**Victorian Jamaica** brings imperial historical and sociocultural analysis to bear upon the material, performative, and visual cultures of the period, and the cumulative effect is stunning! Its comprehensive and wide-ranging contributions encourage us to think about empire in relation to everyday circulations and thus to focus on the complex and sometimes messy connections between space, time, and cultural production and practice. By exploring both changes in British imperial policy during the Victorian period and transformations in subjectivity among colonial subjects in the exemplary case of Jamaica, our eyes are drawn to the ways ordinary people participated in imperial circulations, transformed metropolitan spaces, and negotiated changing geopolitical fields. An interdisciplinary tour de force, and a must read for anyone interested in Atlantic World modernities! 

[Deborah a. Thomas](#) author of *Exceptional Violence: Embodied Citizenship in Transnational Jamaica*

**Victorian Jamaica** is a historiographical intervention with wide-ranging implications. It invites us to comprehensively reconsider a formative era in the making of postemancipation Jamaica, when a new social order of conflicting norms and values and aspirations emerged within an ideologically distinctive imperial matrix. The innovative essays that it comprises seek to explore a variety of arenas within this new order with genuinely provocative insight.

[Davi D scooter](#) Columbia University

"Victorian Jamaica" is a historically situated intervention with wide-ranging implications. It invites us to comprehensively reconsider a formative era in the making of postemancipation Jamaica, when a new social order of conflicting norms and values and aspirations emerged within an ideologically distinctive imperial matrix. The innovative essays that it comprises seek to explore a variety of arenas within this new order with genuinely provocative insight.

[Davi D scooter](#) Columbia University

Cover art: A. Duperly and Sons, Statue of Governor Metcalfe at the Landing Pier, Kingston Harbour, 1900. Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica, N/100, 122.

*Tim Barringer and Wayne Modest* Editors

**Victorian Jamaica** explores the extraordinary surviving archive of visual representation and material objects to provide a comprehensive account of Jamaican society during Queen Victoria's reigns over the British Empire, from 1837 to 1901. In their analyses of material ranging from photographs of plantation laborers and landscape paintings to cricket team photographs, furniture, and architecture, as well as a wide range of texts, the contributors trace the relationship between black Jamaican and colonial institutions; contextualize race within ritual and performance; and outline how material and visual culture helped shape the complex politics of colonial society. By narrating Victorian history from a Caribbean perspective, this richly illustrated volume—featuring 270 full-color images—offers a complex and nuanced portrait of Jamaica that expands our understanding of the wider history of the British Empire and Atlantic world during this period.

**Contributors**

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Cover art: A. Duperly and Sons, Statue of Governor Metcalfe at the Landing Pier, Kingston Harbour, 1900. Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica, N/100, 122.
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Acknowledgments

It has become a stock-in-trade for editors to acknowledge all the people who contributed to or supported their book project. As the editors of a book that was more than five years in the making, has twenty-two authors, and features more than three hundred images, we face an enormous challenge in naming all who helped us. What follows, therefore, is offered with apologies, in the knowledge that it must be incomplete.

As the joint editors of this book, we share overlapping networks of persons and institutions without whom this project would not have been possible. We would like first to thank the thirty authors included in this publication. We knew from the outset that inviting them to contribute would yield a collection of individual essays grounded in significant new scholarship; more importantly, however, the book developed into a wonderful collaborative project. This collaborative spirit was confirmed in the two-day workshop we attended in Jamaica, where we read and commented on each other’s papers in a critical yet supportive manner. This made the process for us, as editors, a delight, like a conversation among friends. Our colleagues and participating institutions in Jamaica were extraordinarily generous in welcoming the members of the workshop into study rooms and storerooms and in sharing the riches of their collections and ideas.

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It goes without saying that every book, every piece of academic writing, is built on the works of earlier scholars. We have managed to include in this book some of the most important scholars on this period in British imperial and Jamaican history. As editors, then, our task was made easier. In addition to these scholars, we want also to thank the numerous other scholars who have been interested in this history; while not named here, their works appear in this book’s extensive bibliography.

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Adolphe Duperly’s lithograph titled *Commemorative of the Extinction of Slavery on the First of August 1838* (fig. I.1) records the apparent blaze of jubilation with which the city of Kingston inaugurated the period discussed in this book: the reign of Queen Victoria (1837–1901). The slow and painful process of emancipation had finally brought an end to slavery, the condition of most Jamaicans for the previous two centuries. By historical coincidence, emancipation occurred at the beginning of the reign of a monarch almost five thousand miles away. Victoria, queen of a worldwide empire that had included Jamaica since 1655, had been crowned just a month earlier, on June 28, 1838.1 Victoria’s name would become identified with the dominant ideologies, social codes, and aesthetic tastes of the second half of the nineteenth century, even beyond the wide reach of her titular domain. The long period of her reign has attained the status of a historical unit principally because of the emblematic character of the Queen herself. Victoria was to be remembered by black Jamaicans as the Queen who set them free, despite enslaved Jamaicans’ long history of resistance (most recently the Christmas rebellions of 1831–1832) that had precipitated the passing of the Emancipation Act and the fact that the legislation predated her reign.

Victoria’s special status in the Jamaican imaginary is recalled in a Bruckins song performed in 1887, on the fiftieth anniversary of her accession:

Jubalee, jubalee
This is the year of jubalee
Augus’ mornin’ come again (×2)
Augus’ mornin’ come again
This is the year of jubalee
Queen Victoria give we free.2

Bruckins is a uniquely Jamaican dance form with associated music that began in 1838 as an annual commemoration of emancipation. It is characterized, according to the folklorist Olive Lewin, “by stately dipping and gliding movements” and “exaggerated posturing with swords.”3 Based on her observations of Bruckins at Manchineal in Portland, Jamaica, from 1967 onward, Lewin crisply
Wayne Modest and Tim Barringer

recorded that “in the mind of some of our most senior citizens it is to ‘Missis Queen’ that we owe our freedom, regardless of what history records.” The persistence of this historical memory reflects the success of colonial officials and missionaries more than a century earlier who had been keen to promote the association of Victoria’s name with a new era of freedom. The words illuminated by fireworks in the right middle ground of Duperly’s lithograph do not mention slavery. Rather, we read: “Victoria: God Save the Queen” (fig. 1.2).

This book explores the complexities of Jamaican culture and history in the six decades following emancipation— a period in which the ambiguities and limits of hard-won freedom became very clear. The contributors acknowledge the oxymoronic, though creative, tension between the terms “Victorian” and “Jamaica,” between the lifespan of an Englishwoman who never visited the Caribbean, on the one hand, and an island colony whose population of hun-
dreds of thousands was made up largely of formerly enslaved people of African descent, on the other. We argue, however, that every aspect of Jamaican culture during the period was in dialogue, and often in conflict, with ideas, attitudes, behaviors, and restrictions generated in the imperial center. More contentiously, we take as axiomatic that a Caribbean perspective is essential to a full understanding of British history of the Victorian age and that discussion of both empire and the Caribbean belongs at the center of discourse about that period. By attempting to address the totality of Jamaican life in the sixty-four years of Victoria’s reign—including social, economic, cultural, and even spiritual issues—and by examining the material survivals of Jamaican architecture and objects, visual representations as well as textual sources, this book aims to provide a portrait of the Victorian age in a Caribbean colony.

For Jamaica, the long reign of Queen Victoria was a period of unresolved transition and crisis rather than the golden era envisaged by many on August 1, 1838. Hints of this uncertain future are present in the chiaroscuro of Duperly’s emblematic lithograph. Its dramatic contrasts of light and dark, of peaceful celebration and violent eruption, offer a prescient, indeed prophetic, interpretation of the emancipation celebration and its aftermath. The gathering took place on the racecourse at Kingston the night after emancipation, August 2, 1838, and was attended by many thousands of newly freed men, women, and children, to whom Duperly alludes in the sea of distant faces. This is a well-disciplined jubilant crowd, not a mob. However, this mass of people, emerg-

FIGS. 1.2 AND 1.3
details of fig. 1.1

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ing suddenly into legal and economic personhood, constituted an unknown, untested force—a new polity.

In the foreground, Duperly represents members of the elite of Kingston, Jamaica's premier port and commercial city (Spanish Town remained the capital and seat of government until 1872), with their carriages and servants (fig. I.3). The print highlights disjunctures within the colony's demographics. The majority of the population was of African origin, but wealth and political power remained overwhelmingly in the hands of the tiny white minority, and emancipation did nothing to change this imbalance. The Victorian period saw the emergence of a black and brown middle class, whose social, economic, and cultural contributions are discussed extensively in this book and some of whose members played a prominent role in Jamaican public life. The majority, however, despite their new legal status, were excluded both by limitations on the voting franchise and by a wider range of informal cultural exclusion, from the political process and from governance of the island, throughout Victoria’s reign.

Because black Jamaicans were denied representation in political institutions and in established media such as newspapers, cultural expression—particularly through music, though performance practices such as masquerade and dance, through clothing and dress, and, perhaps most importantly, through religion and spirituality—offered a crucial means of collective self-expression. A visual hint of such forms of expression can be seen in Duperly’s crowd, wherein black
Jamaican women wear elaborate cloth head ties derived from West African forms (see fig. I.4). Despite the attempts of plantation owners, colonial reformers, and churchmen to suppress African traditions, they remained a significant presence in black Jamaican culture. In many cases, practices and forms derived from African sources had been transformed and had reemerged in distinctive creolized forms.

