Traces Left Behind: The Materiality of White Supremacy in 19th Century Anglo-Caribbean Illustrated Travelogues

Kristen Millar
Department of Art History and Communication Studies
McGill University, Montréal
April 2016

A thesis submitted to McGill University in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of Master's of Arts

Table of Content

Traces Left Behind: The Materiality of White Supremacy in 19th Century Anglo-Caribbean Travelogue Illustrations

Nineteenth-century illustrated travelogues on Anglo-Caribbean colonies served as an arm of British colonial visual culture propagating harmful racist stereotypes about black and Indigenous people that continue to exist globally; Antigua, Jamaica and Trinidad are the three specific nations of study in this project. Between 1820-1850 throughout the British Empire, slavery was abolished in 1833 that *greatly affected how Anglo-European white men understood their collective identity in the face of ending an oppressive, racist institution that validated a false sense of superiority*. The three authors central to this project William Clark (1770-1838), Richard Bridgens (1785-1846) and James M. Phillippo (1798-1879) represent abolitionist and pro-slavery advocates that shared a similar anxiety around the preservation of colonial Anglo white men's collective power. The examination of white men featured in these illustrations produced by white men demonstrates how violence is part of the mechanism in the formation, enactment and maintenance of whiteness as a colonial racial category. This project combines art historical methodology alongside critical race theory, post-colonial feminisms, Caribbean cultural history, sociology, anthropology and political science to unpack the underlying socio-racial connotations in the maintenance of colonial white supremacy.

Traces Laissées: La Matérialité de la Suprématie Blanche au 19ème siècle Anglo-Caraïbes Carnet de route Illustrations

Du XIXe siècle illustré travelogues environ colonies anglo-Caraïbes servi de branche de propagation de la culture visuelle coloniale stéréotypes racistes nocifs britanniques au sujet des Noirs et indigènes qui continuent d'exister dans le monde; Antigua, la Jamaïque et Trinidad sont les trois nations d'études spécifiques à ce projet. Entre 1820-1850 tout l'Empire britannique, l'esclavage a été aboli en 1833 *qui a grandement affecté la façon dont les hommes blancs anglo-européenne ont compris leur identité collective face à la fin, une institution raciste oppressive qui valident un faux sentiment de supériorité*. Les trois auteurs centraux de ce projet William Clark (1770-1838), Richard Bridgens (1785-1846) et James M. Phillippo (1798-1879) représentent les défenseurs abolitionnistes et pro-esclavagistes qui partagent une même anxiété autour de la préservation de la coloniale anglo puissance collective des hommes blancs. L'examen des hommes blancs présentés dans ces illustrations produites par des hommes blancs explique comment violence fait partie du mécanisme de dans la formation, l'adoption et le maintien de la blancheur comme une catégorie raciale coloniale. Ce projet combine l'art méthodologie historique aux côtés de la théorie critique de la race, féminismes postcoloniales, histoire culturelle des Caraïbes, la sociologie, l'anthropologie et la science politique à déballer les connotations socio-raciales sous-jacentes dans le maintien de la suprématie blanche coloniale.

Acknowledgments

"Changing how we see images is clearly one way to change the world." – bell hooks, Reel to Real: Race, Sex and Class at the Movies (1996)

"We are still conditioning people in this country and, indeed, all over the globe to the myth of white superiority. We are constantly being told that we don't have racism in this country anymore, but most of the people who are saying that are white. White people think it isn't happening because it isn't happening to them." – Jane Elliot

First and foremost, I am grateful to McGill University's Department of Art History and Communication Studies for accepting me into their master's program providing me a forum to work on this project. Throughout my studies I had the opportunity to work with Dr. Carrie Rentschler and Dr. Ipek Türeli, two scholars who've inspired this project and supported me during the beginning stages of my graduate studies.

I am privileged to have worked with Dr. Charmaine Nelson as my supervisor. There have been so many times reflecting on this experience that I said to myself, " I am so lucky to work with a brilliant scholar and genuinely good person." Her intellectual generosity and encouragement humbles me. Thank you for not only making me a better art historian, you've made me a more critical engaged person in all areas of my life.

While this thesis project is a culmination of my time at McGill as graduate student, my passion for challenging the discipline began during my time as an undergraduate student at Concordia University. In these four years I worked with a supportive faculty that encouraged their students to challenge the traditional conventions of art history. I would like to thank Dr. Catherine MacKenzie for introducing me to feminist art history and encouraged me to pursue graduate students, Dr. Cynthia Hammond for your encouragement during times of adversity and your listening ear, and Dr. Nicola Pezolet for your boundless enthusiasm for my ideas and support throughout my academic career.

There are the academics and scholars whose voices guided me throughout this process that I will never meet. They are the scholars who courageously fought for intersectional representation. Thank you: Jane Elliott, Kimberle Crenshaw, bell hooks, Ruth Frankenberg, Audre Lorde, Peggy McIntosh, Kay Dian Kriz, Rebecca Earle, Sarah Thomas, Linda Alcoff, Chandra Talpade Mohanty, Linda Martín Alcoff, Marcus Wood, Richard Dyer, Charmaine Nelson, and Beth Tobin Fowkes. You've inspired me through the most challenging moments during this process and fanned the flames of my passions.

Most importantly, I wouldn't have been able to complete this rigorous project with the support of my friends and family, especially my mother Barbara Boag who encouraged me all my life to pursue any goal that I desired through hard work and determination. I love you and thank you for a lifetime of support.

Introduction
Challenging the White, Colonial Male Gaze: Critical Engagements with Depictions of Privilege

As an art historian writing in 2016, I have been affected by current political and social discourses concerning race as many mainstream media conversations concerning white privilege, institutional racism, and the histories of colonization are primarily centered on white people's emotions. These discourses are conducted without acknowledging people of colour's experiences with racism, making many of these conversations unproductive.[1] Discussions about racism solely focused on 'protecting' white people's feelings fail to address the systemic abuses perpetuated against people of colour, abuses directly enforced by white people.[2] White privilege is particularly insidious in how it naturalizes and normalizes whiteness. White people are therefore positioned as individuals who are not held accountable for their undemocratic use and exploitation of representation across art and media, an exploitation that is directly responsible for the othering of people of colour.[3] Through this project I hope to disrupt the notion that white people need to be comfortable in order to discuss our accountability as recipients of racial privilege and how colonial histories play an integral role in maintaining this oppressive power imbalance.[4]

---

[1] Richard Dyer, *The Matter of Images: Essays on Representations* (New York: Routledge, 1993), 5-8.

[2] Audre Lorde, "The Master's Tools Will Never Dismantle the Master's House," in *This Bridge Called my Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color*, eds. Cherríe Moraga and Gloria Anzaldúa. (New York: Kitchen Table Women of Colour Press, 1983), 98-99.

[3] It is very important to consider the exclusivity of language since many of the terms used to frame critical whiteness discourses are imbued with supremacist undertones. For example, in my prior sentences when referring to people of African and Indigenous descent, I used non-white to serve as a blanket term to refer to these two diverse groups of people as it serves as an oppositional phrase to white. The English language relies on establishing dichotomies that often centre white people as the norm that ultimately homogenize diverse ethnic and cultural communities with terms such as people of colour or non-white people. I am cognizant that white supremacy extends not solely through products of cultural knowledge but the fundamental building blocks of communication. See: Linda Martín Alcoff, "The Whiteness Question," in *Visible Identities: Race, Gender and the Self* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 205-207.

[4] I feel an ethical responsibility to be transparent in my work. I deliberately use the phrases our and we while discussing white people because I am a white woman. To erase my presence as a benefactor of white supremacy due to my skin colour (and other racial markers) would be completely contradictory to the goals of this project. All white people, myself included, are

My thesis project will examine the print culture of illustrated travelogues of the British Caribbean between 1820-1850 authored by William Clark (1770-1838), Richard H. Bridgens (1785-1846) and James M. Phillippo (1798-1879). Illustrated travelogues provide insight into common textual and visual motifs that were a part of Anglo colonial popular culture as a means to deconstruct how this medium came to be understood as objective and unbiased.[5] As a genre, travel literature was popular in the Anglo-Caribbean as well as Canada, America, and western continental Europe.[6] Art historian Sarah Thomas discusses the cultural significance for travelogues for nineteenth-century European audiences as reflective of the vested stakes in Britain's colonial mission.[7] She argues:

> By the beginning of the nineteenth-century, however, the market for empirical knowledge of the New World was expanding well beyond the exclusive preserve of the scientific community; a growing middle class with increased time for leisure was eager for words and pictures recorded by "on the spot" witness. The rise of books of voyages and travels mirrored the expansion of European commercial and colonial interests.[8]

Illustrated travelogues were key tools for the proliferation of colonial discourses as they were accessible to an increasingly literate audience.[9] This medium allowed for an author to convey complex ideas accompanied by corresponding images that maintains the construction of the romanticized nations a key component of Anglo-colonial cultural production.[10] Colonial politics are important to consider when considering how each

---

accountable to challenge white privilege in every form. Sociologist Ruth Frankenberg's introductory chapter of her germinal book *White Women, Race Matters: The Social Construction of Whiteness* (1993) is an excellent model for discussing critical self-reflectivity as a part of an academic methodology. I would also like to state that while historically people of colour primarily referred to black, mixed race and Indigenous people, in our present-day colonial societies, all people who are labelled as 'non-white' are affected by systemic racism. See: Peggy McIntosh, "White Privilege: Unpacking the Invisible Backpack," in *Understanding Prejudice and Discrimination*, ed. Scott Pious (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2003 (originally published 1990)), 191-193; Ruth Frankenberg, *White Women, Race Matters: The Social Construction of Whiteness* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993), 10-13.

[5] Sarah Thomas, ""On the spot": Travelling artists and abolitionism, 1770-1830," *Atlantic Studies* 8, no. 2 (June 2011): 212-216.

[6] Thomas, ""On the spot,"" 212-214.

[7] Thomas, ""On the spot,"" 212-213.

[8] Thomas, ""On the spot,"" 214.

[9] Dyer, *The Matter of Images,* 8-11.

[10] Thomas, ""On the spot,"" 212-215.

author accessed the ability to travel outside of continental Europe.[11] All three authors were Anglo-European white men born outside of the British Caribbean. They all travelled to the Caribbean due to their privileged circumstances often for monetary gain.[12] Bridgens's wife inherited a plantation in Trinidad after the death of a family member, relocating the family in 1825.[13] Meanwhile, Phillippo was a Baptist missionary who went to Jamaica in order to educate and convert enslaved black people to Christianity through his church in 1830[14] and Clark was an overseer on an Antiguan plantation.[15] In this thirty-year period of the nineteenth-century in British colonial history a major societal shift spurred on by the end of slave trade in 1807, meant that the preservation of slavery for the plantation owner and merchant class became a priority.[16] The illustrations featured in these travelogues are conduits for the layered racial hierarchies established through colonization.

This project is centered on works that represent the Anglo-Caribbean colonies of Jamaica, Antigua and Trinidad. Each text selected in this time period allows for an examination of images featured in travelogues produced pre- and post- abolition in order to understand the anxieties that slave owners, chiefly white men, had towards black people, the majority populations composed mainly of enslaved people. The three texts that will be discussed are: Clark's *Ten Views in the Island of Antigua During a Residence of Three Years in the West Indies* (1823), Bridgens's *West India scenery, with Illustrations of Negro Character, the Process of Making Sugar, &c. from Sketches Taken During a voyage to, and Residence of Seven Years in, the Island of Trinidad* (1836) and

---

[11] Thomas, "'On the spot,'" 212-215.
[12] Thomas, "'On the spot,'" 213-216.
[13] Julia Skelly, "Representing Punishments for Dirt-Eating and Intoxication in Richard Bridgen's "West India Scenery, with Illustrations of Negro Character (1836)"," *RACAR: Canadian Art Review* 36, no. 2 (2011): 52-54.
[14] Edward Bean Underhill, *Life of James Mursell Phillippo, Missionary in Jamaica* (London: Yates & Alexander, 1881), 1-5.
[15] William Clark, *Ten Views In the Island of Antigua, in Which are Represented the Process of Sugar Making.... From Drawings Made by William Clark, During a Residence of Three Years in the West Indies (*London: T. Clay, 1823), 1-4.
[16] Christer Petley, *Slaveholders in Jamaica: Colonial Society and Culture During the Era of Abolition* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2009), 2-6.

Phillippo's *Jamaica: its past and present state* (1843). While Clark's text was published prior to abolition, Bridgens and Phillippo were published post-abolition.

Feminist scholar Peggy McIntosh discusses white privilege and unpacking its societal significance in her influential essay, *White Privilege: Unpacking the Invisible Backpack* (1990). McIntosh argues that white people are trained to see themselves as the status quo from an early age creating the dissonance between white people as inheritors of white supremacy and their direct roles as perpetuators of racism.[17] This critical dissonance contributes to an environment where it has been acceptable for white people to deny our shared cultural inheritance of privilege and the horrific means through which this privilege was gained.[18] She writes:

> To redesign social systems we need first to acknowledge their colossal unseen dimensions. The silences and denials surrounding privilege are the key political tool here. They keep the thinking about equality or equity incomplete, protecting unearned advantage and conferred dominance by making these taboo subjects. Most talk by whites about equal opportunity seems to me now to be about equal opportunity to try to get into a position of dominance while denying that systems of dominance exist.[19]

McIntosh outlines how power is a key component to the formation of whiteness as a racial and ethnic category, as whiteness has been attributed with a flexibility that has erased the direct lineage of accountability of white people to the systemic violence used to maintain this inheritance.[20] White privilege and supremacy are two terms that are often discussed in relation to one another due to their parasitic relationship where white supremacy positions white people as the idealized, or perfected making privilege a by-product of this oppressive system.[21] White supremacy will be contextualized and grounded in visual analysis in this project, as its ephemerality has made it an integral part of society presently and historically.

Examining the materiality of white supremacy, especially its attachment to non-verbal modes of cultural production, such as images and social cues allowed for an

---

[17] McIntosh, "White Privilege," 191-193.
[18] McIntosh, "White Privilege," 191-193.
[19] McIntosh, "White Privilege," 196.
[20] McIntosh, "White Privilege," 195-197.
[21] Shannon Sullivan, *Revealing Whiteness: The Unconscious Habits of Racial Privilege* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2006), 5-9.

examination of its global dissemination.[22] However, it is important to examine how this concept has been framed throughout my project as it centers on the work of sociologist Steve Garner. Garner richly describes the power afforded to white people not only as a belief but also as institutionally mandated and politically implemented throughout history.[23] He posits:

> The power talked of here is of unchecked and untrammelled authority to exert its will; the power to invent and change the rules and transgress them with impunity. The arbitrary imposition of life and death is one end of the spectrum of power relations that whiteness enacts, across the parts of the world where white people are preponderant in positions of power.[24]

My decision to focus on travelogues produced by Anglo-white men about British colonial nations is a way to produce a focused investigation that hones in on one colonial empire and how its nation-building processes (in tropical plantation regimes), linguistic, cultural and demographic specificity allowed these artists to produce works in service to white supremacy.[25] Critical race theorist Steve Martinot discusses how it is necessary to articulate the tactile histories of racism and to document its object-based origins.[26] In this project, images are the central focal point to serve as tools to facilitate mapping out white privilege.[27] He states:

> Many anti-racist thinkers and activists have asked, how can we begin to get white people to resist racism in its institutional form? But this question, though pointing in a good direction, is inadequate if resisting racism means only dealing with effects. Dealing with effects is necessary and not to be skimped. *But if the materiality of the history of racism allows it to be taken for granted, its machinery to lurk unseen, then the anti-racist actions of the moment will remain ephemeral* (italics mine).[28]

This is an important point since individuals could collectively share the same white supremacist ideologies without speaking a common language.[29] Whiteness being

---

[22] Sullivan, *Revealing Whiteness,* 94-96.
[23] Steve Garner, *Whiteness: An Introduction* (London: Routledge, 2007), 10-14.
[24] Garner, *Whiteness,* 14.
[25] Steve Martinot, *The Machinery of Whiteness: Studies in the Structure of Radicalization* (Temple University Press: Philadelphia, 2010), 3.
[26] Martinot, *The Machinery of Whiteness*, 4-7.
[27] Martinot, *The Machinery of Whiteness*, 10-12.
[28] Martinot, *The Machinery of Whiteness*, 3.
[29] Sullivan, *Revealing Whiteness,* 95.

synonymous with the status quo results in the erasure of racializing white people as privileged subjects, the benefactors and perpetrators of white supremacy. Electing to examine the construction of the white body is a means to intervene on this problematic assumption by examining the visual culture of white privilege.[30] Visual depictions of white people throughout diverse mediums, genres, and types of 'high' and 'low' art such as oil paintings, prints, illustrations, and advertisements allowed for the monopolization in 'positive' racial representation of this specific demographic.[31] Black, Indigenous and other people of colour were depicted in relation to white people as signifiers of inferiority.[32] To expand, inferiority can be understood through multiple contexts. Though, in this project it will be primarily focused on how racial differentiation was visual achieved within a specific social and historical context of nineteenth-century Anglo-Caribbean colonies. For example throughout all three artists' series, while whites, primarily men, were positioned as stoic bodies, dressed in European formal clothing,[33] black subjects, both male and female, were often naked or wearing minimal clothing while being barefoot.[34] These sartorial, economic, and cultural distinctions, what cultural

---

[30] Richard Dyer, *White* (New York: Routledge, 1997), 46-50.
[31] Dyer, *White*, 5-12.
[32] Dyer, *White*, 65-72.
[33] These outfits were complete with the traditional black top hat, velvet overcoat, and leather boots. I argue that the clothing served as a signifier of authoritative power that was familiar to a colonial, Anglo-European audience. British Caribbean plantation owners, despite the warmth of the tropical climate continued to wear their highly impractical dress in the 'New World.' Cultural historian Rebecca Earle discusses how clothing during the colonial era signified status and connotations of power. In the eighteenth century, sumptuary laws were pervasive in many parts of the Americas and used to produce racial differentiation in a moment before race had been defined as a biological facet of the body. Clothing's importance to colonial culture and social custom made it a significant aspect of various images throughout all three travelogues discussed in this project. It is vital to acknowledge that these artworks were primarily produced by white, European, male artists. Earle's discussion of clothing in the Spanish colonial context contributed to my discussion on clothing as a part of the British, colonial, white supremacist visual lexicon. While her entire article is excellent, I highly recommend the first several pages as Earle positions her project in an effective summary. For more information please consult: Rebecca Earle, "'Two Pairs of Pink Satin Shoes!': Race, Clothing and Identity in The Americas (17th-19th Centuries)," *History Workshop Journal* no. 52 (August 2001), 175-182.
[34] In tropical colonial environments (the British Caribbean and southern United States) an enslaved person was not allowed to purchase or wear shoes because it allowed for white people to maintain the veil of "civility" to be superior to black people. Clothing in the colonial context signified privilege and individuality only afforded to white subjects. Please refer to Earle's article for a nuanced discussion of this issue. See: Earle, "'Two Pairs of Pink Satin Shoes!'"185-190.

historian Rebecca Earle calls, "clothing acts,"[35] were interpreted not as social differences produced through the violence and prohibitions of colonization and slavery, but as biological racial differences, which validated the notion of white supremacy.[36]

Working on research with the goal of undermining the pervasiveness of white supremacy is daunting. Therefore, rather than approach this topic with broad strokes it was imperative to hone in on a specific historical period in order to conduct research that could challenge how white people identified both individually and collectively.[37] The British Caribbean was a key colonial site during the nineteenth-century, including nations such as Jamaica, Trinidad, and Antigua. Although as British possessions, they shared a common thread, is important to discuss each nation's specific colonial history.[38] Christopher Columbus initially colonized Antigua in 1493 on behalf of the Spanish monarchy, however the Spanish failed to successfully settle the land due to the resistance of the Caribs, Antigua's largest Indigenous population.[39] The British occupied Antigua in 1632 when Thomas Warner was instated as the first British General of the nation.[40] Jamaica was initially home to the Taino speaking Arawak Tribe until Spanish colonizer Columbus arrived in 1494 to occupy the island until the British led a successful invasion in 1655, usurping power from the Spanish.[41] Trinidad was a part of Columbus's third voyage in 1498 where they established slavery during the first decade of the fifteenth century and continued to maintain power until 1797 when the nation became a part of the British Empire.[42] During the nineteenth-century, all three nations were directly impacted by legislative decisions made by the British Parliament in continental Europe. When the

---

[35] Earle, "'Two Pairs of Pink Satin Shoes!'" 177-178.
[36] Patricia Mohammed, *Imagining the Caribbean: Culture and Visual Translation* (Oxford: Macmillan Publishers Limited, 2009), 5-15.
[37] Sullivan, *Revealing Whiteness,* 92-94.
[38] Sidney W. Mintz, *Three Ancient Colonies: Caribbean Themes and Variations* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010), 1-10.
[39] Mindie Lazarus-Black, *Legitimate Acts and Illegal Encounters: Law and Society in Antigua and Barbuda* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1994), 1-6.
[40] William Lux, *Historical Dictionary of the British Caribbean* (Metchen, N.J.: The Scarecrow Press Inc., 1975), 110-113.
[41] Christer Petley, *Slaveholders in Jamaica: Colonial Society and Culture During the Era of Abolition* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2009), 1-6; Barbara Lalla and Jean D'Costa, *Language in Exile: Three Hundred Years of Jamaica Creole* (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 2009), 7, 10.
[42] W. L. Burn, *The British West Indies* (London: Hutchinson's University Library, 1951), 20-24.

British Parliament instituted the end of the slave trade in 1807 that did not mean that slavery ended.[43] Rather, this law ensured that no other black person could be enslaved in Africa for the purpose of being shipped to the Americas or elsewhere.[44] Therefore, British plantation owners had to begin to take a vested interest in the physical viability of their imprisoned labour forces.[45]

My research focused on the time period of 1820-1850, a moment when British colonial societies were transitioning from slavery to abolition through the apprenticeship system that was structured to protect white, British colonial interests and to ensure the continued exploitation of the newly free labour of the formerly enslaved black populations.[46] The goal of this project is to serve as a methodological, ideological and theoretical shift to acknowledge the role of violence in the construction of a colonial white racial identity. Acknowledging that the processes of racialization included white people is a means to begin dissecting the legacies of white supremacy.[47] Centering on the observation of the visual formation and ideological construct of white, colonial, British

---

[43] Petley, *Slaveholders in Jamaica*, 130-135.

