The Court-House*, (2) *Digging, or Rather Hoeing, the Cane-Holes*, (3) *Planting the Sugar-Cane*, (4) *Cutting the Sugar-Cane*, (5) *The Mill-Yard*, (6) *The Boiling-House*, (7) *Exterior of the Boiling-House*, (8) *Exterior of Curing-House and Stills*, (9) *Interior of the Distillery*, and (10) *Carting and Putting Sugar-Hogsheads on Board*.
- 15 William Clark, *Ten Views in the Island of Antigua, in which are represented the Process of Sugar Making, and the Employment of the Negroes, in the Field, Boiling-House, and Distillery. from drawings made by William Clark during a Residence of three years in the West Indies, upon the Estates of Admiral Tallemach* (London: Thomas Clay, Ludgate-Hill, 1823).
- 16 The name “Wadadli” became popularized in part by the calypso song “*Wadadli Rock*” by Sir McClean “Short Shirt” Emmanuel, which celebrated Antiguan independence. But a cruise company, a film company, sports clubs, and even a beer company have also adopted the name. Although “Wadadli” is widely recognized as the original Native name of the island, recent research conducted by archaeologist and local historian Dr. Reginald Murphy and confirmed by The Museum of Antigua and Barbuda substantiates that the aboriginal name of the island documented in 1635 was “Waladli”. Rory Butler, “Antigua’s native name ‘Wadadli’ under dispute”, *Observer Media Group*, Tuesday 22 January 2013, at <http://www.antiguaobserver.com/antiguas-native-name-wadadli-under-dispute/> (date of last access 31 August 2013).
- 17 Rev. George Newenham Wright, *A New and Comprehensive Gazetteer: Being a Delineation of the Present State of the World, from the Most Recent Authorities, Arranged in Alphabetical Order, and Constituting a Systematic Dictionary of Geography* (London: Thomas Kelley, Paternoster Row, 1838), vol. 5, p. 36. Dupont gives the name of the church as Santa Maria la Antigua, not “de la”. Jerry Dupont, *The Common Law Abroad: Constitutional and Legal Legacy of the British Empire* (Littleton, CO: Fred B. Rothman and Co., 2000), p. 184.
- 18 Columbus renamed what is today the island of Barbuda as “Dulchina”. Dupont, *The Common Law Abroad*, p. 184.

- 19 St. John's is the largest city and harbour in Antigua.
- 20 Dupont, *The Common Law Abroad*, p. 184. Interestingly, Newenham Wright's 1838 publication did not contain a separate entry for Barbuda.
- 21 Dupont, *The Common Law Abroad*, p. 184.
- 22 See: Wright, *A New and Comprehensive Gazetteer*, pp. 36–7; Anonymous, *Antigua and the Antiguans: A Full Account of the Colony and its Inhabitants from the Time of the Caribs to the Present Day, Interspersed with Anecdotes and Legends. Also, An Impartial View of Slavery and the Free Labour Systems; The Statistics of the Island, and Biographical Notices of the Principal Families* (London: Saunders and Otley, Conduit Street, 1844), vol. 1, n.p.; Dupont, *The Common Law Abroad*, p. 152.
- 23 Some confusion exists around the exploits of the male Codringtons since at least three successive generations bear the name Christopher. Christopher Codrington I apparently settled in Barbados around 1640 when his eldest son, Christopher Codrington II, was born. In 1663, Codrington II apparently purchased St. Lucia with other Barbadians from the Native chiefs. Christopher Codrington III was born at Barbados in 1668, studied in England and succeeded his father as the Governor of the Leeward Islands in 1698. Anonymous, *Genealogies of Barbados Families: From Caribbean and the Journal of the Barbados Museum and Historical Society* (Baltimore: Clearfield, 2001), pp. 221–2.
- 24 Wright, *A New and Comprehensive Gazetteer*, p. 36.
- 25 Dupont, *The Common Law Abroad*, p. 184.
- 26 Wright, *A New and Comprehensive Gazetteer*, p. 37. Engerman gives the Antiguan population for 1830 as follows: whites 1,187 (3.27 per cent), slaves 29,600 (81.54 per cent), and free persons of colour 5,513 (15.19 per cent) for a total of 37,000. The total is of course 36,300 and my percentages are based on this more accurate total. Stanley L. Engerman, "A Population History of the Caribbean", *A Population History of North America*, eds. Michael R. Haines and Richard H. Steckel (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 496, Table 11.4, "Caribbean population, 1830".
- 27 Clark, *Ten Views in the Island of Antigua*, n.p.