After the Emancipation Act on August 1, 1834, the island’s population of enslaved men and women had entered a period of “apprenticeship,” which demanded that they continue to work for the former slaveholders under highly restrictive conditions but that they receive wages for their labor. Apprenticeship was justified on the basis that it would equip formerly enslaved men and women to deal with their newly gained freedom as subjects. In fact, it provided a cushion for the plantation owners, ensuring that they had access to cheap labor in the transitional period. Although, according to the original plan, apprenticeship was to last for six years, it proved unsustainable, as more and more apprentices abandoned plantations. On August 1, 1838, “full freedom”—the event celebrated in Duperly’s print—began, and with it Jamaica’s Victorian age. The planters had demonstrated notable intransigence, and in some cases brutality, in enforcing strict labor discipline under apprenticeship. Having bitterly opposed emancipation, many predicted swift economic collapse for the colony. One might imagine the wealthy man seated in a coach high above the fray at the extreme left of Duperly’s plate to be a skeptical old planter predicting ruin and anarchy, as many did in 1838 (see fig. I.3). The artist himself associated emancipation with “ruin and misery.”

While emancipation afforded the formerly enslaved formal status as individual subjects of the British crown, rather than as the property of others, questions remained in the minds of colonial social reformers about whether they were sufficiently “civilized” to live up to the responsibilities of their freedom. The term “civilizing mission” has been used to describe the attitudes and actions of missionaries, colonial officials, and proponents of social reform in Jamaica after emancipation, and this phrase has become emblematic of attempts to inscribe upon the people of Jamaica the normative values of Britain’s culturally dominant middle class. According to Brian L. Moore and Michele A. Johnson, for missionaries and reformers, “creole culture, particularly the Afro variant, was characterized by gross immorality, debauchery, superstition, fetish and paganism. . . . This culture had, therefore, to be eradicated if Jamaica were to become a modern civilized society, and the standard for that would be the incorporation of middle-class Victorian, Christian values and morals which would produce the guiding principles of decency and decorum.”

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After the imposition of direct rule from London in 1866, Moore and Johnson characterize a “coalition” of the “whole of elite society,” including “the missionaries and the churches with which they were associated, wealthy white planters and merchants, educated middle-class browns (coloreds) and blacks, the press and the new colonial officialdom,” as engaging in “an open war for civilization.”

While many interest groups shared in the project of the imposition of European Protestant bourgeois values, such an account goes too far in implying a homogeneity among the “elite society” of Victorian Jamaica. Just as British culture was divided ideologically between a range of liberal and conservative positions and along fault lines of class, race, and religion, so too the Jamaican elite was characterized by difference, as Moore and Johnson themselves acknowledge. Any model emphasizing a Manichaean binary, an “ideological confrontation between the forces of creolization and Anglicization,” coded respectively as good and bad, does not allow sufficient space for interstitial positions, hybridity, and creative forms of appropriation by Jamaicans of all classes and ethnicities. In this volume, we seek to avoid binary models of difference and to offer a pluralistic view of nineteenth-century Jamaican society, in which the multifarious forms of cultural activity could provide spaces for exchange and interaction between black, brown, and white Jamaicans across lines of class, gender, and religion.

As if exploring these possibilities in visual form, Duperly’s lithograph emphasizes the juxtaposition and intermingling of black, brown, and white figures. The artist refuses to bifurcate society simply along an axis of black
and white. In 1838, such a vision could betoken a future utopia in which the divisions present in Jamaican society from its foundations would be erased or renegotiated. Black and white men recline together in harmony on the grass at the Kingston racecourse: an Afro-Jamaican figure raises his right hand in celebration (see fig. I.5) as if echoing the widely circulated emancipation image by Alexander Rippingille, originally produced in 1834 (see fig. I.7) and reprinted in 1838, with the title *Immediate Emancipation in the West Indies.*

Duperly’s allusion to potential racial harmony and even intimacy between black and white people disguises the unequal conditions under which black Jamaicans lived just before, and indeed long after, emancipation. Even those churchmen who believed black people were capable of being the equals of their former masters considered that a homogeneous culture of equality could be achieved only at a later stage, after the process of “civilization” had been completed. And Duperly’s own characterization of black figures skirts close to caricature: the two men at the extreme right of the composition, for example, are portrayed in a hostile fashion, depicted with what ethnologists of the period described as a “prognathous jaw,” which was understood as a sign of inferiority. James Cowles Prichard, the leading ethnologist of the period, thought this protruding jaw to be typical of “the rudest tribes of men.”

A chalice from Golden Grove, a plantation in the parish of St. Thomas, gives material form to this inequality, but also reifies an attempt on the part of the enslaved to correct it (see fig. I.8 and fig. I.9). Inscribed with the words *Purchased by the slaves of the Golden Grove* and created in 1830, before emancipation and eight years before full freedom, the chalice was commissioned by the enslaved to make it possible for them to receive communion when they were prohibited from drinking communion wine from the same receptacle as the white members of the congregation. Such incidents demonstrating the unequal status of blacks continued to occur frequently, even generations after emancipation. A similar incident is recorded at Kingston Parish Church in 1902, just after the end of Victoria’s reign and as slavery was passing out of living memory: it was alleged that “would be whites and the money-made whites, sit in the front pew of the Church, so that their lips may touch the wine cup . . . before it becomes blackened by Ethiopian lips.”

The chalice attests to more than the enforced racial inequality for blacks under slavery. Numerous scholars, including several represented in this book, have explored the importance of religion to black agency during slavery, noting the emergence of creolized religious forms and the role religion played in the emancipation process: Dianne M. Stewart offers a sophisticated development of this argument in this collection. The chalice, by contrast, suggests a different
FIG. 1.7 David Lucas, after Alexander Villiers Rippingille, *The First of August*, 1834 (reprinted in 1838 as *Immediate Emancipation in the West Indies*), mezzotint with watercolor. Courtesy of the Christopher Issa Collection, Jamaica.
proposition. With the accompanying paten, the chalice would have been used during the Eucharist or Holy Communion, which is one of the central practices within the Christian liturgy. The ceremony recalls the Last Supper, where Christ shared wine and bread with his disciples, representing his blood and his body, respectively. While the Eucharist has come to mean different things for different Christian denominations, in all cases it is considered to be a redemptive act for the soul. To deny communion to the enslaved, then, was to exclude them from the redemptive promise that Christianity through the Holy Communion offered. By commissioning their chalice and paten, and thus ensuring their participation in communion, the enslaved members of the Golden Grove congregation reclaimed the humanity denied them by slavery. Emancipation seemed to offer a guarantee that the humanity of black Jamaicans would be universally acknowledged, but it certainly did not guarantee equality in Victorian Jamaica.

Duperly's lithograph is replete with reminders of the incendiary, radical possibilities raised by emancipation. Most potently, the celebratory pyre—echoing the bonfires traditionally lit on coronation night in England—may portend here a social and political inferno following from the end of slavery. Many voices among the planters prophesied catastrophe, and the dark, swirling clouds of smoke emitting from the bonfire to the left of the composition (a fire appropriately made from old sugar barrels or hogsheads, symbolic of the hard labor of enslaved Jamaicans on sugar plantations) seem to signify impending disaster (see fig. I.6).

Such a disaster occurred in 1865. While the lives of some black people improved after emancipation, freedom did not result in the transformation that had been expected. The gross inequity between the lives of the poor and the elite barely changed; unemployment was rife, and basic facilities such as medical care, which had sometimes been available on the plantations, were virtually nonexistent. The Jamaica Assembly, still dominated by planters, enacted harsh legislation that curtailed many aspects of life for the poor. In 1865, black agitation for better conditions reached its tipping point when, in response to what was believed to be the unfair charging and imprisonment of one of their fellow peasants, a group of blacks stormed the jail at Morant Bay, in the parish of St. Thomas, to free him. Several days later Paul Bogle, a respected black preacher from the town of Stony Gut, also in St. Thomas, marched with a group of protesters to air their concerns. They were met by militiamen who opened fire on them, killing seven of Bogle's associates. In the days that followed, sympathetic working-class Jamaicans staged a rebellion that resulted in the deaths of two white planters and forced others to leave their plantations. The colonial army, following the commands of the governor, Edward John Eyre, responded
FIGS. 1.8 AND 1.9
Chalice inscribed with the words “Purchased . . . by the slaves of the Golden Grove,” 1830. Collection of Golden Grove Church, permission granted by the Diocese of Jamaica and the Cayman Islands.
brutally. Hundreds of black Jamaicans were killed in the suppression of the rebellion and, after court martial, in the public hangings that followed.\textsuperscript{14}

The uprising of 1865 was followed by a crisis in governance of Jamaica that led to the imposition of direct rule from London: Jamaica became a Crown Colony, and the influence of local representative politics, which had been conducted by the House of Assembly, was curtailed. Meanwhile, in Britain, Jamaica became the focus of intense debate for the first time since emancipation as a group of leading political and intellectual figures including John Stuart Mill pressed for the impeachment of Eyre. Many of the chapters in this collection allude to the events of 1865 as a watershed in Jamaican history, and in the history, too, of the British Empire. A public and irrefutable registration of the incompleteness of the project of emancipation and of the deep frustration of black Jamaicans at the remaining inequalities and impediments to their progress, the Morant Bay rebellion also provides a startling example of the incompetence and vengefulness of colonial administration.

The slow process of economic and political reconstruction in the following decades saw slightly greater investment from the coffers of the British government, which supported projects such as the takeover of the Jamaican railways in 1879 and subsequent expansion of the system and the Jamaica Exhibition of 1891. The economy of Jamaica underwent a significant transition toward the end of the nineteenth century, too, as bananas emerged as a major export crop, challenging sugar as the island’s economic mainstay. By the end of the nineteenth century, the United States was emerging as Jamaica’s most significant trading partner.