[44] The abolition of slave trading meant that ships were no longer legally allowed to go to Africa to purchase new slaves. For sources on inter-island trading see: David Eltis, Stephen D. Behrendt, David Richardson, and Herbert S. Klein, *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade: A Database on CD-ROM* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 16;
Philip D. Morgan, "The Cultural Implications of the Atlantic Slave Trade: African Regional Origins, American Destinations and New World Developments," in *Routes to Slavery: Direction, Ethnicity and Mortality in the Transatlantic Slave Trade, Studies in Slave and Post-Slave Societies and Cultures*, eds. David Eltis and David Richardson (New York: Routledge, 1997), 133; Bonham C. Richardson, *Caribbean Migrants: Environment and Human Survival on St. Kitts and Nevis* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1983), 76; Charmaine A. Nelson, "A Tale of Two Empires: Montreal Slavery Under the French and the British," in *Slavery, Geography, and Empire in Nineteenth-Century Marine Landscapes of Montreal and Jamaica* (Surrey, UK: Ashgate Publishing, in press, forthcoming 2016), unpaginated.

[45] The abolition of slave trading also increased slave owners concern for 'breeding' enslaved people or what was called 'natural increase'. For sources on 'natural increase' and 'breeding' please refer to: Matthew Lewis, *Journal of a West India Proprietor: Kept during a residence in the Island of Jamaica* ed. Judith Terry (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 133; Nelson, "Imaging Slavery in Antigua and Jamaica," unpaginated. For a primary source that argued that shifts in the management of slaves was necessary to keep up their numbers after the abolition of the slave trade see: Gilbert Mathison, Esq. *Notices Respecting Jamaica in 1808-1809-1810* (London: Printed for John Stockdale, Piccadilly, 1811), vi, 12, 15, 18; Mintz, *Three Ancient Colonies,* 80-85.

[46] Petley, *Slaveholders in Jamaica*, 155-162; Lux, *Historical Dictionary of the British Caribbean*, 110-113.

[47] Chandra Talpade Mohanty, "Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses," *boundary* 2, No. 13 (1984): 338-344.

masculinity allows me to critique how whiteness became synonymous with power gained through violence.[48] Men such as Clark, Bridgens and Phillippo were heavily invested in protecting white supremacy as they directly benefitted from this systemic imbalance of power.[49] Before engaging with the formation of a white, colonial, British masculinity it is crucial to discuss the historical context that preceded the nineteenth-century and to examine the histories of present-day Antigua, Jamaica and Trinidad in part to understand the socio-historical moment in which each artist worked.

The first chapter of my project "Observing the pattern: Unpacking White Colonial Privilege," will focus on defining white privilege as it was understood in the British Caribbean colonial context. I argue that white privilege was centered on ensuring the naturalization of European values and cultural customs through the erasure of Indigenous peoples.[50] The second chapter "Deifying the White Man: British Caribbean Masculinity and Gender Roles in the Plantation Hierarchy," focuses on tracing the visuality of white, British masculinity beginning in oil painting portraiture of military figures, which were then transcribed into the printed illustrations that accompanied the travelogues. Mapping the visual conventions behind the depictions of British white men provides insight into the framework through which colonial identities were formed. Such identities supported in the plantation hierarchy, which was not only the template behind the industrialization of slavery but the socio-cultural structures mandating specific behaviours in everyday social interactions and lives for both freed and enslaved black people.[51] The last chapter of this project "Protecting White Supremacy and the Legacies of Plantation Hierarchies in the Post-Abolition British Caribbean," will discuss the role that the plantation hierarchy played in the formation of white, British, colonial masculinity as an empowering space for white men that was simultaneously a site of horrific abuse and violence perpetuated against the enslaved black populations. I argue that this hierarchy served as a security blanket for white, British men since the abolition

---

[48] Martinot, *The Machinery of Whiteness,* 44-50.
[49] Garner, *Whiteness*, 20-24.
[50] Robert J.C. Young, *White Mythologies: Writing History and the West* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 160-165.
[51] Jenny Shaw, *Everyday Life in the Early English Caribbean: Irish, Africans, and the Construction of Difference* (London: The University of Georgia Press, 2013), 1-7.

of slavery evoked anxieties around the black body, specifically concerning retaliation against white plantation owners. In order to combat this anxiety, men such as Phillippo and Bridgens, depicted themselves as the same authorial figures that had been normalized in artworks and illustrations prior to abolition. This project contends that regardless of their political affiliations as abolitionist or pro-slavery advocates, all three men produced works disseminating notions of white supremacy through their text and accompanying illustrations for their travelogues.[52] In turn, their investment in the proliferation of images and texts idealizing white, British colonizers secured their legacies as cultural producers whose subjective experiences were disseminated as truths beyond the British Caribbean throughout continental Europe and other dominion colonies.[53]

[52] Thomas, "'On the spot,'" 213-222.
[53] Valerie Joseph, "HOW THOMAS NELSON AND SONS' ROYAL READERS TEXTBOOKS HELPED INSTILL THE STANDARDS OF WHITENESS INTO COLONIZED BLACK CARIBBEAN SUBJECTS AND THEIR DESCENDENTS." *Transforming Anthropology* 20, no. 2 (2012): 146-152.

Chapter One
Observing the Pattern: Unpacking White Colonial Privilege

White supremacy as an ideology cannot survive solely as an abstract concept making it necessary to affiliate itself with tangible objects such as images.[54] Aligning an ephemeral construct to visual objects allowed for its continued dissemination and integration into societal norms.[55] In this project, imagery produced about Anglo-Caribbean colonies contributed to the articulation of British cultural values, making these nineteenth-century travelogue illustrations an excellent appendage to the globalization of white supremacy. [56] Art historians studying nineteenth-century visual culture must take into consideration the historical narratives and discourses behind specific mediums as they were developed as proponents of the British imperial mission.[57] The British colonial legacy, which originated at the start of its imperial campaign during the fifteen century,[58] established a specific social and racial hierarchy that inextricably favoured British white people (especially men).[59] Yet, it is imperative to note that a stratification of whiteness through ethnicity and religion with vast class implications was also prevalent in the British Empire.[60] Privileging white, British men as authority figures throughout the

---

[54] Dyer, *White*, 20-24.
[55] Dyer, *White*, 50-55.
[56] Dyer, *White*, 46-49.
[57] Charmaine A. Nelson, ed., *Ebony Roots, Northern Soil: Perspectives on Blackness in Canada* (Newcastle Upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholar Publishing, 2010), 1-6.
[58] This campaign originated in the plantation fields of Ireland in 1497 and expanded during the sixteenth century as the empire extended its reach throughout many continents and colonies including the three British Caribbean islands central to this project: Jamaica, Trinidad and Antigua. There are specific reasons, which will be outlined later on this chapter, why the historical conventions of the nineteenth-century British Caribbean were an important site for the ideological struggles that white supremacy faced. This period was demonstrative of an ideological crossroad at the abolition of slavery, which left many white cultural producers with the question of how to secure their power while black people received their freedom. For an exploration of this question and the specific implications of British visual culture at the moment of political upheaval, I would direct you to post-colonial theorist Robert J.C. Young's influential text, *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race* (1994). See: Robert J.C. Young, *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race* (New York: Routledge, 1994), 1-5.
[59] Dyer, *White,* 5-9.
[60] Hilary McD. Beckles, "A 'Riotous and Unruly Lot': Irish Indentured Servants and Freemen in the English West Indies, 1644-1713" in *Caribbean Slavery in the Atlantic World*, eds. Verene Shepherd and Hilary McD. Beckles (Kingston: Ian Randle Publishers Limited, 2000), 226-228.

British Dominion was arguably a strategy implemented in part to secure power for individuals that the British colonial authorities identified as 'ideal citizens'.[61]

While class weighed heavily on British imperial society during the nineteenth-century, it is undeniable that working class white men (especially in the Caribbean) were given managerial jobs on plantations through which they oversaw the enslaved black labourers.[62] This was a racially motivated strategy to ensure an authoritative white male presence in social interactions between white minority and black majority populations.[63] It was a calculated choice to ensure that working class white people saw themselves allied with the planter class to ensure that all white people participated in the maintenance of white supremacy.[64] The designation of ideal subject equates to human being and citizen affording British white men the dignity of humanity that was systemically erased and disavowed to black, Indigenous and mixed race people.[65]

This chapter examines the historical, colonial and political narratives that contextualize how depictions of white men became integral to the normalization of white subjects in literature and art. This process also implicates these figures as culpable in racializing black, Indigenous and mixed race peoples to differentiate between white and non-white people.[66] Erasing the study of whiteness from scholarship about the formation of racial identities throughout the British Caribbean has in part been an effect of white supremacy, where naturalization allows for white people to represent the status quo.[67] As a consequence of centering white subjectivity, questions about the origins of white privilege are distanced from the people who benefit from it, white people.[68] Feminist scholar Robyn Wiegman is a strong proponent against whiteness studies as an academic field, which failed to address the universalism afforded to white people that distances our bodies from accountability in the perpetuation of oppressive mechanism.[69] As outlined in

---

[61] Young, *Colonial Desire,* 1-3.
[62] Beckles, "A 'Riotous and Unruly Lot,'" 228-230.
[63] Mintz, *Three Ancient Colonies,* 1-8.
[64] Mintz, *Three Ancient Colonies,* 2-6; Beckles, "A 'Riotous and Unruly Lot,'" 228-230.
[65] Thomas, ""On the spot,"" 213-215.
[66] Robyn Wiegman, *Object Lessons* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2012), 155-160.
[67] Dyer, *White,* 22-26.
[68] bell hooks, *Ain't I a Woman: Black Women and Feminism* (London: Pluto Press, 1982), 135-142.
[69] Wiegman, *Object Lessons*, 155-161.

her book *Object Lessons* (2012), the disembodiment of the white presence as proliferated throughout all visual culture, academic discourses and historical narration needs to be acknowledged as a pervasive effect of colonialism.[70] Wiegman outlines in the following paragraph a concise summary on the necessity to incorporate the white body into recuperative models that address the supremacist imperial legacies ingrained in our present-day institutions.[71] She states:

> Whiteness Studies thus hoped to bring *consciousness* and *knowledge* to bear on the historical problem of white racial supremacy and, in this, it was a social constructionist project that sought to counter the massive problem of white racial ambivalence that structured the public sphere. But to the extent that its antiracist agenda was drawn repeatedly to a white subject now hyperconscious of itself, White Studies was founded on an inescapable contradiction: its project to particularize whiteness was indebted to the very structure of the universal that particularization sought to undo. This was the case because particularization required an emphasis on the body and reconstituting the linkage between embodiment and identity that universalism had so powerfully disavowed for the white subject. To particularize was to refuse the universal's disembodied effect.[72]

White supremacy was formulated as a safe guard to secure a white colonial identity based on a collective privilege.[73] This shared privilege is founded on the oppressions of black, Indigenous and mixed race people through slavery, genocide and subjugation on the basis of skin colour and other bodily markers of race.[74] The pervasiveness of whiteness needs to be taken into consideration when examining the modes of visual and literary discourses that emerged as a part of the British imperial mission to protect the white, British colonial presence in the Caribbean vis-à-vis the maintenance of white supremacy.[75] Illustrated travelogues, the central objects of this thesis project, alongside natural history sciences books, were created as documentation models meant to be easily replicated and enforce key racist, ethnocentric ideologies privileging the British, white man as the ideal subject.[76] White men were the dominant producers of travelogues as privileged

---

[70] Wiegman, *Object Lessons*, 170-177.
[71] Wiegman, *Object Lessons*, 10-20.
[72] Wiegman, *Object Lessons*, 159-160.
[73] Wiegman, *Object Lessons*, 159-160.
[74] hooks, *Ain't I a Woman,* 135-140.
[75] Wiegman, *Object Lessons*, 160-162.
[76] Dyer, *White,* 40-44, 46-48.

individuals who gained the necessary monetary funds, mobility and vocational training to document their first-hand experiences that were viewed as objective, truthful observations rather than the subjective interpretations that they were.[77] Both of these literary genres focused on exoticizing the colonial islands' geographical features and non-white inhabitants through a European colonial, mainly masculine, gaze, *which culminated in securing white, British men as authorial masters of the British imperial mission*.[78] Since most travelogue authors during the early nineteenth-century in Jamaica, Antigua and Trinidad were British white men, their production of documentation on the various British imperial initiatives (such as the institutionalization of slavery throughout these colonies) ensured their monopolization of the category of narrator, a supposedly impartial authority figure.[79] Arguably, a part of this narrative domination was meant to erase the experiences of the 'non-white' subjugated and abused populations.[80] As a consequence of whiteness equated as the status quo, all non-white people (black, Indigenous and mixed race) are homogenized into a single category.[81] Travelogues were a part of the British

---

[77] As art historian Kay Dian Kriz argued, the access to monetary funds, often in the form of sponsorships from imperial government institutions, or commissions by plantation owners or aristocratic classes is an excellent example of this privilege. Money in a capitalist society is indicative of racial privilege since the rights to own property, claim an inheritance and cultivate further wealth were inherently linked in the British Caribbean context to legitimate citizenship, exclusive to white men. Whites also enshrined their almost exclusive access to wealth and property in colonial laws. In 1761, the Jamaica Assembly instituted a law, the Devises Act, prohibiting free blacks from inheriting significant wealth. The act declared null and void any bequest over 2,000 pounds made to a person of African descent. For a continued discussion on the white, British male artist as privileged subject please consult the first chapter of Kriz's book, Kay Dian Kriz, "The Crisis of the English School and the Question of Genre," in *Idea of the English Landscape Painter: Genius as Alibi in the Early Nineteenth-century* (London: Yale University Press, 1997), 1-6. For more on the Devises Act see: "Act of the Jamaican Assembly December 1761," Transcribed (25 November 2011) by Anne Powers from *The Laws of Jamaica*, vol. 2, St Jago de la Vega (1802) *A Parcel of Ribbons: Eighteenth Century Jamaica Viewed through Family Stories and Documents* http://aparcelofribbons.co.uk/apr/items/show/48 (10 March 2016) and Charmaine A. Nelson, "Beyond Sugar: James Hakewill's Vision of Jamaican Settlements, Livestock Pens, and the Spaces Between," Slavery, Geography, and Empire in Nineteenth-Century Marine Landscapes of Montreal and Jamaica (Surrey, UK: Ashgate Publishing, forthcoming 2016), unpaginated.

[78] Burn, *The British West Indies*, 1-5.

[79] Thomas, ""On the spot,"" -220.

[80] Dyer, *White,* 40-44.

[81] Andrea Smith, "Heteropatriarchy and the Three Pillars of White Supremacy: Rethinking Women of Color Organizing," in *Color of Violence: the Incite! Anthology/ Incite! Women of*

imperial campaign since the sixteenth century as an important literary genre that served to exoticize these unknown lands unfamiliar to a continental European audience.[82] Art historian Sarah Thomas's article, "On the spot": Travelling artists and abolitionism, 1770-1830," (2011) outlines the authentification process that occurs in the publication of a travelling author's experiences.[83] Her definition of the authorial presence evoked in these texts that dictated how the audience responded is an a key part of this following excerpt from her article:

> Nonetheless both approaches were ultimately a means of privileging testimony, and for the travelling artist and his audience epistemological authority was crucial, never more so than when the subject – slavery – was so fiercely contested. This desire, then, for what W.J.T. Mitchell has termed a ''certificate of the Real,'' helped to create a burgeoning market for first-hand written and visual accounts of the New World.[84]

Thomas reveals how the desire for accounts of first-hand knowledge produced by reliable narrators was limited to the most privileged individuals, Anglo-white men.[85] For the most part, the aristocratic, merchant, and plantation owning classes were all audiences for these travelogues invested in the maintenance of many oppressive colonial powers including the institution of slavery.[86] Seeking testimonials produced by white men allowed for the literate classes to reassure themselves of the security of white power throughout the Dominion.[87] While as an academic approach it is common practice to distance the visual production happening in continental Europe from its colonies, there are inextricable links that cannot be denied between the maintenance of white supremacy and the production of travelogues as illustrative tools supporting its racist notions.[88] These three travelogues spanning the early nineteenth-century from 1820 until 1850 hone in on a socio-historical period of an anxiety around the maintenance of white power in the face of the abolition of

---

Color Against Violence, eds. Andrea Smith, Beth E. Richie and Julia Sudbury (New York: South End Press, 2006), 70-72.

[82] Young, *Colonial Desire*, 1-5.

[83] Thomas, ""On the spot,"" 214-216.

[84] Thomas, ""On the spot."" 216-217.

[85] Thomas, ""On the spot,"" 217-220.

[86] Kriz, *The Idea of the English Landscape Painter,* 6-12.

[87] Kay Dian Kriz, *Slavery, Sugar, and the Culture of Refinement: Picturing the British West Indies, 1700-1840* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 1-8.

[88] Mohammed, *Imagining the Caribbean,* 1-6.

slavery, a major disruption for the fragile white ego.[89] Before delving into a critical inquiry into the formation and various visual depictions of Anglo-white authoritative men throughout the British Caribbean, it is vital to introduce three important aspects of the interdisciplinary framework utilized in this project to unpack the colonial, white supremacist infrastructures present in the imagery produced by Clark, Bridgens and Phillippo's narratives.[90]

The three central discussion points of this chapter will centre on: the definition and establishment of key theoretical concepts[91], the colonial visual analysis used to engage with these illustrations[92], and the contextualization of the historical period that these colonies were experiencing during this politically volatile period.[93] White supremacy and privilege are concepts presently understood primarily at the institutional level, displacing white people from direct accountability and a shared identity with an inherently oppressive mechanism enforcing our societal power.[94] Integrating the visual engagement of the white body directly to the oppressive mechanisms used to enforce white supremacy *racializes white people as perpetuators of racism*.[95] White supremacy in this project is inextricably linked to the colonial mission, as the genocide of Indigenous people and the dehumanization of black people through the institutionalization of slavery were considered necessary mechanisms that maintained, disseminated, and propagated white power.[96] This thesis examines the racial dichotomies produced during the historicization of white privilege, where white people were universally praised at the concession of black, Indigenous and mixed race people, allowing for blanket racist generalization to homogenize entire groups of people, dehumanizing the individual at the concession of an imagined whole.[97]

---

[89] Thomas, ""On the spot,"" 213-217.
[90] Kimberle Crenshaw, "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics and Violence Against Women of Colour," *Stanford Law Review* 43, no. 1241 (July 1991): 1241-1245.
[91] Smith, "Heteropatriarchy and the Three Pillars of White Supremacy," 70-77.
[92] Kriz, *The Idea of the English Landscape Painter,* 8-12.
[93] Burn, *The British West Indies,* 5-15.
[94] Sullivan, *Revealing Whiteness,* 10-15.
[95] Wiegman, *Object Lessons*, 130-135.
[96] Smith, "Heteropatriarchy and the Three Pillars of White Supremacy," 70-72.
[97] Smith, "Heteropatriarchy and the Three Pillars of White Supremacy," 73-77.

Ideologically, many travelogue authors were influenced by the colonial patterns that contribute to the concentrization of a British national identity.[98]Art historian Kay Dian Kriz observes the overt colonial connections affiliated with British art history as a part of the visual culture of white privilege.[99] Anglo-white artists travelling to the Caribbean were producing works propagating the British colonial mission according to Kriz.[100] She argues that linking the imperialist connotations in these artworks allowed for the *proliferation of the racist stereotypes in which white supremacy relies on for its continued survival*.[101] Kriz's discussion in the following paragraph on British art history and the nationalistic propaganda that is central to this colonial visual culture situates my understanding of a historic white identity.[102] She states:

> If British art history is to remain vibrant at a time when scholars across the disciplines are recognizing the inadequacy of "the nation," narrowly defined, its practitioners must acknowledge how much the production of domestic art depended on the movement of goods (including images and texts), ideas, people, and capital around the world, and, in the eighteenth century, particularly around the Black Atlantic.[103]

Kriz situates Anglo-white men as significant colonial cultural producers whose influence shaped canonical Western art history.[104] Scholars often strategically distance continental European artists from the socio-political context of their period, erasing the influences that British Caribbean colonies had on artworks produced both within and outside continental Britain.[105] It is crucial that white supremacy is understood as a historic ideological framework perpetuated as a key component to the British imperial mission with a longstanding legacy documented in the illustrative works produced by white, British colonial travelers.[106] Images of white, British men in the Caribbean colonies

---

[98] Young, *White Mythologies,* 160-166.
[99] Kriz, *Slavery, Sugar, and the Culture of Refinement,* 1-8.
[100] Young, *White Mythologies,* 120-126.
[101] Kriz, *Slavery, Sugar, and the Culture of Refinement*, 4-7.
[102] Kriz, *Slavery, Sugar, and the Culture of Refinement*, 1-3.
[103] Kriz, *Slavery, Sugar, and the Culture of Refinement*, 3.
[104] Kriz, *Slavery, Sugar, and the Culture of Refinement*, 3.
[105] Kriz, *Slavery, Sugar, and the Culture of Refinement*, 2-10.
[106] Dyer, *White,* 40-46.

during the nineteenth-century contribute to the colonial mission of naturalizing these individuals as morally righteous authority figures in their communities.[107]

When beginning my preliminary cull of the illustrations from all three travelogues, there were many images demonstrative of white supremacy's historical roots but it was apparent that this dynamic is concisely summarized in the first illustration (Fig. 1), an engraving featured in James M. Phillippo's 1843 travelogue, *Jamaica: its past and present state*.[108] Phillippo was a British Baptist minister who served as a missionary for the church throughout the British Empire, travelling to Jamaica in 1823 at the behest of Reverend John Dyer.[109] Dyer was the Secretary of Society, an influential role in the abolitionist missionary group that Phillippo was a lifelong member of, encouraged his desire to desegregate religious and educational spaces in order for black and white people to interact outside the plantation hierarchy.[110]As an abolitionist, Phillippo had clear motivations for unveiling the horrific atrocities committed as an everyday part of the institution of slavery.[111] In this engraving, *Planter*, *Attended by Negro Driver* (Fig. 1, 1843) the composition is cropped, centered on the exchange between a white man and a black man on a planation field situated in a natural tropical background.[112] There is an emphasis on the men's facial features – the black man through the overemphasis of his nose and mouth and the white man through the overly firm jaw and the straight line of his nose. The planter is positioned in front of the black driver, fully dressed in a white linen suit while wearing a hat and leather boots, with his torso positioned towards the right side of the work, observing the field. The driver is positioned as a secondary figure behind the white planter wearing a draping billowing shirt wielding a whip in his left hand and waiting in compliance for the white man's orders.[113] Since slave owners in tropical colonies customarily denied shoes to enslaved people, the black man's barefooted state

