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**Picturing the West India Regiments:
Race, Empire, and Photography c.1850-1914**

By

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**A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of
Philosophy in History**

**University of Warwick, Department of History
September 2018**

Picturing the West India Regiments: Race, Empire, and Photography c.1850-1914

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List of Abbreviations

NCO	Non-Commissioned Officer
WAR	West African Regiment
WAFF	West African Frontier Force
WIR	West India Regiment
WIRs	West India Regiments

Please note: until 1888 there were numerous West India Regiments. When discussing photographs captured prior to 1888 where the regiment is unspecified ‘WIRs’ will be used. When discussing photographs captured after 1888, or where a specific regiment is denoted, ‘WIR’ will be used.

A note on terminology: In this thesis I use the terms ‘race’, ‘black’, ‘white’, ‘mixed race’ etc. This terminology is used throughout, albeit critically, and in doing so I do not endorse the ontological status of ‘race’ or essentialist notions of racial difference.

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Acknowledgements

There are many people who helped me to carry out and complete this research, from archivists and curators, to other academics, collectors, and enthusiasts.

Unfortunately there is not enough space to mention them all, but I would like to thank everyone who helped to facilitate this research and whose advice led me down the many fascinating paths that this research has taken me. Special thanks have to go to Don Cribbs, who shared his photograph collection with me and my supervisor and who sadly passed away before I completed my thesis. Gregor Williams who took two days out of his busy schedule to teach me, my father, and my sister about the WIRs connection to my father's home country of St Lucia also merits a special mention.

Thanks must go to my supervisors David Lambert and Elizabeth Cooper, who have supported me throughout this project, have encouraged me to keep working, and challenged me to do better. They've ensured that I have had a wealth of opportunities to carry out and communicate my research, and inspired me to become a better and more public facing historian.

Without the close support of my family I would not have had the strength and courage to complete this project. My sister Hayley has been my biggest cheerleader throughout, since finding the project for me and encouraging me to apply. Thank you Hayley for following me around the world, reading and engaging with my work, and coming to all my talks and events. Thanks for making sure I was well fed in the final stages of what has been an amazing experience but a difficult undertaking, and for dealing with all my word processing and document formatting meltdowns.

Thanks to my mum, Tina, for supporting me throughout the project financially and emotionally, coming out to support my public engagement work, and always checking in to make sure that I was looking after myself especially when things were piling up. Thanks to my dad, Paul, for engaging with my work and always having questions and most importantly for encouraging my passion for history from an early age, and helping me to pursue it as a career.

And finally thanks must go to my fiancé, Kareem for all of his patience and support, for helping me to become a Dr before I become a Mrs, and for coming out to support my PhD related events. You've distracted me when I've needed it, and made sure that I've prioritised work when I've tried to find distractions!

I can only hope that reading this makes all the aforementioned people proud.

Abstract

Picturing the West India Regiments:

Race, Empire, and Photography, c.1850-1914

Despite the enthusiasm of local studios, visitors to the Caribbean, and military officers for capturing images of the West India Regiments (WIRs), photographs have often been neglected as a source for the history the British Army's first 'official' black units (established in the 1790s). Relegated to the covers or glossy middle pages of books, the insights that the contested image of the WIRs can provide have been ignored. The use of photographs of the WIRs solely for illustrative purposes has meant that their role in reflecting and shaping broader ideas about race and empire has not been fully explored.

This thesis will argue that the varied and sometimes contradictory ways in which the rank-and-file of the West India Regiments have been represented visually reflect their ambivalent position within the British Empire's racial hierarchies. Whilst as colonial subjects of African descent they were designated as 'others' with racialised physical and cultural traits, their place within the British military establishment provided them with opportunities to progress and enter spaces – both literal and figurative – that were usually reserved for whites. In some cases, photographs explicitly highlight the awkward middle ground that the men of the WIRs inhabited by demonstrating that they did not fit neatly into either black or white Caribbean society. In others, their representation employs more subtle clues, such as including them in celebratory portraits, only to exclude them from the accompanying text or captions, or by using them to represent the progress that could be made by men of African descent whilst at the same time demonstrating that they must remain under close supervision.

This thesis, therefore, makes an important contribution to understanding the nature of the relationship between race and empire during a period that saw the mass circulation of images, the rise of popular militarism, and increasing support and 'evidence' for scientific racism. Chapters cover photographs of military parades and awards, including those of the WIRs' Victoria Cross winners; the Morant Bay rebellion (1865), a seismic event in the Caribbean which played an important role in hardening attitudes to race; British expansion into Africa where the WIRs were also used to suppress unrest; and the development of a tourist economy in the Caribbean that was promoted through photography. By assembling the disparate photographic archive of the WIRs and attending to the content, material properties, and circulation of photographic images, this thesis analyses an abundance of visual evidence to demonstrate that British imperial ideas about race were flexible when necessary, and both shaped and were shaped by the ideology, economics, and logistics of imperial expansion.

Chapter One
Introduction:
Picturing the West India Regiments, 1850-1914



Figure 1.1: Anon., ca.1860, Item 11 - West India Regiment Album, National Library of Jamaica Digital Collection, Available at: <http://nljdigital.nlj.gov.jm/items/show/3394>

Introduction

The ways in which the West India Regiments' black soldiers were represented are varied and complex. Two photographs that come from photograph albums held at the National Library of Jamaica demonstrate this through their entirely different portrayals of black recruits. Figure 1.1 shows a black soldier saluting his white officer whilst holding a piece of paper that perhaps carries a message for his superior. In this image, the power and authority lie with the officer, and the lines of race and rank are clearly demarcated. The officer stands authoritatively with his arms by his sides barely meeting his soldier's gaze. The black soldier is wearing his exotic Zouave uniform, and the *carte-de-visite* format of the photograph and studio-like

setting imply that it was an image that could have been collected by others outside of the unit who would have found a figure like the black soldier intriguing. Figure 1.2 shows a black sergeant major of the WIRs sat amongst his white peers. He does not wear the Zouave uniform, although this is worn by two of his white counterparts. Instead he wears the more practical blue serge. He does not wear the Zouave turban, but the pith helmet of the colonial officer. He stands out as the only man of colour, and the only man in the serge uniform, but is represented as an equal in rank of those whose ethnic background he clearly does not share. He sits comfortably, resting on the cane that signifies his status, and looks away coolly from the camera.

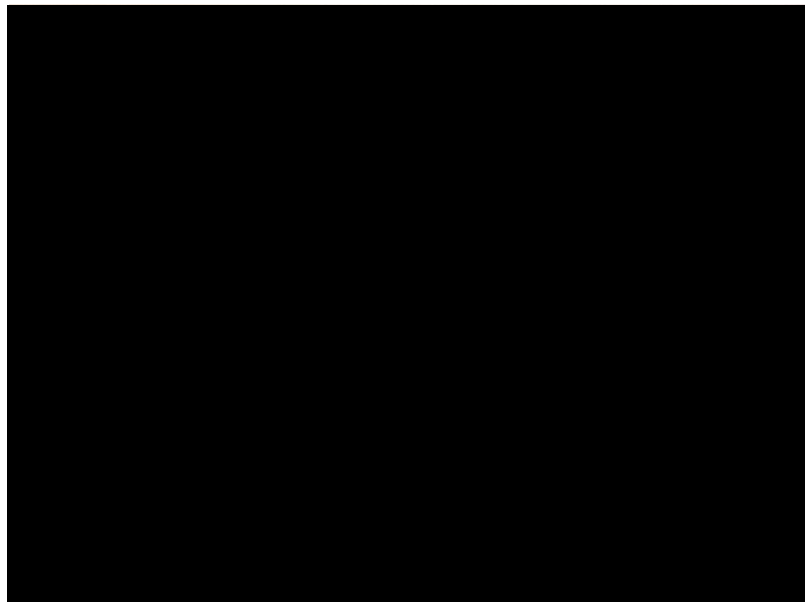


Figure 1.2: Anon., 1892, '2nd Battalion, WIR, Sergeant Majors, 1892', General Regiments Photograph Collection, National Library of Jamaica, Kingston

Were we only to view one of these photographs as representative of the 'image of the WIRs', the history of the regiments would be much simpler to outline, whether this was a history of white suppression, superiority and control, or black military and social mobility? Evidence both visual and written, supports both aspects of the Regiments' history, although as this thesis will detail, one is represented more

often than the other. These differing representations highlight that a comprehensive analysis of the WIRs' visual legacy is needed if we are to fully understand the men of the WIRs and unravel their complicated place within Britain's colonial history.

Figures 1.1 and 1.2, and the albums that they come from, demonstrate that photographs were of importance to the officers of the WIRs who were responsible for preserving these photographs and many others. They captured them, purchased them, sent them home to family members on postcards, and collated them into albums including the WIR photographic albums held at the National Library of Jamaica (NLJ). WIR Photographic Album 2, a leather-bound book with a heart shaped brass decoration on the front engraved '2nd WIR', was presented by Lieutenant H. E. Prichard 'to his brother officers on his quitting the 2nd W I Regt March 1883'. An album within the general regiments photo collection at the NLJ is also leather bound and has the metal crest of the 1st WIR with their battle honours written around it on the cover. This album was 'presented to Mrs J. M. Caulfeild by her officer friends in remembrance of her kindness and hospitality. Jamaica 1903-1906'. Another album is labelled '2nd WIR Officer's Mess' and was presented to the Institute of Jamaica by the WIR on its final disbandment in 1927. Each of these albums and their labels suggest that photographs were an important way for officers to gather, preserve, and share the histories of their regiments. Despite this enthusiasm amongst the Regiments' officers to utilise photographs as historical documents, photographs have often been neglected as a source for the history of the WIRs. Resigned to the glossy middle pages or covers of books, the insights that photographs can provide, and the discussions that they can spark have been bypassed. This must be a disappointment for all those who served in the WIRs and sought to create and collect these rich resources for future generations.

Photographs of the WIRs would also have been important to the rank and file, whose likenesses were captured regularly once photography reached the Caribbean region. Although photographs of those in the lower ranks do not usually tell us who they were as individuals, historians can learn about the collective achievements of the Regiments and how they were acknowledged, the kinds of campaigns that they took part in and what their role was, and perhaps most importantly how they were perceived and represented. The way that they were perceived and represented by insiders and outsiders, is perhaps one of the most important aspects of their predominantly written but somewhat visual history, and has relevance up to the present day. Authors such as S. C. Ukpabi have attempted to trace how perceptions of the WIRs were of key importance to the foundation of other black colonial regiments, such as the West African Frontier Force.¹ Ukpabi demonstrates that the founding of local African forces partly resulted from negative opinions that began circulating about the WIRs in West Africa from around 1870 onwards.

Despite the best attempts of the WIR officers to consolidate their photographs into a concise and unified archive in the WIR albums at the NLJ, the present-day photographic archive of the WIRs is a disparate one that I have only been able to partially piece together through visits to national, institutional, and private archives across the UK, USA, and Caribbean. This disparate archive of the WIRs that this thesis centres on is an archive that matters. It was important in the past, as the WIRs albums at the NLJ demonstrate, and continues to be so in the present day. This is because the image of the WIRs had meaning and it mattered how

¹ S. C. Ukpabi, 'West Indian Troops and the Defence of British West Africa in the Nineteenth Century', *African Studies Review*, 17:1 (1974), pp. 133-50.

the men were represented. It mattered to colonial administrators in the Caribbean, who aimed to demonstrate their control over the men, and the men's loyalty to them. It mattered to officers who sent reports of their troops' behaviour back home or published them in newspapers and regimental histories. It mattered to local black populations, for whom the WIRs were a symbol of repression. It mattered to those who were trying to promote tourism in the West Indies in reaction to their declining sugar profits. The image of the WIRs was of cultural and economic value to those circulating it. Economic profits could be made from creating and selling them or by displaying them as adverts for the region. Culturally, the image of the WIRs had even greater meaning. It helped to demonstrate the success of the colonial project in civilising men of African descent and securing their loyalty at a time of increasing expansion into West Africa. Images of the black rank and file with their officers also provided evidence of white British control over colonial peoples.

Perhaps most importantly though, the image of the WIRs had meaning for the men themselves, for it outlined how they were supposed to present their bodies and behave more generally. We cannot know whether they actively sought to match the ideals that were often represented in photographs of them, or whether they performed their daily tasks regardless. However, photographs were used to demonstrate how they were expected to behave in line with colonial and racial ideologies, and they would have been measured against their image by those that they encountered. That we can only see the men of African descent in the WIRs through the eyes of others due to the lack of images and text generated by them, connects photographs of them to theories of race and 'double consciousness'.² Such

² Howard Winant, *The New Politics of Race: Globalism, Difference, Justice* (Minneapolis, 2004), pp. 1-2.

interpretations raise questions about the possible emotional and physical impacts on the men of living under such conditions, and reading against the grain will help to determine these impacts where possible.

The image of the WIRs was so meaningful that it was contested. This disputed image was no coincidence, nor was it purely a result of the disconnected nature of the archive itself. Instead it was reflective of wider uncertainties about the race and status of the WIRs' black rank and file. The men were both racialised as 'others' and accepted as a formal part of the apparatus of the British Empire. During the mid-to-late Victorian period, when 'scientific' proof was being gathered to concretise ideas about race, the men were certainly identified as black. As a result, they were differentiated from the white personnel of the British Army in a number of ways. However, they were not subjected to the same racialisation as other people of African descent. In fact, they were often depicted in ways that undermined the very stereotypes so commonly assigned to black subjects in the British West Indies, that were part of the legacy of enslavement. The men were therefore separated from other colonial Caribbean subjects ideologically and even sometimes physically from the early years of their history.³ As demonstrated by the opening photographs, the men were both constrained by racial hierarchies and able to use military hierarchies to improve their social status.

This thesis focuses on the photographic history of the WIRs from 1850 to 1914. It covers the Morant Bay rebellion, a seismic event in the Caribbean which played an important role in hardening attitudes to race, and encompasses expansion into Africa where the WIRs were also used to brutally suppress unrest. It also covers

³ See Chapter Six for more evidence of this with regards to World's Fairs and different types of colonial 'native' exhibit, pp. 276-297.

the beginning of new economic forms in the Caribbean, as local elites and colonial officials used photography to promote tourism in the region.

What were the West India Regiments?

The West India Regiments were British military units composed of enslaved Africans and later free men of African descent and served in the Caribbean and West Africa. From a maximum of twelve regiments (military units usually made up of two battalions, though none of the WIRs had more than a single battalion until 1888) at the height of the Napoleonic Wars, there were never less than two battalions (smaller military units that within the WIRs were composed of a number of companies) in existence until 1920. The final remaining battalion was disbanded in 1927, although the WIR experienced a brief resurgence between 1958 and 1962 following the creation of the Federation of the West Indies. During a period when the intelligence and loyalty of Britain's black Caribbean and African subjects was widely questioned, and society was divided along racial lines, they served under (and in some cases alongside) white officers suppressing rebellions, supporting imperial expansion, and regularly interacting with the white ruling classes.⁴

Prior to the creation of the WIRs, black soldiers had already been used by European colonial powers in the Caribbean and American theatres of war. The French and Spanish had used slaves in their armies in the West Indies, and the British had armed slaves during the American Revolution, offering them freedom in return for their service. More than three hundred African Americans were connected to the South Carolina Royalists (a Loyalist regiment) during the American War of Independence and served in Charleston until the city was evacuated in December

⁴ See figure 3.10, p. 104 and figures 5.33 and 5.34, pp. 262-3 for evidence of this.

1782. After being sent to Florida following the city's evacuation, this regiment went to Jamaica at the end of the war.⁵ Here they formed a small regular corps of three companies and were known commonly as the Carolina Corps.⁶ The men served in Grenada in March 1784 to put down disturbances caused by runaway slaves and French deserters and in June travelled to neighbouring St Vincent where similar unrest had spread.⁷ Soon after war was declared on France in 1793, the British sought to capture Martinique. Captain Robert Malcolm was involved in this campaign and recruited a small army of irregular black troops from the free black population of the island's capital, St Pierre. The men became known as Malcolm's Rangers and served alongside British troops in St Lucia and St Vincent. With the Carolina Corps and Malcolm's Rangers in service, as well as many others, by October 1794 there were more than three thousand black irregulars serving in the Caribbean.⁸ In St Kitts in 1795, 500 enslaved men were used to help defend the island and were drilled by their planters.⁹

Between April 1795 until September 1795, the first eight regiments of black troops for the WIRs were brought into being. The first two were initiated on 24 April 1795 under Major General John Whyte and Brigadier-General William Myers.¹⁰ One month later four more were created. In 1798, a further four black regiments were officially created taking the total number of WIRs to twelve.¹¹ The 9th, 10th, 11th, and

⁵ Rene Chartrand, 'Regular African-American and African-Caribbean Pioneer and Engineer Service Corps in the British West Indies, 1782 to the 1880s', *Military Collector and Historian*, 68: 1 (2016), pp. 49-63, p. 49.

⁶ Chartrand, 'Regular African-American and African-Caribbean Pioneer and Engineer Service Corps', p. 50.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 50-1.

⁸ Brian Dyde, *The Empty Sleeve: The Story of the West India Regiments of the British Army* (London, 1997), p. 19.

⁹ Rene Chartrand and Paul Chappell, *British Forces in the West Indies 1793-1815* (London, 1996), p. 17.

¹⁰ Dyde, *The Empty Sleeve*, p. 21.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

12th regiments were disbanded in 1802 leaving eight regiments. In 1816 the 7th and 8th Regiments were disbanded leaving six remaining. The 5th and 6th regiments were disbanded one year later. With regards to the remaining four regiments, things were more complex, with regiments being disbanded and reformed. The 4th WIR was initially disbanded in 1819 but reformed in 1862 before being finally disbanded in 1869. The 3rd WIR was disbanded in 1825, reformed in 1840 and finally disbanded in 1870. In 1888 the 1st and 2nd WIRs were amalgamated into one regiment of two battalions. In 1920, the WIR was reduced to just one battalion, before being disbanded in 1927.¹²

Between 1795 and 1808, the British government brought around 13,400 enslaved men for the WIR costing £925,000.¹³ Those members of the WIRs who were enlisted as enslaved men were freed under the Mutiny Act of 1807. A clause in the Abolition Act allowed slaves captured during British missions to suppress the slave trade to be involuntarily drafted into the Regiment. After the abolition of the slave trade the Order in Council of 16 March 1808 called for all fit Africans that were taken from slavers to be given to military and naval authorities for enlistment.¹⁴ Unlike in other British regiments, where recruits were allowed to sign on for seven years only after 1806, the WIRs had no restriction placed on their length of service. In theory they therefore served for life, or until they were retired due to ill-health or unable to serve for other reasons.¹⁵ This was an important difference and raises questions about how ‘free’ these men really were.

The men performed well and served in locations ranging from the Caribbean during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, to New Orleans in the War of 1812,

¹² *Ibid.*, *The Empty Sleeve*, pp. 263-4.

¹³ Roger Buckley, *Slaves in Red Coats* (New Haven, 1979), p. 55.

¹⁴ Buckley, *Slaves in Red Coats*, p. 62.

¹⁵ Dyde, *The Empty Sleeve*, p. 29.

and West Africa from as early as 1819. They won numerous battle honours for their service including for Dominica in 1809, Martinique in 1809, Guadeloupe in 1810, Ashanti between 1873 and 1874, West Africa in 1887, West Africa between 1892 and 1893, and in 1894, and Sierra Leone in 1898. Beyond this some of the men were given individual recognition for their bravery. Two members of the WIRs were awarded the Victoria Cross, Private Samuel Hodge and Lance-Corporal William Gordon.¹⁶ They were seen as models of what could be achieved militarily through the use of colonial subjects, and as late as 1898 they were referred to as a demonstration that ‘the descendants of slaves may make as excellent soldiers as any European power could wish for’.¹⁷

The Historiography of the WIRs

Despite the WIRs’ fascinating story, and the wealth of sources available about the men, histories dedicated specifically to the WIRs are uncommon, and there has so far been no academic work that focuses on the visual culture of the Regiments. The starting point for most studies has been the traditional regimental histories of Major A. B. Ellis and Colonel J. E. Caulfeild.¹⁸ From the introduction of Ellis’ *The History of the First West India Regiment* it is clear this is a text written for a purpose - to encourage the expansion of regiments like the WIRs to serve as a separate and distinct army to defend the colonies. Ellis’ account is therefore extremely complimentary of the 1st WIR’s soldiers and their actions. His comments about the differences between the ‘negroes of the West Indies’ and those of West Africa give

¹⁶ Representations of Hodge and Gordon are discussed in the final section of Chapter Three, pp. 103-21.

¹⁷ *The Navy and Army Illustrated*, 10 December 1898.

¹⁸ Major A. B. Ellis, *The History of the First West India Regiment* (London, 1885); Colonel J. E. Caulfeild, *One Hundred Years History of the Second Battalion West India Regiment* (London, 1899).

an insight into the ideas of officers at the time about the quality of black troops of different nationalities. West Africans are described as mere machines who mechanically obey orders and cannot act or think for themselves. English-speaking West Indians however are ‘most excellent material for a soldier’.¹⁹ His experience (and probable difficulty) in commanding West African troops with no common language between them, likely led to such opinions, just as his particular disdain for Sierra Leoneans who descend from ‘the lowest of the African races’ must have been informed by the numerous skirmishes and ambushes his troops were subjected to by them. Ellis’ work is also useful due to the details about the Morant Bay rebellion where he writes strongly in support of Governor Eyre and the brutal repression of alleged rebels. Colonel Caulfeild’s *One Hundred Years History of the Second Battalion West India Regiment* is similarly structured to the work of Ellis and details briefly the engagements of his own battalion, mostly through the presentation of a compilation of primary sources. Of most interest perhaps, are the photographs Caulfeild includes of Up Park Camp, troops on parade for The Queen’s Jubilee in 1897, and one of a sergeant and bugler complete with turbans that have been artificially added to the heads of the two men. Like Ellis, Caulfeild brings to the reader’s attention numerous events worth looking at in detail and does so in an opinionated way. In particular, he is very defensive of the troops involved in the scuffle with police in Jamaica in 1894 and devotes a relatively lengthy narrative to this.²⁰ Notable for the opposite reason is his account of Morant Bay which he discusses only briefly.

¹⁹ Ellis, *The History of the First West India Regiment*, p. 7, p. 13.

²⁰ This incident is discussed in greater detail in Chapter Three, in relation to figure 3.4, pp. 75-8.

Thorough as Ellis and Caulfeild's works are in their coverage, there was more to regimental life than battles, scuffles, and inspection reports. Their coverage of the actual lives of their soldiers beyond the battlefield is thin and this is a gap that Roger Buckley aimed to fill with his 1975 PhD thesis on the early history of the WIRs and the book based on it, *Slaves in Red Coats*. Buckley examines the Regiments' early history and puts it into the context of the continuing process of the 'africanisation' of British West Indian society, war in the Caribbean, and the beginnings of British imperial expansion in West Africa. Buckley therefore looked at the history of the WIRs through the lens of Atlantic History long before it became popular. Buckley examines the manumission of slaves in the WIRs in detail and devotes a lot of space to an analysis of the key internal problems including: officer absenteeism, dispersion, illiteracy and language barriers. His account also ponders over why the WIRs were loyal to the regime and not their black brothers, arguing that this is because they were 'effectively indoctrinated in the superiority of their position as British soldiers vis-à-vis that of the slave', connecting the history of the WIRs to other examples of divide and rule. An assessment of the wider impact of the establishment of the WIRs is also present with Buckley calling the WIRs 'Britain's prototype colonial army' and highlighting their impact on slavery, race relations, warfare in the Caribbean, and the greater British military.²¹ However, Buckley's work focuses mainly on the early years of the Regiments' history, before emancipation and before the advent of photography, predating the time period focused on in this thesis.

²¹ Roger Buckley, 'The Early History of the West India Regiments: 1795-1815' (PhD Thesis, McGill University, 1975), p. iv. See Chapter Five for discussion of how the WIRs influenced the creation of other locally sourced colonial forces in West Africa.

Brian Dyde's *The Empty Sleeve* attempts a full history of the WIRs from their inception to their disbandment. Because of the breadth of his coverage, Dyde gives valuable insights into social lives and public opinion that are not present in other works. For example, his reference to a source describing the daily routine of the 'young West Indian Army Officer' who 'gets through his early morning work as quickly as possible, and then scrambles, schoolboy fashion into the playing fields' before becoming a 'social animal, from dinner time until midnight'.²² Many of Dyde's chapters open with poems that can give us an insight into perceptions of the regiment such as Walcott's unpublished poem that the book's title is sourced from, and a Jamaican folk song about Morant Bay. The book also contains lots of photographs relevant to the period covered by this thesis. However, no analysis of these photographs and their meaning is present in this or any other work, highlighting a clear gap in the present literature on the WIRs which this thesis aims to remedy.

The more complex and controversial aspects of the WIRs' history, including events such as the Morant Bay rebellion when they played an active role in suppressing uprisings by local black populations, are outlined by Peter Voelz.²³ Voelz's comprehensive history of the WIRs uses the men to present a counter-narrative to the myth of black resistance 'that has been allowed to develop with little examination of those blacks who defended their colonies or resisted the resisters'.²⁴ In his book, the motivation of black recruits joining the WIRs is thoroughly outlined, as is their impact on race relations in the British Caribbean. Black troops, he finds, were motivated by fear, reward (economic and that of freedom), their connection to

²² John Henderson, *Jamaica* (London, 1906), p. 61.

²³ Peter M. Voelz, *Slave and Soldier: The Military Impact of Blacks in the Colonial Americas* (New York, 1993).

²⁴ Voelz, *Slave and Soldier*, p. 6.

home, country and faith, nationalism and the common enemy, self-interest and white identification, and survival. Voelz's analysis was important to consider when analysing photographs of the WIRs, especially those that depict their role in maintaining colonial order and add weight to ideas that will be presented in Chapter Three that photographs of the WIRs were used to demonstrate the loyalty and potential of black troops. Voelz's analysis of the symbolic importance of the WIRs to free black and slave recruits was also a useful lens through which to look at regimental photos. He stresses the importance of uniform as a symbol of a change in status and identity in an environment where slaves and blacks were supposed to keep their place by wearing clothes befitting inferior positions. Military uniform was therefore a mark of prestige which allowed black troops to dress exactly like their white counterparts leading to feelings of increased status. A similar argument is put forward by Steve Buckridge in *The Language of Dress*, and in accounts by visitors to the Caribbean that often reflect on how the uniform looked on the black bodies of the WIRs' men.²⁵

Written less for academic audiences are Chartrand and Chappell's *British Forces in the West Indies 1793-1815* and Charles Jane's *Shirley Heights: The Story of the Redcoats in Antigua*. Chartrand and Chappell's book is part of a wider series of short illustrated guides to various offshoots of the British army.²⁶ It goes into some detail about the WIRs including why they were established, early perceptions of them, the mutiny at Dominica, and the clothing and regulations the WIRs were subject to. The illustrations included in the book help to identify changes made to the Regiments' uniform over time, and the influences of earlier militia and ranger

²⁵ Steve O Buckridge, *The Language of Dress: Resistance and Accommodation in Jamaica, 1760-1890* (Kingston, 2004), pp. 153-4.

²⁶ Charles Jane, *Shirley Heights: The Story of the Redcoats in Antigua* (Antigua, 1983); Rene Chartrand and Chappell, *British Forces in the West Indies*.

uniforms on the clothing worn by soldiers. Charles Jane's *Shirley Heights* is a guide published by Antigua's National Trust which focuses on the reasons for, the structure of, and the occupants of, Shirley Heights military fort in Antigua. Jane refers to some interesting information about the differences between islands' enthusiasm for black troops, stating that the Antigua militia was inefficient, small in size 'and saw its best service at Christmas time when martial law was usually proclaimed as the festivities got out of hand'.²⁷ Antigua's government was therefore more supportive of the WIRs than islands such as Barbados who had a historically well-regarded militia, and more willing to contribute to its upkeep. The higher status of the WIRs in comparison to other colonial armies is also stressed by Jane, who supports this argument with the fact that they won Victoria Crosses in 1866 and 1892, a decoration not available to troops of the Indian Army until 1912.²⁸ What really makes this work stand out from other literature however, is Jane's description of the African missions of the WIRs as a chance for recruits to gain revenge against those who sold them into slavery. Whether such ideas were promulgated by officers and privates of the WIRs is not clear, but it is certainly an interesting frame of analysis for the actions of the WIRs during their African campaigns and, if correct, makes the legacies of these campaigns even more difficult to engage with for black audiences in Africa and the Caribbean.

A range of articles and book chapters have also considered various aspects of the WIRs. Andrew O'Shaughnessy's 'Redcoats and Slaves in the British Caribbean', which focuses on an even earlier period before the end of the American Revolution, connects the dependency on the metropole for defence (mostly from the majority

²⁷ Jane, *Shirley Heights*, p. 12.

²⁸ Jane, *Shirley Heights*, p. 39.

slave population) to the West Indian islands remaining loyal during the Revolution and supporting the arming of black troops.²⁹ Other books on the American Revolution mention its connection to the WIRs such as Christopher Curry's *Freedom and Resistance* that tells the story of black loyalists who relocated to the Bahamas.³⁰ René Chartrand has written at length about the black labourers and black pioneer corps that predated the WIRs and then served alongside them and considers similarities in the sources, uniforms, and duties of both of the groups of men.³¹ Other articles focus on the WIRs' time in West Africa, for example Ukpabi's article on the use of West Indian Troops in the defence of interests in the region. Ukpabi's article details the importance of the WIRs in expanding and defending West African outposts and includes numerous opinions about the utility of the WIRs on the African continent from Governors and military officials.³² Unfortunately there is no clear evidence of what local people in West Africa thought about the WIRs. Images of them captured in Sierra Leone marching through roads lined with crowds and in Ghana by an African photographer suggest that some Africans were at least intrigued by the men of the WIRs if nothing else (see figures 5.24 and 3.9).

The WIRs and the History of the Caribbean

Limited information about the WIRs and their place in Caribbean colonial societies can also come from regional and national histories, which are most useful when they contain detailed analysis and narratives about significant events that required WIR

²⁹ Andrew O'Shaughnessy, 'Redcoats and Slaves in the British Caribbean' in Stanley Engerman and Robert Paquette (eds.) *Parts Beyond the Seas: The Lesser Antilles in the Age of European Expansion* (Gainesville, 1996), pp.105-27.

³⁰ Christopher Curry, *Freedom and Resistance: A Social History of Black Loyalists in the Bahamas* (Gainesville, 2017)

³¹ René Chartrand, 'Regular African American and African Caribbean Pioneer and Engineer Service Corps in the British West Indies', pp. 49-63.

³² S. C. Ukpabi, 'West Indian Troops and the Defence of British West Africa', pp. 133-50.

intervention. Most broad regional histories contain brief references to the WIRs. The fourth volume of the *General History of the Caribbean* that covers the long nineteenth century includes a photograph of the WIRs' barracks at Vigie, but beyond this does not give the WIRs contribution to the Caribbean's history enough attention. The men are only referenced in a chapter about 'Settlements, colonies and ethnic enclaves on the Caribbean coast of Central America' and this is in connection to some soldiers of the Regiments being discharged in Belize in 1817 and 1818.³³ Eric Williams' *From Columbus to Castro* does not mention the WIRs at all.³⁴ B. W. Higman's *A Concise History of the Caribbean* does not refer to the WIRs but does mention black loyalist regiments in the American War of Independence and the Maroons.³⁵ The WIRs are also absent from Gad Heuman's *Brief Histories: the Caribbean*. James Ferguson's *The Story of the Caribbean People* does not mention the WIRs despite them arguably being a significant social group in the British West Indies, even in his discussion of the events of the Morant Bay rebellion. Perhaps most surprisingly, the WIRs are also ignored by Frank Moya Pons in his history of the Caribbean despite it being titled *History of the Caribbean: Plantations, Trade, and War in the Atlantic World*.³⁶

Michael Duffy's *Soldiers, Sugar and Seapower* briefly details the political and racial reasons behind objections to the raising of the WIRs and references the differences in health of black and white troops and how these affected garrison locations.³⁷ The lack of information about the WIRs in this history of British military

³³ O. Nigel Bolland, 'Settlements, colonies and ethnic enclaves on the Caribbean coast of Central America' in K. O. Laurence (ed.) *General history of the Caribbean Volume IV: The Long Nineteenth Century: Nineteenth Century Transformation* (London, 2001), pp. 514-44, p. 533.

³⁴ B. W. Higman, *A Concise History of the Caribbean* (Cambridge, 2012).

³⁵ Gad Heuman, *Brief Histories: the Caribbean* (London, 2014).

³⁶ Frank Moya Pons, *History of the Caribbean: Plantations, Trade, and War in the Atlantic World* (Princeton, 2007).

³⁷ Michael Duffy, *Soldiers, Sugar and Seapower* (Oxford, 1987), pp. 363-4.

expeditions in the West Indies emphasizes the lack of interest that military historians have often paid to the regiments and this combined with the lack of interest in the WIRs in histories of the region and its individual islands demonstrate the need for a thorough enquiry like the one this thesis aims to produce. One general history that does make numerous detailed references to the WIRs is J. R. McNeill's *Mosquito Empires*. McNeill focuses on how 'quests for wealth and power changed ecologies in the Greater Caribbean' and how the resulting ecological changes then shaped the fortunes of empire, war, and revolution.³⁸ Important to this research are details of how efforts to build and defend empires in the Caribbean were affected by disease and how this was a key influence in the establishment of the WIR and later in the location of their bases.

National histories of Caribbean islands in which the WIRs were based or served, again mostly offer only brief insights into their history. Hilary Beckles' *History of Barbados* contains a detailed chapter on the Confederation Riots where he notes that black rebels were defeated in 1816 and 1876 when black imperial troops that they expected to come to their aid instead acted as aggressors.³⁹ Details of why the population may have held such assumptions are not discussed however. Bridget Brereton's *Race Relations in Colonial Trinidad* discusses racialised views of the local population which are essential to understanding why the colony continuously requested the presence of white troops, for example the 1897 West India Royal Commission's judgement that 'the black' was 'excitable and difficult to manage, especially in large numbers, when his temper is aroused'.⁴⁰ Jolien Harmsen, Guy Ellis, and Robert Devaux's *History of St Lucia* details the action of the WIRs and

³⁸ J. R. McNeill, *Mosquito Empires* (Cambridge, 2010)

³⁹ Hilary Beckles, *A History of Barbados: From Amerindian Settlement to Nation-State* (Cambridge, 1990), p. 125.

⁴⁰ Bridget Brereton, *Race Relations in Colonial Trinidad 1870-1900* (Cambridge, 1979), p. 196.

Moore's Rangers in the colony during the brigand wars but there is no mention of the WIR base in St Lucia in the late nineteenth century.⁴¹ With regard to the Brigand Wars, the authors state that Brigands took harsh revenge on black soldiers in British uniform, whom they saw as the ultimate traitors. However, the source of this information is unfortunately not identified. In fact, insights into the views of the local population with regard to black soldiers who took the side of the government are rare in all national histories. Harmsen has also published a social history of Vieux Fort in which reference is made to the preference for black soldiers to carry out specific duties including the burning of brigand provision grounds. Analysis of why is again absent however.⁴² Despite the lack of coverage that the WIRs receive in both works, Harmsen, Ellis and Devaux's general history incorporates images from Devaux's personal collection, some of which are discussed in Chapter Three, including postcards of the WIRs on parade, their base at Vigie, and a private being awarded a medal. National histories related specifically to tourism, also refer to the WIRs including Henry Fraser and Kerry Hall's *Island in the Sun: The Story of Tourism in Barbados*.⁴³

With regards to histories of the Caribbean, the WIRs are perhaps best covered in literature about some of the major historical events in which they were involved. Literature recounting and analysing these events gives an insight into the relationships that soldiers may have had with those in the communities they worked in. These accounts also cite useful newspaper articles and government reports that contain photographs or illustrations. The literature related to disturbances in the

⁴¹ Jolien Harmsen, Guy Ellis, and Robert Devaux, *History of St. Lucia* (Vieux Fort, 2012).

⁴² Jolien Harmsen, *Sugar, Slavery and Settlement: A Social History of Vieux Fort St. Lucia, from the Amerindians to the Present* (Vieux Fort, 1999) p. 43.

⁴³ Henry Fraser and Dr. Kerry Hall, *Island in the Sun: The Story of Tourism in Barbados* (Edgehill Barbados, 2013).

Caribbean in general includes Frank Cundall's *Political and Social Disturbances in the West Indies: A Brief Account and Bibliography*, Bonham C. Richardson's *Igniting the Caribbean's Past* and Martin Thomas' *Violence and Colonial Order*. Cundall goes into a lot of detail about Morant Bay in comparison to other events covered in his book, focusing mostly on the reactions to the event in the metropole based on parliamentary papers.⁴⁴ Cundall's work ends with a useful bibliography of primary sources related to each event, signposting starting points for any archival research. In contrast, Richardson uses a thematic rather than chronological approach to present a history of fires (agricultural, accidental and as a form of protest and rebellion) in the British Caribbean. References to the WIRs are sparse. However, he does highlight the importance of two events where the WIRs provided civilian assistance in Jamaica, the fire of 1882 and the earthquake of 1907, adding a different dimension to their more violent history.⁴⁵

Martin Thomas' more recent work on the use of violence to maintain order in the colonies focuses mainly on the actions of police forces, but is still an important study to consider, as the WIRs were often called in when the efforts of the police failed to contain disorder, and the rank and file of the police force, as well as the officers, were from similar backgrounds to the members of the WIRs. In fact, in his history of crime in Trinidad, David Trotman writes that some retired or de-commissioned WIR soldiers found police work to be a useful means of 'expressing the authoritarian and sadistic tendencies cultivated by their military training, for which there was no other outlet for expression during peacetime'.⁴⁶ Thomas connects

⁴⁴ Frank Cundall, *Political and Social Disturbances in the West Indies: A Brief Account and Bibliography* (Kingston, 1906), pp. 12-17; pp. 19-21.

⁴⁵ Bonham C Richardson, *Igniting the Caribbean's Past: Fire in British West Indian History* (Chapel Hill, 2004), p. 37.

⁴⁶ David Trotman, *Crime in Trinidad: Conflict and Control in a Plantation Society, 1838-1900* (Knoxville, 1986), p. 97.

the actions of colonial police to Bourdieu's work on the dynamics of power, writing that 'defence of colonial hierarchy was almost automatic for the police officers involved – a reflex reaction based on their presumptions about what was socially correct in the colonial society, or in Bourdieu's terms, the 'field' in which they found themselves'.⁴⁷ Such ideas could be applied when attempting to explain the motivation of men of African descent who decided to loyally fight for the governments and oligarchs that were responsible for the colonisation and repression of their nations and their limited civil rights, rather than their peers who were trying to bring an end to such systems.

As well as these broader studies, the specific events of the 1865 Morant Bay rebellion have generated more focused and detailed work. Gad Heuman's "*The Killing Time*" details the actions of specific soldiers and their commanders during the disturbances. When considering the representations of the WIRs' black soldiers during the rebellion, the actions of Drummer Philips, a black soldier who was involved in the killing of numerous suspects without trial, are of particular relevance. He hanged prisoners that he had been put in charge of by his commanding officers and shot up to ten prisoners who were supposed to be sent for trial. Philips justified his actions by reiterating that he had been given orders to shoot, not to carry prisoners.⁴⁸ The inquiry held into the particularly brutal repression of the disturbances means that the literature based around the event is able to reference the specific methods of repression used and in some cases the individuals who carried it out, many of whom were soldiers of the WIRs. Rande Kostal's *A Jurisprudence of*

⁴⁷ Martin Thomas, *Violence and Colonial Order: Police, Workers and Protest in the European Colonial Empires, 1918–1940* (New York, 2012), pp. 7-8.

⁴⁸ Gad Heuman, "*The Killing Time*": *The Morant Bay Rebellion in Jamaica* (Kingston, 1994), p. 123.

Power considers the legal procedures that followed events surrounding the rebellion in great detail and makes numerous references to the WIRs' involvement.⁴⁹

Other events involving the WIRs, including numerous West African campaigns, have also been covered in detail. Laray Denzer's 'A Diary of Bai Bureh's War', which uses files from the Sierra Leone Archives to construct a day by day account of the Hut Tax War, provides a high level of detail about the officers of the WIR who were involved in leading the suppression of the conflict.⁵⁰ It outlines troop movements, deaths during the war (including those of the rank and file), and the locations of intermediate camps and battles. Histories of Sierra Leone and colonial resistance in Africa also cover the conflict and provide some insights into the involvement of the WIR, although not in as much detail as Denzer, these include Bruce Vandervort's *Wars of Conquest in Africa*, Michael Crowder's edited volume *West African Resistance: the Military Response to Colonial Occupation*, and Christopher Fyfe's *A History of Sierra Leone*.⁵¹ The WIRs' involvement in the Ashanti Wars is also well covered in the literature related to those events, including the material written by those involved in the expeditions, such as Albert Augustus Gore's *A Contribution to the Medical History of our West African Campaigns* and George C. Musgrave's *To Kumassi with Scott*.⁵²

⁴⁹ Rande W. Kostal, *A Jurisprudence of Power: Victorian Empire and the Rule of Law* (Oxford, 2008).

⁵⁰ La Ray Denzer, 'A Diary of Bai Bureh's War: Part I', *Sierra Leone Studies*, 23 (1968), pp. 39-65; La Ray Denzer, 'A Diary of the Bai Bureh War (continued): Part II', *Sierra Leone Studies*, 24, (1969), pp. 52-68.

⁵¹ Bruce Vandervort, *Wars of Conquest in Africa, 1830-1914* (London, 1998); Michael Crowder (ed.), *West African Resistance: The Military Response to Colonial Occupation* (New York, 1970); Michael Crowder (ed.), *Colonial West Africa: Collected Essays* (London, 1978); Christopher Fyfe, *A History of Sierra Leone* (Oxford, 1962).

⁵² Albert Augustus Gore, *A Contribution to the Medical History of our West African Campaigns* (London, 1876); George C. Musgrave, *To Kumassi with Scott: a Description of a Journey from Liverpool to Kumassi with the Ashanti Expedition, 1895-6* (London, 1896).

Other Armed Men of African Descent: Free and Enslaved

Despite the existence of material related to events that the WIRs were involved in, information about the individuals who made up the regiments and their motivations and lifestyles is glaringly absent. Such gaps in the literature about them can be partially filled with inferences based on information about other regiments raised by colonial powers from the black population, similar regiments raised from slave populations elsewhere in the Americas, or colonial police forces. The Caribbean's colonial police forces, like the WIRs, were led by white men with the rank and file made up predominantly of black men. Those with some tie to the colonial government were the first to write about policing in the colonial Caribbean. Colonel Mavrogordato wrote an article about the Trinidad Constabulary whilst he was Inspector General in 1932. Twenty years later Sir Charles Jeffries wrote *The Colonial Police* after years of contact with colonial policemen and their problems. Both of these works describe the structure and history of Caribbean Constabularies before later encouraging readers to seek a career (or in Jeffries words an 'adventure') in the colonies.⁵³ Other literature around the subject takes a more analytical and theoretical approach with both Georgina Sinclair and Martin Thomas referencing works of political theory to explain policing methods.⁵⁴

Anderson and Kilingray emphasise the importance of such policemen to colonialism, stating that the exercise of authority is at the heart of the history of empire, demonstrating the importance of the historiography of the WIRs to that of

⁵³ A. S. Mavrogordato, 'The Trinidad Constabulary', *Police Journal*, 407 (1932), pp. 407-12; Sir Charles Jeffries, *The Colonial Police* (London, 1952), p. 54.

⁵⁴ Thomas, *Violence and Colonial Order*; Georgina Sinclair, *Globalising British Policing* (Farnham, 2011).

the British Empire more generally. Speaking of West Indian constables of African descent, they state that these men worked in a world where those with white skins generally policed themselves and that it was unthinkable for them to police the ruling classes. Instead they were placed in direct confrontation with those whose heritage they shared and were often known for their 'excess and high-handedness' when it came to serving the colonial authorities. Bonham C. Richardson offers a similarly negative view of local recruits, calling them 'ruffians without scruples who had sold out to the colonial elite and were only willing to push people around'.⁵⁵ Although it could be assumed that the WIRs were viewed in the same way, histories that reference the WIRs' relationship with local people do highlight that they were more popular than police forces. This is perhaps because locals encountered the police more regularly providing more opportunities for negative interactions.

Gaps in the literature about the WIRs can also be partly filled by literature related to the arming of other enslaved populations. Christopher Brown and Philip Morgan's *Arming Slaves: From Classical Times to the Modern Age* considers why slaves were armed, why slaves would choose to fight for their masters, and also how the arming of slaves, or the refusal to do so, can help us understand more about slavery itself. The book also helps to explain why slavery was not undermined throughout history by the large-scale enlisting of slave soldiers despite the blatant contradictions this action created about what it was to be a slave and what it was to be a soldier.⁵⁶ The justifications provided throughout the book for the arming of slaves do not differ too greatly from those given to explain the creation of the WIRs,

⁵⁵ Richardson, *Igniting the Caribbean's Past*, p. 143.

⁵⁶ David Brion Davis, 'Introduction', in Christopher Brown and Philip Morgan's *Arming Slaves: From Classical Times to the Modern Age* (New Haven, 2006), p. 2; Christopher Brown, 'The Arming of Slaves in Comparative Perspective', in Christopher Brown and Philip Morgan's *Arming Slaves: From Classical Times to the Modern Age* (New Haven, 2006), p. 346.

namely the ‘high attrition rate of white troops’ and the ‘doctrine of necessity’ caused by emergency shortages in manpower at critical stages of conflicts. However, the wealth of examples of slave armies detailed in the volume allow the reader to select the best possible cases for comparative study, to trace lines of influence where they exist, and to question why in some cases evidence of influence is missing where possible connections seem obvious.

The British were therefore not the first colonisers to arm enslaved people. Throughout history this had occurred and by the eighteenth century numerous European powers including France and Spain were also using enslaved men in their armies. The actions of the French, whose rivalry with the British in the region was a key reason for the need for a protective force on Britain’s West Indian positions, were highly influential in the formation of the WIRs. After all, the WIRs were partly raised in order to meet the enemy (who frequently used black troops) ‘on equal terms’.⁵⁷ The French influence continued into the nineteenth century when the uniforms of the ‘dashing French troops in the Crimea were recalled’ during discussions about devising a more suitable uniform for troops employed in the tropics.⁵⁸ France’s own African regiment, the *Tirailleurs Sénégalais*, are an essential point of reference but have only been written about in English by Myron Echenberg. Unfortunately, Echenberg has struggled with similar gaps in archive material as scholars of the WIRs and states that French military records concentrate on military and political questions, paying little attention to how colonial soldiers actually lived their lives.⁵⁹ Michelle Moyd has written in detail about the East African Askari, recruited from the 1890s onwards to fill the ranks of the German colonial army. The

⁵⁷ Dyde, *The Empty Sleeve*, p. 15.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 149.

⁵⁹ Myron Echenberg, *Colonial Conscripts: The Tirailleurs Senegalais in French West Africa, 1857-1960* (Portsmouth, 1991), p. 1.

Askari have a similarly controversial history and were used to repress resistance during the establishment of the colonial state in Tanzania. Moyd includes some photographs of the Askari that are useful points of comparison due to their similar content and aims.⁶⁰

Current literature related to the WIRs covers the importance of arming men of African descent to battle for equality and against slavery, the reason for the establishment of the regiments, and the fact that raising corps of black troops was not a dramatic departure from everyday practice. The literature was useful in highlighting events worth scouring for photographs and also for identifying further collections of potentially useful photographs. Sadly, none of the works referenced in this review provide an analysis of the photographs they include. Photographs are inserted almost at random into most texts or confined to the glossy middle pages. Similarly absent is detailed information about the men behind and within these pictures, their lifestyles and backgrounds, and what the public thought of them. In short, photographs are not used as sources in themselves but as illustrations. To make a successful contribution to the current literature this thesis will use photography properly as a primary source to develop upon what has already been written about the WIRs based on textual sources.

Connected to this lack of analysis of the visual history of the WIRs is a lack of research into their cultural impact more generally. Although references are made in primary sources to the performances of the WIRs' bands at a range of events, and its sports tours, little has been written about the WIRs' 'soft' power. Their image, and their presence as performers or sportsmen at important societal events helped to

⁶⁰ Michelle Moyd, *Violent Intermediaries: African Soldiers, Conquest, and Everyday Colonialism in German East Africa* (Athens, Ohio, 2014).

promote empire just as their ‘hard’ power on the battlefield was helping to expand it. This thesis sheds new light on the ‘soft’ power of the image of the WIRs when it worked alone to promote tourism and the progress of those of African descent under British rule, and when it worked in combination with their ‘hard’ power, for example in the images taken after the Morant Bay rebellion.

Situating Photographs of the West India Regiments: The Atlantic World and the Colonial Metropole 1850-1914

As mentioned earlier, the photographic archive of the WIRs has been spread across the UK, USA, West Africa and the Caribbean. Likewise, the history of the West India Regiments is a transoceanic one, and images of the men flowed and circulated throughout the Atlantic world. Although this research centres on source material from the British Atlantic (including the United States), images of the men likely circulated in French colonies and those of other European nations as between 1850 and 1914 boundaries between colonial empires and spheres of influence were fluid. This period was of great significance for the British Empire. The Indian Rebellion or ‘Mutiny’ in 1857 had brought the loyalty of colonial subjects (especially those in the military) into question and was swiftly followed by the 1865 Morant Bay rebellion in Jamaica, which raised similar issues and was also dealt with by force. From the 1880s, the ‘Scramble for Africa’ saw the British Empire expand into West and Central Africa, and by the end of the Second Boer War in 1902, South Africa was firmly under British control. Meanwhile world fairs like the Great Exhibition in 1851 and the Colonial and Indian Exhibition in 1886 displayed the spoils of empire in London. Traces of the WIRs can be found at most of these events, emphasising their importance to the British imperial project and British Atlantic History.

In their introduction to *Atlantic History*, Jack Greene and Philip Morgan note that ‘pan-Atlantic webs of association linked people, objects, and beliefs across and within the region’.⁶¹ Photographs of the men of the WIRs were not exempt from these webs of association and along with the perspectives that they represented, and the ideologies that they supported, they made up a tiny but significant proportion of the people, objects and beliefs that were carried by the Atlantic’s currents. Greene and Morgan highlight that thus far, although much work on Atlantic history has focused on the movement of people and goods, there is more to be done with regards to ‘the exchange of values and the circulation of ideas’ across the Atlantic.⁶² This thesis will contribute to an increased understanding of how ideas about race, loyalty and martial capacity circulated across the region by tracing the movement of images about the WIRs.

The photographs discussed in this thesis were mostly captured during the mid-to-late Victorian period when an increasing importance was being placed on science and scientific methods of analysis. Christine Bolt argues in *Victorian Attitudes to Race* that from the mid-Victorian period ‘race and culture were dangerously linked, and race became more than a biological concept’.⁶³ The period covered by my research project coincides with the beginning of scientific racism for which photography was an important method of documentation and dissemination. According to Douglas Lorimer racial ideology was influenced by both domestic and imperial concerns and grew out of ‘the armchair investigations of the new science of anthropology’ as well as the ‘romantic speculations’ of historians seeking ‘the

⁶¹ Jack P. Greene, Philip D. Morgan, ‘Introduction’, in Jack P. Greene, Philip D. Morgan (eds.) *Atlantic History: A Critical Appraisal* (Oxford, 2009), p. 16.

⁶² Green and Morgan, ‘Introduction’, p. 21.

⁶³ Christine Bolt, *Victorian Attitudes to Race* (London, 1971), p. 9.

elusive qualities of the national character'.⁶⁴ Lorimer writes that 'the Victorians looked upon the negro as the photographic negative of the Anglo-Saxon', and that the image of the black man gave them a clearer perception of their own supposed racial uniqueness.⁶⁵ Images of colonial black subjects were therefore important to white identity, which was constantly being formed in opposition to them. Images of the WIRs on parade with their white officers would have provided a perfect means for white audiences to directly compare men like themselves to those of African descent.

During this historical moment, pseudo-scientific racism led to the proliferation of a large volume of anthropological photographs. These images of distant races and peoples became essential to the way in which people in Britain and other 'civilised' nations viewed black subjects. Pseudo-scientific racism revolved around a body of ideas that 'proved' that dark-skinned races, especially Africans, were inherently and biologically inferior to Europeans. The importance of visual arts in circulating and strengthening of racial theories cannot be underestimated. Aided by the blossoming of print capitalism and improved methods of reproducing images en masse, the science of racism soon became easily accessible and consumable by the general public.⁶⁶

Also important to this period was the backdrop of feared and actual racialised unrest, in the context of the American Civil War and Indian Rebellion of 1857, and most importantly events in the Caribbean such as the 1865 Morant Bay rebellion.

⁶⁴ Douglas Lorimer, *Colour, Class and the Victorians* (Leicester, 1978), p. 14.

⁶⁵ Lorimer, *Colour, Class and the Victorians*, p. 11.

⁶⁶ Bridget Brereton, 'The Development of an Identity: The Black Middle Class of Trinidad in the Late Nineteenth Century' in Hilary Beckles and Verene Shepherd (eds.) *Caribbean Freedom: Economy and Society From Emancipation to the Present* (Princeton, 1996), p. 276; See Elizabeth Edwards, *Raw Histories: Photographs, Anthropology and Museums* (Oxford, 2001) for a detailed discussion of Huxley's project in Chapter 6; Shearer West, *The Victorians and Race* (Aldershot, 1996), pp. 5-6.

The latter is regarded by many as a key influence on changing racial attitudes about African-Caribbean people. For example David Olusoga argues that ‘Britain’s relationship with black people...for the rest of the nineteenth century and much of the twentieth, were influenced by the racial debates that exploded out of the Morant Bay rebellion and its aftermath’.⁶⁷ Bolt argues that as a result of the Morant Bay rebellion ‘by the 1860s...the upper and middle class of the English people, especially the latter, had come to believe that Negroes were innately inferior beings who consequently did not rate equal consideration with themselves’.⁶⁸ These undertones of racialised thought and racialised violence coincided with the beginning of attempts by colonial governors and businessmen to refashion the Caribbean islands as picturesque ‘tropical’ paradises, leading to complex portrayals of black bodies and the landscapes they inhabited.⁶⁹ To attract visitors the region and its peoples had to be different enough to draw interest but familiar enough for visitors to feel secure. This led to portrayals of the people and the landscapes as both enticing and threatening, exotic and domesticated, but most importantly under control.

Visible Absences and Limitations

Unsurprisingly, due to the male-dominated military lifestyle that images of the WIRs are depicting, there is an absence of women in the visual archive of the WIRs, both within in military and other social spaces. Women do feature in some images, for example figure 2.5, figure 6.15 and figures 6.19 and 6.20, but in most cases they are

⁶⁷ David Olusoga, *Black and British* (London, 2016), p. 379.

⁶⁸ Bolt, *Victorian Attitudes to Race*, p. 106.

⁶⁹ Krista Thompson, *An Eye for the Tropics* (Durham, 2006), p.4; The impact of the Morant Bay rebellion on international representations of the British West Indies following the Great Exhibition of 1851 is discussed by Wayne Modest in “‘A Period of Exhibitions’ World’s Fairs, Museums, and the Labouring Black Body in Jamaica”, in Tim Barringer and Wayne Modest (eds.) *Victorian Jamaica* (Durham, 2018), pp. 524-7.

depicted as part of the generic Caribbean scenery like Johnston's Caribbean market women. The women in Johnston's photograph taken outside of the barracks at Nassau (figure 6.15) are described as 'black women' in the curator's caption, although this is not completely clear from the image itself. Much like the market women in figure 6.19, they seem to have been posed for inclusion in the photograph. Their presence in their bright white dresses highlights the cleanliness and propriety of the black inhabitants of the island who were not part of the WIRs. A similar representation can be found in the section of Johnston's album related to the Regiments' time in St Lucia where a black woman, again all in white, stands outside of the rear of the barrack building (see figure 1.3).

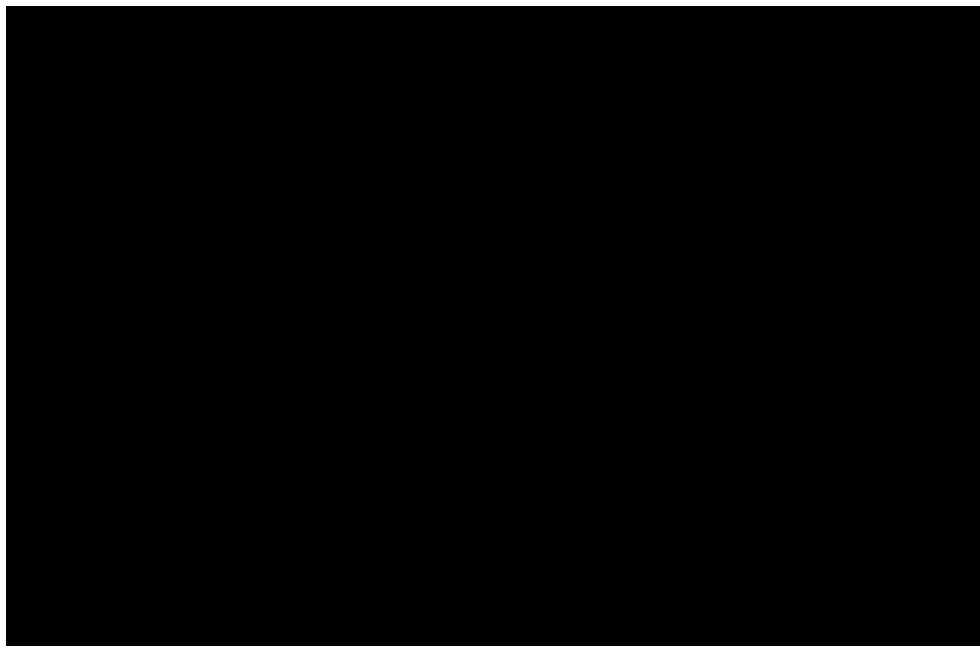


Figure 3.3: Anon., ca.1858-1865, Veranda of the barracks at Castries, Saint Lucia, William Walker Whitehall Johnston, Photograph Album of Wales, the West Indies, and the 1st West India Regiment, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University

What these women thought of the WIRs, or how they were connected to them is unclear. In fact, there are very few female perspectives about the WIRs in general. In researching this thesis, I came across only two travelogues that were authored by women, that can give some insight into how they viewed the WIRs. In a description of her arrival in Jamaica written in 1903, Bessie Pullen Burry recalls a detachment of

the WIR marching to the sound of a band and taking up a position directly in front of the deck of her ship. This display was certainly effective in convincing Pullen Burry of the benefits that British colonialism had on the local black population, as she wrote that ‘without unduly congratulating ourselves as first-class colonists...the black is at his best under British rule’ with ‘the best of his race’ becoming ‘mechanics, policemen, soldiers, sailors’.⁷⁰ The WIR caused Pullen Burry to change her opinion somewhat as she had previously believed that those of African descent were ‘naturally unintelligent and lazy’.⁷¹ Her comments show that the opinions of women were very similar to those of the men who circulated the image of the WIRs to promote, justify, and express support for the extension of British colonial rule. The WIRs are also mentioned in the account of Lady Annie Brassey who visited the West Indies in the 1880s.⁷² Brassey’s description of the men of the WIRs as picturesque and complimenting their surroundings is similar to her discussions of other Jamaican inhabitants both male and female. In her narrative Brassey comments frequently on the aesthetic appearance of Jamaica’s black population, and what attire and colours better suit black bodies. Her comments about the WIRs bright uniforms befitting the flora and fauna of the parade ground reflect her views about black bodies looking their best in brighter colours, and her tendency to reduce groups of black inhabitants to part of the country’s colourful backdrop.⁷³ Unlike Pullen Burry she makes no comments about their capabilities.

⁷⁰ Bessie Pullen Burry, *Jamaica as it is* (London, 1903), p. 40, p. 26

⁷¹ Pullen Burry, p. 147

⁷² Brassey’s description of the WIRs and the sites associated with them are discussed on more detail on p. 328.

⁷³ Lady Annie Brassey, *In the Trades, the Tropics and the Roaring Forties* (London, 1885), pp. 218-9, p. 252, p. 255, p. 349.

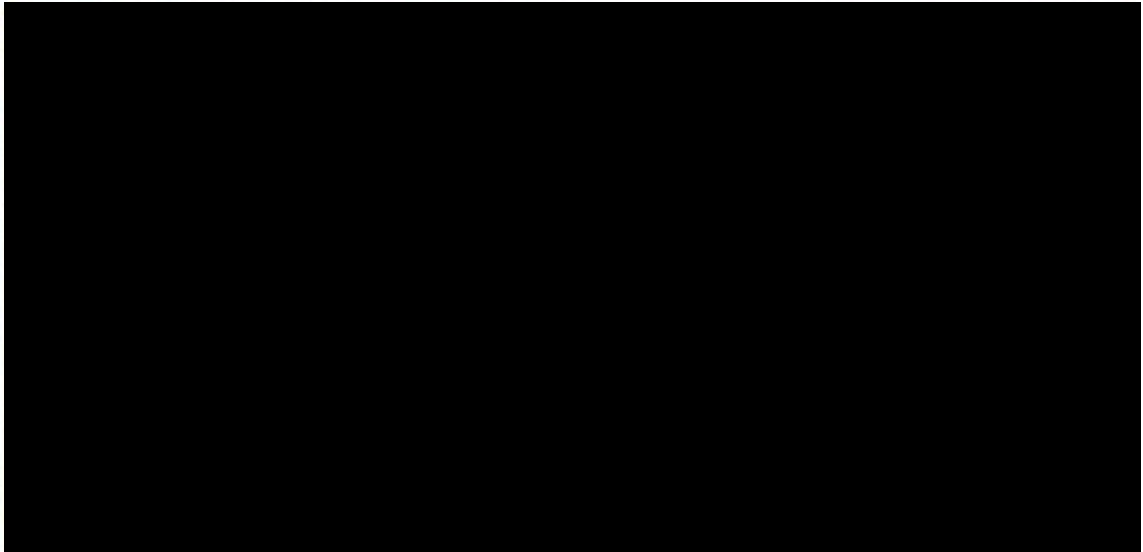


Figure 1.4: Anon., ca.1858-1865, The Barracks at Fort Nassau, William Walker Whitehall Johnston, Photograph Album of Wales, the West Indies, and the 1st West India Regiment, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

Within the visual archive of the WIRs there are some images that highlight the more domestic side of military life, unfortunately however, there were not enough of these kinds of images related to the black rank and file to make up a substantive part of one of the subsequent chapters. Some aspects of domestic life can be seen in two photographs from the William Walker Whitehall Johnston album. A photograph of Fort Nassau in the Bahamas includes uniforms and sheets that have been hung out to air and dry over the balconies (see figure 1.4). It is unusual to see military barracks looking so ‘lived in’ in photographs of the region. Usually they are captured with no signs of life, looking neat and tidy. The clothes and sheets visible in this photo, as well as the groups of men enjoying their leisure time outside, remind us that the barracks were not just places of work, drill, and discipline, but also places of rest, play, and home life. At the bottom left of the photograph two men appear to be practising their boxing in front of the barrack building whilst others stand watching and talking nearby. In another photograph from Johnston’s album, this time of the barracks in St Lucia, we can again see the clutter that was a part of life in the barracks. There are clothes over the balcony as well as on the floor, boxes and

what could be brooms rest against the wall, and a small table houses jugs and other equipment perhaps used to make drinks.

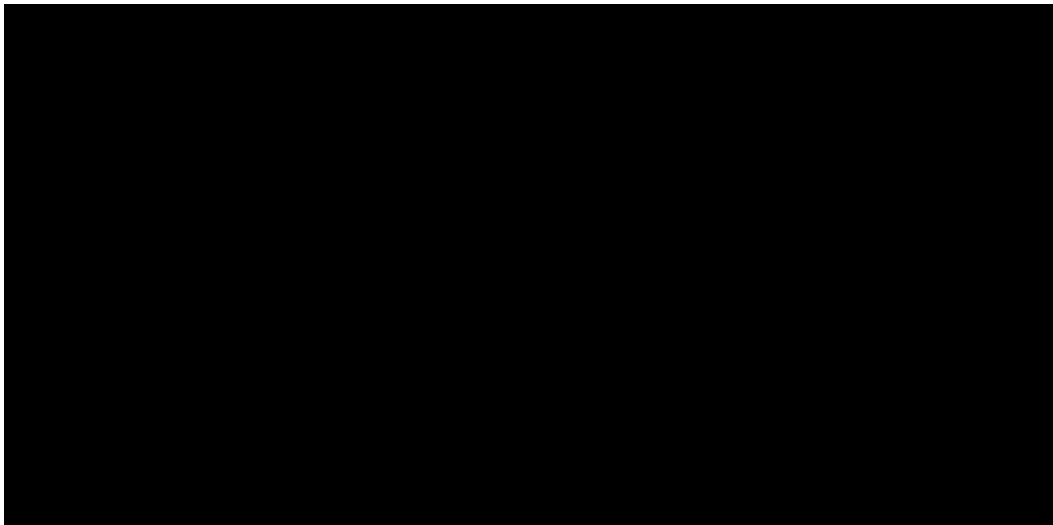


Figure 1.5: Anon., ca.1858-1865, Veranda of barracks at Castries, Saint Lucia, William Walker Whitehall Johnston, Photograph Album of Wales, the West Indies, and the 1st West India Regiment, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University

Both photographs show the disorder of domestic life, and how it contrasts to the order and discipline usually presented in photographs of the WIRs and their surroundings. The WIRs had some agency over these scenes and how their environment was depicted as well as themselves. An even stronger example of this comes from an album that depicts the WIR's time in Sierra Leone in 1898 (see figure 1.6). In this photograph the African rank and file of the WIRs are celebrating Christmas with a masquerade. They have formed a rudimentary drum and fife band, including a small (possibly the equivalent of a snare) drum around one of the soldiers' necks, one larger drum, and a small whistle or flute. As this band play another soldier performs a stilt dance wearing a mask and costume, much like those known as 'Junkanoo,' 'Shaggy Bear' and 'moko jumbies,' that are still seen in carnival celebrations today. There do not seem to be any white officers policing the scene and maintaining order as in other formal portraits of the WIRs' band performances. However, the photographer was a white officer from another

regiment. This performance was therefore not secret, but it is not possible to know if it was approved of by those in command of the men. The stilt dancing indicates that the celebration was not a spontaneous one as the costumes would have required some advance preparation.⁷⁴ The photographer was disparaging of the men's musical abilities in his diaries, stating that he often heard them 'bawling out hymn tunes' on a Sunday, but music seems to have been an important way for the men to express themselves in their free time away from the watchful gaze of their commanding officers.⁷⁵

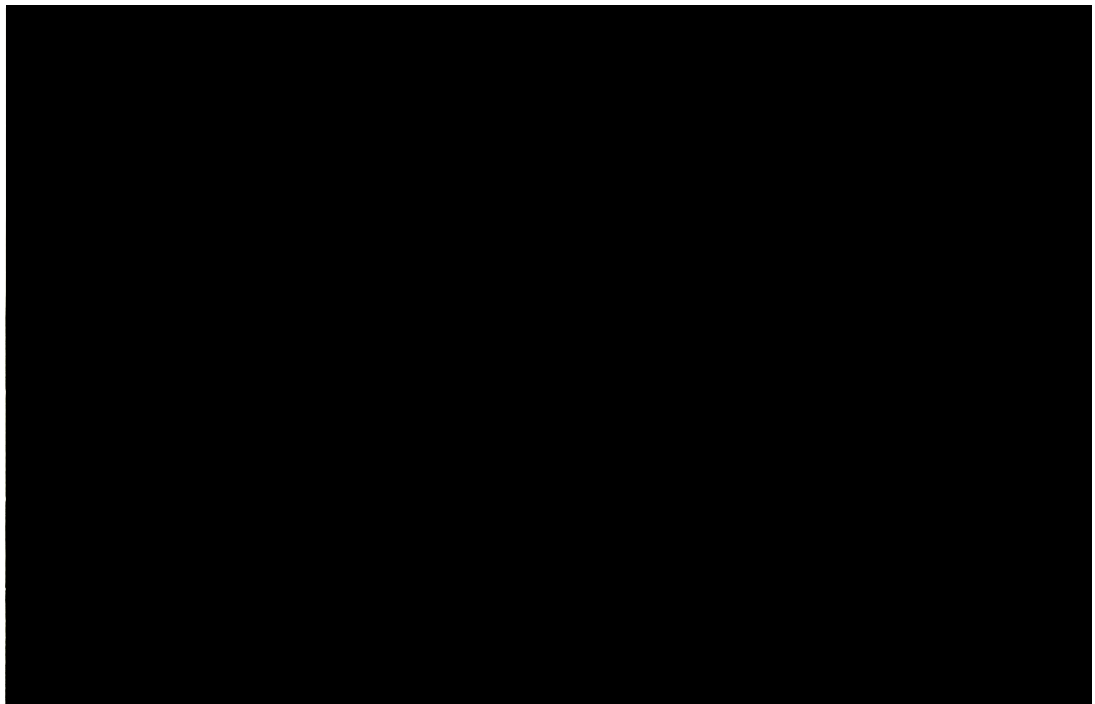


Figure 1.6: Charles Howard Foulkes, 1898, 'WIR xmas masquerade', Foulkes 3/13 Photograph Album relating to Sierra Leone, LHCMA, Kings College London

Throughout my research I did not come across any photographs of WIR soldiers within their family environment, with the exception of figure 2.5 that is most likely staged with the WIR soldier posing in front of houses and people that the photographer has chosen to be good demonstrations of a particular 'type'.⁷⁶

⁷⁴ Elizabeth Cooper, 'Playing against empire', *Slavery & Abolition*, 39:3 (2018), p. 547.

⁷⁵ LHCMA, Foulkes 4/1, Draft and working papers for the unpublished memoir *Adventures of an Engineer Subaltern*, p. 37

⁷⁶ See p. 57.

However, I did come across an early illustration from the *Illustrated London News* that depicts a soldier and his wife and child (see figure 1.7). The image dates to the period before the WIRs began wearing the zouave uniform and its caption reads ‘soldier in the uniform of the 1st WIR together with his wife and child and a young merger bearing upon her head a calabash of water’. In this image the soldier is depicted quite separately from his family, in fact its arguable that he is not ‘together with his wife and child’ at all. The focus of the image is very much on how he looks as a soldier, and his uniform has been carefully detailed and given prominence over his family whose purpose seems like more of a decorative one. Without the caption we would not know that the soldier was in any way connected to them. The illustration relates to the WIRs in Sierra Leone and appears to demonstrate that some men who were stationed there took local wives. The absence of a photograph depicting any soldier of the WIRs with their family is made more stark by the presence of this image.

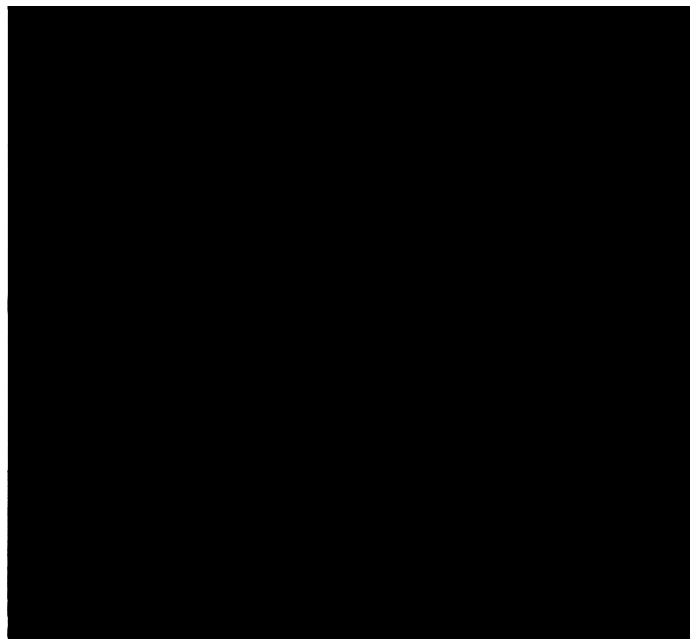


Figure 1.7: Anon, ‘soldier in the uniform of the 1st WIR together with his wife and child and a young merger bearing upon her head a calabash of water’, The Frederick P. Todd Collection of albums: Great Britain 1856-1881, Anne S. K. Brown Military Collection, Brown University, Providence.

Chapter Outline

Since the first WIRs were raised in 1795, the regiments have suffered from a lack of publicity and recognition. This did change as the popularity of illustrated weeklies grew from the mid nineteenth century and the WIRs featured on more of their pages. The men appeared first in illustrated form and then in reproductions of photographs as the century drew to a close. However, even today it would still not be an exaggeration to state that most of the British public remains ignorant of the regiments' history. Writing ninety years after they were first established, Major Alfred Ellis of the 1st WIR, stated that 'a West India regiment is never seen in England, the British public knows nothing of such regiments... and consequently takes no interest in them'.⁷⁷ Up until the current day, this apparent lack of interest has also been present amongst historians of the Caribbean and amongst their counterparts devoted to the history of the British military. It is a disinterest that is hard to understand, especially as the history of the WIRs intersects with many popular historical themes, from the history of enslavement and the connected histories of race and racial theories, to other well-trodden fields such as the histories of medicine and health, war, and tourism.

Part of a wider attempt to increase knowledge and understanding of the WIRs, this thesis focuses on photographs of the WIRs produced between 1850 and 1914.⁷⁸ It centres on a close analysis of these photographs focusing on their content,

⁷⁷ Ellis, *The History of the First West India Regiment*, p. 25.

⁷⁸ My PhD project is part of a broader programme of research that will remedy the lack of attention currently given to the WIR and focuses on images captured by, and of, the soldiers of the WIR to reveal how they affected and reflected ideas about race (particularly the physical and intellectual ability of black males) in a range of contexts from award ceremonies and parades to the suppression of rebellions, wars of colonial expansion in West Africa to tourism in the Caribbean. The AHRC Africa's Sons Under Arms project, involving Warwick's history department and the British Library, uses the British West India Regiments to explore the relationships between the arming of people of African descent and the changing nature of racial thought from the late eighteenth to early twentieth centuries.

but also on their circulation as material objects with their own histories and biographies. A diverse range of source materials have been consulted including personal photograph albums, commercial photographs, and postcards from collections across the UK, USA, and Caribbean. My analysis is comprised of three stages where possible. Photographs of the WIRs were examined firstly as visual images, secondly as objects, and thirdly (where appropriate) as commodities that were circulated and exchanged. The contents of the photographs reveal quite crudely how the bodies of black soldiers, and their relationships with their white counterparts inside and outside of the regiments, were presented through photography. However, it is also crucial to consider the photographs of the WIRs as material objects created by a certain person, for a certain audience, and for a certain purpose. This provides a fuller understanding of the power relations at play in the making and consuming of the photographs and, more importantly, in the wider society. Furthermore, considering the photographs as commodities that circulated within a global network of ideas, information and resources can reveal how they were shaped by and contributed to these networks and markets. It will also highlight the interconnections between the peoples and regions of the globe in which they circulated.

Underpinned by this analysis, this thesis will outline how photographs of black figures in military uniforms shaped, and were shaped by, racial ideologies and the tourist picturesque. This will be achieved through a series of case studies, centred around a specific set of sources and events, which will form the structure for each chapter. The second chapter outlines the scholarly context and the theory behind my methodological approach. The background context necessary to deconstruct and understand photographs of the WIRs will be outlined. Following this, the

methodological approaches I have derived from it shall be described at the close of the chapter.

The third chapter takes a broad approach to decipher how the soldiers of the Regiments were portrayed as black military bodies. I will discuss how the Regiments' soldiers of African descent were portrayed when on parade for inspection and to receive awards and recognition. Photographs of the Regiments' black soldiers and their white officers and white government officials interacting on the parade ground will be shown to highlight certain aspects of race relations in the colonial Caribbean. This chapter will also analyse photographs of the WIRs' Victoria Cross winners to determine to what extent they were represented as heroes and why.

The fourth chapter investigates the photographic portrayals of the Regiments' racially diverse soldiers after what is widely seen as a racially motivated rebellion at Morant Bay in 1865. It will discover whether differences in the treatment of soldiers from different racial backgrounds after the rebellion are reflected in commemorative and personal photographs. This chapter focuses on two albums that cover the event. The first, and most widely known, was collated by Dr Alexander Dudgeon Gulland, a military surgeon of Scottish origin from the 6th Regiment of Foot. The second was put together by William Walker Whitehall Johnston, a Captain in the 1st WIR. I argue that the previous literature focused on the Gulland album has failed to acknowledge the importance of the contribution of WIRs' black rank and file (and also the white officer class) to the events of the rebellion. I offer an analysis of the photographs in the Johnston album as an important supplementary narrative alongside the Gulland album. Considering the two albums together and looking at their differences and similarities allows historians to draw new conclusions from the event's photographic archive.

The fifth chapter focuses on photographs of the WIR taken during the Hut Tax War in Sierra Leone in 1898.⁷⁹ These photographs were captured by Charles Howard Foulkes of the Royal Engineers. The soldierly capabilities (or lack thereof) of the black privates of the Regiment seem to preoccupy Foulkes when we look into both the content and layout of photographs in his album and campaigns in Sierra Leone. This chapter discusses the importance of Foulkes' images as photographs of the WIR working as real soldiers actively engaged in a conflict. Through Foulkes' album we are given a rare glimpse of the Regiment on active service instead of the more common and less dynamic photographs of them on the parade ground, in the barracks, or awaiting inspection. Following on from this Foulkes' photographic portrayals of the WIR's black privates are investigated to discover whether he presented them as soldierly. Finally, I discuss whether Foulkes' differing representations of the WIRs' black privates and white officers were due to race or rank.

The final chapter traces the connections between photographs of the WIRs and attempts to advertise the region's landscapes and peoples to tourists. The Regiments featured in postcards, travel narratives and lantern slide lectures along with images of calm seas, bright sunshine, and smiling locals. I demonstrate how photographs of the Regiments were used to 'prove' that the island's landscapes had been brought under control by British colonialism and how these portrayals intersect with the history of the visual representation of the Caribbean. The chapter is organised around the gazes of the military tourist, the expert (or scientific) tourist, and the prospective investor. This chapter therefore explores if, and how, different

⁷⁹ In 1888 the 1st WIR and the 2nd WIR were reduced to a single unit of two battalions. References to the WIR after 1888, for example, during the Hut Tax War therefore refer to a single regiment.

types of images appealed to different types of gazes and outline some of the reasons why. It also explores some of the similarities between the images that appealed to all audiences and what these similarities can tell us about how the image of the WIRs and the Caribbean.

Chapter Two:
Framing the Image of the WIRs:
Historiography and Methods

Introduction

This thesis will argue that an analysis of the image of the WIRs is essential to dialogues about race, empire, and representation. Their visual representation assigns to them a complicated position within the British Empire's racial hierarchies. Whilst they were designated as racial others with racialised physical and cultural traits, their place within the British military establishment also provided them with opportunities to rise up these hierarchies and enter spaces usually reserved for white men.

Photographs of the WIRs demonstrate the ambivalent position of the men within colonial and racial hierarchies. Some include them in important celebratory portraits, only to exclude them by not referencing their presence in the accompanying captions, others use them to represent the progress made by black bodies under colonial rule whilst at the same time suggesting that these black bodies must be closely guarded by white officers. Other images highlight the awkward middle ground that the WIRs inhabited by demonstrating that they did not fit neatly into black or white Caribbean society.

This thesis therefore makes an important contribution to dialogues about the nature of the relationship between race and empire and provides an abundance of visual evidence to demonstrate that ideas about race were key to the ideology, economics, and logistics of imperial expansion. The contested image of the WIRs means that these visual sources did not always support the same lines of argument with regards to race and expansion. However, that photographs of the WIRs were used to support such a variety of agendas, increases rather than detracts from their importance. Photographs of the WIRs provide a clear narrative of how imperial and

racial ideologies were adapted depending on local (or sometimes wider) circumstances, and this is something that could likely only be uncovered by bringing these previously disconnected images together.

As demonstrated in Chapter One, an investigation into the image of the WIRs has great potential to contribute to their current historiography. The contested and meaningful image of the WIRs is also of significance to a number of other fields of historical scholarship that do not relate to the WIRs specifically, but rather such broader historiographies as Atlantic History, those related to race and empire, and the visual culture of the Caribbean. Tracing the circulation of images of the WIRs between Africa and the Caribbean contributes to Atlantic history in a series of areas. The almost constant flow of the men and their photographic likeness between the two regions during the long nineteenth century, emphasises that the journey between Africa and the Caribbean was not one way with regards to those of African descent. With regards to military history, photographs of the men of the WIRs diversify the history of popular militarism, demonstrating that there was a level of enthusiasm and support for soldiers of African origin at a time when scientific racism was gathering its strength. Images of the WIRs also demonstrate that its soldiers had both ‘hard’ and ‘soft’ power and connect to histories of popular imperialism due to their role in bringing the empire home through illustrated weeklies, postcards, and photographic exhibitions and displays.

To truly understand the image of the WIRs certain literature needs to be accessed as it includes some of the tools necessary to analyse and deconstruct the photographs discussed in this thesis. Photographs of the Regiments and the region in general, fit into a visual narrative that has been intricately constructed over the many centuries since Europeans first arrived in the region. The Caribbean landscape was ‘conquered’, presented in textual and visual imagery to attract further settlement, and

crafted in image and reality to shape imperial preferences. The visual history of the Caribbean is therefore one that has been dominated by the needs and preferences of outsiders who weaponised sketches, lithographs, paintings, and photographs, as well as arming troops like the West India Regiments, to ensure that the landscape and peoples reflected their purposes. Photographs played a constitutive role in radically transforming the image of the Caribbean and ‘the colonial government and corporations enlisted the services of many British, American and local photographers, artists, and lantern lecturers’ to capture and circulate these transformative images.⁸⁰

Colonising the Caribbean (Visual) Landscape

The history of British colonialism in the Caribbean and its connection to the visual landscape and culture of the region provides important context for the dissection of photographs that the Regiments were a part of. The Caribbean’s colonial history caused particularly drastic changes to the real-life landscape. Settlers cleared excess amounts of land and the environment was groomed to fit European aesthetic tastes and agricultural practices, labour was imported in and the islands’ populations changed irreversibly. The economics of British colonialism led to a very specific discourse on the Caribbean that was developed through written and visual imagery. To encourage further investment and settlement in the region, fantastical accounts of ‘tropical fecundity and excessive fruitfulness’ were recalled in the narratives of early explorers and colonial advertisers.⁸¹ Later, paintings circulated of plantations and other landscapes that had been redefined to match the standards of beauty favoured

⁸⁰ Thompson, *An Eye for the Tropics*, p. 4.

⁸¹ McNeill, *Mosquito Empires*, p. 30; Gregory Strachan, *Paradise and Plantation: Tourism and Culture in the Anglophone Caribbean* (Charlottesville, 2002), p. 4; Mimi Sheller, *Consuming the Caribbean: From Arawaks to Zombies* (London, 2003), p. 42.

by those in England, selling familiarity. Images of tropical abundance also helped to construct another persistent image that helped justify the need for slavery, and later strict labour laws: the people in the Caribbean wanted for nothing, and therefore were not inclined to work without the intervention of the white colonialist.⁸² Edward Said writes that ‘the main battle in imperialism is over land...but when it came to who owned the land, who had the right to settle and work on it...and who now plans its future -- these issues were reflected, contested, and even for a time decided in narrative’.⁸³ In the Caribbean, the visual narrative was a key arena in which such issues were reflected, contested, and decided.

Mimi Sheller outlines four phases of North Atlantic relations with the Caribbean and connects to these three major ways of seeing. The first three phases are of most relevance to this thesis. The first phase occurred during the period of ‘discovery, piracy and bachelor plantations’ and involved representations of the useful productions of nature that explorers came across and planters later generated.⁸⁴ In the eighteenth to mid-nineteenth centuries a painterly aesthetic constructed around comparisons of cultivated land in contrast to wild vistas arose. During this second phase, descriptions and visual images of the Caribbean celebrated the beauty and order of cultivated areas and subsequently the achievements of plantations and slavery.⁸⁵ Painters patronised by planters manipulated representations of the region to bring it into line with this aesthetic. For example, James Hakewill, who dedicated his 1825 *Tour of the Island of Jamaica* to West Indian proprietors and merchants, presented the Caribbean as ‘a transported

⁸² Patricia Mohammed, *Imaging the Caribbean: Culture and Visual Translation* (Oxford, 2009), p. 152, p. 171; James Ryan, *Picturing Empire: Photography and the Visualization of the British Empire* (Chicago, 1997).

⁸³ Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York, 1994), p. xxii, p. xii.

⁸⁴ Sheller, *Consuming the Caribbean*, p. 22.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 22, p. 38, pp. 47-8.

European countryside, sprinkled with odd black folk' (see figure 2.1 for an example of this type of representation produced by a military officer).⁸⁶

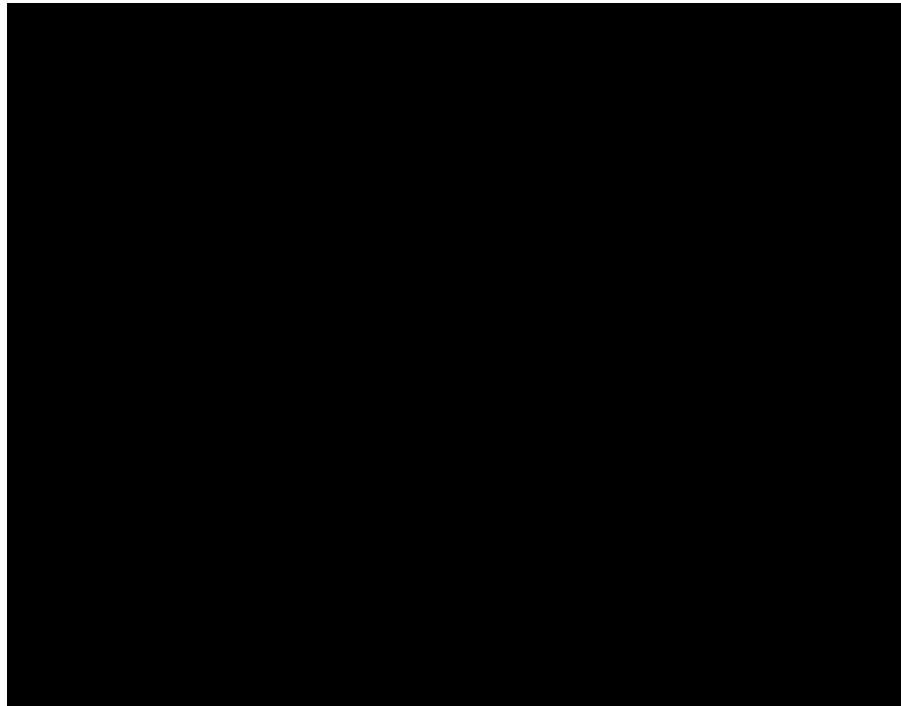


Figure 2.1: Lieutenant James Caddy, 1837, 'View from Morne Fortune St Lucia', Paul Mellon Collection, Yale Center for British Art, New Haven

Thirdly, following emancipation, a more romantic imperialism emerged which combined descriptions of more wild and primitive landscapes with accounts of European adventure. These packaged the islands as exciting tourist locations and advertised them as ripe for investment in a similar fashion to earlier accounts from the age of exploration. Photographers such as James Johnston identified exotic and grandiose forms of tropical nature to inspire awe and an urge to visit the region (see figure 2.2 for an example of this that includes a soldier of the WIRs).⁸⁷ These phases could also be linked to types of hegemony, as Jan Nederveen Pieterse details in his work on Africa. Pieterse discusses how images evoking paradise at the start of the nineteenth century were re-valued later in the century to give rise to the image of the lazy native and justification for higher levels of intervention in line with increased

⁸⁶ Mohammed, *Imaging the Caribbean*, p. 180.

⁸⁷ Sheller, *Consuming the Caribbean*, p. 22, p38, pp. 54-8; Krista Thompson, *An Eye for the Tropics*, p. 5.

industrialisation and colonial expansion. Africans who were savage and dangerous during conquest became childish and dependent once absorbed as political subjects.⁸⁸ The image of the WIRs was adapted in similar ways, with different photographers and collectors representing the WIRs in different ways depending on their own backgrounds, beliefs, and agendas.

