WHITE CREOLE WOMEN IN THE BRITISH WEST INDIES:
FROM STEREOTYPE TO CARICATURE

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Thesis Prepared for the Degree of
MASTER OF ARTS

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH TEXAS
December 2010

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Many researchers of gender studies and colonial history ignore the lives of European women in the British West Indies. The scarcity of written information combined with preconceived notions about the character of the women inhabiting the islands make this the “final frontier” in colonial studies on women. Over the long eighteenth century, travel literature by men reduced creole white women to a stereotype that endured in literature and visual representations. The writings of female authors, who also visited the plantation islands, display their opinions on the creole white women through their letters, diaries and journals. Male authors were preoccupied with the sexual morality of the women, whereas the female authors focus on the temperate lifestyles of the local females. The popular perceptions of the creole white women seen in periodicals, literature, and caricatures in Britain seem to follow this trend, taking for their sources the travel histories.
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank my wonderful committee, Dr. Laura Stern, Dr. Amy Baxter and Dr. Marilyn Morris for all their help and guidance throughout the process of course work and writing my thesis. I would especially like to acknowledge my committee chair, Dr. Morris, for words of encouragement and supervision.
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CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

Many researchers of gender studies and colonial history ignore the lives of European women in the British West Indies. The scarcity of written information combined with preconceived notions about the character of the women inhabiting the islands make this the final frontier in colonial studies on women. The North American and the South Pacific colonies have received more attention in the past, but current studies are taking into consideration the plight of women in the British West Indies. The Atlantic colonies are finally receiving attention in the scholarship of European colonization. This new outlook takes into account the “circulation of ideas, people, artifacts, and cultural forms,” and also how “the islands energized a circuitry of identity, alterity, exchange and transformation in which racial, national, sexual and gender identities transected colonizers and colonized.”1 Scholars are now applying postcolonial and transnational theoretical approaches to their studies, with many authors re-examining identity through this global outlook.

Over the long eighteenth century, travel literature by men reduced creole white women to a stereotype that endured in literature and visual representations. Travel histories were one of the most popular literary forms in the eighteenth century. The main goals of these works were both “pleasure” and “instruction.”2 The authors described exotic locations and the populace utilizing these two themes providing enjoyment for the readers yet remaining informative. The travel accounts dedicated to the West Indies were pervasive in the creation of the caricature of white creole women in the British West Indies. Nineteenth-century abolitionists of slavery

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strengthened this stereotype, as they took the negative depictions from the travel narratives and combined them with the damaging aspects of climate and slavery from the plantation culture to create a dismal character for their novels. The writings of British women such as Lady Maria Nugent, Eliza Fenwick and Janet Schaw were intended for private circulation, and although agree in some aspects with the travel histories, differ from the depictions in many crucial ways. These works provide a counterpoise to the travel histories and give an alternate description of the creoles. The female writers did not have a motive for the addition of salacious details, since they were not looking to appeal to a commercial audience. Their personal reflections and interactions with the creole women give a different view of the characters and lives of the white creole women. In this thesis I examine the travel narratives from the eighteenth century by Edward Long, Bryan Edwards, and J. B. Moreton for their views on white creole women and compare them to the comments of the creole women by female writers. I then analyze the popular representations of white creoles in Britain and the strengthening of the stereotype through periodicals such as the *Bon Ton Magazine* along with the visual representations in satirical caricatures. Finally I turn to literary representations of creole women to show the similarities between their depictions in novels and the travelogues of the eighteenth century. The stereotype in long eighteenth-century visual representations and literary novels echo with the male-authored works from the travel narratives.

The study of the West Indies began with large works dedicated to sugar plantations, which left out the lives of women in the West Indies. In the late twentieth century, however, scholars such as Lucille Mair, Barbara Bush and Hilary Beckles began to consider the lives of the black female slaves in the West Indies. According to Hilary Beckles, the historiography for sex and gender during the period of Caribbean slavery began with a focus on black and colored
women, and only recently shifted attention to white women.\(^3\) Mair affirms, in her germinal dissertation on women in Jamaica, that the “black woman produced, the brown woman served, and the white woman consumed.”\(^4\) This is the thesis that characterized the study of women in the British West Indies. Many scholars are reexamining this argument now with new documents and interpretations. Many white women, for example, owned small businesses, or, in Eliza Fenwick’s case, ran a school for the creole white girls, and the previous proposal is proving too simple for the complexities of life for women in the British West Indies.

Natalie A. Zacek focuses on white women in the British West Indies and proposes three reasons for the lack of research into white women in the Caribbean. The first is the perception that the population of white women in the British West Indies was small. The second misconception is that these women were only “femmes coverts,” basically women lacking any identity apart from their husbands or fathers. Recent studies have shown, however, that many women in Jamaica, Antigua, and Barbados were elite and attempted to transform these islands into a “miniature England,” while participating in the cultural aspects of the islands. The last reason for the lack of historical scholarship is the tendency to reduce these women to “caricatures or ciphers,” and to “view the Caribbean as a sort of ‘Wild West’ primarily inhabited


\(^4\) Hilary McD. Beckles, “White Women and Slavery in the Caribbean,” History Workshop 36 (Autumn 1993): 66. The term for the offspring of black slaves and white men could be “brown” “coloured,” or “mulatto.” Moreton refers to any level of racial mixture as “mongrel.” None of these terms were considered offensive in the eighteenth century. The offspring of a mulatto and a white was called a “quadroon” or “coloured” as well.
by ‘rogues, whores, and vagabonds.’”⁵ Due to the lack of scholarship on white women in the British West Indies little attention is given to the formation of the stereotype for white creole women. Scholars such as Zacek acknowledge that white West Indian women were degraded to “caricatures or ciphers” yet do not examine the creation and development of these stereotypes.

The Europeans who inhabited the West Indies underwent the process of cross-culturalization that instilled in them a new social identity. William Green, in his discussion on creolization, states that it “‘involved the identification of people, whatever their place or origin of racial composition, with the island societies in which they lived.’”⁶ Kamau Braithwaite confirms that creolization was a social change that rendered the individual somehow culturally different so that the English “‘tinged [them] with negative connotations.’”⁷ Therefore through this process one could be creole even if born in England. Creole denotes the blending of cultures and does not necessarily indicate the place of birth, yet those born in the West Indies were certainly creole as well.

Christer Petley identifies main circumstances that created these negative stereotypes: first, because many colonial planters displayed their wealth in “ostentatious” manners in England, and were ridiculed for their social climbing. The second reason is the negative influences of slavery, which produced a lack of restraint in many individuals. The population of mixed-race children visualized this issue, creating a universal distaste for the sexual activities of

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⁵ Natalie A. Zacek. “Searching for the Invisible Woman: The Evolution of White Women’s Experience in Britain’s West Indian Colonies,” History Compass 7 (2009), 331-332.
the white planters with the black and mulatto slaves. Therefore the influence of slavery on the plantation culture had a great impact on the negative stereotypes for the white population. The white creole woman was a part of this culture yet she was in a lower social position than her husband in this plantocracy. Nevertheless, as Kathleen Wilson observes, this did not keep her from being viewed as a kind of “freak rejected by both Europe and England, whose blood she shares, and by the black West Indian people, whose culture and home have been hers for two generations or more.”

Since the British West Indies were part of the New World exoticism, they retained a certain kind of “otherness” and were not the “city on a hill” like the North American colonies. This exoticism generated many negative stereotypes of the creole whites who inhabited Jamaica, Antigua, and Barbados. Although creoles attempted to fashion a colonial identity, “seeking metropolitan acceptance as useful subjects of an extended British world,” by the eighteenth century they were not accepted as British subjects. The colonists were marginalized through their contact with slavery and the hot climate since “torrid, temperate, and frigid zones of the globe were formative in imagining that a sexualized woman of empire was distinct from domestic English womanhood.” Therefore their behavior was perceived to change from respectable British citizens into the sinister “other,” a creole West Indian.

Women did not immediately reside in the West Indies, and the lack of women worried the English leaders, such as Oliver Cromwell. Without respectable women to marry, colonization would not entrench in the plantation islands. Cromwell’s army captured Jamaica, and

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8 Petley, 47.
10 Wilson, 130.
11 Petley, 43.
immediately addressed the issue of women. Cromwell suggested that the army “collect” one thousand young girls from Ireland for “breeding purposes.” His proposal to Secretary Thurloe on September 1655 declared: “[C]oncerning the younge women, although we must use force in taking them up, yet it being so much for their own good and likely to be of soe great advantage to the publique….” The Irish plan did not materialize, but shows the lengths British officials would take for white women to cross the Atlantic. White women slowly moved to the West Indies with their families and spouses, lessening the gender gap. By the mid eighteenth century white plantation society was firmly rooted in the West Indies, and the women shifted from “British” to “creole” in the process.

