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The Royal Navy in the Caribbean, 1756-1815

by

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Abstract

Intersecting the fields of naval, imperial and Caribbean history, this thesis examines the Royal Navy's interactions with the inhabitants of the British Caribbean islands between 1756 and 1815. Traditional histories of the Royal Navy in the Caribbean have focused on operational matters, producing narratives that neglect examination of the navy as a socio-cultural force in the region. This thesis aims to address this imbalance by focusing on the navy as a unique social group with multiple roles, which was a constant presence in the Caribbean during a particularly turbulent period at the height of the sugar industry. In conjunction with Catherine Hall's hypothesis that metropole and colony were 'mutually constitutive', the navy is placed at the centre of this study, as it was a powerful institution at the forefront of British imperialism that had a vested interest and connection to both the metropole and the Caribbean. It offers a new perspective that broadens our understanding of the navy and Caribbean society, as part of the wider Atlantic community.

Through the often overlooked personal narratives found in correspondence, journals, sketchbooks, and published memoirs of naval observers, this thesis explores how naval seamen represented and reflected upon their experiences and encounters with inhabitants of the Caribbean, highlighting their widespread integration and impact on the region, which previous studies have undervalued. With overlapping themes that engage with debates on empire, nation and identity, it argues that the navy was more than just a protective force as naval seamen were instrumental in the changing social and cultural landscape of the Caribbean, impacting both elite and non-elite communities. In exploring the navy's social prominence in the region, this thesis offers a textured view of both colonial society and the naval community.

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DECLARATION OF AUTHORSHIP

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Abbreviations

ABDN	University of Aberdeen, Special Collections – Archives and Manuscripts
ADM	Admiralty records
DRO	Derbyshire Record Office
GA	Gloucestershire Archives
LBS	Legacies of British Slave-ownership [database online <www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs>]
NLS	National Library of Scotland
NMM	National Maritime Museum, Greenwich
NMRN	National Museum of the Royal Navy, Portsmouth
ODNB	Oxford Dictionary of National Biography
TNA	The National Archives, Kew
V&A	Victoria and Albert Museum
WRO	Warwickshire Record Office

Introduction

Between 1756 and 1815, the colonies of the Caribbean were of prime economic importance to Britain. By the middle of the eighteenth century, sugar had transformed the Caribbean region and was Britain's largest and most valuable single import. Millions of Africans were enslaved and imported to the region to sustain the cultivation and production of sugar as part of a brutal plantation system ruled by a white minority. The increase in national wealth provided by the import and export market of the Caribbean colonies underpinned the economies of European powers, including Britain. The potential increase in economic wealth from greater land holding and increased sugar production informed European expansionist policy throughout the period.[1] This created a volatile environment in the Caribbean with European powers persistently looking to expand their colonial possessions. The Caribbean became the primary strategic focus of the British government, and the Royal Navy was the institution sent to protect and expand Britain's colonies in the region. This thesis therefore explores the Royal Navy as an arm of imperialism that extended to the Caribbean region at the height of the sugar industry and during a particularly turbulent period of European conflict.

Previous studies of the Royal Navy in the Caribbean during this period are limited to traditional approaches of naval history, focusing on operational matters and battles, and more recently administrative histories and biographies. However, in the wider context of naval history, the navy, as an institution, has received much greater scholarly interest in the last decade, which has produced new social and cultural approaches to presenting the history of the navy. These new approaches that inform this research, observe the navy as 'a social and cultural institution', which can help to explore the relationship between the navy and British society.[2] This thesis adopts this understanding of the navy as a social and cultural force and applies it to the navy's impact in the Caribbean region, and the extent to which the

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[1] J. R. Ward, 'The British West Indies in the Age of Abolition, 1748-1815', in *The Oxford History of the British Empire: The Eighteenth Century,* ed. by P. J. Marshall (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 415-421.

[2] Don Leggett, 'Review Essay: Navy, Nation and Identity in the Long Nineteenth Century', *Journal for Maritime Research*, 13, (2), 2011, p. 151.

undervalued narratives of naval observers can broaden our understanding of the relationship between Britain and the colonies.

Informed by Catherine Hall's rethinking of the cultural connection between Britain and its empire, and how British identities were constituted and shaped through encounters with foreign 'others' of the empire, this thesis offers a new perspective that broadens our understanding of the relation between Britain and empire.[3] The Royal Navy was a powerful institution at the forefront of British imperialism, with a strong identity that was intimately connected to notions of Britishness. Therefore, by placing the navy at the centre of the study, the thesis offers a unique perspective from a section of British society on issues on identity, empire and race, as the Royal Navy had a vested interest and connection to both the metropole and the Caribbean.

This thesis offers insights into the white colonists' relationship with Britain. Exploring how this elite community interacted with the navy, it strengthens claims that the white inhabitants saw themselves as proud colonial Britons. It therefore asks whether the navy's constant presence impacted colonial society and made a difference to the way the white elite perceived themselves as British subjects and their vision of empire. Furthermore, this thesis enhances our understanding of the Royal Navy's identity and 'self-image', as defined by Margarette Lincoln. It will therefore build on Lincoln's research, which analyses different social groups, their relationship to the navy and their attitudes towards the navy, by examining a new social group, Caribbean society.[4]

The Caribbean

This thesis focuses on the Caribbean, which was at the centre of the Atlantic economy in the eighteenth century producing luxury items that were becoming accessible and attainable to the masses. The largest and most valuable of Britain's colonial imports from the Caribbean was sugar. Sugar contributed to

[3] Catherine Hall, *Civilising Subjects: Metropole and Colony in the English Imagination, 1830-1867*, (Cambridge: Polity, 2002).
[4] Margarette Lincoln, *Representing the Royal Navy: British Sea Power, 1750-1815*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002).

an average share of 18.53 per cent of total British trade from 1758 to 1817, reaching its peak at the beginning of the nineteenth century with a total share of close to 21 per cent from 1803 to 1812.[5] Export figures from the Caribbean to Britain further illustrate this with an increase of 41,425 tons of sugar exported in c. 1748 (to England and Wales) to 164,859 tons by c. 1815.[6] To the British, sugar was the most important crop and together with its by-products, molasses and rum, accounted for no less than 80 per cent of all exports from the British Caribbean in 1770.[7] Unlike the French and Dutch who diversified their plantations to cultivate new crops, such as coffee, cotton, dye, cocoa and tobacco, British planters never succeeded at the same level and these alternatives were always the 'poor relations' to sugar.[8] The profits from sugar sales not only funded the planters' lavish lifestyles and supported the growth and expansion of the sugar industry in the Caribbean through re-investment in land, equipment and slaves, but the profits also impacted Britain's own export market. Britain's total increase in annual recorded exports to the Caribbean and Africa rose by 27.5 per cent between 1746 to 1750, and 1771 to 1775. This increase in exports provided opportunity for manufacturers to export home-produced products to a wider market and it provided employment opportunities in industrial regions in Britain.[9]

Sugar was a hugely valuable crop, vital not only to Britain's economy but also to its populace, and by the second-half of the eighteenth century sugar had become a staple of the British diet.[10] The continual increase in the importation of sugar throughout the eighteenth century demonstrates an increasing demand and rise in consumption in Britain. Consumption increased from around 4 lb per head per annum from 1700 to 1709, up to approximately

[5] Seymour Drescher, *Econocide: British Slavery in the Era of Abolition*, 2nd edn, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), p. 19.
[6] Noel Deerr, *The History of Sugar*, vol 1, (London: Chapman & Hall, 1949), pp. 193-198; Lowell Joseph Ragatz, *Statistics for the Study of British Caribbean Economic History 1763-1833*, (London: Bryan Edwards Press, 1928), p. 20 cited in Ward, 'The British West Indies in the Age of Abolition, 1748-1815', p. 429.
[7] Ralph Davis, *The Rise of the Atlantic Economics*, (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1973), p. 261 cited in Simon Smith, 'Sugar's Poor Relation: Coffee Planting in the British West Indies, 1720-1833', in *The Slavery Reader,* ed. by Gad Heuman and James Walvin (London; New York: Routledge, 2003), p. 175.
[8] David Eltis and Stanley L. Engerman, 'The Importance of Slavery and the Slave Trade to Industrializing Britain', *The Journal of Economic History*, 60, (1), 2000, pp. 130-131; Smith, 'Sugar's Poor Relation: Coffee Planting in the British West Indies, 1720-1833', pp. 175-193.
[9] David Richardson, 'The Slave Trade, Sugar, and British Economic Growth, 1748-1776', *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 17, (4), 1987, pp. 762-769.
[10] Richard B. Sheridan, *Sugar and Slavery; an Economic History of the British West Indies, 1623-1775*, (Barbados: Caribbean Universites Press, 1974), p. 21.

18 lb by the beginning of the nineteenth century (1800 to 1809).[11] This 400 per cent increase in consumption over a century shows how versatile and necessary sugar became. This rise in use meant most of the sugar imported from the British Caribbean islands was consumed in Britain, with some also shipped to North America. On the eve of the American Revolution in 1775, it is estimated Britain consumed between 80 and 85 per cent of the total export of sugar from the British Caribbean islands, with much of the re-exported sugar shipped to Ireland.[12]

The value put on the sugar industry meant protection of the British Caribbean colonies was vital to safeguard the British economy. The national wealth that derived from Caribbean trade meant the region was a constant theatre of war. European powers jostled for more land to increase sugar production and establish strategic positions in the region that could aid expansion in North America and increase trade links. The investment in the settlement of the Caribbean by European powers meant conflict of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries directly impacted the Caribbean region. European powers could easily take possession of a neighbouring foreign island if war erupted. This was true of the French islands of Guadeloupe and Martinique, which were seized by the British during the Seven Years War and again during the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic period.[13] The eighteenth century was therefore a particularly turbulent period in the Caribbean, with only brief periods of peace between the Seven Years War and the onset of the American Revolution, and before the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars.

Only the Royal Navy could protect Britain's empire in the Caribbean. The navy provided the resources necessary to sustain the sugar industry enabling it to grow and expand, not only in its participation in the Atlantic slave trade and protection of trade routes and vessels, but also providing island protection from a constant threat of foreign invasion. The sugar islands were also dependent on the strength of Britain's navy due to the geographical spread of

[11] Noel Deerr, *The History of Sugar*, vol 2, (London: Chapman & Hall, 1950), p. 532.
[12] Selwyn H. H. Carrington, *The Sugar Industry and the Abolition of the Slave Trade, 1775-1810*, (Gainesville, Fla.: University Press of Florida, 2003), p. 92; Jacob M. Price, 'The Imperial Economy', in *The Oxford History of the British Empire: The Eighteenth Century,* ed. by P. J. Marshall (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 92; Sheridan, *Sugar and Slavery*, p. 25.
[13] Alan Burns, *History of the British West Indies*, 2 edn, (London: Allen and Unwin, 1965), pp. 486-487, 570-573, 587-588.

Britain's possessions in the region. The British Caribbean islands were interspersed with islands owned by other European powers, including the French and Spanish. Therefore, the British colonists were not only dependent on Britain for capital, to establish plantations and the monopoly of the British market, but they were also heavily reliant on Britain to provide protection against foreign invasion in the form of the Royal Navy.[14]

The largest and most valuable of the British Caribbean islands that the navy was sent to protect was Jamaica. By the third quarter of the eighteenth century, Jamaica had established itself as the most productive and therefore most important island of British colonies. It was home to the wealthiest planters in the Caribbean and was 'as important to Britain in terms of wealth as a large British county'.[15] Jamaican planters who possessed much of the riches of the region not only held power within Caribbean society, but also significant political influence in Britain.[16] Most recently, historian, Trevor Burnard, estimated the capital stock of Jamaica at the height of its prosperity in 1774 at nearer £27 million sterling, a 50 per cent increase on Richard Sheridan's estimates published in the 1970s.[17]

With Jamaica's increasing economic value and its strategic location came increased threat of attack. Between 1779 and the Battle of the Saintes in 1782, the threat of a combined French and Spanish invasion of Jamaica was very real. Although there was relative peace following 1782, the Caribbean again became a theatre of war with the onset of the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars in 1793. This conflict with France was yet another opportunity for Britain to implement its expansionist policy in the Caribbean. However, the British islands were also under threat from French attack, with Jamaica being the primary target. Jamaica was vulnerable not only as Britain's largest and most valuable possession, but it was detached from British owned islands in the east of the Caribbean, which included, amongst others, Barbados, Antigua, Dominica, Grenada, St Kitts and Nevis. Jamaica was also split from the British islands of the Lesser Antilles by the largest islands in the Caribbean owned by

[14] Andrew Jackson O'Shaughnessy, *An Empire Divided: The American Revolution and the British Caribbean*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), pp. 58-62.
[15] Trevor Burnard, ''Prodigious Riches': The Wealth of Jamaica before the American Revolution', *The Economic History Review,* 54, (3), 2001, pp. 507-508; Trevor Burnard, 'Et in Arcadia Ego: West Indian Planters in Glory, 1674–1784', *Atlantic Studies,* 9, (1), 2012, p. 22, 34.
[16] Sheridan, *Sugar and Slavery*, pp. 58-71.
[17] Burnard, ''Prodigious Riches'', pp. 507-508; Sheridan, *Sugar and Slavery*.

the French and Spanish, both nations with formidable naval power due to their vast trade in the region.[18]

Britain soon learned that if the Royal Navy lost command of the sea, the colonies would be lost. This was experienced at the loss of Yorktown, which was due to lack of naval resources and led to the eventual loss of the thirteen colonies during the American Revolution.[19] The importance of the British Caribbean islands and the protection they required meant the navy had to establish strategic bases to assert authority and its command over the region. This is illustrated by the establishment of two naval stations, both with a naval commander-in-chief. The Leeward Islands station was established as an independent station in 1744, with naval bases at Antigua and Barbados, which were vital for refitting and supplying British ships with water and supplies.[20] The Jamaica station established itself at the centre of naval operations in the Caribbean. Kingston harbour and the naval base at Port Royal were described by sailor, William Spavens, as 'being the arsenal for the King's naval stores, together with a good yard and wharf for heaving down ships of any rate', therefore of 'greatest national importance'.[21] The dockyard steadily expanded from the end of the Seven Years War to 1815. This expansion was in line with Jamaica's increasing dominance as the most valuable of the British Caribbean islands, which increased the need for a dockyard that could service a greater number of ships and more sizable vessels to protect the island and convoy a larger quantity of imports and exports.[22]

Although the Royal Navy's dominance in the region has received scholarly attention with regards to the battles and the internal administration of the navy as an institution, research has often only focused on the Caribbean due to the frequent European conflict and the region as a theatre of war.[23] There is still no in-depth analysis of the navy and its personal interactions with the region in

[18] Ward, 'The British West Indies in the Age of Abolition, 1748-1815', pp. 419-421.
[19] O'Shaughnessy, *An Empire Divided*, pp. 230-232.
[20] Duncan Crewe, *Yellow Jack and the Worm: British Naval Administration in the West Indies, 1739-1748*, (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1993), p. 8.
[21] William Spavens, *The Narrative of William Spavens, a Chatham Pensioner: A Unique Lower Deck View of the Navy of the Seven Years War. Introduction by N. A. M. Rodger*, (London: Chatham, 1998), p. 125.
[22] Michael Pawson and David Buisseret, *Port Royal, Jamaica*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), p. 134.
[23] Michael Duffy, *Soldiers, Sugar and Seapower: The British Expeditions to the West Indies and the War against Revolutionary France*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987); Richard Harding, *Amphibious Warfare in the Eighteenth Century: The British Expedition to the West Indies, 1740-1742*, (Suffolk: Boydell Press, 1991); Geoff Ward, 'A Shift in Focus: The Shift in Naval Warfare in the Caribbean During the Eighteenth Century', *History in Action,* 2, (2), 2011, pp. 1-8.

this period, despite the fact that its presence was constant and dominant. This thesis aims to fill this gap and demonstrate the value of the evaluating the navy *in* the colonial landscape and its interactions with the different communities of the British owned islands.

The Royal Navy and British identity, 1756-1815

As its starting point, this thesis examines the period of the Seven Years War, which was a turning point for the Royal Navy. Just days into the war, Admiral Byng's overly cautious assessment of the French threat to the island of Minorca led to Byng's arrest, court martial, and eventual execution. Although a combination of factors led to the loss of Minorca to the French, including the state of the fleet, Admiral Byng was accused of not doing his duty to engage the French. Byng's mission was to prevent the French from capturing Port Mahon, yet because Byng believed Minorca was already lost, his mission was not achieved. Byng was court-martialled, accused of failing to 'do his utmost', and was executed by firing squad in 1757. The consequence of Byng's execution, for his perceived cowardice rather than caution, changed the mentality of naval officers who succeeded him. As N. A. M. Rodger has determined, it 'reinforced a culture of aggressive determinism'.[24] The danger of attacking the enemy, even if tactically unstable, far outweighed the consequence of not attacking. One young lieutenant is recorded to have said, 'a fellow has now no chance of promotion unless he jumps into the muzzle of a gun and crawls out of the touch-hole'.[25] Therefore, the remaining years of the Seven Years War which followed Byng's execution became the playing field for Royal Navy officers to collectively reclaim their honour and lost public faith.

The Seven Years War was a global conflict, and with the Caribbean at the centre of the global economy, the Caribbean Sea became a theatre of war dominated by naval battles. It raised the profile of the Royal Navy as it grew in size and dominance throughout the conflict. The navy had reasserted itself as crucial to the nation's safety and the expansion of empire. As Rodger argues,

[24] N. A. M. Rodger, *The Command of the Ocean: A Naval History of Britain, 1649-1815*, (London: Penguin in association with the NMM, 2004), p. 272.
[25] Thomas Byam Martin, *Letters and Papers of Admiral of the Fleet Sir Thomas Byam Martin, G.C.B.*, vol 1, (London: Navy Records Society, 1903), p. 66.

the myth of British naval supremacy became a reality during the Seven Years War, with substantial land gains overseas and renewed public faith in the Royal Navy.[26] Its identity was now intimately connected to the notions of honour, patriotic duty and loyalty. The fighting in the Caribbean also shifted the public's focus towards the colonies and their value to Britain. These distant British islands now became entrenched in the public consciousness. The Seven Years War was 'a national triumph' with territorial gains in the Caribbean, India and West Africa that greatly pleased the public.[27] Upon peace in 1763, Britain had returned the French Caribbean colonies of Martinique and Guadeloupe, but had claimed Canada, which was a significant achievement.

Britain's national importance was defined by the strength of its trading network and naval power.[28] As Kathleen Wilson notes, in the eighteenth century, the nation's power shifted to those who pursued the 'national, imperial interest', who were responsible for Britain's economic strength and therefore its national significance, those of the 'trading and commercial classes' including merchants and professionals of the middle class. These individuals were required to be 'assertive, forceful, disciplined' and 'capable of resisting luxury and entitlements in order to make the nation strong', asserting a new definition of 'manliness' over the 'effeminacy' associated with the those who threatened Britain's objective as a global trading empire, the French and the aristocracy.[29] British society therefore rejected aristocratic effeminacy and defined manliness in line with the patriotic men who shaped and defended the empire.

The changing concept of masculinity, defined by Britain's national importance as a trading empire, meant naval officers became a 'desirable masculine model', as Britain's trading power depended on its naval dominance.[30] The navy protected Britain's national importance and defended British liberty, even though most seamen were restricted in their own freedom

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[26] Rodger, *The Command of the Ocean*, pp. 272-290.
[27] Ibid. p. 283.
[28] Jack P. Greene, 'Empire and Identity from the Glorious Revolution to the American Revolution', in *The Oxford History of the British Empire: The Eighteenth Century,* ed. by P. J. Marshall (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 215-216.
[29] Kathleen Wilson, *The Sense of the People: Politics, Culture and Imperialism in England, 1715-1785*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 202.
[30] Amy Miller, *Dressed to Kill: British Naval Uniform, Masculinity and Contemporary Fashions, 1748-1857*, (London: NMM, 2007), p. 37.

when confined to naval vessels.[31] It was this sacrifice that increased the admiration and appeal of the navy and enforced its patriotism and manliness, serving Britain for the good of the country. The system of patronage, which allowed for promotion on merit and the possibility of prize money, increased the navy's appeal as an attractive career for young men. The introduction of uniformed livery for officers from 1748, which continued throughout the eighteenth century to keep abreast of contemporary fashion of the period, increased the navy's visibility and 'distinguished the service', further capturing the public's imagination and their support.[32]

However, there is a disjunction between the portrayal of the Royal Navy as the epitome of 'Britishness', of loyalty, honour, liberty and grace, and the experience of many naval seamen. Although naval officers had to prove their loyalty, especially in the aftermath of Byng's execution, the lower-ranking sailors were often seen as outsiders, as their distinct maritime culture distinguished them from British society. This created a 'two-fold' identity between the gentlemanly officers, careful to portray an honourable image of 'Britishness' through courage in decisions and actions, and the ordinary sailors, who were so dissimilar to landsmen in their culture. This maritime community formed their own culture through language and songs, ceremonies and their own adopted uniform, which decisively distinguished them from landsmen.[33] However, as Linda Colley states, institutionalisation, military propaganda and war created solidarity amongst those in the army and navy to the homeland.[34] Further to this, Margarette Lincoln argues the 'rigid communities' on the isolated warships, and the cross-section of British society enforced into the navy via press gangs, created a 'common identity'.[35] It was this 'common identity' and solidarity to Britain that was part of the navy's collective identity. Naval officers therefore represented the British national

[31] Lincoln, *Representing the Royal Navy*, p. 14.
[32] Ibid. p. 3; Miller, *Dressed to Kill*, p. 37.
[33] Lincoln, *Representing the Royal Navy*, pp. 9-10; N. A. M. Rodger, *The Wooden World: An Anatomy of the Georgian Navy*, (London: Collins, 1986), p. 64, 118.
[34] Linda Colley, 'Britishness and Otherness: An Argument', *Journal of British Studies,* 31, (4), 1992, p. 322; Leggett, 'Review Essay: Navy, Nation and Identity in the Long Nineteenth Century', p. 154.
[35] Lincoln, *Representing the Royal Navy*, p. 5.

identity the white elite of the Caribbean was so keen to uphold, as seen in case studies of planters such as Simon Taylor.[36]

Colley argues that the collective British national identity was 'not because of any political or cultural consensus at home', but was in 'conscious opposition to the Other beyond their shores', borrowing from Edward Said's study of the 'self' and 'other' in *Orientalism* (1978).[37] In the eighteenth century, this 'conscious opposition' was associated with religious difference, with British Protestantism pitted against European Catholicism, and cemented through successive wars, which created a defined 'solidarity' to the home nation and an 'awareness of "us" as against "them"'.[38] National identity was a process that, although defined by shared cultures, 'government, institutions and language', was essentially shaped by 'racialized assumptions' of Britishness that were not 'naturalizable'.[39] However, eighteenth-century discourse that defined Britain as the 'superior Island Race' to the Catholic European 'other', such as France and Spain, was undermined by the island communities of white British colonists in the Caribbean, who considered themselves British, but who were detached from the homeland geographically and resided in an exotic unfamiliar territory within a multiracial population.[40] These colonies were not considered part of the foreign European 'other', but were equally kept distant from the superior 'island race' of 'self', as although the homeland was willing to benefit from the produce and profits of the Caribbean, the institution of slavery and interracial relationships were not conducive to 'racialized assumptions' of Britishness. The desire of the colonists to uphold a British national identity was therefore tested with the expansion of empire and new 'multiracial frontiers'.[41]

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[36] For study on Simon Taylor and Jamaica, see Christer Petley, '"Home" and "This Country": Britishness and Creole Identity in the Letters of a Transatlantic Slaveholder', *Atlantic Studies,* 6, (1), 2009, pp. 43-61; Christer Petley, ''Devoted Islands' and 'That Madman Wilberforce': British Proslavery Patriotism During the Age of Abolition', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History,* 39, (3), 2011, pp. 393-415; For study on Leeward Islands strong identitifcation with the metropole, see Natalie Zacek, *Settler Society in the English Leeward Islands, 1670-1776*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

[37] Colley, 'Britishness and Otherness: An Argument', p. 316; Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837*, (London: Pimlico, 2003), p. 6; Leggett, 'Review Essay: Navy, Nation and Identity in the Long Nineteenth Century', p. 154; Edward W. Said, *Orientalism*, (London: Penguin, 2003).

[38] Colley, 'Britishness and Otherness: An Argument', p. 316, 322.

[39] Kathleen Wilson, *The Island Race: Englishness, Empire, and Gender in the Eighteenth Century*, (London: Routledge, 2003), p. 13.

[40] Ibid.

[41] Ibid. p. 6, 13.

This shift in British attitudes towards the colonies created tension between the British public and the colonists of the Caribbean, which began to increase during the last quarter of the eighteenth century. The loss of the North American colonies after the American Revolution changed the whole dynamic of island life in the Caribbean.[42] It put pressure on the plantocracy to rely on local trade within the colonies and with Britain, Ireland and Canada, as imports from America were heavily restricted and taxes increased. There was also increasing pressure on the local elite to ameliorate plantation conditions for their slaves, in response to changing metropolitan opinions of slavery.[43] The rise in support for abolition was stimulated by the formation of the Society for Effecting the Abolition of the Slave Trade. The Society increased the distribution of abolitionist propaganda in the form of pamphlets and published memoirs, such as Olaudah Equiano's biography in 1789.[44] The increased focus on the Caribbean and its plantation regime, as well as a rise in public consciousness with regards to slavery, put increasing pressure on planters to implement reforms.

The British public began to increase their detachment from those who profited from slavery by portraying planters as degenerate vulgar people who were 'un-English'.[45] Ideas that exposure to the Caribbean climate and interaction with people of colour led to degeneracy were used as mechanisms in portrayals of white colonists to disconnect those at home from those in the Caribbean. This was also strengthened by absentee planters living extravagant lifestyles in Britain off the profits of their plantations. However, the colonists of the Caribbean considered themselves part of an 'extended British community', which, although self-governing, upheld a political framework and an organised system of governance in accordance with British notions of elected assemblies and laws.[46]

The widening gap the British public observed, between themselves and the white inhabitants of the Caribbean colonies, was also facilitated by the

[42] See O'Shaughnessy, *An Empire Divided*.
[43] For study on amelioration, see J. R. Ward, *British West Indian Slavery, 1750-1834: The Process of Amelioration*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988).
[44] For study on the British abolitionist movement, see Adam Hochschild, *Bury the Chains: The British Struggle to Abolish Slavery*, (London: Macmillan, 2005).
[45] David Lambert, *White Creole Culture, Politics and Identity During the Age of Abolition*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 12.
[46] Petley, ''Devoted Islands' and 'That Madman Wilberforce'', p. 397.

colonists' embrace of manners and customs as part of their emerging 'creole' identity. Edward Brathwaite's concept of 'creolization', as the new culture to have formed from the interaction of both African and European cultures in the Caribbean, undermined the British national identity the white elites were so keen to uphold.[47] Brathwaite's study, as well as the works of Richard Burton on creole slave culture and David Lambert's study of white creole culture, have all shown that creolization was not a 'homogenizing process, but rather a process of contention, between racial and social groups' producing distinctive cultures through 'cultural loss, cultural retention and reinterpretation, cultural imitation and borrowing, and cultural creation'.[48] Brathwaite stated that the colonial status of those in the Caribbean affected the process of creolization, for 'at every step, it seems, the creatively "creole" elements of the society were being rendered ineffective by the more reactionary "colonial"'.[49] The process of creolization was undermined by the planters' link to the motherland and their British imperial identity, which could be directly linked to the influence and constant presence of the Royal Navy in the Caribbean.

The Royal Navy's role shifted in the Caribbean, from protecting to policing with the abolition of the slave trade in 1807 and changing metropolitan attitudes towards the colonies. The French Revolution also gave rise to more instability in the Caribbean with increased slave uprisings, culminating in the slave rebellion of St Domingue, increasing the white elite's reliance on the navy for protection. The fierce naval battles of the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars again recaptured the public's imagination and admirals became national heroes in their victories against the most distinguished 'other', the French. This thesis ends in 1815, subsequent to the abolition of the slave trade and at the start of a long period of peace time that shifted the navy's prominence as a national imperial force.

[47] Edward Brathwaite, *The Development of Creole Society in Jamaica, 1770-1820*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), pp. 296-305.
[48] Richard D. E. Burton, *Afro-Creole: Power, Opposition, and Play in the Caribbean*, (Ithaca, N.Y.; London: Cornell University Press, 1997), pp. 5-6; Lambert, *White Creole Culture, Politics and Identity During the Age of Abolition*.
[49] Brathwaite, *The Development of Creole Society in Jamaica, 1770-1820*, p. 100.

Historiography, sources and thesis structure

Although the Caribbean was important to the British, Atlantic and global economy, the navy's relationship with the British Caribbean islands beyond operational history has long been ignored by historians. Naval operations in the eighteenth century are well-documented since the revival of the historiography of naval history in the 1970s, when naval history was reclaimed by academic historians. Writing in 1999, prominent naval historian, N. A. M. Rodger, claimed the period to be the 'golden age of naval history', when 'the quantity and quality of naval history published…hugely increased'.[50] There had long been an imbalance between the constant growth and expansion of the military history of the army and the dearth of naval history, which often lacked academic rigour and public interest. Military histories of the navy, focussing on naval operations, technical histories, the navy's role in imperial expansion, and biographies of the main personalities, have been constantly growing since this revival. Although operational histories of the navy in the Caribbean are part of this revival in conjunction with the growth of history on the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, there is still a gap in the current literature beyond operations.

The revival of social history, in the form of 'history from below', since the 1960s has not given focus to a social history of the navy in the Caribbean. It did invigorate social histories of the navy more generally, particularly research on the lower decks with naval historians, Peter Kemp, N. A. M. Rodger, and Dudley Pope, publishing seminal texts that concentrate on the period subsequent to the Seven Years War.[51] These social histories provide invaluable discussion on the social hierarchy and infrastructure on board a Royal Navy vessel and provide an understanding of the everyday lives of sailors. Within the context of the Caribbean, military history has progressed with Roger Norman Buckley publishing a social history of the British army in the Caribbean.[52] Often social histories of the navy in the Caribbean are only accessible via biographies, providing insight into the lives of individuals, none

[50] N. A. M. Rodger, 'Recent Books on the Royal Navy of the Eighteenth Century', *The Journal of Military History,* 63, (3), 1999, p. 684.
[51] See Peter Kemp, *The British Sailor: A Social History of the Lower Deck*, (London: Dent, 1970); Dudley Pope, *Life in Nelson's Navy*, (Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press, 1981); Rodger, *The Wooden World*.
[52] Roger Norman Buckley, *The British Army in the West Indies: Society and the Military in the Revolutionary Age*, (Gainesville, Fla.: University Press of Florida, 1998).

more so than Nelson, whose biographies have continued to be published and popularised in the media, some focusing on his time stationed in the Caribbean.[53] One of the aims of this thesis is to fill this historiographical gap in the social history of the navy.

More recently economic naval history has contributed to a revival of published work on the navy in the eighteenth century with an increased focus on naval administration and infrastructure.[54] By reassessing official naval records, projects such as the naval victualling study led by Roger Knight and Martin Wilcox, which culminated in *Sustaining the Fleet, 1793-1815: War, the British Navy and the Contractor State* (2010), have further enhanced our understanding of the navy's infrastructure and its efficiency. It has also contributed to the wider debate on the navy's economic impact on Britain, through studying the state's interaction with the private sector, integrating naval history into the wider national economic debate.[55]

As Rodger comments in his historiographical review of publications on the eighteenth-century Royal Navy, 'there is still much to be done to integrate naval history into the broad stream of historical studies, so many of which are impoverished if not completely undermined by a failure to consider their naval dimension'.[56] This interest in integrating naval history into the wider context of British national history has been strengthened recently by cultural studies on the representation of the navy and the navy's relationship with British

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[53] See Terry Coleman, *The Nelson Touch: The Life and Legend of Horatio Nelson*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); Christopher Hibbert, *Nelson: A Personal History*, (London: Penguin, 1995); Roger Knight, *The Pursuit of Victory: The Life and Achievement of Horatio Nelson*, (New York: Basic Books, 2005); Andrew Lambert, *Nelson: Britannia's God of War*, (London: Faber & Faber, 2005); Nicholas Harris Nicolas, *The Dispatches and Letters of Vice Admiral Lord Viscount Nelson, with Notes by Sir Nicholas Harris Nicolas, 1777 to 1794*, vol 1, (London: Henry Colburn, 1845); Carola Oman, *Nelson*, (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1946); Tom Pocock, *Nelson's Women*, (London: André Deutsch, 1999); John Sugden, *Nelson: A Dream of Glory*, (London: Pimlico, 2005); John Sugden, *Nelson: The Sword of Albion*, (London: The Bodley Head, 2012).

[54] See David Hancock, 'Government Contracting: "A Work of Hercules"', in *Citizens of the World: London Merchants and the Integration of the British Atlantic Community, 1735-1785,* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 221-239; Janet Macdonald, *Feeding Nelson's Navy: The True Story of Food at Sea in the Georgian Era*, (London: Chatham Publishing, 2004); Janet Macdonald, *The British Navy's Victualling Board, 1793-1815: Management Competence and Incompetence*, (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2010); Roger Morriss, *The Foundations of British Maritime Ascendancy: Resources, Logistics and the State, 1755-1815*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

[55] R. J. B. Knight and Martin Howard Wilcox, *Sustaining the Fleet, 1793-1815: War, the British Navy and the Contractor State*, (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2010).

[56] Rodger, 'Recent Books on the Royal Navy of the Eighteenth Century', p. 684.

society.[57] Although Rodger has reservations regarding 'the latest "cultural" approach' to naval history that analyses the navy not only as a 'socio-cultural symbol…but also a socio-cultural force', this new emphasis has reinvigorated naval research and created new interest and importance in the navy's role in shaping and representing British identity.[58] These new approaches to naval research, on areas considered 'too important to be left to the naval historians',[59] have been continually dismissed due to an 'ignorance of naval life' that does not consider or fully understand the technological history of the navy.[60]

In contrast to Rodger's approach to naval history, which is technologically and operationally focused, this thesis aims to expand upon the new socio-cultural approaches to naval history to build upon the body of literature on the operational history of the Royal Navy in the Caribbean. It goes beyond the battles, the securing of islands and mapping out the everyday lives of lower-ranking sailors on board. By placing the Royal Navy's reflections and responses to the Caribbean at the centre of the study, this thesis demonstrates the navy was a socio-cultural force. It was a force that not only impacted the social and cultural landscape of the Caribbean, but assisted in shaping the construction of British national identity, connecting the planters to Britain and strengthening their feelings of national belonging. The thesis therefore explores the neglected 'naval dimension' of Caribbean and imperial history.

Within Caribbean history, Eric Williams encouraged a shift away from traditional imperial history and 'Eurocentric' perspectives of the Caribbean in *Capitalism & Slavery* (1944), which emphasized the economic contribution of the Caribbean to Europe and its role in the growth of modern capitalism.[61] This 'imperial turn' has contributed to theories of nation, as well as transnational and Atlantic studies, and has generated discourse on the lives of marginalised groups that has been crucial to Caribbean history. It has led to

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[57] See Mary A. Conley, *From Jack Tar to Union Jack: Representing Naval Manhood in the British Empire, 1870-1918*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009); Isaac Land, *War, Nationalism, and the British Sailor, 1750-1850*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009); Lincoln, *Representing the Royal Navy*.
[58] Leggett, 'Review Essay: Navy, Nation and Identity in the Long Nineteenth Century', p. 152.
[59] Land, *War, Nationalism, and the British Sailor, 1750-1850*, p. 10 cited in ibid. pp. 152-153.
[60] N. A. M. Rodger, 'Historiographical Review: Recent Work in British Naval History, 1750-1815', *The Historical Journal,* 51, (3), 2008, pp. 748-749.
[61] Selwyn H. H. Carrington, 'Capitalism & Slavery and Caribbean Historiography: An Evaluation', *The Journal of African American History,* 88, (3), 2003, p. 304; Eric Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1944).

an explosion of scholarly interest in slaves' agency through resistance and rebellion, as well as slave culture and economy.[62] A wave of 'new imperial histories' that have revived debates on empire, nation and identity by looking to the colonies, the lives of the colonised and their contribution in shaping Britain and empire, has been greatly enhanced by cultural historians, Catherine Hall, Kathleen Wilson, Linda Colley, and Antoinette Burton.[63]

This thesis contributes to these recent debates on identity, Britishness and empire that explore the colonies and metropole as mutually constitutive, as it explores a powerful institution at the forefront of British imperialism with a vested interest and connection to both the metropole and the colonies. These debates argue that identity formation was part of the process of interactions and encounters between the colonies and the metropole, with identity enforced by institutions.[64] The colonies of the Caribbean 'would become increasingly significant in defining what it meant to be…British'.[65] This study therefore points to the debates on empire, nation and identity by exploring naval responses to the colonial population, as well as Caribbean responses to the navy, offering insight into the relationship between Britain and the colonies.

This thesis is therefore placed at the intersection of three fields of scholarship: naval, Caribbean and Atlantic/imperial history. These three fields form the methodological framework of this study. With regard to naval history, this thesis is positioned within the new socio-cultural scholarship on the navy. The plantation focus of Caribbean history will be expanded by exploring the overlooked social group of the navy, which represented British identity and was

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[62] See, for example, Hilary Beckles, 'An Economic Life of Their Own: Slaves as Commodity Producers and Distributors in Barbados', in *The Slavery Reader,* ed. by Gad Heuman and James Walvin (London: Routledge, 2003); Ira Berlin and Philip D. Morgan, 'The Slaves' Economy: Independent Production by Slaves in the Americas', (London: Frank Cass, 1991); Gad J. Heuman, *Out of the House of Bondage: Runaways, Resistance and Marronage in Africa and the New World*, (London: Cass, 1986); Gad J. Heuman and David Vincent Trotman, 'Contesting Freedom: Control and Resistance in the Post-Emancipation Caribbean', in *Warwick University Caribbean Studies,* (Oxford: Macmillan Caribbean, 2005); Sidney W. Mintz, 'The Origins of the Jamaican Market System', in *The Slavery Reader,* ed. by Gad Heuman and James Walvin (London; New York: Routledge, 2003).

[63] See Antoinette M. Burton, *After the Imperial Turn: Thinking with and through the Nation*, (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2003); Colley, 'Britishness and Otherness: An Argument'; Colley, *Britons*; Hall, *Civilising Subjects*; Wilson, *The Sense of the People*; Wilson, *The Island Race*; Kathleen Wilson, 'A New Imperial History: Culture, Identity, and Modernity in Britain and the Empire, 1660-1840', (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

[64] Hall, *Civilising Subjects*, p. 8.

[65] Greene, 'Empire and Identity from the Glorious Revolution to the American Revolution', p. 208.

the white elite's direct link to the metropole. The navy interacted, as this thesis demonstrates, with the white elite and non-elite communities of free people of colour and the enslaved. Yet, the navy's contribution to Caribbean society, both socially and culturally, has been overlooked, often only mentioned as peripheral interactions with minimal impact, such as the interactions with prostitutes in port taverns. Scholars working in these fields can learn from each other, as this thesis demonstrates. Not only can naval history be more expansive by exploring the navy as a force for social and cultural change, but the rich resources of the navy must be further explored and a naval dimension incorporated and brought to the forefront of Caribbean and imperial history.

This thesis goes beyond the official institutional records of the Royal Navy, such as Admiralty correspondence that has greatly informed operational, administrative and political histories of the period, and examines the narratives of naval observers. Based on archival research at the National Maritime Museum, and national and county archives across the UK, this thesis uncovers new unpublished personal testimonies and observations of naval observers found in correspondence, journals and sketchbooks. It also re-evaluates published memoirs and correspondence of naval seamen, whose narratives have received little to no scholarly attention from historians of the Caribbean, unlike contemporary travel literature of the period. The communication channels within the navy also offer a larger volume of correspondence than other individuals who visited the Caribbean. The navy was informed of British social changes and politics from its correspondence with friends and family both in and outside of the navy. Therefore, its time in the Caribbean was constantly informed by news from Britain.

Naval observers were unique. It was the duty of naval officers to keep logs, take down signals, orders and the weather, record navigational information, as well as visually recording coastal profiles with topographical accuracy. Officers were therefore familiar with keeping records. Writing in journals and responding to correspondence was an extension of that duty. This is reflected in the wealth of resources available from naval officers and, to some extent, those who served in the army, whose testimonies are collectively analysed where evidence allows in this study. The navy was a constant presence in the Caribbean between 1756 and 1815 and those stationed in the

region regularly visited the different British Caribbean islands. Naval seamen also revisited the Caribbean during their career progression in the navy, which offers a valuable new reflection on the region over different periods. Their personal papers reflect this widespread connection with the region and therefore provide greater possibilities to explore reflections on island societies other than travel narratives of the period, which often focus on only one island over a short time.[66] By focusing on the large community of naval seamen in the Caribbean it provides a wider perspective of British representations of the region.

However, the rich resources uncovered for this thesis can be problematic. Naval seamen were generally only posted to the region for a short period and their correspondence is fragmented. The nature of the material available means this study also centres on the accounts and personal testimonies of the literate, mainly those from the higher naval ranks, from surgeon to admiral. Although material of the highest ranking officers has often been explored to compile biographies, which has always been a particularly popular strand of naval history, these narratives tend to focus only on naval achievements, rather than the personal lives and daily routines whilst posted to a naval station. Also the dominance of biographies on Nelson has somewhat overshadowed the papers of other naval officers. This study therefore sheds new light on these personal testimonies by focusing on social interactions rather than military exploits. However, this is not an exclusive study of the officer class. Where opportunities arose within the sources to explore the experiences and outlook of the lower ranks, these were taken.

The structure of this thesis divides discussion of interactions between the navy and elite members of society, namely the white population, and non-elite society, including free people of colour and, to some extent, the enslaved. Although these interactions with different communities of colonial society divide the thesis, there are overlapping themes. Chapter 1 offers an overview of the Caribbean region from English settlement in the seventeenth century to the sugar revolution, and discusses the conflicts that affected the region

[66] See, for example, William Hickey, *Memoirs of William Hickey*, 7th edn, vol 2 (1775-1782), (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1948), pp. 1-63; 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. Introduction by Stephen Carl Arch*, Bison Books edn, (Lincoln; London: University of Nebraska Press, 2005), pp. 19-143.

during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. It establishes the navy's relationship with the British Caribbean colonies on an operational level, from which subsequent chapters build on as they discuss the navy's social, cultural and economic interactions with colonial society. By analysing statistics of naval manpower, the chapter demonstrates the navy's prominent presence in the Caribbean throughout the period, reiterating the importance of the colonies to Britain and empire, but also colonial society's dependence on Britain and her navy.

In order to understand how the navy was able to integrate into Caribbean society, Chapters 2 and 3 explore the interactions between the navy and the white inhabitants of the Caribbean. As members of a powerful British institution, naval officers were shown universal hospitality throughout the British Caribbean by the white elite. These elite interactions take the focus of Chapter 2, demonstrating how some naval officers challenged metropolitan notions of the Caribbean as a place of 'disease and disorder' inhabited by 'outsiders', by creating lasting social and economic ties with white islanders. Taking part in creole customs and integrating into creole society was facilitated by invitations to socialise with white society and form connections with prominent inhabitants via social events and letters of introduction, a form of British etiquette upheld by the white elite. The chapter also argues that by involving the navy in the 'all-embracing cult of hospitality', naval officers became part of the expression of white solidarity required to maintain control over the majority population.[67]

Chapter 3 expands on the motivations for widespread hospitality, focusing on the white elite's dependence on the navy. It shows the white elite heavily relied on the navy not only as a protective force to prevent foreign invasion and secure trade routes, but the navy was also a direct link to the metropole and played a vital role in the circulation of information across the colonies and to and from Britain. The navy's presence also assuaged the white elite's anxieties regarding internal unrest, highlighting the importance of the navy's visible authoritative presence in suppressing slave insurrections. In analysing the white elite's criticism of naval officers, the chapter questions the colonial view of the navy and how tensions could easily rise if officers did not

[67] Trevor Burnard, *Mastery, Tyranny, and Desire: Thomas Thistlewood and His Slaves in the Anglo-Jamaican World*, (Chapel Hill; London: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), p. 79.

meet colonial expectations. Cooperation was therefore particularly important around highly provocative issues such as impressment.

Chapter 4 shifts the emphasis from social encounters to Caribbean responses to the navy in the form of letters of thanks, commissioned monuments and gifted items. It therefore follows on from exploring the colonial view of the navy to understand why some naval officers were highly rewarded by the white elite and how the white elite showed ownership of the navy. By looking beyond the overt political motivations of gifts and monuments, such as the monument to Admiral Sir George Bridges Rodney at Jamaica, these responses can offer insight into how the white inhabitants viewed themselves and their identity as proud colonial Britons. Responses to the navy in the form of thanks and gifts can also offer understanding of the white elite's colonial or 'creolised' understanding of conflict in the region, their particular vision of empire and the colonies place within it.

Chapter 5 shifts the focus from elite society to the navy's interactions with the non-elite communities of the British Caribbean islands. It examines encounters between the navy and free people of colour and, to some degree, the enslaved population, within the context of the service economy. Three areas of the service economy are explored: coastal commerce, the hospitality industry and services for health. The service economy provided social spaces and environments for members of the navy to interact with non-elite members of colonial society. This chapter therefore builds on the growing scholarship on free people of colour to shed light on the participation of non-elite communities in the colonial economy, their integration into the community of naval seamen in harbour, and their link to Britain via the navy. It also explores the navy's reliance on the service economy to provide vital provisions, exotic souvenirs of their stationing in the region, entertainment ashore, sexual relationships with women of colour, and medical knowledge and care.

After exploring in-depth social interactions with Caribbean society, the final chapter emphasises the navy as a distinctive social group that cannot simply be analysed as an institution of operations, but as a collective that was absorbing of the environment, society and culture they encountered, impacting an individual's own cultural expression. For naval seamen, their experience in the Caribbean was not merely operational or defined by signals and orders, as

their encounters with the environment, society and cultural landscape permeated their overall experience. To explore this permeation, the chapter will focus on how naval seamen chose to record and represent their encounters with an unfamiliar landscape and people they interacted with through visual culture. Sketching often started with formal representations of coastal profiles informed by naval training given to potential officers and developed into informal sketching as a pastime. Although this analysis of visual culture cannot explore the influence of naval representations on metropolitan understandings of the region, it can show what naval seamen took home from their experience in the Caribbean. Chapter 6 therefore revisits the wider themes of the thesis as it points to the navy beyond its pragmatic and operational role. It demonstrates that naval sources can widen our understanding of the wider Atlantic community, enabled by the navy's operational role throughout empire.

Between 1756 and 1815, the Caribbean was a volatile region constantly blighted by European conflict due to the economic value of the islands and its strategic position close to North America. This thesis studies the men, who were part of the Royal Navy; the powerful British institution sent to the Caribbean to protect Britain's economy in the form of the sugar islands and its inhabitants. It explores the personal interactions of naval seamen with the communities of the British Caribbean islands to shed light on the social and cultural layers of the navy and the complexities of Caribbean society. Caribbean responses to the navy and reflections of naval seamen, who held a unique position in empire at the forefront of British imperialism, offer an insight into the relationship between Britain and the colonies, and national and colonial identity in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

1. The Royal Navy, 1756-1815: Empire, Atlantic and the Caribbean

SOLOMON FERRIS ESQRE. | FORMERLY OF THIS PARISH | WHO DIED IN THE WEST INDIES CAPTAIN OF HIS MAJESTY'S SHIP L'HERCULE | AT PORT ROYAL JAMAICA ON THE 27TH MAY 1803 | AGED 54 YEARS | WHERE HE WAS INTERRED WITH THE USUAL HONORS MUCH RESPECTED | AS A BRAVE AND GOOD OFFICER | A MONUMENT TO THE ABOVE EFFECT WAS PLACED IN THE CHURCH AT | KINGSTON JAMAICA (AS THIS IS) BY HIS WIDOW.[1]

Both in the parish churches of the Caribbean and in Britain remain the memorials to naval officers who were stationed and died in the Caribbean. In St James Church, Southwick, Hampshire, hangs a wall tablet to Solomon Ferris, a parishioner of Southwick and the commander of HMS *L'Hercule*, who died in service in the Caribbean. As the tablet inscription above suggests, Ferris's widow not only commissioned a memorial to be placed in the church at Southwick, but also in the church at Kingston, Jamaica, where he served and was buried in the parish churchyard.[2] These memorials to naval officers remain a physical emblem of the impact of the Royal Navy in the Caribbean. In particular these memorials depict the decision of the families to commemorate their loved ones in the Caribbean, as well as at home in Britain. These monuments therefore exemplify the mutually constitutive relationship between Britain and the Caribbean, and the importance of the Caribbean to the British population. The Caribbean was not just an exotic extension of British imperialism, but was the centre of a wider British Atlantic economy in the eighteenth century. The region produced the items that Britain demanded and was an essential component to Britain's growing global empire. These memorials attempt to highlight the navy's sacrifice in the Caribbean; the cost and craftsmanship of the funerary monuments present this as a worthwhile

[1] Wall tablet inscription from St James Church, Southwick, Hampshire - Memorial no. M533. Refers to memorial at Kingston, Jamaica - Memorial no. M2870. Maritime Memorials Database: Commemorating Seafarers and Victims of Maritime Disasters, Barbara Tomlinson - NMM, <http://memorials.rmg.co.uk/> [accessed 14 December 2011].

[2] J. H. Lawrence-Archer, *Monumental Inscriptions of the British West Indies from the Earliest Date: With Genealogical and Historical Annotations, from Original, Local, and Other Sources, Illustrative of the Histories and Genealogies of the Seventeenth Century, the Calendars of State Papers, Peerages and Baronetages, with Engravings of the Arms of the Principal Families*, (London: Chatto and Windus, 1875), p. 136.

sacrifice. These men not only protected British land, but the whole British economy. With most memorials remembering those who died of yellow fever rather than those killed in action, they also demonstrate the huge loss of life the military suffered whilst stationed in the region.

The Royal Navy was not just a protective force in the Caribbean, but was integral to the growth of British settlement and trade, knowledge circulation, and metropolitan understandings of the Caribbean and colonial society. This chapter therefore sets up the main themes of the thesis, establishing the relationship between Britain and the colonies, and an understanding of the navy's interactions with colonial society by exploring the navy's operational role and investment of resources in the region. This first chapter attempts to provide a chronology of the Caribbean region since the establishment of English colonies, and to provide an overview of the conflicts of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries that affected the region. This will not only establish the region's importance to Britain, as well as the significance of the Caribbean to notions of empire and British national identity in the period, but also the navy's prominent operational presence in the Caribbean. By establishing the navy's role in the colonies on an operational level, and the people and environment the navy encountered whilst stationed in the region, it sets up the following chapters that focus on in-depth personal interactions *in* the colonial landscape.

1.1 Overview of the Caribbean region: settlement, sugar, slavery and society

Before 'the sugar revolution' transformed the Caribbean region, early English settlements were limited to the small islands of St Christopher (St Kitts), Barbados, Nevis, Antigua, and Montserrat.[3] Established between 1624 and 1632, these early settlements mainly cultivated tobacco using white indentured labour as the primary workforce. White indentured workers came to the

[3] Michael Craton, *Empire, Enslavement and Freedom in the Caribbean*, (Oxford: James Currey, 1997), p. 41, pp. 78-79; Barry W. Higman, *A Concise History of the Caribbean*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 98-109; Richard B. Sheridan, 'The Formation of Caribbean Plantation Society, 1689-1748', in *The Oxford History of the British Empire: The Eighteenth Century,* ed. by P. J. Marshall (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 395.

Caribbean with a promise of their own land after their work contract ended.[4] In the 1640s, one of the earliest and more diverse agricultural settlements of Barbados began to embrace sugar cane as its primary crop, transforming the island's landscape, economy and society.[5] The previous smallholdings of tobacco and cotton began to give way to large plantations, with land being consolidated into sugar estates in the 1670s and 1680s.[6] The process of sugar production, learnt from the Dutch, increased in Barbados and by 1700, the English colonies in the Caribbean were producing 22,000 tons of sugar to be exported to England and Wales, with half of the tonnage supplied from Barbados alone.[7] However, it was not white indentured labour that cultivated this new crop, but a vast new workforce of slaves imported from Africa.[8]

The land of the English Caribbean colonies, which had once been divided into small land holdings, was absorbed into large-scale monoculture plantations. The shift to large-scale sugar cultivation was only possible due to the enslavement of millions of Africans transported to the Caribbean as chattel slaves. According to estimates, between 1756 and 1808 nearly 1.2 million Africans survived the Middle Passage on British ships and landed on the British Caribbean islands.[9] This figure excludes the many thousands of slaves who died on route due to the diabolical conditions on board the slave ships. Even those who survived the crossing had a significant chance of dying within their first three years on a plantation, known as the 'seasoning' period. Only two out of every three slaves survived this acclimatisation period. They not only died from the cruel plantation regime, but also from disease.[10] The large-scale importation of African slaves meant that by 1810 the enslaved population accounted for 86.2 per cent of the total population of the British Caribbean colonies.[11]

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[4] Sheridan, 'The Formation of Caribbean Plantation Society, 1689-1748', p. 394.
[5] Ibid. pp. 394-395.
[6] Sheridan, *Sugar and Slavery*, p. 136.
[7] Sheridan, 'The Formation of Caribbean Plantation Society, 1689-1748', p. 399.
[8] Craton, *Empire, Enslavement and Freedom in the Caribbean*, p. 79.
[9] Estimates from Voyages: The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database, Emory University, (2009) <http://slavevoyages.org/tast/assessment/estimates.faces?yearFrom=1756&yearTo=1815&flag=3&disembarkation=305.304.307.306.309.308.311.310.301.302.303> [accessed 20 June 2014].
[10] James Walvin, *Black Ivory: A History of British Slavery*, (London: Harper Collins, 1992), pp. 75-76.
[11] Barry W. Higman, *Slave Populations of the British Caribbean, 1807-1834*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984), p. 77.

The Spanish largely dominated the Caribbean region in the seventeenth century. They controlled the largest islands including Cuba, Puerto Rico and Hispaniola. In an attempt to shift the balance of power away from Spanish supremacy and Catholic dominance of the region, Lord Protector of England, Oliver Cromwell, planned an expedition to the Caribbean to capture the Spanish islands as part of his 'The Western Design'. The expedition command was given to General Robert Venables and naval commander, William Penn. However, in 1655, after a failed attempt to capture Hispaniola, Penn and Venables decided to attack the largely unprotected and undervalued Spanish island of Jamaica.[12] Penn and Venables were successful in capturing Jamaica, which became England's largest territory in the Caribbean and an island that later became Britain's greatest economic asset.

With Jamaica being largely uncultivated and unfortified when it was captured in 1655, buccaneering and privateering against the Spanish became the main defence and revenue generator.[13] With its prime location near the Spanish territories, the harbour at Port Royal soon grew to be England's main base in the Caribbean. However, Jamaica's strategic location also made it a primary target for enemy invasion. The early years of English settlement at Jamaica were fraught with problems, particularly from foreign invasion. French attacks in the 1690s caused great damage to early plantations and many slaves were taken. Natural disasters hindered economic growth, with the earthquake of 1692 destroying much of Port Royal.[14] Disease was also rife and an epidemic of malaria ravaged the minority white population, reducing it to less than 2,000 by 1700.[15] The maroon communities of runaway slaves living in the most inhospitable and mountainous regions of the island also posed a significant internal threat to the early settlers. British military forces were employed to suppress the maroon communities, and these efforts continued until peace treaties were signed at the end of the 1730s.[16] These threats against the implementation of the plantation regime did not prevent the sugar revolution from reaching Jamaica.

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[12] Rodger, *The Command of the Ocean*, pp. 22-23.
[13] Ibid. p. 24.
[14] Sheridan, 'The Formation of Caribbean Plantation Society, 1689-1748', p. 397.
[15] Craton, *Empire, Enslavement and Freedom in the Caribbean*, p. 89.
[16] Richard Price, 'Maroons and Their Communities', in *The Slavery Reader,* (London: Routledge, 2003), pp. 608-625.

By 1750, the population of Jamaica had grown to 142,000, with enslaved Africans accounting for 90 per cent of the total population.[17] This huge influx of imported Africans allowed the plantation model to be implemented and due to the size of Jamaica, it being twenty-five times larger than Barbados, it soon overtook Barbados as England's most successful sugar producer.[18] Although Jamaica's greatest export was sugar, increasing from 4,874 tons in around 1700 to 41,425 tons by 1748, it was not the only crop cultivated and exported from the island. Large sugar estates dominated the coastal plains of Jamaica, but the island's varied topography meant not all land was suitable for sugar cultivation. Livestock pens occupied spaces in between sugar plantations, and coffee became a complementary crop to the sugar staple, as it suited the highlands of the island and had relatively low set-up costs. Although coffee production increased from the mid-eighteenth century, it was not until the revolution of St Domingue that disrupted French coffee production that Jamaican coffee production took off. Coffee exported from Jamaica rose from 2.3 million lb to 13.4 million lb during the 1790s, reaching its peak in 1814 exporting 34 million lb.[19] Using inventories and estimates of real estate, Trevor Burnard estimated the total wealth of the island of Jamaica at nearly £10 million by 1750, increasing rapidly to over £28 million by 1774. This made the Jamaican planters some of the richest people in the British Empire, which not only provided lavish lifestyles, but also political influence in Britain.[20]

Sugar production tripled between 1700 and 1760 throughout the British Caribbean islands.[21] The Leeward Islands of St Kitts, Nevis, Montserrat, and Antigua were all predominantly sugar producers, with only minimal exports of crops such as cotton, ginger, tobacco, and indigo. Although the Leeward Islands were only 5 per cent of the area of British ownership in the Caribbean and progress to large-scale sugar production was slow up until the 1720s, the small islands made a significant contribution to colonial trade.[22] In particular, the island of St Kitts struggled to implement a monoculture of sugar due to the land being divided between the British and the French until 1713. This left the

[17] Barry W. Higman, *Plantation Jamaica, 1750-1850: Capital and Control in a Colonial Economy*, (Kingston, Jamaica: University of the West Indies Press, 2005), p. 2.
[18] Craton, *Empire, Enslavement and Freedom in the Caribbean*, p. 84.
[19] Smith, 'Sugar's Poor Relation: Coffee Planting in the British West Indies, 1720-1833', pp. 176-179.
[20] Burnard, ''Prodigious Riches'', p. 517; Burnard, *Mastery, Tyranny, and Desire*, p. 14.
[21] O'Shaughnessy, *An Empire Divided*, p. 58.
[22] Sheridan, *Sugar and Slavery*, p. 149.

British lands vulnerable during wartime, and French raids stalled the growth of the island's sugar industry. However, by 1775, 97 per cent of all exports from St Kitts were sugar and rum, and according to Richard Sheridan, in proportion to its size, St Kitts was the richest colony in the British Empire on the eve of the American Revolution.[23] The progression to sugar monoculture on the British Caribbean islands accounted for 38.6 per cent of all sugar production in the Americas between 1766 and 1770.[24] However, British planters were dependent on the monopoly of the British market to sustain their wealth, as French sugar was much cheaper than British sugar, which limited their export market.[25]

The large-scale plantation model required large capital investment in land and slaves to establish the cultivation and manufacture of sugar-cane. By the mid-eighteenth century, the small land owners had been devoured by an 'oligarchic plantocracy' of wealthy settlers with social, economic and political links to the metropole.[26] The British Caribbean islands were therefore ruled as 'plantocracies', controlled by a minority white planter class.

Coping with the climate, avoiding disease and feeling isolated, left many planters feeling dissatisfied with living in the Caribbean. Many plantation owners, upon setting up their estate and making it profitable, chose to leave them in the hands of agents and overseers, and return to Britain. By 1790, it is estimated that there were probably no more than 10 per cent of sugar planters who lived on their plantations in Jamaica.[27] This was a similar situation with many of the smaller British islands, including St Kitts, Nevis and Antigua.[28] Once the plantation had become profitable enough, planters returned to Britain to enjoy their extravagant wealth, integrate into elite society in Britain and project the West Indian interest in the political sphere.[29]

By the eighteenth century, the British Caribbean islands had distinctively local or 'creole' societies consisting of those born locally in the colony, those

[23] Ibid. pp. 155-160.
[24] O'Shaughnessy, *An Empire Divided*, p. 58.
[25] Ibid. pp. 60-61.
[26] Vincent Brown, *The Reaper's Garden: Death and Power in the World of Atlantic Slavery*, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2008), p. 20; Craton, *Empire, Enslavement and Freedom in the Caribbean*, p. 41; Richard B. Sheridan, 'Planter Politics, 1701-1775', in *Sugar and Slavery; an Economic History of the British West Indies, 1623-1775,* (Barbados: Caribbean Universites Press, 1974), pp. 54-74; Sheridan, 'The Formation of Caribbean Plantation Society, 1689-1748', p. 395.
[27] Craton, *Empire, Enslavement and Freedom in the Caribbean*, p. 171.
[28] Walvin, *Black Ivory*, p. 74.
[29] Sheridan, *Sugar and Slavery*, pp. 58-59.

transported and those sojourning or settled there. It was a society 'made up of newcomers to the landscape and cultural strangers to each other; one group dominant, the other legally and subordinately slaves'.[30] 'Creolization', as termed by Edward Brathwaite, was a cultural process created by interactions and responses of both African and European cultures in the Caribbean. Brathwaite's exploration of the social hierarchy of Jamaican society and the systems of power within the differing social groups, namely the ruling white class, free people of colour and those enslaved, all contributed to the formation of a 'creole' society.

Throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Caribbean society changed in line with increased importation of African slaves and a growing 'creole' population. Until the mid-eighteenth century when prices for slaves increased, little effort was made by planters to encourage slaves to increase the ever dwindling birth-rates. Motivated by changing attitudes towards slavery in Britain and the rise in the price of slaves, planters attempted to improve the maintenance of their slaves to decrease mortality rates and increase natural reproduction. Planters provided land for their slaves to cultivate in attempt to improve their diets, and implemented clothing allowances. This process of 'amelioration' in the later stages of the eighteenth century helped to decrease mortalities and increase natural growth, but not in all the British Caribbean islands.[31] When the abolition of the slave trade was implemented, it is estimated that the self-sustaining peripheral British colonies like Barbados no longer required the importation of Africans for the plantation model, with more than 90 per cent of the population born in the colony. However, Jamaica's plantation regime required constant replenishment of imported Africans, with 37 per cent of the population recorded as African born as late as 1817.[32] Therefore, when the abolition of the slave trade was introduced in 1807, slave numbers began to decline, as fertility rates had not improved to a significant level to sustain the population.[33]

Caribbean society was also changing in other ways, and there was an increasing community of free people of colour by the turn of the century. With a lack of white women in the Caribbean, white men often took black slaves as

[30] Brathwaite, *The Development of Creole Society in Jamaica, 1770-1820*, p. 296.
[31] Ward, 'The British West Indies in the Age of Abolition, 1748-1815', pp. 429-431.
[32] Craton, *Empire, Enslavement and Freedom in the Caribbean*, p. 152.
[33] Ward, 'The British West Indies in the Age of Abolition, 1748-1815', p. 431.

their mistresses. Many planters freed their mistresses and their mixed-race children, as well as slaves who showed loyalty to their masters. The free coloured population in the British Caribbean therefore grew from about 3,000 in 1748 to 70,000 by 1815. This amounted to an increase from 1 per cent in 1748 to 8 per cent of the total population by 1815.[34] It is thought that between 1790 and 1820 the population of free people of colour more than tripled on the island of Jamaica, dwarfing the minority white population.[35] Using scattered figures from individual parishes, Gad Heuman has estimated that the free black and coloured population of Jamaica was around 38,800 people in 1825. This was a significant community when it is considered in 1807 that the white population of Jamaica was 30,000.[36] With a white minority ruling over a majority black and coloured population, a social hierarchy based on skin colour, rather than class or wealth, established itself in the Caribbean.

It was this 'creole' society with ruling white minority and a growing population of free people of colour that the navy encountered upon its arrival in the Caribbean, as part of its operational role in the region. As will now be discussed, the conflicts that affected the region not only defined Britain's empire and the colonies' role in defining British national identity, but also established the navy's dominant presence in the Caribbean. The navy's operational role during the various conflicts established a strong relationship between the navy and colonial society, and the navy and Britain.

1.2 Conflict in the Caribbean region

The economic value of the sugar islands explains why the Caribbean region was a theatre of war for European powers throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Even before the Seven Years War, the Caribbean region had been at the heart of a conflict that erupted between Britain and Spain over trade agreements. It was not long after Britain declared war on Spain in October 1739 that the naval commander, Vice-Admiral Edward Vernon,

[34] Ibid. p. 437.
[35] Gad J. Heuman, *Between Black and White: Race, Politics, and the Free Coloreds in Jamaica, 1792-1865*, (Oxford: Clio Press, 1981), p. 7; Gad J. Heuman, 'The Free Coloreds in Jamaican Slave Society', in *The Slavery Reader,* (London: Routledge, 2003), pp. 657-658.
[36] Heuman, *Between Black and White*, p. 7.

defeated the Spanish at the stronghold of Porto Bello. This made Vernon a national hero in Britain. What was most significant about the nation's jubilant and exuberant response to Vernon's victory in the Caribbean region was the rise in public consciousness regarding the importance of Caribbean trade and the colonial empire to the national interest. As Kathleen Wilson argues, the nature and scale of the support for Vernon demonstrates 'the infrastructure of a "commercialized", accessible and largely urban political culture' provided by the press, the national market and the taverns and coffee houses of provincial towns. Mercantile interests in western expansion in the Caribbean region to grow trade were able to be publicised more widely and were supported by the political opposition.[37] Imperial expansion using naval supremacy was promoted to be in the nation's best interest and soon the public called for 'war and acquisition to vindicate national honour' against the Spanish threat to English liberty.[38]

The response to Vernon's triumph and the consequential heightening of the public's political consciousness towards the Caribbean region is particularly significant. It demonstrates that the public wanted to reclaim the national honour that Vernon had shown in his naval victory against the Spanish by expanding Britain's trading empire in the most important region of Spanish dominance, the Caribbean. However, the expedition did not prove to be the triumph the public wanted, as the navy was too limited in resources for large-scale expansion in the Caribbean with vessels stretched between home waters and the Mediterranean.[39]

The Seven Years War, the starting point for this study, was a pivotal conflict in the relationship between Britain and the Caribbean colonies. It was also an important conflict in cementing the relationship of dependence between the white elite of the British Caribbean islands and the Royal Navy. It was not until 1759 that naval action became more prominent in the Caribbean due to an increase in captures of British merchant ships by French privateers. British troops were therefore sent to capture the French island of Martinique to prevent privateers using it as a base from which to capture British merchant ships. However, after an unsuccessful attempt to capture Martinique, British

[37] Kathleen Wilson, 'Empire, Trade and Popular Politics in Mid-Hanoverian Britain: The Case of Admiral Vernon', *Past & Present*, 121, 1988, pp. 97-98.
[38] Ibid. p. 100.
[39] Rodger, *The Command of the Ocean*, p. 240.

troops instead targeted Guadeloupe and were successful in claiming it from the French. Soon after, in 1761, Dominica surrendered to a British force and a second attempt to capture Martinique was successful. With the larger islands of Guadeloupe and Martinique also came the surrender of the smaller French islands, including St Lucia and Grenada. Britain targeted the French islands to prevent the wealth of the French colonies from increasing the power of the French navy. By 1762, Britain had declared war against Spain and therefore, the strategic naval and trading base at Havana became part of the British assault in the region. Troops were sent to Havana in June 1762 and the city capitulated in August, marking the end of the conflict in the Caribbean region.[40] By the end of the Seven Years War, British gains in the Caribbean had been returned to the French and Spanish in the 1763 Treaty of Paris. Britain returned Martinique and Guadeloupe to France in exchange for Canada, and the Spanish relinquished Florida in return for Havana.