---

[107] Hilary McD. Beckles, *Centering Woman: Gender Discourses in Caribbean Slave Society* (Kingston: Ian Randle Publishers, 1999), i-iv.
[108] James M. Phillippo, *Jamaica: its past and present state* (London: J. Snow, 1843), 120.
[109] Underhill, *Life of James Mursell Phillippo,* 24.
[110] Underhill, *Life of James Mursell Phillippo,* 10-14.
[111] Underhill, *Life of James Mursell Phillippo,* 2-5.
[112] Phillippo, *Jamaica: its past and present state*, 120.
[113] Phillippo, *Jamaica: its past and present state*, 119-122.

was a further visual symbol of his enslavement and social disenfranchisement.[114] This image of the planter and the driver recalls the plantation's racial hierarchy that was seen as a necessary part of slavery. However, even though this image was published in a post-abolition era, the racial dynamics noted in this image reinforces the colonial white supremacist idea that white men were natural authoritarians. [115] Phillippo's life work was more about his religious convictions as a Christian rather than his genuine belief in an anti-racist society that supported black people, both freed and enslaved.[116] The following excerpt from Phillippo's travelogue highlights his attitudes concerning the abolition of slavery and its relationship to Christianity.[117] He states:

> Whatever may have been the separate or combined influence of the causes hitherto enumerated in producing the glorious transformation described in the preceding pages, they would have been comparatively useless apart from the Gospel which "is the power of God unto salvation." The abolition of the slave-trade; the destruction of slavery itself; the establishment of schools; and the various efforts which have been made for the improvement of the temporal condition of the people, would have effected but little, had it not been for this more powerful instrumentality and this still more effective agency.[118]

Phillippo's paternalistic attitude concerning the role that Christianity has played in the abolishment of slavery as being a reflection of the white man's accomplishment rather than recognizing the institutional abuse and violence it perpetuated.[119] I argue that the racial dynamics that Phillippo captured in his engraving encapsulates the colonial formation of a white, British identity as the bench marker of societal innovation throughout the British Empire.[120]

Sociologist Ruth Frankenberg outlines how the centering of a white colonial identity is reliant upon dichotomous relationships that glorify white people, ascribing their bodies and physical features as ideal while noting the difference of people of colour,

---

[114] Nelson, "Beyond Sugar," unpaginated.
[115] Underhill, *Life of James Mursell Phillippo,* 160-165.
[116] Phillippo, *Jamaica: its past and present state*, 160-164.
[117] Phillippo, *Jamaica: its past and present state*, 160-162.
[118] Phillippo, *Jamaica: its past and present state*, 162.
[119] Phillippo, *Jamaica: its past and present state*, 162-164.
[120] Frankenberg, *White women, Race Matters*, 16-20.

primarily black people, as being negative.[121] Her summary of this phenomenon is an important interpretation, which has served as a key theoretical concept used to frame this project. Frankenberg states:

> Colonization also occasioned the reformulation of European selves. Central to colonial discourses is the notion of the colonized subject as irreducibly Other from the standpoint of a white "self." Equally significant, while discursively generating and marking a range of cultural and racial Others as different from an apparently stable Western or white self, the Western self is itself produced as *an effect of* the Western discursive production of its Others. This means that the Western self and the non-Western other are coconstructed as discursive products, both of whose "realness" stand in extremely complex relationships to the production of knowledge, and to the material violence to which "epistemic violence" is intimately linked.[122]

Epistemic violence, the erasure and systemic denial of black people from voicing oppositional narratives to the normative British imperial mission, allowed for the monopolization of white British male authors such as Clark, Bridgens, and Phillippo to depict these colonies on behalf of the British colonial mission.[123] Oftentimes questions of race in art history are examined by an exploration of the black or brown body as objectified and subjugated figures in these images without taking into consideration the white artists and people who perpetuated while benefitting from this systemic racism.[124] Although this is an invaluable recuperative model it must work alongside critical examinations of the visual culture of white supremacy that begins by centring white people as the benefactors and executors of this racist ideology.[125] It is time for white people to accept accountability for our role in the continuation of this racist legacy and an important step in accepting responsibility for this inheritance is to note its historical origins.[126]

---

[121] Frankenberg, *White women, Race Matters,* 10-13.
[122] Frankenberg, *White women, Race Matters*, 16-17.
[123] Wiegman, *Object Lessons,* 155-158.
[124] Wiegman, *Object Lessons,* 158-162.
[125] Frankenberg, *White women, Race Matters,* 14-18.
[126] As a writer I feel as sense of accountability to be as transparent about my identity and subjectivity as possible. As a white Euro-Canadian woman, I have greatly benefitted from white privilege and it is necessary for all white people to acknowledge our presence while these oppressive mechanisms continue to alienate, exclude and oppress people of colour presently. See: Dyer, *White,* 5-9.

One initial step in this concession of power on the part of white people requires us to acknowledge and address the direct relationship between the proliferation of white supremacy as a colonial discourse and how it has impacted how white people, primarily men, were depicted in various art mediums.[127] This affiliation between benefactor of power and the oppressive mechanisms utilized to maintain its structures accounts for white people being assumed as the normative human being.[128] As a white woman who is a part of this privileged legacy, acknowledging that while this project is centered on a historical context, I argue that the mechanisms behind white supremacy are still very much intact in our present day societal structures.[129] Canada alongside Jamaica, Antigua and Trinidad share a common component to their colonial history, as they were all a part of the British Empire. While this project is focused on positioning the historic geopolitical context surrounding the production of these travelogue illustrations, it is equally necessary to acknowledge that as a Euro-Canadian art historian I am writing in a current colonial context as a settler and oppressive presence in the Kahnawake territory, presently known as Montreal, Quebec. That is to say that colonization is not an antiquated practice that no longer impacts our present society but to realize that many present-day nation states and institutions were built on these violent histories that undermine Indigenous sovereignty and autonomy outside of these oppressive structures. My privilege as a white woman with access to education and the ability to learn about the layered significations of colonization (a part of the British Empire) has afforded me the opportunities to unpack these complex systems through years of education not equally afforded to all people. So a core component to my pedagogy is accessibility in terms of research initiatives and connecting the immaterial societal discourses to tangible objects; in this case travelogue illustrations as a part of producing accessible scholarship.

This research is a part of a continuum in the effort to unpack the global legacies of white supremacy and privilege as a shared cultural phenomenon for white-skinned individuals in the colonial British context. Sociologist Ruth Frankenberg's introductory chapter to her germinal text, *White Women, Race Matters: The Social Construction of*

---

[127] hooks, *Ain't I a Woman,* 140-144.
[128] Dyer, *White,* 22-26.
[129] Frankenberg, *White women, Race Matters,* 8-12.

Whiteness (1993), outlines her motivations behind examining individuals whose lives greatly benefit from white privilege, prompting many of her participants to engage critically with internalized racist opinions.[130] Self-reflectivity is a necessary academic and personal exercise to ensure that all individuals remain cognizant of their privileges and internal biases. Frankenberg's text is a fascinating sociological exploration of white women as a privileged group of people, as discussion of race often situates white men as perpetrators and white women as unknowing victims, which is problematic due to an erasure of white women's role as oppressors.[131]

Film scholar Richard Dyer's influential book *White* (1997) was one of the first publications to connect the proliferation of harmful racist stereotypes that reify whiteness to art and visual culture including varied mediums that contribute to a visual legacy of white supremacy.[132] He discussed the proliferation of idealized representations of white people, especially men, by contrasting the visual differences between white people and black people.[133] The ideal white body became synonymous with power, privilege and beauty, which could only be reinforced if there was an ugly, or unidealized body.[134] This complimentary visual pairing, in its stark opposition is a key argument presented in Dyer's book that has been a driving force behind this project. He states, "White as a symbol, especially when paired with black, seems more stable than white as a hue or skin tone. It remains firmly in place at the level of language – most people find themselves saying things like 'everything has its darker side', 'it's just a little white lie' and 'that's a black mark against you.'"[135] British imperialism, through the dehumanization of the black body, positioned Africans as an inferior ethno-racial group or even a separate and lower species to white people as a driving discourse behind nineteenth-century eugenics and racist scientific deductive reasoning, making it possible to inscribe the black body with

---

[130] Frankenberg, *White women, Race Matters,* 1-4.
[131] The following pages for a specific look into establishing a critical race model that works to address one's own internal biases. See: Frankenberg, *White women, Race Matters,* 2-6.
[132] Dyer, *White,* 18-22.
[133] Dyer, *White,* 18-22.
[134] Frankenberg, *White women, Race Matters,* 2-6.
[135] Dyer, *White,* 60.

inherently negative and harmful stereotypes.[136] Dyer discusses the fragility of whiteness in this powerful passage:

> Biological concepts of race appear more stable and grounded than genealogical ones, especially in a scientific age, yet they actually created problems for the representation of white people. On the one hand, they reinforced the notion of the inescapable corporeality of non-white peoples, while leaving the corporeality of whites less certain, something that fed into the function of non-white, and especially black, people in representation of being a kind of definite thereness by means of which white people can gain a grounding in materiality and "know who they are" (a point touched on elsewhere). At the level of representation, whites remain, or their transcending superiority, dependent on non-whites for their sense of self, just as they are materially in so many imperial and post-imperial, physical and domestic labour circumstances. Such dependency could form the basis of a bond, but has more often being a source of anxiety.[137]

The depictions of white men throughout the British Caribbean during the early nineteenth-century were dealing with the loss of a white affirming institution in slavery, as the subjugation of the black body was a mandatory prerequisite in the survival of this monstrous practice.[138] William Clark, a British overseer, documented his experiences of Antigua through ten coloured aquatint prints, which presented a colourful view of the colony in nice digestible images with short epigraphs accompanying each print.[139] The specific print of an interior view of a distillery, a part of a major British plantation, *Interior of a Distillery, on Delaps Estate* (**Fig. 3**, 1823) includes one white man surrounded by a group of eleven enslaved black men working in the packaging and production of the goods valuable across the British Empire, such as sugar and rum.[140] The warm oak hue of the distillery's interior highlights the deep crimson of the planter's overcoat, as he is dressed in formal British men's clothing with a top hat, under vest and dress shirt, accompanied by black, shiny boots signalled to Clark's audience that this man is the authority figure of the scene. While the black men in this scene are physical active in their labour, their moving bodies a startling visual contrast to the static stillness of the white planter's body language in this print. The rest of the ten prints Clark depicted very

---

[136] Dyer, *White,* 7-12.
[137] Dyer, *White,* 24.
[138] hooks, *Ain't I a Woman,* 128-134.
[139] Clark, *Ten Views In the Island of Antigua,* 1-4.
[140] Clark, *Ten Views In the Island of Antigua,* 2-4.

similar motifs to this print. Most are genre scenes depicting plantation industry reliant upon slave labour with the presence of a white man to signify the British imperial mission.[141] Clark who served as the overseer on the plantations of Admiral Tallemach was never an abolitionist and believed that the institution of slavery was a part of the civilizing mission to assimilate Africans to Anglo-Christian culture.[142] Therefore, the black people he depicted in these Antiguan genre scenes depicted enslaved black males and females in subservience to the white man.

This trend of maintaining British colonial authority figures throughout the Empire's colonies was a necessary component to all three author's projects as they were Anglo-white men heavily invested in maintaining the colonial mission to secure their shared identity as colonial patriarch.[143] While each man has a vested stake in maintaining white privilege, each man had a different stake in slavery. Phillippo, as an abolitionist, did not want slavery to continue even if he likely did not feel that Africans were equal to Europeans, while in comparison, Bridgens and Clark's livelihoods were literally connected to the continuation of slavery as a plantation owner and overseer respectively.[144] Clark's travelogue, *Ten Views In the Island of Antigua, in Which are Represented the Process of Sugar Making.... From Drawings Made by William Clark, During a Residence of Three Years in the West Indies,* is the only book in this project to be published prior to abolition in 1823. Bridgens's travelogue, *West India scenery, with Illustrations of Negro Character, the Process of Making Sugar, &c. from Sketches Taken During a voyage to, and Residence of Seven Years in, the Island of Trinidad,* was published only three year after the end of slavery in 1836 and Phillippo's narrative, *Jamaica: its past and present state,* was released in 1843. Out of the 53 total illustrations combined throughout all three travelogues there are only 12 discussed in this project.

---

[141] Mohammed, *Imagining the Caribbean,* 165-170; Nelson, "James Hakewill's *Picturesque Tour*," unpaginated.
[142] Clark, *Ten Views In the Island of Antigua,* 2-4.
[143] Krista A. Thompson, *An Eye for the Tropics: Tourism, Photography, and Framing the Caribbean Picturesque* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2006), 1-4.
[144] Phillippo, *Jamaica: its past and present state*, 162-164; Clark, *Ten Views In the Island of Antigua,* 2-4; Skelly, "Representing Punishments," 52-55.

Bridgens' book had the most images at 27 diverse illustrations[145], Phillippo produced 16 prints and Clark's book had 10 illustrations. Each author used genre scenes in urban or plantation environments to assert the white, British man as the ideal citizen throughout the British Caribbean. Besides the combination of pre- and post- abolition imagery, it is crucial to consider the various mediums that were used.

In Richard Bridgens's coloured engraving, *A Mill Yard* (**Fig. 2**, 1836), the scene is buzzing with movement and activity from the black bodies around the mill completing their everyday tasks while in the left hand corner, the white man remains static, his body language stiff and in an attentive pose, observing the labour around him. It is necessary to acknowledge how Bridgens's print is a copy from Clark's travelogue, in which he entitled his version *The Mill-Yard* (1823) because there is a cyclic nature to racial depictions.[146] While Marcus Wood in his influential book *Blind Memory: Visual Representation of Slavery in England and America 1780-1865* (2000) discusses the repetition of slave narrative imagery and how it became an effective tool for visual categorization of enslaved bodies, I argue that this can be said of the Anglo-white colonial subject.[147] Arguably, while it is clear that Clark has directly influenced Bridgens's works it is unclear as to whether or not the rest of the images are originals; art historian Julia Skelly argues that Bridgens depictions of torture and the published slaved body is indicative of his works in part, being based on observations of his everyday life.[148] The privilege of stillness, that this man is an observer rather than active participant is indicative of the racial power white, British men gained in the formation of a colonial identity. The ability to be an observer, in the midst of arduous labour, is central to the visualization of white privilege, primarily depicted in these prints through sartorial acts

---

[145] The visual production, which was a part of Bridgen's travelogue documenting his time as a plantation owner in Trinidad, is an amalgamation of botanist illustrations, alongside genre scenes of the various industrial processes involved in maintaining a plantation and diagrams of torture devices used to exclusively punish black people. Art historian Julia Skelly's comprehensive article explores Bridgens's life and the role his identity played in the production of these works. Her analysis exposes the underpinnings of the white supremacist fantasy over the tortured black body. See: Skelly, "Representing Punishments," 52-55.

[146] Marcus Wood, "Rhetoric and the Runaway: The Iconography of the slave escape in England and America," in *Blind Memory: Visual Representations of Slavery in England and America, 1780-1865* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 79-81.

[147] Wood, "Rhetoric and the Runaway," 82-85.

[148] Skelly, "Representing Punishments," 52-55; Wood, "Rhetoric and the Runaway," 82-85.

and skin colour, often reliant upon a monochromatic dichotomy of stark black and white. Another point of consideration is to discuss how each author was able to travel to the Caribbean during the early nineteenth-century. All three authors were brought to the Caribbean through privileged circumstances; Bridgens's wife inherited a plantation in Trinidad after the death of a family member relocating the family in 1825,[149] Phillippo was a Baptist missionary who went to Jamaica in order to educate and convert enslaved black people to Christianity through the Society of Service (a British Baptist missionary organization) beginning in 1823,[150] and Clark was an overseer invited by Admiral Tallemach to depict scenes of their everyday life in Antigua to refute any abolitionist claim of slave mistreatment in 1823.[151] Examining the authors' biographical details and the motivations behind the types of knowledge they replicated in their travelogues is a necessary component to understanding the underlying colonial intentions behind the travelling artist visiting these lands as a means to become an objective observer.[152]

These patterns of production and circulation were contingent upon access to unimpeded mobility, leisure time, and the ability to gain an education, since many artworks and travelogues were geared towards the mercantile and aristocratic classes.[153] William Clark, Richard Bridgens and James Phillippo as white, British male cultural producers were a part of a historic legacy of European travellers adopting an *objective authorial voice* situating their testaments as truths.[154] Sociologist and critical whiteness scholar Shannon Sullivan problematizes the monopolization of knowledge production bringing attention to its restriction to the most privileged members of society.[155] This privilege meant that any biases or preferential terms supporting white supremacy would have been praised, not critiqued in an echoing chamber of similar voices.[156] Sullivan argues:

---

[149] Skelly, "Representing Punishments," 52-56.
[150] Underhill, *Life of James Mursell Phillippo,* 160-165.
[151] Clark, *Ten Views In the Island of Antigua,* i-iii.
[152] Thomas, ""On the spot,"" 216-219.
[153] Thomas, ""On the spot,""215-218.
[154] Thomas, ""On the spot,"" 216-219.
[155] Sullivan, *Revealing Whiteness,* 19-22.
[156] Sullivan, *Revealing Whiteness,* 18-23.

> Because raced predispositions often actively subvert efforts to understand or change them, making themselves inaccessible to conscious inquiry, race often functions unconsciously as well. Both the subconscious and unconscious aspects of habit can be either limiting or enabling – or both – depending on the particular situation. For example, to be a white person means that one tends to assume that all cultural and social spaces are potentially available for one to inhabit. The habit of ontological expansiveness enables white people to maximize the extent of the world in which they transact.[157]

The monopolization of Anglo-white male narrators ensured that all white men equally maintain an investment in the maintenance of white supremacy is a shared value in each author's travelogue narratives.[158] Each text positioned the authors' paternalistic attitudes towards black people, freed or enslaved, and their subjective biases as objective truths due to their ability to relay information about a specific experience to a largely foreign audience, many of whom would never access the Caribbean personally.[159]

Travel narratives authored by privileged minority during the course of the nineteenth-century catered to the lived experiences of the white British male narrator by excluding critical oppositional voices, such as black people, from actively engaging in documenting their stories.[160] Such narratives also positioned white male observations as universal ones. I referred to Phillippo's engraving *Planter*, *Attended by Negro Driver* (**Fig. 1**, 1843) at the beginning of this chapter since it represents the most basic principle on the formation of white privilege in the British Caribbean, the subjugation of black people. This print encapsulates the coded physical interaction permitted between these two subjects, which have been replicated throughout all three authors' travelogues. In order to ensure the necessary variables are considered, my analysis of each illustration featured in these three travelogues is based on: examining the print mediums (aquatint, lithograph and engraving), how black and white people are positioned in the composition, how black and white subjects (predominantly men but four prints feature white women, black women and children) are codified differently through the examination of clothing, body language, discernable facial features, skin colour, physiognomy, and interactions, and a contextualization of the urban scenes versus the plantation scenes to show how the

---

[157] Sullivan, *Revealing Whiteness,* 25.
[158] Thomas, ""On the spot,""215-218.
[159] Thomas, ""On the spot,"" 215-218.
[160] Sullivan, *Revealing Whiteness,* 25.

plantation model of social hierarchies are depicted outside of this space. A core motivation behind this project is the desire to begin holding art historians accountable for their role in the continued perpetuation of this global white supremacy in this separation between continental European artists and their 'traveling' counterparts.[161] British imperialism and the colonial campaigns, such as the eradication of Indigenous people through genocide and the dehumanization of black people through slavery, were reliant upon maintaining the guise of superiority over their oppressed subjects.[162]

Tracing the visual legacies of white supremacy in the British Caribbean, it is necessary to engage with the horrific racist acts perpetuated by white people as a means to maintain this power.[163] In summarizing why it is crucial to recuperate the colonial histories documented by white, British men to gain insight into the formation of a colonial white supremacy, critical whiteness scholar Martinot clearly outlines why exposing racism brings awareness to its insidious nature.[164] He writes in this powerful paragraph:

> Nevertheless, it is insufficient to say that race is a social construct. That statement defines not a fact but a task. The task is to describe the structure that has been constructed socially. If "race" is a structure of social activities, practices, and meanings, we have to describe how that structure conducts or directs those activities, as well as how it gives them the meanings they take. Our task is to describe the contours of this structure, beyond the well-known and well-worn ideological notions of "racism," so we can see it.[165]

Exposing the invisible barriers of racism is one effective strategy to raise awareness on the continued legacies of white supremacy in their present-day form, however I strongly argue for the necessity to expose artworks propagating this message. Images are carriers of meaning behind documenting subjective observations but are tools for distinguishing difference and perpetuating societal norms, which makes it necessary to examine the role that travelogues have in the maintaining British white supremacy.

---

[161] Thomas, ""On the spot,"" 215-218.
[162] Sullivan, *Revealing Whiteness,* 25.
[163] McClintock, *Imperial Leather,* 30-35.
[164] Martinot, *The Machinery of Whiteness*, 30-34.
[165] Martinot, *The Machinery of Whiteness,* 32.