Visual and Material Histories

This book offers a portrait of Victorian Jamaica that moves beyond established political, social, and economic approaches by examining Jamaican culture and society based on material, as well as documentary, sources. We are as interested in what Victorian Jamaicans wore, where they lived, and how they fashioned their identities through processes of representation such as photography as we are in their struggles for political representation and economic stability. While \textit{Victorian Jamaica} aims to provide a broad historical account, it attends particularly to questions of visual and material culture, to literary and pictorial representations, and to the material survival of objects, buildings, and infrastructure from the Victorian period. These are some of the most vivid and immediate of all primary sources, yet until recently their consideration by both art historians and historians has been very limited. Research in the history of Jamaican art
and visual culture has largely focused on the period of slavery and, in a separate set of writings and exhibitions, on the twentieth century, though the collections of the National Gallery of Jamaica include rich holdings from the Victorian period as well as the years before and after it.

As we indicate by opening with Duperly’s lithograph, a lively print culture thrived in Jamaica from the late eighteenth century until the 1830s. In addition to images produced in Jamaica, a significant number of engravings and works in other print media representing Jamaican scenery and social life were made in Britain. The artistic production of the period before 1838 was the subject of a substantial publication, *Art and Emancipation in Jamaica: Isaac Mendes Belisario and His Worlds*, which accompanied an exhibition held at the Yale Center for British Art in 2007. It is an interdisciplinary study whose authors include historians of art and music, ethnographers, and cultural and religious historians. Its primary subject is a series of twelve hand-colored lithographs, *Sketches of Character, In Illustration of the Habits, Occupation, and Costume of the Negro Population in the Island of Jamaica*, published by the Jamaican-born, British-trained artist Belisario in 1837–1838—placing them right at the beginning of the Victorian era and at the end of apprenticeship. Conceiving his lithographs as a retrospective view of an Afro-Jamaican culture that was fast disappearing, Belisario confessed to “a desire to hand down faithful delineations of a people, whose habits, manners, and costume, bear the stamp of originality, and in which changes are being daily effected by the rapid strides of civilization.”

In the present volume, Nadia Ellis, writing on Jamaican performance culture, and Daniel Neely, discussing Afro-Jamaican music in the Victorian era, take Belisario’s sketches as a starting point, noting that despite his astute visual observation, Belisario’s understanding of Afro-Jamaican performance traditions was strictly circumscribed by his positionality as a colonial observer. A plate such as the vibrantly hand-colored lithograph *Koo-Koo, or Actor Boy* (fig. 1.10) is valuable not only in recording the spectacular costume of one of the performers but also in suggesting the dynamic culture of the streets of Kingston, alive with music and with commerce, at the moment of Victoria’s accession in 1837. A white female shopper makes her way through the throng to the Henriques emporium, while a group of black and brown Jamaicans enjoy the Actor Boy’s recitation from behind his white mask.

The present volume acts, in part, as a sequel to *Art and Emancipation in Jamaica*, acknowledging that elite forms of artistic production such as painted portraiture, represented in the late eighteenth century by Philip Wickstead (active 1736–86), and picturesque landscape painting, a tradition carried into the nineteenth century by James Hakewill and Joseph Bartholomew Kidd, declined precipitously after 1838 with the collapse of the plantocracy as a cultural and
Fig. 1.10 Isaac Mendes Belisario, *Koo-Koo, or Actor-Boy*, lithograph with watercolor, from *Sketches of Character, in Illustration of the Habits, Occupation, and Costume of the Negro Population in the Island of Jamaica* (1837). Courtesy of the Yale Center for British Art, Folio A 2011 24.
FIG. 1.11 Joseph Bartholomew Kidd, Mountain Cottage Scene, Cocoa Nut Trees in the Fore Ground, hand-colored lithograph, from Illustrations of Jamaica in a Series of Views Comprising the Principal Towns Harbours and Scenery (1840). Courtesy of the Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection, T 686 Folio C.
economic unit. Kidd, who had two extended periods working in Jamaica between 1835 and April 1838 (leaving before “full free”), produced a lavish series of prints eventually published in London between 1837 and 1840 as *West Indian Scenery: Illustrations of Jamaica.* The last of the great Caribbean picturesque print series, Kidd’s works suggest a nostalgia for the most opulent days of the sugar industry under slavery, but, conversely, they also seem to map out the potentialities of Jamaica after emancipation. Several of the plates, such as *Mountain Cottage Scene, Cocoa Nut Trees in the Fore Ground*, offer hints of a self-determined future for freed Afro-Jamaican men and women in profitable small-scale agriculture, in contrast to the harsh work discipline and minimal rewards of the plantation (see fig. I.11). *Mountain Cottage Scene* represents the provision grounds formerly allotted to enslaved Jamaicans, often far from the plantation, where food could be grown for subsistence and sale. Kidd’s vision of an orderly and productive Afro-Jamaican culture, beyond the reach of the disciplinary machinery of the plantation, provided an optimistic fantasy of a harmonious future in the years after 1838.

Kidd’s prints soon proved to be outmoded in technical as well as iconographical and ideological terms. Photography was announced almost simultaneously in Paris and London in 1839, only six months after the final enactment of emancipation. A significant shift in visual culture, immediately understood as such, coincided both with the reformulation of Jamaican society and with the beginning of the Victorian era. These dates ensure that there could be no photographs under the condition of slavery in the British Empire, though many people who lived through slavery later sat before the photographer’s lens. One example is a faded photographic print perhaps taken as late as circa 1900 that is captioned “Susannah (Old Slave) and Blagrove” (fig. I.12). The elderly woman, her eyes rheumy, stares to the photographer’s left, supporting herself on a long staff: she is statuesque. The middle-aged man in immaculate white colonial attire, apparently captured in motion and while speaking in what one imagines to be clipped tones, seems to be Henry John...
Blagrove of Cardiff Hall, born in 1855, grandson of John Blagrove, slaveholder and owner of the Cardiff Hall plantation in its most profitable years, around 1800. The photograph provides an enigmatic trace of the relationship between two Victorian Jamaicans whose lives were spent in proximity. Born before 1834, Susannah could have been Blagrove’s nursemaid, yet the dramatic contrasts of dress and comportment captured by the photographer indicate the deep legacies of inequality, present alongside paradoxical intimacies, found in Jamaican culture even many decades after the end of slavery. Even the contrast of headgear speaks to generations of difference: the woman’s hand-woven head wrap with a battered straw hat, its brim detached, is a specifically Afro-Jamaican cultural manifestation, while the plantation owner’s pristine white pith helmet was probably made in London for use in the British colonies and could be worn by men of the same class in India, South Africa, or the Malay States. While earlier forms of visual representation had embedded such cross-racial encounters in the archive, none did so with the indexical exactitude of photography. Fixed in the photosensitive chemicals on paper is a poignant, enigmatic moment in which two historical subjects encounter each other, their physical proximity defying the nineteenth century’s elaborate edifice of difference.

Photographers were active in Kingston from the early 1840s: Adolphe Duplerly, the lithographer with whose image we opened, acquired a daguerreotype camera and had made an extensive series of landscape photographs by about 1846. These images formed the basis for an elaborate publication of lithographs, Daguerian Excursions. A product of the combined effort of Duperly in Jamaica and a group of expert French printmakers to whom he delegated the lithographic work, Daguerian Excursions is rooted in the traditions of the picturesque. Together, the plates provide a vivid image of a new and vibrant Jamaica (fig. I.13). A View of the Court House (Taken on the Day of an Election) provides a photographic image of a new polity — the public body of Jamaicans, most of them formerly enslaved and now unable to meet the conditions of the franchise and thus not entitled to vote. The camera, ultimately a democratic technology, here captures the paradox of postemancipation Jamaica where, as in Victorian Britain, most men and all women were denied a direct say in their political representation. At the level of the image, the process of visual enfranchisement quickly expanded to included middle-class white and brown men and women, since by the mid-1850s Jamaicans with a disposable income could acquire portraits of themselves in daguerreotype or carte-de-visite form. This, of course, excluded most blacks.

This book includes two chapters dedicated specifically to photography in Jamaica in the Victorian period. David Boxer lays out the history of Jamaica’s
photographic studios, with the Duperly family as the prime movers, and Gillian Forrester examines the compilation of a photographic album as an act of social formation among Kingston’s largely white middle class. Many other authors think through the importance of the medium in shaping subjectivities within the Caribbean: Anna Arabindan-Kesson examines the photographic image in relation to the dress, labor, and religious practices of immigrants from South Asia; Steeve O. Buckridge finds in the photographic collections of the National Library of Jamaica documentation of the complexities of men’s and women’s dress in Victorian Jamaica. Photographs made using the wet-collodion process became a significant means for documenting the Jamaican landscape and processes of labor (discussed in Tim Barringer’s essay) and the built environment (discussed by James Robertson and Elizabeth Pigou-Dennis). As Krista Thompson has demonstrated in her groundbreaking study *An Eye for*
**Fig. 1.14** The Dalziel Brothers, after unknown artist, The Black Question, wood engraving, from *Fun* (London, November 25, 1865). Courtesy of Columbia University, Rare Book and Manuscript Library.

**Fig. 1.15** John Tenniel, The Jamaica Question, wood engraving, *Punch* (London, December 25, 1865). Courtesy of the Yale Center for British Art, Rare Books and Manuscripts.
the Tropics, photography was not so much a passive mirror of Jamaican society as a powerful force in shaping change, a transformative element not only in visuality but also in society as a whole.20 Thompson’s work reveals that late nineteenth-century photographs, picture postcards, and photolithographic prints reshaped Jamaica, presenting the colony as a space of fecundity for agriculture, especially for the cultivation of bananas, and as a picturesque location for tourism.

