



Eastern Jamaica, showing the parish of St. Thomas in the East and Morant Bay. Detail from *A New Map of Jamaica* ([Kingston: Stevenson and Aikman, 1800]). Historic Maps Collection, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library.

Hidden Textures of Race and Historical Memory

THE REDISCOVERY OF PHOTOGRAPHS RELATING TO JAMAICA'S MORANT BAY REBELLION OF 1865

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How may the contemporary visual interpretations unfold hidden passages and textures of the past that have not come to light, and equally how may we, the scholars in gender and visibility, guard against reinforcing the selfsame stereotypes in the present by encoding other devalued meanings?

—PATRICIA MOHAMMED¹

IN 2009 Princeton University Library's Graphic Arts Collection announced the acquisition of a previously unknown photograph album containing rare images of Jamaica from the period of the Morant Bay rebellion in 1865. The news sent a ripple of excitement through the Caribbean studies community because most of the photographs in this album have never been published, and few people have seen them until now. They provide a remarkable new resource to complement the extensive written archival records and printed sources from this period.

Albumen prints from the mid-nineteenth century provide a rare glimpse into the material worlds, buildings, clothing, landscapes, and faces of the period. They seem to catch something of the spirit of the times, the ephemeral atmosphere of place. Even though framed and manipulated to represent a particular point of view, photographs nevertheless record certain fleeting details of materiality that words alone cannot convey. They add a depth to our historical imagination even as they make acute the absence of that which is beyond our appercep-

With many thanks to Julie L. Mellby for bringing the album to the attention of scholars of Jamaica; to Gretchen Oberfranc for her careful editorial work; to Leah Rosenberg for being an enthusiastic reader; and to Gad Heuman for sparking my interest in the Morant Bay rebellion and supporting my early research.

¹ Patricia Mohammed, "Gendering the Caribbean Picturesque," *Caribbean Review of Gender Studies* 1, no. 1 (April 2007), 1.

tion, lost to the archives and to time. Albums also incorporate modes of ordering and making sense, telling us something of the social and cultural context in which they were produced.

This particular album is thought to have been compiled by a surgeon in the British Army, Alexander Dudgeon Gulland, who appears in the album first in a photograph captioned “Brigadier Genl Nelson & A.D.G.” and later in a labeled photograph of his military regiment in India. According to his official obituary, he was born at Falkland, Fife, and educated at Edinburgh, where he received his medical degree in 1857. He served in the 41st Foot (Welsh regiment), in the Royal Artillery, and in the 6th Foot (Warwickshire regiment), which was in Jamaica in 1865. His service also took him to the Crimea and the siege of Sevastopol (1854–1856), to China during the Second Opium War (1860–1862), and to the North-West Frontier of India (1868). Surgeon General Alexander Dudgeon Gulland died at Cheltenham on September 4, 1924, aged ninety-one, outlived by only one other Crimean war medical officer.²

The fifty-nine Jamaican photos are part of a larger series, which opens with views of Malta and continues on to an even larger series with beautiful landscapes of Srinigar (India), stunning military prospects of the Hazara Campaign on India’s North-West Frontier, and many picturesque views of Spain, Gibraltar, Guernsey, and Ireland.³ Here I shall focus only on the Jamaica portion of the album, but it must be situated within this sweep of wider British military adventure in colonial lands. The Jamaica scenes are inserted as but one episode

² “Deaths in the Services,” *British Medical Journal* 2, no. 3324 (September 13, 1924), 488 (doi:10.1136/bmj.2.3324.488). Surgeon General Alexander Dudgeon Gulland and Margaret Gulland resided at Malvern Hill House, Albert Road, Cheltenham; their son, Captain Alexander Falkland Gulland, 3rd Battalion East Kent Regiment, was wounded in action during the Battle of Messines and died on June 16, 1917, aged twenty-six (http://www.remembering.org.uk/lijssesthoek_cemetery.htm).

³ Gulland would have traveled with the Royal Warwickshire 6th Regiment of Foot, which was deployed to all the places that appear in the album (http://www.britisharmedforces.org/i_regiments/warwickfus_index.htm). The 2nd battalion of the regiment apparently embarked for the West Indies on March 4, 1864, aboard the troop ship *HMS Orontes*. They sailed via Gibraltar, Madeira, Tenerife, St. Vincent, Trinidad, and arrived in Jamaica on April 18, where they were barracked at Newcastle (<http://www.elkingtonfamily.com/Johnfordelkington.htm>). A baby named Laurence Alexander Gulland, aged two days, was buried on August 25, 1865, in the Ta’Braxia cemetery on Malta. Further research might determine whether Gulland’s wife could have been in Malta at this time, perhaps en route home from Jamaica. <http://website.lineone.net/~stephaniebidmead/tabraxia.htm> (accessed March 14, 2011).

in what might be interpreted as Dr. Gulland's movement through a series of major fortified ports, sites of important military campaigns, and romantic island outposts on the far-flung fringes of empire. The overall impression of the album is of the frontiers of empire, where the landscapes and people are picturesque, where Britain's army and navy have brought the benefits of orderly hospitals and fine buildings, but where native uprisings must be suppressed (sometimes with the assistance of native troops). There is a sense of the sublime in the assembled photos, both in mountain vistas and scenes of military campaigns, along with an orientalist ethnological interest in native customs and costume and a romantic view of nature, in keeping with other typical visual representations of the British Empire.⁴ Yet the photos relating to the Morant Bay rebellion seem to disrupt such conventions, pushing against the security of empire and undermining some of its visual codes.

Comparing the photographs with the known facts of the Morant Bay rebellion, I will propose a controversial argument in this article. Contrary to the prevailing narrative of the rebellion as a "black" uprising against a "white" colonial government—and contrary to the Jamaican nationalist appropriation of the rebellion as a formative moment of black anticolonialism—the facts of "color" as represented here, and associated alignments of identity, are far more complex. Although this deeper intricacy is evident in some existing historical narratives of the events, it has not been emphasized in most accounts.⁵ Beneath the surface of the photographs there lies devalued, or at least de-emphasized, evidence that the people charged with sedition during the suppression of the rebellion included black, "brown," Jewish, and white political opponents of Jamaica's British governor and ruling elite. The people killed by the rebels were mainly white, but included a black man and some who were "brown." And the troops who put down the rebellion were not only white Britons but also black Jamaican irregulars and, above all, the Maroons, independent backcountry blacks who were led by the white Colonel Alexander Fyfe. The whites of Jamaica, too, were

⁴ James Ryan, *Picturing Empire: Photography and the Visualization of the British Empire* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1997).

⁵ See, for example, Abigail Bakan, *Ideology and Class Conflict in Jamaica: The Politics of Rebellion* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990); Gad Heuman, *"The Killing Time": The Morant Bay Rebellion in Jamaica* (London and Basingstoke: Macmillan Caribbean, 1994); and Thomas Holt, *The Problem of Freedom: Race, Labor and Politics in Jamaica and Britain, 1832-1938* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992).

divided: English and Scottish, German and Irish, Church of England and Baptist, Methodist and Presbyterian. Although these may seem like minor anomalies, I want to explore the implications of reinterpreting the intersections of race, space, and violence in new ways, drawing on the photographs in this rediscovered album.

THE CONTEXT

The Jamaican photos can be attributed in part to Gulland himself, but also to the Paris-born, Kingston-based lithographer and photographer Adolphe Duperly (1801–1864) and his eldest son, Armand Duperly (1834–1909).⁶ Although little has been published about the history of this important family of photographers, as an artist Adolphe Duperly is perhaps best known for his collaboration with the Jewish Jamaican artist Isaac Mendes Belisario in producing the twelve lithographs for his *Sketches of Character, in Illustration of the Habits, Occupation, and Costume of the Negro Population in the Island of Jamaica* (1837–1838), one of the most important graphic depictions of the Afro-Jamaican population and aspects of popular culture in this period. Duperly also published two politically significant lithographs: one depicting a scene from the Baptist rebellion of 1831, and one of the emancipation celebrations of 1834. His other major work includes early daguerreotypes of Jamaica, which were lithographed in Paris in 1844 and collected in part in *Daguerian Excursions in Jamaica*.⁷ Duperly's "excursions" included such well-

⁶ Adolphe Duperly first went from Paris to Haiti, then traveled via Santiago de Cuba to Jamaica, settling in Kingston in 1824 and establishing his photography studio in 1840. His sons Armand (1834–1909) and Henri Louis joined his business and kept it going after his death. Armand's sons Armand John Louis Duperly (d. 1903) and Theophile John Baptiste Duperly (d. 1933) continued the studio in Kingston, winning the gold medal in the Jamaica Exhibition of 1891. Henri Louis established a photography studio in Colombia in 1876, which was continued by his son Oscar. There are two professional photographers still working today, Victoria Restrepo in Colombia (www.vrestrepo.com) and Beverly Duperly Boos in the United States (www.mangophotography.com), who are directly descended from the family. See Glory Robertson, "Some Early Jamaican Postcards, Their Photographers and Publishers," *Jamaica Journal* 18, no. 1 (February–April 1985), 17; Allister Macmillan, *The West Indies Illustrated: Historical and Descriptive, Commercial and Industrial, Facts, Figures and Resources* (London: W. H. & L. Collingridge, 1909). Armand John Louis's death is reported in *The Gleaner* (Kingston), Thursday, June 11, 1903, pp. 5 and 11; thanks to Leah Rosenberg for this information.

