

PROSPECTS OF EMPIRE

Slavery and Ecology in Eighteenth-Century Atlantic Britain



The Skinning of the Aboma Snake.



Indian Female of the Arrowaka Nation.

London: Published by Longman, Broth, and Co. and Brown, Elmslie and Son, Edinburgh.

PROSPECTS OF EMPIRE

Slavery and Ecology in Eighteenth-Century Atlantic Britain

An exhibition at the Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University
20 October 2014 through 27 March 2015

Curated by Heather V. Vermeulen, Doctoral Candidate in African American Studies and American Studies, Yale University, and Hazel V. Carby, Charles C. & Dorathea S. Dilley Professor of African American Studies and Professor of American Studies, Yale University

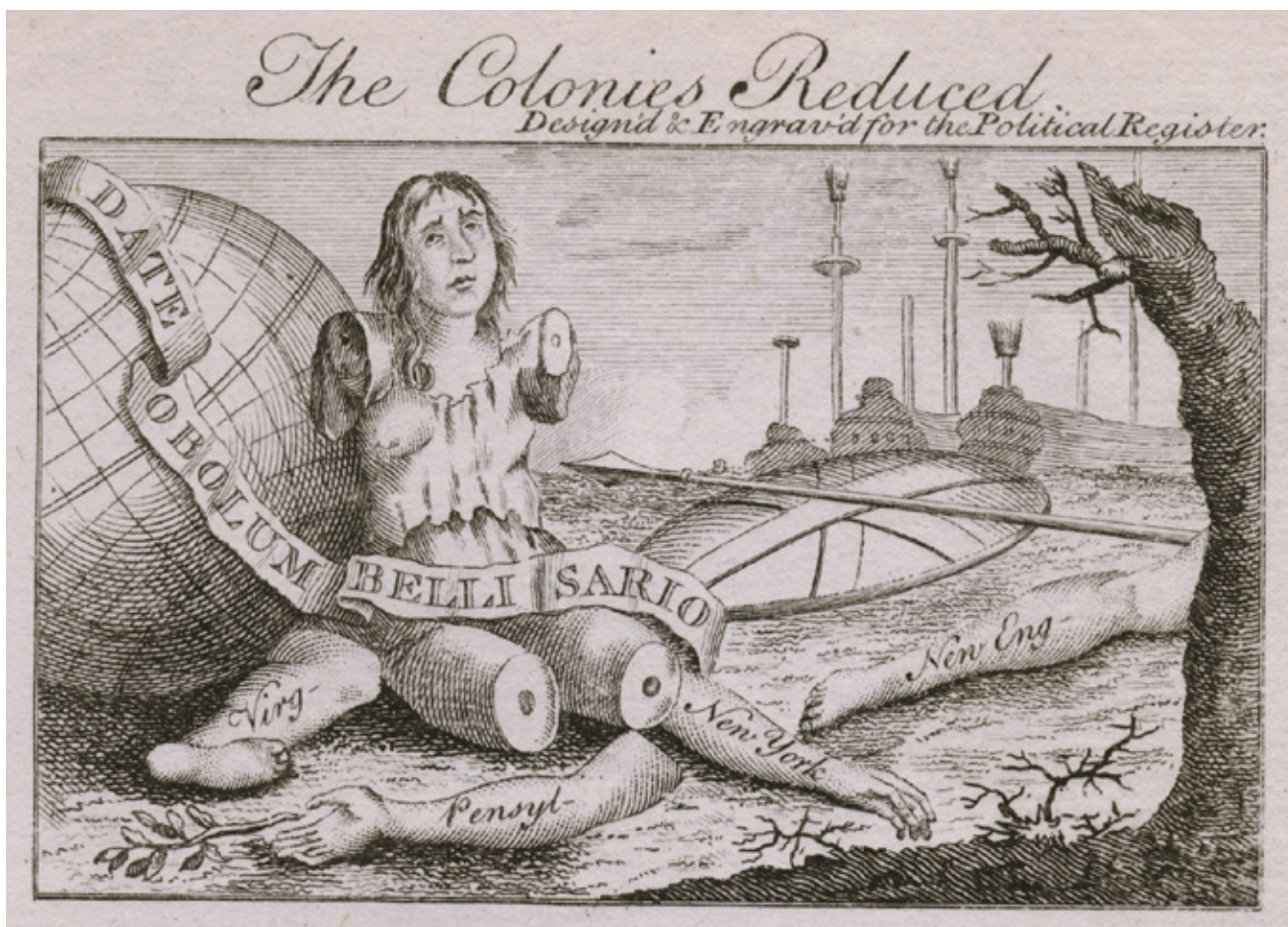


Fig. 1
 Artist unknown, *The Colonies Reduced. Its Companion* (detail).
 Etching, 18.8 x 12.2 cm (plate).
 From *The Political Register and London Museum*, vol. 3. London: J. Almon, 1768. The Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University, 768.12.00.02

Silences enter the process of historical production at four crucial moments: the moment of fact creation (the making of *sources*); the moment of fact assembly (the making of *archives*); the moment of fact retrieval (the making of *narratives*); and the moment of retrospective significance (the making of *history* in the final instance).¹

PROSPECTS OF EMPIRE

Scholars who analyze historical sources and the archives that order them often emphasize the power structures that shape both. They stress the silences—and, often, violences—that occur in the creation, classification, and interpretation of documents, and rightly so. Further, modes of archival classification resonate with those of eighteenth-century natural history, a project that went hand-in-hand with colonization. Mary Louise Pratt argues that “eighteenth-century classificatory systems created the task of locating every species on the planet, extracting it from its particular, arbitrary surroundings (the chaos), and placing it in its appropriate spot in the system (the order—book, collection, or garden) with its new written, secular European name.”²

The forced relocation of persons from the African continent to the colonial Americas and their enslavement together with indigenous persons there attended and enabled these processes. Between 1698 and 1807, roughly 11,000 British ships transported at least three million enslaved men, women, and children from Africa to the colonies. In the British West Indies, the majority of enslaved persons labored on plantations, producing such commodities as sugar, which colonists shipped to Britain for sale.

Prospects of Empire: Slavery and Ecology in Eighteenth-Century Atlantic Britain examines the relationship between slavery and ecology in the British West Indies and metropole in the long eighteenth century. It brings together a diverse array of visual and written material to explore conflicting constructions and understandings of British colonial projects and their circulations. The exhibition surfaces latent anxieties in the management of bodies and borders as it tracks the forces that the British Empire mustered to curtail perceived threats to its regimes of power and knowledge. It considers projects of natural history—its conscription of ecologies and their inhabitants into fantasies of preordained domination—alongside the racialization and gendering of subjects, empire’s speculations and desires, the exploitation of seized land and labor in the interest of financial gain, and the human and geographic boundaries of empire and slavery. Uniting these processes is the notion of imperial “prospects” as well as the empire’s failure to manage its would-be subjects, the unruly ecologies that unsettle its accounts.