Chapter Two: Deifying the White Man: British Caribbean Masculinity and Gender Roles in the Plantation Hierarchy

> The formation of the ideas of human nature, humanity and the universal qualities of the human mind as the common good of an ethical civilization occurred at the same time as those particularly violent centuries in the history of the world now known as the era of Western colonialism. The effect of this was to dehumanize the various subject-peoples: in Sartre's words, 'to wipe out their traditions, to substitute our language for theirs and to destroy their culture without giving them ours.' – Robert J.C. Young, *White Mythologies: Writing History and the West,* (2004).[166]

White supremacy and the role that visual culture, including literature and artwork of diverse mediums has in maintaining, disseminating and reinforcing this ideology as outlined in post-colonial theorist Robert J.C. Young's prominent text, *White Mythologies* (2004) articulates the necessity in examining the historical development and emergence of colonial identity politics.[167] Although my thesis is focuses on the British Caribbean specifically, this regional scope does not preclude the necessity for a broader global conversation concerning the perpetuation of white supremacy through colonization beginning in the fifteenth century. Arguably it is an urgent matter since these legacies continue to affect us in the present.[168] The isolation and examination of depictions of Anglo-white men (developed, enacted and reified throughout the Anglo-Caribbean) - the benefactors of colonial masculinity - explicitly links the white body to the oppression, marginalization, abuse, genocide, and violence against black and Indigenous people.[169] Deconstructing these depictions, *most frequently produced by white men heavily invested in the maintenance of this toxic masculinity*, begins to chronicle the formation of the most frequently utilized visual tropes to convey this power.[170] The goal of this exercise is to understand how these visual practices and paradigms inform the illustrations featured in Clark, Bridgens and Phillippo's travelogues and to explore not only how they resonated

---

[166] Young, *White Mythologies,* 160.
[167] Young, *White Mythologies,* 158-162.
[168] Pedro Paulo A. Funari, Martin Hall, and Sian Jones, eds., *Historical Archaeology: Back from the Edge* (New York: Routledge, 1999), 10-16.
[169] Dyer, *White*, 48-52.
[170] Mohammed, *Imagining the Caribbean,* 15-20.

with their predominantly white audiences, but also how their images are emblematic of the naturalization process occurring throughout the colonies as a means to normalize white male power.[171] Before delving into the traditional conventions around depictions of British white men and the role of visual culture as an ideological cornerstone in the formation of a colonial white identity (and eventually white supremacy), it is necessary to examine the socio-historical context this identity emerged.[172]

During the early nineteenth-century, throughout the British Caribbean, abolitionists were actively campaigning for the end of slavery by pressuring the colonial governments and the British Parliament. Most colonies such as Jamaica, Trinidad, and Antigua were still reliant upon slavery as an economic resource.[173] The horrific systemic abuses that the enslaved populations endured at the hands of white plantations owners cannot be overstated. Slavery normalized corporal punishment as a means to control and terrorize slave populations. The ability of the slave owner to punish or even kill a slave in their ownership was enshrined in various slave codes.[174] This constant physical abuse

---

[171] In this statement I am not solely referring to the plantation oligarchs but to the overseers, merchants, sailors, politicians and labourers who were able to exercise their full rights as citizens on the basis of their gender and race. White men as a collective group have uniquely benefitted due to their gender and race. Their multiple layers of privilege rendered their experiences different from white women. However, this does not mean that white women should not be held accountable for their roles in supporting white supremacy through the enactment of our racial privilege. This will be a continuous thread throughout my analysis of Clark, Bridgens and Phillippo's works in order to better understand the overt relationship to the benefactors of white supremacy, white men, and how visual depictions facilitate an association of white men as physical embodiments of colonial patriarchy. See: Thomas, ""On the spot,"" 220-224.

[172] Dyer, *White,* 5-9.

[173] Sidney W. Mintz, ed. *Slavery, Colonialism and Racism* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company Inc., 1975), 45-47.

[174] Civic codes such as Le Code Noir, first instituted by French monarch Louis XIV in 1685 was the colonial penal code which gave slave owners complete control over their enslaved 'property'. Linguistically the phrasing of the code clearly outlined a 'master's' duties and his relationship to his property. This penal code was extensive, including the matrilineal inheritance of slavery, 'acceptable punishments' for a deviant slave, the forced conversion of all slaves to Catholicism, and banning the congregation of slaves from different plantation owners from being seen in public spaces or outside the company of a white man. Historian William Renwick Riddell argues that the accessibility of language for the French penal code allowed for its extensive appropriation by other colonial empires such as Britain, America, and Portugal. This particular quote from Riddell's article, "Le Code Noir," (July 1925) cites specific laws from this penal code that deals with the punishment for runaway slaves and those 'denounced' by their owners. He writes, "A fugitive slave in flight for one month will have his ears cut off and be branded on the shoulder, the second time on the other shoulder, for the third offence the punishment is death. *When a slave*

remade the bodies of the enslaved as possessions and became a central force in the accumulation of power that Britain presently benefits from.[175] As Marcus Wood argued in reference to runaway slave advertisements,

> The scars and deformities listed recreated the slave's body as a living and moving text. The advertisements constituted a perpetual catalogue of the abuse of the slave body and as such had the potential to be subverted by antislavery authors.[176]

White, British men of this period (regardless of their political stance on the issue of slavery) were heavily invested in protecting and maintaining their privilege. Violence against the black body is a key component of the white colonial identity.[177] Documenting this abuse through images produced primarily by white, male colonial artists was another way of maintaining white power by oppressing black people, both freed and enslaved.[178] However, it would be erroneous to exclude white women as benefactors of this privilege and the role that gender played in colonial identities and social hierarchy.[179] This hierarchy was centered on protecting the 'ideal white colonial subject' and one way that this social system was documented can be seen in illustrations depicting both black and white subjects.[180] As white, British colonial artists were often the individuals who produced these works the socio-historical context is also a significant element to

---

is denounced by his master and punished with death, the master is to be paid his value determined before the execution by two inhabitants named by the judge (italics mine)." The master's discretion is held as objective in the eyes of colonial law as their discretion over the lives of their slaves is so extensive that is even allows for an owner to dictate the murder of their slave and monetarily profit from this monstrous act. This is an inextricable right delegated solely to white, colonial men, therefore proving in legislative print that a colonial white privilege is reliant upon the systemic violence of 'non-white' people. See: William Renwick Riddell, "Le Code Noir," *The Journal of Negro History* 10, no. 3 (July 1925): 325. For more information concerning the history of Le Code Noir, please consult Robin Blackburn's discussion of its genealogy in her ambitious text, *The making of New World Slavery: from the Baroque to the Modern, 1492-1800* (1997) that covers the global histories of slavery. See: Robin Blackburn and Mazal Holocaust Collection, *The making of New World Slavery: from the Baroque to the Modern, 1492-1800* (London: Verso, 1997), 290-292, 330.

[175] Mintz, *Three Ancient Colonies,* 1-6.

[176] Wood, "Rhetoric and the Runaway," 81.

[177] Beckles, *Centering Woman,* xxii-xxiv.

[178] Wood, "Rhetoric and the Runaway," 79-82.

[179] Thomas, ""On the spot,"" 215-218; Beckles, *Centering Woman,* xxii-xxiv.

[180] Beckles, *Centering Woman,* xxiii.

consider.[181] The dehumanization of black people as mere commodities or chattel for white people to control was not only a part of the visual culture produced about white men living in the British Caribbean but the legislative laws that indiscriminately protected and favoured the rights of the white colonial men above everyone else.[182]

In order to fully understand how race, gender and sex informed the psychological and physical dynamics of colonial labour best exemplified through the plantation hierarchy, an intersectional approach[183] incorporating both gender/sex and race analysis is necessary to define, critique, and deconstruct white, British colonial masculinity.[184] White British colonial masculinity was contingent upon reserving the exclusive rights of citizen only for white men of elite status. The equation of upper and middle class white men with the status of citizen was the same in both white majority (like the northern regions of British North America) and white minority (like the British Caribbean) sites.[185] The ability of a white minority to control an enslaved majority in places like nineteenth-century Jamaica, demonstrates the 'efficacy' of systems of social and material deprivation, surveillance and corporal punishment.[186] Power, in this instance was based

---

[181] Thomas, ""On the spot,"" 220-224.

[182] Beckles, *Centering Woman,* xxiii.

[183] Lawyer and legal scholar Kimberle Crenshaw coined the term intersectionality in her germinal article, "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics and Violence Against Women of Colour" (1991), where she outlined the systemic and institutional racisms maintaining white supremacy in The United States. While this article is primarily centered on the American legal system, white supremacy and institutional racism are global issues and to deny this legacy is in part a failure to acknowledge the colonial past that reverberates in our present. Arguably, this distancing strategy serves only white people who deny accountability for a collective institutional racism and continually benefit without any reprisals or loss of power. White supremacy will remain rampant so long as we as white people continue to deny the existence of racial privilege and refuse to concede societal, economic, political, and cultural power. I am not a proponent of a feminist model that works to equate white women to white men as that still maintains white supremacy and displaces women of colour from being properly acknowledged in their significant contributions to feminist discourses. Crenshaw is an incredibly influential academic figure whose work has recently been recuperated but oftentimes goes unacknowledged by scholars when citing an intersectional framework; I do not want to continue this shameful legacy. The entire article is an excellent source that breaks down legislative, judicial and societal frameworks that work concurrently to enforce white supremacy. See: Crenshaw, "Mapping the Margins," 1241-1245.

[184] Verne Shepherd, Bridget Brereton, and Barbara Bailey, eds, *Engendering History: Caribbean Women in Historical Perspective* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995), 51-53, 60.

[185] David Lambert and Alan Lester, eds, *Colonial Lives Across the British Empire: Imperial Careering in the Long Nineteenth-century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 10-16.

[186] B. W. Higman estimated that 308,755 enslaved people and approximately 40,000 free black

upon the rights afforded to white male colonizers at the expense of everyone else.[187] These rights included among plenty of others: owning property, enslaving, and abusing black and Indigenous people, the ability to vote and gain representation in their governments, the ability to inherit and leave an inheritance for their descendants, and access to education.[188] Systemically white men were the only individuals equipped with the necessary skills to document and disseminate their experiential knowledge through the written word and images.[189] Colonial rule was reliant upon white men monopolizing these skills as a means to block any oppositional voices that would contradict what the British Empire was desperately clinging onto; their source of economic wealth the unfree labour force of enslaved people of African descent.[190] Deliberately creating laws to make

---

and coloured people lived in Jamaica in 1805. See: B. W. Higman, *Slave Population and Economy in Jamaica, 1807-1834* (Cambridge: 1976), 142-44, 255.

[187] Power does translate into monetary and financial access, as it is a systemic blockade that not only affected white women, and black and Indigenous people during the colonial age but also has persisted into the present. Hence the concerns in enacting policies supporting reparatory justice for nations colonized by the British Empire. The monopolization of power resulted in an imbalance of monetary sources and other capital that was siphoned back to the colonizers (please see chapter three and the discussion of reparations for slave owners rather than the enslaved people for more information), *excluding black and Indigenous people* from being properly compensated by the British Dominion for their contributions to securing the empire's economic power for centuries. The most recent discussion of reparations between the British and one of its former colonies was in September 2015 when British Prime Minister David Cameron visited Jamaica where he urged Caribbean colonies to "move forward" and "look to the future" when Prime Minister Portia Simpson-Miller raised this valid concern. Not only are Cameron's comments incredibly racist and insensitive, it is indicative of a cognitive dissonance perpetuated by institutional racism that wants to stagnate discussion around reparatory justice. Dr. Hilary Beckles penned an open letter to Cameron outlining how Britain gained economically and built many of its financial institutions on the backs of millions of enslaved black people. The entire letter is a necessary source as it encapsulates the damning consequences of British Caribbean colonization in our present. See: Hilary McD Beckles, "Britain has duty to clean up monumental mess of Empire, Sir Hilary tells Cameron," *Jamaica Observer*, September 28, 2015, accessed December 10, 2015, http://www.jamaicaobserver.com/news/Britain-has-duty-to-clean-up-monumental-mess-of-Empire--Sir-Hilary-tells-Cameron_19230957. For precise demographic breakdown of British slave ownership (sex and nationality) at the moment of the government compensation See: David Olusoga, "The History of British Slave Ownership has been Buried: Now its Scale can be Revealed," *The Guardian*, 12 July 2015 http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jul/12/british-history-slavery-buried-scale-revealed. 02/02/2016

[188] hooks, *Ain't I a Woman*, 148-153.

[189] Mohammed, *Imagining the Caribbean,* 15-20.

[190] Skelly, "Representing Punishments," 52-65.

it illegal for enslaved people to access education resulted in systemic erasure of narratives that would provide direct information not siphoned through the lens of white men.[191]

Travelogues such as those written by Phillippo, Clark, and Bridgens were published in London and meant to present the realities of colonial life to continental Europeans.[192] Since the majority of their audiences, who were primarily upper-middle class literate men and women, had not experienced life in a colony first hand, audiences of these travelogues and other artwork consumed these depictions of Caribbean life not as subjective fictions, but as objective knowledge.[193] The works of authors like Bridgens, Phillippo, and Clark need to be read as cultural productions contributing to the proliferation of a white, colonial, patriarchal supremacist model[194] regardless of whether or not they were abolitionist (in the case of Phillippo)[195] or pro-slavery advocates (like Clark and Bridgens).[196] I chose to isolate white colonial masculinity in order to argue that the white man's body is the human embodiment of white supremacy and the aesthetic tropes utilized by artists, also primarily white men, signaled to an European audience that the men in these depictions were the authorial powers in these colonies.[197] The visualization of colonial white men throughout various artistic mediums, as will be discussed later on in this chapter, relied upon specific tropes to signal to a viewer that the

---

[191] Skelly, "Representing Punishments," 52-54.
[192] Thomas, ""On the spot,""213-215.
[193] Thomas, ""On the spot,""217-220.
[194] Kriz, *Slavery, Sugar, and the Culture of Refinement,* 3-5.
[195] Underhill, *Life of James Mursell Phillippo,*10-13.
[196] Skelly, "Representing Punishments," 52-54; Clark, *Ten Views In the Island of Antigua,* 13-16.
[197] While Anglo-white women were present in admittedly smaller populations than white men and people of colour during this period, underrepresenting these women was racially motivated, affiliating feminine fragility with their inability to be in the presence of a black person without a white male chaperone. White women and black women were in the presence of each other as domestic slaves worked directly for the plantation owners' families interacting on a daily basis with each other. In part, the separation of white women from black subjects was concerned in part with the hyper sexualization of black people, with the focus on black men due to heteronormative assumptions about their desire combined with the ever-present fear of miscegenation and the subsequent mixed race children indicative of such an act. As this project's emphasis is on studying the formation of a white colonial masculinity my discussion of a white colonial femininity is brief however I want to underscore the importance of acknowledging white women as benefactors and perpetrators in maintaining white supremacy. Source: Beth Fowkes Tobin, *Picturing Imperial Power: Colonial Subjects in Eighteenth-Century British Painting* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1999), 168-170; See also Nelson, " 'I am the only woman!'" n.p.

men depicted are at the apex of the plantation hierarchy, automatically designated as authoritative and respected figures.[198]

A key element to this discussion is analyzing how Clark, Phillippo and Bridgens depicted white men in the same composition alongside white women, black, and multiracial people[199] as collectively formed identities, as whiteness is reliant upon the continued subjugation of 'non-white' people.[200] Travelogue illustrations are an accessible medium but reference various literary and artistic genres in order to appeal to a wide audience; discussing portraiture and the history of depicting colonial Anglo white men prior to the nineteenth century informs the cultural constructs represented in Bridgens, Phillippo and Clark's works.

Oil paintings were some of the first works produced on the subject of the British Caribbean, which depicted white men and were circulated to a continental European audience. Such images were more than documentation of specific individuals or locations, but rather served as ideological tools to begin the naturalization process of white, British men as colonial authority figures.[201] Clark, Bridgens and Phillippo's

---

[198] Mohammed, *Imagining the Caribbean,* 130-135.

[199] The phrase black people include enslaved and freed people. Indigenous people are not visually represented in any of the artworks featured in this chapter. While this is emblematic I argue of the genocide Indigenous people across the British colonies erasing their cultures by interjecting British cultural values and expectations. See: Young, *White Mythologies,* 158-162.

[200] There must be more work done to discuss white women as colonial benefactors of white privilege who exerted their privilege to their advantage while navigating a patriarchal society. Sadly my thesis does not fully contribute to this project. However, it is a goal to implement this project's model to engage with visual cues of the representations of white Anglo women during this period in the future as much of the sources are limited in scope to predominantly male authors so the consideration in terms of access will need to be weighed using an intersectional model. Source: Wiegman, *Object Lessons*, 172-176.

[201] For two oil paintings I selected there was no provenance that confirmed the location of production of the artworks. Yet they signify the emergence of the trend of how depictions of Caribbean colonies became exotic imports to be brought back for the enjoyment of a European audience. My argument is centered on the imagery itself as commodity and that oil paintings produced about white, British colonizers allowed for the proliferation of the idea that without British, white men as patriarchs in the colonies that systems of exploitation would collapse as the planation hierarchy cannot be reinforced without its benefactors present. Some landlord plantation owners stayed in continental Europe while white overseers and other men would 'stand-in' for the owner as the on-site authority figure. The language of power is oppressive and throughout this section, the language used will mirror the horrific realities enacted by this hierarchy. For more information concerning oil painting and its role in maintaining white colonial masculinity, please consult art historian Beth Fowkes Tobin's *Picturing Imperial Power: colonial subjects in eighteenth-century British painting* (1999), specifically chapter one, "Bringing Empire

travelogues relied upon the tropes enacted in oil paintings of prominent military and colonial figures starting in the eighteenth century to document how white British masculinity was visually affixed to the forces of conquest.[202] The oil paintings selected to frame my discussion were produced at the beginning and end of the eighteenth century (Fig. 1 and Fig. 2).[203] This was a deliberate decision in part to note how white, British male artists had a vested self-interest in depicting their contemporaries in a wholly positive way. This practice continued far beyond the scope of a specific medium to become a colonial cultural campaign including images found in Clark, Phillippo and Bridgens's travelogues.[204]

The first painting to be discussed is, *Elihu Yale, the 2nd Duke of Devonshire, Lord James Cavendish, Mr. Tunstal, and an Enslaved Servant* (**Fig. 4**, ca. 1708). Produced by an unknown artist[205], the work is centred on four white men gathered around a small table inside of a building primarily hinted at as a framing device as seen by the pillar central to the composition and the hint of a window frame on the upper left hand side of the work. These devices effectively crop the composition to emphasize the presence of these men. Three of the men are seated while another stands in the background directing his gaze at the viewer. The seated men engage with each other while ignoring the subservient presence of the young slave child. A division of space, differentiating between inside and outside the building is established by the pillar obscuring part of the outdoor setting guiding the viewer's eye to a small group of four white children, two boys and two girls, accompanied by another white man enjoying their surroundings. The inclusion of the two young white girls is ideologically significant as white women are often unnamed and invisible benefactors of white privilege. Dehumanizing black people did not have an age restriction, as young enslaved children throughout the British Caribbean colonies were

---

Home" which frames the historic discussion of colonial imagery in line with my arguments. See: Tobin, *Picturing Imperial Power,* 33-40.

[202] Tobin, *Picturing Imperial Power,* 50-55.

[203] Yale Center for British Art, "Elihu Yale; William Cavendish, the second Duke of Devonshire; Lord James Cavendish; Mr. Tunstal; and an Enslaved Servant," Yale Center for British Art. http://collections.britishart.yale.edu/vufind/Record/1665331. Accessed January 10, 2016.

[204] Dyer, *White,* 1-7, 54-60.

[205] Yale Center for British Art, "Elihu Yale; William Cavendish, the second Duke of Devonshire; Lord James Cavendish; Mr. Tunstal; and an Enslaved Servant," Yale Center for British Art. http://collections.britishart.yale.edu/vufind/Record/1665331. Accessed January 10, 2016.

deemed worthless and, "a distraction for enslaved women."[206] The Slave Trade Act of 1807 passed by the British Parliament abolished the slave trade throughout the Empire making plantation owners swiftly change their perception on these enslaved children from burden to valued commodity.[207] Enslaved black children were systemically denied their 'childhood' by separating children from their parents at young ages through trades and through preparing for their adult slave vocation.[208] Historian Colleen A. Vasconcellos argues that domestic slaves, such as the young slave boy featured in this painting, were forced into training as young as five years old.[209] She writes:

> It was also during this time that a select few of the children moved out of the second gang [children aged between 5 to 8 years old] and into an apprenticeship of sorts that prepared them for an adult life as a domestic slave or tradesman. For children living in urban areas, this apprenticeship period came much earlier, and they began working in the house as soon as possible.[210]

Young enslaved black children were conditioned in environments of abuse and neglect due to the systemic barriers making it impossible for slaves to rear their children.[211] White children and adults participated in the brutalization of enslaved domestic slaves, as this behaviour was socially acceptable and demonstrative of white, colonial privilege. Vasconcellos's discussion on the normalization of white brutality perpetuated against the black body as a part of white children's childhood is highlighted through her examination of John Riland's 1823 journal.[212] Riland was son of a Jamaican planation owner and in the following quote Vasconcellos frames his description of interacting with slave children, when his parents and other plantation owners actively encouraged him to mistreat them:

> Although they were given as domestic servants, these children were not treated well by the white children of the planters. Some contemporaries

---

[206] Colleen A. Vasconcellos, ""To so dark a destiny My lovely babe I've borne": Slavery and Childhood in Jamaica in the Age of Abolition," in *Slavery, Childhood and Abolition in Jamaica, 1788-1838* (Athens, GA: The University of Georgia Press, 2015), 30-33.
[207] Charmaine A. Nelson, "Racing Childhood: Representations of Black Girl in Canadian Art," in *Representing the Black Female Subject in Western Art* (New York: Routledge, 2010), 38-40.
[208] Vasconcellos, ""To so dark a destiny My lovely babe I've borne,"" 16-19.
[209] Vasconcellos, ""To so dark a destiny My lovely babe I've borne,"" 30-31.
[210] Vasconcellos, ""To so dark a destiny My lovely babe I've borne,"" 31.
[211] Nelson, "Racing Childhood," 38-40.
[212] Vasconcellos, ""To so dark a destiny My lovely babe I've borne,"" 32.

> describe the white children as being miniature tyrants, allowed to kick and strike their slaves at their discretion. John Riland, a Jamaican planter, remembered that his own parents "allowed me to insult, strike, and kick them as I pleased." Another Jamaican planter, John Stewart, wrote in 1823 that "such ideas [are] gradually nurtured" by the planters, adding, "Should the little black retaliate the ill usage she meets, she is immediately chastised for her impertinence."[213]

Abuse and deprivation are the hallmarks of a slave childhood, as art historian Charmaine Nelson argues through the denial of matrilineal bonds between mothers and their children, so is it through the deprivation of respect and denial of humanity from white people.[214] In this painting, the white children at play symbolize the denial of the black slave boy from being able to act child-like.[215] Childhood is a safeguarded part of white, British children's lives, making the symbolism of play demonstrative of white privilege.[216] What makes this paintings stand out are the ways that each figure is representational of the colonial racial hierarchy however white men are revered, positioned at the apex of this system.