⁷ Armand Duperly, *Daguerian Excursions in Jamaica, Being a Collection of Views ... Taken on the Spot with the Daguerreotype* (Kingston: Duperly, 1844). According to Cambridge

known scenes as “Market Day at Falmouth” (1840), which more than a century later, Patricia Mohammed writes, “continued to shape the iconography of the region around the image of agricultural plantation and production.”⁸ Duperly also ran a very successful commercial photography studio, Adolphe Duperly & Sons, from around 1840, which became Duperly Brothers not long after the father’s death on February 14, 1864.⁹ Thus the elder Duperly’s work can be said to bridge the pre-photographic era, in which modes of representation were influenced by conventions of academic painting (including landscape, portraiture, and historical allegory), and the emergence of photography as a new technology. The work of his sons (and grandsons), in turn, began in the early period of photography and continued into (and contributed to) its popularization as a new mode of representation associated especially with studio portraiture and later the tourist industry.

Although many of the photographs in the Princeton album cannot be the work of Adolphe Duperly (because they clearly depict the aftermath of the Morant Bay rebellion, which occurred after his death), the portraits of the “Victims,” discussed below, may well be his, since they were most likely taken in the studio to be used as cartes de visite, which were very popular at the time. Newspaper advertisements indicate that the Duperly studio held the negatives for these cartes de visite and, after the suppression of the rebellion, produced souvenir portraits of both victims and perpetrators, priced at one shilling each: “Portraits of the late victims who fell at the Rebellion in St. Thomas ye East. Also portraits of the Baron, Price, Walton, Hire, Hitchens, and other victims of the Rebellion in St. Thomas ye East—also the Arch-traitor G. W. Gordon.”¹⁰

University Library’s Royal Commonwealth Society (RCS) Photograph Project, this rare volume contains “24 lithographs issued in 6 parts. The British Library gives a tentative date of 1850, but most other sources, from Frank Cundall [1902] onwards, agree on 1844” (www.lib.cam.ac.uk/rcs_photographers/entry.php?id=165). A second volume was planned but never published. See also Robertson, “Some Early Jamaican Postcards.”

⁸ Mohammed, “Gendering the Caribbean Picturesque,” 25–26.

⁹ Some information on Duperly comes from *Art and Emancipation in Jamaica: Isaac Mendes Belisario and His Worlds*, exhib. cat. (New Haven: Yale Center for British Art and Yale University Press, 2007). The National Gallery of Jamaica also presented “an abridged and amended version of the exhibition” in 2008: “Isaac Mendes Belisario: Art and Emancipation in Jamaica.” It featured the Jamaican loans to the original exhibition and additional loans from various Jamaican collections.

¹⁰ *Colonial Standard and Jamaica Dispatch*, November 18, 1865, quoted in David Boxer,

Thus it seems that the landscape scenes of post-rebellion Morant Bay and its environs were created either by Dr. Gulland himself or perhaps in some cases by then thirty-year-old Armand Duperly (his business partner and younger brother, Henri, specialized in portraiture). If Gulland purchased the portraits that are found in his album, then he would likely have also purchased some of the excellent landscapes, not to mention studio images such as “Natives of Jamaica” discussed below. Armand is today identified as “the most important photographer of 19th century Jamaica.”¹¹ And these photographs, in turn, can undoubtedly be called the most important images of nineteenth-century Jamaica, because of their provenance as well as their political and social significance.

Our knowledge of the rebellion derives mainly from the Jamaica Royal Commission, whose three members arrived from Britain about three months after the events, took testimony from numerous witnesses, and published a report with extensive documentation in 1866. The events of the Morant Bay rebellion, in brief, involved an uprising in which several hundred black smallholders attacked a meeting of the local government of St. Thomas in the East, killing and injuring many officials and volunteer militia men, and then swept through nearby plantation districts killing whites. The rebellion followed on the heels of a period of public meetings known as the Underhill meetings, involving peaceful expression of grievances through petitions.¹² Thus we know that popular complaints included a series of economic issues related to wages, land tenure, access to markets, and labor rights; political issues related to unfair taxation, no justice in the courts, and elite-biased government policies; and civil issues that included voting rights and access to health care, education, and land. In that sense the unrest was not an uprising so much as a social movement associated with some leaders of the political opposition, a movement firmly rejected by Governor Edward John Eyre and by higher officials in the

“The Duperlys of Jamaica,” in *Duperly: An Exhibition of Works by Adolphe Duperly, His Sons and Grandsons Mounted in Commemoration of the Bicentenary of His Birth*, exhib. cat. (Kingston: National Gallery of Jamaica, 2001), 11.

¹¹ Boxer, “Introduction” to *Duperly*, 2.

¹² See Mimi Sheller, *Democracy after Slavery: Black Publics and Peasant Radicalism in Haiti and Jamaica* (Oxford and London: Macmillan, 2000), for a full account of the public meetings and grievances leading up to the rebellion.

Colonial Office. At some point a disgruntled group at a small hamlet called Stony Gut, led by a Native Baptist deacon named Paul Bogle, began to plan a more violent attack, which apparently arose out of disputes against local officials with whom they were embroiled in several political and court battles.¹³

More immediately, the violence began during a trial for assault held in the Morant Bay Court House on October 7, 1865, during which James Geoghagan disrupted proceedings by shouting that the convicted defendant should not have to pay any costs. He was ordered to leave the court. When he did not go quietly, the judge ordered his arrest. His sister Isabella then challenged the police, and when they got outside, a “mob” including Bogle and some of his followers rescued Geoghagan. Several days later the police went up to Stony Gut with warrants to arrest those involved, but the policemen were instead captured and made to swear an oath to “cleave to the black.” The next day, October 11, the day of a local vestry meeting, several hundred people marched into the town of Morant Bay, pillaged the police station of its weapons, and then confronted the few volunteer militia who were protecting the meeting. According to Gad Heuman, “Fighting erupted between the militia and the crowd and, by the end of the day, the crowd had killed eighteen people and wounded thirty-one others. Seven members of the crowd died. In the days which followed, bands of people in different parts of the parish killed two planters and threatened the lives of many others.”¹⁴

On October 12 a British warship was already heading toward Morant Bay. Martial law was declared from October 13 until November 13. During this period of massive repression, nearly one thousand prisoners were brought to Morant Bay; just under two hundred were executed, including seven women, and another two hundred were flogged, some having suffered torture to extract confessions.¹⁵ But many others were killed during the suppression, in which British troops and Jamaican auxiliaries were greatly assisted by the Maroons, who had expertise in mountain warfare, tracking, and hidden ambush. They terrorized the local people, burning entire villages to the ground, shooting people on sight, and gathering up others for arrest and punishment.

¹³ For the best full account of the events of the rebellion, see Heuman, “*Killing Time*.”

¹⁴ Heuman, “*Killing Time*,” xiii.

¹⁵ Heuman, “*Killing Time*,” 137.