Archives and curators have prospects, too, and the creation of an exhibition requires archival prospecting. Further, archives of empire often eerily resonate with the “historical” prospects for which one consults their contents.

A CURATOR’S PROSPECTS

In his memoir *One Man’s Education* (1967), Wilmarth Sheldon Lewis recalled a conversation that he had in the 1950s with his wife and collaborator, Annie Burr Lewis, regarding the formation of the print collection at the Yale Walpole Library, later renamed the Lewis Walpole Library (LWL) in their honor. Lewis

proposed that the library, dedicated to the study and contextualization of Horace Walpole (1717–1797), had yet to give prints their due. “We have to depend on the British Museum’s *Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires* and its *Engraved British Portraits*,” he remarked to Annie Burr Lewis; “They’re invaluable, but they aren’t equal to the caricatures and prints themselves and they are not complete.”³ To remedy this, the Lewises “learned how to store, catalogue, and index their material from Lawrence Wroth who had devised a system that brings order out of chaos and opens up the collection from many approaches.” They found expanding the subject file in particular to be a fruitful exercise.⁴

Imagination and a vision of the archive as a shared and dynamic space characterized Annie Burr Lewis’s curatorial practice. At the time of W.S. Lewis’s writing, he could declare proudly, “The subject file goes from Abolition of the Slave Trade to Zebra.” Annie Burr Lewis labored in the print room for four years before she died in 1959; it became a space that bore witness to her life and in which she might live on. “She used to wonder wistfully whether anyone would ever use her cards,” Lewis wrote, “but visitors are doing so now and are finding material they have not found elsewhere on subjects ranging from Queen Charlotte to wallpaper.”⁵

On the one hand, there are undeniable resonances between Lewis’s description of the system as one “that brings order out of chaos” and the ways in which eighteenth-century natural historians conceived of their imperial labors. Echoing the language that empire used to glorify its global invasions, Lewis concluded, “Annie Burr built a six-lane highway straight across ‘the vast and relatively unexplored continent’ that will be traveled as long as the Lewis Walpole Library exists.”⁶

On the other hand, for the Lewises, the cataloging system “open[ed] up the collection from many approaches.” Classification might serve to isolate a print and manipulate its interpretation, but, if persistently and innovatively reworked, classification also might undermine such (imperial) ordering. The example that Lewis deployed to highlight the catalog as process, not end, is, one might argue, anti-imperial; it stresses the unsettling of the eighteenth-century empire to which the collection’s contents owe their existence: “The hidden thoughts of the time are classified when they have been discerned,” he mused, “such as ‘Dismemberment of the Empire’”—the subject for prints such as *The Colonies Reduced. Its Companion* (1768; fig. 1).⁷ Lewis’s reflections suggest a vision of the archive as an ecology of sorts, its contents far from settled, its subjects far from complete, let alone laid to rest.

The most basic definition of “ecology” is a system of relations. An ecological framework, then, is particularly useful for studying the relationship between empire and archive. Deploying such a framework, *Prospects of Empire* considers the ecologies that empire, natural history, and the plantation economy collided, altered, and engendered. Card catalogs old and new contain invaluable information for tracking empire’s reach and considering processes of subject formation past, present, and future; and so, in this accompanying essay, we take up Annie Burr Lewis’s efforts to interrogate the present state of the archive as it appears through the works featured in the exhibition. We reflect upon archiving practices in the LWL card catalog and Yale University’s online catalog, Orbis, for what technologies of classification both foreclose and make possible in terms of how we understand historical moments and their relation to the present.

the depicted event to be “[a]mong numberless other acts of cruelty daily practised.” The print’s entry in the LWL’s chronological card catalog prioritizes as its subjects the various white British figures involved in the abolitionist movement, followed by “6. Barbarities”; “7. Negroes, barbarities to”; and “8. Overseers.” Absent are subjects such as “Overseers, barbarities of”—let alone, “Whites” or “British, barbarities of,” or “Torture”—signposts that might open space for making connections not only with other prints from the period but also with afterlives of the racialized violence that the print represents.⁸ When the print and its subjects were transferred to the Orbis catalog, “barbarities” remained, but “Negroes” was changed to “blacks,” and the entry prioritized their presence over the print’s political context. This obscures the history of

The card catalog's subdivision of the subject(ed) "Negroes" further suggests that "barbarities" are absent from other prints in the "Negro—Perjury" drawer (and this exhibition), such as *Johnny Newcome in Love in the West Indies* (1808; fig. 3) and *Black Brown & Fair* (1807; fig. 4). The chronological entry truncates the former to "Johnny Newcome in love ..."; the ellipsis is suggestive, an echo of the very white British anxieties that Newcome's mixed-race offspring, each with her or his own disruptive prospects, played upon. In the print's footnotes regarding the numbered children, we find "Hector Sammy Newcome," who "promises fair





Fig. 4
Thomas Rowlandson (1757–1827) after Sir E. Bunbury (possibly Henry William Bunbury [1750–1811]). *Black Brown & Fair*, 1807. Etching with hand coloring, 27.8 x 21.7 cm (sheet). Published 6 May 1807 by Thomas Tegg. The Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University, 807.05.06.03

to be the Toussaint of his Country”—to lead a revolution against his colonizers and enslavers—and “Lucretia Diana Newcome,” whose “great antipathy to a pipe” and distaste for even the *smell* of rum threaten the disruption of colonial ecologies that are grounded in the cultivation via forced labor of sugar and tobacco. The Negro subject card entry bears the typed subcategory “Pickaneenees [*sic*],” above which someone has specified “Negoes [*sic*].” On the Negro subject card for *Black Brown & Fair*, someone has crossed out the typed subcategory “black woman”—an anachronistic term? an unruly, disallowed deviation from the classificatory protocol?—and written, “Negress.”

The Negro subject drawer contains a second entry for *Johnny Newcome in Love in the West Indies*, which bears the typed subcategory

“negress,” no correction required. That a single card for the same print could not bear both “negress” (let alone “black woman” or “mother”) and “Pickaneenees” (let alone “children”) is another archival echo of the peculiar institution, the mores of which the print satirizes. Under slavery, a “Negress” (black woman, mother) had ties to her “Pickaneenees” (children) only insofar as, by law and custom, they followed her condition; if she was enslaved, then they would be, too—and could be sold away from her at any time, to be archived separately in their new owner’s ledger book. In the seller’s accounts, they would disappear from their genealogical designation beneath her name, where they evidenced prospects of further increase, in a plantation ecology that lumped enslaved persons and their children together with livestock and produce.¹⁰ An enslaved man had still less of a claim upon his children—and, not infrequently, the father of an enslaved child was her or his owner, as in the case of Johnny Newcome and his progeny.