The conflict not only helped Britain to expand and redefine her empire, but the Royal Navy established itself as the supreme European naval power by capturing important colonies in the French and Spanish Caribbean. As argued by Rodger, the Seven Years War realised 'the old national myth of sea power into reality'.[41] Although the threat of attack on British Caribbean islands was high during the Seven Years War, particularly when the Spanish entered the conflict in 1762, the Royal Navy was strong enough to prevent any foreign invasion of the British Caribbean islands. This conflict sealed the navy's position as the main protectors of the British islands, and demonstrated to the inhabitants the strength of the Royal Navy and their vulnerable position without the navy's constant presence. It also confirmed to the people of Britain, the superiority of the Royal Navy and the importance of Britain's overseas colonies.[42]

By the mid-eighteenth century, Britain's empire had expanded to include many more overseas territories and non-British peoples, as well as British people living in overseas territories. Before this expansion, Britain's empire was conceived as an 'empire of the seas' with Britain's naval power and overseas trade defining the British Empire. As Peter Marshall argues, although

[40] Burns, *History of the British West Indies*, pp. 487-489.
[41] Rodger, *The Command of the Ocean*, p. 290.
[42] Ibid. pp. 289-290.

the 'empire of the seas' continued after the territorial expansion, the overseas territories, including both British and non-British populations, became the new concept of empire.[43] The Seven Years War helped to define Britain's naval power, and the British colonies in the Caribbean helped to define the British Empire. This impacted the self-conceived identity of the British people, and the colonies were integral to common understandings of what it meant to be British.[44] The navy's role in empire not only included expanding and defending the empire, but the navy now played a role in 'projecting British power' across the Atlantic.[45] Part of this projection of British power was the navy's presence and visible imperial British identity in the Caribbean colonies.

The Seven Years War provided an opportunity for the navy and army to successfully collaborate, establishing successful strategies of warfare and the defence of trade.[46] However, the conflict also highlighted the dangers of the region for British forces. Although there were significant losses due to military action, the greatest cause of death was disease.[47] The mortality figures from the two month siege at Havana demonstrate the huge loss of life to fever and dysentery. Although 560 men died in battle, no less than 4,700 men lost their lives to disease, which does not include those who later died from diseases contracted at Havana.[48] The colossal numbers of those who died of disease during the Seven Years War earned the Caribbean its reputation as the 'white man's grave'.[49]

After the Seven Years War, Britain avoided further conflicts by sustaining British diplomacy with naval mobilisation. Acting as a deterrent against enemy attack was one of the navy's roles in the eighteenth century, often overlooked by historians, as argued by Stephen Conway.[50] However, by the mid-1770s, the crisis that was building in America reached boiling point. The American Revolution turned into a global conflict by 1778 with France and Spain eager to

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[43] P. J. Marshall, 'Empire and British Identity: The Maritime Dimension', in *Empire, the Sea and Global History: Britain's Maritime World, c.1763-c.1840,* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), pp. 42-44.
[44] Greene, 'Empire and Identity from the Glorious Revolution to the American Revolution', p. 208.
[45] Stephen Conway, 'Empire, Europe and British Naval Power', in *Empire, the Sea and Global History: Britain's Maritime World, c.1763-c.1840,* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), pp. 23-24.
[46] Rodger, *The Command of the Ocean*, p. 288.
[47] See, for example, John Robert McNeill, *Mosquito Empires: Ecology and War in the Greater Caribbean, 1620-1914*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010).
[48] Burns, *History of the British West Indies*, p. 488.
[49] O'Shaughnessy, *An Empire Divided*, pp. 6-10.
[50] Conway, 'Empire, the Sea and Global History', pp. 25-29.

seek revenge after their humiliation in the Seven Years War. Britain's most valuable asset in the Caribbean, Jamaica, became the enemies' primary target.

The most significant aspect of the American Revolution was that it demonstrated Britain's willingness to risk losing North America in order to protect the Caribbean colonies. Andrew O'Shaughnessy argues that the Jamaica invasion crisis between August and September 1778 demonstrated that Britain was willing to defend the most valuable British colony in the Caribbean at all costs. Without the British Caribbean colonies, Britain did not have the wealth to maintain the war and retain British supremacy.[51] Sir Henry Clinton, the British commander-in-chief at North America ordered four thousand British troops to embark for Jamaica upon receiving a request for reinforcements from John Dalling, Governor of Jamaica. This bold move by Clinton, sending thousands of troops to Jamaica when the French were preparing to retake Georgia, demonstrates the importance of Jamaica to Britain. Due to the scattered nature of the British Caribbean colonies, there was also a larger naval presence in the Caribbean compared to North America during the conflict.[52] In 1779, the eastern Caribbean islands were sent two regiments from Britain to reinforce the islands rather than to North America. The loss of territory in North America was a direct result of Britain diverting Royal Navy vessels and military troops to the protection of the Caribbean. As O'Shaughnessy argues, Rodney's failure to intercept the French fleet contributed to the British defeat at Yorktown and the eventual loss of America.[53]

In 1782, the most prominent naval action to take place in the Caribbean occurred at the Battle of the Saintes, which saved Jamaica from invasion. Admiral George Bridges Rodney was triumphant in intercepting the French fleet and was hailed as the saviour of the British Empire in preventing a Franco-Spanish invasion of Jamaica.[54] The battle reclaimed Britain's naval superiority after embarrassing losses in North America due to a dominant French navy, a dominance that had shocked British colonists in the Caribbean. It was therefore a vitally important victory for both the British public and the white inhabitants of the Caribbean. What Rodger has described as 'a clear but by no

[51] O'Shaughnessy, *An Empire Divided,* p. 208.
[52] Ibid. pp. 208-210.
[53] Ibid. pp. 230-232.
[54] Ibid. p. 237.

means overwhelming victory' was embraced as one of the greatest naval triumphs of the eighteenth century, as Britain displayed, once again, its naval dominance over its ancient rivals, the French.[55] The shared response to Rodney's victory is explored further in Chapter 4, but it established an understanding in both Britain and the colonies that the British Caribbean islands were centrally important to Britain's empire.

For the colonists in the Caribbean, the American Revolution had huge implications, as although they aligned themselves with the homeland, they still relied on America for trade to sustain the plantation regime. Therefore, the conflict with America was particularly unpopular amongst British colonists as it disrupted trade and the plantations' profitability. The removed trade with North America caused food shortages, which led to thousands of slaves dying of malnutrition. The cessation of trade also greatly stifled plantation profits with increased labour costs and plantation expenses. Additionally, planters contended with wartime inflation, increased insurance and freight costs, increased captures by privateers, and the loss of the North American market.[56] The planters had to become more self-reliant and dependent on domestic imports. For some slaves, this offered the opportunity to grow their own provisions, as planters gave them land to cultivate to reduce their provision costs. However, it caused tension between the colonists and British military forces. The navy and army were competing with the colonists for provisions and this put strain on their relationship. This was further heightened after the end of the American Revolution.

The navy's role during this period was to enforce the Navigation Acts and prevent any illicit trade with American ships, even though the British colonists had hoped the trade with North America to be renewed at the end of the conflict. This most famously caused great hostility between the islanders and the young officer, Horatio Nelson. In a letter to Rear-Admiral Richard Hughes in January 1785, Nelson made clear the strength of his conviction regarding the Navigation Acts and his opinions towards the governor and the Council, 'Whilst I have the honour to command an English Man- of- War, I never shall allow myself to be subservient to the will of any Governor, nor co-operate with him in doing illegal acts. Presidents of Council I feel myself superior to. They

[55] Rodger, *The Command of the Ocean*, p. 354.
[56] O'Shaughnessy, *An Empire Divided*, pp. 160-184.

shall make proper application to me, for whatever they may want to come by water'.[57] Nelson, keen to uphold the Admiralty orders to prevent trade with America, became increasingly unpopular amongst the colonists. Other naval officers turned a blind eye to trade with American ships, but Nelson enforced the Acts and perceived those who defied the state's Navigation Laws as disloyal to the Crown.[58] Further explored in Chapter 3, this incident points to the complexities of the relationship between naval officers and the white elite due to conflicting priorities and the colonial view of the navy's role in the region.

Although relative peace followed the American Revolution, the Royal Navy once again had to demonstrate its naval dominance in the Caribbean at the outbreak of war with Revolutionary France in 1793. Throughout the period of the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars there was constant upheaval in the Caribbean. The white inhabitants were dependent on the navy to protect the British islands from French attack, but this protection was undermined by Britain's expansionist policy, which was unpopular amongst the white elite. In 1793, with the French navy occupied in Europe, a British expedition was sent out to the Caribbean to claim the French Caribbean islands. What followed were bloody campaigns with French islands being lost and then reclaimed until its conclusion in 1796 when Britain reclaimed most of the Leeward Islands, except Guadeloupe. Britain incurred huge losses mainly to disease in the campaigns of the 1790s with deaths of over 40,000 military personnel, and between 19,000 and 24,000 men in the navy.[59] At the outbreak of the Napoleonic Wars, the Royal Navy was sent to capture the French colonies in the Caribbean and was successful in claiming Martinique and Guadeloupe. By the end of 1810, Britain had claimed all the European colonies in the Caribbean, except for the Spanish islands due to Spain's alliance with Britain.[60] From 1810 until Napoleon's demise, incidents with foreign powers in the Caribbean were relatively few.

By the turn of the century, the white inhabitants were not only disgruntled by Britain's expansionist policy in the region, which spread the navy's

[57] Letter from Horatio Nelson to Rear-Admiral Sir Richard Hughes, 11/12 January 1785, in Nicolas, *The Dispatches and Letters of Vice Admiral Lord Viscount Nelson, with Notes by Sir Nicholas Harris Nicolas, 1777 to 1794*, vol 1, pp. 114-116.
[58] Burns, *History of the British West Indies*, pp. 544-546.
[59] Rodger, *The Command of the Ocean*, p. 436.
[60] Burns, *History of the British West Indies*, p. 587.

resources and increased market competition, but metropolitan attitudes towards the colonies were changing in line with a rise in support for the abolitionist movement. The British Caribbean colonies that had once been crucial to defining what it meant to be British by changing the definition of empire creating a single Atlantic community of British subjects, now felt abandoned by the metropole. The abolitionist movement was able to exploit the white inhabitants' involvement in slavery as a cause for their social and moral decline, separating them from their British counterparts and labelling them as outsiders.

For the colonists of the Caribbean, the navy and its social and political influence in Britain was required, now more than ever, to help in their battle against the abolitionist movement. The white elite required strong influence within parliamentary politics to defend colonial policy and the West India interest. This fell to a close-knit community of absentee planters, merchants, merchant-planter families, and colonial agents, who formed The London Society of West India Planters and Merchants.[61] Apart from this group of pro-slavery lobbyists, the navy was the main institutional connection the white elite had to Britain. There was potential for the navy to bolster the colonial interest in the British political sphere to appeal against the imminent legislature change to enforce the abolition of the slave trade; a trade crucial to the plantation regime and the planters' wealth. Furthermore, the social impact of the navy could change metropolitan attitudes towards the colonies as had been shown in previous successful naval conflict in the Caribbean region. Battles to save the colonies had previously rocketed naval officers to national hero status in Britain projecting 'British power' in the colonies and the importance of the region to Britain. The white inhabitants of the colonies were not only dependent on the navy in the Caribbean, but also on its influence in Britain.

1.3 The Royal Navy in the Caribbean

The defence of the British Caribbean islands was almost as important to the Royal Navy as the defence of Britain itself during the late eighteenth century.

[61] David Beck Ryden, 'Jamaican Planters and the London West India Interest', in *West Indian Slavery and British Abolition, 1783-1807,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 40-82.

Certainly the Caribbean was the most strategically valued part of the empire. The Royal Navy list books held at the National Archives indicate monthly figures of men and ships stationed at the various naval stations throughout the world, those cruising and at home from 1756 to 1813. By taking a sample of these statistics of naval manpower, it is easy to see the strength of the West Indian naval operation.[62] At the height of the American Revolution in 1781, there were on average over 25,600 men stationed in the Caribbean at the Jamaica and Leeward Islands station. This accounted for no less than 26 per cent of men in the whole of the Royal Navy, according to the figures recorded in the list books. The average number of vessels in 1781 at Jamaica and the Leeward Islands was 83 ships, which accounted for more than 21 per cent of all naval vessels. As discussed previously, Britain was willing to risk losing America to protect the Caribbean colonies at all costs and this is also shown in the list book figures. In 1781, naval resources in North America were less than 18 per cent of the total numbers of ships in the Royal Navy and less than 14 per cent of the manpower. From the above figures, it is clear that in 1781, there was a significantly greater emphasis on naval resources in the Caribbean than North America. Even in comparison to cruisers, convoys and those stationed at home in 1781, there were only around 2,600 more men and 34 more ships at home than in the Caribbean.[63]

When analysing the sample taken from the list book figures during peace time between 1763 to 1776 and 1783 to 1793, there was never less than 8 per cent of the total ships of the Royal Navy in the Caribbean. Focusing on 1775, which was the year with the lowest average number of seamen stationed in the Caribbean at around 1,752, the Royal Navy still deployed a substantial amount of manpower to the region.[64] The figures demonstrate the navy was a visible social group in the Caribbean, when considering the estimates of the white population at that time. If the average of 1,752 naval seamen in 1775 was compared with Richard Sheridan's estimates of 51,108 for the total white population (1771-1778), the number of naval seamen stationed in the Caribbean was the equivalent of just over 3 per cent of the total white

[62] TNA, ADM 8/30-31 , 33-34, 38-39, 42, 45, 48, 51, 54, 57, 60, 63, 66, 69, 72, 77-78, 83-84, 89-90, 95-96, 99-100, Navy List Books. Sample taken between 1756 and 1813, when the list books cease. Lists were not recorded again until 1821.
[63] TNA, ADM 8/57.
[64] TNA, ADM 8/51.

population.[65] This demonstrates that even at its lowest average the navy was a significant social collective within the Caribbean region.

In comparison to the East Indies, the Caribbean received a much larger investment of naval protection from Britain. The list books show a greater average of men stationed in the Caribbean between 1756 and 1813, with no fewer than 1,700 men and 11 ships from the sample taken. When resources in the Caribbean are compared to those in the East Indies, at the height of manpower in the East in 1805, around 8,400 men and 27 ships were stationed there. This only averaged around 7 per cent of the Royal Navy's total manpower and less than 5 per cent of the total number of naval vessels. During the same year in the Caribbean, there were on average 86 ships and over 15,000 men stationed at Jamaica and the Leeward Islands. This accounted for just fewer than 16 per cent of the total number of ships in the Royal Navy at that time.[66]

The sample of yearly averages of manpower and ships taken from the Royal Navy list books demonstrate that the navy was heavily invested in the Caribbean, averaging about 13 per cent of the total number of men and ships in the Royal Navy during the 50 years from the end of the Seven Years War in 1763 to 1813. As Rodger argues, naval history has tended to observe the navy's primary role as the expansion of empire and overseas defence. However, as Rodger has shown, the navy's primary function was in the defence of Britain with the majority of naval resources used in domestic protection in the Narrow Seas.[67] Home waters dominate the manpower statistics of the navy, not only due to the protection of the home waters, but also due to the frequency of ships returning home for ship refits, stock replenishment and demobilisation during peace time. Although the list books show the majority of the navy's resources were placed in defence of Britain as Rodger suggests, they also prove a significant percentage of the navy was constantly stationed in the Caribbean. Even using Rodger's own research, it is possible to show Caribbean dominance of naval resources, compared to the Mediterranean, North America and the East Indies. Using the abstracts of captain's logs received by the Admiralty between 1757 and 1762, Rodger estimated the

[65] Sheridan, *Sugar and Slavery*, p. 123.
[66] TNA, ADM 8/89-90.
[67] N. A. M. Rodger, 'Sea-Power and Empire', in *The Oxford History of the British Empire: The Eighteenth Century,* ed. by P. J. Marshall (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 169-171.

amount of time spent at sea and in port at the various naval stations throughout the empire. The figures show that 54 per cent of the navy's 'ship-days' were spent in home waters. However, second in overall percentage of 'ship-days' was the Caribbean, accounting for 17 per cent, with only 10 per cent in the Mediterranean, 14 per cent in North America and 4 per cent in the East Indies.[68]

Rodger states that by the outbreak of war in 1793, 'the British had been cured of their obsession with colonies' and fleets were concentrated at home rather than the colonies.[69] However, throughout the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars with France, the navy maintained significant resources in the Caribbean. In 1802, about 23 per cent of the navy's manpower and 19 per cent of the navy's ships were stationed there. Even at the height of the navy's total manpower in 1808, no less than 15 per cent of the navy's ships were in the Caribbean.[70] The evidence therefore suggests that Rodger underestimates the navy's commitments in the Caribbean and to the empire more generally.

The command of the Caribbean was split between two naval stations, Jamaica and the Leeward Islands. As Jamaica grew to become Britain's most valuable island in the eighteenth century, it also became a primary target for foreign attack. Britain could ill afford to lose such a powerful economic centre as Jamaica. However, with its position near the Spanish island of Cuba and the French and Spanish colonies on Hispaniola, Jamaica required constant naval protection. A naval station with substantial dockyards was established at Port Royal and became the main British naval base in this part of the Americas. Between 1763 and 1815, the base at Port Royal steadily expanded as the capability to service an increased number of vessels was required.[71]

It was not only Jamaica that was open to foreign attack. The British eastern Caribbean islands were also vulnerable, particularly with French bases at Martinique and Guadeloupe. The two French islands created a barrier between the British Windward and Leeward Islands, meaning routes between the British islands were often targeted by French privateers. A second naval station was therefore established to protect the eastern islands and the volatile

[68] Rodger, *The Wooden World*, p. 352, App. II.
[69] Rodger, 'Sea-Power and Empire', p. 182.
[70] TNA, ADM 8/83-84, 95-96.
[71] Pawson and Buisseret, *Port Royal, Jamaica*, pp. 134-139.

trade routes. There were three naval bases used throughout the period, one at English Harbour, Antigua, another at Gros Islet Bay, St Lucia, and Carlisle Bay, Barbados. The base at English Harbour did not have the capacity to accommodate larger fleet vessels and the island had too few natural springs to replenish the navy's water supply. Antigua was therefore not an appropriate island for the main station for the navy. Instead, English Harbour provided an alternative careening yard to Port Royal in the east and its position offered a level of trade protection.[72]

The large Carlisle Bay at Barbados offered a sheltered position and was established as a main naval station. The position of the island of Barbados, slightly detached from the Windward Island chain, proved much more convenient for a naval base, particularly to fleets arriving from Britain via Madeira and those sailing home to Britain. The nearby natural spring also allowed ships to easily replenish water stocks. However, the detached position of Barbados did not provide any advantages for offensive operations and it took time to return to Barbados when ships were sent on patrols around the French islands.[73]

For many sailors, arriving at Barbados was their first experience of the Caribbean climate, landscape and the inhabitants. The first glimpse of the Barbados coastline after two months at sea was described by naval chaplain, William Paget, as 'a Feast to a Sailor's Eye [...] - more delicious than a Turtle Feast to an Alderman of London'.[74] The beauty of the scenery of Barbados was observed by one sailor as 'so totally novel to one who has never been between the Tropics that it looks at first like the effect of enchantment'.[75] The lush paradise sailors witnessed as they sailed close to Barbados must have clashed in their minds with foreboding reports from the metropole about the Caribbean as a place of disease, death and disorder. Upon arriving in harbour,

[72] Sheridan, *Sugar and Slavery*, p. 184; Ward, 'A Shift in Focus: The Shift in Naval Warfare in the Caribbean During the Eighteenth Century', pp. 1-2.
[73] Rodger, 'Sea-Power and Empire', p. 178; Ward, 'A Shift in Focus: The Shift in Naval Warfare in the Caribbean During the Eighteenth Century', pp. 3-4.
[74] NMM, AGC/P/16, Letter from William Paget, naval chaplain, at Fort Royal, Martinique to Thomas Bennett, 10 February 1762.
[75] John Augustine Waller, *A Voyage in the West Indies: Containing Various Observations Made During a Residence in Barbadoes and Several of the Leeward Islands*, (London: Printed for Sir R. Phillips and Co., 1820), p. 9.

parties of sailors were sent ashore to replenish water supplies for the ship,[76] as depicted in a sketch by Captain Edward Pelham Brenton (Figure 1). This image of direct interaction on shore between what appears to be a sailor and local women of colour may be representative of Brenton's first encounter with an island inhabitant. Barbados and the urban centre of Bridgetown provided sailors with their first opportunity for respite from the crossing from Britain via Madeira and interaction with the local inhabitants. It provided a commercial base for the ship's crew to replenish water stocks and victuals, as well as to collect orders, letters, newspapers, and news from home. Richard Sheridan appropriately described Barbados as 'an island of firsts'.[77] For Royal Navy seamen, Barbados became the introductory island to the Caribbean climate, the environment and the island inhabitants. Reflections on these initial interactions are often recorded in the journals of naval seamen.

Figure 1. 'The watering place at Barbadoes', Captain Edward Pelham Brenton, c. 1801 (NMM, PAF8419).

After 1778, another naval base was established at Gros Islet Bay, St Lucia, due to Barbados' isolated position from the Windward Islands. Although not

[76] NLS, MS 1083, Journal of James Ker, naval surgeon, fol. 16r & 22r.
[77] Sheridan, *Sugar and Slavery*, p. 124.

large enough to service large vessels, St Lucia's position near the French island of Martinique meant intelligence regarding French movements could easily be sent from St Lucia to the fleet. Barbados was still the main base for naval stores and any victuals required in St Lucia, with Gros Islet providing an extra operational base to aid communications and offensive movements in the eastern islands.[78] However, St Lucia frequently changed hands between the British and French after 1782, so never established itself as the main British naval station of the eastern islands.

The geographic nature of Caribbean region, with the British owned islands dotted in between islands owned by the French, Dutch, Danish, and Spanish meant the navy's role was often to cruise between islands to protect island trade.[79] Whether stationed at the Leeward Islands or Jamaica, the main orders issued involved convoy duties to protect merchant, store, and packet ships, or cruising patrols depending on the intelligence received by the naval commander-in-chief.[80] Patrols gave naval crews the chance to catch foreign vessels as prizes, which greatly pleased the crew.[81] However, transportation was also an important role. Soldiers were transported to different islands depending on where the threat of rebellion or attack was present. Passage was also given to local dignitaries, prisoners, slaves, and the wounded, which occurred during the capture of Martinique in 1794.[82] Transporting regiments and being stationed at the Leeward Islands meant constantly moving from island to island, as recollected by Captain John Harvey Boteler, 'we were not idle, but always on the move, running down the islands,-Guadeloupe, Port Royal, Martinique, St Kitts, and Barbadoes'.[83] This pressure to constantly move

[78] Ward, 'A Shift in Focus: The Shift in Naval Warfare in the Caribbean During the Eighteenth Century', p. 4.
[79] Rodger, 'Sea-Power and Empire', p. 178.
[80] NLS, MS 1083, Journal of James Ker, fol. 31r; Spavens, *The Narrative of William Spavens*, pp. 11-12.
[81] NLS, MS 19035/43-44, Letter from William McLeod on HMS *La Prevoyante* at Bermuda to his father, 3 January 1796; Frederick Hoffman, *A Sailor of King George: The Journals of Captain Frederick Hoffman R.N., 1793-1814. Introduction by Colin White*, (London: Chatham, 1999), p. 30, 70; Spavens, *The Narrative of William Spavens*, p. 13.
[82] NLS, MS 1083, Journal of James Ker, fol. 31r; WRO, CR114a/312, Journal of Vice-Admiral Lord Hugh Seymour on HMS *Sans Pareil*, entry 22 January 1800; Hoffman, *A Sailor of King George*, p. 11, 14, 17; John Nicol, *The Life and Adventures of John Nicol, Mariner*, (Edinburgh: Canongate, 1997), pp. 73-74; Spavens, *The Narrative of William Spavens*, pp. 9-10.
[83] John Harvey Boteler, *Recollections of My Sea Life from 1808 to 1830*, (London: Navy Records Society, 1942), p. 68.

troops meant transporting more soldiers than the vessels could comfortably hold so that men had to sleep in shifts to prevent crowding on deck.[84]

The naval command of the Caribbean was split between a commander-in-chief at Jamaica and a commander-in-chief at the Leeward Islands. The role of a commander-in-chief was to coordinate the fleet by sending orders to the officers of naval vessels to cruise and patrol particularly problematic trade routes. A commander-in-chief was a figure whom communication and information was sent from the Admiralty in Britain, a person who the colonial governors were able to communicate with, and also a public figure for the inhabitants to recognise. Inhabitants were often aware of the arrival and departure of a commander-in-chief by gun salutes from the island's military, the ships in harbour, and the commander's arriving or departing ship. This was also a practice used to announce the arrival and departure of the island's governor and to commemorate British occasions like the King's birthday.[85] This audible sign of a naval commander-in-chief's presence underlined his significance and reassured the inhabitants of the navy's presence.

It was not only the navy that protected the Caribbean colonies, but also the army. Both were respected institutions in the Caribbean that had to work effectively together in order to protect the British islands from invasion. This connection between the two forces was upheld by communications between the naval commander-in-chief and colonial governor, who was often a military man. Although their roles shared the primary focus of island protection, they also shared the same issues within their ranks of 'disease, drink and desertion'.[86] Upon arriving in the Caribbean, the naval commander-in-chief announced his arrival to the island's governor. This initial first contact, as recorded in one of the letter-books of Rear-Admiral John Ford, was important to establish a connection with the island and with the military stationed there. John Ford became the commander-in-chief at Jamaica in 1792 and wrote to the Governor of Jamaica, Major-General Adam Williamson, to express his pleasure at being appointed to the island. Ford wrote to Williamson, '(under every

[84] Ibid.; Hoffman, *A Sailor of King George*, p. 11.
[85] ABDN, MS 2070, Journal of Jonathon Troup, army physician, entries 4 June 1789, 17 July 1789 & 5 November 1789; WRO, CR114a/312, Journal of Vice-Admiral Lord Hugh Seymour on HMS *Sans Pareil*, entries 29 January 1800, 30 January 1800, 3 March 1800, 9 March 1800, 10 March 1800, 16 March 1800 & 19 March 1800.
[86] Philip Wright, 'Introduction', in *Lady Nugent's Journal of Her Residence in Jamaica from 1801 to 1805,* (Kingston, Jamaica: Institute of Jamaica, 1966), p. xxvi.

Circumstance or Situation either Public or Personal) you will find me very cheerfully disposed to meet your Wishes, as well as to cultivate and cherish your sentiment of Respect'.[87] Ford was keen to start sending out cruises on his arrival and asked the Governor and Council of Jamaica for their own recommendations of areas that required trade protection and island security.[88] Ford used the experience of those living on the island to guide his squadron and provide the greatest protection, which created a good relationship between Commander-in-Chief Ford and Governor Williamson. For example, Governor Williamson wrote to Ford, 'I shall at all times be happy to cooperate with you in every thing for the good of the Service'.[89] These introductory letters opened an instant dialogue between commander-in-chief and governor on the island. Mutual respect was often expressed and this helped to build a strong working relationship.

This relationship meant governor and commander-in-chief were often together in official contexts, but as recorded in Lady Maria Nugent's journal the relationship could also be one of friendship. In a social capacity, the commander-in-chief at Jamaica, Vice-Admiral Duckworth, and Governor George Nugent frequently dined together and attended family celebrations at each other's residences. Duckworth was invited to attend the Nugent family prayers and the christening of the Governor's child. Similarly, Governor Nugent and his wife celebrated the birthday of Duckworth's son, George Henry, at the Admiral's residence.[90]

Naval commanders viewed island governors as an initial point of contact and a military ally, who not only had experience of living on the island, but also had established connections with prominent islanders and intelligence networks. Admiral Richard Dacres wrote a letter to Governor Nugent to announce his arrival upon assuming command of the Jamaica station from Vice-Admiral Duckworth. In his letter he listed the items he had brought to

[87] NMRN, MSS 179/1, Letter from Rear-Admiral John Ford, the newly appointed commander-in-chief at Jamaica on HMS *Europa* at Port Royal, Jamaica to Lieutenant-General Adam Williamson, Governor of Jamaica (1791-1795), 3 January 1793.
[88] NMRN, MSS 179/1, Letter from Rear-Admiral John Ford on HMS *Europa* at Port Royal, Jamaica to Lieutenant-General Adam Williamson, 6 January 1793.
[89] NMRN, MSS 179/1, Letter from Lieutenant-General Adam Williamson at King's House to Rear-Admiral John Ford, 7 January 1793.
[90] Lady Maria Nugent, *Lady Nugent's Journal of Her Residence in Jamaica from 1801 to 1805*, (Kingston, Jamaica: Institute of Jamaica, 1966), p. 112, 126, 165.

Jamaica for the Governor's wife, including 'two boxes; one full of straw bonnets from dear Lady Buckingham, and the other, lace veils, &c. from dear, dear Lady Temple', and a large packet of letters from her friends in England.[91] This good deed plied favour with a prominent governor and his wife and allowed the new naval commander access to the Governor's social circle, including army officers and the island elite. This offered Dacres the opportunity to make his stay at Jamaica much more comfortable by receiving invites to social events at the Governor's island residence.

The army and navy had a complex relationship and although intimately connected by their professions and their shared role as island protectors, they were often highly competitive and quick to judge their counterparts. As witnessed by army physician, George Pinckard, the naval seamen he met, although found not to be 'violently envious' of the 'soldier officers', were intrigued to know if the soldiers procured greater comforts than their own.[92] This curiosity and suspicion stemmed from sailors being prevented from going ashore and the army being accommodated on land. There was not only tension between the lower ranks, but also between those of the highest rank. The difficulties in communicating efficiently between the Caribbean islands meant instances of misinterpretation, misunderstanding and miscommunication often raised tension between commanders-in-chief and colonial governors.

The main issues between colonial governors and commanders-in-chief were their overlapping commanding roles. It was not as clear as the governors controlling the land and inhabitants, and the commanders-in-chief controlling the seas. The sharing of resources to transport provisions, ammunition, supplies, and troops around the Caribbean and organising convoys for trade vessels required cooperation between governor and commander-in-chief. One particular example of a relationship which fragmented over time due to miscommunication and differing opinions on their responsibilities was between Vice-Admiral Sir Hyde Parker, the commander-in-chief at Jamaica (1796-1800) and Alexander Lindsay, 23rd Earl of Crawford, 6th Earl of Balcarres and Governor of Jamaica from 1795 to 1801. The correspondence between Lord Balcarres

[91] Ibid. p. 200.
[92] George Pinckard, *Notes on the West Indies: Written During the Expedition under the Command of the Late General Sir Ralph Abercromby*, vol 2, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1806), p. 253.

and Vice-Admiral Parker plots their differing opinions on aspects of trade and transport.[93] For example, Balcarres and Parker disagreed on sending naval vessels laden with ammunition to St Domingue to support the rebellion leader Toussaint L'Ouverture. Parker objected to the request to deliver ammunition in June 1800 as he distrusted Toussaint, believing the ammunition was to be used to equip privateers.[94] The correspondence also highlights the quick response of Parker to fall back on the metropole and the strength of Britain's political institution for support. In the case of supplying ammunition to Toussaint, Parker awaited deliberations from British ministers before acting on Balcarres's request.[95] Parker was keen for direct intervention from British ministers when he felt Balcarres was not upholding British legislation. However, Balcarres's focus was on resolving domestic problems internally, rather than referring back to British ministers. Naval commanders therefore kept a firm connection to Britain relying on metropolitan support to uphold Admiralty orders and implement British legislation, such as the Navigation Acts.

1.4 Conclusions

The 1740s established a national British political culture in which colonies of the Caribbean were important, seen by Britons as vital to the expansion of empire and Britain's global power. It became part of the national honour to expand and protect the British colonies in the Caribbean, as trade from the colonies underpinned the British economy and therefore benefitted those living in Britain. European powers fought heavily over the Caribbean colonies throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries because the sugar islands contributed to national economies and their wealth enabled further empire expansion. Therefore, the British Caribbean islands were worth protecting and during the American Revolutionary War it became very clear

[93] NLS, Acc 9769, 23/10/1-1328, Balcarres Correspondence - Alexander Lindsay, Jamaican Correspondence and Papers: Political.
[94] NLS, Acc 9769, 23/10/571, 574-76, Letters from Vice-Admiral Sir Hyde Parker at Admiral's Pen to Governor Balcarres, 30 April 1800, 30 June 1800, 2 July 1800 & 13 July 1800.
[95] NLS, Acc 9769, 23/10/575, Letter from Vice-Admiral Sir Hyde Parker at Admiral's Pen to Governor Balcarres, 2 July 1800.

that the territories in the Caribbean were of greater importance to Britain than the mainland colonies.

The Royal Navy became the vehicle for western expansion, and it was the Seven Years War that allowed the growth of British colonial domination in the Caribbean. The Seven Years War was also a turning point for the navy as it established its supremacy over other European powers and its identity became intimately connected with patriotic valour, loyalty and honour. The conflicts between 1756 and 1815 established the navy as a crucial component to the success of the sugar industry by expanding Britain's empire and protecting the valuable Caribbean islands and their trade routes. The navy contributed a significant amount of resources to the Caribbean, which demonstrates the high importance of the colonial empire to Britain. The navy's varied orders from patrols, convoys and transportation, to front-line defence and diplomacy meant its presence was crucial to protect Britain's economic interest in the Caribbean.

As shown, the operational history of the navy in the Caribbean is well known, yet, it is the navy's social interactions with the region that have not been fully recognised. This chapter has discussed imperial expansion and the sugar revolution that transformed the landscape, economy and societies of the Caribbean islands. It has also shown the operational role of the navy, a role that established the institution as a constant and important presence in the region. Subsequent chapters will therefore examine the navy's social, cultural and economic interactions with the region. The next chapter begins that task by focusing on interactions between naval officers and the elite communities of white inhabitants with an emphasis on the hospitality that allowed officers to integrate into the creole community.

2. Elite interactions

After the six to eight week crossing from Britain to reach the Caribbean, naval seamen were greeted by a 'change of worlds'; new landscape, a stifling climate and a disparate society, unfamiliar and alien to that of Britain.[1] Sailors, as travellers, were accustomed to the unfamiliar and adapted to each new country they visited. However, unlike a posting to the East, Africa or the islands in the Pacific where the indigenous population were in the majority with an established culture diametrically opposed to that of the British, new arrivals to the Caribbean were met by a minority white population, who were similar in their citizenship to Britain, but their 'creolised' culture, although not completely dissimilar, was different from their own. Focusing on the white population, this chapter will address how the navy was able to integrate into colonial society due to the hospitality they received and social events they were invited to by the most powerful inhabitants of the Caribbean islands.

Skin colour unified the white population in the British Caribbean islands. It was not wealth or social status that defined the ruling class, but whiteness. Although population figures for the Caribbean are fragmented, Richard Sheridan has estimated the white population on the British Caribbean islands to be 51,108 between 1771 and 1778, compared with an enslaved population of 420,373.[2] By 1810, Barry Higman estimated that the white population of the British Caribbean islands, including newly conquered islands and the marginal British sugar colonies to be 63,995, a mere 7.2 per cent of the total population of the British Caribbean.[3] This small group of white inhabitants managed to enforce a brutal plantation regime that continually produced the items that Britain demanded throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The estimates of Higman and Sheridan demonstrate the sheer magnitude of the task of a small minority to assert authority and sustain control over a majority population, where whites were commonly outnumbered by ten to one.[4]

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[1] George Pinckard, *Notes on the West Indies: Written During the Expedition under the Command of the Late General Sir Ralph Abercromby*, vol 1, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1806), p. 226.
[2] Sheridan, *Sugar and Slavery*, p. 123.
[3] Higman, *Slave Populations of the British Caribbean, 1807-1834*, p. 77, Table 4.2 - Estimated Slave, Freedman, and White Population by Colony, 1810 and 1830.
[4] Higman, *Plantation Jamaica, 1750-1850*, p. 3; Walvin, *Black Ivory*, p. 73, 225.

Therefore, to maintain control over the enslaved population it was necessary for white inhabitants to show solidarity and unity. The white inhabitants were united by their white complexion as white skin became synonymous with freedom, and blackness with enslavement and inferiority.[5] This declaration offered even the poorest white inhabitants a level of equality not experienced in Britain. Bryan Edwards's published history of the British West Indies stated, 'the poorest White person seems to consider himself nearly on a level with the richest', as there was 'a display of conscious equality throughout all ranks and conditions' of the white inhabitants of the British colonies.[6] Even minority groups marginalised in Europe, such as the Jews, Huguenots and Quakers integrated into the white ruling minority in the British Caribbean islands, as demonstrated by Natalie Zacek in her study on settler societies of the Leeward Islands.[7] Accepting the social and economic conditions of slaveholding and recognising 'whiteness as the defining condition for social privileges' established a distinctive creole attitude. Whiteness was a unifying factor and solidarity was enforced by the collective anxiety and fear of the white inhabitants' fragile state of rule.[8] The whites were so heavily outnumbered that the potential for slave uprising and rebellion was great, which enforced a strong island network of white inhabitants, who put aside social, political and religious prejudice in order to show solidarity. White society also required a united front against the rise in support for the abolitionist movement as it undermined the institution of slavery that sustained the plantation regime.[9] This culturally distinct 'creole' attitude not only united white society in the Caribbean, but it distinguished them from metropolitan society.[10]

Recent scholarship on the colonists of the Caribbean has rejected traditional views of Caribbean society as an un-English disordered society; histories that continued on from eighteenth-century abolitionist discourse.[11]

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[5] Burnard, *Mastery, Tyranny, and Desire*, p. 97.
[6] Bryan Edwards, *The History, Civil and Commercial, of the British Colonies in the West Indies*, 3 edn, vol 2, (London: John Stockdale, 1801), p. 7.
[7] Zacek, *Settler Society in the English Leeward Islands, 1670-1776*, pp. 121-168.
[8] Burnard, *Mastery, Tyranny, and Desire*, p. 250.
[9] Christer Petley, *Slaveholders in Jamaica: Colonial Society and Culture During the Era of Abolition*, (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2009), p. 36.
[10] Burnard, *Mastery, Tyranny, and Desire*, pp. 69-100, p. 250; Petley, *Slaveholders in Jamaica*, p. 52.
[11] For assertions that the white inhabitants of the Caribbean did not create viable societies, see Richard Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves: The Rise of the Planter Class in the English West Indies, 1624-1713*, (Chapel Hill:

Research has shown that these societies were not 'disastrous social failures', but 'viable' societies 'with rules and reason', and the colonists considered themselves to be part of an 'extended British community'.[12] White society in the Caribbean upheld a political framework and organised system of governance in accordance with British notions of elected assemblies and laws. Not only did the white inhabitants confidently self-govern and self-regulate, but they were committed to their British identities and exhibited unstinting support to the Crown. Self-rule, based on British notions of political governance, was highly regarded by white inhabitants. Therefore, any interference from the metropole was seen to undermine the colonists' autonomy and was met by strict opposition.

The political networks on the British Caribbean islands were dominated by white men. However, as noted by Christer Petley, the political sphere was not only the domain of the wealthiest members of the plantocracy, but extended to the majority of white inhabitants as part of a relatively inclusive system. Apart from the Assembly where laws were passed, roles within the parish vestries, law courts and island militias offered active roles to much of the white population.[13] Sharing a political culture helped foster white solidarity and, as described by Kathleen Wilson, was part of the staged 'performance of social power' to maintain control over the majority enslaved population.[14] Part of this 'performance' included social events held by and for the white inhabitants in the metropolitan centres of the Caribbean islands. These social events, including dinners and dances, and offers of hospitality on every plantation were part of, what Trevor Burnard has termed, the 'all-embracing cult of hospitality'.[15]

As this chapter will demonstrate the 'cult of hospitality' was not only about displaying respect and generosity to one another on the island, but also part of embracing new arrivals, including naval officers, into the white community, strengthening the whites' minority position. Social events for

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University of North Carolina Press, 1972); Lowell Joseph Ragatz, *The Fall of the Planter Class in the British Caribbean 1763-1833: A Study in Social and Economic History*, (New York: Century Co., 1928).

[12] Burnard, *Mastery, Tyranny, and Desire*, p. 250; Petley, ''Devoted Islands' and 'That Madman Wilberforce'', p. 397. See also Burnard, 'Et in Arcadia Ego', pp. 19-40; Higman, *Plantation Jamaica, 1750-1850*; Petley, *Slaveholders in Jamaica*; Zacek, *Settler Society in the English Leeward Islands, 1670-1776*.

[13] Petley, *Slaveholders in Jamaica*, pp. 53-67.

[14] Wilson, *The Island Race*, p. 151.

[15] Burnard, *Mastery, Tyranny, and Desire*, p. 79.

white inhabitants and hospitality offered to new arrivals were employed to unite the minority white population as they offered the opportunity to socialise, bond, and share information and experiences building a strong social network that was necessary to maintain control. Hospitality towards new arrivals not only displayed the white inhabitants' British identities through the act of showing hospitality, but they also exhibited their creole attitudes. This chapter explores how this expression of British and creole culture allowed white inhabitants to interact with naval officers, and how these interactions helped to strengthen the white inhabitants' performance of social power by welcoming naval officers, as agents of protection and authority who assuaged the inhabitants' fears of invasion and rebellion, and as conduits of information between the colonies and the metropole.

By demonstrating the strength of the 'cult of hospitality' in enticing naval officers to partake in creole amusements, embrace a creole attitude and, in some cases, to completely embrace creole culture by marrying into creole families and/or becoming slaveholders, this chapter questions Edward Brathwaite's claim that 'the Admirals…did not contribute very much of lasting cultural value to the society' due to their short postings.[16] Although not all naval officers created economic ties with the British Caribbean islands, many kept social connections with members of the white elite and chose to embrace their social privileges as white men whilst stationed in the Caribbean.

This chapter focuses on naval officers who had greater freedom ashore than ordinary sailors. When referring to 'officers' in this chapter the term refers to the highest ranking commissioned sea officers, such as admirals, commodores, post-captains, captains, commanders, and lieutenants, and also non-commissioned officers, such as midshipmen and those termed wardroom officers including the purser, surgeon, chaplain, and master. These wardroom officers were given greater privileges than the petty officers as they were allowed access to the wardroom where the commissioned officers dined and socialised. These officers listed are those who were allowed ashore most frequently. In the case of the purser and surgeon of a ship, they were often allowed ashore to meet victualing agents to replenish the ship's provisions and search for medical supplies.

[16] Brathwaite, *The Development of Creole Society in Jamaica, 1770-1820*, p. 109.

Whilst anchored in harbour ordinary sailors were often confined to the 'wooden world' of the ship as it was thought to be in the sailors' best interest, especially to their health, to stay on board. It was also in the naval officers' best interest to keep sailors on board to prevent desertion, which was a common problem, or drinking to excess on shore. In the Admiralty instructions to Admiral Sir William Cornwallis, on his appointment to command the fleet in the Caribbean, he was recommended to keep the ships and vessels under his command 'at sea as much as possible' and not to let ships into port 'unnecessarily' or remain there any longer than needed. It was felt the health of the men depended upon them not being able 'to idle away their time in Port, where they may be drinking and other debaucheries'.[17] The consequence of allowing sailors ashore was recorded by army physician, Jonathon Troup. In July 1789, Troup wrote of two sailors who were found dead in the market place at Dominica. He noted, 'too many [sailors] are allowed to go & do nothing quite vagabond & destitute of every thing having left vessels & no one regards or pays the least attention no victuals nor does Government interfere to enforce Regulations for them'.[18] Troup captures a period when many sailors lost employment in the service due to relative peace with France, which may also have contributed to destitute sailors on shore.

When a naval ship arrived in the Caribbean there was often time spent in harbour waiting for orders from the commander-in-chief or waiting for the fleet to arrive from Britain, which was often delayed due to crossing conditions. Before ships were sent off cruising or on patrols, naval officers had to wait for orders from the commander-in-chief to be delivered. Therefore, officers were allowed ashore whilst waiting for orders, or whilst their vessels were repaired and refitted, which could take up to a couple of months, often at English Harbour, Antigua.[19] Whilst harboured at Cape Nicholas Mole, St Domingue, waiting for the admiral's arrival, Samuel Carteret had time to go on shore and explore the island. As Carteret commented when he wrote home, 'we therefore waited here for his arrival which allowed us time to amuse ourselves on this new Shore, and recruit our nearly exhausted stock'.[20] Officers were

[17] NMM, COR/6, Admiralty instructions for Admiral Sir William Cornwallis, 25 February 1796.
[18] ABDN, MS 2070, Journal of Jonathon Troup, entry 9 July 1789.
[19] Martin, *Letters and Papers of Sir Thomas Byam Martin*, vol 1, p. 82; Spavens, *The Narrative of William Spavens*, p. 115.
[20] NMM, CAR/8b, Letter from Samuel Carteret at Cape Nicholas Mole, St Domingue to his mother, 13 February 1796.

allowed to explore the local area by going on hunting and fishing expeditions, as well as mapping excursions, which gave officers the possibility of encountering local inhabitants and spending their free time with acquaintances.[21]

Time spent waiting for orders was often used as an opportunity to locate friends who had left Britain to settle in the Caribbean. This was a chance to share experiences of their travels and news of their family back home. Whilst anchored at Barbados, naval surgeon, James Ker, located his friend, William Thomson, who was also stationed there. In his journal that he intended to swap with his friend at a later date, he wrote a reminder about their escapades whilst stationed in Barbados: 'I need not remind you of what happened at Barbados'. He recollected, 'of our Mirth at the Young Ladies Petticoat made into Breeches for Sail, or our Expedition to the Cliff, or of our Catching the Nymphs naked without even a Fig leave in the Posture of the Venus of Medicis'.[22] Ker's statement suggests an adventurous tale of discovery and amusement from exploring the landscape to spying on naked women, evoking images of naked washer women, as depicted in engravings like those by Agostino Brunias (Figure 2).

Although there is evidence of officers being prevented from going ashore, there was a much greater possibility of officers being able to escape the confines of the ship compared with ordinary sailors. The length of time allowed ashore often depended on the current situation in the Caribbean or whether officers had a letter of introduction to be eligible to spend nights ashore. Letters of introduction will now be explored to demonstrate that British customs were maintained by white inhabitants in the Caribbean, and how this practice allowed lower-ranking officers to spend time ashore and the opportunity to experience the 'universal' hospitality of the region.

[21] NMM, PAR/165/2, Letter from William Parker on HMS *La Magicienne* at sea off Cape Francois to his mother, 23 December 1796; WRO, CR114a/312, Journal of Vice-Admiral Lord Hugh Seymour on HMS *Sans Pareil*, entries 11 March 1800 & 17 March 1800; Hoffman, *A Sailor of King George*, pp. 45-47, p. 87, 142.

[22] NLS, MS 1083, Journal of James Ker, fol. 30r.

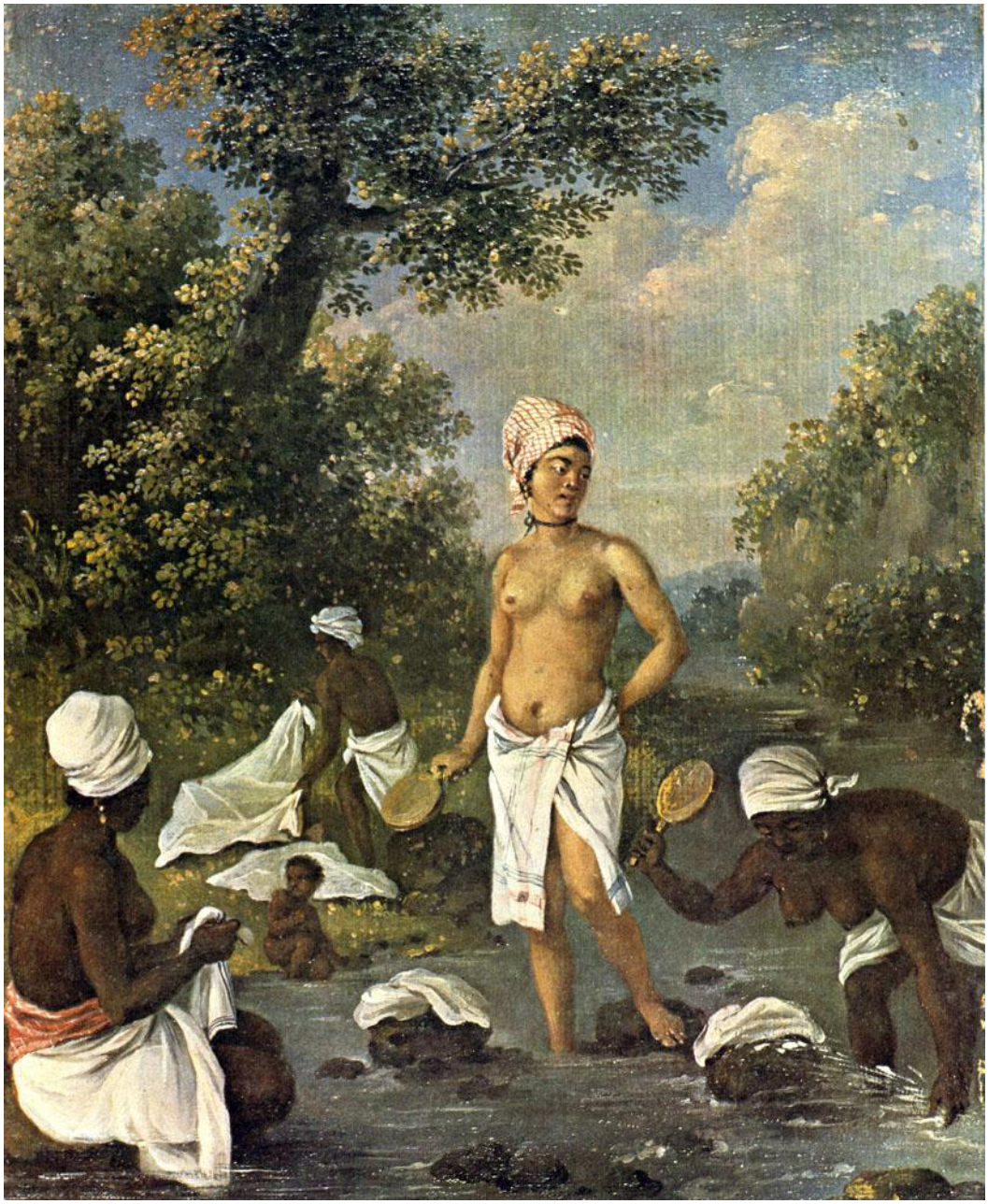

Figure 2. 'West India Washer Women', Agostino Brunias, c.1770 (National Library of Jamaica, Institute of Jamaica, Kingston, Bilby-6, as shown on www.slaveryimages.org).

2.1 Island networks

Seeking patronage with letters of introduction was an important feature of British social etiquette and it was a practice that was upheld on the British Caribbean islands. A letter of introduction or recommendation often provided

freedom from the ship for lower-ranking non-commissioned officers and access to the network of white inhabitants, who could provide food, lodging and entertainment. When thirteen year old, William Parker, was due to sail to Jamaica in 1795, he wrote to his mother to request a letter of introduction: 'if any Body can send a letter of introduction for me to any Body in jamaica or West indies enclose it as it will be very agreeable'.[23] William again wrote to his mother a couple of months later to reiterate his initial request, 'if you know or any of your acquaintance know any Persons at Jamaica or in the West Indies I wish you would try & get me a letter of recommendation & send out as it will be a very pleasant thing to know any one out here & may perhaps get me some pleasant days ashore'.[24] His role on board was as captain's servant to Vice-Admiral John Thomas Duckworth, but Parker was destined to be a naval officer. By having a connection with a white inhabitant ashore, Parker would likely have been granted time ashore by Duckworth to experience creole hospitality, offering him respite from his role on board.

Whilst stationed at Antigua around 1784 and serving as a midshipman, Jeffrey Raigersfeld stayed at the residence of the Hon. Rowland Burton due to a letter of introduction. At that time, Burton was the speaker of the House of Assembly at Antigua and was therefore a prominent member of the white elite.[25] Raigersfeld remained on Burton's plantation, which was 'a little out of town, until the ship's tender came round to St John's'. This comfortable stay ashore and the opportunity to form a relationship with a prominent islander with connections to other members of the white elite were accessible due to the letter of introduction.[26]

Naval officers also formed bonds with white inhabitants through mutual acquaintances. In 1817, whilst stationed at Antigua and serving as a lieutenant, John Harvey Boteler became acquainted with Parson Havercomb, an old school friend of his uncle, John Harvey. This connection of common acquaintance meant Havercomb opened his residence to Boteler and his fellow

[23] NMM, PAR/165/1, Letter from William Parker on HMS *Leviathan* at sea to his mother, 31 May 1795.
[24] NMM, PAR/165/1, Letter from William Parker at Cape Nicholas Mole, St Domingue to his mother, 15 July 1795.
[25] Vere Langford Oliver, *The History of the Island of Antigua, One of the Leeward Caribbees in the West Indies, from the First Settlement in 1635 to the Present Time*, vol 3, (London: Mitchell and Hughes, 1899), p. 320.
[26] Rear-Admiral Jeffrey Baron de Raigersfeld, *Life of a Sea Officer. With Introduction and Notes by L. G. Carr Laughton*, (London: Cassell & Co., 1929), p. 15.

officers, dining on a creole speciality of land crabs.[27] At Cape Nicholas Mole, St Domingue, William Parker dined with Colonel Dundas and met Mr Boddington, a planter. Parker wrote of Boddington: 'born at Walsale [Walsall] & knows Mr Neville I find he knows almost every Body about Lichfield & my Uncle Parker & Whitby. He is particularly civil to me & Has given me free access to his house Which is a very agreeable thing'.[28] The Parker family were from Lichfield, Staffordshire and their regional connection meant they had common acquaintances and this allowed Parker to receive Boddington's hospitality. However, Parker did not find the same ease at making connections whilst stationed at Jamaica in 1800. Parker wrote to his sister, Anne, to express that he had 'not acquainted with a single Family, indeed few or hardly any of the Navy Officers have that honour. I do know a few Batchelors & that is all'.[29]

To form lasting bonds in a short period of time, naval officers often used their familial ties or acquaintances to integrate into the network of white inhabitants. The relatively small white population meant locating someone by name was relatively easy, due to the close island communities. Therefore, when James Ker arrived in Barbados, he attempted to locate an acquaintance from another vessel and spoke to an inhabitant who shared this common acquaintance. This immediate connection made with island inhabitant, Mr Thomson, gave Ker an immediate social tie to the island and an invitation to dine at his residence.[30] When Ker arrived on shore at Basseterre Road, St Christopher he enquired from a local doctor about a friend from Scotland, Mr John Dalgleish. The local doctor knew of Mr Dalgleish as he was a militiaman and manager of an estate. The local doctor offered Ker the hire of a horse and a slave in order to visit Dalgleish's estate.[31] From meeting with his friend, John Dalgleish, Ker was given the details of another fellow Scotsman to contact, Mr Cockram. Upon meeting Mr Cockram, Ker noted that within 'half an hour' they 'were perfectly well acquainted'.[32] Their shared Scottish heritage provided an instant connection and a familiarity in an unfamiliar land. For Ker, it also provided a further network amongst the white inhabitants. Relationships such

[27] Boteler, *Recollections*, p. 72.
[28] NMM, PAR/165/1, Letter from William Parker on HMS *Leviathan* at Cape Nicholas Mole, St Domingue to his brother, George Parker, 15 March 1796.
[29] NMM, PAR/165/2, Letter from William Parker on HM Sloop *Stork* at sea off the Grand Caicos to his sister, Anne, 2 April 1800.
[30] NLS, MS 1083, Journal of James Ker, fol. 15r.
[31] NLS, MS 1083, Journal of James Ker, fol. 20v & 31r.
[32] NLS, MS 1083, Journal of James Ker, fol. 21v.

as the one between Ker and Cockram were the gateway to receiving white hospitality for non-commissioned and wardroom officers, who would not have received invites to social events as did the commissioned officers. Cockram's presentation of a letter of introduction to Ker was vital to help him form relationships with white inhabitants.[33]

Because the white elite upheld this vital extension of British etiquette, lower-ranking officers and wardroom officers were offered the hospitality of food and lodging from white inhabitants. This gave these officers the opportunity to escape the confines of the ship and seek out acquaintances and form island friendships. However, for most commissioned officers, letters of introduction were not required due to their high social rank. As described by naval surgeon, John Waller, the hospitality of the Caribbean was 'confined to those…of property or of high rank, or to such as are about to fill some important situation in the country'.[34] As Sir Thomas Byam Martin recalled, 'nothing could exceed the good feeling and hospitality of all classes of people throughout the Leeward Islands, of which we, the dutiful and loyal inhabitants of the cock-pit, had some share when the restraint upon our going on shore was relaxed'.[35] Therefore, the commissioned officers who were allowed ashore were embraced into the 'cult of hospitality' with invitations to social events and the opportunity to dine and reside on island plantations.

2.2 Universal hospitality

A recurrent theme in contemporary literature and correspondence from the Caribbean is the 'universal' hospitality received throughout the islands.[36] Planters not only obliged in providing their own livestock for victuals for the ships' crew and to the naval hospitals, but naval officers were often invited to dine with the island elite, which gave them the opportunity to lavish the officers with their hospitality, shown through abundant dinners with huge quantities of alcohol, meat, vegetables, and fruit: in short, 'all the good things

[33] NLS, MS 1083, Journal of James Ker, fol. 21v.
[34] Waller, *A Voyage in the West Indies*, p. 7.
[35] Martin, *Letters and Papers of Sir Thomas Byam Martin*, vol 1, p. 82.
[36] George Pinckard, *Notes on the West Indies: Written During the Expedition under the Command of the Late General Sir Ralph Abercromby*, vol 3, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1806), p. 151.

of the colony'.[37] This hospitality open to those ashore was so 'usual', it became known 'as a prevailing characteristic of the inhabitants'.[38] In 1793, Bryan Edwards included this characteristic of the inhabitants in his history of the British West Indies, he wrote, 'In no part of the globe is the virtue of hospitality more generally prevalent, than in the British Sugar Islands. The gates of the planter are always open to the reception of his guests'.[39] Writing in 1834, retired naval officer and author, Captain Frederick Marryat, claimed the island hospitality was 'but too well known', which implies the British public were also aware of their reputation from publications and reports of first-hand experiences.[40] Although naval officers perceived the white inhabitants as somewhat different to themselves and their identity, they were often curious about their customs and practices and their hospitality was welcomed and applauded.

To the local elite, who relied on support from the homeland in order to continue to produce the products Britain demanded, the navy's presence in the Caribbean posed an opportunity to outwardly show their loyalty to Britain. Hospitality was also an inherent feature of British society and therefore by displaying hospitality, white inhabitants were able to enforce their commitment to their British identities.[41] As previously demonstrated the navy was an institution and authoritative power that was highly regarded in the Caribbean, representing British notions of honour and loyalty. As such, it was the local elite's direct connection to the metropole. The local elite's allegiance to the Crown was therefore shown through their lavish hospitality towards the navy, a powerful British institution in the colonies.

Invitations to stay on plantations and organised parties in honour of the navy's arrival were made without hesitation by the local elite and were outward signs of respect towards key figures of a powerful British institution. Letters from Vice-Admiral Alexander Inglis Cochrane's daughter, Jane, describe her family's arrival in the Caribbean in 1810, during her father's governorship of Guadeloupe and the immediate welcome and hospitality her family received

[37] Ibid. p. 202, 214, 358.
[38] Ibid. p. 370, 395.
[39] Edwards, *The History, Civil and Commercial, of the British Colonies in the West Indies*, vol 2, p. 9.
[40] Frederick Marryat, *Peter Simple; or, the Adventures of a Midshipman*, vol 2, (London: Saunders and Otley, 1834), p. 192.
[41] Paul Langford, *Englishness Identified: Manners and Character, 1650-1850*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 226-237.

from the local elite. Upon Jane's arrival in Carlisle Bay, Barbados, she was greeted by a reception from the navy, an Aid de Camp from the governor and an 'invitation from the principal inhabitants to reside with them' during her stay in Barbados.[42] Personal invitations from local planters to dine and stay at their plantation were fairly common with new arrivals, particularly commissioned naval officers. Although declining these offers, preferring instead to stay on board ship, Jane Cochrane soon took up an invitation to dine at the Upton plantation by invitation of Mr Barrow, assumed to be either John or George Barrow, brothers and owners of Upton at that time.[43] Cochrane was a popular and well-established officer, who had earned a good reputation from protecting and supporting the colonies from his initial service as commander-in-chief at the Leeward Islands station in 1805 to his capture of Martinique from the French in 1809 and of Guadeloupe in 1810 in campaigns fought alongside Lieutenant-General George Beckwith.[44] Cochrane was stationed in the Caribbean for nearly ten years of his naval career. Most commanders-in-chief were only posted for a year or two, usually no more than four. The local elite of Barbados were therefore keen to make a good first impression on the family of a man, who held power in the Caribbean: power over the transportation, protection of import and export goods, and communications.

Naval officers' power over island protection, transportation and information circulation created great rivalry between planters, which also stimulated offers of hospitality. Through hospitality, planters used their wealth to curry favour with naval officers in positions of power, who were responsible for providing the resources to defend the island and the plantations from foreign raids and invasions. Even with food from public markets in short supply on some of the islands, it was said that the 'individuals of large estates may find the means of procuring a most ample supply, for their own table', often enjoyed by invited guests, including naval officers.[45] Sir Thomas Byam Martin, who served in the Caribbean as a captain's servant in the 1780s, recalled this competition between planters, who proved their wealth

[42] NLS, Acc 13186, fol. 1, Letter from Jane Cochrane, daughter to Vice-Admiral Alexander Inglis Cochrane at Basseterre, Guadeloupe to Mrs Hall, c. 10 December 1810-1814.
[43] Kathleen Mary Butler, *The Economics of Emancipation: Jamaica and Barbados, 1823-1843*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), p. 99.
[44] Stephen Howarth, 'Cochrane, Sir Alexander Inglis (1758–1832)', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford University Press, (2011), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/5749> [accessed 9 February 2012].
[45] Pinckard, *Notes on the West Indies*, vol 2, p. 358.

and therefore their superiority through the 'profuseness of hospitality'. Influential planter and Member of the Jamaica Assembly, William Mitchell, earned the title of 'King Mitchell' due to the plentiful suppers and entertainment he provided for guests. However, the hospitality was so abundant amongst the planters of Jamaica, Martin considered them all 'as members of the royal family of Jamaica', referring to their equally ample hospitality.[46] The rivalry between planters provided officers with an abundant supply of dinner invites, offering respite from their vessels, entertainment and relative comfort throughout their stay in the Caribbean.

Planters not only shared their provisions and property with the navy, but also their slaves. On arriving back at St Christopher, naval physician, James Ker, visited an acquaintance, Jack Dalgleish, a plantation manager. Ker described Dalgleish as living an unhealthy lifestyle with 'mulatto' women, 'like a Turk in the middle of his Seraglio', which Ker believed had caused Dalgleish's premature aging. Dalgleish offered Ker one of his slaves, Maria, for the night to be his companion, 'a la mode des Iles de Vent' (in the fashion of the Windward Islands).[47] This phrase implies that planters prostituting their slaves was common and, to some extent, expected as part of the hospitality provided to new arrivals. This practice was also experienced by army physician, Jonathon Troup, who, although critical of those who took creole mistresses, did not forbid himself from taking advantage of the enslaved women he was offered by his hosts.[48] With white women's sexuality so restricted and 'firmly regulated' in the eighteenth century, the Caribbean offered a pleasure ground of sexual opportunity to white men, whose whiteness and property rights over slaves gave them 'full sexual licence', a practice which 'suffered little or no social opprobrium'.[49] The practice of planters offering their slaves as sexual objects to naval officers illustrates how planters were keen to share the indulgence of colonial rights with their guests, a practice that was seemingly not refused or condemned by naval officers.