As Sarah Yeh shows, the British viewed the West Indies as “a realm of loose morals, broken families, and genders turned upside down.” Her analysis of British perceptions of the Caribbean colonies in the eighteenth century in relation to “gender, family and identity,” proposes that identities as “multilayered and fluid,” as opposed to “bound in opposition to foreign others.” The colonies were an area of discomfort, mainly because of the perceptions of women who contradicted the set mores of behavior and civility combined with the overall practice of slavery in the colonial islands. Since the family was representative of the entire state of the British realm the unusual arrangements found in the colonies did not fit in to their created value system. The colonists attempted to create similar family in the Caribbean islands, but the lack of respectable women for marriage often proved this to be an uphill battle. Jamaica dominated the imagination of the Caribbean because of the sugar crops and the wealth and

13 John Thurloe, A Collection of State Papers of John Thurloe, Containing Authentic Memorial of the English Affairs from the Year 1638, to the Restoration of King Charles II (London: Printed for the Executor of F. Gyles, 1742), 4: 23-24, qtd. in Mair, 20.
14 Sarah E. Yeh, “‘Sink of All Filthiness’: Gender, Family and Identity in British Atlantic, 1688-1763.” The Historian (March 2006), 67.
15 Yeh, 67.
profits from that industry. This exotic island fascinated British minds. According to eighteenth-century opinions, women in Jamaica “were prone to licentiousness and infidelity, a well as swearing, drinking, and obscene talk.”\textsuperscript{16} They were not given the “manners” customary in Britain. The perceptions were dominated by the influence of travel histories written by men who viewed themselves as authorities to write on the politics, natural sciences, and social aspects of the West Indies. According to Wilson: “In the traffic of goods, people, patronage, kinship and ideas that flowed back and forth across the sea, hearsay and reputed ‘character’ were important commodities….”\textsuperscript{17} These travel accounts were part of the exchange across the Atlantic. The virulent attacks on the creole white women created an enduring image of the lives and characters of these West Indian women that prevailed into the nineteenth century.

\textsuperscript{16} Yeh, 74.
\textsuperscript{17} Wilson, 138.
CHAPTER 2
CREOLE WOMEN IN TRAVEL HISTORIES

Histories and travelogues helped create stereotypes of non-European peoples. While writing about women, male authors combined cultural and gender prejudices which many Europeans read, influencing their views of white creole women. Comparing these authors’ opinions on creole white women shows that there are common trends within the travelogue discourses on the perceptions of the West Indian women. This chapter focuses on works such as Edward Long’s *History of Jamaica* (1774) J. B. Moreton’s *West India Customs and Manners* (1793), and Bryan Edwards’s *The History Civil and Commercial, of the British Colonies in the West Indies* (1807). Their notions about white creole women persisted in periodicals such as *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal* with the magazine article, the “Character of West Indian Females,” which was reproduced from the writings of John Stewart, who lived in the West Indies for many years in the late seventeenth century. A wide spectrum of publications quoted these histories, which perpetuated their authority for Europeans and thereby shaped their views and opinions on the “exotic” Caribbean. These perceptions remained and continued to influence the researchers of the history of the West Indies. These male-authored works dominate the creation of the stereotype of creole white women.

The travel histories contain many contradictions surrounding the role of white women. As Kathleen Wilson points out, European “white women were at a premium” in the West Indies, where “law and custom worked to put them on a pedestal that emphasized the cultural

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distinctions of ‘race’ as it endowed planter society with respectability.”¹⁹ Wilson describes how black women were distinguished for their perceived “voracious sexuality, physicality, and cultural and moral primitiveness” in contrast to the white women’s fragility.²⁰ Creole women were seen to be “gauche, simpering, indolent, sluttish, vain,” without the purity of European women, and subject to the influence of the black slaves.²¹ Although they were white, they were not given the status that the white European women received. These discourses characterize the travel historian’s views and writings surrounding women in the West Indies, and dominate the views of creole white women.

Throughout the eighteenth century there are shifts in ideologies regarding feminine behavior. Many authors writing on feminine conduct in England began to focus more on modesty. A new “ideology of national purity” was established in the eighteenth century, which created a discourse surrounding the British women in opposition to the savage women inhabiting the colonial territories.²² The creole women fell in this middle group, neither British nor savage. The travel historians writings about women fit into this discourse. British women in eighteenth-century writings were supposed to be naturally chaste and modest. Those who did not live up to these principles of domesticity were “unnatural, even monstrous.”²³ Also, the writers construct an ideal woman, who creates order in the home. This order shows the level of civility in the domestic sphere, with the English women at the apex.²⁴ The travel histories focus on the relations between the creole men and the black slave women, and since there was not an apparent

²⁰ Wilson, 155.
²¹ Ibid.
²³ Tague, 44.
“order” in the domestic sphere, the creole women did not fit into the “ideal woman” category. Since the creole women were deemed to not live up to the categorized levels of virtue, they were open to ridicule and placed within the “rhetoric of trivial, even immoral,” concerned with “luxury and idleness,” which was a powerful criticism for eighteenth-century authors. Nevertheless, the male authors’ writings on the West Indies agreed that the influence of climate and slavery, combined with a lack of education, placed them in a lower category both socially and physically.

Edward Long’s *History of Jamaica* is one of the most important and enduring works produced during this period on creole plantation life. Long had many connections with the West Indies, particularly Jamaica. He was the descendant of West Indian planters, and his brother-in-law Sir Henry Moore was Lieutenant-Governor of Jamaica. Long spent many years in Jamaica and this work, which achieved the most, complete view of the colony and continues to be a standard in this field. Long’s entry in the *Dictionary of National Biography* describes it as is “based on private papers, public records, and his own experience of living in Jamaica, this is an invaluable vade-mecum to the social, economic, and political life of Britain's largest and wealthiest West Indian colony.”

Long was a proponent of the belief that climate affected behavior, following Montesquieu and David Hume. William Falconer, an eighteenth-century British physician, noted in his *Remarks on the Influence of Climate* (1781) that high classes “escape debilitating

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25 Tague, 161.
28 Ibid., 10.
effects of climate" However, the creoles did not escape the negative effects. Nussbaum affirms that authors connect “climate and sexual desire to define a temperate, civilized Europe that possessed the sexual constraint necessary to engage in the work-discipline productive of political liberty and civic virtue, in marked contrast to the libidinous and indolent torrid zones.” Long united climate with the negative traits in behaviors with the remark: “women attain earlier to maturity and sooner decline, than in the Northern climates: they often marry very young, and are mothers at twelve years of age.” Since there was a small population of creole white women, there were few suitable women to choose from for marriage amongst the plantocracy. However, no other author affirms the statement that these women were married so young. Moreton specifically mentions meeting several creole women who were of marriageable age whom he met in his travels. But Long concluded that these women matured faster in the climate and married young. This created a boundary between them and their English counterparts to help label them as an “other.”

Long also details the creole dietary habits which shows the transcultured customs prevalent in the West Indies. Due to the hot climate, tea was not taken “boiling hot,” as the custom in England dictated. The creoles would let their tea cool and then drink it: “the Creole ladies sip their tea till it cools to about milk-warmth.” Unlike the English, they took tea only once a day. He also notes that those brought up in England were not used to this practice, and found it hard to conform to the new way. Although it would not be comfortable to drink hot tea in the warm, humid climate, the women who traveled over did not want to give up this English

30 Nussbaum, Torrid Zones, 1.
32 Long, 273.
custom. The creoles did not find this a difficult social practice, but it seems that European women would have a hard time giving up their habits from the homeland. Even tea-drinking was subject to the creolization process as seen with their overall preference for drinking the New World product, chocolate, than the beloved English beverage, tea.

The use of foreign goods shows that Jamaica was not strictly “British” but more of what Wilson calls a “hybridized outpost of empire.” These customs included “drinking ‘Spanish’ chocolate and sangria; using African ‘chewsticks’ to clean their teeth; eating quantities of turtle, which was believed to contribute to white Creoles’ ‘yellowish’ complexions; and sleeping in hammocks, a custom borrowed from the Indians.” This rendered the colonists subject to scrutiny in travel narratives for their deviation from the normative culture in England. Yet the popular consumer goods of England was not strictly British themselves, such as the taking of tea. Tea was an imported good, yet became part of the British identity, and the departure away from the strict performative aspect of tea taking showed that the creoles were not maintaining their heritage. Tea drinking in Britain was in vogue since the early 1700s, taken with sugar, the West Indian plantation product. It began as an international novelty and was associated with gentility and luxury, with the popularity waning, until the addition of sugar. Since the British added sugar from their colonies, this made the product appear more national. Therefore the creolization of their beverage of tea in the West Indies was taken as an affront, and seemed to deviate from the normative performance of tea in British society.