In rare moments Jamaica captured the imagination of the Victorian metropole. The convulsions following the 1865 rebellion produced some vitriolic press representations of the rebels. In the satirical magazine Fun, a full-page wood engraving questioned the basis of emancipation under the heading “The Black Question” and with the subsidiary caption “Am I a man and a brother?” (fig. I.14). The engraving recalls hostile images of the rebel sepoys, Indian soldiers in the pay of the British who were the key figures in the “Indian Mutiny” of 1857, a very recent and massive crisis of governance in the British Empire. In the engraving from Fun, a wildly leaping black man holds a cutlass and a flaming torch, while the dead bodies of white women and children lie beneath his feet. In the background can be seen the burning remnants of the Morant Bay courthouse, but the draughtsman and engraver pay closest attention to the wild, simian leer of the figure, notable for exaggerated white teeth. Unlike the caricature of the “effeminate Bengali,” this figure—perhaps intended to represent Paul Bogle—is one of hypermasculinity, a dangerously effective, rather than a laughably inept, miscreant, as seen from London.21 The statelier satirical journal Punch, critical of the support of the rebels by leading churchmen, weighed in the next month with a full-page “great cut” by the eminent artist John Tenniel. Mr. Stiggins, the fictional, hypocritical Anglican minister in Charles Dickens’s Pickwick Papers, takes the arm of a sullen Jamaican rebel, and together they walk away from a field of uncut sugarcane. A “White Planter,” represented as being conciliatory and beneficent, is neglected by his own kind (or so Punch would have us believe), and himself, grotesquely, adapts the antislavery slogan: “Am I not a man and a brother too, Mr Stiggins?” This iconography of martyrdom and ill-treatment relating to the colonial elite reached

a high point in one of the great photographs of the nineteenth century: Julia Margaret Cameron’s portrait of Governor Eyre (fig. I.16). Publicly reviled as a murderer and stripped of his office by an embarrassed British government, Eyre was considered a man of principle and a martyr by a large section of the British public. Cameron, fascinated by the concept of the Great Man, believed Eyre to have been wronged, and she chronicles in a brilliantly lit photograph the deeply etched contours that made Eyre’s ageing face appeared to bear the marks of suffering. By allowing the snowy edges of Eyre’s beard to overexpose, Cameron creates a softness and vulnerability in a figure who two years earlier had ordered the brutal reprisals after the rebellion.

While it is relatively simple to produce a gallery of imperial shame, there are no surviving contemporary representations of the leaders of the rebellion; indeed, all visual representations of the rebellion and its aftermath are retrospective except for photographs by Duperly & Co. that reproduce amateurish drawings of the hangings made by an eyewitness, T. J. Mills, quartermaster of
the HMS Aboukir (see fig. 10.18 in chapter 10). The Duperly firm did make a carte de visite of George William Gordon, a brown Jamaican businessman and highly articulate advocate for the rights of black Jamaicans (see fig. I.17). A remarkable character, Gordon was the son of a wealthy planter, Joseph Gordon, and an enslaved woman. He was manumitted by his father and eventually became a merchant in Kingston and the owner of extensive landholdings. He married a white woman and his businesses prospered. In 1861 the missionary James Phillippo baptized Gordon, who became associated with the Native Baptists, leading his own congregation in Kingston. The Duperly photograph is a standard bourgeois self-image showing a bookish and prosperous figure—a debonair representative of the group of brown Jamaicans who had thrived in the early Victorian years. Gordon was hanged for his alleged involvement in the rebellion, although he was many miles away. The true leader of the rebellion, Paul Bogle, was a more modest figure of whom no photograph was known at the time: he did not appear in the Duperly’s advertisement for the sale of photographic “Portraits of the late victims who fell at the Rebellion in St. Thomas ye East. Also portraits of the Baron, Price, Walton, Hire, Hitchens, and other victims of the Rebellion in St. Thomas ye East—also the Arch-traitor G. W. Gordon.” Since Jamaican independence in 1962, Bogle has been recognized as one of the greatest of Jamaican heroes and extensively commemorated, and is an emblematic figure of the Victorian period. Bogle’s name has become associated with a powerful image of a thoughtful, well-dressed, and handsome young black man (fig. I.18) whose face once adorned the Jamaican two-dollar bill and who, at some remove, formed the basis for Edna Manley’s striking memorial sculpture at Morant Bay, erected to commemorate the centenary of the rebellion, in 1965 (fig. I.19). Although it most likely does not represent the historical Paul Bogle who was about forty-three years old in 1865, the photograph (the original of which is now lost) has become Bogle: the image has filled a significant need of an independent Jamaica to visualize heroic figures in the struggle against empire. Our task in this book is not only to understand the events in Morant Bay in 1865 but also to track later representations of, and responses to, those events and to evaluate the power of images in shaping national history and identity.

In addition to its interrogation of the visual record, this book emphasizes the material culture of Jamaica, an area of critical inquiry largely absent from scholarship. Where such inquiry exists, natural history or archaeology, especially of the Amerindian population of the island, has been emphasized. Analyses of Afro-Jamaican culture, including religion and masquerade traditions, have attempted to address some of the material culture associated with these practices. Still, these studies are few. Discussions of the Caribbean and of the Black
FIG. 1.18 Artist unknown, Portrait of a Man, date unknown. Tintype. Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica.

Atlantic more generally have emphasized performative cultural traditions and their connections to a presumed ontological home, Africa. Such an approach often relegates material objects to secondary status. An often unspoken, but widely held, assumption is that black cultures of the New World are performance cultures rather than material cultures. More recently this assumption has begun to change, with the appearance of pioneering scholarly works on Jamaican furniture and dress.

It could be argued that Jamaica, and the Caribbean region as a whole, missed the material turn in the humanities. Few studies of the region’s history have taken as their starting point material objects or the importance of things in structuring social relations. We address this lack by opening the book with short studies of two culturally resonant objects. These “Vignettes,” written by leading scholars in the appropriate fields, highlight the importance of material evidence in understanding the cultural, economic, and political fields and in conceptualizing class, gender, and race in Victorian Jamaica. A significant issue here is the status of Jamaican objects in the imperial collections of art and cultural artifacts in London. Jamaica, like other places within the colonial Caribbean, held little interest for nineteenth-century collecting except in the fields of archaeology and natural history. Although his remarks were not addressed specifically to museums, David Scott’s call for a rethinking of modernity in the Caribbean described the region in a way that is germane here: “Neither properly ‘primitive’ nor ‘civilized,’ neither ‘non-Western’ on the conventional criteria nor unambiguously ‘Western’ (in short, neither fish nor fowl), the Caribbean has never quite fit securely within any anthropological agenda.” And Scott goes further, quoting the words of Sidney Mintz: “Whereas New Guinea, Africa, Amazonia offered kinship systems, costumes, coiffures, cuisines, languages, beliefs, and customs of dizzying variety and allure, to almost all anthropologists the Caribbean islands and their surrounding shores looked rather too much like a culturally burned-over, second hand, unpristine world. Whether it was kinship or religion or language or anything else, Caribbean people all seemed culturally midway between there and here—everything was alloyed, mixed, ground down, pasted on, the least common denominator.” Accordingly, the great colonial collections such as the British Museum and the South Kensington, later Victoria and Albert, Museum, which amassed vast bodies of material from South Asia and other colonial spaces, largely neglected the Caribbean. It is in the collections of the Royal Botanic Gardens at Kew, rather than in the great art collections, that one can find a modest collection of “ethnographic” objects from the region. These items include basketry and articles of dress made from lace bark. Such materials were collected for the purposes of “economic botany” rather than ethnography,
and their presence is the result of an extensive campaign of collecting the natural history of the region that lasted for the entire colonial period.

If the imperial archives in the metropole provide only fragmentary glimpses of Jamaican cultural history, the Institute of Jamaica, by contrast, houses the most significant collection of the island’s material culture. The institute is itself essentially a Victorian phenomenon, founded in 1879 “for the encouragement of literature, science and art” in the colony. Under the leadership of Frank Cundall, secretary and librarian of the institute from 1891 to 1937, it acquired a range of documentary materials and publications that eventually became the National Library of Jamaica; Cundall was also active in the collection of portraits and other works of art reflective of the history of Jamaica, most notably the history of the colony’s white elite. Cundall’s collecting activities provided the core of the archives that have made this book possible.

The contributors to this publication, then, insist that the study of the material and visual cultures of Jamaica during the Victorian period is key to understanding the complex entanglements of colonial society, especially in the aftermath of emancipation. And if the study of material and visual culture aids us in understanding Jamaica, so, too, does a Caribbean focus assist in our rethinking the history of art and material objects. Furniture, in John Cross’s chapter, becomes a site around which to ask questions about stylistic and material flows between metropole and colony and about the emergence of new motifs out of creolized forms. Similarly, by studying exhibitionary institutions in Jamaica in the nineteenth century, as in Wayne Modest’s engagement with the 1891 Jamaica Exhibition, we can better understand the emergence of modern cultures of collecting and display and the birth of the modern museum.

Architecture, too, presents important survivals, despite the destruction wrought by both natural and man-made disasters, from earthquakes and fires to neglect of historical structures and redevelopment schemes that have swept them away. Jamaican architecture of the Victorian period raises questions about the relationship between metropolitan styles and colonial functionality. Vernacular architectural traditions, discussed here by Elizabeth Pigou-Dennis, embody practical responses to the climate and the materials at hand as well as transformations of building types inherited both from Europe and from Africa.

Together, the chapters of this book provide a first history of the material and visual culture of Jamaica, located within the larger discursive and ideological matrix of the colonial world. While the nature of archives and historical survival makes the recovery of nonwhite histories a significant challenge, the authors of this book have placed the lives and concerns of nonwhite Jamaicans at the core of the volume, focusing on objects and structures, from a lace-bark bonnet to
small cottages made from timber and plaster, and on literary traces and notations of performance to provide a fragmentary but nonetheless vivid portrait of Afro-Jamaican life in the Victorian period. The chapters respond to Richard Price’s challenge to seek the traces of Caribbean histories outside traditional sources, beyond the so-called absence of those “ruins” that result from “great” histories.  