On the chronological card catalog entry for the print, instead of the usual list of the work’s subjects, we find only an ambiguous “subjects made,” with a lightly inked typo. A ghostly “b” lurks between the two words: “subjects b[e] made”? The entry for *Black Brown & Fair* also carries this cryptic and suggestive notation, typo excluded.

Subjects be made, indeed—and not only “Negroes,” “Negresses,” and the carefully gridded mixed-race offspring of Johnny Newcome’s “love.” This is the racialization and gendering of bodies, in archive and archiving.

And subjects be vanished, too. The “negroes” do not feature in the chronological card catalog’s

Fig. 5
After Abraham James. *Johnny New-Come in the Island of Jamaica*, [1800 or 1803] (detail). Etching with aquatint and hand coloring, 35 x 51.9 cm (plate). Published 1 October [1800 or 1803], by William Holland. The Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University, 803.10.01.02++



nineteen-subjects classification of *Johnny New-Come in the Island of Jamaica* (1800 or 1803; fig. 5), which marks instead the presence of mosquitoes, yellow fever, coffins, and pieces of furniture—a sofa, chair, and writing-table—among other keywords. They are absent from Orbis's entry as well. But the “negroes” are an intimate presence in the satire, and would have been so in life, and death. They bring Johnny his “sangaree” punch to distract him from an onslaught of mosquitoes; they provide nourishment when he falls ill; they are the target of his angry attacks; they play the music to which he dances; and they sit with Johnny through his final, delirious days, massaging the emaciated man's legs, worrying over his doomed flesh. “Negresses” would have washed Johnny's soiled

bedding and garments, emptied his bedpans and chamber pots, prepared his meals. He, in turn, would have consigned those women and their future “issue and increase,” their children (some of them, perhaps, his), to slavery, ordering “Mr. Codicil” to bequeath each and every Negro-prospect to his heirs and assigns, forever, together with Johnny's livestock and land.

The Abolition of the Slave Trade. Or the Inhumanity of Dealers in human flesh exemplified in the Cruel treatment of a Young Negro Girl of 15 for her Virjen Modesty (1792; fig. 6), despite its title and subject, appears nowhere in the “Negro—Perjury” subject drawer. And its chronological card catalog entry lists as the print's sole subject “Uniforms—Naval, officer's and sailor's.”¹¹ The print, however, does not appear in the subject

Fig. 6
Isaac Cruikshank (1764–1811).
The Abolition of the Slave Trade.
Or the Inhumanity of Dealers
in human flesh exemplified in
the Cruel treatment of a Young
Negro Girl of 15 for her Virjen
Modesty. Etching with hand
coloring, 24.9 x 34.8 cm (plate).
Published 10 April 1792 by
S.W. Fores. The Lewis Walpole
Library, Yale University,
792.04.10.03



drawer “Uniforms—Voyeurism” (another curious pairing). “Voyeurism” has only two entries—neither of them featuring “negroes”—though Isaac Cruikshank’s treatment of the young woman both depicts and invites a voyeuristic gaze, which might be couched, perhaps, as sympathy.¹² And the subject “Voyeurism” might be applied to every work in this exhibition. *Black Beauties, or Tit Bits in the West Indies* (1803; fig. 7), for example, unabashedly presents itself as a peep show.

UNSETTLING SUBJECTS

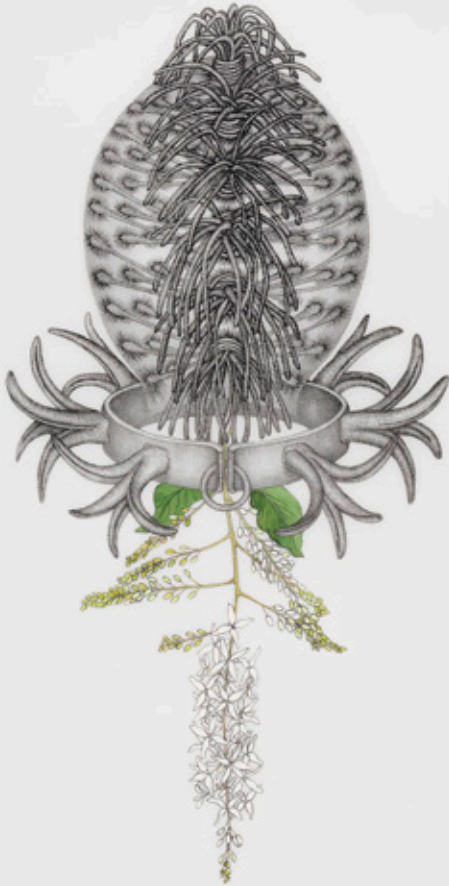
Prospects of Empire seeks to cultivate archival attention to works that expose practices of

erasure and containment, past and present, and to develop linkages—such as those between slavery and ecology—in an effort to think new subjects. Artist Joscelyn Gardner’s lithograph series *Creole Portraits III: “bringing down the flowers”* (2009–2011) attempts such archival cultivations. The Barbados-born, Toronto-based artist traces her white creole ancestry in Barbados back to the seventeenth century, the time of the English seizure of the island from its Spanish colonizers. Each of the thirteen lithographs in *Creole Portraits III* combines a “portrait” of an enslaved woman who faces away from the viewer, a collar that would have been used to torture enslaved persons, and a natural history-inspired

Fig. 7
Artist unknown. *Black Beauties, or Tit Bits in the West Indies*, 1803. Etching with aquatint, soft-ground etching, and hand coloring, 28 x 39.6 cm (plate). Published 1803 by William Holland. The Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University, 803.00.00.43+

Fig. 8 [opposite]
Joscelyn Gardner (b. 1961). *Petiveria aliacea* (*Mirilla*), 2011, from the suite *Creole Portraits III: “bringing down the flowers.”* Lithograph with hand coloring on frosted mylar, 91.4 x 61 cm (sheet). Yale Center for British Art, Friends of British Art Fund, B2013.23.6





depiction of a plant that enslaved women in the colonies deployed as an abortifacient to terminate unwanted pregnancies, including those that resulted from rape.

Gardner's primary source is the diaries of an Englishman named Thomas Thistlewood, who arrived in Jamaica in 1750, at the age of twenty-nine, and became a surveyor, overseer, slaveowner, and landowner, residing on the island until his death there in 1786. Gardner names each lithograph by the Linnaean classification of the depicted abortifacient—acknowledging the imperial role that natural historian Carl Linnaeus's classification system played in attempts to order the world—and, in parentheses, by the name of an enslaved woman whom Thistlewood raped, as he formulaically recorded in his diaries.