The distinctive creole attitude towards slavery and the social privileges of white men were conveyed to naval officers and enforced by invitations to

[46] Martin, *Letters and Papers of Sir Thomas Byam Martin*, vol 1, p. 86.
[47] NLS, MS 1083, Journal of James Ker, fol. 30v.
[48] ABDN, MS 2070, Journal of Jonathon Troup, entries 12 May 1789 & 15 May 1789, fol. 17v, 40v.
[49] Trevor Burnard, 'The Sexual Life of an Eighteenth-Century Jamaican Slave Overseer', in *Sex and Sexuality in Early America,* ed. by Merril D. Smith (New York: New York University Press, 1998), p. 164.

reside at the plantations. This put naval officers in direct contact with the plantation regime and the institution of slavery as they were able to observe local cultivation and the sugar-making process first-hand. Vice-Admiral John Thomas Duckworth, on his arrival as the new commander-in-chief at Jamaica in 1802, was invited, with Governor Nugent and his wife, Maria, to visit William Mitchell, Member of the Assembly and the estate owner of Bushy Park and New Hill. On a tour of the New Hill estate, Duckworth observed the sugar-making process, including visits to the boiling-house and the distillery. Whilst at Mitchell's estate the guests were lavished with the usual hospitality, including 'an abundant *Creole* breakfast' and a grand dinner of 'loads of hot meats'.[50] Duckworth commented that Jamaica 'was a Paradise', wholly unmoved by his observations of slaves at work.[51] Similarly to Duckworth, between 1799 and 1800, Lieutenant Frederick Hoffman was invited to stay on a Jamaican plantation and observed the cabins of the slaves and their cultivated plots. He described the plantation as 'like a Paradise', with three hundred slaves living as 'one happy family'.[52] Officers who were offered the opportunity to stay ashore in the relative comfort of a plantation house and lavished with hospitality often accepted their hosts' distinctive creole attitude towards slavery, and in most cases, accepted that what they observed as favourable to the slaves, the colonies and therefore to Britain.[53]

The motivations for this widespread hospitality will be expanded on in the following chapter, focusing on the white inhabitants' dependency on the Royal Navy and their constant anxiety regarding island protection. However, what the journals of naval officers have shown, with regards to the hospitality they received, is that the navy's presence in the Caribbean was made much more comfortable by the planters' wealth. The local elite's obliging need to prove their national identity to naval officers, who were well respected in Britain and pillars of a British institution that was fundamental to British identity, was shown through the commodities planters had at their disposal: food, drink and slaves. Although faithful to the homeland and their British identities,

[50] Nugent, *Lady Nugent's Journal*, pp. 62-63.
[51] Ibid. p. 63.
[52] Hoffman, *A Sailor of King George*, pp. 76-77.
[53] Other examples of plantation visits found in NLS, MS 1083, Journal of James Ker, 21r; NMM, GRT/10, Journal of Samuel Grant, purser of HMS *Goliath*, entry 30 June 1802; WRO, CR114a/312, Journal of Vice-Admiral Lord Hugh Seymour on HMS *Sans Pareil*, entries 29 January 1800 & 30 January 1800; Boteler, *Recollections*, p. 72; Raigersfeld, *Life of a Sea Officer*, p. 15.

expressed in their retention of British customs, the white inhabitants' creolised amusements, which in particular created hostility in Britain towards the colonial elite, were too pleasurable to be denied or hidden from their naval guests. These creole customs were also enforced at social events, which will now take the focus.

2.3 Socialising

Regular social events, such as dinners and balls organised by the white elite, offered new arrivals the opportunity to socialise with white inhabitants and indulge in their extravagant hospitality. These events were necessary to enforce white solidarity, and part of showing solidarity was embracing naval officers into this community. Social events were opportunities for white inhabitants to show respect to one another, share information and experiences, and build a strong island network. These events were also an opportunity to exhibit their civility, wealth, and hospitality to new arrivals.[54]

Large organised events could be overwhelming to new arrivals and rather than an opportunity for naval officers to discuss issues of island security and make arrangements for transportation, these large events were an opportunity to enjoy the hospitality on offer and to make initial connections with the most prominent members of the white elite. Maria Nugent recorded large parties hosted by Matthew Atkinson of Bogle, Atkinsons and Co., Kingston, who held the offices of commissary general and island secretary during Governor Nugent's office. She recalled that 'half Kingston and Port Royal' attended, from military and naval officers to influential members of the Assembly, including Lewis Cuthbert and the powerful and wealthy planter, Simon Taylor.[55] In the journal of Vice-Admiral Lord Hugh Seymour he frequently recorded attending large social dinners and balls with colonial governors, assembly presidents and members, and merchants, whilst visiting the Leeward Islands,

[54] Christer Petley, 'Gluttony, Excess, and the Fall of the Planter Class in the British Caribbean', *Atlantic Studies,* 9, (1), 2012, p. 87.
[55] Nugent, *Lady Nugent's Journal*, p. 30.

before taking up his post as the commander-in-chief at Jamaica.[56] Events were also organised in honour of naval officers, with Admiral George Bridges Rodney being one of the most notable after his victory at the Battle of the Saintes in 1782. It was noted that the merchants of Kingston raised over fifteen hundred pounds from subscriptions to put on a dinner and 'grand entertainment' for Rodney and three hundred guests. Whilst Rodney was at Jamaica, there was also an event organised at Spanish Town and a ball at King's House, all in honour of his victory.[57]

However, for the white inhabitants, large dinners were seen as opportunities to make connections with commissioned officers who held the greatest authority in the navy. These connections helped to secure transportation of goods and passage to other islands. For example, whilst at a dinner hosted by Mr John Pye Molloy, Registrar of the Admiralty, John Harvey Boteler, at the time a lieutenant, was invited to stay with island resident, Mr Nihill. In return for his hospitality Boteler granted Mr Nihill passage to Trinidad.[58] This relationship was formed from a dinner attended by prominent white inhabitants and ended with a mutually beneficial arrangement of hospitality for safe passage. This meeting with Mr Nihill then led on to more invitations to dine with other members of the white elite, such as Mr Dobridge.[59]

Dinners and balls were also opportunities for the white population to show their prominent naval guests that they were as civilised and hospitable as high society in Britain. Maria Nugent reported that members of the council and Jamaican assembly organised a ball in her honour at the House of Records. Both the army and the navy were invited to dine with the principal inhabitants of the island, who held a level of authority in Jamaica. The House of Records was lavishly decorated with silks and flowers, with a dinner of peacock presented with all the feathers.[60] This attention to decoration and spectacularly presented food showed the islanders as civilised hosts, who

[56] WRO, CR114a/312, Journal of Vice-Admiral Lord Hugh Seymour on HMS *Sans Pareil*, entries 28 January 1800, 29 January 1800, 30 January 1800, 14 February 1800, 12 March 1800, 16 March 1800, 17 March 1800 & 18 March 1800.
[57] NMM, MKH/501, Letter from Rear-Admiral Samuel Hood on HMS *Barfleur* at Jamaica to his brother, 8 July 1782.
[58] Boteler, *Recollections*, p. 65.
[59] Ibid. p. 69.
[60] Nugent, *Lady Nugent's Journal*, p. 41.

could organise a ball to the high standards expected at events in Britain. However, this expression of gentility was often shattered by their eccentricities and 'creole decadence' with extravagant feasting, drinking, and smoking, which their slaveholding wealth allowed to great excess.[61]

These creole peculiarities and decadence were observed and sketched by Abraham James, a soldier who served in the 67th (South Hampshire) Regiment of Foot, stationed in Jamaica between 1798 and 1801. James's illustrations give prominence to the military presence at social events held by the white elite, even though it is unclear, due to the colour variations of the uniforms, which officers James originally intended to represent, seen in different prints of the same image of 'A Grand Jamaica Ball!, or, The Creolean hop a la muftee; as exhibeted in Spanish Town' (Figure 3 & Figure 4). 'A Grand Jamaica Ball!' depicts officers attending a large ball with music, dancing and drinking. Although the sketch seems to portray a refined occasion with smartly attired invitees in a lavish setting with respectable military and naval officers in attendance, it also distinguishes the more 'creole' elements of Jamaican white society, which conflicted with British norms. To a British audience, the oversized wine glasses, unrefined 'simple country' dancing,[62] debaucheries on the balcony, and large group of faceless slaves in the background depicted Jamaican society as an alien community opposed to British values of politeness, refinement and liberty. The excessive consumption and 'creole' amusements James witnessed became the distinguishing features of white creole culture. While it is unknown whether Abraham James had any formal training or simply felt inspired to sketch caricatures of his fellow military men socialising with the local elite, his illustrations became part of the canon of images of Jamaican society that reinforced the differences between creole and British behaviours, and marginalised the colonists from British society.

The illustrations by James accompanied reports from visitors to the Caribbean, such as James Ramsay, Maria Nugent, and Pierre F. McCallum, which portrayed the violence, gluttony, and moral degeneration of the planters of the British Caribbean islands.[63] These images and reports reinforced the

[61] Petley, 'Gluttony, Excess, and the Fall of the Planter Class', p. 89.
[62] Boteler, *Recollections*, p. 83.
[63] Pierre F. McCallum, *Travels in Trinidad During the Months of February, March, and April, 1803; in a Series of Letters, Addressed to a Member of the Imperial Parliament of Great Britain*, (Liverpool: W.

belief that slave-owning and the wealth associated with slaveholding encouraged sinful behaviour, including excessive feasting, drinking and interracial concubinage. This presentation of the Caribbean as a place of sin, brutality and immorality was promoted to a British audience by the abolitionist campaign and increased public support against slavery. As British support towards the abolitionist campaign increased in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, the colonists were no longer perceived as 'productive and useful members of empire' and their increasing cultural differences marginalised them from the British public.[64]

Figure 3. 'A Grand Jamaica Ball!, or, The Creolean hop a la muftee; as exhibeted in Spanish Town', A.J. 67th Regt. attributed to Abraham James, published by William Holland, 1802 (Courtesy of The Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University, lwlpr10214).

Jones, 1805); Nugent, *Lady Nugent's Journal*; James Ramsay, *An Essay on the Treatment and Conversion of African Slaves in the British Sugar Colonies*, (London: James Phillips, 1784).

[64] Petley, 'Gluttony, Excess, and the Fall of the Planter Class', pp. 85-100.

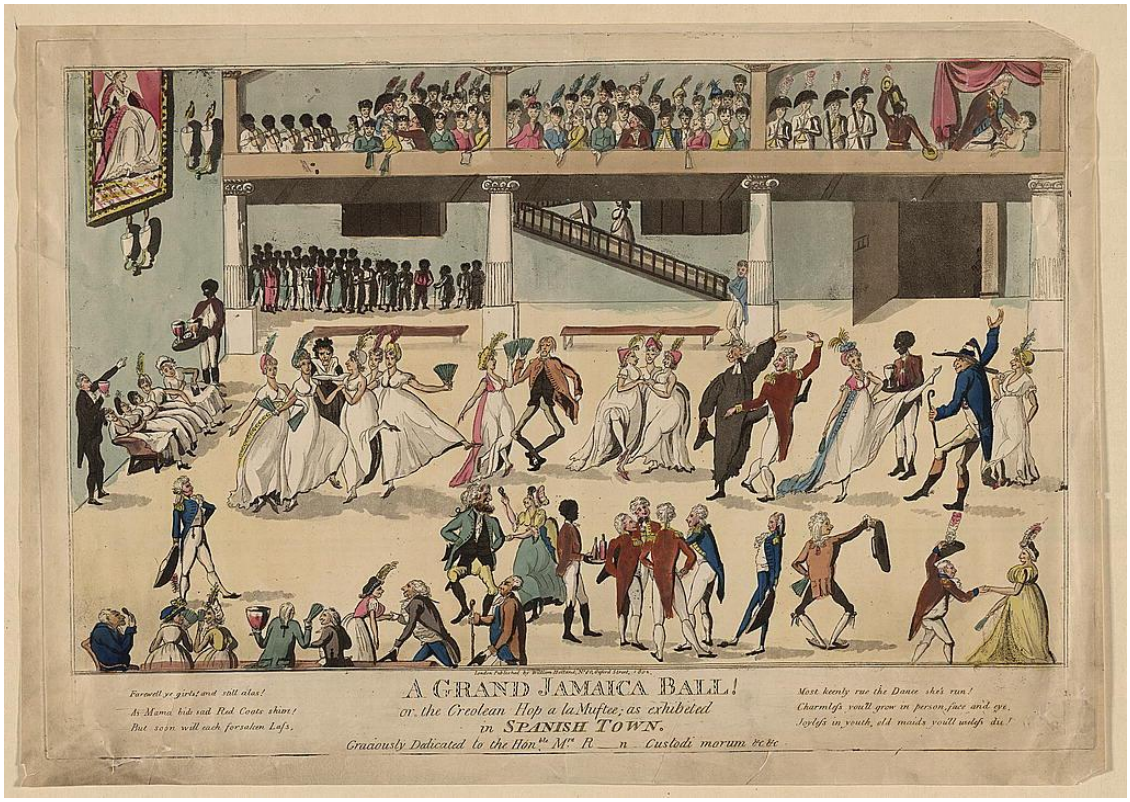

Figure 4. 'A Grand Jamaica Ball! or the Creolean hop a la muftee; as exhibeted in Spanish Town', A.J. 67th Regt. attributed to Abraham James, published by William Holland, 1802 (Library of Congress, Washington, LC-DIG-ppmsca-07200).

James's illustrations and Nugent's journal demonstrate the white elite's desire to share their creole customs with island visitors, including the army and navy, offering exotic foods, alcohol and tobacco. They also show, to some extent, how officers embraced these creole customs. Although military historian, Roger Buckley, concludes that James's illustrations portray 'a dislike, perhaps hatred, of this frontier colony and its inhabitants', the caricatures also suggest a feeling of contempt towards the military's conduct whilst stationed in Jamaica, as they were not averse to the sharing in creole amusements.[65] 'Segar Smoking Society in Jamaica!' (Figure 5) illustrates officers enjoying the typically creole amusement of smoking tobacco and drinking sangaree. Both the men and women have their feet elevated in the air, resting against the wall and table to prevent swelling in the stifling heat; a posture very unusual to a

[65] Roger Norman Buckley, 'The Frontier in the Jamaican Caricatures of Abraham James', *Yale University Library Gazette*, 58, 1984, p. 154.

British audience.[66] Although this illustration was perceived by the British population as depicting the white elite's loose morals and lack of sophistication, exemplified by the oversized glasses and the men and women being seated consecutively, it also suggests the officers' willing involvement in such activities.

Figure 5. 'Segar Smoking Society in Jamaica!', A.J. 67th Regt. attributed to Abraham James, published by William Holland, 1802 (Courtesy of The Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University, lwlpr10319).

The lack of moral restraint in the Caribbean portrayed in James's illustrations affected naval officers and their behaviour. Although peculiar to a British audience, naval officers did not seem horrified by the display of creole decadence, but instead adopted the cultural elements of the creole community and enjoyed the lavish hospitality. Whether taking part in the excessive drinking and feasting was part of an attempt to build relationships and connections with white inhabitants or simply part of a hedonistic escape from

[66] Waller, *A Voyage in the West Indies*, p. 21.

the hardship of military service, especially for James's comrades who had witnessed the violence and brutality of the slave rebellions in St Domingue, the local elite's extravagant lifestyles provided relative comfort and entertainment to the navy whilst stationed in the Caribbean.

The paucity of white women often infuriated those stationed in the Caribbean and social events, such as those illustrated by James, were one of the only opportunities officers had to interact with local white women.[67] A doctor at Dominica was even recorded to have requested a wife to be sent to him from Edinburgh due to the scarcity of white women on the island.[68] Young white women were therefore doted on by naval officers, particularly at balls where naval officers were keen for a dancing partner. Maria Nugent remarked at one grand ball hosted by members of the council at the House of Records that she danced 'almost to death, to please both civil and military, army and navy'.[69]

However, naval officers as members of a respectable and popular profession appealed to young white women in the Caribbean. As Buckley comments, women of the colonies were drawn to military and naval officers as they appeared to be the 'agents of culture and civilization' due to their 'superbly refined uniform and posture' in contrast to the local white men.[70] In 'A Grand Jamaica Ball!', the officers command the gaze of the young white women in attendance and use their elevated status to take advantage of their situation, illustrated by two officers kissing and molesting local women on the balcony, and possibly an officer seductively leading a woman upstairs.

This behaviour, illustrated by James, earned naval officers a reputation as philanderers and because white women were in the minority, local white men were protective of them. For example, island inhabitant, Mr. Wilson, was suspicious of naval surgeon, James Ker, as he believed Ker was having an affair

[67] For example, 'Edward Stehelin complains of being at Port Royal, melancholy place, with scarce one White Lady', in Hampshire Record Office, 1M44/100/8 , Letter from Lord Wallingford regarding military captain, Edward Stehelin, to his sister Lady Laetitia Knollis, 3 April 1790; NLS, MS 1083, Journal of James Ker, fol. 15v;

[68] 'very few white women- Dr Lad has been 5 years out & sent for Wife from Edin_ & married next day after her arrival & is properly settled_ on Estate', in ABDN, MS 2070, Journal of Jonathon Troup, entry 16 May 1789.

[69] Nugent, *Lady Nugent's Journal*, p. 41.

[70] Buckley, 'The Frontier in the Jamaican Caricatures of Abraham James', p. 156.

with his wife.[71] This reputation for pursuing and seducing the local women is also highlighted in James's choice to dedicate his illustration to the 'Custodi morum', translated as 'guardian of morals'. This is suggested by Buckley to be Mrs Rodon, wife of the Custos of St Catherine's parish.[72] The dedication to Mrs Rodon, as 'guardian of morals', epitomises the concerns of parents, who were in a constant battle to protect their 'virtuous' daughters from brief liaisons with military officers, who were only stationed in the region for a limited time. Admiral Alexander Cochrane made concerted efforts to keep his daughter away from young naval captains by seating her with older military officers. At a dinner on Guadeloupe with prominent navy and army officers, including the commander-in-chief at the Leeward Islands station, Rear-Admiral Francis Laforey, and General Wall, Jane Cochrane remarked that she had to 'be seated by all the old dons'.[73] As explored later in this chapter, these parental concerns were well founded. Many naval officers pursued relationships with creole women. For some, these interactions with creole women developed into committed relationships of marriage.

To repay the hospitality the navy received on shore from white inhabitants, the naval commanders-in-chief often organised social events. These often took place at the admiral's residence ashore, known as 'Admiral's Pen'. A 'pen' was a term for a livestock farm that reared working animals for the sugar estates and also produced food, often on land not suitable for sugar cane.[74] There were over three hundred pens in Jamaica by 1782, which contributed to the diversity of the colonial economy.[75] Admiral's Pen, as depicted in William Berryman's ink and watercolour sketch taken between 1808 and 1815 (Figure 6), was situated near Kingston, and was surrounded by lush vegetation. The drawing shows the gated entrance to the pen with the residence in the far distance. Frank Cundall attributes the purchase of

[71] NLS, MS 1083, Journal of James Ker, fol. 35v.
[72] Buckley, 'The Frontier in the Jamaican Caricatures of Abraham James', pp. 159-160.
[73] NLS, Acc 13186, fol. 1, Letter from Jane Cochrane, daughter to Vice-Admiral Alexander Inglis Cochrane at Basseterre, Guadeloupe to Mrs Hall, c. 10 December 1810-1814.
[74] See Verene Shepherd, 'Livestock and Sugar: Aspects of Jamaica's Agricultural Development from the Late Seventeenth to the Early Nineteenth Century', *The Historical Journal*, 34, (3), 1991, pp. 627-643; Verene Shepherd, 'Trade and Exchange in Jamaica in the Period of Slavery', in *The Slavery Reader*, ed. by Gad Heuman and James Walvin (London; New York: Routledge, 2003), pp. 162-174.
[75] W. J. Gardner, *A History of Jamaica, from Its Discovery by Christopher Columbus to the Year 1872*, 2nd edn, (London: Unwin, 1909), p. 161 cited in Shepherd, 'Livestock and Sugar: Aspects of Jamaica's Agricultural Development from the Late Seventeenth to the Early Nineteenth Century', p. 631.

Figure 6. 'Lindos, ent[ra]nc[e] to Admirals pen from Greenwich, Jamaica', William Berryman, between 1808 and 1815 (Library of Congress, LC-USZ62-136763).

Admiral's Pen in 1774 to Rodney's command of the Jamaica station.[76] Although Rodney had little use of the residence as his command ended in 1774, his successors frequently used Admiral's Pen for large social events. Upon visiting the residence in 1799, William Parker described it as a 'nice Penn', where the commander-in-chief, Vice-Admiral Sir Hyde Parker, 'gave one of the most superb balls ever known in Jamaica on the Queens Birthnight to the English & French Ladies at Jamaica'.[77] Governor Nugent and his wife, Maria, frequently visited Admiral's Pen, during the naval command of Vice-Admiral Duckworth and Admiral Richard Dacres. Maria Nugent recorded in her journal numerous parties, dinners, breakfasts and balls attended by officers of the

[76] Frank Cundall, *Studies in Jamaica History. With Illustrations by Mrs. Lionel Lee*, (London: published by Sampson Low, Marston & Co. for the Institute of Jamaica 1900), p. 39; Frank Cundall, *Historic Jamaica*, (London: Ballantine Press, published by the West India Committee for the Institute of Jamaica, 1915), p. 210.

[77] NMM, PAR/165/2, Letter from William Parker on HMS *Queen* at Port Royal, Jamaica to his sister, Miss Anne Parker, 1 February 1799.

navy and army, sometimes including Spanish and French naval officers, prominent officials such as Charles Cameron, Governor of the Bahamas, and members of the white elite.[78] Admiral's Pen was used as another social space alongside public buildings, such as assembly buildings and the governor's residence, where white inhabitants could unite as a community and display their social dominance.

Naval officers also reciprocated the hospitality they received by inviting white inhabitants to dine aboard naval ships. Invites to dine aboard a naval vessel were regular, as with dining at Admiral's Pen or the governor's residence. Whilst visiting the island of St Vincent, Vice-Admiral Lord Hugh Seymour hosted a breakfast on board HMS *Sans Pareil* for twelve ladies and the president and members of the council. The breakfast was in response to the abundant invites of hospitality Seymour had received when he arrived on the island three days previously, which included public dinners, tavern invites, plantation invites, and balls.[79] Instances of reciprocated hospitality are also recorded in Maria Nugent's journal including invites from Vice-Admiral Duckworth to Mr Murphy, Member of the Assembly and Custos and his family to dine aboard *Hercule* with Governor Nugent, his wife, and all the captains of the navy.[80] The 'principal gentlemen of the island' also came on board Jonathan Troup's ship upon his arrival in Roseau, Dominica.[81] A sketch by Captain Edward Pelham Brenton drawn whilst stationed in the Caribbean depicts a familiar scene of a naval wardroom with socialising, conversing and drinking, a privilege reserved for commissioned officers (Figure 7). The clothing and the hats hanging on the wardroom wall suggest that naval officers and marines/military personnel are present, as well as a local inhabitant. The central man dressed in black with large swollen legs, likely to be a local planter. In the recollections of Rear-Admiral Jeffrey Raigersfeld, he noted this distinctive feature of the local inhabitants, 'the white men [...] are subjected to very thick legs; whether this comes from the water or not I cannot judge, but they have an odd appearance, for their legs are as thick as their thighs'.[82]

[78] Nugent, *Lady Nugent's Journal*, pp. 100-101, p. 113, pp. 138-139, p. 145, 157, 165, 167, 179, pp. 201-202, p. 213, 230.
[79] WRO, CR114a/312, Journal of Vice-Admiral Lord Hugh Seymour on HMS *Sans Pareil*, entries 16 March 1800, 17 March 1800, 18 March 1800 & 19 March 1800.
[80] Nugent, *Lady Nugent's Journal*, p. 200.
[81] ABDN, MS 2070, Journal of Jonathon Troup, entry 11 May 1789.
[82] Raigersfeld, *Life of a Sea Officer*, pp. 16-17.

Figure 7. 'A ward room mess', Captain Edward Pelham Brenton, c. 1801 (NMM, PAF8407).

These events organised by naval officers provided an intimate venue to connect and network with prominent islanders, which was often more difficult at the larger events held by the white elite. These smaller meetings offered naval officers the opportunity to meet the island's governor in a familiar setting, or, as put by Frederick Hoffman of the HMS *Favourite* in 1808, meet 'some more bigwigs'.[83] These meetings often led to further invitations extended by the white elite to naval officers. The dinner Hoffman attended allowed him to network with prominent islanders, earning an invite to a dinner held by the admiral's secretary, Maxwell, who had a residence on the island. For naval officers, who were not allowed to venture ashore due to their captain's orders, these more intimate dinners on board allowed officers to meet island inhabitants and gain connections and invites that would have allowed them time ashore.

Social events held by the white elite and the reciprocated hospitality of the navy allowed naval officers to form lasting bonds with white inhabitants. Friendships that continued when naval officers returned to Britain, as emphasised in the following section. The extent to which naval officers fully

[83] Hoffman, *A Sailor of King George*, p. 141.

integrated into the creole community, creating lasting social ties and investing economically in the region, will be expanded on now, focusing on evidence from the papers and journals of naval officers, and the records of slave-ownership.[84]

2.4 Lasting ties

The breadth of British slave-ownership was widespread throughout empire and extended beyond the men and women who settled in the Caribbean. Naval officers also belonged to the section of British society who benefitted from slaveholding. Compensation records of British slave-ownership highlight how dispersed slave-owning was throughout Britain, and as Nick Draper has estimated, over half the twenty million pounds of British tax payers' money set aside for the compensation to British slave-owners remained in Britain.[85] By searching through the compensation records of the 1830s, it is possible to track the wealth of the remuneration process, exploring the identities of the claimants, their status in society and how the wealth passed to their descendants. Therefore, the records shows the wide distribution of wealth throughout Britain with claimants not only being those directly involved in the sugar industry, such as planters, merchants and traders, but also clergymen, figures of political influence, single women and widows, and most significantly for this thesis, naval officers and their descendants. The Legacies of British Slave-ownership (LBS) project has followed the wealth of claimants and their descendants into the 1870s, and has estimated that 'somewhere between 10-20 per cent of Britain's wealthy can be identified as having had significant links to slavery'.[86] The compensation records reiterate the direct link between the Caribbean and Britain, and shows how the legacies of slavery have culturally, socially, economically, and physically shaped modern Britain.

As compensation records were analysed to create the LBS database, it is not possible to identify all slave-owners from the seventeenth and eighteenth

[84] UCL - Department of History, 'Legacies of British Slave-Ownership Database', UCL, (2014), <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs> [accessed 18 November 2013].
[85] Nick Draper, *The Price of Emancipation: Slave-Ownership, Compensation and British Society at the End of Slavery*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).
[86] UCL - Department of History, 'Legacies of British Slave-Ownership Database - Project Context', UCL, (2014), <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/project/context/> [accessed 18 November 2013].

century whose direct links with slavery were severed before owners were remunerated after the abolition of slavery. Due to these limitations, it is not possible to extract the names of every naval officer who owned slaves in the British Caribbean. However, the database highlights that at the beginning of the nineteenth century there were naval officers and their descendants who were claimants of the compensation process, with the majority having inherited land and slaves in the Caribbean through familial connections or due to their marriages to creole women. Simply searching the database for those with records that state their occupation was in the Royal Navy draws a result of forty-four individuals. The search gives examples of those who served in the navy such as Sir William Crisp Hood Burnaby, 3rd Baronet (1788-1853), who was a naval commander in the Royal Navy and awarded compensation for seventeen enslaved people under two awards on Bermuda. Crisp Hood Burnaby was also the grandson of Rear-Admiral Sir William Burnaby, the commander-in-chief at Jamaica between 1764 and 1766, and briefly in 1771.[87] Naval claimants' paths of ownership are often connected to their wives, such as Admiral Sir Edward Codrington (1770-1851), who married daughter of Jasper Hall of Kingston. Codrington, stated as one of the proprietors of Browns estate, St Philips, was involved in a claim for 190 enslaved people.[88] Rear-Admiral Sir Robert Lewis Fitzgerald also claimed in right of his wife, Jane Fitzgerald (née Welch), daughter of Richard Welch, former Chief Justice of Jamaica. Welch left the Hyde estate to his children; therefore Fitzgerald claimed a share of compensation for 147 enslaved people in right of his wife.[89]

Focusing on the period between 1756 and 1815, the compiled list of commanders-in-chief at Jamaica and the Leeward Islands (Appendix 1) offers an interesting sample of the highest ranking naval officers, some of whom were involved in land and slave-owning. The compiled list draws together a total of fifty commanders, including those promoted to the role temporarily

[87] UCL - Department of History, 'Legacies of British Slave-Ownership Database - Sir William Crisp Hood Burnaby (1788-1853) (Connected to Bermuda Claims Nos. 597 and 598)', UCL, (2014), <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/6903> [accessed 20 November 2013].
[88] UCL - Department of History, 'Legacies of British Slave-Ownership Database - Admiral Sir Edward Codrington (1770-1851) (Connected to Antigua Claim No. 54 (Browns (Sp?), St Philips))', UCL, (2014), <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/40899> [accessed 20 November 2013]; J. K. Laughton, revised by Roger Morriss, 'Codrington, Sir Edward (1770-1851)', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford University Press, (2008), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/5796> [accessed 20 July 2013].
[89] UCL - Department of History, 'Legacies of British Slave-Ownership Database - Rear-Admiral Sir Robert Lewis Fitzgerald (1776-1844) (Connected to Jamaica, St Thomas-in-the-Vale Claim No. 294 (Hyde Estate))', UCL, (2014), <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/46193> [accessed 20 November 2013].

whilst permanent replacements were sent to the Caribbean. Out of these fifty individuals, who served between 1756 and 1815, at least ten commanders had connections with plantations and slave-owning in the British Caribbean, with the majority having acquired land and slaves through marriage to creole women. For example, Alan Gardner, naval officer and the commander-in-chief at Jamaica in the 1780s, married Susannah Hyde, widow of Sabine Turner of Jamaica and the daughter and heir of Francis Gale and Susannah Hall. Susannah Hall, heiress to her father, James Hall, owned the plantation Hyde Hall, the only silver mine in Jamaica and several other estates, which passed to the possession of her husband, Francis Gale. Susannah Hyde therefore came from a prominent and powerful creole family. The couple married at Kingston on 20 May 1769.[90] Other examples include Vice-Admiral Alexander Inglis Cochrane who owned the Good Hope estate at Trinidad, and Admiral John Laforey who owned a number of plantations at Antigua at the time of his death in 1796.[91]

Another of those commanders was Sir Peter Parker, 1st Baronet (1721-1811), who was the commander-in-chief at Jamaica between 1778 and 1782. Parker was a naval officer who fully integrated into the creole community investing economically in the region, marrying Margaret Nugent, whose father, Walter, owned the Clare Hall estate in Antigua.[92] This estate was bought by Walter Nugent's son-in-law, Robert Skerrett, and the estate became known as 'Skerrett's'. Margaret's sister, Antonetta, wife of Robert Skerrett came into possession of the plantation in 1771 upon Robert Skerrett's death. However, Antonetta's possession of the plantation was subject to a two thousand pound payment to her sister, Margaret, and a six thousand pound mortgage to Sir Peter Parker as Parker had put up the money originally for Robert Skerrett to

[90] J. K. Laughton, revised by Christopher Doorne 'Gardner, Alan, First Baron Gardner (1742-1808/9)', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford University Press, (2008), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/10371> [accessed 20 November 2013].
[91] UCL - Department of History, 'Legacies of British Slave-Ownership Database - Trinidad (Good Hope) Claim 1632', UCL, (2014), <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/29438> [accessed 18 November 2013]; J. K. Laughton, revised by Alan G. Jamieson, 'Laforey, Sir John, First Baronet (1729?–1796)', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford University Press, (2008), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/15878> [accessed 7 May 2011].
[92] Oliver, *The History of the Island of Antigua, One of the Leeward Caribbees in the West Indies, from the First Settlement in 1635 to the Present Time*, vol 3, p. 88.

purchase the estate.[93] Parker gained control of the plantation and stock in August 1776. According to papers of Parker's estate, Parker's attorney, Rowland Burton, Chief Justice of Antigua, remained in control of the estate upon Parker's death in 1811.[94] Parker therefore invested money in Caribbean land by lending Robert Skerrett the money to purchase the original estate. However, according to Vere Langford Oliver's *The History of Antigua*, the Skerrett's estate was sold to the Codrington family and therefore did not remain in the Parker family upon Peter Parker's death in 1811.[95] The 1821 purchaser of the estate, Sir Christopher Bethell-Codrington claimed compensation for 296 enslaved people under the estate's original name, Clare Hall in 1835.[96] This vast claim suggests the probable large size of Parker's investment in the 1760s, before he had amassed a significant fortune from prize money whilst stationed at Jamaica.

Generations later the Parker family was again involved in land and slaves in Antigua. Parker's son, grandson and great-grandson all continued with the family profession in the navy, but his great-grandson, Sir Peter Parker, 3rd Baronet (1809-1835), also followed in his great-grandfather's footsteps by owning slaves in Antigua. Although Parker, 3rd Baronet, died before claiming compensation for his slaves, it is possible to find out the extent of his slaveholding in Antigua through the compensation records. Parker's aunt, Henrietta Dallas, claimed successfully for ten enslaved people in Antigua. This was against an unsuccessful counterclaim by Parker's mother, Lady Marianne Parker (née Dallas), as Parker's guardian.[97] Dallas's claim for ten slaves sheds light on Parker's investment in Antigua, which although was not the large scale slave-ownership required for a sugar plantation, it was a significant investment.

Sir Peter Parker, 1st Baronet, was also the commander-in-chief at Jamaica when Nelson was stationed there as the commander of Fort Charles. Although

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[93] Vere Langford Oliver, *The History of the Island of Antigua, One of the Leeward Caribbees in the West Indies, from the First Settlement in 1635 to the Present Time*, vol 1, (London: Mitchell and Hughes, 1894), pp. 170-171.
[94] GA, D1610/L5a, Papers of Peter Parker's estate, Antigua.
[95] Oliver, *The History of the Island of Antigua, One of the Leeward Caribbees in the West Indies, from the First Settlement in 1635 to the Present Time*, vol 3, p. 88.
[96] UCL - Department of History, 'Legacies of British Slave-Ownership Database - Antigua Claim 101 (Clare Hall, St John)', UCL, (2014), <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/642> [accessed 18 November 2013].
[97] UCL - Department of History, 'Legacies of British Slave-Ownership Database - Antigua Claim 728', UCL, (2014), <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/136> [accessed 18 November 2013].

Nelson was unsuccessful in his attempt to make riches from prize money in the Caribbean, Parker was particularly successful.[98] Nelson later commented that Parker bought an estate in Essex upon his return to Britain, 'thanks to Jamaica for the money'.[99] As the commander-in-chief at Jamaica, Parker was a significant figure who helped Nelson to understand the island networks and the system of hospitality. As a naval officer stationed in the region, Nelson often received invites to dine on the plantations and at Admiral's Pen in Kingston.[100] Nelson fully exploited the system of hospitality and this continued whilst stationed at the Leeward Islands. This system allowed Nelson to integrate with the creole community and led to his marriage to a creole woman, Frances 'Fanny' Nisbet. Nelson is the most well-known naval officer who married a creole woman whilst stationed in the region. In 1785, Nelson, whilst serving as a captain, met the young widow on the island of Nevis. Fanny Nisbet was the daughter of a local judge and the niece of a prominent planter. Her uncle, John Richardson Herbert, was president of the Council of Nevis and Fanny acted as hostess of Herbert's house, Montpelier. As a naval officer stationed at Nevis, Herbert extended his hospitality to Nelson. Montpelier was therefore open to Nelson and this was where he met Fanny and her young son, Josiah. The couple eventually married at Montpelier on 11 March 1787.[101]

However, there were concerns with regards to marrying creole women. The creole population were often considered by the British public as morally degenerate due to their lifestyles, their sexual relationships with slaves and people of colour, and the Caribbean climate. The 'climatic force' of the tropical environment, which was being discussed at the end of eighteenth century by scientists, philosophers, and explorers of the Pacific, was thought to have a constitutive impact on man's 'physical, moral and social condition'.[102] As seen in contemporary depictions of the Caribbean by artists such as Abraham James, the climate was seen to have a degenerative effect on its inhabitants. James depicted Jamaica as 'dominated by the climate and the soil', which caused European settlers and those stationed there to willingly and

[98] Coleman, *The Nelson Touch: The Life and Legend of Horatio Nelson*, p. 52; Knight, *The Pursuit of Victory: The Life and Achievement of Horatio Nelson*, p. 53.
[99] NMRN, 1983.1071, Transcript of letter from Horatio Nelson at No 3. Salisbury Street, Strand to Hercules Ross, 9 August 1783.
[100] Hibbert, *Nelson: A Personal History*, p. 21.
[101] Ibid. pp. 51-60.
[102] Bernard Smith, *European Vision and the South Pacific, 1768-1850: A Study in the History of Art and Ideas*, (Oxford: Clarendon, 1960), p. 63.

easily loosen their morals.[103] 'The Torrid Zone Or, Blessings of Jamaica' (Figure 8) portrays white inhabitants balancing on the scythe of Death to be punished for their lack of moral restraint. James portrays the inhabitants as either wasting away with fever or plump from the profits of slavery from excessive eating, drinking and smoking. The blazing sun drains the planters' energy and the hellish flames of yellow fever constantly threaten their lives.

Figure 8. 'The Torrid Zone Or, Blessings of Jamaica', A.J. 67th Regt., attributed to Abraham James, published by William Holland, c. 1803 (Courtesy of The Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University, lwlpr10433).

This image of the slaveholding class as gluttonous and morally degenerate was emphasised by abolitionists to highlight the sin of slavery and its constitutive impact on the behaviour of colonial Britons.[104] There was therefore some concern from the families of naval officers stationed in the region that their interactions with the white elite could have a corrupting influence. Families were concerned their future daughters-in-law would be

[103] Buckley, 'The Frontier in the Jamaican Caricatures of Abraham James', p. 153.
[104] Petley, 'Gluttony, Excess, and the Fall of the Planter Class', p. 98.

sickly and intellectually degenerate women, accustomed to the warm climate and excesses of the Caribbean. Captain Francis Reynolds was warned by his father about marrying a creole woman. Reynolds's father was Provost Marshal of Barbados between 1741 and 1761.[105] Francis Reynolds Senior wrote to his son, 'we hope you will return to us in your Batchelor state, and not be inveigled into Matrimony by some Sweet Dowager with large plantations. tho you certainly may leave her behind, as your Overseer, as had been customary, for fear of endangering her health in these Climates'.[106] Although Reynolds's father had been a resident of Barbados during his role as Provost Marshal, he was obviously concerned with women who had been 'creolised' by the region, their health intimately linked to the Caribbean, even if his son would acquire a plantation via their marriage. As Lieutenant John Hiatt commented on one woman he met in Jamaica in 1821, 'Mrs Dallas agreeable, but W[est] Indian'.[107] Sir Thomas Byam Martin also perceived the colonies not to be a place for the 'beautiful and lovely women' to live as he felt they were 'far too precious to find their value in colonial society'.[108]

Despite concerns in Britain regarding the degenerative effects of the Caribbean climate and lifestyle on the creole community, the evidence from naval officers' correspondence and journals suggests that officers did pursue relationships with creole women. Marrying into the creole community gave access to land and slave-owning that may otherwise have not been accessible due to the large-scale sugar production system in place by the second half of the eighteenth century, which required vast capital investment. Although these officers remained connected with the region via their creole wives, most did not permanently settle in the region and returned home to Britain. There are relatively few examples of naval officers who permanently settled in the Caribbean or officers who were born to creole parents and therefore intimately connected to the region.[109] However, naval officers did keep connections with

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[105] Eveline Cruickshanks, 'Reynolds, Francis (d. 1773), of Strangeways, Manchester, Lancs', *Volumes: 1715-1754*, Crown copyright and The History of Parliament Trust, (1970), <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1715-1754/member/reynolds-francis-1773> [accessed 17 January 2013].

[106] GA, D340a/C32/11, Letter from Francis Reynolds Sr to his son, Captain Francis Reynolds, 4 July 1770.

[107] NMM, MSS/83/032.2, Journal of John Hiatt on HMS *William Harris*, entry 6 January 1821.

[108] Martin, *Letters and Papers of Sir Thomas Byam Martin*, vol 1, p. 83.

[109] Rear-Admiral (later) Charles William Fahie (1763-1833), commander-in-chief at the Leeward Islands between 1820 and 1821, married twice to creole women and lived almost entirely in the Caribbean, he settled and remained in Bermuda until his death in 1833 (see Appendix 1); Naval officers born to creole

the region by forming lasting friendships with the most prominent members of the creole community.

One of the most widely acknowledged relationships between naval officer and member of the white elite was between Nelson and Hercules Ross. Nelson met Ross whilst he was stationed at Jamaica. Ross was a Scottish merchant, who not only served as a victualling agent to the navy in Kingston, but also as one of Nelson's prize agents during his unsuccessful claim of the captured *La Prudente* in 1779.[110] Ross lived in Jamaica from 1761 and returned to Scotland in 1782. Having cemented their relationship in Jamaica, Nelson and Ross continued to correspond until 1802. In 1801, Nelson stated in a letter that Ross's 'house, carriages and purse were open' to him whilst he was stationed at Jamaica.[111] Therefore, Ross not only offered Nelson hospitality, due to the importance of naval officers to island protection, security and white unity, but he also supported him financially. Nelson failed to secure prize money from *La Prudente* and therefore felt he owed his life to Ross because of his generosity.[112] Nelson was particularly vulnerable at times whilst he was stationed at Jamaica due to his failure to secure prize money and frequent bouts of ill health. Ross's generosity and friendship was therefore greatly appreciated by Nelson and this is reiterated throughout his correspondence to Ross. In 1783, whilst Nelson was staying in London, he attempted to visit

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parents/in Caribbean region include Lieutenant William Dow, Antiguan-born, UCL - Department of History, 'Legacies of British Slave-Ownership Database - William Dow (B. 1794) (Connected to Antigua Claim Nos. 196, 820 and 831)', UCL, (2014), <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/-473131359> [accessed 20 November 2013].; Lieutenant George James Evelyn Sr, Barbados-born and settled, UCL - Department of History, 'Legacies of British Slave-Ownership Database - George James Evelyn Senior (1783-1865) (Connected to Barbados Claim Nos. 3558-3561, and 3563)', UCL, (2014), <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/3538> [accessed 20 November 2013].; Captain Arthur Philip Hamilton, Tobago-born, co-trustee of Riseland and Indian Walk plantations, Tobago, UCL - Department of History, 'Legacies of British Slave-Ownership Database - Arthur Philip Hamilton (1787-1877) (Connected to Tobago Claim Nos. 16 (Riseland) and 36 (Indian Walk))', UCL, (2014), <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/44309> [accessed 20 November 2013].; Commander John David Mercer, born c. 1786 in St Kitts, UCL - Department of History, 'Legacies of British Slave-Ownership Database - Commander John Davis Mercer (c. 1786-1855) (Connected to St Kitts Claim No. 480)', UCL, (2014), <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/25835> [accessed 20 November 2013].; Arthur Savage, naval surgeon, son of Arthur Savage of Arthur Savage & Co. Kingston, Jamaica, a merchant and coffee planter of Strawberry Hill, UCL - Department of History, 'Legacies of British Slave-Ownership Database - Arthur Savage (1798-1852) (Connected to Jamaica, Port Royal Claim No. 9 (Strawberry Hill))', UCL, (2014), <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/42646> [accessed 20 November 2013].

[110] Knight, *The Pursuit of Victory: The Life and Achievement of Horatio Nelson*, p. 45, 53.

[111] NMRN, 1983.1071, Transcript of letter from Horatio Nelson on *Amazon* at Downs to Hercules Ross, 12 September 1801.

[112] NMRN, 1983.1071, Transcript of letter from Horatio Nelson on *Amazon* at Downs to Hercules Ross, 12 September 1801.

Ross, but Ross had already returned to Scotland. Upon his failed visit, Nelson wrote to Ross stating he was indebted to him and hoped to repay the kindness he was shown by Ross whilst stationed at Jamaica, 'The innumerable favors I have received from you be assured I shall never forget, and any opportunity that may offer of making some small return you may always command'.[113]

Nelson echoes this appreciation in a later letter to Ross dated 21 November 1800, written only a couple of weeks after Nelson returned to England from the Mediterranean. Nelson wrote, 'the remembrance of all your goodness to me is perhaps stronger engraved on my mind at this moment than at any former period because I have seldom seen such true kindness as you have for years shewn me'.[114] As this extract shows, Nelson was disillusioned with his reception upon returning to England and wrote to Ross for reassurance of their friendship. The newspapers had criticised Nelson's conduct in Naples and his relationship with the wife of the minister of Naples, Lady Emma Hamilton. Although crowds gathered to welcome home their naval hero, whose victory against the French at the Battle of the Nile had earned him the title of Baron, the scandal of his affair with Lady Hamilton and her consequent pregnancy gained disapproval within high society circles. George III snubbed Nelson at his reception at St James's Palace and the King's wife refused to receive Lady Hamilton.[115] Nelson's letter to Ross therefore states his feelings of rejection at this time and reminisces fondly of his time at Jamaica and the continual support of his friend.

Nelson sought comfort from his relationship with Ross as he understood the feelings of disapproval Nelson received on his return to England. Ross had turned his back on the plantocracy of the Caribbean in his support of the campaign to abolish the slave trade. Ross's disapproval of the slave trade was part of the abolitionist testimony given at the Parliamentary hearings of 1790 to 1791. *An Abstract of the Evidence delivered before a Select Committee of the House of Commons* was published and distributed widely to further the abolitionists' campaign and Ross's words were particularly powerful to the

[113] NMRN, 1983.1071, Transcript of letter from Horatio Nelson at No 3. Salisbury Street, Strand to Hercules Ross, 9 August 1783.
[114] NMRN, 1983.1071, Transcript of letter from Horatio Nelson at London to Hercules Ross, 21 November 1800.
[115] Hibbert, *Nelson: A Personal History*, p. 221, pp. 225-228.

campaign due to his experience at Jamaica.[116] Ross's friendship with Nelson was not merely a friendship of convenience, but a meaningful relationship that continued for many years. Ross even named his son, Horatio, after his friend and nominated him as godfather, an honour that Nelson gratefully accepted.[117]

The Caribbean was a place of opportunity for both Nelson and Ross. Ross had gone to the Caribbean in 1761 to make his fortune, which was typical of that period. Ross was part of the community of 'educated and professionally trained Scots' who migrated or 'sojourned' to the Caribbean to make their fortune and then return to Scotland. The experiences of this community of Scots are documented by Alan Karras, who refers to them as 'sojourners' due to the temporary character of their migration. For this sojourning community, absenteeism was the objective to avoid the climate, disease and the threat of slave rebellion. Sojourners such as Ross may therefore have not agreed with the system of slavery, but tolerated it for a limited period for the sake of wealth.[118] Ross did not intend to permanently settle on Jamaica and although having at least six children with his freed slave and mistress, Elizabeth Foord, he left Foord at Jamaica and left for Scotland with their five surviving children in 1782. With his fortune he bought the Rossie estate near Montrose, Scotland, whilst Foord remained at Jamaica and ran boarding houses.[119] For Nelson, the Caribbean offered the opportunity to earn prize money from captured foreign vessels and the possibility of finding a creole wife, allowing him to enter the planter class. Nelson was unsuccessful in amassing a fortune from prize money unlike 'the two Parkers', Sir Peter Parker and Sir Hyde Parker, who Nelson remarked had 'had the sweets of Jamaica'.[120] However, his integration into the planter class was achieved via his marriage to Fanny Nisbet.

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[116] Brown, *The Reaper's Garden: Death and Power in the World of Atlantic Slavery*, pp. 184-185, p. 189.
[117] NMRN, 1983.1071, Transcript of letter from Horatio Nelson on HMS *St George* at Kioge Bay to Hercules Ross, 9 June 1801.
[118] Alan L. Karras, *Sojourners in the Sun: Scottish Migrants in Jamaica and the Chesapeake, 1740-1800*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992), pp. 3-7.
[119] Daniel Alan Livesay, 'Children of Uncertain Fortune: Mixed Race Migration from the West Indies to Britain, 1750-1820', (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Michigan, 2010), pp. 264-265; Paul A. Van Dyke, *Americans and Macao: Trade, Smuggling, and Diplomacy on the South China Coast*, (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2012), pp. 33-34.
[120] NMRN, 1983.1071, Transcript of letter from Horatio Nelson on *Amazon* at Downs to Hercules Ross, 12 September 1801; Clive Wilkinson, 'Parker, Sir Hyde (1739-1807)', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford University Press, (2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/21311> [accessed 20 August 2012].

Both naval officers and the white elite desired to remain connected to the metropole. Naval officers continually sought information from newspapers and correspondence from their friends and family in Britain, and white inhabitants were not dissimilar. Corresponding with naval officers offered white inhabitants the opportunity of membership to a broader imperial community, to stay connected to the metropole. Upon returning to Barbados after being stationed at Grenada, Captain Francis Reynolds received a letter from prominent planter, Ninian Home, owner of the Waltham and Paraclete estates.[121] In Home's letter to Reynolds, he wished him good health and updated him on island news, including news of 'Campbell', most likely to be Home's close friend and fellow planter, Alexander Campbell. In Home's letter he fondly wrote, 'believe me your friends at Paraclete will count the tedious Hours, and when the time arrives will rejoice most sincerely to receive you', regarding Reynolds's return to the island. Home remarks that Reynolds's friends including Captain Garnier had only just left Paraclete after staying for several weeks. This suggests that Home frequently hosted naval officers at his residence. Although there is no further correspondence found within the Reynolds papers from Ninian Home, the letter is significant as it demonstrates planters on peripheral islands such as Grenada were keen to stay connected to the navy.

Planters such as Ninian Home and Alexander Campbell were part of the island's strong Scottish network, which kept them connected to their homeland.[122] However, they clearly supplemented this social network with friendships with naval officers in order to remain further connected to Britain.[123] Upon Reynolds's departure, Home requested Reynolds to present his best compliments to Captain Worth, a naval officer, who would likely be visiting Grenada in the future. Home remarked that he would be pleased to see Captain Worth at Paraclete if he was permitted to sail to Grenada upon his next visit.[124] Home was organising his next visit from a naval officer who

[121] Douglas J. Hamilton, *Scotland, the Caribbean and the Atlantic World, 1750-1820*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), p. 86.
[122] See Mark Quintanilla, 'The World of Alexander Campbell: An Eighteenth-Century Grenadian Planter', *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies,* 35, (2), 2003, pp. 229-256.
[123] Hamilton, *Scotland, the Caribbean and the Atlantic World, 1750-1820*, pp. 66-68.
[124] GA, D340a/C32/16, Letter from Ninian Home at Paraclete, Grenada to Captain Francis Reynolds, 23 September 1771.

would not only bring news from the other Caribbean colonies, but also news from the metropole.

Naval officers such as Nelson made lasting friendships with some of the wealthiest planters of the region. In Nelson's early letter to Ross in 1783 he updated Ross with news of their 'Jamaica friends'; mutual friends who were naval agents, naval officers, and members of the white elite in Jamaica.[125] One of these mutual 'Jamaica friends' was the prominent planter Simon Taylor, who is noted in one of Nelson's letters to Ross, as he had received a 'long letter [...] detailing the miseries of San Domingo' from Taylor.[126] Nelson had met Taylor at the same time as Ross, whilst he was stationed in Jamaica in the late 1770s. In 1805, Nelson remarked in a letter to Taylor that they had been acquainted for nearly thirty years. Nelson expressed his passion for the colonies to Taylor and his reasons for pursuing Vice-Admiral Villeneuve and the French fleet to the Caribbean, as he 'was in a thousand fears for Jamaica'. Nelson remarked, 'I ever have been, and shall die, a firm friend to our present Colonial system. I was bred, as you know, in the good old school, and taught to appreciate the value of our West India possessions; and neither in the field, nor in the senate, shall their just rights be infringed, whilst I have an arm to fight in their defence, or a tongue to launch my voice'.[127] This strong statement by Nelson evinces his support of the colonial system and his understanding of the importance of the colonies to Britain, which bolstered his own identity as an Englishman. However, Nelson's friendship with both Ross and Taylor shows his shared empathy for two men who both found wealth in Jamaica and Atlantic trading; one became a supporter for the abolition of the slave trade and the other was one of the wealthiest slave-owners in Jamaica.

It is clear that naval officers frequently formed friendships with the most influential members of the white elite, which often continued upon their return to Britain. This demonstration of building friendships and remaining in contact evinces, to some extent, how naval officers observed the white elite as an influential extended British community. The region was a place of opportunity

[125] NMRN, 1983.1071, Transcript of letter from Horatio Nelson at No 3. Salisbury Street, Strand to Hercules Ross, 9 August 1783.
[126] NMRN, 1983.1071, Transcript of letter from Horatio Nelson at Merton to Hercules Ross, 16 December 1802.
[127] Letter from Horatio Nelson to Simon Taylor, Jamaica, 10 June 1805 in Nicholas Harris Nicolas, *The Dispatches and Letters of Vice Admiral Lord Viscount Nelson, with Notes by Sir Nicholas Harris Nicolas, May 1804 to July 1805*, vol 6, (London: Henry Colburn, 1846), pp. 450-451.

not only for the white elite, but also for naval officers. Naval officers were motivated by promotion via patronage and prize money and, whilst serving in the region, officers used the opportunity to make connections with prominent islanders who themselves were associated with influential figures in Britain and often dined with the highest ranking admirals. It also demonstrates how planters were keen to remain connected to the metropole as members of a broader imperial community and utilised the navy's presence in the Caribbean to that effect.

2.5 Conclusions

It was believed hospitality was 'inherent in the nature of the inhabitants' of the Caribbean, and it was this universal hospitality that facilitated naval officers' integration into white creole society.[128] The hospitality and socialising that was essential to unite the minority white population also included those in the Royal Navy. Socialising was a visible expression of solidarity amongst the white population in the Caribbean and this solidarity was required to maintain authority and control over the majority enslaved population. The navy's presence at social events in public places and on the plantations has been overlooked with regards to their role in this display of white solidarity. The navy was embraced into the 'cult of hospitality' and was displayed by the white elite to the majority enslaved population as powerful uniformed figures of the metropole. Therefore, in order to retain this powerful visible presence, the white elite continually invited naval officers to social events to the extent that it became a daily feature for commissioned officers whilst stationed in the Caribbean. This wealth of hospitality made many officers' posting to the Caribbean much more comfortable and pleasurable through endless invitations to visit plantations and organised events used as opportunities to feast, drink and dance.

Social events were also an opportunity for the white inhabitants to attempt to display to their fellow British citizens, their civility through sophisticated balls and dinners, essentially outwardly showing their 'Britishness' through their wealth and hospitality. This was also achieved by

[128] Waller, *A Voyage in the West Indies*, p. 7.

upholding the system of patronage with letters of introduction and recommendation, which often gave lower-ranking officers the opportunity to spend time ashore. However, the colonial elite undermined their own efforts to exhibit sophistication. They were keen to show their guests the social privileges of colonial living and 'creole' amusements, which involved a lifestyle of abundance with alcohol, smoking and exploitation of their slaves. Often their guests left with assumptions about creole degeneracy re-affirmed.

The creole customs that were peculiar and even offensive to the British public were both criticised and embraced by naval officers stationed in the region. For some naval officers their time stationed in the Caribbean motivated their sympathy for the anti-slavery movement such as James Ramsay, Charles Middleton and Edward Henry Columbine. However, some naval officers did embrace creole customs, which conflicted with the perceived identity of naval officers in Britain as the embodiment of social virtues and masculinity. Naval officers 'were judged by their skill in carrying out their duty and by the balance and self-control they exerted in their social relationships'.[129] This self-control also came to define what was considered particularly masculine in the eighteenth century, and the navy and masculinity were intimately connected. Masculinity became defined as 'finely judged politeness that required genuine sociability prompted by natural goodwill. It also required men to control their conversation carefully in order to avoid giving offence'.[130] As powerful figures of a British institution, naval officers represented eighteenth-century masculinity and the gentlemanly conduct as expected of the profession. However, this identity only helped to reinforce some naval officers' willingness to accept creole customs and distinctive creole attitudes towards slaveholding encountered at social events. Naval officers, who were therefore judged on their 'self-control' in social relationships and their politeness, respect and sociability, were ill advised to refuse the generosity and customs of their creole hosts. Some naval officers therefore changed their behaviour in the Caribbean and adopted creole customs.

Some naval officers built long-lasting meaningful friendships with members of the white elite. As Nelson's friendships with planters show, naval officers formed relationships with members of the white elite who held

[129] Lincoln, *Representing the Royal Navy*, p. 4, 31.
[130] Ibid. p. 30.

differing opinions on the slave trade and slavery, highlighting one of the complexities of the planter class. Similarly for naval officers, although some never returned or remained socially connected to the region, some officers made permanent connections and remained in correspondence with members of the white elite who held positions of power in the creole community.

The system of patronage that dominated promotion in the navy meant it was essential for those seeking a higher rank to network with influential men. Therefore, for naval officers, the white inhabitants were an extension of the high society circles they were integrated into in Britain. The white elite dined with the highest ranking admirals and this was significant to naval officers seeking promotion. Any negative feedback from prominent white inhabitants to the commanders-in-chief could be damaging to a naval officer's potential advancement. The system of patronage may therefore have reinforced the change in naval officers' behaviours. The system of promotion meant any fault in their character could damage their possibility of promotion. Therefore, to some extent, officers were obliged to take up invites of hospitality from white inhabitants to enforce their positions as respectable professional officers to the creole community. However, for some naval officers, rather than being required to partake in creole customs due to a desire to uphold gentlemanly manners, the opportunity for excessive drinking and feasting were too good to refuse. For some, this embrace of a creole lifestyle extended to marrying creole women. Marrying into the creole community provided naval officers the opportunity to own land and slaves in the Caribbean, which were otherwise inaccessible without large sums of prize money to invest.

The navy's 'self-image' in Britain was seemingly untarnished by officers who indulged in creole exploits. As shown in Lincoln's research on representations of the navy, the navy's cultural presence in British society demonstrated seamen to be the very definition of masculinity. Accounts of life in the navy emphasised 'their strength and manliness in the face of extreme hardship'.[131] Furthermore, Lincoln shows that naval officers used their wealth to affirm their social status, commissioning portraits of themselves to further project their image as naval heroes. These portraits not only depicted naval heroes, but offered a wider reflection of the navy's successes and the

[131] Ibid. p. 31.

importance of Britain's empire.[132] This masculine public image was seemingly unable to be corrupted by the indulgence in the colonies, the strength of their manliness dulling any lasting effects of creolization.

This chapter began to explore the complexities of the creole community and has pointed to the importance of the navy to the white elite, particularly to reinforce white solidarity. The next chapter attempts to explore just how dependent the white elites were on the navy for protection, to assuage their constant anxieties of invasion and unrest, and as a direct communicative link to Britain, indicating the wider motivations for hospitality.

[132] Ibid. pp. 33-35.

3. Protection and dependency

The white inhabitants of the Caribbean colonies strived for a large degree of autonomy from the mother country. They saw the right to self-government – via their local legislative assemblies – as fundamental to their liberties as British subjects. These patriotic Britons were therefore keen to oppose anything that looking like metropolitan oppression of their free-born liberties. As Colin Kidd argues, 'Englishness itself [...] was associated with [...] a set of universal political and legal values'. This meant the colonists of the Caribbean, in their identification with Englishness, felt their rights and liberties as 'Englishmen' included 'government by consent and full protections for liberty and property'.[1] Jack Greene maintains this position and argues that the 'unique system of law and liberty', which was the most distinctive marker of the English people, was imported to the Caribbean via colonists. The colonists believed their political and legal rights were part of their inherent rights as Englishmen.[2] They therefore protected their rights by endeavouring to uphold political autonomy in the colonies.

The strength of this defence of inherent English liberties was so strong that it informed revolutionary resistance in North America.[3] However, unlike the colonies of North America, the Caribbean islands were wholly dependent on Britain for protection and trade. As argued by O'Shaughnessy, the Caribbean colonies were completely reliant on Britain and this separated and distinguished the Caribbean colonies from the mainland colonies of North America whose resistance led to their separation from imperial Britain. O'Shaughnessy's analysis shows the British Caribbean islands were unable to rival French sugar supplies and costs, and were therefore entirely dependent on the monopoly of the home market. Hence, the expansionist mentality that was observed in North America was absent in the Caribbean, as increased land

[1] Colin Kidd, 'Ethnicity in the British Atlantic World, 1688-1830', in *A New Imperial History: Culture, Identity, and Modernity in Britain and the Empire, 1660-1840,* ed. by Kathleen Wilson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 276.
[2] Jack P. Greene, 'Liberty, Slavery, and the Transformation of British Identity in the Eighteenth Century West Indies', *Slavery & Abolition,* 21, (1), 2000, pp. 2-4.
[3] O'Shaughnessy, *An Empire Divided*, pp. 81-84.

possession in the Caribbean, even though part of the national agenda of imperialism, increased the vulnerability of the British colonists' position.[4]

The relationship between Britain and the Caribbean was ostensibly based on a mutually beneficial agreement. Britain supported the Caribbean colonies, facilitating a monopoly of the home market and the colonies 'conformed to the ideals of the Trade and Navigation Act'. The British Caribbean islands imported British goods, and Britain imported and consumed the products only available from the Caribbean, benefitting both the colonial and domestic economy in Britain.[5] The Caribbean colonies were also fundamental to the idea that Britain's national importance was based on their empire of trade and commerce.[6] The colonies therefore influenced the formation of what it meant to be British, bearing out Hall's hypothesis of a 'mutually constitutive' relationship between metropole and colony. British identity was shaped by its encounters and relationship with the colonies.

Although the two sites were closely connected, the Caribbean was subordinate to Britain, dependent on the home market monopoly and more importantly the military force required in the protection of the colonies. This created an unequal power structure between metropole and the colonies, forcing the Caribbean to comply with Britain's demands. The white inhabitants therefore contributed to the cost of their own protection by funding troops sent from Britain. Although attempts were made by the white elite to form civilian militias on the islands, these were able only to concentrate on internal threats.[7] These island militias were tasked with policing slaves and preventing slave insurrection, but they were not seen as any viable form of protection from large-scale foreign invasion. Therefore, the colonists were dependent on Britain's military and navy. However, it was the navy that was perceived by colonists as the only force that could truly defend the islands.[8] Greene argues that white colonists were so vehement in their identities as Englishmen and the protection of their inherent rights that they consistently spoke out and protested against the metropole if they felt these rights were violated.[9] This

[4] Ibid. pp. 72-77.
[5] Ibid. p. 75.
[6] Greene, 'Empire and Identity from the Glorious Revolution to the American Revolution', pp. 215-216.
[7] O'Shaughnessy, *An Empire Divided*, pp. 45-47.
[8] Ibid. pp. 49-50.
[9] Greene, 'Liberty, Slavery, and the Transformation of British Identity', pp. 1-31.

chapter will therefore question whether the white elite was as completely subordinate to the metropole, as colonies whose ruling minority was, in effect, enslaved by the metropole unwilling to speak out against metropolitan changes, as suggested by scholars as O'Shaughnessy. Or whether they maintained the sort of political self-confidence and autonomy that they desired.

This is explored within the context of the white elite's relationship with the Royal Navy, as a branch of imperialism, discussing the white inhabitants' reliance on, cooperation with, and protest against the institution. As the last chapter emphasised, naval officers were warmly welcomed by the white communities of the British Caribbean islands. Naval officers received universal hospitality shown through what the white elite had at their disposal: food, drink and slaves. Their hospitality also served to embrace naval officers into the ruling white minority to display white solidarity in relation to the majority enslaved population. The importance of the relationship between the navy and the white elite is expanded upon in this chapter to explore what the white elite hoped to gain in return for its lavish hospitality.

The chapter determines how dependent the white inhabitants were on the navy. It demonstrates that the navy allowed the white inhabitants to express how they expected their islands to be protected as the ruling minorities with local knowledge. However, there was tension between the white elite's desire for political autonomy from Britain and its practical dependence on the navy. The white elite's increasing dependence on the navy led to heightened island anxiety, and tensions could easily flair due to the white elite and the naval commander-in-chief's differing priorities for naval resources. The chapter also explores the white elite's reliance on the navy beyond its role protecting against foreign invasion and looks at its role in information circulation, which helped to bolster the white elite's connection to Britain.

3.1 Relationships of influence

Planters and merchants regularly sent petitions to the naval commanders-in-chief to request naval assistance with regards to the trade convoys. In 1801, Rear-Admiral John Thomas Duckworth received requests and petitions from the

planters and merchants of Martinique, their counterparts in Grenada, and the planters of St Vincent, all regarding the advancement or postponement of the trade fleet to Europe. Delays were requested for a variety of reason, including the weather, which delayed the delivery of the crop to the loading points, due to the poor condition of the roads, as well as the bad shipping season, and poor crop harvest.[10] In the petition from the planters and merchants of St Vincent, the request to Duckworth for an early convoy reads:

> The Petition of the Planters, and Merchants of the Island of Saint Vincent, Sheweth, That the Plantations in this Colony, are in the most forward state, and promise to yield a very early and abundant crop. That it is of the utmost consequence to the Planter, as well as British Merchant, that the returns should be made as early as possible to the European Market. Your Petitioners therefore most earnestly request, that Your Excellency would be pleased, to order (if not incompatible with the other important duties, entrusted to your charge) a Convoy to Sail with the Trade to Europe, at as early a period as possible in the ensuing Year.[11]

This petition, followed by the signatures of the respective island's planters and merchants, acknowledges the white elite's reliance on the navy to protect its valuable exports. The white inhabitants asked for their request to be admitted in line with other naval duties demonstrating the white elite's understanding of the navy's important role in the colonies.

These requests show the level of cooperation the white elite expected from naval officers, as their relationship with the navy was representative of the colony's relationship with Britain. The white inhabitants believed they held a mutually beneficial relationship with the metropole. Therefore, in return for the abundant trade with Britain, the Caribbean would receive protection from Britain's military institutions and a degree of political autonomy.[12] The planters and merchants saw their requests as both advantageous to themselves, but also to those in the metropole, so Britain would receive a more 'abundant

[10] NMM, DUC/7, Petition from the planters and merchants of St Vincent to Rear-Admiral John Thomas Duckworth, the commander-in-chief at the Leeward Islands, c. 1801; Memorial of the planters and merchants of Martinique to Rear-Admiral John Thomas Duckworth, 18 April 1801; Petition from the planters and merchants of Grenada to Rear-Admiral John Thomas Duckworth, 2 July 1801.
[11] NMM, DUC/7, Petition from the planters and merchants of St Vincent to Rear-Admiral John Thomas Duckworth, the commander-in-chief at the Leeward Islands, c. 1801.
[12] Petley, ''Devoted Islands' and 'That Madman Wilberforce'', p. 397.

crop'.[13] They therefore hoped the navy would grant their request. As the planters saw things, this type of cooperation was crucial to the relationship between the white inhabitants and high ranking naval officers serving in the Caribbean.

This cooperation is also evinced by naval officers taking steps to protect island trade when white inhabitants requested further protection. Commodore James Douglas inserted a note in his ship's journal to that effect as he ordered the exchange of the mast of HM Sloop *Barbadoes* with that of a schooner for the protection of the trade, 'on the frequent representation made [...] by the People of Barbadoes'. Douglas noted, 'the *Barbadoes* [...] goes so extreamly ill that she is not of the least Service in Cruising to Windward for the Protection of the Trade'. The tender for one cruise to convoy the merchants' trade ships was granted by Douglas.[14] Douglas had only recently assumed command of the Leeward Islands station on 12 May 1760 and this request was granted on 13 August 1760. The 'frequent representation' made by the inhabitants of Barbados meant relatively soon after Douglas arrived, he was requested to grant further protection to the trade ships. A request Douglas granted only three months after his arrival during the period of the Seven Years War when enemy privateers were rife on the coast of the British Caribbean islands. The white inhabitants expressed their concerns of imminent threat, requesting naval officers to apply further resources to the protection of their island trade, further safeguarding their livelihoods.