While we agree with Price (as with Wilson Harris, who makes similar claims), we propose a rereading of these extant ruins against the grain to uncover the complex entanglements of raced, classed, and gendered subjectivities that were created and brought into relationships—some contested—around these material remains.  

David Scott, in a critique of Price’s work, has cautioned against the search for a single authoritative historical consciousness—a singular shared memory or retention of either “Africa” or “slavery”—among New World people of African descent, preferring the more capacious concept of “tradition,” which he understands as “a differentiated field of discourse whose unity, such as it is, resides not in anthropologically authenticated traces, but in its being constructed around a distinctive group of tropes or figures, which together perform quite specific kinds of rhetorical labor.” Scott’s evidence remains firmly in the linguistic sphere, but we would go further and include, even prioritize, the material remains of Victorian Jamaica. Furthermore, rather than deny the evidential power of the Caribbean’s “ruins”—Victorian architecture or colonial furniture—we want to use these material traces as ways better to comprehend both the structures of colonial rule and, perhaps most importantly, the agencies of the different subjects under this rule.

Race, Class, and Colonial Governance

Questions of racial subjectivities are addressed throughout, by all the authors: race is, inevitably, a presence in every chapter, even as we challenge the reification of racial categories and resist the imposition of artificial taxonomies of racial type. The growing importance of ideas about race in Britain during the Victorian era, and the key role that Jamaica played in these discussions, make this topic central to any exploration of the period in British imperial history. Indeed, though concepts of racial difference have their own long histories within Western thought, the idea of race reached what one recent publication describes as its moment of ontological realism in the mid- to late nineteenth century, during Victoria’s reign. As Clarke and Thomas have argued:

The initial European voyages of exploration and discovery, and the development of mercantile capitalism generated a novel situation whereby, for the first time, racialised labor became central to the new
plantation-based system of economic production. At the same time, within European religious, philosophical, scientific, and political discourses, hierarchies of human value were increasingly mapped onto gendered, racial, and civilizational differences.33

Numerous other scholars have identified the mid- to late nineteenth century as the moment when scientific racism reached its highest articulation, buttressed by emergent academic disciplines such as ethnology and anthropology.34 Publications such as James Cowles Prichard’s *Natural History of Man* and Robert Knox’s *Races of Men: A Fragment*, published in 1843 and in 1850, respectively, represented contending ideas at the time about evolutionary bases of humankind.35 Believers in polygenesis, such as Knox, who was a comparative anatomist by training, argued that the races had emerged separately and were distinct species. Monogenesis, by contrast, a stance taken by earlier abolitionists, presumes the common origins of all races, which coincided with biblical ideas about mankind. Gentlemen of science including Knox, Prichard, and James Hunt, cofounder of the Anthropological Society of London in 1863, participated in fervent debates about issues of race. Similarly, many attempts were made to identify a scientific basis for an alleged hierarchy within mankind, placing whites at the top and the “negro” at the bottom.36 Yet race was a contested issue, and there was a wide range of opinions within both scientific and popular circles. As Douglas Lorimer has noted, for many Victorians in the metropole, black people under the civilizing force of New World slavery were considered different from black Africans, even if both were believed to be inferior to whites within metropole and colony alike.37

Events in Jamaica played an important role in shaping late nineteenth-century ideas about race, despite the island’s peripheral location within the British Empire, whose major investments now lay in India, Africa, and Australasia. The Morant Bay rebellion demonstrated the fault lines in racial thinking in Britain at the time. It is already a well-rehearsed story that prominent politicians and other men of influence took sides in the controversy over whether Eyre should be tried for murder. Thomas Carlyle, for example, was a strong supporter of Governor Eyre and an unreserved believer in the inferiority of black people, while John Stuart Mill advocated the impeachment of Eyre.

Racial thinking in the colony itself had a distinctive color, even while there was traffic in racialized ideas between metropole and colony. That ideas about race had relegated the enslaved in the colony to the status of property, rather than human subject, complicated the legal status they would receive with emancipation. Questions about the ability of black Jamaicans to handle their freedom and their responsibilities as freed subjects to the crown continued beyond the nineteenth century. In the period immediately after the Morant
Bay rebellion, British domestic politics was preoccupied with debates about an expansion of the franchise to include the working classes, which resulted in the Reform Act of 1867. As James Patterson Smith has noted, “Key Liberal leaders thought in racial categories and had done so long before they came to their commitments of extending liberty within Great Britain. With their hands full in working out the implications of democratization at home, the Liberals showed no inclination to take up the torch in the turbulent West Indies.”

Rather than a movement toward laissez-faire and an increased franchise, as in Great Britain at the time, the imposition of Crown Colony rule in Jamaica resulted in decreased self-determination but increased imperial investment and governmental involvement in daily life. For Patterson Smith this development constituted “an opposite and anti-liberal direction” to policies adopted at home. He concludes that “the Liberals’ decision on the West Indies offers an instructive example of Victorian era racial categorization constricting the application of what were held to be universal principles of human governance.”

These ideas about liberal governance and the complexity of racial subjectivities after emancipation are addressed directly in chapters by Diana Paton, Tony Bogues, and Gad Heuman but also inform almost every contribution to this book. If we take the apprenticeship period at face value, it, too, was based in the belief that blacks had to learn how to be subjects, had to be civilized (here a transitive verb) into how to be free. Such ideas about black infrahumanity would reach a climax at the time of the Morant Bay rebellion, which placed the “Negro problem” high on the British political, academic, and popular agendas. Indeed, much government action for the remainder of Victoria’s reign was dedicated toward fashioning a new image of the island, through museums, international exhibitions, and ultimately such modern media as marketing campaigns. The intention was to counter widespread metropolitan skepticism about the possibility of black “improvement” and to suggest that blacks were hardworking, productive, and even picturesque subjects (see chapters by Modest and Barringer).

While there is an important body of writing on questions of race and Jamaican history, our cue in developing these debates is taken from recent scholarship on colonial cultures that attempts a more complex inquiry into the historically entangled relationship between ideas about race and embodied human action. Our concerns, accordingly, lie at the intersection of racial subjectivities, materiality, and visuality. We ask especially what studies of the material and visual cultures of the Victorian period in Jamaica can tell us about how racialized subjects were produced and how they were governed. What can such materials reveal about the everyday embodied realities of Victorian Jamaicans?

This is not simply a story of black versus white, however vivid and dramatic
such a narrative may appear. As Belinda Edmondson notes in chapter 18, a shift in terminology saw Jamaicans of mixed African and European heritage, earlier described by terms such as “coloreds” or “mulattos,” come to be identified by the colloquial term “brown.” A text of 1850 describes the wife of the then-mayor of Kingston as “brown,” which was “the name given to all the intermediate shades between a decided white and a decided black complexion.” This group grew in numerical terms and in cultural influence during the Victorian period: novels and journalism of the period often associated brown Jamaicans with an urban, middle-class lifestyle associated with consumerism. Sometimes brown Jamaicans were associated with newly confident social, and even political, ambitions. Edmondson argues that during the Victorian period there occurred “a browning of the European spaces of colonialism,” tempering and transforming European cultural influence in urban spaces.

The anxiety about the availability of cheap labor for the plantations after emancipation, and the solution found in employing indentured laborers from India, China, and Africa, and in some cases people from Europe, produced what could be regarded as an early form of a multiracial diversity. Shortly after emancipation, in 1845, the first set of Indian laborers arrived on the island under an agreement to serve limited five-year indentureships. Anna Arabindan-Kesson points out in her chapter that less than 40 percent of those who arrived in Jamaica returned to India; the majority established new communities across the island. The last ship of indentured laborers arrived in 1921, and the laborers were to serve their five-year term until 1926. The importation of Chinese laborers started almost ten years after the arrival of the first Indians, in 1854, but had a smaller impact on Jamaica’s culture and economy, ending in 1884 (see Patrick Bryan’s vignette in this volume).

Beyond the racial hierarchy that placed whites at the top, how did the relationships between different groups play out on the ground? How did Indians and blacks or Chinese and Jews or whites and Indians interrelate in Victorian Jamaica? The American John Bigelow’s account of his visit to Jamaica in 1850 gives us a glimpse of race relations shortly after emancipation, even if his tone is belittling, tinted by an American racial lens. Bigelow’s narrative is infused both with a disdain for Jamaica and with essentializing disparagement of unfamiliar ethnic groups. Describing Indian laborers he saw in the streets of Kingston, he writes:

I here beheld, for the first time, a class of beings of whom we have heard much, and for whom I have felt considerable interest. I refer to the Coolies. . . . Those that I saw were wandering the streets, dressed rather tastefully, but always meanly, and usually carrying over their shoulders a
sort of chiffonier’s sack, in which they threw whatever refuse stuff they found in the streets, or received as charity. Their figures are generally superb, and their eastern costume, to which they adhere as far as their poverty will permit of any clothing, sets off their lithe and graceful forms to great advantage. Their faces are almost uniformly of the finest classic mould, illuminated by pairs of those dark swimming and propitiatory eyes, which exhaust the language of tenderness and passion at a glance.45

After such a glowing description, Bigelow continues, “But they are the most inveterate mendicants on the island.”46 In this book, Arabindan-Kesson explores how the image of Indians simultaneously emphasized difference and lauded the economic contribution made by the indentured laborers.

Discussing social relations between blacks, whites, and Jews in Jamaica, Bigelow records his astonishment at what he regarded as the “diminished importance attached here to the matter of complexion.” While we find Bigelow’s account somewhat idealized, demonstrating a willful misreading of the situation as it appears in other sources, his text gives an intriguing picture of the intersection between race and class in Jamaica in 1850.