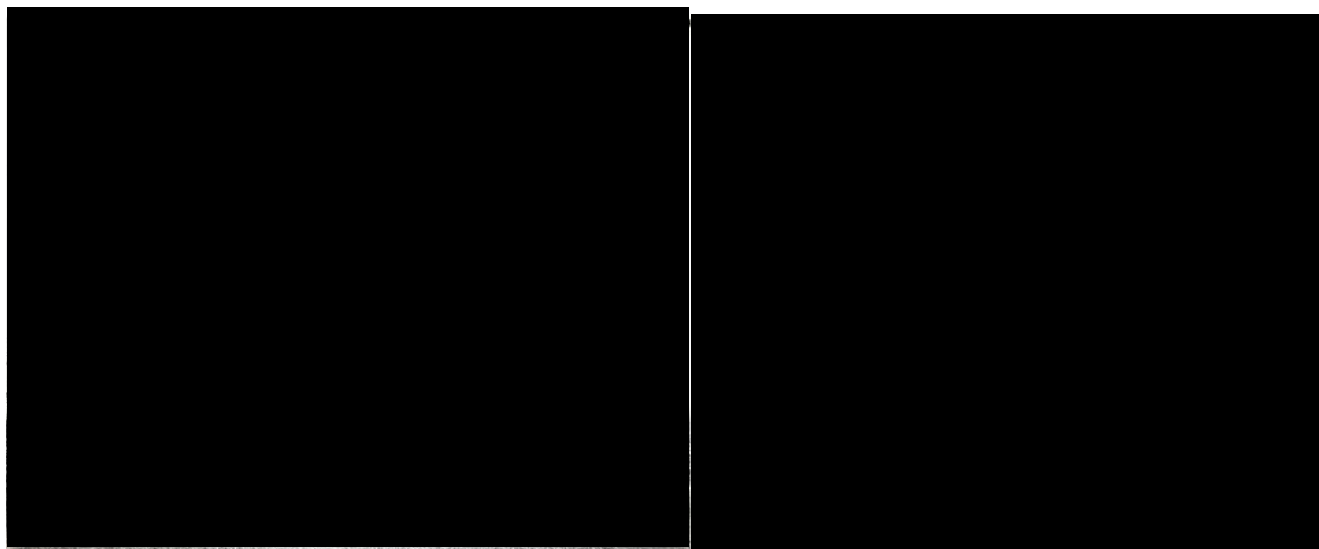


Figure 2.2: A. Duperly and Sons, ca. 1890, 'Mango Tree, Jamaica' detail reveals a soldier of the WIR sat underneath the tree, Caribbean Photo Archive, Archive Farms, available at: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/caribbeanphotoarchive>

Different phases of colonialism were therefore associated with different regimes of visual representation, and the photographs considered by this thesis fit mostly into Sheller's third phase. However, each representation built on the last and created an enduring image of the region that is still present today. Perhaps the most enduring has been that of the Caribbean as paradise. In constructing paradise, Ian Strachan states that images and experiences were created that harked back to the earlier colonial realities of plantation slavery. Hotels were fashioned on great houses where white tourists could be waited on in line with the old 'master-servant culture' and in these hotel environments black people were subordinated as workers and

⁸⁸ Jan Nederveen Pieterse, *White on Black: Images of Africa and Blacks in Western Popular Culture* (New Haven, 1992), pp. 88-91.

excluded as visitors.⁸⁹ Krista Thompson argues in her work, which focuses mainly on Jamaica and the Bahamas, that from the 1880s visual campaigns were initiated to propagate the paradisiacal image and sell the region to tourists. Visual artists and photographers were recruited from the UK and USA to assist in these efforts, and postcards, books, illustrated guides, stereo-views, and lantern slides circulated around the Atlantic. Captured within this mass of visual imagery, and in some cases aligned to this purpose, were photographs of the WIRs. The impact of the colonial economy on the images of the region that have circulated in the past and influenced the photographs that this thesis focuses on is therefore undeniable. Depending on what aspect of the region was being promoted, and at what time, the visual representation of the landscape was altered by those who sought to utilise it.

Of course, colonialism in the Caribbean affected not just the landscape but the population, and there is a close connection between portrayals of the landscape and those who inhabited it, including the Regiments. Images of the landscape's tropical abundance worked to enforce a stereotype of the natural laziness of blacks who 'had little more to do than eat what grew naturally around them'.⁹⁰ These representations were important in justifying the continuation of white presence and dominance after emancipation. According to Thompson, the visual demonstration of order and discipline also extended beyond the landscape. As a result, the disciplining of black bodies was also a prominent visual theme during slavery and beyond and James Johnston's lantern slide lectures which aimed to encourage tourism in Jamaica included photographs of men and women 'mending their ways' through hard labour.⁹¹

⁸⁹ Strachan, *Paradise and Plantation*, pp. 9-10.

⁹⁰ Pieterse, *White on Black*, p. 199.

⁹¹ Thompson, *An Eye for the Tropics*, p. 8; Krista Thompson, "Call the Police. Call the Army. Call God. And Let's Have One Helluva Big Story": On Writing Caribbean Art Histories After

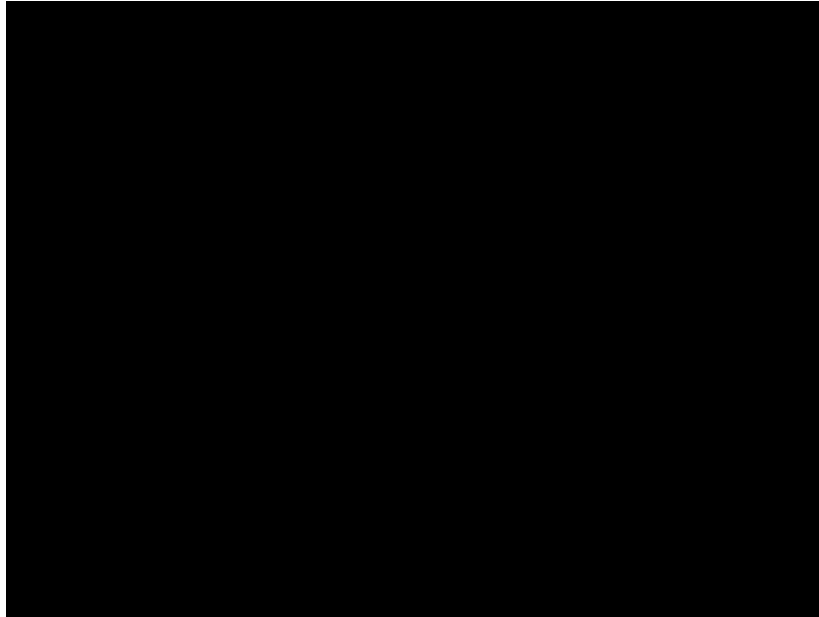
Connected to this portrayal of disciplined bodies, Strachan and Thompson both discuss the importance of photographs of black people maintaining the rule of law as well as being subject to it. Such images were essential both in countering fears of armed black revolt after the Morant Bay rebellion and the American Civil War, and in proving the success of colonialism by demonstrating that some black subjects could not only be civilised but become the civilisers of others. In support of this idea Strachan cites the example of the Bahamas, where photographs of smiling black policemen sent a message that ‘in this British colony, wealthy travellers need not concern themselves with the problems “unruly” blacks were causing in the United States through their stereotyped presumptuous behaviour and misrule’.⁹² Thompson includes a photograph of Bahamian policemen to show that such images were important in maintaining the colonies’ reputations as disciplined societies (see figure 2.3).⁹³ Figure 2.4 shows that similar poses were used in photographs of the police and the WIRs taken in the Bahamas. Neither Strachan or Thompson discuss images of the WIRs in their work, although the travel narratives of Drysdale and Ives that they reference contain engravings and descriptions of encounters with its soldiers.⁹⁴ This is where I hope that this thesis will fill a significant gap in the current literature. No other author has acknowledged the importance of the circulation of photographs of the Regiments in maintaining the image of a disciplined population and landscape, despite allusions being made to this in travel narratives and lantern slide lectures.

Postcoloniality’, *Small Axe*, 12:1 (2008), pp. 169-81, p. 175; James Johnston, *Optical Lantern Lectures on “Jamaica the New Riviera”* (Bristol, 1903).

⁹² Strachan, *Paradise and Plantation*, p. 103

⁹³ Thompson, *An Eye for the Tropics*, pp. 122-4.

⁹⁴ For references to the WIR in the original sources see William Drysdale, *In Sunny Lands: Outdoor Life in Nassau and Cuba* (New York, 1885), p. 30 (for a lithograph and description), p. 43 (for a lithograph); Charles Ives, *The Isles of Summer or Nassau and the Bahamas* (New Haven, 1880), contains the same prints but different interactions with the Regiment are outlined on pp. 57-9.



*Figure 2.3: Jacob Frank Coonley, 1889-1904, 'Nassau Police Force', reproduced in Krista Thompson, *An Eye for the Tropics* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006) p. 123*

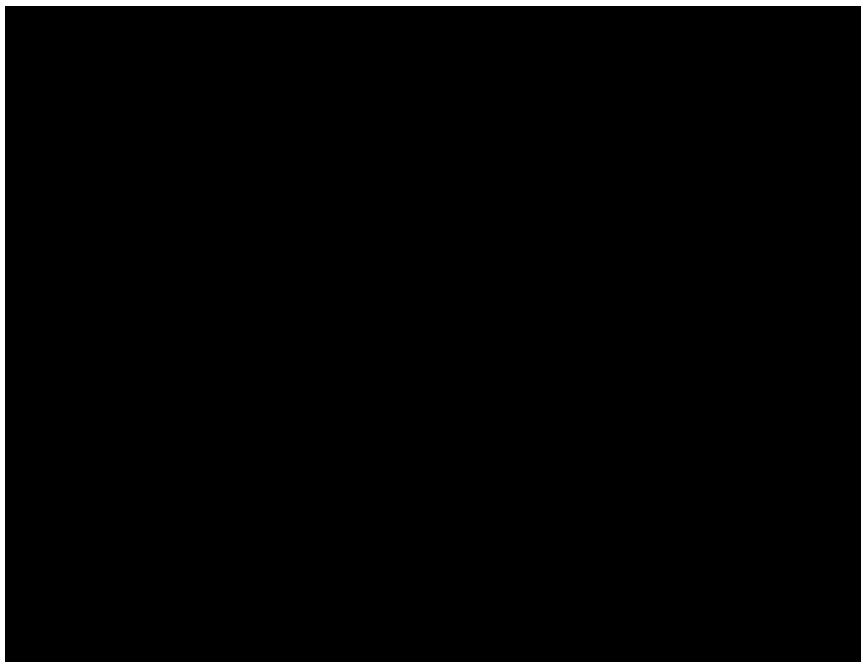


Figure 2.4: Anon., ca.1858-1865, Group of enlisted men from the WIR carrying out a bayonet exercise at Fort Charlotte, William Walker Whitehall Johnston Photograph Album of Wales, the West Indies, and the 1st West India Regiment, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven

Defining Race and Collecting Colonial Photographs

Broadening out from the Caribbean visual landscape, literature that engages with colonial and anthropological photography more generally provides important context to the images discussed in this thesis. Racism was built into, and produced by, colonial power relations and the alleged inferiority and inability of other races was key to colonialism's justification. This influenced visual culture beginning in the earlier colonial period as outlined in the previous section. Literature related to how photographs of colonial peoples (such as the WIRs) were circulated, and the messages that they carried, also reflects earlier works that considered the importance of racial ideologies to the British empire and vice versa. Frederick Cooper and Laura Stoler state that the most basic 'tension of empire' was that 'the otherness of colonized persons was neither inherent nor stable; his or her difference had to be defined and maintained'.⁹⁵ Stoler and Cooper stress the importance of social status to empire, despite its instability and state that 'the criteria used to determine who belonged where underscored the permeability of boundaries, opening possibilities for assertion among interstitial groups'. The WIRs could be seen as one of these interstitial groups, with their military status giving them the opportunity to cross some boundaries just as their racial status restricted the extent to which they could progress. For Cooper and Stoler, the ambivalence of colonial encounters meant that colonial powers had to consider how much "civilizing" would promote their projects and what sort of political consequences "too much civilizing" would have in store'.⁹⁶ This is important to consider with regards to the WIRs, especially in

⁹⁵ Laura Stoler and Fredrick Cooper, 'Between Metropole and Colony, Rethinking a Research Agenda' in Laura Stoler and Fredrick Cooper (eds.) *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World* (Berkeley, 1997), pp. 1-56, p. 6.

⁹⁶ Stoler and Cooper, 'Between Metropole and Colony, Rethinking a Research Agenda', p. 6, p. 31, p. 34.

connection to ideas that were circulating from the 1870s onwards that the men had lost some of their utility after becoming too Europeanised.

Catherine Hall writes that ‘the time of empire’, and the nineteenth century in particular, ‘was the time when anatomies of difference were being elaborated’, placing the period considered by this thesis at a key historical moment in the development of ideas about race.⁹⁷ Hall considers the Morant Bay rebellion, specifically the divided response to the actions of Governor Eyre, as a particularly important moment in the shaping of racial thought in England and its colonial territories, and has written extensively on the subject. Hall notes that:

The debate over Eyre marked a moment when two different conceptions of “us”, constructed through two different notions of “them”, were publicly contested. Mill’s imagined community was one of potential equality in which “us”, white Anglo-Saxon men and women believed in the potential of black Jamaican men and women to become like “us” through a process of civilisation. Carlyle’s imagined community was a hierarchically ordered one in which “we” must always master “them”.⁹⁸

Hall argues that Carlyle’s views, though unpopular at first, were eventually embraced by many and that by 1866 ‘a new hegemony was in the making’ that contested the immorality of slavery and the ability of those of African descent ‘to rise to the heights of Englishness’.⁹⁹ Numerous other authors also stress the importance of the Morant Bay rebellion. Christine Bolt writes that for many in Britain the rebellion was seen as ‘example of the innate savagery of the Negro’ that

⁹⁷ Catherine Hall, ‘Men and Their Histories: Civilizing Subjects’, *History Workshop Journal*, 52 (2001), pp. 49-66, p. 52.

⁹⁸ Catherine Hall, *Civilising Subjects: Metropole and Colony in the English. Imagination, 1830-1867* (Cambridge, 2002), p. 25.

⁹⁹ Catherine Hall, ‘Discursive Strategies and the Economy of Prestige’, *Cultural Critique*, 12 (1989), pp. 167-96, p. 194.

disproved that all men were equal, whilst Douglas Lorimer writes that reports coming in from Jamaica seemed to confirm preconceived notions of the savagery of those of African descent.¹⁰⁰ Photographs of the WIRs that were produced at the time of the rebellion were directly influenced by these developments in racial thought and are therefore important evidence of how such ideas changed the perceptions, representation and lives of those of African descent living in the Caribbean.¹⁰¹ Despite the significance that images of soldiers of African descent from Jamaica could have for discussions about the changing nature of racial thought after the rebellion, thus far photographs of the WIRs have been ignored by those writing about the impact of the event.

Outside of the Morant Bay rebellion, other events in the Caribbean were key contributors to ‘the remaking of race as a hierarchical category’. As argued by the Legacies of British Slave Ownership project, after emancipation the Caribbean and its peoples ‘became increasingly defined as problematic and unproductive’ and slave-owners and their descendants were ‘active agents’ in shaping new ideas about race and finding ‘other legitimations’ for the subordination of black populations.¹⁰² Particularly important to consider in the context of this project is the emergence of scientific racism, its use of the visual and how it shaped and was shaped by colonial encounters. Lorimer writes that whilst foreign cultures were judged more qualitatively in relation to British behavioural standards in the early nineteenth century, this changed in the second part of the century, and cultural others instead began to be racially categorised by their allegedly fixed inherited cultural and

¹⁰⁰ Christine Bolt, *Victorian Attitudes to Race*, p. 92; Lorimer, *Colour, Class and the Victorians*, p. 184.

¹⁰¹ See images from the William Walker Whitehall Johnston album on p. 194-7 and the image including the unnamed WIR sergeant on p. 178

¹⁰² Catherine Hall, Nicholas Draper, and Keith McClelland ‘Introduction’, in Catherine Hall, Nicholas Draper, Keith McClelland, Katie Donington and Rachel Lang (eds.) *Legacies of British Slave-Ownership: Colonial Slavery and the Formation of Victorian Britain*, pp. 1-33, p. 8.

physical characteristics.¹⁰³ This pseudo-scientific racism led to the proliferation of a large volume of anthropological photographs that became essential to the way in which people in the UK and in other nations of ‘civilised’ colonisers viewed black subjects. Pseudo-scientific racism revolved around a body of ideas that ‘proved’ that dark-skinned races, especially Africans, were inherently and biologically inferior to Europeans. As the century continued, such ideas became increasingly influential and embraced photography as a documentary medium. Photographs were essential in circulating both of what Stuart Hall has referred to as ‘racism’s two registers’: the two distinctive, yet often overlapping ideologies of cultural differentialism and of biological racism.¹⁰⁴ Anthropological photographs of people from across the empire in their ‘natural’ environments highlighted differences in cultures and potential for civilisation whilst anthropometric photographs outlined the differing biological and fixed physical traits that these peoples had.

Aided by the blossoming of print capitalism, and improved methods of reproducing images en masse such as wood engravings that became common in the 1850s and 1860s and the halftone process that was widely used from the 1880s, the ‘science’ of racism soon became easily accessible and consumable by the general public.¹⁰⁵ Photography was used to describe, compare, and rank racial types and photographic schemes were launched to gather information about different races by governments, natural scientists, explorers, and colonial officials. Historians have frequently concentrated on the work of individual scientists who utilised

¹⁰³ Lorimer, *Colour, Class and the Victorians*, p. 16.

¹⁰⁴ Catherine Hall, ‘Men and Their Histories’, p. 52.

¹⁰⁵ Bridget Brereton, ‘The Development of an Identity: The Black Middle Class of Trinidad in the Late Nineteenth Century’ in Hilary Beckles and Verene Shepherd (eds.) *Caribbean Freedom: Economy and Society From Emancipation to the Present* (Princeton, 1996), p. 276; See Elizabeth Edwards, *Raw Histories: Photographs, Anthropology and Museums* (Oxford, 2001) for a detailed discussion of Huxley’s project in chapter 6; Shearer West, *The Victorians and Race* (Aldershot, 1996), pp. 5-6.

photographic documentation to support their racialised views such as Louis Agassiz, a Swiss-born naturalist who arrived at Harvard in 1846. Gwyniera Isaac discusses Agassiz's 1865 trip to Brazil, during which he set up a studio in the town of Manaus and captured photographs of up to fifty individuals that he believed would provide good evidence of the different races present in the region, as well as those of mixed racial backgrounds.¹⁰⁶ He aimed to use these images to prove that racial mixing led to 'deterioration' and was 'rapidly effacing the best qualities of the white man, the Negro, and the Indian, leaving a mongrel, nondescript type deficient in physical and mental energy'.¹⁰⁷

Such literature demonstrates that the importance of visual arts in circulating and strengthening of racial theories cannot be underestimated. Of particular interest to this research is a project initiated in 1869 by Thomas Henry Huxley to record all the races of the British Empire. Elizabeth Edwards argues that the importance of Huxley's project lies in the fact that it reveals the visual rhetoric emerging within anthropology... and their entanglement in the micro-politics of colonial power'.¹⁰⁸ Huxley's project was intimately connected to colonial power from its outset, and was brought into action by a circular sent from the Colonial Office to all governors, with instructions on how to pose subjects for easy comparison. Subjects were to pose 'unclothed, full face and profile', with shots of the head and the full body at a precise distance from the camera. Measuring rods were to be positioned and used so that accurate measurements could be made. The project was met with varying levels of success and in the colonies and some photographers were met with resistance,

¹⁰⁶ Gwyniera Isaac, 'Louis Agassiz's photographs in Brazil: Separate Creations', *History of Photography*, 21:1 (1997), pp. 3-11.

¹⁰⁷ Isaac, 'Louis Agassiz's photographs in Brazil', p. 5.

¹⁰⁸ Edwards, *Raw Histories*, p. 131.

especially when trying to get subjects to pose in the nude. Some governors refused to even attempt to gather images, fearing the unrest that such an action might cause.¹⁰⁹

In 1897 the Colonial Office launched *The Queen's Empire*, which James Ryan has called 'one of the most elaborate photographic surveys of empire produced' and between 1902 and the end of the First World War, the Colonial Office Visual Instruction Committee (COVIC) tasked itself with putting together an empire wide collection of lantern slides and illustrated texts. These were created to provide visual instruction about the empire to British children and to inform children in the colonies about the mother country.¹¹⁰ Not all photographic evidence gathering missions had such grand empire-wide ambitions and in the early twentieth century Harry Johnston embarked on a project with a narrower focus – the Americas. In 1910 Johnston published *The Negro in the New World*. The book had been inspired by the queries of Theodore Roosevelt about the peoples of the Caribbean including Haiti, Jamaica, Panama, and Cuba. Through his writing and the images that accompanied it, Johnston was eager to prove his theory that colonialism had made those of African descent in the Caribbean more advanced than their counterparts in Africa. Johnston also propagated that subtle differences amongst the black populations of the Caribbean could be due to differences in the forms of colonialism that they had been subjected to.¹¹¹ His book contains photographs of soldiers of the WIRs, along with photographs of other uniformed black figures such as sailors, policemen, and members of the army in Haiti (see Chapter Six, figures 6.4 to 6.9).¹¹² The WIRs were consequently not free from the anthropological gaze, and their

¹⁰⁹ Mary Warner Marien, *Photography: A Cultural History* (London, 2014), p. 37, p. 140; Edwards, *Raw Histories*, pp. 134-40.

¹¹⁰ James Ryan, *Picturing Empire, Photography and Visualisation of the British Empire* (London, 1997), see Chapter Six in particular.

¹¹¹ Harry Johnston, *Negro in the New World* (London, 1910), p. xii; Petrine Archer-Straw, *Photos and phantasms: Harry Johnston's photographs of the Caribbean* (London, 1998), p. 11.

¹¹² See pp. 280-4.

bodies were used to reflect and support racial theories. This is unsurprising when the founding of the Regiments had its roots in ‘scientific’ beliefs about the abilities of different races to withstand the climate and diseases of the region. An understanding of anthropological and ethnographic photographs is therefore important to decoding those photographs of the WIRs that followed similar organisational regimes and possibly contained similar messages. They can also be viewed as a contrast to such images, breaking down stereotypes of African males as exotic, primitive, and different by emphasising similarities between them and their white counterparts.

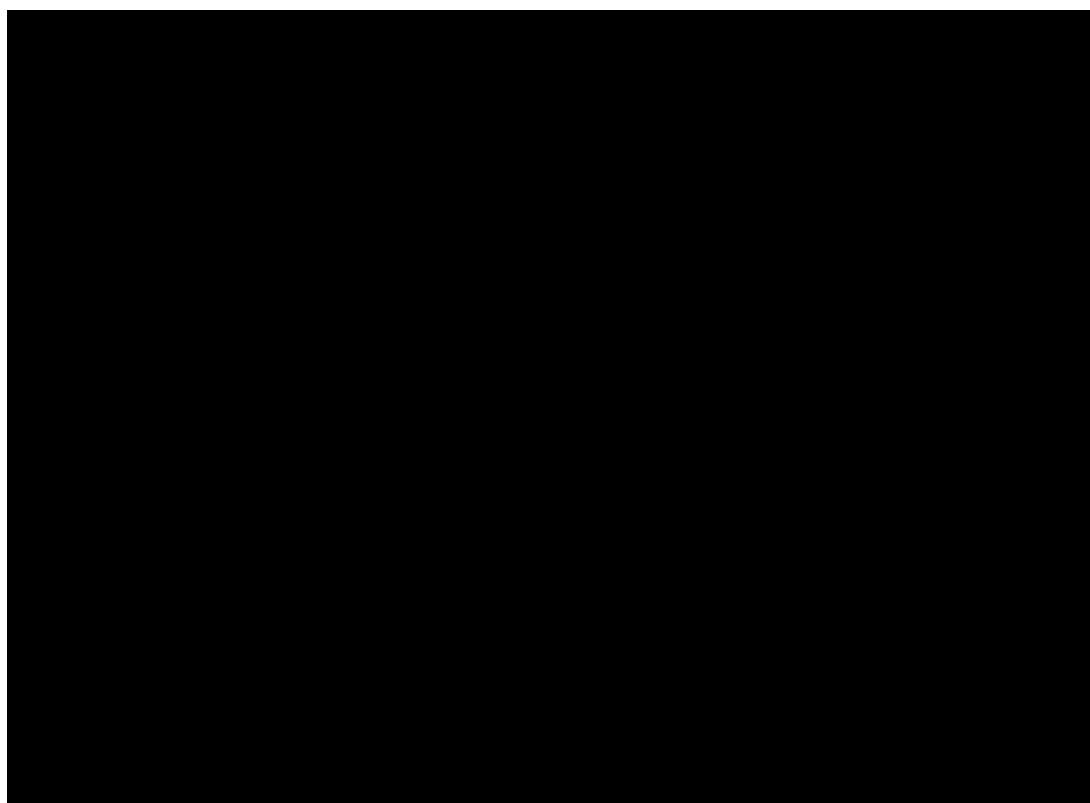


Figure 2.5: Anon., c.1900, 'Negro Quarter, Bridgetown', reproduced in E. A. Hastings Jay, A Glimpse of the Tropics, Or, Four Months Cruising in the West Indies (London: Sampson Low, Marston & Co., 1900), p. 60

Anthropological and ethnographic photographs also had a more general influence on commercial photography in the Caribbean and the Caribbean visual landscape. Portraits taken in professional studios used models, contrived poses, painted backdrops, and props to make the subject look ‘typical’ of those that they

were portraying.¹¹³ In Jamaica, much of the photographs in circulation of market women and washerwomen were of actresses dressed to look the part in order to present them as a general illustration of their ‘type’ of person. Such portraits were the first to enter the ‘catalogue of types’ in the Caribbean and sometimes even a donkey was dragged into the studio to complete the scene. For a similar purpose, dwellings were captioned as ‘native huts’ or ‘native settlements’ and locals were captioned with their supposed African ethnic ancestries such as Yoruba or Congo.¹¹⁴ This even included men of the WIRs, as can be seen in figure 2.5. As well as de-individualising those of African descent, photographic representations de-humanised them. Thompson refers to the work of tourism image-makers who valued blacks for the way they complimented scenes of tropicity, and travel narratives that often blended descriptions of people with descriptions of landscapes. The WIRs did not avoid being deployed for such purposes and James Johnston used descriptions of the soldiers to generate an image of a colourful and cosmopolitan Jamaica. Johnston was born in Scotland and first travelled to Jamaica as a missionary in the 1870s. In 1903 he published a book of pictures entitled *Jamaica: The New Riviera* and for a decade delivered lantern slide lectures promoting Jamaica as a tourist destination. In the notes for his slide lecture he describes ‘West Indian troops rigged out in their picturesque turbans and Zouave uniforms with Spaniards, Cubans, Englishmen and Americans at every turn’.¹¹⁵

¹¹³ Melissa Banta and Curtis Hinsley, *From Site to Sight: Anthropology, Photography and the Power of Image* (Cambridge, 1986), p. 40.

¹¹⁴ Mohammed, *Imaging the Caribbean*, p. 323; See Edward Lucie-Smith’s introduction to David Boxer, *Jamaica in Black and White: Photography in Jamaica c.1845-c.1920* (Oxford, 2013), p. 6, p. 17; Thompson, *An Eye for the Tropics*, p. 112.

¹¹⁵ Thompson, *An Eye for the Tropics*, p. 103; Johnston, *Optical Lantern Lectures on “Jamaica the New Riviera”*, p. 10.

Capturing Conflicts

The public appetite for photography did not end with representations of the empire and its faraway lands and peoples. Photographs were also able to transport their audiences to the scenes of important events, including wars and military operations. Photography became an important means of representing the lived experience of conflict to the general public and although photographs did not regularly make their way into newspapers until 1880, they could be viewed in public galleries and purchased as keepsakes for albums.¹¹⁶ Whether they were accurate depictions or not, these military photographs had their own visual culture that photographs of the Regiment were also shaped by and contributed to. The men of the WIRs were of course as much the products of British military culture as they were British colonial culture.

The first extensive war photography project was carried out by Roger Fenton during the Crimean War. He and James Robertson captured 360 photographs of the Siege of Sebastopol that brought photographs of real scenes of conflict to the British public for the first time.¹¹⁷ During the US Civil War, photographers undertook massive projects to capture every phase of the war for an eager public to view in albums and galleries. Matthew Brady and his photographers alone had over seven thousand negatives by the end of the conflict.¹¹⁸ These projects helped to create and feed a public appetite for photographs of military operations and military men amongst a general public who wanted to view the ‘realities’ of conflicts and

¹¹⁶ Jorge Lewinski, *The Camera at War: A History of War Photography from 1848 to the Present Day* (London, 1978), p. 11.

¹¹⁷ Alison and Helmut Gernsheim, *The History of Photography from the Camera Obscura to the Beginning of the Modern Era* (New York, 1969), pp. 139-41.

¹¹⁸ Beaumont Newhall, *The History of Photography from 1839 to the Present Day* (New York, 1964), p. 68.

campaigns as well as celebrate the successes and understand the difficulties their soldiers faced.

Military photography was therefore popular commercially, meaning that the motivations of military photographers, like their counterparts generating tourist images, were largely economic. Most authors portray them as entrepreneurial adventurers in the pursuit of fame, fortune, and historical knowledge. Zeller states that civil war photographers ‘were well aware of their role as photographic historians, but their primary motive remained grounded in the American ethic of making money’ and portrays them as ‘caught up in the fervour of American capitalism’.¹¹⁹ This is important to consider when thinking about images of the WIRs because the images that would sell best were likely those that represented the WIRs in a particular way to the galleries’ main audiences. Lewinski also emphasises the fame and money that war photography made possible, but places more importance on the fact that for ‘a true photographer’ war provided an unparalleled opportunity to gain and circulate social and historical knowledge.¹²⁰ With regards to military photography, what would sell was as important as what was real, and this has affected the types of images that we have available for analysis today. The visual culture of military photography, like the visual landscape of the Caribbean, has been manipulated and this is important to consider when analysing photographs that belong to it, reflected it, and shaped it.

Perhaps as a result of this commercial landscape, photographs of black soldiers are far rarer than those of their white counterparts, even in volumes dedicated to the US Civil War. Jeff Rosenheim looks in detail at images of African

¹¹⁹ Bob Zeller, *The Blue and Gray in Black and White: A History of Civil War Photography* (Santa Barbara, 2005), p. 2, or for a fuller discussion see Chapter 12.

¹²⁰ Lewinski, *The Camera at War*, pp. 13-14.

Americans under arms and how ground breaking these were.¹²¹ Other authors have also gathered together images of African American soldiers during the Civil War such as Deborah Willis and Barbara Krauthamer's *Envisioning Emancipation: Black Americans and the End of Slavery*, Ronald S. Coddington's *African American Faces of the Civil War: An Album*, and Jackie Napoleon Wilson's *Hidden Witness: African-American Images from the Dawn of Photography to the Civil War*.¹²² Like the white officers of the WIRs mentioned in Chapter One, white officers of the United States Colored Troops (USCT) also collected photographs of their men at the time of the conflict. J. Matthew Gallman discusses the collection of thirty-one *carte-de-visite* that belonged to Lieutenant T. F. Wright and are now held Yale University's Beinecke Library in the article 'Snapshots: Images of Men in the United States Colored Troops'.¹²³ The images, and the captions written by Wright on the back describing each of the men, give insights into how white officers viewed their troops of African descent, and how much these views were influenced by racial ideologies that were in circulation at a time when the status of African Americans was beginning to change. Gallman's use of the *carte-de-visite* to consider 'how these small cultural artefacts might have reflected and shaped a world in transition' bears similarities to how photographs of the WIRs will be used in this thesis.

Images of the USCT can be used as a tool to better understand the image of the WIRs that proliferated during a similar time period and in areas that were geographically close. In the commercial photographs that they do feature in, African Americans are depicted as labourers, servants, prisoners, and soldiers in the military

¹²¹ Jeff Rosenheim, *Photography and the American Civil War* (New Haven, 2013), p. 46.

¹²² Deborah Willis and Barbara Krauthamer, *Envisioning Emancipation: Black Americans and the End of Slavery* (Philadelphia, 2013); Ronald S. Coddington, *African American Faces of the Civil War: An Album* (Baltimore, 2012); Jackie Napoleon Wilson, *Hidden Witness: African-American Images from the Dawn of Photography to the Civil War* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999).

¹²³ J. Matthew Gallman, 'Snapshots: Images of Men in the United States Colored Troops', *American Nineteenth Century History*, 13: 2 (2012), pp. 127-51.

camps of the Union and the Confederacy. One of the most well-known photographs of an African American during the Civil War is Alexander Gardner's 'What do I Want John Henry?' which features in his *Photographic Sketch Book of the Civil War*.¹²⁴ The photograph is of Union officers being served by their contraband servant, John Henry and its title is a joke at John's expense. The description alongside it in the album is even more condescending: 'when fatigued...John's master would propound the query, "What do I want, John Henry?" that affectionate creature would at once produce the demijohn of "Commissary," as the only appropriate prescription for the occasion that his untutored nature could suggest'.¹²⁵ Not all photographs produced of African Americans during the Civil War fitted this mould, and of course personal portraits sent home to families bore similarities to those discussed by Gallman and did not conform to negative stereotypes. However, there was a long visual history of American artists portraying black slave soldiers as cowardly and childlike and photographers were of course influenced by this.¹²⁶ Photographs and images of the WIRs in battle in West Africa and carrying out more everyday duties in the Caribbean, must also be read with regards to these portrayals.

Developing Photographs: Changes in Methods and Technology

The invention of photography itself occurred at the same time as the development and improvement of global transport and trade routes, and as printed pictures became cheaper and faster to produce, intersections between different genres of images became more common. However, few other projects have worked to combine the

¹²⁴ See Chapter Four, figure 4.23, p. 174.

¹²⁵ Alexander Gardner, *Photographic Sketch Book of the Civil War* (Washington DC, 1866), Image 27: 'What Do I Want John Henry?'.

¹²⁶ Rosenheim, *Photography and the American Civil War*, p. 167; Albert Boime, *The Art of Exclusion: Representing Blacks in the Nineteenth Century* (Washington DC, 1990), pp. 171-2, p. 185.

histories and literatures of such diverse and yet interconnected visual economies of military and tourist imagery. The term ‘visual economy’ as coined by Deborah Poole, stresses the globality of the flow of images, and emphasises that whilst two places may not have shared the same ‘culture’, the images they produced could have participated in the same economy.¹²⁷ This thesis will therefore not only highlight the interconnections between the history of colonial, military, and tourist photography, but the connections between the histories of the USA, Caribbean, West Africa, and the UK more generally.

As has been demonstrated throughout this chapter, photographic outputs and representations of the Caribbean were clearly enmeshed in a web of influences, from the historic to the economic, the aesthetic to the scientific. In a final contextual note before moving onto discuss the research methodology underlying this project, it is necessary to outline some of the technical developments that impacted on the methods used to produce and circulate photographs of the men.

Photography first reached the Caribbean in the form of the daguerreotype which was made widely available in 1839 and was embraced in Jamaica by Adolphe Duperly. Duperly, a printer by trade, had arrived in the country in 1824 to teach lithography. The arrival of the Daguerreotype caused Duperly to resurrect an old project to produce a series of prints of Jamaican views and around 1840 a book of *Daguerian Excursions in Jamaica* was published, containing twenty-four lithographs made from photographs ‘taken on the spot’.¹²⁸ The earliest reference to photography in Barbados’ newspapers dates from November 1841 in an advert for daguerreotypes

¹²⁷ Christopher Pinney, ‘Introduction’ in Christopher Pinney and Nicholas Peterson (eds.) *Photography's Other Histories* (Durham, 2003), pp. 8-9.

¹²⁸ Boxer, *Jamaica in Black and White*, p. 10; Adolphe Duperly, *Excursions in Jamaica being a Collection of Views of Striking Scenery, Public Buildings, and other Interesting Objects* (Kingston, 1847).

in the name of James D. Billinge MD.¹²⁹ At this time, Henry Fox Talbot had also patented a process which allowed a photograph to be developed on good quality writing paper known as the calotype. The images produced were not of as high a standard as the Daguerreotype however, and the patent for the process was restricted, reducing its proliferation.¹³⁰

By the 1860s, the Daguerreotype had been mostly abandoned in favour of the wet collodion process, which was far more sensitive and reduced exposure times rapidly, allowing portrait photography to become more comfortable and popular.¹³¹ As a consequence, in the early 1860s, the *carte-de-visite* portrait craze took off in Jamaica and across the photography studios of the Caribbean.¹³² Petrine Archer Straw writes that most photographs taken by photography businesses in the region were of the bourgeoisie, who saw photographs as a way to formally record their memories. Most of the black population were resigned to being subjects within the photographs of others or decorative additions to scenes, rather than photographers or purchasers of photographs themselves.¹³³ This was also the case for the men of the WIRs, whose photographic archive is distributed throughout the collections of middle class and upper class colonial visitors and officials. Regardless, the craze for the *carte-de-visite* did lead to an increase in the number of photography studios in the region, who competed to have the best equipment and most modern methods as well as the best prices.¹³⁴

¹²⁹ Harclyde Walcott, 'Photography in the city: Bridgetown in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century', *Journal of Barbados Museum and Historical Society*, 49 (2003), pp. 219-53, p. 219.

¹³⁰ Newhall, *The History of Photography from 1839 to the Present Day*, p. 34.

¹³¹ Gernsheim, *The History of Photography from the Camera Obscura to the Beginning of the Modern Era*, pp. 33-4.

¹³² See *carte-de-visite* of WIR officers in Chapter Six, pp. 265-7 and those involved in the Morant Bay rebellion in Chapter Four, figures 4.22 and 4.25, pp. 167, p. 176.

¹³³ Archer-Straw, *Photos and Phantasms*, p. 14; Boxer, *Jamaica in Black and White*, p. 7.

¹³⁴ Evidence of this can be seen in adverts for The Cosmopolitan Gallery of Photography and the Duperly's gallery in the *Colonial Standard and Jamaica Despatch* between July and October 1866.

During the 1880s and 1890s, photography changed from a professional and commercial pursuit to an amateur and social one. The Kodak Company invented roll film in 1882, leading to a revolution in the way photography was carried out. Before this invention, photographers required large cameras and a stack of glass plates to create their photographs. Following it, smaller cameras were produced which used a chemically coated film. Despite producing inferior photographs, roll film technology was embraced by amateurs who were captivated by the potential of photography as a social practice by which to preserve memories.¹³⁵ In Britain, by 1900, one in ten people were believed to own a camera. On the Caribbean's islands by this time, the number of local photography stores had also increased due to the rise in tourist numbers. Tourists required shops to buy film and equipment and tourist agencies often doubled as Kodak supply stores.¹³⁶ In 1907 Alfred Leader published *Through Jamaica with a Kodak* which contained 129 images of the island that he hoped would serve as 'illustrations of the normal conditions of the country and its inhabitants', and '[proving] one of many agencies which are helping to make Jamaica better known, both in the Mother Country and elsewhere abroad', and therefore attract visitors.¹³⁷ Elsewhere in the Caribbean tourists also embraced photography as an essential component of their trips, with over 200 exhibitions of travellers' photographs taking place in Nassau's hotels alone between 1900 and 1920.¹³⁸

¹³⁵ For a discussion of how Kodak transformed photography from a specialized activity to an everyday one see Kamal A. Munir and Nelson Phillips, 'The Birth of the 'Kodak Moment': Institutional Entrepreneurship and the Adoption of New Technologies', *Organization Studies*, 26:11 (2005), pp. 1665 – 87.

¹³⁶ Gernsheim, *The History of Photography from the Camera Obscura to the Beginning of the Modern Era*, p. 47, p. 50; Thompson, *An Eye for the Tropics*, p. 8.

¹³⁷ Alfred Leader, *Through Jamaica with a Kodak* (London, 1907), p. xix.

¹³⁸ Thompson, *An Eye for the Tropics*, p. 9.

The Disparate Archive of the WIRs

The visual archive of the WIRs is a disparate one, and a key outcome of this thesis has been to reunify and analyse as a collective an archive that was spread across the Atlantic World. I gathered and analysed my images over a number of research trips, predominantly working on the photographs in the archives that they were situated in, and taking photographs where possible to refer back to later. Over the course of my research I visited sixteen archives and special collections across six countries, spending months in some and only days or hours in others. This of course influenced how I was able to write about the photographs. For example, due to a three month AHRC IPS placement at the Yale Center for British Art I was able to write most Chapter Four in situ at the archive, able to refer back to the images from Johnston's album when I needed to, and directly relate them to Gulland's photographs which were all available online. This was also the case with Foulkes' photographs that are analysed in Chapter Five. Due to their London location and proximity to my home and other places of research such as the British Library, I was able to revisit the archive numerous times to review what I had written and look again.

Other chapters were written quite differently, without the hard copies of the images directly in front of me, as my time within the archive was so brief. Chapter Six brings together images from many different archives from across the Atlantic, most of which I could only visit for a short period of time, like the National Library of Jamaica. Over two weeks at the NLJ I looked at hundreds of photographs across eight individual albums and three boxes of photographs associated with J. B. Valdez. These included four photographs from the Glyn Vivian album, three of which feature in Chapter Six of this thesis, and a number from the general regiments photograph collection that feature in the Introduction and Chapter Three. A photograph taken during the Jamaica Exhibition in 1891 that features in Chapter Six was from one box

of the Valdez photographs. This photograph has been attributed to Valentine and Sons, along with many of the photographs within the Valdez boxes related to the exhibition. A note on the NLJ's website now states that it is believed that the Valdez photographs are in fact the work of the Valentines.¹³⁹ Incorrect or indefinite attribution was a problem throughout the thesis, especially when working with albums like Johnston and Gulland's that mixed together personal and purchased photographs. In some cases, photographs from albums were associated with the wrong locations, wrongly labelled, or even missed entirely by curators and not included in catalogues.



Figure 4. 6 and Figure 2.7: Reginald Hignett Wilford, 1900-01, 'Myself' and 'Alimani Armadu of Kgbantana taking dejeuner in my house', 2006-04-3 Reginald Hignett Wilford Album 3, Eight photograph albums compiled by Reginald Hignett Wilford, West India Regiment, 1900-190, National Army Museum, Stevenage.

Unfortunately, some photographs went missing altogether. During my first trip to the National Army Museum, when its collections were still being stored offsite in Stevenage, I looked at eight albums collated by WIR Lieutenant Reginald Hignett Wilford. Many referred to his time in Sierra Leone and were initially part of

¹³⁹ 'Valdez Collection', available at <https://nljdigital.nlj.gov.jm/collections/show/30#?c=0&m=0&s=0&cv=0&xywh=0%2C-40%2C371%2C379> (last accessed 6 May 2019)

Chapter Five where I compared Wilford's photographs of Sierra Leone at peace, with Foulkes' images of the Hut Tax War. Wilford's photographs gave excellent insights into domestic life on campaign, as well as the relationships between soldiers of European and African descent (see figures 2.7 to 2.9). They were also great examples of the soldier as tourist, especially the photographs that he took of the Bahamas and Bermuda, and I planned to instead incorporate them into the tourism chapter along with some postcards sent by WIR Lieutenant C. D. Harris from the Caribbean and Sierra Leone that were also in the NAM's collections. Unfortunately, during the move from the store at Stevenage back to the NAM, Wilford's albums went missing, and without being able to have the full context of the images I did not want to use them in Chapter Six.

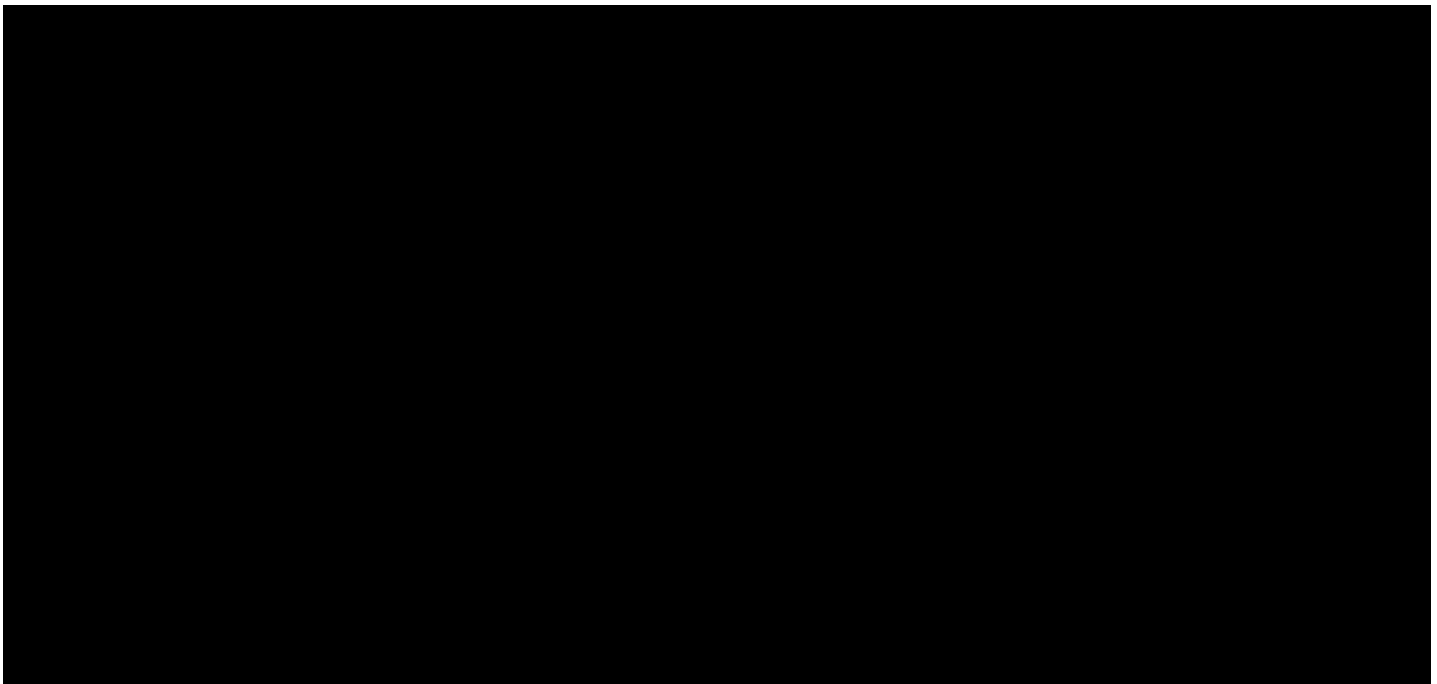


Figure 2.8: Reginald Hignett Wilford, 1900-01, Double page spread from Wilford's album with 'My bedroom Mabanta' and 'My "writing room" Mabanta', 2006-04-1 to 2006-04-8: Eight photograph albums compiled by Reginald Hignett Wilford, West India Regiment, 1900-190, National Army Museum, Stevenage.

A lot of work was also done outside of the physical archive using digital archives, or digitised materials such as the Caribbean Photo Archive which contains over 3500 photographs, of which only six are photographs of the men of the WIRs

(although more images cover their numerous bases across the Caribbean). Another significant digitised collection was the photograph album of Alexander Dudgeon Gulland, that contained over 165 photographs, 59 of which were related to his time in Jamaica. I was also able to use copies of photographs that had been gathered by others. The collection of W. D. Cribbs, a military enthusiast who creates replica tin soldiers based on photographs, contained copies of photographs that he had gathered from across the UK and Caribbean where he worked for the British government before the islands became independent. Overall this thesis consulted twenty-four physical and digital archives, containing more than six hundred photographs (not all including the WIRs). In total 123 unique photographs are referenced in this thesis.

Methods for Analysing the Disparate Archive of the WIRs

Due to the technological developments that occurred during the time frame covered by this thesis, the photographs of the WIRs that are discussed come in a number of formats. Many originated as albumen prints or *carte-de-visite*, with some then being reproduced as lithographs in earlier printed books, as photographic prints in later books, or as postcards. Some images stand alone, some are part of a series, and some have been combined into albums. This large variety of materials requires a uniform approach to facilitate comparison and collation. The same questions have to be asked of each individual photograph in order to best utilise it and generate a database that allows for legitimate comparisons and highlights any trends or outliers.

I developed a methodology to analyse and curate the photographs included in my research based mainly on the work of Gillian Rose and Elizabeth Edwards. Rose details that the meaning of an image is made at three sites: ‘the site of production’ (how an image is made), ‘the site of the image or object itself’ (what it looks like),

and ‘the site of its audiencing’ (how it is seen).¹⁴⁰ Each of these sites can then be further understood by three modalities: the technological, compositional, and social.¹⁴¹ Heavily based on Rose’s approach and list of questions, is my own method that uses additional insights provided in the work of Elizabeth Edwards, Arjun Appadurai, Krista Thompson, Tina Campt, and a critical review of Thompson’s work by Beth Fowkes Tobin.¹⁴² I consider photographs analysed as part of this research project firstly as visual images analysed for their content, secondly as objects focusing more on their form, makers and presentation, and thirdly (where appropriate) as commodities that were circulated and exchanged.

Considering photographs as objects is important if their meaning is to be fully deciphered. How a photograph was made and presented affected the way that it was viewed and used. As well as being objects, some photographs were commodities, exchanged for money or other objects, and therefore given a value. The values attached to such photographs, how they circulated, who they circulated amongst, and why, will be important if we are to understand their appeal to certain audiences. Understanding this appeal reveals information about the tastes and beliefs of the societies and groups they circulated amongst. If we are to learn more about ideas about race, and race relations in the Caribbean from photographs of the Regiments, the producer and their intention, as well as their subsequent circulation and reception must be taken into consideration. Although Rose’s three sites and their attached questions are comprehensive, they do not quite allow for photographs to be considered as commodities. For this reason, as well as adapting and re-categorising

¹⁴⁰ Gillian Rose, *Visual Methodologies: An Introduction to the Interpretation of Visual Materials* (London, 2007), pp. 19-26.

¹⁴¹ Rose, *Visual Methodologies*, p. 14.

¹⁴² Edwards, *Raw Histories*, pp. 13-16; Rose, *Visual Methodologies*; Thompson, *An Eye for the Tropics*; Beth Fowkes Tobin, ‘Caribbean Subjectivity and the Colonial Archive’, *Small Axe*, 12:1 (2008), pp. 145-56; Tina Campt, *Listening to Images* (Durham, 2017).

Rose's initial questions, additional questions have been added to my process of analysis.

Theme One: Content

Analysing the basic content of photographs involves considering a series of questions about what was being shown, where the viewer's eye was drawn, what the vantage point was, and what the relationships were between the photograph's subjects. The photograph's connection to, and similarities with, other photographs and images are also considered at this stage along with clues as to whether the image has been staged or altered. It is when considering the content of photographs, that I aim to discover more about the people in the photographs where possible, using military and birth records, and clues from the literature. Alternative interpretations of the image, based on Tobin's stress on reading colonial images contrapuntally, are also considered here. She states that an almost 'double-reading' of colonial images is necessary. For example, postcards of market women which sensualise or eroticise their subjects and 'naturalize their activities to make their hard labour seem like nothing', can also be read as evidence of black entrepreneurship and female independence.¹⁴³

Theme Two: Photographs as Objects

Considering photographs as objects requires paying attention to their materiality and physical qualities. How they were displayed and their present-day appearance is also important. For example, signs of wear and tear demonstrate the popularity of a

¹⁴³ Tobin, 'Caribbean Subjectivity and the Colonial Archive', pp. 11-12.

particular photograph in a collection and particular methods of display change the way certain photographs can be deciphered.¹⁴⁴ Additionally, whether the photographs had been collected in an album, printed on the front of a postcard, or kept as loose photographs in a personal or public archive can add to understand of their meaning. Alan Trachtenberg details how the format of Civil War photographs impacted how they were looked at and understood. For example, photographs produced for stereoscopes required ‘total concentration’, closing off the real world and letting viewers immerse themselves fully in the viewing experience. Trachtenberg also states that the sequencing of photographs in albums made by Civil War photographers for commercial sale made them seem more representative of reality.¹⁴⁵ Through looking at photographs as objects I apply knowledge gleaned about power relations between photograph takers and makers and their subjects. The biographies and backgrounds of photographers are also important to consider, including how their earlier experiences, societal roles, and reasons for capturing their photographs influenced the images they created.

As objects, photographs were of course collected, and this in itself contributed to their meaning. Sontag refers much to the connections between photographing landscapes, people, and objects, and appropriating them. Photography turned the world into a series of objects that could be inventoried, and this instilled photographers and collectors with a sense of knowledge and power.¹⁴⁶ The increase in the practice of photography took place at a time of increased colonial expansion and tourist travel. Capturing once threatening landscapes and people in photographs

¹⁴⁴ Rose, *Visual Methodologies*, p. 212; See Edwards, *Raw Histories*, p. 15 for more on the material forms of photographs, also see Penny Tinkler, *Using Photographs in Social and Historical Research* (Los Angeles, 2013), p. 2 on material form and its impact on meaning.

¹⁴⁵ Alan Trachtenberg, ‘Albums of War: On Reading Civil War Photographs’, *Representations*, 9 (1985), pp. 1-32, p. 6.

¹⁴⁶ Susan Sontag, *On Photography* (London, 2008), p. 2.

and indexing them in public and private collections contributed to the sense that they had been brought under control. The process of collecting photographs and accumulating them will therefore also be considered.

Theme 3: Photographs as Commodities

Some photographs were not just static objects in collections, but circulated amongst researchers, government bodies, tourists and other members of the general public as commodities. According to John Tagg, such images were ‘distributed, circulated and consumed within a given set of social relations’ and that it was through this process of exchange that they ‘found a use, a meaning and a value’.¹⁴⁷ Photographs therefore moved within particular trajectories and networks of exchange, absorbing and shaping ideas as they did so.¹⁴⁸ Appadurai urges researchers to follow these trajectories if they are to truly understand the objects they are focusing on, and tracing these pathways can be achieved through analysing newspaper adverts, postal markings and personal remarks where possible.¹⁴⁹ The visual economy of the flow of these images not only highlights the interconnections between the history of colonial, military, and tourist photography, but the connections between the histories of regions of the Atlantic world. Questions I consider when analysing photographs as commodities include whether and where they were advertised or sold, how different audiences engaged with them, and how circulation may affect meaning. Deborah Poole states that the circulation of images overlaps with ‘the cultural and discursive systems through which graphic images are appraised, interpreted, and assigned

¹⁴⁷ John Tagg, *The Burden of Representation: Essays on Photographies and Histories* (London, 1988), p. 164.

¹⁴⁸ See Edwards, *Raw Histories* for an in-depth discussion of the trajectories of anthropological photographs.

¹⁴⁹ Arjun Appadurai, ‘Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value’, in Arjun Appadurai (ed.), *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge, 1986), pp. 1-63, p. 5.

historical, scientific, and aesthetic worth'. She adds that the networks of exchange and reproduction that images circulated within helped to imbue images with their value and utility as representations of reality.¹⁵⁰ The utility of representations of the WIRs were therefore being influenced by the paths of exchange that they followed.

Conclusions

In this chapter, an outline of the various possible historical influences on the content, presentation, and circulation of photographs of the WIRs has been given, along with some introduction to the methods that will be used to dissect them. By highlighting the work that has already been undertaken in the numerous fields of research that this thesis connects to, the importance of this thesis as an effort to integrate these fields has been outlined. As well as integrating work that has not previously had its connections exposed and commented on, this research project will use what is a relatively small sample of photographs to fill large gaps in the previous research in each individual area. Brief insights into how the image of the WIRs contributes to various fields of literature and a range of visual economies have been given that will be explored in further detail in each of the subsequent chapters.

In concluding this chapter, it is important to outline that my analysis of the WIRs' photographic archive is open to interpretation. The intention of this thesis is not to close down the meaning of photographs of the WIRs that have been contested throughout their history or to offer a definitive final meaning for the images. It is but a reading based on years of immersion in the visual archive of the WIRs.

¹⁵⁰ Deborah Poole, *Vision, Race, and Modernity: A Visual Economy of the Andean Image World* (Durham, 2000), pp. 10-11.

Chapter Three:
Scrutinising and Celebrating Black Military Bodies:
The West India Regiments Under Inspection and Receiving Awards

Introduction

Photographs that best tie military photography and tourist photography together, as well as connecting the representation of the WIRs to attempts to increase support for imperialism are those of the WIRs on parade. These are perhaps the most common photographs of the WIRs, and feature them on parade, carrying out military drill, or being inspected. Parades and drill were a significant part of military life in the British Army and this was no different in the Caribbean. In his book, *The British Army in the West Indies*, Roger Buckley details the daily routines of the average British soldier in the region. The day would begin with roll call, followed by exercise with arms and drill.¹⁵¹ Following this the men would have their morning meal and carry out other tasks such as sentry duty. At five o'clock the men would have dress parade to finish off their day.¹⁵² According to John Henderson, the men would work at drill or musketry until midday before dining. Free afternoons would be spent in Kingston if possible, where the private would plume 'himself on the side walks to the admiration of the black and yellow girls'. As well as parading within the barracks, Henderson alleges that the men of the WIRs would 'parade at large in the brilliant full-dress uniform of his regiment. Scarlet and yellow or scarlet and white Zouave jackets, and white or yellow spats after church on Sundays', much to the admiration of 'men and women alike'.¹⁵³ Parades were a way for the men to show off

¹⁵¹ Roger Norman Buckley, *The British Army in the West Indies: Society and the Military in the Revolutionary Age* (Gainesville, 1998), p. 326.

¹⁵² Buckley, *The British Army in the West Indies*, p. 333.

¹⁵³ Henderson, *Jamaica*, p. 62.

what they had learnt during their drill exercises and demonstrate their pride in being part of the regiments so that others could take pride in them. Images of the WIRs on parade carried meaning in this way as demonstrations of what had been learned and how far the men had come.

According to Buckridge, parades in the West Indies in the colonial era were characterised by grandeur and ultra-masculine dress and acted as spectacles to display the authority of the British. Parade ground images therefore represented coercion and repression. Buckridge states that these displays also demonstrated the British tactic of divide and rule by subtly incorporating those who the authorities considered Europeanised enough to be considered not ‘other’ – such as the men of the WIRs.¹⁵⁴ The primary intentions of parade ground images were to threaten force and demonstrate security and progress. They therefore directly connect to what Stoler and Cooper have denoted as ‘the rationalizing, accumulating, and civilizing tendencies of British European expansion’ that ‘blended coercive and persuasive strategies of racial rule’.¹⁵⁵

Parades were an important part of daily life for the rank and file, and also for officers, who were supposed to be responsible for the drilling of their troops. In some cases though, officers found such work monotonous, and passed it on to the non-commissioned officers beneath them.¹⁵⁶ Preparing their troops for parades and inspections was not something that all officers enjoyed, and would avoid when possible to partake in other pursuits. These less senior officers often spoke unkindly about their men and their capabilities during drill exercises and parade. E. Craig-Brown, an officer who served with the WIR in Jamaica and Sierra Leone between 1895 and 1898, was critical of his men’s ability and often used racist language that

¹⁵⁴ Buckridge, *The Language of Dress: Resistance and Accommodation in Jamaica*, pp. 153-4.

¹⁵⁵ Stoler and Cooper, ‘Between Metropole and Colony, Rethinking a Research Agenda’, p. 6.

¹⁵⁶ Buckley, *The British Army in the West Indies*, p. 339.

would have been offensive and derogatory to the men that he was commanding at the time, stating that ‘the nigger can’t walk, he only shambles along’ and believed they would carry out drill ‘without having the ghost of a notion what it is all about’.¹⁵⁷ Such comments make the photographs of the WIRs quite contradictory and more complex than they seem at first glance. Even in staged photographs of the men on parade, the disciplined and orderly image that they present is contested by accounts written by those closest to them, who worked with them on a daily basis. In contrast, more senior officers would often take pride in the exemplary inspection reports of WIR troops as is demonstrated in Colonel Caulfeild and Major Ellis’ histories of the WIRs.¹⁵⁸

From the early years of the Regiments, recognition was given to officers for successfully turning their men from ‘savages’ into soldiers. In 1827 the Governor of the Bahamas stated that he was ‘much pleased with their appearance on parade, and the steady and soldier-like manner in which they executed the manoeuvres and firings’. The Governor believed that the quality of the men was due to the ‘zeal and attention on the part of Major Nicholls’ and the officers under his command.¹⁵⁹ An inspection report dating from 1830, when new colours were presented to the 2nd WIR at Nassau, stated that Major General Sir James Carmichael Smyth experienced ‘great satisfaction’ in ‘witnessing the clean, steady and soldier-like appearance of the men’. Major General Smyth saw the ‘high state of discipline of the 2nd WIR’ as evidence of ‘what can be made of African soldiers under good officers’.¹⁶⁰ The rank and file were seen as a reflection of those that led them, with the leadership receiving the plaudits

¹⁵⁷ Imperial War Museum (hereafter IWM), Private Papers of Brigadier General E. Craig-Brown DSO, ECB 1/1 Jamaica Letters, letter dated 12 January 1896; IWM, Private Papers of Brigadier General E. Craig-Brown DSO, letter dated Sunday 26 January 1896.

¹⁵⁸ See inspection reports shared in Caulfeild, *One Hundred Years History of the Second Battalion West India Regiment*, p. 60, p. 108, pp. 200-5.

¹⁵⁹ Caulfeild, *One Hundred Years History of the Second Battalion West India Regiment*, p. 54.

¹⁶⁰ Caulfeild, *One Hundred Years History of the Second Battalion West India Regiment*, p. 60.

for any achievements and successes rather than the men they supervised. In a colonial environment, these plaudits were of course racialised as evidence of the importance of white leadership in bringing out the potential of black colonials.

As photography became more widespread in the region, photographs of the WIRs were used to demonstrate the clean and disciplined state that was referenced in inspection reports. Photography was also used to commemorate and document the various military awards that the WIRs won including the Victoria Crosses of Private Samuel Hodge and Lance-Corporal William Gordon, highlighting that the achievements of the WIRs were important to acknowledge and celebrate by the popular press, photographers, and artists. This chapter will explore some of the contested meanings behind these photographic and textual commemorations and investigate the different intentions behind celebrations of the men's achievements and their performances on the parade ground. Photographs of the WIRs on parade for inspection will be explored first, followed by photographs of them prior to the awarding of medals. Finally, the recognition of individual soldiers will be analysed to determine to what extent the WIRs' Victoria Cross winners were represented as heroes and why.

'The training of Colonel Caulfeild and the officers, has been of the best, and diligently carried out'

Military drills and parades were great visual spectacles and the live events and the resultant photographic documentation of them were instilled with meaning as important demonstrations of military strength, discipline, and prowess. This is especially true of most photographs of the WIRs on parade, as they were circulated and captured to demonstrate not only the discipline of the rank and file, but the skill of the white officer class in training their black troops to such a high standard when

the dominant belief was that black men and white men did not share the same capabilities. In this way, many of the photographs reinforced racial hierarchies whilst also highlighting the supposed opportunities for development that colonial occupation and white tutelage provided for black subjects when Britain was trying to expand their control into West Africa.

This section will discuss how photographs of the WIRs on parade contributed to the contested image of the WIRs. Photographs spanning the Atlantic world from Jamaica to the Gold Coast and Barbados to Sierra Leone, will be discussed to emphasise the many similarities between these parade ground images and how they were used to demonstrate the leadership of white officers, the discipline and progress of the rank and file, and the strength of Britain's colonial armies.

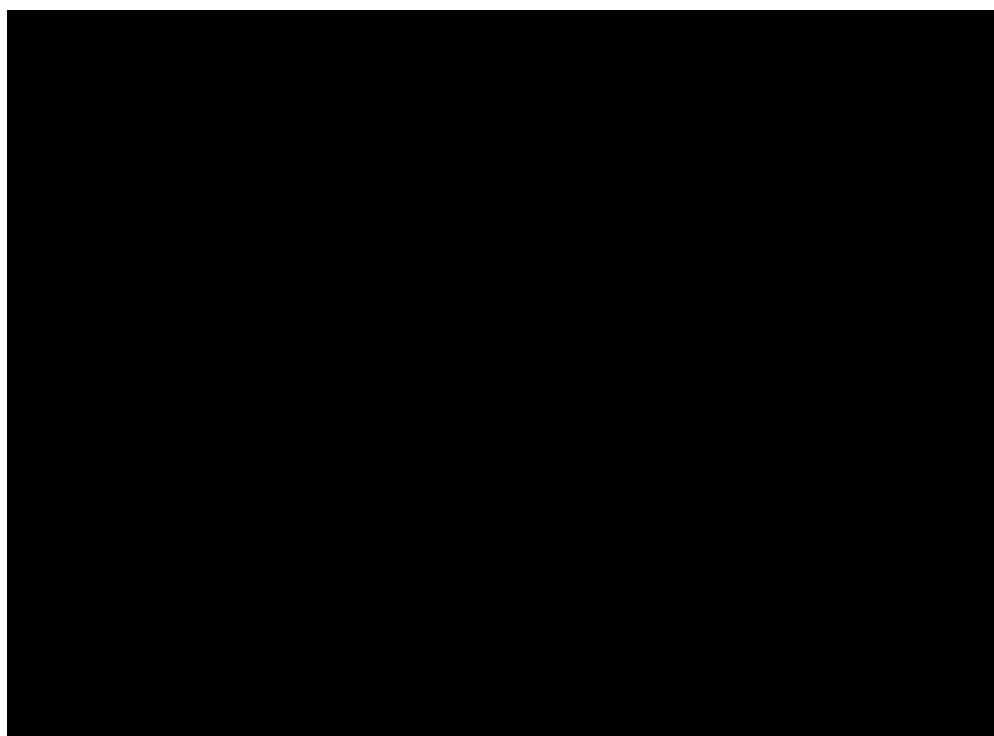


Figure 3.1: W. G. Cooper, ca.1893, 'Local Regiment, Barbados', reproduced in James H. Stark, Stark's History and Guide to Barbados and the Caribbee Islands (Boston: Photo-Electrotype Co., 1893), p. 115

In figure 3.1 the men of the 1st WIR are on parade, most likely for inspection, at the garrison in Barbados. The photograph was captured in 1890 by W. G. Cooper,

a local photographer who had established his Bridgetown studio in 1872. There are four lines of men and the sides of the front row are flanked by officers on horseback. Five officers on foot make up the front row of the group and the drum band stand separately with their instruments. The rank and file clearly demonstrate order and discipline, and the audience can see down each of the four lines of men because the photographer has positioned himself to the side of the men on parade, ensuring that the audience do not view the men exactly from the side or the front but nearly in a three-quarter view, similar to that used to present individual military bodies in photographs and portraits. This allows each of the men to be seen so that every individual can be actively scrutinised by the viewer. Such an arrangement was common in photographs of the WIRs on parade, suggesting that active audience participation in the inspection of the men was important to those capturing and circulating the images. The lines of the men are parallel to the straight line of the building behind them and the path that continues next to it. They are directly perpendicular to the straight lines of the building to their left. Further to this they also stand behind a painted line. All of these surrounding features assist viewers in comparing and assessing the straight lines of the rank and file.

Unlike the rank and file who are indistinguishable, the mounted officers in figure 3.1 stand out in their white jackets and helmets and tower over the men standing in between them, clearly demonstrating their authority and control over the other bodies in the photograph. The rank and file appear as if they have been rounded up by their mounted officers and are contained by them as well as being presented for inspection. A watercolour by an unknown artist of a military exercise at St. Ann's garrison, painted just seven years prior to this photograph presents a similar picture of control and authority. In the watercolour, the two officers tower over their attendant and the rows of their men who are lying on the ground carrying

out a training exercise (see figure 3.2). They appear as masters of all they survey, gazing out over their men and the landscape of the garrison which has also been disciplined and brought under colonial control. As in the aforementioned inspection reports that highlighted officer control and black discipline, photographs were also important in demonstrating officer achievement through the progress of their black troops as well as control and mastery over their horses.

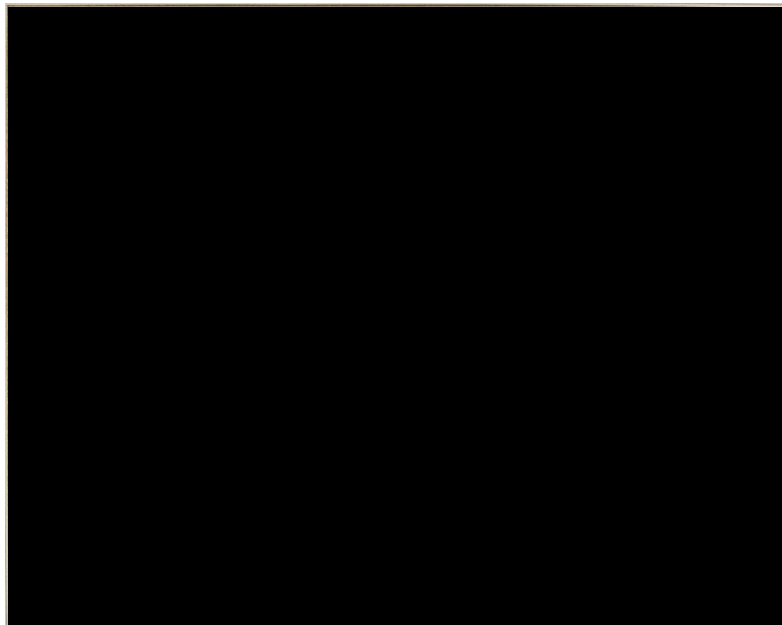


Figure 3.2: Anon., 1886, 'NAM. 2007-05-79-1: Two Officers and a Private of the West India Regiment watching an exercise at St Ann 's Garrison, Barbados' National Army Museum Study Collection, National Army Museum, London

The importance of such images of control, and their use in the promotion of the British West Indian colonies, is clear from the inclusion of Cooper's photograph of the 1st WIR on parade in James Henry Stark's 1893 tourist guide to Barbados. In his guide, Stark mentions that the garrison savannah was 'the principal playground for the Barbadians' and that a carriage road ran all around to allow visitors to circle the area during military parades and performances. Stark stated that the parade ground was also the playground of the troops and that 'the picturesque uniform of the Zouave soldiers of the West India regiments' and 'the red or white of the

European infantry' were sights not to be missed.¹⁶¹ Through black and white photographs it is hard to imagine what a brilliant spectacle a parade would have been. Bright blue skies, green grass, and the vibrant red, blue, white, and gold uniforms of the WIRs would have been an amazing sight for visitors who would not have been used to witnessing such a spectacle in a Caribbean environment. Such a display would have refined the Barbadian landscape into one similar to the British countryside demonstrating mastery and control of the environment as well as of the population. Stark likely purchased the photograph used in his guide when in Barbados and decided to reproduce it in his book. The reproduction of such images in numerous tourist tracts, highlights their importance as proof of the discipline and loyalty of black colonial subjects. This proof of discipline implied that white visitors would be safe and that black locals would be at their service.

Another photograph of the 1st WIR on parade in Barbados is arranged in a similar way to figure 3.1, again demonstrating the importance of presenting these men for inspection to the viewers of the photograph (see figure 3.3). This photograph from the Barbados National Archives was taken around a decade before the photograph in Stark's guide and shares many common features, with the most notable difference being the presence of a mounted gun amongst one of the rows of men. Just like figure 3.1 the men have been captured from an angle that allows the viewer to have a clear view of each individual soldier. The arrangement of this photograph also contains lots of other visual prompts to assist the viewer in their inspection of the soldiers. The lines of the men are parallel to the straight lines of the building and the path that runs in front of it. The straightness of their postures can also be compared with the columns that support the buildings sloping roof. The

¹⁶¹ James H. Stark, *Stark's History and Guide to Barbados and the Caribbee Islands* (Boston, 1893), pp. 113-4.

similarities between these two photographs, and others of the WIRs, in terms of the angle they were taken from and the arrangement of their components, demonstrate the intention behind their circulation and the meaning that they were supposed to convey. Such photographs aimed to demonstrate the discipline and tidiness of these men of African descent, and the hard work that their officers had put in to achieve it.

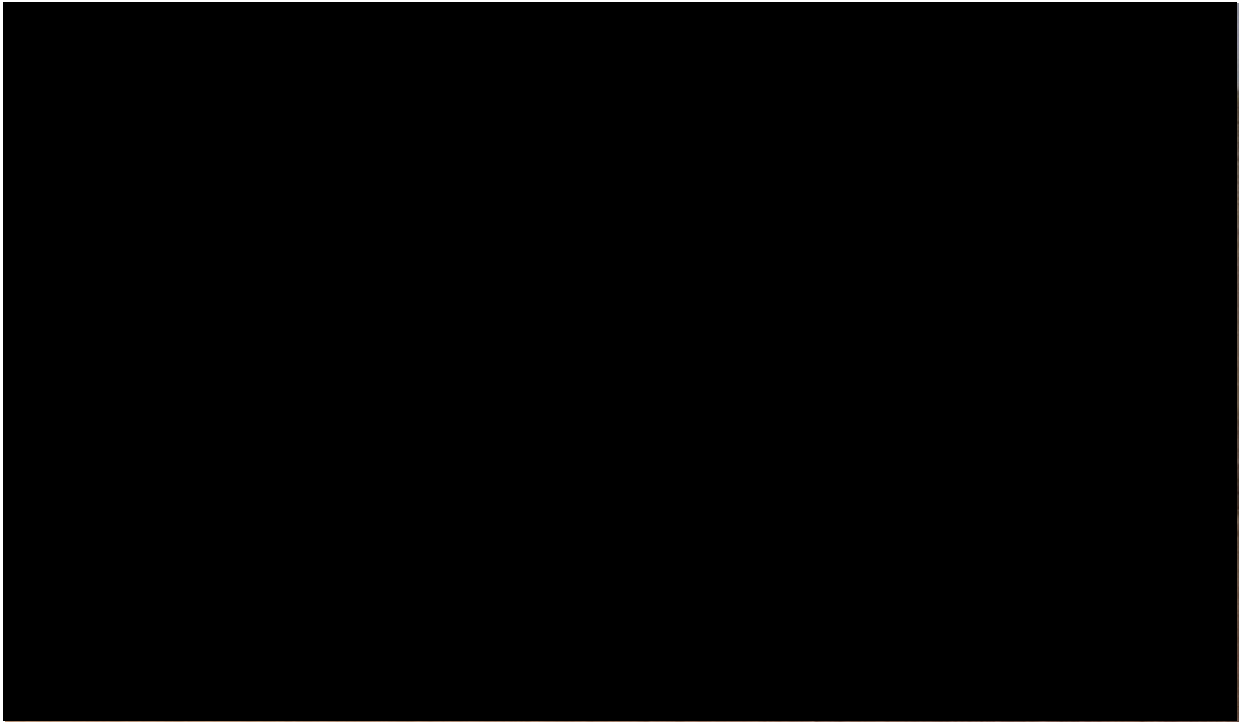


Figure 3.3: Anon., ca. 1890, 'The 1st WIR on parade at St. Ann's Fort, Barbados', reproduced in Major Michael Hartland, *A Concise and Illustrated Military History of Barbados* (St. Thomas: Miller Publishing, 2007), p. 40

Not all visitors to the region or local viewers of parades and inspections were convinced by the military spectacles presented to them by the WIRs, and the disciplined and civilised image of the WIRs was therefore contested. Frank Wilson, a Confederate visitor to Nassau at the height of the US Civil War stated that 'I was told that it was almost impossible to learn them to drill correctly, and quite a difficult matter to get them to face the foe'.¹⁶² Instead of evidence of progress he saw their dress and formations as evidence that they had been manipulated into service due to their simple-minded attraction to the elaborate uniform. He wrote of the black rank and file that they wore 'jaunty caps, with red tassels and red bands, while gold tinsel

¹⁶² Frank Wilson, *Sketches of Nassau* (Raleigh, 1864), p. 9.

bedecks their other garments, adding much to the foolish vanity of the wearer’.

Writing of the police, he believed that ‘they, too, have the ever prevalent tinsel and other gewgaw embellishments with which the British government knows so well how to tickle the fancy of the simple-hearted negro’.¹⁶³ For Wilson the spectacle of rows of men in the WIRs’ Zouave dress demonstrated too that they were firmly under the control of their British colonisers. Much like Buckridge’s analysis of parades as visual evidence of divide and rule, Wilson saw the uniforms worn on parade as a symbol of co-option.

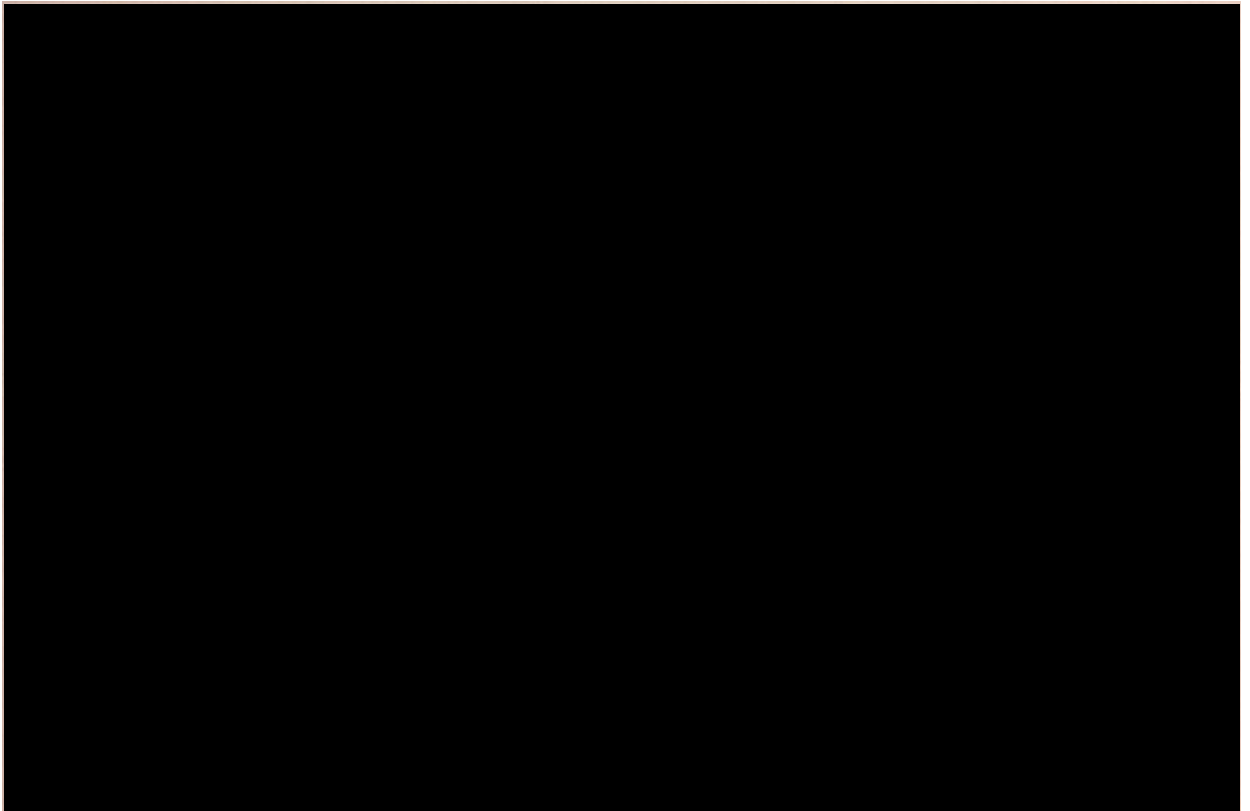


Figure 3.4: Anon., ca. 1899, ‘Up Park Camp, Jamaica’ reproduced in J. E. Caulfeild, *100 Year’s History of the Second West India Regiment* (London: Forster Groom & Co, 1899), p. 96

In his *100 Year’s History of the Second West India Regiment*, Colonel James Caulfeild was keen to emphasise the importance of the officer class in training the

¹⁶³ Wilson, *Sketches of Nassau*, p. 9, p. 23.

rank and file and for their success in a range of military inspections. He includes a photograph of the 2nd WIR on parade that has likely been cropped (see figure 3.4). This cropping does not detract from the image's impact but adds to it, with the spilling of the men of the 2nd WIR beyond its frame emphasising the vast scale and numbers of the black rank and file. Caulfeild's photograph therefore highlights a further reason why photographs of the WIRs on parade were circulated beyond that of highlighting the discipline of the men and the achievements of the officers: to emphasise the strength and scale of Britain's colonial armies. In Caulfeild's photograph the 2nd battalion WIR are on parade at Up Park Camp. The men are fronted by a line of seventeen officers, and three mounted officers. There are also four officers dotted along the ends of the various rows, one of whom stands with the band and is likely the band master. Again, the positioning of the officers demonstrates their control and the containment of their men. The men stand in the familiar surroundings of Up Park Camp's parade ground and there appear to be rows of spectators or other military personnel in front of the barrack buildings at the back of the photograph. There are also some members of the public watching along the left hand side of the troops. Caulfeild mentions a number of parades and favourable inspection reports in his book, and it is not possible therefore to attribute this photograph to a particular event. However, the front line of officers and the mounted officers containing the rank and file as in Cooper's photograph, can be clearly connected to the way in which the officer class of the WIRs are represented in all of Caulfeild's inspection reports. Caulfeild reproduces one report from February 1894 by Major General Bengough CB, who on completion of the Inspection stated that:

Colonel Caulfeild, officers, and non-commissioned officers and men of the 2nd battalion WIR, when last I inspected you, I told you I had heard very favourable reports of you, of your soldierly bearing and conduct, and that you

did your work well...Since then I have seen you many times, and the favourable opinion previously formed, I am now pleased to tell you, on this, my second inspection of you this morning, has been confirmed. It shows that the training of Colonel Caulfeild and the officers, has been of the best, and diligently carried out.¹⁶⁴

A few months after they received this impressive inspection report there was a serious lapse in the discipline of the rank and file. On 8 June 1894, soldiers of the 2nd battalion clashed with police in Kingston after a policeman attempted to arrest a soldier of A Company. Several were arrested and appeared before the magistrate the next day leading to further hostilities that evening. Around fifty soldiers smashed the windows of police stations, threatened police, and a police inspector and two constables were wounded with razors.¹⁶⁵ Caulfeild was concerned about how the local press covered the clash stating that they were ‘only too glad to exaggerate the disturbance into a general mutiny of the native troops’. He defended his men stating that ‘no one but an alarmist, or most unfriendly to the regiment, could consider that it was anything else than a street row’.¹⁶⁶ His defence proved unfruitful though, and the local military authorities imposed heavy restrictions on the men of the 2nd battalion, demonstrating that those in control of the island feared the consequences of their lack of discipline. Such fears likely connected to racial ideologies in circulation at this time that according to Stoler and Cooper first described those of African descent ‘as potentially civilisable – making European intervention a liberating phenomenon – and then as potentially resistant to the civilising mission – making European intervention a necessity’.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁴ Caulfeild, *100 Year's History of the Second West India Regiment*, p. 199.

¹⁶⁵ Caulfeild, *100 Year's History of the Second West India Regiment*, pp. 202-3.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 202.

¹⁶⁷ Stoler Cooper, ‘Between Metropole and Colony, Rethinking a Research Agenda’, p. 31.

It was not until six months later that the Governor of Jamaica inspected the Regiment and removed the restrictions. The address delivered by the Governor of Jamaica after this inspection was reproduced not only in Caulfeild's book, but in all the newspapers in Kingston, to ensure the local elites were aware that the 2nd WIR could indeed now be trusted. In his address the Governor stated that 'the regiment has been faithful and true, shewing soldierly qualities of discipline at home, as it has given evidence on the West Coast of its valour in front of the enemy'.¹⁶⁸ He also mentioned that on two occasions he had presented the men with medals that some of the men still wore as a 'proud token' that they had served their 'Queen and country in the field'.¹⁶⁹ Photographs of the Regiments on parade, like the one in Caulfeild's book, therefore held meaning not only as proof that white officers and by extension the white ruling elites had control of the troops generally but were also important in demonstrating that this control had been restored after serious breaches of discipline.¹⁷⁰ Images of their military formations carried meaning as they represented their potential when they followed orders and were under the strict guidance of their officers. Their medals demonstrated their loyalty to Queen and country in the field when they had faced enemies of their own racial background. In emphasising the sheer numbers of men that could be controlled by white officers, photographs such as this were a clear example of the strength of British colonial influence and control.

As well as photographs such as Cooper's and Caulfeild's, officers' narratives also reflected on the necessity of white troops and their supervision over black troops. Sir Garnet Wolseley, who commanded the 1873-4 Ashanti expedition in West Africa that had involved men from the 1st and 2nd West India Regiments, reflected on the relationship between the black soldiers and their white officers in his

¹⁶⁸ Caulfeild, *100 Year's History of the Second West India Regiment*, p. 203.

¹⁶⁹ Caulfeild, *100 Year's History of the Second West India Regiment*, pp. 203-4.

¹⁷⁰ See Chapter Four, figure 4.22, p. 178.

1888 article 'The Negro as a Soldier'. He stated that 'the African in our West India Regiments has always displayed that childlike affection for, and implicit reliance upon, the officers who treated him well which is so marked a feature in the character of the negro slave'.¹⁷¹ His direct comparison of the officer/private relationship to that of master and slave reveals his innate racialised beliefs that soldiers of African descent required white authority to be effective. By extension, as enslaved Africans were biologically predestined to serve whites on plantations, African soldiers were biologically predestined to serve under white officers for white colonial populations. Photographs of the WIRs on parade could therefore be viewed as visual manifestations of this predestined obedience and the predestined supervision of white officers. Wolseley makes further connections between the treatment of slaves by their masters, and the treatment of WIR soldiers by their officers later in his article. In a sentence that is deeply reminiscent of a pro-slavery tract Wolseley states 'it is only discipline that can convert men into valuable soldiers and this can only be instilled into the negro by the influence which the fear of very severe punishment imparts'.¹⁷² Just as it was believed that slaves would only work under the threat of severe punishment due to their inherent idleness, the WIRs' men of African descent could only succeed as soldiers under the same conditions. Wolseley is also keen to point out the dangers of over educating the black rank and file, just as slave owners were wary of educating their slaves. He writes that 'the man who has been educated in Barbadoes to read his bible...acquires a knowledge of drill more easily' but goes on to disparage the increase in educational attainment amongst the troops stating that

¹⁷¹ Sir Garnet Wolseley, 'The Negro as a Soldier', *Fortnightly Review*, XLIV: 264 (1888), pp. 689-703, p. 689.

¹⁷² Wolseley, 'The Negro as a Soldier', p. 702.

‘the education we have given him has as certainly injured his fighting qualities’ due to the men losing some of their ‘savage’ qualities.¹⁷³

The way in which Wolseley connected the role of the officer to the slave master is visually represented in the aforementioned photographs of the WIRs that emphasise the (necessary) control of white officers over the rank and file (see figures 3.1, 3.3, and 3.4). These connotations are also present in photographs that portray officers as masters of all they survey, especially those taken in West Africa. Photographs such as the postcard in figure 3.5 present the officers as having dominance over their men and the environments that they were extending British control over. The officers in white stand at a higher elevation than the men that they are inspecting, and the photograph is framed to give the viewer a broad view of the officers’ surroundings. This photograph in particular demonstrates the master/slave relationship between officers and men that is alluded to by Wolseley due to the presence of the black WIR soldier who is carrying the parasol to shade the officer and Governor Probyn. This soldier is likely to have been the officer’s ‘batman’, or personal servant. In Sierra Leone, the rank and file of the WIRs served as batmen for their officers.¹⁷⁴ Officers from British-based regiments however, were given servants from the local population rather than white members of the rank and file from their own regiments.¹⁷⁵ This ensured that the master/servant relationship proliferated only where the master and servant were from different races. In this particular image, the remnants of racial type theory are clear, with the white officer needing protection from the sun, but his servant not sheltering under the parasol. It was believed that those of African descent within the WIRs were better at coping with the tropical sun

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 691.

¹⁷⁴ Liddell Hart Centre for Military Archives, Foulkes 4/1, Draft and working papers for the unpublished memoir *Adventures of an Engineer Subaltern*, p. 12.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

and heat, with John Henderson writing in his tourist guide to Jamaica that ‘no sun has any terrors for your true West Indian soldier. His skull is thick enough even without the protection of his smart undress cap’.¹⁷⁶ Men of African descent within the Regiments were also called upon to serve white soldiers from other regiments, with one officer (E. Craig-Brown) stating that the company under his command were called upon to ‘to do all the fatigues for the white soldiers as according to regulations native carbon is always to be employed when possible in the tropics’.¹⁷⁷ Photographs of West African campaigns seem to demonstrate that this was the case, including those of the WIR constructing campsites and carrying out manual labour that will be discussed in Chapter Five.

¹⁷⁶ Henderson, *Jamaica*, p. 62.

¹⁷⁷ IWM, Private Papers of Brigadier General E. Craig-Brown DSO, ECB 1/1 Jamaica Letters, Sunday 15 December 1895.