The leaders of this suppression appear photographed in this album for the first time in history, and I return to their story below.¹⁶

On one page in the album, in one of the few indications of the extent of the violence unleashed in suppressing the rebellion, there is a photo captioned “Grave of eighty rebels near Morant Bay, Jamaica” (fig. 1). At a sharp-angled crossroads, the grave apparently lies beneath a simple mound in front of a large tree; if the road configuration is still geographically identifiable, archaeologists could possibly locate the bones. Standing nearby are two men, a boy, and a donkey cart, with what appears to be a thatched hut behind the fence. The mound is sprinkled with a white substance—perhaps lime to suppress the odor of rotting bodies. In the *Colonial Standard* of October 27, 1865, a “blue jacket” soldier reported that the dead were being “packed like sardines” in gravel-filled graves.¹⁷ Witnesses before the Royal Commission gave evidence that prisoners at Morant Bay were forced to bury the executed, presumably in mass graves much like this one.¹⁸ Yet none of these burial sites has been identified, marked, or commemo-

¹⁶ Although many historians report 500 people killed in total, there is some primary evidence that indicates a cover-up of much higher numbers. For example, Lewis Q. Bowerbank, the custos (warden) of Kingston, initially gave evidence that “[t]he number of persons officially reported to the Government as killed during the insurrections . . . was 2,010. This, I understand, included those shot down in open rebellion, as also those taken and executed” (Public Record Office [PRO] 30/48/44, Cardwell Papers, Original Evidence Collected by the Jamaica Royal Commission, Evidence of Lewis Q. Bowerbank, Custos of Kingston, p. 8). Another document finds some merit in Commodore Sir Francis Leopold McClintock’s report (dated November 8) that on his arrival in Jamaica on October 31, “he found that 300 had been hung and about 800 shot, chiefly by the Maroons—that arrests and court martials were still going on and that 1500 would be a low computation probably of the total loss of life” (ibid., “The number of rebels killed,” a draft marked “read to the Cabinet, 6 December 1865,” pp. 105–6). Not all of the original evidence was published, as it was considered too incendiary.

¹⁷ Jamaica Committee, *Facts and Documents Relating to the Alleged Rebellion in Jamaica, and the Measures of Repression, Including Notes of the Trial of Mr. Gordon*, Jamaica Papers, no. 1 (London: Jamaica Committee, 1866), 23 (excerpts from the *Colonial Standard*, October 27, 1865).

¹⁸ Joseph Hall, a black cooper held in the Morant Bay prison, testified that he and others were taken out each day to bury the prisoners executed the previous evening. When asked where the bodies were buried, he replied, “Some at the back of the burnt Court-house and some at the cross road.” House of Commons, *Parliamentary Papers, 1866* [3683–1], *Report of the Jamaica Royal Commission, 1866*, Part II, *Minutes of Evidence and Appendix*, 242; hereafter cited as *PP, JRC*.



1. "Grave of eighty Rebels near Morant Bay, Jamaica." Photograph album documenting the Morant Bay rebellion, Graphic Arts Collection, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library.

rated, in part because the British government had a strong interest in keeping them hidden. How can we understand the appearance of this unmarked and forgotten mass grave, this faint trace of a violent and contested history of citizenship from below?

THE PHOTOGRAPHS

But this is the end of the story. Let us go back to the beginning. The Jamaican portion of the album opens with six pages of views, mainly of Port Royal. These are remarkable records of a substantial nineteenth-century city and military garrison that is no longer standing, having been destroyed in part by the great earthquake of 1907 and finished off by Hurricane Charlie in 1951. The photos show architecturally significant buildings, including a large church, military barracks, officers' and surgeons' quarters, substantial military and naval hospitals,

and a very extensive dockyard area of post-and-beam buildings with wood-shingled roofs, flanked by a long, elegant three-story edifice with a tall clock tower.¹⁹ These photos of Port Royal speak of a Jamaica of British colonial wealth and sea-borne military power; one shot offers a glimpse of “Her Majesty’s Ship ‘Duncan’ in the distance,” an intimidating triple-masted warship.²⁰ In a kind of double haunting, the old ruins of an even earlier Port Royal exist from the 1692 earthquake, submerged in shallow waters near the existing town.²¹ Like the submerged ruins, the photo album also offers ghostly images of a lost city, appearing in the present as if surfacing from beneath a shallow sea, with fleeting images of those who peopled it.

The album moves next into a series of views of officers’ houses and soldiers’ barracks on the steep ridges of Newcastle, high up in the hills above Kingston, where the air was considered to be healthier. As if moving higher up in the hills could replicate the bracing northern cheer of Newcastle, England, its name must have provided comfort to feverish soldiers. Views of Up Park Camp follow, showing an open prospect across a grassy area toward several long, two-story buildings with louvered verandahs. But the quiet should not deceive, for this was

¹⁹ The naval hospital, begun in 1817, is an early example of cast-iron architecture. The prefabricated beams were shipped from England, and the building was still in use to shelter most of the population during the 1951 hurricane. See Historical Museum of Southern Florida, “The Port Royal Naval Station” (<http://www.hmsf.org/exhibits/port-royal/naval.htm>), and Jamaica National Heritage Trust, “Port Royal” (http://www.jnht.com/heritage_site.php?id=347). Since 1951, the few surviving buildings of the naval station have served as a police academy and small military base and provide a headquarters for the Jamaica Coast Guard.

²⁰ HMS *Duncan* was a 91-gun first-rate line-of-battle ship, launched in 1859 and commissioned on January 6, 1864, as the flagship of Vice-Admiral James Hope, North America and West Indies, commanded by Captain Robert Gibson. First-rates, the most powerful ships in the British Navy, were slow in movement and extremely expensive to operate. Andrew Lambert, *Battleships in Transition: The Creation of the Steam Battlefleet, 1815–1860* (London: Conway Maritime Press, 1984), 67. It gives a sense of the powerful gunships that were used in suppressing rebellions in the colonies, along with lighter corvettes like HMS *Wolverine*. By April 1866, HMS *Duncan* was deployed to New Brunswick with 700 troops to put down an attempted Fenian “invasion” of Canada, so this photograph was taken prior to that date.

²¹ The underwater ruins have been designated a National Heritage Site by the Jamaica National Heritage Trust. See pictures at “The Port Royal Project” (<http://nautarch.tamu.edu/portroyal/archhist.htm>). See also Historical Museum of Southern Florida, “Port Royal Today” (<http://www.hmsf.org/exhibits/port-royal/today.htm>).

a major military camp where troops were quartered and soldiers exercised. After the outbreak of the rebellion, two hundred people who were arrested in and around Kingston were brought here, some of whom were transported to Morant Bay to be tried by court martial. Given the few signs of activity, these photos were likely taken either before the events of October 1865 by the Duperly studio, which had been producing scenes of Jamaica for some time, or afterward by Gulland, who clearly had access to and interest in military sites. On the next page Up Park Camp again appears, with some cows placidly grazing, but now surrounded by three portraits, and here begins the record of the rebellion as assembled by Dr. Gulland.

In the upper left corner is a portrait of George William Gordon, captioned "G. W. Gordon Hung at Morant Bay 23rd October 1865." Gordon was a member of the wealthy brown elite who owned plantations, published newspapers, and served in the House of Assembly. But he was also closely connected both politically and religiously with the people in St. Thomas in the East who were involved in the rebellion (especially Paul Bogle). He had led a number of public meetings involving some of them and was embroiled in political disputes and court proceedings with those whom they attacked. He was arrested in Kingston immediately after the uprising on the orders of Governor Eyre, brought to Up Park Camp, then transported to Morant Bay, where he was tried by court martial and quickly executed. This portrait has been much reproduced, ever since he was declared a Jamaican National Hero in 1965, and this photo of him has been used to produce numerous commemorative images. Yet the placement of his portrait here, right next to the view of Up Park Camp, does raise a hint of the controversy surrounding the legality of his arrest and rendition to Morant Bay.

In November 1865, as conflicting opinions roiled in London, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Edward Cardwell, questioned Governor Eyre:

I wish to know whether your approval of Gordon's execution rested on evidence of his participation in the insurrection itself, or the actual resistance of authority out of which it arose, or, as your letter to Major-General O'Connor might give occasion to suppose, on evidence of the lesser offence of using seditious and inflammatory language, calculated indeed to produce resistance to authority and rebellion, but without proof of any deliberate design of producing that result.

It is a matter of obvious remark that Gordon was arrested in Kingston, to which martial law did not extend, and taken to Morant Bay for trial, under martial law. Her Majesty's Government await with much anxiety your explanation on the subject.²²

Controversy swirled around Gordon's execution and eventually led to Eyre's recall to England, where he himself was tried and acquitted. Accounts of Gordon's role and the political consequences of his execution can be found in several published histories, so I shall not dwell on it here.²³ Suffice it to say that Britain's reputation for upholding the rule of law was at stake here, and it was severely tested.