Such entanglements between racial categories and everyday embodied human actions form the core of the analyses published in this book. Jaffe, for example, examines the official report on the Kingston cholera epidemic of 1850–1851, revealing how it evidences anxieties about the ability of newly freed blacks to achieve Victorian ideals of civilization, cleanliness, and morality. The resulting actions of the colonial government conformed to a larger aim of liberal administration, to produce economically productive subjects. Heuman and Paton explore governmental practices, especially the forms of political administration that emerged after emancipation to govern nonwhite subjects within the colony. Heuman’s contribution reveals the tensions between metropole and colony, as well as those within the colonial government itself, about how to govern the different subjects. Shani Roper’s discussion of Jamaica’s system of industrial schools and reformatories provides a case study of the broad issues of governance raised in Paton’s chapter. Governmental practices in relation to vagrant children, Roper reveals, were framed around Victorian ideals of social uplift of black children. The idea of social uplift is addressed later in the book by Wayne Modest, in his discussion of the emergence of exhibitionary technologies such as museums in Jamaica in the Victorian period. Such displays aimed to propagate the virtues of productive labor and political quiescence.

The Great Exhibition of the Industry of All Nations, held at the Crystal Palace in London in 1851, inaugurated a series of world’s fairs in which Jamaica, as part of the British Empire, was represented largely by a display of raw mate-
rials and, occasionally, craft products. As Mark Nesbitt notes in his chapter, there was intense interest in Jamaica’s flora by the staff of the Royal Botanic Gardens at Kew, in London, whose extensive collaboration with the Jamaican government’s Botanical Department (under several names) resulted in the development of seven botanical gardens in Jamaica and several schemes for the cultivation of introduced species such as cinchona from South America (whose bark yielded quinine) and coffee. One of the major botanical sites, Castleton Gardens, placed significant emphasis on making available plants that could be cultivated on smallholdings, which had been reclaimed from the wilderness or parceled out from former plantation land now tended by formerly enslaved Jamaicans and their descendants. Jamaica supplied to Kew an unending series of plants for research purposes—four hundred specimens, for example, were shipped in 1869, living additions to the imperial archive—while Kew also exported species from India and other colonies for propagation in Jamaica. Just as human bodies continued to circulate around imperial networks, so too did plants, Kew personnel, and scientific expertise.

On occasion, such expertise was treated with skepticism by residents of Jamaica of all classes. The scientists from Kew were insufficiently respectful of the skills of Afro-Jamaicans who derived both their livelihoods and many other benefits, especially medicinal ones, from the flora of the island. In the final chapter of this book, Faith Smith provides a gripping reading of a gothic short story, “A Mysterious Murder,” published in the Jamaica Times in 1898. The leading character, Dr. Shalton-Armont, is a brilliant, highly trained white doctor who, as part of an experiment, murders and removes the heart of his “negro” gardener, James Joson. This is a clear allegory of slavery, but it also reveals a warranted suspicion that Victorian science was not being deployed for the benefit of the whole population. As Smith notes, the crime is solved by the “brown” detective Linxie, who combines an educated approach, which provides forensic and deductive skills, with common sense and humanity. Here is a hero to whom the “middlebrow” audience of the Jamaica Times could relate. The short story deftly inverts sensationalized European and American accounts of the allegedly occult practices in Afro-Caribbean cultures and provides a witty satire of the notion of the benevolent effects of metropolitan science for the colonial subject.

Afro-Creole

Since the late 1980s scholars have drawn a much richer portrait of Afro-Jamaican culture in the Victorian period. These scholars have been working within a broader and even earlier tradition that attempted to locate theoretical
models for thinking about the Caribbean, such as the creole society, proposed by Edward Kamau Brathwaite in 1971, the plural society, advanced by Michael Garfield Smith in 1965, and the plantation society, the core concept of George Beckford’s study of 1972. Such examination of Afro-Caribbean cultures has produced a large body of foundational works, by scholars such as Barry Chevannes, Maureen Warner-Lewis, Mervyn Alleyne, and Robert Farris Thompson, that have excavated many aspects of African traditions, including language and religion in the New World. Their explorations of resistance and accommodation by Africans under enslavement fall into two broad strands of thinking: a cultural retention of Africa, on the one hand, and a new world creation, or a creolization model, on the other. Those who subscribe to the “African retentions” model of Caribbean cultural identities try to excavate the reemergence of African aesthetic and ritual practices that survived the transatlantic slave trade and reawakened in the Caribbean. Creolization model thinkers, conversely, argue for the adaptation and reinvention of African cultural forms in the Americas. For Jamaica, Robert Dirks’s The Black Saturnalia (1985) and Richard D. E. Burton’s Afro-Creole: Power, Opposition and Play in the Caribbean (1997) examined the interwoven histories of masquerade, spirituality, and political resistance.

In this volume, Nadia Ellis examines performative aspects of Jamaican culture, noting, however, that the behavior of the colonial authorities was also characterized by theatrical gestures, such as the reading of the Emancipation Proclamation. Cultural forms long established under slavery, like Jonkonnu, continued into the Victorian era and often occurred at moments of social protest. As Ellis notes, when the mayor of Kingston banned the Jonkonnu festivities in 1841, revelers continued their masquerade, asserting (in a statement reported to the Colonial Office in London) that “they were free and would not be made slaves of” by acceding to the mayor’s injunctions. Ellis notes that Jonkonnu was closely linked to Myal, a Jamaican spiritual practice with distinctive aesthetics and performance practices.

Afro-Jamaican religion and spirituality have been the subject of pioneering works. Traditions including Revival, Kumina, Obeah, and later Rastafari have also received attention from scholars, even if much work remains to be done. Chevannes, for example, has explored Revival and Rastafari within a broader framework of African Caribbean worldviews, while Warner-Lewis and, more recently, Dianne M. Stewart have carried out extensive work on the Kikongo tradition of Kumina. Obeah is the focus of an important essay collection edited by Diana Paton and Maarit Forde. These recent studies have examined Creole religious practices and belief systems to identify their constituent elements, derived both from African traditional beliefs and from Christian-
ity. Revival, for example, is understood to have two main components: Zion Revival and Pocomania. While both traditions emphasize ancestral veneration and spirit possession, Zion Revival, which is said to have emerged in Jamaica in 1860, demonstrates greater affinities with traditional Christian belief systems. Pocomania is believed to have emerged in 1861 and works with different spirits—described by one informant as the spirits of the earth—than does Zion Revival. Chevannes has argued that even if these varied belief systems and practices appear distinct, they are connected by an African sensibility.

The political concerns of Afro-Jamaicans are explored in a comparative framework by Mimi Sheller in *Democracy after Slavery: Black Publics and Peasant Radicalism in Haiti and Jamaica*. Her notion of a black “counter-public” has proved useful for many of the contributors to this volume. The cultural life of that counter-public and the emergence of a modern popular culture in Jamaica have been extensively charted by the distinguished social historians Brian L. Moore and Michele A. Johnson. In “*They Do As They Please*” (2011), Moore and Johnson have assembled a massive compendium of material, mainly concerning Afro-Jamaican culture in the early decades of the twentieth century, that provides a vivid picture of an emerging modern Jamaica across the full range of cultural activities, from popular entertainments to sport. The focus on oral culture and on the Jamaican Creole language is especially valuable. In this volume, Julian Cresser provides a close analysis of the cultural importance of sport in Victorian Jamaica. He indicates that while some clubs and sporting associations were bastions of exclusivity and the colonial distinction between “gentlemen” and “players” was mapped onto a range of discriminatory practices, sport gradually provided an opportunity for Afro-Jamaicans and other excluded groups to compete and excel. The movement of cricket from a game of the colonial elite to a national pastime is not the least significant of such developments in Victorian Jamaica.

Between Historical and Contemporary

In a chapter based on wide reading of now largely neglected, but once influential, texts, Catherine Hall describes the “selective forgetting” that characterized Victorian accounts of the history of Jamaica. Hall notes that as the sugar industry declined in profitability and the results of emancipation were deemed ambivalent at best, the colony was marginalized from accounts of the history of Britain and its empire. The Victorian period has been relatively neglected by historians of Jamaica ever since. The period of slavery and apprenticeship and the decades leading up to independence in 1962 have been the subject of far greater attention...
than has the period between 1838 and 1901, and less still has been written about the years between Victoria’s death and the First World War. Victorian Jamaica occupies a crucial position: it narrates the transition from slavery to freedom, and it provides the earliest chapters in the history of modern Jamaica, presaging both the struggle for independence and the major economic challenges that would face Jamaica through the twentieth century and into the twenty-first. Yet there is no single monographic study of Victorian Jamaica. Thomas Holt’s magisterial *The Problem of Freedom* (1992) extends its coverage into the twentieth century and deals mainly with the social history of black Jamaicans and the formulation of colonial policy in relation to them: particularly notable is Holt’s essay “Liberal Democratic Society in Theory and Practice.” Two decades after its publication, Holt’s rich synthesis offers much to the contemporary reader, as does Patrick Bryan’s distinguished social history of the late Victorian period, *The Jamaican People 1880–1902: Race, Class and Social Control* (1991). Bryan reveals the extent to which the colonial authorities, under the influence of contemporary racial theory, circumscribed the opportunities available to black Jamaicans during this period and imposed a framework of severe economic and legal restrictions. Catherine Hall’s *Civilising Subjects: Metropole and Colony in the English Imagination, 1830–1867*, provides a penetrating study of the plurality of British discourse about emancipation and the society that the end of slavery created. Drawing on a rich archive of missionary writings and documents, as well as state papers and numerous published sources, Hall provides a masterly exposition of British ideas about Jamaica while crisply exposing their shortcomings. She examines British and Anglo-Jamaican religious, economic, and political ideas and arguments about race and representation. An important theme in Hall’s work is the movement of ideas and personnel around the British Empire, a concept addressed by many of the contributors to this book. Diana Paton’s exemplary monograph on punishment as a constituent, and paradigmatic, element in state formation in Jamaica, *No Bond but the Law*, covers the period from slavery to the Morant Bay rebellion, but, like Hall’s *Civilising Subjects*, it ends at the historical moment when the “great arch” of Jamaican “state formation” was transformed by Crown Colony rule.