Figure 3.5: Anon., ca. 1903, 'Military Parade, Troops Marching Past his Excellency Governor Probyn', Wallin E. Riebel Postcards of Sierra Leone, Otterbein Digital Commons, Available at: http://digitalcommons.otterbein.edu/archives_sleone

Diaries and correspondence of junior WIR officers and those close to them demonstrate that unlike senior officers such as Caulfeild, these men were quite disdainful of those that they were tasked with training. The image of the WIRs was therefore contested within the different ranks of the officer class. Like Wolseley, junior officers appear to have brought into racist ideologies circulating at the time. Craig-Brown arrived at Up Park Camp Jamaica on 21 July 1895 shortly after graduating from Sandhurst. Writing just a year after the extremely positive inspection reports from 1894, Craig-Brown expressed a very different opinion of the rank and file of the WIR. He was assigned to H Company whom he regarded as 'horribly slack'.¹⁷⁸ In contrast to the overwhelmingly positive inspection reports that Caulfeild reproduced, Craig-Brown complained of the difficulty of 'drilling and training negro gunners' as they 'can't remember anything more than 3 days at a

¹⁷⁸ IWM, Private Papers of Brigadier General E. Craig-Brown DSO, ECB 1/1 Jamaica Letters, Sunday 1 September 1895.

stretch' making it essential to practice with them until the 'fraction of a second before their examination by the commander royal artilleryman'.¹⁷⁹ After supervising them for fatigue duty in the ordinance yard he wrote to his family that 'five Leicestershire men did more work than all my 35 niggers together' and that his 'niggers' were 'the rottenest lot of sulky, lazy brutes' he had ever come across.¹⁸⁰ As with Wolseley's comments, it is hard to distance Craig-Brown's from those made by slave owners, particularly when he refers to his men as 'my 35 niggers'. During field training Brown made further comments that were reminiscent of the period of slavery when he stated that 'anything requiring a shade more gumption than shovelling earth puzzles the intelligent negro'.¹⁸¹ As well as harking back to the period of slavery with his comments about his men, Craig-Brown frequently expressed views in line with racial type theory in his letters. On one occasion he expressed disgust with the appearance of his men that was firmly grounded in their race, stating that he was 'mentally sick of the Negro and everything connected with him' and on another commented that he believed that black NCOs were 'little removed from the ape'.¹⁸² In contrast Brown expressed delight at seeing white troops on parade, stating that 'you have no idea what a treat it is to see a European regiment at drill after seeing nothing but negroes for 6 months'.¹⁸³

Despite this disgust, Brown decided to send a photograph of H Company to his family for them to look over, demonstrating his later pride that his men were 'just getting kicked into shape now' thanks to his guidance. Unfortunately, this photograph does not survive in his archive, but it was not uncommon for WIR officers to capture and share photographs of their men with those back home.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 12 January 1896.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, Tuesday 17 December 1895.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 29 July 1896.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, 22 January 1897.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, 26 January 1895.

Lieutenant C. D. Harris shared postcards with his mother of the WIR on parade at Up Park Camp and in Sierra Leone. He used these as surrogates for his own personal photographs, purchasing postcards that depicted his own men.¹⁸⁴ This is clear from one postcard of the WIR on parade where he has written ‘this photo was taken last year when we had our own band’ (see figure 3.6). He also sent the postcard of the WIR on parade for Governor Probyn from his time in Sierra Leone with the WIR (see figure 3 .7). Officers of the WIR therefore circulated photographs to show that they were able to drill their men to a high standard and control their unruly black bodies. Racial ideology appears to be at the centre of the intentions of this circulation with regards to how the men are arranged in the photographs selected, and the comments of officers like Craig-Brown.

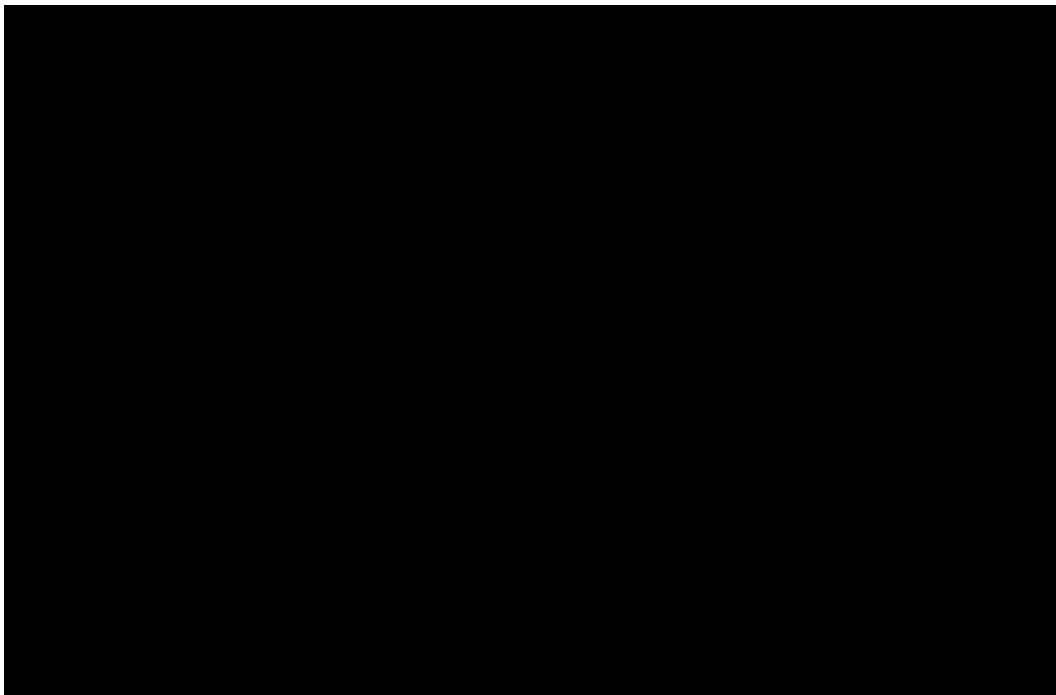


Figure 3.6: Anon., ca. 1905, 'The WIR on Parade', 1992-06-6: Collection of 223 postcards sent home by Lieutenant C. D. Harris, West India Regiment, National Army Museum, London

¹⁸⁴ For further details on Harris' postcards and his use of them see Chapter Six, in particular discussions of figures 6.21, 6.25, and 6.26, pp. 323-9.

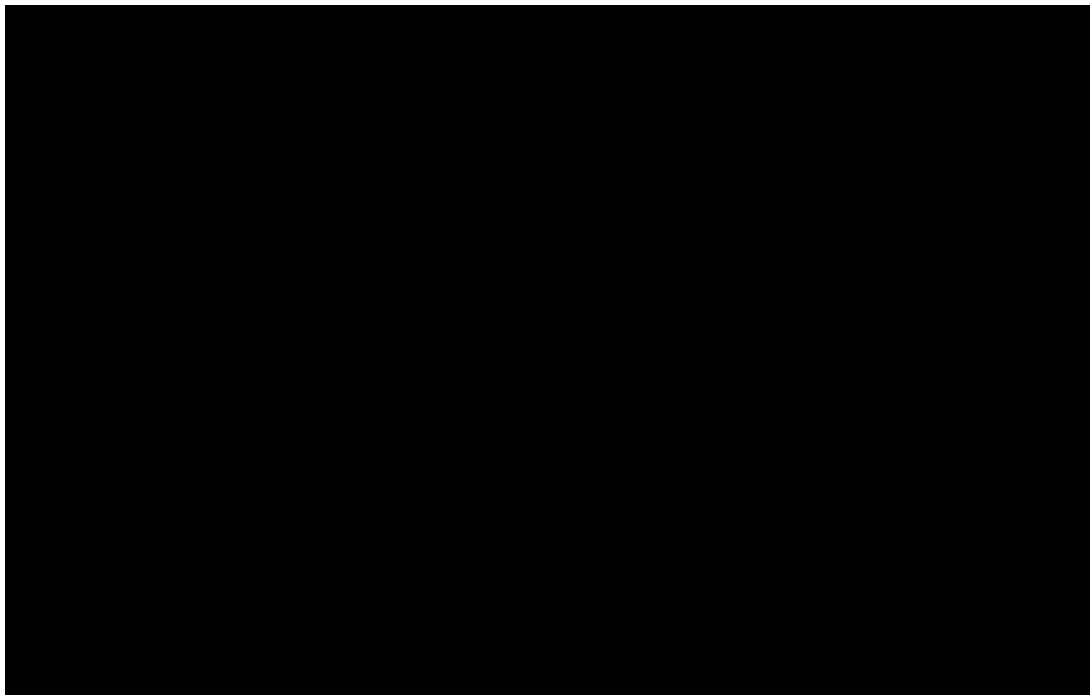


Figure 3.7: '9206-6- 36: Military Parade, Troops Marching Past His Excellency Governor Probyn', National Army Museum Archives, 1992-06-6: Collection of 223 postcards sent home by Lieutenant C. D. Harris, West India Regiment

From Slaves to Soldiers

Photographs of the WIRs on parade were also used to demonstrate their progress and adoption of white British military customs and practices as discussed by

Buckridge.¹⁸⁵ Photographs that directly referenced the men's slave-soldier origins highlighted the strides that they had made in becoming free soldiers of African descent who served the colonial power not in the cane field but on the battlefield.

One such photograph is of the 2nd battalion WIR on parade at Cape Coast Castle (see figure 3.8). This photograph featured in the *Illustrated London News* on 7 December 1895. In the photograph the men stand on parade at the castle with four senior officers and two other officers accompanying them. They appear to be standing in the courtyard of what looks like a barracks area where the Regiment were likely residing. The band stand in front of the rest of the Regiment in their own group. This inspection took place before the Regiment set off on an expedition during the 1895-

¹⁸⁵ Buckridge, *The Language of Dress*, pp. 153-4.

96 Ashanti War. During the war British troops led by Colonel Scott, advanced into the Asante Kingdom with the aim of bringing the Asante under British control. Four companies of the 2nd battalion WIR were sent from Freetown, as well as four hundred men from the 2nd battalion West Yorkshire Regiment, members of the Royal Niger Constabulary, and a number of Sierra Leone Frontier Police.¹⁸⁶

As with other photographs of the WIR on parade the viewer's eye is first drawn to the officers as they are wearing white and therefore stand out in the black and white photograph that is generally quite dark. Again, the photograph has been taken from an angle that allows the viewer to see clearly down the lines of the men which can be assessed against the straight lines of the buildings that surround them and that they stand perpendicular to. In the article that accompanies the photograph not much is said of the men of African descent of the 2nd battalion WIR, instead it focuses on the needs of white troops. The photograph seems to demonstrate therefore that they are visually interesting but that there is not much to say about them.¹⁸⁷ In his colourful descriptions of the journey to the Gold Coast, war correspondent George C. Musgrave frequently connected the men of the WIR to their slave past. He described scenes of 'four hundred dusky warriors swarming over the decks, singing, chattering in pigeon English and laughing as only a plantation nigger knows how'.¹⁸⁸ The men suffered greatly during the voyage to the Gold Coast, and were forced to sleep with a single blanket on the decks of their transport boat, as no proper

¹⁸⁶ Dyde, *The Empty Sleeve*, p. 229.

¹⁸⁷ *Illustrated London News*, 7 December 1895.

¹⁸⁸ Musgrave, *To Kumassi with Scott*, p. 18.

sleeping quarters could be found for them. Those who could not find a space on the decks were made to sleep in the ship's forehold.¹⁸⁹

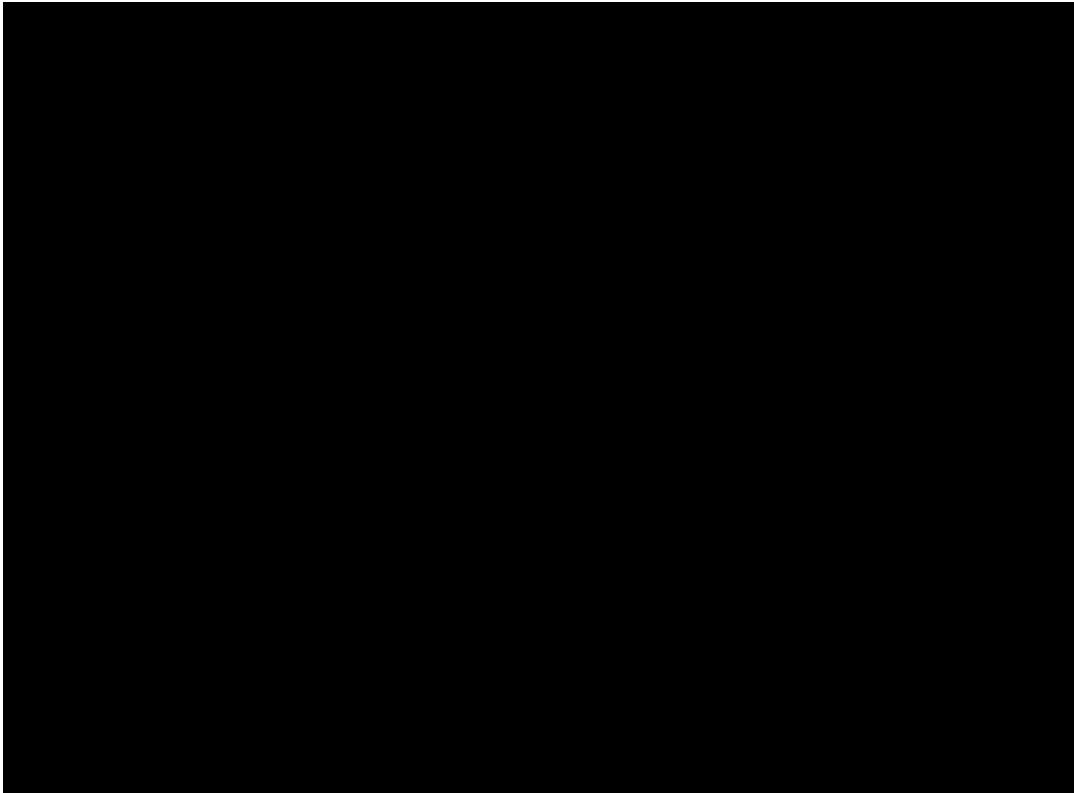


Figure 3.8: Anon., 1895, '2nd West India Regiment on Parade at Cape Coast Castle', reproduced in *Illustrated London News*, 7 December 1895

As with other photographs of the WIRs on parade, the men are book-ended by their white officers, demonstrating the containment of the black soldiers and the control of those who stand at the end of their rows. In his account of the journey to Cape Coast Castle, Musgrave commented that there was 'something particularly simple and child-like about the sons of our West Indian possessions', emphasising the need for officer control and nurture presented in figure 3.8.¹⁹⁰ He mentioned that the men of the WIRs saw their commander, Major Bailey 'as a father and would follow him anywhere' just as Wolseley had referenced the black WIR soldier's 'childlike affection for, and implicit reliance upon, the officers'.¹⁹¹ Despite their child-like simplicity, Musgrave believed that the inherently savage nature of the men

¹⁸⁹ Dyde, *The Empty Sleeve*, p. 230.

¹⁹⁰ Musgrave, *To Kumassi with Scott*, p. 18.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 19; Wolseley, 'The Negro as a Soldier', p. 689.

meant that ‘officers required large amount of tact’ when dealing with them as they were overly sensitive and did not care about the consequences of reacting to any supposed affront.¹⁹² Such beliefs are reflected in photographs of the WIRs on parade where officers are always standing close by their men, supposedly to ensure that they do not fall out of line or have any breaches of discipline. As in many accounts of plantation life, the life of WIR officers is presented in Musgrave’s text and in E. Craig-Brown’s diaries as being a constant struggle to get naturally idle black bodies to work. In his account Musgrave reflects on the campaign as being ‘fraught with perils’ for English soldiers with many being left on the road sick with fever and dysentery. In contrast he criticised the men of the WIRs for feigning illness stating that ‘close proximity of the hospital gave vent to a great deal of malingering among these lazy negroes, in the hope of getting admitted as a patient’.¹⁹³

The Ashanti campaign was therefore closely connected to slavery with regards to the written work produced by military officers and journalists. This particular photograph goes further and makes a visual connection between the conflict and the trade in slaves that predated it through the location that the photograph was captured at. Cape Coast Castle is a former slave fortress in what was then the Gold Coast. Figure 3.8 could be therefore be seen as highlighting the WIRs’ slave past and their transition from slaves to soldiers. At the height of the slave trade, the castle had underground containment chambers that held up to 200 slaves at any one time before their transport to the West Indies. Plans of the fortress also highlight slave yards that were used for daily exercise and detail ventilators within the bastion walls.¹⁹⁴ The men are standing in a courtyard which would have been located above

¹⁹² Musgrave, *To Kumassi with Scott*, pp. 18-19.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

¹⁹⁴ Louis P. Nelson, ‘Architectures of West African Enslavement’, *Buildings & Landscapes: Journal of the Vernacular Architecture Forum*, 21:1 (2014), pp. 88-125, p. 101.

these underground chambers. It is interesting, as at this time discussions were occurring where some officers and government officials were complaining that the WIR were now too far removed from their African roots and that this was affecting their utility. In his 1888 article, Wolseley wrote:

Our West Indian battalion retain many of their old good qualities but they are no longer of the same use to us as formerly, when they were composed of liberated Africans. In those days each man could tell you the tribe on the West Coast to which he belonged, or at least the name which we had from time immemorial given to all the slaves exported from the district from which he had sailed. Now the West Indian soldier will tell you he is a Barbadian, an Antiguan, Jamaican and so on.¹⁹⁵

Wolseley believed that many of the men had had ‘an infusion of white blood, which, strange to say, does not improve them physically’ and instead made them more susceptible to the same diseases that had crippled Europeans in the tropics.¹⁹⁶ For this reason, he deemed them no longer as useful for African garrisons.

In figure 3.8 the image of the WIRs is therefore contested, as a photograph that could be seen as demonstrating progress from slave to soldier, could also therefore be seen as demonstrating regression. In civilising the men and treating them like English soldiers, their initial capabilities and comparative advantages over white soldiers had been erased. Texts written by officers demonstrate that the men of the WIRs were trapped in between contradictory expectations. They were both too civilised and not civilised enough, too African and not African enough. Albert Augustus Gore, an army surgeon who served in the Third Ashanti War, expressed such ideas in his 1876 book *A Contribution to the Medical History of our West*

¹⁹⁵ Wolseley, ‘The Negro as a Soldier’, pp. 690-1.

¹⁹⁶ Wolseley, ‘The Negro as a Soldier’, p. 691.

African Campaigns when he wrote of the black soldiers of the WIR that ‘although clothed, fed, and treated in every respect as white troops, their social ideas were entirely those of the Negro’.¹⁹⁷ The decision to photograph the men of the 2nd battalion WIR on parade at a former slave fortress appears to further demonstrate the contested expectations and representations that they were subjected to. They were trained and treated as white soldiers were in order to improve them, but in the eyes of those working with them and viewing their photographs, they could only reach a certain level of civilisation. No matter how much training they undertook they would always be limited in what they could achieve due to their race and history. They would always need white supervision to steer them in the right direction and ensure they continued to progress.

The contradictions inherent in these photographs of the WIRs on parade, mean that the men of the WIRs are rarely empowered in photographs taken to outline this aspect of military life. However, another photograph of the 2nd battalion WIR at Cape Coast Castle appears to demonstrate that the men sometimes took control of their representation (see figure 3.9). Instead of standing passively in their lines waiting to be inspected by their viewers, in this photograph some of the men turn their faces to the photographer seizing some agency over their representation. In this way they appear to challenge the power relations usually present in photographs of the black men of the WIRs. Instead of simply being gazed upon and objectified, they gaze back, engaging with the viewer and asserting their individuality. Their faces become the focus of the viewer rather than their bodies, which usually merge into one large mass as part of their military formations. Urry and Larsen write in *The Tourist Gaze* that to photograph is to appropriate and by extension have power over what is being photographed. They state that this was particularly true with regards to

¹⁹⁷ Gore, *A Contribution to the Medical History of our West African Campaigns*, p. 69.

exotic cultures who were tamed by the tourist gaze.¹⁹⁸ This photograph demonstrates that in some cases the viewer could not always tame those in colonial photographs. The colonial subject could also look back at them in a two-way exchange of gazes.



Figure 3.9: W. S. Johnston, ca.1895, 'Gold Coast – Cape Coast Castle "A" and "B" Companies of 2nd Battalion WIR', reproduced in Major Michael Hartland, *A Concise and Illustrated Military History of Barbados* (St. Thomas: Miller Publishing, 2007), p. 38

This photograph of the 2nd battalion WIR at Cape Coast Castle has a different impact to figure 3.8 despite sharing the same backdrop. The men do not passively await the inspection of white audiences when standing amidst a former place of enslavement. The difference in the potential audience for this photograph could explain the contrast between these two very similar images. Figure 3.9 was captured by W. S. Johnston, an itinerant creole photographer based in Sierra Leone. Vera Viditz-Ward describes Johnston as a quick success as just two months after his first advertisement in the *Sierra Leone Times* announcing his 'visiting tour' in May 1893,

¹⁹⁸ John Urry and Jonas Larsen, *The Tourist Gaze 3.0* (London, 2011), p. 12.

Johnston announced in another advert that his stay would be permanent.¹⁹⁹ His place of birth is difficult to uncover, with some stating that he was Liberian and others that he was from Sierra Leone or the Gold Coast. However, he worked across the British West African colonies to capture his photographs and advertised ‘landscapes, views of the Gold Coast, Lagos, Sierra Leone and Native Types’ for a moderate charge.²⁰⁰ As a Sierra Leonean creole man, Johnston was likely to have held a different opinion of the WIRs to both white colonisers and those Sierra Leoneans who lived in the hinterland and had been subjected to various wars of conquest. Many creoles descended from soldiers of the WIRs who had been disbanded in Freetown and set up villages around the area that were named after places, battles, and generals in the wars that the WIRs’ soldiers had fought in.²⁰¹ Johnston’s potential customers would include black Sierra Leonean creoles living in Freetown as well as white visitors and settlers. Due to the inability of historians to identify Johnston’s place of birth we cannot know if he travelled to the Gold Coast to capture this photograph of the WIR heading out to fight the Ashanti, or whether he captured it at another time when he happened to be in what may have been his home country. Whether his choice to empower the black soldiers of the WIR was due to their shared origins, his admiration for them as a creole who had at times been defended by the men, or simply because photographs of the men were in demand at a time of war, it appears that Johnston had different intentions to other photographers who captured the WIRs on parade. For him the image of the WIRs may have carried a different meaning to the photographer behind figure 3.8. As will become clearer in subsequent chapters, that the image of the WIRs was contested was in some part due to the range of

¹⁹⁹ Vera Viditz-Ward, ‘Photography in Sierra Leone, 1850-1918’, *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute*, 57:4 (1987), pp. 510-8, pp. 513-4.

²⁰⁰ Viditz-Ward, ‘Photography in Sierra Leone’, p. 514.

²⁰¹ Nemata Amelica Blyden, *West Indians in West Africa, 1808-1880: The African Diaspora in Reverse* (Rochester, 2000), p. 34.

different photographers and collectors who captured or presented their image. It is of course worth acknowledging that the men may also have been surprised to see Johnston on the other side of the lens and were staring back at him as much out of curiosity as out of feeling comfortable in front of a photographer who looked more like them.

Beyond the background of the photographer, there is one further way in which some photographs of the WIRs on parade do not align with racialised ideas of white superiority and control. In fact, one postcard in particular demonstrates the opposite. In figure 3.10, the Regiment's band have been photographed at Up Park Camp by A. Duperly and Sons. The band are arranged in five vertical lines with the drummers at the front of the main group behind two animal handlers and the Regiment's mascot at the time. As in most photographs of the WIR on parade, the vantage point is the officer in the middle of the formation. Viewers of the image see the scene from the front, but slightly to the side of the formation. This layout is extremely important to the purpose of the image. It allows the viewer to look all the way down all of the lines and view each member of the band individually, even when the image is small. Each man's face and uniform can be seen and twenty-five of the men are wearing medals. We can see each instrument and each figure clearly and can see the positions of their arms, and Zouave turbans, some of which have slipped untidily to the side. Some of the men have leaned slightly out of the line in order to be better seen by the photographer.

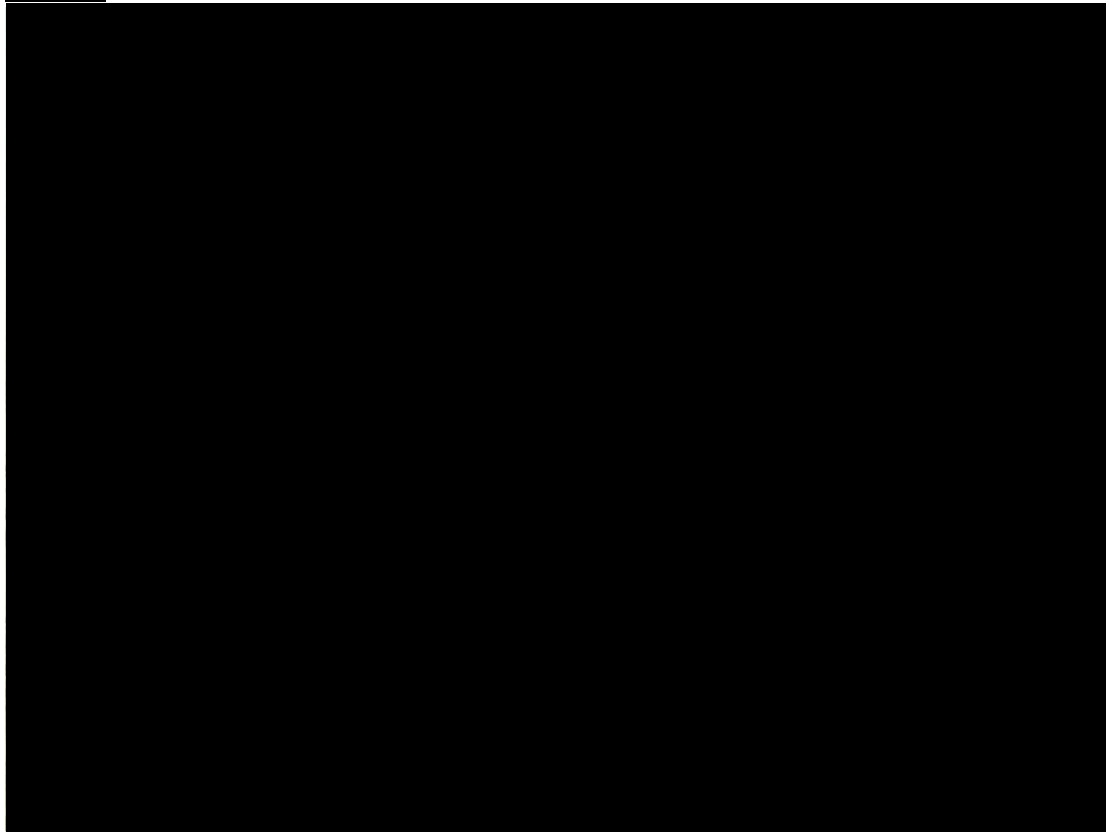


Figure 3.10: A Duperly and Sons, ca. 1905, 'Band of the WIR', reproduced in David Boxer, Jamaica in Black and White (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 77

Despite the numerous similarities between this Duperly photograph and others of the WIRs on parade, there is one important difference: one of the three officers is black. His presence challenges the general narrative of white officer supervision that is present in most other photographs. This is one of just two photographs of the WIRs uncovered by this research that feature an officer of African descent.²⁰² In other photographs of the WIRs the presence of officers, and their prominence due to the fact that their lighter and brighter uniforms stand out amongst the duller tones of the WIR and the surroundings that they stand in, appears to disempower the rank and file. Duperly's photograph, which appears to suggest that authority over the rank and file was not always due to racial as well as military hierarchy, challenges this by placing a black officer in this position of control.

²⁰² See figure 5.34, p. 263.

‘Drawn Up on Parade to be Decorated’: Awards and Recognition for the Black Rank and File?

On occasions where the men of the WIRs exceeded expectations, photographs were captured to commemorate their achievements. Photographs of award ceremonies are far less common than those of parades, and mostly originate from the 1890s and onwards, after printed periodicals began to reproduce photographs. The WIRs received recognition in the local West Indian newspapers as well as British newspapers and illustrated weeklies. The *Illustrated London News*, for example, gave small colonial wars a lot of coverage on its pages.²⁰³ Heather Streets writes that in the environment of heightened public interest in military exploits that came in the late nineteenth century, ambitious officers were able to manipulate public opinion through the media. Tales of heroism and bravery were circulated through the popular press and popular heroes were made.²⁰⁴ Photographs of the WIRs reproduced in this environment along with stories of heroes, victory, and conquest had significant meaning as they helped to strengthen public support for imperialism. Photographs of the achievements of the WIRs that circulated in this environment again demonstrated that progress could be made under colonial rule and loyalty could be generated amongst those of African descent.

Many of the achievements of the WIRs that were shared in British periodicals related to action in West Africa, as the Caribbean theatre of war had long since turned quiet. In a series of photographs featured in *The Navy and Army Illustrated*, a group of men from the WIR were depicted receiving medals for service in Lagos between 1897 and 1898. The photographs were taken in St Lucia, where

²⁰³ Joan Winifred and Martin Hichberger, ‘Military Themes in British Painting 1815 – 1914’ (PhD Thesis, University College London, 1965), p. 208.

²⁰⁴ Heather Streets, *Martial Races: The Military, Race and Masculinity in British Imperial Culture, 1857-1914* (Manchester, 2004), p. 117.

the garrison had recently moved due to the island's new status as an important coaling station.²⁰⁵ The series is made up of three photographs that present the award ceremony from three different perspectives and distances. Two of the photographs allow the viewer to be in amongst the proceedings, whilst the final photograph has been taken across the water from the ceremony. The title of the article featuring the images is 'Honours for Gallant Black Troops', however, upon reading the article it does not take long to realise that its central focus is the officer class rather than the men who are being rewarded. Taken alongside this text, the images seem to celebrate the officers' achievements in training such fine soldiers, rather than the achievements of the rank and file themselves. None of the men receiving medals are named but their officers are, along with St Lucia's Governor Alfred Moloney and his wife. In the second photograph the line of men is made up of those who are receiving the medals, just thirteen men in total. Despite this, still none of their names are mentioned. The photographs present the event in reverse order, beginning with the pinning on of medals by the governor and ending with the arrival of the presentation party to a sea of salutes. Placing the images in this order fixes the focus on those giving out the medals. The actions of the Governor and the presentation party are what the viewer and reader are prompted to follow in the article.

²⁰⁵ St Lucia National Trust, *Report Produced at the Request of the SLNT about the Importance and Potential of the Morne Battery for Development*, date unknown.



Figure 3.11: Anon., ca.1900, 'Awards at St Lucia for the WIR', reproduced in *The Navy and Army Illustrated*, 2 June 1900

The first photograph in the series is titled 'Awards at St Lucia for the WIR' and details one of the black privates of the WIR having his medal pinned on (figure 3.11). The image is arranged in three parts. We can see the crowd who have come out to view the ceremony, the presentation party, and the Leinster Regiment who are also attending the presentation. Although the title of the photograph focuses on the award being given to the private of the WIR, the image's accompanying text does not mention the private receiving the award at all. Instead it names all of the white officers on view:

Starting from the left, the troops in white helmets are a detachment of the 2nd battalion Leinster Regiment. Then we have the St Lucia Company, Royal Artillery. His Excellency, Sir Alfred Moloney KCMG, is pinning on a medal. Next to him is Lieutenant Colonel Egerton, the Officer Commanding the troops in St Lucia, and behind him is Captain Reeve, Leinster Regiment, Garrison Adjutant. The Medals were given for Service in Lagos, 1897-98.²⁰⁶

²⁰⁶ *The Navy and Army Illustrated*, 2 June 1900.

Even the final sentence ‘the medals were given’ takes away the agency of the men of the WIR who had of course carried out acts deserving of recognition. Medals are being ‘given’ to them, they have not been won. Furthermore, the caption for the image is ‘The Governor Pinning on the Medals’ and the WIR private being awarded is almost lost in the business of the scene as he is partly obscured by a large tree. Despite being a gallant soldier, he is objectified and treated as someone that something is happening to. In this way, the photograph becomes almost an advertisement for empire and the high society occasions that are part of living in a colonial outpost, rather than a celebration of the achievements of the men of the WIR. This new high society had been eagerly anticipated with the announcement that the garrison would be moving to St Lucia. In his 1889 guide for prospective settlers in the Lesser Antilles, Owen Bulkeley wrote that ‘St Lucia will soon be an important centre of society’ and a ‘fashionable watering hole’ due to the rebuilding of the barracks and the garrison of one thousand soldiers that had ‘put more life into the place’.²⁰⁷ In 1890 this new and improved garrison was home to one white British infantry battalion and the WIR, along with companies of artillery and of engineers, medical, and other staffs.²⁰⁸

The positioning of the photographer further emphasises the lack of importance assigned to the private, as the viewer’s eye is drawn to the presenting party at the front of the photograph. The audience view the proceedings from the side, through gaps in the trees meaning that their view is obstructed. This has been done to best capture the Governor pinning the medal whereas if the photographer had stood amongst the crowd the audience would have had the best view of the medal’s recipient. This positioning, like the accompanying text, implies to viewers

²⁰⁷ Owen T. Bulkeley, *The Lesser Antilles* (London, 1889) p. 66.

²⁰⁸ St Lucia National Trust, *Report Produced at the Request of the SLNT about the Importance and Potential of the Morne Battery for Development*, date unknown.

that the Governor is the most important person in the image. In the same way as photographs of the WIRs on parade emphasised the hard work of the officers in training the men, presenting them for inspection, and controlling them whilst on the parade ground, the focus of this photograph on white officers and politicians and their role in the presentation of awards to unnamed colonial subjects suggests that the deeds of officers were behind the achievements of the rank and file.



Figure 3.12: Anon, ca.1900, 'Drawn Up on Parade to be Decorated', reproduced in The Navy and Army Illustrated, 2 June 1900

The second photograph in the series depicts the scene before any soldier has stepped forward to receive an award (figure 3.12). A line of thirteen men of varying ranks stand in front of a presenting party and in between two tall palm trees. One of their officers stands behind the group receiving the medals. The rest of the detachment stand behind the officer, mostly facing forward but some are looking down or to the side and not paying attention. Men of the Leinster Regiment stand to the left, watching the event. The photograph is titled 'Drawn Up on Parade to be Decorated' and again removes the agency of the men being awarded. Instead the title implies that the men have been brought to receive their medals by their officers. The

positioning of the officer named in the accompanying text as Captain Beamish, at the rear of the line of men, further emphasises this. As the officer commanding this particular detachment, he appears to be presenting his men to the Governor to receive their medals. The men are also presented for inspection to the audience, with viewers able to see down the line of men to scrutinise their postures and uniforms. The audience is aided in this task by the fact that they gaze at the men through the trees, whose straight and tall postures the men appear to be replicating, allowing their postures to be assessed in comparison to the natural environment.

The accompanying text does not describe what the men have done to receive medals but simply states ‘these West Indian soldiers have shown excellent qualities’. Again, the officers are all named but those being awarded are not. The lack of importance given to the men again emphasises officer achievement and agency over their own. As with the figure 3.11, the rank and file are also disempowered by the photograph’s caption. It describes them as ‘the fortunate recipients awaiting the ceremony’. By referring to them as ‘fortunate’, their actions are not emphasised but their luck in being rewarded is. The reader is made to acknowledge and celebrate the fact that they have been chosen to be awarded, rather than the action they carried out to achieve the award

The final photograph in the series depicts the Governor and the rest of the presentation party arriving at the ceremony location (figure 3.13). The men of the WIR line up in front of one of the buildings at Vigie barracks waiting to receive their medals. They stand saluting the presentation party that includes Sir Alfred Moloney, Lieutenant Colonel Egerton (the Officer Commanding the troops in St Lucia), Lady Moloney, and Mr M. N. D. Beresford, Private Secretary. Those arriving are represented as in control of the scene as everyone stands in wait for them. The men of the WIR are quite indistinguishable due to their large numbers but the officers

stand out due to their distinctive uniforms and because they stand separately as individuals. The Governor looks out across the men demonstrating his authority and control. The black rank and file line up behind their officers, again emphasising that they have been brought to the event by those commanding them and are to be awarded as a result of their leadership. As in figure 3.12, the photographer has again given prominence to the party that are going to hand over the awards rather than the award winners. The audience stand to the side of the events ensuring that they have a good view of the governor and his wife as well as the troops who are being presented for awards. The caption reads ‘The Black Troops Saluting the Governor on His Arrival’ rather than the governor arrives to award gallant troops. The text accompanying the image lists the names of the officers and the presentation party.

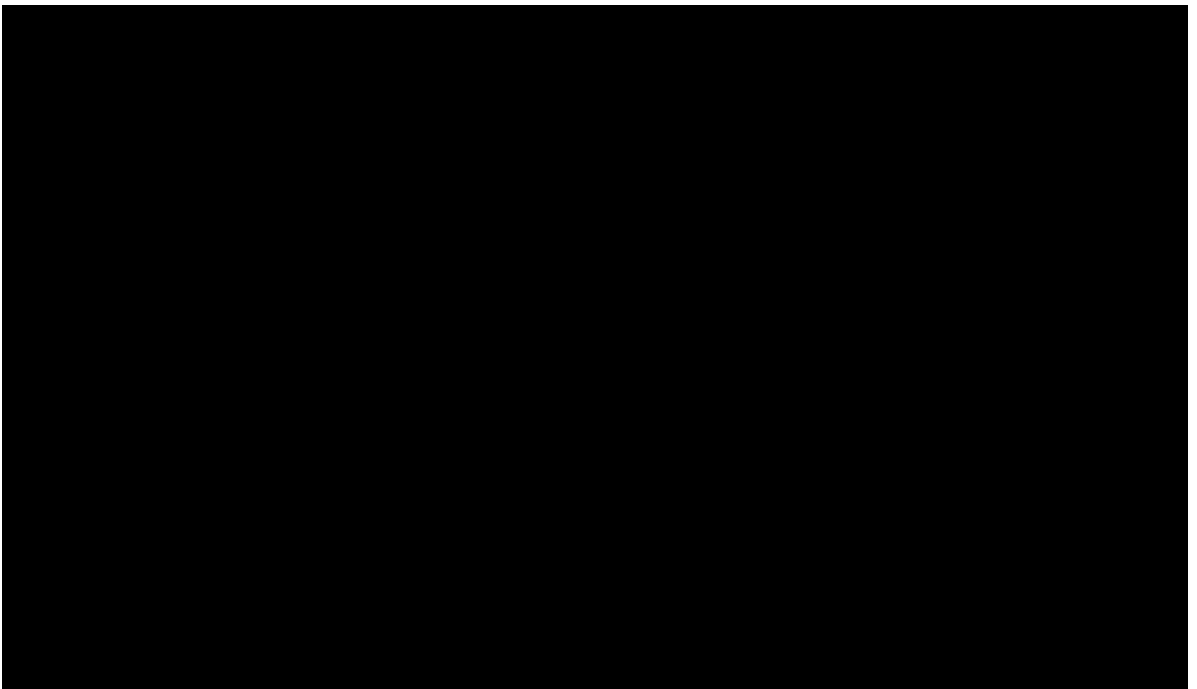


Figure 3.13: Anon, ca.1900, ‘The Black Troops Saluting the Governor on His Arrival’, reproduced in The Navy and Army Illustrated, 2 June 1900

In another photograph of the same medal presentation in St Lucia that was reproduced as a postcard titled ‘Distribution of Medal to a Private W.I.R. on Columbus Square St Lucia’ the private of the WIR cannot even be seen. Instead the main focus of the photograph is the officers who stand nearest to the front (see figure

3.14). The achievements of groups of WIR soldiers are therefore presented in contradictory ways, just as photographs of them on parade are. Their achievements were announced and acknowledged, yet in photographs of these achievements they are not supposed to be the main attraction. In commending and commemorating the achievements of the men it appears that it was often deemed as more important to commend and commemorate their officers, whom it was believed had initiated their success. As in the photographs and accounts of their pleasing parades that were discussed earlier in this chapter, the officers were recognised first and foremost. This tied in with ideas within the military that ‘there are no bad soldiers but bad officers’.²⁰⁹ Individual achievements and acts of bravery were reflections of Regiments more generally.²¹⁰ The publicisation of the alleged hardships of overseas postings for officers will also have added to the need to commemorate them for the achievements of their men, although the rank and file had often also sacrificed home comforts to lead the fight to expand the empire.

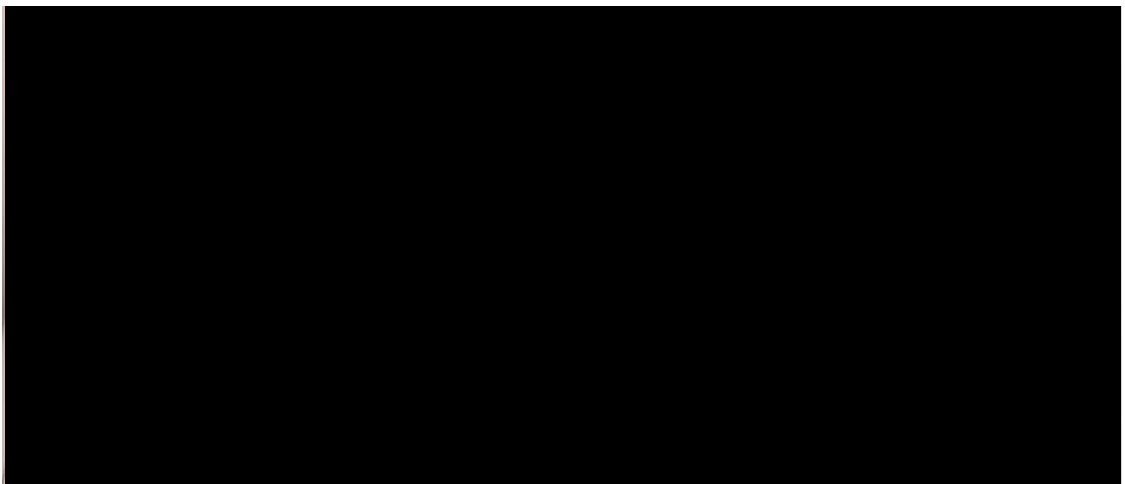


Figure 3.14: Anon, ca.1900, ‘Distribution of Medal to a Private W.I.R. on Columbus Square, St. Lucia’, reproduced in Jolien Harmsen, Guy Ellis and Robert Devaux, *A History of St Lucia* (Vieux Fort: Lighthouse Road Publications, 2012)

²⁰⁹ Ukpabi, ‘West Indian Troops and the Defence of British West Africa in the Nineteenth Century’, p. 149.

²¹⁰ Plinio Prioreschi, *Man and War* (New York, 1971), p. 52.

‘A West Indian Hero’? Portraits of a Victoria Cross Winner

Along with group photographs celebrating the achievements of the WIRs, it is important to focus on those who were honoured for their individual achievements. Two men of the WIRs were awarded with the Victoria Cross, a medal established in 1856 to honour acts of valour after the disastrous Crimean War. This section will look at how the WIRs’ Victoria Cross winners were represented in image form, and how these visual representations were similar to those mentioned previously. They reinforce that whether taken on the parade ground, at award ceremonies, or to commemorate group or individual achievements, photographs of the men of the WIRs did not always empower the men and instead emphasised the importance of the white officer class over the achievements of the black rank and file.

The first WIR Victoria Cross winner was Private Samuel Hodge of the 4th WIR, however he was not the first man of African descent to win the cross. Able Seaman William Hall, from Nova Scotia, had been awarded nine years earlier during the Indian Rebellion. Hall was part of the naval gun detachment detailed to breach the walls of the Shah Nujeff mosque.²¹¹ Hall was captured in photographic form, and the most common portrait of him that is in circulation has been used to create a postage stamp and signage for a highway named in his memory (see figure 3.15). In his portrait, Hall stands with his hands loosely behind his back. He has an open and welcoming posture and his face looks warm and calm. His medals hang from his chest close to the centre of the image, highlighting their importance and emphasising that the main aim of the photograph is to celebrate them. The Victoria Cross has been placed in a position of prominence above Hall’s three other medals with the ribbon tucked inside his jacket pocket. Hall’s calm countenance was an essential

²¹¹ Melvin Charles Smith, *Awarded for Valour: The History of the Victoria Cross and the Evolution of British Heroism* (Basingstoke, 2008), p. 62.

feature of the heroic action that had led to his Victoria Cross. Despite being a member of the navy, Hall volunteered himself to be part of a team of men assembled to rescue a besieged British garrison. He replaced a missing man in the crew for one of two large twenty-four pounder guns that was being used to break down the wall of the Shah Najaf mosque. One of the gun crews was left with no survivors after the attack, with Hall's crew also suffering heavy casualties until only he and another officer, Thomas Young, were left standing. Young was badly injured, but the two men continued to fire the gun until they broke down the wall, so close to it that splinters of brick and stone flew at them as they did so.²¹² His commemorative photograph therefore represents him in a way that draws attention to the characteristics that allowed him to carry out his act of heroism.

²¹² Profile of William Hall from the Maritime Museum of the Atlantic's website, available at <https://maritimemuseum.novascotia.ca/collections/william-hall-vc>, accessed on 29/08/2017.



Figure 3.15: Anon., ca. 1857-1876, Photograph of William Edward Hall VC, Maritime Museum of the Atlantic, available at: <https://maritimemuseum.novascotia.ca/collections/william-hall-vc>.

Samuel Hodge was born in Tortola in the British Virgin Islands and was twenty-six years old when he was recommended for his Victoria Cross for an act of bravery that took place during the storming and capture of the stockaded town of Tubabecolong.²¹³ Gambia's Governor D'Arcy was the leader of a punitive expedition against the Marabout leader Amer Faal who had been creating problems in Gambia's interior. He travelled to Faal's village along with 270 officers and men of the Regiment and around 500 Soninke irregular soldiers. After artillery failed to breach the village's stockade, D'Arcy called for volunteers to do so by hand. Private Hodge

²¹³ Dyde, *The Empty Sleeve*, p. 196; *London Gazette*, 4 January 1867.

and Private Boswell of the 4th WIR ‘answered his call for volunteers, with axes in hand, to hew down, the stockade’ under intense close-range fire. As the breach widened and the men were able to pass through, Private Boswell was shot dead. Hodge followed D’Arcy and was shot as he broke open the village’s gate with his axe. D’Arcy was however left uninjured and the rest of the troops were directed by him through the open gates to take the village.²¹⁴ For his action in breaking through the gate on 30 June 1866, Hodge was ‘presented by Colonel D’Arcy to his comrades, as the bravest soldier in their regiment, a fact which they acknowledged with loud acclamations’.²¹⁵ Hodge received his Victoria Cross on 24 June 1867 but sadly died less than seven months later, having never recovered from his wounds. Boswell, who made the ultimate sacrifice, remained unacknowledged as at this time the Victoria Cross could not be awarded posthumously.

Hodge’s Victoria Cross was not commemorated in photographs like Hall’s was or Gordon’s would be, but in a portrait by British painter Louis William Desanges. Desanges painted a battle scene that depicted Hodge with his axe in one hand, and his other hand passing D’Arcy the rifles of his wounded colleagues who lie in front of him (see figure 3.16). The portrait of Hodge was one of a series of fifty oil paintings of Victoria Cross winners. The portraits were put together for the exhibition ‘the Victoria Cross Gallery’ at Crystal Palace, were circulated as photographs, and appeared in Samuel Beeton’s *Our Heroes of the Victoria Cross*. Hodge’s portrait therefore had the potential to reach a wide audience, especially at a time of heightened interest in military heroics. Hodge’s representation has not been viewed as entirely positive however. David Lambert has argued that Hodge is marginalised in a way that other Victoria Cross winners are not in their own

²¹⁴ Dyde, *The Empty Sleeve*, pp. 196-7; *London Gazette*, 4 January 1867.

²¹⁵ *London Gazette*, 4 January 1867.

portraits. The true star of Hodge's portrait seems in fact to be Governor D'Arcy.

Hodge is presented as assisting him, and the focus of the action in the portrait is the death of Amer Faal at D'Arcy's hand rather than Hodge's destruction of the gate.²¹⁶

The inscription on the painting further reinforces Hodge's implied subordinate role.

It noted that:

Samuel Hodge...was badly wounded, but continued to assist the Governor, Colonel D'Arcy, by handing to him the rifles of his poor companions, with which the colonel kept the enemy at bay while the supports were coming up. In the breach are seen the prostrate body of Lieutenant Jenkins and Ensign Kelly, mortally wounded. The marabout chief who is seen with arms extended is mortally wounded by the rifle which Colonel D'Arcy is about to drop.²¹⁷

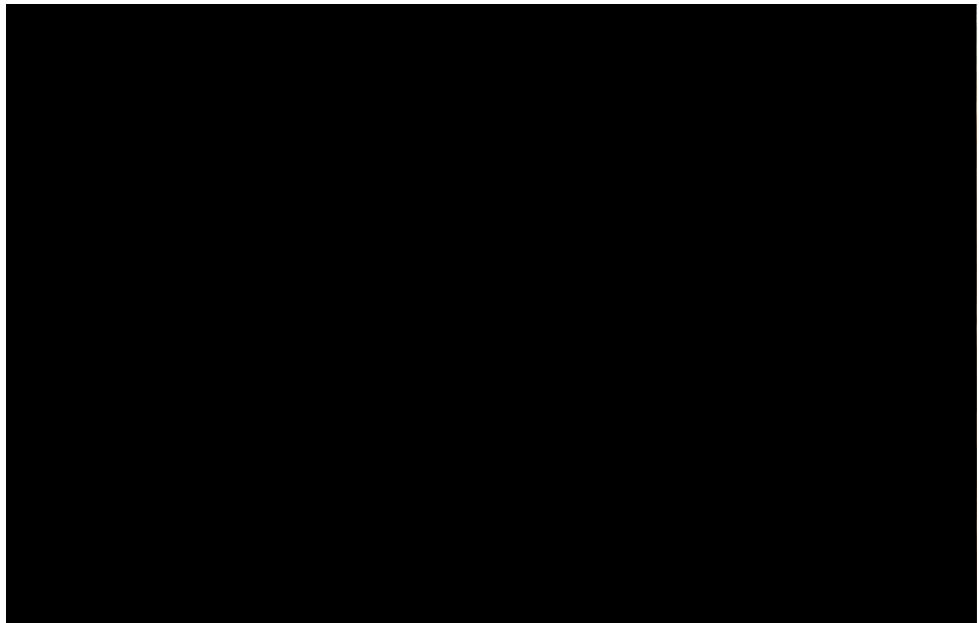


Figure 3.16: Chevalier Louis William Desanges, 1866, 'The Capture of Tubabecelong, Gambia, 1866', Penlee House Gallery & Museum, Penzance

Despite being awarded for individual valour therefore, Hodge's spotlight is given to his leading officer, just like the men of the WIR being awarded medals in St Lucia,

²¹⁶ David Lambert, "Am I Not a Man and a Soldier?" Samuel Hodge, VC, in *The Capture of Tubabecelong, Gambia, 1866* available at: http://blogs.warwick.ac.uk/asua/entry/am_i_not/

²¹⁷ *Ibid.*

and just like photographs of the WIRs parading for inspection more generally. The achievements of these soldiers of African descent were so closely tied to the influences of their white officers that they were almost subsumed by them. Their achievements were not their own, but a demonstration of the success of the white British officer class and the British colonial project to civilise and improve them.

Twenty-five years later, another black soldier of the WIR was awarded with what would become the Regiments' second Victoria Cross. Lance Corporal William Gordon, of Jamaican birth, was honoured for 'conspicuous bravery' during an attack on the village of Toniataba on the Gambia River on 13 March 1892.²¹⁸ During the attack, Gordon's commander Major Madden did not notice that a double row of loop holes on a stockade had been unmasked and that the muzzles of muskets were pointing at his back from less than three yards away. Gordon instantly noticed, pushed his officer out of the line of fire shouting "look out, sir", and was shot through the lungs as a result.²¹⁹ Gordon's Victoria Cross was well covered in national and regional newspapers in Britain. Headlines enthusiastically praised his actions. *The Globe and Traveller* ran the story of his award with the title 'Well Won'. The *Ross-Shire Journal* carried the headline 'An Heroic Young Soldier'. The *Leeds Mercury* and the *Hull Daily Mail* used the similar titles 'Victoria Cross for a Brave Lance Corporal' and 'A Gallant Lance-Corporal' respectively. The *Yorkshire Evening Post* called Gordon 'A Victoria Cross Hero'.²²⁰ This enthusiasm in celebrating Gordon's award extended from the printed press to commemorative photographs, and numerous photographs of Gordon were captured and put into circulation.

²¹⁸ *Ross-Shire Journal*, 16 December 1892.

²¹⁹ *The Globe and Traveller*, 10 December 1892; *London Gazette*, 9 December 1892.

²²⁰ *The Ross-Shire Journal*, 16 December 1892; *Leeds Mercury*, 10 December 1892; *Hull Daily Mail*, 7 February 1893; *Yorkshire Evening Post*, 10 December 1892; *The Globe and Traveller*, 10 December 1892.

In his photographic portraits Gordon, unlike Hodge in Desanges' painted portrait, is presented as a heroic figure. In a photograph reproduced in *The Sketch* in July 1897, Hodge is depicted in a head and shoulders portrait (see figure 3.17). Periodicals such as *The Sketch* were important vehicles for circulating stories of military heroism and the paper began circulation in 1893 as a sister paper to the *Illustrated London News*. This periodical was aimed at 'the cultivated people who in their leisure moments look for light reading and amusing pictures, imbued with a high artistic value'.²²¹ Gordon's portrait would have been one of these 'amusing pictures' with the story of his heroic deeds providing the 'light reading'. The portrait depicts Hodge wearing his Zouave turban and jacket. Pinned to his jacket are three medals including the West Africa medal and the Victoria Cross. He faces the camera from a three-quarter view and looks directly at the photograph's viewer, meeting their gaze and connecting with them through his eyes. Gordon's medals are prominently displayed and due to his body position they are the closest objects to the camera emphasising their importance. As in the portrait of Hall, Gordon displays a calm countenance, an important feature of any hero. His head directly faces the camera whilst his body is only partially open to his audience, allowing the side of his body that carries his military honours to take up more of the image's frame.

²²¹ The British Newspaper Archive, 'The Sketch', available at: <https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/titles/the-sketch> (accessed 28 October 2017).

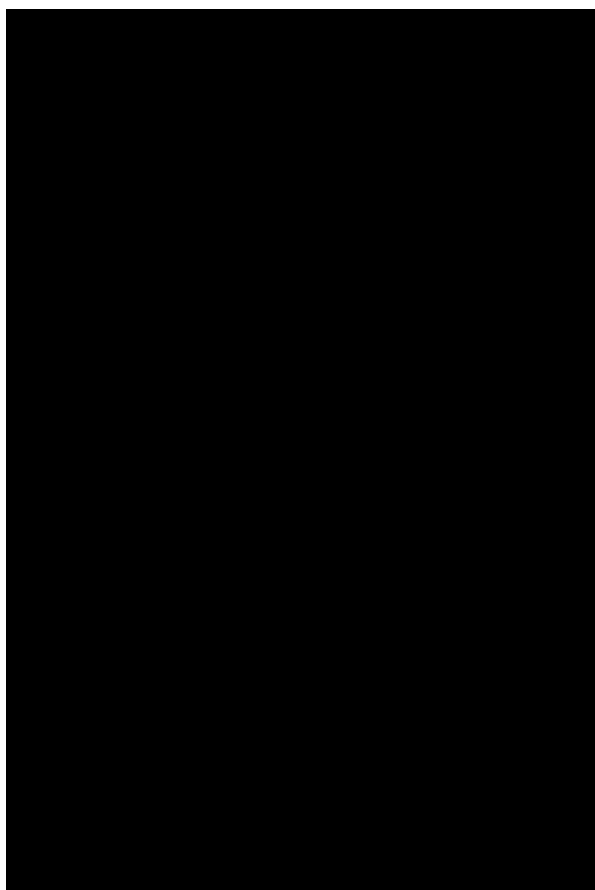


Figure 3.17: Daniels and Blaber, ca.1897, 'Sergeant W. J. Gordon VC', reproduced in The Sketch, 21 July 1897

The text accompanying the image describes Gordon as 'one of the three men of colour in our army who has won the Victoria Cross', emphasising the rarity of someone of his background achieving the award.²²² The use of the phrase 'our army' highlights the pride that the paper wished to instil in its readers in the men of colour that were performing so well under British leadership, much like the photographs of the WIRs on parades and receiving their awards in St Lucia aimed to do. In the portrait accompanying this text Gordon is portrayed as proud and confident. His intelligence and bravery are presented in the article as something that was beyond the expectations of his rank at the time. The author is keen to emphasise that Gordon 'was then a lance-corporal' yet was able to save his commander, Major Madden, from the fire of musket muzzles that had been 'cunningly masked' by the enemy. To

²²² *The Sketch*, 21 July 1897.

further emphasise Gordon's bravery, the article states that he was 'riddled with bullets' as a result of carrying out his heroic endeavour.²²³ Gordon is therefore represented as an intelligent and brave soldier, capable and willing to sacrifice his life for his commander.



Figure 3.18: Anon., ca. 1897, 'Sergeant W J Gordon VC', from the collection of W. D. Cribbs

In another portrait, Gordon is again represented as stoic and confident (see figure 3.18) in a break from the representation of other solo portraits of black members of the WIRs that often present their subjects with eyes downcast and as less confident (see figure 3.19 and from subsequent chapters figures 6.1, 6.2, and 6.3).²²⁴ Gordon's eyes appear to connect with viewers of his portrait, he stands assertively, and clutches his cane (an accoutrement of his status as an NCO). His portrait has been captured to the standard of other Victorian portraits with his face expressionless and he has been photographed for a half body portrait that allows the viewer to scrutinise his Zouave uniform and his Victoria Cross, as well as his to

²²³ *The Sketch*, 21 July 1897.

²²⁴ See p. 275, p.277.

view his face close up. In this way his image differs from traditional military portraits, painted or photographed, that were of the full body in a three-quarter stance. Gordon stands almost facing directly forward with his face turned slightly to the side. The photographer therefore clearly intends for the audience to connect with Gordon's face in order to admire him and to attempt to get to know the man behind the heroic deeds celebrated in the newspapers. He meets the viewer's gaze with openness and confidence.



Figure 3.19: W. Gregory and Co., ca.1895-1896, 'Sergeant of the WIR (Ashanti Expedition)', reproduced in Illustrated London News, 23 November 1895

According to *The Globe and Traveller*, Gordon's 'gallant act' was 'distinguished both by exceptional coolness in the presence of imminent peril and by unhesitating devotion to duty'.²²⁵ This coolness is present in Gordon's facial expression and posture and set Gordon apart as a hero from other soldiers who were simply brave. According to Plinio Prioreschi, whose book *Man and War* discusses the qualities of the soldier from the classical period until the modern day, bravery was expected but heroism was exceptional.²²⁶ Prioreschi defines heroism as 'the sacrificing of one's own life for altruistic beliefs, after calm deliberation', with 'after calm deliberation' being crucial. He argues that 'the soldier who throws himself on a grenade in the heat of the moment is undoubtedly a very brave man but is not a hero if he did not decide on his course of action calmly and deliberately'.²²⁷ The newspapers presented Gordon's actions as calm and deliberate, rather than as rash, with one article stating that he 'performed a deed of heroism which is not surpassed in the whole glorious record of the cross of valour'.²²⁸ Prioreschi stated that the cumulative effects of actions such as Gordon's determined 'the martial effectiveness of the army of a given group or nation'.²²⁹ Circulating images of men like Gordon, and stories of their heroic actions therefore demonstrated not only the successes of the WIR and its officers, but of the British Army more generally.

What is perhaps most curious about this portrait however, is that Gordon's Zouave turban has been added to the image. This appears to be a clear attempt to emphasise his exoticism as a soldier of the WIR, who were widely known for their Zouave turbans and uniforms. Similarly poorly executed attempts to ensure that the men of the WIRs were represented in their full Zouave uniforms were made in other

²²⁵ *The Globe and Traveller*, 10 December 1892.

²²⁶ Prioreschi, *Man and War*, p. 48.

²²⁷ Prioreschi, *Man and War*, p. 50.

²²⁸ *The Globe and Traveller*, 10 December 1892.

²²⁹ Prioreschi, *Man and War*, p. 52.

photographs. In a photograph of Officers and Sergeants of the 2nd WIR that featured in the *Illustrated London News* the black rank and file of the WIR have all had their turbans edited in to the image (see figure 3.20). However, their white officers have not had their helmets added. The cartoon-like turban takes away from the seriousness of the portrait and it is difficult to imagine that such an alteration would have been performed to add a helmet to an officer in a photograph. For this reason, Gordon's portrait cannot be seen as an entirely positive representation. The decision appears to have been made that it was more important to insert the cartoon-like turban, than to maintain the portrait's seriousness and quality. His Zouave turban therefore appears to have been seen as as important to his identity as his Victoria Cross by the producer of the photograph.

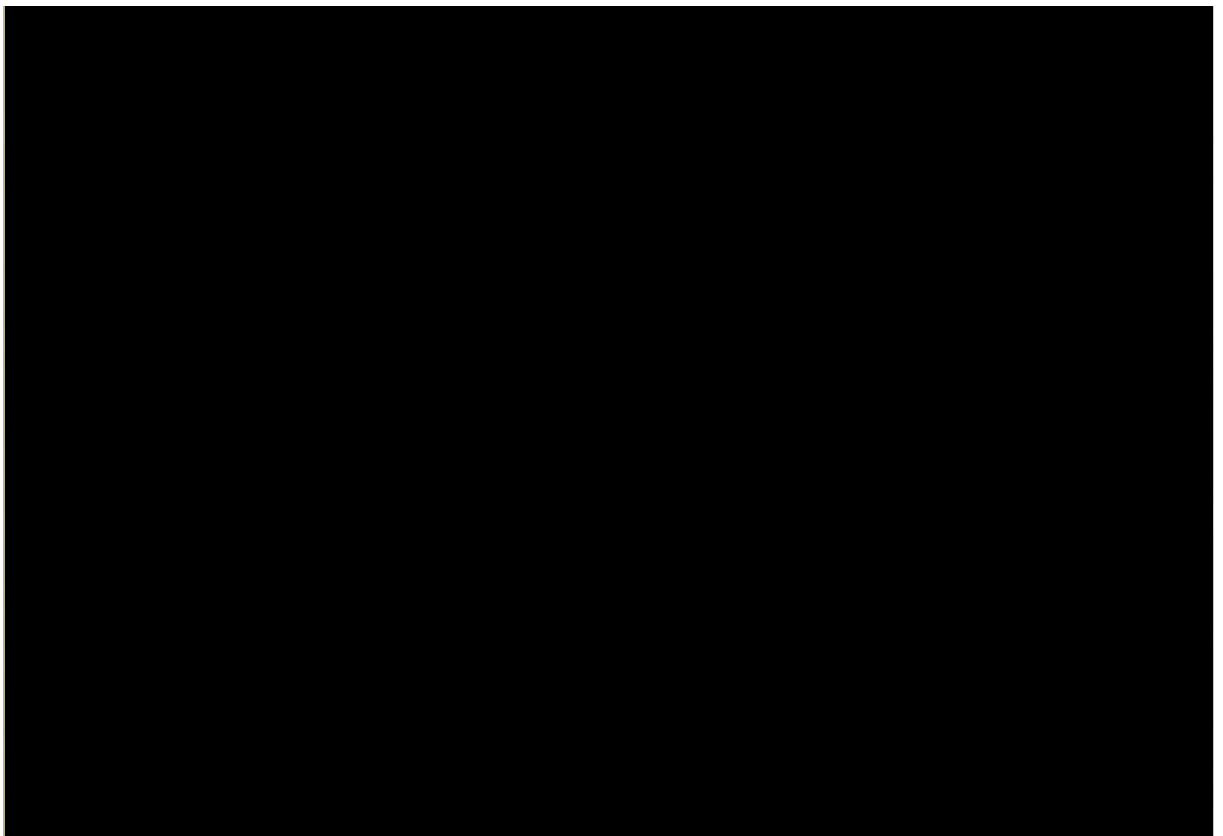


Figure 3.20: Anon., ca. 1895, 'Officers and Sergeants of 2nd WIR' reproduced in *Illustrated London News*, 7 December 1895

This exoticisation did not end with photographs of Gordon, in fact, many of the portrait photographs of him were captured when he visited London in 1897 along

with thirteen other men of the WIR to take part in Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee parade. The parade included a range of colonial troops, 'in which representatives of the whole world seemed present in distinctive attire'.²³⁰ The troops marched alongside colonial premiers to demonstrate the breadth and variety of Queen Victoria's empire on the streets of London, their uniforms being an important mark of this diversity. The American writer Mark Twain who was present at the parade and bore witness to the spectacle of empire wrote that 'for varied and beautiful uniforms and unceasing surprises in the way of new and un- expected splendors, it much surpassed any pageant that I have ever seen'.²³¹ His focus was not on the men's capability as soldiers but on how beautiful and picturesque they looked in their uniforms. Arnstein notes that the Jubilee became an accidental celebration of empire and this is clear from accounts that emphasise the way in which the parade demonstrated the strength and diversity of the empire through the colonial troops who maintained it. Gordon's role as a colonial soldier, who demonstrated the success of British colonialism in recruiting, training, and making loyal troops 'from Hong Kong in the East to Jamaica in the West' was the initial reason that his likeness was captured in London in 1897.²³² His status as a Victoria Cross winner ensured that it was he of the fourteen men of the WIR whose likeness was personally captured alongside the group portraits of him and his compatriots (see figures 3.21). All portraits of him date from 1897 onwards, five years after he won his award when he visited London. Before he and his compatriots had travelled to London to be paraded

²³⁰ Professor Charles Morris, *Historical Tales—The Romance of Reality, Vol. IV* (Los Angeles, 1908), p. 367.

²³¹ Walter Arnstein, 'History: Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee', *The American Scholar*, 66: 4 (1997), pp. 591-7, p. 591.

²³² Morris, *Historical Tales*, p. 368.

as colourful colonial curiosities there do not appear to have been photographic portraits of him in circulation.

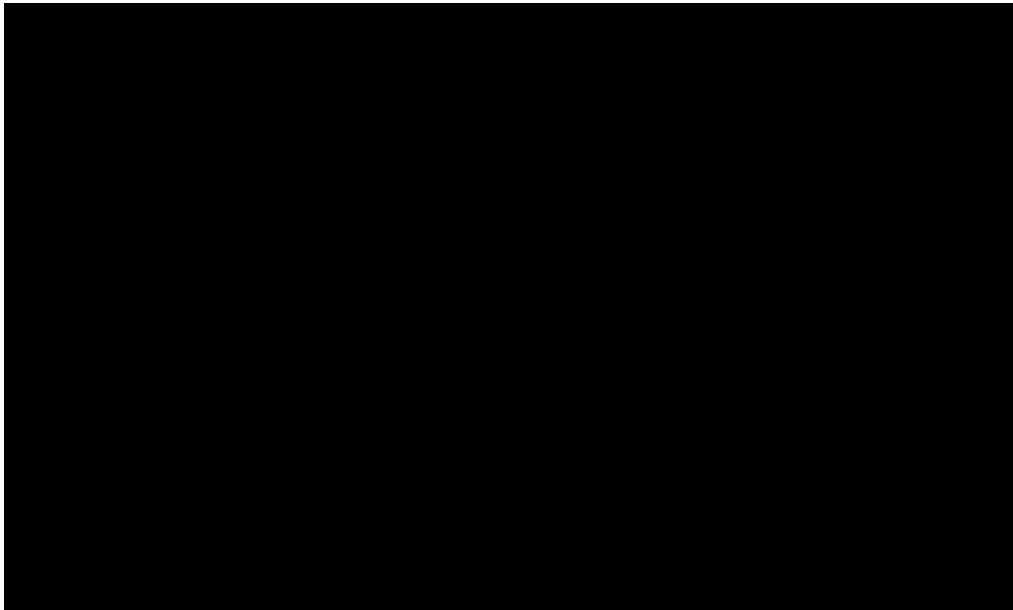


Figure 3.21: Anon., ca. 1897, 'The Queen's Jubilee 1897', reproduced in J. E. Caulfeild 100 Year's History of the Second West India Regiment (London, Forster Groom & Co, 1899), p.128

Gordon and his compatriots were also exoticised in an article about the WIR in *Navy and Army Illustrated*. The article, which was published in December 1898, first outlines the WIR's recent service in Africa and the dangers they had overcome. Following this, photographs of the WIR are discussed beginning with one of a sergeant and corporal bugler. The author states that this first image 'needs no particular comment beyond a hint to take note of the handsome uniforms'.²³³ The next image to be discussed is one of a recruiting party, that includes Lance Corporal Gordon (see figure 3.22). The author writes that the uniforms 'are shown to advantage again' and notes 'the white drummers braid' worn by the drummers. Next to be mentioned in the discussion of the image are the names of the two British officers, who sit in the middle of their men on either side of a large drum. The rest of the components of this image have been arranged around the two officers, Lieutenant Hingley and Captain Salmon. They are therefore given prominence ahead of Gordon

²³³ *The Navy and Army Illustrated*, 10 December 1898.

in the photograph as well as the text that accompanies it. They sit on chairs rather than standing or sitting on the ground to highlight their status and superiority and their dominance and control over their men is therefore clear. The two officers appear to demonstrate to readers, and therefore prospective recruits, the kind of status that they could enjoy as part of the WIR.

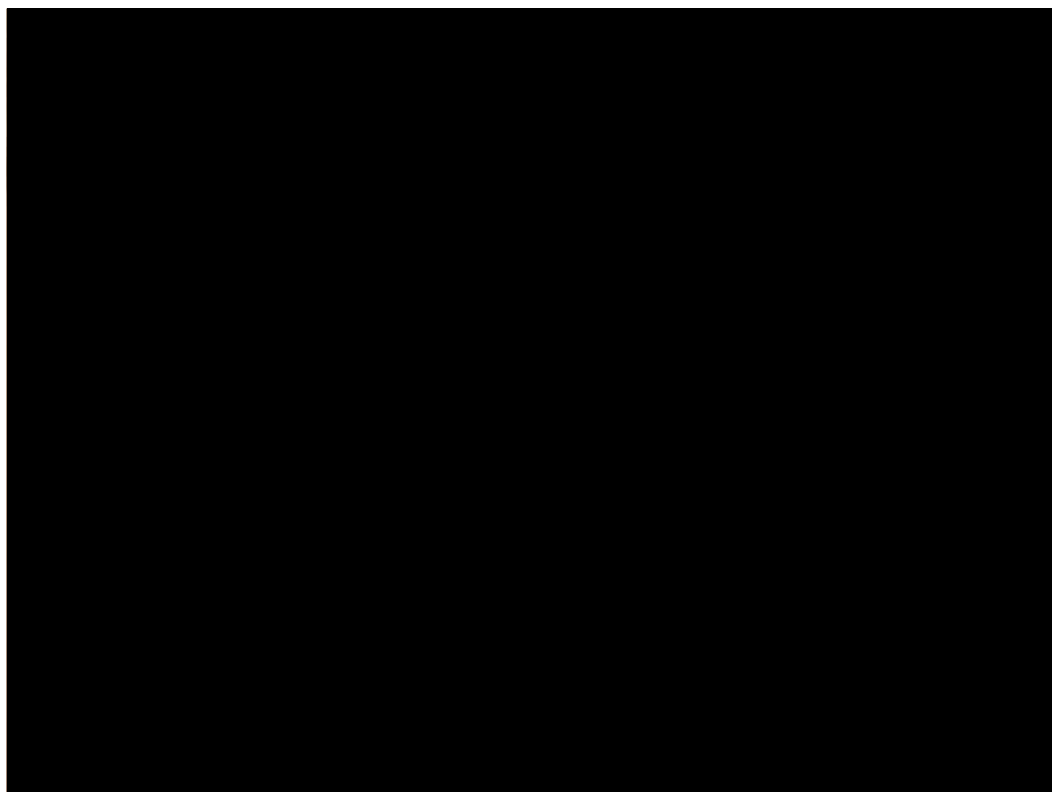


Figure 3.22: Anon., ca. 1892-1897, 'The Recruiting Party, WIR', reproduced in *The Navy and Army Illustrated*, from the collection of W. D. Cribbs

Only after the two officers have been named is Gordon mentioned in the article. When looking at the photograph therefore, if following the guidance given by the text, viewers would first notice the exotic uniform of the black soldiers, then the officers, and then 'our old friend, Sergeant Gordon VC'.²³⁴ The use of the phrase 'our old friend' does however imply that Gordon was well known amongst the publication's readership. Gordon stands on the far left of the photograph rather than in the centre. The drumstick he carries and drum that he stands behind are clearer

²³⁴ *The Navy and Army Illustrated*, 10 December 1898.

markers of his status than his barely visible Victoria Cross. His act of bravery is not mentioned in the article. Instead the focus, as in previously mentioned photographs and discussions of WIR parades and awards, is on the officers who have trained the men. Gordon and the black rank and file are described as ‘cheery blacks’ who ‘led by their own officers’ have ‘helped to bring many a barbarian kinglet of their own colour, and very nearly their own blood into sullen subjection to British rule’.²³⁵

Brave actions, like Gordon’s, are outlined as the outcome of the leadership of those who have led them. In fact, the article even goes on to say that with regards to African campaigns the officers are ‘due a yet larger award of merit’ due to their struggles with ‘what is a comfortable climate to “quashie”’. The officers are described as ‘gallant holders of the Queen's Commission in the mere routine of their work’ whilst Gordon is described merely as ‘our old friend’.²³⁶ In this photograph Gordon’s status is downplayed in two ways, firstly through his exoticisation and secondly through the way in which he is presented in the photograph and article text in comparison to the officers. It was of course for his willingness to sacrifice his life for these white officers of higher status that Gordon won his Victoria Cross.

²³⁵ *The Navy and Army Illustrated*, 10 December 1898.

²³⁶ *Ibid.*



Figure 3.23: Anon., ca.1897-1902, 'Corporal W. J. Gordon, VC', reproduced in *Sphere*, from the collection of W. D. Cribbs

In a 1901 article for *Sphere*, Gordon is again represented in his braided turban and drum master's attire, this time to mark his retirement (see figure 3.23). The text outlines that this 'West Indian Hero' has now been discharged from the Regiment due to the wound he received when carrying out his heroic deed. No longer able to fight, it was written that he intended to take up the post of sergeant drummer to the Kingston Infantry Militia. The text is keen to emphasise that Gordon attempted to sacrifice himself to save a white life, stating that Gordon 'threw himself' in between his commander 'exposing himself to the bullets that commenced to fly' and that the bullet that he took to his chest would otherwise have 'probably laid Madden low'. His act of bravery is described as an 'act of devotion and self-denial'.²³⁷ In analysing the photographs of Gordon, and what was written about his award, it becomes clear that his status as an exotic colonial soldier and his

²³⁷ *Sphere*, 1901.

demonstration of absolute loyalty and devotion to the British officers were the most important aspects of his representation. His image was used as a symbol of the strength and success of British colonialism and the importation and instillation of British values upon colonial subjects. His act demonstrated that men of all races from across the empire, could be trained and conditioned into making the ultimate sacrifice in order to save white lives. It is worth considering if a white officer would have been seen as gallant and heroic if he decided to put a black life before his own. Would he be recognised as brave or seen as misguided in sacrificing his life for one that was thought to be worth far less? In his account of the Hut Tax War Craig-Brown describes the rescue of a black private by a white officer as ‘plucky’ and ‘gallant’ but it is worth noting that before rescuing the private himself, the officer first looked towards the black rank and file. It is only when ‘none came forward’ that he rescued the man himself.²³⁸ Because of the circumstances behind the creation of the WIRs, all of the men of African descent could be seen as the saviours of white lives as they were sent into harsh climates to prevent the major loss of white lives that were more likely to be cut short by tropical diseases. As late as 1853, yellow fever killed 360 British soldiers in a garrison of 829.²³⁹

Gordon’s likeness was also preserved in a stereograph, allowing his contemporaries (and also modern-day viewers) to view this hero in three dimensions (see figure 3.24). Like other portraits of Gordon, it provides the viewer with a head and shoulders view of the hero and he looks at the camera straight on, his three medals pinned to his chest. As in other portraits, his medals are highlighted as his chest faces forward, presenting them to the viewers of the photograph. He wears his

²³⁸ IWM, Private Papers of Brigadier General E. Craig-Brown DSO, ECB 2/1 - Ms diary kept by ECB while serving with C company WIR during the hut tax expedition in Sierra Leone, p. 50.

²³⁹ McNeill, *Mosquito Empires*, p. 37.

Zouave waistcoat with gold thread trim, buttoned only at the top to reveal his shirt.

The two stereo prints are slightly different. In the photograph on the right of the pair, Gordon's eyes appear to be a little more open. In the photo on the left Gordon looks slightly to the right. This difference is due to the fact that for the stereograph to work, the two images had to be 'offset' and taken from a slightly different position. The first photograph is taken with the main subject in the centre, the next is taken after sliding the tripod 2½ inches (about 63mm) to either the right or the left. In the photograph Gordon's body is almost framed by the two white lines that cut through the image, one is level with his belt and one cuts just beneath the top of his turban.

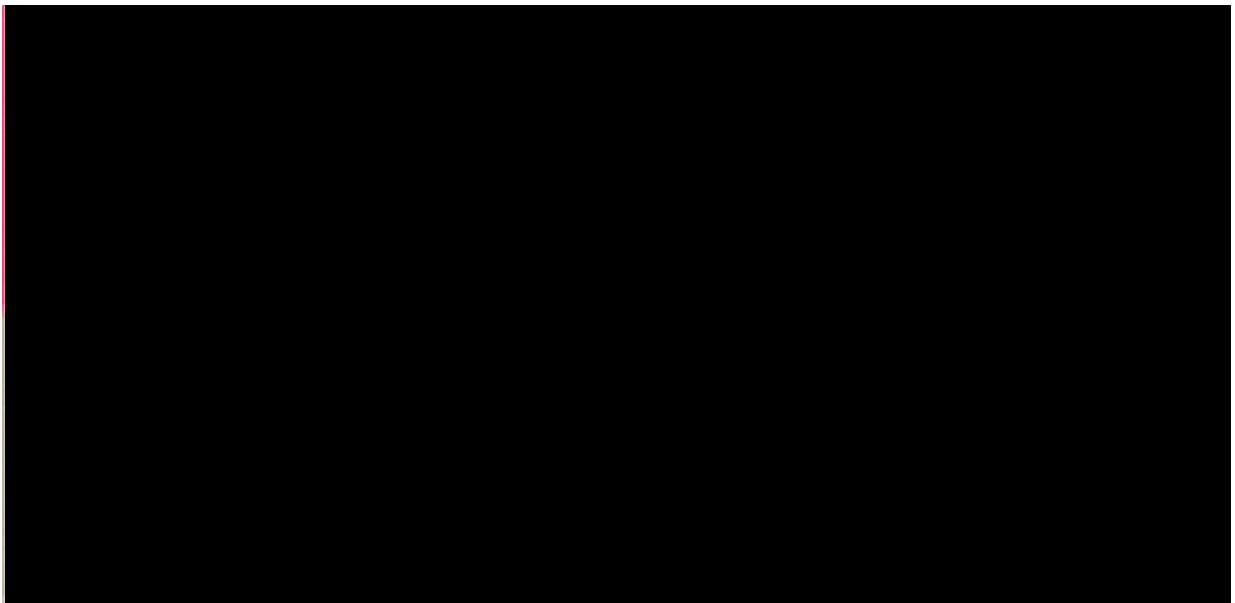


Figure 3.24: HNK London, ca. 1897, Stereogram of Corporal W J Gordon VC, reproduced in David Boxer, Jamaica in Black and White (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 76

This stereograph would have allowed those who used a stereoscopic viewer to see Gordon in three dimensions and scrutinise the form of this hero in a way that two dimensional images did not provide. Unlike other stereographs that focused on immersive scenery, or the full bodies of men of the WIRs alongside signs of tropicity (see figure 6.11), this stereograph focused on connecting the viewer to Gordon's face to allow them to become familiar with his form and features. Viewers may have felt as if they were meeting Gordon in the flesh, and at close distance

when looking at this portrait through their stereo viewer. After learning of his heroic deeds they could see him up close in the comfort of their own homes, connecting them more directly to one of the celebrated actors of Britain's colonial campaigns. The intention of the authorities to circulate this portrait of Gordon is indicated by the choice of studio used to capture it, HNK London. According to the text at the side of the image HNK were Royal Photographers, and their images were captured by warrant to the Queen. That such an important studio was commissioned to take Gordon's portrait suggests that it was of significance for the government or military authorities.

Conclusions

To conclude, there are many similarities in how the WIRs were portrayed when on parade, whether this was for inspection or to be awarded for valour. Individual and group photographs of the men were arranged to allow black bodies to be scrutinised by their audiences and presented them so that viewers could inspect their postures and their exotic uniforms. Comparative lines that were part of the landscape, such as trees, the straight lines of buildings, and ground markings, appear to be present in some photographs to aid the viewer, something that is present in other photographs of the WIRs on the march.²⁴⁰ The ability to inspect the men of the WIRs was important in emphasising their significance. The viewer could see for themselves that the men were well-trained and well-disciplined rather than simply reading about it in the illustrated weeklies or newspapers. Proof of the men's aptitude was important in justifying colonial expansion and gathering support for the expansion of empire. If these men of African descent were so loyal and useful, the expansion of the empire into the African interior provided the opportunity for even more men like

²⁴⁰ See Chapter Five, figure 5.24, p. 244.

them to be taken under the wing of British colonial rule and nurtured into effective forces to defend recent conquests.

At a time when popular interest in the military was ever-increasing, photographs of the WIRs on parade and being awarded, provided a way for the public to keep up to date with the achievements and daily activities of British officers who were working overseas, especially in the nineteenth century when photographs could be reproduced in periodicals. Officers were ever-present in these photographs, guarding over their men and ensuring their discipline and loyalty. Their presence ensured that the successes of the rank and file were attributed to the officer class. This in turn allowed such images to be used in glossy magazines such as *The Navy and Army Illustrated* to attract more recruits to the British army. The idea that there were not bad soldiers, only bad officers of course worked in reverse and good soldiers were a reflection of good officers. Great soldiers, who received medals, battle honours, and Victoria Crosses were evidence of exceptional leadership. This was especially the case where the rank and file were willing to sacrifice their own lives for those of their officers.

Representations of the officers' control may have been attractive to viewers due to the nostalgia surrounding the period of slavery. This nostalgia was reflected in numerous aspects of the burgeoning tourist industry in the Caribbean. Great plantation houses were turned into hotels and other foundations of the old industry such as the emphasis on black servitude and its contrast to white wealth and luxury were key to promoting the new tourist sector.²⁴¹ Photographs of the WIRs on parade circulated to potential visitors to emphasise the safety and security of the Caribbean islands, and the loyalty of the local populations therefore drew on connections to the slave past also. Texts by officers such as Brown and Wolseley reflected master and

²⁴¹ Karen Wilkes, *Whiteness, Weddings and Tourism* (New York, 2016), p. 130, p. 134, p. 136.

slave narratives, as did those written by war correspondents such as Musgrave and travel writers like Wilson. It is therefore unsurprising that visual representations of the WIRs also reflected the Caribbean's slave past and the Regiments' slave connections. The idea that black men could not achieve things for themselves was of course also important to the representations of the WIRs in this chapter. If they could be heroes and perform under pressure in difficult battles without instruction, they would demonstrate that white leadership on the field was no longer required. This leadership in the field could be connected to white leadership more generally, threatening the stability of colonial rule.

The numerous parade ground photographs of the WIRs mostly seem to demonstrate that the men lacked agency and were being used to promote the agendas of colonial officials, businessmen, and their officers. Furthermore, the men are usually captured in static looking group formations or individual poses, arranged meticulously for the purposes of those who have commissioned the photograph, or to be inspected by the viewer. In order to uncover the agency of the black rank and file of the WIRs in these photographs where they seemingly look powerless, alternative frames of analysis could be applied to these images to instil them with a different meaning. In *Listening to Images* Tina Campt suggests that colonial photographs are 'at best coerced and at worst compelled', but that the stillness of those that feature in the images should not only be read as evidence of subjection.²⁴² To illustrate this, Campt references the work of Darieck Scott on black 'muscular tension' in literature and adapts it to colonial and anthropological photographs. Scott states in his work that 'muscular tension represents the paradoxical power of the black body in subjection' as it demonstrates their 'potential power'.²⁴³ Campt develops upon this

²⁴² Campt, *Listening to Images*, p. 49.

²⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

idea of tension when analysing portraits of South African women dating from 1894, describing the tense stillness of those posed as ‘stasis’ which she defines as ‘tensions produced by holding a complex set of forces in suspension’ or ‘unvisible motion held in tense suspension or temporary equilibrium’.²⁴⁴ Photographs of the WIRs on parade awaiting inspection, or even portraits of individual soldiers, could be viewed through this lens adding yet another contested meaning to the image of the WIRs on parade. Rather than their straight lines and bodies on the parade ground being evidence of officer control and the success of British colonial rule, their motionless poses and straight and still postures could represent what Campt outlines as an ‘effortful equilibrium achieved through a labored balancing of opposing forces and flows’.²⁴⁵

A number of opposing forces would have been at work on the men of the WIRs at any one time. As units of the British Army, permission had to be sought from the Colonial Office for them to be deployed in West Africa, and the sometimes-conflicting wishes of the colonial representatives where they were based and the British government were therefore two of the opposing forces that they hold in suspension. Their own personal loyalties to their families and the loyalty to Britain and empire that they were paid to maintain as members of the WIRs would also have been opposing forces on numerous occasions, such as when they were called out to suppress local uprisings. Finally, their personal ambitions and needs as individuals had to be balanced against the needs of their company, battalion, and regiment. Thinking of the number of forces at work on the men of the WIRs at any given time, empowers them in their stillness. Reading images of them in this way reminds us of the complexity of their social and racial status and highlights the skill that it must

²⁴⁴ Campt, *Listening to Images*, p. 51.

²⁴⁵ Campt, *Listening to Images*, p. 51.

have required to navigate these constant and conflicting forces. From a position of supposed powerlessness on the parade ground, the men are empowered.

The meanings conveyed by these photographs does not remain the same if we consider how they would be viewed by African and Caribbean audiences today. As with photographs of the Morant Bay rebellion that are discussed in Chapter Four and the Hut Tax War in Chapter Five, today's inhabitants of former British Caribbean and West African territories could have a range of responses. Although those who attended a workshop at the National Army Museum connected artefacts related to the WIRs as symbolic of the 'Britishness' felt by many West Indians today, the men were of course used to violently expand the British empire in West Africa.²⁴⁶ The deeds for which the WIRs' two Victoria Cross winners were rewarded would not be remembered as positive actions nowadays as they were celebrated for suppressing fights to maintain the independence of fellow men of African descent during a period of imperial expansion. Gordon's Victoria Cross is on display at Jamaica's Military Museum at Up Park Camp and the two WIR Victoria Cross winners are celebrated annually in Jamaica at the Victoria Cross dinner.²⁴⁷ In contrast, controversy surrounded the display of the Morant Bay rebellion trophy in the Military Museum and the trophy was not displayed in the National Museum of Jamaica's Uprising exhibition despite other artefacts related to the WIR such as uniforms and drums being included. As the WIRs had suppressed the freedom of local Jamaicans in this case, rather than those in Africa, their achievements and the acknowledgement that they were given could not be 'celebrated'. That these two

²⁴⁶ See National Army Museum, 'Slaves in red coats: The West India Regiment', Available at: <https://www.nam.ac.uk/explore/slaves-red-coats-west-india-regiment>, accessed 3rd July 2017.

²⁴⁷ Major Joe B. Williams OD, ARCM, *The Maestro Speaks of his Musical Journey* (Bloomington, 2014), p. 1.

artefacts could illicit two such different responses reminds us that photographs can also be read in contrasting ways.

Chapter Four:
Capturing Rebels and Capturing Evidence:
Photographing the 1865 Morant Bay Rebellion

Introduction: Two Officers, Two Albums, and a Rebellion

The military exercises carried out on the parade ground and depicted in the first part of Chapter Three, were of course training the WIRs' black rank and file for real military operations and sometimes the threats of physical force alluded to in images of the men on parade were made real. This chapter will focus on the photographic archive of the Morant Bay rebellion, one of the WIRs' most controversial military operations, and more specifically, the presence and absence of the WIRs within it. The photographic archive of the Morant Bay rebellion consists of two photograph albums put together by military men who were involved in its suppression. The first, and most widely known, was collated by Dr Alexander Dudgeon Gulland, a military surgeon of Scottish origin from the 6th Regiment of Foot. The second was put together by William Walker Whitehall Johnston, a Captain in the 1st WIR. Other photographs have been associated with the rebellion through their inclusion in exhibitions about the event, such as the National Museum of Jamaica's 'Uprising'.

The image of the WIRs held significant meaning after the events of the rebellion and as in other circumstances, this meaning was contested. Significant debates were taking place about whether the rebellion demonstrated that British colonial supervision had failed in Jamaica and the actions of the WIRs were referenced by those on both sides. Whilst an article in the *Telegraph* immediately after the rebellion expressed fear for white lives in Jamaica and suggested that even black men serving in the WIRs could not be trusted, W. F. Finlason of *The Times* stated that the Maroons and black soldiers of the WIRs were responsible for all of

the military excesses and that all white officers and government officials should remain blameless.²⁴⁸ Fears were therefore raised that colonial influence had failed both because it may have created disloyal men, or because the men of the WIRs still exhibited savage behaviours. The WIRs were therefore presented as both potentially disloyal and too loyal by different contemporary observers.

In the secondary literature related to the rebellion, the role of men in the suppression is referenced quite often. However, within the initial discussions of the photographs of the rebellion focusing on the Gulland album, the image of the WIRs has not been discussed at all. In an article about Gulland's album Mimi Sheller states that his collection of photographs 'can bring an added dimension to understanding aspects of history that loom below the surface of things' and focuses on demonstrating with the photographs that the rebellion was not just a black revolt but also involved "'brown", Jewish, and white political opponents'.²⁴⁹ Despite focusing on the race of those figures accused of going against the government, Sheller does not acknowledge the largest group of black troops involved in suppression of the rebellion. In her article for the book to accompany 'Uprising', Sheller includes a photograph of a black WIR soldier only as an illustration. Unlike other photographs it is not analysed within her article's text.²⁵⁰ Although Sheller mentions and analyses two photographs of the maroons she does not draw her readers' attention to photographs in Gulland's album that connect to the activities of the black soldiers of the WIRs.