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34 Ibid., 271.
35 Wilson, 147.
36 Ibid., 147-148.
Elizabeth Kowaleski-Wallace shows women’s participation in tea is part of the cultural “feminizing locus.”\footnote{38} Wallace argues that in the eighteenth century tea taking became a “gendered site, a ‘feminine’ locus where the civilizing process could occur. However, in order to participate in the civilizing process, women were required to discipline themselves.”\footnote{39} Women had to hold their cup just right and perform correctly all the rituals of tea-taking to be considered a proper lady. Thus a “particular construction of femininity emerged in relation to a ‘disciplinary’ apparatus.”\footnote{40} However, the women whom Long described took their tea in a different way, therefore they diverged from the proper strictures and customs. Thus they deviated from the prescribed “civilizing” process, and were negatively dissimilar from the “construction of femininity” prevalent in eighteenth-century England.

Male travel writers had a preoccupation with the physical appearance of the creole women and the allurement of the “other.” He admired their “fine teeth.” Long was quite affected by the beauty of the creoles, and remarked on their appearance: “the Creole women are perfectly well-shaped; and many of them remarkably handsome.”\footnote{41} This is not a singular compliment, since he also states “feminine beauties and virtues are to be found in every clime, the growth of every soil.”\footnote{42} Long also remarked on their abstinence from alcoholic drinks, such as the popular Madeira. John Stedman, an eighteenth-century British officer who published his adventures in the colony of Surinam, reported that creole women in Surinam did not possess an “alluring appearance.” He believe that this led to the colonial men to prefer the native, mulatto, black, and especially quadroon women for their “remarkable cleanliness, health and vivacity…to the

\footnote{39} Kowaleski-Wallace, 21.  
\footnote{40} Ibid., 22.  
\footnote{41} Long, 271.  
\footnote{42} Ibid.
mortification of the fair creoli ans.\textsuperscript{43} Authors such as Long and Edwards, and extensive studies on this subject by scholars such as Barbara Bush and Hilary Beckles affirm the preference of creole men for their black slaves and mulatto women.\textsuperscript{44} This led to more negative stereotypes for creole women, since their husbands preferred the company of others. According to Willie Sypher, “Creole girl suffered from the blight of slavery and the lack of education. Too often, she lived in the most complete indolence; passing her days…amid the character and singing of her slave girls.”\textsuperscript{45} It seems that the general lack of education in the West Indies for women seemed to lessen the social distance between the slaves and the young white creole girls, leaving them open for further criticism.

Many white creole children were sent to England for their education.\textsuperscript{46} The opportunities were minimal for instruction in proper schools in the West Indies, and children either had to be shipped to England, or learn at home from their parents or tutors. This resulted in a second-rate education for these young girls, and would open them to ridicule from those “polished” visitors through their speech and manners. Long remarked, “The more gentle and esteemable fair-ones apply themselves to repair the deficiencies of an imperfect education, by giving some leisure hours to the most approved authors, by whose help they might add the delights of a rational conversation to those abundant graces which nature has bestowed upon them.”\textsuperscript{47} Even though

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{43} John Stedman, \textit{Narrative of a five years expedition against the revolted Negroes of Surinam from the year 1772-1777} (London, 1796) 2 vols., as quoted in Bush, “White ‘Ladies’, Coloured ‘Favourites’ and Black ‘Wenches’,” 252.
\item \textsuperscript{45} Wylie Sypher, “The West Indian as a ‘Character’ in the Eighteenth Century,” \textit{Studies in Philology} 36 (1939), 503.
\item \textsuperscript{46} Long, 274.
\item \textsuperscript{47} Ibid., 284.
\end{itemize}
some of the more “esteemable” attempted to improve themselves through reading, these travelogues suggest that the vast majority preferred leisure time to strenuous scholarly efforts.

The Bluestockings circles of England, and the salons of France provided an outlet for learned women to gather together to promote the general improvement of one another. No such institutions existed for young creole ladies of style in the West Indies. Long remarked that while creole women enjoyed “scandal and gossiping” they also were inclined “to be fond of dress, balls, and company; and considering the small circle of public diversions in this island, it is not surprising that they should seek to gratify their inclinations by every lively amusements of this sort that presents itself.”

They appeared to enjoy dressing up, preferring fashion that was strictly European, not colonial, which ranked clothing according to what was “English” and not locally produced. The fashion-conscious inhabitants of the British West Indies would take pride in an object sent over from England and display it, not necessarily for its value, but for its importance in symbolizing their connection to the mother country. Flashy displays of colors became associated with the mulatto and free black group, who were seen as social climbers.

Both creole men and women were noted for their fondness of dancing, but this also had negative connotations because of the use of drums, which were associated with the heritage of the slaves from their native country of Africa.

Long was mostly positive in his views towards creole women, admonishing them only in small matters: “Few are more irreproachable in their actions than the Creole women: they err more in trivial follies, and caprices unrestrained, than in the guilt of real vice.”

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48 Long, 283.
50 Long, 283.
unrestrained due to indulgent parents and often a lack of education in manners. He also remarked on their “vanity and pride” that were left unchecked in childhood, and would lead to a temper to frighten away even the most obliging of spouses “whose misfortune it may be to be linked in the nuptial bonds with such a temper.” However, overall these trivial follies, such as gossiping and vanity were not the great social detriments that seem to embody the views of the English population towards the British West Indians. He advised the women with the recommendation: “To please the eye, requires only the skill of a common mercenary harlot; but to captivate the heart, and charm the mind, a woman must divert herself, a soon as possible, of gross ignorance (that softer-mother of pride), silly prattle, and conceited airs.” He believed that they had the potential to become typical well-bred English women but deplored that “such excellent talents should lie waste, or misemployed, which require only cultivation to make them shine out with dignity and elegance.” Long wanted the creole women to separate themselves through refined manners and education through reading to place themselves socially and educationally above their sexual competition. The author concluded his remarks on the creole women: “To sum up the character of the Jamaica ladies, I shall conclude with this remark; that, considering the very great defects in their education, and other local disadvantages, their virtues and merits seem justly entitled to our highest encomium; and their frailties and failings to our mildest censure.” Long did not criticize the creole women as much as other authors, but his thoughts produced lasting notions on the character of these women, such as their, conduct, social customs, and lack of education.

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51 Ibid., 283-284.
52 Ibid., 284.
53 Ibid.
54 Ibid., 286.
J. B. Moreton’s *West India Customs and Manners* is not as widely quoted as Long in contemporary scholarly works, but the author still provides opinions that doubtlessly wove their way into the pattern of stereotypical thought in England on the West Indies. Moreton is “unusual among white West Indians” for his “open condemnation of slavery and the slave trade.”\(^5\) He is also known for his attack on white creole society. Moreton wrote about his encounters with the creole women, noting, like Long, their lack of education and distinctive manners. Moreton admired many of the young creole ladies but he loathed their manners and customs.\(^6\) He creates a picture of these women as sexually charged: influenced through their encounters with slave women and the hot climate. The author wanted to show how they are negatively dissimilar to their European ancestors. Moreton’s larger agenda included articulating the evils of slavery. By depicting the creole white women in this derogatory manner, he was displaying the effects of slavery on the white populace.

Moreton, like Long remarked on creole education and came to a different conclusion regarding boarding schools. Moreton seemed unsure on the benefits from the custom of sending creole children to England for their education. He proposed local schools for the general improvement of creole children, with “proper English masters and mistresses.”\(^7\) For if they went to England, they might return to Jamaica dissatisfied with the slower pace of plantation life. After living in England, Jamaica seemed “flat land insipid.”\(^8\) They would miss the entertainments available in London.\(^9\) Moreton also believed that once a young creole girl would

\(^5\) Williamson, 432.
\(^6\) J. B. Moreton, *West India Customs and Manners: Containing Strictures on the Soil, Cultivation, Produce, Trade, Officers, and Inhabitants: With the Method of Establishing, and Conducting a Sugar Plantation to which is Added, the Practice of Training New Slaves* (London: R J. Parsons, Paternoster Row; W. Richardson, Royal Exchange; H. Gardner, Strand; and J. Walter, Piccadilly, 1793), 120.
\(^7\) Moreton, 120.
\(^8\) Ibid., 112.
\(^9\) Ibid., 113.
go to England she would be titled a “rich West Indian heiress” and would be married to some Englishman who sought financial gain from the match. 60

Although the creoles sent to England met his approval in manners, the same could not be said for those who remained on the island. Moreton disdained the manner of “those who receive their education amongst negroe women, and imbibe great part of their dialect, principles, manners and customs.”61 Creole women were an oddity to him, with the appearance of beauty and style, but on closer look they repulsed him with their vulgar manners. However, “creole ladies, who have been properly educated and polished in England from their infancy in polite schools… no doubt, as prudent, chaste, and fine women as any in the world, save only what difference of climate produces”62 Even with the finest education, the propensity still remained for improper behavior through their contact with the hot climate.