For primary sources, scholars must rely on the copious official documents produced by the British government, even where the ideological preoccupations of their authors led to the suppression or omission of the elements most interesting to today’s reader. An alternative, though equally partial, archive can be found in Jamaica’s lively newspapers of the period, of which the surviving *Gleaner*, founded in Kingston in 1834, was only one of many. Many of the books and articles published during the period were written for polemical purposes.
or occupy a distinctive and highly partisan political or religious position. Missionaries such as James Mursell Phillippo produced accounts of their lives and works that became substantial accounts of Jamaican society. Phillippo’s *Jamaica: Its Past and Present State*, published in 1843 (discussed in this volume by Catherine Hall, Tim Barringer, and Elizabeth Pigou-Dennis), is both apologia for the Baptist missionary’s acts and analysis of developments in Jamaican society after the era of slavery. American antislavery campaigners also published accounts of their visits to the island, reflections that were clearly intended as interventions into debates about the likely effects of emancipation in the United States. John Bigelow’s *Jamaica in 1850*, quoted above, is one of several examples; his work is replete with details about life in Jamaica carefully selected to support his arguments. 63 Edward Bean Underhill, a Baptist minister, visited Jamaica in 1859–1860 and engaged in a very public critique of British policy that included a book titled *The Tragedy of Morant Bay*.64

Historians in the mid-twentieth century were mainly concerned with questions of slavery and emancipation and with the motivations underlying British legislative action. William Laurence Burn’s *Emancipation and Apprenticeship in the British West Indies*65 remains the most detailed account of the administrative processes of emancipation, while Philip D. Curtin’s *Two Jamaicas: The Role of Ideas in a Tropical Colony, 1830–1865* is a pioneering examination of British government policy during the period. Douglas Hall’s *Free Jamaica, 1838–1865: An Economic History* provides chapter and verse to confirm the impediments to economic progress facing black Jamaicans after 1838 but also draws attention to the development of a peasant economy.66

Scholars have recognized the crisis of 1865 as a key not only to the history of Victorian Jamaica but also to the history of British colonial policy. Bernard Semmel’s pioneering study of 1962 began the work of reconstructing both events on the ground and the debates they provoked in London and around the world.67 Gad Heuman’s *The Killing Time* adds a wealth of documentary evidence, transforming our understanding of the events of 1865 and the ensuing years.68 David Scott and other scholars have interpreted the rebellion in the light of postcolonial theory and of the works of theorists of discourse and power, principally Michel Foucault, while Mimi Sheller, in an illuminating recent study, has taken the reemergence of a photographic album (much discussed also in this book) as a basis for reexamining the history of the rebellion.69

The chapters of this book are intended to constitute a comprehensive view of Jamaican culture in the Victorian era. They are organized not chronologically but according to three major themes. The first theme, “Making Victorian Subjects,” embraces colonial governmentality, liberalism, and the limits of freedom
in postemancipation Jamaica. This section addresses the various ways that strategies of governance are institutionalized and the broader imperial contexts in and through which this institutionalization took place. The chapters examine the machinery of state, local government, and education, as well as informal forms of social interaction such as sport. The second thematic category, “Visual Material Cultures,” invokes photography, painting, sculpture, furniture, museum display, and other collections such as those of natural history provide a rich and hitherto neglected archive. This untapped resource, we argue, can reveal much about both governmental transitions and changes in people’s own practices and assessments of what might be possible for them. The close interrogation of such objects produces readings that throw new light on power structures, constructions of race and gender, and less tangible issues of aesthetics and affect. The chapters in the third thematic category, “Race, Performance, Ritual,” examine the body and its adornments, the world of musical and dramatic performance, and questions of religion and spirituality. The broader issue here is how Jamaicans both accommodated and completely transformed the practices, languages, and conceptual frameworks available to them. Gender, a primary category of analysis throughout the volume, is foregrounded in the final section, which focuses on the encultured body. The reader will note that there are overlapping concerns and points of intersection both within and between these thematic groupings. The result, we hope, is a “thick description” of Jamaican culture and its artifacts that moves beyond what is possible within the framework of narrative history.

Victorian Hauntings: Archive and Heritage in the Present

Vestiges of the Victorian period abound in contemporary Jamaica. As the chapters of this book attest, a substantial and important archive of the Victorian period remains in institutions across Jamaica, even if much of it has yet to be explored fully. Faith Smith argues in her chapter, “A Mysterious Murder,” that echoes of the Victorian era penetrate the culture industry and media representations of Jamaica today, a rich and troubling legacy that amounts to a haunting. “Shame, amnesia, melancholy, respectability,” writes Smith, “all might be said to be constitutive of the Victorianism that has been invoked and critiqued so forcefully in the novels, poetry, memoirs, and film that have been such a key component of nationalist, feminist, and anti-colonial self-fashioning across the Caribbean.”

Petrina Dacres contributes to this book a new analysis of the origins of, and responses to, statues of Queen Victoria that provided noteworthy landmarks in the symbolic and actual geography of the island. The statues have been removed...
from the positions of prominence they once occupied, but Victorian architecture speckles the island with dilapidated railway stations, refurbished houses, and churches, and Victoria is still remembered in some folk traditions. In the Jamaican context, however, the image of Victoria is by no means the bland icon it has become in Britain. Rather, representations of Victoria have resurfaced as the subject of critical attention from several positions. John Homiak has recounted the incident in 1966, during Queen Elizabeth II’s visit to Jamaica, wherein a Rastafari elder damaged the Victoria statue in St. William Grant Park. According to Homiak, this violent attack on the statue was intended “to unmask in a powerful and dramatic way the false image of the Queen as a ‘mother’ figure and the Crown as ‘protector.’” The attack should not be surprising; as one of the most important anticolonial movements in the twentieth century, Jamaican Rastafari views the British monarchy as a site or structure of oppression, as Babylon. Tying Queen Elizabeth II to Queen Victoria (her great-great-grandmother) and to the local political establishment that had for decades taken an anti-Rastafari stance, the destruction of the statue was a symbolic attack on systems of domination. As important was Rastafari’s denial of the legitimacy of the British monarchy’s sovereignty over Jamaica, and over blacks more generally. Indeed, it was Empress Menem, the wife and consort of Emperor Haile Selassie I, who was Rastafari’s queen.

While this incident occurred in the immediate aftermath of Jamaica’s independence from Britain in 1962 and at a moment when the Jamaican state still targeted Rastafari as a threat, the image of Victoria has also been subjected to critical reflection by Jamaican contemporary artists interested in exploring the links between contemporary structures of domination and the colonial past and between the past and contemporary negotiations of identity and belonging in Jamaica. Telling examples of this engagement of the past in the present can be found in the work of artists David Boxer (who contributes to this volume in his capacity as curator and art historian), Omari (Afrikan) Ra, and Roberta Stoddart.

Boxer recalls that his interest was piqued by the contradiction he felt when he first heard the refrain of the Bruckins song quoted above: “Augus’ mornin’ come again / This is the year of jubalee / Queen Victoria give we free.” A sense of deep irony underpins several of his works from between the late 1980s and 2007. In 1988 he created an installation, “Queen Victoria Set We Free,” in which he draws a parallel between the Queen and his own family’s genealogy. The work reveals his personal story, mining Jamaica’s colonial history to question his own place in contemporary Jamaica as a white-identified Jamaican. Boxer recalls an account that Queen Victoria, on reading about the misfortunes of his
ancestor Admiral Edward Boxer (1784–1855), a distinguished naval officer who had died at Balaclava in the Crimean War, gave a grace and favor apartment at Hampton Court to the admiral’s bereaved family.

In Passage, produced in the early 1990s (fig. I.20), Boxer created a triptych wherein the Brookes slave ship diagram—the most potent emblem of the Middle Passage—is “iconized,” framed by countless penny stamps bearing the head of Victoria. The triptych format and framing pay homage to the London-based twentieth-century artist Francis Bacon, whose works often explored the extremes of violence, degradation, and human misery. Boxer’s approach also references minimalism: the stamps are arranged in a tight grid, reminiscent of the manner in which the enslaved were represented, jammed into the hold of the ship, in the Brookes diagram. At the base of the middle panel, Boxer appended a small predella. On this lower panel, Jamaican Elizabeth II stamps overlie the layer of Victoria stamps. In one of the showings of this work, Boxer added a representation of blood dripping from the predella. With Passage, the artist revealed the complex relationship between Victoria, associated in Jamaican popular memory with abolition, and the violence of slavery under the authority of an empire whose wealth and privilege she inherited. By bringing Victoria together with Elizabeth in the same image, Boxer forcibly reminds us that the violence of the colonial past resonates vividly in the present.

In Queen Victoria Set We Free-Year of Jubilee (after Duperly), 2007 (fig. I.21),
FIG. 1.21 David Boxer, Queen Victoria Set We Free/Year of Jubilee (after Duperly), 2007. Mixed media/collage, used postage stamps. Courtesy of Onyx: The David Boxer Collection.

FIG. 1.22 A. Duperly and Sons, Christmas Morning, circa 1890. Albumen print mounted on oversize cabinet card. Courtesy of Onyx: The David Boxer Collection.
Boxer creates a collage by superimposing a photograph by Adolphe Duperly, *Christmas Morning*, that represents a large crowd of black Jamaicans strolling peaceably through a street in Kingston. The Duperly image is spliced into a dramatic perspectival rendering of the interior of St. Peter’s Basilica in Rome, by Giovanni Paolo Panini (1691–1765), drawing a broad critique of European grandeur of the imperial project. Here, fashionably dressed black Jamaicans flood through the edifice, as if to claim it as their own. Boxer moves between navigating a personal history and exploring Jamaica’s history within a larger history of empire: in these histories, Victoria is the nodal point, a figure ultimately of ambiguity, tainted with colonial violence but, despite it all, associated with redemptive acts.