The presence of the young enslaved black child functioned as a signifier of the four white men's colonial power for several key reasons. Firstly, while the young enslaved child is dressed in a colourful sky blue, white, and coral button jacket which is visually similar to the clothing worn by the white children in the background, it is his isolation from both groups of white people that reiterates that this enslaved child represents his owner's wealth through his ability to own and clothe him.[217] Secondly, this child is further dehumanized by the artist's choice to exclude the enslaved boy's name from the artwork's title, further exemplifying the choice that this artist made in the preservation of knowledge that were seen as meaningful to a white audience.[218] While this painting was depicted in Britain, I argue that the enslaved black child is emblematic

---

[213] Vasconcellos, ""To so dark a destiny My lovely babe I've borne,"" 32.
[214] Nelson, "Racing Childhood," 43.
[215] Nelson, "Racing Childhood," 41-44.
[216] Nelson, "Racing Childhood," 60.
[217] Tobin, *Picturing Imperial Power,* 41-46.
[218] Dyer, *White,* 5-9, 48-51. For more on the problem of the anonymization of enslaved sitters in 'high' art portraiture see: Charmaine A. Nelson, "Slavery, Portraiture and the Colonial Limits of Canadian Art History," in *Representing the Black Female Subject in Western Art* (New York City: Routledge, 2010), 65-69.

of the Caribbean colonies wherein the plantation slave system was the driving economic force behind the British Dominion, making the four named white men emblematic of colonial power and of white supremacy. Each of the known men are dressed in formal European regalia including brightly coloured jackets (red, lavender, blue and taupe), wearing powdered wigs, and each man adorned with weaponry and jewellery that were made of natural materials, a part of the riches acquired by the Empire.[219] The four central white men are distinguished by their specificity of their facial features which are indicative not of a generalized fictitious person, but of individuals. *These men retain their humanity and individuality.* The anonymous artist grants them autonomy inaccessible to the unknown group of white children and the enslaved black child that is in part an ideological strategy to humanize the most privileged members of British colonial society.

In British artist Joshua Reynolds's portrait of *Charles Stanhope, 3rd Earl of Harrington* (**Fig. 5**, 1782) the painting is focused on two key figures, Stanhope and an unnamed black slave. Reynolds was a well-known and travelled artist whose career was focused on depicting the aristocratic class and significant military figures many of them British colonialists such as Stanhope, a prominent military figure in the Americas and Caribbean colonies.[220] In this painting Reynolds used a tight composition to draw the viewer's gaze to Stanhope positioned to the right where he is central adorned in armor carrying a sword steeling his gaze towards an unknown adversary. His body language is stoic and dominates the painting's composition as his looming figure spans three quarters of the picture plane situating him as the artwork's main subject. Meanwhile the young black child, again a boy similar to the figure featured in the previous painting, is dressed in military clothing again to mimic Stanhope. This unnamed young black boy is cropped towards the right side of the picture plane where Stanhope is effectively blocking the viewer from fully seeing the young boy's body further reiterating his reliance on Stanhope for validation and for an identity. Similarly to the first oil painting both Reynolds and the unknown artist consciously positioned Stanhope, Yale, Cavendish, and Tunstal as men in juxtaposition to young black boys since the inclusion of an adult black

---

[219] Yale Center for British Art, "Elihu Yale; William Cavendish, the second Duke of Devonshire; Lord James Cavendish; Mr. Tunstal; and an Enslaved Servant," Yale Center for British Art. http://collections.britishart.yale.edu/vufind/Record/1665331. Accessed January 10, 2016.
[220] Tobin, *Picturing Imperial Power,* 217-220.

male figure may have diminished the masculinity of the white male sitters.[221] As these boys were consciously selected due to their age and diminutive stature, so was it that the sitters (Stanhope, Yale, Cavendish and Tunstal) were meant to be seen as older, able-bodied and overall healthy men with the means to physically enact and impose their authority over their slaves.[222] It is no coincidence that the fear of the black adult male as a supposedly menacing and violent figure would not have conveyed the same visual connotations of submission to authority than a smaller and younger black male child's body.[223] Therefore, the depiction of these young black boys in these paintings was not meant to be read as individuals or equals to their white counterparts. Rather these artists used the young black male body to signify the enslaved populations' continued subservience to the British Empire personified in the embodied presence of composed, authoritative white men. Both oil paintings extended a humanity and imbued each sitter with a corporeal authority that illustrates the fragility of white, British colonial masculinity which necessitated the oppressions of black, Indigenous and multiracial people.

So far, Clark, Bridgens and Phillippo's travelogues are discussed in chapter one through each author's subjective position including the choices and intentions behind their travel to the British Caribbean. Their active participation in these societies as Anglo white men should alert us to their privileged access facilitated by the economic and cultural means necessary to make these pursuits possible. When considering the visual tropes involved in depicting white British men throughout the Caribbean it is necessary to examine how each travelogue utilized prints to mimic the depictions initially seen in these paintings. The use of colour in oil paintings is a key component in depicting differences between black and white subjects as clothing is an important marker when

---

[221] Black men were regularly infantilized and emasculated by white men throughout the institution of slavery. However, my argument is focused on white men's anxieties about the black man's body. Historically black men have been described by animalistic terminology focusing on their hyper virility and strength, which was a source of this racist fear. Depicting black boys alongside white men allowed for artists to position white men as 'superior' based on their physical size, an effective visual cue for European audiences. See: Shepherd, Brereton, and Bailey, eds., *Engendering History,* 51-53, 60.

[222] Earle, "'Two Pairs of Pink Satin Shoes!" 175-179.

[223] Tobin, *Picturing Imperial Power,* 188-192.

framing colonial politics.[224] Examining prints that either are black and white lithographs with gradients of grey resulting in a monochromatic composition where clothing cannot be categorically discussed by colour but by examining their material qualities, such as form, shape, and size. Since colour is not presented equally throughout all three travelogues, it cannot be relied on as a key formal element in this discussion. As mentioned towards the beginning of this chapter, discussing these two oil paintings enriches my analysis of key illustrations featured in Clark, Bridgens, and Phillippo's travelogues as it presents a chronology in the depictions of white men by themselves.[225] While it is important to hone in on how each author chose to depict white men in the four selected prints that frames this discussion, examining the two paintings alongside these works further reiterates the cultural commodification and value of white men able to transform their subjective experiences into objective, uncontested knowledge.[226]

Clark's travelogue, *Ten Views In the Island of Antigua, in Which are Represented the Process of Sugar Making.... From Drawings Made by William Clark, During a Residence of Three Years in the West Indies* (1823) includes a series of ten aquatint prints, genre scenes depicting the process of sugar cultivation upon which Antiguan colonialists were reliant.[227] This book includes various genres scenes full of industrious slaves. Although most of the scenes are set in a plantation context, there is also one urban scene depicting the courthouse where Antiguan laws were created and enforced by white men as a means to protect their self interests and maintain their authorial rule.[228] Each location featured in Clark's series is a significant colonial space where white men were able to exercise their power. Out of the ten prints featured in this series there are: 21 white men, 0 white women, 41 black men, 10 black women, 3 mixed race men, and 3 mixed race women.[229] Why does the number of each specific demographic of people

---

[224] Earle, "'Two Pairs of Pink Satin Shoes!'" 180-182.
[225] Dyer, *White,* 5-9, 48-51.
[226] Thomas, ""On the spot,"" 226-229.
[227] Nelson, "Imaging Slavery in Antigua and Jamaica," unpaginated.
[228] Clark, *Ten Views In the Island of Antigua,* 1-3.
[229] I would like to briefly state (as it is applicable to all three of my assertions concerning the number of subjects depicted throughout all three author's travelogues) that the problematic elements of this type of observation is based in my subjective gaze and knowledge of the various visual tropes utilized by white artists to depict black, Indigenous and multiracial people based on the scholarship of such art historians as: Charmaine A. Nelson, Sarah Thomas, Patricia

represented in Clark's prints matter? Well the individuals Clark depicted represent the socio-racial identities formed through the institution of slavery as a mechanism to enforce white supremacy. It is also necessary to consider if Clark's depictions corresponded to the racial demographics of the island. As Nelson argues,

> In 1821, during the precise moment when William Clark took up his position as overseer on the estates of Admiral Tallemach, the total population of Antigua was calculated at 37,226 comprised of 31,064 or 83.45% enslaved peoples of African descent (14,531 females and 16, 533 males), and 6,162 or 16.55% whites.[230]

The population breakdown clearly demonstrates that while Clark's prints are proportionate to the realities of Antigua at the time, these depictions are centered on a British man's subjectivity. When engaging with depictions of Antiguan white men, two of Clark's prints (plate 7 in his book) *Exterior of a Boiling House, Antigua, West Indies* (**Fig. 6**, 1823), and (plate 6 in his book) *The Boiling-House, Antigua, West Indies* (**Fig. 7**, 1823) exemplify the depiction of white, British, colonial masculinity. Each print depicts slave labour utilized outside of sugar cane planation fields, a common visual motif in Anglo Caribbean travelogues. Instead Clark presents how the harvested cane was processed into various commodities, such as sugar, molasses and rum, enjoyed throughout the British Empire by both benefactor and consumer by framing his series through examining ship docks and processing plants.[231] In the first print, *Exterior of a Boiling House, Antigua, West Indies,* Clark depicts an evening scene in which two white men, arguably overseers, survey the labouring enslaved men.[232] The two white men are situated near each other towards the right side of the composition (one in the foreground and one in the middle ground), emphasized by the firelight hitting their bodies. Each man is stoically standing, observing the labour rather than actively participating. They are

---

Mohammed, Beth Tobin Fowkes, Rebecca Earle, and Kay Dian Kriz. My project is indebted to this body of scholarship, which explores how the numeric representations of each demographic address the use of the black and brown body to propel the white man into a position of dominance.

[230] Nelson, "Imaging Slavery in Antigua and Jamaica," unpaginated; George Newenham Wright, Rev., *A New and Comprehensive Gazetteer: Being a Delineation of the Present State of the World, from the Most Recent Authorities, Arranged in Alphabetical Order, and Constituting a Systematic Dictionary of Geography*, vol. 5 (London: Thomas Kelley, Paternoster Row, 1838), 37.

[231] Clark, *Ten Views In the Island of Antigua,* 13-16.

[232] Clark, *Ten Views In the Island of Antigua,* 14.

distinctly dressed in European inspired clothing in deep red jackets with white pants, while forgoing the wigs and other heavier layers due to the tropical climate. While their presence in the print seems innocuous, it is their ability to revel in the activity around them and directly benefit from it that is an important indicator of Anglo colonial masculinity. Taking into consideration Clark's entire series, it is undeniable that racial disparity is at the heart of his project. Examining another one of his prints (plate 10 in his book), *Carting and Putting Sugar-Hogsheads on Board* (1823), art historian Charmaine Nelson succinctly illustrates the overt racism presented in Clark's oeuvre. In regards to the white man in the foreground of this image she begins,

> But it is his actions also that set him apart from the surrounding black males and position him as their supervisor, if not owner. While the five black males in the foreground are all engaged in work that demanded a great deal of obvious physical exertion, the white man's labour was intellectual and mental. The print then dramatizes the racial distance between the white man's labour as intellectual and the black men's as physical.[233]

White, British men were able to consider themselves intellectually superior to black enslaved men since the latter group's physical labour was the only value allocated to the black body in this white supremacist colonial model.[234] These men continue to profit directly from the exploitation and abuses perpetuated against the enslaved populations.[235] In Clark's second print, *The Boiling-House, Antigua, West Indies,* there are three white men imbued with the same colonial authority as the two men from the previous prints. This image depicts the boiling of sugar cane and the process of turning the plant into various good for export. It is in a linear composition divided into three vertical registers where the two exterior registers depict the black body labouring over the sugar crystallization racks.[236] Two men have their backs turned away from the enslaved labour force as they examine the sugar racks, a by-product from the rum refinery and popular

---

[233] Nelson astutely argues that Clark earlier began this pattern of distinguishing the white males' intellectual labour from the black males' physical labour in plate eight, *Exterior of Curing-House and Stills*. This print depicted several black male slaves on a landing, exerting pressure on heavy hogsheads in order to roll them onto an awaiting scale readied by more black male slaves. Meanwhile, a white male figure in more refined dress stands in their midst examining a document. See: Nelson, "Imaging Slavery in Antigua and Jamaica," unpaginated.
[234] Nelson, "Imaging Slavery in Antigua and Jamaica," unpaginated.
[235] Mintz, *Three Ancient Colonies,* 5-15.
[236] Clark, *Ten Views In the Island of Antigua,* 13-16.

commodity.[237] Meanwhile another white man towards the right middle ground of the composition is seated in a relaxed postured while conversing with a black man, most likely a foreman; one of the only ways that an enslaved black man would be able to elevate their social standing from field labourer to managerial figure.[238] Similarly to earlier depictions of white, British colonial figures these three men are adorned in formal clothing including a top hats, layered with black jackets and vests, that imbue these men with an air of authority in contrast to the less refined clothing worn by slaves. These prints are a part of the visualization of white male colonial authority in slave-holding British Antigua. Through the striking contrast, not only in clothing, but also in the nature of their labours, Clark depicted a clear hierarchy between the intellectual labour of the white males as owners and overseers and the black males as slaves.

Moving onto Bridgens and Phillippo, even though the institution of slavery had been abolished by the time of their publications, the imagery featured in their prints was still reliant upon the racialized motifs used in Clark's and other artworks produced during slavery. The British imperial investment in the maintenance of white, colonial masculinity necessitated the continuation of cultural practices, which visualized white males as naturally superior and dominant. To do otherwise would have been to relinquish their power and therefore the ability to oppress black people in their new roles as supposedly free citizens.[239] In examining post-abolition depictions of white British men in the works of Phillippo and Bridgens there are shared similarities between these two authors' books that extend beyond dealing with similar subject matter sharing a common cultural identity and socio-political position of privilege.

To begin, Bridgens produced a series of twenty-seven illustrations to accompany his text while Phillippo produced sixteen. In each of the prints there are similar demographics of representation noted in Clark's images. Phillippo depicted 12 white men, 3 white women (always in the company of a white man and always seated next to or positioned near the white men), 40 black men, 15 black women, 0 mixed race men and 1

---

[237] Clark, *Ten Views In the Island of Antigua,* 13-14.
[238] Petley, *Slaveholders in Jamaica*, 148-154.
[239] Martinot, *The Machinery of Whiteness,* 1-10.

mixed race woman,[240] while Bridgens depicted 5 white men, 0 white women, 32 black men, 9 black women, and 0 mixed race people.[241] Both authors created genre studies depicting these racial hierarchies championing the white British colonial man alongside dehumanized subjects. In Bridgens's travelogue and in his role as a plantation owner, he combined throughout his twenty-seven illustrations images including genre scenes depicting the processes of industrialization on the plantation while illustrating his own torture implements invented to punish his slaves.[242] Although not focused on depicting the overt violence perpetuated against black people by white men, Phillippo still engaged with the colonial mission by depicting two of Jamaica's most valued natural resources for the British Empire, which were sugar cane and cacao.[243] The two prints from Bridgens and Phillippo's travelogues that continue to engage with the legacy of protecting white British colonial masculinity are: Phillippo's *Tread-Wheel* (**Fig. 8**, 1843) and Bridgens, *Sugar Boiling House, Trinidad, 1836,* (**Fig. 9**, 1836). Both are images that continue to mirror similar visual motifs to Clark's slavery-era prints as well as the historic precedence established in the earlier discussion of the oil paintings.[244]

Tread-Wheel (**Fig. 8**, 1843) is centered on two white men dressed in formal European clothing, a stark contrast to the ragged clothing worn by the dominant black labour force visible behind them at the right side of the image.[245] I argue that white men's labour, as the corporal punishment inflicted upon black people, in this image is

---

[240] Phillippo, *Jamaica: its past and present state*, n.p.

[241] Richard Hick Bridgens, *West India scenery, with Illustrations of Negro Character, the Process of Making Sugar, &c. from Sketches Taken During a voyage to, and Residence of Seven Years in, the Island of Trinidad* (London: R. Jennings, 1836), n.p.

[242] Art historian Julia Skelly's article detailing the various torture implements used to abuse the enslaved labour force working for Bridgens's plantation provides insights into the connections between the abuse of enslaved populations and the creation of white identity. As argued throughout this thesis, white British colonial masculinity relied upon the violence and abuses of the black body to in order to become empowered agents. See: Skelly, "Representing Punishments," 53-55.

[243] Phillippo's sixteen illustrations combine natural history images examining two of Jamaica's natural resources harvested and utilized by the colony as a source of economic power: cacao and sugar cane plants. These were represented alongside isolated depictions of black women dressed in their Sunday finery depicted without any background. As such these women were removed entirely from their normal environments, distancing them from their lived realities. See: Phillippo, *Jamaica: its past and present state,* 110-115.

[244] Tobin, *Picturing Imperial Power,* 188-192.

[245] Phillippo, *Jamaica: its past and present state,* 288-292.

synonymous with their authority. Similarly Bridgens's print, *Sugar Boiling House, Trinidad, 1836,* (**Fig. 9**, 1836), centers on the white plantation owner (I argue a substitute for Bridgens) in an authoritative pose surveying his black workers; no longer enslaved but equally oppressed by the system of apprenticeship (which will be discussed further in chapter three). This image still retains the plantation hierarchy that centers the white man as the authoritative patriarch.[246] These images of colonial industries post-slavery mimic the visual conventions reifying white men (even as a minority presence), through their dress and actions, which elevated them as individuals of importance and authority rather than generalized types.[247] Such images cannot be separated from the race and sex identities of the authors, Clark, Bridgens and Phillippo, white, British men with a vested interest in ensuring that their presence in the colonies was not threatened and that the power and wealth that they accumulated was protected. The plantation hierarchy was contingent upon valorising, romanticising and empowering white men for multiple reasons. Since white men (not solely British but of Western European descent) were the only 'rightful citizens' there was great anxiety over slippages of power, specifically the threat of mixed race free people being able to vote, own property, and provide inheritances for their descendants.[248] Owning property was almost solely a white man's privilege ensuring that white women, black men, and women as well as mixed race people were reliant upon white men for economic stability. In fact, white men policed each other to guard against the enfranchisement of blacks and mixed race people.[249] As Nelson has explained, the Jamaica Assembly instituted a law prohibiting free blacks from inheriting significant wealth. Passed on 19 December 1761 and subsequently ratified in London, UK, the Devises Act, declared null and void any bequests over 2,000 pounds left to blacks or mixed race people by white men.[250] Members of the plantation class were

---

[246] Skelly, "Representing Punishments," 53-55.
[247] Mohammed, *Imagining the Caribbean,* 112-117.
[248] Mintz, *Three Ancient Colonies: Caribbean Themes and Variations*, 1-8.
[249] Nelson, "Beyond Sugar," unpaginated.
[250] Nelson, "Beyond Sugar," unpaginated; "Act of the Jamaican Assembly December 1761," Transcribed (25 November 2011) by Anne Powers from *The Laws of Jamaica*, vol. 2, St Jago de la Vega (1802) *A Parcel of Ribbons: Eighteenth Century Jamaica Viewed through Family Stories and Documents* http://aparcelofribbons.co.uk/apr/items/show/48 (15 January 2016); Trevor Burnard, " 'The Grand Mart of the Island': The Economic Function of Kingston, Jamaica in the Mid-Eighteenth Century," in *Jamaica in Slavery and Freedom: History, Heritage and Culture*,

concerned about retribution from the enslaved, specifically citing the 1791 Saint Domingue revolution as a legitimate threat to the plantation oligarchy.[251] In Jamaica for example, the Maroons (former slaves who had escaped from the plantations) fled towards the geographically hostile parts and mountainous regions of the island's interior to create self-sustaining settlements often defending themselves against the white plantation owners and the soldiers stationed on the island.[252]

Sex and gender analyses are excluded from canonical colonial history, displacing white women's culpability for and participation in the maintenance of slavery and discounting the benefits that they accrued from the dehumanization of black and mixed race women.[253] To conclude this chapter, I would like to turn to Caribbean historian Sir Hilary Beckles' influential text, *Centering Woman: Gender Discourses in Caribbean Slave Society* (1999), as it critiques the erasure of white women from the colonial, plantation model.[254] Beckles explains how this was accomplished through the colonial gender binaries established throughout slavery positioned black women as inferior to

---

eds. Kathleen E.A. Monteith and Glen Richards (Kingston, Jamaica: University of the West Indies Press, 2002), 229.

[251] While Saint Domingue (present day Haiti) was a French colony, it is a neighbouring island to Jamaica and as the revolution successfully liberated the enslaved populations of that island, it was seen as an especially threatening regional presence. Since the revolution was reliant upon a collective uprising against the plantation oligarchy, it terrified owners in Jamaica, Cuba, Trinidad, Antigua and elsewhere who imagined that a similar retribution could be visited upon them. White former slave owners from Saint Domingue fled to other colonies at the time, conceding their power only in the face of a justifiable confrontation from the people they enslaved. Although sworn enemies, British governed Jamaica welcomed the fleeing French planters while at the same time scheming to impose a military presence in Saint Domingue and to contain the revolution. Since the revolution continued until 1804, it cannot be discounted as a part of the psychic landscape in which these travelogue authors were writing. For a specific discussion on the impact that the revolution in Saint Domingue had on Jamaica please read the introductory chapter of Petley, which lays out the anxieties around slave revolt and retribution exemplified in the plantation owning class. Petley, *Slaveholders in Jamaica,* 8-15. See also: Philippe R. Girard, "Jean-Jacques Dessalines and the Atlantic System: A Reappraisal," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, vol. 69, no. 3 (July 2012): 549-82; Julia Gaffield, "Haiti and Jamaica in the Remaking of the Early Nineteenth-Century Atlantic World," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, vol. 69, no. 3 (July 2012): 583-614; Charmaine A. Nelson, "Representing the Enslaved African in Montreal," *Slavery, Geography, and Empire in Nineteenth-Century Marine Landscapes of Montreal and Jamaica* (Surrey, UK: Ashgate Publishing, forthcoming 2016), unpaginated.

[252] Petley, *Slaveholders in Jamaica*, 150-155.

[253] Beckles, *Centering Woman: Gender Discourses in Caribbean Slave Society*, xxiii; For an art historical analysis of white female culpability in British imperialism and slavery see: Nelson, " 'I am the only woman!'" n.p.

[254] Beckles, *Centering Woman*, 1-5.

white women.[255] Beckles argues that this binary protected white women's purity, romanticizing their presence despite living in depraved, colonial environments. The idealization of white women justified the systemic sexual, physical and psychological abuses black women endured as a result of the dehumanizing processes involved in the institution of slavery.[256] Beckles argues:

> Concepts of gender and race were central to how persons interfaced by relations of slavery, established meaning the determined social order and shaped everyday life. The ideological practice of gender determination contributed significantly to managerial values that focused attention away from class conflict to gender and race differences and inequalities. Gender and race ideologies were primarily at work in determining the sexual and racial division of labour and were responsible for the crystallisation of consciousness within the slave mode of production.[257]

The formation of a British, white colonial masculinity was a part of a plantation hierarchy that positioned white men at the apex of this system that subjugated white women, black, Indigenous and mixed race people.[258] Any person living during the colonial British Caribbean was categorized in this social hierarchy, however anyone who was not a white, British man were labelled with sexist, racist and prejudiced stereotypes.[259]As evidenced throughout the artworks discussed in this chapter, whether it was an oil painting or travelogue illustration, white men were treated as subjects and black people served as secondary figures objectified and representative of the subject's (white, British, colonial, male) privilege.[260] Maintaining a white, British, masculine, colonial identity throughout the British Caribbean during the nineteenth-century was an important political, social and economic strategy to ensure the continued subjugation of black people, freed and enslaved alike.