- 28 Mary Prince, *The History of Mary Prince: A West Indian Slave Related by Herself*, ed. Moira Ferguson (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997), p. 82. Clearly certain noteworthy distinctions existed between the treatment of blacks in Antigua and other islands. In her introduction to Prince's narrative, Ferguson notes that free black men were allowed to vote on the island (p. 12).
- 29 The views were created on Weatherill Estate, which was depicted in plate 2 (*Digging, or rather Hoeing, the Cane-Holes*), and plate 8 (*Exterior of Curing-House and Stills*). Bodkin's Estate is shown in plate 3 (*Planting the Sugar-Cane*), Delop's Estate in plate 4 (*Cutting the Sugar-Cane*), plate 6 (*The Boiling-House*), and plate 9 (*Interior of the Distillery*), and Gambles in plate 5 (*The Mill-Yard*). The first plate, *The Court-House*, was near the centre of town in St. John's and the last one, plate 10 (*Carting and Putting Sugar-Hogsheads on Board*), is a scene from Willoughby Bay.
- 30 By intimate I mean not only the sharing or observation of social customs and cultural traits like cooking, language, child-rearing, the treatment of illness, and religious and spiritual beliefs, but the sexual intimacies created by the endemic white male exploitation of enslaved black females.
- 31 Hogsheads were a type of barrel commonly used to ship colonial merchandise, including plantation-produced goods. The failed sugar planter William Beckford noted that "The common size of a sugar-hogshead is forty-two inches in height, and thirty-six across the head", and would hold about "fifteen hundred weight" of sugar. However, according to Lee and Barringer, a hogshead weighed between 800 and 1,500 pounds. William Beckford, *A Descriptive Account of the Island of Jamaica: with Remarks upon the Cultivation of the Sugar-Cane, through the different Seasons of the Year, and Chiefly considered in a Picturesque Point of View; Also observations and Reflections upon what would probably be the Consequences of an Abolition of the Slave-Trade, and of the Emancipation of the Slaves*, vols. 1 and 2 (London: Printed for T. and J. Egerton Whitehall, 1790), vol. 2, pp. 80–81; Lee and Barringer, "Life and Labor in Jamaica, 1807–34", § "Plantation Labor and the Enslaved", p. 321.
- 32 This quote is taken from the section of Clark's discussion of plate 10, *Carting and Putting Sugar-Hogsheads on Board*.
- 33 Although the animals could be visually mistaken for horses, in his discussion of plate 8, *Exterior of Curing-House and Stills*, Clark mentions that mules and cattle were used to haul sugar and rum to places of shipment. The lower and wider profiles of the animals in the distance in front of a second wain appear to represent cattle.

- 34 After hogsheads of sugar had been cured, they were sealed and a plantation mark applied prior to shipment. Lee and Barringer, "Life and Labor in Jamaica, 1807–34", § "Plantation Labor and the Enslaved", p. 321.
- 35 Strategically placed wooden beams known as spars or skids were attached to the gunwales or sides of the vessel and the droger tilted towards shore to assist with the loading of the hogshead, which was then rolled into the boat as the wave recoiled. Clark explained the specific processes and names in his text on plate 10, *Carting and Putting Sugar-Hogsheads on Board*.
- 36 In his discussion of plate 8, *Exterior of Curing-House and Stills*, Clark noted that after the hogsheads were "headed up" or sealed by the coopers, the overseer marked them with the names of the estate and proprietor.
- 37 Clark earlier began this pattern of representing the binary of white male intellectual labour and black male physical labour in plate 8, *Exterior of Curing-House and Stills*. In it he represented several black male slaves on a landing, positioned in poses of exertion. They are rendered in diagonal stances, exerting pressure to create enough force to move heavy hogsheads onto an awaiting scale readied by more black male slaves. In the midst of their physical efforts, a white man in more refined dress examines a document.
- 38 Clark mentioned the skill and dexterity needed to load hogsheads in this manner in his discussion of plate 10, *Carting and Putting Sugar-Hogsheads on Board*.
- 39 From centre to left, one droger is being loaded like the scene in the immediate foreground, further to the right another one has set out for the awaiting ships, and finally, at the far right, a hogshead is in the process of being loaded by pulleys onto a single-masted ship.
- 40 Linda M. Rupert, *Creolization and Contraband: Curaçao, in the Early Modern Atlantic World* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2012), p. 3.
- 41 Clark names the cluster of buildings as windmill, boiling-house, curing-house, and stills.