Island governors were also crucial to the relationship between colonists and the armed forces. An island governor, who was often a military man and accessible public figure based on the island, received intelligence from colonists regarding internal threats particularly information on potential slave insurrection. It was therefore crucial for naval officers to communicate with the island's governor as the official representative of the island in order to gain potentially important intelligence and knowledge of the military's movement on the island to aid naval deployment. Naval commanders were ordered to take into consideration the advice of colonial governors in order to protect the islands most efficiently. In 1765, on a cruise between the islands of Grenada

[13] NMM, DUC/7, Petition from the planters of St Vincent to Rear-Admiral John Thomas Duckworth, c. 1801.
[14] NMM, DOU/2, Journal of *HMS Dublin* 1760-1762, note inserted into journal at week beginning 12 August 1760, note dated 13 August 1760.

and St Vincent, Captain Bill Abdy was ordered by Commander-in-Chief Richard Tyrell, to consult with the governors and lieutenant governors of the islands of Grenada, St Vincent and Dominica as to how naval vessels might best be employed to protect the islands and island trade, as well as to prevent the illicit trade between the newly acquired British islands and the French islands of Martinique and Guadeloupe.[15]

This continued throughout the period, and although complying with Admiralty orders to cruise between particular islands, the commanders-in-chief would still request advice from colonial governors as to the best placement of vessels for island protection. When Rear-Admiral John Ford took command of the Jamaica station at the beginning of 1793, he wrote to Governor Adam Williamson to request any guidance from himself and the council as to the destination of the naval vessels under his command:

> As the whole of the squadron under my Command are now in Port, and it is my intention to send them to Cruise agreeable to my instructions from the Admiralty as soon as possible. I wish to be informed whether there are any particular Destinations which you or the Council may Judge expediently for the Protection of the Trade, and the Security of the Island so that I may be enabled to make a Disposition according so far as the Number, Force and Condition of the Ships and Vessels will allow [...] NB It is my intention to send a Vessel to the Bahama Islands in a few Days which will bear your Commander with pleasure and which I request you will please to make known to the Council for the General benefit of the Trade and Convenience of the Island.[16]

Ford received a reply from Governor Williamson the following day to advise him 'that the squadron cruising round the Island and frequently going into the different ports will tend to keep everything quiet internally. We have no troops to the Windward on the South side of the Island therefore Port Morant should be particularly attended to'.[17] The instant reply from Williamson demonstrates the value of a governor's knowledge as to the current situation due to his location on the island.

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[15] NMM, CAL/203, Order from Admiral Richard Tyrell to Captain Bill Abdy, 11 July 1765, p. 97, No. 182.
[16] NMRN, MSS 179/1, Letter from Rear-Admiral John Ford, the commander-in-chief at Jamaica on HMS *Europa* at Port Royal Harbour, Jamaica to Lieutenant Adam Williamson, 6 January 1793.
[17] NMRN, MSS 179/1, Letter from Governor Adam Williamson at King's House to Rear-Admiral John Ford, Jamaica, 7 January 1793.

A governor's internal position meant he was particularly accessible to white inhabitants. Therefore, naval officers' reliance on colonial governors for information could potentially put increasing pressure on a governor's role. The white elite could use its relationship with the island's governor to influence the movements of naval vessels increasing the navy's protective presence on the island. Maria Nugent's diary gives a full account of the pressures of a colonial governor, as her husband, George Nugent, served as Governor of Jamaica at the beginning of the nineteenth century during the Napoleonic Wars. This was a period that was particularly threatening to the inhabitants of Jamaica due to the increased likelihood of foreign invasion and attacks by enemy privateers, which put even greater pressure on the Governor. Not only was Governor Nugent responsible for coordinating the military troops on the island and the island's militia, but he also attended assembly meetings and attempted to introduce local legislation. Throughout Maria's diary she constantly referenced her husband's attendance at council meetings and his increased anxiety with regards to the pressures from the white elite. She often described how her husband was 'harassed with business' and visits from members of the Assembly.[18] This unenviable position of a governor was even refused by naval officers who were offered the position. After Governor George Prevost of Dominica left the island in 1805, the governorship was offered to naval officers, Captain Blackwood and Captain Lucin. However, both declined the position and it remained vacant between 1805 and 1807.[19]

The constant harassment of Governor Nugent caused Maria to convey her discontent towards the white inhabitants in her diary, which portrays a 'them' and 'us' situation between the white inhabitants and the forces. Maria saw the prominent inhabitants with whom her husband regularly dealt with as 'strange people' who 'discourage[d] every arrangement' put in place by her husband. One attempt to introduce legislation for a 'black corps', a military regiment consisting of men of colour for the protection of the island, was met with disapproval, even though the Governor felt it was 'for their own good and advantage'.[20] The white inhabitants therefore used their power as a collective and united force on the island to make daily governance particularly difficult for Governor Nugent. This compromised Nugent's position as governor as the

[18] Nugent, *Lady Nugent's Journal*, p. 240, 134, 229, 230, 236.
[19] NLS, MF.MSS 447, Acc 9562, Memoirs of William Bremner, Chapter 6, p. 91, 1815.
[20] Nugent, *Lady Nugent's Journal*, pp. 34-35.

white elite did not accept his arrangements unless he cooperated with its requests.

Maria Nugent's journal shows that a colonial governor was required to comply with the white elite in order to reduce internal tensions and pressures, and make their stay less 'uncomfortable'.[21] The white elite was therefore able to use its position of power to influence an island governor, potentially prompting his recommendations to the navy. In Maria's diary, the announcement of the approach of the naval fleet is followed with frequent visits from members of the Assembly and an approval of Nugent's measures, and 'all sorts of arrangements making for future defence'.[22] The navy's arrival increased Governor Nugent's visits from the white elite and may explain why Governor Williamson was able to reply so quickly to the request of Rear-Admiral John Ford upon his arrival as the commander-in-chief at Jamaica in 1793.

The white inhabitants were aware their position within empire was as useful and productive British subjects, benefitting Britain's economy. However, their expectation of British protection extended beyond preventing foreign invasion and attacks on trade vessels, but also protection from internal or localised threats, including slave insurrection and coastal raids. The white elite's particular view of the navy's role was encompassing of all aspects of the inhabitants' protection.

3.2 Island tensions

The navy was the primary external island protector, the only force that could logistically prevent a foreign invasion with the army ready to oppose invasion with ground troops. Therefore, the navy's priority was to protect the empire and prevent other European powers from possessing the British islands. Although colonists understood this to be the navy's priority, the everyday anxieties for colonists from threats such as slave insurrection and privateering raids often outweighed the wider imperial concerns. These internal or localised threats were often observed by colonists as being of more direct

[21] Ibid. p. 35.
[22] Ibid. pp. 228-229.

concern and an immediate threat to their livelihoods. Cohesion between the navy and the white inhabitants was important to the continued protection of the islands and the comfortable lifestyle naval officers experienced on shore. However, the differing colonial and imperial priorities caused tension and naval officers were criticised by the colonists for not prioritising their needs.

The capture of foreign vessels as prizes was a particularly contentious issue between naval officers and the white elite. The white elite complained that some officers gave greater attention to the claiming and protection of prizes than to the colonists' needs. However, for naval officers a posting to the Caribbean was often seen as a posting for fortune as the possibility of catching prizes was high. When William McLeod wrote to his father from Bermuda in 1796, he was delighted to hear reports of war declared against the Spanish. He wrote in January, 'I am very happy, as it certainly will be a lucrative one for us seamen, more especially our Squadron as we lay exactly in the tract of them'. The posting to the region proved particularly prosperous for McLeod as he gained a promotion to second lieutenant due to his predecessor 'dying in the West Indies'. McLeod's promotion increased the share of prize money he received from captured foreign vessels therefore his 'hopes of a Spanish war' were merited.[23] Prize money was also the only form of receiving money on overseas commissions, as wages were not paid until seamen returned home.[24] As Lieutenant Frederick Hoffman recalled upon chasing a foreign vessel for capture, 'our heads were filled with keeping our kittereens and having famous champagne dinner at Spanish Town'.[25] Therefore, for most seamen, the prize system was all-consuming, as prize money provided seamen with the opportunity to partake in the vibrant colonial service economy explored in Chapter 5.

It was not only the colonists who complained of the naval officers prioritising prizes over protection. Rear-Admiral Samuel Hood reflected upon this issue. Hood berated the commander-in-chief at the Leeward Islands, Admiral Hugh Pigot, as he gave greater attention to the protection of his prizes than to island protection. In 1782, Hood wrote to his brother claiming Pigot

[23] NLS, MS 19035/43-44, Letters from William McLeod on HMS *La Prevoyante* at Bermuda to his father, 3 January 1796 & 18 June 1796.
[24] N. A. M. Rodger, 'Introduction', in *Memoirs of a Seafaring Life. The Narrative of William Spavens, Pensioner on the Naval Chest at Chatham,* ed. by N. A. M. Rodger (London: The Bath Press, 2000), p. 13.
[25] Hoffman, *A Sailor of King George*, p. 70.

had deploying three frigates for the protection of his captured vessels; a task Hood believed could be carried out by one sloop vessel. Hood stated, 'this proves, how intent the Admiral is, on securing his property in the prizes'. Hood claimed the priority of naval officers should be 'glory to their country', but he believed the British government could not find officers of this character.[26] The importance of the outward image of the navy as a noble and glorious profession, patriotically protecting the empire, was seen by Hood as undermined by officers such as Pigot, who prioritised their own personal wealth over the national interest.

Colonists' complaints regarding naval officers prioritising prizes over protection were often aimed at those of the most senior rank, the naval commander-in-chief. Letters from Malcolm Laing, an attorney who held responsibility for absentee-planter, William Philip Perrin, complained of the naval commander-in-chief at Jamaica, Rear-Admiral Charles Holmes and blamed him for the lack of naval presence that led to losses by privateers. Laing complained that their supply ships and fifteen other vessels were captured in four weeks by French privateers. Furthermore, the only two naval vessels that were appointed to the protection of Jamaica were believed to be 'employed looking for prizes at Hispaniola'. Laing exclaimed, 'We never had accident of this kind happen while Adm[ira]l Cotes had the Command'.[27] Laing obviously felt Holmes's predecessor, Vice-Admiral Thomas Cotes held greater command over his naval fleet and prioritised the protection of trade vessels more than Holmes, whose priorities were perceived as pursuing prizes.

During wartime, tensions between inhabitants and the navy grew strong due to the spread of naval resources across the region and the white elite's increasing reliance on the navy to prevent foreign invasion and attacks on trade vessels. At the end of the eighteenth century, forty years after the disappointment of Commander-in-Chief Holmes in 1760, a similar letter to that of the attorney, Malcolm Laing, was sent to the Perrin family regarding Vice-Admiral Hyde Parker. In 1800, another of William Perrin's attorneys, William Sutherland, wrote to him stating a similar disdain for the commander-in-chief at Jamaica, Vice-Admiral Hyde Parker, who had been in the position since 1796.

[26] NMM, MKH/501, Letters from Rear-Admiral Samuel Hood to his brother describing events between 24 August and 3 September 1782.
[27] DRO, D239/M/E/16603, Letter from Malcolm Laing to Frances Perrin, mother of William Philip Perrin, absentee-planter, 23 December 1760.

Parker, like Holmes, was seen to be providing little protection along the coasts of Jamaica, which continued to be molested by enemy privateers, whilst sending frigates cruising on the Spanish coast in pursuit of prizes. Sutherland believed Parker 'paid no kind of regard to the just Complaints of the Inhabitants of Jamaica'.[28] Even those in the navy commented on Parker's accumulation of wealth whilst stationed at Jamaica, including Vice-Admiral Hugh Seymour who took over command from Parker in May 1800.[29]

However, the complaints regarding Hyde Parker were not solely focused on his inability to provide adequate protection or his priority for prizes. Parker was seen to sympathise with the French, the nation who posed the greatest threat to Jamaica. There are numerous reports of Parker prioritising the entertaining of the French at Admiral's Pen over his responsibilities as the commander-in-chief at Jamaica. Parker was accused of spending time 'in the Arms of a French strumpet', Madame D'Antoine.[30] Madame D'Antoine was described as 'a White Lady from Port au Prince' and Parker's 'present favourite', assumed to have evacuated from St Domingue during the slave rebellion.[31] Rumours circulated that Madame D'Antoine's husband was 'a Villain of the first stamp [...] committed lately to the common Jail of Kingston for repeated Acts of Piracy & who to avoid the disgrace of a public execution swallowed a doze of Arsenic'.[32] Madame D'Antoine's husband was a French privateer who was caught stealing two thousand dollars from an American ship. He was sentenced to death, but 'poisoned himself to avoid the gallows'.[33] Her husband was also rumoured as having 'infinite obligations to the Admiral' and being an 'occasional Visitor at S[i]r Hyde's table'.[34] It was said that Parker offered protection to Madam D'Antoine and her family at Admiral's Pen whilst her husband was at sea, and after his death.[35] Although it is unknown the

[28] DRO, D239/M/E/17889, Letter from William Sutherland to William Philip Perrin, 14 August 1800.
[29] NMM, PAR/165/2, Letter from William Parker on HMS *Queen* at Port Royal, Jamaica to his sister Anne, 1 February 1799; WYN/102, Letter from Vice-Admiral Lord Hugh Seymour at Jamaica to Sir Charles Morice Pole, 1 August 1800.
[30] DRO, D239/M/E/17889, Letter from William Sutherland to William Philip Perrin, 14 August 1800.
[31] NMM, WYN/103, Letter from Captain Robert Mends on HMS *Abergavenny* at Jamaica to Sir Charles Morice Pole, 4 May 1800.
[32] DRO, D239/M/E/17889, Letter from William Sutherland to William Philip Perrin, 14 August 1800.
[33] NMM, WYN/103, Letter from Captain Robert Mends on HMS *Abergavenny* at Port Royal, Jamaica to Sir Charles Morice Pole, 14 July 1800.
[34] NMM, WYN/103, Letters from Captain Robert Mends on HMS *Abergavenny* at Jamaica to Sir Charles Morice Pole, 4 May 1800 & 14 July 1800.
[35] NMM, WYN/103, Letters from Captain Robert Mends on HMS *Abergavenny* at Jamaica to Sir Charles Morice Pole, 4 May 1800 & 14 July 1800.

exact relationship between Parker and Madame D'Antoine, and Parker and D'Antoine's husband, the rumours of his association with French colonists and a privateer guilty of piracy damaged Parker's reputation amongst British colonists in Jamaica, he was no longer perceived as an honourable naval officer.

At the time, Parker had also been attempting to divorce his wife, Anne Boteler, who had committed adultery with Major Hugh Baillie of the 86th Regiment of Foot.[36] This generated a great scandal in Jamaica with the naval commander-in-chief seen to be entertaining a French mistress, who was given protection at Admiral's Pen.[37] The scandal reached its climax around May 1800, when the inhabitants stormed the playhouse calling for Parker to leave the island as recounted by Captain Robert Mends:

> Between Sir Hyde and the Inhabitants here much ill blood exists, and their rudeness has went so far as to insult him in the Play house at a time too when the American Commodore was with him. You will remember what the Mob of Port Royal Street was last War, add to them the perjury of five hundred Americans, Spaniards, French & Portugese, and I'll answer for it that there is not such a mixture of Blackguards to be found any where. This Motley Crew began the Battle with a Butcher at their head by calling out, "out Admiral", and began throwing oranges, a boats crew of the Trent with Captain Otway, and several officers of the Navy return'd too with real good will, and soon cleared the houses, after having thrash'd several of these gentry most handsomely, they then took possession of the Stage, gave three cheers, put out the lights by breaking the lamps & went off with flying colours.[38]

The scandal reached Britain according to Vice-Admiral Hugh Seymour in his correspondence to Sir Charles Morice Pole, commenting 'some Reports having reach'd England which are little flattering to his [Parker's] character', having made 'enemies' whilst stationed at Jamaica.[39]

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[36] Parliament. House of Lords Great Britain, *Journals of the House of Lords*, vol 42, (London: HMSO, 1798).
[37] NMM, WYN/103, Letter from Captain Robert Mends on HMS *Abergavenny* at Port Royal, Jamaica to Sir Charles Morice Pole, 14 July 1800.
[38] NMM, WYN/103, Letter from Captain Robert Mends on HMS *Abergavenny* at Jamaica to Sir Charles Morice Pole, 4 May 1800.
[39] NMM, WYN/102, Letter from Vice-Admiral Lord Hugh Seymour at Jamaica to Sir Charles Morice Pole, 1 August 1800.

This scandal presented Parker as a French sympathiser. Captain Robert Mends claimed in a letter to Sir Charles Pole, 'they [the British colonists] think that he is attach'd to the French a great deal too much'.[40] However, Captain Mends felt Parker had offered D'Antoine protection at Admiral's Pen upon her husband's suicide due to his gentlemanly character as a naval officer. Mends claimed Parker was 'too noble breasted to refuse them his protection', but upon them being at his island residence felt 'extremely awkward'.[41] Although Parker may have offered D'Antoine protection out of chivalry, as Mends believed, it was not perceived as so by the white elite.

Parker's actions were met with disapproval by the white inhabitants of Jamaica. The scandal happened during a crucial period in the French Revolutionary Wars when St Domingue was in the grip of a slave uprising, and at a time when there was rising support for the abolitionist movement in Britain. The correspondence of planter, Simon Taylor, reflects the tensions of colonists in Jamaica, who feared a similar slave uprising on their island. Taylor believed abolitionists contributed to the slave uprising on St Domingue by spreading their doctrine to France, specifically mentioning Granville Sharp, Thomas Clarkson and William Wilberforce. Taylor claimed that their plan was 'to make divisions between the whites and the people of colour there [St Domingue], and then to stir up the rebellion'.[42] This all-consuming anxiety of a slave uprising on Jamaica meant the white inhabitants were contemptuous towards Parker and his distractions with French emigrants as his priority should have been enforcing conditions to prevent slave insurrection. When Parker handed over command, it was commented he left Jamaica 'to the great joy of everybody', the white elite hopeful the next commander-in-chief, Vice-Admiral Lord Hugh Seymour, would be more committed to the needs of the inhabitants.[43]

There was much expectation put on Seymour for greater protection of Jamaica's coastlines and trade vessels after the unpopularity of Parker. However, as captured by Maria Nugent in her observations from 1801, the

[40] NMM, WYN/103, Letter from Captain Robert Mends on HMS *Abergavenny* at Jamaica to Sir Charles Morice Pole, 4 May 1800.
[41] NMM, WYN/103, Letter from Captain Robert Mends on HMS *Abergavenny* at Port Royal, Jamaica to Sir Charles Morice Pole, 14 July 1800.
[42] Cambridge University Library, Vanneck-Arc/3A/1792/14, Letters from Simon Taylor to Chaloner Arcedeckne, 6 October 1792 & 5 December 1792. [accessed at www.slaveryandrevolution.soton.ac.uk]
[43] DRO, D239/M/E/17889, Letter from William Sutherland to William Philip Perrin, 14 August 1800.

inhabitants and in particular the merchants felt little had improved during Seymour's short command of the Jamaica station. Nugent wrote, 'the trade of this island [Jamaica] has been for a long time much injured, and several merchants almost ruined, by the constant depredations of small privateers and feluccas, which infest the coast; while the Navy are engaged in distant pursuits'. Furthermore, Seymour was criticised in the colonial newspapers, 'on account of the cruisers not doing their duty in guarding the trade'.[44] The influence the Assembly had on colonial newspapers allowed for the white elite to show its disdain for the navy publicly. Openly criticising officers bolsters the claim raised by Greene that the white elite was not completely subservient to the metropole and spoke out when it felt its needs were not met.[45]

The criticism of naval officers was not limited to wartime. Following the American Revolution, Nelson was heavily criticised by the inhabitants of the Leeward Islands for strictly enforcing the Navigation Acts to prevent the illicit trade with American vessels. Trade with North America was vital to the inhabitants of the British Caribbean colonies providing food and supplies necessary to maintain the plantation regime. The commander-in-chief at the Leeward Islands, Rear-Admiral Sir Richard Hughes, relaxed restraint on trade with American vessels upon the request of the white elite and complied to avoid further tension. Nelson was outraged at the leniency of Hughes and wrote to his brother, 'I fancy the King's Servants and the Officers of my little Squadron will not be sorry to part with me. They think I make them do their duty too strictly'.[46] Nelson's pride in his country and his role as a British naval officer in the colonies meant he fervently defended the Navigation Laws, and began to turn away and seize American trade vessels.[47] This made Nelson wildly unpopular amongst the merchant communities of the Leeward Islands. In 1785, Nelson wrote, 'I am not very popular with the people. They have never visited me, and I have not had a foot in any house since I have been on the Station, and all for doing my duty by being *true to the interests of Great*

[44] Nugent, *Lady Nugent's Journal*, p. 34.
[45] Greene, 'Liberty, Slavery, and the Transformation of British Identity'.
[46] Letter from Horatio Nelson on *Boreas* at English Harbour, Antigua to the Reverend Mr Nelson, Hilborough, 9 February 1787, in Nicolas, *The Dispatches and Letters of Vice Admiral Lord Viscount Nelson, with Notes by Sir Nicholas Harris Nicolas, 1777 to 1794*, vol 1, p. 213.
[47] Hibbert, *Nelson: A Personal History*, pp. 48-49.

Britain'.[48] Nelson was denied the hospitality naval officers so commonly received as determined in Chapter 2 due to his defiance in protecting British laws and his unwillingness to understand the situation and needs of the colonists. Understanding his unpopularity to be due to his patriotic vigour, he wrote upon his departure in 1787, 'the West Indians will give a Balle Champetre upon my departure. They hate me; and they will every officer who does his duty'.[49] However, although initially unpopular as he prioritised the imperial interest over the colonial need, Nelson was able to integrate into the white colonial elite on the island of Nevis.

Naval concentration on the wider imperial interest including the pursuit of foreign vessels and expansion of the colonies increased the colonists' anxieties and its sensitivities towards threats such as coastal raids and slave insurrection. The threat of enemy privateers was all-consuming for some planters. Simon Taylor is an example of a planter who was hugely worried about coastal raids by enemy privateers and complained of Commander-in-Chief Peter Parker for his inefficiency to protect the Jamaican coastlines from enemy molestation. Taylor accused Parker of doing 'little' other than spend his time at the Admiral's Pen on the Ligunea plains 'digging potatoes & planting cabbages'.[50] Taylor believed the navy's protection of Jamaica was 'very poor' with only one ship posted for the protection of the island causing his plantations to be subjected to raids by Spanish privateers. His slaves were regularly stolen and trade vessels were taken daily.[51] However, this view of Parker contradicts accounts that his primary concern was the colony of Jamaica and its inhabitants. Parker's apprehension to keep the squadron at Jamaica was detrimental to the assistance sent to North America in 1781.[52] This shows that even admirals who dutifully protected the colonies and made the right

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[48] Letter from Horatio Nelson on *Boreas* at Basseterre Road to William Locker, Esq., West Malling, 15 January 1785, in Nicolas, *The Dispatches and Letters of Vice Admiral Lord Viscount Nelson, with Notes by Sir Nicholas Harris Nicolas, 1777 to 1794*, vol 1, p. 114.

[49] Letter from Horatio Nelson on *Boreas* at English Harbour, Antigua to the Reverend Mr Nelson, Hilborough, 9 February 1787, in ibid. pp. 213-214.

[50] Cambridge University Library, Vanneck-Arc/3A/1781/4, Letter from Simon Taylor, Kingston to Chaloner Arcedeckne, 8 April 1781; Vanneck-Arc/3A/1781/12, Letter from Simon Taylor, Kingston to Chaloner Arcedeckne, 26 June 1781. [accessed at www.slaveryandrevolution.soton.ac.uk]

[51] Cambridge University Library, Vanneck-Arc/3A/1781/12, Letter from Simon Taylor, Kingston to Chaloner Arcedeckne, 26 June 1781; Vanneck-Arc/3A/1781/21, Letter from Simon Taylor, Kingston to Chaloner Arcedeckne, 28 August 1781. [accessed at www.slaveryandrevolution.soton.ac.uk]

[52] Alan G. Jamieson, 'Parker, Sir Peter, First Baronet (1721-1811)', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford University Press, (2008), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/21329> [accessed 10 July 2011].

tactical decisions for the security of the British islands were still criticised by the white elite.

Planters were therefore particularly sensitive and preoccupied with the issues that affected their plantations, sometimes unable to reflect on the wider concerns that naval officers were chiefly concerned with. The colonists were so consumed by their anxieties and more localised fears of property damage and slave uprising that they developed a colonial or 'creolised' view of the situation in the Caribbean. This colonial view was also reinforced by the colonial vision of empire, which saw the Caribbean colonies of central importance. This perceived importance and the levels of protection that were expected shaped the colonists' relationship with the navy. This meant any naval officer who did not conform to the colonists' particular view of the navy, as an imperial navy protecting the interests of the colonists, were criticised.

This colonial attitude towards the navy's role or 'creolised' view of the situation in the colonies shows how increasingly dependent the white inhabitants were on the navy, not only to assuage their anxieties regarding external threats, but also as a protective and visible presence on the island, in harbour and around the coastlines to protect the plantations from coastal raids and slave rebellion. An example of this, further explored in Chapter 4, is the outpouring of thanks shown to Captain Francis Reynolds for his role in providing protection after the slave insurrection on Tobago in November 1770. Reynolds's ship arrived in harbour days after the insurrection and therefore his presence had a minimal impact in preventing or suppressing the slave rebellion. Yet Reynolds was rewarded with a letter of thanks from the principle inhabitants of Tobago for coming to the island's aid, as his presence provided the reassurance the white elite desired and showed Reynolds's commitment to the colonists' needs.[53] This example not only demonstrates the response of the white inhabitants to a naval officer who put their interests first, but also how consumed the colonists were by the paranoia of slave insurrection that they looked to the navy to assuage these anxieties by providing a protective and visible presence on the island and in harbour. To the white elite, the navy's role was all-encompassing, not only did the navy provide the protection necessary to sustain British ownership of the islands and allay the white

[53] GA, D340a/X16, Papers of Captain Francis Reynolds, Extract of the Tobago Council minutes, 27 November 1770.

inhabitants' fears of foreign invasion and raids, but the navy in harbour and ashore emphasised the strength and supremacy of the white community over the majority enslaved population.

The pageantry and ceremony of the navy's arrival and departure in harbour with gun salutes was a visible and audible expression of imperial dominance, a presence that could prevent and suppress organised rebellion with an increase in the number of seamen ashore and troops transported by naval vessel. However, the navy's presence is undervalued in examinations of the suppression of slave uprisings. The studies of David Geggus and Richard Sheridan demonstrate that even though Jamaica had the conditions for slave insurrection, slaves did not revolt as they did on the island of St Domingue.[54] As Geggus argues, 'the stability of a slave society was determined less by the ideas circulating in the slave quarters than by the strength and unity of the slave-owning class'.[55] This strength and unity, as demonstrated in Chapter 2, included the navy and its presence on the islands.

Both Sheridan and Geggus confirm the army's presence on the island inhibited slaves from rebelling or at least made them 'think twice'.[56] However, the navy is again considered a peripheral force in this suppression. More can be said in relation to the navy's role in the suppression of slave insurrection, considering the manpower that was deployed to the region. The French Revolutionary Wars had caused the Royal Navy to deploy vast resources to the Caribbean, as shown in the statistics of manpower from the Royal Navy list books. The yearly averages show that the average number of ships in the Caribbean rose from 15 ships in 1790 to 71 ships by 1796. This accounted for rise from 2,763 seamen stationed in the Caribbean in 1790 to 19,480 seamen in 1796.[57] This vast deployment meant the navy was a prominent visible presence throughout the colonies. This meant there was a greater naval presence ashore, an increase in naval vessels visible along the coastlines and

[54] David Geggus, 'Jamaica and the Saint Domingue Slave Revolt, 1791-1793', *The Americas,* 38, (2), 1981, pp. 219-232; David Geggus, 'The Enigma of Jamaica in the 1790s: New Light on the Causes of Slave Rebellions', *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 44, (2), 1987, pp. 274-299; Richard B. Sheridan, 'The Jamaican Slave Insurrection Scare of 1776 and the American Revolution', *The Journal of Negro History*, 61, (3), 1976, pp. 290-308.
[55] Geggus, 'The Enigma of Jamaica in the 1790s', p. 278.
[56] Ibid. p. 277; Sheridan, 'The Jamaican Slave Insurrection Scare of 1776 and the American Revolution', p. 293.
[57] TNA, ADM 8/66, 69.

in port, and a large number of naval vessels that could disperse troops more effectively throughout the colonies. Although in agreement with scholars, Geggus and Sheridan, with regards to the army's presence as a contributing factor to prevent slave rebellion in Jamaica, this must be broadened to include the navy, and research expanded to explore how the navy's additional armed and dominant presence caused further hesitation amongst the enslaved population with regards to uprising.

The white elite's complete dependence on the navy for all aspects of island and plantation protection throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries forced them to cooperate with the most objectionable act of impressment. Impressment was necessary to keep the naval vessels manned to provide the essential protection the white elite so desperately needed. As will be discussed, the white elite cooperated with impressment even though it threatened relationships with the merchant community and American traders. This demonstrates the white inhabitants' awareness of the vulnerability of their islands and their clinging attachment to the navy.

3.3 Cooperation with impressment

Naval manpower in the Caribbean was constantly affected by loss of seamen from disease, naval action and desertion. When sailors were given the opportunity to leave the ships and go on shore there was always the possibility that those who left would not return. Sailor's absconding from duty whilst stationed in the Caribbean was commonplace due to their dissatisfaction with the service. Desertion during wartime was further fuelled by higher wages on merchant vessels due to the lack of skilled seafarers in North America and the Caribbean region. Desertion was encouraged by labour agents known as 'crimps' who enticed seamen to join merchant sailing vessels in Caribbean port towns.[58] In June 1799, the commander-in-chief at Jamaica, Vice-Admiral Sir Hyde Parker complained to the Governor of Jamaica, Lord Balcarres, that desertion in the squadron was being increased 'by a considerable number of

[58] Denver Alexander Brunsman, *The Evil Necessity: British Naval Impressment in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World*, (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2013), p. 13.

Crimps [...] allow'd to infest the Town of Kingston and Port Royal'.[59] Parker wrote to Balcarres in September 1799 to reiterate his concerns regarding the loss of seamen in his squadron and the need for impressment:

> It is almost needless to state to Your Lordship the impossibility of even keeping up [with] the Deaths, without the assistance given by the Order of Council [to allow for impressment] exclusive of the Desertion, which I must observe is, still, great notwithstanding the number of severe punishments lately inflicted which have, unfortunately, no effect against the activity of the Crimps and the temptations, held out by them, that are greatly encouraged by the high Wages given to Seamen for the Run home, contrary to the true Spirit and meaning of the Act of Parliament, passed for the regulating Seamens Wages, which I am sorry to find is not effectual in this Island.[60]

Parker highlights the problems faced by naval officers in keeping their ships manned with punishment for absconding having little effect on the crew. The loss of sailors from disease and desertion mainly due to 'crimping' and the offer of higher wages increased the need for impressment.

Sailors were so desperate to escape naval ships in the Caribbean they often jumped overboard whilst their ships were anchored in harbour to attempt to swim ashore. However, those who jumped overboard often drowned, as recorded in the journal of HMS *Endymion* on 26 September 1780 when the ship's captain, Philip Carteret, had left the ship to dine ashore at Charles Fort, Barbados with the governor and military personnel.[61] A captain going ashore provided the opportunity for men to desert before mustering was taken the next day. In July 1795, captain's servant, William Parker, continuously reported sailors deserting whilst anchored at Cape Nicholas Mole, St Domingue. Of four sailors who deserted, two were caught and severely punished. Soon after, another six sailors absconded at night, going overboard and swimming to shore. However, they were caught upon reaching shore. One sailor who was caught was so afraid of the punishment for desertion, which according to the 1749 Articles of War was punishable by death that he threw himself off a forty

[59] NLS, Acc 9769, 23/10/539, Letter from Vice-Admiral Sir Hyde Parker at Admiral's Penn to Governor Balcarres, 14 June 1799.
[60] NLS, Acc 9769, 23/10/546, Letter from Vice-Admiral Sir Hyde Parker at Admiral's Penn to Governor Balcarres, 1 September 1799.
[61] NMM, CAR/7b, Notes on HMS Endymion, entry 26 September 1780.

foot cliff.[62] As John Byrn's survey of discipline on the Leeward Islands station shows, of 477 crimes tried by court martial in the Leeward Islands during 1784 and 1812, only 120 or 25.2 per cent were for absence/desertion.[63] Rather than bringing every deserter to court martial, sailors were punished on board when they were returned to the ship. This was the case for the two sailors who deserted at Cape Nicholas Mole. However, the punishment of the two deserters did not deter another six sailors from attempting to escape, showing the desperation of the sailors to leave the confines of naval service.

With desertion so prevalent, guard ships were often employed to prevent sailors from absconding from duty whilst the ship was in harbour. Commander of HMS *Sans Pareil*, Vice-Admiral Hugh Seymour, ordered boats to row guard throughout the night on 16 March 1800 whilst he dined on shore at an island ball with the president of the St Vincent Council.[64] However, even with the guard boats, two sailors deserted and swam from the ship during the night.[65] Whilst attending another ball at a local tavern two nights later on 18 March, Seymour lost another sailor who deserted the ship, and this again occurred on 20 March.[66] These preventative measures did not prevent sailors from deserting, demonstrating the determination of sailors to escape the service whilst stationed in the Caribbean.

The regularity of sailors absconding from duty meant parties of marines were common place in the port towns of the Caribbean, sent ashore in search of 'drunken Johns who had run away or been missing'.[67] However, this could potentially cause disturbances ashore, giving rise to tension between the inhabitants and the navy. In June 1799, Captain Rutherford lost twenty-four seamen from HMS *Brunswick* within three weeks of arriving at Jamaica after a cruise. Rutherford ordered a party to Kingston to recover his absconded crew and to impress any seamen 'straggling on shore'. However, the party were

[62] NMM, PAR/165/1, Letters from William Parker on HMS *Leviathan* at Cape Nicholas Mole, St Domingue to his mother, Mrs Parker, 15 July 1795.
[63] John D. Byrn, *Crime and Punishment in the Royal Navy: Discipline on the Leeward Islands Station, 1784-1812*, (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1989), pp. 57-58.
[64] WRO, CR114a/312, Journal of Vice-Admiral Lord Hugh Seymour on HMS *Sans Pareil*, entry 16 March 1800.
[65] WRO, CR114a/312, Journal of Vice-Admiral Lord Hugh Seymour on HMS *Sans Pareil*, entry 17 March 1800.
[66] WRO, CR114a/312, Journal of Vice-Admiral Lord Hugh Seymour on HMS *Sans Pareil*, entry 18 March 1800.
[67] NLS, MS 1083, Journal of James Ker, fol. 22r.

attacked on shore and wounded by the band of deserters. Rutherford was quick to apologise for the ruckus ashore stating, 'if any irregularities should have occurred whilst my people were at Kingston, to the Inhabitants, I am very sorry for it, and will take care to prevent the like in future'.[68]

Naval officers therefore required the cooperation of the civil and military powers on the island to aid the capture of absconded sailors and to stop sailors being hidden or protected by inhabitants ashore. As Frederick Hoffman discovered in the mid-1790s when sent ashore to apprehend deserters in Kingston, there were taverns and houses 'notorious for harbouring seamen'.[69] When Captain Rutherford wrote to his commander, Vice-Admiral Sir Hyde Parker about the incident being attacked ashore by deserters, he believed the deserters were 'protected on shore', which was, he wrote, 'an encouragement for desertion, even to the oldest seamen in my ship'. The lack of cooperation from the inhabitants, with deserters being protected ashore, meant Rutherford requested military involvement to apprehend the absconded sailors. He was 'afraid to trust' anymore of his men ashore 'for fear of further desertion'.[70] The assistance required to help in the recapture of deserted seamen was requested in correspondence between Parker and Governor Balcarres. Whilst sharing his concerns regarding the number of deserters at Kingston, Parker recalled an incident from May 1798 when a gang of fifty armed seamen led by a deserter from HMS *Hannibal* shot and wounded a man ashore. Parker stated the gang of 'Desperadoes' were then able to march 'through the town without any attempt from the Civil Power to arrest' them.[71] Parker believed that if 'the Civil Power in Jamaica [was] to exert themselves in assisting the Naval Officers, not only in apprehending Deserters, but in securing the idle and unemployed Seamen [...] the very unpleasant Act of impressing Men on shore would be stopped'.[72] Parker requested for cooperation between naval, military and civil

[68] NLS, Acc 9769, 23/10/539, Letter from Captain William G Rutherford on HMS *Brunswick* at Port Royal to Vice-Admiral Sir Hyde Parker, 12 June 1799 enclosed in letter from Vice-Admiral Sir Hyde Parker at Admiral's Penn to Governor Balcarres, 14 June 1799.
[69] Hoffman, *A Sailor of King George*, pp. 32-35.
[70] NLS, Acc 9769, 23/10/539, Letter from Captain William G Rutherford on HMS *Brunswick* at Port Royal to Vice-Admiral Sir Hyde Parker, 12 June 1799 enclosed in letter from Vice-Admiral Sir Hyde Parker at Admiral's Penn to Governor Balcarres, 14 June 1799.
[71] NLS, Acc 9769, 23/10/539, Letter from Vice-Admiral Sir Hyde Parker at Admiral's Penn to Governor Balcarres, 14 June 1799.
[72] NLS, Acc 9769, 23/10/539, Extract of letter from Vice-Admiral Sir Hyde Parker on HMS *Queen* at Mole St Nicholas to John Jacques, Custos of Kingston, 1 May 1797 enclosed in letter from Vice-Admiral Sir Hyde Parker at Admiral's Penn to Governor Balcarres, 14 June 1799.

authorities to lessen the need for impressment benefitting both the navy with fully manned ships and the inhabitants with increased naval protection, and less disturbances and press gangs required ashore.

However, with increasing desertion and the loss of seamen to disease and naval action came the act of impressment. Research on the manning of the navy in the Caribbean has often concentrated on the first half of the eighteenth century up until the end of the Seven Years War in 1763. It has often focused on the inefficiency of impressment and the friction it caused between civil and naval authorities, particularly between commanders-in-chief and colonial governors.[73] Most recently, Denver Brunsman's survey on naval impressment across the Atlantic in the eighteenth century has demonstrated the importance of impressment to Britain's naval superiority and has broadened our understanding of the social and political impact of the institution of impressment on the Atlantic world. Termed by Brunsman as an 'evil necessity', impressment was essential to the navy's success and therefore to imperial expansion and the protection of Britain's commercial interests.[74] Although naval impressment was required across the Atlantic world, it was a particularly contentious issue in the Caribbean due to conflicting colonial and imperial interests. British interests in imperial expansion required large-scale naval impressment, which included the impressment of privateers and merchant seamen, which damaged trade with North America that was vital to the white elite of the Caribbean.

Following riots in Antigua, St Kitts and Barbados in the 1740s, which were ignited by the impressment of privateers by Admiral Knowles and a clash of colonial and imperial interests, Parliament passed an Act for the better encouragement of the trade of His Majesty's sugar colonies in America in 1746, which enforced greater control on impressment in the Caribbean.[75] West India lobbyists helped to bring about the Act which meant naval commanders had to seek permission from the colonial governor and council in order to impress sailors and only during times of emergency. Terms had to be

[73] Crewe, *Yellow Jack and the Worm*, pp. 63-144; R. Pares, 'The Manning of the Navy in the West Indies, 1702-63', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 20, 1937, pp. 31-60; Nicholas Rodgers, 'Archipelagic Encounters: War, Race, and Labor in American-Caribbean Waters', in *The Global Eighteenth Century,* ed. by Felicity Nussbaum (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), pp. 211-225.
[74] Brunsman, *The Evil Necessity: British Naval Impressment in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World*, pp. 1-15.
[75] Ibid. p. 100, pp. 218-221.

negotiated often with strict time scales and the number of sailors that could be impressed. The colonial consent required to impress seamen continued up until 1815.[76] The tension impressment caused between colonial officials and naval commanders in the 1740s was reignited in the final quarter of the eighteenth century with the increased need for impressment during the American Revolution, and then again in 1793 with the onset of war with France. Evidence suggests that with the threat of foreign invasion increasingly prominent during the last quarter of the eighteenth century, the white inhabitants were willing to engage once again in the debates on impressment, which had caused great tension in the years previous to the Seven Years War.

This cooperation was necessary due to the white elite's high level of anxiety caused by its increasing dependence on the navy. In June 1782, Rear-Admiral Samuel Hood ordered Captain Ball, Captain Stow and Lieutenant Perkins to impress 'as many men as you can' at Morant Bay and Cow Bay, Jamaica. This order came after a heightened period of tension in the Caribbean, which culminated in the Battle of the Saintes in April 1782. However, the American Revolutionary War was still on-going and impressment was required to replace men lost due to disease, action, and desertion. Hood insisted 'Mr Taylor a Gentleman of great property in that part of the Island' would assist them and take care of the press gang party.[77] Simon Taylor, as previously mentioned, was a prominent planter of Jamaica, therefore his offer of assistance to the press gang parties shows his acceptance and support of impressment. Taylor's aforementioned consuming anxiety of coastal raids most likely encouraged his compliance with impressment, but it also shows his understanding of the vulnerability of the colonies and the need to provide the navy with the manpower required to protect the islands, for without naval supremacy in the Caribbean the protection of the islands was compromised.

There is evidence of impressment not only on the large island of Jamaica, but also at Antigua. HMS *Resource* was recorded as having successfully 'pressed at Antigua', so the ship was fully manned and sent to protect the Moule and Port Louis, Guadeloupe. This was at a particularly crucial time in 1794 when the British were attempting to keep possession of the once French

[76] Ibid. pp. 118-119.
[77] NMM, HOO/6, Orders from Rear-Admiral Samuel Hood to Captain Ball, Captain Stow and Lieutenant Perkins, 3 orders dated 28 June 1782.

island. However, the white elite of Antigua was only willing to cooperate if the terms of the impressment, as set out by the council, were met. Vice-Admiral Charles Thompson wrote to the commander-in-chief at the Leeward Islands, Vice-Admiral John Jervis, to express that the president of the Antigua Council was not 'very anxious to assist' a press gang from HMS *Inspector*. Thompson was not granted authority 'because it was after hours', even at a crucial time at the end of 1794 when Guadeloupe was close to being lost and returned to the French as the council restricted the times that press gangs were allowed to operate.[78] Therefore, tension could easily rise between naval officers who required men to man the naval vessels, and the white elite who could place restrictions on impressment.

Merchant vessels were primarily targeted for impressment particularly during the 1790s when the navy required more sailors following the outbreak of war with France. The impressment of American merchant ships had been a contributing factor to revolutionary resistance against Britain in North America during the 1770s as impressment was observed as an infringement of liberty. It was also a causal factor of the War of 1812.[79] In 1796, the temporary commander-in-chief at Jamaica, John Thomas Duckworth applied to the Privy Council and Lieutenant Governor of Jamaica for their 'consent and concurrence to the impressing of fifteen hundred seamen for the purpose of manning His Majesty's Ships' in order to protect the island and its trade and commerce. The Privy Council consented to the impressment throughout the island for a term of three months from 19 August 1796. Although they consented, the council stipulated that numbers of seamen and mariners impressed could not exceed fifteen hundred men, and naval officers were forbidden to impress more than one man out of five from any one merchant ship.[80]

As Brunsman notes, Jamaica offered the most cooperation regarding impressment in the colonies.[81] This is evinced by an increase to one man out of five permitted upon Duckworth's request in 1796, from one man out of seven from incoming merchant ships without slaves that was stipulated during

[78] NMM, THO/2c, Letter from Vice- Admiral Charles Thompson on HMS *Vanguard* at the Saintes to Vice-Admiral Sir John Jervis, 19 August 1794.
[79] Brunsman, *The Evil Necessity: British Naval Impressment in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World*, p. 13.
[80] NMM, XDUC/3, True extract from the Privy Council minutes of Jamaica, 19 August 1796.
[81] Brunsman, *The Evil Necessity: British Naval Impressment in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World*, pp. 119-120.

the Seven Years War. This ratio was upheld for requests by Duckworth's successor, Vice-Admiral Sir Hyde Parker. In 1797, Parker wrote to Governor of Jamaica, Lord Balcarres, claiming his squadron was 'fifteen hundred Seamen short'. He requested the governor and Privy Council of Jamaica to allow for impressment until this number was reached.[82] Parker was granted his request on 1 January 1798 at a ratio of one seaman out of five from one inward bound merchant ship, but restricted to a period of three months. Balcarres was willing to extend the impressment period for another three months if Parker renewed his request.[83] Upon giving the order to impress in June 1799, Parker requested 'the several persons employed to impress men *on shore* be attended by a Constable or Constables, and that such men as they take up on shore to impress be carried before a Magistrate, in order that such Magistrate may see that none but Mariners or Seamen be impressed'.[84] Parker's strict enforcement of the impressment warrant set by the council helped to maintain order between the navy and particularly the merchant members of the white elite, whose trade vessels could be threatened by impressment if the navy did not comply with the orders of the council.

The situation of impressment demonstrates the complexities of the relationship between the white elite and naval officers. The white elite was not always forthcoming with supporting impressment, but when the navy required more manpower during times of conflict and when the threat of invasion was heightened, the white elite cooperated. This cooperation, with regards to impressment, not only demonstrates the extremes the planters were willing to go to protect their livelihoods, but also the white elite's complete dependence on the navy. Beyond the benefits of the navy as protectors of the region, the navy was also heavily relied upon to connect the white elite to the metropole as part of the circulation of information, further increasing the white inhabitants' dependence on the navy.

[82] NLS, Acc 9769, 23/10/493, Letter from Vice-Admiral Sir Hyde Parker on HMS *Queen* at Port Royal Harbour, Jamaica to Lord Balcarres, 29 December 1797.
[83] NLS, Acc 9769, 23/10/951, Letter from Governor Balcarres to Vice-Admiral Sir Hyde Parker, 1 January 1798.
[84] NLS, Acc 9769, 23/10/539, Order of press warrant given on board HMS *Abergavenny* at Port Royal, Jamaica, 7 June 1799 enclosed in letter from Vice-Admiral Sir Hyde Parker at Admiral's Penn to Governor Balcarres, 14 June 1799.

3.4 Information and knowledge circulation

Scholarship on the communication between the Caribbean and the metropole and the inland communication channels of the British Caribbean islands has focused on the official channels of the overseas and inland postal system.[85] The informal distribution of information by those in the navy is to some extent overlooked, yet the navy's role in communication aided distribution and circulation of knowledge throughout the Caribbean. As Barry Higman notes, communication was essential to the management of the plantation system, particularly when planters returned to Britain and left their estates manned by representatives in the Caribbean. The only way absentee-planters could send instructions to their employees such as attorneys and overseers was via ships. It could take over four months, via a merchant or naval ship, from an attorney sending a request from Jamaica to Britain to receive a reply, which often forced representatives in the Caribbean to make decisions on the management of the plantation. Even with the speedier packet ships, which became permanent after 1763, a round trip, sending a letter from the Caribbean to receiving a reply from Britain, would take a minimum of two months. This time frame also depended on which island the recipient inhabited, with all ships arriving at Barbados before sailing on to other British Caribbean islands. It was not until 1793 that British Post Office Packet ships were sent directly to Jamaica.[86] These formal communication channels required patience from both senders and recipients in the Caribbean and Britain. Communication contributed to what Higman describes as the 'slowness and uncertainty' of the sugar industry.[87] Slow communication and the patience required to manage a plantation perpetuated the already high feelings of anxiety felt by the white elite on the British Caribbean islands.

Both island inhabitants and those stationed in the Caribbean longed for news of the arrival of the packet ship, as it brought the most recent correspondence and newspapers from Britain. Those stationed in the

[85] L. E. Britnor, *The History of the Sailing Packets to the West Indies*, (London: British West Indies Study Circle, 1973); Thomas Foster, *The Postal History of Jamaica, 1662-1860*, (London: R. Lowe, 1968); Barry W. Higman, 'Communicating', in *Plantation Jamaica, 1750-1850: Capital and Control in a Colonial Economy,* (Kingston, Jamaica: University of the West Indies Press, 2005), pp. 113-133; Stephen Hopwood, 'Three Hundred Years of Postal Services in Jamaica', *Jamaica Journal*, 5, (2), 1971, pp. 11-16.
[86] Higman, *Plantation Jamaica, 1750-1850*, pp. 113-114, p. 124, 128, 130.
[87] Ibid. p. 114.

Caribbean obsessively referred to the packets in their journals and correspondence, longing for the ship's arrival and predicting when it will next set sail.[88] Barbados was the first island most naval, merchant and packet ships arrived at on their voyage from Britain. Therefore, the island became the centre of the circulation of information in the Caribbean. George Pinckard, army physician, described Barbados as 'the London of the West Indies - the great capital to which we anxiously look for events, and for news'.[89] All news from home, Europe, the rest of the world, and other Caribbean islands was distributed via Barbados. When a newly arrived naval ship came to harbour at Barbados, a small vessel was initially sent to shore to gather news and letters from home from the packet.[90] Pinckard observed the feverish response from inhabitants and those stationed in Barbados to the packet ship's arrival in March 1796:

> On the Packet making the harbour it caused a crowd not unlike what you may have seen at a sailing or rowing match of boats upon the Thames. Each wishing to be first, and all being anxious to learn the news, the vessel was beset on every quarter before she could come to anchor, and the whole bay became one animated scene of crowded ships and moving boats. Many who could not go to the packet as she entered the harbour, repaired ashore to be ready, there, to meet the news. The people of the town, also, thronged the beach in anxious multitudes.[91]

Once the packet ship anchored, impatient sailors, soldiers and inhabitants caused the streets to be blockaded, preventing the post-bags from reaching the post-master's office. It could take a couple of days for the post to be distributed because of the crowds at the post-master's door.[92] This shared thirst for news from Britain by inhabitants and those stationed in the Caribbean shows a need to keep a connection with Britain, to keep abreast of societal, political and economic changes, also foreign conflict, and to maintain communications with their local communities and families in Britain.

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[88] ABDN, MS 2070, Journal of Jonathon Troup, 19 May 1789; NMM, MKH/501, Letter from Rear-Admiral Samuel Hood on HMS *Barfleur* at Jamaica to his brother, 8 July 1782; Norfolk Record Office, UPC/644, Letter from H. S. Jones on HMS *Griffin* off Havana to his uncle B. E. Sparke, 8 March 1809; WRO, CR114a/312, Journal of Vice-Admiral Lord Hugh Seymour on HMS *Sans Pareil*, entry 18 February 1800; Pinckard, *Notes on the West Indies*, vol 1, p. 421.
[89] Pinckard, *Notes on the West Indies*, vol 1, p. 196.
[90] NLS, MS 1083, Journal of James Ker, fol. 19r & 20v.
[91] Pinckard, *Notes on the West Indies*, vol 1, pp. 420-421.
[92] Ibid.

Once the packet arrived at Jamaica, letters and newspapers were distributed within hours or a few days depending on island location using the system of 'post roads'.[93] The postmaster at Jamaica was responsible for sorting and distributing the large amount of business and personal correspondence throughout the island to white inhabitants and those serving in the region. This postmaster's demanding role was often a source of frustration for naval officers, desperate for news from home. In 1796, William Parker complained of the postmaster at Kingston. He wrote to his mother, 'I believe I have now recovered all my stray letters which is very satisfying. The Postmaster at Kingston in Jamaica is I'm sorry to say very neglectful to send our letters up & without being strictly enquired after we should never get one'.[94] Samuel Hood also complained he had not received letters from the May packet when writing home on 8 July 1782.[95] Naval officers had high expectations of the imperial postal service, as it was the only other link apart from naval vessels to receive correspondence from family and friends in Britain.

Making personal connections and forming relationships with inhabitants was crucial to the circulation of information. Sailors were tasked with transporting and delivering letters throughout the Caribbean islands. Whilst Jonathon Troup dined at Mr Rainy's plantation at Dominica, three gentlemen including two Royal Navy sailors and a planter from Antigua interrupted with a parcel of letters.[96] Orders were also given from the naval commander-in-chief to deliver letters to colonial governors and presidents of the colonial councils.[97] These examples demonstrate the navy's direct involvement with formal island communications and their knowledge of white inhabitants was crucial to distribution of correspondence.

This involvement with formal island communications meant naval officers offered the white elite the opportunity for a direct link to Britain. Naval officers

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[93] Higman, *Plantation Jamaica, 1750-1850*, p. 117, 121.
[94] NMM, PAR/165/2, Letter from William Parker on HMS *Leviathan*, Cape Nicholas Mole, St Domingue to his mother, 16 October 1796.
[95] NMM, MKH/501, Letter from Rear-Admiral Samuel Hood on HMS *Barfleur*, Jamaica to his brother, 8 July 1782.
[96] ABDN, MS 2070, Journal of Jonathon Troup, entry 13 September 1789.
[97] NMM, CAL/203, Order from Admiral Richard Tyrell to Captain Bill Abdy to deliver letters to the Governor of Guadeloupe and the president of the council, and Governor of Grenada, No. 145, p. 69, 1 August 1764.

were known to have collected papers from estates to be taken back to Britain, keeping absentee-planters up-to-date with their accounts.[98] Naval seamen, who were soon to depart for Britain, also took letters for their comrades to pass directly to their families.[99] When James Ker travelled back to England, he arrived at Spithead and went immediately to meet with Mrs Maitland, the wife of Captain Maitland. Ker passed on news of Captain Maitland's good health when he last saw him in the Caribbean.[100] Forming a relationship with those stationed in the Caribbean offered the possibility of a direct connection to personal and commercial links in Britain and also the opportunity to hear news from Britain. Jane Cochrane, daughter of Admiral Alexander Inglis Cochrane, Governor of Guadeloupe, was often visited by white inhabitants whilst resident at Guadeloupe. French and English ladies visited to 'pay their respects' to the Governor's wife, turning up unannounced.[101] The constant visits greatly frustrated Jane and her mother, but their connection to a powerful naval figure provided an opportunity to white inhabitants and a possible influential connection to Britain.

The newspapers and periodicals sent on the packet ships were one of the primary means, apart from correspondence, to stay informed with political, social and commercial changes in Britain. Colonial newspapers were also produced and sent back to Britain to circulate news of the colony.[102] Citing research by L. E. Britnor and Thomas Foster on the travelling time of packet ships, Higman has estimated that the travel time for packet ships from Falmouth (England) to Jamaica was forty-two days, taking an average from sixty-one packet voyages between 1781 and 1788. The return journey was always longer, estimated at forty-seven days.[103] Therefore, when newspapers arrived on the packets, the issue dates were only a few days later than when the packet left Britain, which meant they were often as recent as the month previous to their arrival. However, this delay often caused confusion. This was

[98] Lieutenant Thomas Byam Martin was sent to visit the manager of the Green Castle estate, Antigua, to take papers back to Britain in Martin, *Letters and Papers of Sir Thomas Byam Martin*, vol 1, p. 70.
[99] James Anthony Gardner, *Recollections of James Anthony Gardner, Commander R.N. (1775-1814)*, (London: Navy Records Society, 1906), p. 232, 235.
[100] NLS, MS 1083, Journal of James Ker, 35r.
[101] NLS, Acc 13186, fol. 1, Letter from Jane Cochrane at Basseterre, Guadeloupe to Mrs Hall, 10 December c. 1810-1814.
[102] Pinckard, *Notes on the West Indies*, vol 3, p. 131.
[103] Higman, *Plantation Jamaica, 1750-1850*, p. 130 citing Britnor, *The History of the Sailing Packets to the West Indies*, pp. 40, 49; Foster, *The Postal History of Jamaica, 1662-1860*, pp. 21-22.

particularly prevalent during the American Revolution with the Caribbean at the centre of communications and frequent changes in the possession of islands. This confusion is captured in the correspondence of a previous commander-in-chief at the Leeward Islands, Admiral Samuel Barrington. Barrington wrote to Captain Charles Thompson stationed at the Leeward Islands and stated, 'We are gasping for News from the East, from the West, and America; for my part I know not what to make of our Newspapers, sometimes St Lucia is gone, at others Tobago; then both and both still in our possession'.[104] The continuous and unavoidable delay in correspondence and newspapers from the Caribbean to Britain could cause confusion, and rumours regarding foreign threats often circulated. Therefore, each new letter was received with anticipation, waiting for news from 'the front-line'.

Through the medium of the press, the white inhabitants of the Caribbean could stay connected to the metropole and attempt to identify and stay current with public opinion in Britain, helping to assuage their anxieties towards their conflicting creole and British identity. Changing social fashions and habits, as well as news from Europe and the East could be read in newspapers and popular periodicals such as *The Gentleman's Magazine* and *The Spectator*, which were available in the Caribbean.[105] Naval chaplain, William Paget, considered the notion of reading newspapers as part of his identity as an Englishman, as important as the essentials of food and clothes. Paget wrote to his friend, Thomas Bennett: 'above all, send me a Budget full of News, You know it is Meat, drink & Cloathing to an English Man anywhere, but will go down with a double Relish where it is so scarce'.[106] Paget was stationed on the French island of Martinique during the British invasion in 1762. Therefore, as he states, news from home was even more infrequent as packet ships were prime targets for enemy capture.

Staying current with newspapers from Britain was crucial to those in the navy, particularly keeping abreast with naval conflict throughout the empire. Kathleen Wilson's article on the emergence of Admiral Vernon as a national hero highlights the influence of the press on the overwhelming British public

[104] NMM, THO/12, Letter from Samuel Barrington at Farnham to Captain Charles Thompson, Leeward Islands, 30 July 1781.
[105] ABDN, MS 2070, Journal of Jonathon Troup, fol. 144r.
[106] NMM, AGC/P/16, Letter from William Paget, Chaplain, at Fort Royal, Martinique to Thomas Bennett, 10 February 1762.

response to Vernon's victory over the Spanish at Porto Bello in 1739. Wilson describes the press as 'the critical mechanism in the national political culture'.[107] This was also true of the second half of the eighteenth century. The navy's victories and losses were a constant source of newspaper reports and although Vernon's victories came at a politically significant moment, his recognition served as an example to naval officers. A report of a naval victory could catapult an officer to national recognition, their names forever carved into the annals of naval history; the ultimate accolade for any naval officer. The press' influence in Britain, as demonstrated by Wilson's article, meant the white elite was deeply interested and invested in the opinion of the newspapers from Britain. The strength of public opinion could either support or ruin the plantation regime, which increased anxiety amongst the white elites; their way of life, to some extent, dependent on their coverage in the press.

There were also informal elite networks of communication that were connected with socialising. As previously explored the white elite often sent invites to naval officers to dine on the plantation or attend social events. These social meetings allowed for an intimate conversation between members of the white elite and newly arrived officers from Britain. Whilst stationed at Black River, Jamaica, Frederick Hoffman was invited to dine with a local magistrate. The magistrate was keen to enquire from the ship's captain if he knew anything about the new Governor of Jamaica, Sir Eyre Coote. However, he was disappointed to discover another military man was to become governor, and replied, 'we want something in the shape of a statesman with a lawyer's head, with his wig and litigation [...] we prefer a civilian to a soldier'.[108] Hoffman was asked for information on the new island governor, which could be circulated to other inhabitants. Members of the white elite were keen for news not only from within the colonies, but also from Britain and therefore, social meetings with naval officers were another medium to stay connected to Britain. Hospitality again facilitated an exchange between naval officer and inhabitant as part of the informal information network, helping to circulate news from the colonies and Britain throughout the white community.

The navy's link to the wider Atlantic maritime community meant naval vessels circulated information throughout the empire both through formal and

[107] Wilson, 'Empire, Trade and Popular Politics', p. 92.
[108] Hoffman, *A Sailor of King George*, p. 93.

informal channels from delivering correspondence to casual conversation. Although invitations from the local white elite were an opportunity to curry favour with new naval arrivals to further the planters' economic interests by lobbying for increased island protection, there was also a yearning for news from home to assuage their anxieties with regards to changing politics and society in Britain, and a curiosity about how these new naval arrivals could help support the West India interest in Britain.

3.5 Conclusions

Lieutenant Frederick Hoffman, who served in the Caribbean towards the end of the eighteenth century, described England as 'the land of freedom and genuine hospitality'.[109] It is possible Hoffman was attempting to define the hospitality he received in the Caribbean as different to the 'genuine' hospitality he believed he would receive upon his return home after eight years at sea. The hospitality offered to naval officers in the Caribbean was, to some extent, charged with expectations, as was the relationship the Caribbean held with Britain. The white elite perceived the relationship with the metropole as mutually beneficial. They provided goods and an injection of wealth into the British economy in exchange for protection and a level of self-governance. These expectations shaped their relationship with the navy. This chapter has shown the complexities of the white elites' relationship with the navy. Although the white elite desired to maintain a level of political self-confidence and autonomy from Britain, this was undermined by its complete dependence on the navy, not only to protect the islands from external threats, but also as a visible presence in maintaining dominance over the enslaved majority, preventing internal unrest, and as part of their direct link to Britain as conduits of information. The navy was therefore not just a peripheral protective force, but an intrinsic part of the social and cultural fabric of the white elite.

In opposition to the idea that the colonies were wholly compliant with metropolitan desires,[110] the white elites were not afraid to protest or make requests if they felt their needs were not met. The navy granted requests for

[109] Ibid. p. 90.
[110] O'Shaughnessy, *An Empire Divided*.

convoys and sought advice from local sources to determine the best deployment of naval vessels. The navy also required colonial councils to agree to terms of impressment before pressing could commence. However, the white elite's dependence on the navy increased throughout the period, particularly towards the last quarter of the eighteenth century with a rise in support for the abolitionist campaign in Britain and the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, which increased the need for the navy's protective presence and a direct communication link to Britain. This dependence is evinced by their willingness to cooperate with the navy with regards to impressment, particularly during the latter part of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

This dependence left the white elites of the Caribbean crippled by anxieties, which not only stemmed from their conflicting creole and British identities and their obsession with the metropolitan perception of their identities, but also their concerns regarding foreign invasion, loss of trade and maintaining authority over a majority enslaved population who threatened rebellion and violent uprising. At times of war, the main priorities for naval commanders were protecting the islands from foreign invasion, protecting trade routes and implementing Britain's expansionist policy. Naval resources were deployed for these purposes. Capturing foreign vessels as part of providing island and trade route protection was also important to naval officers, as the distribution of prize money helped to maintain harmony on board. This concentration on the wider threat, the pursuit of foreign vessels and expansion of the colonies increased the white inhabitants' anxieties and their sensitivities towards threats such as coastal raids and slave insurrection. This created dissatisfaction between the white elite and naval officers, even though the navy was prioritising the main threat to the white elite, the external threat of foreign invasion. The white inhabitants were so consumed by their anxieties and more localised fears of property damage and slave uprising that they developed a colonial or 'creolised' view of the situation in the Caribbean.

The white inhabitants developed a colonial vision of empire with the Caribbean colonies of central importance. This perceived importance and their expectations of protection shaped their relationship with the navy. This meant any naval officer who did not conform to the white elite's particular view of the navy, as an imperial navy protecting the interests of the white elite, were

criticised. However, officers who were perceived as being fully committed to the concerns of the white elite and the protection of the islands and trade were rewarded, as will be demonstrated by analysing thanks and gifts in the following chapter.

4. Caribbean responses to the Royal Navy

The Royal Navy, as an institution, was not only crucial to Britain in its protection of home waters and its national power as a trading empire, but as Lincoln has argued, the navy was inextricably linked to British identity, to ideals of Britishness, and notions of what it meant to be British.[1] For the colonies, as the preceding chapters demonstrated, the navy was crucial to the white inhabitants for protection from external and internal threats, to ease their anxieties, as a direct communication link to Britain and other Caribbean islands and, as with the British population, the navy's visible presence affected their identities.

The Seven Years War established the naval supremacy of Britain in Europe. The nation's pride in the expansion of empire and national power was represented by the commemoration of the navy's triumphs and victories against foreign powers during the war. Commemorative objects were more noticeable in Britain with changes to manufacturing and the ability to mass produce items for the populace by the mid-eighteenth century. This coincided with the Seven Years War and the growth of the commercial empire. Before then, commemorative items were often only specially commissioned.[2] The navy's patriotic image was therefore bolstered by increased production of commemorative items with maritime interest. Those in the white elite were keen to display naval memorabilia, as were those in Britain. Jonathon Troup reported that whilst visiting an estate at Dominica he saw the display of engravings of Admiral Rodney's victory at the Battle of the Saintes.[3] Displaying and owning commemorative memorabilia was not only a representation of the appreciation of the navy, but it was a representation of British identity.

As John McAleer has demonstrated, gifts of thanks presented to naval officers can contribute to our understanding of the groups involved in commissioning and donating the gifts including their political motivation and self-perception, just as the more overt political gestures of monuments and

[1] Lincoln, *Representing the Royal Navy*.
[2] Rina Prentice, *A Celebration of the Sea: The Decorative Art Collections of the National Maritime Museum*, (London: HMSO, 1994), p. xi.
[3] ABDN, MS 2070, Journal of Jonathon Troup, entry 30 August 1789.

memorials can.[4] In the colonies, as this chapter demonstrates, the white elite commissioned gifts of thanks for naval officers. This act of giving thanks can broaden our understanding of the white inhabitants and their identities by looking beyond overt political motivations to explore the subtle assumptions of gift-giving. With regards to self-perception, the analysis of letters of thanks, gifted items and monuments, as responses to the navy, can offer insight into how the white elites perceived their position within the wider context of empire and how gift-giving was an expression of their colonial British identity. This chapter therefore explores the motivations of gift-giving and builds on the white elite's colonial or 'creolised' view, as explored in the previous chapter, to explain its attitudes towards conflict in the region and why certain naval officers were commemorated and thanked for their service.