---

[255] Beckles, *Centering Woman*, 44-49.
[256] Beckles, *Centering Woman,* xxiii.
[257] Beckles, *Centering Woman*, xxiii.
[258] Mohammed, *Imagining the Caribbean,* 4-7.
[259] Thomas, ""On the spot,"" 226-229.
[260] Thomas, ""On the spot,"" 226-229.

Chapter Three - Protecting White Supremacy and the Legacies of Plantation Hierarchies in the Post-Abolition British Caribbean

In the preliminary stages of researching this project, it came to my attention that the visual trope most twenty-first century individuals associate with Transatlantic Slavery are plantations, specifically those located in the southern United States and Caribbean islands.[261] Colonial plantations were specific geo-political locations due to the viability of their natural resources and the cultivation process reliant upon exploitative, inhumane treatment of slaves are inextricably linked to the British colonizing mission.[262] The monetary significance of plantations to the colonial mission and imagination are undeniable as many pro-slavery arguments were centred on the damage that abolition would do to the empire's most profitable enterprise.[263] There are strong historical, psychological, emotional, and economic relationships between the formation of a white colonial identity and the plantation as a site for the proliferation and formation of white supremacy.[264] While plantations were sites of systemic oppression, violence and abuse for enslaved black people, they were also a source of power for white people of all classes in the Caribbean.[265] The belief that their shared skin colour and other corporeal markers rendered them superior allowed white people to naturalize the benefits of their humanity.[266] Both on and off of the plantation, since the racial hierarchy of slavery privileged whiteness, slaves who were closer to whiteness (in biology and/or appearance) commonly received better treatment and care.[267] Discussing how popular depictions of plantations established a romanticized view of this space allowed for people to simultaneously participate and distance themselves from this site's affiliation to the maintenance of colonial white supremacy.[268] Examining how nineteenth-century European white men depicted plantations, I argue, is a way to explore how white men

---

[261] Mohammed, *Imagining the Caribbean,* 5-10.
[262] Bohls, *Slavery and the Politics of Place,* 20-27.
[263] Bohls, *Slavery and the Politics of Place,* 10-13.
[264] Bohls, *Slavery and the Politics of Place,* 90-94.
[265] Mohammed, *Imagining the Caribbean,* 291-294.
[266] Bohls, *Slavery and the Politics of Place,* 83-86.
[267] Joseph, "HOW THOMAS NELSON AND SONS'," 146-48.
[268] Martinot, *The Machinery of Whiteness,* 10-15.

understood their shared identity as direct benefactors in the system of white supremacy.[269]

Since within the plantation hierarchy, the planter (owner) was the ultimate source of power, the white man in many ways became the human equivalent of this space.[270] Before I discuss the socio-historical context of plantations, it is important to examine the visual conventions utilized in depicting British Caribbean plantations. British architect James Hakewill (1778-1843) produced one of the most well known publications of this genre, *A Picturesque Tour of the island of Jamaica, from Drawings made in the years 1820 and 1821*, published in 1825.[271] Hakewill produced 21 aquatint prints to accompany his narratives, which greatly influenced future depictions of Caribbean plantations.[272] One print from this series that exemplifies the racial hierarchies imbued in plantation life is, *Spring Garden Plantation, St. George Parish, Jamaica, 1820-21* (**Fig. 10**, 1825). In this print, Hakewill depicts the plantation with a bright palette of reds, oranges, yellow, robin's blue, and golden hues radiating warmth from the pictorial sun. What is noteworthy about this scene, which depicts the Big House of the plantation alongside the smaller residences of white overseers and management staff, is the absence of the industrial sites alongside the fields and the slave living quarters that were most definitely a part of the plantation.[273] Surrounding these buildings is lush vegetation that appears to be ornamental rather than practical or directly affiliated with the plantation's best-known

---

[269] Martinot, *The Machinery of Whiteness,* 22-25.

[270] This is not to deny that many white females were slave owners, either independently or with their male relatives. Although white women acted as plantation mistresses in the Caribbean, the scholarship of Hilary McD. Beckles has revealed that white female patterns of engagement in slavery often differed from white males. For instance, in early nineteenth-century Bridgetown, Barbados, while white male slave owners outpaced white women in plantation ownership, white females owned forty percent of the properties with less than ten slaves and made up fifty percent of the owners of slaves in Bridgetown. See: Hilary McD. Beckles, "White Women and Slavery in the Caribbean," in *Caribbean Slavery in the Atlantic World: A Student Reader*, eds. Verene Shepherd and Hilary McD. Beckles (Kingston, Jamaica: Ian Randle, 2000), 661; Mohammed, *Imagining the Caribbean,* 40-44.

[271] Kriz, *Slavery, Sugar, and the Culture of Refinement,* 142-148 and Nelson, "James Hakewill's *Picturesque Tour*," unpaginated.

[272] Mohammed, *Imagining the Caribbean,* 174-179.

[273] Thomas, ""On the spot,"" 213-216; Nelson, "James Hakewill's *Picturesque Tour*," unpaginated.

crops.[274] There are eight figures in this piece with the emphasis being focused on the two white men where one is on a horse with another standing on the ground, his body language posturing up towards the equestrian, a gesture of submission. As one of the men has his back to the viewer, his whiteness is inferred based on his formal European styled clothing. Meanwhile six black people are grouped together at a distance from the two white men, including five men, a woman and child. They are dressed in draped white fabric walking towards the plantation. Hakewill erases the material traces of the systemic abuses and the normal labour of the plantation, displacing the exploitation and replacing it instead with an idyllic image filled with seemingly relaxed looking slaves, and as Nelson argued, barely legible sugar cane in the lower left hand section of the image. Nelson purports that Hakewill's images perform a sanitization of the Jamaican plantation,

> Most of Jamaica's hundreds of thousands of slaves (like the six hundred Negroes at Grosett's Spring Garden Estate), male and mainly female, were engaged in backbreaking field labour that was done by hand. Largely exposed in the acres of cane, they were a highly visible presence on every sugar plantation.[275]

While Hakewill's image is an idealized construct of John Rock Grosett's plantation,[276] his representation of the white male clothing aligns with the European and white Creole practice of adhering to European dress – the multiple layers of uncomfortable clothing - in the tropical climate of Jamaica.[277] Each man is wearing a nicely detailed uniform jacket with trousers boots, hats and a long sleeved shirt. We must also understand these European dress practices as visual conventions, which in differentiating white from black bodies, helped maintain the illusory authority of whites on the plantation.[278] In comparison, the group of barefoot slaves are dressed simply in billowing white fabric.[279]

---

[274] Each colony was best known for producing similar products but each island in the nineteenth-century became specialized in specific crops. Collectively all three islands produced sugar and its by-products on a whole. Jamaica additionally grew indigo and cotton. Trinidad was known for cacao and coffee. Antigua also was a vast tobacco producer. For more information on the specific crops grown in each colony please refer to: Mintz, *Three Ancient Colonies,* 10-20.

[275] Nelson, "Imaging Slavery in Antigua and Jamaica," unpaginated.

[276] Nelson, "Imaging Slavery in Antigua and Jamaica," unpaginated.

[277] Mohammed, *Imagining the Caribbean,* 175-179.

[278] Tobin, *Picturing Imperial Power,* 145-148.

[279] It was customary throughout the Caribbean colonies that slaves would go barefoot as it designated a lower status than their booted or shoe-wearing white counterparts. For more on the

Spring Garden Plantation, St. George Parish, Jamaica, 1820-21 (**Fig. 10**, 1825) exemplifies the romanticized plantation hierarchy that pro-slavery advocates wanted to protect which, is emblematic of the dominance of white supremacy exemplified by slavery.[280] This analysis will be discussed later on in this chapter, as the visual conventions Hakewill incorporated in his prints are present in Phillippo, Bridgens, and Clark's illustrations.

Plantations scenes were often included in travelogues written about the Caribbean during the nineteenth-century, since the region was home to economies (often based on mono-crop agriculture) dependent upon slave labour.[281] Abolitionists and pro-slavery advocates alike used plantations as visual tropes to present either the horrific conditions of these sites or to erase the abusive and deadly practices of slavery, presenting ideologically loaded imagery to their viewer as a persuasive tool. Abolitionists wanted to represent the brutalization processes involved with slavery while pro-slavery advocates often depicted slaves in scenes of leisure, sanitizing their images by displacing any human interactions between white and black people erasing the daily abuses endured by the enslaved.[282] In order to control their slaves, plantation owners would often establish a labour hierarchy that would award certain enslaved people privileges over their peers creating strife within the community.[283] An example of this deliberately racialized labour hierarchy was that light-skinned, mixed race children (the result of their black and mixed race mothers' sexual abuse), often worked in the owner's house since their white fathers were often their owners.[284] Domestic labour was less rigorous and considered less socially denigrating than fieldwork, creating tensions between the enslaved communities based on a perceived superiority due to a person's complexion and racial mixture. The main exceptions to this work hierarchy were enslaved males who were able to elevate

---

shoelessness of the enslaved in Jamaica see Nelson, "Beyond Sugar," unpaginated and Tobin, *Picturing Imperial Power,* 85.

[280] Kriz, *Slavery, Sugar, and the Culture of Refinement,* 110-116.

[281] Bohls, *Slavery and the Politics of Place,* 10-13.

[282] Nelson discusses the sanitization of labour and the remaking of the enslaved as leisurely in Hakewill's illustrations. Nelson, "James Hakewill's *Picturesque Tour*," unpaginated.

[283] Petley, *Slaveholders in Jamaica*, 35-43.

[284] The Great House (known as the Big House in the US) was often located on top of a hill and deliberately separated from the fields and slave village. Its position made it an efficient surveillance tool. See: Kriz, *Slavery, Sugar, and the Culture of Refinement,* 47-54.

their status through a promotion to jobs as artisans (coopers, blacksmiths, carpenters etc.…)[285] or as drivers who would physically punish his fellow slaves if they were not working themselves to death, often using a whip or a driver.[286] The normally lighter skin, straighter hair and European facial features of mixed race children were valued over the bodies of the darker skinned unmixed slaves. Thus, 'looking like' their white fathers afforded mixed race offspring and alignment with the Eurocentric 'white' moniker.[287]

The presence of mixed race people, historically referred to as mulatto or coloured, was documented in prints throughout Clark, Phillippo and Bridgens texts. These mixed race figures were mostly included in urban genre scenes distancing them from the plantation. Mixed race children presented a glaring contradiction to the strongly held scientific arguments like black people were animalistic, intellectually inferior, and possessed smaller brains.[288] Rather, their very existence recalled the persistence of white male desire for black females, a desire that should have been nullified by the supposed inferiority of Africans and superiority of white females. If black people were so brutish and uncivilized why was slavery reliant upon systemic sexual abuse and violence against black females? Indeed, in the period after the British abolition of the slave trade (1807), the 'breeding' of enslaved females increased making slavery even more reliant upon white male sexual exploitation of black females. The presence of mixed race children (European and African), was evidence of the contradictory nature of the scientific notions perpetuated by Enlightenment thinkers such as Georges Cuvier, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, and Arthur Schopenhauer, who positioned white people as the superior, more evolved and ultimately the most 'human'.[289] This designation of human signifies the possession of autonomy denied to the enslaved through the dehumanizing practices involved throughout all aspects of the slave trade – from the slave ship sailing the Atlantic Ocean with the cargo of millions of stolen people to the naturalization of the process of transitioning from human being to possession.[290]

---

[285] Nelson, "James Hakewill's Picturesque Tour," unpaginated.
[286] Petley, *Slaveholders in Jamaica,* 35-43.
[287] Garner, *Whiteness,* 5-11.
[288] Skelly, "Representing Punishments," 52-55.
[289] Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 10-14.
[290] Thomas, ""On the Spot,"" 213-216.

The British Empire abolished slavery in 1833 as an official ordinance affecting its colonies including Jamaica, Trinidad and Antigua.[291] However, while the bureaucratic process for abolishing slavery was officially finalized during this period the British government paid out slave owners for the loss of their property[292] but did not compensate the enslaved for the loss of their humanity or their unpaid labour at the hands of their former owners.[293] Abolishing slavery was a symbolic gesture rather than an effective piece of anti-racist legislation because the transition from slavery to the apprenticeship system continued to systemically favour and position white plantation owners in positions of power over their formerly enslaved labour force.[294] In order for the abolition of slavery to have been truly effective, white people throughout the British Dominion (including continental Britain) needed to concede power in order to truly treat the enslaved equally and effectively dismantle the economic motivation for white people to uphold and maintain the mechanisms of white supremacy, granting the designation of human, as defined by Schopenhauer, Cuvier and Hegel.[295] Consequently, the apprenticeship system was meant to appease former slave owners rather than address the horrific working and living conditions the enslaved endured. It was a six-year program where former slaves were forced to continue their work on the plantation for their former owners from 1834 until 1840.[296] Due to backlash from abolitionists in America as well as continental Europe in addition to newly freed slaves across Jamaica, Antigua, and Trinidad engaged in non-violent protests and collective actions against this piece of legislation to ensure that no form of slavery would continue to thrive.[297] This pushback against the system

---

[291] Petley, *Slaveholders in Jamaica*, 148-149.
[292] David Olusoga, "The History of British Slave Ownership has been buried: Now its Scale can be revealed," *The Guardian*, 12 July 2015, http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jul/12/british-history-slavery-buried-scale-revealed (25 February 2016).
[293] Petley, *Slaveholders in Jamaica*, 150-154.
[294] David Lambert, *White Creole Culture, Politics and Identity During the Age of Abolition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 27-31.
[295] Martinot, *The Machinery of Whiteness,* 3-14.
[296] Petley, *Slaveholders in Jamaica*, 150-154.
[297] Mintz, ed., *Slavery, Colonialism and Racism*, 59-63.

meant that the British government abolished the apprenticeship program two years earlier than it had initially planned on 1 August 1838.[298]

White upper-class, men either absentee landlords or active plantation owners, were the benefactors of this system as they were the ones threatened with a loss of power that came from no longer being able to hold absolute power or control over the lives of their formerly enslaved work force.[299] As a concession, the apprenticeship program, like the reparations to slave owners rather than the enslaved, no longer technically allowed plantation owners to punish their slaves but they were able to control their working conditions and lives on the plantation.[300] There was governmental oversight that relegated the plantation owner to the role of administrator rather than disciplinarian. For example in Jamaica, in August 1834 around the same time that the apprenticeship system was being put in place, Special Magistrates were paid by the imperial government to act as impartial judges who would dole out punishments to apprentices.[301] Many of these magistrates would have had relationships with the plantation owners, which made them far from impartial.[302] Now not only did freed black workers have to negotiate their new working conditions with their former owners, but they also contended with the newly imposed government hierarchy meant to 'transition' them from unfree to free labour.[303]

The visualization of slavery is inextricably linked to plantation sites in a visceral way to the British Caribbean, as it was the most common form of slave labour in the region.[304] Slavery was a major source of wealth production for the British Dominion and therefore a way to retain its maritime power. Hakewill's aquatint print series of the plantations he visited during a two year sojourn to Jamaica exemplify the plantation

---

[298] Each island has its own rich history about the resistance against the apprenticeship program. While the system was ended wholly across the Caribbean islands on August 1, 1841, there were different types of non-violent protest implemented by newly freed slaves that targeted the politicians creating these policies. For more information about the specific practices utilized in these actions, please refer to: Petley, *Slaveholders in Jamaica*, 150-154.
[299] hooks, *Ain't I a Woman: Black Women and Feminism,* 145-148.
[300] Petley, *Slaveholders in Jamaica*, 148-154.
[301] Petley, *Slaveholders in Jamaica,* 150-155.
[302] Petley, *Slaveholders in Jamaica,* 152-154.
[303] Petley, *Slaveholders in Jamaica,* 150-155.
[304] Mintz, *Slavery, Colonialism and Racism*, 62-66.

hierarchy that deified white men, most importantly the plantation owner, while everyone else was ranked based on their proximity to white maleness.[305]

Romanticizing plantations served as an effective illustrative tool for travelogue authors to convince their audience of their position, which was to support and maintain white supremacy through slavery.[306] To maintain this veil of inauthenticity, evidence of everyday accounts of violence was erased. Hakewill's prints reflect this practice resulting in digestible images devoid of authenticity (including black pain and suffering) for his white audiences.[307] Although acknowledging the inherent subjectivity of these prints is necessary, it does not negate their initial purpose to serve as unbiased documentation both in their representation and reception.[308] Art historian Sarah Thomas presents a key distinction between scientific and travelogue illustrations, which is the prioritization of producing an aesthetically pleasing artwork in the latter case.[309] She argues:

> Yet by the 1820s, independent travelling artists had a broader field of vision which was governed less by the dictates of science; they tended to look across and through rather than down, at groups of people and/or landscapes rather than focusing on individual "specimens." While scientific illustration continued to impact on their work, most independent artists aimed first to make good pictures according to a variety of European aesthetic conventions, and then to capture something distinctive about the people and places they visited.[310]

Travelogue images uphold Eurocentric visual conventions because they appease their majority white audience by depicting unknown lands and people through familiar artistic conventions.[311]The examination of post-abolitionist imagery depicting genre scenes outside of the plantation environment provides an insight into the fragility of white

---

[305] Dyer, *White*, 50-53 and Nelson, "James Hakewill's Picturesque Tour," unpaginated.
[306] Bridgens documented his horrific acts of abuse towards enslaved people through his depictions of the abused black (male and female) body and diagrams of his personally crafted tortured devises. While it's easy to assume all responsibility of violence towards black people onto white men; both men and women punished their slaves. What Bridgens narrative wanted to accomplish was a means to justify his abusive conduction.
See: Skelly, "Representing Punishments," 57-61.
[307] Nelson, "Beyond Sugar," unpaginated.
[308] Dyer, *The matter of images*, 2-6.
[309] Thomas, ""On the spot," 214-216.
[310] Thomas, ""On the spot," 215.
[311] Thomas, ""On the spot," 216-218.

colonial masculinity during a moment of political upheaval.[312] When considering the construction and proliferation of travelogue imagery, noting the similarities between Clark, Phillippo and Bridgen's prints is central to understanding the power behind repeatedly depicting white men as authority figures throughout the British Caribbean. The rest of this chapter will focus on examining how British white men were able to translate the plantation hierarchy of slavery into a post-abolition society through Bridgens and Phillippo's illustrations, specifically their depictions of social spaces where black and white people interact. I argue that white men are central to these prints and the visibility and meanings of race for all others is a facet of their proximity to whiteness.[313]

Clark's print, *Court House, St. John, Antigua, West Indies, 1823* (**Fig. 11**, 1823) represents a street view of Antigua's capital city before the abolition of slavery. This print centers on the nation's judicial space, where black, white and mixed race people of differing social status interact in an everyday urban setting. White men are primarily identified in this image by their clothing because they are dressed in formal European styles including richly coloured jackets, black top hats and boots.[314] They are also identified by their possession of horses and carriages, costly items in the colonial Caribbean. The white men's clothing signifies colonial power, including their status as planters, politicians and military men.[315] Black men however are simply dressed in less refined clothing of neutral tones of beige, blue and white, mirroring their surroundings, bleeding into the background. They are also shoeless. Furthermore, while the white men are engaged in verbal exchanges, or, as the group in front of the court house implies, the colony's legal business, three of the black men are actively labouring and the one positioned farthest to the right holding a dead fowl, may be on his way to or from the local market. The three labouring men pushing the barrel appear anonymous compared to the individual detail afforded to each white man, including a range of rich blues, reds, and gold included in their clothing.

---

[312] Peter Hulme, *Remnants of Conquest: The Island Caribs and their Visitors, 1877-1998* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 1-8.
[313] Martinot, *The Machinery of Whiteness,* 10-13.
[314] Clark, *Ten Views In the Island of Antigua,* 4.
[315] Clark, *Ten Views In the Island of Antigua,* 3-4.

While black women are represented less frequently in this collection of images, white women are entirely absent.[316] However, in Clark's print two mixed race women carrying parasols dressed in brightly coloured clothing of canary yellow and rose walk unaccompanied, while a third mixed race woman wearing gloves and a dress with a striped bodice, carries a parasol as she converses with a white soldier. Besides their complexions, these women can be read as mixed race since middle or upper class white women were not permitted in public spaces without white male chaperons.[317] Furthermore, as Nelson argues, the staging of the interaction of the mixed race woman and white male soldier in the right middle ground, with their bodies positioned in opposite directions, suggests a narrative that they have met in the street, not that he is her companion.[318]

While Clark's print includes a street view of St. John's, the focus of this print is the white men entering the courthouse. This act depicts their social access and political power as legitimate citizens who had the ability to vote.[319] White privilege is understood in this image beyond skin colour and stereotypical physiognomical features of a straight nose or prominent jaw but ascribed to objects based on access.[320] Cultural historian Rebecca Earle discusses the value judgements that Anglo-travellers ascribed to European style garments, especially the derision directed at black people for "mimicking whiteness."[321] Earle states:

> English travellers in the Caribbean commented with similar disdain on the 'big hulking negress…attired in gorgeous silks and satins, and truly wonderful hats with broad brims and feathers and ribbons…the wooly locks under all this fashionable head gear were pathetically ludicrous'… Dress,

---

[316] Out of his ten prints, Clark only depicts black and mixed raced women in half of his series. They can be seen in: *The Court-House* (Fig. 11)*, Holding a Cane Piece, Planting the Sugar-Cane, A Mill Yard*, and *Interior of a Boiling House on Delaps Estate Antigua* (1823). Biological essentialism was used in the gendered labour division to exclude women from certain labours activities such as manufacturing and loading. See: Beckles, *Centering Woman,* xxii-xxiv.
[317] Janet Schaw, *Journal of a Lady of Quality; Being the Narrative of a Journey from Scotland to the West Indies, North Carolina, and Portugal, in the years 1774 to 1776*, ed. Evangeline Walker Andrews and Charles McLean Andrews, second edition (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1934), 87. For more on the representation of white women in the Caribbean see Nelson, "James Hakewill's *Picturesque Tour*," unpaginated.
[318] Nelson, "Beyond Sugar," unpaginated.
[319] Clark, *Ten Views In the Island of Antigua,* 3-4.
[320] Earle, "'Two Pairs of Pink Satin Shoes!'" 184-185.
[321] Earle, "'Two Pairs of Pink Satin Shoes!'" 184-185.