In this chapter, I will argue that the previous literature focused on the Gulland album has failed to acknowledge the importance of the contribution of WIRs' black

²⁴⁸ Lorimer, *Colour, Class and the Victorians*, pp. 182-3, p.192.

²⁴⁹ Mimi Sheller, 'Lost Glimpses of 1865', *Citizenship from Below: Erotic Agency and Caribbean Freedom* (Durham, 2012), pp. 114-41, p. 116.

²⁵⁰ Mimi Sheller, 'Hidden Textures of Race and Historical Memory', *Uprising* (Kingston, 2015), p. 57.

rank and file (and also the white officer class) to the suppression of the rebellion and therefore the significance of the photographic archive of the WIRs to historical studies of the event. I will offer an analysis of the photographs in the William Walker Whitehall Johnston album as an important supplementary source alongside the Gulland album. Considering the two albums together and looking at their differences and similarities demonstrates that the reputation of the WIRs' after the rebellion was contested and allows me to draw new conclusions from the event's photographic archive and the archive of the WIRs more generally. Firstly, Johnston's album seems to distance himself and therefore his regimental and military colleagues from Governor Eyre and other controversial figures, including those from his own Regiment: Dr Morris and Ensign Cullen. Johnston also attempts to distance himself from the controversy surrounding the court-martial and death of George William Gordon (a Jamaican politician of mixed heritage who was blamed for inciting the rebellion), and the violent suppression of the rebellion more generally in a way that Gulland does not. There are some similarities: both men seem to distance themselves from the actions of the WIRs' black soldiers who are relatively absent from both albums. However, it is still possible to find traces of the WIRs' black rank and file in photographs of landscapes they inhabited or acted within during the rebellion. Thirdly, Johnston's album gives us a previously undiscussed view of post-rebellion Jamaica. These photographs demonstrate that once debates about their role and behaviour had subsided, the WIRs seemed able to confidently assert themselves visually as men who had successfully suppressed a rebellion. This new comparative analysis is possible due to the opportunity to view the photographic archive through the lens of an outsider who was a brief visitor to the West Indies and an observer of the WIRs (Gulland) and an insider who was born in the region and was a senior

officer within the 1st WIR (Johnston), and who also had close ties to the overall commander of all the troops in Jamaica, Brigadier General O'Connor.

In October 1865, Johnston's 1st WIR and Gulland's 6th Foot were called upon to suppress an uprising at Morant Bay, on Jamaica's East Coast. The government of Jamaica, led at the time by Governor John Eyre, feared that this localised uprising would spread island wide and the military acted brutally to ensure that it would not. According to Brian Dyde, by the end of the suppression '430 people had been killed, 600 had been flogged, and over 1000 houses had been destroyed'.²⁵¹ The 1st WIR played a major role in this punishment of the local population. Along with the exclusively white 6th Foot and the Maroons, they arrested, killed, tried, flogged, and executed hundreds of men and women they believed to be rebels. They burned their homes, seized their property, and guarded them in local jails as well as at Up Park Camp. The 2nd WIR also played a smaller role and were stationed in the western part of Jamaica in case unrest spread further.²⁵²

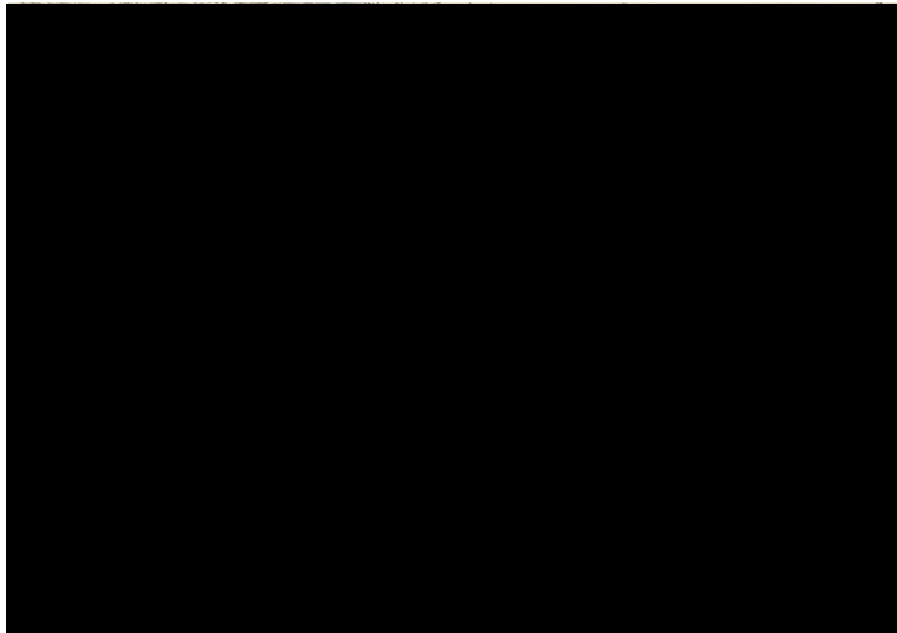


Figure 4.1: Thomas Jefferys, 1856, 'Jamaica from the latest surveys; improved and engraved by Thomas Jefferys', cropped to highlight the East Coast (London: Richard H. Laurie, January 1856)

²⁵¹ Dyde, *The Empty Sleeve*, p. 179.

²⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 181.

The foundations for the Morant Bay rebellion were laid by the economic difficulties that faced Jamaica's recently emancipated black population. Access to land was difficult and unemployment, or a lack of regular employment, made it hard for workers to support themselves and their families. Attempts were made to resolve this situation peacefully and politically in April 1865, when the 'landless poor of St Ann's parish' drafted a petition to the Queen outlining their plight. This petition was responded to on the Queen's behalf by a member of the West India Committee, who emphasised the importance of plantation labour and hard work to prosperity.²⁵³ Following this failed plea for help, and a worsening economic situation over the summer of 1865 that left thousands unemployed, continued evictions by magistrates of those deemed to be squatting on abandoned estates raised tensions further.²⁵⁴ On 7 October, the trial of one squatter in particular led to the disturbance that started the Morant Bay rebellion. A 'mob' that included Paul Bogle, the later leader of the rebellion, rescued the man from arrest. In response the police travelled to Stony Gut to make arrests but were forced to swear an oath to ally with the black population instead on the 10 October. On 11 October hundreds of people marched to Morant Bay, raided the police station for weapons, and headed to a meeting of the local vestry. The local militia were present at the meeting and fighting broke out between them and the crowd. As a result, the crowd stormed the courthouse and set it alight. Eighteen people were killed and thirty-one wounded, as well as members of the crowd.²⁵⁵ Amongst those reported in the *Illustrated London News* to have been killed were: Baron von Ketelholdt, Captain Hitchins (who had commanded the volunteer company), Mr. Walton and Mr. Arthur Cook (both magistrates), the Reverend Victor Herschel, and several others. Some of the crowd's targets were able to escape: 'Mr.

²⁵³ Olusoga, *Black and British*, pp. 383-4.

²⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 385.

²⁵⁵ Sheller, 'Lost Glimpses of 1865', p. 118.

Stephen Cooke, the clerk of the peace, escaped by hiding under the floor, and another gentleman was let off because he was a medical man'.²⁵⁶

The WIRs were significantly involved at each stage of the response to the rebellion from its inception to the controversial recall of Governor Eyre. A hundred men of the 1st WIR were amongst the first to arrive on the scene at Morant Bay on Thursday 12 October 1865. They buried the bodies of those who had been killed and escorted others to the safety of the ship that they had arrived on.²⁵⁷ The following day, Captain Luke of the 1st WIR led 120 men to Bath. According to Ellis' history, these men were involved in the courageous rescue of 'eighty Europeans and influential people of colour' who had hidden in the woods and mountains fearing for their lives.²⁵⁸ Of course, these heroic acts were accompanied by less heroic ones and the alleged 'rebels' who had forced these refugees to flee were brutally punished. One particularly gruesome example is the infamous march from Port Antonio to Manchioneal. Led by Captain Hole of the 6th Foot and ordered to send no prisoners back, men of the 1st WIR were involved in the killing of up to sixty rebels and the burning of 100 homes on a single journey.²⁵⁹

Off the field, the Regiments were also involved in some of the most heavily criticised events of the rebellion. Ensign P. Kelly of the 4th WIR took depositions that were used in the trial of George William Gordon and served on the court-martial that sentenced him to death. Ensign Cole of the 1st WIR was involved in the court-martial of other prisoners.²⁶⁰ Perhaps most controversially, members of the Regiments had to answer to the legal system. Ensign Cullen and Doctor Morris were

²⁵⁶ *Illustrated London News*, 15 November 1865; *Illustrated London News*, 2 December 1865.

²⁵⁷ Heuman, "The Killing Time", p. 114.

²⁵⁸ Ellis, *The History of the First West India Regiment*, p. 292.

²⁵⁹ Heuman, "The Killing Time", p. 116

²⁶⁰ 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* (London, 1866), p. 23, p. 24, p. 55.

court-martialled for events that unfolded during the march from Manchioneal, with the threat of a civil murder trial in England if they were found guilty.²⁶¹ When Governor Eyre was eventually recalled from the island and fearing a similar fate, the band of the 3rd WIR were there at the wharf to see him off playing “Auld Lang Syne”.²⁶² Although there are no photographs of the Regiments carrying out these particular actions, some photographs taken around the time of the uprising and in its aftermath document those who were involved and the traces of the actions that they took.

The visual record of the WIRs’ involvement in the Morant Bay rebellion has been preserved in the albums of Gulland and Johnston. As mentioned previously, the album compiled by Alexander Dudgeon Gulland of the 6th Foot has been widely discussed by historians. The other, compiled by William Walker Whitehall Johnston of the 1st WIR, has not yet been discussed in detail in the literature related to the rebellion.²⁶³ Johnston was a Captain in the 1st WIR and a photography enthusiast, who owned photographic equipment and was able to produce his own prints (see figure 4.2 where Johnston carries a negative case). After quiet postings in St Lucia and the Bahamas he arrived with the rest of the Regiments’ headquarters to Jamaica expecting much of the same. From less quiet assignments including the Siege of Sebastopol and the Second Opium War, Gulland, a military surgeon of Scottish origin from the 6th Regiment of Foot, arrived in Jamaica at a similar time. The albums therefore provide historians with an insider and an outsider’s perspective of the WIRs’ role in the Morant Bay rebellion. Whilst Gulland came from the same

²⁶¹ Ellis, *The History of the First West India Regiment*, p. 296; Kostal, *A Jurisprudence of Power*, p. 118.

²⁶² *Colonial Standard and Jamaica Despatch*, 25 July 1866.

²⁶³ Johnston’s album is briefly discussed in relation to another photograph album put together by Noel B. Livingston Gillian Forrester, ‘Noel B. Livingston’s Gallery of Illustrious Jamaicans’, in Barringer, Tim and Modest, Wayne (eds.) *Victorian Jamaica* (Durham, 2018), pp. 357-94

regiment as many key figures such as Brigadier General Nelson and Captain Hole, Johnston worked in headquarters with Major General O'Connor, the commander of all the troops in Jamaica. Johnston was also born in the Caribbean and his father was Governor of Trinidad. He was therefore a member of the Caribbean colonial elite that the rebels sought to challenge through their actions at Morant Bay. Although there are a handful of photographs related to the WIRs that are common to both albums, and one photograph that features in at least four contemporary Jamaican albums, many of the photographs seem to be unique at this time.

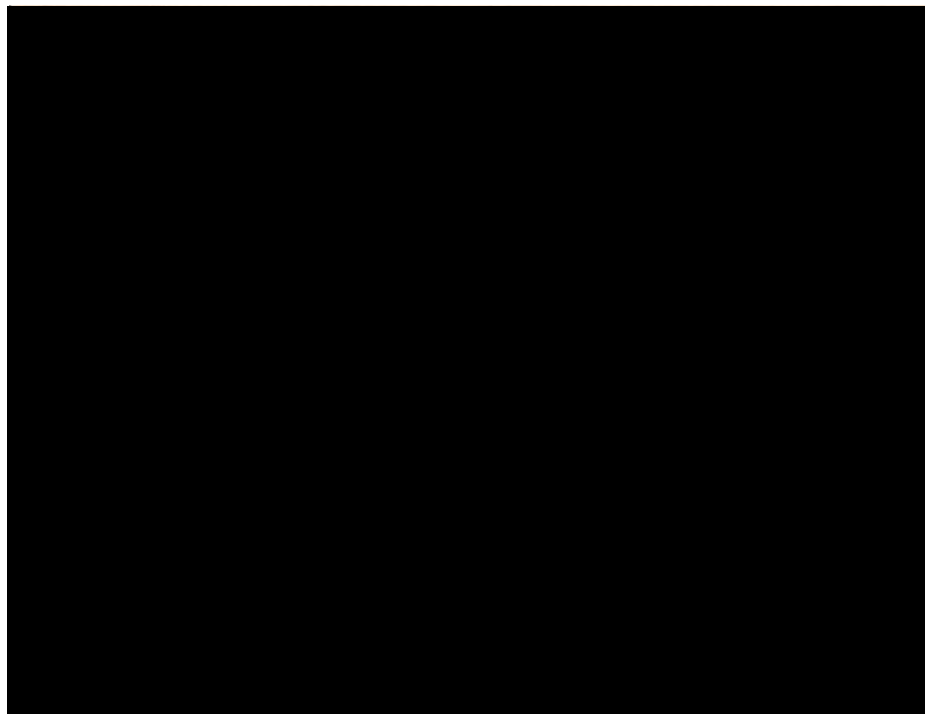


Figure 4.2: Anon., ca. 1858-1865, Johnston (third from left and carrying a negative case) and five other officers posed on the steps of the barracks at Nassau, William Walker Whitehall Johnston Photograph Album of Wales, the West Indies, and the 1st West India Regiment

Gulland's album contains 165 photographs in total from Malta, Jamaica, Nova Scotia, India, Gibraltar and Spain, Ireland, and Guernsey. Johnston's features a total of 129 photographs from Wales, St Lucia, the Bahamas, Jamaica, Cuba, and Trinidad, as well as several studio portraits of Johnston himself. Gulland's album is arranged chronologically, with clearly defined sections, where Sheller states that 'the Jamaica scenes are inserted as but one episode' in a 'movement through a series of

major fortified ports, sites of important military campaigns, and romantic island outposts'.²⁶⁴ There are fifty-nine photographs related to the Morant Bay Rebellion spread over fifteen pages.²⁶⁵ The album is neatly put together with photographs only appearing on one side of each page, and the majority of these photographs are captioned.

Johnston's album is less meticulously arranged, sometimes photographs are pasted onto both sides of the page and sometimes not. Some photographs appear more than once. Rarely in his album are photographs captioned. Dark patches on some pages that are larger than the photographs' frames imply that photographs have been removed or moved elsewhere, and on some photographs, we can see Johnston's gluey fingerprints and smudges. There are seventeen photographs of Jamaica, but as Johnston's album is not always arranged in chronological order, and at times photographs from a different location randomly appear in a section that seemed to have been reserved for photographs from elsewhere. This is part of the charm of Johnston's album however. When looking at his pages we are reminded that before entering public archives, such albums were personal projects, carefully thought through with pencil lines indicating where to affix photographs and filled with unavoidable untidy errors such as roughly trimmed photographs and glue marks. Gulland's album is much more clinical and professional in style and compilation. His photographs were never re-ordered or removed, suggesting that perhaps he was less likely to reflect upon his memories and reinterpret significant events at a later date.

²⁶⁴ Sheller, 'Lost Glimpses of 1865', p. 115.

²⁶⁵ Kenneth Bilby, 'Image and Imagination: Re-Visioning the Maroons in the Morant Bay Rebellion', *History & Memory*, 24: 2 (2012), pp. 41-72, p. 15.



Figure 4.3: Author's own image, 2015, 2009-0016e: Gulland's Album, Graphic Arts Collection (GAX), Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library, Princeton



Figure 4.4, Author's own image, 2016, the current material form of the William Walker Whitehall Johnston album, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven



Figure 4.5, Author's own image, 2016, the current material form of the William Walker Whitehall Johnston album, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven

The present material form of the two albums is very different. Gulland's album is a generic, commercial album. The paper is gold edged and there is nothing embossed on the front or on the spine to indicate its author or the dates that it covers (see figure 4.3). It is believed that the album travelled with Gulland, as it has been kept in such precise order. The album contains a mixture of bought and personal images that have clearly been collected and printed at different times. The photographs related to the Morant Bay Rebellion that are included in Gulland's album are commercial photographs that he purchased from photography studios in Jamaica. Therefore, although his album features photographs of people he knew and will have had close relationships with, it is not a collection of personal photographs. In contrast, Johnston's album has been disbound. Each page is separately stored in a folder made of card in a large archive box. Within each card folder, the pages are enclosed in plastic sleeves (see figures 4.4 and 4.5). As in Gulland's album, the photographs are all albumen prints and a mixture of bought and personal photographs. It can be speculated that Johnston printed his own photographs, including some of those of Jamaica, due to the flaws that appear on some of them,

for example clear evidence of which corner of the photographic paper was held in the printing process (see figure 4.6). Johnston's photographs are therefore more personal, and he was able to directly influence the representation of those whose image he personally captured. There are four photographs of Jamaica that appear in both albums and were likely produced by the commercial studios of Russell Brothers and Moncrieff or the Duperly Brothers after the rebellion.



Figure 4.6: William Walker Whitehall Johnston?, ca.1858-1865, a photograph where Johnston's fingerprint can be seen, William Walker Whitehall Johnston Photograph Album of Wales, the West Indies, and the 1st West India Regiment, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven

Missing Men

When comparing the two albums, perhaps the most surprising difference is the absence in Johnston's album of some of the rebellion's key protagonists and most controversial figures. This includes Governor Eyre, George William Gordon, and Dr Morris (a surgeon in the 1st WIR). All three men feature in Gulland's album, and have been carefully placed depending on their role in the rebellion and its outcome. The most significant absence from Johnston's album is that of Governor Eyre. In Gulland's album Eyre features on the 'victims' page, highlighting Gulland's support and sympathy for a man who faced severe criticism for his handling of the rebellion.

Eyre's actions to crush the rebellion divided opinion at the time with political groups and influential individuals in Britain either vehemently supporting or disapproving of them. Although initially the mood in Britain was one of relief that the rebellion had been suppressed, when more news emerged from Jamaica two weeks later, sensational stories about the suppression began to circulate. By mid-December, a number of prominent speakers came forward to condemn Eyre's actions including the well-known liberal philosopher John Stuart Mill.²⁶⁶ On the 19 December The Jamaica Committee was formed calling for a government investigation and for those responsible for any atrocities to be prosecuted in the English courts. When the government declined to back these proposals, the Jamaica Committee instituted two private criminal proceedings against Eyre for murder.²⁶⁷ Presumably it is for this reason that he appears in Gulland's album on his 'victims' page, which places those who suffered reputational damage due to the rebellion alongside those who were killed (see figure 4.7).

²⁶⁶ Kostal, *A Jurisprudence of Power*, p. 14.

²⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

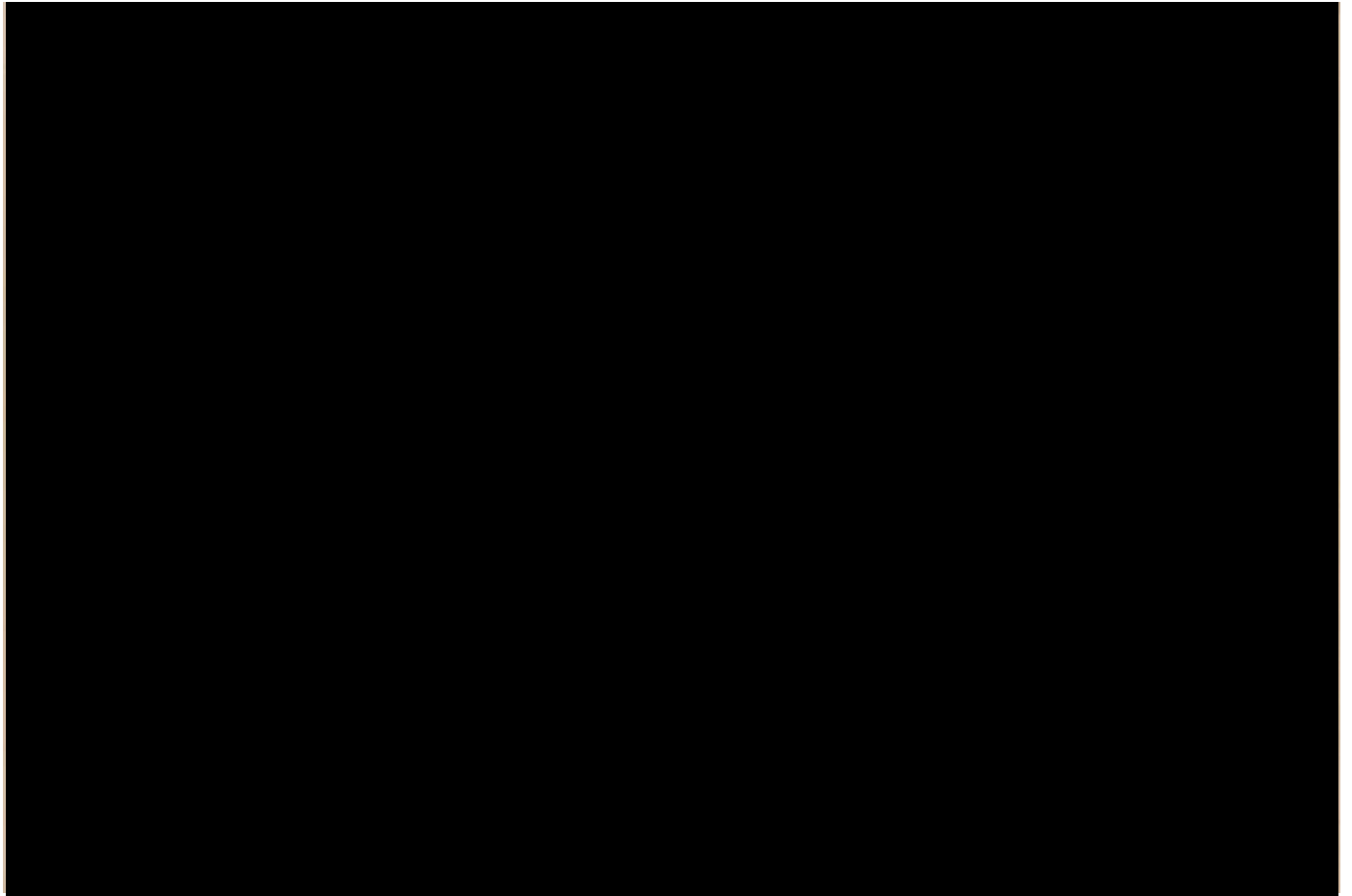


Figure 4.7: Various Photographers, ca. 1865, Gulland's victims page, Alexander Gulland Album, Graphic Arts Collection (GAX), Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library, Princeton

In contrast, Eyre does not feature in Johnston's album, an absence that letters sent between Eyre and Major General O'Connor at the time of the rebellion, and Eyre's notes on these letters to Edward Cardwell at the Colonial Office, appear to explain. O'Connor and Johnston had a close working relationship at headquarters and knew each other from O'Connor's time as a Colonel in the 1st WIR before he became Commander of Her Majesty's Troops in Jamaica. The letters reveal that the O'Connor and Eyre clashed on numerous occasions during the rebellion, due to O'Connor believing that Eyre was interfering too heavily in military decisions. Eyre's exclusion from Johnston's album, suggests that O'Connor's dislike for Eyre may have been shared by the Commander's senior staff. The first clash between Eyre and O'Connor related to Eyre requesting troops from Barbados without consulting

O'Connor. Causing Eyre great offence, O'Connor was allegedly 'pleased to assert, in the presence of Lieutenant-Colonel Elkington [who worked at headquarters with O'Connor and Johnston]' that Eyre had 'exceeded' his authority as Governor and 'interfered' with O'Connor's authority as General Commanding Her Majesty's troops.²⁶⁸ The fact that O'Connor accused Eyre of this so publicly seems to have been great source of offence, yet Eyre seemed to realise that at a time of civil unrest he could not afford to fall out with the commander of the military. Whilst in a letter to Cardwell Eyre stated 'there is often an extreme jealousy and tenaciousness on the part of some military men with regard to Civil Governors being called upon to direct the military arrangements of a colony', in his letter to O'Connor he was much less accusatory and almost apologetic, writing 'I considered myself acting strictly within my own powers, but that under no circumstances whatever had I or could I have the slightest wish or intention either to usurp your powers or to act with any want of courtesy towards you'.²⁶⁹ Eyre signed off by writing that 'I have received prompt and cordial co-operation from you from the commencement of this unfortunate outbreak up to the present time, and I should be most unwilling that any misapprehension should now arise to disturb that good understanding'. In an assertive reply that shows a lack of concern for Eyre's feelings and far less respect, O'Connor responded 'your frank acknowledgement of my prompt and cordial co-

²⁶⁸ No.2 Governor Eyre to the Right Hon. Edward Cardwell, M.P., 23 October 1865, Papers Relating to the Insurrection in Jamaica. Despatches between Governor Eyre and Edward Cardwell, M.P., Colonial Office, 7 December 1865, pp. 23-41; Inclosure 1 in No. 2, Governor Eyre to Major-General O'Connor, C. B. 21 October, Papers Relating to the Insurrection in Jamaica. Despatches between Governor Eyre and Edward Cardwell, M.P., Colonial Office, 7 December 1865, p. 44; Inclosure 2 in No. 2, Major General O'Connor to Governor Eyre October 21, Papers Relating to the Insurrection in Jamaica. Despatches between Governor Eyre and Edward Cardwell, M.P., Colonial Office, 7 December 1865, p. 45; No.11, Governor Eyre to the Right Hon. Edward Cardwell MP (received November 29), Papers Relating to the Insurrection in Jamaica. Despatches between Governor Eyre and Edward Cardwell, M.P., Colonial Office, 7 December 1865, pp. 62-71.

²⁶⁹ Inclosure 1 in No. 2, Governor Eyre to Major-General O'Connor, C. B. 21 October, Papers Relating to the Insurrection in Jamaica. Despatches between Governor Eyre and Edward Cardwell, M.P., Colonial Office, 7 December 1865, p. 44.

operation...is nothing more or less than what I am entitled to expect from your candour, as a Governor and a gentleman'.²⁷⁰

With O'Connor so willing to criticise Eyre in his presence, it is possible that even more offensive and disrespectful discussions about Eyre may have gone on in the military headquarters that he shared with Elkington and Johnston. In this context, Eyre's absence from Johnston's album appears to represent the lack of respect that the military officers at headquarters at the time had for him and his decision-making ability. Eyre's absence also suggests that photographic commemoration was meaningful to Johnston and that it was something that he did not give to everyone that he worked with. In this way he ties himself and his men to the leadership of O'Connor rather than that of Eyre. On another occasion described by Eyre, O'Connor showed a blatant disregard for Eyre's orders and actively encouraged a Colonel under his authority to ignore them. Eyre wrote to Cardwell:

I have the honour to inclose a correspondence which I have had with General O'Connor relative to military arrangements to be made for preserving the peace and safety of the island during its present excited and disturbed state...after the Governor and his constitutional advisers...had determined upon stationing troops at certain points, and called upon General O'Connor to carry out the arrangements specified, that officer intimated his intention of sending a considerable body of troops under Colonel Whitfield to another point, with instructions to him "to act as his judgement may direct for the suppression of sedition and the maintenance of the public peace"...or in other

²⁷⁰ Inclosure 2 in No. 2, Major General O'Connor to Governor Eyre 21 October, Papers Relating to the Insurrection in Jamaica. Despatches between Governor Eyre and Edward Cardwell, M.P., Colonial Office, 7 December 1865, p. 45.

words, that he would not carry out the instructions of the Governor, but would devolve upon Colonel Whitfield the Governor's duties.²⁷¹

The power struggle between the two men is clear and Johnston's album shows that O'Connor emerged the victor amongst the officers at headquarters, even though Gulland and other military personnel in the field may have treated Eyre with more sympathy and respect. It is also important to highlight that despite O'Connor seemingly being in control of military events, it was Eyre who was recalled to England in disgrace for the excessive violence carried out by the military. Eyre's willingness to usurp O'Connor's authority appears to have allowed O'Connor to distance himself from these decisions and avoid a similar level of scrutiny.

As well as distancing himself from Eyre, Johnston distances himself from a controversial figure belonging to his own Regiment who also features on Gulland's victims page (see figure 4.8). Dr Morris was an Army Surgeon, and Gulland's equivalent in the 1st WIR, at the time of the rebellion. He was the first surgeon on the scene at the site where the rebels had begun their acts of violence and was tasked with collecting and examining the bodies of those killed.²⁷² However, more notably, during the military reaction to this rebel violence he was accused along with Ensign Cullen of requesting the execution of three prisoners without trial who were previously set to be flogged rather than killed. Morris was even alleged to have shot one of the men himself.²⁷³ The caption below Morris' portrait reads 'Dr Morris, tried for murder and acquitted' connecting its subject and Johnston's 1st WIR to one of the rebellion's biggest controversies besides the recall of Governor Eyre. According to the commissioners, the accusations levelled against Morris and Cullen occupied a

²⁷¹ No.11, Governor Eyre to the Right Hon. Edward Cardwell MP (received 29 November), Papers Relating to the Insurrection in Jamaica. Despatches between Governor Eyre and Edward Cardwell, M.P., Colonial Office, 7 December 1865, pp. 62-71.

²⁷² Kostal, *A Jurisprudence of Power*, p. 116.

²⁷³ Ellis, *The History of the First West India Regiment*, p. 296.

good deal of their time and due to the conflicting evidence, they were certain that another enquiry would need to occur to establish the truth. The commissioners stated that the accusations questioned the character of the military service, highlighting the reputational damage could occur for the British military and the WIRs more specifically if Morris and Cullen were found guilty.²⁷⁴



Figure 4.8: Anon. ca. 1865, 'Dr Morris', Alexander Gulland Album, Graphic Arts Collection (GAX), Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library, Princeton

A number of witnesses including a postmaster, a schoolmaster, and the keeper of the local lighthouse, had come before the Commission as it gathered evidence and alleged that Cullen and Morris had been responsible for the deaths of four prisoners in their custody. During the Commission's investigations Morris denied having killed any prisoners during the period of martial law. This was in spite

²⁷⁴ *The Colonial Standard and Jamaica Despatch*, 7 July 1866.

of a letter to his father published in a Jamaican newspaper stating that he had ‘slain nine people with his sword and revolver’.²⁷⁵ The events near the post office were of such concern to the Commissioners that they arranged what resembled a modern-day police line-up of suspects, and called witnesses against Cullen and Morris to identify them as the officers involved in the shootings. All three witnesses agreed that the men responsible were Cullen and Morris and had similar stories. They alleged that when Cullen’s men were resting at the post office, four prisoners had been brought in. Morris had said he had a fever and so had been resting inside when one prisoner escaped. As a result, he came out, and as Cullen prepared to flog the three remaining prisoners, Morris whispered in his ear and suddenly Cullen changed his mind. The men were taken down from the whipping post and taken to the side of the road to be shot by Morris and some black soldiers of the 1st WIR whilst Cullen watched. Various men of the 1st WIR were brought in to testify and all denied that any prisoners had been shot by Morris or anyone else in their number. Amongst these men were four black soldiers.²⁷⁶

Kostal writes that ‘Cullen, Morris, and the soldiers of the 1st West Indian regiment blatantly lied to the Jamaica Royal Commission’ as their ‘careers, even their necks, were on the line’. In contrast, Kostal believes that the civilians who testified against Cullen and Morris ‘had not themselves been ill-treated by Cullen’s detachment’ and therefore ‘had no obvious reason to lie about the actions of white and black men who had not harmed them personally’.²⁷⁷ Furthermore, the men and women who gave evidence would not have had the opportunity to collude to make

²⁷⁵ Kostal, *A Jurisprudence of Power*, p. 116.

²⁷⁶ See, ‘Copy of the proceedings of the courts martial recently held in Jamaica upon Ensign Cullen and Assistant Surgeon Morris of Her Majesty’s service, including the findings of the courts, and the nature of the sentences if any, awarded to the accused’ particularly the testimonies of Private George Leslie, Private George Christopher Blythe, Private Morris Gordon, and Corporal William Hunter, House of Commons (London, 1867).

²⁷⁷ Kostal, *A Jurisprudence of Power*, p. 117.

their stories so similar and specific. The most convincing evidence that the shootings had indeed occurred however, came about in summer 1866, when the authorities investigating the murders found three bodies with gunshot wounds exactly where the witnesses had testified they would be.²⁷⁸ The court-martial of Morris and Cullen began in Jamaica in October 1866, nearly a year after they had committed their crimes. They were charged with various offences under the Mutiny Act but not murder. It occurred before any civilian case could be brought against the two men, with the threat that if found guilty they could face civil prosecution for murder, perhaps even back in England. The military hearings for the two men lasted thirty-six days but both men were acquitted, much to the jubilation of their peers within the 1st WIR who would have feared any precedent that it might set.²⁷⁹ The trial was dangerous publicity for the Regiments and Morris and Cullen's superiors like Johnston. Rather than memorialise his comrade, Johnston appears to have chosen not to feature the portrait of Morris in his album despite one being available for him to purchase as Gulland had done. Again, as with his exclusion of Eyre, Johnston appears to promote a history of the 1st WIR's involvement in the rebellion that distances them from the actions of some of its most polarising and heavily criticised figures. This careful curation of photographs demonstrates that the visual representation of the WIR was meaningful to Johnston and was something that he sought to control.

Interestingly, twenty years after the Morant Bay Rebellion, Major Arthur Ellis of the 1st WIR was willing to publicly defend Cullen and Morris in his published book *The History of the First West India Regiment*. The way in which Ellis presents Morris and Cullen's story connects to Gulland's representation of Dr

²⁷⁸ Kostal, *A Jurisprudence of Power*, p. 118.

²⁷⁹ Kostal, *A Jurisprudence of Power*, p. 119.

Morris, particularly his choice to include him on his 'victims' page (see figure 4.7). Ellis blamed 'disaffected negroes, finding that they were being backed up by an influential party in England' for bringing 'unfounded charges against several of the officers who had been most active in the suppression of the rebellion'.²⁸⁰ In his mind, sympathisers in Britain had encouraged black Jamaicans to fabricate some of the gruesome scenes that they had allegedly witnessed during the rebellion. In the case of Morris and Cullen, Ellis wrote that the charges had been allowed to hang over their heads for nearly a year, implying through his choice of words that the two men had been subjected to unnecessary mental torment and stress. He concludes his opinion on the matter by writing 'it is needless to say that both were acquitted'.²⁸¹ In the mind of Ellis therefore, the two men were innocent victims. The argument that Ellis puts forward in his historical text is laid out visually by Gulland on his album page.

For Gulland the victims of the rebellion were those who had suffered reputational losses and been accused of crimes for simply doing what they had to do to defend Jamaica from the rebels. Interestingly Dr Morris is positioned next to Colonel Hobbs, who had committed suicide after being sent home to Britain sick. Hobbs had a significant and particularly brutal role in the suppression of the rebellion. On the 18 October he had stopped at Chigoe Foot Market and after a drumhead court-martial had hanged eleven prisoners. On his return march through the same location Hobbs assembled a court-martial for seventy prisoners, twenty-seven were found guilty and sentenced to be hung in their own villages.²⁸² In Gulland's album an innocent looking Hobbs is pictured holding his baby, who it is implied has been left fatherless thanks to the accusations levelled against him. By

²⁸⁰ Ellis, *The History of the First West India Regiment*, p. 296.

²⁸¹ *Ibid.*

²⁸² Heuman, *"The Killing Time"*, p. 122.

positioning Morris next to Hobbs, we are being shown what could have also happened to him. Gulland therefore aims to evoke sympathy for Morris in his album, making Johnston's decision not to include Morris at all even more unusual if it were not a deliberate attempt to distance.

'Views of the Morant Bay rebels for sale by the permission of the authorities'

Beyond portraits of certain individuals, Johnston appears to distance himself and his men from many of the rebellion's controversial scenes of violence when his album is compared to Gulland's. At first glance, both albums seem to barely acknowledge the violence of the rebellion. However, close analysis of some photographs included in Gulland's album alongside other images and primary documents reveals their violent undertones and their connection to violence carried out by the WIRs. It is important to note that the absence of explicit violence from the visual record of the Morant Bay rebellion is not because there was no appetite for such images at this time. Prior to the rebellion it was not uncommon for consumers to purchase and collect visual representations of gruesome and terrifying events. Even before photography arrived in Jamaica, the Duperly studio had profited from selling prints of macabre scenes of uprisings against the ruling classes. In 1832 Adolphe Duperly produced a series of lithographs depicting three scenes from the Christmas Uprising or slave revolt. To produce these scenes, he added violence and conflict to earlier picturesque scenes produced by James Hakewill (see figures 4.9 and 4.10).²⁸³ He also collaborated with Isaac Belisario to produce three lithographs of similarly grim scenes of the Kingston fire of August 1843.

²⁸³ Tim Barringer, Gillian Forrester, and Barbaro Martinez-Ruiz, *Art and Emancipation in Jamaica: Isaac Mendes Belisario and his Worlds* (New Haven, 2007), p. 57.

Like the Christmas Uprising and the Morant Bay rebellion, the fire was aligned with racial tensions.²⁸⁴ Henri and Armand Duperly were therefore following in their father's footsteps when they produced landscape scenes and portraits related to the rebellion twenty years later. Therefore, even the most disturbing photographs that could have been created following the Morant Bay rebellion would not have been offensive or extreme in their subject matter, as their target audience was most likely the white inhabitants of the island. Scenes of death and destruction would instead have represented and celebrated a threat that had been removed and the much-deserved punishment of those who had dared to challenge the status quo. The absence of such photographs therefore raises questions about why this may be the case, particularly in Johnston's album and appears to suggest that Johnston was attempting to distance himself and the 1st WIR from the violence in his personal documentation of the rebellion.

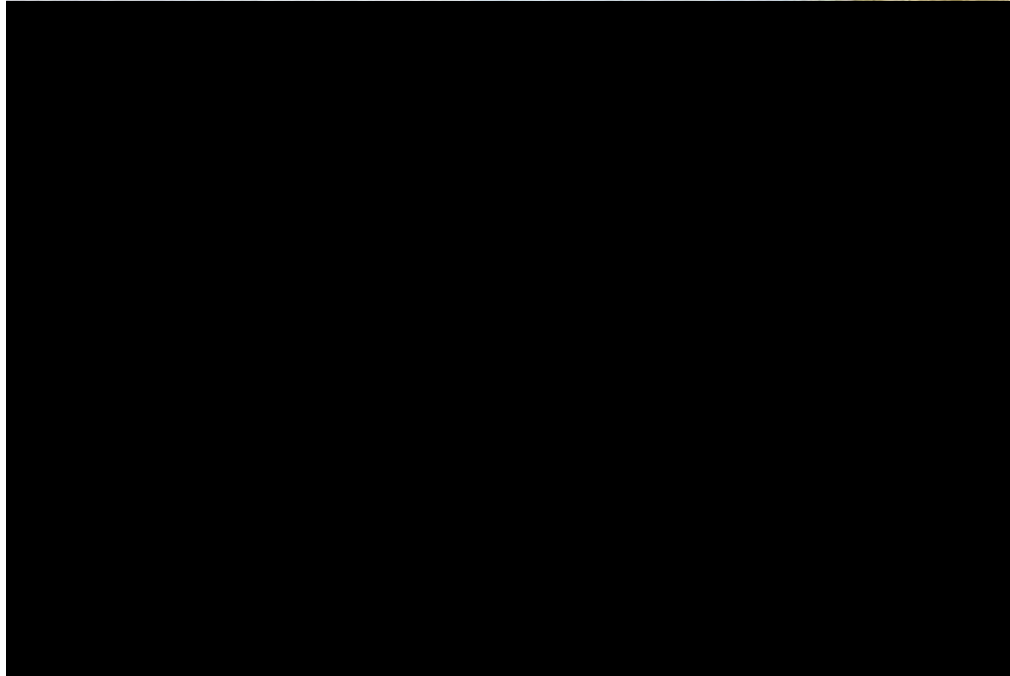


Figure 4.9: Adolphe Duperly, 1833, 'The Attack of the Rebels on Montpelier Old Works Estate', reproduced in Tim Barringer, Gillian Forrester, and Barbaro Martinez-Ruiz, Art and Emancipation in Jamaica: Isaac Mendes Belisario and his Worlds (New Haven, Yale University Press, 2007), p. 57

²⁸⁴ Gillian Forrester, 'Mapping a New Kingston: Belisario's Sketches of Character', in Tim Barringer, Gillian Forrester, and Barbaro Martinez Ruiz (eds.), *Art and Emancipation in Jamaica: Isaac Mendes Belisario and His Worlds* (New Haven, 2007), pp. 65-88, p. 83.

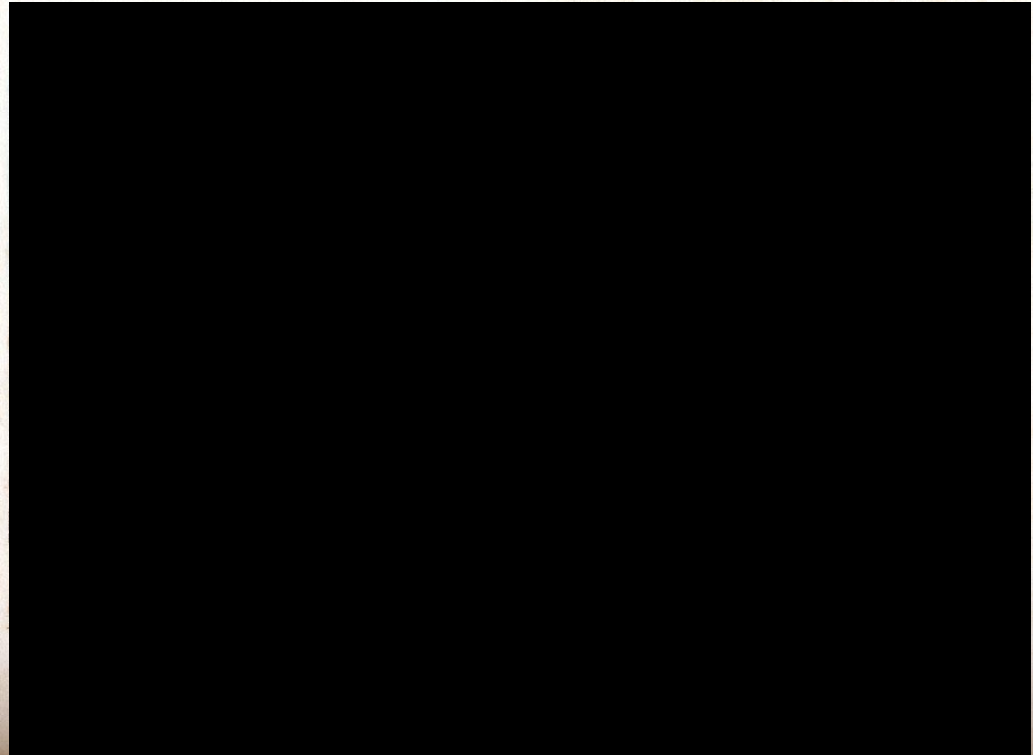


Figure 4.10: James Hakewill, 1820-1821, 'Montpelier Estate, St. James', reproduced in A Picturesque Tour of the Island of Jamaica, from Drawings Made in the Years 1820 and 1821 (London, 1825), p. 29

The clearest example of a photograph where violence is implied in Gulland's album is 'Grave of Eighty Rebels near Morant Bay, Jamaica' (see figure 4.11). Although Gulland's Duperly photograph contains no dead bodies, it is positioned in a way that helps us to imagine what those who were killed may have looked like. Gulland has positioned it on a page above four cartes of Jamaican natives, a photograph of the tree where the rebels met, and a very out of place photograph of Corfu. The positioning of the photograph of the grave and the first meeting point for the rebels book-end the events of the rebellion. We see where the rebels met to plan what they would do and then the results of their actions (see figure 4.12). The typical natives could be seen as representations of the 'types' who took part in the rebellion and who are buried under the tree. As a result of this arrangement, we are able to visualise the Regiments' victims, despite the fact that we do not have any photographs where they are visible. Although Johnston does not include this photograph, he does include the photograph that Gulland has placed next to it that is

captioned ‘the Cotton Tree at the crossroads near Morant Bay where the rebels assembled immediately before the attack on the Court House’. In doing so, Johnston’s album focuses on the violence of the rebels only and does not acknowledge the brutal suppression of the conflict at the hands of his men.



4.11: Anon., 1865, ‘Grave of Eighty Rebels’, *Alexander Gulland Album*, *Graphic Arts Collection (GAX)*, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library, Princeton

In ‘grave of eighty rebels’, two men and a young boy stand at a crossroads underneath a tree. At the foot of this tree is a mound of earth marking where the rebels were buried, with a white substance sprinkled on top that may have been lime scattered to stifle the smell of rotting flesh.²⁸⁵ One of the paths at the crossroads seems to lead to a village, but as far as we can see there are no buildings where the other path leads. Numerous villages were burned as a result of the rebellion and knowledge of this raises questions about whether the village ahead was one of those targeted, and if there may be more mass graves as a result. This photograph directly represents the outcomes of the actions of the WIRs during the rebellion and its

²⁸⁵ Sheller, ‘Lost Glimpses of 1865’, pp. 119-20

caption demonstrates the sheer volume of death and destruction that they caused.

Despatches from the field highlight that the 1st WIR's black soldiers were amongst the most effective and brutal. For example, an account written by a military captain printed in a local newspaper reported that

The black troops are more successful than ours in catching horses, nearly all of them are mounted. They shot about 160 people on their march from Port Antonio to Manchioneal, hanged 7 in Manchioneal and shot 3 on their way here.²⁸⁶

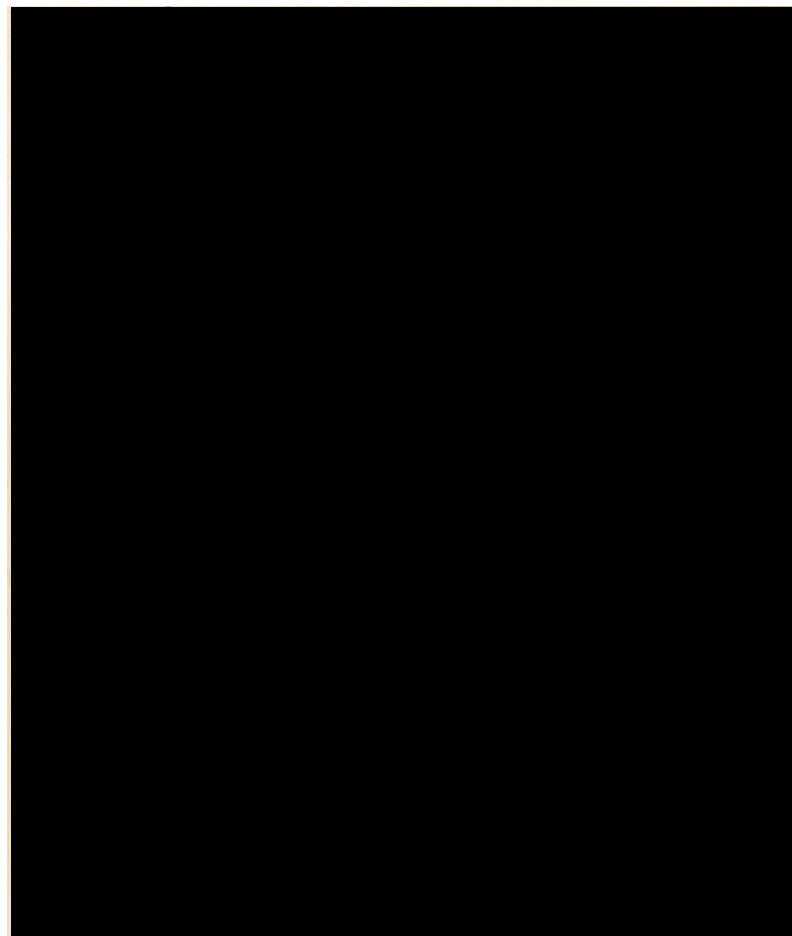


Figure 4.12: Anon., 1865, Tree where the rebels met, Alexander Gulland Album, Graphic Arts Collection (GAX), Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library, Princeton

²⁸⁶ The Jamaica Committee, *Facts and Documents Relating to the Alleged Rebellion in Jamaica*, p. 21.

The grave depicted in this photograph was therefore not even a large one in comparison to some of those that were not captured. By not featuring this photograph in his album, Johnston distances himself and his Regiment from this violence although the orders causing incidents of mass death came from military colleagues in his office who revelled in the violence caused by troops on the ground. A note to Major General O'Connor from Elkington for example sent reports of 'Nelson at Port Antonio hanging like fun, by Court-Martial'.²⁸⁷ The sheer number of bodies that the mound is said to cover is almost incomprehensible yet makes up only a fifth of the conservative estimate of those killed. It is likely that all of these victims were killed at once, as letters from the field did detail large numbers of rebels being killed within small geographical areas in short spaces of time. Captain Hole and his men had killed sixty rebels on one march.²⁸⁸ The horror of this image is increased when we combine it with the knowledge that witnesses alleged that prisoners awaiting trial at Morant Bay were forced to bury those killed.²⁸⁹

This photograph was one of many taken by the Duperlys after they had been given permission to travel to Morant Bay. They were advertised in the *Gleaner* as 'views of the Morant Bay rebels for sale by permission of the authorities', with the word 'views' suggesting landscapes or scenes like the one in Gulland's album rather than portraits of individual rebels. That this mass grave was found after photographers were given 'permission' to visit the area raises questions about what more gruesome scenes had been eradicated by the authorities and prevented from the possibility of photographic recording. The government and the military clearly wished to remove the worst evidence of the carnage that had taken place in order to

²⁸⁷ Heuman, "The Killing Time", p. 121. Elkington, O'Connor, and Gulland are captured posing together in figure 4.22, p. 167.

²⁸⁸ Heuman, "The Killing Time", p. 121.

²⁸⁹ Sheller, 'Lost Glimpses of 1865', pp. 119-20

maintain their reputations. In comparison to some of the most popular photographs taken during the American Civil War and after the Indian Rebellion this photograph is extremely mild. After both events, dead bodies were manipulated to create horrific and shocking scenes that large audiences were more than willing to purchase. This appears to demonstrate that in Jamaica it was private interest rather than public appetite that prevented the capture and sale of more shocking photographs (see figures 4.13 and 4.14).²⁹⁰

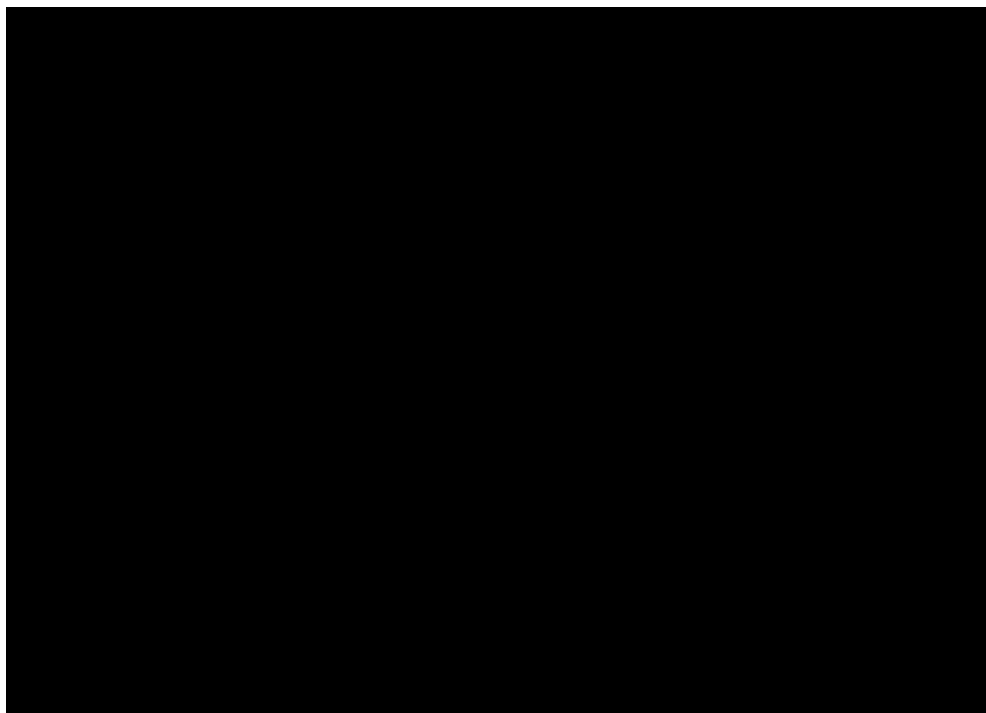


Figure 4.13: Felice Beato, ca.1858, 'Interior of Secundra Bagh, Lucknow, after the slaughter of two thousand rebels by the 93rd (Highlanders) Regiment of Foot', National Army Museum, London

²⁹⁰ For a discussion of the construction of Beato's photograph see John Fraser, 'Beato's photograph of the interior of the Sikandarbagh at Lucknow', *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research*, 59 (1981). For more information about the staging of Gardner's Antietam photos see Gus Macdonald, *Victorian Eyewitness, A History of Photography: 1826-1913* (New York, 1980), pp. 82-6.

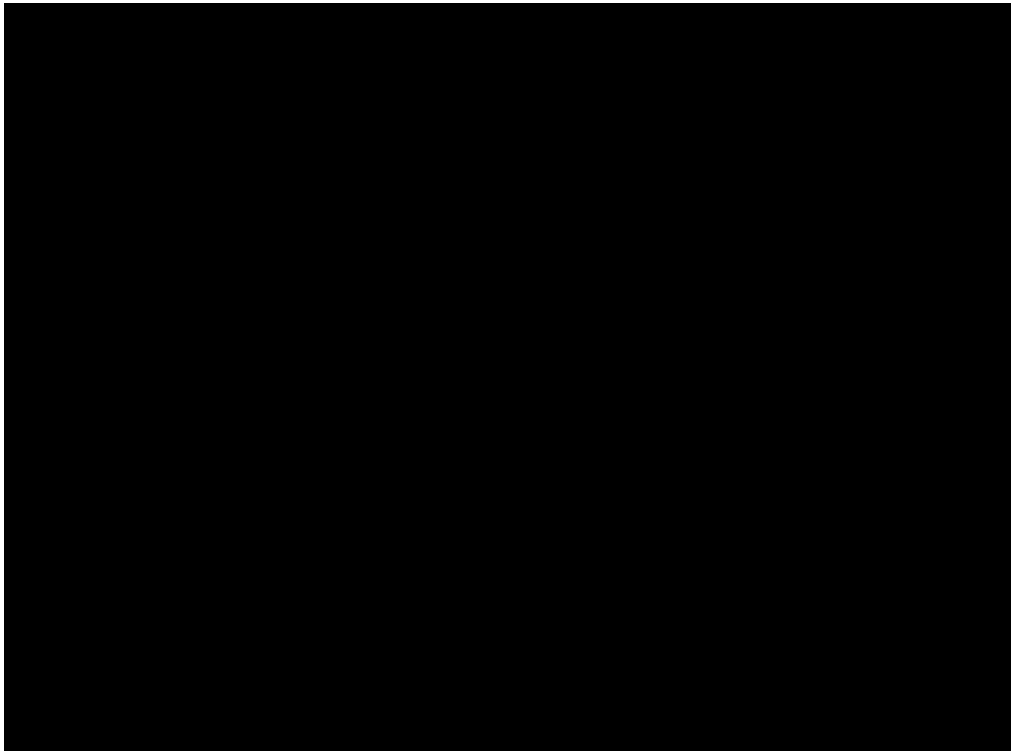


Figure 4.14: Alexander Gardner, 1862, 'A Burial Crew', Civil war photographs, 1861-1865, Prints and Photographs Division Library of Congress, Washington D.C.

Another photographic scene that Johnston appears to have chosen not to include, but Gulland has selected for his album, connects the WIRs to circumstances leading to the death of George William Gordon. Gordon served in the House of Assembly and was blamed for inciting the rebellion after leading a range of public meetings that involved Paul Bogle and some of the other rebel leaders. He was also involved in political and legal disputes with some of those who were attacked by the mobs.²⁹¹ His execution was one of the most highly debated events of the rebellion's aftermath and Sheller suggests that placing his photograph next to Up Park Camp emphasises the controversial nature with which he was executed. Gordon was arrested in Kingston, where martial law did not extend, after handing himself in to the authorities. However, he was then sent to Morant Bay, subject to martial law, to be tried and eventually executed. Under the system of martial law, he had little chance of acquittal or a fair trial, and back in Britain there was heavy criticism of the

²⁹¹ Sheller, 'Lost Glimpses of 1865', p. 121.

Jamaican government for this action. Terrible stories emerged about his treatment by soldiers whilst in custody and about the stealing of animals from his land by the military after his execution.²⁹² In Gulland's album the photograph has been captioned 'Morant Bay from the Harbour' and features the burnt-out courthouse where the rebels committed their own violent acts in the distance on the left (see figure 4.15). The photograph depicts the scene that awaited soldiers of the 1st WIR as they arrived by ship at Morant Bay and disembarked on to the jetty. Straightaway they would have seen the effects that the rebellion had on the landscape and this would have been capitalised upon by their commanders to encourage their brutality. An account of their arrival from Captain de Horsey, an officer who travelled with 100 men of the 1st WIR, recounted that:

I immediately landed the troops and the field gun and occupied the square, where the still burning Court House, and the bodies of the murdered men in all directions evinced but too clearly the results of the previous day. Many ill looking persons were loitering about the town but the armed insurgents had retired.²⁹³

²⁹² Sheller, 'Lost Glimpses of 1865', p. 122.

²⁹³ Cited in Heuman, "*The Killing Time*", p. 114.

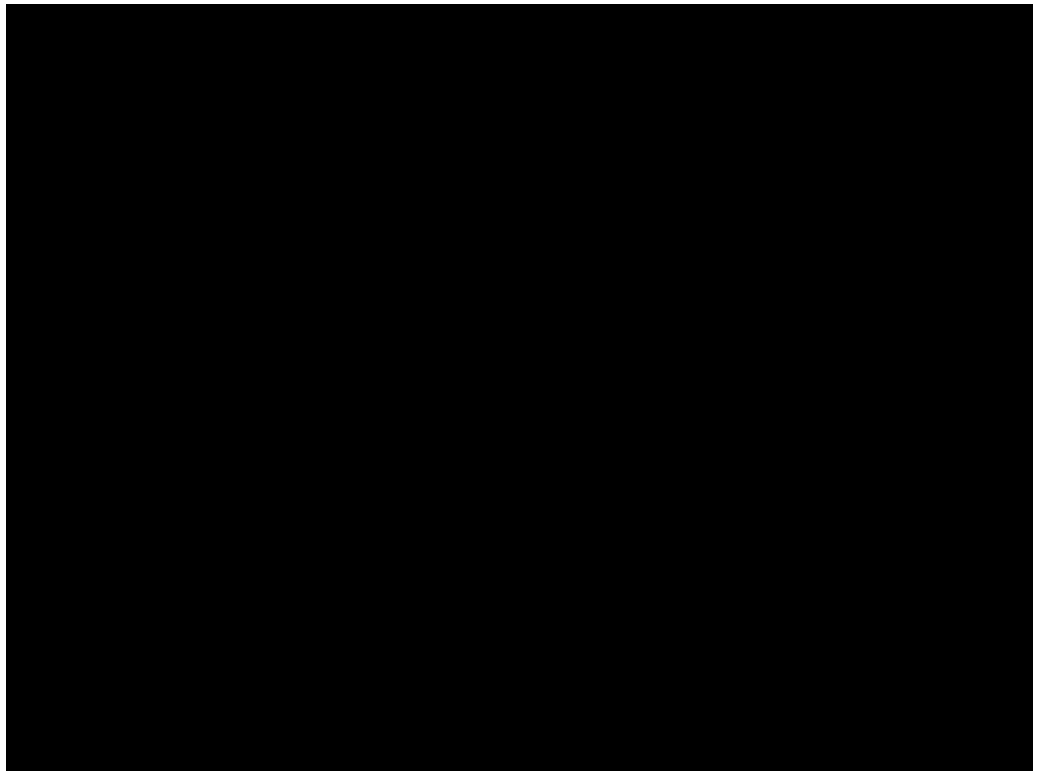


Figure 4.15: Attributed to Russell Bros. and Moncrieff, 1865, 'Morant Bay from the Harbour', Alexander Gulland Album, Graphic Arts Collection (GAX), Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library, Princeton

Although this photograph does not present us with the carnage of the scenes that the 1st WIR witnessed, first-hand accounts such as Captain de Horsey's detail the sights that awaited them at the moment they arrived at Morant Bay. The photograph is framed to give its audience a similarly active role and the audience are able to look up the jetty as soldiers would have done. Exaggerated stories of the scenes that greeted the soldiers were in wide circulation in the early days of the rebellion, with Eyre even recounting stories of mutilated white bodies in his despatches according to Henry Bleby. In one despatch Eyre stated:

The island curate of Bath, the Rev. Mr. Herschell, is said to have had his tongue cut out whilst still alive, and an attempt is said to have been made to skin him. One person (Mr. Charles Price, a black gentleman, formerly a member of Assembly) was ripped open, and his entrails taken out. One gentleman (Lieut. Hall, of the Volunteers) is said to have been pushed into an

outbuilding, which was then set on fire, and kept there till he was ultimately roasted alive. Many were said to have had their eyes scooped out; heads were cleft open, and the brains taken out. The Baron's fingers were cut off, and carried away as trophies by the murderers.²⁹⁴

The photograph can also be combined with accounts of violence by the military, in order to generate a scene where the 1st WIR themselves carried out atrocities. Henry Bleby references punishments handed out to rebels in front of the shell of the courthouse, stating that 'a gun, or gun-carriage, was brought out upon the square before the burnt court-house at Morant Bay, and the prisoners were tied up to the wheel, and flogged with the navy cat, by sailors belonging to Her Majesty's ship of war *Wolverine*'. This gun or gun carriage is most likely the one referenced by Captain de Horsey that was brought ashore by the 1st WIR. An account referenced in Bleby's book by 'a gentleman' who accompanied the first detachment of troops sent to Morant Bay recalls the actions of the WIRs who marched between Port Morant and Bath and states that 'such was the ferocity of these men, that if he had not been present to exercise some restraint upon them, they would not have left a single black person alive, or a Negro dwelling undestroyed, on all the line of their march'.²⁹⁵ Gulland's photograph captures the moment of arrival that set in motion the chain of events referred to by Bleby.

The photograph can also be read alongside an article from the *Illustrated London News* about the rebellion, and the trials that took place at the temporary courthouse at Morant Bay to connect the WIRs to the trial of George William Gordon. In the illustration accompanying the article is a similar jetty to one that features in one of Gulland's photographs, but this time it leads to a court scene (see

²⁹⁴ Henry Bleby, *The Reign of Terror: A Narrative of Facts Concerning Ex-Governor Eyre, George William Gordon and the Jamaica Atrocities* (London, 1868), pp. 42-3.

²⁹⁵ Bleby, *The Reign of Terror*, p. 58.

figure 4.16). Soldiers of the WIRs are marked out by their distinctive Zouave uniform, turbans, and breeches guarding the crowd. Their role in securing the court proceedings is clear and they are being used to threaten violence against those who are standing trial. Their officer colleagues would have been inside the makeshift building conducting the proceedings. The article accompanying the illustration describes the scene as ‘a view of the group of buildings at Morant Bay where the court-martial held their sittings, with the shed in which the prisoners were confined to the left hand’.²⁹⁶ Although it states that questions have been raised back in England about the ‘justice’ of these ‘summary trials and executions’ its author does not condemn the practice, instead writing that the trials will probably be properly investigated once there is more information (and more people had of course lost their lives).²⁹⁷

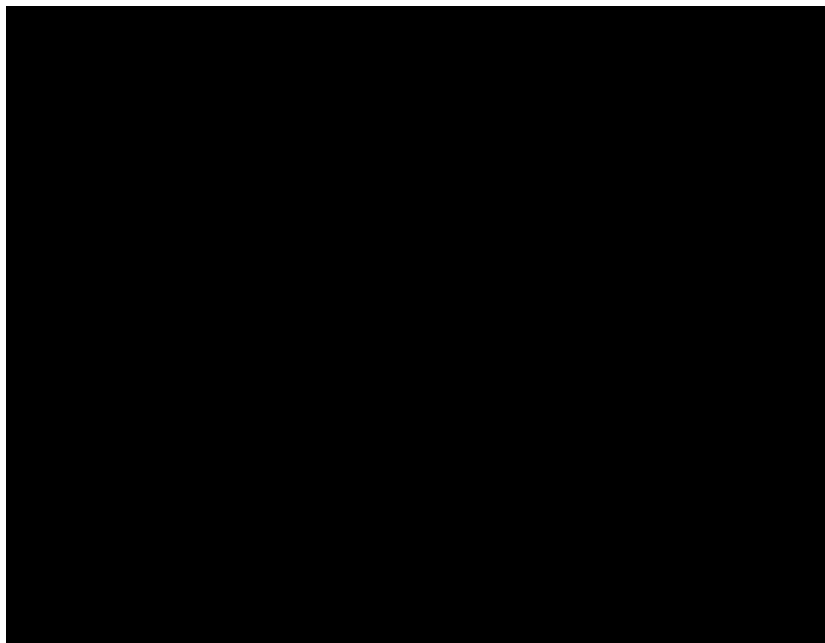


Figure 4.16: Anon., 1865, ‘The Temporary Courthouse at Morant Bay, Jamaica’, Reproduced in Illustrated London News, 9 December 1865

²⁹⁶ *Illustrated London News*, 9 December 1865.

²⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

The article gives a description of how those detained for trial were treated. It describes that the prisoners, one of whom was George William Gordon, were 'ranged on the wharf with a strong guard of negro troops of the 2nd WIR'.²⁹⁸ The article then goes on to describe Gordon's trial, noting that Ensign Kelly of the 4th WIR was one of the officers involved. Through combining Gulland's photograph with the information we can glean from this illustration, and the article it accompanies, it is possible to shed new light on Gulland's photograph as one of a scene where violence took place. Not only does it depict the place where the 1st WIR landed to begin their suppression of the rebellion, it depicts the place where Gordon was made to stand before his trial, which then took place in the empty shed (eventually the courthouse) to the left of the jetty. The shell of the courthouse in the distance shows us where he was likely hung after receiving his sentence. Although the violence of the rebellion seems to have been sterilised in Gulland's album, it is still present therefore. Through close analysis of the photographs alongside other primary sources, the underlying violent nature of these scenes is revealed aiding us in memorialising those who died at these locations and highlighting those who were responsible by placing them at the scene. In Johnston's album, this scene and the violence and controversy connected to it are absent entirely disconnecting the WIRs from any involvement. The role of the WIRs in the rebellions' suppression is therefore contested in images from the two albums.

Unlike Johnston's album, which ignores the Gordon controversy altogether, Gulland's album and other albums collated at the time seem to make explicit connections between the WIRs and Gordon's death. In Gulland's album the WIRs are connected to Gordon through a photograph of their barracks at Up Park Camp.²⁹⁹

²⁹⁸ *Illustrated London News*, 9 December 1865.

²⁹⁹ David Boxer, *Jamaica in Black and White*, p. 14.

Next to this photograph captioned as ‘continuation of Up Park Camp’ are three portraits of ‘G W Gordon’, ‘Mr Levine’, and ‘Mr Lindo’ (see figure 4.17).

Underneath their names we are told about their connection to the rebellion: ‘G. W. Gordon, Hung at Morant Bay, 23rd October 1865’, ‘Mr Levine, - tried by civil power and convicted’, ‘Mr Lindo, Special Volunteers’. Mr. Lindo of the volunteers would have played an active part in the military suppression of the uprising. Gordon and Levine were both political prisoners whose criticism of the government had led to their being arrest and imprisonment at the WIRs’ barracks. They were two of ‘upwards of two hundred political prisoners’ that Up Park Camp was home to at a time when according to Ellis’ history of the 1st WIR ‘arrests were made hourly’ in Kingston despite its exemption from martial law.³⁰⁰

Gulland’s positioning of Gordon’s portrait next to Up Park Camp directly connects the soldiers of the WIRs who inhabited the space to the circumstances surrounding Gordon’s execution. As the *Illustrated London News* article revealed, Ensign Kelly played a major role. He took depositions used during Gordon’s trial and was also part of the court that convicted him and sentenced him to death.³⁰¹ Through his positioning of the photograph of Gordon with that of Up Park Camp where the Regiment were based, Gordon and the Regiment are tied together by the landscape that they both inhabited (he as a prisoner), and where they may even have interacted.

³⁰⁰ Ellis, *The History of the First West India Regiment*, p. 292.

³⁰¹ Jamaica Committee, *Facts and Documents Relating to the Alleged Rebellion in Jamaica*, p. 22, p. 55.

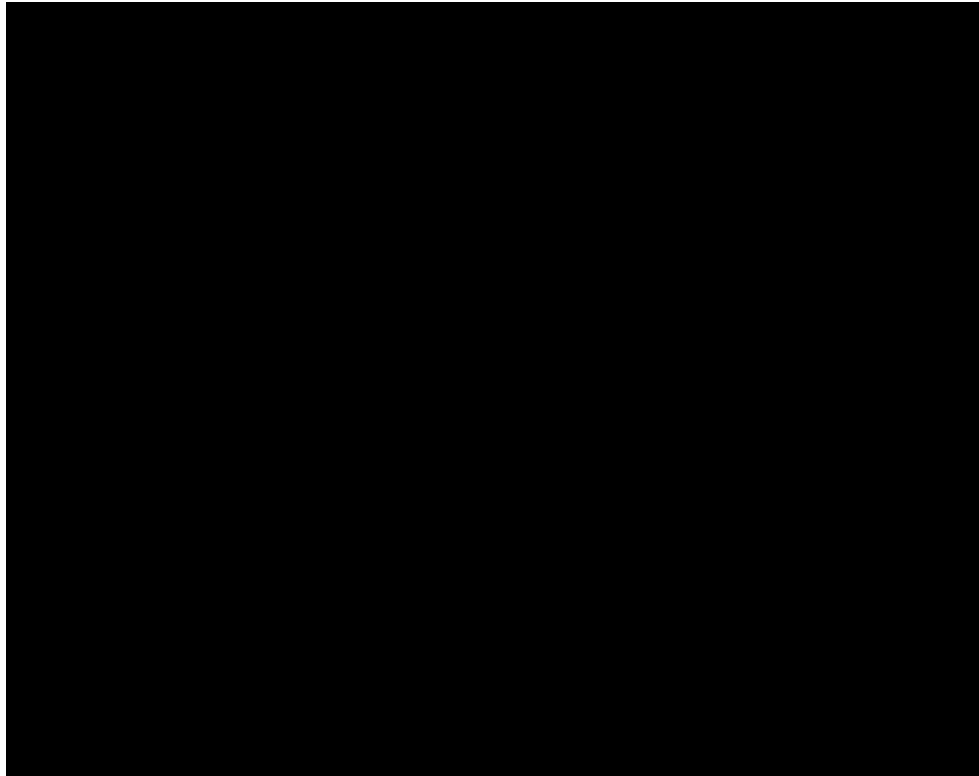


Figure 4.17: Various Photographers, ca. 1865, Full page featuring Gordon, Mr Levine, Mr Lindo around a landscape view of Up Park Camp, Alexander Gulland Album, Graphic Arts Collection (GAX), Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library, Princeton

Another contemporary album put together by Noel B. Livingston, a solicitor raised in Jamaica, also connects individual figures from the WIRs to the death of Gordon. Livingston has inserted a carte that features Brigadier General O'Connor, Captain Johnston, and Ensign Ballantine next to one of the mother of Gordon's widow (see figures 4.18 and 4.19). Through this placement, Livingston explicitly connects Captain Johnston, Ensign Ballantine, and the rest of headquarters to the death of Gordon presided over by their fellow WIR officer Ensign Kelly. Through the mother of Gordon's widow we see the impact of the WIRs' contribution to Gordon's death through a representation of his family's loss. This placement was not coincidental by Livingston, as on the following page his handwritten caption reveals that the carte of Gordon (which is now missing) was placed next to that of General O'Connor. Whether Gulland and Livingston proudly connected the men of the WIRs with Gordon's death is not clear, however, Livingston connects individual officers of

the WIRs rather than just Up Park Camp to the Gordon controversy. Livingston's detachment from the military may be the reason that he is able to make a more explicit connection and use faces instead of places and spaces unlike Gulland. In contrast there is no trace of Gordon in Johnston's album at all. This is important to consider, especially when men from Johnston's Regiment were involved in the guarding of Gordon at Up Park Camp and during his trial, and an officer from the 4th WIR was involved in sentencing Gordon to death. Despite Johnston's unwillingness to present the Regiments' connection to Gordon's death photographically, despatches and newspaper articles stated that those involved relished in his punishment. A newspaper article even stated that some of the men had taken items of Gordon's clothing as prizes.³⁰² As with the absence of Eyre and Dr Morris, the absence of Gordon's portrait appears to suggest that Johnston presents the rebellion in a different way to Gulland due to his Regimental ties and his relationships with military figures such as O'Connor.

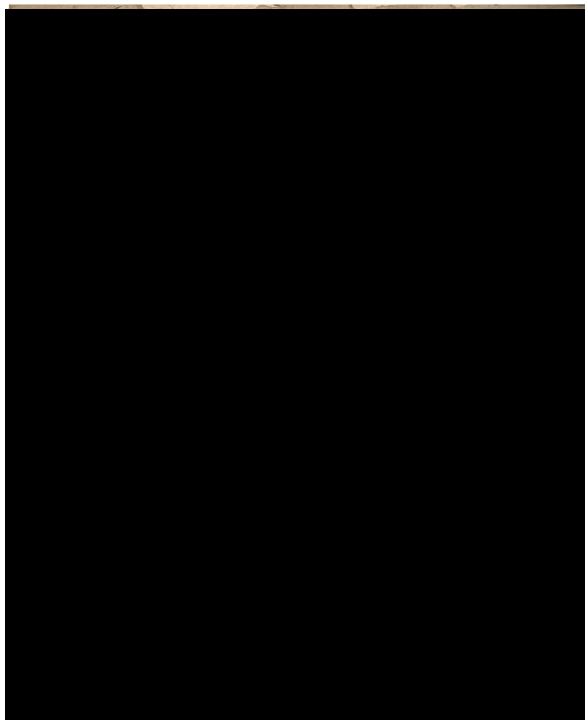


Figure 4.18: Various Photographers, ca. 1865, Full page featuring 'The Staff, Jamaica', Noel B. Livingston Album, National Library of Jamaica, Kingston

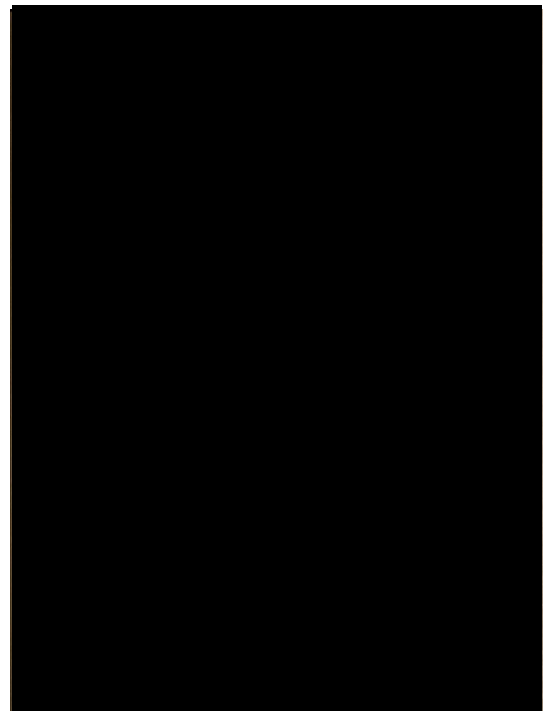


Figure 4.19: Various Photographers, ca. 1865, Full page featuring O'Connor's Portrait, Noel B. Livingston Album, National Library of Jamaica, Kingston

³⁰² Sheller, 'Lost Glimpses of 1865', p. 122.

‘They never flinched in the field’?

Despite differences with regards to their inclusion of more controversial white figures associated with the rebellion, both Gulland and Johnston’s albums are similar in the lack of representation that they give to black soldiers. Gulland’s album contains only one photograph from Jamaica where a black soldier of the WIRs is easily distinguishable, with a few other landscape photographs containing small figures that are revealed to be WIR soldiers on very close inspection. Photographs of black WIR troops are not included in the Jamaica section of Johnston’s album alongside his other photographs related to the rebellion. Not until the end of the Jamaica section does he feature three group portraits that include black NCOs and privates. This is in sharp contrast to his photographs of St Lucia and the Bahamas where the black rank and file of the WIRs feature often and throughout. The black rank and file of the WIRs are not so absent from the documentary archive, and their actions are frequently discussed. In the secondary literature, their role in the rebellion is also referenced quite often, except in recent discussions related to Gulland’s photographs.

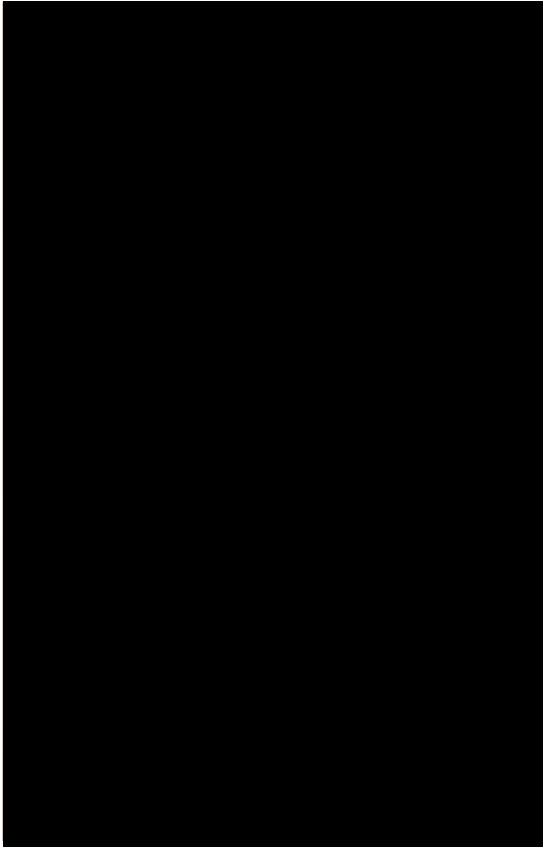


Figure 4.20: Duperly Bros., 1865, 'Colonel Fyfe', Alexander Gulland Album, Graphic Arts Collection (GAX), Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library, Princeton

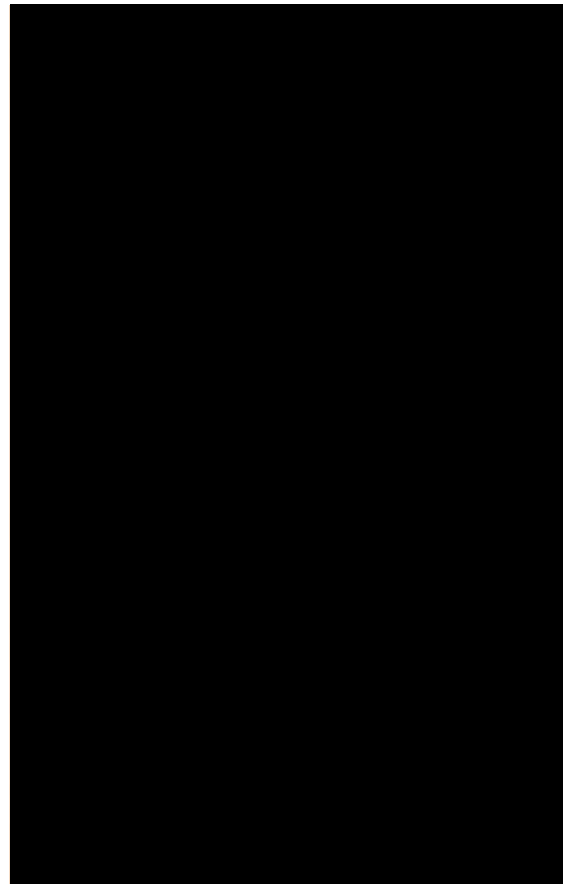


Figure 4.21: Duperly Bros., 1865, 'Maroons', Alexander Gulland Album, Graphic Arts Collection (GAX), Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library, Princeton

This relative lack of visual representation and analysis of photographs of the WIRs differs greatly from that of the Maroons, who feature in two photographs in Gulland's album (see figures 4.20 and 4.21). The prominence that they have been given in Gulland's album has meant that their image, unlike that of the WIRs, has been analysed by Sheller and in even greater depth in an article by Kenneth Bilby. In this article, Bilby states that seeing photographs of the Maroons 'served to authenticate the very existence of persons whose stories had been orally preserved' and made them seem 'more "real" than ever'.³⁰³ The effect on historic memory of the absence of such photographs of the WIRs is emphasised further by this reflection on the photographs of the Maroons. The role of the WIRs' black troops is not

³⁰³ Bilby, 'Image and Imagination', p. 17.

celebrated in the visual record of the rebellion as the Maroons are. Bilby argues that the visual representation of the Maroons aligns with the way they are presented in oral histories, with their costume and military accessories demonstrating 'their warrior culture' and their body language suggesting 'nonchalance and toughness'. In one of the photographs, captioned 'Colonel Fyfe' the Maroons pose as if in combat and 'brandish rifles, feigning the positions and attitudes of guerrilla sharpshooters lying in wait'.³⁰⁴ Through their visual representation the Maroons are therefore empowered and presented as an effective fighting force that was key to the rebellion's suppression. This contrasts greatly to the way in which the WIRs are portrayed in the one photograph that they are featured in Gulland's album.

The single photograph in which the black rank and file of the WIRs do feature in Gulland's album is a large print of Major General O'Connor, Colonel Elkington, and Captain Johnston, who pose as if looking over papers being handed to them by a WIR sergeant (see figure 4.22). It was produced by Russell Brothers and Moncrieff and was sold by the Cosmopolitan Gallery after the rebellion for local people to purchase and commemorate its heroes. The photograph appears to depict the officers in an impromptu gathering, perhaps after they have been rushed some important news. The casual posture of Johnston, who almost rests on Elkington and kneels down, suggests that he is dynamic and ready for action and he and the other men are ready to tackle anything at any moment and able to think on their feet (or even their knees) as this arise. The figures in the photographs exude a confidence through their postures that suggests that whatever is being discussed or looked over will be quickly dealt with. Colonel Elkington has more of a presence in the documentary archive than Johnston due to his role as Deputy Adjutant General and we therefore have records of notes that he sent to troops in the field. In one of these

³⁰⁴ Bilby, 'Image and Imagination', p. 19.

despatches dated 18 October he wrote to Colonel Hobbs ‘I hope you will not send in any prisoners. Civil law can do nothing’ before going on to encourage him to ‘punish the blackguards well’.³⁰⁵ His place in the history of the rebellion as one of its major aggressors is therefore widely known. Positioned as the central leadership figure in the photograph, O’Connor holds one end of the document with his right hand and is possibly pointing to something on the page implying that he is the one giving instructions or information.

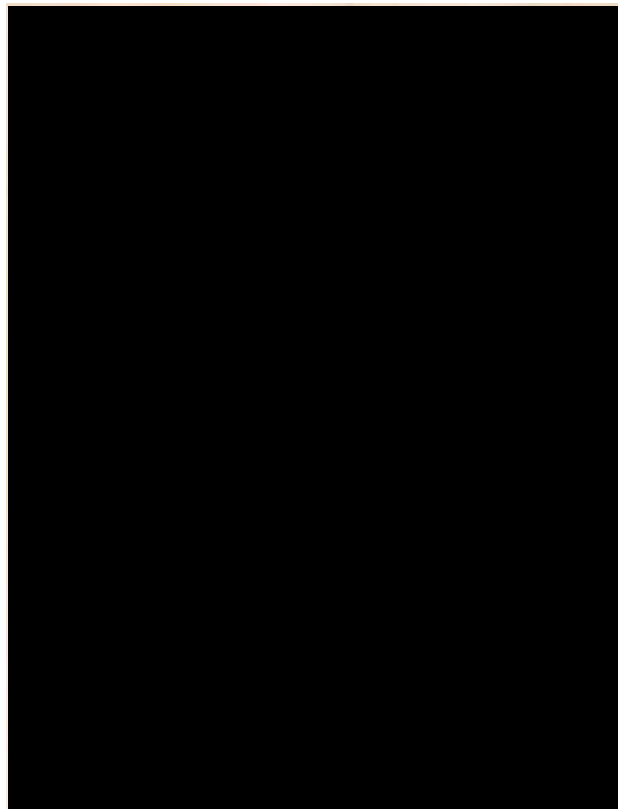


Figure 4.22: Russell Brothers and Moncrieff, 1865, Portrait of Johnston, Elkington, O'Connor and a WIR Sergeant, Alexander Gulland Album, Graphic Arts Collection (GAX), Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library, Princeton

The photograph celebrates the officers implying that the relationship between the photographers and the military is one of respect. They clearly wanted a shot of the officers ‘in action’ as opposed to just standing for a formal portrait as in another

³⁰⁵ Cited in Bleby, *The Reign of Terror*, p. 78.

group photograph taken by this studio discussed later (see figure 4.25). However, unlike the documentary archive, this action shot does not connect them to any violent actions, but rather logistical or strategic ones. Through this portrait we are given a perspective of Johnston that presents him as dynamic and as a key decision maker. He is positioned as part of an elite group of three, emphasising the closeness that he had to the man in overall control. This makes it all the more interesting that Johnston did not decide to display this photograph in his album but has inserted the other group portrait where he is less distinguishable. This does not necessarily mean that he did not purchase the print. The other group portrait is not pasted down onto the album and could have been slipped into the album later on. This portrait could therefore have been left elsewhere in their original place of display or preservation. His willingness to include so many other photographs of the black rank and file that he supervised in his St Lucia and Bahamas photographs demonstrates that he was not averse to the inclusion of black soldiers in photographs that he collated in his album. However, the decision not to include a black soldier in his visual account of the rebellion again appears to be evidence of Johnston distancing himself from the negative attention certain black soldiers had attracted during the rebellion.

Despite his inclusion in Gulland's album, the positioning of the black sergeant in the group portrait demonstrates that the role of the rank and file of the Regiments in the suppression of the rebellion seems to have been downplayed at the time by photographic studios in Jamaica. The sergeant looks over the officers and over the paper they look at. Presented as an outsider there to serve and not contribute, his lower rank is made clear. He does not have the power to make decisions and his race would have prevented him from rising to the rank of those he is standing behind. The photograph presents him as subservient and assigns him a menial and passive role (unlike the Maroons) serving the white officers and through

them the wider white population. It emphasises the role of the WIRs in upholding the status quo and ensuring the dominance and control of the white-led government and military. This they were expected to do with absolute loyalty and without question.

The loyalty of the black rank and file was something that Eyre was concerned about during the rebellion. O'Connor had criticised him for these doubts and for the resultant action of bringing more white troops to Jamaica instead of relying solely on WIR troops. O'Connor wrote to Eyre 'don't pay attention to "old women's" gossip that the black troops will not prove loyal; they never flinched in the field', reminding him that during the insurrection in Demerara the WIRs had proved loyal and been handsomely rewarded with silverware.³⁰⁶ Eyre had also expressed concerns that 'some of the soldiers of the WIRs may be creoles of this country, and connected by ties and relationship, or of sympathy, with some of the disaffected peasantry'. He therefore wished to rely heavily on white troops from Newcastle to squash the revolt.³⁰⁷ This irritated O'Connor, and on numerous occasions he referred back to what a poor decision it was to use so many white soldiers during Jamaica's rainy season. On the 16 October he wrote to Eyre 'I hope to have 600 to 700 black troops, without the 2nd West. The 6th can then return to Newcastle and Camp, or your hospital will be full'.³⁰⁸ In a later note, he stated that forty years of tropical services have convinced him that European troops were not as enduring as African ones when exposed to the sun, night dews, and marches such as Colonel Hobbs had made with

³⁰⁶ Inclosure 55 in No.1 Major-General O'Connor to Governor Eyre, 16 October 1865, Papers Relating to the Insurrection in Jamaica. Despatches between Governor Eyre and Edward Cardwell, M.P., Colonial Office, 7 December 1865, p. 33.

³⁰⁷ Inclosure 14 in No. 1 Governor Eyre to General O'Connor, 12 October 1865, Papers Relating to the Insurrection in Jamaica. Despatches between Governor Eyre and Edward Cardwell, M.P., Colonial Office, 7 December 1865, pp. 14-15.

³⁰⁸ Inclosure 55 in No.1 Major-General O'Connor to Governor Eyre, 16 October 1865, Papers Relating to the Insurrection in Jamaica. Despatches between Governor Eyre and Edward Cardwell, M.P., Colonial Office, 7 December 1865, p. 33.

the 2nd Battalion 6th Royals for thirteen hours under drenching rain.³⁰⁹ He even voiced this particular criticism in a very public letter written in response to a congratulatory letter celebrating Hobbs' actions with the European troops in a local newspaper.³¹⁰ Military commanders such as O'Connor and Johnston will therefore have been keen to visually stress that the WIRs' black troops had proved loyal resulting in a photograph like this one being produced alongside a more formal portrait of the officers.