In another dispatch Cardwell enclosed a newspaper extract and asked whether the events it described were true. A Captain Ford in charge of the irregular troops in St. Thomas in the East reported that the soldiers had taken Gordon's black coat, vest, and spectacles "as a prize," were each day killing one of the cattle from his nearby estate, and were "quartering on the enemy" as much as possible. The black troops, Ford claimed, "shot about 160 people on their march from Port Antonio to Manchioneal.... This is a picture of martial law; the soldiers enjoy it, the inhabitants have to dread it; if they run on their approach, they are shot for running away."²⁴ Even if most white elites considered Gordon to be an "Arch-traitor," as the Duperlys described him when advertising their souvenir portraits, many poor Jamaicans and those in opposition to Governor Eyre were shocked by his treatment. One of the most startling pieces of evidence to appear among the documents collected by the Royal Commission is an anonymous letter delivered to the custos (warden) of Kingston. Written in everyday language, it gives a poignant sense of poorer people's reactions to the suppression of the rebellion:

WE tell you of what happen in St. Thomas-in-the-East; that the Governor sent to shot every man and woman, old and young, and to burn

²² Cardwell to Eyre, November 23, 1865, House of Commons, *Parliamentary Papers*, 1866 [3594], *Papers Relating to the Disturbances in Jamaica*, Part 1, 242 (dispatch 3); hereafter cited as *PP*, *Jamaica Disturbances*.

²³ See especially Heuman, "Killing Time," and Sheller, *Democracy after Slavery*. For an important contemporary critique of Governor Eyre and the Colonial Office by a "Late Member of the Executive Committee in the Legislative Council of Jamaica and Late Custos of St. Catherine," see George Price, *Jamaica and the Colonial Office: Who Caused the Crisis?* (London: Sampson Low, Son & Marston, 1866).

²⁴ Cardwell to Eyre, December 1, 1865, *PP*, *Jamaica Disturbances*, 249 (dispatch 10, enclosure 5).

down every house. That it is a damn shame to see this, but God will save them from the second death the innocent ones them, Lord save them.

This Governor send men to shot without law, not to seek for the rebels alone and the riotors. We let you know this, and to believe this as St. Thomas-in-the-East burn down where we get the best of yam produce. What is the use we live again, for we will starve to death almost, and our best black men are going to shot. Well, Sir, it is but one death, as Mr. G. W. Gordon is gone, the poor man's friend, for in the House not a man remember the poor man. Well, we will burn down the town down to the ground, and kill you and kill ourselves if you don't bring back every man you take away from Kingston. We don't care of our lives or your lives or property. Not all the soldiers or men-of-war ships can do good. We will bring judgment to Jamaica at once, at once.

... We, as black and brown, and poor whites so we don't care for burn lose lives, so bring them back and let them go. You will laugh at my writing, but I don't care at that. Death, death for all, and [breaks off].²⁵

It is significant that the self-attribution of this anonymous letter to "black and brown, and poor whites" indicates a cross-racial political alliance based on class more than color. Although color was significant to the rebels in regard to their famous oaths, "Colour for Colour" and "Cleave to the Black," it is also notable that not all of the victims were white, that much of the violent suppression was carried out by black irregular troops and Maroons, and that some of the defenders of the people were "brown" or Jewish. The photographs begin to reveal some of this more complicated story.

Brigadier-General Abercrombie Nelson attempted to uphold the rule of law and objected to the court martial of several others who were detained at Up Park Camp. Thanks to his refusal, they instead faced civil courts and ultimately escaped execution. Indeed, the portrait of one of those men appears on the same page with Gordon's, in the upper right-hand corner. It is a faint, indistinct image, the man's face nearly disappearing into the background; his eyes appear blue or gray, and he has a concerned expression, mouth slightly open, with gray whiskers. He looks almost grandfatherly. The handwritten caption beneath reads, "Mr. Levine, —Tried by Civil Power and Convicted" (fig. 2). Sidney Levien (as he spelled it) was a member of Jamaica's small but powerful Jewish minority and editor of the Montego Bay

²⁵ Eyre to Cardwell, November 7, 1865, *PP*, *Jamaica Disturbances*, 125–26 (dispatch 22, enclosure 43).

County Union newspaper.²⁶ In numerous editorials throughout the 1840s to 1860s, he stood up for the poor, the emancipated, the indentured, and championed their cause. He was a strong critic of Governor Eyre and his Executive Council, even in the immediate aftermath of the Morant Bay rebellion. In an editorial of October 17, he blamed the governor for the uprising: “But when the Governor and his advisers take upon themselves to make their will the law of the land, and that law is cruelly obnoxious to the people—when the Governor and his advisers run riot in their abandonment of practice and propriety—the lower classes become equally callous on their part and riotous in their way. A Government that sows the wind must expect to reap the whirlwind.”²⁷

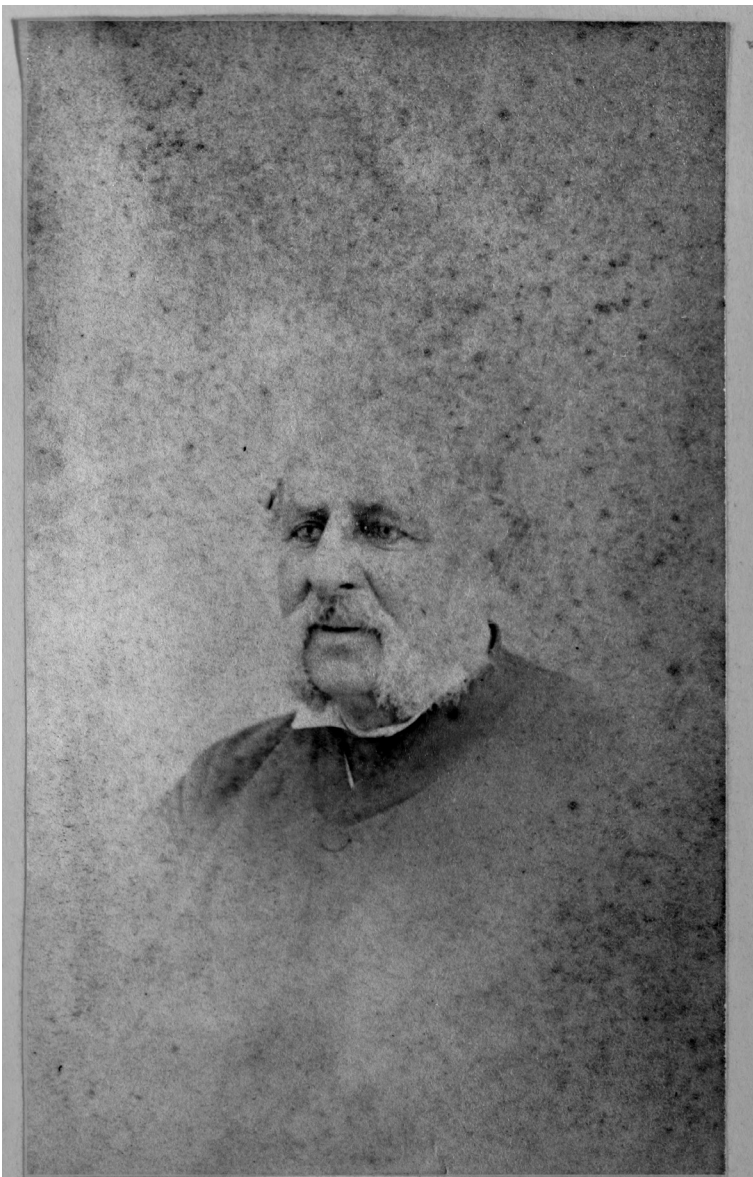
According to his own testimony before the Jamaica Royal Commission, Levien was arrested on November 1 by about thirty marines who came to his home in Montego Bay, marched him out under gunpoint, and refused to allow him to see his family. He was transferred by ship to Morant Bay and kept a prisoner there from November 2 until December 7 with no means of communication and even though martial law ended on November 13.²⁸ Brigadier-General Nelson objected to his trial by martial law, and no charges were made against him.²⁹ Governor Eyre had to accede to this determination, and Levien was

²⁶ In 1864, in a confidential report to Cardwell, Governor Eyre described the opposition in the House of Assembly as consisting of eight Jews (Andrew Lewis, George Solomon, Aaron Salom, Isaac Levy, David J. Alherga, Charles Levy, Robert Nunes, and Hiam Barrow), six “colored persons” (G. W. Gordon, Robert A. Johnson, John Nunes, Samuel Constantine Burke, Robert Osborn, and Daniel P. Nathan), plus two racially unidentified, presumably white men (Joseph Williams and Francis Lynch). The governor’s correspondence frequently complains of the Jewish faction, which controlled many newspapers. PRO CO 137/380, Governor’s Despatches, March 1864, no. 98, March 9, 1864.

²⁷ *PP, JRC*, 198–200 (evidence of Sidney Levien and extract from *County Union* [October 17, 1865]). See also Heuman, “*Killing Time*,” 152.