4.1 Monuments

The grandest visible responses to the navy's presence in the Caribbean were monuments celebrating naval officers commissioned by the colonial assemblies. Monuments to Nelson and Rodney have received considerable scholarly attention, as they remain a visible demonstration of the navy's impact on the Caribbean.[5] In 1806, a commemorative monument to Nelson was commissioned in Barbados soon after news of his death was received in the colonies. The only earlier commission for a commemorative monument to Nelson was from Montreal, Canada, at the end of 1805. In 1813, the Nelson monument at Barbados was first unveiled, which coincided with the unveiling of other monuments to Nelson throughout Britain. Nelson's column in London came much later.[6] These monuments to Nelson were erected in remembrance of a national hero and to commemorate his victory at Trafalgar defeating the French and Spanish fleet. After Rodney's victory over the French at the Battle

[4] John McAleer, '"Eminent Service": War, Slavery and the Politics of Public Recognition in the British Caribbean and the Cape of Good Hope, C.1787-1807', *Mariner's Mirror*, 95, (1), 2009, pp. 33-51.
[5] Anon., 'Some Nelson Statues', *The Journal of the Barbados Museum and Historical Society,* 18, 1950-51, pp. 4-17; Joan Michèle Coutu, *Persuasion and Propaganda: Monuments and the Eighteenth-Century British Empire*, (Montreal; London: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2006); Lesley Lewis, 'English Commemorative Sculpture in Jamaica. 2 - the Rodney Monument, Spanish Town', *Commemorative Art,* 32, (12), December 1965, pp. 365-373; Alison Yarrington, 'The Commemoration of the Hero, 1800-1864: Monuments to the British Victors of the Napoleonic Wars', (unpublished PhD thesis, Garland, 1988).
[6] See Anon., 'Some Nelson Statues', pp. 4-17; Coutu, *Persuasion and Propaganda*, pp. 264-267.

of the Saintes in 1782, a statue was commissioned and erected in Spanish Town, Jamaica. These commissioned monuments by the colonial assemblies outwardly showed loyalty and gratitude towards Britain by commemorating members of a strong identifiable British institution that the white inhabitants were so heavily dependent on, as discussed in Chapter 3. For without the navy's protection and cooperation of naval officers such as Rodney and Nelson, the Caribbean islands would be lost to foreign powers.

As public commissions, the monuments to Nelson and Rodney are bound up with political motivations. The white elite was keen to show its appreciation of the navy as the British population did in Britain, with naval officers being featured on commemorative items, in commissioned portraits and monuments. They hoped naval officers would share their positive impressions of the colonies and experiences of colonial generosity and politically support the colonies when they returned to Britain. Naval officers were keenly aware of the colonies' essential importance to Britain and her national strength as a commercial and trading empire. Roger Anstey argues that the colonists 'could claim an impressive bloc of support at this time' by the end of the 1780s and he includes Rodney in this support network. Rodney was keenly aware of the significance of Jamaica to Britain. In 1784, in a letter read to the House of Assembly, Rodney described Jamaica as 'his majesty's most important island'. He wrote, 'the preservation of Jamaica was always at my heart, as I ever did, and ever shall, look upon it as the brightest jewel in the British diadem: And if I had any share in preserving it, I shall regard it with heartfelt satisfaction, as the happiest æra of my life'.[7] Rodney was supportive of the colonies and had earlier testified as a witness before the Privy Council Committee of Jamaica in 1788 that, 'he never saw any Negro flogged with half the severity that he had seen an English schoolboy'.[8] Nelson also professed his defence of the colonial system in correspondence to planter, Simon Taylor.[9]

However, when the abolitionist campaign threatened the institution of slavery and the established colonial system, the navy's political impact in

[7] Rodney to the speaker of the House of Assembly, Jamaica, 9 March 1784, in Assembly of Jamaica, *Journals of the Assembly of Jamaica*. Vol. 8 1784-1791, (Jamaica: Alexander Aikman, 1804), p. 4.
[8] Roger Anstey, *The Atlantic Slave Trade and British Abolition 1760-1810*, (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1975), p. 289.
[9] Letter from Nelson to Simon Taylor at Jamaica, 10 June 1805 in Nicolas, *The Dispatches and Letters of Vice Admiral Lord Viscount Nelson, with Notes by Sir Nicholas Harris Nicolas, May 1804 to July 1805*, vol 6, pp. 450-451.

supporting the colonies was limited. It was not only the Lords of the Admiralty who were political appointees and members of Parliament, but a proportion of serving naval officers, a total of seventy-nine between 1754 and 1790, rising to one hundred members between 1790 and 1820, sat in the House of Commons.[10] However, the navy's involvement in the British political sphere was problematic. As Lincoln has shown, naval officers actually had 'little impact' on the political platform. Naval officers were so bound up in their public image that controversial statements and public political quarrels reflected badly on their characters and on the navy as an institution. The main reason for the navy's involvement in politics was in respect to how well the navy was managed and to influence naval expenditure. This focus meant the navy's involvement in politics was often only focused on the institution and its administration and management, which were heightened during times of war. This was further complicated as naval officers who were represented in politics remained as serving officers, and were not career politicians. This meant their presence and input in debates focused on self-preservation. As serving officers, with the potential for promotion and the backlash from other admirals upon return to active service, they were particularly restrained in their political opinions. Therefore, the naval officers who served in the House of Commons generally supported the government of the day, so as not to damage their prospects of promotion.[11]

The problems with relying on serving naval officers for their political influence in Britain are represented in Anstey's investigation on the opposition to abolition. For example, Stephen Fuller, Agent for Jamaica, noted that when abolitionists called a hearing in 1791, Sir Peter Parker, a serving officer with land in the colonies, was not present to examine the abolitionists' witnesses.[12] It is therefore problematic to suggest naval officers could have an influential impact on British politics, due to their active service and the pressure of the patronage system for promotion. Many naval officers who served in the Caribbean died in action or from disease before they could make any lasting impact on British society and politics. Furthermore, it was not until the end of their careers that naval officers returned to Britain and remained on land

[10] Sir L. Namier and J. Brooke, *The History of Parliament. The House of Commons 1754-1790*, vol 1, (London: HMSO, 1964), pp. 143-145 cited in Lincoln, *Representing the Royal Navy*, p. 43.
[11] Ibid. pp. 43-44.
[12] Anstey, *The Atlantic Slave Trade and British Abolition 1760-1810*, p. 291.

permanently, making any impact on the social or political sphere limited even if in support of the colonial system. It is also not possible to measure the extent of naval officers' impact within private social circles in Britain, or how widespread their reflections on the region and the institution of slavery were within the social sphere. Therefore, we must look beyond motivations of direct political influence in Britain when assessing monuments and gifts of thanks given to naval officers from the colonies.

For example, the monument to Rodney at Jamaica can contribute to our understanding of the white elite's identity, by exploring how it responded to the naval victory that protected the colonies' central position within the wider empire. It was Rodney's victory at the Battle of the Saintes in 1782 that immortalised his status as a naval hero, not only in the Caribbean, but also in Britain. By defeating Comte de Grasse's fleet, Rodney had protected Jamaica against a Franco-Spanish invasion and secured British Caribbean trade. The monument displayed colonial gratitude towards Britain, and also a sense of relief, in so far as the navy had proved its supremacy over European powers after a period of military defeats and territorial losses, ensuring the safety of its most important colony.

Rodney was well known in the Caribbean before this victory for his previous command of the Leeward Islands, which included the capture of Martinique, St Lucia, Grenada and St Vincent. He was also the commander-in-chief at Jamaica between 1771 and 1774. However, prior to the Battle of the Saintes, Rodney caused controversy over his conduct in St Eustatius. Upon the capture of the Dutch island of St Eustatius in February 1781, Rodney remained there for three months accruing prize money from captured ships and cargo. Rodney was heavily criticised for prioritising his accumulation of wealth over strategic advancement as he made no attempts to capture further Dutch territory. Even when the French fleet sailed for North America, Rodney made no attempts to pursue them. Instead he chose to delegate the pursuit of the fleet to Admiral Sir Samuel Hood, and Rodney sailed home to Britain to respond to his critics over his conduct at St Eustatius. This decision, which O'Shaughnessy argues directly contributed to the defeat at Yorktown and the loss of North America, weakened the navy's position against the French in North America. The navy was unable to break through the French blockade at the mouth of the Chesapeake and provide reinforcements to General

Cornwallis commanding troops at Yorktown. Cornwallis was forced to surrender, which was an embarrassing British defeat and one that ultimately led to the loss of North America.[13]

Therefore, by 1782, the British public were desperate for good news. The losses in America meant the victory at the Battle of the Saintes became an overinflated triumph. The embarrassment of the Yorktown surrender began to fade away with Rodney's victory as Britain's naval superiority had been reclaimed. As Rodger states, the Battle of the Saintes was a 'clear but by no means overwhelming British victory'. Although five French ships were taken, including de Grasse's flagship, Hood's order to pursue the fleeing foreign ships was revoked by Rodney. Rodger argues that psychologically the victory 'had a disproportionate effect on both sides of the Channel' and in Britain this meant overwhelming celebrations throughout the country.[14] Britain celebrated Rodney's victory with a number of commemorative items including ceramics with Rodney's portrait, as well as engravings and portraits of the battle.[15] Rodney received a peerage, the 'freedom' of many cities throughout Britain and annuity of two thousand pounds for his victory.[16]

The battle was not only psychologically significant for the British public after the losses in North America, but the victory was also crucially important to the white elite of Jamaica and the Caribbean colonies. After the siege at Yorktown, the French were able to re-focus their efforts from North America to Britain's valuable islands in the Caribbean. The French objective, with support from Spain, was to capture Britain's largest and most valuable island, Jamaica. With public confidence in the British forces dented after the loss of Yorktown there was an increased anxiety that the Caribbean colonies would also be lost. Therefore, when Rodney prevented a French invasion by defeating de Grasse at Les Saintes, it was not only Britain that celebrated exuberantly, but also Jamaica and the Caribbean islands.

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[13] O'Shaughnessy, *An Empire Divided*, pp. 230-232.
[14] Rodger, *The Command of the Ocean*, pp. 353-354.
[15] Prentice, *A Celebration of the Sea: The Decorative Art Collections of the National Maritime Museum*, pp. 24-27.
[16] See Kenneth Breen, 'Rodney, George Bridges, First Baron Rodney (bap. 1718, D. 1792)', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford University Press, (2008), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23936> [accessed 10 August 2012]; Rina Prentice, 'Tokens of Esteem', in *A Celebration of the Sea: The Decorative Art Collections of the National Maritime Museum,* (London: HMSO, 1994), p. 43.

Therefore, on the 20 February 1783, a resolution was passed by the Jamaica Assembly for the commissioning of a monument to Rodney, with the advance sum of one thousand pounds sterling voted for the monument. It was a visible expression of the colonists' Britishness as the commission was sent to the metropole to be fulfilled by a British artist. Agent for Jamaica, Stephen Fuller, was requested to find an artist to produce a marble statue on a pedestal, which would be erected in the parade at Spanish Town, Jamaica. The designs were to be approved by the Royal Academy. There were accompanying instructions for the decorative panels on the four sides of the pedestals. Apart from three ornate designs on three of the sides, one side of the pedestal would be reserved for a representation of Rodney's action at the Battle of the Saintes. This was vital to the Jamaican inhabitants, as it was this action that was seen to have ensured the safety of Jamaica. Five sculptors were requested by the Council of the Royal Academy to prepare models on the 27 February 1784. The chosen design was that of John Bacon, an eminent sculptor. It was not until 1789 that the monument was completed, and finally it arrived in Jamaica in 1790.[17] Rodney was honoured to have a marble statue erected to him in Jamaica and wrote to the House of Assembly to acknowledge the privilege, even though Rodney himself proclaimed that he 'did [...] no more than' his 'duty'.[18]

Bacon produced an eight foot high marble of Rodney on a pedestal, which represents him in classical Roman attire including sword and shield with his right arm extended (Figure 9). It is said to resemble the Roman warrior god Mars, with identical armour including the dress boots with feline head and military baton. Lesley Lewis, in her articles on commemorative sculpture in Jamaica, connected the Mars inspiration with a full-scale cast taken by Bacon from a model exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1771, which he later presented in 1773. There are also reports that Bacon was working on a Mars at the same time as the Rodney statue.[19] The Roman attire gives Rodney a mythical, even godly status, attempting to turn the monument into a timeless

[17] Coutu, *Persuasion and Propaganda*, pp. 240-242; Lewis, 'English Commemorative Sculpture in Jamaica. 2 - the Rodney Monument, Spanish Town', pp. 365-368; McAleer, '"Eminent Service": War, Slavery and the Politics of Public Recognition in the British Caribbean and the Cape of Good Hope, C.1787-1807', pp. 35-36.

[18] Rodney to the speaker of the House of Assembly, Jamaica, 9 March 1784, in Assembly of Jamaica, *Journals of the Assembly of Jamaica*. Vol. 8 1784-1791, (Jamaica: Alexander Aikman, 1804), p. 4.

[19] Lewis, 'English Commemorative Sculpture in Jamaica. 2 - the Rodney Monument, Spanish Town', p. 366.

classical piece. The Romans were revered as one of the most powerful empires in ancient times and therefore by replicating their style of sculpture and representing Rodney as a Roman warrior, the monument establishes him as an enduring heroic figure of a powerful British empire.

Figure 9. Rodney Memorial by John Bacon, Spanish Town, Jamaica, (Photo: Christer Petley).

Lewis described the decision to dress and pose Rodney in classical style as 'something of a mystery'. However, monuments to naval officers

represented in classical Roman attire were not uncommon in the first half of the eighteenth century. A comparison can be drawn with monuments to naval officers in Roman attire at Westminster Abbey. One particular example is that of Charles Holmes (d. 1761) by Joseph Wilton – sculptor to the King (Figure 10). Wilton was a member of the Royal Academy and was one of the five sculptors alongside Bacon who were asked to prepare models of the Rodney statue, but Wilton never submitted a design. In 1777, Wilton had been appointed to produce the first publicly commissioned monument by the Jamaica House of Assembly to the island's governor, Sir Basil Keith.[20] Charles Holmes, who was stationed at Jamaica when he died, also had a memorial commissioned at St Andrew's parish church, Kingston, Jamaica, but nothing of the grandeur of his monument at Westminster Abbey. Wilton's sculpture of Holmes is similarly represented to Rodney in Roman armour with a *sagum* or cloak over the shoulders. Although Holmes was aged fifty when he died, he is represented as a younger man. However, Rodney's monument has a slightly more awkward appearance. Rodney was older than fifty at the time of the Battle of the Saintes and the head of his monument is representative of contemporary portraits of Rodney at that time. However, the body of a young warrior gives the monument the appearance that Rodney's head has been placed upon the body of Mars.

Naval officers commemorated in Roman attire were no longer as fashionable by the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Charles Holmes's monument from the 1760s was one of the last at Westminster Abbey to represent a naval officer in Roman attire. Earlier examples include Sir Cloudesly Shovell (d. 1707) and Sir Thomas Hardy (d. 1737), both in Roman armour. Also Vice-Admiral Charles Watson (d. 1757) is represented in a toga and the memorial to Admiral Edward Vernon (d. 1757) is decorated with a Roman breastplate and club of Hercules.[21] This tradition of classicising naval officers in commemorative sculpture was not uncommon in the first half of the eighteenth century, but by the last quarter of the century it had become less fashionable in Britain. Therefore, the Rodney monument was outdated by British standards.

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[20] Coutu, *Persuasion and Propaganda*, p. 237.

[21] The Dean and Chapter of Westminster, 'Westminster Abbey. History: Famous People and the Abbey', The Chapter Office, Westminster Abbey, (2012), <http://www.westminster-abbey.org/our-history/people> [accessed 3 May 2012].

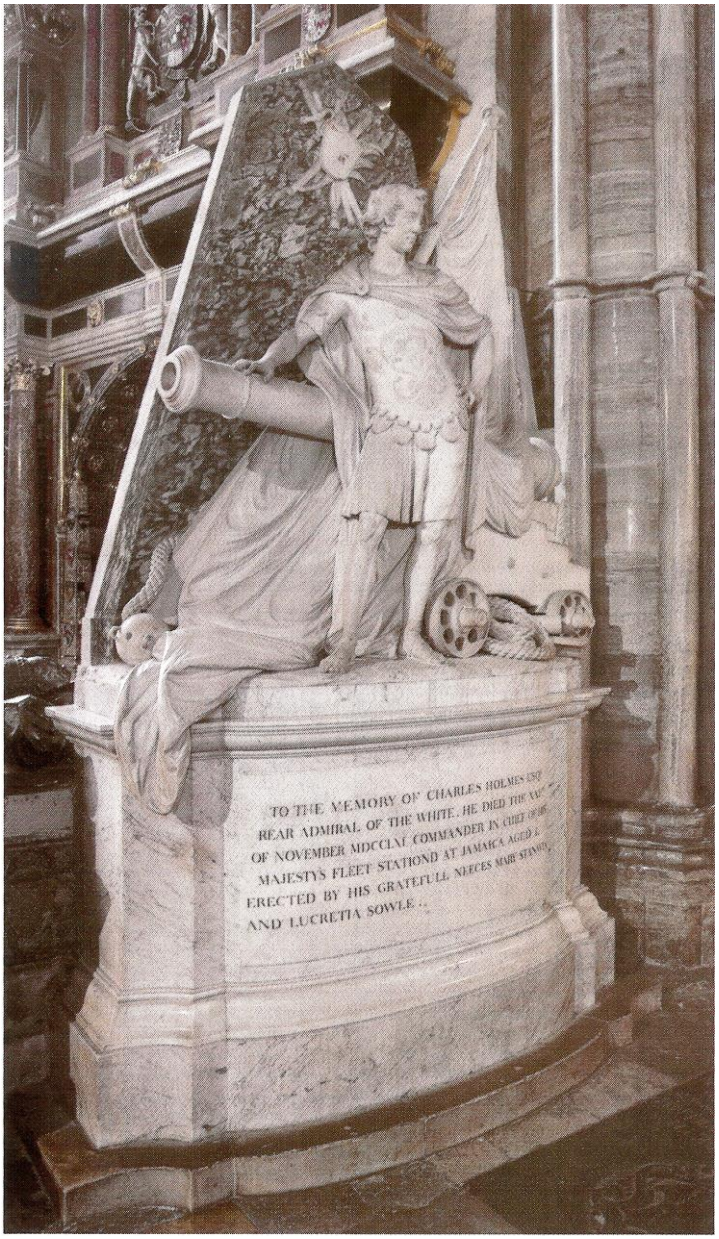


Figure 10. Monument to Admiral Charles Holmes, died 21 November 1761, aged 50, Westminster Abbey (Copyright: Dean and Chapter of Westminster).

As Lewis argues, the white elite of the Caribbean had 'old fashioned tastes' regarding their commissioned funerary monuments and this is also reflected in their choice of monument to celebrate Rodney.[22] Although the white inhabitants aspired to produce a statue to the high standards and style that the British population would subscribe, their detachment from British society, with many having left Britain decades earlier, explains to some degree

[22] Lesley Lewis, 'English Commemorative Sculpture in Jamaica', *Commemorative Art,* 32, (11), November 1965, p. 324.

why their taste was outdated, in relation to modern British preferences. This is further evinced by a visit to the monument in 1816 by Matthew Lewis, an English dramatist, poet and novelist, who visited Jamaica upon inheriting two plantations and five hundred slaves from his father. As Elizabeth Bohls argues, Lewis's writing demonstrates his unease at his inherited position as plantation and slave-owner. Therefore, Lewis 'tries to impose the metropolitan perspective upon the local, colonial situation', using 'allusion to metropolitan high culture' to detach himself from the colonies.[23] Upon arriving at Spanish Town, Lewis remarked:

> On one side of the square in which it [Government House] stands there is a small temple protecting a statue of Lord Rodney, executed by Bacon: some of the bas-reliefs on the pedestal appeared to me very good; but the old admiral is most absurdly dressed in the habit of a Roman General, and furnished out with buskins and a truncheon. The temple itself is quite in opposition to good taste, with very low arches, surmounted by heavy as reliefs out of all proportion.[24]

Although Lewis appreciated Bacon's craftsmanship on the pedestal reliefs, it was the classicising of Rodney's dress that he observed as 'absurd'. Lewis, as a citizen of Britain until he left for Jamaica in late 1815, observed the monument and domed covering as 'in opposition' to the modern style of monuments in Britain, to which he was accustomed. Even though the Rodney monument was an attempt by the white inhabitants to demonstrate the continuation of 'metropolitan high culture' in the colonies, Lewis's observations show these intentions were lost by their outdated views of British taste due to their physical detachment from the metropole.

The pedestal Rodney stands on has three relief panels with one inscription plate at the front (Figure 11), which was originally planned to be the back plate. The Latin inscription identifies the people of Jamaica who commissioned the monument and it commemorates the date of Rodney's victory. The requested relief of Rodney's actions at Les Saintes is at the back of the pedestal (Figure 12). The relief is based on a painting by Dominic Serres of the surrender of *Ville de Paris*, de Grasse's flagship. The other two reliefs

[23] Elizabeth A. Bohls, 'The Planter Picturesque: Matthew Lewis's Journal of a West India Proprietor', *European Romantic Review,* 13, (1), 2002, p. 63.
[24] Matthew Gregory Lewis, *Journal of a West India Proprietor: Kept During a Residence in the Island of Jamaica*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 100.

depict Britannia in two different postures, one during and after the battle. One relief shows Britannia standing with her shield raised above the head of a young woman representing the infant-like Caribbean colonies (Figure 13). The young woman rests her right foot on an alligator, the symbol of Jamaica. The French flag, with the *fleur de lis*, flies on the right of the relief and in the bottom left-hand corner a cherub blows a trumpet of victory.[25]

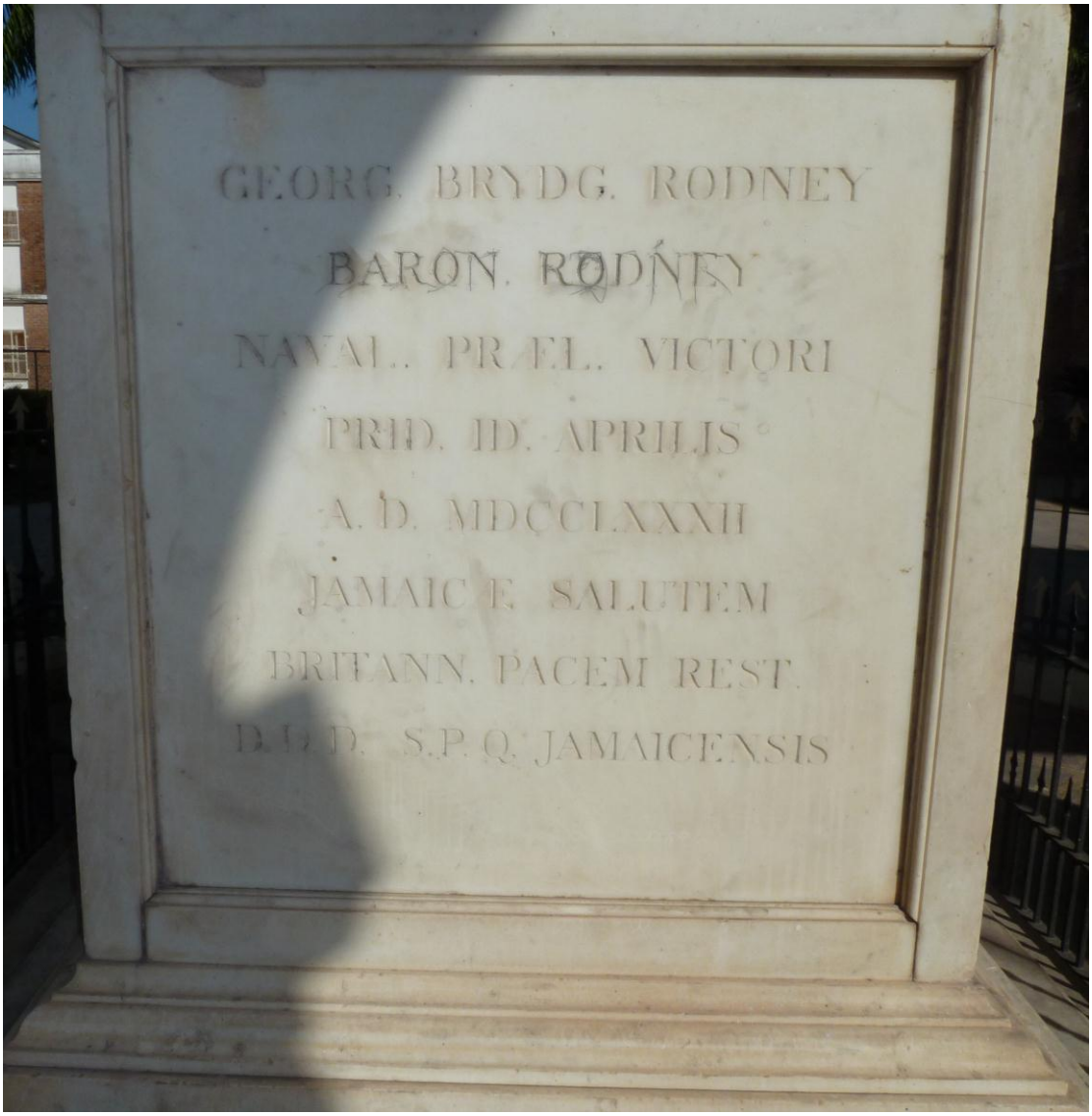


Figure 11. Inscription Plate on the Rodney Memorial, Spanish Town, Jamaica (Photo: Christer Petley).

[25] Coutu, *Persuasion and Propaganda*, pp. 243-245; Lewis, 'English Commemorative Sculpture in Jamaica. 2 - the Rodney Monument, Spanish Town', p. 368.

Figure 12. Pedestal Plate on the Rodney Memorial, Spanish Town, Jamaica (Photo: Christer Petley).

Figure 13. Pedestal Plate on the Rodney Memorial, Spanish Town, Jamaica (Photo: Christer Petley).

The other relief depicts the triumph after victory. It shows the French flag being presented to Britannia by a merman/triton and held under her foot, representing British dominance over France (Figure 14). Bernini's sculpture of 'Neptune and Triton', now displayed at the V&A, was bought by Joshua Reynolds in 1787 whilst Bacon was working on Rodney's monument.[26] Reynolds presided over the Royal Academy Council, which chose Bacon's design and had offered his assistance as an artist and as a friend of Rodney's to ensure the monument was suitable.[27] Reynolds's influence and experience may have helped Bacon in his choice of reliefs, as the scene almost reflects the statue of Neptune and Triton. The story of Neptune commanding the sea is

[26] V&A, 'Neptune and Triton by Gianlorenzo Bernini', Victoria and Albert Museum, (2013), <http://www.vam.ac.uk/content/articles/n/berninis-neptune-and-triton/> [accessed 18 September 2013].
[27] Lewis, 'English Commemorative Sculpture in Jamaica. 2 - the Rodney Monument, Spanish Town', p. 365.

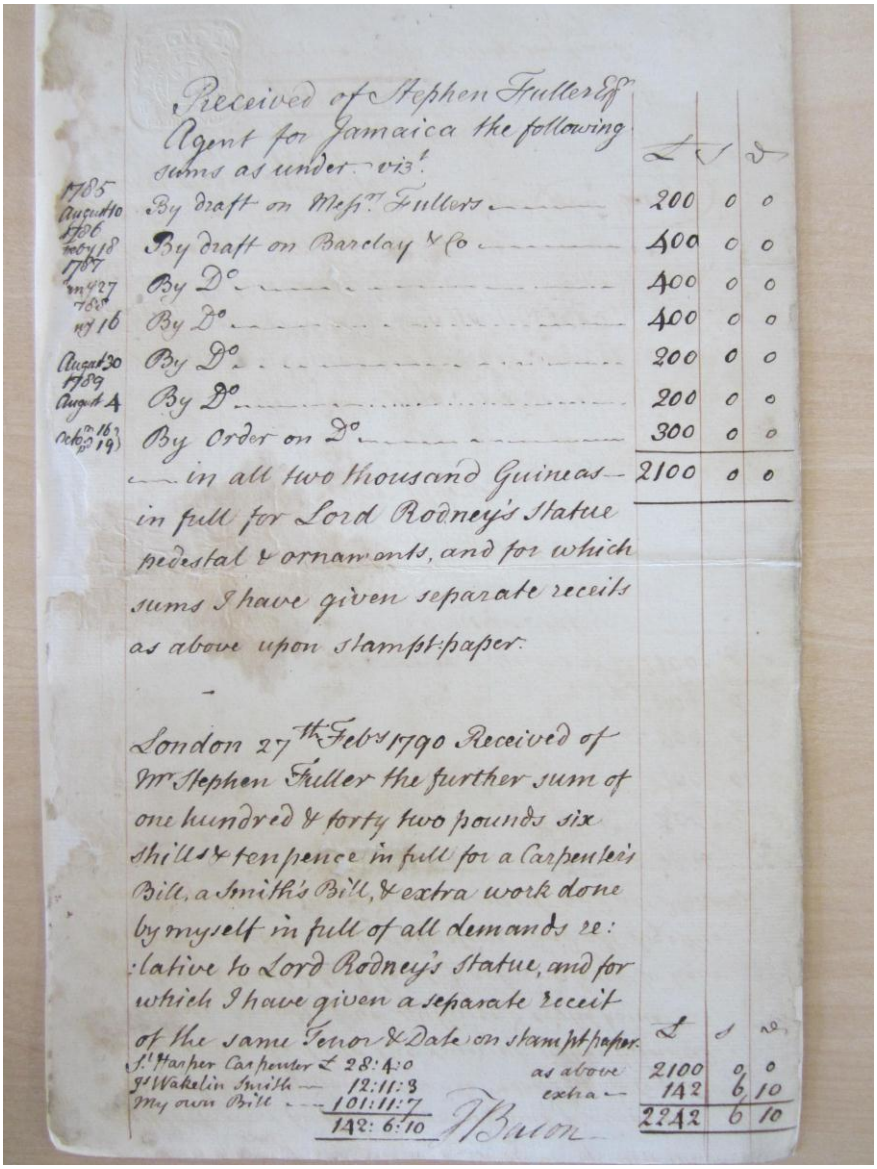
reflected in the relief. The god of the sea, Neptune, is replaced by the commanders of the seas, Britain and her navy, personified as Britannia. Son of Neptune, Triton, depicted on Britannia's right, blows the conch shell heralding the arrival of the god of the seas, as in the story of Neptune and Triton. In both reliefs Britannia is in Neptune's sea shell chariot pulled not by sea horses, but by the heraldic creatures of the United Kingdom, the lion and the unicorn. A medallion embossed with George III is also featured in Britannia's chariot as an overt symbol of the colonies' connection to the Crown. The reliefs are powerfully symbolic and recognise Jamaica's vulnerability and the protection it required from Britain. It also represents the command Britain required over the seas in order to keep Jamaica and the Caribbean colonies safe from foreign attack.

Figure 14. Pedestal Plate on the Rodney Memorial, Spanish Town, Jamaica (Photo: Christer Petley).

Once the monument reached Jamaica, there were conflicting views over where it should be situated. It was originally planned for Spanish Town. The inhabitants of Kingston petitioned to have the monument erected in their city, a growing port town overlooking the sea, which seemed more appropriate than the inland old city of Spanish Town. However, it was kept in Spanish Town and incorporated into plans for a new government square with a central domed rotunda for monument (Figure 15).[28] According to receipts sent by John Bacon to Stephen Fuller for payments received for the statue of Lord Rodney, payments totalled £2242:6:10 (Figure 16).[29] However, after the new government buildings and central rotunda were added, the total project was estimated at a cost of £31,000. This costly project advertised the wealth of the colonies to those in Britain and as Joan Michèle Coutu argues, demonstrated the colonists' self-determination to establish cultural infrastructure. Coutu suggests that the Rodney monument was 'as much an expression of gratitude and loyalty as it was an expression of civic pride', contributing to our understanding of the self-perception of the white elite in Jamaica as proud colonial Britons at the immediate end of the American Revolution.[30]

Figure 15. Domed Rotunda of the Rodney Memorial, Spanish Town, Jamaica (Photo: Christer Petley).

[28] Ibid. p. 368.
[29] Somerset Archives, DD/DN/509, Papers of Stephen Fuller, Agent for Jamaica – Receipts from John Bacon for the Rodney Memorial.
[30] Coutu, *Persuasion and Propaganda*, p. 247.



Received of Stephen Fuller Esq^r Agent for Jamaica the following sums as under viz^t.

		£	s	d
1785 August 10	By draft on Mess^rs Fullers	200	0	0
1786 May 18	By draft on Barclay & Co	400	0	0
1787 Jan^y 27	By D^o	400	0	0
1788 Jan^y 16	By D^o	400	0	0
August 30 1789	By D^o	200	0	0
August 4	By D^o	200	0	0
Oct^r 16 (Oct^r 19)	By Order on D^o	300	0	0
	— in all two thousand Guineas — in full for Lord Rodney's Statue pedestal & ornaments, and for which sums I have given separate receits as above upon stamp^t paper.	2100	0	0

London 27^th Feb^y 1790 Received of M^r Stephen Fuller the further sum of one hundred & forty two pounds six shill^s & ten pence in full for a Carpenter's Bill, a Smith's Bill, & extra work done by myself in full of all demands relative to Lord Rodney's Statue, and for which I have given a separate receit of the same Tenor & Date on stamp^t paper.

	£	s	d
as above	2100	0	0
extra —	142	6	10
	2242	6	10

J^n Harper Carpenter £ 28:4:0
J^n Wakelin Smith — 12:11:3
My own Bill — 101:11:7
142: 6:10

J Bacon

Figure 16. Receipt from John Bacon for payments received for statue of Lord Rodney between August 1785 and February 1790 sent to Stephen Fuller, Agent for Jamaica (Somerset Archives, DD/DN/509).

The monument to Rodney, under its domed rotunda and colonnade, became the central feature between the new buildings of the Assembly and the governor's residence. To the east of the square was built the House of Assembly and to the west was the governor's residence, known as King's House, as seen in a later representation in 1825 by James Hakewill (Figure 17).[31] The two buildings appear in Hakewill's depiction as architecturally equal,

[31] Lewis, 'English Commemorative Sculpture in Jamaica. 2 - the Rodney Monument, Spanish Town', pp. 372-373.

yet they symbolised the imbalance of power and the struggle for political autonomy by the local Jamaican assembly against the metropolitan governance of a colonial governor.[32] The Assembly wanted political autonomy within an 'imperial framework', not to be controlled by Parliament.[33] However, by the last quarter of the eighteenth century, with changes in ideology regarding slavery in Britain and therefore increased pressure for amelioration of the plantation regime, the relationship between the Governor of Jamaica and the Assembly became increasingly strained. However, the political autonomy the local elite desired from the metropole, represented in the equal administrative buildings in Spanish Town, was undermined by the central Rodney monument, which although commissioned by the Assembly was symbolic of the colony's dependence on Britain and her navy.[34]

Figure 17. 'King's Square in St Jago de la Vega', plate from James Hakewill's A Picturesque Tour in the Island of Jamaica, 1825 (British Library, 1486.99.11, plate 10).

[32] James Robertson, ''The Seat of the Government and the Second Town of the Island' Spanish Town, 1758-C.1780', in *Gone Is the Ancient Glory: Spanish Town, Jamaica, 1534-2000,* (Kingston, Jamaica: Ian Randle Publishers, 2005), pp. 94-121.
[33] Coutu, *Persuasion and Propaganda*, p. 240.
[34] Petley, *Slaveholders in Jamaica*, pp. 66-67.

During this period, the colonists had showed themselves to be worth defending over North America due to the economic value of the British Caribbean islands. The colonists were keen to advertise their value and wealth as British subjects, and also their gratitude and loyalty for the continued protection from the metropole. These aims were displayed in the commissioned monument to a naval officer who reclaimed Britain's command of the seas after North American losses. At this time, the colonial vision of empire placed the Caribbean colonies as the important centre of the wider Atlantic world. The monument was also an attempt to show ownership of the navy, as an Atlantic or imperial navy, not simply as a British navy defending home waters. Therefore, the monument was a visible display of the white inhabitants' proud colonial British identities, as a cultural expression of Britishness and a demonstration of colonial self-determination. However, a rise in support for the abolitionist movement and change in attitudes towards the planters in Britain shifted the shared metropolitan and colonial view of the colonies' central position within empire. As will now be shown, an increasingly creolised understanding of the colonies position within the wider context of foreign conflict emerged, which can broaden our understanding of the colonies' social and political position at the time.

4.2 Thanks

With the shift in British attitudes towards the colonies, it was crucial for the white elite to impress upon naval officers its hospitality and gratitude to ensure the navy's support as an arm of British imperialism. The primary way in which the white elite was able to convey its gratitude towards its protectors was to send letters of thanks, establishing a relationship between the colonial assemblies and naval officers. Officers in command of ships stationed in the Caribbean were commonly sent an address from a colonial assembly or from the merchants of West Indian trade in recognition of their service. A letter of thanks was sent to Captain Philip Carteret, commander of the *Endymion*, who served in the Caribbean between September 1780 and March 1781, for his role in the safe convoy of the Jamaica fleet. Carteret was sent the 'unanimous thanks of the West India Merchants' for ensuring the fleet arrived from Jamaica

safely.[35] Letters most commonly thanked officers for protecting island trade by convoying trading fleets, capturing privateers and also showing bravery and skill in defeating the French, particularly during the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic period.

Thanks were not only sent for protecting the islands from foreign invasion or securing trade routes. There are also examples of thanks sent to officers for helping against internal unrest, which reflects the dependence on the navy as set out in the preceding chapter. For example, Captain Francis Reynolds, commanding HMS *Quebec*, was sent a letter of thanks for providing protection after the slave insurrection at Tobago in November 1770. Reynolds arrived at Tobago on 21 November to provide assistance during a violent slave uprising, led by the slave named Sandy, which began around 11 November. Reynolds received an extract from the council minutes dated 27 November, with thanks from the president and Council of Tobago. It was recorded that Reynolds was to be thanked 'for the great Readiness he shewed in coming voluntarily to the Relief of this Infant Colony, at a Time when it was not only apprehended to be in the greatest Distress from intestine Commotions, but shared the Danger in Common with the other Islands, of being attacked by the natural Enemies of the Crown of Great Britain from without'.[36] This not only acknowledges the internal unrest, but also the constant anxiety felt by inhabitants of Tobago from the threat of foreign invasion. The extract from the minutes and 'an account of the insurrection among the Cormantee Slaves at Tobago' was accompanied by a letter from George Gibb, the deputy clerk of the council. Gibb reiterated the views of the council and assured Reynolds, 'that these are not the sentiments of the Council only, but of every Individual in the Island'.[37]

However, in 1771, when writing to his father from Barbados, Reynolds believed he had done little to receive such praise. Reynolds wrote of the great thanks he had received from the people of Tobago, 'without doing much to

[35] NMM, CAR/7a, Letter from the merchants of the West Indies to Captain Philip Carteret on HMS *Endymion*, Plymouth, received/passed on by Robert Tremshawe, 19 August 1781.
[36] GA, D340a/X16, Papers of Captain Francis Reynolds, extract of the Tobago Council minutes, 27 November 1770.
[37] GA, D340a/X16, Letter from George Gibb, the deputy clerk of the Council of Tobago to Captain Francis Reynolds, 21 December 1770.

merit that honor'.[38] Reynolds was obviously surprised at the outpouring of thanks, so soon after his arrival and for such little effort, display of naval skill, bravery, or achievement other than his mere presence on the island.

This demonstration of gratitude provides an insight into the white elite's heightened feelings of anxiety when the navy was not present, as well as the relief the presence of such a powerful institution provided. Although colonial militias were available to neutralise small-scale internal unrest, the reliance on external forces for island protection meant the navy's presence was crucial to defuse feelings of anxiety and tension. The gratitude shown to Captain Reynolds demonstrates the relief the mere presence of a naval ship in harbour provided to the white elite of Tobago. Naval officers represented the protective arm of the mother country, and by providing island protection from internal and external threats they protected every aspect of the island life for the white elite. It was not Reynolds's naval skill that earned him the inhabitants' gratitude, but the institution and imperial protection that he represented. It was the power his presence as a naval officer presented to the white minority that earned their gratitude. Although the thanks shown to Reynolds was seen by the officer as exaggerated, the white elite understood Reynolds's actions as prioritising the white elite's needs over any other naval commitment. Reynolds therefore conformed to the colonial view of the navy and was therefore rewarded with an outpouring of thanks from a colonial assembly.

This heightened anxiety amongst the white elite was not only felt on the smaller Caribbean islands where the presence of the navy was much less than on Barbados or Jamaica. Inhabitants of the largest island of Jamaica were also plagued with anxiety regarding foreign invasion and internal uprisings, even with a major naval station on the island. Maria Nugent wrote in her journal of her constant anxiety, particularly during 1805 when the threat of French invasion of Jamaica was high.[39] Nugent's anxiety was heightened by the lack of accurate intelligence and the confusion regarding the French fleet's movements; a common problem in the Caribbean. In June 1805, she wrote, 'another day of uncertainty and anxiety [...] we are still uncertain whether the enemy remains there [Martinique], or has come this way, as there are two

[38] GA, D340a/C/32/10, Letter from Captain Francis Reynolds at Barbados to his father, 10 June 1771.
[39] Nugent, *Lady Nugent's Journal*, p. 187, 227, 237, pp. 240-241.

accounts in a letter from St. Vincent's [...] Whichever may be the true report, our suspense must soon be at an end; but it is a painful state for us all'.[40] Nugent recognised the complete reliance placed on the navy to protect the island, as she wrote 'the security of this island depends mainly upon our superiority at sea, and the vigilance of our squadrons'.[41] Although Nugent was not a colonist herself, she shared the same anxieties as the white elite regarding internal and external threats. These threats not only endangered the way of life for the white elite, but all those living on the island. The anxieties felt by Nugent whilst living in Jamaica, demonstrate the clinging attachment the inhabitants felt towards the navy and a reliance on the institution for their continued protection.

This consuming threat of French invasion during the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars meant the most common form of thanks was to officers who prioritised the safety of the inhabitants. Vice-Admiral Duckworth was thanked for his command of the Jamaica station during the Napoleonic period, when tensions were heightened, particularly with the conclusion of the slave rebellion on St Domingue that led to increased French reinforcements in the region. The inhabitants of Port Royal later described Duckworth's command as providing 'judicious and able protection'.[42] According to Maria Nugent, the thanks given to Duckworth by the Jamaica Assembly were so elaborate that John Pusey Edwardes, Member of the Assembly for the parish of Vere, 'made a joke of most of them, the phrases were so high flown and so bombastical'. Even Nugent suggested in her journal that the addresses to Duckworth would have been better 'if were in a plainer and more sensible form'.[43] However, the exaggerated rhetoric points at efforts to show their British patriotism to a naval commander, who had spent many years in command of West Indian stations, and therefore understood the anxieties of the white elite due to frequent social interaction with creole society. This connection with creole society is captured in Duckworth's reply to the St Catherine's parish address, received after the Battle of San Domingo which took place on 6 February 1806:

[40] Ibid. p. 241.
[41] Ibid. p. 236.
[42] NMM, DUC/12, Address of the freeholders and inhabitants of the town and parish of Port Royal, signed and presented by the representatives, Fairlie Christie, James Stewart & Henry Broughton to Vice-Admiral John Thomas Duckworth, 6 March 1806.
[43] Nugent, *Lady Nugent's Journal*, p. 221.

> The Importance you are pleased to attach to this Defeat of the Enemy with reference to the Interest of Jamaica, opens to me a source of peculiar Gratification; I must always Regard it as one of the most fortunate Circumstances of my Life, that my Exertions, however employed may have contributed to the security, or advantage of this eminently distinguished Colony, in which during a Residence of Three Years, I may proudly say, I have been honored by the most flattering Proofs of Public Confidence, and Personal Good Will.[44]

Duckworth's reverent reply shows he understood the significance of the colony to Britain's empire and the importance of securing protection for its inhabitants. It also shows how highly he valued his time spent on the island referencing the many thanks he received upon handing over his command, praise he clearly appreciated.

As the St Catherine's parish address shows, Duckworth was highly praised by the inhabitants of Jamaica for his efforts in defeating the French at the Battle of San Domingo and preserving the safety of Jamaica. Duckworth received many letters of address offering congratulations on his triumphant victory and thanks for his courageous actions. The mayor, aldermen and common councilmen of Kingston wrote to Duckworth:

> The Representatives of the most considerable commercial community in the West Indies, to offer to you the distinguished Flag and other Officers and brave Men under your Command, our most heartfelt thanks for your and their Exertions upon this memorable occasion. And we request you will be assured that our gratification at this glorious Triumph, is greatly enhanced by its having been achieved under an Officer, whose conduct during a long Command and Residence among us, was uniformly such as to excite in our breasts the warmest Sentiments of respect attachment and esteem.[45]

Duckworth's established reputation in the Caribbean from his time as naval commander-in-chief at the Leeward Islands and Jamaica meant his victory was highly valued. Duckworth was a valuable asset to the white elite; his heroism in defeating the French raised the profile of the Caribbean colonies and highlighted the colonial view of conflict in Britain.

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[44] NMM, DUC/12, Acknowledgement of address from St Catherine's parish from Vice-Admiral John Thomas Duckworth on HMS *Superb* at Port Royal, Jamaica, 23 February 1806.

[45] NMM, DUC/12, Address of the city and parish of Kingston to Vice-Admiral John Thomas Duckworth, c. 1806.

Although it was said the Battle of San Domingo assured the safety of the island of Jamaica, it was not only the sentiments from those at Jamaica that were sent to Duckworth. The wider British Caribbean community also sent letters of congratulations and thanks for his role in protecting not only Jamaica, but ensuring the safety of the British Caribbean as a whole by asserting authority over the French. Duckworth and the officers who supported his victory received congratulations and thanks from the Council of St Christopher two months after the victory.[46] This was also accompanied by a personal letter of thanks from William Woodley, President of the Council of St Christopher, after receiving an answer of address from Duckworth.[47] After receiving news of the victory from Rear-Admiral Cochrane, a committee was appointed in the name of the Council and Assembly of the Island of Nevis to offer 'cordial thanks and sincere Congratulations' to Duckworth. Thanks were also offered to Rear-Admiral Cochrane for his support in the *Northumberland*, to Rear-Admiral Louis and all the captains, officers and men 'who assisted in the Capture and Destruction of the French Squadron'.[48] Attached to the formal address was a letter signed by George Webbe Daniell, President of the Assembly of Nevis, and William Higgins, Speaker of the Assembly, which attempted to reflect the feelings of the whole white community. It read, 'The Language of the Council and Assembly is the Sentiments of the Community at large, and we shall, with them, offer up our Prayers to the Supreme disposer of all human Events to preserve a Life so valuable to your Country'.[49] These addresses from across the Caribbean demonstrate that the white elites considered themselves part of the wider white colonial community of the British Caribbean colonies; they shared similar views as the Jamaican elite about Duckworth's victory.

The address from the island of Nevis went so far as to compare Duckworth's action with that of Nelson, a proud supporter of the colonial system and Britain's greatest naval hero following his death in 1805:

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[46] NMM, DUC/12, Address of the president and members of the Council of St Christopher to Vice-Admiral John Thomas Duckworth, 15 April 1806.
[47] NMM, DUC/12, Letter from William Woodley, President of Council of St Christopher at Plymouth to Vice-Admiral John Thomas Duckworth, 10 July 1806.
[48] NMM, DUC/12, Address of Council and Assembly of Nevis, signed by appointed committee to Vice-Admiral John Thomas Duckworth, c. 1806.
[49] NMM, DUC/12, Accompanying letter of the address of the Council and Assembly of Nevis, signed President George Webbe Daniell and Speaker William Higgins to Vice-Admiral John Thomas Duckworth, 22 March 1806

> The Events of the 6th February, while they have surpassed the Sanguine Expectations of the Council and Assembly of this Island, have added to the Reputation of the British Navy a Degree of Splendour and Glory unrivalled in the naval History of this Quarter of the Globe. The Lustre of this Victory can be equalled only by the Substantial Advantages which it promises to establish, by placing the British Possessions in the West Indies, on a durable Foundation of Security. The Council and Assembly of this Island, Sir, reflect with Pride, Satisfaction and Gratitude that in this Arduous Crisis, the Spirit and Exertion of the Navy in the West Indies, have kept pace with those of our Countrymen at home, and that you, Sir, and your gallant Companions in Arms, Emulating the great and glorious Example of the immortal Nelson, have like him, nobly contributed to uphold the Fame of the British Name and nation.[50]

The address attempted to show the comparative nature of service in the Caribbean with that of serving in European waters, perceived by the white inhabitants as just as important. However, the differing responses to Duckworth's victory in Britain and in the Caribbean show a disparity in the value placed upon the Battle of San Domingo, particularly when compared with the Battle of the Saintes. The colonial vision of empire still positioned the colonies of central importance within empire, as in 1782.

Duckworth's defeat of the French navy was not only celebrated in the Caribbean, but also in Britain. Duckworth received the Freedom of the Society of the Merchant Taylor's Company in London and received thanks from the House of Lords.[51] He received the thanks of the Court of the Common Council and received the Freedom of the City of London, along with a sword of the value of two hundred guineas, 'as a Testimony of the high sense the City of London entertains of his gallant conduct'.[52] As part of the victory at San Domingo, Admiral Cochrane and Admiral Louis also received the Freedom of

[50] NMM, DUC/12, Address of Council and Assembly of Nevis, signed by appointed committee to Vice-Admiral John Thomas Duckworth, c. 1806.

[51] NMM, DUC/26, Acknowledgement sent to clerk of Merchant Taylor's Company from Vice-Admiral John Thomas Duckworth, 26 May 1806; STO/3, Letter of thanks from the House of Lords, signed George Rose, Parliament Clerk to Captain Robert Stopford, copy also sent to Vice-Admiral John Thomas Duckworth, 25 March 1806.

[52] NMM, STO/3, Letter of thanks from the House of Lords, signed George Rose, Parliament Clerk to Captain Robert Stopford, copy also sent to Vice-Admiral John Thomas Duckworth, 25 March 1806; Letter from the Common Council of the City of London, signed William Jones, the clerk of the Common Council to Captain Robert Stopford, copy also sent to Vice-Admiral John Thomas Duckworth, 27 March 1806. NMM, Object ID. WPN1121, City of London presentation sword, presented to Vice-Admiral John Thomas Duckworth around 1806.

the City of London and a sword of the value of one hundred guineas for their 'exemplary conduct'.[53] Duckworth's reputation in Britain had grown as a result of the San Domingo victory. British responses to Duckworth's victory demonstrated that defeating the French earned respect, and Jamaica and its trade were still worth protecting, but the Caribbean had lost its important position at the top of Britain's agenda.[54] Duckworth did not receive the recognition of a peerage as Rodney had received in 1782.

A victory against the French, such as Duckworth's action, usually led to promotion, baronetcy or peerage, which would have given Duckworth greater social emphasis in Britain and brought greater focus to the Caribbean colonies in Britain. If Duckworth were to lobby for the West India interest upon returning to Britain, his peerage would have been a powerful support. The inhabitants of Jamaica hoped and, to some extent, expected that Duckworth would be rewarded in Britain with a peerage for such a triumphant victory against the French, as Rodney had been.[55] For example, the 'Freeholders and other Inhabitants' of the town and parish of Port Royal hoped Duckworth would receive the reward his victory 'justly merits'.[56] The inhabitants of Port Royal described the victory as one that would 'forever remain recorded in the Annals of a grateful nation'.[57] The inhabitants of St Catherine were similarly hopeful of Duckworth's reward in Britain, describing his actions as 'inestimably important' to the island. The address read:

> We take a deep interest Sir! in the future glory of the former protector of the Commerce of Jamaica and we ardently wish you a long enjoyment of every happiness in the bosom of your grateful country distinguished by the marked approbation of the best of Sovereigns.[58]

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[53] NMM, STO/3, Letter from the Common Council of the City of London, signed William Jones, the clerk of the Common Council to Captain Robert Stopford, copy also sent to Vice-Admiral John Thomas Duckworth, 27 March 1806.
[54] McAleer, '"Eminent Service": War, Slavery and the Politics of Public Recognition in the British Caribbean and the Cape of Good Hope, C.1787-1807', p. 44.
[55] John Burke, *A General and Heraldic Dictionary of the Peerage and Baronetage of the United Kingdom, for MDCCCXXVI*, (London: H. Colburn, 1826), p. 271.
[56] NMM, DUC/12, Address of the freeholders and inhabitants of the town and parish of Port Royal, signed and presented by the representatives, Fairlie Christie, James Stewart & Henry Broughton to Vice-Admiral John Thomas Duckworth, 6 March 1806.
[57] NMM, DUC/12, Address of freeholders and inhabitants of the town and parish of Port Royal to Vice-Admiral John Thomas Duckworth, 6 March 1806.
[58] NMM, DUC/12, Address of the parish of St Catherine, signed J Kirby, Philip Redwood, James Lewis & Thomas Witter Jackson to Vice-Admiral John Thomas Duckworth, c. February 1806.

The inhabitants' address not only acknowledged Duckworth's previous service as naval commander-in-chief, but they also hoped that the praise and reward Duckworth had received in the Caribbean would be replicated by the metropole, by presenting the reward of promotion that only Britain could bestow upon Duckworth.

Even Duckworth himself felt he deserved a peerage due to his actions at San Domingo and his service as commander-in-chief in the Caribbean. At the end of April 1806, Duckworth made his expectations known in a letter to Lord Viscount Howick, after receiving the letters of thanks from those in the Caribbean. Duckworth wrote that if the responsibility of a commander-in-chief was 'great', his role had been 'infinitely greater', as he had taken the responsibility of the role upon himself.[59] He also quoted other officers who had received peerages for their role in major naval battles, including Nelson who received a peerage for his role in the Battle of the Nile, and Sir Alexander Hood who was third in command at the Battle of the First of June. However, Duckworth had to wait until 1813, when he was made a baronet on the 2 November.[60]

Duckworth and the white elite of Jamaica assumed Britain would react with the same vigour, as they had after Rodney's victory, by rewarding a peerage. The consequences were the same as Rodney's victory. The British colonies remained protected from the French, yet it was not perceived with the same importance, as the social and political position of the colonies had altered significantly after the American Revolution. Rodney's victory triggered shared celebrations in both Britain and the Caribbean due to a mutual understanding of the central importance of the colonies to Britain and the nation's power as a global trading empire. The victory also came at a pivotal moment when Britain needed to reclaim their naval supremacy from the French after North American losses. However, Duckworth's victory directly followed Britain's greatest naval triumph of the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic period, the Battle of Trafalgar in October 1805. The Battle of Trafalgar and Nelson's sacrifice had demonstrated Britain's complete domination of the seas. Jamaica was not of primary concern as it had been, following the loss of

[59] NMM, DUC/26, Letter from Vice-Admiral John Thomas Duckworth on HMS *Superb* off St Mary's to Lord Viscount Howick, 30 April 1806.
[60] Burke, *A General and Heraldic Dictionary of the Peerage and Baronetage of the United Kingdom, for MDCCCXXVI*, p. 95.

Yorktown. Therefore, its protection, which Duckworth ensured, was not as significant to British ministers as Rodney's action had been in 1782. The political circumstances surrounding the Battle of San Domingo were also very different. At the beginning of 1806, Britain was absorbed in a political crisis as the Third Coalition, which had been successful in suppressing a French invasion of Britain, collapsed. In February 1806, the Ministry of Talents came into power following the death of Prime Minister William Pitt in January. Britain was also still grieving the loss of Nelson, whose state funeral took place in January.

By 1806, the Caribbean colonies were no longer high on the British agenda for its economic importance, but rather for its role in the institution of slavery. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, the planter class of the Caribbean were attempting to hold off the abolition of the slave trade, which was gaining increasing support in Britain. When British publicity focused on naval officers who were involved in naval engagements in the Caribbean, such as Nelson, Rodney, and Duckworth, it emphasised the colonial view of war to the British public. With the death of Nelson in 1805, the white elite lost a valuable supporter and asset in its attempts to gain support in Britain. The colonial hopes for Duckworth to receive a peerage would have raised the colonial profile in Britain by presenting a naval officer with the highest reward for a West Indian engagement. However, Duckworth did not receive his peerage until 1813, after the abolition of the slave trade.

Although Duckworth received gifts and thanks from both Britain and the Caribbean for his victory, there was a significant difference between the high praise Duckworth received from the adoring colonies, and the more impersonal tokens he received from Britain. This disparity, between how Britain and the Caribbean received and responded to the Battle of San Domingo, demonstrates a collective colonial view of the battle and a significant shift in the Caribbean's political position from the immediate end of the American Revolution. The letters of thanks sent to Duckworth from across the British Caribbean islands demonstrates the collective colonial view of conflict in the region and the colonies' central position within empire, which can be further emphasised in the analysis of gifts presented to naval officers. These gifts, as tokens of thanks, are also bound up with subtle assumptions that demonstrate the

colonial vision of empire, an expression of the white elite's colonial British identity, and furthermore, attempts to show ownership of the navy.

4.3 Gifts

Gift-giving was part of the long-standing tradition that existed between those of status and power in the Caribbean, the white elite and naval officers who were stationed to protect them. A key feature of gift-giving, as defined by Kenneth Greenburg, is that the exchange must be 'undertaken in a spirit of generosity (or simulated spirit of generosity) – without any overt calculation that it will produce some beneficial return to the giver'. However, as Greenburg expands, there are almost always benefits or profits to giving the gift for the gift-giver, in the form of 'love, respect, power, prestige, status – or other return gifts'. Gifts do not always carry cash value, but can be social exchanges, pledging loyalty or, as observed in the context of the white elite of the Caribbean, sending letters of address of congratulations and thanks.[61] Therefore, gifts are given with the likelihood of a benefit to the gift-giver. This is also the case in gifts given by the colonial assemblies to naval officers. Gifts given to naval offers were not only 'mere tokens of gratitude'.[62] There was an expectation and hope that the gift would bring benefit to the colonies. To some extent, according to Greenburg's definition, there was also an expectation to receive the same level of respect and loyalty from the navy.

Gifted items, such as silver plate and presentation swords, were often given to officers in the navy and army in recognition of their service or a particular courageous action.[63] In the Caribbean, gifts were particularly reserved for those who were thought to have primarily focused the squadron's attention on the priorities of the white elite, conforming to the colonial view of the navy. One thousand guineas for a service of plate was awarded to Rodney

[61] Kenneth S. Greenburg, 'Gifts, Strangers, Duels, and Humanitarianism', in *Honor & Slavery: Lies, Duels, Noses, Masks, Dressing as a Woman, Gifts, Strangers, Humanitarianism, Death, Slave Rebellions, the Proslavery Argument, Baseball, Hunting, and Gambling in the Old South,* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1996), pp. 52-53.
[62] Coutu, *Persuasion and Propaganda*, p. 247; McAleer, '"Eminent Service": War, Slavery and the Politics of Public Recognition in the British Caribbean and the Cape of Good Hope, C.1787-1807', p. 37.
[63] McAleer, '"Eminent Service": War, Slavery and the Politics of Public Recognition in the British Caribbean and the Cape of Good Hope, C.1787-1807', p. 34.

by the Assembly of Jamaica, for appointing a reinforcement squadron to protect Jamaica whilst he was the commander-in-chief at the Leeward Islands.[64] Rear-Admiral Philip Affleck, who was the commander-in-chief at Jamaica from 1790 to 1792, was awarded three hundred guineas for the purchase of a piece of plate by the House of Assembly, for his service to Jamaica. The House held Affleck in 'high respect and regard' and was seen to have offered his 'great services [...] to the country on every occasion'.[65] Duckworth was highly praised for his role as the commander-in-chief at Jamaica and received various gifts of thanks for this eminent service. The Assembly of Jamaica 'voted him thanks for his effectual preservation of the commerce and coasts of the island, and a thousand guineas for a ceremonial sword'.[66] The inscription on the sword reads:

> PRESENTED IN 1804 BY THE ASSEMBLY OF JAMAICA TO
> VICE ADML SIR I. T. DUCKWORTH K.B. IN REMEMBRANCE
> OF THE EFFECTUAL PROTECTION AFFORDED TO THE
> COMMERCE, & COASTS, OF THE ISLAND BY HIS ABLE &
> DISINTERESTED DISTRIBUTION OF H.M. NAVAL FORCES
> UNDER HIS COMMAND, & AS A TESTIMONY OF THE HIGH
> SENSE ENTERTAINED BY THE ASSEMBLY OF THE EMINENT
> SERVICES HE HAS THEREBY RENDERED TO THAT COUNTRY

The ornate presentation sword (Figure 18) with curved blade is heavily decorated with powerful symbols representing Britain, the Royal Navy and Jamaica, including a lion's-head and serpent, the arms of Jamaica, Britannia, foul anchors, naval crowns, laurel leaves, a globe, flags, a phoenix, dolphins, crocodiles, and a sea monster. These swords were often made in Britain and therefore the symbols used to decorate the swords are connected with how the metropole viewed the Caribbean, rather than how the colonies viewed themselves. These personal gifts were tokens of appreciation for those who understood the importance of the Caribbean colonies to Britain, protected the islands and its trade, and prioritised the white elite's needs over any other naval commitment.

[64] Entry 15 November 1780 in *Journals of the Assembly of Jamaica*, Vol. 7, p. 254 cited in Coutu, *Persuasion and Propaganda*, p. 247.
[65] Cundall, *Studies in Jamaica History*, p. 49.
[66] Nugent, *Lady Nugent's Journal*, p. 221.

Figure 18. Sword presented to Vice-Admiral John Thomas Duckworth by the Assembly of Jamaica, made by Richard Teed, London, 1804 (NMM, WPN1120).

It was not only the colonial assemblies that presented personal gifts to the commanders-in-chief. The merchants also used their wealth to thank the naval commanders who prioritised the protection of Caribbean trade. Vice-Admiral Samuel Hood, the commander-in-chief at the Leeward Islands from late 1802 to 1805, wrote in a letter to his sister that he had been presented with the use of a carriage by the merchants of St Kitts. The carriage was of high quality as Hood believed the carriage to be worth three hundred guineas if bought new.[67] A particularly interesting gift of a silver tea kettle with stand and heater was presented to Duckworth from the merchants of Kingston, Jamaica, 'as a Token of their high Respect and Regard for the eminent SERVICES rendered by him to the TRADE of the Island, during his Command on that Station' – as inscribed on the side of the tea kettle (Figure 19). The other side of the kettle in engraved with Duckworth's coat of arms, framed by a sailor and Orion. As McAleer argues, this gift reflected the merchants' involvement in the global market, with imported tea from the East requiring the sugar produced in the West to satisfy European tastes. It demonstrated their knowledge of this international trade and Jamaica's prominent position within the system.[68]

[67] NMM, MKH/21, Letter from Captain Samuel Hood to Mrs Alexander Hood, postmarked at St Kitts, 15 August 1804.
[68] McAleer, '"Eminent Service": War, Slavery and the Politics of Public Recognition in the British Caribbean and the Cape of Good Hope, C.1787-1807', p. 42.

Figure 19. Silver tea kettle presented to Vice-Admiral John Thomas Duckworth by the merchants of Kingston, Jamaica, made by John Emes, London, 1805-06 (NMM, PLT0040).

Correspondence from Duckworth's private letterbook from February 1805, refer to a gift of five hundred pounds sterling for the purchase of a piece of plate from the merchants of Kingston. It is likely this refers to the money gifted to Duckworth, with which he purchased the silver tea kettle. In a letter from Mayor of Kingston, John Jacques, he notified Duckworth that the money from the merchants was to be sent to his agent, and it included the sentiments sent with the money that are identical to those engraved on the side of the tea kettle.[69] Duckworth was clearly enamoured of his gift from the merchants of Kingston and replied to Jacques, 'I beg you Sir to assure them [merchants of Kingston] that I shall ever view that mark of their Regard with Pride, and that it shall be handed down to my Children's Children'.[70] Duckworth was clearly proud of his conduct at Jamaica and viewed these personal gifts as family

[69] NMM, DUC/25, Letter from the Hon. John Jacques, Mayor of Kingston to Vice-Admiral John Thomas Duckworth, 27 February 1805.
[70] NMM, DUC/25, Letter from Vice-Admiral John Thomas Duckworth on HMS *Acanta* at Port Royal, Jamaica to the Hon. John Jacques, Mayor of Kingston, 28 February 1805.

heirlooms. Gifts served as a lasting positive statement to naval officers of their time in the Caribbean, which was often marred with death and disease in a stifling climate.

However, it was not only the highest ranking commanders-in-chief who received personal gifts from the inhabitants of the Caribbean, but also officers who showed particular efforts to meet the needs of the white elite and fit in with the colonial view of the navy. The white elite's anxiety regarding privateering raids meant Charles Middleton, whilst serving as a captain, received great praise during his service at the Leeward Islands. Middleton enforced a naval tactic that concentrated on intercepting French privateers, which was highly successful.[71] In 1757, Middleton was awarded '100 pistoles [...] to buy him a sword for taking a French privateer infesting the coast of the island' by the Assembly of Barbados.[72] However, Middleton was unable to accept the gift, so the Assembly chose to send the money to the Agent for Barbados in Britain to purchase a gold-hilted sword to be presented to Middleton.[73] It was also said that Middleton received a gold-hilted sword from the merchants of Barbados for his service at the Leeward Islands after July 1760, where he protected the island from privateers.[74]

Although it cannot be known exactly who made a sword belonging to Middleton that is held at the V&A, it has been linked to Middleton's connection to Barbados around 1757 (Figure 20). The small-sword is particularly ornate and ostentatious with the hilt decorated with diamonds, rubies and emeralds. This lavish gift of gratitude from the white elite of Barbados did not lead Middleton to sympathise with the colonies in their defence of slavery. Middleton's fervent evangelical beliefs fuelled his participation in the abolitionist movement alongside Rev. James Ramsay, who served alongside Middleton on HMS *Arundel*, as surgeon's mate. Although Middleton's impact

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[71] John E. Talbott, *The Pen and Ink Sailor: Charles Middleton and the King's Navy, 1778-1813*, (London: Frank Cass, 1998), p. 11.

[72] Presentation small-sword of Charles Middleton (1726-1813), unknown maker, made in England, ca. 1757, Victoria and Albert Museum, Object ID. M.17&A-1978, <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O97757/sword-unknown/.>.

[73] James C. Brandow, *Genealogies of Barbados Families: From Caribbeana and the Journal of the Barbados Museum and Historical Society*, (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1983), pp. 415-416; Talbott, *The Pen and Ink Sailor*, pp. 11-12.

[74] Roger Morriss, 'Middleton, Charles, First Baron Barham (1726-1813)', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford University Press, (2008), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/18666> [accessed 10 August 2012].

on abolition is said to have been 'confined to the London coterie', his respected position as a naval officer and his first-hand experience in the colonies were valuable to the abolitionist campaign.[75] However, whilst serving as a captain in the Leeward Islands, Middleton had defended the colonies and was rewarded for his service as his actions were in line with the white elite's view of the navy.

Figure 20. Presentation small-sword of Sir Charles Middleton, unknown maker, made in England, ca. 1757 (V&A, M.17&A-1978).

This colonial view of the navy, which prompted Middleton to be rewarded in 1757 and 1760, continued throughout the period. Therefore, if naval officers prioritised and understood the sensitivities of the white elite, they had the opportunity to receive valuable gifts for their services. A later example is

[75] Talbott, *The Pen and Ink Sailor*, pp. 129-130.

the gift of a sword presented to Captain Edward Henry Columbine for his anti-privateering efforts. Columbine was presented with a sword for his service to the island of Trinidad (Figure 21).