Moreton believed that no matter how fine and refined they appeared, their nature caused them to revert back to local traditions and slave-like speech and behavior once they left the polished culture in England. Those who remained in “Jamaica from their infancy, are soft, innocent, ambitious, flirting play-things”63 He was also shocked at their behavior in their own homes and found “if you surprise them… instead of the well-shaped, mild, angelic looking creature… you will find, perhaps, a clumsy, greasy sofa, in a dirty confused hall, or piazza, with a parcel of black wenches, learning and singing obscene and filthy songs, and dancing to the tunes.”64 He viewed this contact with slaves as corrupting for the young creole women. The slave women supposedly taught these girls the arts of seduction, and crude manners that shocked

60 Ibid., 112.
61 Ibid., 121.
62 Ibid., 107.
63 Ibid., 108.
64 Ibid., 108-109.
Moreton. He recounted a saying about these young girls: “Creole miss when scarcely ten: Cock their eyes and long for men.” The corruption of the black women was compounded by the lack of religion in the West Indies. According to Moreton, creoles hardly went to church and were instead taught “jilting, intrigues, and scenes of obscenity.” These statements did not bode well for their reputations in England, which underwent a “Reformation of Manners” movement in the late seventeenth century. Yeh affirms that this creole culture “clashed with changing sensibilities across the Atlantic,” due to the “violent and overtly sexual surroundings” of the creole white women. This rise of politeness and manners that attempted to rid England of vices conflicted with the reports of the transgressions present in the British West Indies.

The author included a personal encounter with a creole family. He met a widow with two daughters who invited men to inspect “Miss Louisa” and “Miss Laura” for marriage. The young girls were “gaudy and elegantly dressed, and extremely tight-laced; their cheeks had been artfully scorched with red peppers which gave them beautiful blushes.” Moreton noted the peculiarity of their speech: after asking Miss Louisa if she would like some turkey, she answered “tank you sir, wid all my hawt.” He attributed their speech to the influence of country manners and encounters with the slaves. After dinner they took a walk; after the women loosened their stays, the author and one of the daughters “went intentionally astray.” He was not above paying attention to these girls and enjoyed their company, but his regard was for their appearance, and not for their comportment.

65 Ibid., 109.
66 Ibid., 111.
67 Sarah E. Yeh, “‘Sink of All Filthiness’: Gender, Family and Identity in British Atlantic, 1688-1763.” The Historian 68 (March 2006): 82.
68 Moreton, 114.
69 Ibid., 118.
70 Ibid.
Male travel writers viewed creole women neither as chaste or as virtuous as the British women who visited the islands. They presented British women as incorruptible and refined, and creole women as lascivious. Moreton himself obliged some women in the country to “please their inclinations.” He engaged in activity with them only because they were predisposed to enjoy male company, and it was his duty to learn and participate in their local traditions. This did not lead him to withhold judgment on a neighboring woman in a compromising situation. Moreton recounted the story of one creole woman found “in a situation which I shall not mention a captain of war… criminal connections with the marine hero, with merchants, planters, and clerks,” and who left letters and journals of her exploits. The story of Elizabeth Manning was well known in the West Indies in the eighteenth century. She ran away with a high-ranking creole planter, when her husband initiated divorce proceedings, her white maid eternally ruined Manning’s name by declaring that Manning had relations with a negro man. The stories of adultery and “criminal conversation” surely reached England through sources such as *West Indian Customs and Manners*, showing that the young creoles’ encounters with slaves and climate ruined them, even as adults in marriage.

Moreton excused their mistakes by blaming the colonial system. The author remarked their lack of proper behavior in perspective: “Not withstanding the little foibles of creole women, they have many good qualifications, and are vastly better than men.” He rebuked the creole men for their excessive drinking and gambling. Even though the creole women were not as flawless in their protocol, he noted their kindness and good looks. But even though he

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71 Ibid., 110.
72 Ibid., 108.
74 Moreton, 110.
acknowledged their “good qualifications,” he still mentioned on their sexually forward behavior. The speech and manners of the creole women were altered through the influence of the slave women and the negative effects of climate. Moreton provided the most stinging criticism for the creole women, yet he did not completely censure their characters. Through putting the responsibility on the structure of slavery and lack of education, he was chastising the plantation culture. This plantocracy produced a group of women that did not fit in with the English ladies, yet were not plantation workers either. He marveled at their behavior and treated it as if they were foreigners and not British subjects.

Unlike Long and Moreton, Bryan Edwards did not write as extensively on white creole women and did not remark on their personal lives or comportment. He published *The History Civil and Commercial, of the British Colonies in the West Indies* in 1807, a few years after Long and Moreton’s works appeared. According to Sue Thomas, although Edwards does not add too much beyond Long, by 1819 Edwards is cited more frequently. Edwards was born in England and went to Jamaica to live with uncle, Zachary Bayly. With the death of his uncle in 1769 he inherited many sugar plantations with around 1,500 slaves. He later settled in England as a West India merchant, and was a Member of Parliament in 1796 where he notably campaigned against abolition of slave trade. Edwards paid particular interest to the creole women’s appearance and diet. He still placed them in a category of “other” in contrast to British women, but not in the negative tones noted in other works. This is a more positive view, yet he criticized them for their lack of desire for intellectual improvement.

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76 Williamson, 149.
77 Ibid.
Edwards placed the creoles on the island in a different biological category that structurally adapted to island life through the generations. The creoles were “the original and peculiar cast of characters impressed by the climate, if indeed the influence of climate be such as many writers imagine.” However, Edwards perceived this shift in climate to cause the West Indians to become taller, and more slender, and somehow grouped these characteristics along with their ability to “excel in penmanship.” Their eyes were deeper set to offset the effects of the sun, and their skin was cooler at higher temperatures. These adaptations allowed them to enjoy island life more. Edwards did not state how many generations it took to allow for these favorable changes in appearance and aptitude, but shifted his focus on particularly the white women in the West Indies.

The author viewed the women as carefree to the point of insipidity through “the calm and even tenour of their lives, and by an habitual temperance and self-denial.” Both travel historians and female writers acknowledged the restraint of creole females towards liquor and even alcoholic beverages mixed with water, unlike the men who seemed to be quite fond of drinking. But in the subject of dancing both men and women were agreeable. It seemed that dancing was the only occupation that roused the creole women from their continual relaxation. Edwards noted: “Except in the exercise of dancing, in which they delight and excel, they have no amusements or an avocation to impel them to much exertion of either body or mind.” Dancing brought the creoles together, and a chance to dress up and socialize. This custom would become one of the main stereotypes for creole women, alleging that they were dull and languishing in all

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79 Edwards, 12.  
80 Ibid.
aspects except for balls. Therefore, they were frivolous and did not take intellect or education seriously.

Creole women were often very pale because they stayed out of the sun; according to Edwards, they resembled the less desirable lily, not the ideal “rose” color. They would never leave the house without a hat and a sort of shawl to cover their face. They wanted to keep their pale skin, but instead looked rather yellow and sick from remaining indoors all day. This was, according to Kowaleski-Wallace, part of the society where “[w]hiteness becomes the signal that a woman exists within a leisured sphere, where she never labors, where her body never sweats or becomes otherwise sullied.” But due to these conditions, Edwards then viewed them as lazy, as they depended on their slaves for every small detail. This led to the assertion that ever their voices became “soft and spiritless, and every step betrays languor and lassitude.” Yet this was not apparent in their eyes and teeth. Edwards wrote in ecstatic terms on their eyes. He believed them to be the “finest eyes of any women in the world; large, languishing, and expressive; sometimes beaming with animation, and sometimes melting with tenderness.” Their teeth were also universally applauded. Long commented on their “fine teeth,” but Edwards stated the secret to their oral hygiene. He reported: “The Creole ladies are noted for very fine teeth, which they preserve and keep beautifully white by constant use of the juice of a withe called the Chew-stick; a species of rhamnus. It is cut into small pieces, and used as a tooth-brush. The juice is a strong bitter, and powerful detergent.” This seemed to work well for the creole women and earned them reputations for their smiles.