Renowned among fellow colonists for his botanical and vegetable gardens, Thistlewood also deliberately sought to engender that which historian Vincent Brown would term "an abundant garden of power and terror."¹³ Consider Thistlewood's documentation of his rape of an enslaved woman named Mirtilla, who is the subject of Gardner's lithograph *Petiveria aliacea* (*Mirtilla*) (2011; fig. 8). In a diary entry for January 20, 1768, Thistlewood wrote, "A.M. Cum Mirtilla (mea) Sup: Terr: Near the Rockey [*sic*] Caves, in my Negroe [*sic*] gd: [ground]—gave do: [ditto] a bitt."¹⁴ His use of a Latinate formula and abbreviations in such entries (cum/with; mea/my; sup. terr./upon the ground)—combined with his frequent designation of the enslaved woman's "ethnicity" (such

as “an Ebo Negroe [*sic*]” or “a Creolian”) after her name—resonates with natural historians’ use of Latin in their classificatory schemes. Moreover, in this entry, we see that the “Negro ground” was by no means the sacrosanct space that idyllic works such as *The Farm and Sugar Factory at Halse Hall, Clarendon, Jamaica* (ca. 1780; fig. 9) suggest. Rather, the grounds assigned to enslaved persons, too, could be sites of sexual terror. Thistlewood’s formulation “my Negroe ground”—in rhyme with “Mirtilla (mea)” —makes this abundantly clear. That he paid Mirtilla one bitt (the same amount that he recorded receiving from a friend in exchange for some kidney beans) after raping her does not lessen the magnitude of the violence that he obsessively documented.

Gardner’s subjects are unsettling—and they productively unsettle archival subjects, the classificatory orders that have obscured complex linkages. Her engagement with the plantation ecologies through which Thistlewood and enslaved persons moved, ecologies that they constantly made and remade, throws into question the ostensibly bucolic and playfully erotic prospects of *Cupid Inspiring Plants with Love* (fig. 10), a plate from Robert John Thornton’s artistic interpretation of Carl Linnaeus’s sexual classification of plants, *Temple of Flora*.¹⁵ And Gardner’s work surfaces the “ethnographic” erotics of the plates included in John Gabriel Stedman’s *Narrative, of a Five Years’ Expedition, Against the Revolted Negroes of Surinam, in Guiana* (1796). Stedman first observed the

Fig. 9
Artist unknown. *The Farm and Sugar Factory at Halse Hall, Clarendon, Jamaica*, ca. 1780. Watercolor and graphite, 17.1 x 24.4 cm (sheet). Inscribed in graphite, upper left: “Mona Liguanea.” Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection, B2006.2



Fig. 10
 Francesco Bartolozzi
 (1728–1815) and John Landseer
 (1762/3–1852) after Philip
 Reinagle (1748–1833). *Cupid
 Inspiring Plants with Love*. In
 Robert John Thornton, *Temple
 of Flora*. Published by Dr.
 Thornton, 1812. Beinecke Rare
 Book and Manuscript Library,
 Yale University, Folio 65





Fig. 11
William Blake (1757–1827) after
Thomas Stothard (1755–1834).
*The Voyage of the Sable Venus,
from Angola to the West Indies*,
ca. 1797. Etching, 20.1 x 16.3 cm
(image). Private Collection

Arawak woman depicted in *Indian Female of the Arrowauka Nation*—which was reproduced in 1812 alongside *The Skinning of the Aboma Snake* (cover illustration)—as she emerged from bathing behind a fort.¹⁶ He noted her near-nudity and compared her to “Venus rising out of the sea.”¹⁷ Stedman’s language echoed that which contemporary authors deployed to eroticize black women, as in Isaac Teale’s poem “The Sable Venus” (1765), dedicated to Jamaica planter and politician Bryan Edwards, and an etching after Thomas Stothard’s *The Voyage of the Sable Venus, from Angola to the West Indies* (fig. 11), both included in Edwards’s *The History, Civil and Commercial, of the British Colonies in the West Indies* (1793).¹⁸ Viewing these works alongside Joscelyn Gardner’s lithographs prompts further reimagining of the archive’s prospects.

SUBJECTS BE QUEERED

The libidinal ecology of slavery is multiply erotic, not only manifest in relations between white male colonists and black and brown enslaved and colonized women.¹⁹ *The Skinning of the Aboma Snake* in Stedman’s *Narrative* evokes homoerotic ecological relations between white male colonists and enslaved men. A massive snake hangs from a tree while Stedman watches one of three naked black men wrap his body around its girth, such that the phallic symbol emerges where his penis would be. “I confess I could not without emotion see a man stark naked, black and bloody, clinging with arms and legs round the slimy and yet living monster,” Stedman wrote.²⁰ Further, he determined the snake’s “thickness” by deploying an enslaved boy’s body as a unit of measurement:

“its thickness was about that of my black boy Quaco, who might then be about twelve years old, and round whose waist I since measured the creature’s skin.”²¹

Records from the period also point to homoerotic relations among white male colonists. For example, upon hearing of the death of his “Dear Friend” Dr. Anthony Robinson, Thomas Thistlewood launched into a lengthy tribute to the natural historian in his diary. He asserted that Dr. Robinson “had Linnæus almost by heart” and concluded, “When he lived in this Parish he Spent a good deal of his Time at Egypt with me, and I never was happier than in his Company.”²² The next morning, Thistlewood “Walked out

alone, & Wept bitterly, but Still Continued uneasy as before.”²³ Nowhere does he express such intense emotions in relation to the enslaved woman named Phibbah, with whom he had a thirty-three-year domestic relationship and a son, or in relation to any other woman. Rather, Thistlewood developed a homoerotic relationship with another white male colonist, centering around their engagements with the land and its life forms, amid the plantation ecologies of British colonial Jamaica.