Roberta Stoddart proposes a similar excavation of the colonial past in the present, even while she, too, explores her personal history of family, ancestry, sexuality, and country. Her work pushes beyond histories or national narratives that seek to exclude some people based on racial or sexual subjectivities. Much of Stoddart’s work is animated by a recurring concern for questions of mental illness, shame, addiction, and codependency, experiences that, for Stoddart, are “all symptoms and outcomes of patriarchal histories and values.” Personal exploration is abstracted to a more universal story, interrogating our common condition of living with the disturbing past. In this way, Stoddart’s art offers an urgently political stance for the present. Issues surrounding racial and political subjectivities intertwine as she questions the politics of belonging in contemporary Jamaica.

In *Privy to the Adventures of Nation Building* (fig. 1.23), created shortly after Stoddart returned to Jamaica in 1991 after a long period abroad, Queen Victoria
and Jamaica’s then governor-general, Sir Howard Cooke, the official representative of the Queen (Elizabeth II is Jamaica’s head of state under the Commonwealth system), are seated adjacent to each other within a corked bottle. Both are regally dressed. A ship is also inside the bottle, in the background and seemingly moored on the sand. Stoddart recalls the tradition of sailors placing messages in a bottle, transmitting a communication from the past to the present. The mysterious coral setting perhaps locates the image in the tropics, in Jamaica. The sepia hue gives the figures color; however, this coloring also renders the image eerie, even ghostly. Queen Victoria fixes Cooke with a watchful and serious gaze, while Cooke stares out of the image at the viewers with the authoritative air of someone carrying out his duty. As a black Jamaican dressed in ceremonial regalia associated with the British Empire, Cooke takes on the character of what Homi Bhabha has called a “mimic man.”

His left hand holds what seems to be a canoe—a small, powerless boat in comparison to the large ship in the background exemplifying Britain’s naval power—while the length of cord from a noose lying in a bundle on the right passes over his right hand, in which he holds a scrolled piece of paper. He is both authoritative and absurd, a figure of menace and melancholy. A statement about the vestige of colonial rule that retains the British monarch as Jamaica’s head of state, still watching over the Jamaican people, the work also comments on capital punishment and the role of the Privy Council—a group of advisers to the British monarch that dates to Tudor times—as Jamaica’s highest court. Stoddart’s work finds pathos in the condition of a country trapped in a struggle to come to grips with the past in the present.

In *Queen Victoria’s Veil* (1995), Stoddart engages with Victorian values, especially those regarding lesbian identity. A miniature image of Stoddart herself in the crook of Victoria’s elbow, covered only by the Queen’s transparent veil. Both Stoddart and Victoria appear to be under the sea: a stream of bubbles moves upward from Victoria’s mouth and from Stoddart’s hair, which moves freely in water. Shells decorate both women’s hair. With her left hand, Stoddart holds a pendant at Victoria’s neck. Ornamented with what seems to be a vulva, the pendant is again veiled by the translucent fan Victoria holds. Here Stoddart draws attention to the veiled presence of Victorian prudery in contemporary Jamaica that seeks to govern, and even proscribe, lesbian identity, in much the same way that Victorian Britain applied repressive and often hypocritical restrictions on sexuality and sexual behavior. Mapping onto a Jamaican present that is rife with intolerance for homosexuality and at the same time tries to define the nation as black to the exclusion of other racial identities, Stoddart again draws attention to how exclusionary politics, whether through Victorian
prudery or contemporary racialization, continue to do violence to some subjects within Jamaican society.

Artist Omari Ra, also known as “Afrikan” and a former member of the radical artist initiative Afrikan Vanguards that emerged in the early 2000s, also created a series of mixed media works on canvas that utilized Victoria’s image. In his painting *A Folk Drama: Vicki Hated the Sun but She Loved Playing with Her Necklace and Her Sceptre*, created in 2007 (fig. 1.25), Victoria appears three times. The central and most visible image of Victoria is flanked by two other blurred images in which Victoria’s face is painted out. While in the image on the right Victoria is still visible, black paint runs over her face, beginning to obscure her features. On the left her face is indiscernible, totally covered by paint. This painting is complemented by a second, with what appears to be a penis or serpent.

These works critique the legacies of empire, or what Ra describes as “empir-
For Ra empirism—an irrational pathology that is the inverse of rational empiricism—is like a hydra that will not be defeated; it will not disappear from contemporary Jamaica but returns in multiple forms, its tentacles finding ways into different aspects of Jamaican society. Victoria becomes a specter of empire haunting the Jamaican present. Ra contends that instead of opposing the legacies of colonialism, Jamaicans are embracing them. These works were created in 2007 and first displayed at the Institute of Jamaica. Coinciding with the bicentennial of the abolition of the slave trade in the British Empire, their production was part of Ra’s ongoing critique of the way history is written in Jamaica—namely, with limited attention to black life and history and with a presumption in favor of all things colonial. This is a challenge we have attempted to meet in this volume on Victorian Jamaica.

Notes

1. Victoria acceded to the throne on June 20, 1837, on the death of her uncle William IV. The coronation took place just over a year later.


5. The phrase “portrait of an age” was first used in relation to Victorian Britain as the title of an elegant and influential monograph by G. M. Young, *Victorian England: Portrait of an Age* (1936). This work takes its place in the long list of publications on Victorian England that neglect Jamaica, which does not appear in the text. As if portending the return of the repressed, a chronology at the end of the book includes the unexplained phrase “Prosecution of Eyre”; see G. M. Young, *Victorian England: Portrait of an Age* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1936), 236.

6. *Jamaica Dispatch and New Courant* 711 (October 23, 1834), 2.


8. Moore and Johnson, “They Do As They Please,” 5.

9. Moore and Johnson, “They Do As They Please.”

10. Tim Barringer, Gillian Forrester, and Barbaro Martinez-Ruiz, *Art and Emancipation in Jamaica: Isaac Mendes Belisario and His Worlds* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale
University Press, 2007), 368–69.


12. Patrick Bryan, The Jamaican People, 1880–1902 (London: Macmillan Caribbean, 1991), 87. The quotation is from Felix Holt (likely a pseudonym derived from the title of George Eliot’s novel Felix Holt, the Radical [1866]), “Confessions of a Planter,” Jamaica Advocate, October 4, 1902. Similarly, toward the end of the nineteenth century, at the St. Andrew Parish Church a Rev. Isaacs was referred to as “Sidegate” Isaacs because in greeting his congregation he would direct nonwhites to enter through the side gate, not the main entrance.

13. Mimi Sheller has argued that at its greatest extent, the rebellion included brown and working-class white Jamaicans as well as black Jamaicans; see Mimi Sheller, Democracy after Slavery: Black Publics and Peasant Radicalism in Haiti and Jamaica (London: Caribbean, 2000).


16. For a full analysis of this image, see Barringer, Forrester, and Martinez-Ruiz, Art and Emancipation in Jamaica, 433–34.

17. See Barringer essay in the present volume. See also Barringer, Forrester, and Martinez-Ruiz, Art and Emancipation in Jamaica, 524–29, and Kay Dian Kriz, Slavery, Sugar, and the Culture of Refinement: Picturing the British West Indies, 1700–1840 (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2008).


22. As Gillian Forrester notes in her essay in this volume, the Duplerly firm did advertise photographs of Robert Nicholas and Alexander Taylor “taken at the Jail Yard,” but no prints are known.


25. See, for example, Steeve Buckridge, Language of Dress: Resistance and Accommodation in Jamaica 1760–1890 (Kingston: University of the West Indies Press, 2004). Also, John M. Cross, “Ralph, Cuthbert and Thomas Turnbull: A Nineteenth-Century Jamai-


34. See, for example, Douglas Lorimer, "From Natural Science to Social Science: Race and the Language of Race Relations in Late Victorian and Edwardian Discourse," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 155 (2009): 181–212.


36. Charles Darwin's *Origin of the Species* (1859) was also deployed, both to support and to counter ideas of racial hierarchy. Darwin was a member of the Jamaica committee in support of blacks in response to the Morant Bay rebellion. Moreover, Darwin was in contact with the Jamaican naturalist Richard Hart, who supplied Darwin with details of his research into Jamaican natural history.


43. See, for example, Nettleford’s notion of “battle for space,” in which he suggests that colonial and postcolonial struggles in the island can be seen as a fundamental conflict between black and white, between Europe and Africa; see Rex Nettleford, *Inward Stretch, Outward Reach: A Voice from the Caribbean* (London: Macmillan Caribbean, 1993).


52. On Jonkonnu, see Kenneth Bilby, “More than Met the Eye: African-Jamaican


56. Chevannes, *Betwixt and Between*.

57. Sheller, *Democracy after Slavery*.

58. Brian L. Moore, *The Struggle for the Cultural Soul of Jamaica after Morant Bay: The Elsa Goveia Memorial Lecture* (Mona, Jamaica: Department of History and Archaeology, University of the West Indies, 2009); Moore and Johnson, *Neither Led nor Driven*; Moore and Johnson, “They Do As They Please.”


71. See Faith Smith, in the present volume, chapter 23.


76. In his earlier series Memories of Colonization, 1985, Boxer utilizes British palaces to make a more specific comment on British colonization.

77. Roberta Stoddart, e-mail to Wayne Modest, March 2014.


80. While the term “Afrikan Vanguard” has come to be associated with the group, it is likely that this was not their original name but one acquired after an early exhibition under that name at the Mutual Galleries in Kingston.

81. Omari Ra, e-mail to Wayne Modest, February 5, 2014.