81 Ibid., 13.
82 Kowaleski-Wallace, Consuming Subjects, 29.
83 Edwards, 13.
84 Ibid.
85 Ibid., 14n.
Edwards remarked on the plantation culture and its effects on the creole populace. Edwards recorded that the “effects of the heat on the body are sufficiently visible,” making them not so timid as indolent. Their indolence was mostly due to their dependence on slaves for even the most menial of labors, leaving them entirely lacking the desire to perform tasks, which could be accomplished by another. Slavery also entitled them to feel like any work was beneath them. This “indolence” was actually a part of the whole creole society that reveled in the lack of labor for the upper class white plantation culture. Yet the same leisure that categorized them as the upper tier of society also created deterioration in their minds and spirits. This pendulum of great wealth could also leave the planter with nothing. Edwards warned: “West Indian property is a species of lottery, and as such, it gives birth to a spirit of adventure and enterprise, and awakens extravagant hopes and expectations; —too frequently terminating in perplexity and disappointment.” Many adventurers seeking great wealth experienced this disappointment, yet the chance for great wealth was available with the sugar plantations. Those who did attain wealth were not applauded, but ridiculed for their lack of education and refinement back in England.

The opinions and records of Long, Moreton and Edwards made lasting impressions on British readers. These stereotypes were bolstered from the negative literary depictions and portrayals in caricatures. There was no real social success for the white creole women in the West Indies. Those who were sent to England as children came back unhappy with the slower pace of country living, and many remained in England to run their plantations in absentia. However, those who remained could not contribute culturally to the life in the West Indies, leaving mainly those on the island who were not educated and could not hope for improvement. This cycle continued, leaving this marginalized group of white creole women, who were

86 Ibid., 16.
87 Ibid., 18.
expected to be educated yet did not have the opportunities. They could not help but be influenced by their slaves, since there were few other white women on the island for company, and through this influence there was an exchange of speech and culture, a creolization of the two races that left the white women open for ridicule for their improper pronunciation of words. Dancing was one of the things that brought the white creoles together from the different farms and plantations, so naturally that would be a favorite pastime for the ladies. However, this became a stereotype as well. These men who visited the islands to record the history and customs of the West Indies saw many excellent qualities in these women, and viewed them as good, yet simple. The creole women could not get past the influence of slavery and the lack of education. This was combined with climatic effects and left them open for ridicule and censure. The white creole women were treated in these travel histories as indigenous creatures or the “middle” female, somewhere between civilized and savage to be studied and observed. Nussbaum affirms that British women “were seen to possess the ideal of reciprocal affection, refined sexuality, and private domesticity, which were equated to the highest levels of civilization.”88 Nussbaum’s model of women in “torrid zones” applies to the creole women in the British West Indies. The creole women described in the travel histories were lower in the categories of cultural development due to their lack of sexual restraint and orderly households. They were first categorized as different, and empirically discussed as foreign and undesirable through their contact with slavery and effects of climate. This further ostracized these transoceanic women through characterization and by the consensus of these sources.

88 Nussbaum, Torrid Zones, 13.
CHAPTER 3

FEMALE PERCEPTIONS OF CREOLE WOMEN

Many individuals who came to study the British West Indies recorded their views on the creole white women, and European women who visited or inhabited the West Indian islands of Jamaica, Barbados, and Antigua in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century also commented on the local female population. There are many similarities between the male and female perspectives on the creole white women, such as a preoccupation with the lack of education and remarks on physical characteristics, but there are some striking differences. The female authors focus more on the home life, and their personal interactions with the creole women. Bridget Brereton notes the utility of using women’s writings in Caribbean history, as “a rich source of data on motherhood and marriage, health and sexuality, domestic life and household management, and the rearing and education of girls.”89 Oftentimes “women are ‘the scribes of the family,’ and their letters are rich sources for ‘commonplace events and private life which are the core of most people’s lives. Diaries were often important outlets for self-expression for women whose lives might be very circumscribed.”90 Three women, Lady Maria Nugent, Eliza Fenwick, and Janet Schaw, were influenced by their experiences in the West Indies and provide insight on the conditions and impressions they received from their interactions with creole white women. As we have seen in Chapter 2, authors such as Bryan Edwards, Edward Long and J. B. Moreton seemed obsessed with the sexual morality of the women. If the European women writing on their experiences in the West Indies found the creole women to be lascivious they did not mention it. Rather, they focused on the temperate lifestyles

89 Bridget Brereton, Gendered Testimony: Autobiographies, Diaries, and Letters by Women as Sources for Caribbean History (Mona, Jamaica: Dept. of History, University of the West Indies, 1994), 5.
90 Brereton, 2.
of the local women, as well as religion, physical characteristics, and the effects of the climate on their behavior. A comparison of these diaries and letters of women, unpublished in their lifetimes, with the published works by men may lead to a better understanding of the lives of the creole women and the source of misconceptions about them. Since these works were not published they could not then refute the male-authored works. This illuminates how the stereotypes developed from depictions by men dominated popular perceptions in Britain during the eighteenth and nineteenth century.

These three women each had different backgrounds, but they all viewed themselves as British. Lady Maria Nugent, as the wife of the governor of Jamaica wrote on her own experiences with native women and interactions with the creoles that she found different from English heritage. Eliza Fenwick was relying on the local population for business purposes through teaching the young girls in a boarding school in Barbados. She recorded her impressions in a correspondence with a friend in England. Janet Schaw visited Antigua for a pleasure trip and remarks on both the male and female creoles in anecdotes for her friends back home.

Nugent lived in Jamaica as the wife of the governor Sir George Nugent. She resided in Jamaica from 1801 to 1804. Rosemary Cargill Raza, in Nugent’s entry in the Dictionary of National Biography that Nugent was described as an “attractive person, described by a contemporary in 1800 as ‘very pretty … she has the smallest head that can be, very thin and little. She is an amazing dresser, never appears twice in the same gown’”91 She began a journal to record her daily life and experiences in the island, which was to be her home for the duration of her husband’s post. She did not intend this work for publication, so her opinions can be candid.

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at times. This, Raza states, “enabled Maria Nugent to explore such topics in a way that is enlightening for the later reader, and they are an invaluable record for historians. Her frankness about individuals and situations reveals much about British colonial society and attitudes.”

Schaw and Nugent present differing views at times because they were exposed to different societies in the West Indies. The Nugents lived in Jamaica and traveled extensively during their tenure in the West Indies. Schaw stayed only a short time in Antigua, and then stopped in St. Christopher for only a few days. Schaw was only exposed to the highest society whereas Nugent lived and interacted with many different segments of the local culture in Jamaica. Fenwick does not comment as extensively on the creole white women, because she was very busy running a school for girls and would not speak ill of the girls she was instructing or their parents who were funding their children’s education. She actually interacted the most with the creole population but did not find enough time for extensive letter writing. Fenwick’s writing shows the precarious situation many of the creoles faced and the general sense of uncertainty present on the islands. The possibility to become very rich or become destitute in a short period of time was present in the West Indies based on the weather and crops. Nugent and Schaw did not have occupations, but Fenwick participated in the commercial enterprises available for women in the plantation islands. The West Indies did not result in the promised wealth for Fenwick, who left Barbados in disappointment. None of these women remained in the West Indies for a sufficient time to become truly “creole” themselves, but remained and viewed themselves as European outsiders.

Lady Nugent was born Maria Skinner, in New Jersey in 1771 to a Loyalist family that returned to England around the time of the Revolutionary War. Maria and George Nugent married in England. George Nugent was offered the lucrative and prominent position of

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92 Raza, “Nugent, Maria, Lady Nugent (1770/71–1834).”
Governor of Jamaica which he took up in 1801. Following his position in Jamaica, the family lived in India under another government appointment. Nugent is preoccupied with her health in her journal, and the constant fear that her husband was ill or would die. She was very self-assured in her position as first lady of Jamaica. According to Brereton: “British women, such as Lady Nugent, engaged in the imperialist enterprise even if in a subordinate role.” Even though she had a subordinate role, she was the first lady in Jamaica. Nugent was pleased with her outsider status, believing it set her apart from the other women inhabiting Jamaica. Although she was born in a British colony, she considered herself completely British, but did not extend the same courtesy to her Caribbean counterparts. She did not view these women as British, but as West Indian creoles.

Nugent did not at first relish the thought of living in Jamaica and “playing the Governor’s wife to the blackies.” From the beginning Nugent did not think highly of the Jamaican population and referred the entire creole residents as “blackies.” Nugent continued her journal with the trip from Britain to the West Indies. The ship first stopped first in Barbados, to make a customary visit to the officials in this smaller island colony. In Barbados “We were immediately surrounded by boats with naked men and women covered with beads, and bringing us all sorts of tropical fruits…Landed with the usual fuss and bustle attending ‘Great People.’” She was pleased with the attention paid to them, and began to set up her life in Jamaica. She expected to be treated well as first lady and given every consideration. Although the population of white women was relatively low, she would try to organize and lead the social life in Jamaica.