- 42 After crystallization, sugar was packed into hogsheads and stored in the curing house for five or six weeks. During this process, the molasses that accumulated at the bottom was collected and used to make rum. The rum was made by combining, fermenting, and distilling a mixture of molasses, brackish water, and the scum left over from the boiling process. After distillation, the rum was deposited in butts by slave coopers. If the manager determined that the alcohol level was too low ("low wines"), it was redistilled. Lee and Barringer, "Life and Labor in Jamaica, 1807–34", § "Plantation Labor and the Enslaved", p. 321.
- 43 Lewis became a Jamaican sugar planter by inheritance since both his father and maternal grandfather had been born on the island. Raised in England, he became famous for his Gothic novel, *The Monk* (1796), published when he was only 20. Lewis kept a journal during his two trips to Jamaica, trips made in the wake of his father's death upon which he inherited two plantations passed down from both sides of his family; Cornwall in the west and Hordley in the east. The precise dates of his visits were 1 January to 31 March 1816 and 23 January to 2 May 1818. He set sail for Jamaica in 1815 aboard the ship *Sir Godfrey Webster* captained by a man named Boyes. The ship sailed from Gravesend at six o'clock on 11 November 1815, spotting Antigua by sunset on 24 December and Montserrat and Nevis on the morning of 25 December, and passing Porto Rico (*sic*). The ship then passed St. Domingo on 28 December and its passengers finally sighted Jamaica on 30 December, disembarking at Black River on 1 January 1816. On the return voyage, Lewis departed on 1 April 1816, arriving in England on Saturday 1 June at nine in the morning. During his second voyage, Lewis departed on the same boat with the same captain on Wednesday 5 November 1817, arriving in Black River, Jamaica on Friday 23 January 1818. Matthew Lewis, *Journal of a West India Proprietor: Kept during a Residence in the Island of Jamaica*, ed. Judith Terry (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 5, 6, 32, 33, 34, 36, 148, 195, 196, 202.
- 44 *Journal of Peter Simmonds of Voyage from Falmouth to Jamaica in HM Packet Mutine, Lieutenant Paule Commr*, October 1831, 19 × 23 cm, JOD/35, Caird Archive and Library, National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, UK.

Simmonds. provided detailed observations on the ship's path and both expected and actual times between key sites. Leaving Falmouth on 12 October 1831, he commented on 30 October that it was about three weeks from Madeira to Barbados and a further week from Barbados to Jamaica. On 31 October we can deduce that the ship neared Madeira since he had "an excellent opportunity of sketching Madeira". That the trip took longer than imagined was a point of consternation for Simmonds who documented a conversation of 7 November when the captain claimed to have previously made the voyage to Barbados in 28 days; although on this occasion Simmonds reported, "here we have been

- very nearly that time and have come very little more than halfway". On 10 November he reported that, due to the slowness of the ship's progress, they began to ration water since they were not supposed to dock anywhere before reaching Barbados. The pace increased on 21 November when he wrote of "an excellent day" with the ship travelling at seven miles an hour most of the day. Barbados was spotted at 7:30 pm on 24 November and he went ashore with Mr. Olive to Mr. Cavans' (spelling unclear) at 10:30 am two days later on 26 November. Noting that St. Vincent was 92 miles off, that evening they departed at 7:00 pm with a passenger bound for that island. Arriving at St. Vincent on 27 November, Simmonds noted that they were to pass a group of islands known as the Grenadines as they continued. On the 28th he observed that Jamaica was 820 miles away. Simmonds began to pack his belongings on 2 December, spotting the high land of St. Domingo. On 3 December he arrived at Port Royal, Jamaica and by the 4th was in the capital, Kingston. Simmonds also captured details of marine life, noting that a gunner caught a flying fish on 15 November and that he had spotted a group of porpoises under the bow on the morning of 22 November.
- 45 My basis for this particular order of the plates is the bound copy at the British Library, London, UK. This layout is one of several since Hakewill's prints were initially published in a set of seven folios of three plates each, most likely in an unbound format, which allowed the reader flexibility in their interaction with the work and the juxtaposition of image with text. As Kriz has noted in the much earlier case of Sloane's *Voyage to . . . Jamaica*, the pages were secured with stubs and unstitched, allowing for the book to be laid flat, creating wide margins which could accommodate the reader's notes. Boxer, "Foreword"; Kay Dian Kriz, *Slavery, Sugar, and the Culture of Refinement: Picturing the British West Indies 1700–1840* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), pp. 13–14.
 - 46 This method of publication has also led to various omissions and anomalies in existing volumes. For instance, David Boxer cites a rare "slave insert", a sheet regarding the condition of the enslaved in Jamaica, that was inserted in some copies of Folio 2, but which is missing from most bound volumes. Boxer, "Foreword".