The wish to emphasise the more passive aspects of the role of WIR soldiers during the rebellion, rather than their more aggressive actions, may also have been important to their commanders in the light of the particularly unsavoury stories that emerged about their discipline and conduct around Morant Bay. These stories could also be the reason why Johnston refuses to acknowledge the WIRs' black troops in his photographs associated with the rebellion. One of the privates of the WIRs whose ill-discipline was most discussed was Drummer Phillips. Under the command of Captain Hole he was personally responsible for the deaths of eleven men. When left to guard a prisoner, he hung the man before Hole returned. On another occasion he shot six prisoners without trial who were supposed to be sent to Manchioneal for that purpose, apparently telling a police constable 'all I meet on the road I shoot'.³¹¹ Whilst on the road to Manchioneal he shot a further four prisoners. Considering that fifty prisoners were killed by soldiers without trial according to the official statistics, Phillips was responsible for more than one in five 'unlawful' deaths.³¹² Heuman

³⁰⁹ Inclosure 2 in No. 2 Major General O'Connor to Governor Eyre 21 October 1865, Papers Relating to the Insurrection in Jamaica. Despatches between Governor Eyre and Edward Cardwell, M.P., Colonial Office, 7 December 1865, p. 45.

³¹⁰ Inclosure in No.5, Extract from the colonial standard, a letter from Major General O'Connor, Papers Relating to the Insurrection in Jamaica. Despatches between Governor Eyre and Edward Cardwell, M.P., Colonial Office, 7 December 1865, p. 51.

³¹¹ Heuman, "*The Killing Time*", p. 116.

³¹² Report of the Jamaica Royal Commission, 1866 Part I – Report, Presented to Both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty (London, 1866), p. 1143.

writes that Phillips was never investigated for these actions, but evidence from the Royal Commission report states that he was put up in the black hole as punishment.³¹³ His commanders denied that they had instructed Phillips to carry out these atrocities and alleged that he had deserted before doing so. In his critique of the government and military response, Henry Bleby references the actions of ‘some black soldiers of the 1st West India Regiment’ who had ‘laid hold of a man, named Sandy McPherson, near to Long Bay’. According to Bleby, the men initially took him along with them as a prisoner before ‘one of these savages levelled his musket and shot the poor fellow in the neck’.³¹⁴

In the early days following the uprising an article in *The Daily Telegraph* expressed fears that the Regiments’ black soldiers might commit acts of savagery.³¹⁵ These fears seemed justified when back in Jamaica the actions of other unsupervised black WIR privates were discussed in *The Colonial Standard and Jamaica Despatch*. The newspaper reproduced the Statement of Report from the commissioners and quoted from the statement that six or seven soldiers of the WIR galloped past Captain Hole stating that they had been ordered to come out. They were then sent to join the advanced guard under Ensign Lewis. As Captain Hole progressed throughout the day, he found eleven or so dead bodies lying near the road. Captain Hole and the commissioners supposed that ‘they must have fallen by the hands of the mounted soldiers of the WIRs who had ridden forward contrary to orders the day before’.³¹⁶ The statement also criticised the actions of three soldiers who had been praised in a despatch from Captain Hole on 17 October and are celebrated in Ellis’ history. Ellis references their ‘meritorious act...deserving

³¹³ Evidence of George Bryan, Report of the Jamaica Royal Commission 1866: Part II, Minutes of Evidence and Appendix (London, 1866), p. 214.

³¹⁴ Bleby, *The Reign of Terror*, p. 71.

³¹⁵ Lorimer, *Colour, Class and the Victorians*, p. 192.

³¹⁶ *The Colonial Standard and Jamaica Despatch*, 7 July 1866.

commendation' after they shot several rebels when separated from Hole and the rest of the party.³¹⁷ The 'barbarity' of the actions of Drummer Phillips were given special attention by the commissioners along with the 'cowardice' and inaction of those who allowed him to carry out his murders.³¹⁸ Four of the WIRs' privates who committed these offences were punished by Captain Hole 'by severe examples' to secure discipline and 'put a stop to acts of military lawlessness'. One soldier convicted of having been absent for several days without leave and of having committed depredations was sentenced to sixty-six days imprisonment, forfeiture of his good conduct pay, and fifty lashes. Another was tried and sentenced by court-martial to seven years' penal servitude for having burnt houses in Long Bay.³¹⁹ The staging of this photograph and the role assigned to the WIR sergeant could therefore reflect a feeling of embarrassment amongst the military leadership after the events of the rebellion and the investigations of the commissioners had proved that they could not control their black rank and file. After acting out of turn the black rank and file were relegated to background supporting roles in the visual record of the event to prove that they had been brought back under control and would remain so. The lack of photographs of the black rank and file amongst the photographs of Jamaica in both albums could be a way of visually distancing them from the white officers who were being celebrated. In Johnston's album in particular, their complete exclusion appears to demonstrate a willingness to detach himself from those who may have been under his command at some point.

The positioning of the black WIR sergeant was part of a wider current within images circulating at the time, particularly those related to the US Civil War. Many

³¹⁷ Ellis, *The History of the First West India Regiment*, p. 292.

³¹⁸ Inclosure 62 in No. 1, Captain Hole to Brigadier-General Nelson, Manchioneal, 17 October 1865, Papers Relating to the Insurrection in Jamaica. Despatches between Governor Eyre and Edward Cardwell, M.P., Colonial Office, 7 December 1865.

³¹⁹ *The Colonial Standard and Jamaica Despatch*, 7 July 1866.

photographs of officers taken during the conflict portrayed blacks alongside them in subservient or even in servant's roles to appeal to the visual tastes of a US audience who were comfortable with and nostalgic about images of slavery. One of the most famous examples of this type of photograph is Alexander Gardner's 'What do I Want John Henry?' (see figure 4.23). Like the WIR sergeant, John Henry is serving seated white officers who are not granting him eye contact. In Gardner's Civil War album, the photograph of John Henry is accompanied by a paragraph of text that outlines his story and comments on his character and physique including that his head 'resembled an egg, set up at an angle of forty-five degrees, small end on top'. Despite this physiological characteristic however, 'his moral and intellectual requirement were by no means common'.³²⁰ A similar representation can be seen in a stereograph of white officers being attended by a black servant at an officers' dinner party outside a tent at the Army of the Potomac headquarters by Timothy O'Sullivan, who was part of Gardner's studio (see figure 4.24). As in the Cosmopolitan Gallery photograph, the black figure stands in wait behind a group of officers to cater to their needs, but this time in a more social situation. In these photographs from the civil war the black servants are used as an object from which the differences in class, race, and power between them and the white men that they serve are highlighted. Their role in the photographs is almost like that of other props used to demonstrate status.

³²⁰Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, Gardner's photographic sketch book of the war Vol I, available at: <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/ppmsca.12834>, accessed 25 May 2016.

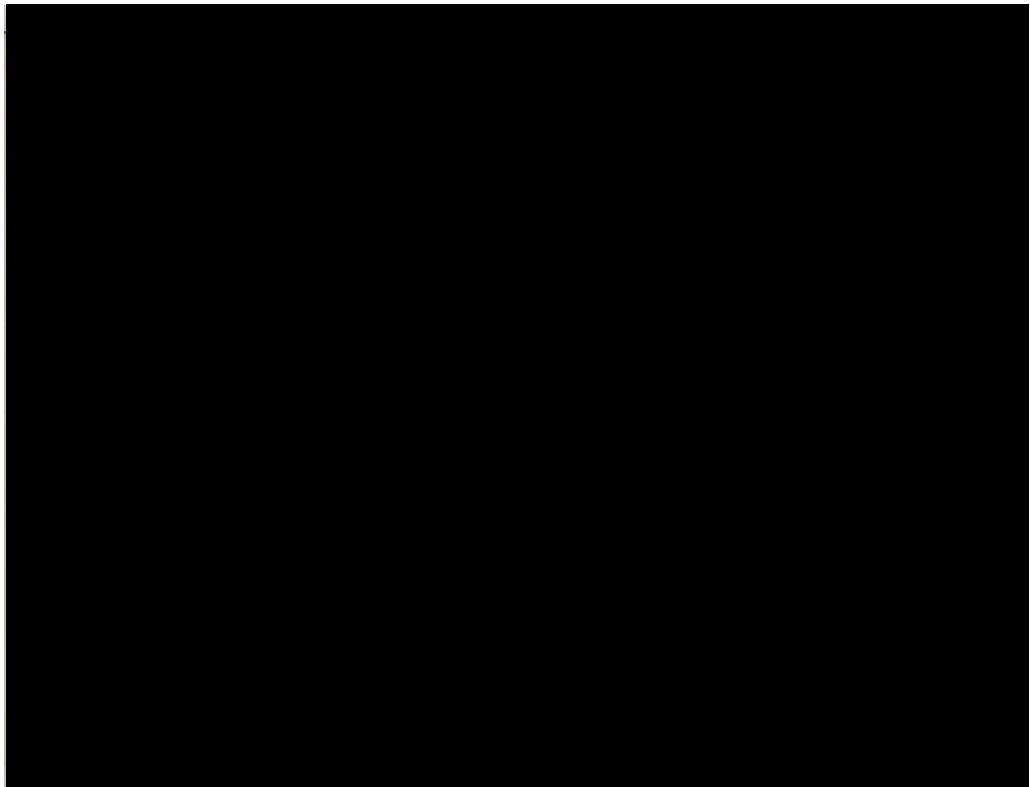


Figure 4.23: Alexander Gardner, 1862, 'What do I Want John Henry?', Gardner's Photographic Sketch Book of the War, Vol II, 1866, p.27, Civil war photographs, 1861-1865 Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress, Washington D. C.

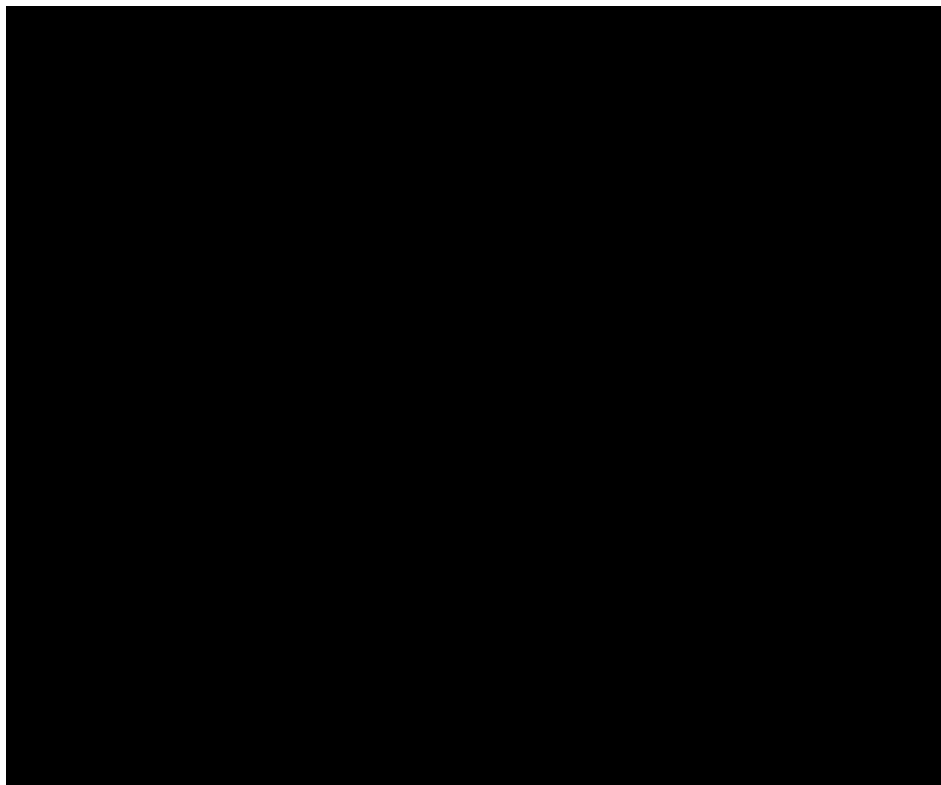


Figure 4.24: Timothy O'Sullivan, 1864, 'Brandy Station, Va. Dinner party outside tent, Army of the Potomac headquarters, Civil war photographs, 1861-1865, Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress, Washington D. C.

Although the black sergeant of the WIRs was of course not a servant, his portrayal assigns this role to him, and he is used to enhance the prestige and status of those he has been depicted serving. As a sergeant, the highest position available to a black man within the Regiments, his presence demonstrates not only the enforced racial hierarchies of the WIRs but of the society more generally. For this reason, it is a powerful image. The rebels had attempted to violently end the race and class dominance they lived under as is proved by threatening letters that were sent to planters and those in positions of judicial power. Walter Ramsay of the Spring Garden Estate received a letter stating ‘there will be fire, and fire enough in the Spring Garden Plantation...for I going to burn from still-house, boiling house, and your house and self too’.³²¹ Another letter penned to the Custos of Kingston threatened ‘you better beware or else you will be shot like a dog’.³²² In the context of such letters, this photograph sends out a clear message that the rebels had failed spectacularly. White men were still running the affairs of the island, racial hierarchies were still in place, and worst of all black people were still willing to be in their service. A black sergeant of the WIR was used to send this message, just as his comrades had been chosen to deliver violent punishment to those who had risen up.

³²¹ Inclosure 47 in No.1 Mr Guscott, J. P. to the Hon. William Hosack, Custos, St. George, 15 October 1865, Papers Relating to the Insurrection in Jamaica. Despatches between Governor Eyre and Edward Cardwell, M.P., Colonial Office, 7 December 1865, p. 27.

³²² Inclosure 49 in No. 1 Communication addressed to the Custos of Kingston, Papers Relating to the Insurrection in Jamaica. Despatches between Governor Eyre and Edward Cardwell, M.P., Colonial Office, 7 December 1865, p. 28.

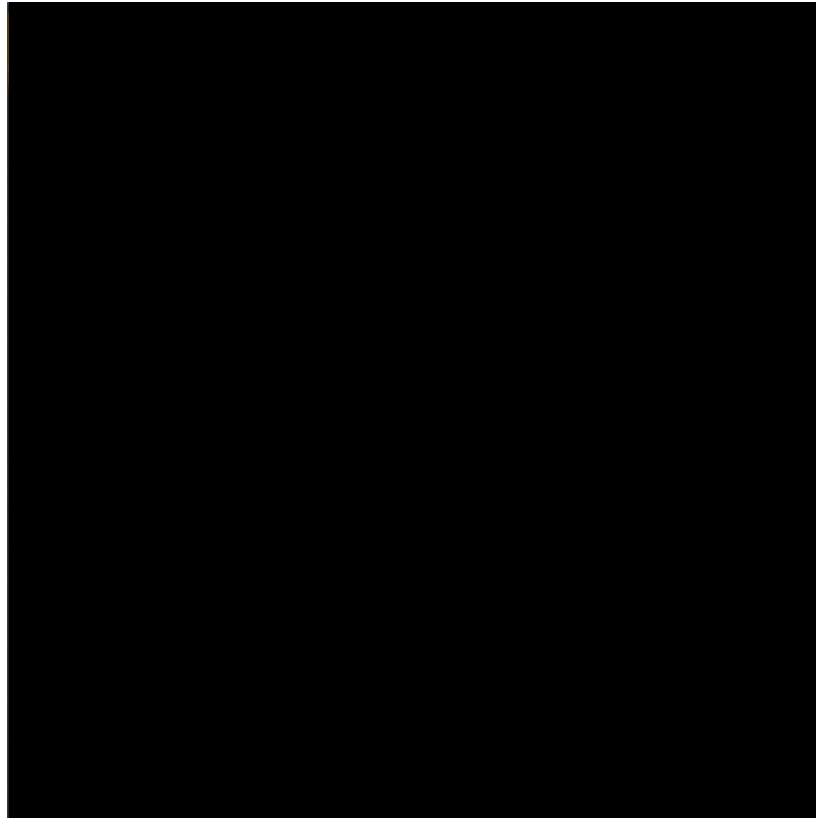
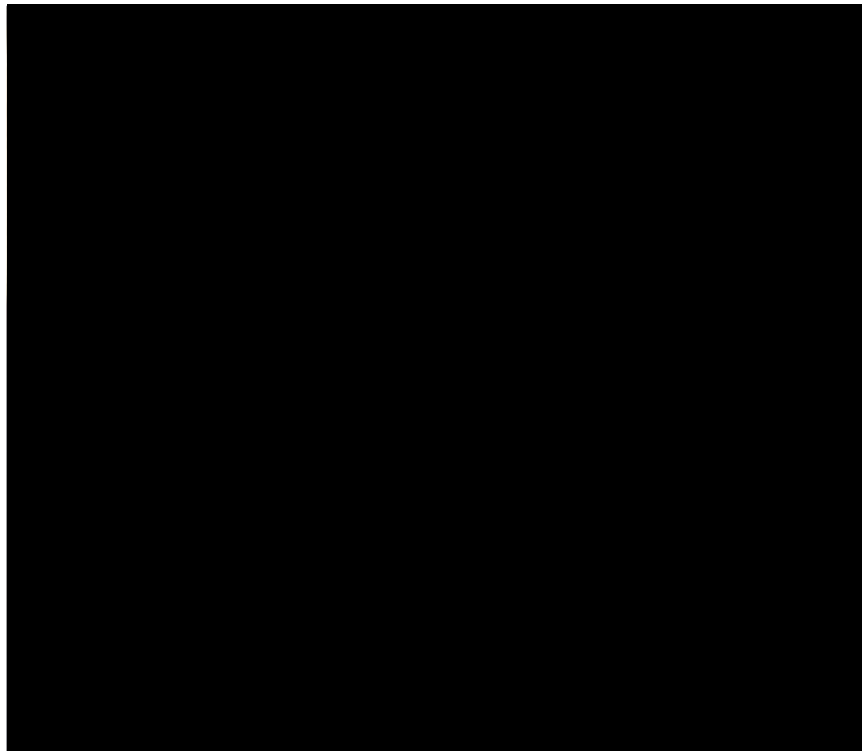


Figure 4.25: Russell Brothers and Moncrieff, 1865, 'The Staff, Jamaica', William Walker Whitehall Johnston Photograph Album of Wales, the West Indies, and the 1st West India Regiment, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven



In contrast to the representation of the black rank and file in the first portrait, white officers are presented in a second portrait taken by the same studio as the true heroes of the rebellion (see figure 4.25). Unsurprisingly therefore, the portrait features in both Gulland and Johnston's albums, the album held at the National Library of Jamaica created by Noel B. Livingston, and an album put together by Ensign F. L. Grundy (also of Gulland's regiment).³²³ It was a popular photograph amongst the military men who were involved in putting down the rebellion, and was likely used by many of them to memorialise those they had served with and those whose commands they had followed. In Johnston's album, the officers are identified in pencil on the back of the photograph, along with their roles in the rebellion and their regiment. Left to right, the men featured are Ensign R. F. Ballantine, Captain O'Connor, Captain William Walker Whitehall Johnston, Brigadier General Luke Smythe O'Connor, Lieutenant Adcock, Brigadier General Alexander Abercromby Nelson, and Ensign Lanyon. The officers are lined up behind O'Connor, the overall commander of the troops, who sits on a chair that demonstrates his greater rank and experience as well as his age perhaps. The ranks of the other officers are also important to the organisation of the photograph as the men are arranged in an arc shape with the Ensigns (the two men of lowest rank) at each end. The centrality of O'Connor emphasises his central leadership role. The arrangement of these men by rank demonstrates that in both portraits the placement of the soldiers was not accidental but planned and staged to present a particular message about the status of different individuals and the different levels of public appreciation.

It is clear that the producers of the images were sensitive to the revelations of the Jamaica Royal Commission, just as Johnston and Gulland were when compiling their albums, when we consider how the photographs was advertised in the *Colonial*

³²³ Boxer, *Jamaica in Black and White*, p. 69.

Standard and Jamaica Despatch. The newspaper advertisement for the Cosmopolitan Gallery changes from advertising ‘views of Morant Bay and of the Island generally’ on 6 July 1866, to directly advertising ‘photographs of General O’Connor and staff and all other celebrities’ on 11 July 1866. This change followed a discussion in the paper on the 10 July about the Royal Commission and the confirmation of the recall of Governor Eyre.³²⁴ Deciding to rank O’Connor and his staff with ‘other celebrities’ a day after the newspapers had informed the island’s population of the results of the report’s outcomes, was certainly an economic manoeuvre on the behalf of the gallery. They saw the possible profit that could be made from photographs of the military. The money-making potential of Morant Bay prints at this time is also clear from the fact that initially the Cosmopolitan Gallery’s adverts in the newspaper did not imply that it would be a permanent fixture but afterwards stated that they were the ‘Successors to F. A. Freeman’ and would ‘continue the gallery Corner East and Harbour Street’ having purchased all his negatives.³²⁵

Selling photographs in the aftermath of the events at Morant Bay was a lucrative opportunity and those in Jamaica able to purchase photographs likely saw doing so as a show of support for those who were being criticised. It is likely that Johnston purchased the photograph directly from the gallery as a view of the gallery features in his album (see figure 4.26). His inclusion of this photograph of the gallery demonstrates that either the purchasing of his portrait or the day of posing for it were significant events for Johnston that were worth commemorating by capturing for himself. Having his photograph taken was therefore something Johnston found exciting and it is likely that he would have cared about how he and his colleagues

³²⁴ *Colonial Standard and Jamaica Despatch*, 4 July to 11 July.

³²⁵ *Ibid.*

were represented in photographic form. His representation, and those of others close to him may have mattered to an extent that he was careful about how he compiled his album. Whether intentional or not, his decisions not to include certain photographs, in contrast to Gulland, suggests that different military figures aimed to remember the rebellion in different ways. Johnston's closeness to O'Connor and his position within a Regiment based in the Caribbean, rather than one that was based in the region for a short time like Gulland's 6th foot, may have influenced this.



Figure 4.26: William Walker Whitehall Johnston, ca.1865, View from outside the Cosmopolitan Gallery, William Walker Whitehall Johnston Photograph Album of Wales, the West Indies, and the 1st West India Regiment, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven

The inclusion of just one photograph across both albums that depicts black WIR soldiers at the time of the rebellion demonstrates that the actions of these men were not celebrated with the circulation of commercial photographs. The Maroons perhaps had to be celebrated, as they had captured Paul Bogle, the leader of the rebels. Also, it was believed that had they supported the rebels and not the government, events could have turned in favour of Bogle and his men. This is

perhaps why, in a demonstration of the different statuses given to the WIRs and the Maroons post-rebellion, in November 1865 100 men of the 1st WIR formed a guard of honour to greet the Maroons at the Kingston courthouse. Similar stories were not in circulation about the WIRs' black soldiers. Although Eyre had reservations about their loyalty of the WIRs, these proved to be unfounded. In fact, in some cases they had been over zealous in their pursuit and punishment of alleged rebels. Whether the extreme actions of a few of their number, or the fact that they had seemingly not been controllable by their white officers led to their officers distancing themselves from them is not clear. The real embarrassment could have stemmed not from their over enthusiasm, but the lack of respect that it reflected for the orders and instructions that they had been given by the white men commanding them. This lack of respect for white authority was of course something they had in common with the rebels.

Threats of Force and their 'immense moral effect'

At the end of Johnston's album is a collection of group portraits taken after the rebellion. Through these group photographs the WIRs' necessity to Jamaica's future security in the wake of the rebellion is highlighted. Following the rebellion, racialised attitudes in Britain intensified as it was believed that the events at Morant Bay were a humiliating blow for British colonialism.³²⁶ An article from the *Times* on 18 November stated that despite its much smaller scale than the Indian Rebellion, the Morant Bay rebellion was 'more in the nature of a disappointment' as Jamaica was one of Britain's 'pet institutions, and its inhabitants our spoilt children'.³²⁷ Although Jamaica had previously been seen as a future candidate for self-government, in the

³²⁶ Bolt, *Victorian Attitudes to Race*, p. 78.

³²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 77.

wake of the uprising the belief circulated that it was impossible to civilise those of African descent. An article from *The Times* on 13 November 1865 outlined:

it seems...impossible to eradicate the original savageness of the African blood. As long as the black man has strong white Government and a numerous white population to control him he is capable of living as a respectable member of society...But wherever he attains to a certain degree of independence there is the fear that he will resume the barbarous life and fierce habits of his African ancestors.³²⁸

In their post-rebellion photographs, the officers, NCOs, and rank and file of the WIRs assert a clear confidence. This likely stemmed from the support that the Regiment had gained from the local white population for their role in the rebellion after the loyalty of the rank and file had been proven. The escape of the officers (and most of the rank and file) from any form of prosecution or punishment would also have added to this. Demonstrating that they no longer feared being seen as brutal or being criticised for their role in suppressing the rebellion, in each of the photographs the groups of soldiers threaten violence. The men are posed with weapons in various different ways, with some weapons being easier to distinguish than others. This threatening presence of weapons demonstrates that there were fears of further unrest that needed to be remedied with the assurance of military force. British newspapers emphasised the importance of such threats if order was to be restored and maintained in Jamaica. On 13 November 1865 the *Times* stressed the importance of displaying ‘signs and symbols of civilised authority’, whilst *The Telegraph* stated, ‘we must rule the African with a strong hand, since we are bound to continue the thankless task of ruling him at all’.³²⁹

³²⁸ *The Times*, 13 November 1865.

³²⁹ Bolt, *Victorian Attitudes to Race*, p.79.

These group portraits also demonstrate the racial unity and shared purpose of the Regiments after they had worked together to end an episode of racialised unrest. In the first photograph, its officers pose together united in purpose and perhaps as good friends, then its NCOs pose together in a separate photograph with an authoritative air, before finally its officers, NCOs, and enlisted men all pose together in one casual photograph. This final 'group' portrait shows that within the Regiments white and black worked together to defend the island and would continue to do so after their success in crushing the rebellion.

As previously mentioned, the first of these photographs is a group portrait of the officers of the 1st WIR and depicts eighteen officers (one can barely be seen between the heads of two of his colleagues) posing in their battle fatigues (see figure 4.27). This uniform presents them as more combat ready than the more formal dress uniform worn in the studio portrait. The men pose assertively yet seem relaxed. Ten of the men are standing, six are seated on the ground, and after a close look it is clear that two of the officers are seated on the wheels of a gun carriage. Four men stand around the gun, hiding it except for the muzzle. This muzzle is the most noticeable component of the photograph, surrounded by dark uniforms its lighter colour is more prominent. Its perfect circular shape and black centre also make it very visible in a photograph of men who are all dressed identically. To further draw attention to it, and its possible power, the faces of the men directly above it and underneath it look in the direction that it would fire. The confidence exuded by the officers in this photograph through their stances and facial expressions, combined with the threat of violence implied by the gun's positioning, presents them as a force to be reckoned with. At a time when stories of their cruelty had caused some in their number to face criticism and even court-martial, this photograph is striking in its efforts not to try and present the friendlier and less aggressive side of the men. In doing this it shows

that those involved truly believed in their innocence and their duty to carry out such acts of brutality.

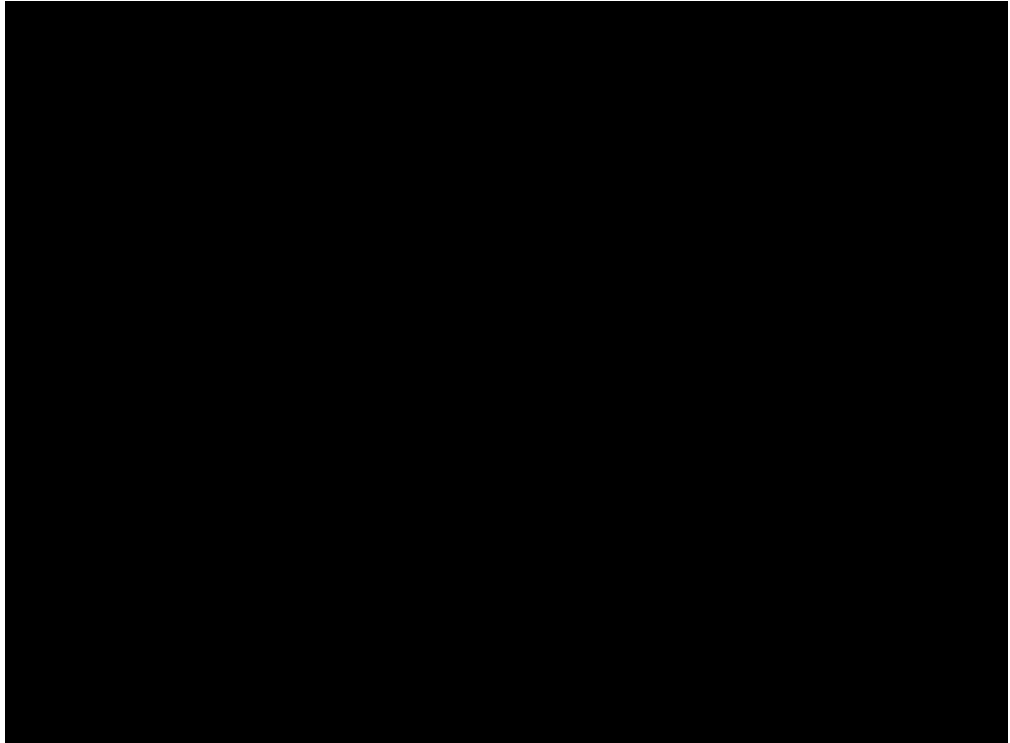


Figure 4.27: Anon, ca.1865, Portrait of Officers in Jamaica taken after the Morant Bay Rebellion, William Walker Whitehall Johnston Photograph Album of Wales, the West Indies, and the 1st West India Regiment, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven

A group portrait of the NCOs emphasises this message even further (see figure 4.28). In it fourteen NCOs stand under a large tree at Up Park Camp. Some of the men carry their packs and all their equipment, ready to head out on campaign or to crush a disturbance. The portrayal of this battle readiness is important in the context of the rebellion, especially the stories that circulated about the Regiments' actions whilst on the march. Colonel Whitfield had written on 12 November 1865 that 'it has an immense moral effect to show that the troops are available, and can at any moment be located even in the interior districts' and this photograph definitely demonstrates the importance of these ideas.³³⁰ The men's packs and rifles

³³⁰ Colonel Whitfield to the Private Secretary, 12 November 1865, Papers Relating to the Insurrection in Jamaica. Despatches between Governor Eyre and Edward Cardwell, M.P., Colonial Office, 7 December 1865.

demonstrate that they are not just ready to respond to any threat quickly, but with violence. The aim of this photograph seems to be to invoke (or maintain) fear following the rebellion, and it is therefore not a photograph that is uncomfortable to look at. Thanks to the photographer ensuring that the audience look directly into the eyes of the NCOs the scene appears to be more intimidating. The importance of these intimidating gazes to the overall representation of the men is further reinforced by the fact that the eyes seem to have been etched in during the production process. Thinking that the eyes and therefore some of the stares of the NCOs had been lost, the photographer has clearly artificially altered the photograph to add them in. This more threatening style of photograph and intention of circulation distinguishes these photographs from the photographs of the men of the WIRs carrying out drill exercises and lining up on parade in chapter two. Although both sets of photographs demonstrate the loyalty of the black rank and file, and the control of the white officers, in the photographs featured in Chapter Three the threat of force is far less explicit.

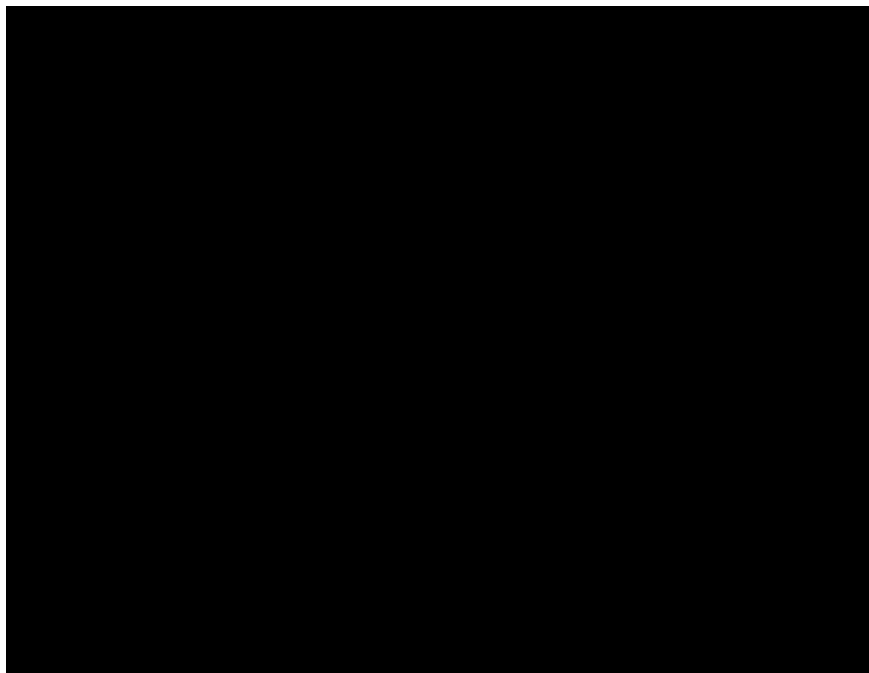


Figure 4.28: Anon, ca.1865, WIR NCOs, William Walker Whitehall Johnston, Photograph Album of Wales, the West Indies, and the 1st West India Regiment, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven

The next photograph in this section of the album depicts both the black and white men of Johnston's Regiment (see figure 4.29). Twenty non-commissioned officers and enlisted men of the 1st WIR sit under the same tree as the previous photograph. The men are in two rows, eleven men sit whilst nine stand. There are three white officers in the photograph as well as two white NCOs. Although the officers are on the same level as their men and sit casually amongst them, the way in which the front line has been arranged around them shows that hierarchy was still important enough to be visually emphasised. The line is arranged as follows: two NCOs one officer, two NCOs one officer, two NCOs one officer, two NCOs and is therefore fully symmetrical with the middle officer being just off the centre of the photograph. Everyone else in the line is placed in relation to him. Furthermore, the men seated around the other two officers do not face the front but turn sideways, framing and drawing attention to the officers that they have been placed around. Though all of the men are integrated, it is clear who has control. As mentioned earlier, it was important for photographs to emphasise the discipline and subservience of the black rank and file after stories had circulated about their lack of discipline and their excessive and seemingly uncontrolled use of violence in some cases. Even when lapses of discipline had not occurred, officers' containment of their men was important visually, as demonstrated in Chapter Three.³³¹

³³¹ See figures 3.1, 3.3, and 3.4, pp. 80-5.

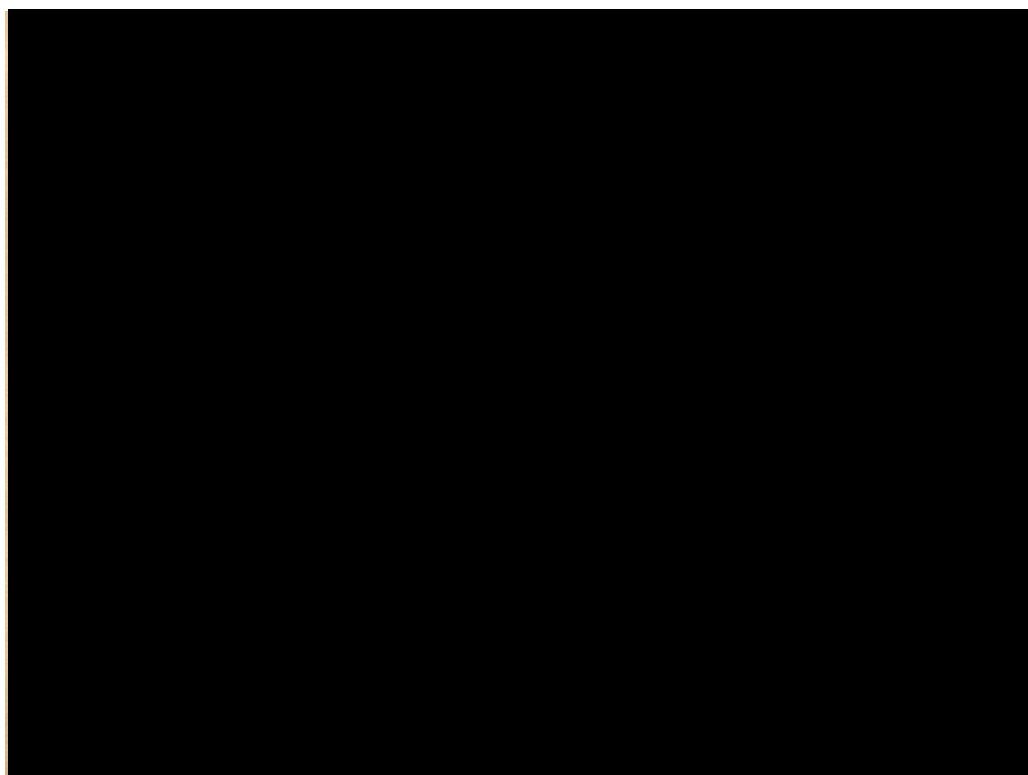


Figure 4.29: Anon, ca.1865, Officers and NCOs of the WIR, William Walker Whitehall Johnston Photograph Album of Wales, the West Indies, and the 1st West India Regiment, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven

At first glance, no weaponry can be seen in the photograph, but a closer look reveals that some of the men are sitting on the parts of two disassembled guns that are scattered on the grass. Some of the men even sit on the wheels. This photograph emphasises how easy weapons were to take apart, transport, and put together. Like the previous two photographs it highlights both the ease with which the men of the WIRs could leave their barracks and respond to any threat and the weapons that were available to them. It is through this photograph that we are given a hint that Johnston may have taken this group of photographs himself or at least developed them. It features on two subsequent pages of his album in exactly the same format. In its first iteration we can see four smudges near the bottom of the print. Three are clustered on the right, and one is in the left corner. However, on the following page, only one smudge like mark has made its way onto the print (figure 4.30). If Johnston did produce this photograph himself, he may have been unhappy with the initial results and decided to repeat the process to try and erase some of the errors he had made

first time around demonstrating that the photographs had meaning to Johnston. Pasting both photographs into his album following each other would have allowed him to review the improvements that he had been able to make. The final finish of the photograph seems to have been as important as the message he hoped his photograph would carry, that the Regiments' black and white men were unified in cause and motive, confident in their abilities, and ready to respond with violence as soon as they were called upon to do so. The WIRs' role as a violent force extended beyond the Morant Bay rebellion therefore. Their continued presence in Jamaica and the West Indies more generally served as a warning and a reassurance. Their necessity in maintaining the status quo was essential to post-rebellion Jamaica's security.

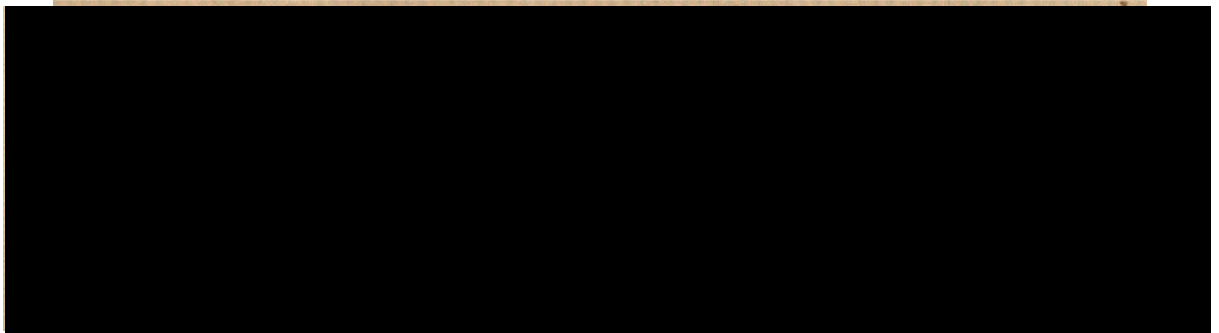


Figure 4.30: William Walker Whitehall Johnston, ca. 1865, Johnston's possible original and reprint of the photograph, William Walker Whitehall Johnston Photograph Album of Wales, the West Indies, and the 1st West India Regiment, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University New Haven

Conclusions

The photographic archive of the Morant Bay rebellion, as represented by Gulland's and Johnston's albums, can tell us a lot about the contribution of the WIRs' men, both black and white, to the suppression of the rebellion. Their contribution, although clearly outlined in the primary sources and secondary literature, is not acknowledged in current writing about the event's photographic representation. Scenes in which they acted have been discussed without referencing them, and photographs that men of the WIRs (white or black) are present in have also been mostly ignored or not analysed. It is important to draw attention to representations of the WIRs at the time of the rebellion because their contribution to the deaths of those deemed rebels was significant. Officers from the Regiments were key to the military decision-making during the rebellion, they contributed to the trials of rebels and the controversial trial of Gordon, and the rank and file were used to celebrate heroes of the rebellion such as Governor Eyre and the Maroons.

As well as looking at Gulland's album again to remedy the lack of acknowledgement of the WIRs in the literature so far, the album can also be compared to Johnston's. This comparison highlights that Johnston's album seems to distance him from some of the rebellion's most controversial figures in a way that Gulland's does not. Where Gulland seems to demonstrate sympathy, Johnston fails to acknowledge at all. The image of the WIRs following the Morant Bay rebellion was therefore contested with regards to the photographs collected by these two men. Both men however, give little attention to the black rank and file of the WIRs. The single photograph that includes just one WIR sergeant does not represent the aggressive role that the black rank and file had in the rebellion's suppression. The more passive role assigned to the sergeant as the sole representative of the black rank

and file in the photographic archive could have been a reaction to the unsavoury stories that were in circulation about his overzealous colleagues like Drummer Phillips. These stories implied that the black rank and file were not well-disciplined and could not be trusted to follow orders even if they could be trusted to remain loyal. They were a source of embarrassment for their commanders who were celebrated in photographs as ‘celebrities’ and the true saviours of the island. It was not until the dust had settled and military life in Jamaica had returned to normal that Johnston decided to capture the black rank and file in a series of photographs at the end of his album. These photographs were used to demonstrate the battle readiness of the black rank and file and reinforce the fact that within the Regiments, white and black were united in spite of those who may have thought otherwise.

The passive role assigned to the sergeant in Gulland’s photograph could also reflect the connections of the WIRs to changing ideas about race and empire that surfaced from the rebellion and its suppression. It demonstrated to particular audiences that men of African descent could be made to behave and perform like their white counterparts, challenging views of those like Carlyle who argued that such progress was impossible. When stories and beliefs about the innate savagery of black Jamaicans were in circulation, so was the photograph of the sergeant stressing that those of so-called ‘inferior’ races could be controlled and contribute to the British Empire as a result. The image, along with Johnston’s photographs taken at a later date, supports the arguments of historians such as Cooper and Stoler, who state that ‘colonial dichotomies of ruler and ruled, white and black, coloniser and colonised only reflected part of the reality in which people lived’.³³² The rebellion was viewed in England mostly in terms of race, as is demonstrated by the hardening of racial attitudes later, but images of the WIRs demonstrate that viewing it in such

³³² Stoler and Cooper, ‘Between Metropole and Colony, Rethinking a Research Agenda’, p. 31.

terms was rather simplistic. Not all black inhabitants of Jamaica were to be feared by the white colonial population, some were on the side of the colonisers against the colonised.

Over 150 years after the first photographs of the rebellion were circulated. The National Museum of Jamaica's *Uprising* exhibition highlighted some of the issues that have arisen from the lack of representation of the black rank and file in the rebellion's photographic archive. In a panel titled 'the suppression of the uprising' a photograph of a WIR soldier from a tourist's album compiled in 1868 is used to represent the aggressive role of the black rank and file (see figure 4.31). The photograph from Gulland's album is featured in another panel and was clearly seen as an inadequate representation to accompany stories of suppression (see figure 4.32). The lack of photographs of the WIR's black rank and file taken at the time, have therefore had a significant impact on their modern-day representation and connection to the events of the rebellion.

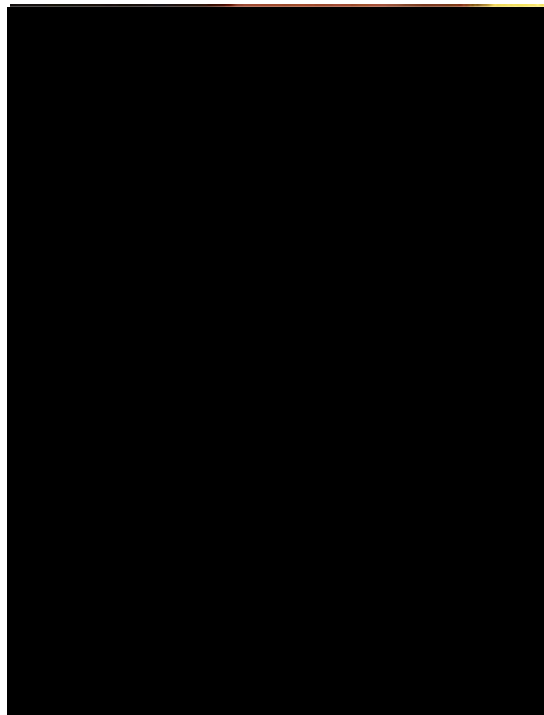


Figure 4.31: Author's own image, 2016, 'The Suppression of the Uprising' Exhibition Panel, Uprising, Institute of Jamaica, Kingston

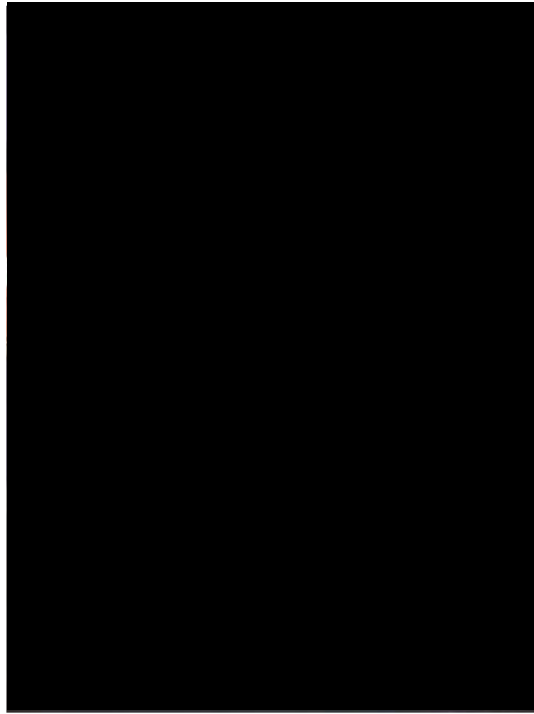


Figure 4.32: Author's own image, 2016, The photograph of the WIR Sergeant's place in the exhibition, Uprising, Institute of Jamaica, Kingston

Chapter Five:

Framing War: The 1898 Hut Tax War, Sierra Leone

Introduction: From Jamaica's East Coast to Africa's West Coast

The role of West India Regiment troops in suppressing rebellious black populations extended across the Atlantic to British interests in West Africa, where formal colonial control was being expanded. Just over thirty years after the Morant Bay rebellion, the troops of the WIR were involved in suppressing an uprising in Sierra Leone, widely believed to be against the initiation of a Hut Tax that aimed to raise revenue by taxing each dwelling in the protectorate.³³³ As with the Morant Bay rebellion, a keen military photographer was at hand to capture events, and his photographs are the focus of this chapter. His photographs and memoirs provide a glance not only into the largely publicised progress of an expedition to suppress unrest in the African hinterland, but also into the racial and military hierarchies present at a colonial military outpost in the late 1890s.

The WIRs played a significant role in securing British colonial territory across West Africa. Just a year after events at Morant Bay, Private Samuel Hodge of the 4th WIR was awarded the Victoria Cross for his actions during the march on the stockaded village of Tubab Kolon in Gambia.³³⁴ In 1873, when the Ashanti invaded the Gold Coast Protectorate, the 2nd WIR were heavily involved in its defence and received battle honours for their efforts.³³⁵ The WIR also served in the later Ashanti

³³³ See Joe A. D. Alie, *A New History of Sierra Leone* (London, 1990), pp. 135-40 for a brief summary of the circumstances surrounding the tax.

³³⁴ Dyde, *The Empty Sleeve*, pp. 195-6; See Chapter Three pp.103-21 for more information about Hodge's Victoria Cross.

³³⁵ See Dyde, *The Empty Sleeve*, pp. 198-205 for details about the WIRs' involvement in the Ashanti Wars.

expedition of 1895-6. As well as serving in emergency situations, detachments were placed to guard posts across the region. Troops were stationed in the Gambia sporadically before the final detachment was re-established in 1891 and withdrawn in 1895. Detachments were also sent from Sierra Leone to Lagos, where they had quarters until 1873.³³⁶ Their presence in Africa has been widely referenced in the literature, but no analysis of photographs of the men in West Africa has taken place. Instead photographs of the men of the WIRs in this region have often been used only for illustrative purposes.

The WIRs had been present in Sierra Leone for nearly a century before the photographer at the centre of this chapter headed to Freetown. They had established themselves in the colony as conquerors, defenders, and even settlers, and had left their mark on the landscape in numerous ways. The first contact many Sierra Leoneans will have had with the Regiments would have been through the recruiting station established on Bance (now Bunce) Island in the Sierra Leone River in 1812. The recruiting station closed in 1816, but in 1818 it was decided to garrison the West African coast with WIR soldiers, and the Regiments again had a permanent base on the West African Coastline.³³⁷ As well as garrisoning the colony, in 1819 the 4th WIR were disbanded there, given land, farming tools, and a pension of 5d a day.³³⁸ The area in which they settled became known as Soldier Town and later they settled in other areas that eventually carried the names of places, battles, and wars they had fought in.³³⁹ By the time the soldiers who fought in the Hut Tax Expedition arrived in Sierra Leone, the practice of one battalion serving in Sierra Leone and one in the

³³⁶ S. C. Ukpabi, 'West Indian Troops and the Defence of British West Africa in the Nineteenth Century', p. 138.

³³⁷ Dyde, *The Empty Sleeve*, pp. 122-3.

³³⁸ Fyfe, *A History of Sierra Leone*, p. 136. Also see pp. 170-1 for information about village life for disbanded WIR soldiers in the 1820s.

³³⁹ Blyden, *West Indians in West Africa: The African Diaspora in Reverse*, pp. 33-5.

West Indies with an exchange every three years had become routine. In the decade leading up to the Hut Tax Expedition, the Regiment had seen significant action in Sierra Leone's hinterland, even fighting alongside the war chief they would struggle against in 1898 in an expedition against the Tambi in 1892, for which they again received battle honours and for which Lance-Corporal William Gordon won his Victoria Cross.³⁴⁰ In 1893, WIR troops were involved in the highly publicised Waima Incident, the only occasion where Europeans fired on one another during the 'scramble for Africa'.³⁴¹

The conflict in Sierra Leone in 1898, documented by the photographs in this chapter, was widely believed to be caused by the Hut Tax, a tax on homes initiated by Governor Frederic Cardew to raise money for the administration of the Protectorate. From the outset, those in the Protectorate widely opposed the tax. In December 1896 Temne chiefs sent a petition to the District Commissioner of Karene (where violence would first break out) calling for exemption. In 1897, a further petition was sent to the Acting Governor.³⁴² Opposition mostly stemmed from the belief that paying the tax implied that local people were renting their homes from the government. Others simply believed that they would be unable to pay. Regardless of this, Governor Cardew brought the tax into effect on 1 January 1898, dismissing concerns about potential unrest amongst local chiefs whom he believed lacked the unity to mount a serious resistance.

The Hut Tax War, as it later became known, actually consisted of two separate uprisings of very different natures. In the north, a rebellion amongst the Temne broke out in February 1898. Led by Bai Bureh it targeted British forces only. In April 1898, a different rebellion broke out amongst the Mende and neighbouring

³⁴⁰ See Fyfe, *A History of Sierra Leone*, p. 503 for details of this expedition.

³⁴¹ See Alie, *A New History of Sierra Leone*, pp. 125-6 for a description of the incident.

³⁴² Alie, *A New History of Sierra Leone*, pp. 135-7.

groups in the south. This rebellion was organised by a secret network known as the Poro society and targeted all those affiliated to European rule including missionaries and Creole traders.³⁴³ This chapter will focus on action in the north in which the WIR was involved between February and the defeat of the majority of Bai Bureh's troops in May. Bai Bureh himself was not captured until November however.³⁴⁴ WIR involvement began when during an attempt to arrest Bai Bureh, the District Commissioner and Frontier Police came under attack from hostile townspeople. Fighting broke out that the Frontier Police were unable to control and the Governor was forced to send reinforcements to the Karene District.

Major General Charles Howard Foulkes: The Photographer, his Camera, and his Methods

Charles Howard Foulkes was sent to Sierra Leone in 1897, aged twenty-two. He had been commissioned into the Army as a Second Lieutenant in the Royal Engineers in 1894, and Sierra Leone was his first international posting, just three years after he began his training at Chatham. Foulkes went on to have a successful military career and found fame when he became Britain's chief advisor on gas warfare. In 1917 he became General Officer Commanding the Special Brigade responsible for Chemical Warfare and Director of Gas Services.³⁴⁵ Prior to this, he was already an established wartime innovator. When given just five days to organise a photographic reconnaissance section before heading to the front during the Second Boer War in 1899, he oversaw the construction of two special bicycles that could carry equipment

³⁴³ La Ray Denzer and Michael Crowder, 'Bai Bureh and the Sierra Leone Hut Tax War of 1898', in Michael Crowder (ed.), *Colonial West Africa: Collected Essays* (London, 1978), p. 61.

³⁴⁴ J.D. Hargreaves, 'The Establishment of the Sierra Leone Protectorate and the Insurrection of 1898', *Cambridge Historical Journal*, 12:1 (1956), p. 69.

³⁴⁵ For a summary of Foulkes' career please see the catalogue summary of the Foulkes papers, available at <http://www.kingscollections.org/assets/components/archiospdfbuilder/?docid=1154> (accessed 2nd November 2015).

capable of taking several weeks' worth of photographs.³⁴⁶ He also designed cameras that could be used 'under cover' for secret reconnaissance missions, and in 1902, was possibly arrested for putting these methods into practice in Martinique.³⁴⁷

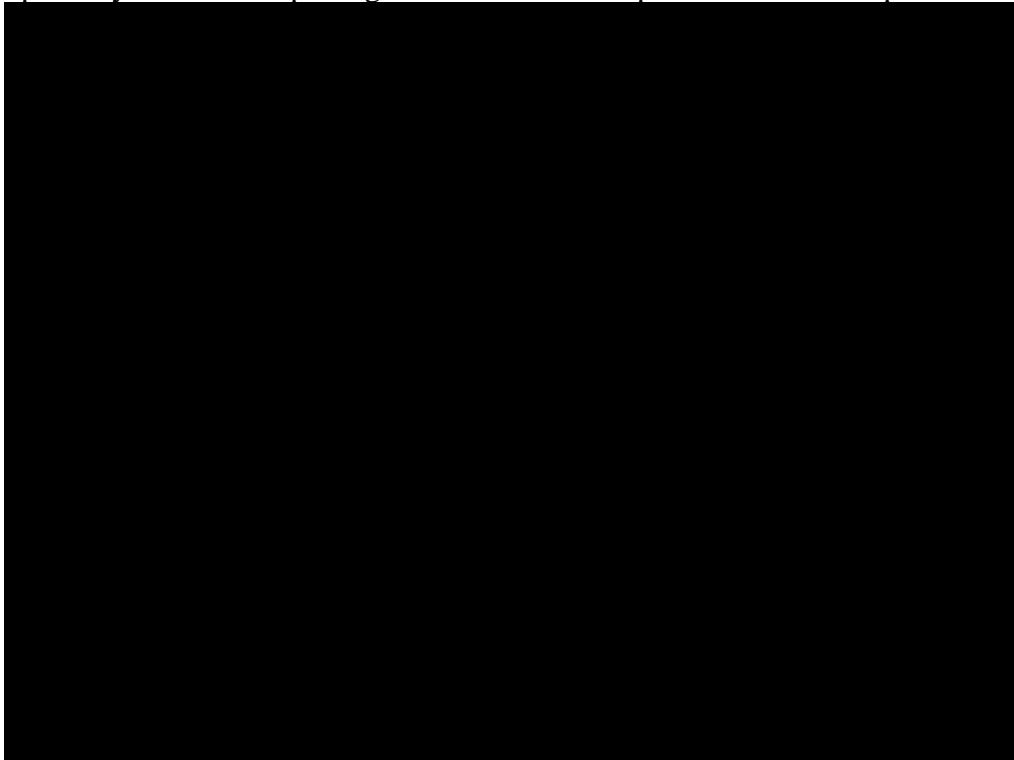


Figure 5.1: Charles Howard Foulkes, 1897-1898, a page from Foulkes' Sierra Leone album recording progress on an engineering project at Signal Hill Fort, Foulkes 3/13 Photograph album relating to Sierra Leone, LHCMA, Kings College London

Alongside these more innovative projects, photography was an important part of Foulkes' more routine daily duties. He had been trained in the use of photographic equipment at Chatham, where a photography school had been formally established in 1856. For years this school housed Captain William de Wiveleslie Abney whose *Instruction in Photography* first published in 1874, would likely have given Foulkes his first introductions to the craft.³⁴⁸ Abney believed in the artistic potential of photography and stated that 'to become a good photographer...it is necessary to turn

³⁴⁶ Liddell Hart Centre for Military Archives, (hereafter LHCMA), Foulkes 3/2, Annotated typescript of *Photography in Military Reconnaissance*, p. 31.

³⁴⁷ LHCMA, Foulkes 4/6, Draft and working papers for the unpublished memoir *Adventures of an Engineer Subaltern*, p. 134.

³⁴⁸ For information on the Royal Engineers and photography see Chapter 3 'The Art of Campaigning' in Ryan, *Picturing Empire*, pp. 73-98.

to it with an artistic and scientific mind'.³⁴⁹ The scientific potential of photography rather than the artistic allure seems to be what captured Foulkes' imagination however, and he sought further instruction on the medium's scientific possibilities in Sierra Leone from Captain Eckersley of the Royal Army Medical Corps.³⁵⁰ The collection of photographs in Foulkes' Sierra Leone album make it clear that he particularly embraced photography as a documentary tool. He used photographs as a means of recording progress on his engineering assignments and also to document those he came across whether they were from local tribes, other army units, and supporting staff (see figure 5.1).³⁵¹ The extent to which photography was a part of Foulkes working days is clear from his diaries detailing the photographs he captured and printed, the materials he ordered to do so, and the quality of his outputs.³⁵² Photography was also an important leisure activity for Foulkes, and his camera accompanied him on his many escapes into the Sierra Leonean interior, whether he was hunting a hippopotamus, taking a trip downriver, or bathing in the hills (see figure 5.2).³⁵³

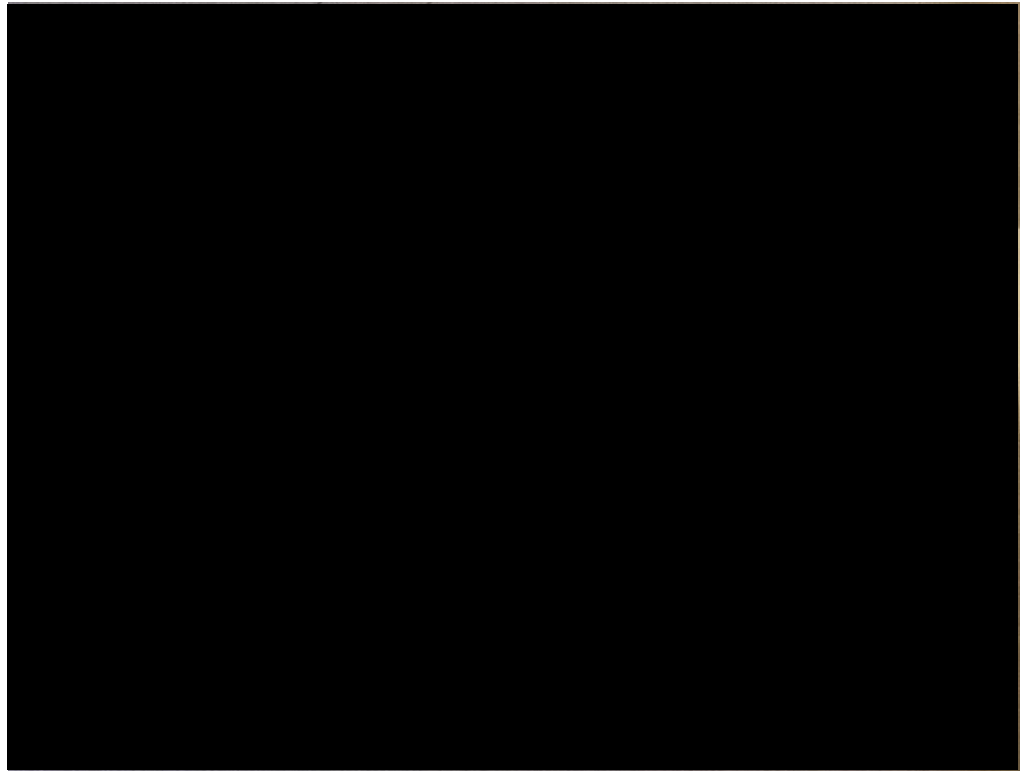
³⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 82.

³⁵⁰ LHCMA, Foulkes 4/1, Draft and working papers for the unpublished memoir *Adventures of an Engineer Subaltern*, p. 18.

³⁵¹ For photographs covering similar themes collected by a WIR officer in Sierra Leone please see National Army Museum Archives, 1992-06-6: Collection of 223 postcards sent home by Lieutenant C. D. Harris, West India Regiment

³⁵² LHCMA, Foulkes 2/1, Diary, Sierra Leone, 1901.

³⁵³ LHCMA, Foulkes 4/1, Draft and working papers for the unpublished memoir *Adventures of an Engineer Subaltern*, pp. 18-19. See also LHCMA, Foulkes 3/2, Annotated typescript of *Photography in Military Reconnaissance*, plate 20.



*Figure 5.2: Charles Howard Foulkes, 1897-1898, 'Officers Bathing', Foulkes 3/13
Photograph album relating to Sierra Leone, LHCMA, Kings College London*

The Sierra Leone album is one of five available for consultation amongst Foulkes' papers, all of which correspond to Foulkes' major tours of duty. His papers and photographs were deposited at the Liddell Hart Centre for Military Archives at King's College London throughout the 1980s.³⁵⁴ There are also a number of Foulkes' photographs in the archives at Chatham, but these are not mounted in albums and are available to view as loose individual prints.³⁵⁵ In depositing the documents and photograph albums, Foulkes' photographs became public. However, these particular photographs have not been discussed in print before despite the wealth of knowledge they could contribute to writing about the Hut Tax Expedition, 'small wars' in Africa, and life in a colonial military outpost. As well as an album for Sierra Leone, Foulkes collated two albums depicting his time on the Anglo-French

³⁵⁴ Information obtained from the Lianne Smith, Archive Services Manager at the LHCMA. The archive can be contacted at archives.web@kcl.ac.uk.

³⁵⁵ See Royal Engineers Library, Gillingham, 5/28 Foulkes. The ability to consult some of Foulkes' photographs as loose prints revealed some new content that was not possible to decipher when viewing the photograph in the album.

Boundary Commission between 1902 and 1903, one for the Boer War between 1899 and 1900, and one for his time in the West Indies in 1902.³⁵⁶ All of these albums track the progress of Foulkes' work projects as well as recording more general scenery of the locations he visited and the people he encountered there. The arrangement of each of the four albums varies slightly. His South Africa album is arranged by location and presumably date. The two albums documenting his work on the Anglo-French Boundary Commission are similarly arranged. In the West Indies and Sierra Leone albums the same locations and themes are not grouped together as neatly.

Foulkes' album on Sierra Leone is organised into four clear sections, of which the Hut Tax expedition is one. Pages twenty-seven to thirty-two (the final page) are dedicated to it, making up roughly one sixth of the album. The three preceding sections are organised around Foulkes' other major projects whilst in Sierra Leone. The first is devoted to the landscapes and people of Sierra Leone and serves almost as an introduction that sets the scene for the more specific sections later. The majority of the photographs in this section could have been taken during his first assignment supervising the construction of new defences for Freetown after it became a first-class coaling station. The majority of the photographs in the second section focus on the construction of the barracks at Wilberforce for the newly recruited West African Regiment. In the third section there are photographs from Bathurst and Accra making it clear that the album is not ordered chronologically, as according to his memoirs Foulkes actually visited the Gambia in 1901.³⁵⁷

³⁵⁶ See LHCMA, Foulkes 3/3 Photograph album relating to the Boer War, 3/23, Photograph album relating to the Northern Nigeria and the Anglo-French Boundary Commission, 3/24 Photograph album relating to the Northern Nigeria and the Anglo-French Boundary Commission, 3/49 Photograph album relating to the West Indies.

³⁵⁷ LHCMA Foulkes 4/4 Draft and working papers for the unpublished memoir *Adventures of an Engineer Subaltern*, p. 108.

Foulkes' archive gives us an insight not only into his thoughts about those he was photographing, but also his photographic methods. An annotated manuscript of 'Photography in Military Reconnaissance', a book drafted to include reflections and guidance on the use of photography in war, exploration, and military reconnaissance accompanies his memoir and photograph albums. Foulkes sent this work to the War Office in 1899 and updated it in 1901, but the manuscript has remained unpublished. Foulkes took all his photographs using a Newman and Guardia Twin Lens camera, selected by him due the opportunity it provided him with to see his subjects at full size instead of through a finder, and to focus accurately. This large leather-covered camera cost him around sixty pounds and served him well throughout his career, with some peeled leather and the replacement of the T spirit levels being the only issues it ever had.³⁵⁸ His relationship with his camera was therefore a close one, in which it served as his only consistent companion on his numerous assignments.



Figure 5.3: Author's own images, 2015, Foulkes' camera looking down into the viewfinder and rear view, Royal Engineers Museum Library and Archive, Chatham

³⁵⁸ LHCMA Foulkes 4/1 Draft and working papers for the unpublished memoir *Adventures of an Engineer Subaltern*, p. 19.

Today, Foulkes' camera is held at Chatham, which enables some consideration of the material practicalities of how Foulkes captured photographs in Sierra Leone (see figure 5.3). The camera weighs 4.38kg and is therefore quite difficult to quickly manoeuvre. Using the camera to take landscape photographs without the use of a tripod will have been tricky, as the supporting handle is best positioned for taking portraits. The front face of the camera is 24cm high and around 17cm wide, with each side being 28cm long. This large size means that Foulkes would have had to position his camera close to his body in order to fully support and stabilise it, as can be seen in figure 5.4. Taking photographs would have been very intimate and personal, especially in the sticky tropical heat of Sierra Leone, with camera stuck to torso almost as closely as his clothes most likely were. The sheer discomfort of this makes it likely that when time made it possible he would have used a tripod.

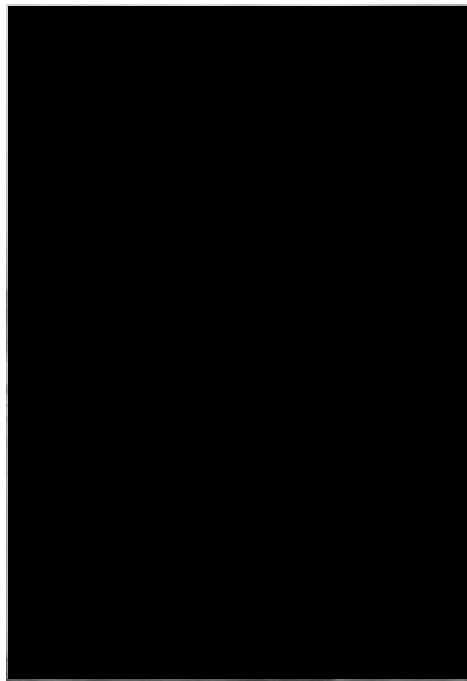


Figure 5.4: Anon., 1904, Foulkes with camera in the West Indies, Foulkes 5/28, Royal Engineers Museum Library and Archive, Chatham

Changing the plates is also a difficult task, as the plates slide into the bottom of the camera making it awkward to do so whilst portrait photographs are being

taken, especially if attached to a tripod (see figure 5.5). Achieving a seamless transition between shots whilst handling the thin and fragile glass plates and moving them to and from the camera to a changing bag for safe-keeping would have been near impossible in any unfolding conflict situation, explaining why Foulkes' photographs capture only the precursors or aftermath to any action. In Sierra Leone, Foulkes used 5" to 4" plates, adapting the neglected 12" to 10" plates of a native photographer in Freetown with a glazer's diamond when he ran out of these.³⁵⁹ His decision to use plates instead of roll film was due to his belief that negatives on the latter deteriorated much more quickly in hot and damp climates and that glass plates were more hardy and reliable.³⁶⁰ Although he did acknowledge concerns that plates were liable to breakage, he outlined that those of a small size were very rarely damaged and that even when broken the plate's gelatine film generally remained intact, allowing a good quality print still to be taken.³⁶¹ Even before his photos were taken therefore, preservation was his key concern, stressing the importance of Foulkes' photographs as historical documents.

³⁵⁹ LHCMA Foulkes 3/2 Annotated typescript of *Photography in Military Reconnaissance*, p. 43.

³⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 70-1.

³⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 19.



Figure 5.5: Author's own image, 2015, The bottom of Foulkes' camera where plates are stored and changed, author's own image, Royal Engineers Museum Library and Archive, Chatham

When on campaign, Foulkes had to carry all of the supplies he might need from the outset and relied on a number of carriers.³⁶² He believed that his camera was 'rather bulky' and therefore had someone else carry the camera itself whilst in Africa.³⁶³ This carrier (or carriers) remains unacknowledged in Foulkes' memoir and album. Whether they were amongst Foulkes' personal servants or hammock boys who are pictured in the album, we cannot know (see figures 5.6 to 5.8). Foulkes developed a speedy method of printing photographs and was able to carry out the whole process from the exposure of the plate to the production of the print in the space of seven minutes without assistance.³⁶⁴ Whoever carried his equipment was therefore not required (or perhaps not trusted) to aid him in the production process. Converting most rooms into makeshift dark rooms by nailing a blanket over the windows, he was able to expose and print his photographs wherever he found a building. He was even able to develop plates moderately quickly in open air under a tropical moon, working in the shadows, keeping the developing dish covered to

³⁶² *Ibid*, p. 71.

³⁶³ LHCMA Foulkes 4/1 Draft and working papers for the unpublished memoir *Adventures of an Engineer Subaltern*, p. 19.

³⁶⁴ LHCMA Foulkes 3/2 Annotated typescript of *Photography in Military Reconnaissance*, p. 23

protect the plate, and examining the negative occasionally by reflected light.³⁶⁵

Although Foulkes printed photographs whilst on campaign, those included in this album were likely printed later from negatives taken in Sierra Leone and carefully mounted on to the album's pages.

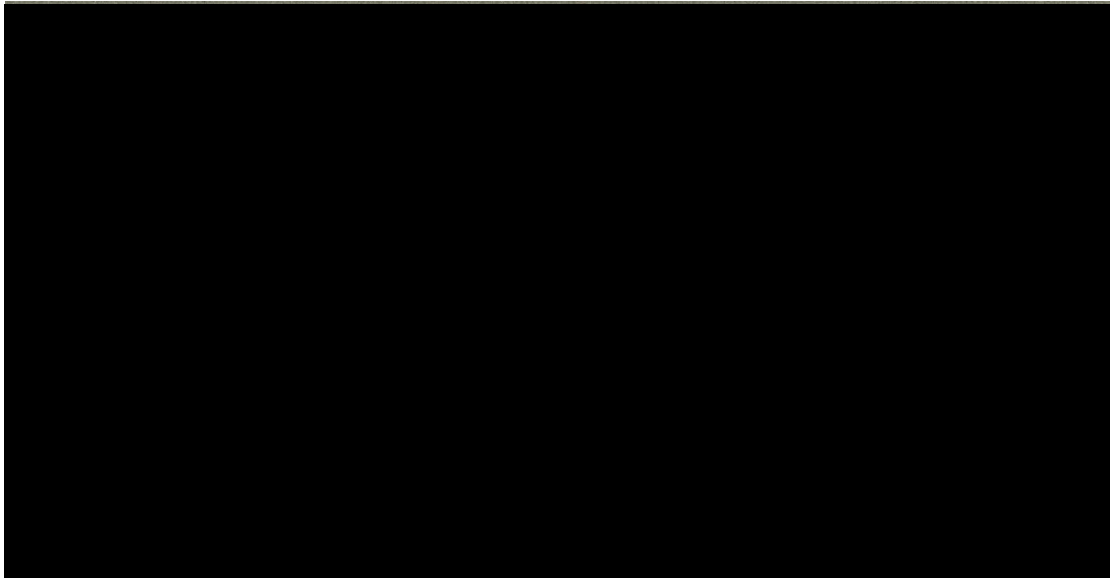


Figure 5.6: Charles Howard Foulkes, 1897-1898, 'My hammock team', Foulkes 3/13 Photograph album relating to Sierra Leone, LHCMA, Kings College London



Figure 5.7: Charles Howard Foulkes, 1897-1898, 'Farna', Foulkes 3/13 Photograph album relating to Sierra Leone, LHCMA, Kings College London

³⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 68.



Figure 5.8: Charles Howard Foulkes, 1897-1898, 'Sorriebah', Foulkes 3/13 Photograph album relating to Sierra Leone, LHCMA, Kings College London

Shooting the Hut Tax War

This chapter will focus on the WIR's contribution to the Hut Tax War as represented by Foulkes. Looking at Foulkes' photographs of the Regiment actively engaged in a conflict offers an important opportunity to view them working as 'real soldiers'. By this I am not suggesting that the Regiment did not engage with armed enemies in the Caribbean. The previous chapter on the Morant Bay Rebellion makes this clear.

Rather, I am suggesting that through Foulkes' album we are given a rare glimpse of the Regiment on active service instead of the more common and less dynamic photographs of them on the parade ground, in the barracks, or awaiting inspection that featured in Chapter Three. However, as will be outlined, Foulkes' memoirs reveal that he had a low opinion of the soldierly capability of the Regiment's black privates and his representation of them in his photographs of Sierra Leone reflects

this. An investigation will be made into whether Foulkes album presents the WIR as an effective military body of ‘real soldiers’ and what may have motivated him to present them in this way. Laray Denzer’s ‘A Diary of Bai Bureh’s War’, which uses files from the Sierra Leone Archives to construct a day by day account of the conflict, will be used to identify the dates, men, events and places depicted where necessary.³⁶⁶ The contemporary accounts of government and military figures on the ground, including Foulkes’ own memoir, will be used to provide valuable insights into the possible thoughts and beliefs of those captured in the album.³⁶⁷

Foulkes’ photographs also depict the Regiment in their campaign fatigues, rather than in the more picturesque and common Zouave uniform, helping to present a more ‘hands-on’ image. This is the greatest difference between his photographs of the Regiment and the majority of others in circulation. The Zouave uniform was introduced in 1858, it consisted of a braided scarlet sleeveless jacket, worn over a white waistcoat or shell jacket as pictured in figure 5.9. Dark blue breeches with a piped stripe were worn over leggings with white gaiters, and the heads of the privates were topped with a red fez with a turban cloth wound around it.³⁶⁸ This uniform was extremely elaborate and even more warm. It made the privates of the Regiment look picturesque and attractive to the eye so for parades and band performances it was ideal.³⁶⁹ However, for campaigns in West Africa it was extremely impractical and during the Ashanti Campaign of 1874, was found to be

³⁶⁶ Denzer, ‘A Diary of Bai Bureh’s War: Part I’; Denzer, ‘A Diary of the Bai Bureh War (continued): Part II’.

³⁶⁷ As well as Foulkes’ memoir the published accounts of the conflict by C. B. Wallis who served as an Assistant District Commissioner and Major Morgan who led the third battalion WIR are useful. Report by Her Majesty’s Commissioner and Correspondence on the subject of the Insurrection in the Sierra Leone Protectorate 1898, London Part 1 and Part 2, includes the evidence of some members of the WIR has also been useful to this regard.

³⁶⁸ W.D. Cribbs, ‘Campaign Dress of the West India Regiments’, *Army Historical Research*, LLXX:283 (1992), pp. 174-88 pp. 180-1.

³⁶⁹ See Chapters Three and Six for further opinions of the WIR’s Zouave uniform.

entirely unsuitable. Sir Garnet Wolseley, the Commander in Chief of that expedition arranged for new uniforms to be brought out from England that were dull in colour and made of lightweight material. The reactions of war correspondents were those of outrage. They chastised the unflattering uniform, which interestingly was the same as that worn by white soldiers, insisting that it did not suit black bodies. With opinions of the uniform ranging from G. A. Henty's belief that 'the negro so dressed looked like convict who had been hung until black in the face, and cut down' to Frederick Boyle's that 'no monkey that ever begged copper for an organ boy, presented an appearance more ridiculous than did this specimen soldier in helmet and suit of grey', the idea of the Regiments' privates looking like those dressed suitably for bush warfare was clearly not one that was embraced.³⁷⁰ As demonstrated in Chapter Three with the images where zouave turbans have been added to the heads of the soldiers, the WIR were expected to look exotic, and disappointed their viewers when they did not.³⁷¹

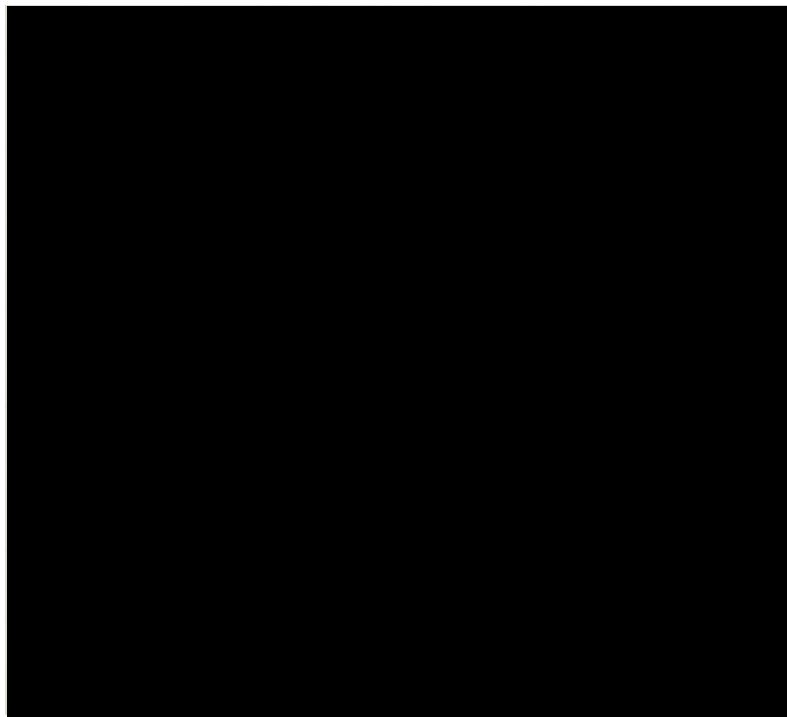


Figure 5.9: Anon., ca. 1899, 'Marching Order', reproduced in J. E. Caulfeild 100, Year's History of the Second West India Regiment (London, Forster Groom & Co, 1899), p.64

³⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 184.

³⁷¹ See figures 3.17 to 3.20, pp. 110-4.

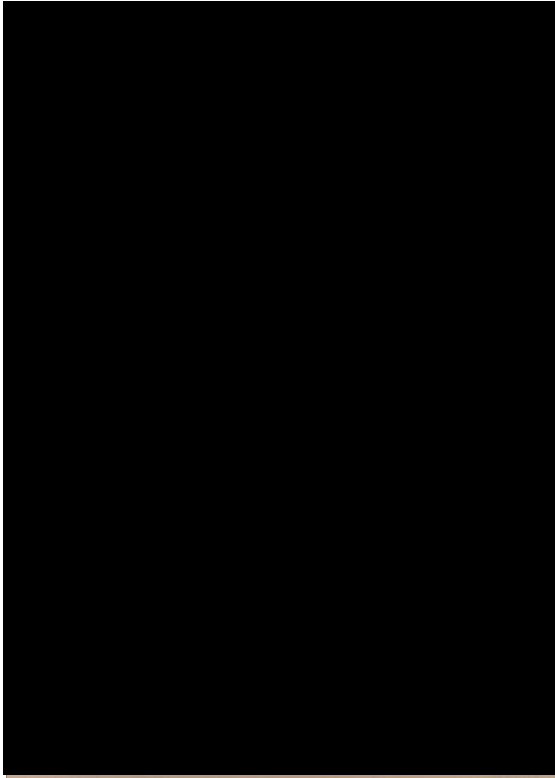
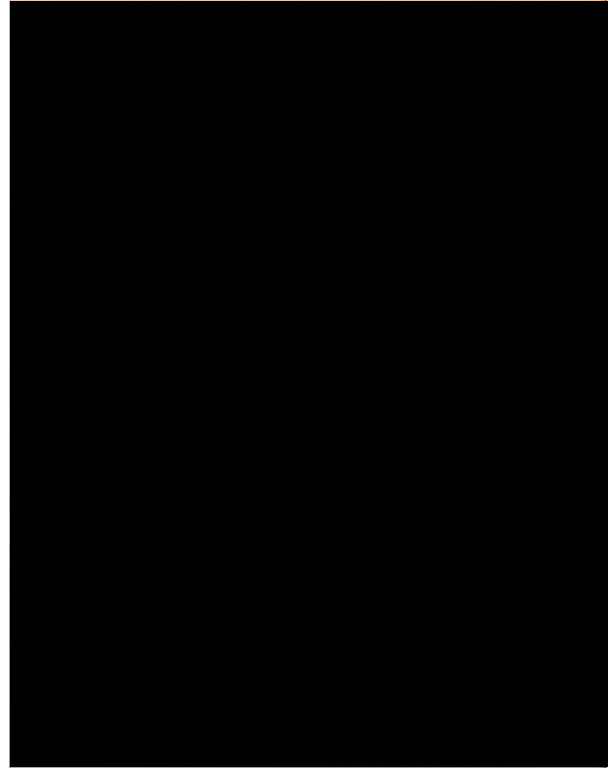


Figure 5.10: W. D. Cribbs, 1992, Illustration reproduced in, 'Campaign Dress of the West India Regiments', *Army Historical Research*, 283 (1992), pp. 180-1



Figures 5.11: W. D. Cribbs, 1992, Illustration reproduced in, 'Campaign Dress of the West India Regiments', *Army Historical Research*, 283 (1992), pp. 180-1

Unsurprisingly, the new grey uniform did not become standard issue, but by the time Foulkes was with the Regiment in Sierra Leone, a more practical campaign uniform had been brought into use. This uniform, as illustrated by W. D. Cribbs, consisted of a grey collarless shirt tucked into zouave breeches supported by braces (see figure 5.12). Leggings and boots were worn, but without gaiters, and one or two pouches for equipment were worn across the body. Also worn in Foulkes' photographs is the uniform consisting of a blue serge tunic and Zouave breeches (see figure 5.13). Foulkes did see privates in Zouave dress although it does not feature in his photographs and his belief in its impracticality of the Zouave uniform is clear from his comment that 'the thick cloth jacket is a perpetual poultice'.³⁷²

³⁷² LHCMA Foulkes 4/1 Draft and working papers for the unpublished memoir *Adventures of an Engineer Subaltern*, pp. 36-7.

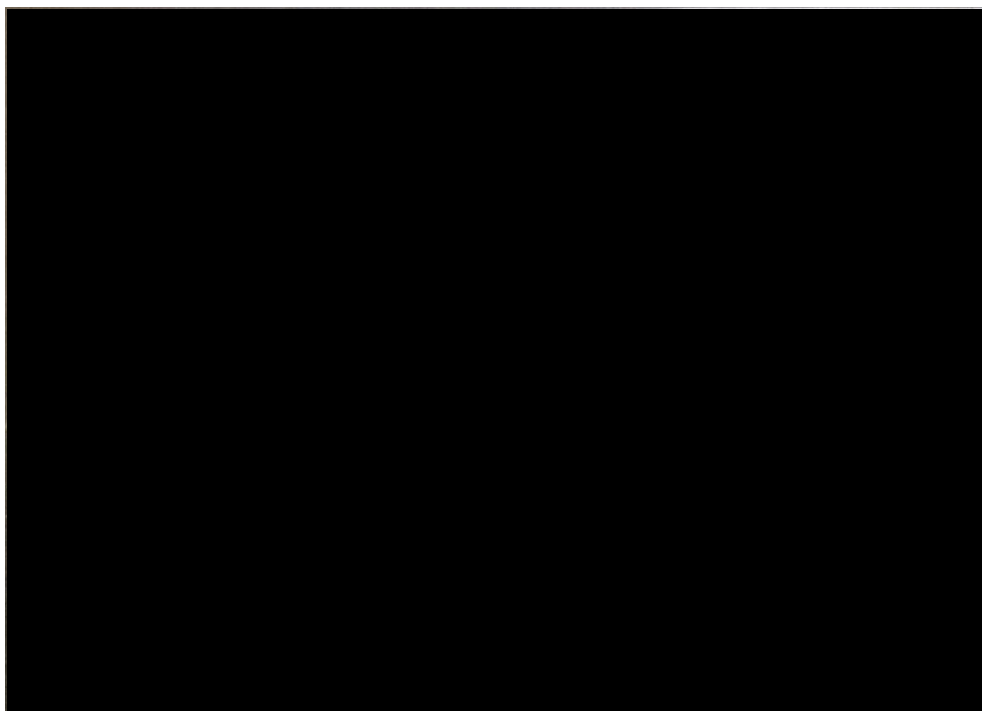


Figure 5.12: Charles Howard Foulkes, 1897-1898, The Regiment captured by Foulkes in the grey collarless shirt and zouave breeches as illustrated in figure 5.11, Foulkes 3/13 Photograph album relating to Sierra Leone, LHCMA, Kings College London

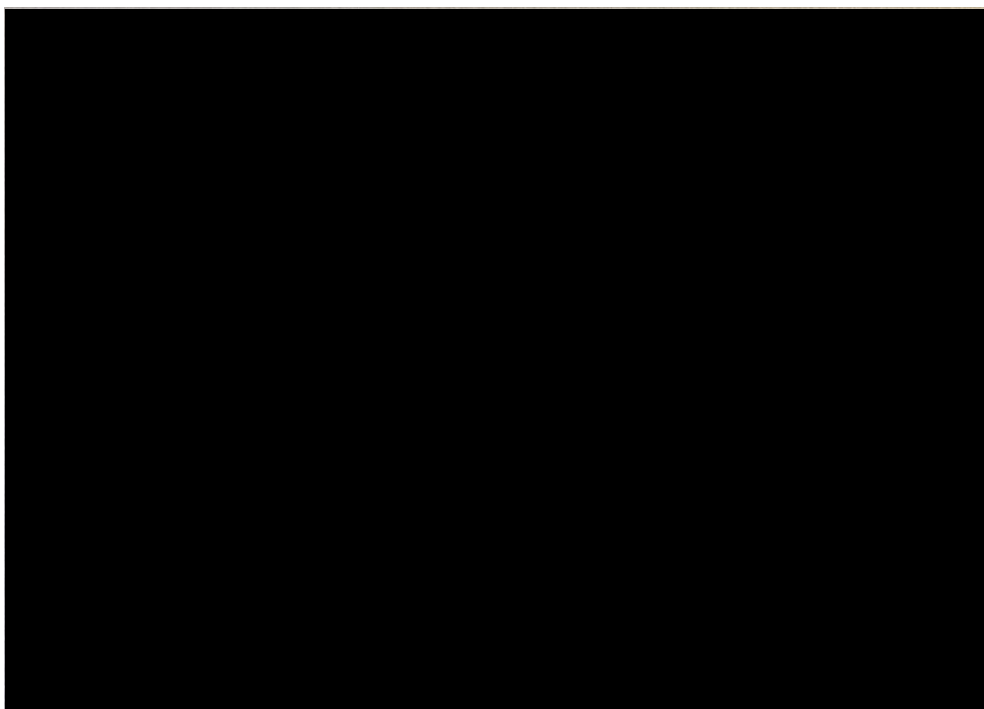


Figure 5.13: Charles Howard Foulkes, 1897-1898, The Regiment captured by Foulkes in the blue serge tunic and Zouave breeches as illustrated in figure 5.10, Foulkes 3/13 Photograph album relating to Sierra Leone, LHCMA, Kings College London

At first glance, Foulkes' images of the WIR in their more practical uniforms make the privates of the Regiment look like working soldiers, rather than soldiers whose role was to decorate the forts and barracks of peaceful colonial backwaters.³⁷³ Furthermore, by looking less distinct from European soldiers fighting in the tropics, the Regiment's privates looked more like the soldiers doing the work of heroes and adventurers on the colonial frontier that were pictured in paintings, books, and the illustrated weeklies.³⁷⁴ However, the way that the WIR are represented on the surface of Foulkes' images is contested if we read his photographs alongside his memoirs, and in relation to each other. Looking at the photographs in this way reveals that Foulkes' album seems to present the Regiment's privates as failing to live up to these ideals. These strong opinions about the performance of the WIR could have been influenced by Foulkes' work on the construction of barracks at Wilberforce for the newly recruited West African Regiment, established in Sierra Leone in April 1898. The West African Frontier Force were also established at this time in Southern Nigeria and became a federated force in the four British West African territories. A key idea behind raising these local forces was that they would be able to live off the land and therefore not require the long lines of carriers that had so incumbered British and West Indian troops.³⁷⁵

From the 1870s limitations in the use of the West Indian troops and the need to cut down military expenditure had led to an emphasis on the raising these local forces to take over the WIR's duties. Colonial governors and administrators disliked the use of West Indian troops on the West Coast partly because they were under the

³⁷³ By the time Foulkes was capturing his images numerous postcards and photographs in books and periodicals were in circulation that implied that this was the WIR's role in the West Indies.