²⁸ *PP, JRC*, 198.

²⁹ Nelson had already written from Morant Bay on November 4, “I do not consider myself justified in arraigning these prisoners before a court-martial. My reason for thus doing so is—these prisoners all uttered the sentiments which are said to be seditious prior to the rebellion, and though I may have the power and authority under martial law (a power to myself very doubtful) yet it is a power I do not feel myself justified in exercising, and which I shall not exert unless I receive positive orders so to do.” Nelson to Major-General L. Smythe O’Connor, November 4, 1865, enclosed in Eyre to Cardwell, November 8, 1865, *PP, Jamaica Disturbances*, 157 (dispatch 25, enclosure 20).



*Mr. Levine, - Juid ley
Civil Porr and Convicted.*

2. Sidney Levien.

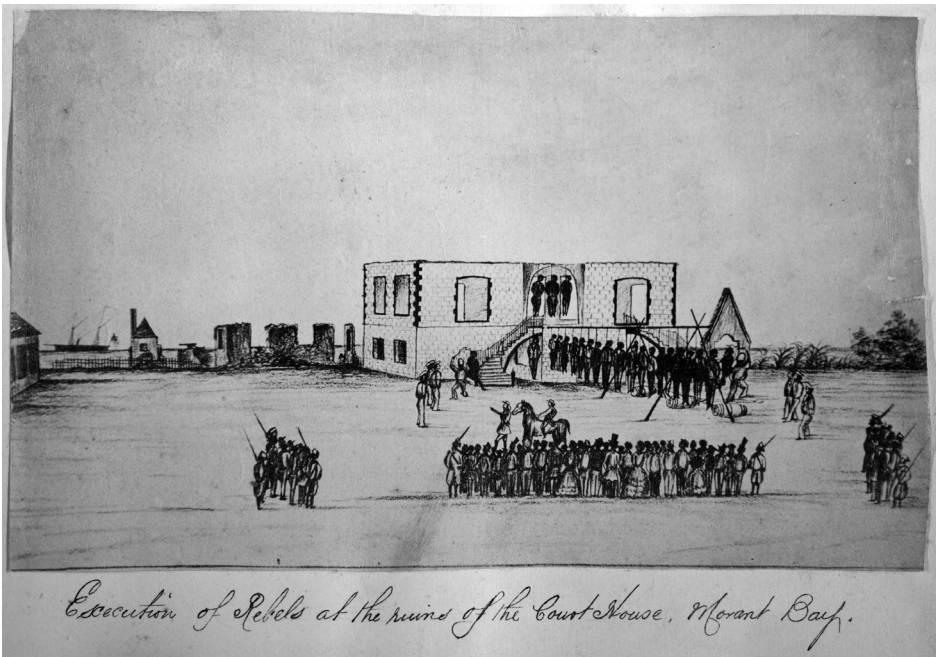
released on bail under a writ of *habeas corpus*, whereupon the governor instituted civil legal proceedings against him, charging him with seditious libel and with conspiring with George William Gordon, Paul Bogle, and others to foment rebellion. He was acquitted of conspiracy but found guilty of seditious libel on the basis of the editorial quoted above and sentenced to prison for twelve months.

Levien too should be a Jamaican National Hero, but he is not, probably because, as a Jew, he did not fit the needs of a postcolonial, independent Jamaica, which built its identity around Creole nationalism and then what Deborah Thomas calls “Modern Blackness.”³⁰ His life represents the radicalism of a certain strain of Jewish identity in the Americas that has resisted easy incorporation into the elite mercantile class with which it is mainly associated. His writings and this photographic trace of his image hint at a yet-to-be written history of a radical Jewish Atlantic, allied with antislavery and labor movements, civil rights advocacy, antiracism, and social democracy.

It seems as though the page with the portraits of Gordon and Levien ought to be completed with the well-known tintype portrait of Paul Bogle, the leader of the rebellion, which is also attributed to Adolphe Duperly & Sons but does not appear in the album. Apart from Gordon and Levien, none of the alleged instigators of the rebellion—or the actual perpetrators, or the hundreds of people who fell victim to government repression—appear in the named photographs. In their absence, a series of images captures other aspects of the aftermath of the repression, around which hover traces and evidence of these lives, and even fleeting images.

The next page has several views of Morant Bay, clearly made after the rebellion because they feature the burned-out ruins of the courthouse, where many of the white victims were killed and many of the political prisoners subsequently flogged and executed. The town looks much shabbier and poorer than Port Royal. In the view captioned “Morant Bay from the Harbour” we catch a glimpse of some figures standing near buildings at the end of a wooden wharf, five men and seven women wearing white dresses and head wraps. Two other men are seated at a building in the foreground, and the courthouse ruins can be seen jutting up to the left. Alongside the views of Morant Bay is

³⁰ Deborah Thomas, *Modern Blackness: Nationalism, Globalization, and the Politics of Culture in Jamaica* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2004).



3. "Execution of Rebels at the ruins of the Court House, Morant Bay."

a photograph of a sketch captioned "Execution of Rebels at the ruins of the Court House, Morant Bay" (fig. 3). It depicts eighteen people hanging from a long wooden scaffold, three more hanging in the upper archway of the ruined building, and one hanging under the stairway, making twenty-two in total. It seems likely that the men on the scaffold are the most significant leaders of the rebellion: Paul Bogle, his brother Moses, James Bowie, James McLaren, and the fourteen others who were hanged with them.³¹ The other bodies are probably those executed earlier and put on display to intimidate the population. A military vessel can be seen in the harbor. Groups of sailors stand to either side, with armed soldiers on each corner, guarding a group of bystanders that includes at least three women in full skirts and some men in top hats. We know that persons under arrest at Morant Bay were forced to watch the executions, and this group of bystanders under military guard may be prisoners who would themselves be tried and flogged, and in some cases executed, over the coming days.

³¹ Heuman, "Killing Time," 139. A similar sketch appears on the cover of Heuman's book; the artist in both cases is unknown.

Although the political leadership of the rebellion is generally attributed to Paul Bogle and the men he organized and armed, there were also interesting community-wide elements to the movement. The crowd that marched on Morant Bay on October 11 was led by Mrs. Letitia Geoghagan, the mother of James, Isabella, and Charles, who were all involved in the initial fracas at the courthouse on October 7. As a “brown” member of the volunteer militia later testified, “She first fired a stone, and several other women followed her, and then the men rushed right in.”³² Both she and one of her sons were executed, along with dozens of other rebels, following the imposition of martial law. These very public executions in front of other prisoners, as depicted here, were meant to serve as a warning to the entire population. The burned-out courthouse, its ruins seen in the photographs looming over the small town, was left standing as a reminder of the suppression and executions that took place there under martial law.

Thousands of people were also flogged, some by the Maroons as they drove through nearby districts burning the villages and provision grounds, others by order of Gordon Ramsey, the dictatorial and erratic provost-marshal at Morant Bay. One Baptist, the Reverend James H. Crole, was reportedly “ordered to get two dozen, but his body presented such a milk-white appearance that the provost-marshal’s cheek was suffused with a blush of shame, so that he recalled the order.”³³ Approximation to whiteness did, then, protect some from flogging and execution, but not from suspicion of sedition.

THE VICTIMS

In the roll call of “Victims” (fig. 4), we can see a certain version of Victorian white masculinity, suited and bewhiskered, often accompanied by walking stick, hat, and watch chain, all accoutrements of the responsible British Christian patriarch. In one image a married couple stands, identified as “Captain Hitchens & Wife.” She is in full white skirts, a perfect picture of Victorian propriety. The caption ends, “murdered.” The murder of women carried a particular significance in British colonial culture, following close upon the lurid accounts of

³² Evidence of James Britt, February 6, 1866, *PP*, *JRC*, 178.