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93 Brereton, 3.
95 Nugent, 10.
Nugent attempted to befriend the local population in Jamaica initially by setting herself up as a sort of salonnière. As first lady of Jamaica she attempted to organize and refine society. She invited many women over: “Soon after, the ladies began to arrive…Find a sad want of local matter, or, indeed, any subject for conversation with them…I mean in the future not to attempt anything like a convesazione, but to have Friday dances.” She tried to act the part of salonnière but found that she did not have much in common intellectually with the local women. Dancing was something that brought the community together, which Nugent also enjoyed herself, so she planned more balls than intellectual gatherings for the future.

Nugent soon learned that the women were clamoring for her attention and spreading rumors about the women she most favored. Her maid informed her of the talk she generated. Nugent wrote that she heard “a great deal of gossip from some of our staff about favouratism; Mrs. Pye &c are spoken of as in my confidence, and likely to guide me in my conduct towards others. What ninnies! But to avoid cabals, I determine not to go to Port Royal on Monday, and so I shall not have the lady in my train, and shall prevent at least some remarks.” She thought their manners childish, referring to them as “ninnies” but adjusts her own behavior to avoid unwanted attention. Nugent scoffed at the idea that these women could guide her in her conduct, when she believed it was her duty to guide the women to her own European standard of etiquette. She vowed to separate herself from the “‘white ladies’ disputes and little gossip. Keep clear of it as well as I can.” In this way she could remove herself from the local petty issues. She did not want to be perceived as part of the creole society, and remained aloof to retain her status as a

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96 Ibid., 21.  
97 Ibid., 42.  
98 Ibid., 253.
British lady who would not become involved in any scandal or exhibit behavior that could be perceived as meriting local gossip.

When Nugent was forced to interact with the local creole women she attempted to engage in useful activities. In one afternoon setting Nugent put them to work: “a part of ladies with me at the Penn, and never was there any thing so completely stupid. All I could get out of them was ‘Yes ma’am- no ma’am,’ with now and then a simper or a giggle. At last, I set them to work stringing beads, which is now one of my occupations; and was heartily glad when their carriages came at 2 o’clock.”99 She could not avoid their society completely and had to endure those occasions through creating trinkets to pass the time, and resorted to a less mentally stimulating endeavor by instructing them to string beads together.

Male authors, such as Long, commented on the education for the creoles and the benefits and drawbacks for sending children to England. Nugent detested the lack of education and often gave backhanded compliments such as “Mrs. C. is a perfect Creole, says little, and drawls of that little, and [Mrs. Cookson] has not an idea beyond her own Penn.”100 Nugent stated that this creole woman did not have knowledge of anything outside of her own plantation. Nugent visited the home of one creole woman and noted, “the conversation of the hostess was not interesting but rather curious. The extent of Mrs. Israeli’s travels has been to Kingston, and she is always saying, ‘when I was in town;’ she says too, that frost and snow must be prodigious odd things.”101 Nugent found this odd in a woman to brag about being in town that was only a few miles away. She also found it interesting that this woman has such a lack of travel and experience with things so common to herself, such as snow. This woman’s daughter was

99 Nugent, 76.
100 Ibid., 72.
101 Ibid., 79-80.
educated at a boarding school. Nugent remarked, “the difference of education is, I think, a real and mutual misfortune.” This is another report of the negative traits present in the tradition of boarding schools for creole children.

According to Willie Sypher, a scholar of creole culture in literature, in 1750, only three hundred of the creole children were in British boarding schools, but by “1770 over three-fourths of the children of West-Indian planters were being educated in England.” This often rendered the children more educated than their parents, and when they returned would create tensions, which Nugent perceived as a great “misfortune” for the creole West Indians. These young creoles would be bored and full of accomplishments that could not reach full potential in the sugar plantation islands.

The creole young women who did not go to boarding school were portrayed as ignorant and uneducated. This lack of education in the creole white women created a social boundary for Nugent, who found their speech irksome. Nugent did not view the creoles as social equals because of their improper speech. Nugent visited another family where the women were “dressed ready to receive us, all in their best. Mrs. S. is a fair, good-humoured Creole woman, saying dis, dat, and toder… Miss C. a clumsy, awkward girl.” The lack of proper speech was also noted by the travel histories by men who attributed it to the lack of education and the influence of the slaves. The women who went to England for their education did not have this problem with their speech. Nugent observed that the creole ladies “who have not been educated in England, speak a sort of broken English, with an indolent drawling out of their words, that is very tiresome if not

102 Ibid., 80.
104 Nugent, 102.
disgusting.”105 She “stood next to a lady one night, near a window, and, by way of saying something, remarked that the air was much cooler than usual; to which she answered, “yes ma’am, him rail-ly too fra-ish.”106 Nugent could not tolerate the speech differences and judged the creoles to be uneducated for their lack of proper communication. This is apparent in her attempt to depict the exact dialect to remember the peculiar nuances of creole conversation.

In this journal, Nugent did not focus on the sexual tendencies of the creole white women, such as Moreton and the other male authors. She only mentioned one white woman who struck her as disreputable. Nugent remarked: “It is a sad thing to see even this good kind of woman in other respects, so easy of the subject of what a decent kind of women in England would be ashamed and shocked at. She told me all her children by different fathers…. The mother is quite looked up to at Port Royal, and yet her life has been most profligate, as we should think, at least in England.”107 Since she took the time in her journal to write about this one case, it must have been outrageous to her. If this had been the normal condition for women in the West Indies, she would not have taken as much space in her journal to mention it by name. This is the only instance in the journal where she encountered a white woman that did not meet her expected standard of sexually moral living.

Although Nugent did not devote a large portion of her journal to the sexual morality of the white women, she made many remarks on the condition of the slaves and lived with the superior notion that slaves did have souls. This, however, did not keep her from negatively reporting on the relationships between the white men and the black women. The overseers were particularly odious to her, since they seemed to cause many of the immoral proclivities present in

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105 Ibid., 132.
106 Ibid., 132.
107 Ibid., 282.
the West Indies. With many of the owners back in England, the overseers were left to rule the plantations without restraint. Nugent remarks on one plantation she visited where: “The overseer’s chere amie, and no man here is without one, is a tall black woman, well made, with a very flat nose, thick lips, and a skin of ebony, highly polished and shining.”\textsuperscript{108} She called the overseer was a “Scotch Sultan” and the black woman the “Sultana” with three children and one on the way.\textsuperscript{109} Like the male authors, Nugent thought that these connections damaged the environment for a “proper” society. However, Nugent received many mulatto women who were the offspring of high-ranking officials and did not comment on these women differently than the white creole women she came in contact with and seemed to enjoy their company, especially since there were so few white women with whom she could socialize. On one particular trip she only saw one white woman besides her maid for the entire journey.\textsuperscript{110}

Nugent often found herself the only woman present for dinner parties. She delighted in these occasions for “the attention that is paid me, and the care that is taken of me; all that I say and do is perfection, for I am the only woman.”\textsuperscript{111} At the house of the prominent Simon Taylor, her unique status allowed her special access to her host.\textsuperscript{112} Taylor was one of the richest planters in the West Indies, and did not practice absenteeism, unlike many of the West Indian plantation owners. Nugent did not find all creole men as pleasant as Taylor, as she suggested in an encounter with one “Lord B.” Nugent expressed a desire that he “would wash his hands, and use

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{108} Ibid., 40.
\item \textsuperscript{109} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{110} Ibid., 97.
\item \textsuperscript{111} Ibid., 86.
\item \textsuperscript{112} Nugent, 88. Simon Taylor was the son of a rich creole woman, and his father profited from the marriage changing his last name to hers, showing her family’s status and position in the West Indies. For more information about Taylor see Elizabeth A. Bohls, “The gentleman planter and the metropole: Long’s History of Jamaica (1774).” In \textit{The Country and the City Revisited: England and the Politics of Culture, 1550-1850}, edited by Gerald M. MacLean, Donna Landry, and Joseph P. Ward, 180-196. (Cambridge [England]: Cambridge University Press, 1999).
\end{itemize}
a nail-brush, for the back edges of his nails really make me sick.”\textsuperscript{113} For the most part, however, Nugent enjoyed the company of the creole men in Jamaica, and found their society more pleasing than the white women with whom she came into contact. She expressed concern with their lack of health, for in Jamaica “Women rarely lose their health, but men rarely keep theirs.”\textsuperscript{114} She frequently mentions the general poor health of men in the West Indies, which is reiterated by the other female writers.\textsuperscript{115} Nugent believed that the climate was particularly damaging to the health of the creoles in the West Indies.