³⁷⁴ The *Illustrated London News* and The *Graphic* were two such weeklies that detailed the exploits of Britain's soldiers on the colonial frontiers.

³⁷⁵ David Killingray, 'The Mutiny of the West African Regiment in the Gold Coast, 1901', *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 16: 3 (1983), pp. 441-54, p. 442.

jurisdiction of the War Office and were therefore not under their direct control to be used as they pleased. The WIRs were also paid more highly than their local counterparts and had better conditions of service. As a result, they were considered by colonial governors as setting a bad example for locally raised troops, who were paid negligible wages while at the same time being used for all manner of service.³⁷⁶ Foulkes would have interacted frequently with those who shared these opinions whilst stationed in colonial Freetown at his own barracks and at social events. When he did come face to face with the WIR he therefore may have been carrying a number of negative preconceptions.

Foulkes' memoirs reveal a contempt for the Regiment's black privates that is also visible in the very particular arrangement of photographs of them within his Sierra Leone photograph album. The arrangements of his other four photograph albums aligned to other campaigns from his illustrious career imply that the Sierra Leone photographs were placed in a particular way to convey a particular message. This chapter will discuss how Foulkes' photographs present the military capabilities of the black privates of the WIR and how this representation is reflected through the content, perspective, and positioning of the photographs in the Sierra Leone album. First to be discussed will be those images that highlight Foulkes' use of the camera as a surveillance and archival tool, to survey the landscape and capture the impact and successes of the campaign. Secondly, Foulkes' photographic portrayals of the WIR's black privates will be analysed to demonstrate how Foulkes presented them as unsoldierly and inefficient in contrast to their white peers. Finally, I will outline whether Foulkes' differing representations of the WIR's black privates and white officers are more heavily influenced by racial ideology or military hierarchy

³⁷⁶ Ukpabi, 'West Indian Troops and the Defence of British West Africa in the Nineteenth Century', p.149.

Picturing Punitive Actions

Foulkes was trained in using the camera as a surveillance and archival tool and in Sierra Leone used his camera to capture and record the impact of instruments and participants of warfare. Although photographs of those subjected to the violence of the Regiment during the Hut Tax expedition do not exist in Foulkes' album, we are given clues as to their suffering by photographs captured of their villages, up to 200 of which were destroyed by the Regiment during the campaign.³⁷⁷ The destruction of villages was widely believed to be an effective means of quelling unrest and making an example of those who supported rebellious groups in the West African territories. Colonel C. E. Calwell's *Small Wars*, recommended to officers conducting small campaigns in the colonies, advocated such behaviour and instructed that when 'quelling an insurrection' it was important to punish those who had taken up arms by destroying their villages and property. Such wanton destruction was presented as an essential means of 'overawing' the enemy to secure lasting peace.³⁷⁸ As a result, such destruction formed a key part of the campaign waged against Bai Bureh and the main strategy of those commanding the Regiment was to use numerous flying columns to target and destroy offending villages in the Karene District (see figure 5.14). The Royal Commission report into the disturbances mentions 'the laying waste of a country of about thirty miles' radius round Karene, and the destruction of 97 towns and villages, having an aggregate population of over 44,000'.³⁷⁹ It is important to consider these photographs as visual records of the Regiment's impact in Africa, and they demonstrate that, as in Jamaica, troops of African descent were called upon to destroy communities inhabited by those who shared their heritage.

³⁷⁷ Report by Her Majesty's Commissioner and Correspondence on the Subject of the Insurrection in the Sierra Leone protectorate 1898, Part II - Evidence and Documents (London, 1899), p. 228.

³⁷⁸ J.E. Calwell, *Small Wars: Their Principles and Purpose* (London, 1906), pp. 41-2.

³⁷⁹ Report by Her Majesty's Commissioner and correspondence on the Subject of the Insurrection in the Sierra Leone Protectorate 1898, Part I - Report and Correspondence, p. 38.

Black privates brutally repressed those who had risen against the colonial government in Jamaica, burning a thousand homes in rebellious areas.³⁸⁰ In West Africa they were called upon to carry out similar actions to cement British colonial rule but, in this case, wiped out entire villages. Their role as a destructive force as well as a defensive one is strongly presented by Foulkes' photographs.

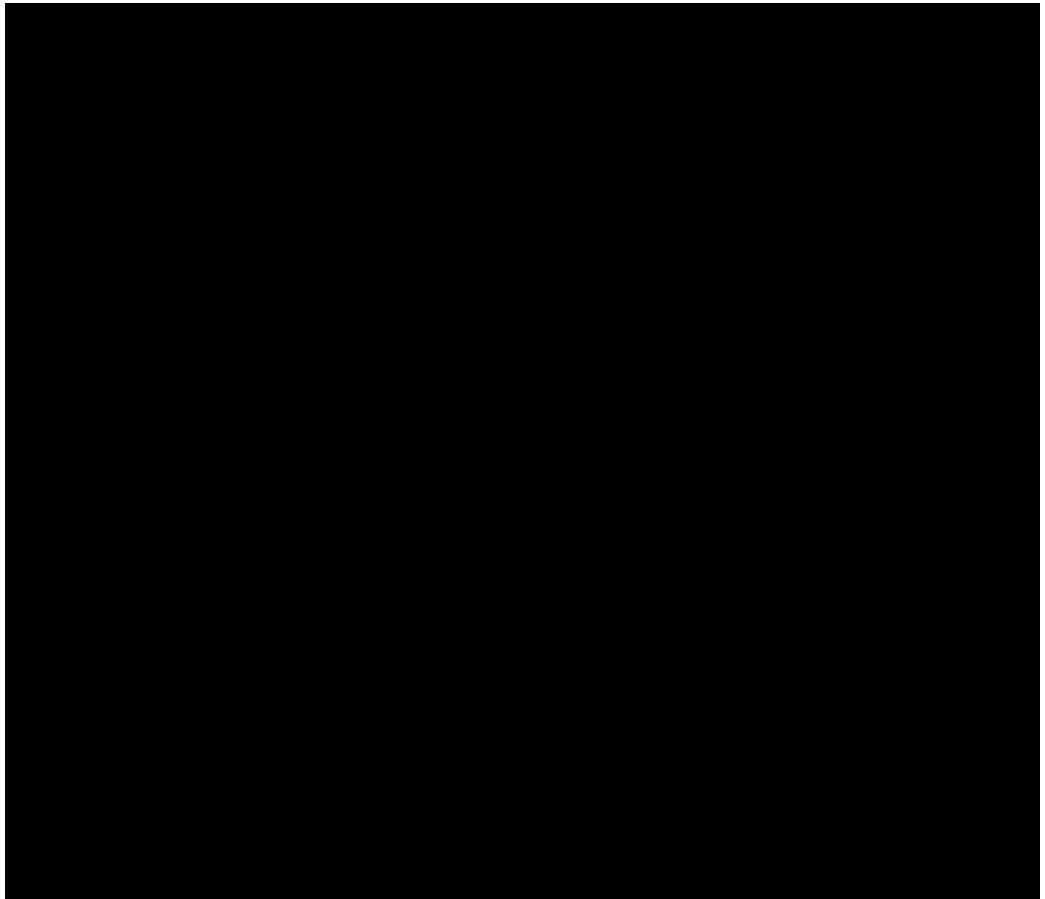


Figure 5.14: E. Craig-Brown, 1898, Map of the of the Karene district, from the diary of E. Craig-Brown of 2nd battalion WIR who commanded the rear guard of H Company during the conflict, Private Papers of Brigadier General E. Craig-Brown DSO, Imperial War Museum, London

The most striking examples of this destruction occur in Foulkes' photographs of the village of Romeni (see figures 5.15 and figure 5.16).³⁸¹ Romeni is of significance not only because it was destroyed, but because it was effectively garrisoned by the Regiment during the second half of the campaign (beginning April

³⁸⁰ Frank Cundall, *Political and Social Disturbances in the West Indies: A Brief Account and Bibliography* (Kingston, 1906), pp. 12-17; pp. 19-21.

³⁸¹ Romeni is also referred to as Romani in some text and photographs.

1898), transforming what had once been a bustling enemy stronghold into a British military base. This transformation was achieved largely due to the assistance of Foulkes, who managed the fortification of intermediate bases established on the expedition's marching route.³⁸² In the first photograph, we can see a building in Romeni that has most likely been destroyed by large artillery. The supports for the lowest level of the structure are exposed and the material that likely surrounded them lies in a pile of rubble at the front of the structure. Amongst the rubble is a stool, highlighting to those viewing the photograph that this building was once inhabited. The ruins of the building make a statement about the consequences of any uprising and demonstrate the superior power of European forces and weaponry. Although large artillery proved ineffective against the stockades constructed at the roadside and entrances of towns and against the loose formations of bush warfare, it was devastating when aimed at buildings like the one photographed.³⁸³

From the viewers' perspective of the photograph, the roles of the camera and the gun almost interchangeable, as is often the case with colonial photography. The viewer is centred, looking head on at a scene of destruction, almost as if they are behind the gun that took aim at the building. Like the photographer, the viewer is able to use the photograph to position themselves in the boots of the violent conqueror, the camera instilling them with the same power that the weapon instilled to the soldier firing it. Like the gun the camera shoots and captures. As well as being interchangeable the camera often followed the gun, celebrating its successes as in Foulkes' album. In the case of the Indian Mutiny, Felice Beato hurried to record the human and architectural casualties of the British counter-insurgency. Similarly, in Jamaica, the Duperlys dashed to the terrain on which the Morant Bay rebellion had

³⁸² LHCMA Foulkes 4/1 Draft and working papers for the unpublished memoir *Adventures of an Engineer Subaltern*, p. 38.

³⁸³ Vandervort, *Wars of Conquest in Africa*, pp. 50-1.

taken place to produce photographs of the landscapes and sketches of the hanging of the rebels.³⁸⁴



Figure 5.15: Charles Howard Foulkes, 1898, 'Romani', Foulkes 3/13 Photograph album relating to Sierra Leone, LHCMA, Kings College London



Figure 5.16: Charles Howard Foulkes, 1898, 'Ruins of Romani', Foulkes 3/13 Photograph album relating to Sierra Leone, LHCMA, Kings College London

³⁸⁴See Boxer, *Jamaica in Black and White* which contains a section on photographs of the rebellion and its aftermath. Chapter Four discusses some of these images in detail, in particular pp. 151-76.

In the second photograph Foulkes has captured the shell of a building that has been burned to the ground. This is clear to the viewer as the sides of the building are charred. To the right of the building's shell is another building that is part of the wall of the village and also heavily damaged, with one of its sides blown off. Behind the two buildings are many large trees that would have harboured enemy fighters. The desolation of the landscape portrayed in the image highlights its desertion by the enemy and its previous inhabitants. Such evidence of abandonment, which could also be seen as evidence of retreat, emphasises the success and victory of the Regiment in the absence of celebratory photographs or accounts. The inclusion of the word 'ruins' in the title of this photograph leaves the viewer with no illusion about what the fate of this town has been. It has been ruined, and it has been ruined by the WIR.



Figure 5.17: Charles Howard Foulkes, 1898, Full album page with photographs of Romeni, Foulkes 3/13 Photograph album relating to Sierra Leone, LHCMA, Kings College London

The two photographs of Romeni are presented to us on the same page of Foulkes album. One is titled 'Romani', the other 'Ruins of Romani'. Significantly, separating these two photographs on the page is a photograph entitled 'Gloucester' which depicts another Sierra Leonean village. Unlike Romeni, Gloucester looks lush, and its building is intact and welcoming (see figure 5.17). The photograph contains what almost looks like a garden path leading through landscaped vegetation to a flight of stairs and a small house. At the back of the house smoke billows up implying that perhaps food is being prepared. Foulkes' decision to place this photograph in between his two of Romeni is important. Gloucester makes the Romeni pictured to its left look more dark and unwelcoming, and the Romeni to its right look even more desolate. He is highlighting the effect of the Regiment's punishment on local villages by contrasting them to one that has not been subjected to such punishment. The arrangement of these images, like those that will be discussed of the WIR, develops upon their meaning and demonstrates that layout is important to Foulkes' photographic documentation of the events of the Hut Tax War.

This victory held significance for Foulkes and the WIR and would have been particularly important to capture, as Romeni was the first location where government forces had been threatened and attacked by local people. On 18 February the Frontier Police had travelled to the town to arrest Bai Bureh and were jeered at and subjected to a barrage of stone throwing from villagers. After leaving Romeni, the troops were followed by a great number of armed men for several miles until the officers in charge deemed the threat from this armed body to be strong enough to warrant the troops opening fire.³⁸⁵ The destruction of Romeni on 7 and 8 April was thus an

³⁸⁵ Denzer, 'A Diary of Bai Bureh's War: Part I', pp. 44-5; Report by Her Majesty's Commissioner and Correspondence on the Subject of the Insurrection in the Sierra Leone Protectorate 1898, Part II - Evidence and Documents, pp. 216-7.

important act of revenge and display of British capability after this earlier goading and humiliation. Through its destruction and subsequent fortification, Romeni was transformed into a symbol of the strength of the forces led by British officers who had initially been jeered at and deemed weak. Not only were similar British officers and those they led thereafter able to destroy the town, they were able to occupy it and use it as a base. The photographs celebrate the strength and success of the Regiment and portray them as an effective fighting unit. However, it is important to note whom Foulkes would have attributed such successes to – certainly not the Regiment’s black privates who he believed only behaved tolerably in the field due to the bravery of their officers and who were in his opinion wrongly praised in the official despatches.³⁸⁶



Figure 5.18: Charles Howard Foulkes, 1898, 'Burnt Village', Foulkes 3/13 Photograph album relating to Sierra Leone, LHCMA, Kings College London

³⁸⁶ LHCMA Foulkes 4/1 Draft and working papers for the unpublished memoir *Adventures of an Engineer Subaltern*, p. 36. An example of this praise can be found in the West India Regiment Scrap book held at the National Library of Jamaica. A newspaper clipping from a speech in 1895 by the Secretary of State for War reads “I wish to say a word of sincere and well-earned praise to a particular corps – viz. the WIR...the whole army may be proud of their comrades in that part of the world”.

In the album Foulkes contains just one other photograph of a burned village but leaves it unnamed (see figure 5.18). The photograph is simply titled 'Burnt Village'. In it we bear witness to a similar scene as that captured in 'Ruins of Romani', however this time the building has been reduced to its foundations. As nearly 200 towns were destroyed, Foulkes may have forgotten which town this was. In contrast to the extended period of time that he spent in Romeni he may have just passed through the town with one of the flying columns of the WIR whilst they carried out their destructive policy. The anonymity given to the burned village does not decrease its significance but instead allows it to symbolise any, or even all, of the villages that were destroyed as the Regiment passed through the district. According to the Royal Commission evidence of Captain Sharpe, the District Commissioner of Karene, every inhabited place in the district was destroyed except for those that were not found.³⁸⁷ One native Sierra Leonean giving evidence stated in anguish 'the country is ruined. People sleep in the bush'.³⁸⁸

If Foulkes was trying to ensure that the role of the leadership of the Regiment in this destruction was not understated, he was justified in trying to do so. The orders to begin it came from two WIR majors, firstly from Major Norris and in the second phase from April onwards from Major Marshall. Norris instructed those he commanded to destroy all of Bai Bureh's strongholds as they passed through the district. These orders were given on 11 March and in the first two days afterwards at least eighteen villages were razed to the ground.³⁸⁹ These measures alarmed the Governor who wrote to Captain Sharpe on 15 March to question their necessity. The following day Sharpe justified the decision and included a report from Major Buck

³⁸⁷ Sierra Leone report by Her Majesty's Commissioner and Correspondence on the Subject of the Insurrection in the Sierra Leone Protectorate 1898, Part II - Evidence and documents, Evidence of Captin Sharpe, p. 228.

³⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, Evidence of Pa John, p. 402.

³⁸⁹ Denzer, 'A Diary of Bai Bureh's War: Part I', pp. 55-7.

who wrote that ‘the whole of this country has risen, and I see no other way of punishing the offenders than be destroying their towns, though it must seem hard on the women and children’.³⁹⁰ His statement is reminiscent of those that circulated during the Morant Bay rebellion, and makes it clear that the general population were to suffer for the rising, not only those who had attacked British forces. Foulkes’ photographs of burned villages therefore serve not only as evidence of the ‘real work’ of privates in the WIR but also as an important record of the high-level decision making of the Regiment’s officers during the campaign.

How enthusiastic the privates were about these destructive activities cannot be gleaned from Foulkes’ photographs or memoirs. However, in his account of Mendi rising, which began in Sierra Leone a few months after the disturbances in Karene, Major Morgan of the 4th battalion WIR emphasised the want for revenge of his troops, stating that upon witnessing the destruction carried out by natives they were ‘most anxious to inflict severe punishment on these fiends as rapidly as possible’.³⁹¹ These comments were shared by Morgan in the *Daily Graphic* in June 1898, demonstrating that the Regiment’s quest for revenge and their wanton destruction of the landscape was celebrated in British illustrated newspapers, who aimed to encourage feelings of pride for such actions amongst their readership. Foulkes was not the only officer to capture this destruction as a trophy or memento, and similar photographs in an album held at the National Library of Jamaica demonstrate the enthusiasm of officers to photograph such scenes. The album, labelled as West India Regiment Photographic Album, contains photographs of the expedition in Toniataba in 1892 including three labelled as ‘Toniataba after capture’, ‘blowing up the walls of Toniataba’, and ‘burning of Giffon’. These photographs

³⁹⁰ Denzer, ‘A Diary of Bai Bureh’s War: Part I’, pp. 58-9.

³⁹¹ *Daily Graphic*, 21 June 1898.

were taken very soon after the action, with smoke still rising from the destroyed buildings.³⁹²

Like those of the Regiment after Morant Bay, these photographs perhaps make uncomfortable viewing for those of African-Caribbean descent. Viewing the role that their countrymen and possibly even their family members played in the violence that went alongside the extension of British colonialism in West Africa present unsavoury realities about where allegiances lay amongst the empire's black subjects. Whether the WIRs' black soldiers saw their role as a political one, or their actions as those of solidarity with the government that oppressed them rather than their African kin cannot be known. However, as with the photographs of the Morant Bay rebellion and those of the men of the WIR being awarded with medals, these photographs raise important questions about feelings of racial allegiance within the Regiments and across the wider Atlantic world. There is also a lack of evidence regarding the views that native Sierra Leoneans had of the Regiments aside from Foulkes' statement in his memoirs that 'they are despised by the black people because of themselves'.³⁹³ The fact that in this statement the troops are not hated for their actions, but purely 'because of themselves' (for being who they are), gives some implication that the local people did resent the way in which their fellow blacks had positioned themselves on the side of the white colonial power in Sierra Leone.

'Made of Poor Fighting Material'

Following on from the use of the camera as a surveillance and archival tool, the soldierly capabilities (or lack thereof) of the black privates of the Regiment seem to

³⁹² See National Library of Jamaica, West India Photographic Album 3, p. 11.

³⁹³ LHCMA Foulkes 4/1 Draft and working papers for the unpublished memoir *Adventures of an Engineer Subaltern*, p. 36.

preoccupy Foulkes when we look into both the content and layout of photographs in his album. On numerous occasions Foulkes positions photographs of the black privates in ways that cause the album's viewer to make direct comparisons and contrasts between them and others. He also seems to depict them without giving them the chance to influence their own representation, treating them as passive subjects to be observed and watched, rather than heroic soldiers able to tell their own stories and take command of the situations that they have been put in. This greatly contrasts with the initial meaning that would be taken from glancing at Foulkes' photographs of the men in their practical uniforms. It is only when looking closely at the organisation of the images that it becomes clear that Foulkes is aiming to represent the men as anything but efficient and the contested meaning of his photographs of the WIRs becomes clear.

The earliest example of this occurs in the section of Foulkes' album depicting barrack life in Sierra Leone before the beginning of the conflict. Foulkes seems to first empower the privates by picturing them with powerful weapons but then uses the layout of the album page to make a powerful statement about their inadequacy, using the figure of an African boy to make an ironic point about the martial qualities of the black privates (see figure 5.19). The portrait photograph of the child, taking up a military posture and decked with what could easily be a military cap and drum, separates two landscape photographs of the Regiment's privates carrying out artillery drills. By positioning the photographs like this Foulkes seems to make the point that anyone can look like a soldier, for even a young native boy who is near naked has almost perfected the soldier's posture. This young boy, however, would not have been able to fight in a war because he would have lacked the knowledge, discipline, and maturity necessary. The photograph carries even more significance if it is considered in connection to the recruitment of the new West African forces.

Recruitment instructions specified that the men recruited should come from ‘tribes that are still uncivilized’ and the men were frequently referred to as child-like.³⁹⁴ Foulkes could therefore be demonstrating how similar the men of the WIR were to the child-like, uncivilised and raw recruits envisioned for the West African Regiment and the West African Frontier Force.



Figure 5.19: Charles Howard Foulkes, 1897-1898, 'WIR mountain gun', Native Boy, and 'WIR gunners', Foulkes 3/13 Photograph album relating to Sierra Leone, LHCMA, Kings College London

Even if the aforementioned explanation for Foulkes' choice of photograph is incorrect, the fact that Foulkes has clearly chosen this particular photograph and this specific positioning is extremely important. Firstly, he could have positioned the portrait photograph to either side of the two landscapes inspiring a different implied meaning. Space would have of course allowed this. Positioned to the left of the two landscapes it could even have looked like Foulkes was trying to demonstrate progress from the dishevelled African boy soldier to the tidy and mature West India Regiment privates. Secondly, Foulkes has chosen to make us compare the Regiment's privates to a child rather than a chief, an adult woman, or even one of his adult servants. Numerous portrait photographs of such people exist in the album and

³⁹⁴ Killingray, 'The Mutiny of the West African Regiment in the Gold Coast', p. 444, p. 453.

using one of them to divide the two artillery drill photographs would have inspired an extremely different meaning. Also of note is the fact that there is another photograph of the WIR performing artillery drill, presumably during the same exercise, on an earlier page of the album. This again implies that these photographs were selected and placed in this layout for a particular reason and to convey a particular message. In his album dedicated to the Anglo-French Boundary Commission Foulkes includes similar photographs but of the local Nigerian troops carrying out a drill exercise. All of the photographs of the exercise follow each other across two pages that are next to each other in the album (see figures 5.20 and 5.21). In this case, unlike in the Sierra Leone album, the photographs have been grouped chronologically and thematically, demonstrating that Foulkes did make specific decisions about how to present his photographs on his album pages. Why he presents the Nigerian soldiers in a more empowered way, with one soldier even mounted on a horse and looking down on a local man from a position of authority, cannot be ascertained, but does appear to support the idea that it was the WIR, and not black troops in general, that Foulkes held a low opinion of. The WIR were unpopular with the colonial government in Nigeria with officials believing that 1,000 local Haussas, could be maintained for the same cost as 300 West Indian troops. Henry McCallum, the governor of Lagos, had little regard for the West Indian troops. In March 1898 in a letter to the Colonial Secretary, he complained that his forward movement against the French had been halted because the WIR were too well fed to march. In a letter written in 1897, the year Foulkes arrived in Sierra Leone, McCallum called the WIR ‘excessively pampered’ and similar to Foulkes’ comments about the Regiment being made of ‘poor fighting material’ stated they were of the ‘wrong material altogether

for an African Army'.³⁹⁵ Foulkes' views seem to align with McCallum's, and his photographs of the artillery exercises in Nigeria certainly present an interesting contrast to those of the West India Regiment, who when featured with guns in the Sierra Leone album are mostly presented in contrast or comparison to others.

³⁹⁵ Ukpabi, 'West Indian Troops and the Defence of British West Africa in the Nineteenth Century', p. 148, p. 147.

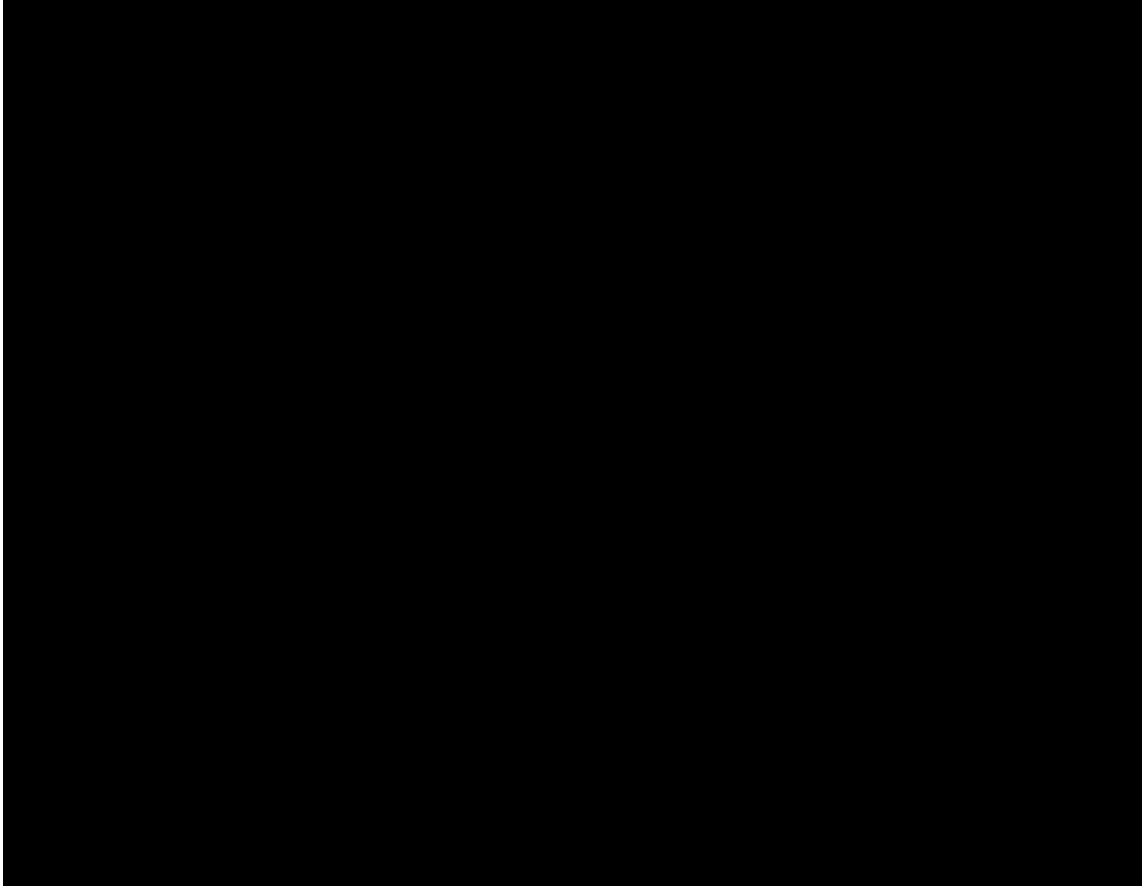


Figure 5.20: Charles Howard Foulkes, 1902-1903, the first of two pages of photographs of artillery drill from Foulkes' Nigeria album, Foulkes 3/23 Photograph album relating to the Northern Nigeria and the Anglo-French Boundary Commission, LHCMA, Kings College London

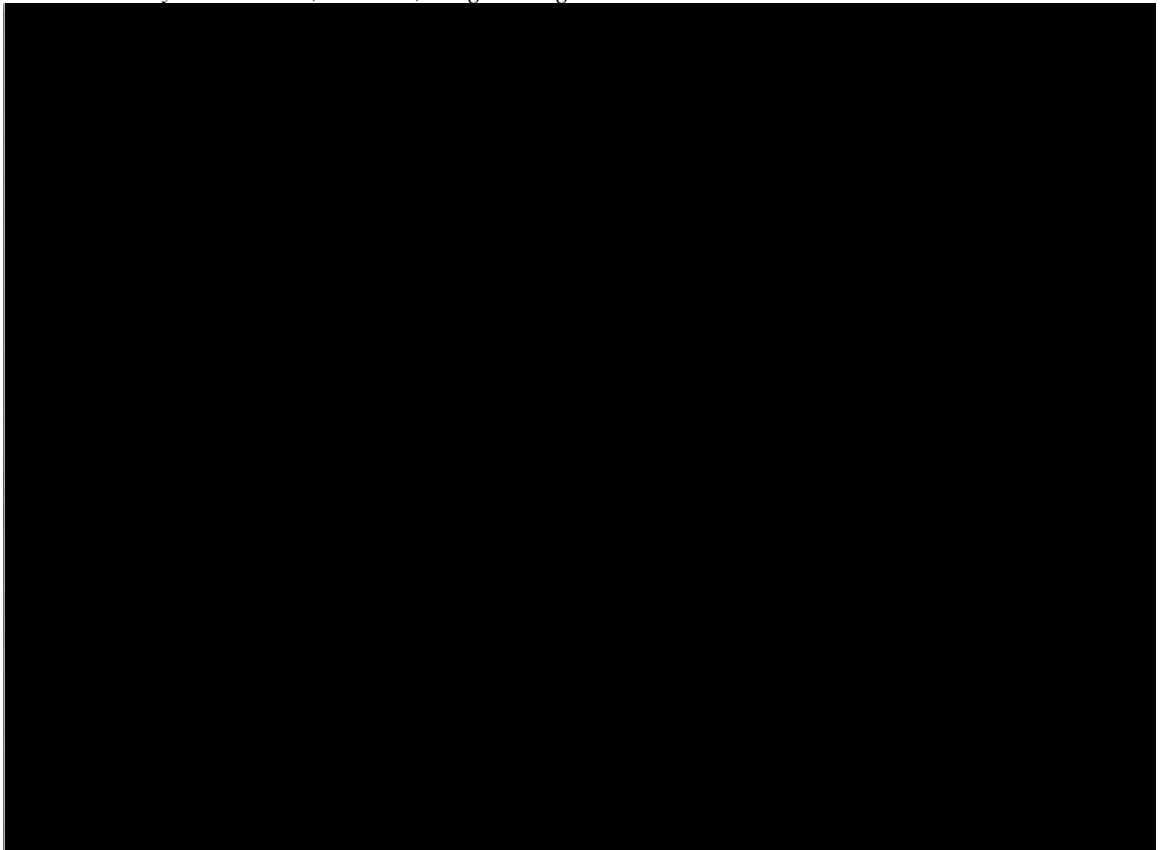


Figure 5.21: Charles Howard Foulkes, 1902-1903, the second of two pages of photographs of artillery drill from Foulkes' Nigeria album, Foulkes 3/23 Photograph album relating Northern Nigeria and the Anglo-French Boundary Commission, LHCMA, Kings College London

A further example of this occurs in a photograph of three WIR privates sat on the edge of camp with a Maxim gun labelled by Foulkes as 'Romani Camp the Maxim gun' (see figure 5.22). In the photograph, three privates sit in a laager looking at the camera directly. In the background we can see one other private working. What first catches the eye is the shine of the gun, and if the name of the photograph is considered, this is clearly considered by Foulkes to be the most important component of the photograph. Foulkes does not seem to have positioned himself to best capture the gun due to its off-centre position and it is partially hidden so capturing the threatening gleam of the metal may have been his main objective. Although the gun is the first component of the image to catch the viewer's eye the other components of the photograph are arranged in relation to the lone private. His stern face looks at the audience and by following his profile we are led to the gun and the other two privates. Whilst his form is clear against a background of leaves used to build the laager, the other two privates are slightly obscured due to the lighting behind them.

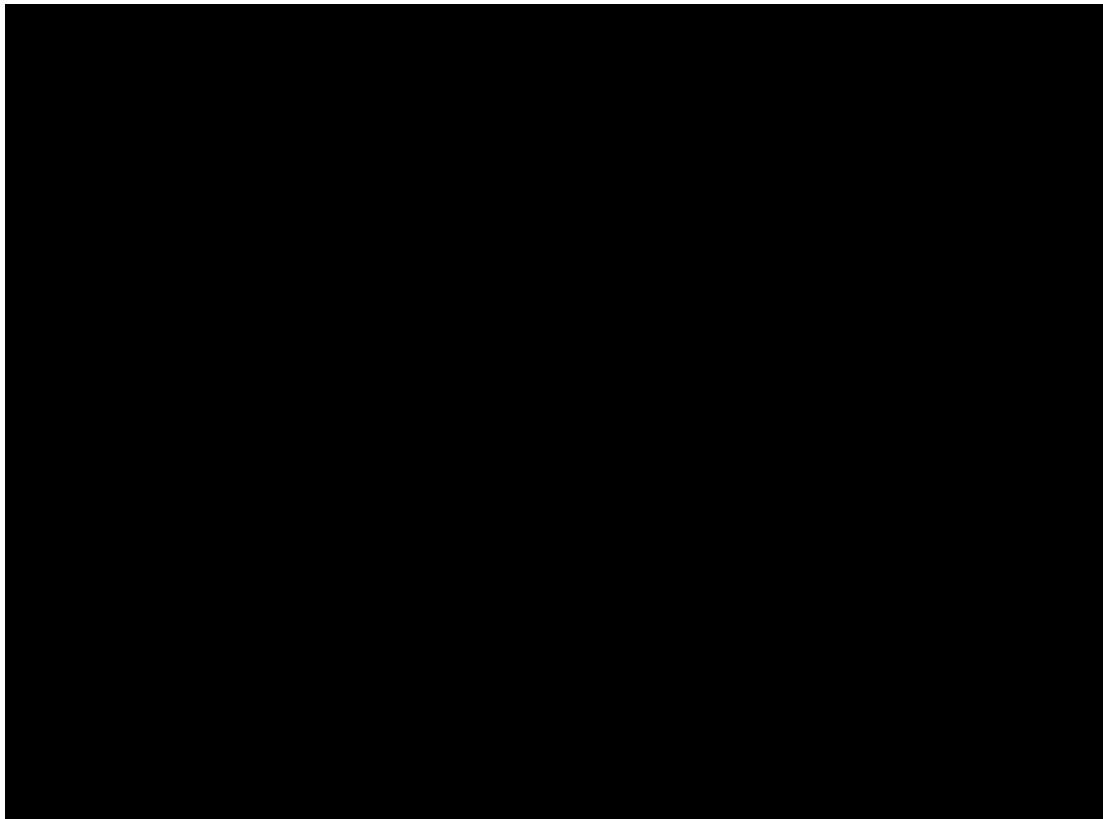


Figure 5.22: Charles Howard Foulkes, 1898, 'Romani Camp the Maxim gun', Foulkes 3/13
Photograph album relating to Sierra Leone, LHCMA, Kings College London

What is perhaps most important in this photograph is that the privates are not interacting with the gun in any way. They are not seated around it and instead it seems almost to be ignored by them. Could their disinterest be a reflection by Foulkes on the ineffectiveness of the weapon in Africa? The Maxim gun was extremely powerful and recognised as a symbol of British technical and military prowess as celebrated in the often-quoted rhyme 'Whatever happens, we have got/The Maxim Gun, and they have not'.³⁹⁶ However, in colonial Africa it was more effective as a means of scaring native fighters due to its noisiness than as a weapon. In his account of the Hut Tax War, C. B. Wallis who served as an Assistant District Commissioner in the Sierra Leone Protectorate, reflected that in West Africa 'the moral effect of artillery fire upon savages is always great' but 'when the bush is very dense (as is nearly always the case) much of the usefulness of the Maxim is lost'.³⁹⁷

³⁹⁶ Hilaire Belloc and Basil Blackwood, *The Modern Traveller*, (London, 1898), p. 41.

³⁹⁷ C. B. Wallis, *The Advance of our West African Empire* (London, 1903), p. 293.

Despite this analysis seeming satisfactory at first, it is challenged by the portrayal in the photograph next to it. The photograph's title 'The Laager Port Lokko, Gatling Gun' also stresses a machine gun as the most important subject, but this time depicts a white officer of the Regiment (see figure 5.23).³⁹⁸ By positioning the two photographs in this way Foulkes intends for us to compare the subjects and their actions, leading us to consider that perhaps the ineffective bodies in figure 5.22 are the West India Regiment privates, rather than their artillery.



Figure 5.23: Charles Howard Foulkes, 1898, 'Romani Camp the maxim gun' alongside 'The Laager Port Lokko Gatling gun', Foulkes 3/13 Photograph album relating to Sierra Leone, LHCMA, Kings College London

His hope of inspiring this comparison rests on the fact that Foulkes has made a definite choice to oppose these two photographs to each other as he did in his arrangement of the ruins of Romeni and the more pleasant village of Gloucester. Firstly, the two other photographs on this page also directly relate to each other and secondly, there is another photograph of the Maxim gun at the edge of camp in the album that this photograph could have been displayed with. The photograph of the white officer was not even taken in the same location, but in Port Lokko. To begin

³⁹⁸ We know that he definitely belongs to the Regiment due to his presence in figure 4.34 which is entitled 'WIR officers', see p. 250.

with, in contrast to the privates in figure 5.22, the officer is shown engaging with the gun. He is in a more active position and our eyes are therefore first drawn to him. We engage with him directly and follow his gaze, leading us to imagine what he might be aiming at. This empowers the officer as a subject, and his determined look and pose fill us with confidence. In contrast, the looks on the faces of the privates do not inspire us at all, and we are not encouraged to engage with them. In fact, the facial expression of the private closest to the audience make us feel almost unwelcome. In the photograph of the privates the viewer feels like an intruder whereas in the photograph of the officer they feel like a participant. Furthermore, in figure 5.23 it is not just us watching the officer intently. An African man in the photograph also seems to be drawn to the white officer with the powerful weapon. His look directs the viewer back towards the officer and his gun.

Foulkes was full of admiration for the younger officers of the Regiment that he encountered during the campaign. In his memoir, he states that they ‘were a good average type of the British army’ but counter to this refers to the Regiment’s privates as ‘made of poor fighting material’.³⁹⁹ These opinions are clearly displayed in these two photographs where Foulkes most likely asked the officer to pose with the gun yet seems to have walked in on the privates sitting and neglected to ask them to interact with the weapon at all. They have not been given the opportunity to have as much control over their representation and as a result are not represented favourably. They look inattentive, unprepared, and unsoldierly. The photograph of the officer has been staged, as any situation calling on him to fire the gun would have made it impossible for Foulkes to photograph. The decision was therefore made to empower him and stress his soldierly and heroic qualities during a quiet moment at camp. As

³⁹⁹ LHCMA Foulkes 4/1, Draft and working papers for the unpublished memoir *Adventures of an Engineer Subaltern*, p. 37, p. 35.

well as Foulkes' personal opinions of those depicted in these two photographs it is also important to consider that some privates of the Regiment had been criticised by Major Tarbet, the commander of the Frontier Police, for not recognising the importance of artillery. After being ambushed along with the rear of a column of the WIR on 22 March, Tarbet reported that only the support of the Frontiers had stopped the enemy from capturing the seven-pounder gun and ammunition due to the Regiment's lack of perception of the importance of saving the ammunition.⁴⁰⁰ The belief that there was lack of understanding of the importance of artillery amongst the privates was therefore present amongst some of the officers on campaign with Foulkes.

The photograph of the WIR privates with the Maxim gun certainly contains some complex and contradictory representations. A gun that was largely celebrated despite being ineffective is highlighted yet also side-lined. The group of soldiers that sit alongside it lack the energy and determination of the white officer in the opposing picture but have been entrusted with the stewardship of the gun and possibly serve as the camp's first line of defence. Like the Maxim gun, Foulkes did not see the WIR privates as particularly effective in the West African environment. In his memoirs he reveals his disdain, writing that they were 'very far from being brave' and 'too soft' to undergo the hardships of bush fighting which he believed they lacked the necessary training in.⁴⁰¹ However, they were essential to the campaign and to defence and expansion in the region. In presenting them as being inadequate with regards to European means of warfare in his photographs, and the bush warfare that Africans excelled at in his memoir, Foulkes portrays the men of the WIR as failing to meet the standard of either native African or European troops. In doing so, he raises

⁴⁰⁰ Denzer, 'A Diary of Bai Bureh's War: Part I', p. 61.

⁴⁰¹ LHCMA Foulkes 4/1, Draft and working papers for the unpublished memoir *Adventures of an Engineer Subaltern*, pp. 36-7.

serious questions about the men's utility that were at the very core of their existence. These concerns were voiced not just by Foulkes but by others who came across the Regiment in Africa, including military and colonial office personnel. Within his memoirs is a statement by a military colleague named as Burton, who alleges of the black WIR private that 'on enduring the fatigue of actual warfare he is, I believe, inferior to the acclimatised European'.⁴⁰² That such sentiments lie behind Foulkes' images that are some of the only photographs of the WIRs carrying out active duty, demonstrates that the image of the WIRs was contested, especially if we look beneath the surface of the photographs that they feature in.

Foulkes does not only use the positioning of photographs of the Regiment's black privates on his album's pages to make comments about their capabilities as soldiers. He also uses his own positioning as a photographer, and consequently the positioning of the viewer, to raise questions about the privates' capacities by presenting them as passive subjects, particularly in his photographs of them travelling through Sierra Leone. In these photographs they are often being led in large groups and are therefore presented as a large band of followers without the agency to determine their own direction and purpose. The first photograph in which this is demonstrated is 'W.I.R. marching to wharf' (see figure 5.24). In it the Regiment are marching down from the garrison to the wharf in order to travel towards Port Lokko by water. The photograph is almost split into four sections by the path on which the WIR march and the railway track that it crosses. Although it is clear that it is the soldiers of the Regiment who are marching, they cannot be easily distinguished, either as a group from the crowd that are lined up to watch them pass, or from each other as individuals. Unlike their dazzling Zouave uniforms, their dull

⁴⁰² LHCMA Foulkes 4/1, Draft and working papers for the unpublished memoir *Adventures of an Engineer Subaltern*, p. 35.

campaign dress does not draw the eyes' attention to them, meaning that they blend in with the grey tones of their surroundings. None of their faces are clear and it is unlikely that they even knew this moment was being captured.

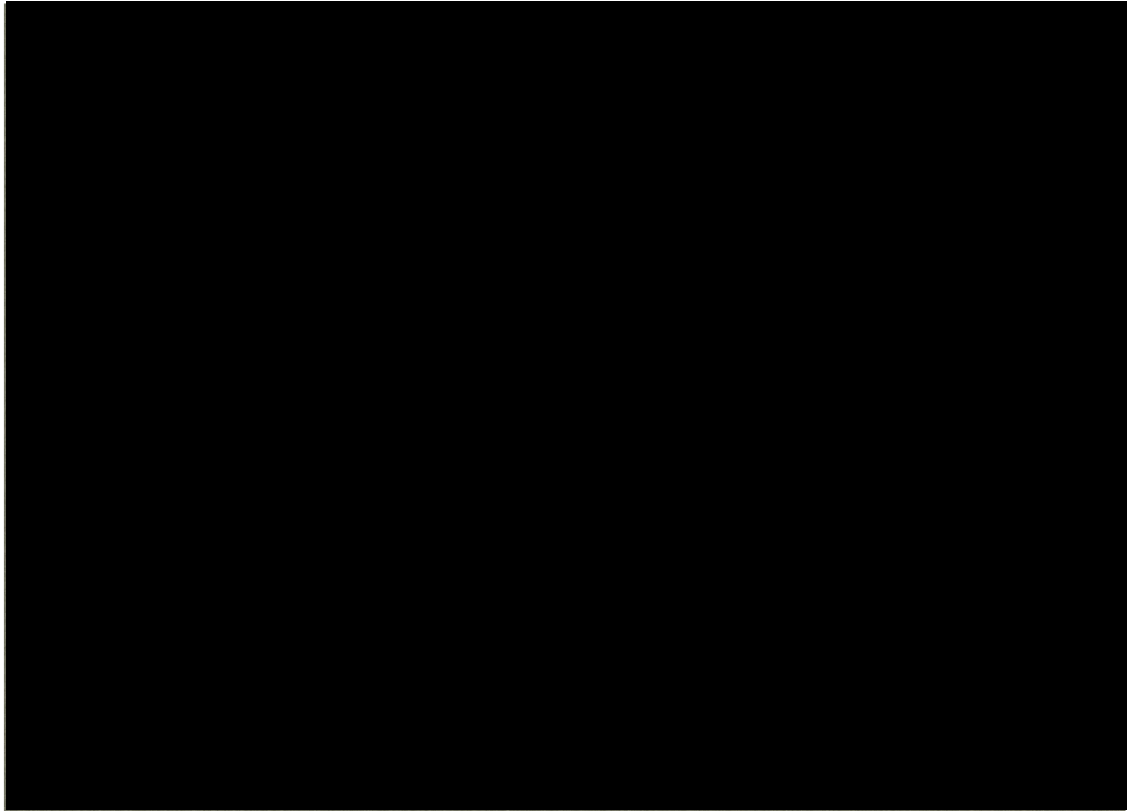


Figure 5.24: Charles Howard Foulkes, 1898, 'WIR Marching to Wharf', Foulkes 3/13 Photograph album relating to Sierra Leone, LHCMA, Kings College London

Unlike the photographs of the WIRs on parade discussed in Chapter Three, where markers from the landscape help to represent the WIRs as well trained and tidy soldiers, the landscape here serves to emphasise the disorderliness of the Regiment. The top half of the photograph is very much composed of lines, the crowds line the streets and stand parallel to and perpendicular to the lines of the railway. The lines making up the buildings are parallel to the path that the WIR march on. The straighter and cleaner lines in the photograph allow us to assess the privates against the lines that they march amongst. Unlike the lines of the buildings and the railway, their marching line is unclear and poorly defined. It breaks up at numerous points, and unlike the other more distinguishable lines, blends and merges

with the crowds. Again, their unsoldierly qualities are emphasised, this time their inability to hold formation, and in his memoirs Foulkes comments on the lacklustre marching of the privates, stating that ‘they led an easy life in barracks and did little marching, so that they soon fell out on the way’.⁴⁰³ E. Craig-Brown, who was in charge of the rear guard of the H Company of the Regiment during the Hut Tax expedition, was also unimpressed with the marching and discipline of his soldiers. In a diary entry dated 22 March 1898, Craig-Brown writes ‘I was just about to experience my first trouble with men falling out and lagging when to my intense relief we arrived at the friendly village of Makomp’. Just a few hours later his expectation that his men would fall out and lag behind becomes a reality, leading him to write that ‘the negro has no grit and is unlike many other native soldiers in other parts of the world who would sooner die in their tracks than fall out’. As a result of falling behind the rest of the column, his section of troops comes under attack from the enemy and is unable to fire back due to the fear of mistakenly hitting the rest of their convoy.⁴⁰⁴ The ill-discipline highlighted in Foulkes’ photographs clearly had dire consequences in the field, and led commanding officers to have low opinions of the martial qualities of some of the privates under their command. Whilst Craig-Brown explicitly connected these inadequacies with the race of his troops, Foulkes seems to suggest that their ‘easy life in barracks’, and therefore lack of training, may instead have been at fault.

Foulkes also makes a point about the importance of the Regiment through the perspective of the photograph. The crowd seem to obscure what the photographer’s main focus was if we take his caption into consideration, as occurs in the

⁴⁰³ LHCMA Foulkes 4/1 Draft and working papers for the unpublished memoir *Adventures of an Engineer Subaltern*, p. 37.

⁴⁰⁴ IWM, London, Private Papers of Brigadier General E. Craig-Brown DSO, ECB 2/1 - Ms diary kept by E. Craig-Brown while serving with the WIR during the hut tax expedition in Sierra Leone, pp. 35-7.

photographs of the WIR receiving their medals in discussed in Chapter Three.

Instead, the railway dominates the photograph due to its size and its position cutting through the vertical centre. In this photograph therefore, the true impact of colonial occupation on Freetown is clearly not supposed to be the large volume of troops marching through the town but the railway line that dissects it. As a symbol of the superiority of British knowledge and technology it eclipses everything else and relegates the troops into being the second most prominent symbol of British colonial power in the photograph.

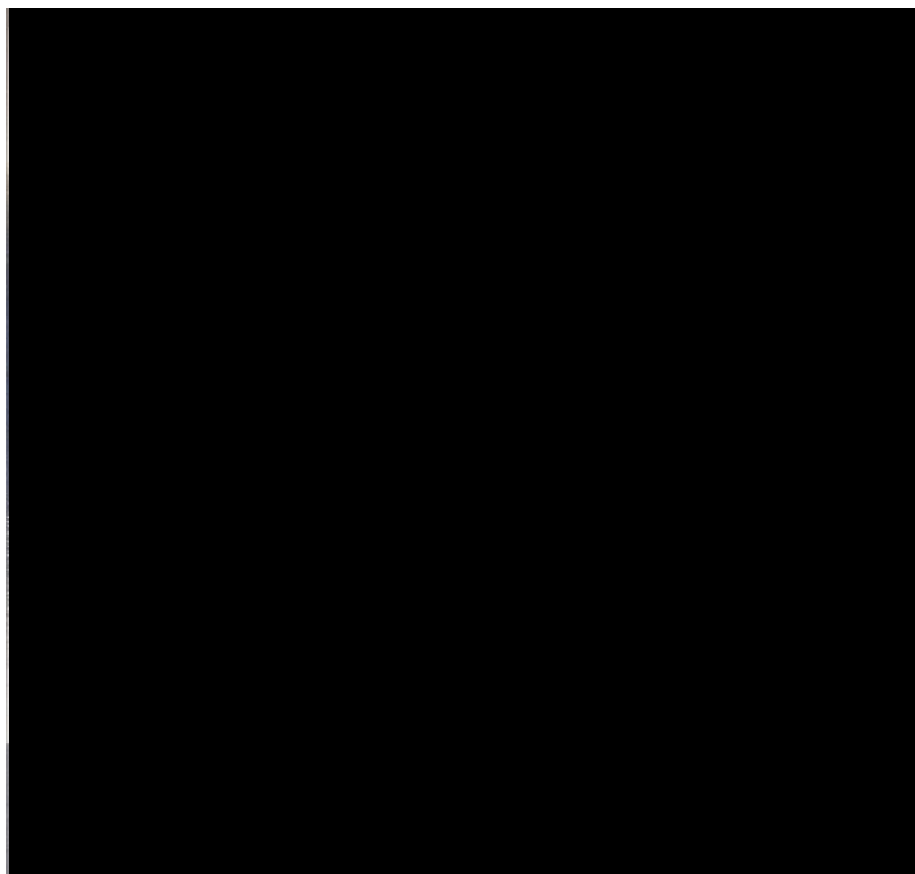


Figure 5.25: Charles Howard Foulkes, 1898, 'Lighter with W. Indian troops', Foulkes 3/13 Photograph album relating to Sierra Leone, LHCMA, Kings College London

The second photograph that depicts the privates being treated as passive subjects is 'Lighter with W. Indian troops' (see figure 5.25). It displays what is probably a full company of the WIR being transferred to shore in a lighter, a large barge used to transfer goods and passengers to and from moored ships like the

steamship they would have arrived on. The privates are arranged in various positions. Some are standing and looking ahead, whilst some look to the left or right. Those standing do not have weapons drawn, implying that they are not standing to keep watch for danger but to take in their new surroundings. The serene scene surrounding them suggests that danger was not present on the water, however the water's vastness does make them seem isolated and vulnerable. This isolation is further emphasised by the trees obscuring where their journey began implying an impossibility of return. Three privates stand at the front of the boat, two of them looking directly at the camera and the direction of travel and another looking slightly to the side. At the back of the boat are a similar group of privates who are standing more alert and also look forward towards the direction of travel. What is striking about the gaze of many of the men on the boat is that they are not focused on where they are going. Instead many simply look out across the water in the direction that they are facing. Some men dangle their legs and feet over the sides of the boat, one even does this without boots on. Their lack of weapons, and mostly relaxed and inattentive postures do not give the impression that they are men headed out to fight. They are untidily arranged and some do not wear their caps. Their lack of alertness and preparedness is emphasised as in figure 5.22.

The viewer's eye is first drawn to the smaller boat in the photograph as it is lighter in colour. This highlights that this boat and its lightermen were responsible for the movement of all the troops. In the smaller boat two officers, distinguishable by their helmets, are the only two people protected by a shelter. Their higher status is thus emphasised, like the officer shielded by his black parasol holding attendant from the WIR's rank and file in the postcard featured in figure 3.5. Possibly due to their rank they do not travel in the larger boat with the rest of the troops. Due to their race, they are sheltered from the sun in contrast to everyone else in the photograph.

The viewer of the photograph imagines that they are positioned on higher ground, waiting on the shore for the arrival of the troops. Unlike the troops who seem unprepared for what they are about to embark on, we are prepared for them to arrive. As with the photograph of the crowds, the caption highlights the Regiment, but the eye is drawn elsewhere to begin with. This time to those rowing the smaller boat. It is these lightermen who have the expert knowledge in the photograph and as a result have a high level of responsibility for the direction and leadership of the troops. Unlike the troops of the Regiment on the larger boat they are not passively being led by others. However, they are in the service of those under the shelter whose safety and comfort is paramount.

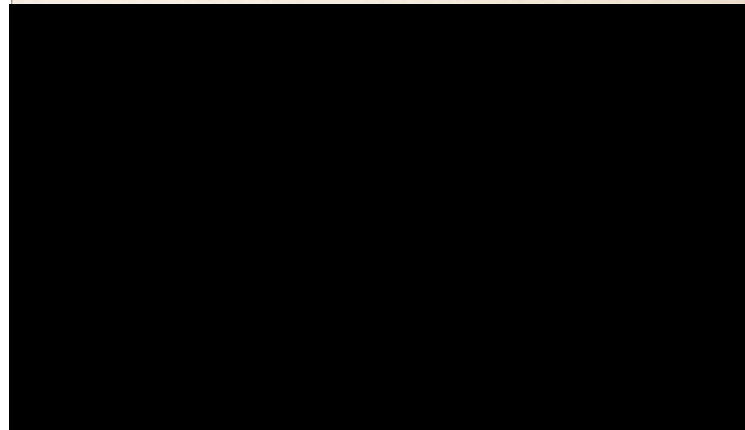


Figure 5.26: Charles Howard Foulkes, 1898, 'Marshalling Carriers', Foulkes 3/13 Photograph album relating to Sierra Leone, LHCMA, Kings College London

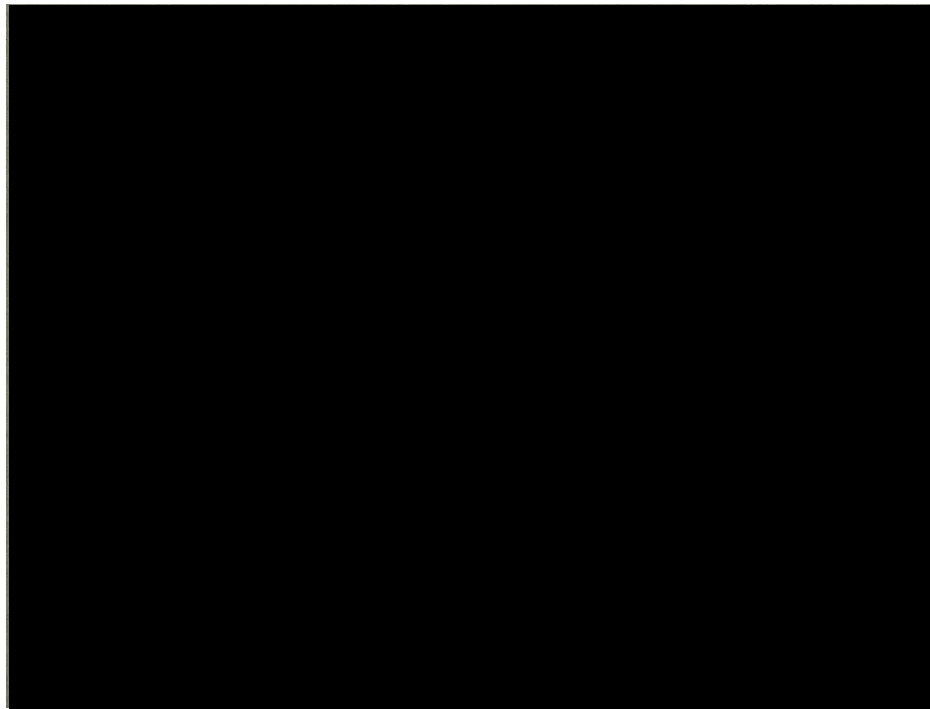
In transit over water as well as in marching overland, the troops of the Regiment are captured by Foulkes as passive subjects and presented as passive followers. Unlike his photographs of the WIR privates, the officers are presented by Foulkes in leadership roles, even when captured without their knowledge whilst carrying out their duties. For example, in a photograph entitled 'Marshalling carriers' where Foulkes has positioned himself behind the unfolding scene to capture his shot, three white officers are giving instructions to carriers (see figure 5.26). There is a clear hierarchy established between the standing officers and the seated carriers, some of whom look almost childlike in their cross-legged positions. The postures

and positions of the two officers giving instructions present them as masters of all they survey, looking out across their large audience.

Representations of Rank and Race

The differences in Foulkes' representation of black privates and white officers, as raised in the photographs discussed so far are worth exploring further. It is undeniable that differences are emphasised between the two groups, but whether racial or military hierarchies are behind these representations is not as simple to decipher. In most cases, differences in rank will have been the reason for the allocation of certain tasks and responsibilities. However, the reasons for the establishment of the Regiment, namely the belief that men of African descent could better cope with the African and Caribbean climates, complicate distinctions which could be seen as purely due to military rank. Photographs that show the Regiment's privates carrying out more strenuous tasks are therefore tinged with a racial residue even if rank was the predominant determinant for their participation in such activities. Worth considering first, are the different roles captured by Foulkes that were seemingly assigned to the two groups during the early stages of camp life. These photographs demonstrate that whilst the Regiment's officers were expected to live comfortably at camp, privates were assigned more labour-intensive tasks. Two photographs that were most likely taken in Port Lokko highlight this. In the first photograph entitled 'Defence Preparations' (figure 5.27) we can see seven privates of the Regiment building a fence around the perimeter of camp. The seven men are all kneeling whilst working. Most seem to be working on the fence but one is mending a drum. Only the private in the middle of the photograph is turned to face the camera. All of the privates have their sleeves rolled up, emphasising that they are working with their hands in potentially messy conditions. The trees above the men

have possibly provided them with building materials and shelter them from the sun as they work. In this photograph the privates are doing what is expected of them as troops of African descent, making use of the African landscape and working intensively in temperatures believed to be too hot for Europeans. Interestingly, they are carrying out manual labour in a place where native carriers and labour were often used to carry out such tasks.



*Figure 5.27: Charles Howard Foulkes, 1898, 'Defence Preparations', Foulkes 3/13
Photograph album relating to Sierra Leone, LHCMA, Kings College London*

The availability of native labourers to carry out building work throughout camp is highlighted in a photograph of the commander of one of the Regiment's companies, Major Stansfield. In this photograph (see figure 5.28) Stansfield stands within a bivouac as it is constructed around him by a local labourer who is crouched above him thatching the roof. It is quite possible that both of these photographs were taken in the same location, Port Lokko. It is also likely that they were taken at a similar phase of the campaign as both photographs have been displayed on pages with other scenes of Port Lokko such as the creek, the pathway into the town and the hospital. The two pages on which the two photographs are presented are also next to

each other in the album, separated only by the album's spine (see figure 5.29). Both photographs capture moments of arrival at a new base. Their close proximity highlights the differences in the activities expected of privates and officers during this moment.



Figure 5.28: Charles Howard Foulkes, 1898, 'Major Stansfield W.I.R.', Foulkes 3/13 Photograph album relating to Sierra Leone, LHCMA, Kings College London

In the photograph 'Major Stansfield WIR', we see Stansfield standing almost upright but for the slight bend in his left knee. He appears relaxed, his right arm hanging loosely at his side and his left holding a pipe, perhaps in celebration of reaching his destination after a long march. His pose is casual but assertive and he looks confident, staring directly at the camera. The African labourer working for him above his head adds to this sense of confidence. There is a box at his feet, and as he smokes the camp will be built around him. He has nothing to worry about.

Everything else in the photograph is positioned in relation to his form, further emphasising his control over the scene and his centrality to the events that were unfolding. With his confident pose and tropical helmet, he looks like the archetypal colonial adventurer. The fact that he has been allowed to pose, unlike the privates who were likely captured without being given the same opportunity as in figure 5.22, highlights the difference in respect given to commissioned officers and rank and file. Foulkes was of a much lower rank than Major Stansfield and his military training will have conditioned him to have a certain level of respect and admiration for his superior. As a result, Stansfield, like the officer posing with the Gatling gun in figure 5.23, has been given the opportunity to control his representation and present the best possible image. The image of confidence presented by Stansfield was a misleading one, as throughout their time in Port Lokko and Karene the British forces were under constant attack from an enemy that they often could not see. Instead of an atmosphere of confidence, Wallis writes that the camps had one of nervousness, where sleepless nights and fatigue were common.⁴⁰⁵

⁴⁰⁵ Wallis, *The Advance of our West African Empire*, p. 68.

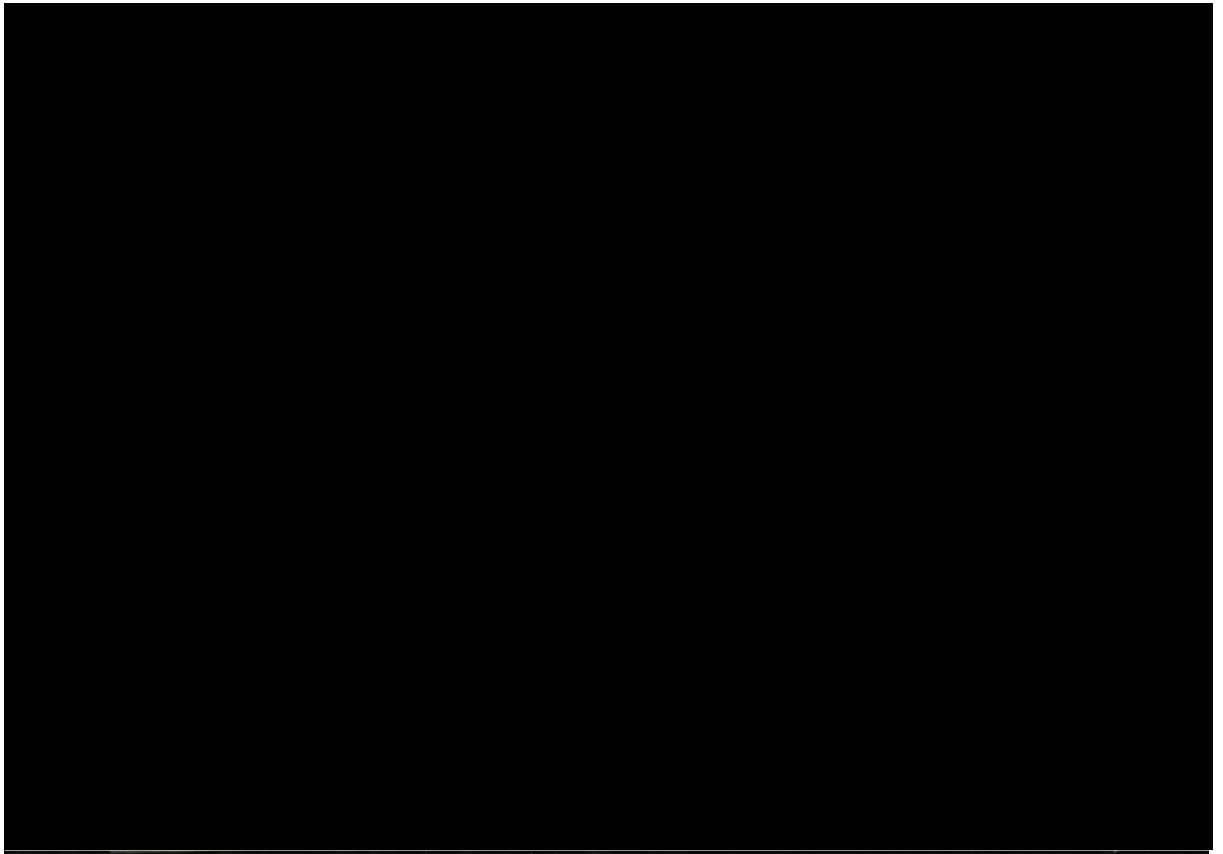
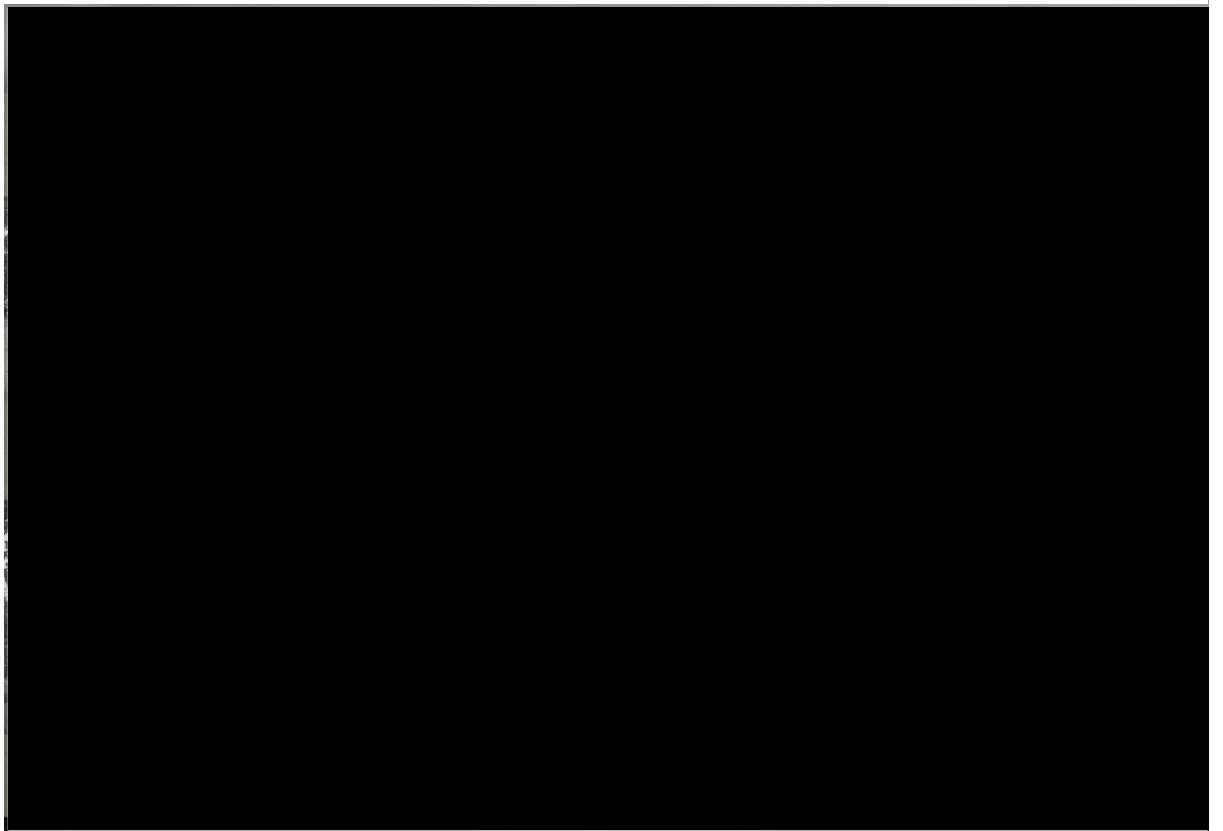


Figure 5.29: Charles Howard Foulkes, 1898, Double page spread including 'Defence Preparations' and 'Major Stansfield WIR', Foulkes 3/13 Photograph album relating to Sierra Leone, LHCMA, Kings College London



Looking at the two photographs together highlights the differences in how black privates and white officers experienced life on campaign. The Regiment's black privates were required to carry out manual labour and building work around the camp, whilst the white officers like Major Stansfield literally had the camps built around them. Despite native labourers being available to build accommodation and work spaces for white officers, Foulkes' photographs imply that they were not called upon to help construct the camp's defences. This was clearly thought to be the duty of the Regiment's black privates, or at least Foulkes wished for those viewing his album to think as much. The differences between the roles and experiences of the Regiment's black privates and white officers are also brought to our attention by Foulkes in these two photographs through the clear similarities in the portrayals of the native labourer and the black privates. The native labourer working above Stansfield's head continues with his work unperturbed by the presence of the photographer just as the majority of the privates constructing defences around the camp do. Just as he works with leaves to thatch the roof, the private of the Regiment furthest to the left in 'Defence Preparations' works with a large pile of leaves at the end of the fence.

Of course, these different roles were due to differences in rank. Officers would not have been expected to carry out manual tasks, whereas if white privates were present they may well have been. However, the ability of those of African descent to better acclimatise to conditions in Sierra Leone was widely proclaimed and was a key determinant in the decision to use the Regiment's soldiers to garrison the colony. This meant that they would have been required to carry out more intensive tasks in the heat, whilst officers were carried around in hammocks even to carry out inspections. When the Regiment's black soldiers failed to acclimatise, as was widely assumed they could, they were criticised, and their utility and purpose

questioned as has been demonstrated in other parts of this chapter.⁴⁰⁶ However, white officers were expected to be provided with the comforts and luxuries of home life. The reasons for the allocation of tasks therefore lay in beliefs about racial characteristics as well as military rank.

The fact that many African governors berated the privates of the WIRs for their inability to acclimatise implies that racial distinctions supporting the use of the Regiment were also applied to decisions about the living conditions, support, and food that they should receive on campaign. At the time Foulkes was despatched to Sierra Leone, these very critiques were being used to promote the formation of the WAR and WAFF. During the same year as the Hut Tax expedition the Governor of Lagos complained that the WIR required ‘as much or more transport than European troops’ and called them ‘excessively pampered’.⁴⁰⁷ His comments highlight that despite receiving equal pay to white Europeans of the same rank, the WIR’s black troops were not seen as Europeans, nor were they expected to live like them. They were seen as Africans and were to live as such. However, their failure to do this was essential to the formation of the WAR and the WAFF, as comments expressed in the parliamentary debate called before recruitment for the WAFF demonstrate. Secretary of State for the Colonies Joseph Chamberlain called the WIRs ‘a most admirable military force’ but outlined that ‘as they are not natives of the country, they require in the way of transports and other particularly, very much more expense than anything that would be required for a purely native force’. He argued that if the

⁴⁰⁶ In 1888 Sir Garnet Wolseley reflected that the WIRs had lost much of their utility as they had become too far removed from their African origins. These comments are discussed in detail on p. 99.

⁴⁰⁷ S. C. Ukpabi. ‘West Indian Troops and the Defence of British West Africa in the Nineteenth Century’, p. 146.

WAFF was established it would be possible to ‘dispense altogether with the employment of the WIRs’ when carrying out expeditions in West Africa.⁴⁰⁸

Further evidence of this is clear from the comments of an officer who was at one time second-in-command of the West African Frontier Force. In his memoirs he advised that the true value and potential of the WIR would not be realised so long as they were treated like Europeans and that ‘black men must have a code of their own’.⁴⁰⁹ In acting like European troops they were seen as failures, whilst when their officers acted in this way they were presented as adventurers and pioneers. Although regarded as the equals of European troops when it came to wages, they were expected to carry their own belongings through the African bush, live off the landscape when required, and behave like the savage armies they had been brought in to repress. English manhood was seen as a civilising force, with European men expected to demonstrate manly qualities and promote them to lesser civilisations. West Indian manhood it seems was expected to be more flexible, and less civilised when necessary. When the WIR failed to display this flexibility, they were presented as inadequate.⁴¹⁰ Race and rank were therefore both important in defining the different roles of privates and officers of the Regiment when on campaign that Foulkes captured on camera.

Clear differences between the representation of officers and privates of the Regiment are also evident in the recognition that both groups received for their sacrifices in the field. In fact, in Foulkes’ album as well as in the wider network of print media, little acknowledgement is given to what the privates of the Regiment

⁴⁰⁸ S. C. Ukpabi, ‘The Origins of the West African Frontier Force’, *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*, 3:3 (1966), pp. 485-501, p. 499.

⁴⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 147.

⁴¹⁰ John Tosh and Michael Roper, ‘Introduction: Historians and the politics of masculinity, in Tosh and Roper (eds.), *Manful Assertions: Masculinities in Britain since 1800* (London, 1991), p. 14.

had done.⁴¹¹ Such absences are referenced by Ukpabi with regards to the image and reality of British colonial wars in West Africa. He writes of certain British historians and colonial officials that ‘there was also the tendency on their part to claim all the military glory therefrom whilst losing sight of the fact that most of the victories were won by the use of African troops’.⁴¹² It is worth considering Foulkes’ representation of death on campaign to emphasise this point. During the Hut Tax expeditions around Karene and Port Lokko, three officers and eight non-commissioned officers and men were killed. Losses were not heavy therefore, but a significant number of men from the Regiment died during the conflict.⁴¹³ Foulkes captures these losses in five photographs of graves, arranged together on a page, along with one captured of himself when he was unwell (see figure 5.30).

⁴¹¹ See the discussion related to the award ceremony photographs from St Lucia in Chapter Three, for further evidence of this, pp. 107-12.

⁴¹² S. C. Ukpabi, ‘British Colonial Wars in West Africa: Image and Reality’ *Civilisations*, 20:3 (1970), pp. 379-404, p.379.

⁴¹³ Despatch from Colonel Woodgate, Commanding Troops, to His Excellency the Governor and Commander-in-Chief, Sierra Leone, 9 January 1899, printed in the *London Gazette*, 29 December 1899.

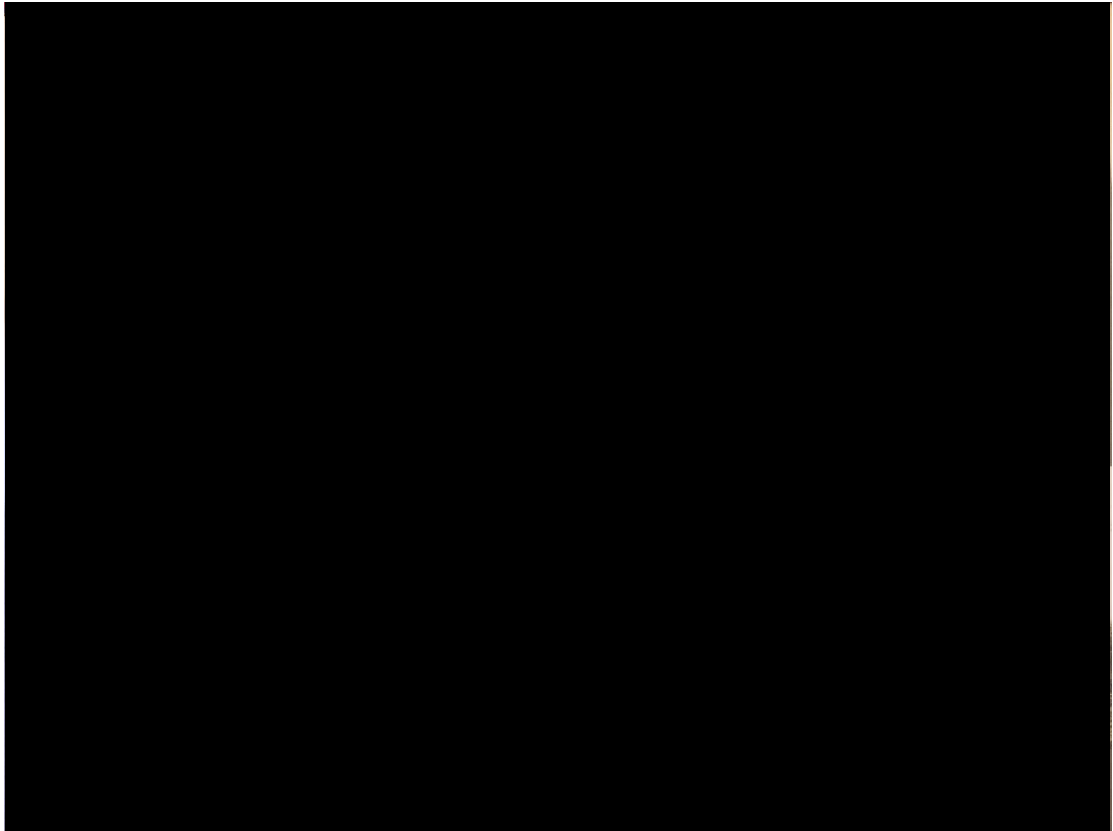


Figure 5.30: Charles Howard Foulkes, ca.1898 'Port Lokko Cemetery', Foulkes 3/13
Photograph album relating to Sierra Leone, LHCMA, Kings College London

In these five photographs, labelled as 'Port Lokko country, graves of WIR Officers Sierra Leone hinterland', Foulkes shows the human cost of the expeditions in visual form. The photographs capture two large cement gravestones, six smaller crosses, and a wooden cross next to a palm tree. These six smaller crosses could all be distinct, or a lesser number of crosses simply captured from different positions. Foulkes was personally involved in the construction of the graves four years after the war had ended. When traveling upcountry to choose a suitable location for a new garrison for the West Africa Regiment, he was asked to take with him some monumental crosses and ornamental chain surrounds to erect for WIR Officers who died in 1898, bringing him back to a location where he may have witnessed the deaths of his friends. The men had not been properly buried until this time, due to a belief that the local people would dig up and mutilate the corpses to stop them

passing into the next world.⁴¹⁴ His photographs of the graveyard are poignant, and present his audience with the harsh reality that despite allegedly superior firepower, masculine qualities, and strategy, European officers were not guaranteed to return home from African campaigns. Furthermore, their bodies would not make it back to their families, leaving them isolated and deserted in the African hinterland where they were vulnerable to attack even in death. It is clear from Foulkes' decision to include a photograph of himself whilst unwell that he believed he was at risk of dying whilst in Sierra Leone and feared a similar fate. By including the photograph of himself he is acknowledging his own fears of mortality and his awareness of the risks he had taken in deciding to work and fight on the colonial frontier.

Of course, as the mortality figures outlined, black privates also died on campaign, but they were not memorialised in the same way as those commanding them. Foulkes' memoir does not tell us whether their graves remained unmarked or even whether they were properly buried at all. The importance of providing them with a headstone years after the conflict was not recognised by those at the barracks in Freetown. As in life, their lives were worth less than that of their European officers. During the campaign too, their deaths went unacknowledged in the newspapers. Although the *Daily Graphic* printed news of injuries and deaths of British officers received by telegram, it did not share the news of any deaths amongst the men they commanded. For example, on 18 May the newspaper reported that Lieutenant Ricketts had been killed in Karene. In the case of Lieutenant Brown Cave, the public were treated to at least three updates about his injury and progress.⁴¹⁵ Lieutenant Yeld was given even more recognition and his photograph was printed in the *Daily Graphic* along with a brief biography (see figure 5.31). Yeld

⁴¹⁴ LHCMA Foulkes 4/4, Draft and working papers for the unpublished memoir *Adventures of an Engineer Subaltern*, p. 130.

⁴¹⁵ *Daily Graphic*, 24, 27 May 1898.

had been in the Regiment for just four years and died at the age of twenty-nine.⁴¹⁶

Interestingly, Yeld's grave is the one that most stands out in Foulkes' graveyard photograph arrangement (see figures 5.31 and 5.32).

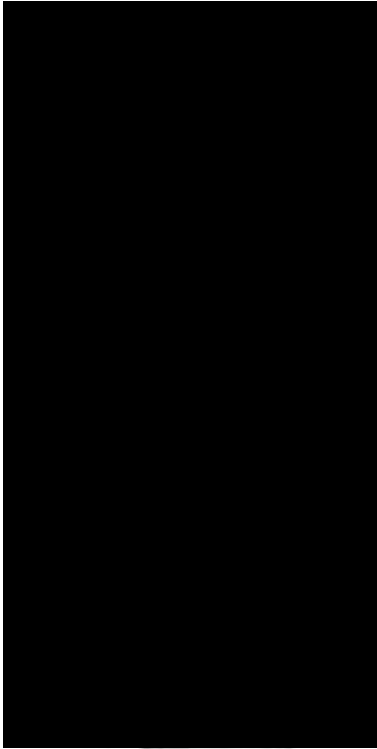


Figure 5.31: Anon., ca. 1898, Lieutenant Yeld, reproduced in the Daily Graphic, 31 March 1898

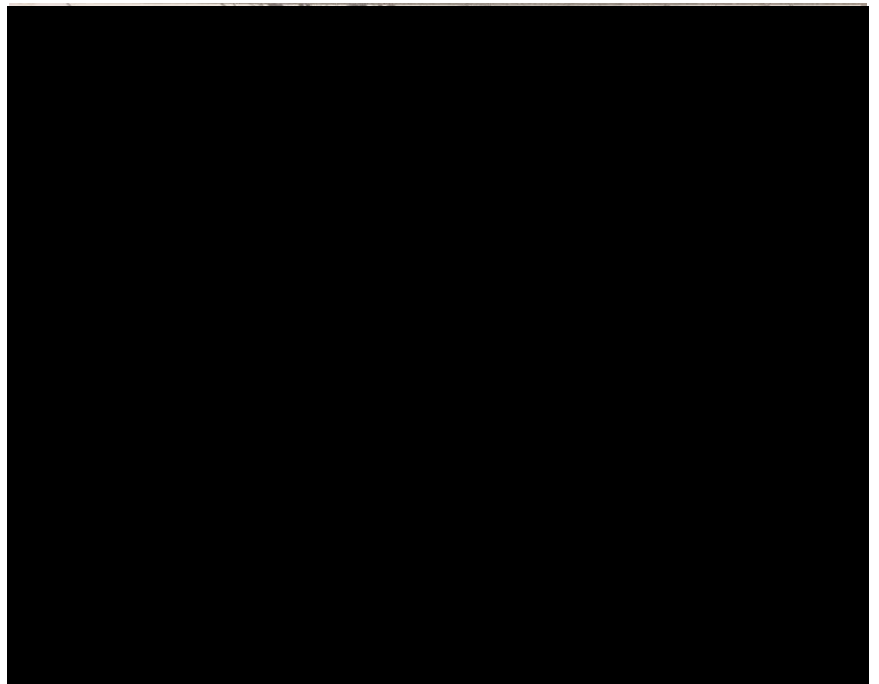


Figure 5.32: Charles Howard Foulkes, ca.1898, Detail of 'Port Lokko Cemetery' showing Yeld's Grave, Foulkes 3/13 Photograph album relating to Sierra Leone, LHCMA, Kings College London

The photograph of Yeld in the *Daily Graphic*, the newspaper's acknowledgement of the deaths of other officers, and Foulkes' photographs and memoir demonstrate that during the Hut Tax war the opportunity to be presented as a hero was restricted to those of officer rank and therefore almost solely to those of European descent. Black heroes did not appear in the narratives about the conflict, just black villains from the opposing side, ensuring that this colonial war allocated prestige and victory only to white men. In Foulkes' photographs of the campaign, the Regiment's black privates are not represented in a way that glorifies or celebrates

⁴¹⁶ *Daily Graphic*, 31 March 1898.

their presence or contributions. In Foulkes' photographs of death on campaign they are not represented at all. As has been argued throughout, Foulkes did not believe the black privates were good soldiers and in his memoir, refers to them as 'the refuse of Sierra Leone' who were 'recruited too often among the loafers of the West Indies' and were 'troublesome and litigious'.⁴¹⁷ Although he also had a low opinion of some of the Regiment's senior officers, half of whom he believed were physically unfit, these men were still memorialised in death in his photographs and in the British newspapers. The ability to be worthy of acknowledgement and remembrance was directly related to race and rank rather than competence, with official despatches from the conflict also not referring to any wounded or killed privates by name. Only one WIR private was commended for his conduct and this was for the conflict in the south rather than that at the focus of this chapter.⁴¹⁸

The binaries of race and rank are confused and challenged in two of Foulkes' photographs. In these photographs, what are usually exclusive categories of race and rank are complicated by the presence of an officer of African descent. This is something that was extremely unusual and although some officers were able to reach the rank of corporal, they were unlikely to progress much further. For this reason, only one other photograph of the Regiment that has been analysed as part of this research includes a black officer: a photograph of the Regiment's band from around 1905.⁴¹⁹ Unlike other photographs of officers captured by Foulkes, in one photograph this officer does not stand out, nor are we drawn to his face (see figure 5.33). In fact, we have to look closely to notice that his heritage may not be fully European. However, he is carrying out an inspection of his troops and was likely to have been

⁴¹⁷ LHCMA Foulkes, 4/1 Draft and working papers for the unpublished memoir *Adventures of an Engineer Subaltern*, p. 37.

⁴¹⁸ *London Gazette*, 29 December 1899.

⁴¹⁹ Boxer, *Jamaica in Black and White*, p. 77. See also figure 3.10, p. 95.

the leader of a particular column. Whether Foulkes intended for this officer to be less distinguishable because of his heritage is unclear, and his memoirs do not mention a non-white officer. Perhaps as a man of mixed heritage himself (Foulkes had an Indian mother and a British father) Foulkes did not wish to draw attention to the man's exceptional status. A photograph of a group of WIR officers, most likely taken at the camp in Port Lokko, gives us a clearer view of this individual implying that his identity was not something that Foulkes intended to hide (see figure 5.34). The officer stands assertively in the centre of the photograph, arms folded and in full campaign dress. Next to him stands Major Stansfield, and beneath him stands the officer who posed with the Gatling gun. His place at the centre of the photograph ensures that he commands our attention regardless of his race. In contrast to the other black figures in the photograph he is not obscured and has an assertive posture. He is distinct from them due to rank which has divested him with the tropical helmet and uniform of an officer of European descent.

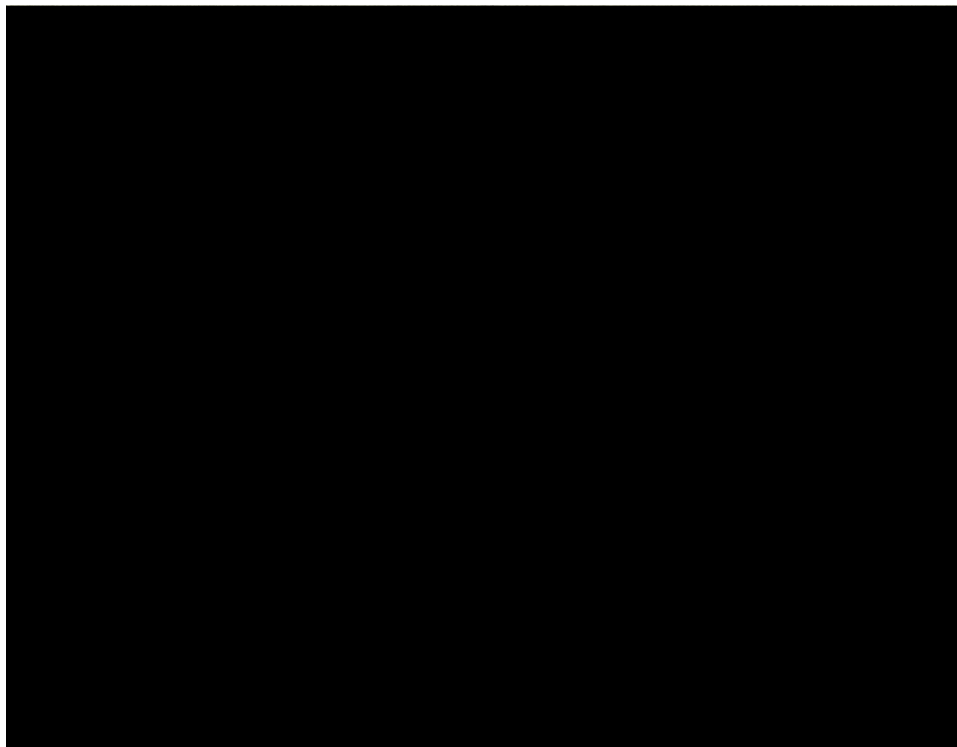
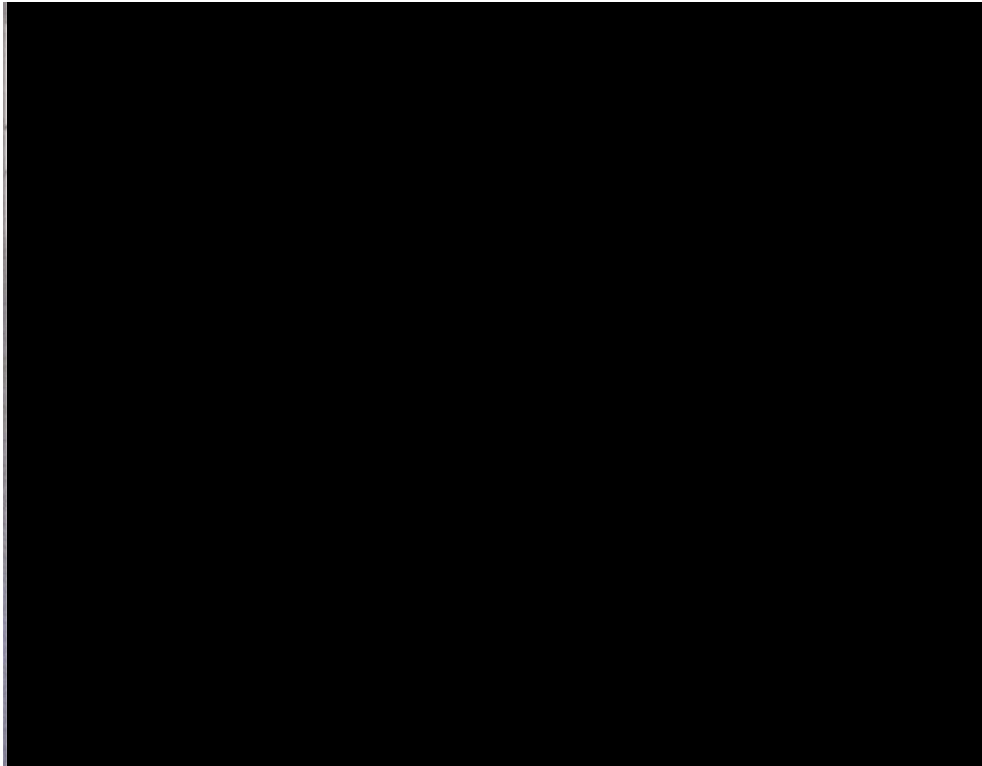


Figure 5.33: Charles Howard Foulkes, 1898, 'WIR starting for trek', Foulkes 3/13 Photograph album relating to Sierra Leone, LHCMA, Kings College London



*Figure 5.34: Charles Howard Foulkes, 1898, 'WIR officers', Foulkes 3/13
Photograph album relating to Sierra Leone, LHCMA, Kings College London*

As well as highlighting the possible presence of non-white officers on campaign with the Regiment in Sierra Leone, this photograph helps to demonstrate the difference in Foulkes' presentation of groups of the Regiment's officers and groups of privates. As outlined in the discussion of the photographs of privates travelling, when depicted as a group, they were often de-individualised and treated as passive subjects. They were not given the opportunity to control their representation through choosing empowering or favourable poses unlike the mostly staged photographs of officers and are often depicted as followers being led by others and therefore also not in control of their own actions. The officers in this photograph have been able to pose as they wish, rather than being captured at a distance without knowledge that a photograph is even being taken. Their importance is emphasised but their position in the centre of the frame and the arrangement of the carriers and privates in the gaps between them and to their sides and are therefore partially obscured. Because of his rank, the officer of African descent in this photograph has

been given this opportunity, unlike all of the other black soldiers depicted in the album. The representation of this officer and the opportunity given to him to control it, demonstrates that in Foulkes' album differences of rank did determine differences in representation, even when differences of race were not necessarily present.