Figure 21. Sword presented to Captain Edward Henry Columbine by the merchants and inhabitants of Trinidad, made by Richard Teed, London, 1804 (NMM, WPN1254).

The ornate sword decorated with both naval emblems and representations of mythical creatures including Minerva and mermaids is inscribed:

> PRESENTED TO E.H.COLUMBINE ESQR. COMNDR OF
> H.M.S.ULYSSES BY THE MERCHANTS AND INHABITANTS OF
> THE ISL OF TRINIDAD, AS A TOKEN OF THEIR GREAT
> RESPECT & ESTEEM. ALSO AS A MARK OF THE HIGH SENSE
> THEY ENTERTAIN OF HIS SERVICES IN PROTECTING AND
> DEFENDNG THAT ISLD. IN THE YRS 1803 & 1804. & OF HIS
> ZEALOUS EXERTIONS TO PROMOTE THE INTEREST
> THEREOF DURING HIS COMND ON THAT STATN

Columbine captained the frigate *Ulysses*, which was ordered as the guard-ship for Trinidad to protect the island from privateers. Privateers were a particular problem for merchants and island inhabitants, therefore numerous thanks and

gifts given to naval officers are connected to anti-privateering efforts. Gifts rewarded for capturing privateers were incentives to other officers patrolling the Caribbean. Not only would officers earn money from the ships they captured, but it was also possible to be awarded monetary gifts for swords and plate from those whose islands they were protecting. Although Columbine was rewarded for his service in the Caribbean, in similarity to Middleton, the generosity did not prevent Columbine from sympathising with the anti-slavery movement. Not long after his posting to the Caribbean, Columbine was appointed a commissioner of the African Institution, which sought to spread the anti-slavery and abolitionist message and prevent the foreign slave trade. Later appointed Governor of Sierra Leone, Columbine's role involved capturing foreign slaving vessels.[76]

Although the majority of gifts were presented for protecting the islands and the trade from privateers, foreign invasion and slave uprisings, there is also an example of a gift given for bravery. It was a token of gratitude to a man who went beyond his duty as a naval officer and risked his life to save local inhabitants. Before Vice-Admiral Samuel Hood (1762-1814) became the commander-in-chief at the Leeward Islands in 1802, he was presented with a small-sword for his bravery whilst serving at St Anne's harbour, Jamaica (Figure 22). On 3 February 1791, during a violent storm, Hood rescued three men from a wreck, after his crew showed reluctance to save them.[77] According to Captain Thomas Southey, Hood launched his barge to save the crew of a 'turtler', a ship employed in catching turtles.[78] The House of Assembly, on behalf of the men who were saved, chose to present Hood with a sword to acknowledge this act of bravery which saved the lives of three local inhabitants. The sword is inscribed in Latin and is translated as, 'To Samuel Hood on behalf of three citizens, for the sake of his example and the dangers he encountered, is given as a gift by the Senate and People of Jamaica 1791'. The sword is decorated with nautical decorations, flags, trophies, and laurels, as well as the coat of arms of Hood and Jamaica. Also inscribed on the sword

[76] Christopher Terrell, 'Columbine, Edward Henry (1763-1811)', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford University Press, (2008), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/64853> [accessed 20 July 2013].
[77] J. K. Laughton, revised by Michael Duffy, 'Hood, Sir Samuel, First Baronet (1762-1814)', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford University Press, (2007), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13677> [accessed 10 August 2012].
[78] Thomas Southey, *Chronological History of the West Indies*, vol 3, (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown & Green, 1827), p. 48.

in Latin is the phrase, 'All maritime dangers I am prepared to undertake'. This is a particularly interesting gift, as it was not given for directly protecting the island's trade, but as an outpouring of admiration for Hood's bravery in saving local inhabitants, who, if Southey's suggestion is correct, were fishermen involved in the colonial service economy, which as will be explored in the following chapter was of particular importance to naval seamen whilst stationed in the region.

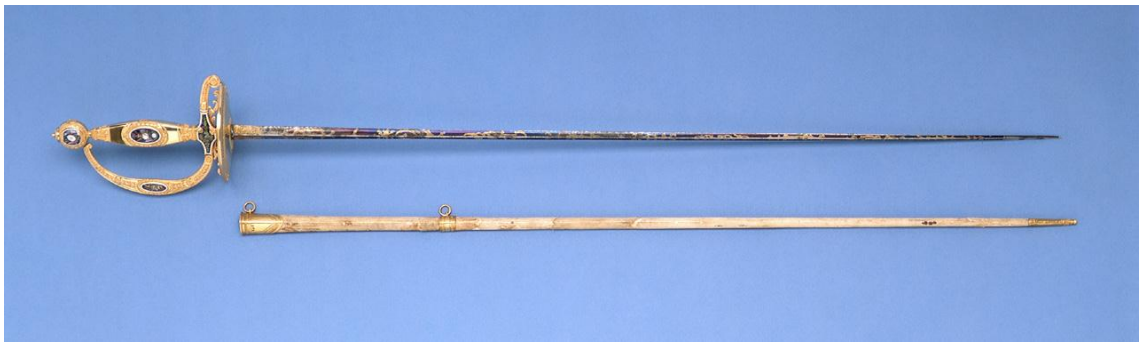

Figure 22. Presentation small-sword given to Vice-Admiral Sir Samuel Hood (1762-1814) by the Senate and people of Jamaica, made by James Morisset, Jefferys & Jones, 1791 (NMM, WPN1549.1).

4.4 Conclusions

Rodney's triumph at the Battle of the Saintes in 1782 against the French came at a pivotal moment at the immediate end of the American Revolution, when the British public were desperate for a triumph in the West, after embarrassing losses in North America. There was a mutual acceptance in the metropole and the colonies with regards to the importance of the battle, as it protected Jamaica, Britain's trade and therefore every British Caribbean island. The battle was celebrated not only in Britain, but throughout the Caribbean and most magnificently at Jamaica with the Rodney monument. The monument was an expression of loyalty and gratitude to the colonies' protectors, Britain and its protective arm of the navy. It was also culturally significant, as it visibly expressed the white elite's proud colonial British identity. The monument represented Britishness by commemorating a naval officer that embodied the virtues of British patriotism, and also civic pride by improving the cultural

environment and infrastructure of the island. By commemorating a naval officer, who defeated the French and prevented a foreign invasion of Britain's most valuable island in the Caribbean, it also showed ownership of the navy - as an imperial navy – a protective force that protected colonial interests. The shared response to Rodney's victory in both metropole and colony positioned the colonies as centrally important to Britain's trading empire and the inhabitants as a group worth defending. However, the monument also defines the colony as different from Britain, due to its creolised representation, with the monument representing an outdated style.

By 1806, Duckworth's victory was not received with the same celebratory vigour in Britain as Rodney's, due to changes in the Caribbean's political position. Britain perceived Rodney's action in 1782 as reclaiming British command of the seas from the French. However, after the Battle of Trafalgar in 1805, which demonstrated total naval dominance over the French, Duckworth's West Indian engagement was not as psychologically significant to the British public. Therefore Duckworth's victory was more widely celebrated in the Caribbean than it was in Britain. Duckworth's thanks and gifts from the colonial assemblies demonstrate a creolised view of the conflict, which still placed the colonies as centrally important to Britain's economy and in need of metropolitan support. Duckworth's victory came at a time when the white elite desperately needed the support of the metropole as the abolitionist movement threatened the colonial plantation system. It was at a time when the white elite felt most vulnerable, politically and economically, and in Britain there was also political and social change with the new primary objective to make peace with France. Although the white elite felt Duckworth's actions deserved a peerage, this was not rewarded to Duckworth until much later, which did not help in focusing the British public's attention to the situation in the colonies.

Colonial thanks and gifts demonstrate the white inhabitants' gratitude and dependence on the navy and its multiple roles as protectors and as a direct link to Britain. This dependence increased in the final decades of the eighteenth century with changing metropolitan attitudes towards the colonies, increasing slave unrest in the region and renewed war with the French. The white elite's clinging attachment to the navy meant island tension and anxiety was linked to the navy's presence. Officers who showed their actions to be in line with the needs of the white elite, and therefore, the colonial view of the

navy, were rewarded, such as preventing slave unrest, privateering raids and protecting island trade. The responses to the navy in the form of thanks and gifts also demonstrate a collective colonial community with a shared reliance on the navy and a colonial vision of empire and their place within it. Even if their island was not directly involved in naval actions, it was necessary to show appreciation to naval officers who helped to protect an island that was part of the British trade collective, for if one island was lost it would directly affect the others.

5. Free people of colour and the service economy

The strict boundaries that defined 'the rulers and ruled' was based on perceived racial difference between white Europeans and black Africans with white superiority and freedom in opposition to black inferiority and enslavement. These 'comfortable binary oppositions' of 'white/black, free/slave, [...] home/abroad' that helped define and underpin national identity became blurred in the colonies.[1] These oppositions were undermined by the white inhabitants' indulgence of their colonial rights and liberties as white men. Sexual relationships between the white masters and their African slaves led to a population of mixed-race children, who did not fall into these polarised categories.[2] As defined by Edward Brathwaite, this cultural miscegenation of African and European produced a distinct 'creole' culture and society in the Caribbean, which distorted these definitions of national identity and race.[3] The Caribbean colonies, the frontier of the British Empire and imperial power, produced a diverse creole community including free blacks and people of mixed-race, which created instability in the racialised myths that defined the boundaries of rule of colonial society.

By the turn of the nineteenth century, there were an increasing number of free people of colour. It is estimated the free coloured population in the British Caribbean colonies rose from about 3,000 in 1748 to 70,000 by 1815; amounting to a total of 8 per cent of the total population by 1815.[4] The population of free people of colour is estimated to have tripled between 1790 and 1820, creating another community that dwarfed the ruling white minority.[5] The ruling white minority attempted to dominate the free coloured population with preventative legislation and an emphasis on a social hierarchy based on skin colour. Although 'free', the boundaries of race prevented people of colour from exercising the same rights as whites. However, the subjugation of free people of colour did not prevent their involvement in the vibrant domestic

[1] Wilson, *The Island Race*, p. 17.
[2] Hall, *Civilising Subjects*, p. 10.
[3] Brathwaite, *The Development of Creole Society in Jamaica, 1770-1820*.
[4] Ward, 'The British West Indies in the Age of Abolition, 1748-1815', p. 437.
[5] Heuman, *Between Black and White*, p. 7; Heuman, 'The Free Coloreds in Jamaican Slave Society', pp. 657-658.

island economies. The white elite upheld its extravagant lifestyle. Free people of colour created new economic opportunities.

By the mid-eighteenth century, there were established independent domestic economies on the British Caribbean islands, and naval seamen were regular consumers. Free people of colour and the enslaved played an important part in these domestic economies. As planters began to encourage their slaves to cultivate crops to feed themselves, in order to lower expenditure on importing foodstuffs, slave economies grew. Slaves, who were allowed to cultivate a piece of land, were able to grow and sell their excess produce and animals, and were able to accumulate wealth to buy personal possessions and clothes. Hawking wares and partaking in economic exchange at Sunday markets allowed the enslaved a level of social, economic and cultural autonomy, independent from the plantation regime and the watchful gaze of their masters. By looking beyond metropolitan profits from the Caribbean colonies and focusing on the diversity of the domestic economies of the Caribbean islands, recent scholarship has shown that money on the islands was not only in the hands the planters, but also circulated amongst free people of colour and the enslaved.[6]

This chapter will therefore aim to contribute to recent scholarship on the role of slaves and free people of colour in the consumer revolution of the eighteenth century as commodity producers and distributors.[7] Because most enslaved people were not literate and therefore produced few historical sources, this scholarship focuses on white colonial records and examples in travel narratives. However, naval observations have not been fully exploited to add to our understanding of the non-elite communities of Caribbean society.

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[6] See Beckles, 'An Economic Life of Their Own', pp. 507-520; Berlin and Morgan, *The Slaves' Economy*; Gad J. Heuman and James Walvin, 'Introduction to Part Six: Slave Economy and Material Culture', in *The Slavery Reader,* ed. by Gad Heuman and James Walvin (London; New York: Routledge, 2003), pp. 463-469; Roderick A. McDonald, *The Economy and Material Culture of Slaves Goods and Chattels on the Sugar Plantations of Jamaica and Louisiana*, (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1993); Mintz, 'The Origins of the Jamaican Market System', pp. 521-544; Ryden, 'The Economic Hierarchy within the Slave Community', pp. 150-155.

[7] See, for example, Edward L. Cox, 'Free Coloureds in the Economy', in *Free Coloured in the Slave Societies of St Kitts and Grenada, 1763-1833,* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee, 1984), pp. 59-75; Elsa V. Goveia, *Slave Society in the British Leeward Islands at the End of the Eighteenth Century*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965); Pedro Welch, *Slave Society in the City: Bridgetown, Barbados, 1680-1834*, (Oxford: J Currey, 2003); Pedro Welch and Richard Goodridge, *"Red" and Black over White: Free Coloured Women in Pre-Emancipation Barbados*, (Bridgetown, Barbados: Caribbean Research & Publications, 2000).

The areas of hospitality, trade and health services mainly catered for the forces stationed in the port towns of the British Caribbean islands, yet the impact of naval seamen on the domestic economies has not been fully explored. This chapter focuses on the service sector of the domestic economy and naval seamen as primary consumers building on scholarship of slave economies. It asks how the navy's presence as regular and constant island visitors shaped the opportunities and the social and cultural landscape of free people of colour and, to some extent, the enslaved. By exploring these aspects of the service economy which the navy patronised, this chapter demonstrates the high level of interaction and integration between naval seamen and the non-elite communities of colonial society.

5.1 Market and coastal commerce

Social interactions with local inhabitants took place before sailors even stepped foot off their ships through harbour traders.[8] As soon as ships anchored in harbour the local inhabitants took full advantage of the potential opportunity for commerce. Black and mixed-race hucksters, both free and enslaved, rowed over to Royal Navy ships from smaller vessels known as 'bumboats' to peddle their wares and produce, as depicted in Edwin Stocqueler's nineteenth-century illustration (Figure 23). Stocqueler's illustration shows two traders rowing out to the two large ships with wares and fruit to sell in competition with other bumboats in the harbour. This interaction with a harbour trader was often a sailor's first encounter with a person of colour in the Caribbean, as was James Ker's experience on HMS *Britannia*. John Scott, an orange seller from Barbados, immediately rowed over to the *Britannia* on its arrival in port to sell fresh produce to the sailors, who were craving fresh fruit since their departure from British ports.[9]

[8] Hoffman described the scene at Port Royal, 'before the sails were furled we were surrounded by a number of boats and canoes', in Hoffman, *A Sailor of King George*, p. 29; Raigersfeld, *Life of a Sea Officer*, pp. 14-15.
[9] NLS, MS 1083, Journal of James Ker, fol. 15v.

Figure 23. 'Bum Boat in Carlisle Bay', Edwin Stocqueler (1829-1895), n.d. (Reproduced from the Ilaro Court Collection by the Barbados Museum and Historical Society and issued as a greeting card, NW0007, as shown on www.slaveryimages.org).

Naval ships in port allowed men such as Scott, who may have been enslaved, to sell excess produce or fruit he had collected to new visitors to the island. It was also an opportunity to take advantage and make a profit from sailors who had not been to the Caribbean before and were therefore unfamiliar with the currency and value of the items sold.[10] In correspondence, seamen often mention the high cost of living whilst stationed in the Caribbean.[11] On his arrival at Cape Nicholas Mole, St Domingue, William Parker wrote, 'we had Boats come alongside of us with a few Cocoa Nutts &c. which were sold at an extraordinary dear price'.[12] Parker also requested his father to send him shirts and stockings from England whilst he was stationed in the

[10] Waller, *A Voyage in the West Indies*, pp. 7-8.
[11] Examples of complaints include, 'The worst of this Part of the World is, ev[e]rything being so dear', in NMM, AGC/P/16, Letter from William Paget, naval chaplain at Fort Royal, Martinique to Thomas Bennett, 10 February 1762; 'this is such an Extravagant place that believe me it is almost impossible to save anything', in NMM, AGC/14/9, Letter from William Spry on *Licorne*, Port Royal, Jamaica to his parents, 4 February 1782.
[12] NMM, PAR/165/1, Letter from William Parker on HMS *Leviathan* at Cape Nicholas Mole, St Domingue to his mother, 15 July 1795.

Caribbean as he found everything ashore 'unconscionably dear'.[13] However, prices would often depend on the island and the current situation in the Caribbean. Parker found produce particularly expensive at Cape Nicholas Mole due to the revolutionary upheaval on the island, which affected the domestic economy.

The navy's constant presence meant bumboats were a regular feature of Caribbean harbours, particularly at Barbados where naval vessels first arrived from Britain. It was commented that Carlisle Bay was often 'covered in boats' of harbour traders when the fleet arrived in harbour.[14] John Harvey Boteler spent a considerable amount of his naval career in the Caribbean and visited Barbados as a midshipman in 1814, as a lieutenant in 1816, 1817, 1818, and again in 1830. Upon Boteler's arrival in Barbados in 1814, he was met by feisty harbour trader, Poll Smashum, a mixed-race woman, described by Boteler as 'a light coloured mulatto, woolly hair, nearly brown, her cheeks cracked with the sun'.[15] Poll traded on board Boteler's vessel at each of his visits to Carlisle Bay. She was known to have traded in Barbados before Boteler's arrival in 1814, and she almost certainly traded beyond his final stay in 1830.[16] Due to the secure consumer base with the constant influx of new naval arrivals, it is clear harbour trading could provide a sustainable income and long-term employment to people of colour.

Social hierarchy based on skin tone that divided people of colour within Caribbean society also categorised coastal traders' status. Frederick Hoffman described this system of classification, with traders of the highest social standing with the lightest skin tone known as 'dignity' traders, and those of darker skin tone described as 'first and second-class dingy damsels'.[17] With 'dignity' women often owning their own slaves to row them over to naval ships, the poorest of traders would resort to swimming over to the ships with their wares. William Spavens described the scene of female hucksters going to extreme lengths to reach a naval vessel by swimming from shore at Barbados:

[13] NMM/ PAR/165/2, Letter from William Parker on HMS *La Magicienne* at Cape Nicholas Mole, St Domingue to his father, George Parker, 9 October 1797.
[14] Waller, *A Voyage in the West Indies*, p. 3.
[15] Boteler, *Recollections*, p. 45.
[16] Ibid. p. 45, 58, pp. 241-242.
[17] Hoffman, *A Sailor of King George*, p. 29.

> Negro women […] put their several commodities together, with what little apparel they wear, into a half tub; then launching it off the shore, they will swim after it, pushing it on before them till they come along side a ship, and receiving help from some of the crew, they get their goods on board; then dry and dress themselves, and stand their market till they have sold their articles: They then again undress, deposit their clothes in the tub, launch it overboard, jump after it, and return ashore.[18]

The desperation of the lowest class traders to hawk their wares on board naval vessels illustrates how lucrative sailors were to the non-elite community, particularly those enslaved, who seized the opportunity to trade often when 'jobbed' out by their owners or on Sundays when slaves were released from the plantation work. Rear-Admiral Jeffrey Raigersfeld noted the bustle of trade on Sunday whilst serving at English Harbour, Antigua, and wrote, 'the black men and women were generally more numerous on board than upon other days in the week'.[19] Huckstering offered the enslaved population an opportunity to earn money to buy property and the possibility of buying their freedom, therefore trading was likely highly competitive in port towns due to the economic opportunities on offer.[20]

The rise in the number of free people of colour as a result of natural increase and manumissions may also have given rise to increased competition, and perhaps increased the hustle and bustle in the harbours and port towns of Bridgetown, Barbados and Kingston, Jamaica. Huckstering was more lucrative in urban areas with a larger population and this is reflected in the proportion of free people of colour who resided in the parish of St Michael, Barbados, which included Carlisle Bay and Bridgetown. Jerome Handler estimated the total population of free people of colour in Barbados at 534 in 1773, rising to 3,319 by 1815, of which 214 resided in St Michael parish in 1773 and 2,071 in 1815. In 1801, just over 45 per cent of the total population of free people of colour on the island of Barbados lived in the urban parish of St Michael, increasing to nearly 66 per cent by 1815.[21] In comparison to Barbados, the estimates of the population of Kingston, Jamaica amount to 1,200 free people

[18] Spavens, *The Narrative of William Spavens*, p. 117.
[19] Raigersfeld, *Life of a Sea Officer*, p. 26.
[20] Melanie J. Newton, *The Children of Africa in the Colonies: Free People of Color in Barbados in the Age of Emancipation*, (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2008), p. 38, pp. 40-41.
[21] Jerome S. Handler, *The Unappropriated People: Freedmen in the Slave Society of Barbados*, (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1974), pp. 18-20.

of colour recorded in 1774, rising to 3,280 by 1788. The free coloured population represented 40 per cent of the total population of Kingston in 1774, increasing to just over 43 per cent by 1788; a rise of 8.5 per cent of the total population of Jamaica to 12.4 per cent.[22] Therefore, free people of colour held a visible and prominent position in these urban areas as these places provided economic opportunities, particularly in the service economy, which flourished with the navy's constant presence.

The increased competition in port towns meant traders had to establish a reputation for being reliable and providing ships with the necessary provisions to become well established, earning the trust of the ship's captain and therefore securing future employment on the ship's return. Poll Smashum's savvy attitude earned her the trust of Captain Nathaniel Day Cochrane and John Harvey Boteler, which secured her future employment on other naval vessels. In 1814, on being accused of smuggling spirits on board the *Orontes*, Poll proclaimed her innocence to the Captain. She took off each layer of her clothing showing she had nothing to hide and asked, 'where I carry the spirit?'.[23] Her honesty and forthright attitude gained the officers' respect and her word was trusted. This was illustrated during another of Poll's visits on board, when she was offered a watch to buy from a sailor. Poll believed the watch to be stolen and reported it to the captain. The sailor who presented the watch for trade was punished. In believing Poll's word over that of a sailor she had clearly gained the trust of superior officers, and this led on to Boteler recommending Poll as a trader to the captain of the *Venerable* in 1816. This 'recommendation' was actioned and Poll was 'installed' on board the *Venerable* as their 'bumboat woman'.[24] Her installation gave her elevated status to other traders being the principal trader on board. These recommendations by word of mouth increased the possibility of being installed on other vessels, increasing sales and potential trade.

The competitive nature of coastal commerce required traders to be knowledgeable of naval movements. Ships that came into harbour with captured privateers or enemy ships were awarded prize money and the crew

[22] Trevor Burnard, 'Kingston, Jamaica: Crucible of Modernity', in *The Black Urban Atlantic in the Age of the Slave Trade,* ed. by Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, Matt D. Childs, and James Sidbury (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), p. 127.
[23] Boteler, *Recollections*, p. 45.
[24] Ibid. p. 58.

were therefore more profitable. Hoffman, whose ship had previously been welcomed by female traders dancing and playing banjos in harbour, was disappointed on his return in 1797 when the ship had no prizes and therefore received no 'welcome as before'. Even when on shore the women pretended not to know the sailors they had met on many occasions before, exclaiming 'I no recollect you. What ship you belong to?'.[25] This demonstrates that traders knew sailors and which ships they were from, and which ships were most profitable. This type of knowledge and understanding of ships and their movements would have helped traders to focus on the most profitable ships, securing the greatest amount of profit. As previously discussed, the white elite desired the navy to patrol the coastlines to prevent privateering raids and prevent internal unrest as the white elite's priorities lay in the protection of their plantations. However, free people of colour and the enslaved who profited from sailors desired the navy to actively pursue foreign vessels, as prize money offered a new injection of wealth into the service economy.

There were also other opportunities on the coast for people of colour to earn money and gain employment, which are represented in naval and military journals. Fishermen and boatmen could earn money by carrying sailors and officers from their vessels to shore for a fee.[26] Men were also employed as pilots and dockyard workers. Ships would send a signal by gunfire to acquire a pilot to help navigate the vessel through the unfamiliar coastline to the harbour.[27] Dockyard labourers were often given the menial tasks of cleaning down the decks after an outbreak of fever or carrying sailors' coffins to the churchyard for burial.[28] It was hoped that by contracting these tasks out to dockyard workers, sailors were less likely to contract the fever themselves.

Prostitution also provided an alternative means of income. As coastal traders operated in an increasingly competitive marketplace, some women were forced to combine their job as traders with prostitution. Hoffman commented that 'most of the people who inhabited Bridge Town maintained themselves by washing clothes', but once on board would flirt with the officers

[25] Hoffman, *A Sailor of King George*, p. 56.
[26] ABDN, MS 2070, Journal of Jonathon Troup, entry 9 May 1789.
[27] Boteler, *Recollections*, p. 45.
[28] Boteler, *Recollections*, pp. 59-60; NMM, GRT/10, 1802 Annual Journal of Samuel Grant, purser of HMS *Goliath*, entry 11 November 1802.

for their business.[29] The term 'washerwoman' was a euphemism for prostitute, which makes it difficult to define whether women worked in the domestic service and/or sexual service.[30] Prostitutes were therefore a regular feature on board harboured Royal Navy vessels. The reality for prostitutes on board was one of danger from venereal disease, physical abuse and severe punishments on board if found guilty of any misdemeanours.[31] Although free women of colour may have worked as prostitutes, it was most likely the prostitutes on board naval vessels were slaves forced into sexual labour by their masters, as part of jobbing gangs. Female slaves 'jobbed' to naval ships were increasingly desperate for money and food, due to their poor treatment. John Nicol recollected in the 1770s that the 'poor things' crowded on board, hungry and desperate 'to obtain a bellyful of victuals'.[32] Slave-owners seized the opportunity to profit from the lucrative 'economy of enjoyment', as termed by Marisa Fuentes, which grew due to the navy's presence.[33] For the women forced to sell their bodies on board naval ships, their enslaved status allowed them not only to be exploited by their owners, but also further exploited by naval seamen who were not guaranteed to pay for the sexual services due to their status as slaves.[34]

The navy's presence presented varied methods of gaining income in harbours, which focuses the economic agency of free people of colour and the enslaved away from the marketplace. The variety of employment shows the wide range of needs of naval seamen and how profitable the navy was to those looking to make money. The navy was as an institution that could provide relatively constant employment, apart from during the hurricane season. Without the navy's presence this vibrant coastal trade and employment was severely limited. These examples also represent how the navy was intimately connected to the service economy, particularly in the coastal areas where naval seamen were often restricted to the ships. Therefore the traders brought the land produce to the naval ships via bumboats. This relationship not only

[29] Hoffman, *A Sailor of King George*, p. 10, 29.
[30] Richard A. Wyvill, '"Memoirs of an Old Army Officer" Richard A. Wyvill's Visits to Barbados in 1796 and 1806-1807, Edited by Jerome S. Handler', *Journal of the Barbados Museum and Historical Society*, 35, (1), 1975, pp. 23-24.
[31] Spavens, *The Narrative of William Spavens*, p. 117.
[32] Nicol, *The Life and Adventures of John Nicol*, p. 37.
[33] Marisa J. Fuentes, 'Power and Historical Figuring: Rachael Pringle Polgreen's Troubled Archive', *Gender & History*, 22, (3), 2010, p. 576.
[34] Ibid.

impacted the social and cultural landscape of the coastal traders, but also naval seamen. Coastal trading was the navy's first interaction with the exotic island produce and unfamiliar non-elite community.

The navy also contributed to the wealth of the local economy by regularly buying from market to supplement the ship's provisions. Royal Navy surgeon, John Waller, commented that Bridgetown was 'a gratifying picture of the commercial importance of the island', due to the numbers of sailors and soldiers who crowded the town and market places searching for victuals upon the fleet's arrival at Barbados.[35] The market often became so busy many vendors sold out, so 'not a fish-nor a joint of meat was to be had'.[36] Sunday markets provided a spectacle for sailors and soldiers and the opportunity to interact with the non-elite community of colonial society and experience local produce unique to the islands.

This social space of the market was in sharp contrast to the confinements of the ship in harbour. As depicted in an engraving of a Sunday market from Antigua in 1806 (Figure 24), the market was a vibrant place, full of noise, socialising, chatter, and trading, where every echelon of society was represented. The markets drew in crowds of slaves from across the island as they provided an opportunity to 'improve the quantity and quality of their nutrition' by selling their own produce to other slaves, free people of colour, white inhabitants, and the military searching for provisions.[37] This is represented in the illustration with lines of slaves in the distance making their way to the heart of the market. The illustration depicts the uniformed soldiers and marines at a centre of the bustling Sunday market, trading and conversing with market traders. As confirmed in the journals of seamen and soldiers, markets were a regular feature of island life and those in the navy regularly encountered them.[38] The Antiguan market represents uniformed military interacting with every level of Caribbean society, as the illustration depicts black traders, slaves, mixed-race women, and planters. Markets were not

[35] Waller, *A Voyage in the West Indies*, p. 5.
[36] Pinckard, *Notes on the West Indies*, vol 2, p. 18.
[37] Beckles, 'An Economic Life of Their Own', p. 508, 510.
[38] NMM, BRA/133, Journal kept by Captain Marsden, army officer, entry 5 July 1804; Hoffman, *A Sailor of King George*, p. 11; Nicol, *The Life and Adventures of John Nicol*, p. 67; Waller, *A Voyage in the West Indies*, p. 11.

avoided, but were an aspect of island life that naval seamen embraced and were encouraged to visit to replenish victuals.

Figure 24. 'Negroes Sunday-market at Antigua', Cordon after W.E. Beastall, published by Gaetano Testolini, London, 1806 (NMM, ZBA2594).

Markets were often used to supplement the ship's provisions when victualling agents were not available or able to supply the ship's victuals. In 1778, when Captain Charles Thompson arrived in the Caribbean, he received an order making it known that fresh provisions should be sought from the local market. The order of Rear-Admiral Samuel Barrington, the commander-in-chief at the Leeward Islands read:

> In case the Ship you Command shall be in want of any Provisions at any place where there is not an Agent to the Contractor to supply her you are to cause the Purser to purchase the same & draw bills on the Commissioners of the Victualling For the Amount transmitting to them by

> the first opportunity the Vouchers required by the General printed instructions. And it being essential to the health of the people employed in her that they should sometimes be supply'd with fresh provisions. You are also to cause the Purser Purchase fresh meat for them at every post you shall arrive. And the market price shall not exceed six pence sterling a pound drawing bills for the amount & transmitting the necessary Vouchers as above directed.[39]

Fresh provisions were of paramount importance to the ship's crew and it was the purser's responsibility to go to market and seek the necessary provisions to supplement any victuals that were not able to be provided by the agent victualler and contractors. The market therefore offered the opportunity for the purser to buy victuals and for slaves to sell their produce to an alternative clientele to local inhabitants. As the Antiguan market engraving illustrates, the market not only offered necessary fresh meat, but offered sailors an exhibition of the local non-elite community and an opportunity to talk and barter with slaves.

Markets were crucial to the local slave economy as trade was the primary means for enslaved people to accumulate wealth.[40] The enslaved population were able to sell what they could 'grow, or steal', or make.[41] An example of a souvenir that naval seamen were known to bring home from the Caribbean were 'sailor's valentines'. These cases intricately filled with shells were thought to have been crafted by sailors, but it is now believed they were bought from local traders, further evinced by the journal entries of naval seamen.[42] Entrepreneurial traders in the Caribbean used sea-shells found on the beaches and assorted them 'very tastefully' into cases to sell at market 'for about two dollars'.[43] Valentines, such as the 'Forget Me Not' case (Figure 25), were unique souvenirs bought by sailors for loved ones, which became increasingly popular throughout the nineteenth century. These exotic souvenirs of the Caribbean intrigued naval arrivals such as Hoffman, who bought a variety of shells on his first visit to Barbados in 1794. Collecting

[39] NMM, THO/2a, Orderbook of Captain Charles Thompson of HMS *Boreas* (under the command of Admiral Francis Stephens), order from Rear-Admiral Samuel Barrington, the commander-in-chief at the Leeward Islands, given on board the *Prince of Wales* at sea, 13 October 1778.
[40] Beckles, 'An Economic Life of Their Own', p. 509.
[41] Handler, *The Unappropriated People*, p. 126; Pinckard, *Notes on the West Indies*, vol 2, p. 178.
[42] See J. Welles Henderson and Rodney P. Carlisle, *Marine Art & Antiques: Jack Tar, a Sailor's Life 1750-1910*, (Woodbridge: Antique Collectors' Club, 1999), p. 128, 169.
[43] Hoffman, *A Sailor of King George*, p. 10.

shells was a popular pastime, particularly for seamen who wanted to bring back a souvenir from the Caribbean as gifts for family.[44] Entrepreneurial traders may have witnessed seamen's curiosity for collecting, saw a demand for souvenirs that encapsulated the exotic nature of the Caribbean, and produced items specifically for visitors as keepsakes. Keepsakes were important to sailors and had to be bought with consideration as sailors had little space on board to keep private possessions. Souvenirs therefore contributed to the 'vibrant economic culture' of the enslaved population.[45]

Figure 25. 'Forget Me Not' Shell Valentine, unknown artist, made in Jamaica, mid-nineteenth century (NMM, OBJ0763).

The majority of coastal commerce, including harbour trading, markets and skilled coastal work, contributed to the day-to-day running and logistics of the navy stationed in the Caribbean. The navy's constant need to replenish victuals and their requirement for dockworkers and skilled pilots meant coastal workers and market traders could sustain their businesses and employment for long periods. Markets were spaces for interactions with inhabitants and the evidence from those in the navy and army serving there suggests there was a

[44] NMM, PAR/165/1, Letter from William Parker on HMS *Leviathan* at Port au Prince, St Domingue to his mother, 27 March 1796.
[45] Beckles, 'An Economic Life of Their Own', p. 518.

frequent military presence at Sunday markets. Sailors wanted to procure exotic trinkets to bring home to Britain, therefore the souvenir market grew as a result. Naval seamen sought reminders of their time spent in the Caribbean and brought curiosities home to share with others. These souvenirs that were shown and presented to family and friends in Britain offered an alternative insight into Caribbean society. For those who had never been to the colonies, they encapsulated the vibrant market scene with hawkers and peddlers selling exotic fruits, preserves and souvenirs. Although free people of colour and slaves were able to profit from selling provisions and souvenirs to seamen in port, the more profitable businesses were part of the hospitality industry which grew in the port towns of the Caribbean.

5.2 Hospitality industry

Taverns, hotels and inns were central to the vibrant port towns of Kingston and Bridgetown. They provided a social space for all ranks of naval seamen and military to socialise with each other and with local inhabitants, from fashionable taverns where the white elite and naval officers were known to dine and rest during expeditions, to brothel houses and infamous drinking establishments. These taverns were known for their raucous atmosphere and salacious reputation, providing the same services sailors expected and found in the port towns of Britain: food, alcohol, lodging, and prostitutes.[46] Taverns in the Caribbean provided seamen with an opportunity to experience creole culture through music, dance and food. For example, creole cooking offered seamen the experience of tasting exotic ingredients such as frogs known as 'crapos', observed to make 'excellent soup'.[47] They also offered the opportunity to form relationships with tavern owners, their slaves and the local inhabitants who also patronised the establishments.

While Port Royal in the seventeenth century seems most commonly referred to when discussing taverns in the Caribbean, the taverns of Bridgetown in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries are most frequently recorded in the journals of naval seamen. It is difficult to determine

[46] Fuentes, 'Power and Historical Figuring', p. 577.
[47] ABDN, MS 2070, Journal of Jonathon Troup, fol. 108.

whether the frequency of testimony was due to Barbados being the first Caribbean island seamen arrived at from Britain, or whether there was a more vibrant hospitality scene in Barbados than other British Caribbean islands. As Jerome Handler argues, there were proportionately more free people of colour who lived in towns than did whites and the enslaved due to economic opportunities. Free people of colour formed an 'organised community' in the parish of St Michael, which included the urban centre of Bridgetown. This meant manumitted slaves gravitated towards this urban parish due to the increased economic opportunities.[48] In 1801, there were 1,000 free people of colour residing in St Michael parish, rising to over 2,000 by 1815. This community amounted to 6.3 per cent of the total population of St Michael in 1801, rising to 10.9 per cent in 1815.[49] The colonial society of Barbados also differed from other British Caribbean islands. In 1810, although Barbados had a much smaller total population of 93,040 compared with the total population of Jamaica estimated at 404,200, Barbados had a larger majority of locally based planters and the largest proportion of whites to nonwhites.[50] In 1790, the ratio of white to nonwhites is estimated at one to four on Barbados, compared with Jamaica at a ratio of one to ten.[51] Barbados also developed an internal military system, which meant army troops were not garrisoned on the island until after the American Revolution.[52] These differences could explain why the hospitality industry flourished in Bridgetown with less competition from an army garrison, increased business with a larger white population, and a growing free coloured population encouraging further business enterprise.

In Jamaica, hospitality was often found in coffee houses and at the military mess, as many officers dined with planters rather than in taverns. There was much larger military presence on Jamaica with increased military infrastructure, which explains why officers frequently record dining with the army.[53] Whilst stationed at Jamaica, Rear-Admiral Philip Carteret most frequently dined at the new military mess in Port Royal, and occasioned at a

[48] Handler, *The Unappropriated People*, p. 17, pp. 26-27.
[49] Ibid. p. 20.
[50] Higman, *Slave Populations of the British Caribbean, 1807-1834*, p. 77.
[51] Newton, *The Children of Africa in the Colonies: Free People of Color in Barbados in the Age of Emancipation*, p. 28.
[52] Handler, *The Unappropriated People*, p. 10; O'Shaughnessy, *An Empire Divided*, pp. 47-48.
[53] O'Shaughnessy, *An Empire Divided*, p. 45.

coffee house and the Military Club in Kingston.[54] Upon arriving at Jamaica in 1801, Samuel Grant, purser of the *Goliath*, was granted leave to stay on shore at Kingston and frequented numerous establishments. Grant sought a lodging house for a week and agreed a week's dining 'with the Library' at another house. He also breakfasted at Lewis's Coffee House and dined at the Jamaica Coffee House on numerous occasions.[55] Throughout his stay in Jamaica, Grant only once recorded a visit to drink tea at a tavern in Port Royal and claimed it was the first time he had eaten or drunk in one.[56]

The taverns at Bridgetown offer a greater insight into the navy's interaction with the non-elite community of colonial society as the owners, who were often free women of colour, were more widely written about by naval observers.[57] Tavern proprietresses were known island personalities and prominent figures within the local community. Their public presence made them accessible figures of curiosity to the soldiers and seamen who frequented their establishments. Free women of colour who owned taverns were known to possess both property and slaves.[58] Their accumulation of wealth and business acumen contributed to their public presence and gave them an elevated status within the community, which was often acknowledged in contemporary literature of the period.[59]

It is thought that in Bridgetown there were usually only two or three taverns operating at any one time, which created great rivalry between the competing taverns.[60] The tavern owners of Bridgetown and their rivalry became legendary and rumours often circulated about them, which helped to

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[54] NMM, CAR/7b, Notes on HMS *Endymion* 1779-1781, entry 3 December, 22 December, 28 December 1780, 5 January 1781 & 2 March 1781.
[55] NMM, GRT/10, 1802 Annual Journal of Samuel Grant, purser of HMS *Goliath*, entries between 8 and 15 December 1802.
[56] NMM, GRT/10, 1802 Annual Journal of Samuel Grant, purser of HMS *Goliath*, entry 26 June 1802.
[57] Handler, *The Unappropriated People*, p. 133.
[58] Waller, *A Voyage in the West Indies*, p. 6.
[59] Anon., 'Recollections of an Old Soldier', *The United Service Journal and Naval and Military Magazine*, 140, (Part II), 1840, pp. 210-211; Charles William Day, *Five Years' Residence in the West Indies*, vol 1, (London: Colburn and Co., 1852), p. 12; Richard Robert Madden, *A Twelvemonth's Residence in the West Indies, During the Transition from Slavery to Apprenticeship: With Incidental Notices of the State of Society, Prospects, and Natural Resources of Jamaica and Other Islands*, vol 1, (London: James Cochrane, 1835), p. 16; Pinckard, *Notes on the West Indies*, vol 1, p. 249; Wyvill, 'Memoirs of an Old Army Officer', p. 24.
[60] Jerome S. Handler, 'Joseph Rachell and Rachael Pringle-Polgreen: Petty Entrepreneurs', in *Struggle and Survival in Colonial America*, ed. by D. G. Sweet and G. B. Nash (California: University of California Press, 1981), p. 383.

promote their taverns to new arrivals. One of the rumours that circulated was the claim that tavern owner, Nancy Clarke, had thrown acid known as 'aquafortis' in the face of a young mixed-race girl in a fit of jealously because of her beauty.[61] This heinous act became part of Nancy's notoriety, and she became a 'considerable celebrity' with songs promoting her name and tavern sung to sailors as they disembarked on shore. A soldier recalled the song as:

> If you go to Nancy Clarke
> She will take you in the dark;
> When she get you in the dark
> She will give you aquafortis.[62]

Nancy Clarke, who took over the Royal Navy Hotel from Rachael Pringle Polgreen, continued to encourage seamen to frequent her tavern and lodging house. In 1804, on St Andrew's Day, it was recorded in the journal of army officer, Captain Marsden, that celebrations were held at Nancy Clarke's:

> This being St Andrew's Day, the same was observed with great Festivity at Nancy Clark's where a most sumptuous Dinner was provided to which between forty and fifty Scotch and other officers of this Garrison sat down, and done every Honor to the Patron Saint of Scotland in large Libations of the Choicest Wine that could be procured. Lord Seaforth the Governor, and Commodore Hood were of the Party.[63]

It is often assumed that only low-ranking seamen attended taverns. However, this description of St Andrew's Day at Nancy Clarke's shows the Governor of Barbados, Lord Seaforth, and Vice-Admiral Samuel Hood, the commander-in-chief at the Leeward Islands were in attendance. The Royal Navy Hotel was therefore a well-established inn that was frequented and known by all ranks of the navy. This celebration of Scottish national pride was embraced by Nancy Clarke and used to increase profits. It also demonstrates that whilst serving in the Caribbean, seamen were keen to uphold customs that were associated with their national identity as they would in Britain.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, one of the most popular taverns in Bridgetown was owned by Betsy Austin. Betsy Austin's tavern

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[61] Lieut. Col. Thomas Staunton St. Clair, *A Soldier's Recollections of the West Indies and America: With a Narrative of the Expedition to the Island of Walcheren*, vol 1, (London: Richard Bentley, 1834), p. 373; Wyvill, 'Memoirs of an Old Army Officer', p. 23.
[62] St. Clair, *A Soldier's Recollections*, vol 1, p. 373.
[63] NMM, BRA/133, Journal kept by Captain Marsden, army officer, entry 30 November 1804.

displayed images of the navy including a portrait of Captain John Harvey, a hero of the Glorious Battle of the First of June 1794, and two commemorative plates of the battle by Nicholas Pocock. The proud display of naval memorabilia outwardly showed sailors that they were welcome at Austin's tavern and was the reason John Harvey Boteler was 'originally attracted' to the tavern. This display of commemorative naval ephemera shows an awareness of why the navy were stationed on the island and the navy's role in protecting the colonies as part of the wider context of empire. Although the great grandchild of Captain John Harvey, Boteler was 'surprised' in 1814 to see his great-grandfather's portrait on the tavern wall, probably due to it having been twenty years since the battle. He felt so enamoured of this display that he 'never went to any other house'.[64]

Betsy Austin established a tavern that proactively welcomed sailors, and it became a popular and trusted establishment amongst naval seamen. This in turn provided a constant income to Austin due to navy's continual presence with officers such as Boteler returning to the tavern every time he was sent to Barbados. Austin's expressions of hospitality towards the navy also extended to sending towels for the sailors to use to carry their unfortunate comrades' coffins to the churchyard.[65] These interactions between Austin and the navy elevated the relationship between free person and naval seaman to one beyond the buyer-seller interaction. These relationships had social meaning and a cultural understanding that extended beyond economic expression.

The importance of these women to the navy and their elevated status within the community was captured by Captain Edward Pelham Brenton's choice of sketch whilst he was stationed in Barbados. Brenton chose to sketch a portrait of an elderly creole lady, Sally Rodney (Figure 26). This woman of mixed-race is depicted with an ornate necklace with large pendant suggestive of her wealth, freedom and elevated status in society. Her portrait is accompanied on the reverse with a note that claims, 'Whoever has been at Barbadoes will know their friend Sally Rodney'.[66] This description is similar to a note describing tavern owner, Susy or Betsy Austin, that reads, 'Who that has read of the Caribbean Islands, or visited their shores, has not heard of Betsy

[64] Boteler, *Recollections*, p. 45, 108.
[65] Ibid. p. 59.
[66] NMM, PAF8420, 'Sally Rodney…Barbadoes' by Captain Edward Pelham Brenton, c. 1801.

Figure 26. 'Sally Rodney…Barbadoes', Captain Edward Pelham Brenton, c. 1801 (NMM, PAF8420).

Austin'.[67] According to Trevor Burnard's research on slave naming patterns, people who were freed frequently kept their given first name, which was often an English forename in its diminutive form, and chose a surname also of English origin. He argues that taking European surnames was part of escaping the stigma of their previous enslavement and in aspiration to be free and white.[68] However, the naming patterns that freed people of colour adopted distinguished them from the white population. This distinction is also made in naval officers' journals as they often recorded white men and women by their honorific titles and surnames, and recorded tavern owners by their given name and surname, such as Betsy Austin. As Burnard argues, it was customary in West African culture to name children after prominent people, which could explain why freed people often took the surname of wealthy colonists.[69] This could also explain why Sally Rodney shared her surname with Admiral Rodney.

Sally Rodney was a free woman of colour and a renowned public figure in Barbadian society who Brenton chose to record in his sketchbook. Brenton's interaction with Sally means she was a known figure to naval seamen suggesting she was most likely a tavern owner. Brenton desired to record Sally, and not because of her beauty or as a figure of sexual desire as with contemporary illustrations of young mixed race women from the time, such as engravings by Agostino Brunias.[70] Brenton recorded Sally to capture in his sketchbook the portrait of an island celebrity, regarded as such, not only by members of colonial society but also by the naval community. Tavern owners and women such as Sally were highly valued by the naval community as they provided a social space for entertainment to escape life on board, they offered the opportunity to experience creole culture and they provided a place to interact with local inhabitants.

Although the details are sparse, details of another tavern owner in Bridgetown was also intimately connected to the navy. It was thought that before Rachael Pringle Polgreen became a tavern owner in Bridgetown she was a slave who was the mistress of Captain Thomas Pringle. Pringle manumitted

[67] Madden, *A Twelvemonth's Residence in the West Indies*, vol 1, p. 16.
[68] Trevor Burnard, 'Slave Naming Patterns: Onomastics and the Taxonomy of Race in Eighteenth Century Jamaica', *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 31, (3), 2001, pp. 334-335, 340-342.
[69] Ibid.
[70] Amanda Michaela Bagneris, 'Coloring the Caribbean: Agostino Brunias and the Painting of Race in the British West Indies, c. 1765-1800', (unpublished PhD thesis, Harvard University, 2009); Hans Huth, 'Agostino Brunias, Romano: Robert Adams' "Bred Painter"', *Connoisseur*, 151, 1962, pp. 265-269.

Rachael and gave her a house before leaving for England. Rachael turned the house into a profitable business. In 1780, whilst Philip Carteret was stationed for less than two weeks at Barbados, he dined at Rachael's tavern twice with his shipmate, Captain Drummond. Returning to Rachael's on a second occasion with Drummond, Carteret also invited two local inhabitants to dine with them.[71] Carteret drank so much, he was too ill to attend a dinner hosted by General Vaughan the next day.[72] Carteret returned to Rachael's tavern even though he was only posted to the island for a short period demonstrating the importance of taverns to naval seamen, not only for hospitality, but as a place to meet with local inhabitants and friends from both the navy and military.

Rachael's business was not only known to those in the Caribbean, but she became a known public figure in Britain. The tavern received legendary status in 1786 when it became known as the Royal Navy Hotel, following its refurbishment after Prince William Henry wrecked the property in a drunken state.[73] Her narrative and interactions with Prince William Henry became immortalised in the novel *Creoleana* published in 1842, and her portrait published in a print by Thomas Rowlandson in 1796 (Figure 27).[74] There are different interpretations of the Rowlandson print. It could be a literal representation of Rachael and the Royal Navy Hotel. However, it could also be representative of Rachael's life, with a younger Rachael represented as an enslaved prostitute standing in the porch, her master, William Lauder, represented as the white man in grey, swollen with elephantiasis. Captain Pringle, her 'saviour', is portrayed as the man in military uniform in the window. Whether or not the print depicts a narrative or literal representation of Rachael and the Royal Navy Hotel, it does depict the owner sitting in front of the tavern dominating the picture with her size, representing her dominant position in society and her prevailing memory to all those who visited

[71] NMM, CAR/7b, Notes on HMS *Endymion* 1779-1781, entry 20 September 1780 and 1 October 1780.
[72] NMM, CAR/7b, Notes on HMS *Endymion* 1779-1781, entry 2 October 1780; CAR/9, Letter from General Vaughan at Clifton to Captain Philip Carteret, 3 October 1780.
[73] Neville Connell, 'Hotel Keepers and Hotels in Barbados', *Journal of the Barbados Museum and Historical Society,* 32, (4), 1970, p. 166; Fuentes, 'Power and Historical Figuring', p. 564; Handler, *The Unappropriated People*, p. 134.
[74] J. W. Orderson, *Creoleana: Or, Social and Domestic Scenes and Incidents in Barbados in Days of Yore*, (London: Saunders and Otley, 1842).

Bridgetown. This infamous tavern and brothel was run by Rachael from the late 1770s until her death in 1792, when it was taken over by Nancy Clarke.[75]

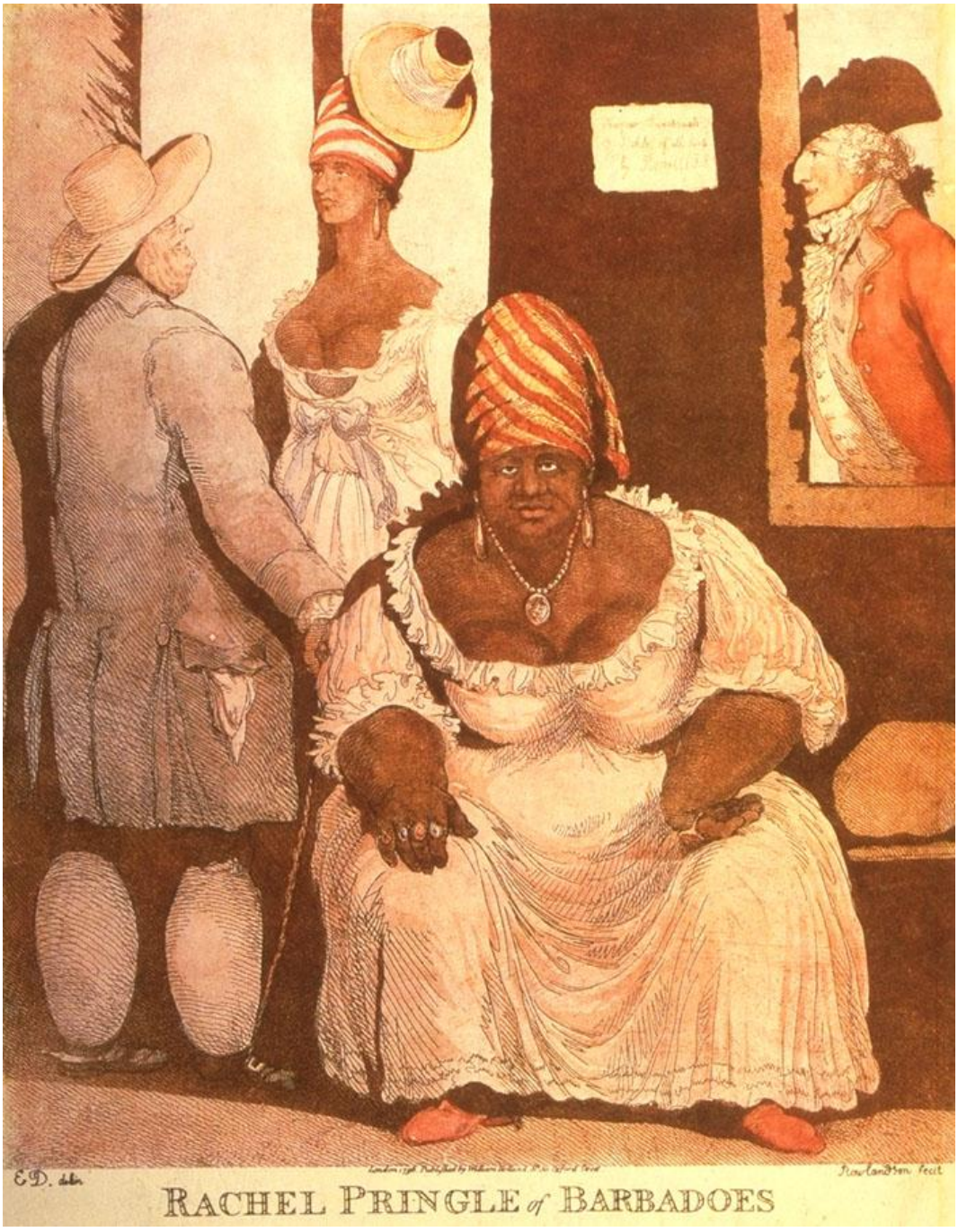

Figure 27. 'Rachel Pringle of Barbados', Thomas Rowlandson, published by William Holland, 1796, (Barbados Museum, NW0184, as shown on www.slaveryimages.org).

[75] Handler, *The Unappropriated People*, p. 136.

Rachael's wealth, emphasised by her jewellery in the Rowlandson print, was based on her slaves. She increased her wealth by 'jobbing out' her slaves for domestic services and as sexual slaves at the tavern, on board naval ships or at the army barracks. This practice of jobbing out slaves was adopted by other slave-owning free women of colour of which there were four hundred in Barbados in 1817, owning a total of 1,626 slaves. Of these four hundred female slave-owners of colour, 369 were from St Michael parish that encompassed Bridgetown, owning a total of 1,518 slaves.[76] Dolly Thomas, a free woman by 1785, amassed her fortune from 'huckstering and hiring out slaves' at Demerara. Dolly built close connections with the merchant community and distributed goods using her network of slaves. It was this 'service enterprise' that allowed her to own property, shops and at least one plantation, earning her a reputation of being one of the richest women in the colonies and the 'Queen of Demerara'.[77] Just as Dolly capitalised on her slave-owning and connections with the merchant community to supply the services in demand by those in the colonies, Rachael also used her slaves and connections with the navy to supply the services the navy demanded, creating business and increasing her revenue.

Charging for food, drink and lodging were not the only means of tavern owners profiting from naval customers and they often had secondary businesses. Some taverns were also known as a 'sort of grocery establishment' that sold foodstuff and preserves made from the islands' fruits like guava and mango.[78] In 1795, William Parker, wrote to his mother and promised to bring her home some preserves.[79] Upon arriving home after five years in the Caribbean, he brought two boxes of 'preserves & Jamaica pickles (1 Large, & a Small box)' for his mother.[80] Parker was keen to bring home the exotic produce of the Caribbean to share with friends and family. It was possible that when these products were shared with family they were accompanied by stories of where they were bought and from whom,

[76] Newton, *The Children of Africa in the Colonies: Free People of Color in Barbados in the Age of Emancipation*, pp. 49-50.
[77] Kit Candlin, 'The Queen of Demerara', in *The Last Caribbean Frontier, 1795-1815,* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), pp. 24-50.
[78] Madden, *A Twelvemonth's Residence in the West Indies*, vol 1, p. 25.
[79] NMM, PAR/165/1, Letter from William Parker on HMS *Leviathan* at sea to his mother, 31 May 1795.
[80] NMM, PAR/165/2, Letter from William Parker on HM Sloop *Stork* at the Nore to his mother, 11 October 1800.

introducing those unfamiliar with the Caribbean to the environment and people of the colonies.

Many taverns would also offer accommodation and a 'laundry service'.[81] These alternative revenue generators were possible due to the injection of wealth the navy provided and the numbers of seamen in port. Sally Rodney, as with other recorded tavern owners, was likely involved in the laundry service provided for sailors when their ships came into harbour. However, as previously mentioned the term 'washerwomen' was connected to both domestic and sexual services. Therefore Sally Rodney may have been a slave-owner jobbing out her slaves, providing a domestic and/or sexual service to navy seamen. In 1808, upon arriving at Barbados, Hoffman's ship was greeted by 'true Barbadian born…dignity ladies'. One of the women Hoffman described was Lady Rodney, Sally Neblet, whom he trusted with his business as she was an elderly lady and his 'oldest acquaintance'.[82] Frederick Marryat's novel, *Peter Simple* (1834), was inspired by his postings to Barbados between 1811 and 1814 and features a 'Lady Rodney' who offered a laundry service to the sailors in Carlisle Bay.[83] Marryat frequently wrote about real life characters in his novels such as tavern owner, Betsy Austin. If the image of Sally Rodney sketched by Brenton is the same woman as the one described by Hoffman and Marryat, it would contribute to our understanding that free women of colour held multiple roles within the community as tavern owners, store-keepers and slave-owners providing slaves for both domestic and sexual services. It would also offer an understanding as to why these women were so frequently recorded and held in such high regard by naval seamen, as they played such a central role in their social interactions and daily routine of life ashore.

Furthermore, the portrait of Sally Rodney by Brenton also suggests her involvement in an alternative business due to the basket and letter she is illustrated with. This letter could represent the 'cards of recommendation' that were given to sailors upon their arrival in harbour by the slaves of tavern owners, used to advertise and promote their establishment.[84] However, it may

[81] Waller, *A Voyage in the West Indies*, p. 6.
[82] Hoffman, *A Sailor of King George*, p. 141.
[83] Marryat, *Peter Simple*, vol 2, p. 173.
[84] William Lloyd M.D., *Letters from the West Indies, During a Visit in the Autumn of 1836 and the Spring of 1837*, (London: Darton and Harvey, 1839), pp. 7-8 cited in Connell, 'Hotel Keepers and Hotels in Barbados', p. 171.

also represent an invitation to a ball, which were frequently organised by tavern owners. Admission was often charged to attend the event and it is known tavern owners, including Austin, organised balls for the sailors.[85] As will be shown these balls played a central role in the navy's social and cultural interactions with the free coloured population, yet there is little scholarship on this aspect of the non-elite community and the hospitality industry.[86]

Balls organised by free women of colour were often known as 'dignity'[87] or 'mulatto'[88] balls and were specifically organised for naval seamen who had expendable income and were looking for entertainment ashore and escape from life on board. In order to gain the largest possible number of seamen and therefore profit for their ball, they were organised in time for the arrival of naval vessels, which were in port in large numbers two or three months before and after Christmas.[89] Hoffman spoke fondly of the hosts of the balls in Barbados and looked forward to his return to the Caribbean for a second posting because of his interactions with women of colour. Hoffman hoped for more events and a 'merry meeting with the many copper-coloured dignity ladies'.[90] These much anticipated dignity balls offered officers and midshipmen the opportunity for respite and entertainment. It was an opportunity to dance with local women and demonstrate their masculinity as part of an expression of their identities as naval officers. Balls were part of British culture and therefore attending balls in the colonies was another expression of their attachment to British culture and their national identities. Balls also facilitated the opportunity to form relationships with women of colour and potentially take a black mistress, again expressing their masculinity

[85] Marryat, *Peter Simple*, vol 2, pp. 193-194; Wyvill, 'Memoirs of an Old Army Officer', p. 24.
[86] See, for example, Handler, *The Unappropriated People*, pp. 133-138. For discussion on 'quadroon balls' of New Orleans that originated from free black emigrants from St Domingue, see Floyd D. Cheung, '"Les Cenelles" and Quadroon Balls: "Hidde Transcripts" of Resistance and Domination in New Orleans, 1803-1845', *The Southern Literary Journal*, 29, (2), 1997, pp. 5-16; Ronald R. Morazan, '"Quadroon" Balls in the Spanish Period', *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association*, 14, (3), 1973, pp. 310-315.
[87] Hoffman, *A Sailor of King George*, p. 29, 56, 63, 73; Marryat, *Peter Simple*, vol 2, p. 193; Wyvill, 'Memoirs of an Old Army Officer', p. 24.
[88] ABDN, MS 2070, Journal of Jonathon Troup, entry 12 September 1789.
[89] ABDN, MS 2070, Journal of Jonathon Troup, entry 20 October 1789.
[90] Hoffman, *A Sailor of King George*, p. 27.

through sexual dominance.[91] A custom that Maria Nugent commented was so common in the Caribbean.[92]

Within the community of free people of colour there was a social hierarchy, often determined by skin tone, with those of lighter-skin seen as of a higher class than those with dark-skin, as with the categorisation of coastal traders. This social grading of women of colour reflected the prestige of the ball they organised. In Hoffman's memoirs he recalls, 'humble' midshipmen were 'never invited to dignity balls of the first class', which were organised by women considered 'mustees and quadroons', or those with light-skin. These balls were restricted to higher ranking wardroom officers. Lower-ranking midshipmen were invited to balls organised by 'mulattos and blacks', described by Hoffman as 'the second class' women.[93] This social divide allowed a greater number of seamen to attend on shore events. For when the highest ranking officers were invited to dine with the governor or prominent planters, officers and midshipmen could enjoy the relative freedom from responsibility and authority at a dignity or mulatto ball.

Dignity balls were a lucrative business opportunity for free women of colour to profit from admission, selling food and drink, and providing sexual services by prostituting their female slaves. As Hoffman noted whilst at Port Royal, the dignity balls were 'given by the upper-class copper coloured washerwomen'.[94] These 'upper-class' women would likely have owned female slaves, who could be jobbed out for both domestic and sexual services, providing the capital to stage events that required a venue, a band, decorations, tickets, food, and drink. Dignity balls not only required capital and a venue, but also 'dignity ladies' in order for the naval men to have enough women to dance with and take a mistress if desired, which enticed more officers and midshipmen to attend.

Sailors were notorious for spending most, if not all, of their earnings when they reached shore. Hoffman believed the hardship and long periods spent at sea meant sailors 'deserve indulgence when they get on shore', which

[91] Trevor Burnard and Richard Follett, 'Caribbean Slavery, British Anti-Slavery, and the Cultural Politics of Venereal Disease', *The Historical Journal*, 55, (2), 2012, p. 433.
[92] Nugent, *Lady Nugent's Journal*, p. 234.
[93] Hoffman, *A Sailor of King George*, p. 63.
[94] Ibid. p. 29.

often led to many sailors not knowing the 'value of money'.[95] Successful capture of privateers and subsequent prize money increased the sailors' profitability to the local women. Therefore, if sailors were known to have come into port with no prizes they were often snubbed from attending dignity balls.[96] The increased income from balls organised for naval seamen caused great rivalry between organisers. Jonathon Troup described this competition between the free women of colour at Dominica, who used balls as an opportunity to outshine each other. Troup wrote, 'they are very Jealous of one another & parties are formed & they are named after their Leader or the Quarter of the Town most of that party live in & they shine at their respective Balls w[hi]c[h] they hold chiefly in time Vessels are in Bay 2,3 months before & after Christmas'.[97] This competition between ball organisers echoes the competitive nature of the service economy in port towns.

The only visual representations found of dignity balls are either inspired by or painted by author and artist, Captain Frederick Marryat, who attended dignity balls in Barbados whilst stationed in the Caribbean between 1811 and 1814.[98] Marryat resigned from the navy in 1830 and later gained recognition as an author of nautical themed adventure novels; a genre that Marryat made popular in the nineteenth century.[99] Many of the events and characters in his novels were inspired and derived from Marryat's own experiences and shipmates. In Marryat's best known novel, *Peter Simple*, he 'poured abundant experience' of his Caribbean postings into the narrative.[100] Marryat was also an accomplished artist with many of his designs turned into etchings by friend and caricaturist, Isaac Cruikshank. One of Marryat's surviving paintings titled 'A "Dignity" Ball' (Figure 28), provides a visual representation of the dignity ball described in *Peter Simple*.[101] It also inspired an engraving by Marryat's friend, Robert William Buss, which featured in the illustrated edition of *Peter Simple* published in 1837 (Figure 29). In Marryat's biography written by his daughter,

[95] Ibid. p. 18..
[96] Ibid. p. 56.
[97] ABDN, MS 2070, Journal of Jonathon Troup, entry 20 October 1789.
[98] Florence Marryat, *Life and Letters of Captain Marryat*, vol 1, (London: Richard Bentley & Son, 1872), p. 68, 76.
[99] J. K. Laughton, revised by Andrew Lambert, 'Marryat, Frederick (1792–1848)', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford University Press, (2009), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/18097> [accessed 20 August 2012].
[100] Oliver Warner, *Captain Marryat: A Rediscovery*, (London: Constable, 1953), p. 157.
[101] Marryat, *Peter Simple*, vol 2, pp. 193-209.

Florence, she comments that his posting to Barbados in 1811 was 'the scene of his dignity ball', possibly referring to this painting as it was recorded as having been painted around the time of his posting to the Caribbean.[102]

Figure 28. 'A "Dignity" Ball', Captain Frederick Marryat, c. 1812-14 (Museum of Art, Louisiana State University, 96.19).

Although it is clear Marryat's painting represents the scene described in *Peter Simple,* due to the descriptions in the novel, particularly relating to the central dancing couple and the fiddler and master of ceremonies, Apollo Johnson, it is unclear whether this painting represents Marryat's own experience of a dignity ball he attended at Barbados. However, it could be suggested from evidence such as the hostess of the dignity ball in *Peter Simple* being real-life tavern owner, Betsy Austin, that the dignity ball described in the novel was experienced by Marryat first-hand. His description of Betsy Austin, the 'dignity' creole tavern owner compares with contemporary accounts from

[102] Marryat, *Life and Letters of Captain Marryat*, vol 1, p. 68.

the period, suggesting Marryat met Betsy whilst stationed in Barbados.[103] Biographer, Oliver Warner, even claimed there was 'more autobiography in Peter Simple than in many Marryat novels'. There are many similarities drawn between the novel and Marryat's own naval career growing up as a young midshipman with characters such as Captain Savage based on Marryat's first captain, Lord Cochrane, on HMS *Impérieuse*.[104]

Figure 29. 'Peter and O'Brien at a Dignity Ball', Robert William Buss, published in the illustrated edition of Peter Simple (1837) by Captain Frederick Marryat.