The climate affected Nugent almost immediately upon her arrival to Jamaica. Nugent did not link climate with sexual conduct like the travel historians, but with lethargical behavior. The heat and humidity combined with the native species of the West Indies, such as the mosquitoes and the scorpions distressed Nugent, who remarked, “here I must mention, among the agremans of this climate, the innumerable musquisos, that have almost eaten us up, and certainly spoilt our beauty.”\textsuperscript{116} While the mosquitoes were merely bothersome, the scorpions were particularly terrifying. Nugent recounted an event at a dinner party that left her in a panic. “A scorpion crept from under the flap of the table, up one of the Miss Stewart’s sleeve, and stung her severely. It was really frightful to see the reptile under the thin muslin sleeve, striking with all its force, and the poor girl in agony.”\textsuperscript{117} This encounter with a tropical insect showed Nugent how far she was removed from her homeland and added to the West Indian “experience.” The “frightful” natural world made the West Indies more savage. Nugent describes creoles as “bothersome,” showing where she placed them in her evaluation.

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{113} Ibid., 18.
\textsuperscript{114} Ibid., 81.
\textsuperscript{115} Ibid., 108.
\textsuperscript{116} Ibid., 32.
\textsuperscript{117} Ibid., 259.
\end{flushright}
Nugent believed that climate affected behavior and attributed her feelings to the differences in weather in New Jersey, England, and the West Indies. Nugent noted: “this climate has a most extraordinary effect upon me; I am not ill, but every object is, at all times, not only uninteresting, but even disgusting.”¹¹⁸ She felt “a sort of inward discontent and restlessness, that are perfectly unnatural to me. —At times, when I exert, myself, I go even beyond my usual spirits; but the instant I give way, a sort of despondence takes possession of my mind….⁹¹¹ Nugent believed that the climate in the West Indies created a sort of lethargy that changed her personality. She did not have the usual vigor and initiative that she possessed in England. Yet even though she felt as if she was not accomplishing her usual tasks, she could not help but remark that it was “quite wonderful how time flies in this monotonous life.”¹²⁰ Although Nugent felt that the climate was negatively influencing her, she was particularly disturbed by the consequences she observed that it had on the creoles. “It is extraordinary to witness the immediate effect that the climate and habit of living in this country have upon the minds and manners of Europeans, particularly of the lower orders. In the upper ranks they become indolent and inactive, regardless of every thing but eating, drinking, and indulging themselves... In the lower orders they are the same, with the addition of conceit and tyranny....”¹²¹ She thought that the change in climate combined with the temptation of the “mulatto favorites” created an involuntary change in the character and practices of the European population.

The effects of the climate seemed to negatively affect the male creoles morally more than the white females. The creole men were “almost entirely under the dominion of their mulatto

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 25.
¹¹⁹ Ibid.
¹²⁰ Ibid., 75.
¹²¹ Ibid., 131.
favourites.”¹²² According to Christer Petley, creole men were seen to become more sexually immoral through their relations with the black and mulatto women.¹²³ Nugent did not view white females as “sexually charged” through the climate change, but more heated in their personality and relations with their subordinates. At one home Nugent noted that “the ladies, they appear to me perfect viragos; they never speak but in the most imperious manner to their servants, and are constantly finding fault. West India houses are so thin, that one hears every word, and it is laughable, in the midst of the clamour, to walk out of my room, and see nothing but smiles and good humour, restored to every countenance in an instant.”¹²⁴ They wanted to appear to be kind and good housekeepers, but Nugent could hear behind the closed doors that they were unkind to their slaves, and apathetic towards their children, creating a population of spoiled children that frightened Nugent as a new mother. Nugent’s observations differ from the travel writers in this aspect for the creole women she encountered were neither lascivious nor sexually immoral. Nugent observed that even though creole women were not attentive mothers, she did not see them living behaving wantonly in the ways that male authors recorded.

Creole children were not raised by their mothers, but usually by a number of slaves that were ordered to obey their every whim. According to Nugent, children were “allowed to eat every thing improper, to the injury of their health, and are made truly unamiable, by being most absurdly indulged.”¹²⁵ At the Skinner home in Jamaica, Nugent witnessed the young daughter named Bonella. She was a “sweet child, but so spoiled that I am afraid she will be a little tyrant. Mrs. S., like all Creole ladies, has a number of servants with her, and all are obliged to attend to

¹²² Ibid.
¹²⁴ Nugent, 107.
¹²⁵ Ibid., 193.
any caprice of the little girl, as well as her mamma; and I grieve to see it.”126 Nugent vowed to rear her child in a different manner, but understood there would be difficulties in this plantation society to prevent her son “thinking himself a little king at least, and then will come arrogance, I fear, and all the petty vices of little tyrants.”127 Although Nugent wanted to raise her child differently from the “creole” way, she conformed to some changes. She allowed her “little George” to be bathed. This was quite disturbing to the young mother, who was “sure it does not do him any good, and it is very dangerous.”128 The next time the nurse washed him and Nugent did not watch this frightening event. Nugent also allowed him to be vaccinated for smallpox from a mulatto child who was not a Christian. She tried to put off the event until the mulatto child could be baptized but was warned not to delay. This worried Nugent who “felt much agitated” but the thought of her son catching the disease prompted Nugent to have him immunized.129

Religion was very important to Nugent, and the lack of devotion present in the West Indies disturbed her sensibilities. In this new and strange land Nugent wrote: “Religion is now my greatest source of happiness.”130 The other women in the island did not share her devoutness. During the church service, the local clergyman’s two daughters did not participate, but sat outside. Nugent was scandalized by their behavior, remarking, “all this time, the young ladies were talking and laughing, loud enough to be heard, as they sat in the carriage at the church door; and in short it was altogether shocking.”131 These women were old enough to participate and their lack of desire to take part in the service placed these women in Nugent’s view as immoral.

126 Ibid., 191.
127 Ibid., 191.
128 Ibid., 187.
129 Ibid., 231.
130 Ibid., 33.
131 Ibid., 126.
She believed religious devotion was a large part of civilized society, and to be a feature in a lady of quality. She found this characteristic lacking in creole women, and noted it as another mark present for their cultural deterioration.

Although Nugent lived for a few years in Jamaica, she never considered herself to be creole. She made friends with the local women, but always regarded herself to be different. Kamau Braithwaite affirms that those at the apex of society in Jamaica were the “Royal administrators: the Governor with his entourage at Spanish Town…This group represented Jamaican dependence on British power and was (technically at any rate) symbolic of British culture.”132 One way Nugent distinguished herself from the West Indian population was through fashion. She imported her own clothes, and received outfits and dresses from friends in Europe, especially “from Madame Le Clerc (subsequently La Princesse Borghese) sister to the great Buonaparte.”133 Through her magnificent ball dresses, which she described in detail, she was able to remain at the head of fashion in Jamaica, creating a social barrier between her and the other ladies. She often recounted her ensembles and accessories: “[I] put on my smartest dress, with a gold tiara, and white feathers, and made myself look as magnificent as I could,” and another evening “a pink and silver dress this evening, given me by Madame Le Clerc, and which was the admiration of the whole room.”134 She did not have any pretenses about her goals in dressing with all her finery. She wanted to be the unquestionable head of fashion in Jamaica, yet was not without foresight on style. One ball evening she recounted: “Scarcely any sleeves to my dress, but a broad silver spangled border to the shoulder straps…A turban of spangled crape, like

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132 Kamau Braithwaite, The Development of Creole Society in Jamaica, 1770-1820, (London, Camelot Press Ltd., 1971), 106. Braithwaite confirms: “...the Nugents were clearly upholders of British culture and tradition. They were critical of creole departures from the ‘established’ norm then, though they did nothing themselves to upset the local status quo (111).”

133 Nugent, 149.

134 Ibid., 142, 52.
the dress, looped with pearly, and a paradise feather; altogether looking like a *Sultana*.” 135

Therefore, Nugent was comparing herself to the wife of a sultan, or ruler of the Ottoman Empire. The sultan was the one of the richest and most powerful individuals in the world. By approximating herself to this position of “sultana” she was both noting her status as the wife of the Governor of Jamaica, and the exotic location that she inhabited in the West Indies. Although this ensemble was the “admiration of all the world over, will perhaps, fifty years hence, be laughed at and considered as ridiculous as our grandmothers’ hoops and tissures appear to us now.” 136 Although Nugent was in an exotic location she dressed in the European fashion that emulated other foreign locations, such as this Turkish ensemble. Through wearing these daring outfits she was able to maintain her status as first lady and a connection with Europe.