This suggests that Foulkes' portrayal of officers could have been as much influenced by relationships and familiarity with them as his prejudices towards the WIR's black privates. The fact that he held some racialised views is indisputable due to other comments in his memoirs, but in some cases clearly military rank was able to push these views into the background and have a greater impact on representation. His representation of the WAR also implies that his portrayal of the WIR was rooted in beliefs that were circulating around him at the time about the men's uselessness during West African campaigns. Furthermore, Foulkes' inclusion of an officer of African descent, who had perhaps been able to rise through the ranks and the lack of attention given to this in his memoirs in contrast to his other racialised comments, appears to undermine the overall message of his Sierra Leone album that the WIR's black soldiers were incapable and made of poor fighting material. As with the importance of his images in demonstrating that the men of the WIR were an active military force engaged in more than dress parades and decorating tourist attractions at a time when their role in defending the Caribbean was become less necessary, his inclusion of the officer of African descent demonstrates that the image of the WIR was often contested even within the same album or group of sources.

Conclusions

Foulkes' photographs of the Regiment in Sierra Leone are particularly important to the history of the Regiment's representation. Unlike most of the photographs discussed in this thesis, they depict the Regiment participating in an actual war with

a foreign enemy, handling weapons, travelling to fight, and setting up camp. These photographs therefore contrast greatly with the less dynamic photographs of the Regiment originating and circulating from the Caribbean that mostly depict the black privates on parade and awaiting inspection. However, despite differences in the activities that the WIR are carrying out, similar representations are used, particularly those that place the viewer in the role of observer or inspector and the privates as passive subjects. Although Foulkes' low opinions of the Regiment's black privates most likely influenced his representation of them, their inclusion in the album carrying out important roles related to defence and playing a major part in the maintenance of colonial control over the Sierra Leone Protectorate, cannot be ignored. Evidence of the scars on the landscape caused by the actions that they carried out have also been captured by Foulkes emphasising their importance in the suppression of unrest on both sides of the Atlantic.

Their complicated roles as troops of African heritage who were part of the British army, paid at equal rates to white counterparts, yet expected to behave like acclimatised Africans when necessary, are highlighted through Foulkes' album, demonstrating that the image of the WIRs was contested with regards to Foulkes' representation of them. That Foulkes arranged his albums in such a specific way and to promote the message that the men of the WIRs were 'made of poor fighting material' suggests that the image of the men carried meaning for him, despite him being an officer from another regiment, much like Gulland. Also highlighted is the maintenance of differences between them and their officers due to both rank and race. Their martial qualities are questioned by Foulkes through his choice of content and layout, and as an audience we are encouraged to compare and contrast them to white officers, local ethnic groups, and native labourers. The way in which Foulkes has positioned the photographs in his album is essential to understanding the album's

meaning and significance. Foulkes was able to alter and expand upon the meanings of his photographs through arrangement, helping us to understand his photographs in relation to each other and decipher when and where they may have been taken when this information has not been given.

The circulation of these photographs at the time of the conflict was limited. Foulkes did not submit his photographs to the newspapers, lamenting in his memoirs that the Hut Tax rebellion received little of their attention. This was perhaps because the government had been heavily criticised for the war, which mercantile interests saw as an unnecessary obstruction to trade.⁴²⁰ Foulkes did send his photographs of the Hut Tax rebellion in an album to Sierra Leone's governor, however the Governor was uninterested and only responded with a gentle rebuke that the rising was not caused by the Hut Tax.⁴²¹ It is therefore likely that the photographs went unseen, except within his personal networks, until they entered the archives. Unfortunately, Foulkes' album is the only one to represent the Regiment in a campaign situation in such a comprehensive way, making it difficult to know how typical Foulkes' representation of the Regiment in Sierra Leone was. Five photograph albums put together by a second lieutenant of the WIR, Reginald Hignett Wilford in Sierra Leone three years later and at a time of peace, contain only two photographs of black privates.⁴²²

It seems fitting to end this chapter with the triumphant return of the Regiment to the West Indies, where the geographical focus will return for the remainder of this thesis. Although the conflict and the contribution of the Regiment was mostly sidelined in the popular press, their arrival in Jamaica was covered by the local

⁴²⁰ Ukpabi, 'British Colonial Wars in West Africa: Image and Reality', p. 390.

⁴²¹ LHCMA Foulkes 4/1 Draft and working papers for the unpublished memoir *Adventures of an Engineer Subaltern*, p. 40.

⁴²² National Army Museum, Stevenage, 2006-04-1 to 2006-04-8: Eight photograph albums compiled by Reginald Hignett Wilford, West India Regiment, 1900-1901.

correspondent of the *Pall Mall Gazette* whose narrative, like Foulkes' photographs, records their contribution but gives higher praise to their officers and alludes to their lack of discipline. Despite calling the men 'among the bravest of the soldiers of the queen' the author cannot help but imply that the officers have had to work hard to keep their troops in line. Writing that 'sun tanned officers stare steadily in front of them, so that today at least they may not have to notice infractions of discipline' he makes his beliefs about the behaviour of the privates clear. He looks forward forebodingly to the soldiers' next departure when 'they will probably create a terrible riot the night before...and lives will be lost'.⁴²³

⁴²³ National Library of Jamaica, Kingston, Manuscripts Collection, MS201 West India Regiment Scrapbook.

Chapter Six: The West India Regiments and the Tourist Gaze

Introduction

Beyond their role in expanding and securing the British Empire, the WIRs were used to promote an image of the Caribbean that was attractive to both potential visitors and investors. To this end, they appeared not as aggressive, violent figures, but as local attractions who could guide and perform for tourists. The portrayal of the Caribbean as a safe and secure space was as important for tourism as it was for the colonial project more broadly, and photographic images of WIR personnel and their associated martial landscapes helped to establish this. Moreover, whether guarding against internal rebels or merely serving as a reassuring presence for visitors, the soldiers served the interests of white colonists and visitors rather than the African-Caribbean population. Indeed, their touristic performances in sites associated with racial division – such as Jamaica’s Myrtle Bank Hotel, which barred the black population from entering until the late 1940s – reinforced local hierarchies of race, class, and colour.⁴²⁴

The WIRs were also used to advertise the region to those who could not travel. Their physical and pictorial presence at world’s fairs that brought the empire to London and other major world cities, meant that photographs of them reached and influenced a range of audiences. Tourist accounts reflected upon the look and behaviour of the Regiments and described leisure time spent with them. Through postcards and other photographs that circulated of them in tourist albums, the WIRs even reached those armchair travellers and families of travellers who viewed the world from the comfort of their own sitting rooms. The WIRs’ white officers sometimes behaved in similar ways to tourists. They often spent only short periods

⁴²⁴ Wilkes, *Whiteness, Weddings and Tourism*, p. 130.

of time in the Caribbean, travelled to the same sights, and attended the same social gatherings as those visiting for non-military business and leisure. As a result, the photographs that they captured and circulated were very similar to non-military personnel who visited the region.

This chapter will focus on the photographs captured and collected by different types of visitors to the Caribbean and the contested image of the WIRs that they present. It will be organised around the gazes of the military tourist, the expert (or scientific) tourist, and the prospective investor. Each had a different relationship with the Caribbean's landscape and people, and this is reflected in the images that they captured and collected. John Urry and Jonas Larsen state in their seminal work, *The Tourist Gaze*, that there is no single tourist gaze but one that varies by society, social group, and by historical period. Tourist gazes are also structured by social categories such as class, gender, ethnicity, and age.⁴²⁵ This chapter will therefore explore how contested and meaningful images of the WIRs were with regards to the different groups of people who circulated, purchased, and captured photographs of them. It will outline how each type of visitor utilised images of the WIRs to symbolise and reflect the Caribbean region. It will also explore some of the similarities between the images that appealed to all audiences, and what these similarities can tell us about the representation of the WIRs and the Caribbean more broadly.

From Death Spot to Hotspot: Early Tourism in the Caribbean

Prior to the mid-nineteenth century, tourism in the Caribbean was not a common occurrence, and not until the 1950s did it become a mass pursuit. Before emancipation, those who travelled to the Caribbean for business and leisure often

⁴²⁵ Urry and Larsen, *The Tourist Gaze* 3.0, p. 2.

had connections to its plantations and slave-based economy. The early hospitality sector developed around such interests, and urban centres catered to these visitors providing them with inns, taverns, restaurants, and bars.⁴²⁶ The reason for the limited number of visitors centred around the stigma that the region was a graveyard for white Europeans, who often quickly succumbed to tropical diseases.⁴²⁷ Heavily connected to this stigma were the military personnel who had served in the Caribbean. Buckley writes that for white British troops in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, serving in the West Indies ‘was to a large extent a hopeless struggle against a debilitating climate and the fatal ravages of yellow fever’.⁴²⁸ Of course, it was high death rates amongst such troops at a time when the British military was already overstretched in the Caribbean, combined with beliefs that those of African descent could better withstand the climate and diseases in the region, that had led to the decision to raise the WIRs initially.⁴²⁹ Improvements to these high military death rates were key to changing the reputation of Jamaica and other Caribbean islands. Before photographs of the Regiments were used to promote the region, the improving reputation of Caribbean military service offered visitors reassurance about travelling there.⁴³⁰ Images and texts shared by military officials about the region had therefore long been key in circulating opinions about the region.

This new reputation for the Caribbean repackaged the islands as health resorts. In 1869, British Army Surgeon Major Bacot described Nassau as ‘the winter resort of invalids from the continent of America’, a place where those who suffered during cold weather could seek respite and better health.⁴³¹ Recommending the

⁴²⁶ Fraser and Hall, *Island in the Sun*, p. 17.

⁴²⁷ Thompson, *An Eye for the Tropics*, 2006, p. 4; Frank Fonda Taylor, *To Hell with Paradise: A History of the Jamaican Tourist Industry* (London, 1993), p. 9.

⁴²⁸ Roger Buckley, ‘The Early History of the West India Regiments’, p. 8.

⁴²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 29, pp. 45-6.

⁴³⁰ Taylor, *To Hell with Paradise*, pp. 15-16, p. 23, p. 22.

⁴³¹ Major John Thomas Watson Bacot, *The Bahamas: A Sketch* (London, 1869), p. 56.

climate to American and European visitors, he alleged that ‘even in sanitary arrangements, Nassau contrasts favourably with some of the health-resorts of Europe’.⁴³² From Jamaica, a similar story was spread to those in the North Atlantic that sold the island as a tropical spa where the sick could seek their recovery in the island’s highlands.⁴³³ Even Barbados, which lacked the natural springs and mineral baths that other islands were blessed with, was able to develop a reputation as health resort due to its cool and dry climate.⁴³⁴ The fact that the islands were re-branded as medically safe was essential to their ability to attract visitors. Equally as important, was their reputation as quiet and safe places for white Europeans to visit and inhabit. Emphasising the security of the islands was essential to this, and the military presence of the WIRs as well as civilian police were key components of the islands’ safe image.

Alongside concerns about health and security, the history of enslavement on the islands played a significant role in the narratives used to promote the region to tourists. In fact, tourism developed as a response to the economic decline that most of the British West Indies faced following emancipation. The reduced profits of the sugar industry that resulted from labour shortages and the advent of free trade made West Indian sugar uncompetitive.⁴³⁵ Coupled with the fear of financial stagnation was the fear that the white population’s size would fall too far behind that of the growing black population.⁴³⁶ Attracting white visitors was therefore seen as just as essential to the flourishing of society as the flourishing of the economy, and was encouraged through guides such as Owen T. Bulkeley’s *The Lesser Antilles* that aimed to ‘induce a new energetic set of men to reclaim these beautiful islands from

⁴³² *Ibid.*, p. 73.

⁴³³ Taylor, *To Hell with Paradise*, p. 31.

⁴³⁴ Fraser and Hall, *Islands in the Sun*, p. 13.

⁴³⁵ Taylor, *To Hell with Paradise*, p. 30.

⁴³⁶ Wilkes, *Whiteness, Weddings and Tourism*, pp. 127-8.

the downward path they have too long been pursuing'.⁴³⁷ To do this, many aspects of the plantation economy that had previously attracted white investment to the region were refashioned to aid the growth of the tourist market. Great plantation houses were turned into hotels and other foundations of the old industry, such as the emphasis on black servitude and its contrast with white wealth and luxury, were key to promoting the new tourist sector.⁴³⁸ From the 1860s onwards, colonial governments began to invest in building large hotels to accommodate and attract higher volumes of tourists. The Royal Victoria hotel in the Bahamas opened in 1861, partly funded by a government loan of £125,000.⁴³⁹ It was the first major hotel to open in the region, spurred by a boost in visitors to the Bahamas during the US Civil War that turned Nassau into 'the clearing house for trade, intrigue, and high adventure'.⁴⁴⁰ Other islands soon followed, encouraging the building of their own large luxury hotels spurred on by government incentives.

The Intersection Between Two Modern Practices: Tourism and Photography

As tourism expanded in the Caribbean, so too did photography, and many authors emphasise the connection between these two 'modern' practices. Travel and image-making had long been connected, with illustrated travelogues, sketches and paintings made on tourist trips being key to the promotion of early tourism and overseas settlement. Peter Osborne writes that 'all forms of travel, and therefore all forms of photography outside the metropolitan centres were in some way touched by colonialism'.⁴⁴¹ As a result the images generated by, and to cater to, European and

⁴³⁷ Owen T. Bulkeley, *The Lesser Antilles: A Guide for Settlers in the BWI* (London, 1889), p. 5.

⁴³⁸ Wilkes, *Whiteness, Weddings and Tourism*, p. 130, p. 134, p. 136.

⁴³⁹ Thompson, *An Eye for the Tropics*, p. 94; Polly Pattullo, *Last Resorts: The Cost of Tourism in the Caribbean* (London, 1996), p. 9.

⁴⁴⁰ Thelma Peters, 'Blockade-Running in the Bahamas During the Civil War', *Tequesta*, 5 (1945), pp. 16-29, p. 16.

⁴⁴¹ Peter D. Osborne, *Travelling Light: Photography, Travel and Visual Culture* (Manchester, 2000), p. 6, p. 11, p. 18.

American tourists confirmed that they were at the centre of a global system in which they had a controlling role. Photographs ‘established the blessed position of the middle class’ by visually representing regions and peoples that had been conquered and the wealth that had been secured as a result.⁴⁴² Photographs were therefore essential in establishing the traveller or consumer’s ideas about where they stood in global and racial hierarchies. They took these ideas with them when they travelled to new locations and expected local populations to be aware of them. As photographs and the views they presented became standardised, so too did tourist experiences in the places that they captured.⁴⁴³ Visitors would seek to travel to places that they had seen in photographs and when they reached these sights, would replicate the images they had seen with their own ones. Tourist photographs can also give great insights into how western and non-western cultures interacted, and as a result how western visitors and settlers interacted with the WIRs.⁴⁴⁴ The roles that the WIRs and their white officers are assigned in photographs taken and consumed by tourists will give an indication of their role in Caribbean society more generally and how they were used to promote the region in which they were based.

With regards to tourist photographs of the WIRs, how they present the Regiments for visual consumption is extremely important. Numerous theoretical writings on photographs discuss the power relations present in capturing and consuming the medium, and by photographing and purchasing photographs of the Regiments, visitors to the Caribbean turned its soldiers into objects that could be possessed.⁴⁴⁵ It also turned them into subjects or attractions that were there to be viewed at a distance and watched by those in possession of cameras. By taking

⁴⁴² Osbourne, *Travelling Light*., pp. 56-7.

⁴⁴³ Steve Garlick, ‘Revealing the Unseen: Tourism, Art, and Photography’, *Cultural Studies*, 16: 2 (2002), p. 293.

⁴⁴⁴ Garlick, ‘Revealing the Unseen’, p. 290.

⁴⁴⁵ Sontag, cited in Garlick, ‘Revealing the Unseen’, pp. 289-305, p. 291.

photographs, tourists were able to take control of spaces by ordering the sights and inhabitants they captured, and as a result they were the ones with the power with regards to their interactions with the Regiments and the Regiments' representation when circulating their images.⁴⁴⁶

Photographs were also essential in shaping the image of the Caribbean more generally, and Krista Thompson writes that colonial governments and businessmen hired local photographers as well as those from Britain and America to help them to change the Caribbean's image. Their representations focused on exotic tropical nature and picturesque natives who 'seemed loyal, disciplined, and clean British colonial subjects'.⁴⁴⁷ Such photographs, including those of the Regiments, aimed to convince travellers that black subjects in the Caribbean were civilised and loyal, and that resultantly the region was safe and clean. Tourist images reduced the Regiments and the rest of the Caribbean's inhabitants to being part of the scenery and many travel narratives use the WIRs and their picturesque uniforms to add to the description of tourist scenes. An example of this occurs in Stark's guide to Jamaica where he describes the city of Kingston:

It is very interesting to walk about the streets of Kingston, and observe the people going about in their every-day life...Yonder comes a negro soldier with turban, tight jacket, and Zouave rigging below. Near him is an East Indian coolie woman, who is gorgeously apparelled, her small hands and feet ornamented with silver bangles, and her lithe body wrapped in partycolored garments.⁴⁴⁸

⁴⁴⁶ Garlick, 'Revealing the Unseen', p. 291.

⁴⁴⁷ Thompson, *An Eye for the Tropics*, pp. 6-7.

⁴⁴⁸ James Henry Stark, *Stark's Jamaica Guide* (Boston, 1898), p. 53.

The Gaze of the Scientist or ‘Expert’ Tourist

Scientists and other ‘experts’ had long been attracted to the Caribbean due to the wide range of animal and plant life. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Europeans collected samples of plants from the region long before masses of tourists came in search of them from the late nineteenth century onwards.⁴⁴⁹ Photographs circulated amongst groups of scientists and researchers from the time of the medium’s inception, with Elizabeth Edwards writing that ‘the flow of images between scholars and other interested parties...was constant and significant’.⁴⁵⁰ During 1868 and 1869 Richard Glynn Vivian went on a voyage around the Caribbean on *the SS Atrato*. Glynn Vivian, whose family owned the largest copper works in Swansea, collated a series of albums based on the various trips he took after receiving his inheritance.⁴⁵¹ Amongst these albums was one of his Caribbean trip that contains ninety-three water colour drawings and 108 photographs, three of which are *carte-de-visite* of WIR privates demonstrating that to Glynn Vivian the WIRs were a meaningful feature of the Caribbean environment.

⁴⁴⁹ Sheller, *Consuming the Caribbean*, p. 22.

⁴⁵⁰ Elizabeth Edwards, *Raw histories: photographs, anthropology and museums* (Oxford, 2001), p. 27.

⁴⁵¹ City of Swansea, *Richard Glynn Vivian*, available at:

<http://www.swansea.gov.uk/article/7270/Richard-Glynn-Vivian>, accessed 04/05/2017.

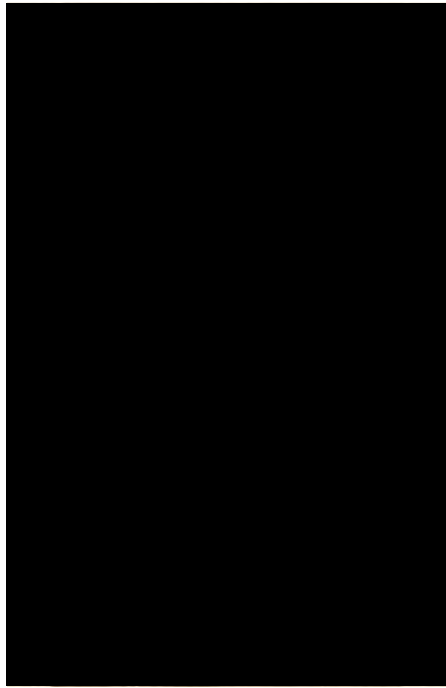


Figure 6.1: Anon., ca. 1869, Regiment with gun, Richard Glynn Vivian Album, National Library of Jamaica Digital Collection, Available at: <http://nljdigital.nlj.gov.jm/items/show/1568>

All of Glynn Vivian's photographs of the WIRs were purchased in Barbados, with his diary entry for 10 February 1869 stating 'Arrived at Barbados...Had a Glory of the Morning at Ice House. Bought photos of Black Soldiers'.⁴⁵² Glynn Vivian's decision to make a note of the purchasing of the WIR photographs in his diary demonstrates that this was a significant activity for him. Despite buying the cartes in Barbados, Glynn Vivian has positioned them on pages dedicated to other islands, perhaps reflecting that he associated the WIRs with certain locations more than others. The photograph of the WIR soldier in the Jamaica section looks the most anthropological. It features a private of the WIR posed with his gun (see figure 6.1). He is not named but his likeness was likely commercially reproduced for collectors who wanted to take home a photograph of this 'type' of soldier. His stance gives the image's audience a three-quarter view of his body as was common in portrait

⁴⁵² Glynn Vivian Art Gallery, Richard Glynn Vivian Diaries, RGV Diaries 4/cont 050413, 10 February 1869.

photographs at this time and his posture is therefore quite open, allowing the inspection of his form and his uniform. On his right side, his gun provides the viewer with an important reference point. It helps us to evaluate how straight he stands, as well as how tall he is. Furthermore, the length of the gun and its position at his side almost makes it look like the measuring rods that were used to show height measurements in later anthropometric photographs. The fact this portrait is of an unnamed soldier, who is instead made to stand for all privates of the WIR in this collectable print strengthens this similarity. In Glynn Vivian's album the photograph is positioned close to a headshot of a man with a large nose, lips and teeth, most likely seen as a typical native, adding to the idea that Glynn Vivian is trying to present a typical view of a soldier on this page. As a scientist, Glynn Vivian did make sketches of plants and animals that he came across. It appears that he was using his scientific eye with regards to this carte also. The fact that the soldiers in Glynn Vivian's portraits of men of the WIRs are not actually associated with the locations referenced on the page where they have been placed reinforces that he saw them as representations of a particular Caribbean 'type'.

The other two cartes of WIR soldiers feature on a different page of Glynn Vivian's album dedicated to his time in Georgetown, Guyana, and are contextualised with a photograph of the barracks there (see figures 6.2 to 6.3). The men's poses are even more forced than in the first carte, as stands have been used to fix their position and force them to stand up straight. The bases of the stands can be seen behind their feet. Using stands was standard practice due to the long exposure times required in the early years of photography. However, with regards to these cartes, the use of the stands adds to the scientific nature of the images. Just as the gun in the first photograph is reminiscent of a measuring rod, so are the stands used for the other two men. All three photographs therefore present the men as objects for analysis and

scientific scrutiny. Glynn Vivian's background as a man of science therefore appears to have influenced his choice of photos of the WIRs.

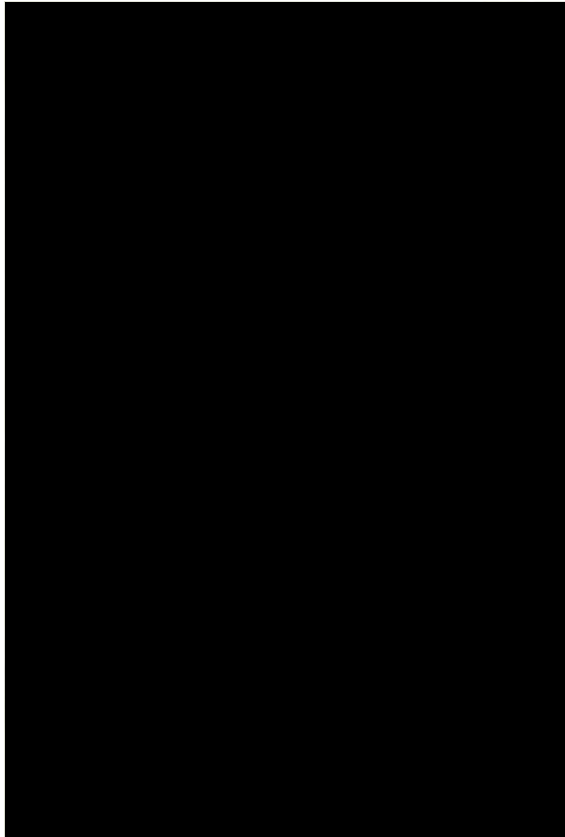


Figure 6.2: Anon., ca. 1869, West India Regiment Private, Richard Glynn Vivian Album, National Library of Jamaica Photograph Collection, National Library of Jamaica, Kingston

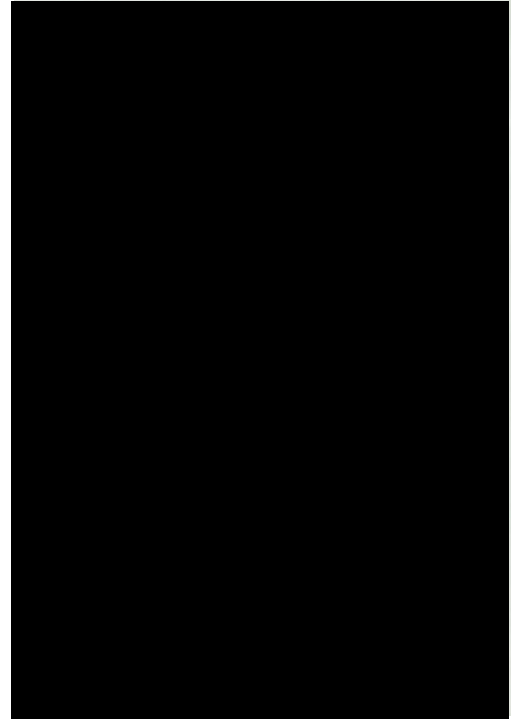


Figure 6.3: Anon., ca. 1869, West India Regiment Private, Richard Glynn Vivian Album, National Library of Jamaica Photograph Collection, National Library of Jamaica, Kingston

Glynn Vivian's desire to gather photographic images of WIR soldiers coincided with a wider imperial project of racial collection and classification. Around the time that these photographs were purchased in 1869, the biologist Thomas Henry Huxley began a mission to gather photographs recording all the 'races' of the British Empire. The Colonial Office facilitated the scheme, and on 30 November 1869 sent a circular to all colonial governors requesting photographs. The circular contained instructions on how the photographs should be put together and bodies placed for the best scientific analysis.⁴⁵³ The Governors of British Guiana, Tobago, and the Virgin Islands stated that no means existed in their colonies for

⁴⁵³ Edwards, *Raw Histories*, p. 131, p. 133.

executing such photographs, and Grenada gave the excuse of a lack of funds. The Governor of Barbados and the President of the Turks Islands believed their islands' populations offered no subject of interest to ethnologists. However, photographs like this one, with an ethnological influence, circulated from photographer's studios throughout the Caribbean demonstrate that the capability and facilities to create such images was present in the West Indies.⁴⁵⁴

Edwards has written about Huxley's project in detail and writes that some colonial governments simply sent commercially produced *carte-de-visite* of local 'exotic' beings from shops or studios.⁴⁵⁵ Cartes like Glynn Vivian's were therefore sent to the Colonial Office to contribute to a visual catalogue of the empire's 'races' demonstrating that they were thought to illustrate racial diversity and difference. Whether the photographer who captured this soldier of the WIRs was influenced by anthropometric photographs that were in mass circulation at this time amongst collectors and enthusiasts we cannot know for certain. However, the visual similarities are clear, and were likely what attracted a scientist like Glynn Vivian to the image. Through these cartes we can see that as well as the Caribbean's places and spaces, its people and more specifically its soldiers, were presented for visitor scrutiny as early as 1869.

Nearly forty years later, the anthropologist Harry Johnston travelled to the Caribbean, with the aim of finding out more about those of African descent who lived in the region. This was at the request of US President Theodore Roosevelt, who wished for more information about those living in areas where the US held influence or wished to expand it. He included similar images of the WIR to Glynn Vivian in

⁴⁵⁴ Imperial College London, Thomas Henry Huxley Collection, Series 18, 152 Letter from Robert Wyndham Herbert [Colonial Office], 9 February 1871.

⁴⁵⁵ Edwards, *Raw Histories*, pp. 137-8.

the book that detailed his travels, *Negro in the New World*.⁴⁵⁶ As an anthropologist, Johnston believed that those of African descent who were living in the Caribbean had advanced further than those remaining in Africa due to the supposed benefits of colonialism. He also believed that differences in the colonial regimes of the different European powers had led to differences between those inhabiting the various Caribbean islands.⁴⁵⁷ Johnston's interest in the black soldiers of the WIR is clear from the fact that although he did not capture any photographs of them himself, he sought to include three photographs of them in his book. He was able to do this by borrowing images from close friends who had knowledge of the region. One of the images was reproduced with the permission of Sidney Olivier, the Governor of Jamaica whom Johnston spent a lot of time with when he visited the island. A further two were lent by Algernon E. Aspinall, the Secretary to the West India Committee, who had written a *Pocket Guide to the West Indies* around the time that Johnston had been visiting the islands.

The gaze of the anthropologist is present in all of the photographs of the WIR that Johnston has chosen to include in his book. The first is captioned 'A Barbadian Private' and features a private of the WIR standing straight with his gun standing up against the right-hand side of his body (see figure 6.4). He is dressed in the full Zouave uniform with turban and stands against a background of trees. The private is not named and is used to represent the general 'type' of the Barbadian private. The accompanying text in Johnston's book refers to the WIRs as 'these famous negro troops'.⁴⁵⁸ Johnston then details the history of the WIRs including their formation, some of the key battles they fought in, and the locations in which they have been

⁴⁵⁶ Petrine Archer-Straw, *Photos and Phantasms, Harry Johnston's Photographs of the Caribbean* (London, 1998), p. 11.

⁴⁵⁷ Archer-Straw, *Photos and Phantasms*, p. 11.

⁴⁵⁸ Harry Johnston, *Negro in the New World* (New York, 1910), p. 218.

stationed. Like other visitors to the Caribbean, Johnston focuses on the attractiveness of the WIR, but unlike others he also discusses their usefulness, referring to their uniform as ‘so picturesque, yet business-like’ and the men themselves as ‘remarkable negro soldiers’.⁴⁵⁹ He advises his audience that based on their history the WIR could ‘if we wished, play a considerable part in maintaining the British position in tropical America, if it were ever menaced’.⁴⁶⁰ This contrasts greatly to the views expressed by Foulkes in the preceding chapter after his first encounter with the men. Different individuals therefore saw different things when they looked at the black rank and file of the WIRs depending on their relationship with the men, and the situation in which they had come across them, demonstrating the that image of the WIRs was contested.

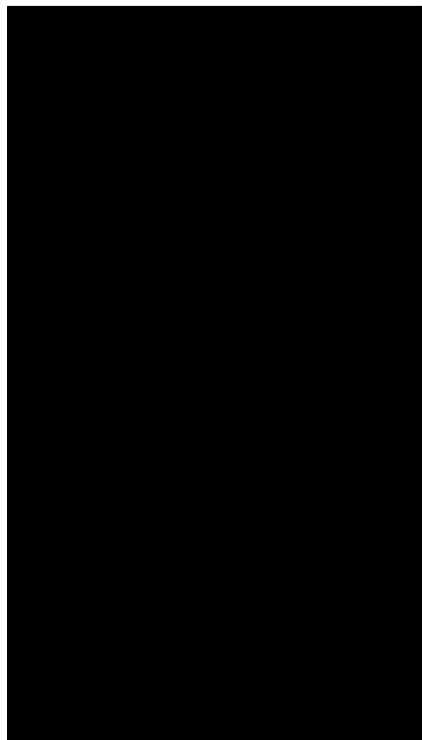


Figure 6.4: Anon. ca. 1908-1910, ‘A Barbadian Private of the West India Regiment’, reproduced in Harry Johnston, Negro in the New World (New York: Macmillan Company, 1910), p. 218

⁴⁵⁹ Johnston, *Negro in the New World*, p. 218.

⁴⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 219.

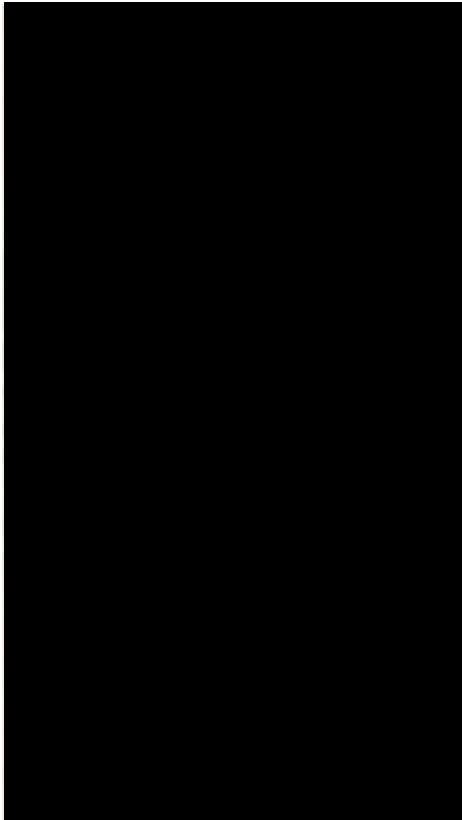


Figure 6.5: Anon., ca. 1908-1910, 'The Negro Soldier: a corporal of the British West India Regiment', reproduced in Harry Johnston, Negro in the New World (New York: Macmillan Company, 1910), p. 310

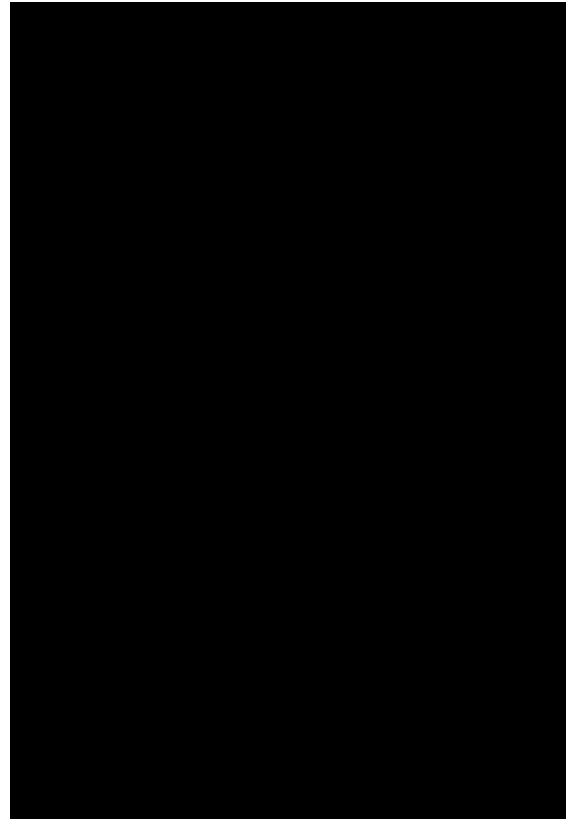


Figure 6.6: A. E. Aspinall, ca. 1908-1910, 'A Bandsman: West India Regiment', reproduced in Harry Johnston, Negro in the New World (New York: Macmillan Company, 1910), p. 219

Johnston includes two more 'types' of WIR soldier in his text, one captioned 'The Negro Soldier' and one 'A Bandsman West India Regt' (see figures 6.5 and 6.6). The photographs are similarly staged to the first photograph that features. All three present the men of the WIR as smart, orderly, and disciplined, and open the forms of the men up for inspection by readers as the parade ground images did in Chapter Three. Like the parade ground photographs, the intention behind Johnston's inclusion of these images appears to have been to demonstrate the progress that could be made under white rule, and British colonial rule more specifically. This is clear from the text accompanying 'The Negro Soldier' stating that the image 'illustrates the fine-looking negroid type growing up in the Windward Islands'. The colonial environment of the Windward Islands, which in Johnston's opinion has

been ‘wholly satisfactory’ since 1868, is presented as having nurtured this ‘fine-looking soldier’ and the other men of the WIR who feature in Johnston’s book.⁴⁶¹

The positive effects of British rule are also emphasised by the contrasting way in which Johnston presents the black soldiers of the Haitian military, who are no longer under the control of white colonials. Three photographs taken during Johnston’s time in Haiti, present the Haitian military as dishevelled and dirty (see figures 6.7 to 6.9). The men do not wear their uniforms with pride, their jackets are not properly fastened, and their caps do not sit properly on their heads. In two group photographs their uniforms are ill-fitting and in poor condition, making it clear why Johnston calls Haiti’s army a ‘ragged’ one.⁴⁶² Whereas the bandsman of the WIR is admired by Johnston, he suggests that the men of Haiti should ‘cease to dress up in grotesque military uniforms’ and cut themselves off from ‘for ever marching to and fro to military music’.⁴⁶³ He is critical of the ‘preposterous’ Haitian army ‘with its Second Empire costumes’, whereas he refers to the uniform of the WIR as ‘picturesque yet business-like’. The men of the Haitian army who are forced to serve, rather than recruited voluntarily, are not useful like their WIR equivalents and instead drift into ‘the usual negro insouciance...and resign themselves to a city life of laziness, thieving, debauchery, drunkenness, untidy squalor, and impudent begging’.⁴⁶⁴ To demonstrate this, in his only individual portrait of a Haitian soldier the subject is positioned like a beggar (see figure 6.9). He sits on the ground with no shoes and an upturned hat at his feet. This soldier lacks the grandeur of the borrowed photographs of the WIR’s soldiers. His face looks back at his audience with uncertainty. This differs greatly from the two photographs of the WIR soldiers where

⁴⁶¹ Johnston, *Negro in the New World*, p. vi.

⁴⁶² Harry Johnston, *Story of My Life* (London, 1923), p. 434.

⁴⁶³ Johnston, *Negro in the New World*, p. x.

⁴⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 200.

the figures look directly back at the audience with confidence and assertiveness. The WIR are of an ideal African type, the men of the Haitian army are not. The difference between them is a century more of colonial rule, with Haiti's inhabitants having 'lived very much as they have done in Africa' reversing the progress that they had made with white help.⁴⁶⁵ This contrasts greatly to Foulkes representations of the WIR in the previous chapter, in particularly his arrangement of photographs of the men carrying out drill exercises (see figure 5.19). Whereas Foulkes aims to demonstrate the lack of difference between the native African boy and the WIR soldier, Johnston uses the men to demonstrate the differences between those of African descent who have been subjected to British colonial rule and those who have not.

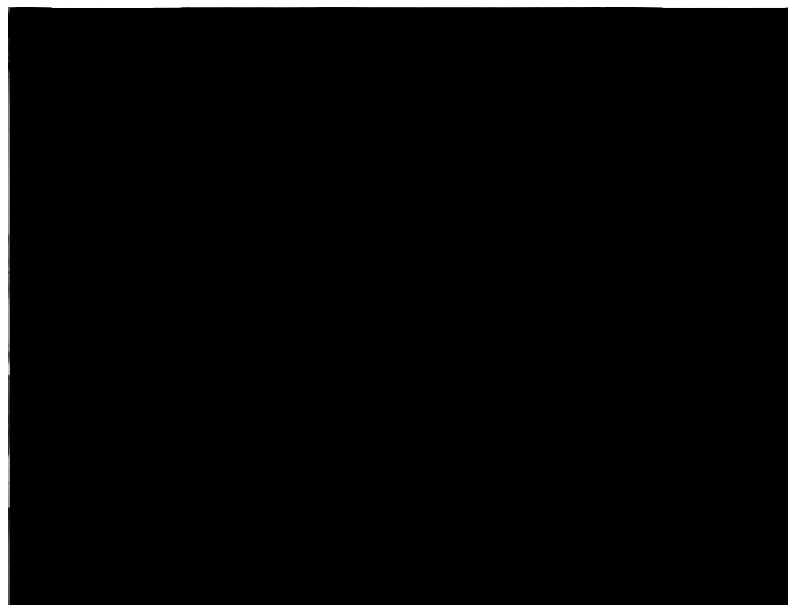


Figure 6.7: Harry Johnston, 1908-1909, 'Haitian Soldiers', Royal Geographical Society Picture Library, Royal Geographical Society, London

⁴⁶⁵ Johnston, *Story of My Life*, p. 434.



Figure 6.8: Harry Johnston, 1908-1909, 'Soldiers in the street - Port au Prince', Royal Geographical Society Picture Library, Royal Geographical Society, London

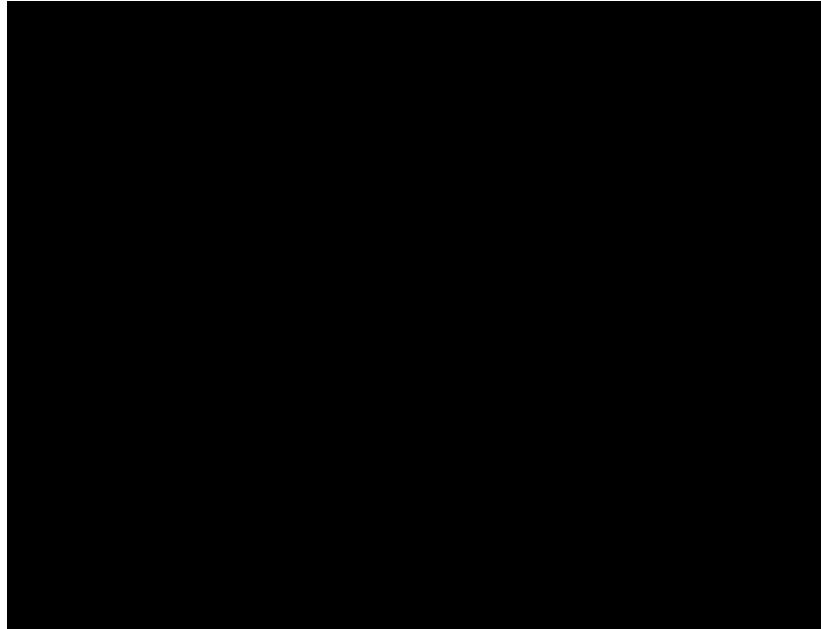


Figure 6.9: Harry Johnston, 1908-1909, 'A Haitian Negro soldier', Royal Geographical Society Picture Library, Royal Geographical Society, London

Like other authors of tourist guides and travel narratives, Johnston uses his book to call for further intervention and settlement by white colonialists. He writes that more should be done to unify the administration of the British West Indies 'not merely in the interest of the Black and of the Yellow, but also of the White'. To ensure his plans for settlement do not alarm those wishing to protect local native populations, he allays fears about the possible displacement of local peoples, stating that 'there is a considerable total area under the British flag in tropical America which might be colonised by White people without injustice to, or displacement of, the coloured race'.⁴⁶⁶ With this statement in mind it appears that Johnston's later comments about the potential of the 'coloured race' in the British West Indies are aimed encouraging white investment and settlement. His photographs of the WIRs are used to highlight what progress can be made by those of African descent with white guidance (in contrast to those soldiers in Haiti), implying that other black workers and labourers from similar backgrounds could also make such progress.

'Experts' who visited the Caribbean were therefore extremely interested in (and sometimes invested in) the bodies and the presentation of the men of the WIRs, and there are clear similarities between the portrait photographs collected by Johnston and Glynn Vivian. Both men do not rely on portrait photographs of men of the WIRs from one location or to represent one location, but instead used similar portraits from a number of places to demonstrate the uniformity of the men across the individual islands. Johnston includes portraits of WIR soldiers near text related to Jamaica, Barbados, and St Vincent, and Glynn Vivian on pages related to Guyana and Jamaica. The geographical spread of the images emphasises that British rule unifies the men from these disparate locations and was responsible for their progress and refined appearance. Guyana is over fifteen hundred miles from Jamaica, St

⁴⁶⁶ Johnston, *Negro in the New World*, p. 20.

Vincent over eleven hundred, but the rule of the same colonial power meant that this distance did not cause any difference in the ‘type’ of men that are produced. Haiti in contrast, is just over three hundred miles from Jamaica and has produced a very different kind of man and soldier. Despite collecting their images of individual soldiers of the WIRs forty years apart, by opening up the men to the scientific and anthropological gaze, both Glynn Vivian and Johnston made them symbolise the civilising nature of British colonialism much like the group photographs of parades and inspections do in Chapter Three. Glynn Vivian uses his portraits of the men as representations of the places they are from, including them alongside landscapes and photographs of other ‘types’ found in the locations he visited. Johnston uses his images in a similar way, but due to the timing of his book’s publication, when more was being done to encourage increased investment and visitor numbers to the Caribbean, Johnston capitalises on their attractive appearance as evidence of labouring potential as well as loyalty and discipline to encourage further settlement and investment from white travellers and businessmen.

The Gaze of Prospective Tourists and Investors at World’s Fairs

In even more explicit attempts to attract overseas visitors and investors, the WIRs were represented at world’s fairs and expositions. Through their representation at these events their likeness, and in some cases their actual physical presence, was showcased to a range of audiences who did not even have to venture outside of their home countries for the experience. The peak period for these international exhibitions was 1851 to 1939 and the WIRs were frequently represented in person and through photographs. For countries such as Britain, the fairs provided an opportunity to bring the peoples, places, and potential profits of empire onto home soil. They also provided, through human exhibits, a justification for empire by

demonstrating the lack of development of some native peoples and the advancement of others under colonial rule. The WIRs were used as key examples of this progress and decorated promotional stands related to the West Indian colonies, unlike representatives of African ethnic groups who were used to populate constructed 'native villages'. In North America, fairs were also used to demonstrate racial superiority, with Paul Greenhalgh stating that at these events there was an 'insistence on the primacy of white culture over all others'.⁴⁶⁷

The first world's fair in Britain was the Great Exhibition of 1851 at Crystal Palace. The first to take place in America was the Centennial Exhibition that celebrated 100 years of independence in Philadelphia in 1876. Importantly, Jamaica held its own world's fair in 1891 to signal the birth of a 'New Jamaica' and to encourage economic investment. This section will analyse photographs of the WIRs circulated, sold, and displayed at world's fairs to develop an understanding of how, as with other photographs related to tourism and travel to the Caribbean, they were used to promote the Caribbean nations they inhabited and present a disciplined and developed image of their populations. Photographs of the WIRs related to the 1885 World's Industrial and Cotton Exposition in New Orleans, the 1886 Colonial and Indian Exhibition, the 1891 Jamaica Exhibition, and the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago will be referenced demonstrating the connection between the intentions of the producers of the photographs and the fairs themselves.

John MacKenzie argues that the ideological intentions of imperial exhibitions from the 1880s onwards were different to those of their earlier predecessors. Rather than being showcases for industry, as earlier exhibitions were, MacKenzie argues that from the 1880s exhibitions were 'the most striking examples of both conscious

⁴⁶⁷ Paul Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas: The Expositions Universelles, Great Exhibitions and World's Fairs, 1851-1939* (Manchester, 2000), p. 98.

approaches to and unconscious approaches to imperial propaganda'.⁴⁶⁸ These imperial exhibitions were a celebration of the ability of the white man to reach and create societies modelled on European lines, and the WIRs' presence at world's fairs was a key example of this.⁴⁶⁹ They demonstrated through their physical and photographic representation, that those of African descent could be civilised.

The WIRs were represented at the 1885 World's Industrial and Cotton Exposition in New Orleans, held at a time when race relations within the state of Louisiana were volatile. According to Rydell, African Americans attempted to use the fair to seek social and economic change; however, the fair's Director General had a different intention: 'to implant' in African Americans 'the desire to...make a manly effort to occupy with us the improved farm, the workshop, and the factory'.⁴⁷⁰ Segregation was also in place, and protests were made by activist Booker T Washington calling for the separate accommodation on the railways provided for African American visitors to the fair to be equal to that provided for whites.⁴⁷¹ It was into this complex racial environment that Jamaica's racially mixed delegation of exhibitors arrived.

⁴⁶⁸ John M. MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of British Public Opinion 1880-1960* (Manchester, 1984), p. 97.

⁴⁶⁹ MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire*, p. 100.

⁴⁷⁰ Robert Rydell, *All the World's a Fair* (Chicago, 1984), p. 82.

⁴⁷¹ Rydell, *All the World's a Fair*, pp. 83-4.

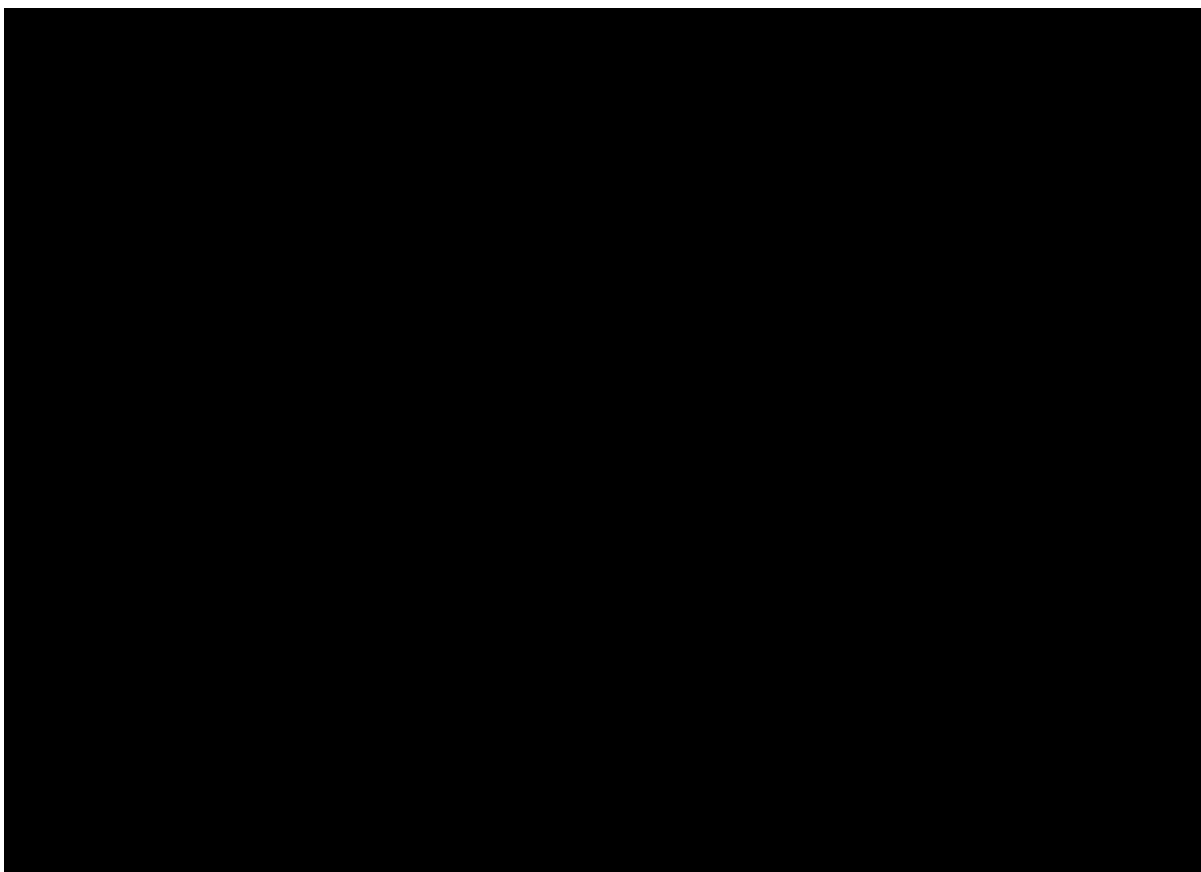


Figure 6.10: Anon, ca.1885-1886, Illustration from the *Gleaner* showing Corporal Gale and Sir Daniel Morris on the stand at the New Orleans Exposition, reproduced in the *Gleaner*, 28 January 1891

Corporal G. S. Gale of the 1st WIR travelled to New Orleans as part of this delegation and featured amongst the exhibits in the Jamaica Court as a ‘native attendant’. In an article written for the *Gleaner* at the time of the 1891 Jamaica exhibition reflecting on exhibitions past, it was stated that Gale was a ‘stalwart coal-black negro, who by his steadiness and intelligence contributed in no small degree to invest the exhibits with real colour and interest’.⁴⁷² In the same way as his colleagues decorated photographs of Jamaican scenes, Gale was used to adorn the Jamaica Court and attract visitors to the stand. He was taken to New Orleans as an ambassador for his island and used to promote Jamaica to fair-goers. In an illustration from Jamaica’s *Gleaner* he can be seen on the stand, standing near Sir Daniel Morris the Director of the Botanic Department in Jamaica (see figure 6.10). Like those who were used in photographs to sell Jamaica as a safe and profitable

⁴⁷² *Gleaner*, 28 January 1891.

environment, Corporal Gale was used as a physical artefact to demonstrate the security of Jamaica and the potential of those of African descent like himself to develop under white rule and leadership into well-disciplined citizens. To demonstrate this, he stands erect and upright in front of a British flag explicitly highlighting which country was responsible for his development. The stand was described as a great success in the *Gleaner*. It occupied a ‘prominent position in the most frequented part of the exhibition’ and received ‘hundreds of visitors’ each day.⁴⁷³

The illustration also gives a good indication of the kind of goods that were displayed at the Jamaica Court. The stand was bedecked with jars of botanical samples displayed above botanical prints. The *Gleaner* stated that businessmen were most attracted to the Jamaica Court by these specimens of Jamaican products. However, other visitors were allegedly ‘simply on the look out for curiosities’. It is not too far-fetched to assume that Corporal Gale would have been one of these ‘curiosities’ for both white and black Americans, dressed in his distinctive Zouave uniform, speaking to them in his Jamaican accent and surrounded by decorative ‘tresses of Old Man’s Beard’.⁴⁷⁴ American visitors to the West Indies often remarked on the Regiments’ Zouave uniform that was worn by Gale at the exhibition. The North American author William Drysdale was fascinated by the ‘most romantic’ dress uniform of the WIRs during his trip to the West Indies in 1885 and wrote that he was ‘confident’ that it was ‘the handsomest military uniform in the world’. He believed that the bright colours complimented the ‘coal black’ skin of the soldiers who wore it, and that the uniform would ‘attract attention even in a cosmopolitan city where bright uniforms are plenty’.⁴⁷⁵ In the illustration, Corporal Gale stands in

⁴⁷³ *Gleaner*, 28 January 1891.

⁴⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷⁵ Drysdale, *In Sunny Lands*, p. 30.

between two pillars topped with palm leaves to look like trees. They add a more life size representation of Jamaica's plant life to the image and of course to the stand itself. Even more interestingly the two palm trees have trunks made up of photographs of 'numerous views of Jamaica scenery' that were framed in black and gold. There are two further palm trees with photograph adorned trunks behind them at the back of the stand. Photographs were therefore an important feature of how the stand was arranged; in fact, it could be argued that they were its foundation. The newspaper article beneath the illustration details that sixty-five 'views, photographs, and botanical specimens mounted in frames' were on display along with the prints and samples for visitors to gaze upon.⁴⁷⁶

The importance of photography, and of Corporal Gale, to Jamaica's exposition display and promotion of Jamaica is clear from the *Gleaner* article. Through photographs, this importance extended beyond the day that visitors engaged with him, and beyond the temporary exposition. For those who enjoyed interacting with this particular Jamaican curiosity, there was an opportunity to repeat the experience in the comfort of their own homes. A stereogram of Corporal Gale was available for purchase from the exposition's photographers, the Centennial Photographic Company. This allowed buyers to view him in three dimensions and scrutinise his form long after the fair ended (see figure 6.11). In the stereograph Gale stands next to an aloe vera plant with the cane that symbolises his status as an NCO. He is placed next to the plant to give him a sense of tropicality. The representation of soldiers of the WIR beside tropical plants, often a palm tree, was a frequent feature of portraits of them, including those featured in uniform books and on cigarette cards, as was seen from Harry Johnston's cartes of WIR soldiers (see figures 6.4 to 6.6). The viewer's eye is drawn to Gale's body. He stands upright, but slightly

⁴⁷⁶ Drysdale, *In Sunny Lands*, p. 30.

casually, one foot in front of the other. The full details of his uniform can be seen due to the way that the photograph has been arranged. The most important visual components of the image are perhaps those that denote Corporal Gale's military status such as the cane, the stripes on his sleeve, and his military medal. They demonstrate that a black soldier was able to rise up to ranks to a certain level and that they were effective soldiers. As a result, they present British colonial rule to the American audience as one that generated loyalty and potential amongst its subjects of African descent.



Figure 6.11: Centennial Photographic Company, ca.1893, Stereograph of Corporal G. S. Gale, Sir Daniel Morris Collection: West Indian Views, Royal Commonwealth Society Library, University of Cambridge, Cambridge

The fact that the image has been produced as a stereogram, indicates that it was meant to be viewed in a certain way. If the other side of the stereograph was present and the print was viewed with a stereoscope Corporal Gale would appear in three dimensions, his body more open to inspection and scrutiny to those who viewed it than it would be if just a conventional portrait. The stereograph had become popular in the UK through the 1851 Crystal Palace Exhibition after Prince

Albert and Queen Victoria had shown great interest in this method of capturing and viewing photographs. Within three months of their use of the device at Crystal Palace, half a million were sold in London and Paris.⁴⁷⁷ The stereoscope's connection to the world's fair phenomenon therefore began very soon after its invention. World's fairs provided visitors with a means of seeing the world and its inhabitants temporarily in grand exhibition halls, while stereograms were a means of collecting them and viewing them more permanently in their own homes. In America the images were particularly popular during the Civil War and according to Zeller served stereographs of war scenes were highly sought after.⁴⁷⁸ Gale's likeness was therefore circulating within an environment where military themed stereographs were in demand and sold well.

Photographic representations of the WIRs remained important at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition in 1886, the next world's fair at which Jamaica was represented. The exhibition catalogue lists photographs of the WIRs and sites connected to them, contributed by a number of exhibitors. The governors of the Institute of Jamaica sent photographs of the cotton tree at Up Park Camp, the barracks of the 2nd WIR, and of the band of the 1st WIR.⁴⁷⁹ Photographs exhibited by C. Washington Eves included one of the 1st WIR band taken by the Stereoscopic Company, London.⁴⁸⁰ Such stereographs were an important method for people in the metropolis to be brought into contact with the conquered peoples of Empire. As Susan Sontag states, photographing people turned them 'into objects that can be symbolically possessed'.⁴⁸¹ Through purchasing images of these peoples, particularly

⁴⁷⁷ Macdonald, *Victorian Eyewitness*, p. 50.

⁴⁷⁸ Zeller, *The Blue and Gray in Black and White*, p. xvi, p. 29.

⁴⁷⁹ Charles Washington Eves, *Jamaica at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition, London, 1886* (London, 1886), p. 20

⁴⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

⁴⁸¹ Sontag, *On Photography*, p. 10.

stereograms that could be viewed as three-dimensional entertainment, attendees of the fairs could begin to take possession of these peoples, just as their governments were doing.

When the world's fair phenomenon came to Jamaica in 1891, the WIR played an important role in the proceedings. The Exhibition opened on Tuesday 27 January in the presence of the Prince of Wales, and the WIR band were present at the opening to accompany a choir singing Psalm 100.⁴⁸² The WIR had also been used to welcome the Prince when he arrived in Kingston. According to the *Gleaner* 'a brilliant wall of the men' awaited him on the east of the market wharf, a key part of a scene that was 'brilliant in the extreme' due to 'the bright Zouave costume of the soldiers, the white stripes of the marines'.⁴⁸³ Krista Thompson writes that the Jamaica Exhibition was part of attempts to promote the 'New Jamaica' as 'a place where the "fruits" of colonialism, both the "benefits" derived from British colonial rule and American enterprise could be observed'.⁴⁸⁴ These fruits, of course, included the local population as well as the local produce. Sir Henry Blake, the island's Governor, believed the exhibition would boost trade and investment, 'inspire the population' and help build Jamaica's reputation as a civilised nation.⁴⁸⁵ The 'New Jamaica' describes a historical moment when Jamaica's mercantile and business elites and colonial officials aimed to change the image of the island in order to attract investment, settlement, and tourism. It is with these goals that photographs of and from the exhibition were produced by J. Valentine and Sons, the British based photographers commissioned to capture them. The enlistment of a British firm was important to Governor Blake's goal of promoting Jamaica. It meant the photographs

⁴⁸² Taylor, *To Hell with Paradise*, p. 62.

⁴⁸³ *Gleaner*, 28 January 1891.

⁴⁸⁴ Thompson, *An Eye for the Tropics*, p. 30.

⁴⁸⁵ Mercedes Grundy and Patrick Montgomery, *An Image of Jamaica: Examining Photographs by Valentine & Sons at the World's Columbian Exposition* (London, 2011), pp. 24-5.

would be sold back in Britain through the Valentines' vast catalogue which contained over 40,000 views. The 116 photographs taken in Jamaica in 1891 numbered amongst these, available for purchase as 30½ by 20½ inches or 21½ by 15 inches, mounted or unmounted. Hiring the Valentines also added prestige to the occasion of the Jamaica Exhibition as they had been named Royal photographers in 1868.⁴⁸⁶ The snubbing of local firms - and there were several with longstanding reputations - serves as evidence that Blake had a more international circulation in mind for the circulation of the photographs.

Of the 116 photographs taken by Valentine and Sons in Jamaica, four featured the WIR. They are listed in the Valentine and Sons catalogue as '13907 WIR drill order, 13908 WIR guard, 13909 WIR gun detachment, and 13910 WIR drum band'. Through this research, I have found three of these photographs, but was unable to track down '13908 WIR guard'. Their concurrent numbering implies that they were all taken on the same day or within the same session, and the photographs fit together by featuring various aspects of the duties carried out by the WIR. In the first of these three photographs, WIR drill order, soldiers of the WIR are arranged in two rows in a square or diamond formation (see figure 6.12). The formation is defensive and assertive. The guns of the standing men point outwards and the guns of the kneeling men point upwards at an angle, ready to fire. To take the edge off this aggressive scene, an officer stands at one of the diamond's sides as if watching over his men. He provides a supervisory white presence over his armed and dangerous black troops. The posing of the men shows that the security of the island is taken seriously, and the presence of the officer shows that this essential task is not fully entrusted to black men. In their analysis of the 116 Valentine photographs, Grundy and Montgomery argue that many of the black subjects 'appear posed', suggesting

⁴⁸⁶ Grundy and Montgomery, *An Image of Jamaica*, p. 14, p. 25.

their complicity in the vision of the Valentine's to promote the particular view of Jamaica requested by the Governor. They state that 'to the potential settler, the posed figures may have evinced the black population's obedience'.⁴⁸⁷ Of course, it is not possible to tell if the black bodies in the Valentine photographs were actively positioned and manipulated by white hands into particular poses or whether they were invited to position themselves to meet the Valentines' criteria for their images. What can be determined is that the photographs were definitely staged, and in this photograph the discipline and obedience of the men is highlighted through their arrangement, and how it interacts with the photograph's other components. The tightness and neatness of their formation is emphasized by the fact that one side of their diamond runs perfectly parallel to the perfectly straight lines of the garrison buildings. As in figures 3.1 and 5.24, the landscape is used by the photographer to illustrate their beliefs about the WIR's soldierly capabilities.

⁴⁸⁷ Grundy and Montgomery, *An Image of Jamaica*, p. 37.



Figure 6.12: J. Valentine and Sons, 1891, 'WIR Drill Order', National Library of Jamaica Digital Collection, Available at: <http://nljdigital.nlj.gov.jm/items/show/1392>

Through its various components, this photograph places the WIR within a landscape that is both ordered and mystically picturesque. The viewer's eye cannot help but to be distracted by the shadows of the mountains in the background and the mists above them. In 1890 Governor Blake had written a paper entitled 'The Awakening of Jamaica' with the stated objective of highlighting that in Jamaica 'amid all the loveliness of which Nature is so lavish, is ample room for immigration of the proper kind'.⁴⁸⁸ The paper was produced for the intellectual British monthly literary magazine *Nineteenth Century* and the 'proper kind' of course meant white migrants. This photograph, and the others of the WIR that share this backdrop, are clear visual attempts to demonstrate Blake's intention to emphasise the abundant beauty of the natural environment as an incentive to settle in Jamaica as well as other incentives such as security and labour potential. It demonstrates that even military

⁴⁸⁸ Sir Henry Blake, 'The Awakening of Jamaica', National Library of Jamaica, Jamaica Pamphlets, No. 22, 1890.

drill exercises took place against beautiful backdrops, and spaces like the parade ground could be enjoyed by tourists as well as the soldiers who were drilled there. This is also clear from numerous tourist accounts and guides that reference these areas as places of interest. Stark's guide to Jamaica described the parade ground as a 'favorite resting-place for the people after the heat of the day is over' and presented it as a place of tropical fecundity and beauty.⁴⁸⁹

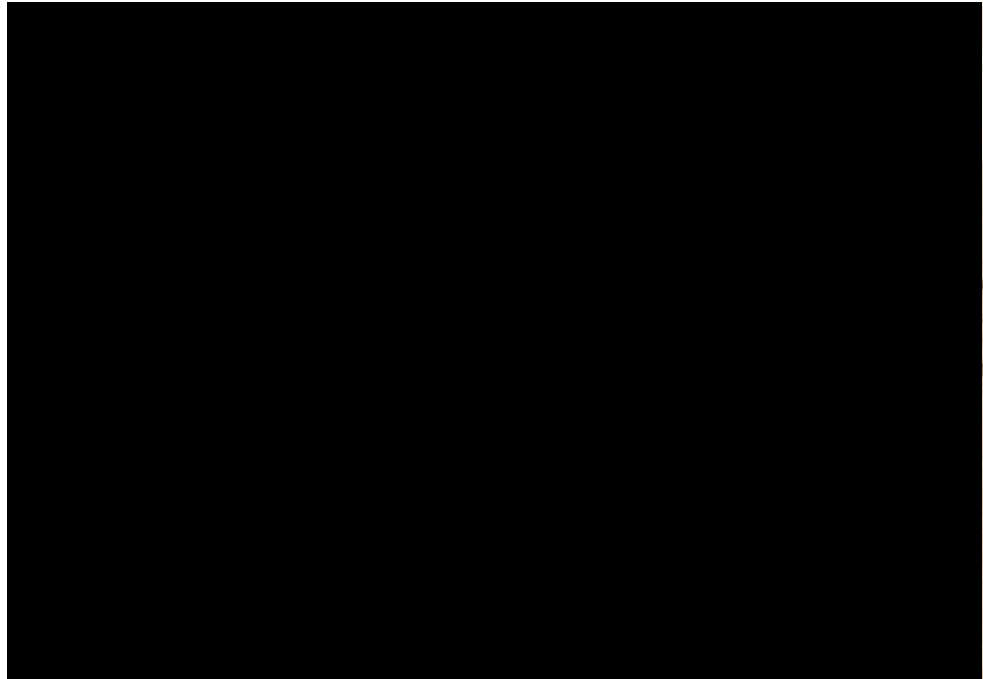


Figure 6.13: J. Valentine and Sons, 1891, 'WIR Gun Detachment', Caribbean Photo Archive, Archive Farms, available at: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/caribbeanphotoarchive>

In the next photograph in the series 'WIR Gun Detachment', the WIR are presented in a similarly active group pose (see figure 6.13). In this photograph seven gunners stand within an encampment in Jamaica. One of the men stands apart from the group and is in dress uniform. His presence ensures that the smarter, cleaner aspect of barrack life is represented along with the more active and hands on aspects. All the other men are in combat fatigues with rolled up sleeves demonstrating their readiness to work. Of these men, four are actively engaged in the loading of the gun. Two men bend down in front of the gun carriage, one of them can barely be seen.

⁴⁸⁹ Stark, *Stark's Jamaica Guide*, p. 51.

The other actively waits to carry out his role. Three standing men interact with the gun. One watches his two colleagues intently; the other two men load the weapon with one man cradling a shell in both hands whilst the other pushes another shell into the gun with a rammer. On the other side of the gun carriage another man watches the active men intently. Behind the man in dress uniform is a gun carriage carrying the box of artillery shells. Although photographs of the WIRs carrying out artillery drills are common, it is unusual to see the soldiers physically loading the equipment and carrying the shells with which to do so. Of all the soldiers included in this photograph, the one who most commands our attention is the soldier loading the gun with the rammer due to his stance and the shine from his skin. He is strong and capable, and most importantly, trusted to carry out such duties thanks to the British colonial environment in Jamaica that has allowed him to flourish.

Through this photograph, J. Valentine and Sons appear to want to demonstrate the discipline and capability of the WIR's black soldiers. Thompson writes in her analysis of photographs circulating during efforts to generate a 'New Jamaica' that the promotion of the Caribbean islands as disciplined societies was extremely important, and that photography played a central role in this promotion. Those chosen for representation, like the men of the WIR in this photograph, were chosen due to their ability to conform to this well-disciplined and obedient ideal.⁴⁹⁰ Potential settlers may have had fears that the local black population could arm themselves against those who occupied spaces above them in the social, economic, and political hierarchy. Photographs like this one were created to show that these fears were unnecessary, as there were also loyal, efficient, and organised local black men to put down any unrest their compatriots may attempt.

⁴⁹⁰ Thompson, *An Eye for the Tropics*, p. 17.

The final photograph of the WIR by J. Valentine and Sons that remains available today, is of the Regiment's drum band (see figure 6.14). It is the only one of the three that clearly connects to the Jamaica Exhibition where the band had accompanied a choir at the opening ceremony and played an evening recital.⁴⁹¹ In the photograph, fifteen members of the WIR band stand as if performing or rehearsing, next to tent outside one of the buildings at Up Park Camp. In contrast to the other two photographs previously discussed, the men in this photograph are all dressed in the full Zouave uniform with the braided turbans worn by the band. The leader of the band stands at the front with his cane and sash, symbolising his status. A range of the band's instruments are featured including the drums and whistles, however, the brass section is absent. Standing to the left of the men is another uniformed figure: he is not in the uniform of the Regiment and could be a police officer or one of the labourers at Up Park Camp. Again, trees and mist-topped hills can be seen in the background. The photograph is bright and attractive to view and looks much more professional and polished than other photographs of the band that were in circulation (see figures 6.25 and 6.26). It is a photograph taken to display and appreciate, not simply to document.

⁴⁹¹ *Gleaner*, 28 January 1891; Taylor, *To Hell with Paradise*, p. 62.

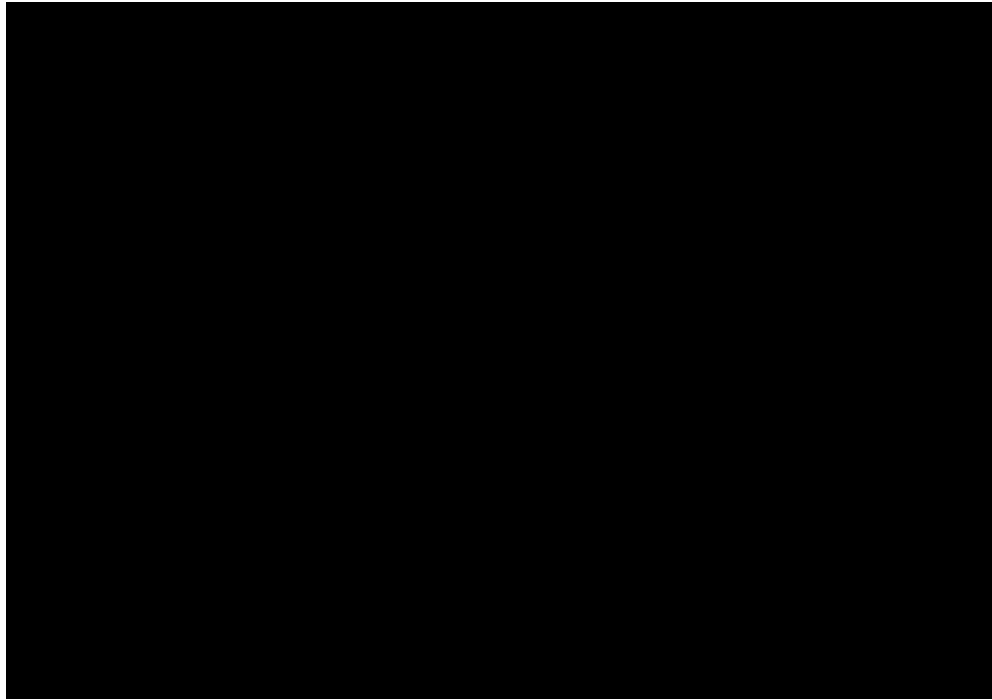


Figure 6.14: J. Valentine and Sons, 1891, 'Drum Band W.I. Regiment', Caribbean Photo Archive, Archive Farms, available at: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/caribbeanphotoarchive>

Interestingly, the photograph taken of the band during the period of the exhibition is not of one of their exhibition performances. The fact that none of these photographs were taken within the environment of the exhibition is telling. In fact, the register of photos taken in Jamaica in 1891 by the Valentines lists only two of the exhibition in total, and these were of the outside of the building. Grundy and Montgomery suggest this reveals that the Valentines were not hired to document the exhibition, despite the time of their arrival, but to capture promotional photographs of Jamaica more generally that could be used and re-used at a later date.⁴⁹² In 1893, the Valentine photographs were worked into a book and display for a larger international exhibition, the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago. In this context the promotional intention of the photographs and the importance of the WIR to this promotion is made even more clear. The photographs of the WIR taken

⁴⁹² Grundy and Montgomery, *An Image of Jamaica*, p. 26.

in 1891 were used to sell Jamaica to American investors at the fair commemorating the quatercentenary of Columbus' discovery of the Americas.

The intention of the Jamaican government to attract American investment in particular is emphasised by their choice to locate the Jamaica Court in the manufacturing building rather than the British building, separating themselves from their colonial ruler and demonstrating that they were open to the involvement and influence of others. The book that was put together for the exhibition by Colonel Ward, *World's Fair, Jamaica at Chicago: An Account Descriptive of the Colony of Jamaica*, also rarely mentioned any British connection. By situating themselves in the manufacturing building they aimed to represent Jamaica as a place of business rather than a typical colony that exhibited ethnographic artefacts.⁴⁹³ They also aimed to promote Jamaica as a place of leisure in the hope of attracting more American tourists and served coffee and banana cake to their visitors in the afternoon.⁴⁹⁴ Photographs of the WIR displayed at Chicago were important to both of these intentions.

With regards to the aim of attracting American tourists and investors, photographs of the WIR taken at the time of the exhibition for display in Chicago were presented alongside Colonel Ward's book that marked locations associated with the Regiment as places 'of interest'. The photograph of the band, mid-rehearsal would have provided a visual accompaniment for text that referred to weekly evening concerts at Up Park Camp as 'a favourite resort for lovers of music'.⁴⁹⁵ The WIR were therefore first introduced in the book as entertainers, to an American audience that may have still been uncomfortable with the idea of men of African

⁴⁹³ Grundy and Montgomery, *An Image of Jamaica*, pp. 40-1.

⁴⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 42.

⁴⁹⁵ Colonel Ward, *World's Fair, Jamaica at Chicago: An Account Descriptive of the Colony of Jamaica* (New York, 1893), p. 17.

descent taking up arms and serving in the armed forces. The book does not mention any of their military achievements despite making references to the square at Morant Bay that was the ‘scene of much punishment’ in which the WIR had of course played a major role.⁴⁹⁶ Their role as soldiers is therefore undermined, as in the other photographs of them interacting with Americans in Nassau (see later figures 6.15 and 6.16).

Alongside Ward’s book, which did not feature any photographs of the WIR amongst the selection of the Valentines photographs used, the photographs of the WIR on display at the Columbian Exposition aimed to demonstrate the potential of Jamaicans. In this way, they were also used to attract investment and settlement as well as tourists. Inserted into Ward’s text was a short article by Governor Blake entitled ‘Opportunities for Young Men in Jamaica’ that had previously been printed in the *North American Review*.⁴⁹⁷ The article also went to great lengths to stress the capabilities of the local black population. Directly addressing American audiences who may have feared racial unrest, he stated that ‘it is necessary to emphasize the fact that the people are singularly law-abiding, and that there is an entire absence of the reported crimes, that, if true, disgrace the Southern States of America’.⁴⁹⁸ In fact, in contrast, in Jamaica the black population were ‘fulfilling their duties as citizens quietly and well’ and there were ‘no grounds for apprehension that they will retrograde from their present position’.⁴⁹⁹ The WIR served to illustrate this point perfectly and it is within this context that the Valentine photographs of them carrying out their drill exercises were on display at Chicago. As with Johnston’s photographs they demonstrate the progress and potential of Britain’s black colonial subjects. In

⁴⁹⁶ Ward, *World’s Fair, Jamaica at Chicago*, p. 19.

⁴⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 42.

⁴⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

⁴⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

similar ways to Johnston and Glynn Vivian's carte the group portraits of the WIR used the men to promote a positive image of the local black populations. This was important if the islands were to be sold as places to set up homes and businesses.

Within the social context of the Columbian Exposition, although perhaps not as important to the Jamaican government at the time, the photographs of the WIR also had an impact on African American audiences. Like the New Orleans exposition that Corporal Gale had physically travelled to, the Columbian exposition was riddled with racial strife and debates about the representation of African Americans when no one from this background was included on the exposition's first national committee. After complaints, an alternate African American commissioner was selected. Hale G. Parker was a St Louis school principal, but his late selection was seen as an act of tokenism by many. Secondly, groups such as the Afro-American League had wanted a 'Negro department' or 'Afro-American annex' to ensure representation of African Americans. The Columbian Exposition's Board of Managers rejected this idea, instead suggesting that submissions for African American exhibits should be presented to the screening committee of each state. In order to ensure their community was represented as they thought they should be, Ida B. Wells (an anti-lynching campaigner) and Frederick Douglass (the famous former slave and politician) planned to publish a pamphlet to highlight the African American aspect of America's story. Along with publisher Irvine Garland Penn and Ferdinand L. Barnett, a publisher and lawyer, they produced *The Reason Why the Colored American Is Not in the World's Columbian Exposition: The Afro-American's Contribution to Columbian Literature*.⁵⁰⁰ The pamphlet asked pointedly:

⁵⁰⁰ Bridget R. Cooks, 'Fixing Race: Visual Representations of African Americans at the World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893', *Patterns of Prejudice* 41:5 (2007), pp. 435-65, pp. 444-5

Why are not the colored people, who constitute so large an element of the American population, and who have contributed so large a share to American greatness, more visibly present and better represented in this World's Exposition? Why are they not taking part in this glorious celebration of the four-hundredth anniversary of the discovery of their country? Are they so dull and stupid as to feel no interest in this great event.⁵⁰¹

The authors stated that 'America is just now, as never before, posing before the world as a highly liberal and civilized nation' but that African Americans had actually lost ground since the civil war, as enemies were attempting to stop their progress.⁵⁰² Barnett outlined in his chapter that African Americans had 'hoped that the Nation would take enough interest in its former slaves to spend a few thousand dollars in making an exhibit which would tell to the world what they as freedmen had done', but instead they had been left disappointed after not being given the chance to represent themselves.⁵⁰³ In Douglass' opinion, to add insult to injury, the Dahomeyans were present 'as if to shame the Negro' and 'to exhibit the Negro as a repulsive savage'.⁵⁰⁴ These fears that connections between African Americans and the Dahomeyan tribe would be made due to the absence of much other black representation proved justified when cartoons were produced for *Harper's Weekly*. One featured an African American man shaking hands with one of the tribesmen much to the horror of his wife who stated 'Ezwell Johnson, stop shakin' Han's wid dat Heathen! You want de hull Fair ter t'ink you's found a Poo' Relation?'. Both men were depicted with exaggerated ape-like features that sought to stress their

⁵⁰¹ Ida B. Wells et al, *The Reason Why the Colored American Is Not in the World's Columbian Exposition* (Chicago, 1893), p. 3.

⁵⁰² *Ibid.*, p. 9.

⁵⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 65, p. 79; Reed, 'All the World is Here', p. 75.

⁵⁰⁴ Wells et al, *The Reason Why the Colored American Is Not in the World's Columbian Exposition*, p. 9.

similarity and primitive origins compared to white society.⁵⁰⁵ These alleged similarities were also highlighted in textual commentaries of the fair with one correspondent for *Frank Leslie's Popular Monthly* saying of the Dahomeyans 'in these wild people we easily detect many characteristics of the American negro'.⁵⁰⁶

It is within this context that African Americans would have come across photographs of the WIR's black rank and file at the fair. They had been left disappointed with their lack of representation in American state and national exhibits, and were concerned with parallels that would be drawn between them and Africans in the native villages. There were few exhibits that would have inspired them or presented a more positive image. The photographs of the black WIR privates on display in the Jamaica Court may have been amongst these few, along with the extremely popular Haitian Pavilion.⁵⁰⁷ Photographs of military men of African descent that depicted their capability and necessity could have been a source of pride and admiration for African Americans who felt that their 'generous and patriotic' military contributions, as referenced in *The Reason Why the Colored American Is Not in the World's Columbian Exposition*, had been too quickly forgotten.⁵⁰⁸ The pamphlet also argued that due to the racist recruitment policy that prevented them being hired as guards for the fair, 'only as a menial is the Colored American to be seen' in a 'deliberate and cowardly tribute to the Southern demand 'to keep the Negro in his place'.⁵⁰⁹ During the exhibition the 140-person janitorial staff that carried out light clean ups was exclusively African American whilst the Columbian Guards were exclusively white. African Americans were also hired as lavatory

⁵⁰⁵ Cooks, 'Fixing Race', p. 454.

⁵⁰⁶ Rydell, *All the World's a Fair*, p. 66.

⁵⁰⁷ Cooks, 'Fixing Race', p. 445.

⁵⁰⁸ Wells et al, *The Reason Why the Colored American Is Not in the World's Columbian Exposition*, p. 10.

⁵⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 80.

attendants. It was therefore only as a janitor or lavatory attendant that most African American visitors would have interacted with black men during their daytime visits to the exhibition.⁵¹⁰ Photographs of the WIR in their military uniforms offered an alternate representation of men of African descent, showing that they were capable of greater jobs and greater respect elsewhere.

With the exception of the Haitian Pavilion, the use of men and women of African descent in other exhibits harked back to slavery, as in the displays by the states of Mississippi and Louisiana, or emphasised their primitive aspects and origins as in the Dahomeyan village and popular Zulu war re-enactments.⁵¹¹ Unfortunately, there are no records of responses to the photographs of the WIR's black soldiers at the Columbian Exposition, but their very presence gave them a power to provide an alternate narrative of blackness that was extremely important. Representations of the WIRs were chosen to attract white American investment in Jamaica at these two fairs and their representation was therefore geared towards what the Governor believed would achieve this goal. However, in both cases their representation unintentionally may have challenged the racist intentions of the fairs and societies of these white American investors. Photographs of the black WIR soldiers used for promotional purposes did not only disempower them by reducing them to saleable commodities and symbols of investment opportunities, but arguably empowered them, and possibly African American audiences who viewed them, by celebrating and highlighting black potential and black military achievement. The image of the WIRs could therefore have had different meanings, depending on who its audiences were.

⁵¹⁰ Reed, *'All the World is Here'*, pp. 75-6.

⁵¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 114-7.

In order to assess the possible impact of the Valentine photographs on African American visitors to the 1893 Columbian Exposition, it would be useful to analyse them through the prospective gazes of African American Civil Rights campaigners and intellectuals, Frederick Douglass and W.E.B. Du Bois. Both men were extremely positive about photography and its potential in the fight for equality and to break down existing stereotypes of African Americans. Douglass gave four separate lectures on photography: lecture on pictures, life pictures, age of pictures, and pictures and progress. He saw photography as a democratic art and believed in its truth and objectivity.⁵¹² As a result, he was intent on using his own visual image to erase racist stereotypes.⁵¹³ He was extremely concerned about the presence of the Dahomeyans at the Chicago Exposition and believed that they had only been included in order ‘to exhibit their barbarism and increase American contempt for the Negro intellect’.⁵¹⁴ For Douglass then, photographs of the WIR could have served as a contrast to the Dahomeyans and demonstrated what African Americans could potentially achieve. They also highlighted that elsewhere pride could be attached to black military service and gratitude given for it. In one of his lectures on photography entitled ‘Age of Pictures’, Douglass stated that the US Civil War had proved that ‘slavery, hitherto paramount and priceless, may be less valuable than the army – that the Negro can be more useful as a soldier than as a slave’.⁵¹⁵ The photographs of the WIR on display at Chicago would have reinforced this point.

⁵¹² John Stauffer, Zoe Trodd, and Celeste-Marie Bernier, *Picturing Frederick Douglass: An Illustrated Biography of the Nineteenth Century's Most Photographed American* (New York, 2015), ix-xi.

⁵¹³ Stauffer, Trodd, and Bernier, *Picturing Frederick Douglass*, p. 209.

⁵¹⁴ Shawn Michelle Smith, *Photography on the Color Line: W. E. B. Du Bois, Race, and Visual Culture* (Durham, 2004), p. 17

⁵¹⁵ Stauffer, Trodd, and Bernier, *Picturing Frederick Douglass*, p. 162.

Du Bois was even more proactive in using photography to counter negative stereotypes at world's fairs. After the exclusion and marginalisation of African Americans at the Columbian Exposition, Du Bois was keen to produce what Shawn Michelle Smith has called a 'counterarchive', which was presented at the 1900 Paris Exposition.⁵¹⁶ For the exposition Du Bois produced three albums: types of 'American Negroes, Georgia, USA' (volumes I-III) and 'Negro Life in Georgia, USA' that aimed to show 'what the negro really is in the South'.⁵¹⁷ In contrast to beliefs that had connected African Americans to the Dahomeyans as part of the same racial 'type', Du Bois presented African Americans as plural and featured blonde and pale, brunette and brown skinned, and dark-skinned men and women in his photograph exhibit.⁵¹⁸ Du Bois therefore saw the exhibition of photographs that contested racial stereotypes and emphasised the diversity of those of African descent as extremely important to the pursuit of social justice. The photographs of the WIR at Chicago could have supported such a view.⁵¹⁹

The Tourist Gaze of the Military Officer

Officers from the WIRs were also involved in circulating, collecting, and re-working tourist images of the Caribbean. Like other visitors to the region, they collected and captured photographs of tourist attractions and shared images of the Caribbean produced for tourists with their relatives back in England. Some officers ensured that their photographs reached audiences back home through curated albums that displayed various locations and landmarks, allowing viewers to take a tour of their

⁵¹⁶ Smith, *Photography on the Color Line*, p. 2.

⁵¹⁷ Smith, *Photography on the Color Line*, p. 2.

⁵¹⁸ Smith, *Photography on the Color Line*, p. 61.

⁵¹⁹ I discuss the WIRs presence at Atlantic World's Fairs in more detail in my published article Melissa Bennett, 'Exhibits with real colour and interest': representations of the West India Regiment at Atlantic World's Fairs, *Slavery & Abolition*, 39:3 (2018), pp. 558-578.

international postings through a series of images. Others sent postcards home to parents and other loved ones, that displayed the people and places that they had come across, sometimes containing personal opinions. This section will compare how two officers of the WIRs took others on tours of their international postings through photographs. Photographs in the collections of William Walker Whitehall Johnston, a Captain in the 1st WIR who was stationed in the Bahamas between 1863 and 1864, and Lieutenant C. D. Harris, who was stationed in Jamaica in 1905 demonstrate that military men brought into the same dominant representations of the Caribbean as others did by circulating and selecting similar images. Like the writers of travelogues and travel guides, they selected key sights to capture and share with audiences at home.