The diptych *The Delights of Emigration!* (1830; fig. 12) suggests a mockery of such white male relationships in the colonies. In the left-hand image’s dystopic Eden, a phallic snake bites the



Fig. 12
Henry Heath (active 1822–42)
after C.J.G. *The Delights of
Emigration!*, 1830. Etching
with hand coloring, 25.5 x 34.6
cm (sheet). Published 1830 by
S. Gans. The Lewis Walpole
Library, Yale University,
830.00.00.16+

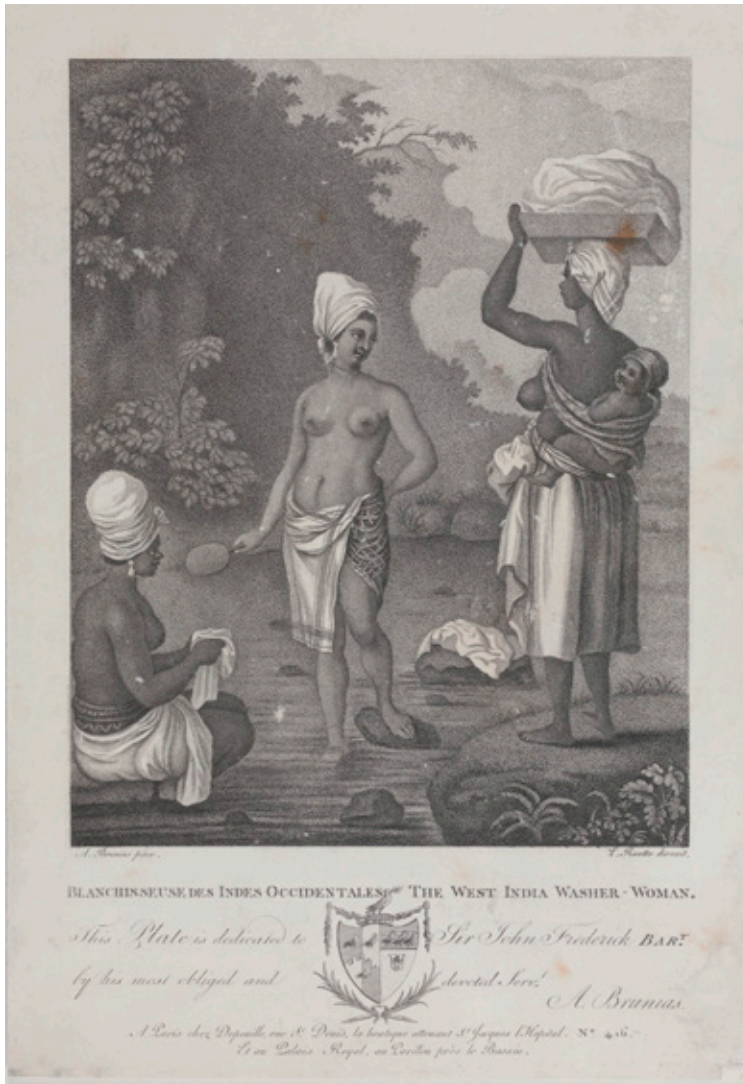


Fig. 13
Louis Charles Ruotte (1754–1806) after Agostino Brunias (1728–1796). *Blanchisseuse des Indes Occidentales* / *The West India Washer-Woman*, ca. 1770. Engraving, 31.2 x 22 cm (sheet). Published 1770 by Depeuille, Paris. The Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University, 770.00.00.190

bottom of one man, while the other man, mouth wide open, bends over in the direction of the first man's crotch. The right-hand image depicts the colonists as effeminate, their gardens infertile; a black woman observes their failures (though both the chronological card catalog and Orbis entries for the print do not observe *her*).

In works such as *The West India Washer-Woman* (ca. 1770; fig. 13) after Agostino Brunias, we might read a glimmer of same-sex desire among enslaved women, rather than solely consider the work for the voyeuristic enjoyment that white male colonists—and white female colonists—might derive from it. Perhaps, momentarily beyond the overseer's prospecting gaze, these women enjoyed one another.²⁴

What if the LWL card catalog entry for *The Delights of Emigration!* carried “homoerotics” or “phallus, reference to” as a subject, not only “West Indies”? What if the entry for *The Fly Catching Macaroni* (1772) included “Empire” or “Ecology, disruption of,” to complicate such listings as “Macaronies,” “Globes—Antarctic and Arctic Circles,” and “Botanists”?

In the LWL's subject card drawers, there is no entry for “Ecology,” “Natural History,” or “Race.” And, although Orbis deploys such subjects elsewhere, it does not (yet) apply them to the works in this exhibition. When we enter the archive and investigate its prospects, we prospect, too. Just which prospects emerge from this encounter is all in the reading, the interpreting, again. Subjects be made, subjects be queered.

NOTES

- 1 Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1995), 26, italics in original.
- 2 Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992), 31.
- 3 Wilmarth Sheldon Lewis, *One Man's Education* (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1968), 446–47.
- 4 *Ibid.*, 455. Ellen Cordes, head of technical services at the LWL, has observed that the primary source for the LWL's card catalog entries is the eleven-volume *Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum*, published between 1870 and 1954. Copies of the *Catalogue* in the LWL Reading Room evidence the transfer process; they contain penciled underlines of keywords that became subjects in the card catalog.
- 5 Lewis, *One Man's Education*, 455–57.
- 6 *Ibid.*, 457.
- 7 *Ibid.*, 455. Lewis did not make an explicit link to the empire's ongoing "dismemberment" in the 1950s and 1960s, as one colony after another fought for and gained its independence from Britain. Neither did he note the gendered violence or the prejudice against persons with disabilities that characterizes the works classified under "Dismemberment of the Empire."
- 8 The subject card catalog contains several entries for "Torture" and "Torture, implements of," but the only reference to torture and slavery is the entry for one print that depicts the "slavery" of the British compared to the "freedom" of the French: James Gillray's *France. Freedom. Britain. Slavery* (London: J. Aitken, Printseller, 28 July 1789).
- 9 Neither the card catalog nor the Orbis entry lists sugar—the chief export of the British West Indies—among the print's subjects, which would prompt considerations of both plantation ecologies and their circulation between the colonies and the metropole. The image of an overseer boiling an enslaved man in a vat of cane juice further insinuates that the tortured, fragmented bodies of enslaved persons are making their way into the metropole's tea cups and cakes, unsettling the nation's ecological integrity.
- 10 Cf. Jennifer L. Morgan, "The Breedings Shall Goe with Their Mothers': Gender and Evolving Practices of Slaveownership in the English American Colonies," in *Laboring Women: Reproduction and Gender in New World Slavery*, Early American Studies (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 69–106.
- 11 The "Negro Girl" returns in the Orbis summary of the print, and the entry removes the subject "Uniforms" and adds the subjects "Kimber, John" (the captain who ordered the girl's whipping, which resulted in her death), "Slave ships," "Slave trade," "Punishment & torture," and "Whips."
- 12 For the voyeurism of Cruickshank's print, cf. Saidiya V. Hartman, *Lose Your Mother: A Journey Along the Atlantic Slave Route* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2007), 145–46.
- 13 Vincent Brown, *The Reaper's Garden: Death and Power in the World of Atlantic Slavery* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008), 59.
- 14 Thomas Thistlewood, diary entry for 20 Jan. 1768, Box 4, Folder 19. Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library: OSB MSS 176.
- 15 Thornton's *New Illustration of the Sexual System of Linnaeus* was first published in 1799, and *Temple of Flora* was an appendix to the work. This exhibition features a stand-alone version of *Temple of Flora* published in 1812.
- 16 Benedetti's *Indian Female of the Arrowauka Nation* and William Blake's *The Skinning of the Aboma Snake* originally appeared as two distinct plates in separate volumes of John Gabriel Stedman's two-volume *Narrative, of a Five Years' Expedition, Against the Revolted Negroes of Surinam, in Guiana, on the wild coast of South America, from the year 1772, to 1777: elucidating the history of that country ... with an account of the Indians of Guiana, & Negroes of Guinea* (London: J. Johnson & J. Edwards, 1796). Henry R. Cock later copied and combined them on one plate, published in 1812.
- 17 Stedman, *Narrative*, 2:190.
- 18 The engraving by William Blake after Stothard in the exhibition is a larger, later version of the engraving by W. Grainger that appeared in Bryan Edwards's book.
- 19 There is only one card catalog entry for "Homosexuality" in the LWL's holdings and it does not refer to the British West Indies or its circulations. The "libidinal ecology of slavery" is an extension of Saidiya V. Hartman's theorization of the "libidinal economy of slavery" in "Venus in Two Acts," *Small Axe* 12, no. 2 (2008): 1–14 (1).
- 20 Stedman, *Narrative*, 1:174.
- 21 *Ibid.*, 1:173.
- 22 Thistlewood, diary entry for 12 May 1768, Box 4, Folder 19.
- 23 Thistlewood, diary entry for 13 May 1768, Box 4, Folder 19.
- 24 Omise'ke Natasha Tinsley makes a similar argument regarding Brunias's painting *Three Caribbean Washerwomen by a River* (ca. 1770–80) in her study *Thieving Sugar: Eroticism between Women in Caribbean Literature* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2010), 16–22.