³³ Letter of the Reverend E. Palmer, Baptist minister of Kingston, quoted in Jamaica Committee, *Facts Relating to Rebellion*, 30–31. See also Heuman, “*Killing Time*,” ch. 10.

the “Indian Mutiny” of 1857 (which was frequently invoked by those who survived the Jamaica rebellion), during which white women were killed and victimized. As Patricia Mohammed argues in relation to the racial portrayal of women in visual culture of the colonial Caribbean: “The white woman is never displayed toiling in the garden or hot sun, and if she is in charge of any work, . . . then she is generally well clothed, hatted and shod for the occasion. In many settings she is displayed not as a dislocated unattached single female but always under the watchful eyes of her family[;] her beauty must be maintained and nurtured for her role in life, [being a] wife and [dedicated to] motherhood.”³⁴

Children appear in two of the photographs, suggesting the reproduction of the white colonists in Jamaica. In one atypical image the nervous-looking Colonel Thomas Hobbs is shown holding a baby, but the caption reads, “died mad.”³⁵ In another, the wife of the Reverend Victor Herschell, dressed in dour dark clothes and head demurely covered, holds her baby; to the left of her photograph is one of her murdered husband, comfortably seated with crossed legs in the center of the page. According to the account of the rebellion by a former member of Eyre’s Executive Committee, published in 1866, “It is not generally known, except in Jamaica, that much of the ill-blood which resulted so fatally in St. Thomas-in-the-East was caused by the illegal permission to the late Rev. V. Herschell to rebuild the chapel at Bath in that district. . . . There is every reason to believe that serious illegalities had been allowed to exist in St. Thomas-in-the-East by the local authorities, and this was one of them.”³⁶ In fact, many of the victims shown on this page were at the center of popular grievances and charges of corruption for which no redress had been found through the courts. They were specifically targeted during the uprising, in contrast to the restraint shown by the rebels in protecting other people and property, according to some of the Royal Commission evidence.

There is an embodied and material character to citizenship in these photos. Masculine character, respectability, and a certain gravitas and public presence were crucial to the production of citizens in nineteenth-

³⁴ Mohammed, “Gendering the Caribbean Picturesque,” 16.

³⁵ Following criticism of his harsh actions during the suppression of the rebellion, Hobbs was examined by a board of medical officers and declared of unsound mind. Ordered back to England with his family in May 1866, he threw himself overboard and drowned. See Heuman, “*Killing Time*,” 175–76.

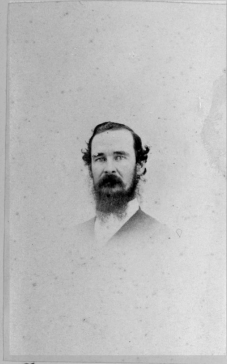
³⁶ Price, *Jamaica and the Colonial Office*, 130.



Mr Cook. - Murdered.



Mr Ware. - Murdered.



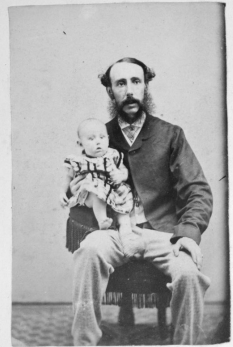
*General Marshal Samway.
Tried for Murder, and acquitted.*



*Captain Kitchins & Wife.
Murdered.*



*Jeff Morris.
Tried for Murder, acquitted.*



Colonel Hobbs. - Died mad.

Victims of the Jamaica Rebellion of 1865.



*The Honble Baron Redhall, -
Murdered.*



Mr Price, Murdered.



Mr Wilton, Murdered.



*The Rev Mr Storschel, -
Murdered.*



Mrs Storschel.



*Mr Warrington, J.P.,
Solely murdered.*



Mr Cyre ———— " ————
Trid for Murder at the instance of the Jamaica Committee, & acquitted



Lieut Brand R.A.

century Jamaica. The photos are staged in a studio, but the use of architectural balustrades, finely made chairs, and formal clothing all hint at the spatiality of citizenship as a mode of being in the world. Such spatial forms were explicitly contrasted with the thatched huts and crowded yards of the poor black peasantry and the squalid living conditions of the urban black population. They also continue to shape representational practices in terms of how poverty and citizenship are visually presented. These photos represent a culture of respectability and a symbolic performance of citizenship from which most of Jamaica's people were excluded. They exude gendered codes of respectability based on the middle-class patriarchal Christian family, as well as expectations of "whiteness."

Significantly on this page, we also find a finely dressed black man, "Mr. Price, Murdered." Charles Price, a builder, was one of the small elite of successful black men in Jamaica who embodied respectability, owned property, voted, and served in the local government. He was also one of the few blacks marked out for death by the rebels at Morant Bay. Those who cornered him reportedly taunted him:

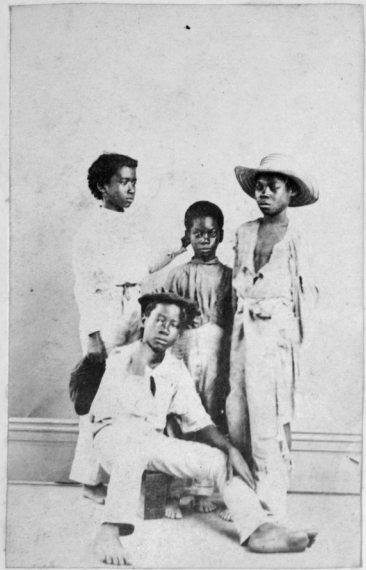
"Price, don't you know that you are a black nigger and married to a nigger?" They said, "Don't you know, because you got into the Vestry, you don't count yourself a nigger." He said, "Yes, I am a nigger." They said, "Take a looking glass and look on your black face." And Price said, "Yes, I am a nigger."³⁷

This is a complex moment of literal self-reflection on racial embodiment, adumbrating issues taken up by postcolonial theorists such as Frantz Fanon.³⁸

In contrast to the respectable victims, the grouped portraits on an earlier page, labeled "Natives of Jamaica," show people dressed in ragged clothing, with bare feet and evidence of laboring bodies (fig. 5). An older man with a graying beard, tiredly seated, has one foot

³⁷ *PP, JRC*, 30 (evidence of Henry Good, a white policeman). According to Heuman, Price "was a political supporter of Baron von Ketelhodt [the principal magistrate] and also had close business connections with Rev. Herschell," both of whom were political opponents of G. W. Gordon. "*Killing Time*," 9–10. Although some in the crowd tried to protect Price, several women declared that he did not deserve to live because he had not paid them for work. On November 1 a court martial sentenced Justina (or Jessie) Taylor and Mary Ward to be executed for his murder.

³⁸ Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, trans. Charles Lam Markmann (1967; repr., New York: Grove Press, 1994).



Natives of Jamaica

wrapped in some kind of homemade boot and the other bare foot centered in the foreground. Even the patch in his bedraggled trousers is ripped.³⁹ His furrowed brow and the bags under his eyes speak volumes of a hard life, yet he seems to carry a kind of embodied wisdom. In another photograph a ragamuffin girl catches the viewer dead on with a hard stare of incredible self-presence; anchored to the ground on solid, large feet, she might be mistaken for a boy, but the clothing and head wrap suggest not, even if the bare legs would startle the Victorian viewer. Is there a sexual provocation in her bared thigh? Certainly later studio portraits of washerwomen would play upon such titillation, but this image is more problematic in its stark capture of real poverty, perhaps representing the first efforts of Henri Duperly in a genre he would later dulcify.

The group of four children also features a small boy in the center who gazes fiercely at the camera. Another boy's bare feet jut forward into the lower ground of the photo; these eloquent feet speak of hard work, long walks on bad roads, the history of everyday life of the poor. Finally, another man poses with a large basket on his head, his torn shirt knotted onto his shoulder. His face is worn and sad, but his neck, arms, and shoulders appear young and strong. Each portrait reminds us of the total absence of bare feet in elite portraiture, where men appear in polished shoes or boots and ladies have their shoes covered by long skirts. These images bring humanity back down to earth, grounded, solid, emblems of the hard-working bodies that have kept these people alive through drought, disease, and the hunger of hard times.

Although they foreshadow later studio portraits of actors posing as "picturesque" poor laborers, which became popular as tourist postcards from the 1880s onwards, there is something more hard-edged and disturbing here.⁴⁰ Patricia Mohammed has written about the

³⁹ One of the grievances of working people in the 1860s was the high price of clothing and the many seamstresses out of work, largely due to the collapse of cotton imports during the American Civil War. See Sheller, *Democracy after Slavery*, 188, and Douglas Hall, *Free Jamaica, 1838–1865: An Economic History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959).

⁴⁰ Krista Thompson offers an excellent discussion of such photographic images of the poor and working classes in *An Eye for the Tropics: Tourism, Photography, and Framing the Caribbean Picturesque* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006). She includes some postcard images created by the Duperly grandsons at the studio in Kingston from the 1890s into the early twentieth century, but she does not specifically discuss a link

Duperly grandsons' 1905 book *Picturesque Jamaica*, with sixty-three photographs, including staged scenes of cane cutters, banana carriers, market women, and women being led off to jail (figs. 6a–d):

Why does the Jamaica-born Duperly select these compositions as picturesque? They obviously represented work roles undertaken by black women in Jamaica, but for whom are these constituted as picturesque, surely not the women and men in the photos? We have no names of the women, no clue as to their identities, they are in fact largely silent in the historical and anthropological text.⁴¹

It is noticeable that these later photographs recuperate the Jamaican working class into safe poses of productivity and law and order, which had been so severely fractured in 1865. A male overseer among the cane cutters and a black constable reinforce the colonial order in which these women labor, yet also re-center orderly black masculinity.