 - 47 Tim Barringer, "Picturesque Prospects and the Labor of the Enslaved", *Art and Emancipation in Jamaica: Isaac Mendes Belisario and His Worlds*, eds. Tim Barringer, Gillian Forrester, and Barbaro Martinez-Ruiz (New Haven: Yale Center for British Art in Association with Yale University Press, 2007), p. 41.
 - 48 Tim Barringer, "Life and Labor in Jamaica, 1807–34", § "Picturesque Jamaica", *Art and Emancipation in Jamaica*, p. 342.
 - 49 For instance, Lewis documented in his journal that he had sailed about 30 miles east on a cutter from Black River, St Elizabeth to Savannah la Mar, Westmoreland on 2 January 1816 in about five hours. The cutter departed Black River at four o'clock and arrived at Savannah la Mar just after nine o'clock. Lewis embarked upon this trip to inspect his property, the estate called Cornwall. Although the two settlements were both positioned on the south coast, inland travel by carriage would have been much more time-consuming, and arguably perilous, than on the cutter. Lewis, *Journal of a West India Proprietor*, p. 41.
 - 50 B.W. Higman, "James Hakewill: A Biographical Note", in James Hakewill, *A Picturesque Tour of the Island of Jamaica* (Kingston, Jamaica: Mill Press, 1990). Higman notes that Hakewill had previously used the camera lucida during his travels in Italy.
 - 51 Kriz, "Torrid Zones", p. 161. Kriz notes that The Yale Center for the Study of British Art owns several Hakewill watercolours of the estates of Watson Tyler.
 - 52 Boxer, "Foreword".
 - 53 Six of Hakewill's watercolours of estates are now owned by the Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection, New Haven, US. The watercolours are mounted on thick paper and bound into an album, making any possible inscriptions on verso inaccessible. The provenance of the album is unknown. E-mail, Lisa Thornell-Gargiulo, Senior Curatorial Assistant, Department of Prints and Drawings, Yale Center for British Art, to author, 28 July 2014.
 - 54 While St Thomas in the East and St Mary's were depicted in Hakewill's book, Lyssons Estate and Llanrumny Estate were not. Furthermore, no images from Hanover were included. Of his 21 prints, the largest group from one parish was four from St Mary's, followed by three each from Kingston, St Catherine, and St James.
 - 55 Hakewill, *A Picturesque Tour*, p. 12. Middlesex was comprised of the parishes of St. Catherine, St. John, St. Dorothy, St. Thomas-in-the-Vale, Clarendon, Vere, Manchester, St. Mary, and St. Ann. Surry was made up of Kingston, Port Royal, St. Andrew, St. David, St. Thomas-in-the-East, Portland, and

- St. George. And finally, Cornwall included St. Elizabeth, Westmoreland, Hanover, St. James, and Trelawny.
- 56 Hakewill, *A Picturesque Tour*, p. 12.
- 57 Jill H. Casid, *Sowing Empire: Landscape and Colonization* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005), p. 4.
- 58 Higman, "James Hakewill", n.p. Hakewill's unpublished images of coffee plantations included *View Mount Zion Coffee Plantation, St. Andrew's*. His unpublished pens included *Batchelor's Hall, Penn* and *Admiral's Penn* the property of C. Arcedeckne in St Thomas in the East, two views from Shotover Penn created on the property of W. Bryan, Sir S.H. Clarke's two pens *Cacoon Castle Penn, Hanover* and *Mahogany Hall Penn, Shettlewood Penn, Hanover*, from the property of C.R. Ellis, two views of Sir Alexander Grant's *Charlemont Penn, St. Thomas in the Vale*, three views of Thomas Hibbert's *Aqualta Vale Penn*, Lord Holland's *Sweet River Penn, Westmoreland*, William Shand's *Hopewell Penn, St Ann's*, two views of F.G. Smith's *Goshen Penn, St. Elizabeth's*, and John Tharps' *Top-Hill Penn* and *Windsor Penn*. James Hakewill, "Views Taken in Jamaica", *A Picturesque Tour of the Island of Jamaica* (Kingston: The Mill Press Limited, 1990), n.p.
- 59 Gerald Finley, *George Heriot: Postmaster-Painter of the Canadas* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983), p. 5.
- 60 Krista A. Thompson, *An Eye for the Tropics: Tourism, Photography, and Framing the Caribbean Picturesque* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006), p. 37.