I



4

CHECKLIST

IDYLLIC LANDSCAPING

1. Thomas Vivares (bap. 1744) after George Robertson (ca. 1748–1788)
A View in the Island of Jamaica, of Roaring River Estate, belonging to William Beckford Esqr. near Savannah la Marr
Etching with hand coloring, 40.3 x 55.6 cm (plate)
Published 25 March 1778 by John Boydell
The Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University, Topos J27 no. 2++ Impression 2
2. Agostino Brunias (1728–1796)
West Indian Women of Color, with a Child and Black Servant, ca. 1780
Oil on canvas, 31.1 x 25.1 cm
Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection, B1981.25.83
3. Agostino Brunias (1728–1796)
A Leeward Islands Carib family outside a Hut, ca. 1780
Oil on canvas, 30.8 x 24.8 cm
Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection, B1981.25.78
4. Agostino Brunias (1728–1796)
Planter and his Wife, with a Servant, ca. 1780
Oil on canvas, 30.5 x 24.8 cm
Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection, B1981.25.81
5. Agostino Brunias (1728–1796)
A West Indian Flower Girl and Two other Free Women of Color, ca. 1769
Oil on canvas, 31.8 x 24.8 cm
Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection, B1981.25.75
6. Artist unknown
The Farm and Sugar Factory at Halse Hall, Clarendon, Jamaica, ca. 1780 [fig. 9]
Watercolor and graphite, 17.1 x 24.4 cm (sheet)
Inscribed in graphite, upper left: "Mona Liguanea"
Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection, B2006.2

7. Agostino Brunias (1728–1796)
A Negroes Dance in the Island of Dominica, 1779
Stipple engraving and etching,
30.2 x 37.5 cm (plate)
Published 15 February 1779 by the Proprietor N
The Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University,
779.02.15.01

PROSPECTS OF DESIRE AND UNEASE

8. After Abraham James
The Torrid Zone. Or, Blessings of Jamaica, [1800 or 1803]
Etching with aquatint and hand coloring,
35.2 x 52.3 cm (plate)
Published 1 October [1800 or 1803] by William Holland
The Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University,
803.10.01.03++
9. After Abraham James
Johnny New-Come in the Island of Jamaica, [1800 or 1803] [fig. 5]
Etching with aquatint and hand coloring,
35 x 51.9 cm (plate)
Published 1 October [1800 or 1803] by William Holland
The Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University,
803.10.01.02++
10. Artist unknown, monogram J.F.
Johnny Newcome in Love in the West Indies, 1808 [fig. 3]
Aquatint with etching and hand coloring,
24.8 x 35.3 cm (plate)
Published April 1808 by William Holland
The Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University,
LWL: 808.04.00.01
11. Artist unknown
Black Beauties, or Tit Bits in the West Indies, 1803 [fig. 7]
Etching with aquatint, soft-ground etching, and hand coloring, 28 x 39.6 cm (plate)
Published 1803 by William Holland
The Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University,
803.00.00.43+
12. Henry Heath (active 1822–42) after C.J.G.
The Delights of Emigration!, 1830 [fig. 12]
Etching with hand coloring,
25.5 x 34.6 cm (sheet)
Published 1830 by S. Gans
The Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University,
830.00.00.16+
13. Henry Heath (active 1822–42)
Manufacturing Cigars for the Poodles. A Sketch from the Havannah!, 1827
Etching and aquatint with hand coloring,
25.1 x 34.7 cm (plate)
Published 5 October 1827 by S.W. Fores
The Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University,
827.10.05.01+ Impression 1



14. Abraham James

Martial Law in Jamaica: Taken after the life by a Gentleman on the spot & dedicated, with every assurance of the highest consideration, to all whom it may concern. [1801 or 1803], printed ca. 1824
Etching and aquatint with hand coloring,
37.7 x 53.9 cm (sheet)
Published 10 November [1801 or 1803] by
William Holland; reprinted ca. 1824
The Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University,
803.11.10.01++

CIRCULATIONS

15. James Gillray (1756–1815)

Barbarities in the West Indies, 1791 [fig. 2]
Etching with hand coloring, 26 x 35 cm (sheet)
Published 23 April 1791 by Hannah Humphrey
The Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University,
791.04.23.01

16. Artist unknown, monogram F.Ch., after

Thomas Rowlandson (1757–1827)
Rachel Pringle of Barbadoes, 1823
Pen and ink from an album page,
26 x 19 cm (sheet)
Inscribed in ink, lower right: “FCh/Decmbr 31,
1823”
The Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University,
823.12.31.01

17. Thomas Rowlandson (1757–1827) after Sir
E. Bunbury (possibly Henry William Bunbury
[1750–1811])

Black Brown & Fair, 1807 [fig. 4]
Etching with hand coloring, 27.8 x 21.7 cm (sheet)
Published 6 May 1807 by Thomas Tegg
The Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University,
807.05.06.03