If a few black men like Charles Price, or brown men like G. W. Gordon, or Jews like Sidney Levien, were accepted, however reluctantly, as citizens, what about the other “natives” of Jamaica? Crucial to the practice of citizenship is the “scrutiny and regulation of actual or potential citizens,” according to Barry Hindess, in which the “idea of the citizen as a free and independent person can also serve to justify the paternal regulation of significant sections of the population.”⁴² Saidiya Hartman has also explored the fashioning of a kind of indebted servitude in the post-Emancipation United States, which pivoted on the transformation of former slaves into “a rational, docile, and productive working class—that is, fully normalized in accordance with standards of productivity, sobriety, rationality, prudence, cleanliness, responsibility, and so on.”⁴³ This is exactly the kind of discourse we hear in the response of Governor Eyre to the petitions of emancipated Jamaicans who were demanding greater democratization in the 1850s

between the early photographic practices of Adolphe Duperly and later tourist imagery. The grandsons' photos continue to influence contemporary tourist imagery.

⁴¹ Mohammed, “Gendering the Caribbean Picturesque,” 23. She notes that the pair of women “on the way home from the market” are the same two who appear in the image “off to the jail” (even riding the same donkeys), so they are obviously posed caricatures, deployed almost like cinematic storyboards.

⁴² Barry Hindess, “Citizenship in the Modern West,” in *Citizenship and Social Theory*, ed. Bryan Turner (London: Sage, 1993), 32–33.

⁴³ Saidiya Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection: Terror, Slavery, and Self-Making in Nineteenth-Century America* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press 1997), 127.



a. "Cane cutters"



b. "Banana Carriers"



c. "On the way home from market"



d. "Off to the Jail"

6. A. Duperly and Sons, *Picturesque Jamaica: With Descriptive Text of the Island* (Kingston, Jamaica, 1905). Courtesy of Yale University Library.

and 1860s. He dismissed their poverty and suffering, attributing their condition to “idleness, apathy, pride, improvidence, night-revels, gambling, social disorganization and open profligacy.”⁴⁴

The swirling political debates that instigated the Morant Bay rebellion concerned precisely the scrutiny and regulation of the formerly enslaved as potential citizens,⁴⁵ and we can imagine how the people in these “native” photos might have been scrutinized by the elite. While often positively embraced as part of a discourse of equality and inclusion, citizenship is always also about inequality, subordination, and exclusion of some categories of people. The Jamaican colonial government and elites consistently rejected the capacity of the emancipated peasantry and urban poor to be “independent persons” capable of self-governance, and they often used the charge of sexual profligacy and moral failings to demonstrate the need for guidance by respectable whites, by missionaries (and their wives), and by a paternalistic state. Thus the contrast between the portraits of the “victims” and the “natives” serves to distinguish different categories of imperial citizen and colonized subject.

THE MAROONS

The Maroons are often romanticized as the epitome of subaltern resistance against oppression, having successfully re-created their own Afro-Caribbean culture in the interior mountain strongholds of Jamaica (and Suriname). But they also raise thorny questions through their alliance with the colonial state against other black Jamaicans. They had a special claim to inclusion in the colonial state’s political regime, in which they exercised special land rights and autonomy based on earlier treaties. Paul Bogle failed to enlist them in his cause, and perhaps they turned on their neighbors involved in the rebellion with particular zeal and brutality because it was a key way of putting into practice their claim to a special relation to the British colonial state. In the album, the white Colonel Fyfe is identified as the subject of a photograph, which is in fact an extremely rare portrait of a group of Maroons, presumably posed in a studio (perhaps the Duperlys’) shortly after they put down the Morant Bay rebellion (fig. 7).

⁴⁴ Eyre to Cardwell, May 6, 1865, PRO CO 137/391, no. 128.

⁴⁵ For a full account of these political debates, see not only Heuman, “*Killing Time*,” but also Sheller, *Democracy after Slavery*, and Holt, *Problem of Freedom*.



7. Colonel Alexander Fyfe and six Maroons.

Though difficult to see, there are actually six Maroons in this photo, dressed in jungle camouflage and wielding rifles, with four crouched down miming positions of hidden attack. It is a fearsome show of military might, with the white colonel seated in a pose of relaxed power, while two Maroon leaders stand in proud strength behind him. Colonel Fyfe had led the Maroons in suppressing the 1831–1832 slave rebellion and was a “highly respected figure among them. In addition, he was a stipendiary magistrate, the custos of Portland, and a member of the Legislative Council.”⁴⁶ Governor Eyre called on Fyfe in this new crisis, and the two of them met about two hundred Maroons at Port Antonio on October 15. HMS *Wolverine* returned four days later with weapons and ammunition to arm them.

One of the unnamed Maroons in the photograph is likely to be Joseph Briscoe, a key leader, who, according to testimony gathered by the Royal Commission, shot many people on sight and attacked others indiscriminately. The Maroons reportedly killed even the old and the sick and flogged hundreds of people in Bath, many of whom were indentured Africans who worked on nearby estates.⁴⁷ The Maroons used their militarized power and legitimate access to coercive violence to set themselves apart from other black British subjects. In line with other studies of “different manifestations of political masculinity” reviewed by Mrinalini Sinha, here “masculinity clearly operates as much through differences *between* men as through differences between men and women.... This emphasis on the social differences *between* men serves ultimately to pry apart any automatic connection between the gendered discourses of masculinity, on the one hand, and bodily men, on the other.”⁴⁸ It also pries apart the unity of the category “black” in Jamaica in 1865, displaying internal fault lines.⁴⁹

Thus the album lends further evidence to the argument that the

⁴⁶ Eyre to Cardwell, October 20, 1865, PRO CO 137/393, no. 251; *PP, JRC*, 894 (evidence of Alexander Fyfe). See also Heuman, “*Killing Time*,” 131.

⁴⁷ Heuman, “*Killing Time*,” 134–36.

⁴⁸ Mrinalini Sinha “Unraveling Masculinity and Rethinking Citizenship: A Comment,” in *Representing Masculinity: Male Citizenship in Modern Western Culture*, ed. Stefan Dudink, Karen Hagemann, and Anna Clark (New York and Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 265.

⁴⁹ Elsewhere I have noted similar fault lines in the identities of “Her Majesty’s Sable Subjects of African Descent” and the liberated Africans who were brought to Jamaica as indentured laborers after the abolition of slavery. Mimi Sheller, “Acting as Free Men: Subaltern Masculinities and Citizenship in Postslavery Jamaica,” in

rebellion was not simply a matter of black versus white, as it has so often been portrayed, nor was it a “black” anticolonial uprising in any simple way. Although Paul Bogle and his allies had sought to create a color-for-color alliance, it had splintered on the shoals of political allegiances, class differences, and fiercely embodied forms of masculinity through which people performed distinctive roles of citizenship. It is also relevant that at the February 1866 trials of those arrested in Kingston on sedition charges, including Sidney Levien and two Baptist ministers (the Reverend Edwin Palmer and the Reverend John Hewitt Crole), the juries were described as majority black, followed by brown, and a minority of white jurors.⁵⁰ Many blacks rallied in support of Governor Eyre after the rebellion, including the Maroons of Charles Town, who wrote a petition in his support in February 1866.⁵¹ Thus, while the rebellion is commemorated and remembered as a “black” uprising against “whites,” the photographs remind us that these are politically defined identities, fractured, complex, and unstable.

THE SACRED TREE

Perhaps the most stunning photo in the Gulland album is not of a person or a building but of a great silk cotton tree (fig. 8). The “portraiture” of trees was a common genre in this period, as seen in the Jamaican work of the British artist Joseph Kidd and in other tree portraits made by the Duperlys. Trees later became a popular subject of tourist photography and part of the tropical picturesque tradition. Tom Cringle’s Cotton Tree in St. Catherine, for example, was a much-photographed Jamaican tourist site.⁵²

Gender and Slave Emancipation in the Atlantic World, ed. Pamela Scully and Diana Paton (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005), 79–98.

⁵⁰ “The Outbreak in Jamaica,” Spanish Town, February 9, 1866, 9, in *Morant Bay Rebellion: Contemporary Newspaper Cuttings*, National Library of Jamaica.