> along with forms of government, has disappeared from this typical nineteenth-century racial classification. Clothing was no longer considered a racial characteristic…The disdain for well-dressed people of colour in the Americas is thus symptomatic of the hardening of racial categories in the nineteenth-century.[322]

Since whiteness was not understood solely through skin colour or bodily markers, it is necessary to examine all visual cues, such as clothing, actions or body language to determine the subject's identity and social status. Earle raises an important point in terms of observing the shift from condemning and punishing black bodies appropriating white culture to focusing on social unacceptability and overt cultural shaming.[323] Naturalizing white men outside of the plantation environment was a part of the mechanism to enforce British colonial values As Nelson argued, "Slaves had no recourse to the law for their mistreatment since the same white men who owned the majority of the plantations were the magistrates who refused to enforce laws against slave mistreatment."[324] Clark's depiction of white males outside of the courthouse in the urban setting of Antigua was another way to demonstrate that their pervasive power was not limited to the plantation.

Clark spends a great deal of the sparse narration that accompanies each of the ten aquatint prints detailing the lives of the enslaved black people on the island.[325] An example of his commentary on the enslaved people comes from his brief description of The Court House in St. John's, the capitol city of the island.[326] He writes:

> The interior is one spacious court, with the various conveniences for the magistrates; here the legal proceedings and the island are investigated and determined; here, also, the Negro, having complaint to make, is sure to meet with attention, the offending parties summoned to appear, and justice awarded…The hours of employment for the Negroes, on the different estates in Antigua, are from sun-rise about six o'clock, to sun-set also about six, at which times the military forts fire signals, that can be heard all over the island.[327]

---

[322] Earle, "'Two Pairs of Pink Satin Shoes!'" 184, 189.
[323] Earle, "'Two Pairs of Pink Satin Shoes!'" 189.
[324] Nelson, "Imaging Slavery in Antigua and Jamaica," unpaginated.
[325] Clark, *Ten Views In the Island of Antigua,* 4.
[326] Clark, *Ten Views In the Island of Antigua,* 4-5.
[327] Clark, *Ten Views In the Island of Antigua,* 4.

White men are rarely noted in this text facilitating the reader based on Clark's commentary to exotify and objectify the unfamiliar black bodies. In this way, Clark naturalizes his fellow white men in these colonial spaces, positioning white people as emblematic of the status quo, an ideological notion continued to be perpetuated and demonstrated in Phillippo and Bridgens's texts. The post-abolition period in the British Caribbean should be understood in two parts, pre- and post- apprenticeship; Bridgens in 1836 was during the apprenticeship period while Phillippo was post-apprenticeship in 1845. Both authors situate and imbue white men as the sole subjects while all other bodies are meant to viewed as transactional objects.

Bridgens's graphite sketch of the *Protector of Slaves Office, Trinidad, C. 1833* (**Fig. 14**, c. 1833) shows an abolitionist office where four seated men are compiling the evidence of systemic violence and abuse that was a part of the institutionalization of slavery in Trinidad through the examination of enslaved women and children with horrific injuries; including a young boy wearing a sling with a cloth tied around his head covering one eye towards the right side of the picture plane. Bridgens does not depict the white men in direct interaction with the enslaved people they are supposed to help. Rather their eye contact and body language positions the seated white men deliberately ignoring the scene of suffering around them. The white men are each dressed differently, with individual physical and facial features that humanizes them while some of the enslaved bodies are racially stereotyped (particularly the two tallest figures on the right) partially or fully unclothed and barefooted to signify their slave status. In many ways, Bridgens's illustrations are indicative of a collective anxiety plantation owners had at the prospect of loosing their labour force and possible retaliation.[328] This cultural shift imposed a possible power slippage, which was nullified by the introduction of the apprenticeship program. Along with other planters, Bridgens felt that his inability to discipline his labour force meant that plantation owners were losing their status as authority figures.[329]

In comparison to Bridgens, Phillippo was a Baptist minister who came to Spanish Town, Jamaica in 1823 as a missionary to convert slaves to Christianity and to advocate

---

[328] Bridgens, *West India scenery,* ii-vi.
[329] Bridgens, *West India scenery,* 20-24.

to a life devoted to God.[330] As a staunch abolitionist Phillippo wanted to provide slaves with access to education through religion and wanted to end the horrors of slavery.[331] While he advocated to members of the British parliament during the early 1830s, Phillippo positioned the end of slavery as a moral issue above a political or economic one.[332] However biographical evidence documented by his friend Edward Bean Underhill, demonstrates that Phillippo wanted to desegregate religious and educational spaces in order for both freed and enslaved black, white, and mixed children to interact outside of the plantation hierarchy, a progressive step that was received with much criticism from fellow abolitionists.[333] The first monochromatic engraving, *Interior of the Baptist Chapel, Spanish Town* (**Fig. 13**, 1843) positions the white Baptist minister (a stand-in for Phillippo) central to the composition as a circular audience filled with black people surrounds him emphasizing his platform as a moral authority figure.[334] Many of Phillippo's initiatives and efforts to desegregate spaces were important bureaucratic challenges to colonial white supremacy at the time. The ways that he documented these experiences (in the hopes of maintaining his presence in Jamaica) is problematic since they work to retain his power as a British white man on the island as a visiting missionary.[335] He often separated himself as a European British man from Jamaican Creoles while offering some interesting commentary on the ethnic-national dynamics between white men in Jamaica.[336] Phillippo writes:

> They [Creole Jamaican white men] were distinguished in general as professional men, planters, merchants, store-keepers, and tradesmen with others occupying inferior situations under them. The descendants of these, the present natives of the country, are slender and graceful in form, their complexion pale, and with a more languid expression of countenance than the Europeans.[337]

---

[330] Underhill, *Life of James Mursell Phillippo,* 35-40.
[331] Underhill, *Life of James Mursell Phillippo,* 35-40.
[332] Underhill, *Life of James Mursell Phillippo,* 30-33.
[333] Underhill, *Life of James Mursell Phillippo,* 49-52.
[334] Underhill, *Life of James Mursell Phillippo,* 30-33.
[335] Phillippo, *Jamaica: its past and present state*, 1-5.
[336] My reference to ethnic-national dynamics refers to the politics between continental and colonial British, white men with the inference that Creole men are lazier and less attuned with British values than their continental counterparts. See: Phillippo, *Jamaica: its past and present state,* 120-123.
[337] Phillippo, *Jamaica: its past and present state,* 119-120.

Phillippo's description of the white Jamaican citizen clearly designates this privilege to people like himself as an assurance that his position as an influential abolitionist and Baptist minister remains unthreatened. In combination with his second print, *Visit of a Missionary and Wife to a Plantation Village, 1843* (**Fig. 12**, 1843), Phillippo once again has the seated white figure (a stand-in for Phillippo and his wife) in a black community where a crowd of people welcomes the couple. The white couple serve as the focus point of this work as indicate by its title to automatically place the black subjects in a position of subservience. This is due to the lack of Phillippo's acknowledgment of the individuals a part of this community and directly affected by the plantation hierarchy. In an attempt to retain their power in the colonial Caribbean, white men sought to preserve their dominance gained through the mechanisms of slavery in spaces such as the plantation and the courthouse. Clark, Bridgens and Phillippo were motivated to replicate the racial hierarchy that places white men such as themselves in position of absolute power, as they had vested stakes in maintaining their individual power while naturalizing the presence of white men.

Conclusion
Beyond the British Caribbean: White Supremacy and its Present Legacies

Oftentimes when art historians are writing about white artists and their artworks, the question of, "why is your project focused on white artists," is rarely asked in comparison to research about black, Asian, Indigenous or Hispanic/Latinx artists.[338] The assumption that a white artist's race is never evoked in their work or addressed by scholars is a part of the mechanism supporting global white supremacy that normalizes the subjectivity of white cultural producers as being arbiters of objective knowledge and truth without acknowledging the xenophobic, racist, sexist, or otherwise problematic elements of their works.[339] Consequently, this blanketing effect makes it difficult for many white people to see how much their racial identity shapes their subjectivity as consumers, scholars, artists, and individuals.[340] Up until the late twentieth-century, art history failed to acknowledge its limitations and role in enforcing the ideological notion that white male artists are the predominant producers of art.[341] It was through race, sex, gender, and class-based inquiries that art historians created methodologies that allowed them to question the paradigm of whiteness in art and to begin to address the issue of inequality rampant in the discipline.[342] As long as academia continues to enforce a racial hierarchy based on biased notions of value and objective truth, the dominance of whiteness as the default unmarked identity position will remain intact. A shift requires that attention be given to the interrogation of the largely white art historical canons as well as the lack of resources allocated towards scholars and instructors who seek to challenge whiteness.[343]

Privileging white identity and subjectivity was an integral part of the colonial campaign to exclude oppositional voices through bureaucratic barriers (such as access to

---

[338] Young, *White Mythologies,* 160-165.
[339] Dyer, *White*, 5-10.
[340] Sullivan, *Revealing Whiteness,* 7-13.
[341] Charmaine A. Nelson, "Resisting Invisibility: Black Faculty in Art and Art History in Canada," Canadian Federation for the Humanities and Social Sciences FedCan Blog, 3 March 2012.
[342] Dyer, *White,* 44-48.
[343] Nelson, "Resisting Invisibility: Black Faculty in Art and Art History in Canada," Canadian Federation for the Humanities and Social Sciences FedCan Blog, 3 March 2012.

education), allowing for the proliferation of oppressive ideologies to be unchallenged.[344] However, the domination of white (male) artists in canonical art history has continued to be an acceptable teaching model for many professors who practice without acknowledging the colonial past and the presence or visuality of white supremacy.[345] The goal of this project was to contribute to a methodological, ideologically and theoretical shift, insisting that we acknowledge the processes of racialization by including white people as a means to begin dissecting the legacies of white supremacy.[346] By focusing on the visual formation alongside the ideological construct of a white colonial British masculinity, I have sought to critique how whiteness became synonymous with power gained through violence.[347]Although engaged in slavery to various extents, white men such as Clark, Bridgens, and Phillippo were heavily invested in protecting white supremacy as they directly benefitted from this imbalance of power.[348] This project argues that regardless of their political affiliations as abolitionists or pro-slavery advocates, all three of these men produced works that disseminated notions of white supremacy through their texts and accompanying visual illustrations for their travelogues.[349] In turn, their investment in the proliferation of images and texts idealizing white, British colonizers secured their legacies as cultural producers whose subjective experiences were disseminated as truths beyond the British Caribbean throughout continental Europe and other colonies.[350]

Before engaging with the formation of a white, colonial, British masculinity, it was necessary to discuss the historical context that preceded the nineteenth-century by examining the histories of present-day Antigua, Jamaica and Trinidad. White supremacy as understood in the British Caribbean colonial context centered on ensuring the naturalization of European values and cultural customs through the erasure of Indigenous

---

[344] Charmaine A. Nelson, "Toppling the 'Great White North': Tales of a Black Female Professor in Canadian Academia," in *The Black Professorate: Negotiating a Habitable Space* eds. Sandra Jackson and Richard Gregory Johnson III (New York: Peter Lang, 2011), 110-114.
[345] Martinot, *The Machinery of Whiteness,* 10-15.
[346] Mohanty, "Under Western Eyes," 338-344.
[347] Martinot, *The Machinery of Whiteness,* 44-50.
[348] Garner, *Whiteness,* 20-24.
[349] Thomas, ""On the spot,"" 213-222.
[350] Joseph, "HOW THOMAS NELSON AND SONS'" 146-152.

peoples.[351] It naturalized and normalized the minority presence of white people in majoritarian black and Indigenous populations as the 'ideal citizen' and 'authority figure' to secure land in the Americas on behalf of the British Empire.[352]

Each author and artist featured in this project benefitted from living in a white supremacist patriarchal society where they gained access to the ability to travel from continental Europe and the Americas to the British Caribbean and write and illustrate texts that disseminated their opinions.[353] The period of my inquiry, 1820 to 1850, was a moment of major political upheaval resulting in the abolition of slavery throughout the British Empire in 1833 by the Parliament. This period ushered in the apprenticeship system, meant to provide a swift transition from unfree to free labour.
However, as argued throughout my project, this system was a mechanism to ensure that the formerly enslaved black populations were still beholden to their white plantation owners.[354] The gender-specific nature of my subjects of inquiry, Clark, Bridgens and Phillippo, has allowed me to link white supremacy to colonial masculinity. Clearly, within the plantation regime (and slavery more generally), a masculinity that was aligned with manhood was only accessible to white men.[355] The second chapter of my project focused on tracing the visuality of white, British masculinity beginning in oil painting portraiture of military figures, which was then adapted to illustrated prints featured in travelogues. Mapping the visual conventions behind the depictions of white men provides critical framework to examine how colonial identities were formed on the basis of championing white British men. The plantation hierarchy was an effective colonial tool that mandated specific behaviours in everyday social interactions between whites and

---

[351] Young, *White Mythologies*, 160-165.
[352] Tobin, *Picturing Imperial Power,* 160-168.
[353] Thomas, ""On the spot,"" 220-224.
[354] Petley, *Slaveholders in Jamaica,* 148-152.
[355] On the enslaved black male's lack of access to patriarchy see Nelson, "Imaging Slavery in Antigua and Jamaica," unpaginated. For discussions about the black male's removal from the category of manhood in nineteenth-century artistic representations see: Michael Hatt, "Making a Man of Him: Masculinity and the Black Body in Mid-Nineteenth-Century American Sculpture" in *Race-ing Art History: Critical Readings in Race and Art History,* ed. Kymberly N. Pinder (New York: Routledge, 2002) 191-193; Charmaine A. Nelson, "Male or Man?: The Politics of Emancipation in the Neoclassical Imaginary," in *Companion to American Art*, eds. John Davis, Jennifer A. Greenhill and Jason D. LaFountain (Oxford, UK: Blackwell, 2015), 397-399.

both free and enslaved black people.[356] While the plantation hierarchy played an important role in the formation of white, British, colonial masculinity as an empowering space for white men it was simultaneously a site of trauma due to the horrific abuse and violence perpetuated against enslaved black people.[357]

I argue that this racial hierarchy ensured the social and political power of white British men, at a time when the ongoing resistance of the enslaved and the looming abolition of slavery evoked anxieties around the soon-to-be-free black body, concerning retaliation against white plantation owners.[358] In order to combat this anxiety, white men such as Phillippo and Bridgens, depicted themselves in the post-slavery era as the same authorial figures normalized in pre-abolition artworks and illustrations. The British Caribbean is a significant space when examining the origins of global white supremacy and the formation of an Anglo-white identity. While the work of post-colonial scholars Kay Dian Kriz, Charmaine Nelson and Patricia Mohammed's research incorporates an interdisciplinary framework incorporating art historical examination of art objects alongside historical, anthropological and critical race theory that has shaped this project. Consequently there is not much research done on poor white men and white women as subjects or producers in art history and their presence is rarely discussed; most interventions on critiquing gender in the British Caribbean has been done by anthropologists and historians such as Hilary Beckles, necessitating the incorporation of colonial and continental European imagery into a dialogue with one another to transgress the discipline's self imposed boundaries.[359]

As an art historian and human being, I am deeply troubled by the silence around questions of white supremacy and the role that art has played in validating this oppressive mechanism. As a white woman I cannot deny the privilege that I have inherited because of my race and the horrific acts justified in the maintenance of that power. That is why I feel that examining the visual culture of white supremacy, both it in its historic and

---

[356] Jenny Shaw, *Everyday Life in the Early English Caribbean: Irish, Africans, and the Construction of Difference* (London: The University of Georgia Press, 2013), 1-7.
[357] Petley, *Slaveholders in Jamaica,* 143-145.
[358] Petley, *Slaveholders in Jamaica,* 148-150.
[359] Nelson, "Male or Man?: The Politics of Emancipation in the Neoclassical Imaginary," 400-402.

contemporaneous forms cannot end with this specific case study as white supremacy is a global project and needs to be examined in all of its permutations.

Plate List

Fig. 1

James M. Phillippo, *Planter*, *Attended by Negro Driver,* 1843. Engraving, 21 cm. McGill University Rare Books and Special Collections. From James M. Phillippo, *Jamaica: Its Past and Present State*. London: J. Snow, 1843. Page 120.

Fig. 2

Richard Bridgens, *A Mill Yard*, 1836. Lithograph Print, 20.3 x 30.4 cm. Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University. From Richard Bridgens, *West India Scenery...from sketches taken during a voyage to, and residence of seven years in the island of Trinidad*. London: Robert Jennings & Co., 1836. n.p.

Fig. 3

William Clark, *Interior of a Distillery, on Delaps Estate,* 1823. Aquatint print, 35 x 47 cm. McGill University. From: William Clark, *Ten Views In the Island of Antigua, in Which are Represented the Process of Sugar Making.... From Drawings Made by William Clark, During a Residence of Three Years in the West Indies.* London: T. Clay, 1823. Page 9.

Fig. 4

Artist unknown, *Elihu Yale, the 2nd Duke of Devonshire, Lord James Cavendish, Mr. Tunstal, and an Enslaved Servant*, ca. 1708, oil on canvas. Collection: New Haven: Yale Center for British Art, Gift of the 11th Duke of Devonshire.

Fig. 5

Sir Joshua Reynolds, *Charles Stanhope, 3rd Earl of Harrington*, 1782. Oil on canvas, 93 x 56 inches. Collection: New Haven: Yale University, Yale Center for British Art.

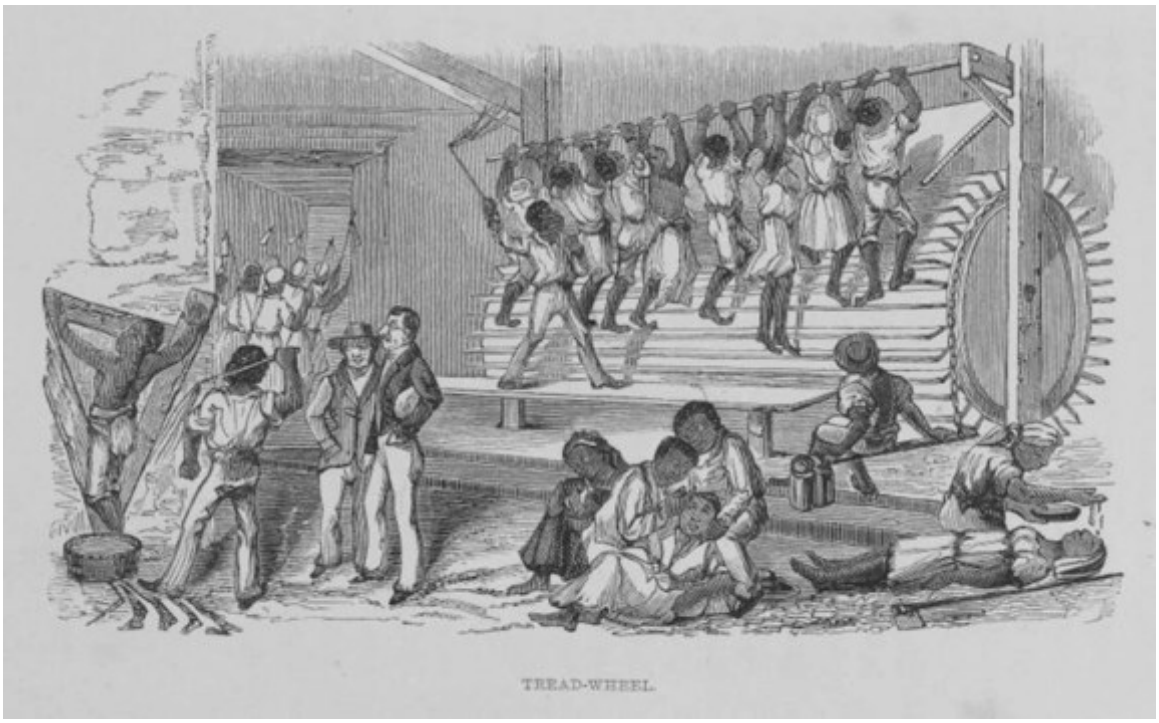
Fig. 6

William Clark, *Exterior of a Boiling House, Antigua, West Indies,* 1823. Aquatint print, 35 x 47 cm. McGill University. From: William Clark, *Ten Views In the Island of Antigua, in Which are Represented the Process of Sugar Making.... From Drawings Made by William Clark, During a Residence of Three Years in the West Indies.* London: T. Clay, 1823. Page 15.

Fig. 7

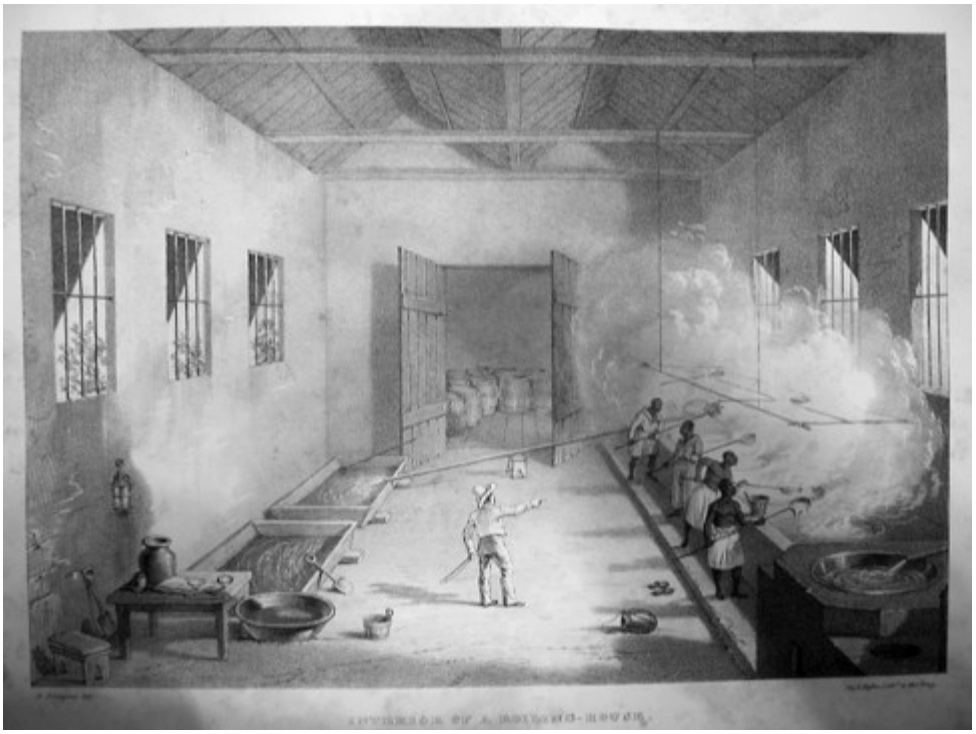
William Clark, *Interior of a Boiling House, Antigua, West Indies,* 1823. Aquatint print, 35 x 47 cm. McGill University. From: William Clark, *Ten Views In the Island of Antigua, in Which are Represented the Process of Sugar Making.... From Drawings Made by William Clark, During a Residence of Three Years in the West Indies*. London: T. Clay, 1823. Page 13.