- 61 William James Gardner, *A History of Jamaica from its Discovery by Christopher Columbus to the Present Time; Including an Account of its Trade and Agriculture; Sketches of the Manners, Habits, and Customs of all Classes of its Inhabitants; and a Narrative of the Progress of Religion and Education in the Island* (London: Elliot Stock, 62, Paternoster Row, EC, 1873), p. 161. Gardner also claims that there were some 600 plantations growing provisions (that is, yam, potato, corn), another 600 pimento walks, 8 indigo farms (although soon abandoned), and 150 coffee plantations (p. 161).
- 62 B.W. Higman, *Slave Population and Economy in Jamaica, 1807–1834* (Kingston, Jamaica: University of West Indies Press, 1995), p. 14.
- 63 Gilbert Mathison, Esq., *Notices Respecting Jamaica in 1808–1809–1810* (London: Printed for John Stockdale, Piccadilly, 1811). Mathison was an absentee planter who returned to Jamaica after an absence of 13 years, whereupon he published this book. The book was priced at "5s".
- 64 However, Lewis, who arrived in Jamaica on 1 January 1816, complained in his journal on 25 March that his slaves' productivity slowed significantly upon his arrival, dwindling to 23 hogsheads after two weeks and to 13 "during the last week". Labelling them "perverse beings", he surmised that they rewarded his indulgences and protection with ingratitude, utterly failing to account for the overproduction, through force and abuse, which resulted in the "regular" output during his absence. Indeed, according to Cooper, slaves held on the plantations of absentee landlords suffered more due to the despotism of the overseer whom he described as an "absolute master", a cruel combination of "lawgiver, accuser and judge". Lewis, *Journal of a West India Proprietor*, p. 141; Rev. Thomas Cooper, *Facts Illustrative of the Condition of the Negro Slaves in Jamaica: with Notes and Appendix* (London: Sold by J. Hatchard and Son, Piccadilly, and Lupton Relfe, 13 Cornhill; G. Smallfield, Printer, Hackney, 1824), p. 19.
- 65 Kriz, citing the work of Higman, notes a steady growth in absenteeism amongst the planter class in Jamaica at this time, from 30 per cent in 1775 to 80 per cent at the time of emancipation. B.W. Higman, *Jamaica Surveyed: Plantation Maps and Plans of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* (Kingston: Institute of Jamaica, 1988), p. 17; cited in Kriz, "Torrid Zones", p. 248, note #11.
- 66 The first major hotel in Jamaica seems to have been that of the Scottish newspaper publisher James Gall. Built on Harbour Street in downtown Kingston in 1870, Gall erected the Myrtle Bank Hotel using the clear spring to construct a "sanitarium for invalids and tourists". As a way to attract clientele, Gall also referred to his establishment as "The American Hotel". See Krista A. Thompson, "Diving into the Racial Waters of Beach Space in Jamaica: Tropical Modernity and the Myrtle Bank Hotel's Pool", *An Eye for the Tropics: Tourism, Photography, and Framing the Caribbean Picturesque* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006), pp. 205–6.
- 67 Lewis, *Journal of a West India Proprietor*, p. 103.
- 68 On the issue of patronage and map-making, Harley astutely noted how the cartographer's lack of independence from his patron led inevitably to "deliberate distortions" for political purposes. If we replace map with landscape and patron with planter, we can begin to deduce the types of political pressure under which Hakewill must have laboured when conceptualizing and realizing his illustrated book.

- 69 J.B. Harley, *The New Nature of Maps: Essays in the History of Cartography* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), p. 60.
- 70 According to Cundall, the fear of rebellions or outbreaks was ever present and a central reason why the many planters were wary of the colony's 2nd West Indian Regiment of Negro troops raised in 1797. This regiment was considered to be "incompatible with our safety and pregnant with the most fatal calamities". Governor Nugent had agreed to remove the regiment if the House of Assembly consented to support 5,000 instead of 3,000 British troops. However, his offer was voted down by a margin of 24 to 6 and the black troops remained. The military was systematically hierarchized according to race. As Cundall has noted, "The Kingston regiment of foot militia had two battalions of artillery and grenadiers, besides six companies to each battalion of light infantry – the 2nd company was composed of Jews, the 3rd of mulattoes, the 4th of quadroons, and the 5th and 6th of blacks – all officered by white men." Frank Cundall, ed., *Lady Nugent's Journal: Jamaica One Hundred Years Ago* (London: Published for The Institute of Jamaica by Adam and Charles Black, 1907), pp. xxx, xxxii, xli.
- 71 John Michael Vlach, *The Planter's Prospect: Privilege and Slavery in Plantation Paintings* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), p. 11.
- 72 Vlach, *The Planter's Prospect*, p. 7.
- 73 Vlach, *The Planter's Prospect*, p. 1.