⁵¹ See *Addresses to His Excellency, Edward John Eyre, Esquire* ([Kingston]: M. DeCordova & Co., 1866), item 12.

⁵² Boxer, “Duperlys of Jamaica,” 13. Tom Cringle’s Cotton Tree measured 18–20 feet in diameter and “was used as a directional aid on several maps and as the 100th milestone marker for Kingston.” See the photograph and description at National Library of Jamaica, “Tom Cringle’s Cotton Tree, St. Catherine’s, Jamaica” (<http://www.flickr.com/photos/28320522@No8/2714886856/>). Tom Cringle’s Cotton Tree is also pictured in the Duperlys’ *Picturesque Jamaica*, 21. The tree collapsed on January 18, 1971.



The Cotton Tree at the Cross Roads near Morant Bay, where the rebels assembled immediately before the attack on the Court House.

8. "The Cotton Tree at the Cross Roads near Morant Bay."

The huge gnarled tree possesses as much character as a human face. Its trunk is about fifteen feet wide at the base, tapering toward a point at the crown. Its battered-looking, ancient roots stand half on land and half in water, which seems to lap at the base of the tree, forming a junction not only of crossroads but also between water and land, and thus between the spirit world and the material world, the world of the living and the world of the dead. From the "God Tree" of the Asante, the sacred Kindah tree of the Accompong Maroons in

Jamaica, and the famous *mapou* tree of Bwa Kayman in Haiti to the great silk cotton trees venerated as places of the spirits whether by the Maya or in Trinidad, particular trees have special symbolic meanings and social functions within indigenous Caribbean, African-Caribbean, and Indo-Caribbean cultures.⁵³ Their colossal boughs offer the greatest amount of shade (and often grow above underground aquifers), so they make good community gathering spots, markers of major crossroads (like Half-Way Tree in Kingston), and places for posting public notices. The Guiana Maroons, for example, had a prohibition against cutting silk cotton trees, while Dutch slave-catchers punished runaways by nailing them to cottonwoods. This kind of reverence for and political struggle over trees leads historian Geri Augusto to refer to them as part of a “liberation flora,” knowledge of which was tied to plant-based “militant medicines.”⁵⁴ This is a powerful site by any reckoning, a repository of ancestors and sacred spirits.

Unlike a tourist photo of a famous big tree, this image comes to us unusually embedded in a specific political context. The caption reads “The Cotton Tree at the Cross Roads near Morant Bay where the rebels assembled immediately before the attack on the Court House.” It is extremely important that the Morant Bay rebels are reported to have gathered at a tree such as this. It is known that they were Native Baptists, with a blended Christian and Afro-Caribbean belief system, and that they made their allies swear on a bible and take oaths by drinking rum and gunpowder. But here, for the first time, we can see a specific location where they gathered their forces, and it has self-evident sacred meaning within Afro-Jamaican belief systems. Before the rebellion, similar sites were used for public meetings, and public notices were posted on the trunks of trees, including a controversial handbill written by George W. Gordon on the “State of the Island,” which was reported to have been “posted up on a cotton tree in the

⁵³ Jean Besson, “Caribbean Common Tenures and Capitalism: The Accompong Maroons of Jamaica,” *Plantation Society in the Americas* 4, nos. 2/3 (1997), 214. See also Mimi Sheller, “Arboreal Landscapes of Power and Resistance,” in *Caribbean Land and Development Revisited*, ed. Janet Momsen and Jean Besson (Oxford and London: Macmillan, 2007), 207–28.

⁵⁴ Geri Augusto, “‘A World Only Partly Named’: Knowledge of Plants for Therapeutic Interventions in the Early Cape Colony among the Free and Unfree,” in *Freedom: Retrospective and Prospective*, ed. Swithin Wilmot (Kingston: Ian Randle Publishers, 2009), lxii.

main road at Morant Bay.”⁵⁵ Perhaps Native Baptists, like the deacon Paul Bogle and his people from Stony Gut, also carried out more ceremonial rituals at this crossroads under the shade of a sacred tree. It reminds us again that we must look for subaltern histories below the surface of the image, tangled in the roots of trees, close to the ground, submerged in the water.

What is the meaning of a tree partly submerged in water? Why is there a segment of a wagon wheel sticking out from the base of the tree, just behind the seated man? Could it have some ritual purpose? (In the rebels’ call to war of October 17, 1865, Bogle wrote, “It is time for us to help ourselves. Skin for skin, the iron bars is now broken in this parish, the white people send a proclamation to the governor to make war against us, which we all must put our shoulders to the wheels, and pull together.”⁵⁶) The leaves and branches of the tree have moved, blurring the image and lending the tree a dynamic, living spirit. Can it speak to us across the centuries of its long life? Was this tree also venerated by the Maroons, who refused to help Bogle on that day and six days later captured him and delivered him to his executioners? What happened when this tree died? No archive holds this information, although local oral histories might. Only the tree holds the stories of the forgotten ones them, as Jamaicans say, and perhaps also their spirits.

The photo album is also a kind of marker of a crossroads where the past meets the present, the material meets the representational, and the tracks of history meet the reinterpretations of each viewer. It challenges us to “unfold hidden passages and textures of the past that have not come to light,” as Mohammed says, and to decode “other devalued meanings.” For example, a man named Marcus Garvey was at an Underhill meeting in Saint Ann’s Bay in July 1865, chaired by G. W. Gordon. He probably saw or even helped distribute the placards that were printed at Gordon’s newspaper office and posted around

⁵⁵ “The Case of Mr. George William Gordon,” House of Commons, *Parliamentary Papers*, 1866 [3683], *Report of the Jamaica Royal Commission, 1866*, Part 1, *Report*, 31. On the printing and distribution of this handbill, see Major-General O’Connor to Governor Eyre, October 16, 1865, *PP, Jamaica Disturbances*, 33 (dispatch 1, enclosure 55), and Provost Marshal [George D. Ramsey] to Captain Luke, October 16, 1865, *ibid.*, 35 (dispatch 1, enclosure 58).

⁵⁶ PRO CO 884/2, Confidential Print no. 2, *Papers Relating to the Insurrection in Jamaica, October 1865*, Printed for the Use of the Cabinet, 1865, p. 23, quoted in Heuman, “*Killing Time*,” 91.

St. Ann and St. Thomas in the East in August 1865, with the words “Remember that he only is free whom the truth makes free— You are no longer slaves; but free men.”⁵⁷ Maybe he told this story to his son, Marcus Mosiah Garvey, famed founder of the United Negro Improvement Association, who gave a speech in Canada in 1937 in which he declared, “We are going to emancipate ourselves from mental slavery because whilst others might free the body, none but ourselves can free the mind.” The speech was printed in Garvey’s magazine, *The Black Man*, a complete edition of which was edited and published in 1975 by Garvey scholar Robert A. Hill, who happened to give a copy to Bob Marley in 1976. Soon thereafter Marley wrote “Redemption Song,” an anthem that has inspired millions around the world with the lyrics, “Emancipate yourselves from mental slavery; / None but ourselves can free our minds.”⁵⁸

And so the wheels of history turn. Some of its hidden textures, I have argued, are the sheer complexity of meanings and experiences of race and color in colonial Jamaica as they coordinated with class, gender, religion, and practices of citizenship. According to Amy Jacques Garvey, her husband’s father was a learned man known as “the village lawyer,” with a house full of books and newspaper. He was himself descended from the Maroons and brooded all his life over their betrayal of Paul Bogle and earlier slave rebellions.⁵⁹ With this direct line from 1865 to today, the tangled roots of Jamaica’s racial history come alive, enhanced by the subtle textures of the past that come to light in a photo album. My aim is not to deny the significance of black or white, African or British identity in Jamaica, but to show how both were dynamically forged out of complex coordinates, relations, and political processes, cross-cut with shades of gray. Rather than photographs giving us a self-evident “factual” record of “race,” then, these photographs open up the fluidity of racial categories, their changing meanings over time, and their contested historical interpretation.

⁵⁷ Resolutions from the public meeting at Saint Ann’s Bay, July 29, 1865, printed in *Jamaica Watchman and People’s Free Press*, August [28], 1865. Garvey’s presence at the July meeting is noted in Sheller, *Democracy after Slavery*, 238–39.

⁵⁸ Robert A. Hill, “Redemption Works: From ‘African Redemption’ to ‘Redemption Song,’” *Review: Literature and Arts of the Americas* 43, no. 2 (2010), 200–207.

⁵⁹ John H. Clarke and Amy J. Garvey, *Marcus Garvey and the Vision of Africa* (New York: Vintage Books, 1974), 29–30.

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