Marryat's painting portrays naval midshipmen, including lieutenants and captains identifiable by their epaulettes, at a dignity ball attended by local women of mixed-race.[105] The testimony of army officer, Richard Wyvill, who

[103] Boteler, *Recollections*, p. 45; Day, *Five Years' Residence in the West Indies*, vol 1, p. 12; Madden, *A Twelvemonth's Residence in the West Indies*, vol 1, pp. 16-17; James Williamson, 'Falmouth Packet Surgeon's Journal of a Voyage from Falmouth to Jamaica & Carthagena and Back, Transcribed by Tony Pawlyn', *Maritime Views*, National Maritime Museum Cornwall, (1828-1835), <http://www.nmmc.co.uk/index.php?/packet_surgeons_journals/> [accessed 21 September 2012]; Wyvill, 'Memoirs of an Old Army Officer', p. 24.
[104] Warner, *Captain Marryat: A Rediscovery*, pp. 157-158.
[105] Nicholas Blake and Richard Lawrence, *The Illustrated Companion to Nelson's Navy*, (London: Chatham, 1999), p. 77.

attended one of Austin's 'grand' balls whilst stationed in Barbados in 1807, describes a scene similar to Marryat's representation: 'The ladies were all splendidly dressed and they danced uncommonly well. The ballroom was brilliantly lighted and highly perfumed'.[106] In conjunction with Wyvill's description, Marryat's painting commands an occasion with all the women smartly attired in pastel-coloured ball gowns and the naval officers in full-dress uniform. Even the fiddler and the attendant in the red jacket have their hair powdered for the occasion. The ball is depicted in a grand hall with chandelier, wall lamps, columned entrance, and band stand with five-piece orchestra. Marryat depicts a relaxed atmosphere with naval officers conversing with local women, and others dancing. The master of ceremonies and fiddler commands the central dancing lieutenant and his partner with his bow. The painting portrays a more lavish ballroom than Robert Buss's engraving, which is a more focused portrayal of the dominant dancing couple to reflect the narrative in the novel.

An aspect missing from Marryat's painting, although alluded to by the title is the frequency for events such as balls, where alcohol was in abundance, for drunken brawls to break out. Being so restricted with time allowed ashore, seamen used balls as an opportunity to spend their earnings and act uninhibited away from the discipline of naval service. The title of Marryat's painting, 'A "Dignity" Ball', with dignity shown in quotation marks indicates sarcasm directed towards the dignity of the ball. This title would directly link to the description in the novel, as the dignity ball ends with the midshipmen being chased back to their ship by a mob after a fight breaks out. In the narrative, a disagreement occurs between the fiddler, Apollo Johnson, and naval officer, Captain O'Brien, over dignity lady, Miss Eurydice.[107] Apollo becomes enraged at the insinuation by O'Brien that he was not worthy enough of Miss Eurydice because he was 'black'.[108] Marryat's narrative suggests how the occasion and environment of a ball could ignite tensions with abundant alcohol and competition between officers to take a black mistress. For example, Troup recorded a 'Mulattos ball' with a number of gentlemen, but only two or three 'mulatto' women.[109] This situation could easily have raised

[106] Wyvill, 'Memoirs of an Old Army Officer', p. 24.
[107] Marryat, *Peter Simple*, vol 2, p. 198, pp. 206-207.
[108] Ibid. p. 206.
[109] ABDN, MS 2070, Journal of Jonathon Troup, entry 12 September 1789.

tensions with officers having paid to attend and finding few women in attendance.

Troup also recorded the disorderly behaviour of naval seamen whilst attending a 'Mulattoes Ball' at Dominica. He wrote, 'A parcel of Drunk sailors came in one [sailor] Danced & fell down'. This caused a ruckus, which lead to the sailors being 'ordered out'. The sailors then went on to exchange words, 'damning Creole Buggers', and would not leave choosing to intrude 'often', which changed the atmosphere of the ball and caused Troup to leave. Not only did the sailors verbally abuse the participants of a ball, which included free people of colour, but they refused to buy porter (beer). It was recorded by Troup that the sailors were 'unseated upon music playing', yet did not pay for porter, which caused the 'mistress' who organised the ball to charge everyone a dollar to dance due to lack of profit from the alcohol.[110] These incidents indicate the frequency of misbehaviour at dignity and mulatto balls often due to the accessibility of alcohol and the crew's limited time allowed ashore.

Although there are recorded incidents of drunken misbehaviour, the navy appreciated the service and hospitality offered in Caribbean port towns and was known to reciprocate the hospitality it received. The navy organised entertaining events for free people of colour after forming relationships with them after long or multiple postings, which broadens the notion that free people of colour were socially significance to the navy beyond economic exchange. In 1817, the navy held a successful boat race event at Barbados where 'all boats of the squadron joined', creating a spectacle for the inhabitants. After the race, the sailors built a kitchen on shore and cooked a feast of pig stuffed with yams and potatoes roasted inside an ox.[111] Boteler and his ship's officers made 'many friends' whilst stationed at Antigua and therefore their hospitality was reciprocated with a breakfast on board with 'a long table laid out on the poop-deck' and a dance to thank the islanders for their warm welcome and generosity.[112] Whilst stationed at the French island of St Domingue, the officers hosted a dance on board for the inhabitants of the town of Donna Maria to repay their hospitality. It was attended by members of the white elite, including the governor, his wife and sister, and members of the

[110] ABDN, MS 2070, Journal of Jonathon Troup, fol. 81.
[111] Boteler, *Recollections*, p. 77.
[112] Ibid. p. 73.

non-elite community of the island. As Hoffman recollected, 'the quarter-deck was filled with mustiphenas, mustees, mulattoes, Sambos, and delicate, flat-nosed, large mouthed and thick-lipped black ladies' who were 'highly pleased' with the entertainment provided by the navy.[113] These organised events suggest that it was not only the white elite who were invited to dine on board, but also free people of colour who were considered more than business acquaintances.

The hospitality industry often facilitated naval seamen forming relationships with women of colour ashore. Inter-racial relationships were so common in the Caribbean it was understood as abnormal for white men not to have a woman of colour as a mistress.[114] This is similarly applicable to naval seamen, who often had mistresses whilst stationed in the Caribbean. Mistresses of naval or military officers often gained 'material security' from their relationships such as 'capital or property'.[115] However, as Handler suggests, 'the sources often do not clearly distinguish between prostitutes and women who lived in more or less stable relationships as the mistresses of white men'.[116] This is also true of naval journals. For example, in 1801, on his departure for England from Port Royal, Hoffman observed many 'washerwomen and other friends' crying on shore at their departure with enough tears 'sufficient to fill several monkeys [storage jars]'. Although the term 'washerwomen' was often a euphemism for prostitutes, it is unknown if these women were involved in domestic and/or sexual services.[117] Even though Hoffman professes not to love his admirer named Julia, she was 'overwhelmed with grief' at his departure, which suggests she was his mistress. Hoffman may have used the term washerwoman as it was more socially acceptable to the reading public of Britain to pay for the services of a prostitute, rather than having a relatively stable relationship with a woman of colour. This is further demonstrated as Hoffman felt 'imprudent' for being so upset, which suggests his apprehension to show affection towards a woman of colour and an

[113] Hoffman, *A Sailor of King George*, p. 48.
[114] Waller, *A Voyage in the West Indies*, p. 20.
[115] Handler, *The Unappropriated People*, pp. 137-138.
[116] Ibid. p. 137.
[117] Hilary Beckles, 'Property Rights in Pleasure: The Marketing of Enslaved Women's Sexuality', in *Caribbean Slavery in the Atlantic World*, ed. by Hilary Beckles and Verene Shepherd (Oxford: James Currey, 1999), p. 696.

uneasiness to express the true nature of their relationship in his testimony.[118] A relatively stable relationship that existed between a naval seaman and woman of colour elevated their relationship to more than one of economic interaction but of personal importance. To some extent, naval seamen and free women of colour who owned taverns and organised balls had a mutually beneficial relationship. The women provided entertainment and female slaves, and the sailors offered the organisers greater income potential as customers.

The relationship between the navy and the non-elite communities of the British Caribbean islands exemplify how integral the navy was to the service economy, which existed to serve the needs of the navy. Balls would not have been organised if it were not for the navy's presence in the colonies. However, these relationships between the navy and free people of colour were not the mastery relationships exemplified by the colonists between white master and enslaved black. Free women of colour did not provide hospitality in subservience to the navy as a powerful institution of imperialism. Their motivations were for material gain and independence. These interactions were more than simple economic exchanges. They were important social and cultural interactions. Free women of colour who held social status within the urban communities of port towns provided seamen the opportunity to express their masculinity, institutional identity as naval officers, and British national identity by facilitating balls that allowed seamen to partake in dances and take mistresses as they would in Britain within high society circles. Although balls were specifically organised for the market of naval seamen, there were established parts of the domestic economy which extended to include the navy and their needs. This will be examined within the context of the services for health to further our understanding that the relationship between naval seamen and the non-elite community of the British Caribbean islands were more than mere economic exchanges.

5.3 Health services

New-come buckra,
He get sick,

[118] Hoffman, *A Sailor of King George*, p. 91.

He tak fever,
He be die;
He be die.[119]

This verse, sung by bumboat women at Port Royal was recalled by the British traveller and new arrival to the colonies, Robert Renny. Once the traders had sold their wares to the new arrivals or 'new-come buckras' they rowed away from the large ships singing a song that foretold the fate of many of Renny's fellow travellers. This exchange between Renny and the bumboat traders was more than simple exchange between seller and consumer, as the sinister song reminded new arrivals of the reputation of the island as a place of disease and death. For new arrivals to the colonies, the possibility of contracting yellow fever and never recovering was all too common and something the harbour traders witnessed frequently. Vincent Brown, in his study that explores the cultural significance of death in Jamaica, uses Renny's experience from 1800 to demonstrate that this initial interaction with black traders in harbour not only introduced new arrivals to the Caribbean and to racial difference, but also to the colony as a place of death. For the bumboat sellers, they understood death as an indiscriminate force, 'a social leveller' between black and white and a way to 'mock white authority'.[120] This initial interaction therefore introduced sailors to the unequal colonial society and social hierarchies of race, as well as the idea that the island was not the lush green paradise they observed as they sailed into harbour. Soon sailors would be faced with disease and death, not only on land but on the ships.

It is therefore unsurprising that fear of disease overwhelmed every new arrival to the Caribbean. Yellow fever was devastating for seafarers with naval vessels losing entire crews to the disease. Whilst anchored at Fort Royal Bay, Martinique, a fever swept through the crew of the *Tromp*. The incident was recorded by the ship's gunner, William Richardson, who listed the dead as many of the midshipmen and officers, the first-lieutenant, the clerk, the master and his wife, the boatswain, the surgeon-assistant, the master-at-arms, the armourer, the gunner's mate, the captain's steward, the cook, the tailor, and

[119] Robert Renny, *A History of Jamaica*, (London: J Cawthorn, 1807), p. 241 cited in Brown, *The Reaper's Garden: Death and Power in the World of Atlantic Slavery*, p. 1.
[120] Ibid. pp. 3-4.

the captain's lady's maid.[121] This left the ship seriously undermanned with the captain, purser, and their wives, leaving the ship to live ashore for fear of catching the fever, and those who had contracted the fever sent ashore to the naval hospital.

The majority who experienced the death of their comrades and captains often cursed those who were initially responsible for capturing Jamaica in 1655, army officer, Robert Venables, and naval officer, William Penn. Over a century later, the captain of the marines on HMS *Brunswick*, Henry Rea, repeatedly cursed the two commanders in the following hymn:

> Venables and Penn,
> Two bloody-minded men,
> In an evil hour
> Those seas did explore,
> And blundering about
> This cursed hole found out;
> And for so doing,
> The devil has them stewing;
> And with him they may remain
> Till we come this way again,
> Which we think howsomdever
> (As our boatswain says) will be never;
> And let all the mess say Amen![122]

This emotive verse captures the anger felt towards Penn and Venables for claiming Jamaica, described as a 'cursed hole' due to the high volume of deaths from disease.

The devastating effects of the disease created a talking point amongst new arrivals and inhabitants, with new arrivals afraid of it, yet knowing little about it and desperate to seek advice from those living on the islands. In 1805, officers arriving at Admiral's Pen 'seemed sadly alarmed about the climate, and afraid to eat or drink any thing' and made 'constant enquiries about the yellow fever'.[123] However, inhabitants were so accustomed to witnessing the effects of the disease that Methuselah Wills from HMS *Brunswick* was shocked to see a man being 'lugged' downstairs, only to be told by the locals, 'it was *only* a man who had died of yellow fever'.[124] Upon George

[121] William Richardson, *Mariner & Gunner: An English Seaman in the Merchant Marine & the Royal Navy, 1781-1819*, (London: Leonaur Ltd, 2010), pp. 138-139.
[122] Gardner, *Recollections of James Anthony Gardner*, p. 245.
[123] Nugent, *Lady Nugent's Journal*, p. 230.
[124] Gardner, *Recollections of James Anthony Gardner*, p. 237.

Pinckard being affected by fever he commented, 'every table was at my command, every house my home, and ever planter my friend'.[125] Although his claim may seem exaggerated, Pinckard's occupation as a doctor meant his death would have been a great loss due to the value his medical knowledge brought to the island. Although desensitised to the effects of fever, the inhabitants were keen to contain disease and improve new arrivals' knowledge of symptoms and cures to prevent the further spread of disease and the negative reputation of the Caribbean as a disease ridden hell.

Illness was also one of the most frequent allowances for lower-ranking sailors to go ashore as it was thought to be beneficial for the 'recovery of health'.[126] In 1779, whilst James Ker was stationed at St Lucia, there was little infrastructure and no naval hospital on the island due to the recent recapture of the island from the French.[127] Therefore, scorbutic sailors were 'frequently' allowed to go ashore to walk and buy fruit, and some were housed in a tent made from an old mainsail on the shore.[128] Other strange methods of curing diseases also caused sailors to be left ashore, with Hoffman reporting that sailors were buried up to their necks in sand on the advice of the ship's surgeon.[129] Before permanent naval hospitals were established at Jamaica and Antigua during the second half of the eighteenth century, the navy often relied on local inhabitants to facilitate the recovery of sick sailors. The navy initially depended on the sick quarters system, renting rooms from local inhabitants in lodging houses and inns for the recovery of sick sailors. However, this system often prolonged recovery with alcohol being readily available. Due to the inadequacy of the sick quarters system the navy began to pay contractors to supply buildings and victuals for sailors needing to recover ashore.[130] All these systems, which were relied upon by the navy, offered local inhabitants, particularly the owners of inns, taverns and lodging houses, the opportunity for business.

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[125] Pinckard, *Notes on the West Indies*, vol 3, p. 151.
[126] NMM, CAL/111, Letter from Benjamin Caldwell on HMS *Majestic* off St Pierre, Martinique to Sir Richard Bickerton, 14 December 1794; Letter from Benjamin Caldwell on *Majestic* off St Pierre, Martinique to Captain Bowen, 29 December 1794.
[127] For discussion on temporary hospitals at St Lucia, see Chapter 6, 'Development of Hospitals in the West Indies' in Coriann Convertito, 'The Health of British Seamen in the West Indies, 1770-1806', (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Exeter, 2011), pp. 233-235.
[128] NLS, MS 1083, Journal of James Ker, fol. 16v.
[129] Hoffman, *A Sailor of King George*, p. 44.
[130] Chapter 6, 'Development of Hospitals in the West Indies' in Convertito, 'The Health of British Seamen in the West Indies, 1770-1806', pp. 204-205.

There was a constant supply of sick and injured seamen, therefore caring for sailors provided constant employment. When ill, officers often rented rooms ashore at lodging houses and were cared for by a housekeeper or nurse. The most well-known nurse that cared for naval seamen during this period was Cuba Cornwallis, who was the housekeeper of Captain William Cornwallis at Jamaica. Cuba most notably nursed Nelson back to health after the Nicaraguan campaign in 1779. When Nelson arrived into Cuba's care, she used her knowledge of herbal remedies to attempt to cure Nelson of the diseases he had contracted.[131] Years after Nelson had been nursed by Cuba, he showed concern for her well-being in a letter to Cornwallis after the hurricane in 1784. Whilst on the *Boreas* at English Harbour, Antigua, Nelson wrote, 'I wish any vessel was going from this place that I might send something to poor Cuba, for provisions are in great plenty here, and I suppose very dear at Kingston'.[132] His genuine concern and longing to send her provisions shows how affectionately Nelson felt for his nurse and how highly regarded nurses were to naval seamen. Nelson was not the only example of a naval officer who was nursed by Cuba. In 1802, Samuel Grant, purser of the *Goliath*, recorded visits to Cuba whilst he was stationed at Jamaica. Whilst at Port Royal in May, Grant recorded, 'sent a Trunk of Linnen to the Warrior by the Pilot to get wash'd at Cuba Cornwallis's ~ Ship Sickly with Influenza'.[133] Grant also visited 'old Cuba' over a month later, after visiting a tavern in Port Royal. Grant likely went to Cuba to seek advice as he had recently fallen ill and had not fully recovered.[134] Cuba clearly held multiples role within the domestic service as a housekeeper, nurse, and laundrywoman. As with tavern owners, Cuba was a respected figure who was held in high esteem by naval seamen due to her local knowledge, high level of care and service to the navy; a service that facilitated her long term employment.

Seamen put their trust in local inhabitants who often had their own cures and treatments for ailments distinctive to the colonies. When William Richardson's wife came down with fever whilst on board the *Tromp* at

[131] Knight, *The Pursuit of Victory: The Life and Achievement of Horatio Nelson*, p. 59; Colin White, 'Nelson, the New Letters', (Suffolk: Boydell Press in association with the NMM and the Royal Navy Museum, 2005), p. 24.
[132] NMM, COR/58, Letter from Captain Horatio Nelson on *Boreas* at English Harbour, Antigua to Captain William Cornwallis, 25 October 1784.
[133] NMM, GRT/10, 1802 Annual Journal of Samuel Grant, purser of HMS *Goliath*, entry 10 May 1802.
[134] NMM, GRT/10, 1802 Annual Journal of Samuel Grant, purser of HMS *Goliath*, entry 26 June 1802.

Martinique, he decided to take his wife ashore. He recorded that he 'put her under the care of a French black woman named Madame Janet [...] who was said to be an excellent nurse' and 'a French doctor named Dash, a man near eighty years of age and said to be very skilful, who had dwelt long on the island, and understood the nature of the West India fevers well'.[135] Richardson chose to put his wife in the care of two local inhabitants of Martinique rather than take her to a naval hospital. The expenditure for her treatment, which was more than his small income allowed, shows he trusted the local habitants with long experience of Caribbean illnesses to treat her fever.[136] Sailors were also recorded to procure local remedies for fever from local inhabitants, as was the experience of Hoffman who was given 'some sort of herb tea mixed with rum', acquired from an elderly laundrywoman known as 'old Dinah'.[137] This great trust put on the local inhabitants to keep naval crews and new arrivals healthy shows a certain amount of respect given to local knowledge and the people who constantly dealt with the diseases that blighted the Caribbean. These recorded examples of naval officers being helped by colonial doctors and black nurses serve to highlight the navy's reliance on local inhabitants.

However, the insufficient provisions ashore and the volume of sailors contracting fever caused the Admiralty to establish permanent naval hospitals at Port Royal, Jamaica and English Harbour, Antigua.[138] Many sailors were averse to going to naval hospitals as they were not seen as a place of recovery but of death. Feverish sailors would even plead with doctors not to be sent to hospital.[139] However, hospitals created an additional space for local inhabitants to trade with sailors. Early in 1796, the Admiralty approved Rear-Admiral William Parker's request for a wall to be built around the hospital at Port Royal. The wall was needed to prevent desertion and to prevent sailors trading with those outside the hospital, stopping the frequency of patients drinking alcohol whilst recovering.[140] However, the wall did not prevent traders from getting rum into the hospital as complaints sent to Vice-Admiral Sir Hyde Parker from

[135] Richardson, *Mariner & Gunner*, p. 139.
[136] Ibid. p. 141.
[137] Hoffman, *A Sailor of King George*, p. 36.
[138] Chapter 6, 'Development of Hospitals in the West Indies' in Convertito, 'The Health of British Seamen in the West Indies, 1770-1806', pp. 204-241.
[139] Hoffman, *A Sailor of King George*, p. 65.
[140] Chapter 6, 'Development of Hospitals in the West Indies' in Convertito, 'The Health of British Seamen in the West Indies, 1770-1806', p. 220.

Mr Forbes, surgeon of the naval hospital, concur. Parker wrote to Governor Balcarres in March 1797 to express the concerns of Mr Forbes:

> the Negroe Houses contiguous to the Wall intended to be built for preventing desertion, are the greatest nuisance that can possibly be to the said Hospital, that from being so close to it, the Air in the town wanders on that side must be loaded with effluvia of stinking, putrid provisions of all sorts, as well as every other filthy matter. That by their contiguity, the Negroes have a constant opportunity of not only supplying the Patients with the worst of the Spirits, but of exchanging and bartering with them for their fresh Viands, in lieu of Salt & putrid ones.

This description demonstrates how lucrative sailors were to members of the non-elite community with a 'town' of 'houses' built against the wall that surrounded the hospital. Parker's solution to prevent the trading of spirits and food between sailors and the non-elite community living next to the hospital was to 'pull down the said huts' and 'a wall built to prevent any intercourse whatever with the town'.[141] The original wall built to prevent such exchanges could not prevent commercial enterprise from developing around the hospital; such was the opportunity for business that sailors provided.

5.4 Conclusions

Although recent scholarship on slave economies rightly focuses on the autonomy and independence of slaves, there is little exploration of the consumers of the domestic economy beyond local inhabitants. The navy was a contributing factor to the wealth that lay in the hands of slaves and free people of colour involved in the domestic economy. Without the navy, as an integral part of the local community, the service sector of the domestic economy would have been severely limited. Therefore, the domestic economies of the British Caribbean islands benefited from the injection of wealth provided by the navy's constant presence and continual rotation of new naval arrivals.

Increased economic opportunities in urban areas provide explanation as to the influx of manumitted slaves to parishes such as St Michael, Barbados,

[141] NLS, Acc 9769, 23/10/489, Letter from Vice-Admiral Sir Hyde Parker on HMS *Queen* at Cape Nicola Mole to Governor Balcarres and the Council and Assembly of Jamaica, 14 March 1797.

which encompassed the port town of Bridgetown.[142] This increase in free people of colour added to the hustle and bustle of port towns and increased competition between business owners and traders. The increasingly competitive marketplace led to entrepreneurial members of the non-elite community establishing enterprises and businesses in port towns that serviced the needs and wants of naval seamen. For some members of the non-elite community, this meant selling fresh produce to newly arrived ships, trading provisions at market, and producing souvenirs and preserves to remind seamen of their posting to the Caribbean. For other traders it meant targeting the most profitable crews who came to harbour with foreign vessels as prizes. Alternatively, some women offered domestic services as housekeepers, nurses, and laundrywomen. Wealthiest members of the non-elite community provided establishments for entertainment, food and lodging, and those who owned slaves provided additional domestic and sexual services.

Even for the wealthiest members of the non-elite community the service economy was competitive. Part of keeping up with the competition was showing allegiance to the navy to build a good reputation amongst seaman to secure future business. Therefore, as with the white elite, business owners and traders were keen to show their allegiance to the navy. However, their motivation was not linked to national belonging, but to profit. Naval seamen were a constant presence in Caribbean harbours and were therefore a reliable long-term clientele, providing long-term employment opportunities. Earning a reputation for supplying naval seamen with the things that they desired could elevate the status of a trader or business owner within the naval community, which helped to guarantee and procure future business.

Testimony, observations and sketches of naval seamen, as well as references from contemporaries of the period, suggest a high level of interaction occurred between Royal Navy seamen and the non-elite population of Caribbean society, particularly free people of colour who sought employment and wealth from the service economy. The service economy therefore facilitated the frequent social, economic and cultural interactions between the navy and the non-elite community. Naval vessels, taverns, market places, and even hospitals became the social spaces in which the navy was able

[142] Handler, *The Unappropriated People*, p. 17.

to interact and form relationships with members of non-elite colonial society. However, these relationships were not confined to buyer-seller exchanges. Naval seamen chose to record their encounters and interactions with members of the non-elite in their journals and visually captured the most prominent members of the navy's on shore network. Some relationships were meaningful and highly valued and not restricted by racial assumptions of the time. As evidence shows, free women of colour were particularly prominent members of the service economy and the non-elite community more generally, and as such, these women were also integral figures in the naval community.

6. Representing the Caribbean: The naval gaze

After the in-depth exploration of the social interactions between the navy and the elite and non-elite communities of colonial society in the preceding chapters, this chapter revisits the specific job of naval seamen, who were deployed to the British Caribbean colonies, to explore another engagement with the Caribbean apart from the relationships with the inhabitants. This chapter therefore points to the wider themes of the thesis by looking at how the navy's interactions with the region went beyond its operational role. In exploring the specific operational duties, this chapter demonstrates that for naval seamen serving in the Caribbean, their personal experience was not defined by operations and naval orders. A naval seaman's encounters with the environment, society and cultural landscape of the Caribbean permeated his overall experience. To explore this, the chapter will focus on how naval seamen chose to record and represent their encounters with an unfamiliar landscape and the people they interacted with. These representations, analysed through visual culture, use the starting point of a naval officer's duty to record the environment for operational uses. Therefore, by re-emphasising the specific role of the navy as an institution sent to the Caribbean by Britain, it serves to highlight how their specific job facilitated their encounters with the environment and society. Even if not employed as conscious observers of colonial society, naval seamen absorbed and retained their encounters, which returned with them to Britain. However, these visual representations will not be analysed to measure the navy's impact on metropolitan understandings of the Caribbean, but rather how the absorbed experience of their posting to the Caribbean returned home with them to Britain.

6.1 Formal sketching

During the Seven Years War, accurate topographical representations of colonial landscapes drawn 'on-the-spot' rose to prominence as part of the mapping of Britain's empire. This new global perspective was informed by naval seamen's utilitarian pencil, ink and watercolour sketches. These original visual

representations of the colonial landscape were captured as part of a naval officer's operational duties on board a Royal Navy vessel. The navy can therefore be credited with creating the first visual depictions of the new imperial landscape through coastal profiling and topographic sketching.[1]

Naval officers were taught a mode of recording the landscape that attempted to provide an identical apprehension of reality, rather than a construction of the imagination.[2] This skill for topographical sketching was often learnt by young boys through on board training. However, with a limited number of competent schoolmasters at sea, the education of the boys and young men sent to join the navy was often at the mercy of their captains. The level of education differed on every vessel and there was no uniform training system for potential naval officers. Therefore, in a progressive move to establish a single-entry training system for potential officers in the eighteenth century, the Royal Naval Academy was established. The Naval Academy at Portsmouth and specialist mathematical schools, such as the Royal Mathematical School at Christ's Hospital, supplemented the well-established on board apprenticeship system. H. W. Dickinson argues that modern scholarship has tended to characterise the naval academy as a poorly attended unruly institution with a low standard of teaching. However, Dickinson's research suggests the naval academy between 1733 and 1806 helped to produce a number of high quality naval officers able to read, write, navigate, and draw.[3]

The Academy was seen by those of the higher ranks to undermine the apprenticeship system, but it provided comprehensive training through a rigorous education syllabus encompassing academic and practical elements.[4] Although the Naval Academy did not prove as successful as the Admiralty had hoped, with no exclusive-entry system established until much later, it can be credited with raising the standard of training in the navy, particularly drawing skills. The teachers at the Academy were often highly skilled, including Alexander Cozens who was employed as the drawing-master at Christ's Hospital between 1750 and 1754. Cozens was a landscape painter, who

[1] John E. Crowley, *Imperial Landscapes: Britain's Global Visual Culture, 1745-1820*, (New Haven, Conn.: Published for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art by Yale University Press, 2011), p. 7.
[2] Barbara Maria Stafford, *Voyage into Substance: Art, Science, Nature, and the Illustrated Travel Account, 1760-1840*, (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1984), pp. 16-17.
[3] H. W. Dickinson, 'The Portsmouth Naval Academy, 1733-1806', *Mariner's Mirror*, 89, (1), 2003, pp. 17-30.
[4] Ibid. p. 19, 25.

studied landscape drawing in England, Russia and Italy.[5] He gained his first teaching post at Christ's Hospital, due to his familiarity with topographical sketching, taking 'many Coasting Prospects' on his voyages at sea.[6] Cozens' aim as drawing-master was not to produce professional artists, but to teach every student a basic level of drawing skills, in order to quickly portray coastlines, harbours and fortifications with topographical accuracy.[7] This accuracy was necessary so the sketches could be referenced for navigational or military purposes. However, as Kim Sloan argues, Cozens saw an advantage to teaching naval seamen to capture 'items of antiquarian, historical, and natural interest' in their sketchbooks. This is evident in the drawings Cozens chose as teaching examples for his pupils from his own work and from Bernard Lens (1659-1725), the previous drawing-master at Christ's Hospital.[8] Cozens, who had himself spent time at sea, saw the value in teaching those who were able to experience and observe foreign lands and overseas territories, the skills required to record these valuable experiences.[9] This is further evinced by the sketches of naval officers, who developed their skills in functional sketching to represent the environment and society they encountered when they reached the colonies.

Sketches found in naval officers' journals or sketchbooks were often speedily produced as basic watercolours. Coastal profiles were crucial to navigation and were particularly useful for identification and were therefore used as a strategic aid during times of heightened tension in the Caribbean, particularly during the American Revolution. An example of the importance of sketching during wartime can be found in a sketchbook that belonged to the Hood family, which are typical of the watercolours found in officers' sketchbooks and journals. Although it is not possible to identify the individual who painted the watercolours, the profiles are likely to be related to Alexander Hood (1758-1798) or his brother Samuel Hood (1762-1814), who both served in the Caribbean in the 1780s, under the command of their cousin Rear-

[5] Kim Sloan, 'Cozens, Alexander (1717-1786)', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford University Press, (2007), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/6546 > [accessed 10 April 2013].
[6] Alexander Cozens, 'Application for Drawing-Master at Christ's Hospital', *General Advertiser*, (1749/1750) cited in Kim Sloan, 'Christ's Hospital and Private Pupils 1749-59', in *Alexander and John Robert Cozens : The Poetry of Landscape,* (New Haven; London: published by Yale University Press in association with the Art Gallery of Ontario 1986), p. 21.
[7] Ibid. p. 22.
[8] Ibid. p. 24.
[9] Ibid. pp. 26-27.

Admiral, later Viscount, Samuel Hood (1724-1816). Both brothers served with Samuel Hood's squadron, which supported Rodney at the Battle of the Saintes in 1782 and gave chase to the French squadron shortly after to the Mona Passage. The profiles in the Hood sketchbook relate to the Mona Passage, a strait between Santo Domingo and Puerto Rico, and include profiles from the islands of Hispaniola and Cuba. The island profiles featured in Figure 30 were likely recorded whilst chasing the French to the Mona Passage, so they could be referred back to if necessary. The simple watercolours depict the small islands of Mona, Monica and Zacheo that lie in the Mona Passage, and the northern points of Port Plata and Isabella Point on the island of Hispaniola.

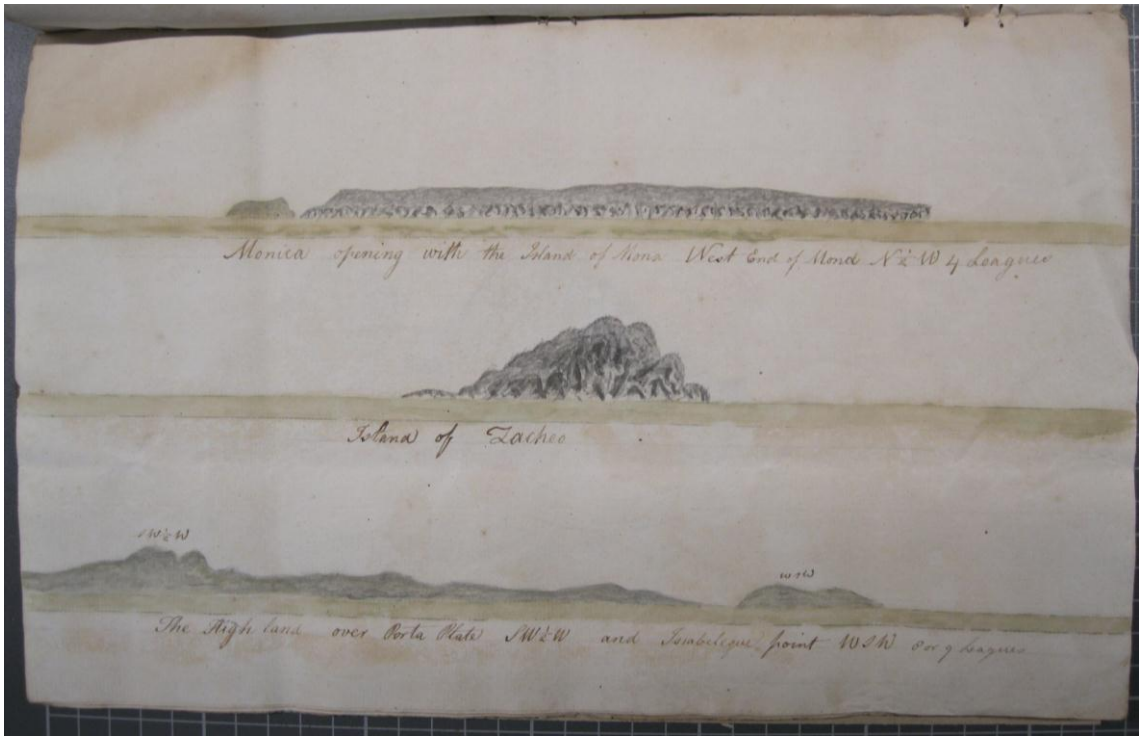

Figure 30. Profiles from the Mona Passage, unknown artist, n.d., c. 1782 (NMM, Hood Family Papers, MKH 610).

The profiles from the Mona Passage (Figure 30) and Hispaniola and Cuba (Figure 31) show the officer has painted from a distance and attempted to show the topographical detail of the landscape with the limited colour range available, possibly due to the heat melting the paint palette. Each profile is accompanied with written navigational information recording the distances in leagues to help identify the island profiles. These profiles record islands of

Spanish and French possession, therefore the islands were likely charted for strategic purposes.

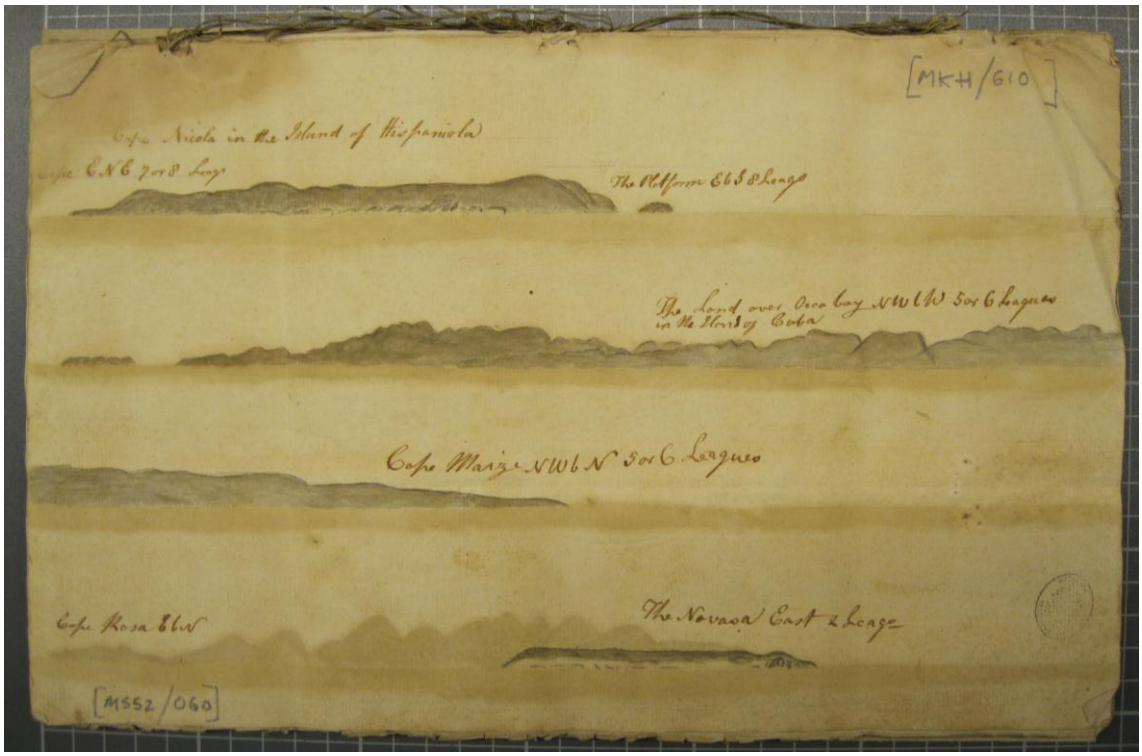

Figure 31. Profiles of Hispaniola and Cuba, unknown artist, n.d., c. 1782 (NMM, Hood Family Papers, MKH 610).

Among the Hood profiles are watercolours of Cuba, possibly taken on the return voyage to Jamaica after the Battle at the Mona Passage in 1782, including a more detailed profile of Havana (Figure 32). Although crude, the sketch of Havana shows the strong military fortifications that were built soon after Britain returned Havana to Spanish possession, following its capture in 1762. The strong fortress complex, depicted in the Hood profile, was built to prevent any future foreign invasion. The sketch also shows the many flags that lined the hill-top fortress, a display of Spanish dominance. The Hood profiles, although basic due to the distance and speed the sketches were taken, show the function of these observations and their necessity during times when the threat of foreign attack was high. They demonstrate how the navy was trained to record the colonial landscape they observed with precision and concentration on islands of military importance.

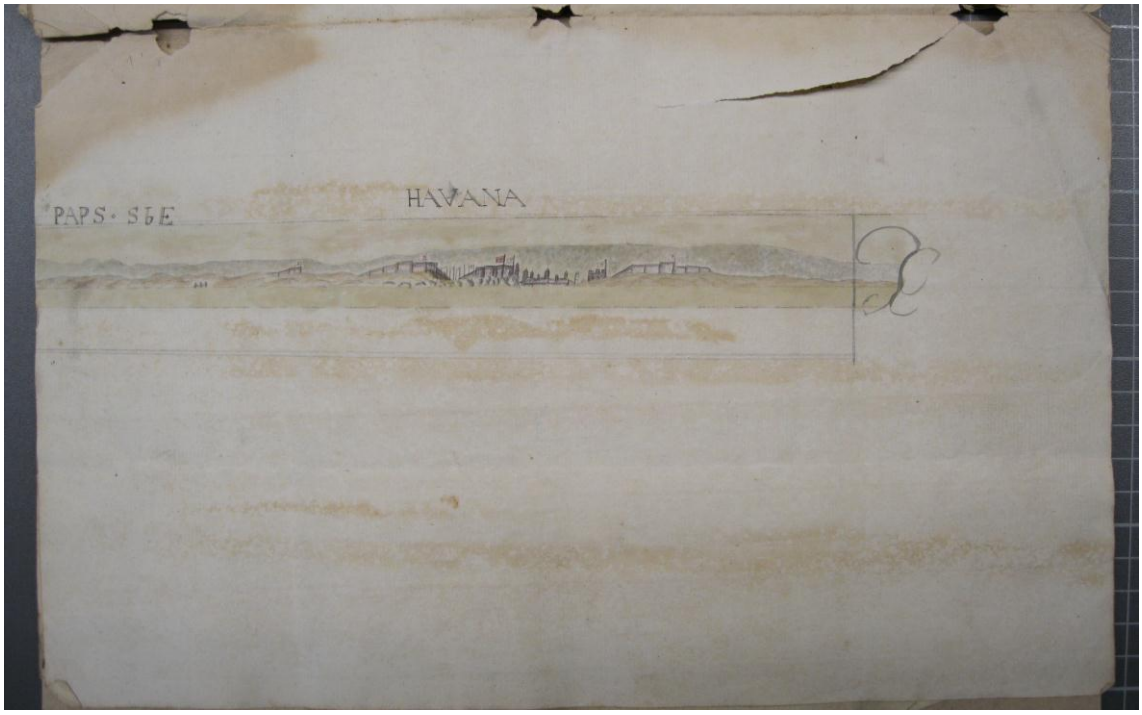

Figure 32. 'Havana', unknown artist, n.d., c. 1782 (NMM, Hood Family Papers, MKH 610).

James Ker joined the navy in 1778, after unsuccessfully applying to enter the service of the East India Company. After passing his surgeon's exams, he served as surgeon's mate and later surgeon on HMS *Elizabeth*.[10] Ker arrived at the Caribbean in February 1779 and remained there until October 1779. At the back of Ker's journal, he produced more than fifteen functional watercolours of the harbours and headlands he observed throughout his posting to the Caribbean. The paintings include observations of Barbados, Antigua, Jamaica, St Kitts, and St Lucia. Ker not only sketched the Caribbean, but also the fortifications and coastlines of his voyages around Scandinavia and the Orkney and Shetland Islands whilst continuing to serve in the Royal Navy. Although Ker was a surgeon in the Royal Navy, part of his duty as a naval officer was to record what he observed on his voyages. An example of the level of detail in Ker's watercolours can be seen in his coastal profile of Point Negrill, Jamaica c. 1779 (Figure 33). Ker attempts to show geographical contours and the density of the vegetation, using the varied shades in his

[10] Scottish Archive Network Ltd, 'James Ker NA11847', The National Archives of Scotland, (2013), <http://www.scan.org.uk/catalogue/> [accessed 13 June 2013].

colour palette. As this profile was taken closer than the perspectives recorded in the Hood sketchbook, there is more detail in the profiles.

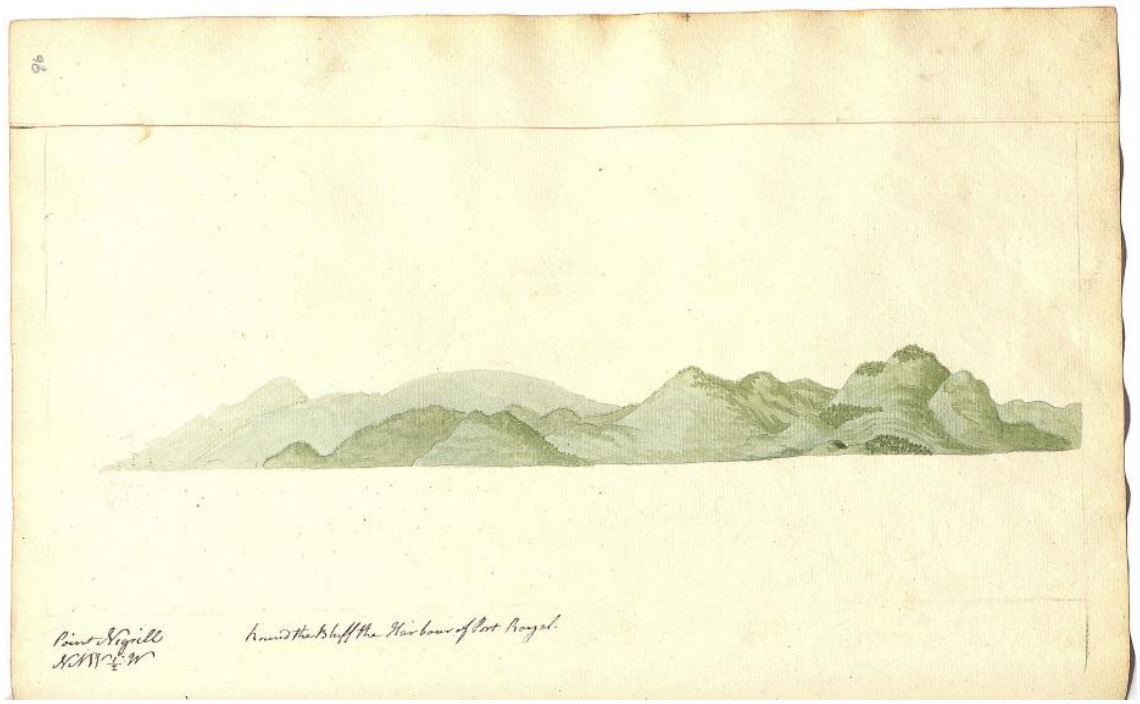

Figure 33. 'Point Negrill - Round the Bluff the Harbour of Port Royal', James Ker RN, c. 1779 (NLS, MS 1083).

Ker was also sketching at a time when the French posed a constant threat towards the British Caribbean islands, particularly Jamaica. It is therefore noteworthy that he chose to record Caribbean harbours that were of military importance and landscapes that were dominated by British military defences. In Ker's sketch of English Harbour, Antigua in 1779 (Figure 34), he gives central focus to the Union Flag, a symbol of British national identity and the British imperial presence on the island. Ker also included the military fortifications representing the man-made changes to the island of Antigua and its overt military presence. This inclusion of basic detail, such as the flag, helped to build scale and create a more informative representation of his observations.

Figure 34. 'Sketch of English Harbour Antigua', James Ker RN, 1779 (NLS, MS 1083).

Another of Ker's sketches depicts Brimstone Hill, St Christopher in 1779 (Figure 35), one of the most important and well-established military fortifications in the Caribbean, which was crucial during the French attack on the island in 1782 and during the Napoleonic Wars.[11] The great engineering feat of building a stone fortification on top of the steep slopes of Brimstone Hill is depicted in Ker's sketch. The inclusion of detail, such as the ship in the foreground and the ramparts rising from the hill's peak, show the sheer scale of the hill, the military's command over the island, and British domination of the landscape. Ker's watercolours also include observations of the important strategic island of Diamond Rock, off Martinique and several sketches of the forts and encampments at St Lucia.

As argued by Malcolm Andrews, topographical representations give a 'sense of power' and 'a "commanding" view of a territory' comparable to maps.[12] Formal sketching of those in the navy, such as Ker and Hood, inform this commanding view by sketching British colonies in the Caribbean. These

[11] Burns, *History of the British West Indies*, p. 528, 584, 586.
[12] Malcolm Andrews, *Landscape and Western Art*, (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 77.

sketches charted the islands, informed colonisation and operations, and helped to safeguard effective navigation to ensure the safety and protection of Britain's colonies. For officers with no previous experience in the Caribbean region, coastal profiles were crucial to simply identify the different islands for navigational purposes. Naval officers were the representatives of imperialism, who surveyed the colonial possessions of Britain, sketching, out of duty, the landscape and topography as they cruised between the islands. However, the formal training officers received, which facilitated the functional sketching, often developed into a skill for sketching as a pastime, rather than a duty.

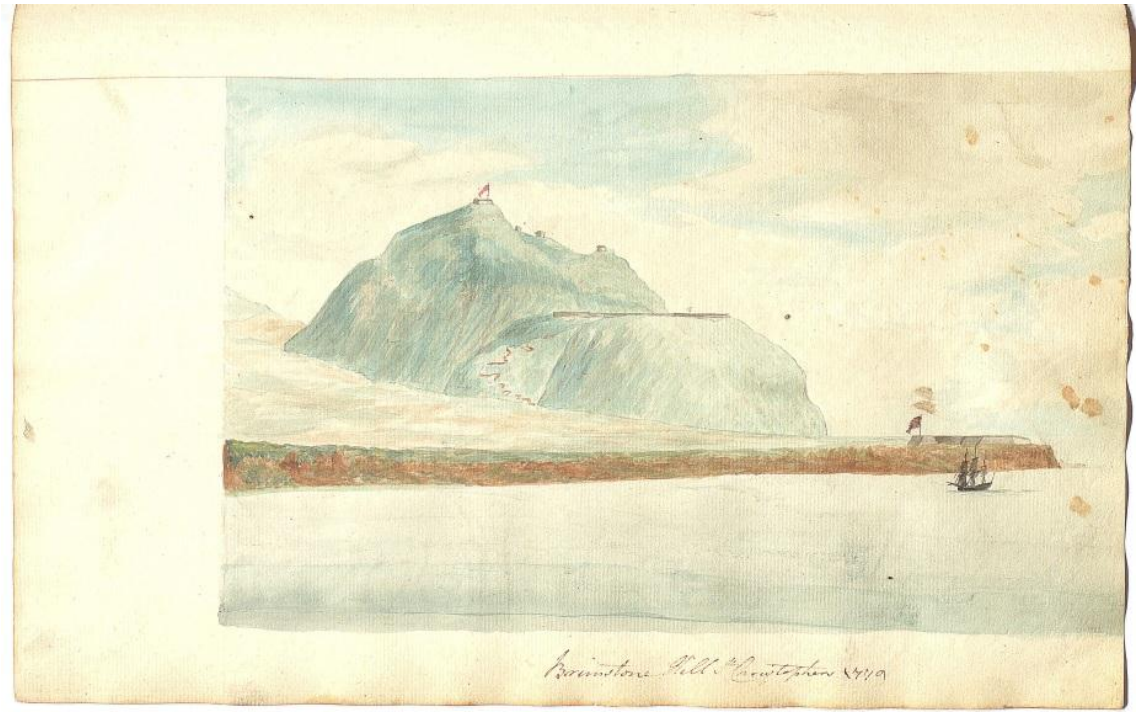

Figure 35. 'Brimstone Hill St Christopher's', James Ker RN, 1779 (NLS, MS 1083).

6.2 Informal sketching

The functional and familiar mode of the navy's gaze, seen in topographic surveys and coastal profiles, often laid the foundations for officers to take up sketching informally for entertainment. The visual mapping of a global landscape in the eighteenth century coincided with the growth in popularity of amateur drawing. Therefore, drawing was taken more seriously as a social

practice and 'polite art'. Ann Bermingham argues that drawing became seen as a morally and socially improving pastime that was not only for amusement, but it served 'individual, civic, and national purposes'.[13] The increased popularisation of drawing as a 'polite' pastime may also have inspired officers serving in the navy to take up informal sketching in their leisure time whilst on board and on shore. Officers' basic training in sketching was supplemented by the influential drawing-masters of the Naval Academy, who published popular commercial drawing guides and manuals during the second half of the eighteenth century. After learning a basic level of drawing skill, it is not surprising that many mariners and naval officers went on to sketch for leisure.

Naval officers with the ability and leisure time to draw were in a unique position to record their observations whilst travelling the globe. A position valued by organisations such as the Royal Society and the Society of Antiquaries, and by influential figures such as Joseph Banks, who was a naturalist and explorer, elected President of the Royal Society in 1778. Banks was known to be in direct correspondence with members of the navy and army, who not only recorded ethnographical observations and information on the flora and fauna they observed, but some officers sent Banks their entomological, geological and botanical collections from their voyages.[14] Military historian, Roger Buckley, argues that officers sketched the Caribbean due to their 'emotional response' to the 'oppositional world' they observed. The lush mountainous landscape of the Caribbean islands produced 'remarkable shapes', as well as new and unfamiliar flora and fauna.[15] Upon arriving in the Caribbean after such a long time spent at sea, there was a need to record more than formal coastal profiles they had been trained to record.

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[13] Ann Bermingham, *Learning to Draw: Studies in the Cultural History of a Polite and Useful Art*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), pp. 77-78.

[14] ABDN, MS 2070, Journal of Jonathon Troup, entry 1 August 1789. Troup wrote to Joseph Banks and Dr Monro of Edinburgh to inform him of a slave women who gave birth to quadruplets; NMM, FLI/1/1, Personal letter from Joseph Banks to Captain Matthew Flinders, 16 November 1800. Flinders formed connection with Banks whilst serving on HMS *Providence*, on an expedition closely supervised by Banks to bring breadfruit from Tahiti to the Caribbean. Flinders was later recommended by Banks to command an expedition to chart the Australian coastline and study the flora and fauna of the colony on HMS *Investigator*, which launched in 1801; FLI/1/33-34, Two personal letters from James Wiles to Captain Matthew Flinders, 20 February 1811 & 19 March 1813. Wiles recommended to post of Senior Botanist on HMS *Providence* by Banks, later employed at Botanic Garden at Ligunea, Jamaica until 1810, then became coffee plantation owner in Jamaica; See also Neil Chambers, *Joseph Banks and the British Museum: The World of Collecting, 1770-1830*, (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2007), pp. 7-19; Smith, *European Vision and the South Pacific, 1768-1850*, p. 10.

[15] Buckley, *The British Army in the West Indies*, p. 8.

Although the familiar mode was recording from the perspective of vessels in harbour looking towards land, once on land this habit of observation continued, but in reverse. There are examples of sketches from those on shore returning their gaze back towards the harbour. Sketches in pencil-and-ink by marine, Captain Walter Tremenheere, who served under Vice-Admiral Lord Hugh Seymour, offer examples.[16] His sketches, (Figure 36 and Figure 37) are both views from land looking back to the harbour from Curacao to Seymour's ship, HMS *Sans Pareil*. Curacao had been owned by the Dutch, but capitulated to the British in 1800. Following the Netherlands becoming the French-influenced Batavian Republic, Dutch Governor of Curacao, Johann Rudolf Lauffer, requested assistance from the British when French Revolutionary forces began to grow in numbers on the island. Their presence stirred up revolutionary ideas and the threat of rebellion, which had only recently be quashed after a revolt in 1795. Upon the British arrival in September 1800, the French troops evacuated and the Dutch surrendered to the British.[17] The island became jointly governed by Tremenheere and Lauffer.[18] Whilst governing the island, Tremenheere continued to sketch to record his experiences even when not serving on board. This shows an interest in recording the unfamiliar surroundings from the viewpoint less familiar to naval seamen. Although his recording of Curacao may have been out of duty as he had been trained, it is more likely they were created to show the perspective of the harbour and naval vessels from land, as a gift to Seymour. Tremenheere held Seymour in such high regard that he named his first son, Hugh Seymour Tremenheere (1804-1893). This illustration of Seymour's ship in harbour after Dutch surrender was a unique souvenir and visual reminder of Seymour's experience in the Caribbean.

Both of Tremenheere's sketches portray the same lagoon from two different perspectives. Tremenheere is keen to record the profile of the landscape as in topographical sketches, but there is also detail in the foreground and his own artistic presence. Figure 36 is drawn from a plantation

[16] E. L. Edmonds and Oliver Philip Edmonds, 'I Was There: The Memoirs of H.S. Tremenheere', (Eton, Windsor: Shakespeare Head Press, 1965), p. 117.
[17] Gert Oostindie, 'Slave Resistance, Colour Lines, and the Impact of the French and Haitian Revolutions in Curaçao', in *Curaçao in the Age of Revolutions, 1795-1800,* ed. by Wim Klooster and Gert Oostindie (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2011), pp. 11-14.
[18] WRO, CR114A/134, Letter from Captain Walter Tremenheere to Vice-Admiral Lord Hugh Seymour, 16 March 1801.

owned by Mr van Starckenborgh, likely to be the former secretary of the Council of Curacao.[19] There is particular emphasis on the exotic flora in the foreground with both sketches placing a palm tree at the side of the sketch, which frames the image and emphasises the alien tropical environment he observed. The central focus in Figure 36 are the ships in harbour, particularly Seymour's ship, HMS *Sans Pareil*, on which Tremenheere served. The ships in harbour are drawn from much closer perspective than Figure 37 and, therefore, have much greater detail. Prominent in Figure 36 is the large flag flying on the hill fort, symbolic of British ownership of the island, after Dutch capitulation. Tremenheere made attempts to accurately represent the naval vessels, including what appears to be a frigate, likely to be HMS *Nereide* that came on the initial request for help from Governor Lauffer. This accuracy in the detail of the ships demonstrates the skill honed whilst sketching formal topographic representations.

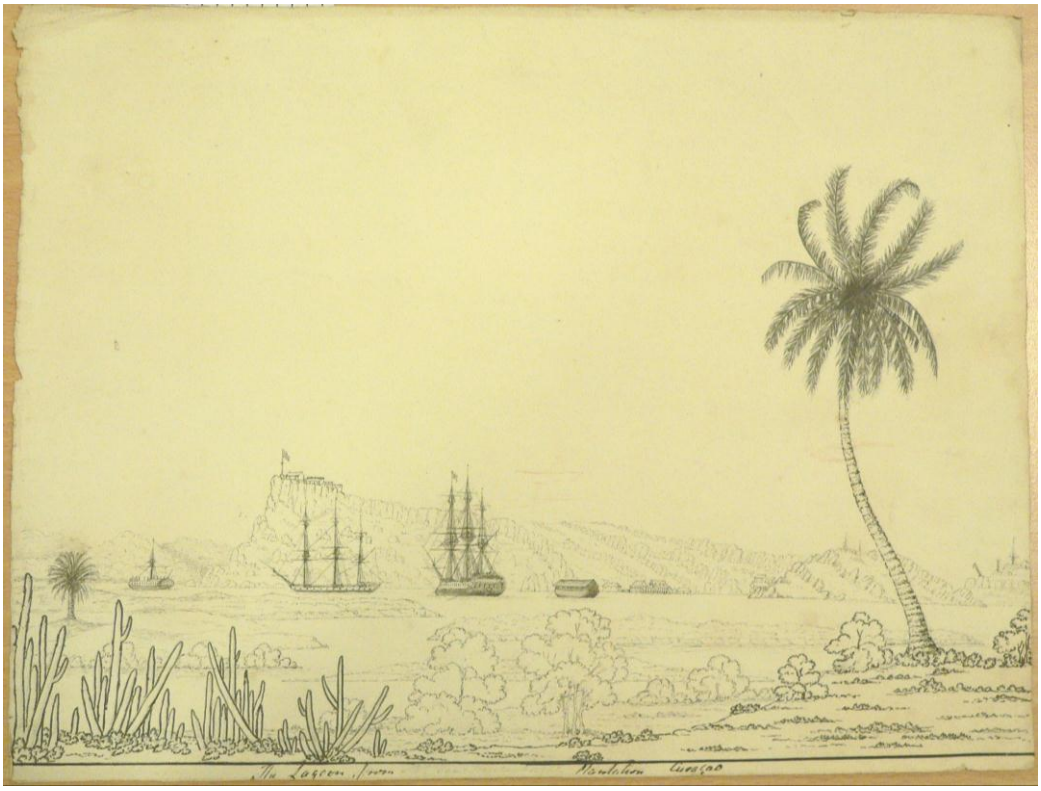

Figure 36. 'The Lagoon from Mr Van Starckenborgh's Plantation - HMS Sans Pareil at Curacao 1800', Captain Walter Tremenheere, 1800 (WRO, CR114A/341/1).

[19] Karwan Fatah-Black, 'The Patriot Coup d'état in Curaçao, 1796', in *Curaçao in the Age of Revolutions, 1795-1800,* ed. by Wim Klooster and Gert Oostindie (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2011), pp. 123-140.

Figure 37. 'The Lagoon from a spot near [...] Plantation Curacao', Captain Walter Tremenheere, c. 1800 (WRO, CR114A/341/2).

In Figure 37, the focus shifts from the ships in harbour to the two black figures in the foreground of the drawing. Tremenheere has gone beyond formal sketching of the landscape to include depictions of plantation houses and a 'genre scene' of two field slaves in the foreground. This depiction of everyday life in the picturesque landscape was familiar to the British public by 1800. British artists had depicted the colonies using the picturesque style to 'naturalize' the plantation system as part of the landscape, using topographic accuracy to invoke its authority.[20] Geoff Quilley argues that British landscape art depicted the Caribbean as a creolised landscape of pastoral plantations, which helped the British public and anti-abolitionists to visually link the Caribbean colonies to the metropole.[21] Thomas Gainsborough's depictions of rural English scenes, which include genre scenes of English labourers,

[20] Crowley, *Imperial Landscapes*, p. 7, pp. 112-139.
[21] Geoff Quilley, 'Pastoral Plantations: The Slave Trade and the Representation of British Colonial Landscape in the Late Eighteenth Century', in *An Economy of Colour: Visual Culture and the North Atlantic World, 1660-1830,* ed. by Geoff Quilley and Kay Dian Kriz (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), pp. 106-128.

influenced landscape artists of the Caribbean, namely George Robertson, Thomas Hearne and later on James Hakewell. The familiar picturesque style, employed to represent the landed estates of Britain, was applied to represent the plantation system in the Caribbean. Therefore, depictions of the plantation system were represented as part of a pastoral landscape with slaves represented as if they were peasants.

The slaves depicted in Robertson and Hearne's pastoral landscapes were often shown to be happy and content or ambling along, rather than taking part in enforced gruelling labour. The enslaved population was represented by Robertson as the 'natural hunter-gatherer', which completely denied the enforced migration of millions of Africans to the Caribbean in order to sustain the plantation regime.[22] Similarly, Tremenheere excludes images of the enforced labour of the plantation system, with the only evidence of their poverty shown in their ragged clothes. The male slave stands gesturing towards the harbour, directing the gaze back to the navy's presence in the harbour. These sketches by Tremenheere, from an unfamiliar naval perspective looking towards the harbour with the inclusion of a genre scene, demonstrate Tremenheere's inspiration from British landscape art, which became popular in the eighteenth century. The popularisation of the picturesque style informed Tremenheere's artistic development from formal to informal sketching. This developed into a passion for landscape art, as biographical evidence of Tremenheere states he became known for his Cornish landscape drawings.[23] This skill for drawing landscapes developed from his role in the navy, when he produced sketches of the unfamiliar colonial landscape.

Another example of the reversal perspective, looking from land out to sea, is found in Ker's journal with a naive watercolour from St John's Church, Barbados (Figure 38). It depicts St John's Church in 1779 before it was destroyed by the hurricane in 1831.[24] Ker recorded in his journal a visit to the

[22] Geoff Quilley, *Empire to Nation: Art, History and the Visualization of Maritime Britain, 1768-1829*, (New Haven, Conn.: published by Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2011), p. 57.
[23] D. G. Paz, 'Tremenheere, Hugh Seymour (1804-1893) Inc. Walter Tremenheere (1761-1855)', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford University Press, (2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/27695> [accessed 30 September 2012].
[24] Vere Langford Oliver, *The Monumental Inscriptions in the Churches and Churchyards of the Island of Barbados, British West Indies*, (London: Mitchell Hughes and Clarke, 1915), p. vii.

church to pay his respects to the grave site of Elizabeth, the partner of his friend, William Thomson. Ker also sketched her gravestone in his journal with the engraved initials E. L. D.[25] Ker's sketch from St John's Church was not only about looking back to sea, but also recording the landscape of the Scotland district, which was different to the flat agricultural side of the island. These geographical features shown in Ker's observation recorded a place of topographical significance. It is unknown whether Elizabeth came to Barbados with Thompson, or if she was a creole woman whom Thompson started a relationship with whilst stationed in the region. However, for Ker, he recorded this place because of its personal significance, as a place he visited with his naval friend, Thomson, whilst stationed at Barbados. Whether this image was intended to be shown to those in Britain, just to his friend, Thompson, or as a personal record for Ker, he attempted to portray the place of significance with a degree of romanticism by naively painting what he observed. This watercolour therefore encapsulates Ker's connection to the Caribbean and the network of connections he established whilst stationed on the island.

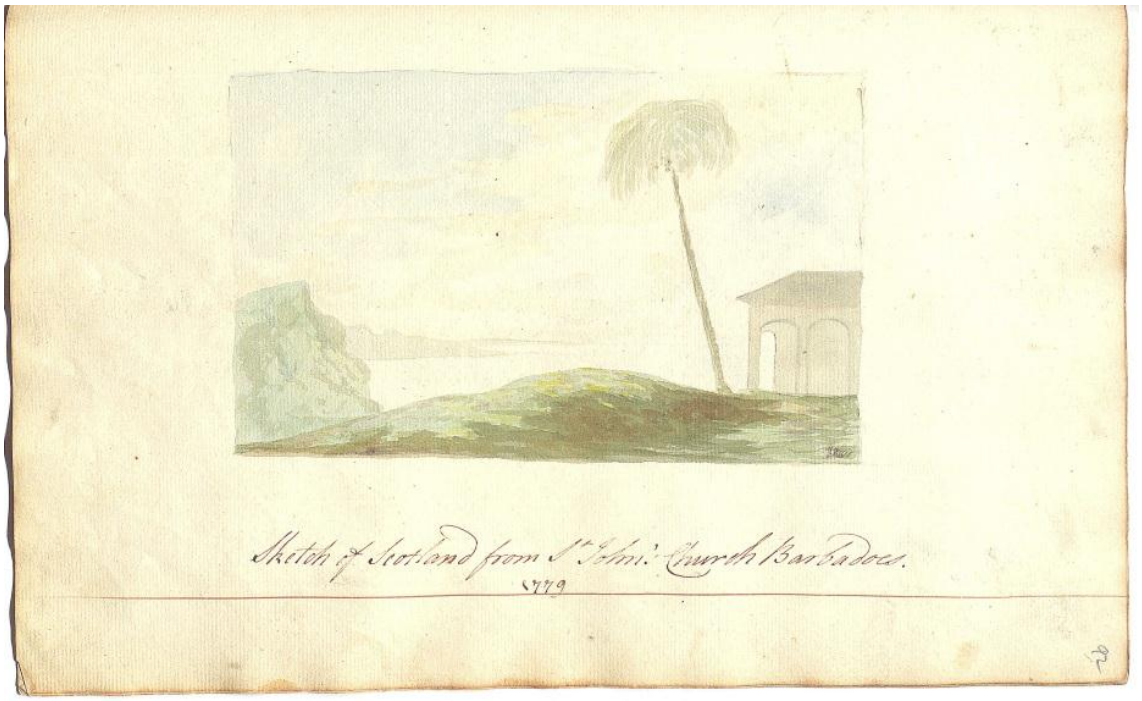

Figure 38. 'Sketch of Scotland from St John's Church Barbadoes', James Ker RN, 1779 (NLS, MS 1083).

[25] NLS, MS 1083, Journal of James Ker, fol. 30r.

For those with a skill or passion for drawing, the basic coastline sketches and watercolours often developed into more aesthetic observations, which began to include detail such as ships, vegetation and people, as seen in sketches by Tremenheere and Ker.[26] This detail was not just to add scale as seen in previous examples, but about developing a skill and a way to pass the time. Ker often repeatedly practised drawing in his journal, particularly drawing naval vessels. Multiple sketches of ships are found at the back of his journal and there are also faint attempts to include ships in his sketches such as in the bottom left-hand corner of the sketch of Point Negrill (Figure 33).[27] Ker's improvement in accurately drawing ships can be seen in a sketch of Gros Islet Bay, St Lucia (Figure 39). The sketch of a naval vessel, rather than providing scale, dominates the picture and makes it difficult to see the topographical detail of the island. Ker paid close attention to capturing the detail of the ship, including the complex rigging and gun ports.