18. Samuel Ireland (d. 1800) after William
Hogarth (1697–1764)

Qui Color albus erat, nunc est contrarius albo, 1788
Etching and engraving, 20.3 x 21.9 cm (sheet)
Published 1 May 1788 by Molton & Co.
The Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University,
Kinnaird 89K(b) Box 130

19. Philippe-Jacques de Louthembourg (1740–1812)
From Sobo, ca. 1776

Graphite pencil with pen and black ink,
17.7 x 8.8 cm (sheet)
The Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University,
Drawings L893 no. 1

20. Philippe-Jacques de Louthembourg (1740–1812)
From Sobo

Etching with drypoint and hand coloring,
16 x 11 cm (sheet)
Published 1 May [1790] by William Holland
The Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University,
795.05.01.07

21. *The White Negro Girl*

Broadside, 21 x 17 cm (sheet)
Published ca. 1762, London
The Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University,
File 66 762 W58

22. *Mrs. Newsbaw the white negress [realia]: to be
had at the Curiosity House, City Road, near Finsbury
Square, London*, 1795

Copper token, 3 cm (Diam.)
The Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University,
File 66 795 M94

UNSETTLING SUBJECTS

23. Joscelyn Gardner (b. 1961)

Petiveria aliaacea (Mirtilla), 2011 [fig. 8]
from the suite *Creole Portraits III*: “bringing down
the flowers”
Lithograph with hand coloring on frosted mylar,
91.4 x 61 cm (sheet)
Yale Center for British Art, Friends of British Art
Fund, B2013.23.6

24. Joscelyn Gardner (b. 1961)

Bromeliad penguin (Abba), 2011
from the suite *Creole Portraits III*: “bringing down
the flowers”
Lithograph with hand coloring on frosted mylar,
91.4 x 61 cm (sheet)
Yale University Art Gallery, 2013.152.1.2

25. Joscelyn Gardner (b. 1961)

Veronica frutescens (Mazerine), 2009
from the suite *Creole Portraits III*: “bringing down
the flowers”
Lithograph with hand coloring on frosted mylar,
91.4 x 61 cm (sheet)
Yale Center for British Art, Friends of British Art
Fund, B2013.23.2



THE LAST LEAF OF SUMMER.

Poor last leaf of summer! though changed and faded,
Yet, unwilling to part, you still cling to the bough;
The bough that sustained you in spring's early morn,
And summer's bright day, cannot shelter you now.

Like thine the condition of Man's fragile race is;
A moment we flourish, then fall to decay;
Yet the world we still cling to, with eager eagerness,
Reluctant to leave it, unable to stay.

What's life but a journey, where dangers surround us?
Our friends fall before us, our joys quickly fly;
Though the path may be strewn with roses from flowers around us,
Like the last leaf of summer we wither and die!

Then, wherefore repine at what Heaven hath denied us?
Why sorrow in vain for the friends that are gone?
Let us call the few flowers still blooming beside us,
And submit to the fate that must soon be our own.

Songs for the Grave and the Gay. The Poetry written and Melodies selected by T. H. Bayly, Per-day.—Mr. Thomas Haynes Bayly has certainly selected some very beautiful melodies for his words, which are by no means worthy of his acknowledged talents. We know he can write better, and therefore are sorry to perceive that some of these songs are not equal to what might fairly have been expected from him. One of these, which is certainly pretty, we subjoin:—

THERE IS NOT ONE FAMILIAR FACE.

There is not one familiar face
Whose sunny loved me once!
I speak aloud—the lonely place
Returns no kind response!
Where I and others roved, I see
Another roving crew;
Gay studies are there—but ah! for me,
Not one familiar face!
Where are they now, the young, the gay?
No longer gay and young;
O'er some, too early snatched away,
The cold earth has been flung;
The rapid stream—the scholar's seat—
Each spot unchanged I trace;
But mournful is the scene—I meet
Not one familiar face!

LARGE.

Green be the turf o'er thy head,
Light lie the earth on thy breast,
Peaceful and calm be thy sleep,
Till thou'rt call'd to rejoice with the blest.
Though we weep, yet we lay at thy lot,
Though we mourn thee, we yet do not grieve,
Though we sorrow, 'tis not without hope,
Though we leave thee, farewell to grieve.
From the cares and the pains of this world
Thy beatified spirit is free,
'T would be selfish in us to deplore,
But we know that thy God is with thee.

M. H. J.



RACHEL PRINGLE OF BARBADOES.

A Run-on.—This engraving.

Des. J. N. 173

26. Joscelyn Gardner (b. 1961)
Mimosa pudica (Yabba), 2009
 from the suite *Creole Portraits III: "bringing down the flowers"*
 Lithograph with hand coloring on frosted mylar,
 91.4 x 61 cm (sheet)
 Yale University Art Gallery, 2013.153.1.2

PLANTATION ECOLOGIES

27. Daniel Lerpinière (1745–1785) after
 George Robertson (ca. 1748–1788)
*A View in the Island of Jamaica, of the Bridge
 crossing the Cabaritta River, on the Estate of
 William Beckford Esqr.*, 1778
 Etching and engraving with hand coloring,
 40.3 x 55.5 cm (sheet)
 Published 25 March 1778 by John Boydell
 The Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University,
 Topos J27 no. 4++

28. William Beckford (1744–1799)
A Descriptive Account of the Island of Jamaica
 London: T. and J. Egerton, 1790, vol. 2, pp. 2–3
 Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library,
 Yale University, Jamaica Ehcp 790B

29. Louis Charles Ruotte (1754–1806) after
 Agostino Brunias (1728–1796)
*Blanchisseuse des Indes Occidentales / The West India
 Washer-Woman*, ca. 1770 [fig. 13]
 Engraving, 31.2 x 22 cm (sheet)
 Published 1770 by Depeuille, Paris
 The Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University,
 770.00.00.190

30. William Blake (1757–1827)
A Negro hung alive by the Ribs to a Gallows, 1792
 Etching and engraving
 Published 1 December 1792 by J. Johnson
 In John Gabriel Stedman, *Narrative, of a Five
 Years' Expedition, Against the Revolted Negroes of
 Surinam...* 1772–1777
 London: J. Johnson, 1796, vol. 1, p. 111
 Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library,
 Yale University, CF2410 +S7

31. Artist unknown, monogram J.F.
A West India Sportsman, 1807
 Aquatint with hand coloring, 23.5 x 35 cm (plate)
 Published 1 November 1807 by William Holland
 The Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University,
 807.11.01.01

32. Thomas Conder (1746/47–1831)
Plan of a regular Coffee Plantation, 1791
 Engraving, 20.3 x 14.9 cm (plate)
 Published 1 December 1791 by J. Johnson
 The Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University,
 791.12.01.03

33. William A.V. Clark
Planting the Sugar-Cane, 1823
 Aquatint with hand coloring
 In William Clark, *Ten Views in the Island of Antigua*
 London: Thomas Clay, Ludgate-Hill, 1823, pl. 3
 Yale Center for British Art, Folio A 2010 10

34. Thomas Thistlewood (1721–1786)
Diary, 1768
 Thomas Thistlewood papers
 Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library,
 OSB MSS 176 | Box 4, Folder 19





A Negro hung alive by the Ribs to a Gallows.