- 74 Quilley has indicated that in the earlier period when Beckford published his book, the late eighteenth century, there was not only a scarcity of professional artists in the Caribbean, but a lack of suitable patronage due to the absenteeism of many British planters. Geoff Quilley, "Pastoral Plantations: The Slave Trade and the Representation of British Colonial Landscape in the Late Eighteenth-Century", *An Economy of Colour: Visual Culture and the Atlantic World, 1660–1830*, eds. Geoff Quilley and Kay Dian Kriz (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), p. 107.
- 75 Quilley, "Pastoral Plantations", p. 108. As Quilley argues, the conceptualization of the Creole gentleman planter as the "real" West Indian obviously worked to displace Jamaican indigenous populations, enslaved Africans, mixed-race people, and other populations from belonging.
- 76 Casid, *Sowing Empire*, p. 2.
- 77 Kriz, "Torrid Zones", pp. 157–9.
- 78 Kriz, "Torrid Zones", p. 159.
- 79 "Appendix 9: *Bermuda Royal Gazette* (A Defence of Mary Prince's slaveowners, Mr. & Mrs. John Wood), Hamilton, November 22, 1831, The Anti-Slavery Society, and the West India Colonists", in Prince, *The History of Mary Prince*, p. 157.
- 80 "Appendix 9: *Bermuda Royal Gazette*", pp. 152–3.
- 81 Cynric Williams, "Preface", *A Tour through the Island of Jamaica, from the Western to the Eastern End, in the Year 1823* (London: Hunt and Clarke, 1826), n.p.
- 82 Lewis, *Journal of a West India Proprietor*, pp. 56–7. Lewis' claim of cleanliness is outrageous. Given the practice of slave clothing or cloth rations in Jamaica, most slaves would have possessed very little clothing and laundering would have been reserved for weekends when a brief reprieve from field labour was possible. The arduousness of plantation labour tasks like planting, cutting, bundling, and hauling cane meant that clothing would have customarily been dirtied not only with sweat, but also with soil, plant matter, and other substances, especially the noted white clothing.
- 83 Rev. R. Bickell, *The West Indies as they are: or a Real Picture of Slavery: but more particularly as it exists in the Island of Jamaica, in three parts, with notes* (London: Printed for J. Hatchard and Son, 187 Piccadilly; and Lupton Relfe, Cornhill, 1825), p. 54.
- 84 Trevor Burnard, "The Sexual Life of an Eighteenth-Century Jamaican Slave Overseer", *Sex and Sexuality in Early America*, ed. Merrill D. Smith (New York: New York University Press, 1998), p. 184.
- 85 Elizabeth A. Bohls, "The Aesthetics of Colonialism: Janet Schaw in the West Indies, 1774–1775", *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, vol. 27, no. 3 (Spring 1994), p. 375. See Janet Schaw, *Journal of a Lady of Quality: Being the Narrative of a Journey from Scotland to the West Indies, North Carolina, and Portugal, in the years 1774 to 1776*, eds. Evangeline Walker Andrews and Charles McLean Andrews, 2nd ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1934).
- 86 Kriz, *Slavery, Sugar, and the Culture of Refinement*, p. 30.
- 87 Kriz, *Slavery, Sugar, and the Culture of Refinement*, pp. 29–30.
- 88 Kriz, *Slavery, Sugar, and the Culture of Refinement*, p. 121.

- 89 Kriz, *Slavery, Sugar, and the Culture of Refinement*, p. 121.
- 90 Harley, *The New Nature of Maps*, p. 60.
- 91 Lucille Mathurin Mair, "Women Field Workers in Jamaica During Slavery", *Caribbean Slavery in the Atlantic World: A Student Reader*, eds. Verene Shepherd and Hilary McD. Beckles (Kingston, Jamaica: Ian Randle, 2000), p. 390.
- 92 The name Llanrumny (Llanrumney) comes from the Welsh Llanrhymni, a region east of Cardiff, Wales. Also known as Llanrumney Hall, it was the birthplace of Sir Henry Morgan in 1635. For the capture of Panama in 1671, Morgan became the deputy governor of Jamaica and was knighted by King Charles II. Taylor's plantation, depicted by Hakewill, would appear to be the same St. Mary's property that was bequeathed by Morgan to his wife. Keith Phillip Jones, "The Hidden History of Llanrumney", *The Guardian*, 24 June 2010, at <http://www.theguardian.com/cardiff/2010/jun/24/llanrumney-festival-and-history> (date of last access 12 August 2014).