Fig. 8



James M. Phillippo, *Tread-Wheel*, 1843. Engraving, 21 cm. McGill University Rare Books and Special Collections. From James M. Phillippo, *Jamaica: Its Past and Present State*. London: J. Snow, 1843. Page 288.

Fig. 9



Richard Bridgens, *Sugar Boiling House, Trinidad, 1836,* 1836. Engraving, 20.3 x 30.4 cm. Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University. From Richard Bridgens, *West India Scenery...from sketches taken during a voyage to, and residence of seven years in the island of Trinidad*. London: Robert Jennings & Co., 1836. Plate 11.

Fig. 10

James Hakewill, *Spring Garden Plantation, St. George Parish, Jamaica, 1820-21.* 1825. Aquatint print, dimensions unknown. University of Miami Library Archives and Special Collections. From James Hakewill, A Picturesque Tour of the Island of Jamaica, from Drawings Made in the Years 1820 and 1821, London: Kingston Press, 1825. Plate 8.

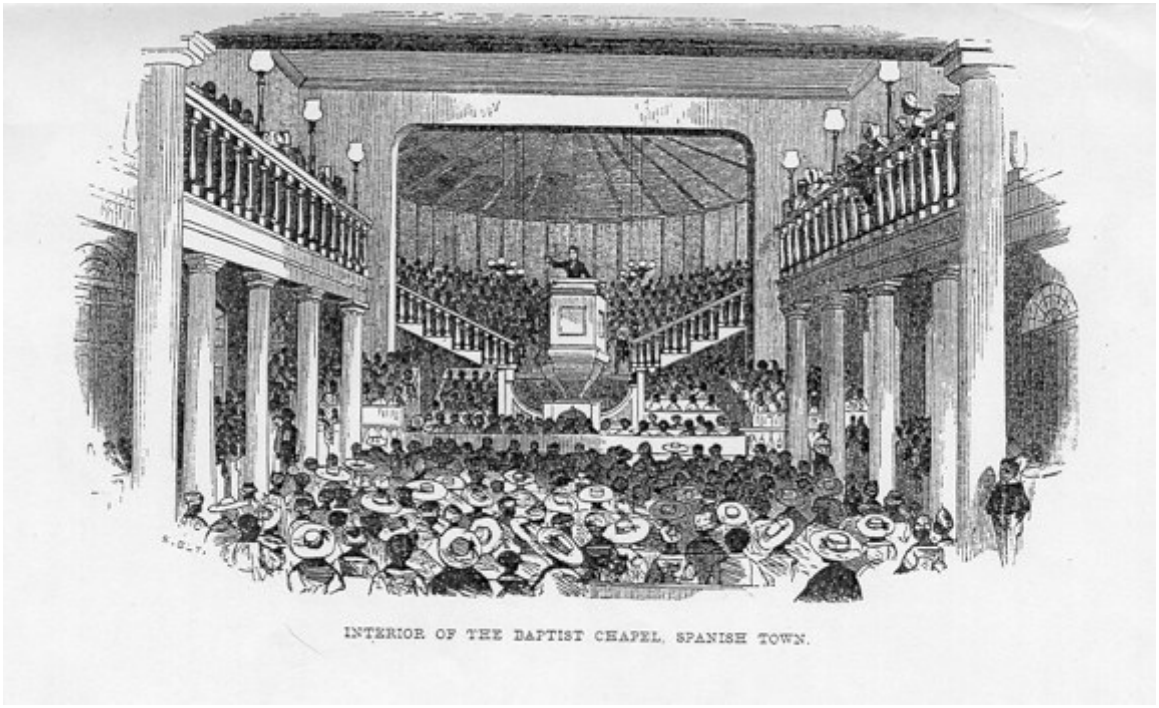
Fig. 11

William Clark, *Court House, St. John, Antigua, West Indies,* 1823. Aquatint print, 35 x 47 cm. McGill University. From: William Clark, *Ten Views In the Island of Antigua, in Which are Represented the Process of Sugar Making.... From Drawings Made by William Clark, During a Residence of Three Years in the West Indies.* London: T. Clay, 1823. Page 3.

Fig. 12

James M. Phillippo, *Visit of a Missionary and Wife to a Plantation Village*, 1843. Engraving, 21 cm. McGill University Rare Books and Special Collections. From James M. Phillippo, *Jamaica: Its Past and Present State*. London: J. Snow, 1843. Page 372.

Fig. 13



James M. Phillippo, *Interior of the Baptist Chapel, Spanish Town*, 1843. Engraving, 21 cm. McGill University Rare Books and Special Collections. From James M. Phillippo, *Jamaica: Its Past and Present State*. London: J. Snow, 1843. Page 288.

Fig. 14

Richard Bridgens, *Protector of Slaves Office*, 1833. Graphite on wove paper, 20.3 x 30.4 cm. Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University. From Richard Bridgens, *West India Scenery...from sketches taken during a voyage to, and residence of seven years in the island of Trinidad*. London: Robert Jennings & Co., 1836. n.p.

Bibliography

A Parcel of Ribbons: Eighteenth Century Jamaica Viewed through Family Stories and Documents "Act of the Jamaican Assembly December 1761- Transcribed 25 November 2011 by Anne Powers from *The Laws of Jamaica*, vol. 2, St Jago de la Vega (1802)." Accessed 10 March 2016. http://aparcelofribbons.co.uk/apr/items/show/48.

Alcoff, Linda Martín. "The Whiteness Question." In *Visible Identities: Race, Gender and the Self*. 205-223. New York: Oxford University Press, 2006.

Alcoff, Linda Martín. *Visible Identities: Race, Gender and the Self*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2006.

Alcoff, Linda Martín. "What Should White People Do?" In *Decentering the Center: Philosophy for a Multicultural, Postcolonial, and Feminist World,* edited by Uma Narayan and Sandra Harding, 262-282. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000.

Arvin, Maile, Eve Tuck, and Angie Morrill. "Decolonizing Feminism: Challenging Connections Between Settler Colonialism and Heteropatriarchy." *Feminist Formations* Vol. 25, 1 (2013): 8-34.

Barringer, T.J., G. Forrester, and B. Martinez-Ruiz. *Art and Emancipation in Jamaica: Isaac Mendes Belisario and his Worlds*. New Haven: Yale Center for British Art in association with Yale University Press, 2007.

Beckles, Hilary McD. *Centering Woman: Gender Discourses in Caribbean Slave Society*. Kingston: Ian Randle Publishers, 1999.

Beckles, Hilary McD. "Britain has duty to clean up monumental mess of Empire, Sir Hilary tells Cameron." *Jamaica Observer*, September 28, 2015. http://www.jamaicaobserver.com/news/Britain-has-duty-to-clean-up-monumental-mess-of-Empire--Sir-Hilary-tells-Cameron_19230957.

Burnard, Trevor. " 'The Grand Mart of the Island': The Economic Function of Kingston, Jamaica in the Mid-Eighteenth Century." In *Jamaica in Slavery and Freedom: History, Heritage and Culture,* eds. Kathleen E.A. Monteith and Glen Richards, 225- 241. Kingston, Jamaica: University of the West Indies Press, 2002.

Blackburn, Robin, and Mazal Holocaust Collection. *The making of New World Slavery: from the Baroque to the Modern, 1492-1800*. London: Verso, 1997.

Bohls, Elizabeth A. *Slavery and the Politics of Place: Representing the Colonial Caribbean, 1770-1833*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014.

Bridgens, Richard Hick. *West India scenery, with Illustrations of Negro Character, the Process of Making Sugar, &c. from Sketches Taken During a voyage to, and Residence of Seven Years in, the Island of Trinidad*. London: R. Jennings, 1836.

Burn, W L. *The British West Indies*. London: Hutchinson's University Library, 1951.

Ciment, James. *Colonial America: An Encyclopedia of Social, Political, Cultural, and Economic history*. Armonk, NY: Sharpe Reference, 2006.

Chamberlain, M.E. *Decolonization: The Fall of the European Empires*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1985.

Cheek, Pamela. "The Challenges of Representing Islands." *Eighteenth-Century Life* vol. 34, 3 (2010): 88-93.

Clark, William. *Ten Views In the Island of Antigua, in Which are Represented the Process of Sugar Making. From Drawings Made by William Clark, During a Residence of Three Years in the West Indies*. London: T. Clay, 1823.

Collins, Patricia Hill. *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness and the Politics of Empowerment: Second Edition.* New York: Routledge, 2000.

Crenshaw, Kimberle. "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics and Violence Against Women of Colour." *Stanford Law Review* vol. 43, 1241 (July 1991): 1241-1299.

Daunton, Martin, and Rick Halpern, eds. *Empire and Others: British Encounters with Indigenous Peoples, 1600-1850*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1999.

Donaldson, Laura E. *Decolonizing Feminisms: Race, Gender and Empire-Building*. London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1992.

Dyer, Richard. *The Matter of Images: Essays on Representations*. New York: Routledge, 1993.

Dyer, Richard. *White*. New York: Routledge, 1997.

Earle, Rebecca. "'Two Pairs of Pink Satin Shoes!': Race, Clothing and Identity in The Americas (17th-19th Centuries)." *History Workshop Journal* no. 52 (August 2001): 175-195.

Earle, Rebecca. *The Return of the Native: Indians and Myth-Making in Spanish America, 1810-1930*. London: Duke University Press, 2007.

Epstein, James. *Scandal of Colonial Rule: Power and Subversion in the British Atlantic during the Age of Revolution*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.

Eltis, David, Stephen D. Behrendt, David Richardson, and Herbert S. Klein. *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade: A Database on CD-ROM*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Funari, Pedro Paulo A., Martin Hall, and Sian Jones, eds. *Historical Archaeology: Back from the Edge*. New York: Routledge, 1999.

Frankenberg, Ruth. *White Women, Race Matters: The Social Construction of Whiteness*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993.

Gaffield, Julia. "Haiti and Jamaica in the Remaking of the Early Nineteenth-Century Atlantic World." *The William and Mary Quarterly* vol. 69, 3 (July 2012): 583-614

Garner, Steve. *Whiteness: An Introduction*. London: Routledge, 2007.

Girard, Philippe R. "Jean-Jacques Dessalines and the Atlantic System: A Reappraisal." *The William and Mary Quarterly* vol. 69, 3 (July 2012): 549-582.

Grosz, Elizabeth. *Volatile Bodies: Towards a Corporeal Feminism*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994.

Hakewill, James. *A Picturesque Tour of the Island of Jamaica, from Drawings Made in the Years 1820 and 1821.* London: Kingston Press, 1825.

Hatt, Michael. "Making a Man of Him: Masculinity and the Black Body in Mid-Nineteenth-Century American Sculpture." In *Race-ing Art History: Critical Readings in Race and Art History,* ed. Kymberly N. Pinder, 191-216. New York: Routledge, 2002.

Heldke, Lisa, and Peg O'Connor, eds. *Oppression, Privilege and Resistance: Theoretical Perspectives on Racism, Sexism and Heterosexism*. Boston: McGraw Hill Publishers, 2004.

Higman, B. W. *Slave Population and Economy in Jamaica, 1807-1834*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976.

hooks, bell. *Ain't I a Woman: Black Women and Feminism*. London: Pluto Press, 1982.

Hulme, Peter. *Remnants of Conquest: The Island Caribs and their Visitors, 1877-1998*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Joseph, Valerie. "HOW THOMAS NELSON AND SONS' ROYAL READERS TEXTBOOKS HELPED INSTILL THE STANDARDS OF WHITENESS INTO COLONIZED BLACK CARIBBEAN SUBJECTS AND THEIR DESCENDENTS." *Transforming Anthropology* 20, no. 2 (2012): 146-158.

Klepp, Susan E. and Roderick A. McDonald. "Inscribing Experience: An American Working Woman and an English Gentlewoman Encounter Jamaica's Slave Society, 1801-1905." *The William and Mary Quarterly* Third Series, vol. 58, 3 (July 2001): 637-660.

Kriz, Kay Dian. *Slavery, Sugar, and the Culture of Refinement: Picturing the British West Indies, 1700-1840*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008.

Kriz, Kay Dian. *The Idea of the English Landscape Painter: Genius as Alibi in the Early Nineteenth-century*. London: Yale University Press, 1997.

Kuklick, Henrika, ed. *A New History of Anthropology*. Oxford: Blackwell, 2008.

Lalla, Barbara and Jean D'Costa. *Language in Exile: Three Hundred Years of Jamaica Creole*. Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 2009.

Lambert, David, and Alan Lester, eds. *Colonial Lives Across the British Empire: Imperial Careering in the Long Nineteenth-century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

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

Lazarus-Black, Mindie. *Legitimate Acts and Illegal Encounters: Law and Society in Antigua and Barbuda*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1994.

Lorde, Audre. "The Master's Tools Will Never Dismantle the Master's House." In *This Bridge Called my Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color*, edited by Cherríe Moraga and Gloria Anzaldúa, 98-106. New York: Kitchen Table Women of Colour Press, 1983.

Lux, William. *Historical Dictionary of the British Caribbean*. Metchen, N.J.: The Scarecrow Press Inc., 1975.

Martinot, Steve. *The Machinery of Whiteness: Studies in the Structure of Radicalization*. Temple University Press: Philadelphia, 2010.

McClintock, Anne, Aamir Mufti, and Ella Shohat, eds. *Dangerous Liaisons: Gender, Nation and Postcolonial Perspectives*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997.

McClintock, Anne. *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest*. New York: Routledge, 1995.

McGrath, Elizabeth, and Jean Michel Massing, eds. *The Slave in European Art: From Renaissance Trophy to Abolitionist Emblem*. London: The Warburg Institute - Nino Argano Editore, 2012.

McIntosh, Peggy. "White Privilege: Unpacking the Invisible Backpack." In *Understanding Prejudice and Discrimination*, edited by Scott Pious, 191-196. New York: McGraw-Hill, 2003 (originally published 1990).

Melzer, Sara E., and Kathryn Norberg, eds. *From the Royal to the Republican Body Incorporating the Political in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century France*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998.

Mintz, Sidney W., ed. *Slavery, Colonialism and Racism*. New York: W.W. Norton and Company Inc., 1975.

Mintz, Sidney W. *Three Ancient Colonies: Caribbean Themes and Variations*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010.

Mintz, Sidney W., and Sally Price, eds. *Caribbean Contours*. Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1985.

Mohanty, Chandra Talpade. "Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses." *boundary* vol. 2, 13 (1984): 333-358.

Mohammed, Patricia. *Imagining the Caribbean: Culture and Visual Translation*. Oxford: Macmillan Publishers Limited, 2009.

Morgan, Philip D. "The Cultural Implications of the Atlantic Slave Trade: African Regional Origins, American Destinations and New World Developments," in *Routes to Slavery: Direction, Ethnicity and Mortality in the Transatlantic Slave Trade, Studies in Slave and Post-Slave Societies and Cultures*, eds. David Eltis and David Richardson, 122-145. New York: Routledge, 1997.

Nelson, Charmaine A., ed. *Ebony Roots, Northern Soil: Perspectives on Blackness in Canada*. Newcastle Upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholar Publishing, 2010.

Nelson, Charmaine A. " 'I am the only woman!': The Racial Dimensions of Patriarchy and the Containment of White Women in James Hakewill's *A Picturesque Tour of the Island of Jamaica*... (1825)."*Journal of Trans Atlantic Studies*, Special Edition Blurring Boundaries: Race and Transatlantic Identities in Literature and Culture (forthcoming 2016).

Nelson, Charmaine A. "Imaging Slavery in Antigua and Jamaica: Pro-Slavery Discourse and the Reality of Enslavement." In *Slavery, Geography, and Empire in Nineteenth-Century Marine Landscapes of Montreal and Jamaica*, unpaginated. Surrey, UK: Ashgate Publishing, forthcoming 2016.

Nelson, Charmaine A. "Male or Man?: The Politics of Emancipation in the Neoclassical Imaginary." In *Companion to American Art*, eds. John Davis, Jennifer A. Greenhill and Jason D. LaFountain, 397-399. Oxford, UK: Blackwell, 2015.

Nelson, Charmaine A., *Representing the Black Female Subject in Western Art*. New York: Routledge, 2010.

Nelson, Charmaine A., "Representing the Enslaved African in Montreal." In *Slavery, Geography and Empire in Nineteenth-Century Marine Landscapes of Montreal and Jamaica*. Surrey, UK: Ashgate Publishing, forthcoming 2016.

Nelson, Charmaine A. "Resisting Invisibility: Black Faculty in Art and Art History in Canada." Canadian Federation for the Humanities and Social Sciences FedCan Blog, 3 March 2012.

Nelson, Charmaine A., "Sugar Cane, Slaves and Ships: Colonialism, Geography and Power in Nineteenth-Century Landscapes of Montreal." In *Living History: Encountering the Memory of the Heirs of Slavery*, ed. Ana Lucia Araujo, 19-56. Newcastle upon Tyne, United Kingdom: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009.

Nelson, Charmaine A. "Toppling the 'Great White North': Tales of a Black Female Professor in Canadian Academia." In *The Black Professoriate: Negotiating a Habitable Space,* eds. Sandra Jackson and Richard Gregory Johnson III, 108-134. New York: Peter Lang, 2011.

Ortega, Mariana. "Being Lovingly, Knowingly Ignorant: White Feminism and Women of Color." *Hypatia* vol. 21, no. 3 (Summer 2006): 56-74.

Owusu, Kwesi. *Black British Culture and Society: A Text-Reader*. New York: Routledge, 2000.

Olusoga, David. "The History of British Slave Ownership has been Buried: Now its Scale can be Revealed." *The Guardian*, 12 July 2015. Accessed January 25, 2016. http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jul/12/british-history-slavery-buried-scale-revealed.

Petley, Christer. *Slaveholders in Jamaica: Colonial Society and Culture During the Era of Abolition*. London: Pickering & Chatto, 2009.

Phillippo, James M. *Jamaica: Its Past and Present State*. London: J Snow, 1843.

Razack, Sherene. "What is to be Gained by Looking White People in the Eye? Culture, Race, and Gender in Cases of Sexual Violence." *Signs* Vol. 19 No. 4 (Summer 1994): 894-923.

Richardson, Bonham C. *Caribbean Migrants: Environment and Human Survival on St. Kitts and Nevis.* Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1983.

Riddell, William Renwick. "Le Code Noir." *The Journal of Negro History* 10, no. 3 (July 1925): 321-329.

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

Schaw, Janet. *Journal of a Lady of Quality; Being the Narrative of a Journey from Scotland to the West Indies, North Carolina, and Portugal, in the years 1774 to 1776*. Edited by Evangeline Walker Andrews and Charles McLean Andrews, Second Edition. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1934.

Shaw, Jenny. *Everyday Life in the Early English Caribbean: Irish, Africans, and the Construction of Difference*. London: The University of Georgia Press, 2013.

Shepherd, Verne, Bridget Brereton, and Barbara Bailey, eds. *Engendering History: Caribbean Women in Historical Perspective*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995.

Shepherd, Verene, and Hilary McD Beckles, eds. *Caribbean Slavery in the Atlantic World: A Student Reader*. Kingston: Ian Randle Publishers, 2000.

Skelly, Julia. "Representing Punishments for Dirt-Eating and Intoxication in Richard Bridgen's "West India Scenery, with Illustrations of Negro Character (1836)"." *RACAR: Canadian Art Review* 36, no. 2 (2011): 52-65.

Smith, Andrea. “Heteropatriarchy and the Three Pillars of White Supremacy: Rethinking Women of Color Organizing.” In *Color of Violence: the Incite! Anthology/ Incite! Women of Color Against Violence,* edited by Andrea Smith, Beth E. Richie and Julia Sudbury, 70-77. New York: South End Press, 2006.

Sontag, Susan. *Regarding the Pain of Others*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2003.

Sullivan, Shannon. *Revealing Whiteness: The Unconscious Habits of Racial Privilege*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2006.

Thomas, Sarah. "“On the spot”: Travelling artists and abolitionism, 1770-1830." *Atlantic Studies* 8, no. 2 (June 2011): 213-232.

Thompson, Krista A. *An Eye for the Tropics: Tourism, Photography, and Framing the Caribbean Picturesque*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2006.

Tobin, Beth Fowkes. *Colonizing Nature: the Tropics in British Arts and Letters, 1760-1820*. Philadelphia: PENN/University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005.

Tobin, Beth Fowkes. *Picturing Imperial Power: Colonial Subjects in Eighteenth-Century British Painting*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1999.

Underhill, Edward Bean. *Life of James Mursell Phillippo, Missionary in Jamaica*. London: Yates & Alexander, 1881.

Vasconcellos, Colleen A. *Slavery, Childhood and Abolition in Jamaica, 1788-1838*. Athens, GA: The University of Georgia Press, 2015.

West, Shearer, ed. *The Victorians and Race*. Aldershot, England: Scholar Press, 1996.

Wiegman, Robyn. *Object Lessons*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2012.

Williams, Eric, ed. *Documents on British West Indian History, 1807-1833*. Port-of-Spain, Trinidad: Trinidad Publishing Co. Ltd., 1952.

Williamson, Karina, ed. *Contrary Voices: Representations of West Indian Slavery, 1657-1834*. Jamaica: University of the West Indies Press, 2008.

Wood, Marcus. *Blind Memory: Visual Representation of Slavery in England and America 1780-1865.* New York: Routledge, 2000.

Wood, Marcus. *Slavery, Empathy and Pornography.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2002.

Wright, George Newenham Rev. *A New and Comprehensive Gazetteer: Being a Delineation of the Present State of the World, from the Most Recent Authorities, Arranged in Alphabetical Order, and Constituting a Systematic Dictionary of Geography*, vol. 5. London: Thomas Kelley, Paternoster Row, 1838.

Yale Center for British Art. "Elihu Yale; William Cavendish, the second Duke of Devonshire; Lord James Cavendish; Mr. Tunstal; and an Enslaved Servant." Accessed January 10, 2016. http://collections.britishart.yale.edu/vufind/Record/1665331.

Young, Robert J.C. *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race*. New York: Routledge, 1994.

Young, Robert J.C. *White Mythologies: Writing History and the West*. New York: Routledge, 2004.