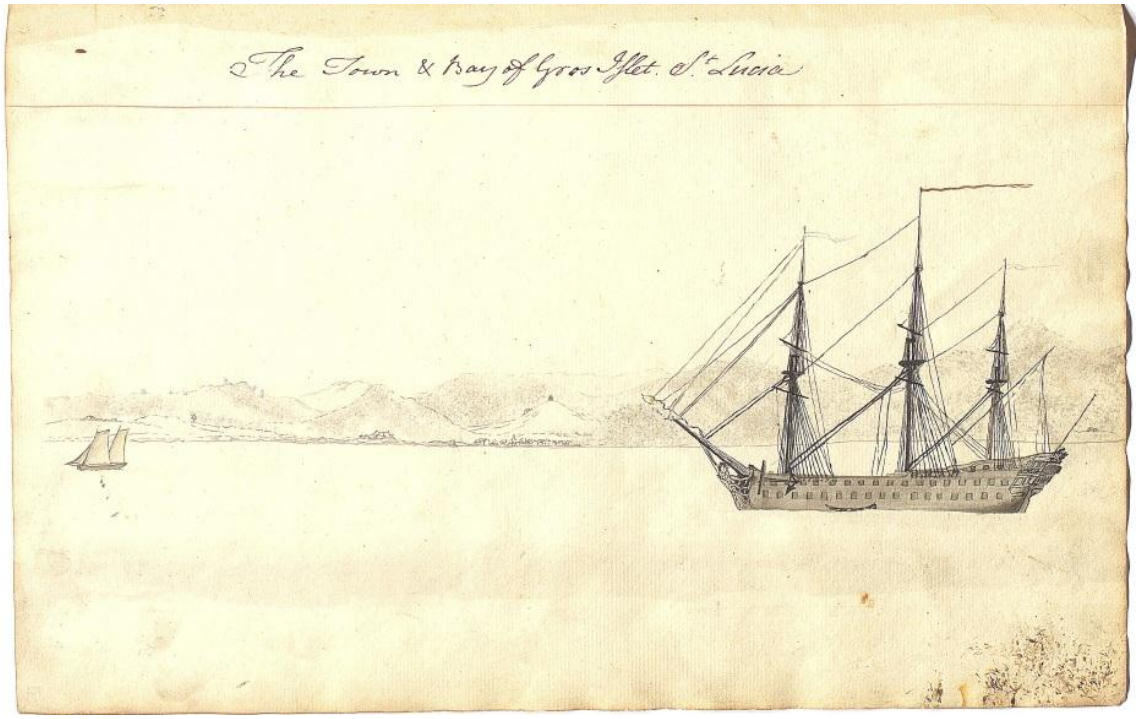

Figure 39. 'The Town & Bay of Gros Islet. St Lucia', James Ker RN, c. 1779 (NLS, MS 1083).

[26] John O. Sands, 'The Sailor's Perspective: British Naval Topographic Artists', in *Background to Discovery: Pacific Exploration from Dampier to Cook,* ed. by Derek Howse (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), p. 192.
[27] NLS, MS 1083, Journal of James Ker, fol. 68r-70r.

This informal sketching recorded observations as a personal chronicle to share with friends and family upon their return to Britain. Ker intended to share his journal with his friend and fellow Scotsman, Thomson, who also served in the navy.[28] This sharing of journals between friends allowed both men to read about each other's voyages and visualise, from the sketches, the foreign territories that they encountered. Ker's attempts to advance his drawing skills, was not only to pass the time, but to more accurately represent the unfamiliar and alien landscape he encountered on his voyages for his friend.

Royal Navy officer, Captain Edward Pelham Brenton, joined the navy aged fourteen, and after serving throughout the empire was stationed in the Caribbean at the turn of the nineteenth century. In Brenton's sketchbook, alongside watercolours of the harbours of Bridgetown, Barbados, and Fort George, Martinique, are portraits of creole women he encountered whilst stationed in the Caribbean. Brenton's position, as an officer in the navy, meant his sketches are representative of the leisure time spent ashore, which facilitated his interactions with creole society. Most of the sketches are portraits of women depicted against a plain background. His colour palette allowed him to accurately depict the colours he observed. The attention to shading adds depth and dimension to the watercolours and shows Brenton developing his skills as an artist. Brenton's time in the navy, representing the landscape and the people he encountered, developed his skills in sketching and painting. Brenton became a proficient artist, with a scene of St John's, Newfoundland published in his own history of the Royal Navy in 1837.[29]

The portraits Brenton painted were staged, as it is noted under 'Two ladies of Barbados' (Figure 40) that the ladies 'kindly consented' to having their portraits taken, upon Brenton's request. These two black women were observed by Brenton as being careful to adjust their 'dress and attitudes' and were 'highly delighted' at sitting for their portraits.[30] Their agreement and openness to be sketched shows the high level of interaction between the naval officer and women of colour and a consensual relationship, as the women felt comfortable having their portrait painted by Brenton. As shown in the previous

[28] NLS, MS 1083, Journal of James Ker, fol. 3v, 6r, 8r, 9v, 15r & 116r.
[29] Engraving of 'St John's Newfoundland' in Edward Pelham Brenton, *The Naval History of Great Britain, from the Year MDCCLXXXIII to MDCCCXXII*, (London: C. Rice, 1825), pp. 268-269.
[30] NMM, PAF8418,'Two ladies of Barbadoes', sketch by Captain Edward Pelham Brenton, c. 1801.

Figure 40. 'Two Ladies of Barbadoes', Captain Edward Pelham Brenton, c. 1801 (NMM, PAF8418).

chapter, naval officers not only interacted on a commercial level with women of colour, but also formed friendships and stable intimate relationships. Both naval officers and the women in Brenton's portraits were part of and involved with each other's communities in the Caribbean. It can also be assumed from the repeated portrait style that Brenton requested to take the portraits of the other women in his sketchbook.

As shown in Chapter 5, black and mixed-race women who held positions of power within Caribbean society, such as those who owned businesses and enterprises including taverns, hotels, inns, and laundry services, became figures of fascination to those stationed in the Caribbean because of their presence in public spaces. This was dissimilar to white women in Britain, whose assigned place was the domestic sphere. The public presence of women of colour and their ambiguous social and racial status made them accessible figures of curiosity for sailors and soldiers stationed in the Caribbean. These women captured in naval journals also captivated the British public, as argued by Kay Dian Kriz. Kriz states that by 1765, the creole class or free people of colour in all their finery had become 'more curious' to new arrivals and the British public than 'Africans in loincloths'.[31] Agostino Brunias, who was employed to produce images of the Caribbean as a 'civilised' place for British investment, chose to exploit this curiosity and portray a 'refined' society by 'marketing' young women of mixed-race, known as 'mulâtresses', who became the central figures in many of his engravings.[32] Brunias produced engravings depicting free people of colour as joyful and contented figures engaged in social activities such as dancing, washing and buying from markets. In exploring the contradictory discourses of Brunias' images, Beth Fowkes Tobin argues that Brunias' images were ethnographic, depicting an exotic 'type', which obscured individuality.[33] However, Brunias' images of 'mulatto' women have informed the scholarship on the visual imagery on free people of colour due to limited representations of the non-elite communities of colonial society.[34]

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[31] Kay Dian Kriz, *Slavery, Sugar, and the Culture of Refinement: Picturing the British West Indies, 1700-1840*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), p. 38.
[32] Title of Chapter 2, 'Marketing Mulâtresses in Agostino Brunias' West Indian Scenes', in ibid.
[33] Beth Fowkes Tobin, *Picturing Imperial Power: Colonial Subjects in Eighteenth-Century British Painting*, (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1999), p. 143.
[34] Ibid. pp. 139-173.

Unlike Brunias, naval officers were not commissioned to depict colonial society. Therefore, their visual depictions are not bound up in political motivations and they could depict women of colour with greater individuality, as shown in Brenton's sketches. In one of Brenton's sketches, he depicts an elderly creole lady, Sally Rodney (Figure 26). As argued in Chapter 5, it can be determined that Sally was a business owner in Barbados who was well known to naval seamen and part of the naval community ashore. It is unusual for women of colour to be named in sketches, yet Brenton specifically names Sally Rodney on the reverse of her portrait. He also wrote the names 'Fanny' and 'Sally' in pencil above the two black ladies he painted from Barbados (Figure 40). This recording of names is important as it shows Brenton not only wanted to keep a visual record of the women he interacted with ashore, but was conscious to record the women as individuals with their own identities. This demonstrates the importance of these particular women to Brenton whilst stationed in Barbados and the prominent position of women of colour in the naval community.

Brenton's portraits also show the cultural expression of free women of colour, gained through their freedom and greater material wealth, facilitated by the service economy. These images are particularly valuable in exploring the individuality of the sitter and how creole women used dress to express their cultural identities. As Steeve Buckridge argues, women, such as those in Brenton's sketches, were able to 'make fashion' by being innovative and creative with the limited fabric they owned, traded and bought. Dress became a 'performance space' for women in the Caribbean, not only as a cultural expression, but as a form of resistance. These innovative customisations were used to show individual and collective style and often reflected status, as more elaborate styles were usually fashioned by those with access to more refined material.[35]

In the sketch, 'Two Ladies of Barbadoes' (Figure 40), the woman on the right looks relaxed as she plays with her necklace. The leisure time she had to sit for her portrait and her jewellery meant she was likely part of free creole

[35] Steeve Buckridge, 'Dress: From Slavery to Freedom among Jamaican Colonised Women, 1790-1890', in *The Faces of Freedom: The Manumission and Emancipation of Slaves in Old World and New World Slavery* ed. by Marc Kleijwegt (Boston, MA.: Brill, 2006), p. 238; Steeve O. Buckridge, *The Language of Dress: Resistance and Accommodation in Jamaica, 1760-1890*, (Kingston, Jamaica: University of the West Indies Press, 2004), p. 62, 175.

society. Both women have different headwear. One styled a large turban out of checked fabric and the other wears a head wrap with a type of top-hat rested on top, similar to Sally Rodney (Figure 26) and the creole lady in Figure 41. During the eighteenth century, a change in fashion meant the 'tricorne' hat came to be less favoured in place of a more 'practical and comfortable' beaver hat made from fur imports from North America.[36] The tall masculine-style of the beaver hat became increasingly popular amongst men and women in England. Felt and wool equivalents from England, made from cheaper and coarser materials, were 'packed in puncheons and exported to the West Indies

Figure 41. Portrait of a West Indian Lady, Captain Edward Pelham Brenton, c. 1801 (NMM, PAF8442).

[36] Hilda Amphlett, *Hats: A History of Fashion in Headwear*, (New York: Dover Publications, 2003).

for the use of the negroes'.[37] These imported hats featured in Brenton's sketches were customised by the wearer and individualised by wrapping a sash of material or buckle around the brim.

Representations of people of colour are also found in the journal of army physician, Jonathon Troup, who was stationed at Dominica in the 1790s. Although Troup was not in the navy, his observations complement those by naval seaman as their experiences in the colonies were similar. Troup was able to travel over the island with similar freedom to naval officers due to his role as a physician. He treated all members of Caribbean society, including military men, planters, managers, and the enslaved. There are many recorded visits in his journal to military barracks, plantations, taverns, and the market places, much like naval officers. Therefore, Troup had a comparable experience in his interactions with colonial society to naval officers. Troup was also connected to the navy as he frequently treated naval seamen and dined on board naval vessels. For example, Troup treated a sailor in prison who had been injured by his 'companion' with a rum bottle.[38] He also treated sailors on board naval vessels for injuries sustained on board, such as a sailor who injured his finger on the anchor.[39] These incidents also meant he was frequently asked to dine on board with naval officers.[40]

Troup studied medicine at Aberdeen and Edinburgh before leaving for the Caribbean in 1788. Although he only practised medicine for a couple of years in the colonies, he kept a daily record of his time at Dominica. Troup served as the ship's surgeon on the voyage to Dominica, and upon arrival at Roseau he began work as an assistant to Dr Fillan, an inhabitant of Dominica for fourteen years.[41] Troup's illustrations begin with crude representations of the ship on which he began his voyage to the Caribbean (Figure 42). However, these quick paintings in ink soon develop into more detailed representations upon his arrival at Dominica. In similarity to naval officers, Troup sought to represent the unfamiliar environment and people he encountered.

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[37] T. Mortimer, *A General Dictionary of Commerce, Trade, and Manufactures: Exhibiting Their Present State in Every Part of the World; and Carefully Comp. From the Latest and Best Authorities*, (London: R. Phillips, 1810), section under England - Manufactures.
[38] ABDN, MS 2070, Journal of Jonathon Troup, entry 28 July 1789.
[39] ABDN, MS 2070, Journal of Jonathon Troup, entry 7 June 1789.
[40] ABDN, MS 2070, Journal of Jonathon Troup, entries 6 February, 7 March, 18 June, 19 June & 11 November 1790.
[41] ABDN, MS 2070, Journal of Jonathon Troup, entry 11 May 1789.

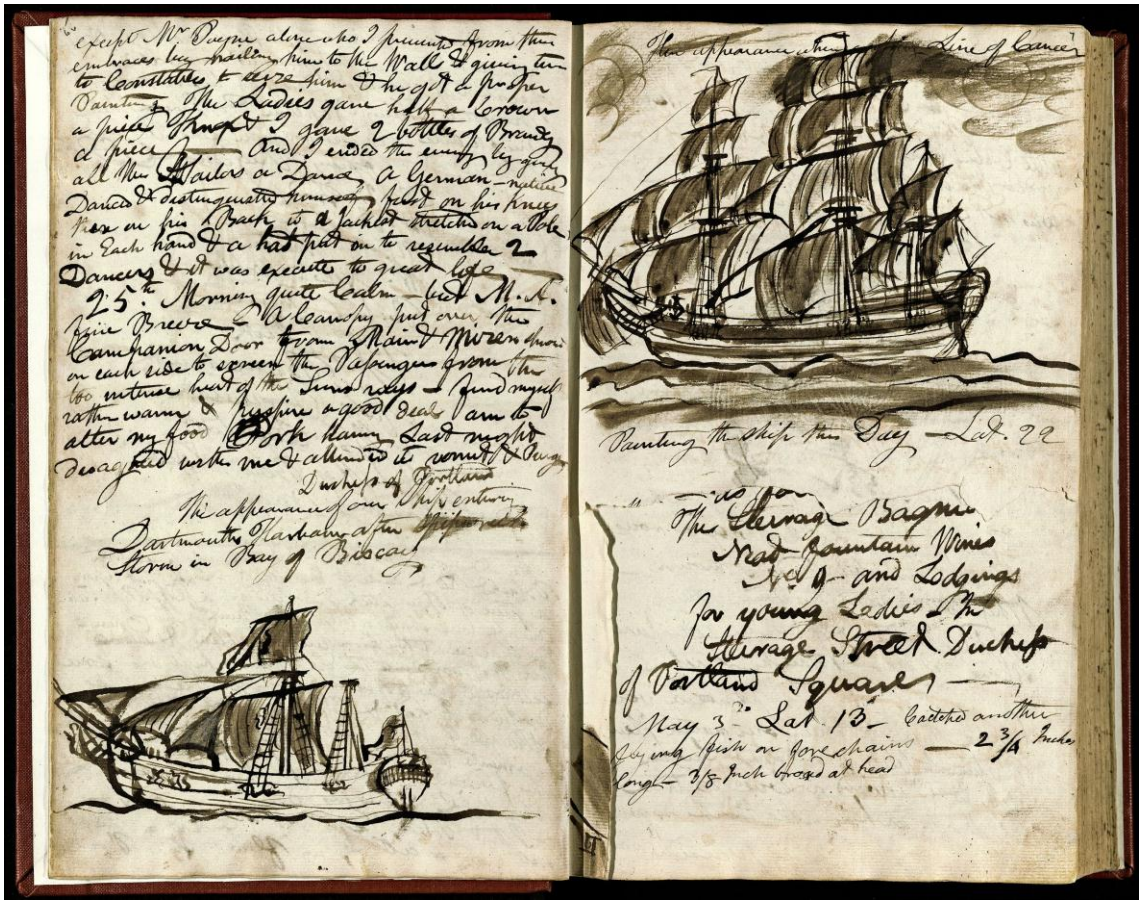


Figure 42. Two representations of the Duchess of Portland, Jonathon Troup, 1789 (ABDN, MS 2070, fol. 6v-7r).

Troup had a keen interest in the colonial society of Dominica, as well as interest in the flora and fauna of the island. Troup's observations and sketches are therefore ethnographic in nature, describing people of colour, their houses, clothing and diet. These observations were often to further his medical knowledge as he frequently recorded the medicinal practices of local inhabitants and colonial doctors. Unlike Brenton's portraits, Troup's sketches are more impulsive and are featured in-between text, remembering scenes or curious events he had witnessed during the day. For example, when Troup bought three 'Hair-rings made by Negroes', he sketched what the rings looked like and when he saw an 'Iboe dance', he produced stills of the dance in his journal.[42] A particularly interesting page of Troup's journal features sketches of both wildlife and creole society (Figure 43). The page has a depiction of a blue gaulding bird of Dominica and also an observation of a black barber

[42] ABDN, MS 2070, Journal of Jonathon Troup, entries 1 November & 3 November 1789.

powdering the hair of a white man. Troup includes more detail in these sketches of people and wildlife than his early sketches of ships (Figure 42), although the representations are still basic. There is care to record a true representation of the blue gaulding bird with the use of colour and practice sketches in pencil. The sketch of the barber features a child sitting at the barber's feet, whilst he powders the hair of a white man, who is relaxed, sitting and reading. This observation that Troup recorded is accompanied with the brief description, 'Barber w[i]t[h] a little Negro powdering his head w[hi]c[h] is a very common thing they always cry for it'. The scene of a black barber powdering a white man's hair in tropical temperatures was clearly an unfamiliar and interesting scene for Troup. Therefore he chose to record it in his journal.

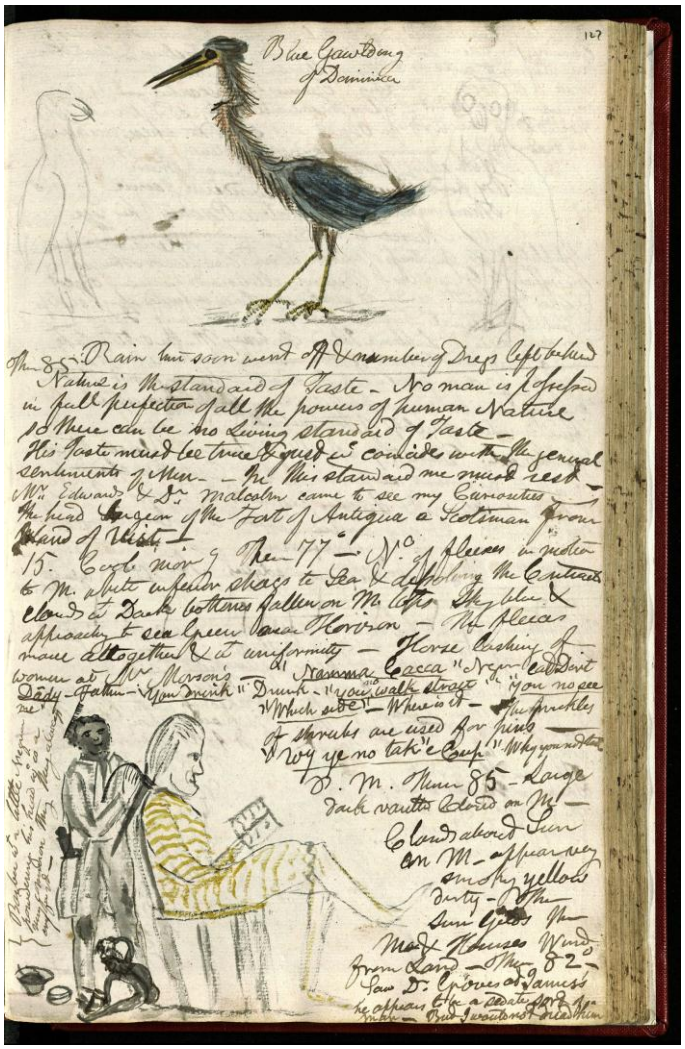


Figure 43. 'Blue Gawlding of Dominica' and 'Barber w[i]t[h] a little Negro', Jonathon Troup, 1789 (ABDN, MS 2070, fol. 127r).

The most detailed and careful sketch in Troup's journal is titled, 'Mulatto woman in morning Dress' (Figure 44). The mixed-race woman is depicted in a brightly coloured striped dress with white shawl and gold jewellery, scattering feed for a chicken. Her hair is styled high on her head, which Buckridge argues is an expression of African style, like a regal coronet drawing the gaze up not down.[43] Unlike many of Troup's other illustrations, the sketch of the 'mulatto' woman is accompanied by a lengthy description in which Troup categorises 'mulatto' women and their behaviours and traits. The ethnographic style of Troup's description includes racist assumptions about mixed-race women, but aside from this, it offers insight into Troup's interactions with women of colour whilst resident at Dominica. The accompanying text describes most 'mulatto' women as slaves, who were kept as housekeepers. Troup not only met mixed-race women in the domestic setting whilst working and visiting plantations, but also in the towns. Troup wrote that 'mulatto' women were 'remarkably fond of Dancing particularly minuets w[h]i[ch] some of them do w[i]t[h] a good grace'. This likely references his attendance at dignity balls organised by women of colour on the island.

The account goes on to describe the dress and style of 'mulatto' women, who Troup observed as having a fondness for bright colours, particularly red, yellow and green, wearing only white to go to church. This could explain the depiction of the creole lady in Brenton's sketch (Figure 41), who is dressed in all white with long white dress and white shawl. Brenton may have encountered this woman on her way to or from church, or possibly at church. Troup's description goes on to describe these women as owning a 'vast variety of gold earrings and lockets' and gold beads for necklaces. Examples of jewellery are not only shown in Troup's sketch, but also in Brenton's portraits of creole women.[44] Troup compared their display of gold jewellery to that of white women and wrote, 'they are far more extravagant than our women in general'. Troup also observed mixed-race women using lace around their hats, which as previously discussed was part of the customisation of plain hats imported from Britain and a form of cultural expression. Troup attributes this material wealth not to the women's education, as he writes that only some are able to read and write, but to their commercial acumen. According to Troup,

[43] Buckridge, *The Language of Dress: Resistance and Accommodation in Jamaica, 1760-1890*, p. 88.
[44] ABDN, MS 2070, Journal of Jonathon Troup, entry 20 October 1789.

Figure 44. 'Mulattoe woman in her morning Dress', Jonathon Troup, 1789 (ABDN, MS 2070, fol. 107v).

'mulatto' women sold textiles 'at great profit', making 'plenty of money if they have good management & know what will suit the times', for example keeping up with local trends. This enterprising spirit reiterates points from discussion on the service economy that competition encouraged entrepreneurial practices. In Troup's example, the women of Dominica kept up with local fashions to stay ahead of the competition in the textile market of the domestic economy.

Both Troup and Brenton also included objects in their sketches which were distinctive to the region and worthy of note. For example, Troup recorded the tools and objects used by the enslaved population, including the 'Gambee drum' and the tomahawk.[45] An unfamiliar object also featured in one of Brenton's sketches, 'Two Ladies of Barbadoes' (Figure 40). One of the ladies is holding a type of water storage container. The distinctive globular shape of the jar with prominent spout, handle and lid suggest it is a 'monkey jar', a utilitarian item used in the Caribbean to store and cool water.[46] It is noteworthy that the woman decided to hold the monkey jar on her lap whilst having her portrait taken. Not only would the jar have been heavy, especially if full of water, but as Brenton writes the ladies were 'very careful to adjust their dress' and were proud of their clothes.[47] However, this portrait shows they were also proud to display their material possession of Barbadian pottery, and Brenton also thought it significant to record the unusual object.

Although Ker was keen to sketch topographical images in his journal, he did not sketch colonial society like Brenton and Troup. However, he did attempt to sketch the people who were important to him, his shipmates. Ker's lack of ability and confidence hampered his portrayals as he described a sketch of shipmate, Malcolm McMartin, as 'A most vile, untrue and uncomely

[45] ABDN, MS 2070, Journal of Jonathon Troup, fol. 130r, 160r, 170v, 97r.

[46] One of the earliest known representations of the 'monkey jar' is featured in Isaac Mendes Belisario's 'Water-Jar Sellers' from around 1837-1838, during the post-emancipation period. Brenton's sketch from around 1801, when he was stationed in the West Indies, pre-dates Belisario's image by over 35 years, and a reference from F. Bayley on witnessing 'gurglets for holding water', in the late 1820s in F. W. N. Bayley, *Four Years' Residence in the West Indies*, (London: W. Kidd, 1830), p. 61 cited in Jerome S. Handler, 'A Historical Sketch of Pottery Manufacture in Barbados', *Journal of the Barbados Museum and Historical Society*, 30, (3), 1963, p. 147. This early representation strengthens Jerome Handler's theory that 'monkey jars' may have been made as far back as the eighteenth century, with the pot observed in the Brenton's sketch from 1801, being likely made during the eighteenth century.

[47] NMM, PAF8418,'Two ladies of Barbadoes', sketch by Captain Edward Pelham Brenton, c. 1801.

Representation' (Figure 45).[48] This may explain why he chose not to sketch colonial society, as he was restricted in his ability.

Figure 45. 'A most vile, untrue and uncomely Representation of Malcolm McMartin', James Ker RN, 1779 (NLS, MS 1083).

The sketches of his shipmates were drawn upon his departure from the Caribbean, as they sailed back to Britain. As Ker wrote, 'we are now once more at Sea & must look for Entertainment in our wooden world'.[49] Part of this entertainment included describing and sketching the men he served with on board in his journal. These were the men who shared the same colonial experience in the Caribbean. Ker described his shipmates, including fellow Scotsman Dr MacSwine:

> The Dr tho' no very young man is a Boy when compared to his Mates. one of whom is an old man unable to creep along the Decks with the Rheumatism, his Third Mate seems again to be Father to that other. He is a venerable silver haired old Gentleman. By name Dr MacSwine & speaks as broad Scotch as the first Day he was imported.

Ker was not content with the written description of his shipmates and included a visual representation of the three men in ink (Figure 46), either to remind

[48] NLS, MS 1083, Journal of James Ker, fol. 29r.
[49] NLS, MS 1083, Journal of James Ker, fol. 31r, entry 10 October 1779.

himself of his shipmates, or to help his friend, Thomson, to visualise Ker's description, when he eventually shared his journal with him. Although Ker was not pleased with the sketches of his friends on board, he obviously enjoyed drawing and adding visual detail to his journal entries. However, his restricted ability and formal training in topographical sketches hampered his informal representations, rather than igniting a passion for drawing as in the case of Brenton.

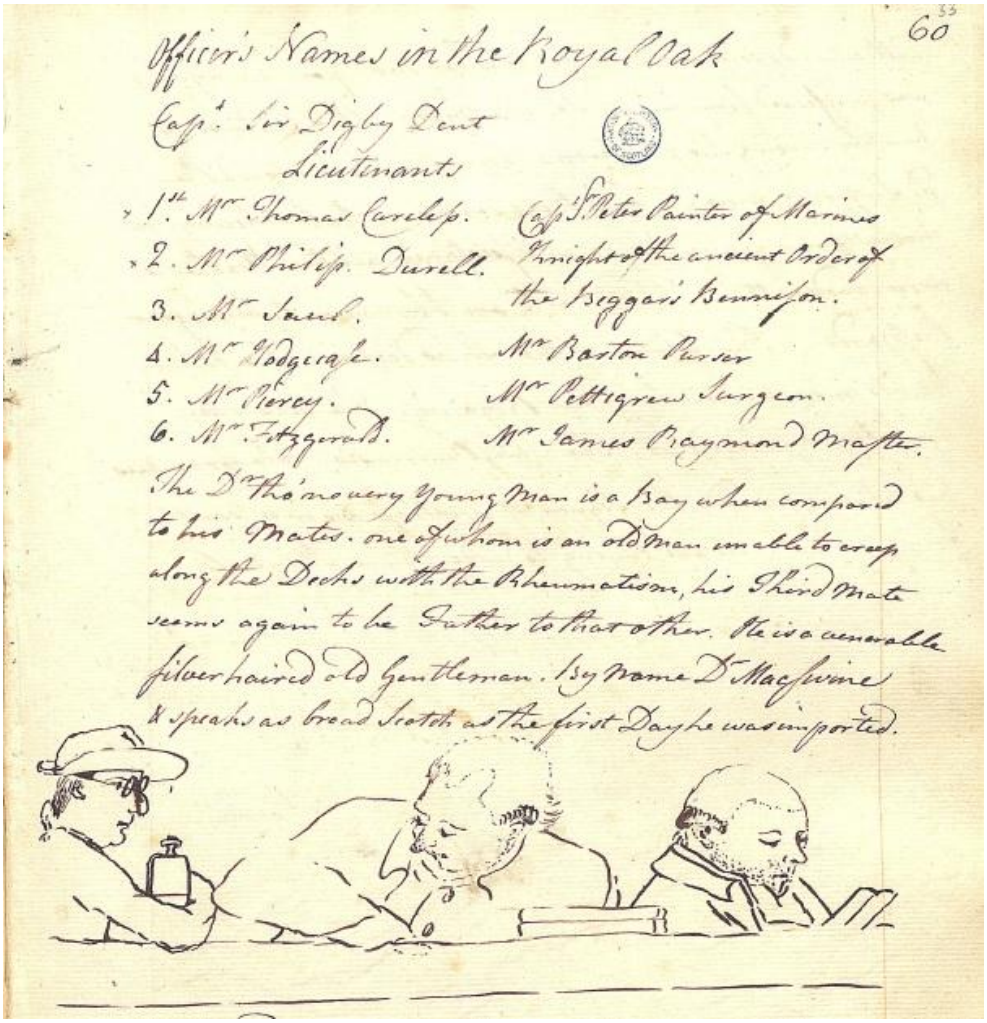


Figure 46. A sketch of three sailors on HMS Royal Oak, James Ker RN, 1779 (NLS, MS 1083).

These sketches of the seamen who shared the colonial experience with Ker refocus the chapter to the wider themes of the thesis of the navy and institutional identity. Ker chose to represent the men he served with on board, demonstrating his strong connection to naval friends and his identity as a serving naval officer. These naval seamen in Ker's depictions were British

representatives who experienced colonial society during their operation role in the colonies, but they were also part of a wider maritime community with a distinctive culture of their own. Upon leaving the Caribbean, Ker began to realign himself with life within the 'wooden world', a confinement he was relatively free from whilst stationed in the Caribbean. This institutional identity was important to those who served in the navy, particularly for naval officers, who progressed through the ranks and remained active serving officers after their experience in the colonies, with many revisiting during their naval careers. The informal sketches of naval seamen demonstrate how they adapted their functional sketching skills to express their colonial experience, even though their time in the Caribbean remained focused on the role of operational duties.

6.3 Conclusions

The navy was sent to the Caribbean with an objective to protect the British islands and capture new colonies. In accomplishing this operational role, naval seamen encountered an unfamiliar environment and society that became absorbed as part of their wider experience of the Caribbean. One way naval seamen expressed and made sense of these encounters with an unfamiliar environment and society was to sketch what they observed using the skills of draftsmanship and record keeping engrained during every naval officer's training.

The formal naval gaze, underpinned by training at the Naval Academy or instruction on board, meant the geography of the colonies was viewed as a series of profiles used for navigation and to widen knowledge of the region. Naval officers were able to map islands and record the alien and unfamiliar landscape of the Caribbean due to their formal trained approach, using topographical accuracy as the method for recording what they observed. The navy functioned on an operational basis throughout the region and this is reflected in the dutiful sketches of officers. Naval officers' formal observations often depicted islands of military significance, strategic importance, and those dominated and maintained by British forces. Through topographical representations of Caribbean islands, naval officers show an awareness of their

role as protectors of colonies and the requirement of naval dominance in the region to uphold Britain's national importance as a trading empire.

Influential drawing-masters at the Academy and published drawing guides, which became popular in the second half of the eighteenth century, aided officers who wanted to develop their artistic skills beyond their training in topographical profiling. Informal sketching became a leisure activity and a way to curb boredom on board and on shore. The topographical accuracy that naval officers used to express the geography of the Caribbean islands underpinned their representations of colonial society, translating a high level of accuracy in detail, scale and perspective to their informal sketches of the people, flora and fauna they encountered. For example, both Troup and Brenton sketched what they observed and what they felt was worth recording, including people of colour and their culture, the landscape and environment unique to the region.

Arrivals who attempted to visually record their interactions paid particular attention to creole women, who were prominent figures in colonial society, often involved in the service economy that naval seamen were principal consumers. Naval officers, such as Brenton, chose to record women of colour who were particularly important characters in the vital network the navy interacted with ashore. The visual representations of creole society by members of the navy demonstrate that, as part of their job, naval seamen became sojourners of the Caribbean, which enabled relationships to be forged within the various social layers of Caribbean society. These were not relationships constricted to buyer-seller exchanges, as for some naval seaman these relationships were important, meaningful consensual interactions. These interactions not only extended the community known to naval seamen, but also connected the non-elite of colonial society to a British institution and wider Atlantic community beyond the Caribbean colonies.

As a 'polite' pastime naval officers did not share their sketches with the public. Sketchbooks were kept as a personal record and reminder of their voyages and were only seen by friends and family upon their return home. Naval officers' sketchbooks were not published and therefore did not contribute to metropolitan understanding of the Caribbean on a wide scale, beyond the people to whom they showed their sketches. Naval officers'

informal sketches were often only drawn for private consumption and can therefore offer valuable new material to the discussion of visual imagery on colonial society, as they go beyond the commissioned and created imagery for propaganda by the abolitionist and pro-slavery campaigns. Consequently, the naval gaze is unique and can be further examined to uncover and reinterpret cultural expression of the non-elite communities of colonial society and in other contexts to re-evaluate colonial identities, culture and societies beyond the Caribbean region.

Conclusion

When the English novelist and poet, Matthew Lewis, arrived in Jamaica on 1 January 1816, he witnessed the New Year festivities on the streets of Black River, which included the Jonkonnu (or John Canoe) procession. Lewis observed two 'rival factions' of mixed-race women, identified by their coloured dress, known as the 'Red girls' and the 'Blue girls'. Lewis recorded the division as being due to an Admiral of a Red superseding an Admiral of the Blue as the commander-in-chief at the Jamaica station. However, as Errol Hill argues, it seems more likely the division of *reds* and *blues* were emblematic of the presence of the British army and the Royal Navy on the island.[1] The principal group Lewis observed called themselves 'the Blue girls of Waterloo'. They were led by a woman dressed as the patriotic figure of Britannia to support their motto, 'Britannia rules the day!'. The *blues* procession included a band, flag and 'the Blue King and Queen', with the crowned king dressed in 'a full British Admiral's uniform, with a white satin sash, and a huge cocked hat'.[2] The strong British identity of the navy must have inspired the *blues* with emblems and symbols of Britishness including a representation of Britannia, a British motto, naval uniforms, and flags. Lewis's observations demonstrate the navy's impact on Caribbean society was so deep-rooted by 1816 that it permeated the cultural expression of the inhabitants.

British naval supremacy and public faith in the Royal Navy was realised during the Seven Years War due to substantial empire expansion. The colonists of the British Caribbean islands were dependent on this naval supremacy throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in order to protect the valuable sugar islands from foreign invasion. Due to the geographical spread of Britain's possessions in the Caribbean region, the Royal Navy established itself as the only institution that could effectively protect the British islands. If the navy lost command of the sea, the British Caribbean colonies would be lost and the sugar industry which underpinned Britain's economy would be devastated. In 1782, the navy saved Jamaica, Britain's greatest economic asset, from a combined French and Spanish invasion.

[1] Errol Hill, *The Jamaican Stage, 1655-1900: Profile of a Colonial Theatre*, (Amherst, Mass.: University of Massachusetts Press, 1992), p. 239.
[2] Lewis, *Journal of a West India Proprietor: Kept During a Residence in the Island of Jamaica*, pp. 36-38.

Admiral Rodney's victory against the French fleet at the Battles of the Saintes was celebrated throughout the colonies and in Britain. The white elite showed their appreciation of the navy's actions through their hospitality and wealth, commemorating Rodney's victory with a monument in his honour. As Hill argues, it was likely the island-wide celebrations for Admiral Rodney's victory was what inspired the division of *reds* and *blues* of the Jonkonnu procession, with dances at different taverns favoured by the navy and the army spilling out onto the streets.[3] The navy re-established its naval power against the French in 1782 after embarrassing losses in North America. It was this vital military role that established the navy as a permanent presence in the Caribbean region. And it was this operational role that allowed the navy to establish its social prominence on the islands and become an important part of local society.

As Lewis's observations show, the navy was understood as more than a protective arm of imperialism in the colonies. The cultural expression of *reds* and *blues* underlines the argument of this thesis that the navy was a socio-cultural force on the British Caribbean islands. The navy was not only an important part of local society for its vital military role, but due to its social prominence on the British Caribbean islands. The *reds* and *blues* were clearly inspired by the navy's military strength and their social presence in the Caribbean. This thesis has therefore allowed Lewis's observation of the *red* and *blue* factions to be understood by providing a fuller analysis of the importance of the navy's place within Caribbean society.

The navy's vital operational role in the Caribbean included patrolling the islands to prevent coastal raids and foreign invasion, as well as to convoy trade vessels and transport troops. This varied military role required strategic bases in the Caribbean and therefore two naval stations at Jamaica and the Leeward Islands were established, each with a commander-in-chief. With naval bases at Jamaica, Barbados, Antigua, and St Lucia, the navy established a strong visible presence throughout the region. This operation role required large investment from Britain and as Chapter 1 demonstrated the navy deployed a significant amount of resources to the Caribbean, particularly during times of conflict to ensure the protection of British possessions in the region. This investment of manpower in the region demonstrates how valuable the colonies were to

[3] Hill, *The Jamaican Stage, 1655-1900: Profile of a Colonial Theatre*, p. 239.

Britain and its economy. The interactions between the navy and the white elite were therefore underpinned by the white elite's need for protection from the metropole, due to the vulnerability and position of the islands. Significant naval resources deployed to the Caribbean during the Seven Years War cemented the white elite's expectations of the navy's presence in the region.

The white elite choreographed a 'performance of social power' to foster white unity and maintain control over the majority enslaved population and as Chapter 2 demonstrated naval officers were cast as actors in this performance through the 'all-embracing cult of hospitality'.[4] The white inhabitants upheld the models of social etiquette that were in place in Britain, such as letters of introduction and hospitality, reaffirming their own British identities. These British customs and the universal hospitality naval officers received on the British Caribbean islands facilitated naval officers' integration into creole society. Letters of introduction gave officers the opportunity to spend time ashore, to visit plantations, and to attend dinners and balls organised by the white elite. In particular, large social events allowed members of the white elite to make initial connections with influential members of a powerful British institution. Naval officers who held power over naval vessels - the instruments of imperial protection - were welcomed and embraced into the strong social network of the white elite on the British Caribbean islands.

Although the white inhabitants showed a desire to uphold British customs, they were also proud of their creole identity, as naval officers were exposed to creole customs whilst socialising with the white elite. Some naval officers partook in these creole customs as evident from the illustrations by Abraham James whilst stationed in Jamaica. There was much greater expectation placed upon officers than on ordinary sailors, as expressed by Sir Thomas Byam Martin, who wrote, 'an officer […] is bound by every obligation of morality and public duty to show an example of virtue and propriety of conduct'.[5] For an officer to become embroiled in a scandal would not only tarnish their own honour, but the navy's. Therefore, it could be argued that officers partook in creole customs out of a sense of duty or as part of social etiquette. However, as Chapter 2 demonstrated, some naval officers chose to not only embrace creole customs, but completely immerse themselves in white

[4] Burnard, *Mastery, Tyranny, and Desire*, p. 79; Wilson, *The Island Race*, p. 151.
[5] Martin, *Letters and Papers of Sir Thomas Byam Martin*, vol 1, p. 85.

creole culture. Some naval officers chose to keep social ties with the white elite upon returning to Britain and others invested socially and economically, marrying creole women and owning land and slaves becoming part of the white elite of the Caribbean and the lasting legacy of British slave-ownership. In the same way slave-holders had no compunction in claiming compensation in the 1830s,[6] the British views of slave-holding in the eighteenth and early nineteenth-centuries were those that would not tarnish the reputation of naval officers if they became part of the slave-holding planter class. This is important to understanding British attitudes towards owning slaves, which was seemingly detached from the abhorrent conditions of the slave trade and the abolitionists' image of the white creole in the Caribbean.

Although some naval officers were opposed to the horrendous conditions and brutality of the slave trade, the institution of slavery that underpinned the plantation system in the Caribbean was an altogether more complex structure, which ignited less indignation amongst naval officers, as proud supporters of the Britain's colonial empire. Although those who served in the navy such as the Rev. James Ramsay, Sir Charles Middleton and Captain Edward Columbine are all cited in histories of the abolition, there are many naval officers who did not expose their opinions of slavery in their correspondence or personal journals. For many naval officers, the slavery they witnessed was not recorded or observed as slavery, but with slaves viewed as peasants of a pastoral landscape content with their conditions. This is further evinced by many naval officers who chose to become part of the slave-holding class of the Caribbean.

The protective role of the navy was only one part of the white elite's dependency on the navy. The dependency spiralled into a clinging attachment to the navy which was all-consuming for the white elite. The white elite was particularly consumed by the need for information from the metropole and knowledge of the navy's movements and actions. As a direct link to Britain, naval officers were important actors in the circulation of information, as naval vessels became an additional channel of communication between the Caribbean islands, from the Caribbean to Britain, and vice versa. This not only allowed information to circulate across the Atlantic, but it provided the essential link to British-held views and attitudes that were so vitally important

[6] UCL - Department of History, 'Legacies of British Slave-Ownership Database - Project Context', UCL, (2014), <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/project/context/e.> [accessed 18 November 2013].

to the white elite's expression of their identities. This dynamic between the visible strength of a powerful British institution ashore, and the need for the navy to be constantly out at sea patrolling and connecting the colonies to Britain, points to the complexities of the relationship between the white elite and the navy and how the navy could both heighten and assuage the anxieties of the white inhabitants. Chapter 3, for example, highlighted that even naval officers who were fully committed to protecting the colonies and British interests were openly criticised by the white elite. Those criticised were officers who were perceived as not protecting the interests of the white inhabitants, as part of their particular view of the navy. This disapproval towards officers of high-esteem points to how completely reliant the white elite were on the navy and its multiple roles within the colonies, not only protecting the island from external threats, but also internal threats and importantly connecting the white elite to Britain. This dependence was further highlighted by the example of the white elite's cooperation with regard to naval impressment, the most detested of the naval practices. Impressment was the 'evil necessity' required to increase naval manpower and strengthen the Royal Navy's dominance in the region.[7] Although not always forthcoming in agreeing to naval press gangs, the white elites had to cooperate due to their complete reliance on the navy for protection.

Part of the white inhabitants' expression of their colonial British identities was observed in their responses to naval officers. Chapter 4 explored these responses in the context of thanks, gifts and monuments to naval officers, which expressed the white elite's gratitude and appreciation to a powerful British institution and in turn colonial loyalty to Britain. These tokens of appreciation also display a relationship between the white elite and naval officers that was more than a relationship of expected cooperation. The white elite heavily invested in relationships with naval officers. The display of gratitude and wealth in the form of expensive gifts and monuments attempted to show ownership of the navy as an Atlantic/imperial navy, with the colonies as an important centre of power in the wider Atlantic world. The white elite's view of themselves as valuable British subjects and a view of the navy as protectors of the most important colonies to Britain are significant, as it reiterates that the white elite perceived themselves as not completely

[7] Brunsman, *The Evil Necessity: British Naval Impressment in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World*.

subservient to Britain and did not view their relationship with the metropole as one of enslavement.

Exploring the white elite, within the context of their responses to the navy, has shown a creolised understanding of the social and political position of the Caribbean, as part of the white elite's own organic vision of empire. Chapter 4 demonstrated how responses to the navy in the form of thanks and gifts show the creolised reactions to naval officers' service and achievements, which contradicted with the officers' own expectations and reactions in Britain. These responses are significant to understanding the colonial view of empire, as these responses represent an inherent difference in the way the white elite perceived their position within empire, with differing reactions in the colonies to the public response in Britain. For example, both Rodney's actions in 1782 and Vice-Admiral Duckworth's action at the Battle of San Domingo in 1806 saved Jamaica from a foreign invasion. Both actions were celebrated in Britain and the colonies. Although, Rodney received a peerage and large annuity, Duckworth's actions were not perceived with the same vigour by the British government. Duckworth received widespread appreciation in the form of letters of thanks and gifts from across the Caribbean colonies for his actions. However, Duckworth did not receive the peerage Rodney had received. A peerage both the officer himself and white elite of the British Caribbean islands felt he deserved.

By the last quarter of the eighteenth century, the long-held views and shared understanding of the need for the institution of slavery shifted, as support grew for the abolitionist movement in Britain. In order to continue the plantation regime and maintain white superiority and control in the colonies, the white elite continued to uphold traditional views that justified slave-holding. Although the white elite saw themselves as British subjects, this shift from shared to opposing attitudes with those in Britain produced a colonial viewpoint that made the white elite distinct from citizens of the metropole. Established white colonists of the Caribbean islands had often not visited Britain for many years. Even those who were the most recent migrants lived at a distance from the mother country, its fashions and cultural shifts. As a result, white creoles often displayed tastes and mores that were wildly out of touch with those of the metropole, largely because their practices reflected old-fashioned ways of thinking and acting. This is reiterated in the design of

the Rodney monument with Rodney represented in Roman attire, a fashionable design in line with early eighteenth century British representations of funerary monuments. The society the white colonists migrated from, which they felt connected to, changed and therefore the white elite's view of Britain became distinctly colonial, traditional and nostalgic. The navy cemented this colonial view as a traditional British institution, with naval officers as patriotic symbols of established and traditional Britishness. The white elite therefore felt particularly connected to naval officers and this traditional view of Britain. Naval officers such as Nelson and Rodney defended the colonial system and empire they had been posted to the Caribbean to protect. These officers understood the importance of the colonies and trade to Britain's empire and national importance. Therefore relationships with naval officers were maintained throughout the period and were seemingly undamaged by the implementation of the abolition of the slave trade. These relationships with naval officers were therefore particularly significant to the white elite's colonial view of empire.

The navy was also a vital part of the textured landscape of the non-elite members of society, free people of colour and the enslaved. The navy's presence provided an additional means to create wealth within the domestic economy. Chapter 5 focused on three areas of the service economy: market and coastal commerce, the hospitality industry and health services. Analysing these three areas demonstrated how the service economy provided the navy with much needed provisions, exotic expressions of their posting in the Caribbean and interactions with different communities of people within Caribbean society. The navy's injection of wealth into the domestic economy helped to expand a service economy, which benefited not only free people of colour, but also the navy and the white elite by providing places for socialising, such as taverns and vibrant markets, drawing people together in a common society. The navy's presence therefore helps to strengthen our understanding of a 'creole' society, with a distinctively local domestic economy.[8] The relationships between the navy and free people of colour were different to those between the white colonists and the free coloured population and were not always restricted by racial assumptions of the eighteenth century. Interactions between the navy and free people of colour were more than buyer-

[8] Brathwaite, *The Development of Creole Society in Jamaica, 1770-1820*.

seller exchanges. For those stationed in the Caribbean, these encounters with free people of colour were worthy of record. Naval officers' reflections and representations of free people of colour are indicative of relationships of respect and esteem, rather than relationships of dominance or racial superiority. Non-elite communities engaged with the navy as part of their economic activity and as a result of this, free people of colour became integrated, socially as well as otherwise, into the networks of this very British transatlantic institution.

The navy's multiple roles in the Caribbean, which intersected all levels of Caribbean society, allowed seamen to experience a different climate, society and culture. It also exposed seamen to disease and death. Some felt their posting to the Caribbean would be their last in keeping with metropolitan notions of the colonies as a place of disease and death. One officer, Captain Noel, believed 'his friends had sent him to Jamaica to get rid of him, as they hoped the climate would carry him off'.[9] Each arrived with a level of trepidation, rarely enthusiasm or honour at being sent to such important colonies essential to Britain's position of power in the global economy. Although often consumed by the threat of disease, naval officers were conscientious observers, whose experiences of Caribbean society and culture permeated their overall experience beyond their operational role.

The training young aspiring naval officers received either on board or at educational institutions in Britain provided them with the skills to record what they observed as they travelled throughout the empire. Chapter 6 demonstrated that for some naval officers formal sketching in the form of coastal profiles for navigational and strategic purposes laid the foundations for informal sketching for leisure. Informal sketching allowed officers to visually record what they observed on voyages and on shore. Naval officers recorded what they felt was important to them, which included topographical views of the colonial landscape, and the society and culture they encountered. Subjects worthy of record, found in the sketchbooks and journals of naval officers, include the people, flora and fauna they encountered on their postings in the Caribbean and their shipmates who shared the same colonial experience. The sketches of free women of colour by Captain Edward Pelham Brenton capture

[9] NMM, MID/1/202/1, Letter from A Yeates, Port Royal to Admiral Charles Middleton, 21 May 1809.

his interactions with these important members of Caribbean society, reiterating points of Chapter 5 that these women were integrated into the navy's social network. The naval gaze adapted formal sketching techniques, which emphasised the importance of accuracy and detail to visually express their colonial experience. With most journals and sketchbooks kept for private consumption or to share with family and friends in Britain, these visual representations demonstrate a unique view of the Caribbean colonies.

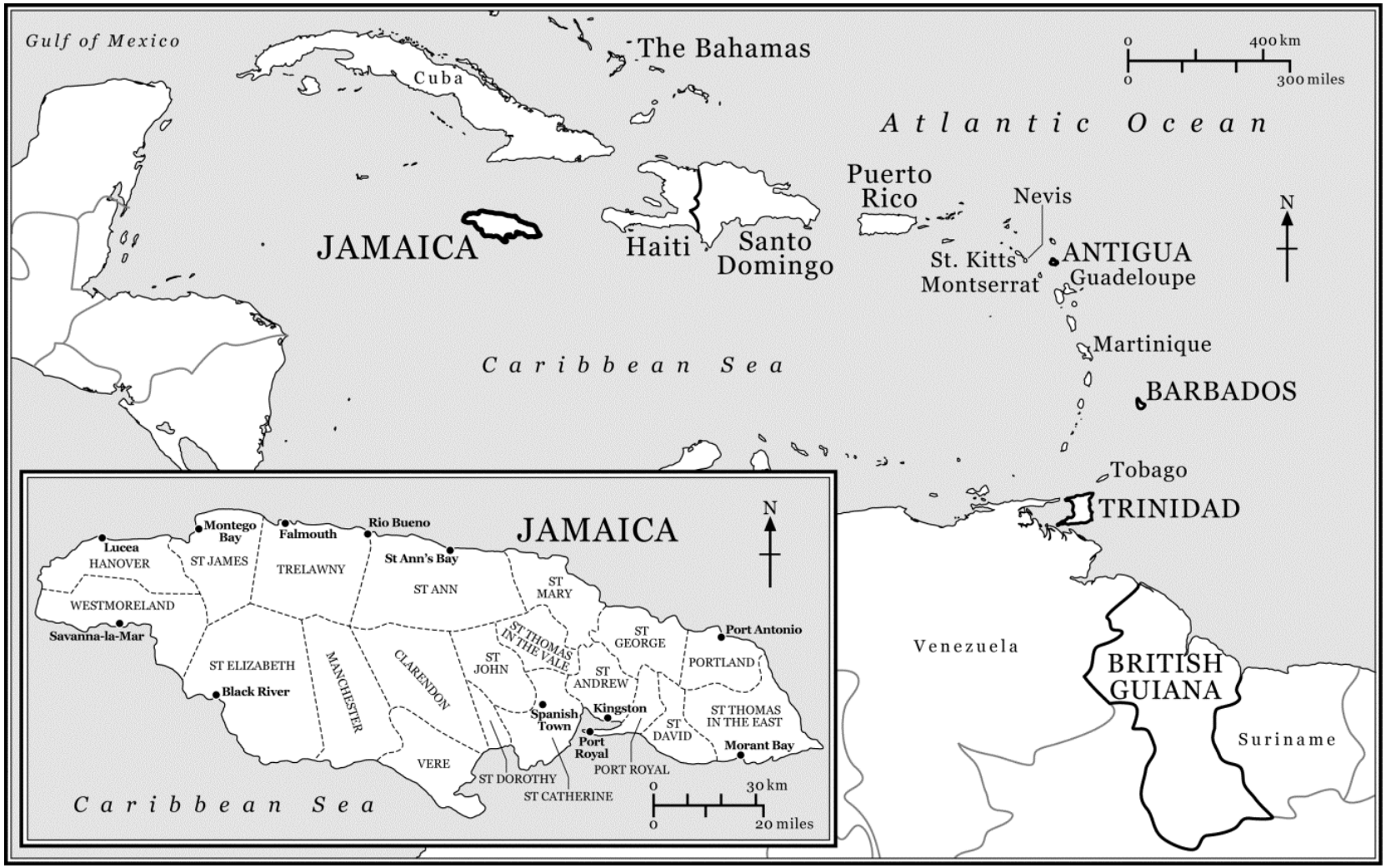
The Caribbean was widely known as 'the white man's grave', the place where many civilians and military lost their lives to disease and conflict. The conditions in which these men lost their lives often dominate operational and administrative naval studies of the region. The thesis has gone beyond the loss, the battles and daily routine on board the sickly ships and has shown the vibrancy of encounters between the navy and the different communities of people in the Caribbean. It has built on the sort of operational and narrow institutional views of the navy by historians like N. A. M. Rodger and Roger Knight and sought to place the Royal Navy in the context of the wider view of the Atlantic and British Empire as a place of cultural and social interaction as suggested by David Armitage in the Atlantic context and Catherine Hall looking at empire. It has also used the work of Caribbeanists like Edward Brathwaite and David Lambert to examine the wider social life and political roles of the Royal Navy in its relations with the Caribbean region and its people.

This study has not been an examination of the Royal Navy *and* the Caribbean, suggesting inherent differences and polarity between an institution and a geographical region, or a study of the interactions within an institution at a particular place. But rather, it has been an in-depth study of the Royal Navy *in* the Caribbean and interactions within the islands. It has provided a significant insight into the realities of the navy in a colonial landscape, interacting on land and on naval vessels with the local population. It has shown the Royal Navy was a social as well as military organisation, which engaged in social interactions with different communities of people in the Caribbean. The navy had a role to play on the local social scene, whether this was as a focal point at dinners and balls or as valued patrons and customers of taverns and vendors.

As part of a wider perspective, the navy played a vital integrative role in the British Atlantic Empire. The navy provided the network for communication and information to circulate around the world. The navy not only created a connection to Britain via this information network, but also created a cultural connection, as an institution bound up with notions of Britishness: loyalty, honour and patriotism. The pomp and pageantry the navy reflected in the Caribbean helped the white elite to connect to Britain. The navy was therefore a talismanic patriotic symbol. People across the Caribbean, in particular the white elite, expressed their Britishness, in part, by showing respect and gratitude to the navy.

An exploration of how the Royal Navy interacted with different communities of people in the Caribbean, and how officers chose to represent the society and culture they encountered, has shed light on the complexities of Caribbean society as organised social networks with identities not only shaped by the institution of slavery, but also by interactions with the navy, as an important part of local society and a direct link to Britain. In recovering the observations and responses of naval observers and the white elite, this thesis has highlighted some of the main points in discussing empire, nation and identity in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The integration of naval history into national and imperial histories still requires further development, but this exploration has offered a new perspective using the personal records of British naval officers to broaden our understanding of the navy, Caribbean society and the relationship between the colonies and Britain.

Appendix 1 Islands of the Caribbean



Appendix 2 Compiled list of naval commanders-in-chief

Jamaica station

1755-57. Rear-Admiral George Townshend (1715/16-1769)

1757-1759. Vice-Admiral Thomas Cotes (d.1767)

apt. Mar 1760, arr. May 1760-Nov 1761.
Rear-Admiral Charles Holmes (bap. 1711)
died at Jamaica 21 Nov 1761

Nov 1761-Apr 1762.
Commodore Arthur Forrest (d. 1770)
left as senior officer in charge on death of Charles Holmes

Apr 1762. Commodore James Douglas (1703-1787)
owned Weilburg estate, Demerara

[1762. Admiral Sir George Pocock (1706-1792), commander-in-chief of expedition against Havana]

Oct 1762-Jan 1764.
Rear-Admiral (later Lord, 1st Viscount) Augustus Keppel (1725-1786)

apt. Jun 1763, arr. Jan 1764-1766.
Rear-Admiral Sir William Burnaby (c.1710-1776)
LBS - married first Margaret (d. 1757?), widow of Tim Donovan of Jamaica. Married second wife Grace Ottley, daughter of Drewry Ottley of prominent slave-owning family on 6 Oct 1757
Grandson Sir William Crisp Hood Burnaby 3rd. Bart. awarded the compensation for enslaved people under two awards on Bermuda – claim nos. 597, 598

1766-69. Rear-Admiral William Parry
(?1705-1779 - NMM portrait BHC2936)

1769-May 1770.
Commodore Arthur Forrest (d. 1770)
planter who bought land in Jamaica in 1769 married daughter of Colonel Lynch of Jamaica died at Jamaica 26 May 1770

May 1770. Commodore Robert Carkett (d. 1780)
undertook duties of senior officer at Jamaica upon death of Commodore Forrest

1770-1771. Commodore George Mackenzie (d. 1781)
(superseded Carkett)

1771. Vice-Admiral Sir William Burnaby (c.1710-1776)

arr. Jul 1771-Jun 74.
Rear-Admiral (later Sir) George Bridges Rodney (bap. 1718-1792)

Jun 1774-Apr 1778. Vice-Admiral Clark Gayton (bap. 1712, d. 1784/5)

apt. 1777, arr. 1778-1782.
Vice-Admiral Sir Peter Parker (1721-1811)
owned Skerret's plantation, Antigua, acquired via marriage to Margaret Nugent (d. 1803), member of prominent Nugent family of Antigua.

[1779. Captain (later Viscount) Horatio Nelson (1758-1805), commanded Fort Charles, Port Royal
married Frances Herbert (Fanny) Nisbet (1761-1831), widow of Josiah Nisbet MD, daughter of a senior judge of Nevis and niece of prominent Nevis planter, whose house she kept. Married on the island of Nevis on 11 Mar 1787]

1782-1783. Rear-Admiral Sir Joshua Rowley (1734-1790)

Dec 1783-Jun/Jul 1784.
Vice-Admiral James Gambier (1723-1789)

1785. Commodore John Pakenham (1743-1807)

apt. 1785, arr. 1786.
Rear-Admiral Alexander Innes (d. 1786)
died at Jamaica soon after his arrival in 1786

1786-89. Commodore Alan (later Lord) Gardner (1742-1808/9)
married Susannah Hyde (d. 1823), widow of Sabine Turner of Jamaica, daughter and heir of Francis Gale, plantation owner of Hyde Hall and Susannah Hall (heiress of father, James Hall, who owned Hyde Hall, the only silver mine in Jamaica and several other estates) on 20 May 1769 at Kingston, Jamaica

1790-92. Rear-Admiral Philip Affleck
(b.1725?-d.1799)
apt. 1792, arr. Jan 1793-Jan 95.
Rear-Admiral John Ford

apt. Feb 1795-1796.
Rear-Admiral (later Sir) William Parker
(bap. 1742-1802)
left Jamaica due to severe illness

1796. Commodore (later Sir) John Thomas Duckworth (1748-1817)
took over duties when William Parker taken ill

Sept 1796-1800. Vice-Admiral Sir Hyde Parker (1739-1807)
[1796-99. Commodore Richard Rodney Bligh (1737-1821) 2nd in command]

apt. May, arr. Aug 1800-Sept 01.
Vice-Admiral Lord Hugh Seymour (1759-1801)
caught yellow fever, went to sea to improve health but died just off Jamaica 11 Sept 1801
father left him estate on the island of St John

Oct 1801-Feb 1802.
Rear-Admiral Robert Montague

1803-Feb 1805.
Vice-Admiral Sir John Thomas Duckworth (1748-1817)
[Vice-Admiral James Richard Dacres (1748-1810) 2nd in command]

Feb 1805-1809.
Rear-Admiral James Richard Dacres (1749-1810)
ODNB - asked to be recalled in 1809 due to ill health

1809-Oct 1811.
Vice-Admiral Bartholomew Samuel Rowley (son of Vice-Admiral Joshua Rowley) (1764-1811)
died in Jamaica 7 Oct 1811
Lawrence-Archer, 1875: no. 5, p. 79 - memorial at Kingston Cathedral Church

[apt. Aug 1812-1813 Admiral Sir John Borlase Warren (1753-1822) Commander-in-Chief of the consolidated North American, Jamaica and Leeward Islands squadrons.
ODNB - He advocated the break-up of the consolidated command. Ordered to return home in 1813 Relinquished command to Vice-Admiral Sir Alexander Cochrane]

apt. Oct 1811, arr. Dec 1811-Jun 1813.
Vice-Admiral Charles Stirling (1760-1833)
[Resident Commissioner at Jamaica, 1803-1804]

Jun 1813-Sept 1814.
Rear-Admiral William Brown (1764-1814)
taken ill with yellow fever – died after a five-day illness 20 Sept 1814
Lawrence-Archer, 1875: no. 13, p. 107 - buried at Kingston burial ground the following day

Sept 1814. Rear-Admiral Robert Rolles

1814-1815.
Vice-Admiral Sir Alexander (Forrester) Inglis Cochrane (1758-1832)
1813 onwards Commander-in-Chief of Jamaica Station, Windward and Leeward Islands and Coast of North America
[Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Guadeloupe 1810-1813]
LBS- owner of Good Hope estate, Trinidad. Trinidad claim no. 1632, 25 Jul 1838 for 72 enslaved, £3183:1s:1d - compensation for the enslaved people on which was paid to mortgagees after Sir Alexander Inglis Cochrane's death, despite the effort of his son Sir Thomas John Cochrane to claim the money

1815-1818. Rear-Admiral John Erskine Douglas (1758-1847)

Leeward Islands station

apt. Feb 1752-Oct 1755.
Commodore (later Sir) Thomas Pye (1708/9–1785)

apt. Jul 1755, arr. Oct 1755-Oct 1757.
Rear-Admiral (later Sir) Thomas Frankland (1718-1784)
(superseded Pye)
ODNB – fell out with Governor of Antigua over privateer question and local naval agent

apt. May 1757-May 1760.
Commodore (later Sir) John Moore (1718-1779)

May 1760-Nov 1761.
Commodore James Douglas (1703-1787)

apt. Oct 1761, arr. Nov 1761-1763.
Vice-Admiral (later Sir) George Bridges Rodney (bap. 1718-1792)
(superseded Douglas)

1763-1766. Rear-Admiral Richard Tyrrell
died on route back from Leeward Islands

1766-1769. Vice-Admiral (later Sir) Thomas Pye
(1708/9–1785)

Apr 1775-May 1778. Vice-Admiral James Young

Jun 1778-1779.
Vice-Admiral Samuel Barrington (1729-1800)
(appointed after Vice-Admiral Molyneux Shuldham turned down post)

Jan 1779-Jul 1779.
Vice-Admiral John Byron (1723-1786)
ODNB – Byron merged his ships with Barrington's Leeward Islands Squadron. Barrington became Byron's 2nd in command. Returned to England to explain the loss of Grenada and due to ill health.

1779-1780. Sir Hyde Parker (1739-1807)

apt. Oct 1779 (with first charge to deliver relief to Gibraltar)
arr. Mar 1780-Jul 1782.
Admiral Sir George Bridges Rodney
[Rear-Admiral (later Sir) Samuel Hood (1724-1816) 2nd in command]

apt. May 1782, arr. Jul 1782-Dec 1783.
Admiral Hugh Pigot (1722-1792)
(superseded Rodney)
[Rear-Admiral (later Sir) Samuel Hood (1724-1816) 2nd in command]

Dec 1783-Jun 1786.
Rear- Admiral Sir Richard Hughes (b. 1723?-1812)
took over when Hugh Pigot left for England

apt. Sept 1786. Sir Richard Bickerton (1727-1792)
ODNB - resigned command over dispute concerning expenses incurred for the sick at the Cape of Good Hope

1787-1790.
Commodore (later Sir) William Parker (bap. 1742-1802)

apt. Dec 1789, arr. 1790-1793.
Rear-Admiral John Laforey (1729?–1796)

apt. 1793, arr. 1794-Nov 1794.
Vice-Admiral (later Viscount St Vincent) John Jervis (1735-1823)

Nov 1794-Jun 1795.
Vice-Admiral (later Sir) Benjamin Caldwell (1739-1820)
relieved John Jervis due to his diminishing health

Jun 1795-Apr 1796.
Admiral John Laforey (1729?-1796)
(superseded Caldwell)
ODNB - died at sea of yellow fever, 14 June 1796, at time of his death he owned a number of plantations in Antigua

Apr 1796-Oct 1796.
Rear-Admiral Sir Hugh Cloberry Christian (bap. 1747-1798)

apt. Apr 1796, arr. Oct 1796 –Jul 1799.
Rear-Admiral (later Sir) Henry Harvey (1737-1810)

Jul 1799-1800. Vice-Admiral Lord Hugh Seymour (1759-1801)

1800-Nov 1801.
Rear-Admiral Sir John Thomas Duckworth (1748-1817)

apt. Nov 1801-Jun 1802.
Rear-Admiral Thomas Totty
died very soon after arriving at Martinique of malignant fever – died at sea

Late 1802- 1805. Sir Samuel Hood (1762-1815)
ODNB-appointed due to the death of Rear-Admiral Totty, was originally sent out in October 1802 as joint commissioner for the government of Trinidad.
Married Hon. Mary Elizabeth Frederica Mackenzie, eldest daughter of Lord Seaforth, Governor of Barbados

apt. Feb 1805-Jul 1810.
Vice-Admiral Sir Alexander (Forrester) Inglis Cochrane (1758-1832)
[Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Guadeloupe 1810-1813]

1811-1814.
Rear-Admiral (later Sir) Francis Laforey (1767-1835)
(son of Admiral John Laforey)
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[Sep/Oct 1812-1813 Admiral Sir John Borlase Warren (1753-1822) Commander-in-Chief of the consolidated North American, Jamaica and Leeward Islands squadrons.]
ODNB - He advocated the break-up of the consolidated command. Ordered to return home in 1813. Relinquished command to Vice-Admiral Sir Alexander Cochrane

apt. Dec 1813, arr. 1814-1816.
Rear-Admiral Sir Philip Charles Henderson Calderwood Durham (1763-1845)

1816-1819. Rear-Admiral (later Sir) John Harvey
(1772-1837)

1819. Rear-Admiral Donald Campbell

1820-1821.
Rear-Admiral (later Sir) Charles William Fahie (1763-1833)
ODNB – lived almost entirely in the West Indies. Twice married – first, to Elizabeth Renie Heyliger, daughter of Mr William Heyliger of St Eustatius; second, to Mary Esther Harvey, daughter of the Hon. Augustus William Harvey, member of Council of Bermuda. Died at Bermuda on 11 January 1833

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