- 93 Sir Simon Richard Brissett Taylor, the nephew of the senior Simon Taylor, was the first heir. With his premature death in 1815 at the age of 30, the fortune passed to George. The elder Simon Taylor is discussed extensively in Chapter 7. Courtney J. Martin, Gillian Forrester, and Tim Barringer, "Life and Labor in Jamaica, 1807–34", Catalogue Entry #72, Lyssons Estate, St. Thomas in the East, Jamaica (c. 1820–21), *Art and Emancipation in Jamaica*, p. 346.
- 94 Tim Barringer, "Life and Labor in Jamaica, 1807–34", Catalogue Entry #43, Mill Yard, Holland Estate, St. Thomas in the East (c. 1820–21), *Art and Emancipation in Jamaica*, p. 322.
- 95 Catherine Hall, "Britain, Jamaica, and Empire in the Era of Emancipation", *Art and Emancipation in Jamaica: Isaac Mendes Belisario and His Worlds*, eds. Tim Barringer, Gillian Forrester, and Barbaro Martinez-Ruiz (New Haven: Yale Center for British Art in Association with Yale University Press, 2007), p. 16.
- 96 Cundall, *Lady Nugent's Journal*, p. xl.
- 97 Hakewill, *A Picturesque Tour*, n.p. Engerman summarizes the Jamaican population as follows in 1830: whites 18,903 (5 per cent), slaves 319,074 (84 per cent), and free persons of colour 40,073 (11 per cent), for a total of 378,050. Engerman, "A Population History of the Caribbean", p. 496, Table 11.4, "Caribbean population, 1830".
- 98 Susan E. Klepp and Roderick A. McDonald, "Inscribing Experience: An American Working Woman and an English Gentle Woman Encounter Jamaica's Slave Society, 1801–1805", *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, vol. 58, no. 3 (July 2001), p. 649. Klepp and McDonald give the population of whites in 1805 as 20,000, and of slaves as 308,755. The rest of the population consisted mainly of free blacks and coloureds. Tadman contends that some 750,000 Africans were forcibly migrated to Jamaica over the course of the Trans Atlantic slave trade, but that a much-reduced population of 300,000 existed at the time of abolition in 1838. He defines this downward rate as a *natural decrease* of 20 per cent per decade seen in Caribbean and Brazilian populations. See Michael Tadman, "The Demographic Cost of Sugar: Debates on Slave Societies and Natural Increase in the Americas", *American Historical Review*, vol. 105, no. 5 (December 2000), p. 1534.
- 99 Thompson, *An Eye for the Tropics*, p. 39.
- 100 Lewis, *Journal of a West India Proprietor*, p. 65. Lewis went on to explain that the Jamaican Negroes were comparable to the English day labourers (p. 66). "The Lethe" refers to a river in the underworld to be crossed at death in Virgil's *Aeneid*, book 6. Terry, "Introduction", in Lewis, *Journal of a West India Proprietor*, p. 277.
- 101 Lewis, *Journal of a West India Proprietor*, p. 65.
- 102 Prince, *The History of Mary Prince*, p. 94.
- 103 Kriz, *Slavery, Sugar, and the Culture of Refinement*, p. 125.
- 104 A.E. Furness, "George Hibbert and the Defence of West Indian Slavery", *Jamaican Historical Review*, vol. 5 (1965), p. 67; also cited in Hall, "Britain, Jamaica, and Empire", p. 18.
- 105 Barbara Lalla and Jean D'Costa, *Language in Exile: Three Hundred Years of Jamaica Creole* (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 2009), p. 13.
- 106 Richard Sheridan, "The Jamaican Slave Insurrection Scare of 1776 and the American Revolution", *Origins of the Black Atlantic*, eds. Laurent Dubois and Julius S. Scott (New York: Routledge, 2010). The insurrection was planned for July with the rebels plotting to take advantage of the departure of the military from Fort Lucea, Hanover (p. 30). The overseer Thomas Thistlewood noted this revolt in his journal. Trevor Burnard, *Mastery, Tyranny, and Desire: Thomas Thistlewood and His Slaves in the Anglo-Jamaican World* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), p. 140.