35. Horace Walpole (1717–1797)
Letter to Hannah More, ca. 10 September 1789
 The Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University,
 LWL Mss Vol. 165

CUPIDITY AND CONTAINMENT

36. Thomas Kitchin (1719–1784)
A Chart of the Environs of Jamaica, including its Dependencies, 1774
 Engraving
 In Edward Long, *The history of Jamaica or; General survey of the antient and modern state of the island*
 London: T. Lowndes, 1774, vol. 1, foldout
 Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library,
 Yale University, Jamaica Cxp +k774L

37. Artist unknown, pseudonym Whipcord
The Fly Catching Macaroni, 1772
 Etching with hand coloring, 17.7 x 12.4 cm
 Published 12 July 1772 by M. Darly
 The Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University,
 Folio 72 771 D37 v. 3

38. Artist unknown
The Colonies Reduced. Its Companion [fig. 1]
 Etching, 18.8 x 12.2 cm (plate)
 From *The Political Register and London Museum*,
 vol. 3
 London: J. Almon, 1768
 The Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University,
 768.12.00.02

39. Francesco Bartolozzi (1728–1815) after
 John Gabriel Stedman (1744–1797)
A Rebel Negro armed and on his guard, 1794
 Stipple and etching, 25 x 19 cm (sheet)
 Published 1 December 1794 by J. Johnson
 The Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University,
 794.12.01.08

40. Francesco Bartolozzi (1728–1815) after
 John Gabriel Stedman (1744–1797)
Frontispiece
 Stipple and etching with hand coloring
 Published 1 December 1794 by J. Johnson
 In John Gabriel Stedman, *Narrative, of a Five Years' Expedition, Against the Revolted Negroes of Surinam...* 1772–1777
 London: J. Johnson & J. Edwards, 1796, vol. 1,
 frontispiece
 Yale Center for British Art, F2410 S81 1796+
 Oversize

41. William Day (1797–1845) and Louis Haghe
 (1806–1885) after Richard Bridgens
View of the Pitch Lake, Trinidad, 1836
 Lithograph
 In Richard Bridgens, *West India scenery: with illustrations of Negro character, the process of making sugar, &c. from sketches taken during a voyage to, and residence of seven years in, the island of Trinidad*
 London: Robert Jennings, 1836, pl. 39
 Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library,
 2003 Folio 16, copy 2, pt. 2

42. James Grainger (1721/4–1766)
The Sugar-Cane: A Poem
 London: R. and J. Dodsley, 1764, pp. 144–45
 Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library,
 1972 +62

43. William Heath (1794/5–1840)
A Pair of Broad Bottoms
 Etching with hand coloring, 35 x 25 cm (sheet)
 Published 1810 [?] by Walker Cornhill [?]
 The Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University,
 810.11.00.01+

44. Henry R. Cock after William Blake (1757–1827) and Michele Benedetti (1745–1810)
The Skinning of the Aboma Snake. Indian Female of the Arrowauka Nation [cover]
 Etching, 20.5 x 26 cm (sheet)
 Copies after illustrations from John Gabriel Stedman, *Narrative, of a Five Years' Expedition, Against the Revolted Negroes of Surinam...* 1772–1777, 1796
 Published 20 November 1812 by Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown
 The Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University,
 812.11.20.01





*From different Parents, different Climes we came?
At different Periods; Fate still rules the same?
Unhappy Youth while bleeding on the ground;
Twas Yours to fall—but Mine to feel the wound.*

London. Published Decr 17 1794. by J. Johnson, & Pauls Church Yard.

45. Francesco Bartolozzi (1728–1815) and John Landseer (1762/3–1852) after Philip Reinagle (1748–1833)
Cupid Inspiring Plants with Love [fig. 10]
 In Robert John Thornton, *Temple of Flora*
 Published by Dr. Thornton, 1812
 Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, Folio 65

ATLANTIC ENTANGLEMENTS

46. Olaudah Equiano [Gustavus Vassa]
 (ca. 1745–1797)
The interesting narrative of the life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa, the African, 7th ed.
 London: the author, 1793, pp. 46–47
 The Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University, 53 Equ5 789D

47. William Blake (1757–1827) after Thomas Stothard (1755–1834)
The Voyage of the Sable Venus, from Angola to the West Indies, ca. 1797 [fig. 11]
 Etching, 20.1 x 16.3 cm (image)
 Private Collection

48. Isaac Teale (d. 1764)
 “The Sable Venus; an Ode,” 1765
 In Bryan Edwards (1743–1800), *History, Civil and Commercial, of the British Colonies in the West Indies*
 Dublin: L. White, 1793, vol. 2, pp. 28–29
 Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, WeIndBr CxL f793e 1793d

49. Isaac Cruikshank (1764–1811)
The Abolition of the Slave Trade. Or the Inhumanity of Dealers in human flesh exemplified in the Cruel treatment of a Young Negro Girl of 15 for her Virjen Modesty [fig. 6]
 Etching with hand coloring, 24.9 x 34.8 cm (plate)
 Published 10 April 1792 by S.W. Fores
 The Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University, 792.04.10.03

50. William Elmes (active 1797–1814)
Exporting Cattle not Insurable
 Etching with hand coloring, 25 x 35 cm (plate)
 Published after 1813 by Thomas Tegg
 The Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University, 813.02.23.02+

51. William Dent (active 1783–93)
The Poor Blacks Going to Their Settlement, 1787
 Etching with hand coloring, 21.6 x 38.5 cm (sheet)
 Published 12 January 1787 by E. Mackleu
 The Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University, 787.01.12.01+

52. George Cruikshank (1792–1878)
From the West Indies
 Etching with hand coloring, 16.3 x 21.4 cm (plate)
 First published 1824. Reissue published 1 August 1835 by Thomas McLean
 The Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University, 835.08.01.33



ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

We are grateful for Sue Walker's and Ellen Cordes's expert assistance with collection and archival research, for Laura Miller's careful conservation efforts and Kerri Sancomb's patience as we imagined and reimagined the exhibition space, and for Lesley Baier's meticulous editing and Rebecca Martz's beautiful design work. The exhibition would not have been possible without Cindy Roman, who offered us this opportunity and made carrying out the project an adventure and a joy.

Designed and set in DTL Elzevir typefaces by
Rebecca Martz and edited by Lesley Baier
Office of the Yale University Printer
Printed by GHP in West Haven, Connecticut

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