During his time serving with the 1st WIR Johnston collated an album that features a total of 129 photographs from Wales, St Lucia, the Bahamas, Jamaica, Cuba, and Trinidad.⁵²⁰ Johnston was likely stationed in Nassau between 1863 and 1864 when the headquarters of the 1st WIR were there along with three to four of its companies.⁵²¹ It was during this period that the US Civil War brought masses of Americans to the Bahamas and transformed Nassau into a bustling and exciting town. Along with them came ‘newspaper correspondents, English navy officers on leave with half pay, underwriters, entertainers, adventurers, spies, crooks and bums’.⁵²² During this time about 400 vessels entered Nassau from Confederate ports and the Royal Victoria Hotel was elaborately furnished for this tide of visitors at a greater expense than the government had previously planned.⁵²³ Johnston’s album

⁵²⁰ See Chapter Four pp. 135-40 for a detailed discussion of the form and content of Johnston’s album and more of his images.

⁵²¹ Ellis, *The History of the First West India Regiment*, pp. 355-6.

⁵²² Peters, ‘Blockade-Running in the Bahamas During the Civil War’, p. 16

⁵²³ Peters, ‘Blockade-Running in the Bahamas During the Civil War’, p. 20, p. 27.

takes those who viewed it on a tour of Nassau, with each of the city's key sights signposted by a soldier of the WIRs.

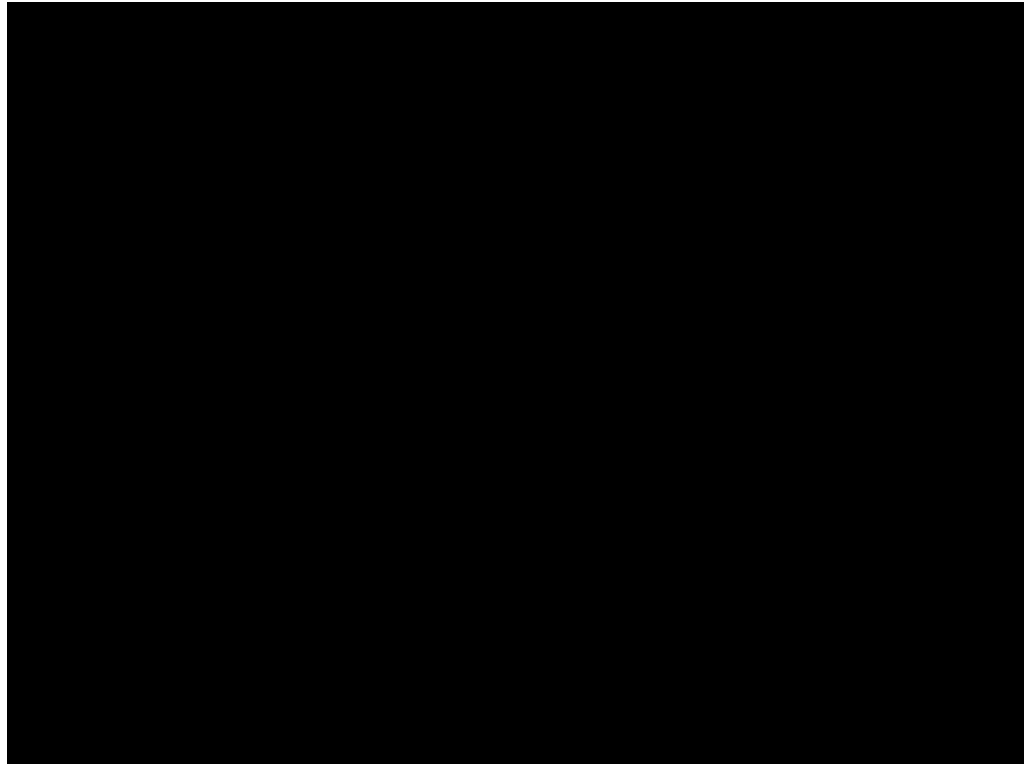


Figure 6.15: Anon., ca.1858-1865, Barracks at Fort Nassau, William Walker Whitehall Johnston Photograph Album of Wales, the West Indies, and the 1st West India Regiment, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven

Beginning with a military point of interest, Johnston's WIR soldier is used to draw attention to the barracks at Fort Nassau (see figure 6.15). The tower for Christ Church Cathedral is visible on the right side of the image, demonstrating that the barracks are very much part of the town. As well as the main barrack building, a smaller one can be seen next to it, along with a house that is joined to the main building by an external corridor. There are four black women in the photograph, two stand together and the other two are at various distances behind them. There is also one black woman on the top floor of the barracks, standing on the balcony. Three soldiers of Johnston's 1st WIR can be seen, one stands to the right of the other people featured and is in full Zouave dress. He holds his rifle awkwardly with his elbow bent at his side as if on guard. It is possible that this soldier has been required to

wear his dress uniform simply to complete the perfect picture, diminishing his true importance as a soldier. Two other soldiers of the Regiment can be seen near the middle of the photograph, behind and in between each of the pairs of white men. Some soldiers can also be seen on the balconies of the second floor of the barracks. There are six white men in the photograph; one stands on a second-floor balcony, one stands in the middle of the photograph dressed all in white and holding a cane, and two pairs of men stand to his left. The same men feature in another two photographs in Johnston's album, one of which has been reprinted in a nostalgic photograph book by Valeria Mosely Moss entitled *Reminiscing: Memories of Old Nassau*. In Mosely Moss's book the men are described as blockade runners.⁵²⁴ Across the city lots of activities were put on for visitors engaged in blockade running who often had long periods of waiting for their precious cargoes. The Civilian Cricket Club was reorganised and began playing again in the grounds of Fort Charlotte and dances were held for the safe return of a 'runner' as well as picnics and teas.⁵²⁵ The positioning of each of the people in the photographs appears to suggest that the scene has been staged rather than stumbled upon by the photographer.

The white men in this photograph seem as if they are trying to capture the perfect tourist photograph in front of a notable backdrop. They do not care that they are posing at a site that was essential to the security and law and order of the Caribbean whilst engaging in illegal activities. The photograph importantly demonstrates the openness of Nassau to these illegal traders and the confidence that these men had in the town as a result. Through the opportunity they have been given to pose in front of the barracks, and their self-assurance in doing so, they reduce the soldiers in the photograph to irrelevance as the island's defensive force. In fact, the

⁵²⁴ Valeria Mosely Moss, *Reminiscing: Memories of Old Nassau* (Nassau, 1987), p. 31.

⁵²⁵ Peters, 'Blockade-Running in the Bahamas During the Civil War', pp. 27-8.

soldier beside them is reduced to a prop or marker to give a sense of place and time. It is his presence and that of the men in the barracks that highlights that the men are in the British West Indies in what is otherwise quite a generic scene. It is important to think about the kind of men that the blockade runners were. As residents of the Southern states who were involved in an illicit trade to supply the Confederate army with uniforms, ammunition, guns, medicines, salt and various luxuries in exchange for cotton, they likely supported the continuance of slavery and would have opposed the employment of men of African descent as soldiers.⁵²⁶ Having to facilitate the visits of such men to their barracks and to other locations in Nassau (as evident in Johnston's other photographs) demonstrates that the role of black soldiers was to serve the white population. To protect Nassau's economy and the economic interests of its white population they were expected to cater to the needs of those whom it is likely that the colonial government knew denigrated them. Accommodating tourists and prospective investors was paramount, even if those they were assisting had no respect for them.

Many tourists who visited The Bahamas stopped by the islands' numerous military buildings as they were places of social and historical interest. In 1880, Charles Ives described being taken on a tour of Fort Charlotte arranged by military officials, along with a party of guests from his hotel. Whilst the officers entertained their guests, gallantly aiding the ladies 'in treading the dark and dismal corridors' their 'colored subordinates attended with lanterns'.⁵²⁷ Ives' excitement when visiting the fort was clear, and he and the rest of his party were treated to seeing sights such as the loop holes that musketeers would have shot invaders through. After their tour, Ives and his party dined on 'cheese, crackers and wine' at the 'expense of the British

⁵²⁶ Peters, 'Blockade-Running in the Bahamas During the Civil War', p. 20.

⁵²⁷ Ives, *The Isles of Summer*, p. 58.

Government’ in a part of the fort known as the Queen’s Chamber.⁵²⁸ Johnston therefore would have included a photo of the barracks not only to show those back home what his accommodation in Nassau was like, but to show his audience one of Nassau’s key tourist sites.

In another photograph, Johnston uses a soldier of the 1st WIR in dress uniform to mark the significance of the Governor’s House, which also would have been a sight of social and historical interest for tourists (see figure 6.16). The 1st WIR soldier stands in front of the house’s entrance as if on sentry duty. He holds his rifle in his left hand and stands on guard. The sentry not only marks this out as an important and official building, but also embodies British colonial rule over this place and over its non-white population. The sentry also exemplifies the success of the British ‘civilising mission’ by demonstrating that local black people could be used to guard over places that were important to those who were controlling them. The soldier also gives the image perspective, making the Governor’s House seem large and grand due to his relatively small size. The governor was important to the social life of the island, as well as to its governance and politics. American tourist William Drysdale, who visited Nassau in 1885, vividly described an encounter with WIR soldiers who had been sent to personally deliver him a social invitation from Governor Henry Blake. According to Drysdale ‘three soldiers, in the gayest and most romantic uniforms, came through the north-east gate at sunset one night’ to hand him ‘a letter bearing the impressed stamp of the “Government House, Bahamas”’.⁵²⁹ One of these three privates was the governor’s orderly, who was described as ‘a straight, soldierly East Indian’.⁵³⁰ Drysdale’s interaction with the men of the WIRs, and Johnston’s photographs, appear to demonstrate that visitors to Nassau appreciated

⁵²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 59.

⁵²⁹ Drysdale, *In Sunny Lands*, p. 30.

⁵³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

the colour and interest that these soldiers added to tourist scenes and experiences. To this day, tourists who visit The Bahamas are able to attend the People-to-People Tea Party at Government House in Nassau in the high tourist season and be greeted by the Governor General.⁵³¹

As well as displaying historic buildings, Johnston ensures that he includes an even more colourful scene in his photograph album: the marketplace. Marketplaces were often discussed in tourist travelogues as places to experience the colour and variety of Caribbean life. For example, Major Bacot wrote in a description of his time in Nassau published in 1869 that

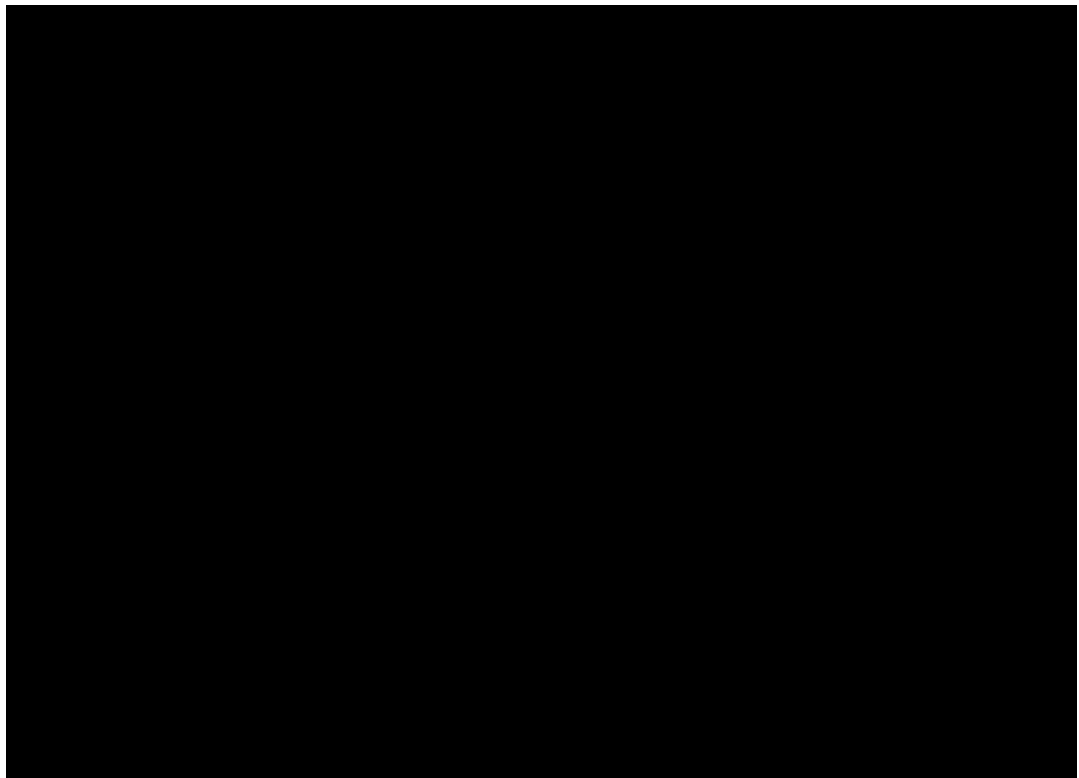


Figure 6.16: Anon., ca.1858-1865, Residence of the Governor in Nassau New Providence; includes an enlisted man in the 1st West India Regiment, William Walker Whitehall Johnston Photograph Album of Wales, the West Indies, and the 1st West India Regiment, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven

In the early morning, indeed, the markets are full of life, as the contents of the fishing-boats are disposed of; but as the day advances, the only out-door trade which attracts notice is the sale of sticky confectionery, pine apples, and

⁵³¹ The author attended this tea when on a research visit to the Bahamas in January 2016.

sugar-cane, conducted by negro females wearing the brightest of turbans and the gaudiest of cotton prints.⁵³²

Markets were presented in literature as places where one would encounter a range of ‘types’, such as market sellers and colourfully dressed women. There is a long history of visual representation of women at market with regards to the Caribbean image. Some of the earliest examples of this can be found amongst the work of Agostino Brunias, an Italian painter who travelled to Dominica during the period between 1764 and 1770 under the patronage of its Governor Sir William Young (see figures 6.17 and 6.18).⁵³³ It is into this history of representation and its continuance into the era of tourism promotion that Johnston’s two photographs enter.

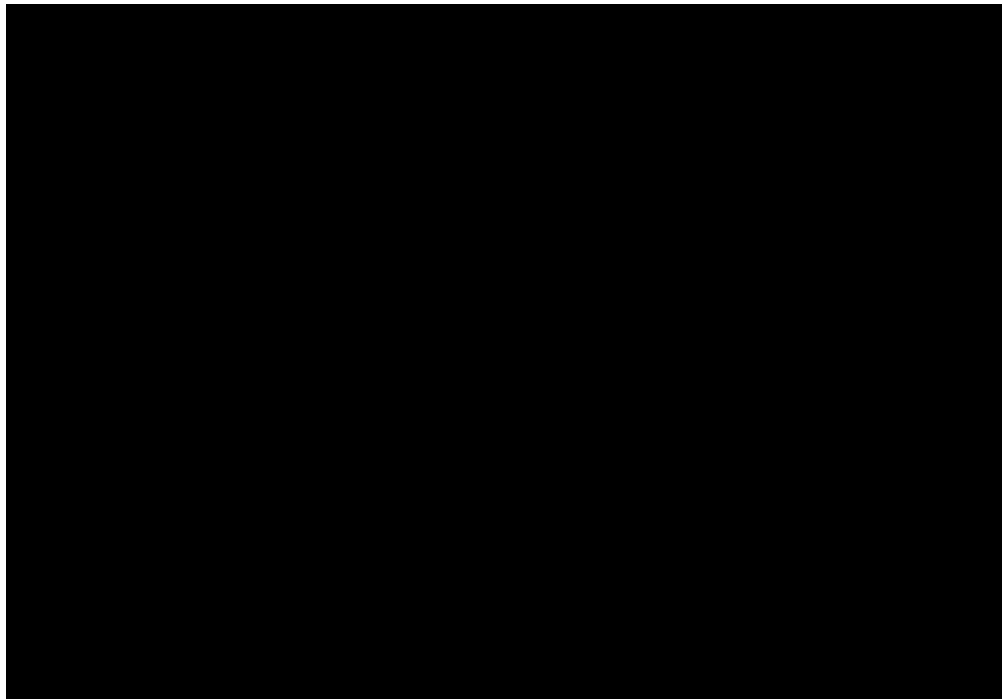


Figure 6.17: Agostino Brunias, ca.1780, 'Linen Market Dominica', Paul Mellon Collection, Yale Center for British Art, New Haven

⁵³² Bacot, *The Bahamas: A Sketch*, p. 6.

⁵³³ Mia Bagneris, ‘Coloring the Caribbean: Agostino Brunias and the Painting of Race in the British West Indies, 1765-1800’ (PhD thesis, Harvard University, 2009), p. 31, p. 23.

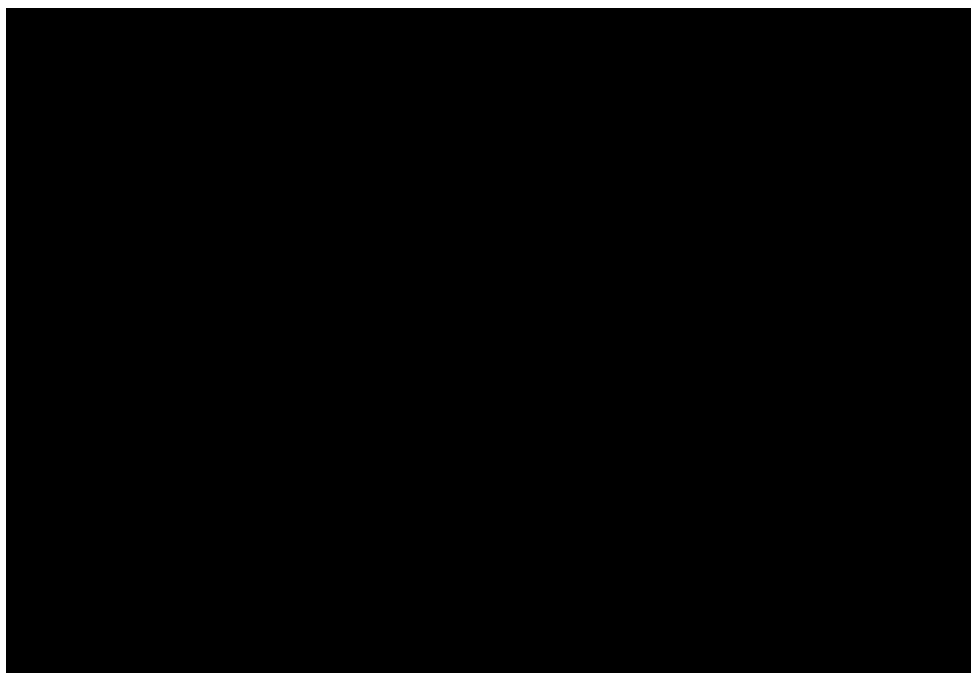


Figure 6.18: Agostino Brunias, ca.1780, 'Linen Market Dominica', Paul Mellon Collection, Yale Center for British Art, New Haven

Both the marketplace photographs feature on the same page in Johnston's album, sandwiched in between two pages with photographs of the WIR encamped at Fort Charlotte (see figures 6.19 and 6.20). Strangely, they do not feature in the catalogue description of the album and may perhaps have been missed by the cataloguer. In the first photograph, a soldier of the 1st WIR stands among twelve market women, a man and two younger girls. There are piles of sugar cane at either end of the group of women, and tables and barrels in front of the women that display more sugar cane and perhaps yams and other staple foods. All of the women wear long skirts, and hats or wraps cover their hair; the typical dress of women featured in marketplace scenes. Thompson, whose work focuses on photographs used to promote The Bahamas later on in the nineteenth century, found that later tourism

promoters selected parts of Nassau's landscape that seemed recognisably tropical including market women, and African settlements. This photograph demonstrates that such representations were in circulation from an even earlier date. According to Thompson, the figure of the West Indian woman entered the representational frame as the visual companion of tropical nature.⁵³⁴ Their presence in this photograph symbolises the tropicality and abundance of the area that they inhabit. The sugar cane they stand close to, links their labour back to the days of slavery when this was the main output of Caribbean land.

⁵³⁴ Thompson, *An Eye for the Tropics*, p. 98.

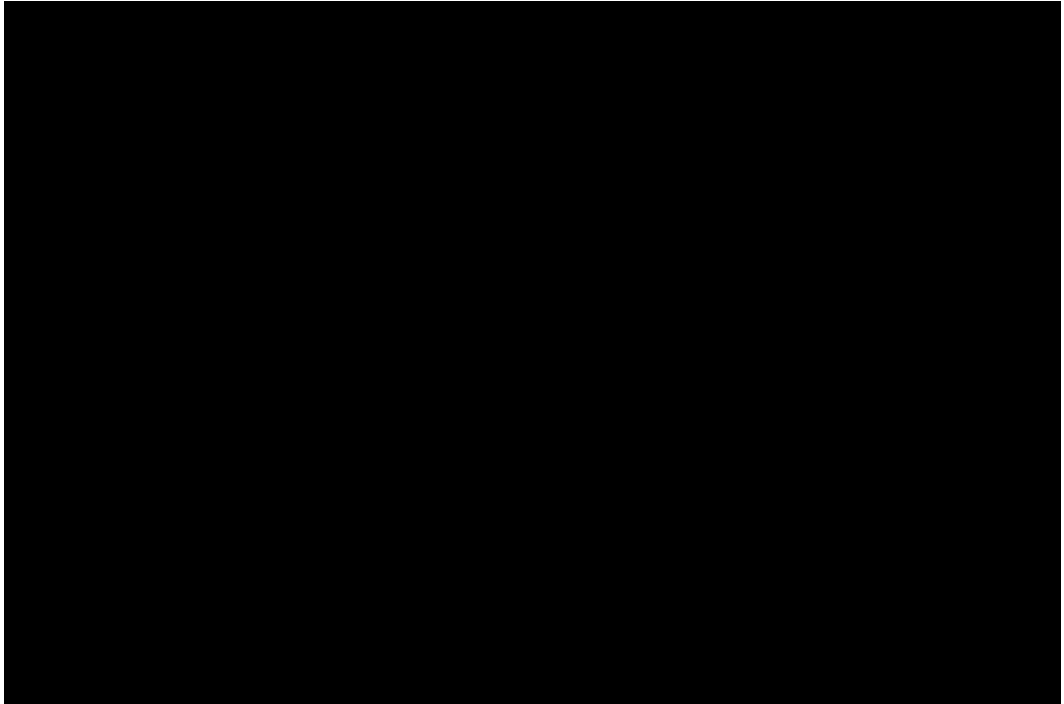


Figure 6.19: Anon., ca.1858-1865, Nassau Marketplace Scene, William Walker Whitehall Johnston Photograph Album of Wales, the West Indies, and the 1st West India Regiment, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University

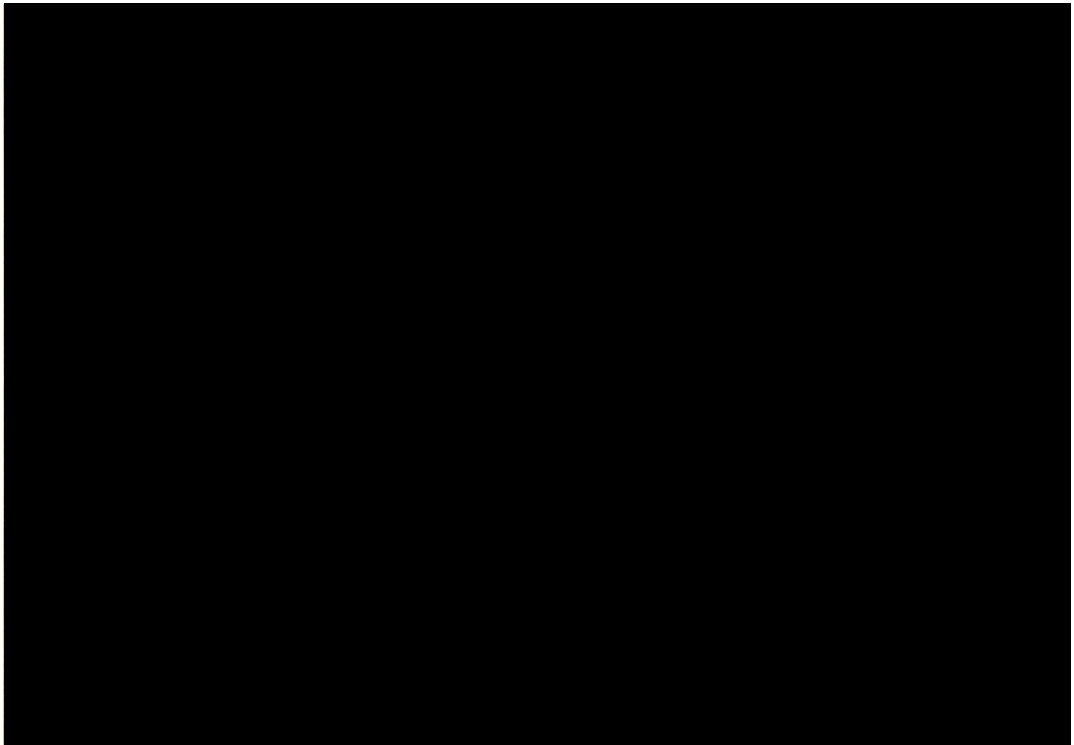


Figure 6.20: Anon., ca.1858-1865, Nassau Marketplace Scene, William Walker Whitehall Johnston Photograph Album of Wales, the West Indies, and the 1st West India Regiment, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University

In Johnston's photograph, the WIR soldier interrupts this generic and usually female dominated scene. He stands out as the main focal point of the photograph as the only uniformed figure. The other male in the photograph almost blends in with the women that he is lined up amongst due to his hat and white shirt being similar to the women's clothes. This is not the case with the WIR soldier. His hand is touching the table as if he is perhaps paying for goods, but his face looks at the camera rather than the woman who he is completing a transaction with. The photograph has been staged and the soldier comes across as an outsider amongst the group of women who wear similar clothing and perform similar roles. The fact that he looks so out of place raises questions about the place of the WIRs in Nassau's society at this time. If we refer back to Brunias' paintings, the figure of a soldier amidst a market scene was also not a completely new visual arrangement. However, it has been argued that Brunias' paintings undermine racial hierarchies by portraying interracial interaction and racially ambiguous bodies, as the soldiers are both white and actually interact with the women at the market.⁵³⁵ Does this important difference between the two images highlight that a more rigid racial hierarchy was present in Nassau in the mid-nineteenth century than was present in Dominica at Brunias' time in the late eighteenth century?

Aside from this key difference, the two images have been constructed in quite different ways. Whereas Brunias' painting presents an impromptu market scene, Johnston's photograph presents one that has been stiffly staged. The women in Johnston's photograph line up as if they have been assembled by the photographer. The market is not presented as a place of vibrancy and colour as in Brunias' paintings. Instead it appears almost deserted, cleared of its usual inhabitants to

⁵³⁵ Bagneris, 'Coloring the Caribbean', pp. 17-18, p. 239, p. 257.

capture the perfect shot. Tourists' use of the WIRs to add colour and life to scenes that photographs could only capture in black and white is important and connects to how the people of the Caribbean were presented in photographs more generally. Thompson argues that in images of the Caribbean 'human bodies also joined the parade of the picturesque' and were used to visually promote the islands landscapes. From Johnston's photographs, it appears that this was as true of the bodies of the WIRs' men as of market women, rural workers, and other groups associated with the colourful West Indian Landscape.⁵³⁶ Johnston, despite being a military man who was born in Trinidad and knowing the realities of life on the islands, could not escape the temptation of using such imagery involving the WIRs. Like those who followed and preceded him in travelling around the islands, Johnston was attracted to images of the WIRs adorning tourist locations in their exotic uniforms.

In his collection of postcards from Jamaica from his time on the island in 1905, Lieutenant C. D. Harris also includes typical tourist scenes and tourist images of the Regiment. Harris' postcards are mostly addressed to a 'Mrs Harris', who appears to have been his mother, with one card from Jamaica ending with the words 'love to Peter and father and yourself'. Harris used the cards as a substitute for his own personal photographs, sharing with his mother what his surroundings looked like in Jamaica, and what he had been up to. As well as postcards of Jamaica, Harris also sent postcards to his mother from Sierra Leone where he served with the WIR between 1905 and 1906, Britain between 1916 and 1917, and France between 1916 and 1917. Harris introduced his time in Jamaica to his mother by demonstrating how where he was staying could be located in reference to his home back in England. To ensure this, he sent her a postcard of a map of Jamaica and marked on it exactly

⁵³⁶ Thompson, *An Eye for the Tropics*, p. 7.

where his barracks were (see figure 6.21). Underneath the map he wrote where Jamaica was in relation to England, writing ‘England is almost to the right top corner of us’. The cards Harris sent home demonstrate his interest in his surroundings and the people that inhabited them, as well as his eye for photography and artwork more generally. He labels certain cards or scenes as uninteresting and marks others out as worth keeping due to their beauty and quality. On the back of one postcard of Kingston Harbour he writes to his mother ‘please be careful and keep this one as it is a good one’.



Figure 6.21: John Walker and Co. Ltd., ca. 1905, Coloured postcard with a map of Jamaica, 1992-06-6: Collection of 223 postcards sent home by Lieutenant C. D. Harris, West India Regiment, National Army Museum, London

Like Johnston, whose photographs demonstrate that his photographic taste was not free from the influence of the tourist gaze, Harris sent postcards to his mother that reinforced longstanding tourist stereotypes of the Caribbean. A clear example of one such image is featured on a postcard entitled ‘Kingston showing harbour’ (see figure 6.22). The postcard depicts a view of Kingston, looking towards the harbour and it represents the city as an orderly and tidy place as well as a centre

of commerce and trade, due to the number of large ships docked in the harbour from which goods, people, and letters would have entered Jamaica. Views of Kingston were captured from this perspective in order to demonstrate its importance and success as a trading post and had been in circulation for more than fifty years before Harris purchased his postcard. The most widely known of these is perhaps Joseph Bartholomew Kidd's 'City of Kingston from the Commercial Rooms, looking towards the East' (see figure 6.23). The print comes from Kidd's *Illustrations of Jamaica* that was published in the UK in 1840, sixty-five years before Harris' postcard was sent there. Kidd's print contains a very similar view of Kingston with similar buildings, whose roofs, like those in Harris' postcard, are partly obscured by trees. Kidd was also keen to include the harbour in his view, again with visiting boats to demonstrate Kingston's openness and ability to receive trade.⁵³⁷



Figure 6.22: A. Duperly and Sons, ca.1905, 'Kingston showing harbour', 1992-06-6: Collection of 223 postcards sent home by Lieutenant C. D. Harris, West India Regiment, National Army Museum, London

⁵³⁷ National Library of Jamaica, Biography of Joseph Bartholomew Kidd, available at: <http://nlj.gov.jm/biographies/joseph-bartholomew-kidd-1808-1889>.



Figure 6.23: J. B. Kidd, ca.1838, 'City of Kingston from the Commercial Rooms, looking towards the East', Paul Mellon Collection, Yale Center for British Art, New Haven

Harris' postcard is also very similar to a landscape photograph of Port Royal, produced just over ten years earlier, to promote Jamaica following the 1891 Jamaica Exhibition (see figure 6.24). The landscape was one of the photographs later taken to the World's Fair in Chicago. In their book discussing the Valentines' Jamaica photographs, Grundy and Montgomery note that to 'sell' the island to settlers and tourists Jamaica had to be presented as a picturesque but productive destination. This is true of Harris' postcard which includes a power line or telephone line. Grundy and Montgomery suggest that these 'visual incongruities' demonstrate Jamaica's 'transitional international marketing strategies' that had to position the island as an 'industrial resource' as well as a tourist paradise.⁵³⁸ In sending his postcard home, Harris brought into the intended showcasing of Jamaica's industrial potential through such images, a cycle of circulation that had been in place for at least sixty-five years. A close look at Harris' writing underneath the photograph shows that he was not entirely convinced by the representation of Kingston that he had purchased. He wrote 'this is a view of the town which looks very pretty in the picture but looks

⁵³⁸ Grundy and Montgomery, *An Image of Jamaica*, p. 29.

quite different when you see it properly'. Unlike other visitors he is keen to ensure that the real Jamaica is represented and returned to the UK. Due to his use of postcards as surrogates for personal photographs Harris uses his comments on them to make sure that they provide an authentic and accurate representation of his surroundings. In this way he appears to challenge the accuracy of stereotypical tourist images in ways that others working within the tourist gaze did not.

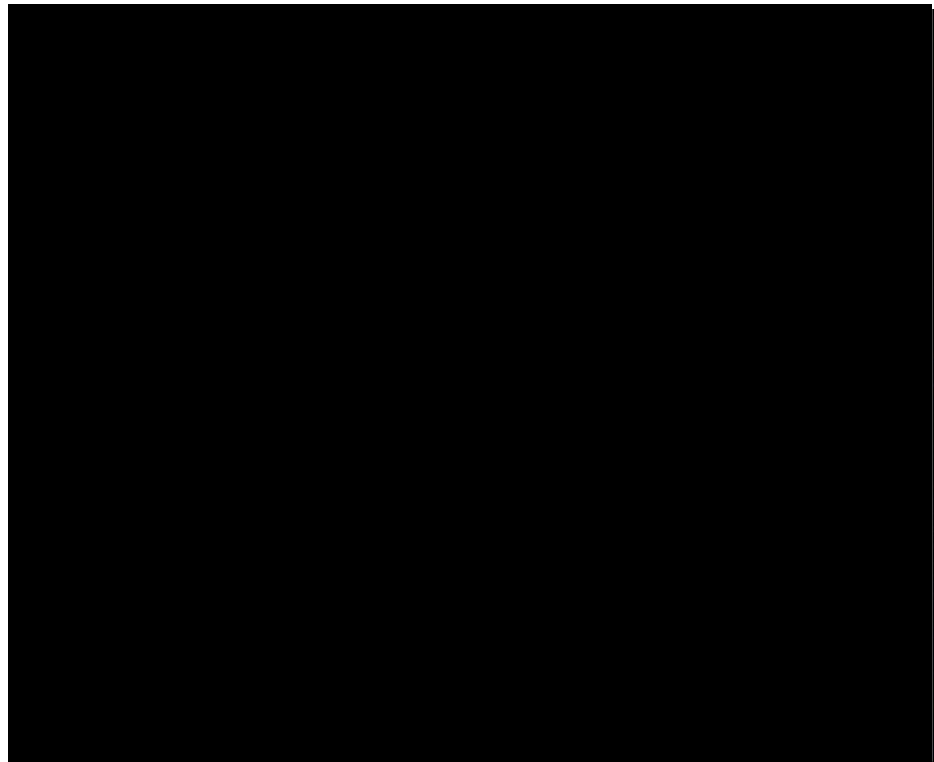


Figure 6.24: J. Valentine and Sons, 1891, 'Port Royal, Jamaica', Caribbean Photo Archive, Archive Farms, available at: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/caribbeanphotoarchive>

Like Johnston, Harris used images containing military men to signpost key locations that he visited and inhabited during his time in Jamaica, demonstrating that the WIRs were used to add meaning to the landscape. Postcards of soldiers on parade are used to highlight locations that Lieutenant Harris feels are worth sharing with his mother. Harris uses a postcard of the WIR to show the polo ground, where he would have trained his company of troops and carried out military drill exercises (see figure 6.26). On the front of the card, Harris has written 'this photo was taken last year,

when we had our band, the ground is the polo ground' and for Harris therefore, the landscape is the most important feature of this image and the polo ground is more noteworthy than the men who paraded through it. John Henderson's guide to Jamaica, published around a year after Harris was on the island, noted that polo was a favourite game amongst West India army officers, especially for young subalterns who had recently arrived on the island.⁵³⁹ The polo ground near Harris' barracks at Up Park Camp would also have provided entertainment to numerous residents and visitors to the island beyond those in the military. In her account of her trip to Jamaica, Lady Brassey recalls passing 'a whole string of polo ponies going down to Up Park Camp' to be ready for a match that afternoon. According to Brassey's account, polo was very popular in Jamaica and meetings were held once a week.⁵⁴⁰ Harris does not give further information about the men in the postcard, despite his comments suggesting that they could be his own company. The parade depicted in the postcard is not mentioned, although it is the focus of the photographer. Like Johnston therefore, Harris' aim is to use the men in the postcard to add excitement to scenes that would otherwise be quite empty, and to draw attention to the landscape around them.

⁵³⁹ Henderson, *Jamaica*, p. 62.

⁵⁴⁰ Brassey, *In the Trades, the Tropics and the Roaring Forties*, p. 230.



Figure 6.25: Grant and Co., ca. 1905, 'The WIR on Parade', 1992-06-6: Collection of 223 postcards sent home by Lieutenant C. D. Harris, West India Regiment, National Army Museum, London

Harris uses two more postcards of men on parade to share Jamaican landscapes with his mother. The first is of the WIR band, and again Harris' comments on the front of the card do not draw attention to the men, but the environment that they stand in (see figure 6.20). Harris has written at the side of the image 'the buildings you see are the officers' quarters, the one we are in is on the right'. Like the postcard of the map of Jamaica, Harris uses this one of the WIR band to pinpoint to his mother exactly where on the island he is staying. These officers' quarters were described by other visitors to the region in their travel narratives, including Lady Brassey, who said of the buildings that they were 'admirably situated in the best possible position for enjoying the full benefit of the sea breeze'. Brassey also noted that the officers' quarters were not picturesque but were well arranged. As is clear from Harris' postcard of the band the barracks were surrounded by the parade ground, that Brassey believed resembled 'a beautiful English park, covered

with bright green turf and studded with splendid trees'.⁵⁴¹ Brassey's textual description of the parade ground uses the men of the WIR to add colour and interest. She writes that the fruits on the parade ground's trees contrast 'picturesquely with each other and with the dark blue, red, and white Zouave uniforms of the soldiers of the West India Regiment'.⁵⁴² A 1909 tourist guide to Jamaica referred to Up Park Camp as having a spacious ground with golf links.⁵⁴³ Harris' message goes on to say that 'this photo must have been taken some time ago, as the buildings are quite sheltered now from the front and can't be seen at all'. With these comments Harris appears to recognise the temporary nature of the images that postcards represented and their shortcomings as accurate representations of tourist sights. They represented how a scene looked at a particular moment in time, and the scene could have changed significantly by the time the postcard was purchased and sent home as had happened in this case.

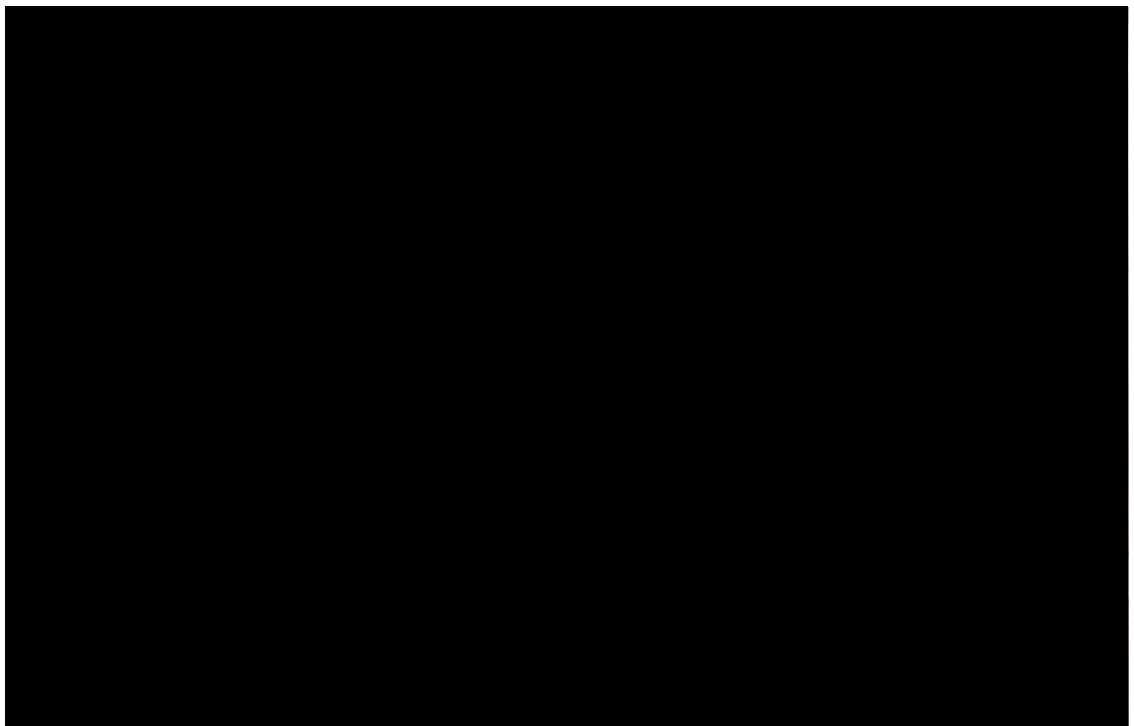


Figure 6.26: A. Duperly and Sons, ca.1905, 'W I Reg. Band Camp', 1992-06-6: Collection of 223 postcards sent home by Lieutenant C. D. Harris, West India Regiment, National Army Museum, London

⁵⁴¹ Brassey, *In the Trades, the Tropics and the Roaring Forties*, p. 226.

⁵⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 226.

⁵⁴³ Jamaica Times, *The Jamaica Times Tourist Guide: The Island of Jamaica* (Kingston, 1909), p. 115.

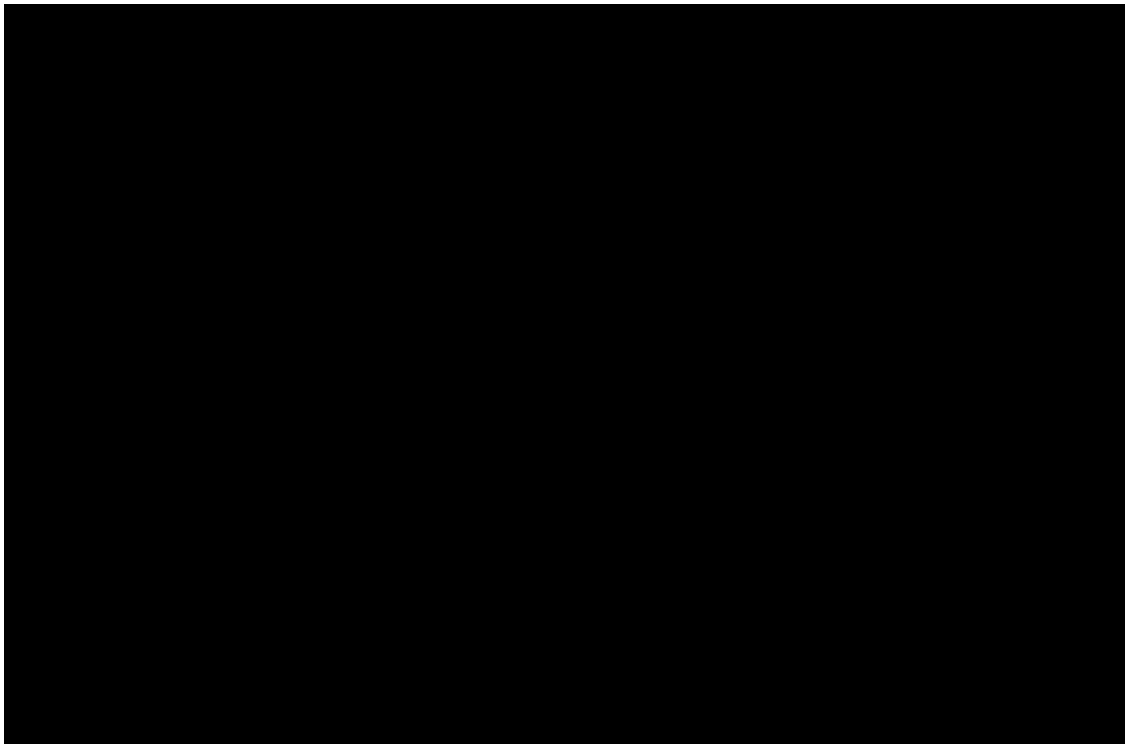


Figure 6.27: Grant and Co., ca. 1905, 'On Parade Newcastle', 1992-06-6: Collection of 223 postcards sent home by Lieutenant C. D. Harris, West India Regiment, National Army Museum, London

As well as the barracks of the WIR, the headquarters of white British regiments stationed in Jamaica at Newcastle were of significant interest to tourists. Day trips and excursions to Newcastle were advertised in tourist guides.⁵⁴⁴ Like those who wrote about Newcastle in their travel guides and travelogues, Lieutenant Harris was keen to share information about Newcastle with his mother (see figure 6.27). As with his two postcards of the WIR on parade at their barracks, Harris uses a postcard of troops on parade to share a view of the environment around Newcastle. On the front, he writes 'those buildings you see are called Greenwich Ridge, Newcastle on this side of the parade ground. They get a temperature of 68 up here'. Officers at Newcastle hosted tourists and other guests at the barracks for breakfast and tours, and the barracks were the only place on the island where fresh butter was

⁵⁴⁴ James Johnston, *Jamaica, The New Riviera: A Pictorial Description of the Island and its Attractions* (London, 1903), p. 38.

made.⁵⁴⁵ Soldiers put together ‘cases and albums of birds, moths, butterflies, beetles, ferns, and photographs’ that were also used to entertain guests that came to visit.⁵⁴⁶ Although he was not stationed there himself, Harris would likely have socialised with other British officers at Newcastle. His postcard depicts some of these men on parade, but the most prominent feature of the postcard is the ridge behind the men that his writing also draws attention to, meaning that as in figure 6.25 and 6.26, the focus is placed on the landscape. In this way, Harris’ use of photographs of the WIR and the landscapes they inhabit is similar to Johnston’s photographs. The importance of the men of the WIR in Harris’ postcard lies in what they can add to Jamaican landscape scenes, like Johnston’s single WIR soldier adds to the various scenes from Nassau, and soldiers of the WIRs added to descriptions of scenes in travel narratives. Even in photographs collected and circulated by officers from their own regiment, and more specifically officers like Harris who actually scrutinised the representation of the Caribbean landscape in the postcards he purchased, the men of the WIR did not escape the objectification of the tourist gaze. They were one of a number of visual components, used to promote a certain image of the region.

Conclusions

To conclude, it seems that the WIRs were subjected to a similar gaze and rendered pleasingly exotic but reassuringly disciplined figures by a range of visitors to the West Indies, despite their differing backgrounds. The ways in which they were represented to a range of visitor types and by those who travelled to the Caribbean opened their bodies up to scrutiny. Their bodies and their representation had meaning not just to scientists and anthropologists, but to those who sought to visit

⁵⁴⁵ Brassey, *In the Trades, the Tropics and the Roaring Forties*, p. 231.

⁵⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 240.

the Caribbean colonies (as some of their country's imperial outposts) for leisure or saw them as a possible place to invest. As discussed in relation to the photographs analysed in Chapter Three, the bodies of the soldiers were used to demonstrate the potential of Britain's black colonial subjects, whether this was their potential to be loyal and disciplined or to work hard. This was essential at a time when the economic outputs of the islands were in decline and in desperate need of new visitors to spend and invest their money. Their position in the Caribbean in person and in photographs was important to this mission.

As well as being used to promote tourism and investment, soldiers of the WIRs were also used to adorn attractive tourist scenes, from the generic Caribbean marketplace to the barracks and street views. The exotic look of the men of the WIRs, in their attractive and colourful Zouave uniforms, complimented their colourful tropical surroundings perfectly. They added a sense of colour and excitement to the photographs in which they featured. They also demonstrated that there were a range of activities for tourists to embark upon once they reached the Caribbean, from sightseeing and socialising at military locations, to listening to the band perform at a range of venues from parks, parade grounds, and luxury hotels.

As British soldiers, they also demonstrated that the landscapes they were photographed in were under British control and secured by loyal black subjects, providing a positive image of empire. Despite not being called upon to defend the islands once the period of mass tourism had begun, their presence in photographs of the Caribbean added an essential sense of security for those who were concerned about the safety of the islands. These photographs demonstrate that the WIRs' main role and priority was to serve the white population but could be seen as undermining their importance as soldiers in charge of maintaining law and order, particularly when they were made to pose with the blockade runners who were carrying out illicit

activities. For this reason, many images of the WIRs taken for the purposes outlined in this chapter are contradictory, emphasising that the image of the WIRs was contested. They highlight that certain locations were secure yet undermine the need for this security by the fact that soldiers seemed to have the time to interact with and entertain visitors. They promote the region as a place to invest in, whilst at the same time representing its strategic and economic decline by even having to appeal for tourists and new types of investment.

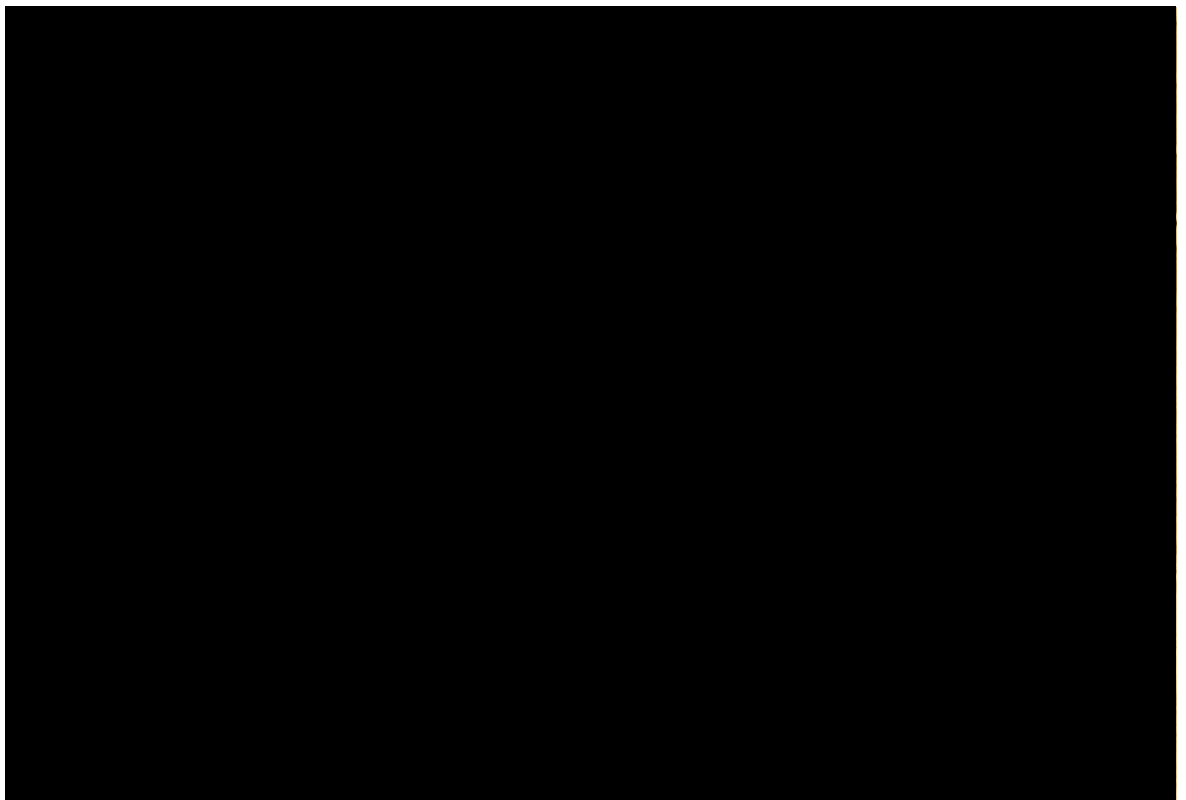


Figure 6.28: Anon., ca.1858-1865, Street in Nassau, William Walker Whitehall Johnston Photograph Album of Wales, the West Indies, and the 1st West India Regiment, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University

Tourist photographs featuring the Regiments also provide information about their place within Caribbean society. They demonstrate their detachment from the needs and daily lives of the local black population and their necessary loyalty and service to the white elites. An image in Johnston's album of a soldier of the 1st WIR in a Nassau street makes this particularly clear (see figure 6.28). Standing alone on

the pavement on one side of the road is a white man, presumably the subject of the photograph. On the pavement on the other side of the road are four black figures that could be taken to represent the local black population. Standing in the road and not sharing the path with either is a single soldier of the WIR. He has not quite chosen a side, instead choosing not to stand on either the left or right pavement. However, he does stand closer to the local blacks. Whether this photograph was organised purposely for the positioning of the figures to demonstrate this, cannot be determined. However, the isolated and confused position of the WIR soldier perfectly represents their social and racial status at this time. This unstable position highlighting the ambivalent middle ground he and his colleagues inhabited.

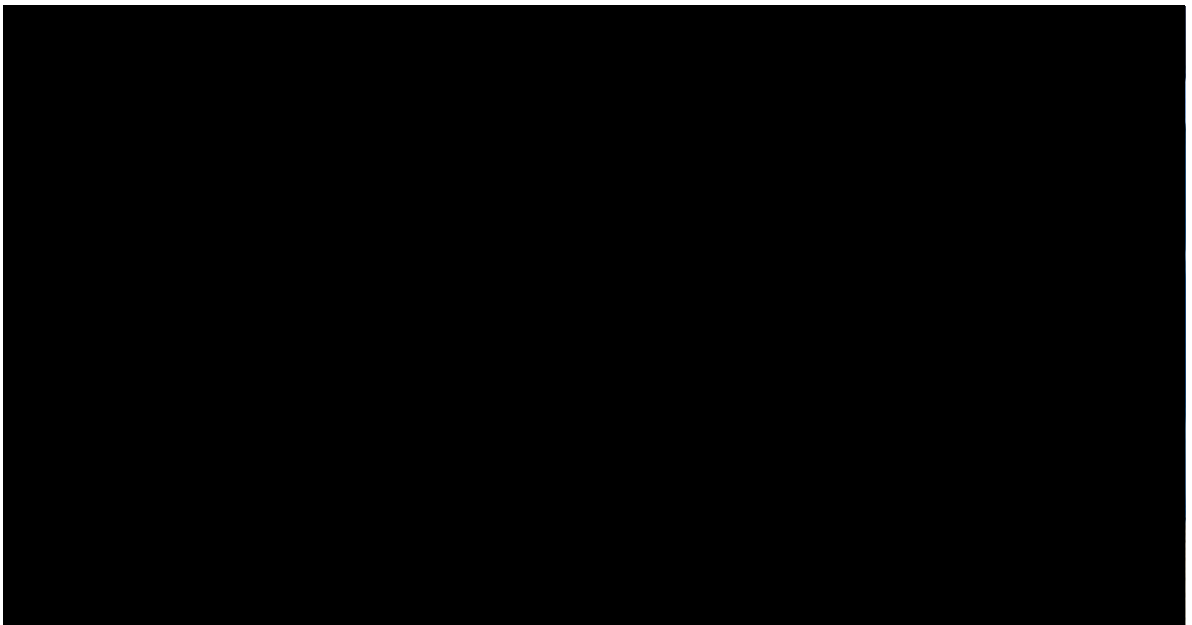


Figure 6.29: Anon., ca.2017, Changing of the guard at the Garrison Historic Site in Barbados, available at <http://barbados.org/blog/changing-of-the-sentry-in-barbados/>, accessed 13th December 2017

It is important to recognise at the close of this chapter, that despite arguably commodifying the men of the WIR, their representations in tourist photographs were not completely disempowering. In fact, through demonstrating the numerous roles that they were expected to undertake outside of their military duties, they highlight the multifaceted requirements of the Regiments' existence. They were expected to protect and perform, to defend and pose for photographs, to attack and to attract.

That so many important duties were ascribed to them, can only emphasise their importance to the economic history of the region, first as defenders and protectors of the sugar industry, then later as promoters and protectors of later agricultural projects and finally the tourist industry. It is in this final role that their legacy continues to this day despite the disbandment of the Regiments. For example, in The Bahamas, cut-outs and mannequins of the WIR still adorn forts to allow tourists to include them in their photographs, while in Barbados the Zouave uniforms are still worn for the changing of the guard at the UNESCO Garrison Historic Site once a week (see figures 6.29 to 6.31).

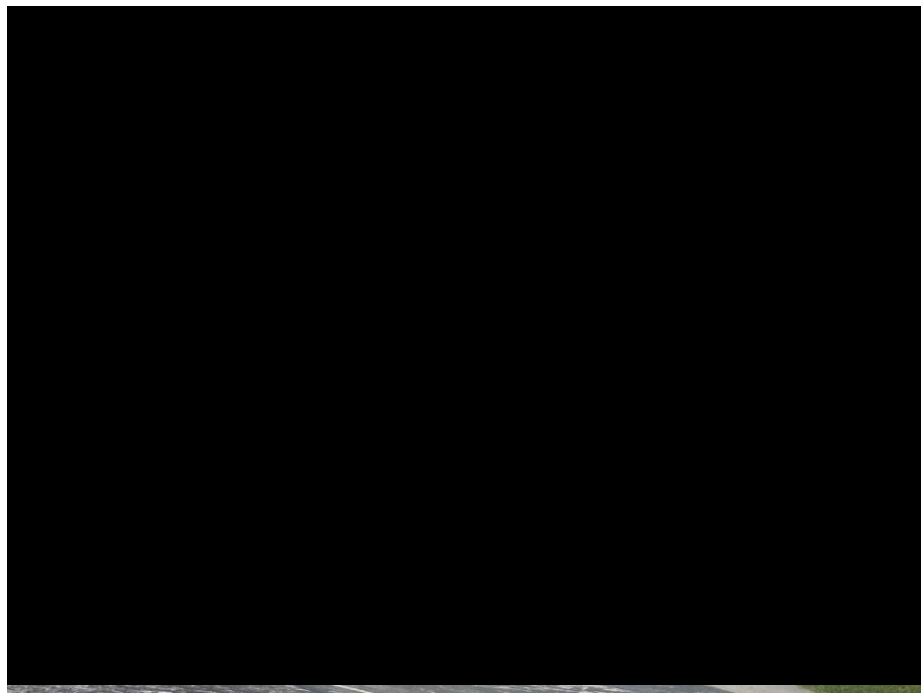


Figure 6.30: Author's own image, 2016, WIR cut-out at Fort Charlotte



Figure 6.31: Author's own image, 2016, WIR signage at Fort Charlotte

Chapter Seven:

Conclusions

This thesis has looked at photographs of the West India Regiments dating from the 1850s to the 1900s. The photographs analysed were in a range of formats: prints from albums, stereographs, *carte-de-visite*, lantern slides, postcards, and loose prints. They were also of varying quality. Some were available only as grainy reproductions in books and newspapers, others were high quality scans, digitised and zoomable to proportions unimagined when they were first captured. Some were pasted into albums and personalised with captions, and others were postcards that were annotated by officers and tourists of the past. The photographs also came from a range of locations: from organised archives at museums and research institutions, to the private collections of enthusiasts. These collections, both public and private, spanned the Atlantic triangle from Ivy League Universities in the United States to Museums in the Caribbean and private homes and libraries in the UK. In bringing such a disparate archive together, this thesis has attempted both to present and analyse a united and coherent image of the WIRs for the first time.

My method of analysing each photograph included in this thesis (and many others that I can only wish that there was space to include) has ensured that a uniform approach has been taken with regards to each photograph. For each, the content, audience, context, and circulation were carefully considered along with aspects of its present and past material form. It is worth reflecting for some time on the similarities and differences found amongst the photographs analysed as part of this research. Following this, I will discuss how this analysis of the image of the

WIRs has contributed to the literature outlined in Chapter Two and added a new dimension to understanding about race, empire, and representation c.1850-1914.

Different Contexts, Similar Representations, and Important Exceptions

The Impact of Working in a Racialised Empire: Agency and the WIRs Historical Archive

Perhaps the most striking similarity amongst most photographs of the WIRs is the lack of agency that has been given to the black men of the rank and file whose likenesses were captured. This lack of agency was primarily due to their race and is a clear demonstration of the legacies of racial ideologies and hierarchies in the WIRs' visual archive. In most cases the men of the rank and file are unnamed, even when they are captured in individual portraits. In *carte-de-visite* of black soldiers, such as those in Richard Glynn Vivian's album, the names and identities of the men have been deliberately obscured or dismissed in an attempt to make them represent generic types (see figures 6.1, 6.2, and 6.3 for Glynn Vivian's cartes).⁵⁴⁷ In Harry Johnston's *Negro in the New World*, individuals were also de-individualised through their photographic portraits (see figures 6.4, 6.5, and 6.6) and similar portraits were reproduced in illustrated weeklies and used in the same way (see figure 3.19).⁵⁴⁸ In commemorative photographs featuring individual men or small groups of men from the black rank and file, WIR privates and NCOs also remained unnamed even when officers' names were included in captions and accompanying articles. This is clear from the photographs of WIR personnel receiving medals in St Lucia, where the single private remains unnamed but the numerous officers and politicians in the

⁵⁴⁷ See pp. 275-7.

⁵⁴⁸ See pp. 280-1, p. 121.

photograph are, and the group photograph of the men awaiting their awards where the officers and politicians are again named but the medal winners are not (see figures 3.11 to 3.14).⁵⁴⁹ It also occurs in the commemorative portrait of Major General O'Connor, Colonel Elkington, Captain Johnston, and the WIR sergeant who stands behind the officers but is not even acknowledged in the Gulland's caption (see figure 4.22).⁵⁵⁰

As argued by Manuela Carneiro de Cunha, people who ordered portrait photographs used them to display themselves, to be known, and to spread their image.⁵⁵¹ However in the slave portraits she references, and by extension colonial type photographs, the subjects are de-personalised and represented as 'a sign of a category that subsumes them', making their particularity irrelevant.⁵⁵² This de-individualisation of the WIR personnel is particularly distressing if we consider that their descendants have been deprived of the opportunity to view and possess photographs of their ancestors. Officers like Harris, Brown, and Johnston were able to possess and capture photographs of the soldiers they commanded that the men were unlikely to be able to buy themselves, and therefore take control of their legacies as well as their daily activities within the WIRs. The present and the future of the black rank and file was left in the hands of those who had led them, leaving the white officer class in charge of historical narratives and visual legacies until their collections were made public. Before even considering how the image of the men was shaped by racial and colonial ideologies it is important to remember that the very existence and preservation of their image was a direct result of colonial control.

⁵⁴⁹ See pp. 107-11.

⁵⁵⁰ See p. 177.

⁵⁵¹ Manuela Carneiro da Cunha, 'A Slave's Look, Being Looked At', in *Soul Fundacao Bienal de sao Paulo* (ed.) *Negro de Corpo e Alma/Black in Body and Soul* (São Paulo, 2000), pp. 136-7.

⁵⁵² Carneiro de Cunha, 'A Slave's Look, Being Looked At', p. 136.

The men included in many of the photographs were likely not even given the opportunity to give their consent, further demonstrating that racial and colonial control was key to the establishment of the image of the WIRs. In fact, in some photographs it is clear that they did not realise that their likeness was being captured at all. Examples of this occur in many of Foulkes' photographs of the WIR in Sierra Leone whether the men were travelling, working around camp, or on parade (see figures 5.24, 5.25, 5.22 and 5.27).⁵⁵³ Many photographs of the WIRs on parade or carrying out drill activities also appear to have been taken without the knowledge of the men (see figures 3.4, 3.7, 6.25).⁵⁵⁴ However, in Foulkes' photographs this lack of consent and control over representation is made more pertinent by the fact that he has extended such an opportunity to the white officers featured in his photographs (see figures 5.23 and 5.28).⁵⁵⁵

In some cases, however, the men of the WIRs do return the gaze of the viewer. In a small number of photographs of the WIRs on parade, the men position themselves to ensure that their faces can be seen, leaning out of otherwise perfectly straight lines. This was presumably unbeknownst to the photographer until the photographs were printed. Clear examples of some of the rank and file connecting with the viewer through the camera can be seen in the group photographs taken after the Morant Bay rebellion. For example, a close look at figure 4.28 reveals that the five men at the centre of this group all look directly at the camera, with even the man seated with his body pointed to the right raising his chin to cast an appraising and fear inducing glance in its direction.⁵⁵⁶ The aim of this photograph seems to be to invoke (or maintain) fear following the rebellion and the fact that the viewer's gaze

⁵⁵³ See pp. 238-49.

⁵⁵⁴ See p. 84, p. 94, p. 327.

⁵⁵⁵ See p. 239, p. 250.

⁵⁵⁶ See p. 194.

is returned could make them feel as if they are being watched by some of the men, particularly the one to the right of the second seated man (see figure 7.1 and figure 4.28). The viewer is most drawn to his gaze ahead of all the other NCOs featured and he also appears to be the largest physical body in the photograph. The photographer appears to have positioned his audience to look directly into the eyes of the NCOs and when it seemed that these eyes were lost, the photographer artificially altered the photograph to add them in. Similar examples of the men connecting with the photographer's or the audience's gaze can be seen in figures 3.9 and 5.22.⁵⁵⁷

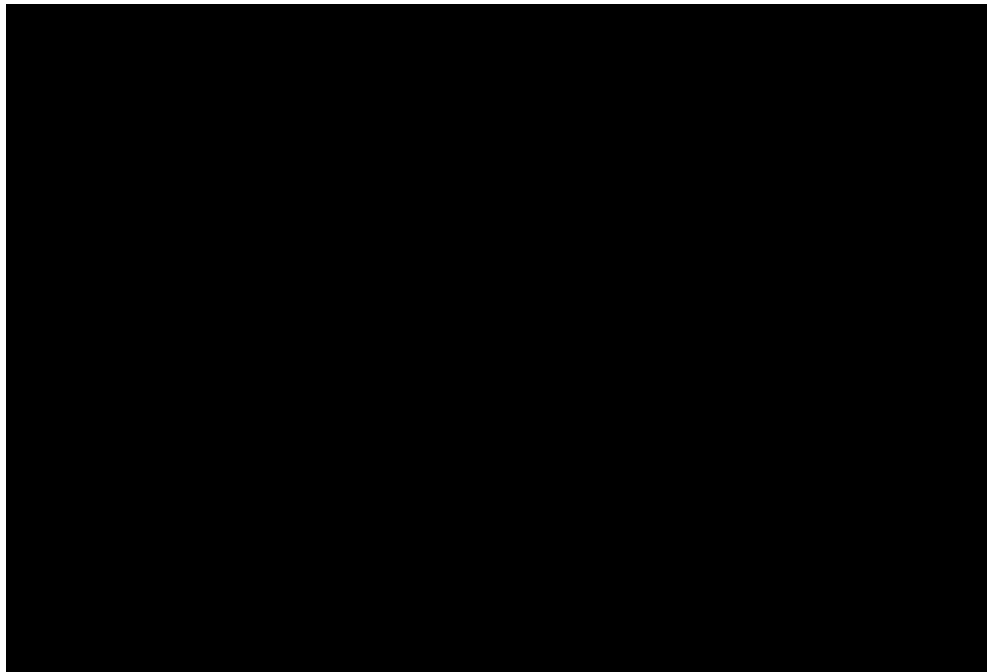
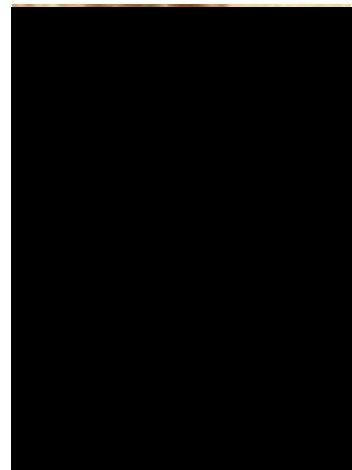
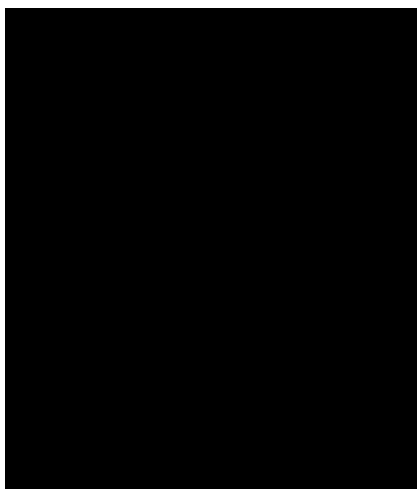


Figure 7.1: Figure 4.28 and details with the men's gazes highlighted



⁵⁵⁷ See p. 100, p. 238.

White Dominance

Many photographs of the WIRs are meaningful to historiographies of race and empire because they emphasise the perceived importance of white dominance over colonial peoples and provide examples of how this control was visually represented. As discussed in Chapter Three, officers were ever present in images of the WIRs on parade, guarding over their men and ensuring their discipline and loyalty. Their presence ensured that the successes of the rank and file were attributed to the officer class (see figures 3.1 to 3.7).⁵⁵⁸ It also demonstrated the necessity of white control of colonial subjects in the field, which could be connected to white leadership of colonies more generally. The superiority of the white leadership over the black rank and file is also demonstrated in photographs of the Morant Bay rebellion where officers were commemorated for their role in the suppression, but the rank and file were not (see figures 4.22 and 4.25).⁵⁵⁹ The members of the rank and file receiving their medals in St Lucia in Chapter Three are also ignored in comparison to their officers (see figures 3.10 and 3.11).⁵⁶⁰ With similar intentions, in his photographs of Sierra Leone, Foulkes stressed officer capability and the lack of soldierly qualities of the black rank and file. He used the layout of his album to stress black inaction and inadequacy by contrasting it to white proactivity (see figures 5.19 and 5.23).⁵⁶¹ This representation connects to written evidence, primarily inspection reports and articles in the illustrated weeklies. These stressed the importance and success of the white leadership over their men, for example articles that detailed officer actions and deaths during the Hut Tax War. When not positioned to watch over their men, white

⁵⁵⁸ See pp. 79-96.

⁵⁵⁹ See p. 177, p. 186.

⁵⁶⁰ See pp. 105, p. 106.

⁵⁶¹ See p. 233, p. 239.

officers were often placed at the centre of photographs with their men arranged around them as in figures 4.28 and 5.34.⁵⁶²

White superiority was also stressed through photographs that represented the men of the WIRs in service roles. In the commemorative photograph of officers taken after the Morant Bay rebellion, the WIR sergeant is represented as there to serve the officers being celebrated. He stands behind the officers and stares over them and the paper they look at (see figure 4.22). His hand rests on his bag of papers in wait for the officers to ask him for the next document. Presented as an outsider there to serve but not contribute, his lower rank is evident. Similarly, in figure 3.4 the black WIR soldier who is carrying the parasol to shade the officer and Governor Probyn is placed in a subservient role. This soldier is likely to have been the officer's 'batman', or personal servant, who makes no attempt to protect himself due to racialised beliefs that his darker skin and thicker skull were sufficient.

There were of course exceptions to these images of white dominance however, including three photographs that feature men of African descent who had risen to the rank of commissioned officer, despite restrictions on their ability to do so (see figures 3.10, 5.33 and 5.34).⁵⁶³ These photographs of black military and social mobility challenge those that represent the history and image of the WIRs as one of white suppression and superiority. They also demonstrate that colonial hierarchies and racialised ideas about the capabilities of those of African descent were flexible in some cases, and allowed some non-white men to occupy leadership roles, despite the majority of ideas circulating at the time suggesting that this was impossible, and that British leadership was a necessity.

⁵⁶² See p. 194, p. 262.

⁵⁶³ See p. 103, pp. 263-4.

Promoters of Empire and Tourism

Most photographs of the WIRs were created with the purpose of publicising or promoting the men, and by extension the empire and British colonial rule.

Photographs of the WIRs on parade allowed viewers to scrutinise the men and see for themselves that they were well-trained and well-disciplined. Proof of the men's aptitude was important in justifying previous colonial expansion and gathering support for the further extension of empire. The men were used as examples of the potential of colonial peoples more generally and the possibilities that could result from bringing even larger numbers of productive and disciplined colonial subjects under British influence. Such images were widely distributed on tourist postcards, such as those sent by Lieutenant C. D. Harris, in illustrated weeklies and glossy magazines, and through lantern slide lectures and *carte-de-visite*.

Photographs of the WIRs on campaign also helped to rally support for empire by increasing patriotism and support for British forces overseas. Following the men and their officers through the Hut Tax War or the Ashanti Wars as they defeated savage foes, stirred up support for further conquests. These images also displayed the vast landscapes and peoples that had been brought under British control and allowed viewers and collectors with the income to purchase and display photographs in the metropole to actively participate in the imperial project by closely following campaigns and collecting stories and images related to colonial conquests.

In promoting the conquest of faraway lands, photographs of the WIRs also encouraged their audiences to visit these places. Promoters of tourism used photographs of the WIRs on parade in their tourist guides and emphasised the importance of the Regiments and their band to social life in the Caribbean (see

figures 3.11 to 3.14, and 3.1).⁵⁶⁴ Postcards and photographs of the band circulated with words that sought to prompt others to hear them play (figure 6.14).⁵⁶⁵ In some cases, men of the WIRs even travelled overseas to promote the empire and tourism as is seen from their presence at the Queen's Diamond Jubilee and numerous world's fairs (see figure 3.21 and 6.10 to 6.14).⁵⁶⁶ The importance of the WIRs in promoting empire has therefore not been given enough attention in the previous literature, which has heavily focused on the battles and suppressive activities that they were involved in and has emphasised their hard power over their soft power. This soft power was complex, given the fact that the men of the WIRs were never actually in control of it themselves.

The WIRs' role as promoters of empire demonstrated their complicated and contradictory position within it. The men were always represented as subject peoples yet were given a higher racial and social status than others from the islands they inhabited. They occupied an unstable position in between black and white worlds, and though they were men of African descent, they were often portrayed as having reached higher levels of civilisation than their native African counterparts. Images of the men are therefore evidence that racial hierarchies were not fixed as is commonly suggested and that there were opportunities to progress upwards. As argued by David Scott, Caribbean peoples were 'neither properly "primitive" nor civilised, neither "non-western" on the conventional criteria nor unambiguously "western" and therefore have 'never quite fit securely within any anthropological agenda'.⁵⁶⁷ The WIRs were perhaps the clearest examples of this ambiguous Caribbean status.

⁵⁶⁴ See pp. 106-111, p. 79.

⁵⁶⁵ See p. 301.

⁵⁶⁶ See p. 125, pp. 289-301.

⁵⁶⁷ David Scott. 'Modernity that Predated the Modern: Sidney Mintz's Caribbean', *History Workshop Journal*, 58 (2004), pp. 191-210, p. 192.

The WIRs and the Landscape

As mentioned in Chapter Six with regards to tourist photographs, similar themes, layouts, and representations were used throughout the period covered by this thesis. The men were arranged and represented in similar ways with regards to each other, and to the landscape. In many photographs, visual markers from the landscape seem to have been utilised to enable the viewer to assess the regularity of their formations. This occurs frequently in photographs of the men on parade, as discussed in Chapter Three, where the lines of buildings and trees can be compared to the lines and postures of the men. It can also be found in photographs of the WIRs on the move, such as Foulkes' photograph 'WIR marching to wharf' in Chapter Five (figure 5.24).⁵⁶⁸ It is important to consider why photographers seemed to be so keen to encourage the inspection of the men. It suggests that military formations were interesting for audiences and that audiences enjoyed a more active relationship with photographs than simply glancing over an image.

Many photographs also frame the WIRs within attractive natural landscapes, in order to emphasise that these once unruly terrains had been brought under control. This is clear from postcards that circulated of the men on parade at Up Park Camp in Jamaica and at Tower Hill in Sierra Leone, and from images of the men moving through the landscape in Foulkes' album. The breath-taking landscapes often dwarf the men, yet the photographs present the areas that they depict as firmly under military control. The use of the WIRs to mark significant sites and attractions also occurs frequently across time periods and locations. A clear example of this can be seen if we compare one of Johnston's photographs of a WIR soldier outside of the residence of the Governor in Nassau with a photograph from the Sir Daniel Morris

⁵⁶⁸ See p. 243.

‘Views in Jamaica’ collection that was taken around twenty years later (figure 7.2 and figure 7.3) In both photographs the soldier of the WIR is positioned as if on sentry duty, but could also be viewed as someone who would welcome visitors to each location. In fact, the absence of a gun in both photographs presents the soldier as more of a greeter than a guard. The long pathways in each photograph have been captured in a way that invites the viewer to walk down them and visit both locations.



Figure 7.2: Anon., ca.1858-1865, Residence of the Governor in Nassau, William Walker Whitehall Johnston Photograph Album of Wales, the West Indies, and the 1st West India Regiment, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven

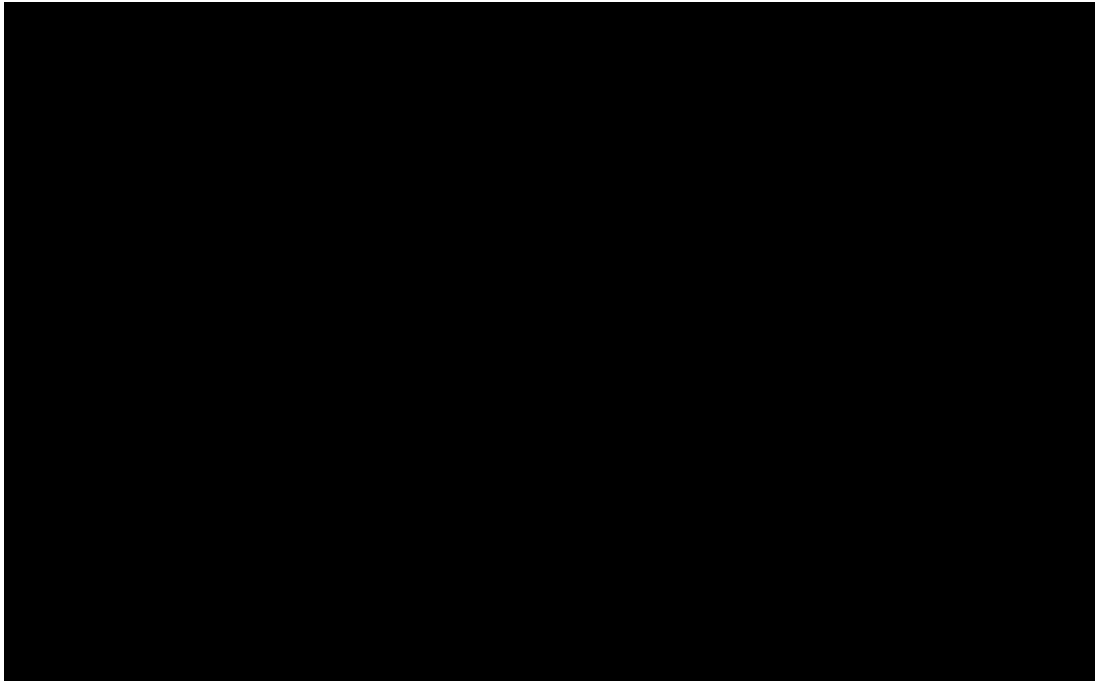


Figure 7.3: Anon., ca.1879-1886, 'Up Park Camp near Kingston Jamaica', Sir Daniel Morris Collection: Views in Jamaica, Royal Commonwealth Society Library, Cambridge University, Cambridge

The Contested Image of the WIRs: Race, Empire, and Representation

This thesis has made the case for bringing the study of photographs into the forefront of studying the history of the WIRs. It has outlined that photographs are an important source for discovering how the Regiments were represented and perceived, and how and why this varied. At a time when ideas about race were becoming more fixed and photographs were supporting these ideologies, images of the WIRs were in circulation that both supported and challenged the dominant racial theories.

As has been demonstrated throughout this thesis, the contested image of the WIRs is important to the understanding of the ideology, economics, and logistics of imperial expansion. In Chapter Three photographs of the WIRs on parade and receiving awards were scrutinised, and their reflection of racial ideologies was analysed. It was outlined that images of the WIRs visually represented ideas about racial difference and progress by highlighting the exoticism of the men and demonstrating the potential of those of African descent. This representation

supported the belief that white British stewardship was essential to the progress of the less civilised races, and by extension emphasised the necessity of empire. In those photographs taken during award ceremonies and on the parade ground, the contested image of the WIR is also clear. Whilst the men were used as examples to illustrate the success of the empire, the fact that they still required the close guardianship of their officers undermined this very message. Their progress was presented as having a limit. The use of the men to display the strength and volume of colonial armies at once stressed the security of the Caribbean and highlighted that there were fears the islands were far from secure. Photographs of the men on parade in the Caribbean and in Africa demonstrated the success of Britain's imperial project by providing evidence of its abilities to dismantle racial loyalties whilst highlighting the dependence of white colonialists on allegedly inferior black bodies.

Chapter Four analysed images of the men originating at a time when their loyalties had been severely tested, and racist attitudes were hardening, undermining narratives that stressed the potential progress of those of African descent. Despite the significance of the moment in which they were circulating, historians have thus far largely ignored images that were captured following the Morant Bay rebellion. Analysis of photographs of the WIRs produced at this time demonstrates that photographers and military officials were sensitive to debates about the repression of the rebellion and responded to events as they unfolded. With regards to racial thought, images of the WIRs contradicted arguments that insisted on the inherent savagery and rebellious nature of black colonial subjects. They demonstrated that black subjects could be made loyal and disciplined. However, in reports circulating after the suppression it appeared that in some cases the men of the WIRs had been loyal to the point of being over-zealous in their actions, much to the embarrassment

of their superiors. Whether these men were in fact working under orders and were chosen by their officers to take the blame, or whether they decided to act by themselves, images of the WIRs that circulated after the suppression had ended reflected that the rank and file could be brought back into line after such breaches of trust and duty (as is clear from figure 4.22).⁵⁶⁹ The absences highlighted in Johnston's album demonstrate that the 'men on the ground' in the colonies were aware of debates about their actions that were going on in England and responded to them. Johnston's album constructs a narrative that distances him and his men from the violence and controversies of the rebellion, whilst celebrating the leadership of O'Connor over that of Governor Eyre. The photographs at the end of his album aim to represent the racial unity of the WIRs in the face of racialised unrest, acknowledge the contributions that the black rank and file made to the suppression of the rebellion, and highlight their continuing necessity to Jamaica's security. Such a message contrasted greatly to racialised views that were becoming increasingly popular back in England that doubted the capabilities of black subjects and stressed the reliance on those who were deemed unreliable by many others. They also demonstrate that the associations between race and empire are more complex than they first seem, those of African descent were not always on a different side to those of European descent, during periods of unrest and as well as being oppressed, worked with white Europeans to carry out oppressive activities.

Chapter Five also demonstrates that racial hierarchies within the British Empire were not simplistic and that colonial subjects risked losing their utility for the imperial project if they progressed too far. Foulkes' images visually demonstrate the beliefs of those who thought that the WIRs had become too civilised and too far

⁵⁶⁹ See p. 177.

removed from their African roots, much as Chapter Four demonstrated that the men could be too loyal. Due to racialised beliefs about the inherent differences between black and white soldiers, when in Africa the black rank and file of the WIRs were expected to demonstrate particular characteristics that their white officers were not. When they failed to, they were seen as ‘made of poor fighting material’ in comparison to those who commanded them and local Africans who were serving in recently established forces. Foulkes images highlight that the difficult middle ground the men occupied with regards to their race and social standing extended across the Atlantic and into West Africa. They also emphasise that thinking about race and rank as having two opposing binaries within the British Empire does not take the complicated status of many individuals into consideration. Foulkes’ images of the WIR officer of African descent highlight this further and show that in some cases the military could provide a path for progress beyond that which black soldiers were supposed to reach. Foulkes’ photograph album that appears through its arrangement to have the intention of questioning the potential of the WIR’s African Caribbean rank and file at the same time reveals a WIR officer of African Caribbean heritage, making it one of the clearest examples of the contested image of the WIRs that this research has uncovered.

The photographs in Chapter Six present the experience of tourism in the West Indies as heavily racialised. Through images of the WIRs the islands were represented as safe and secure places to live and visit for North American and European tourists. The men were used to encourage settlement by demonstrating the potential of those of African descent as loyal labouring bodies. Through *carte-de-visite* that de-individualised them, the men could be used to represent generic West Indian inhabitants to North American and European audiences, providing them with

evidence of what had been achieved under British rule. Photographs of the WIRs used to promote tourism highlight the contested nature of the image of the WIRs by showing that these menacing men were also used to welcome and entertain. Of course, their role depended on whom they were interacting with. For local black populations the men were still a threatening force whilst they performed for and protected white visitors and inhabitants. They were used to adorn tourist scenes that were circulated on postcards and became an important feature of the Caribbean's visual landscape. Photographs of the WIRs that circulated at world's fairs further demonstrated that the men's representation could carry different meanings for different audiences. They are also further evidence of the WIRs' ambivalent position within the empire's racial hierarchies, as the men were showcased at world's fairs in very different ways to other colonial peoples of African descent.

It has been demonstrated throughout that the image represented in photographs of the WIRs was both contested and meaningful. It was meaningful because the men of the WIR were, as argued by Buckley 'Britain's prototype colonial army', and their achievements as circulated through documents and images made the case for many other 'native' army units to be established.⁵⁷⁰ They provided evidence for the success of Britain's imperial project and promoted and aided its expansion through their visual representation and their actions on the battlefield. However, as well as promoting British imperialism, and by extension Britishness, it is important to acknowledge that the men of course took their own African and Caribbean customs with them as they campaigned across Britain's Atlantic empire. A clear example of this can be seen in the photographs from Foulkes' Sierra Leone album where the men are enjoying their Christmas masquerade, performing

⁵⁷⁰ Buckley, 'The Early History of the West India Regiments', p. iv.

‘Junkanoo’, accompanying a stilt dancer (a practice with West African roots) with their British military instruments.

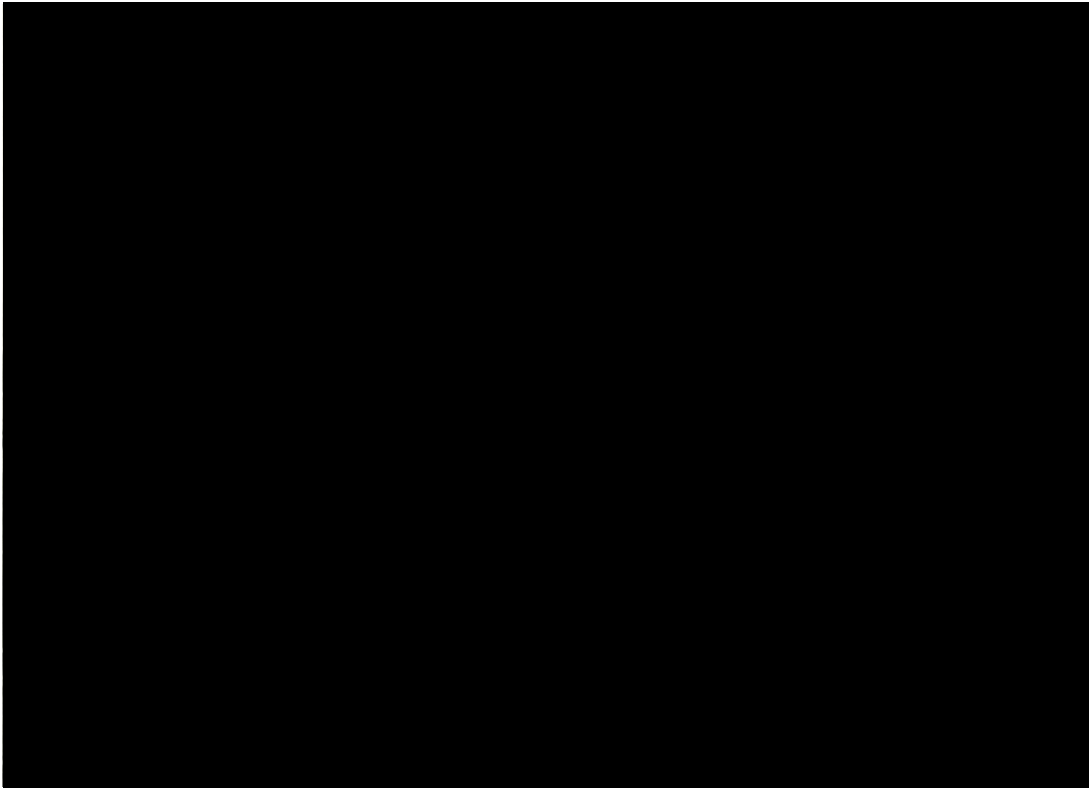


Figure 7.4: Charles Howard Foulkes, 1898, 'WIR xmas masquerade', Foulkes 3/13 Photograph Album relating to Sierra Leone, LHCMA, Kings College London

The photograph, and the activity that it captures, sums up the history of the men in visual form. Like the Junkanoo performance, the men had their origins in West Africa. They were then trained and drilled in the Caribbean to adapt them to a new way of life as part of the British Army and picked up British customs and workings as they did so. These blended with their more established traditions like the British military instruments did with the stilt dancing in figure 7.4, to create a different kind of soldier who was seen as not quite British but not entirely like other Caribbean and African subjects either. The photograph that closes this thesis, highlights the complexity of visual legacy of the WIR and their history more generally, just as the photographs at the beginning of this thesis did. The men

embraced West African traditions during their celebrations, whilst being fully aware that their presence in West Africa was part of attempts to suppress the very cultures that they had inherited.

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