- 107 Andrew O'Shaughnessy, "Redcoats and Slaves in the British Caribbean", *The Lesser Antilles in the Age of European Expansion*, eds. Robert L. Paquette and Stanley L. Engerman (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1996), p. 118. Takyi's War (1760–61), also referred to as Takyi's Rebellion or Revolt, is named for its leader, an enslaved Coromantee man who reputedly mobilized most of the Coromantees across Jamaica. It began on Easter Day (7 April) 1760 when a group of about 150 slaves seized gunpowder and muskets from Port Maria before gathering support as they moved south. At the time St Mary's had the largest concentration of Coromantee slaves and the fewest whites. Although Takyi was quickly captured and executed, a guerrilla war involving thousands of slaves ensued for months. The rebellion was not quelled until October 1761 when 400 slave rebels had been killed in battle, 100 executed and about 500 deported to British Honduras (Belize). According to Peter Lindebaugh and Marcus Rediker, these deportees went on to participate in the other uprisings in their new residence (1765, 1768, 1773). Furthermore, the rebels reportedly killed about 60 whites and 60 more free blacks and people of colour. The rebellion prompted new legislation and prohibitions against Obeah, the practice of which had been central to the uprising. Diana Paton, "Tacky's Rebellion (1760–1761)", *The Historical Encyclopedia of World Slavery*, ed. Junius P. Rodriguez, vol. 2, L–Z (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 1997), p. 623. Takyi is also referred to as Tacky by Shepherd, Lindebaugh and Rediker and as Tackey by Burnard. Burnard, *Mastery, Tyranny, and Desire*, p. 140; Hilary McD. Beckles and Verene A. Shepherd, *Saving Souls: The Struggle to End the Transatlantic Trade in Africans* (Kingston, Jamaica: Ian Randle, 2007), p. 35; Peter Lindebaugh and Marcus Rediker, *The Many-Headed Hydra: Sailors, Slaves, Commoners, and the Hidden History of the Revolutionary Atlantic* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2000), p. 224.
- 108 The overseer Thomas Thistlewood noted both the 1765 (St Mary's) and 1766 (Westmoreland) uprisings in his journal, stating that he participated in a slave rebel hunt during the latter. Burnard, *Mastery, Tyranny, and Desire*, p. 140.
- 109 Kenneth Morgan, *Slavery and the British Empire: From Africa to America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 144. Demerara was present-day Guyana. For more about these slave revolts, see Michael Craton, *Testing the Chains: Resistance to Slavery in the British West Indies* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1982). The Morant Bay Rebellion of 1865 followed these rebellions, during the period of British slavery. On 11 October a group of blacks, led by Paul Bogle, entered Morant Bay. Protesting an unpopular court decision, their clash with the volunteer militia resulted in 18 deaths and 31 people being injured. Declaring martial law, Governor Edward John Eyre oversaw the execution of 439 people, including the "spokesman for formerly enslaved Jamaicans", the coloured man George William Gordon. Eyre also ordered the flogging of more than 600 people. Many others lost their lives as the British military restored their dominance by torching houses and terrorizing the masses. Tim Barringer, "Emancipation and its Aftermath, 1838–65", § "1865 and the Morant Bay Rebellion", *Art and Emancipation in Jamaica: Isaac Mendes Belisario and His Worlds*, eds. Tim Barringer, Gillian Forrester, and Barbaro Martinez-Ruiz (New Haven: Yale Center for British Art in Association with Yale University Press, 2007), pp. 536, 539.
- 110 With regard to vigilante justice and the terrorism directed at black populations by whites, the Vineyard Pen, St Elizabeth overseer Thomas Thistlewood recounted seeing the body of a male slave from a neighbouring estate, decapitated and strung up in a tree for the crime of drawing a knife on a white man. Philip D. Morgan, "Slaves and Livestock in Eighteenth-Century Jamaica: Vineyard Pen, 1750–1751", *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, vol. 52, no. 1 (January 1995), p. 65. Abuse of the enslaved also took the form of pre-emptive violence and strategic terror that were casually inflicted by the planter class in the Caribbean. In the former case, reporting on Cuban slavery in 1840, David Turnbull surmised that it was a common practice amongst the "mistress of many a great family in Havana" to send some slaves monthly "to the whipping post" as "periodic advertisements" which aided in the management of a slave population considered prone to "vice and idleness". And in the latter case, castration, dismemberment, and execution of black male slaves became normative in mid-eighteenth-century Barbados to deter enslaved black males from having sexual relations with white women. Hilary McD. Beckles, "White Women and Slavery in the Caribbean", *Caribbean Slavery in the Atlantic World: A Student Reader*, eds. Verene Shepherd and Hilary McD. Beckles (Kingston, Jamaica: Ian Randle, 2000), pp. 666–7.
- 111 Burnard, "The Sexual Life", p. 165.
- 112 Matthew Lewis described the worst of the Negro diseases as "the cocoa-bay", an illness deemed to be hereditary and contagious that lurked in the blood eventually resulting in "offensive sores, attended with extreme debility". Lewis, *Journal of a West India Proprietor*, p. 127.