Nugent did not want to become “creolized” in Jamaica and was always looking forward to her return to Britain, “every day now, will bring us, Please God we live, nearer to dear England, and own domestic comforts there.” 137 She remained a European “other” and never considered herself to be part of the local society. Her duty as the governor’s wife was to set the example for fashion, and morals. She was to participate in creole society, but remain aloof, and above of the gossip. When she returned home she looked back on her time with fondness, remembering the exotic foods and laughing at her children’s cultural transformation from their lives in Jamaica to being distinctly British in England. While in Jamaica, Nugent was constantly reading and reviewing her French to stay accomplished as a European “lady” and not as a creole West Indian. Her remarks on the white female population were often critical, but never severe when discussing their morals. She recounted their grammatical errors, and lack of politeness. She

135 Ibid., 174.
136 Ibid., 174.
137 Ibid., 69.
only mentioned one woman as “scandalous.” If this had been more prevalent she would have 
written about it in the same terms as she does of the connections between the white men and the 
black and mulatto women, an association of which she does not approve. Nugent spent enough 
time in the West Indies to observe and understand the society there, more than many of the male 
writers, and her views should be considered just as valid, because of her status and position and 
eloquence of her writing. She was also not looking for publication, and did not feel the need to 
include tantalizing stories that would intrigue readers, even if they were not entirely true. Nugent 
reported for her own personal reflection and as a witness to her children born in Jamaica to 
remind them of the life they would probably not remember.

Fenwick differed from Nugent in that she did not keep a daily journal, but wrote a letter 
correspondence with a friend back in England. For Fenwick, the West Indies was not a vacation 
spot, or a temporary residence, but a place for her to make her fortune. She was married to a man 
unable to provide for her and their children, so Fenwick decided to make her own destiny and 
use her teaching skills to establish a local boarding school for girls unable or unwilling to travel 
to receive their education in Europe. Fenwick regarded Barbados as the “Land of Promise.”

She was predisposed to think positively of the creole white girls, who were her students, and 
their parents, who provided her with income. Nevertheless, a few opinions on the character of 
this group slipped rather involuntarily, revealing her near exasperation with her situation and the 
problems she encountered in the West Indies, including the climate and the failed hope of 
monetary gain from this venture.

Fenwick began her correspondence with a very positive outlook. Her daughter, Elizabeth 
was already in Barbados, and Fenwick’s son had traveled to Barbados with her. She noted that

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138 A. F. Wedd, The Fate of the Fenwicks; Letters to Mary Hays (1798-1828), (London: Methuen, 1927), 
113.
letters took up to three months to get back to England. She was afraid of having “too large” a school, and was very optimistic about her prospects.\textsuperscript{139} But even from the start she did not feel at home in the different land. From the earliest letter she was already looking forward to a time when she could return to England.\textsuperscript{140} Her school was “in fashion,” and the families who did not send their children to boarding schools in England were planning on sending their daughters to the her institute.\textsuperscript{141} Fenwick hoped for the future of her establishment, and believed her debts would be quickly paid. The slaves and the system of slavery immediately disconcerted Fenwick. She did not approve of this institution and stated that slaves were “sluggish, inert, self-willed race of people, apparently inaccessible to gentle, kindly impulses. Nothing but the dread of the whip seems capable of rousing them to exertion, not even that, as I understand, can make them honest. Pilfering seems habitual, instinctive among domestic slaves.”\textsuperscript{142} Fenwick was contradictory in her statements about slaves. As a proper English woman she attempted to take an enlightened view towards slavery, but her personal distaste for the slaves overrode her early outlook. She had a few slaves in her service and the practice seemed unpleasant and useless to her. She needed the slaves for their cheap labor, but did not relish the thought of owning a person. Fenwick had to conform to the creole society and did not find this process easy or beneficial.

The young creole girls attending Fenwick’s establishment had their own slaves attend them while at school. Fenwick noted that the slaves were dressed in grand finery even to attend the small children “attired in picturesque costume, — white muslin petticoats, colored jackets, colored cotton or silk Handkerchiefs on their heads most fancifully put on, & very frequently

\textsuperscript{139} Wedd, 165.  
\textsuperscript{140} Ibid., 166.  
\textsuperscript{141} Ibid., 167.  
\textsuperscript{142} Ibid., 113.
coral & gold necklaces of a value & beauty that a London Belle might envy.”143 The free mulatto population also impressed Fenwick with their wealth and splendor. But she was unable to accept any “coloured” students, even those “whose wealth would introduce them to the finest circles in England a white beggar would not speak to here.” 144 She believed the lighter-skinned mulattos should move to England, where she assumed they would be more accepted, based on their wealth and the lightness of their skin.

Fenwick disapproved of the sexual relationships between white men and the black and colored women: “Gentlemen are greatly addicted to their women slaves, & give the fruit of their licentiousness to their white children as slaves. I strongly suspect that a very fine Mulatto boy about 14 who comes here to help wait on the breakfast & luncheon of two young Ladies, our pupils, is their own brother from the likeness he bears to their father.”145 The black population in Barbados was odious to Fenwick, and she did not trust or respect the slaves at all. She viewed them as pests, equating them to bothersome insects stating: “Next to the Negroes the intolerable & numerous tribes of insects are great annoyances….”146 Fenwick wrote of the wildlife and local populations in much of the same terms. She does not respect the sugar plantation system because of her extreme dislike of the slaves and dealings with the local population.

Fenwick also wrote about the temperance practiced by women in the West Indies. The women never drank any alcohol, even mixed with water. They drank plain water, disregarding the taste. The men mixed rum with their water. The problem, according to Fenwick, was that the men did not know how to moderate their alcohol to water ratio: “quantity could not always be measured with due restriction,” rendering them unable to maintain an active work and

143 Ibid., 167.
144 Ibid., 169.
145 Ibid., 169.
146 Ibid., 175.
lifestyle.\textsuperscript{147} Fenwick was surprised at all the widows in Barbados, writing that “[n]othing is so common here as Old Ladies from 80 to 100 years of age. The men shorten their period by intemperance & sensuality.”\textsuperscript{148} This statement shows that the women must have been practicing temperance and restraint to grant them such long lives in the West Indies. All who came to visit the West Indies praised this quality in the women, yet as will be seen in Chapter 4, this does not appear in the literary characters, who often drink to excess in the novels.

Fenwick began feeling financial stress, especially when a French woman set up another school as competition. She complained: “we shall thus destroy each other, & none of us be able to do more than barely live.”\textsuperscript{149} She also suggested the school was also suffering “because so many families are removing to England.”\textsuperscript{150} The crops were not doing well and in 1820 the sugar crops failed because of a drought, and she did not receive payment from many families.\textsuperscript{151} She was feeling the pressure, and experiencing the precarious situation present in the West Indies. If the crops were doing well, then there was prosperity. But all their fortunes were subject to the weather. Fenwick wrote of droughts, and other times of flooding. There was nothing she could do if the families did not pay her. Yet, according to Fenwick a large problem was the “[p]rocrastinating habit people indulge in this Island.”\textsuperscript{152} Nugent also remarked on that characteristic and blamed it on the lethargy caused by the climate.

Fenwick expressed feelings of isolation, and desired to establish a school in Britain for the creole girls, where she could be back with her friends and acquaintances. She wanted to set up a school where they could learn more than the traditional accomplishments for female creole

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\textsuperscript{147} Ibid., 173.
\textsuperscript{148} Ibid., 171.
\textsuperscript{149} Ibid., 191.
\textsuperscript{150} Ibid., 191.
\textsuperscript{151} Ibid., 202.
\textsuperscript{152} Ibid., 214.
\end{flushleft}
stating: “music & dancing must not be their only recreations. I wish them to learn to relish intelligent Conversation…”153 She was attempting to expand their accomplishments to include many of the things she missed from England. Fenwick was trying to recreate the society she had in England. She wished to be at home to also raise her grandchildren in a more traditional setting rather than in the West Indies, exposed to lifestyles in which she did not approve.

According to Fenwick, her daughter, Elizabeth, wished “to rear her boys in England, & dreads for them the sensual indulgences & luxury that most children here are allowed.”154 She blamed the parents for overindulgence and recounted a story of the parents of two of her students who were raised by their grandfather since their parents were “an unhappy, worthless pair, who were intoxicated from Morning to Night, & fight like adverse dragons.”155 These parents shocked Fenwick, who wished to shield both her students and grandchildren from such negative influences, which would certainly lead to the “destruction of mind & manners which will overwhelm these poor little girls.”156 She was trying to provide a stable lifestyle to transform these creole girls into English ladies. Since this married couple scandalized Fenwick, it must have been rather unusual for her creole contacts.

Fenwick was very attached to her female students and when one died she was distraught at the loss of such an able representative of her educational skills. According to Fenwick, this girl “was an only daughter, the delight of her parents, the pride & ornament of our School. Very handsome, very accomplished, an object of general admiration whenever she appeared, yet modest, Lady-like & unassuming to a degree that would have conciliated Envy itself… in

153 Ibid., 199.
154 Ibid., 200.
155 Ibid., 208.
156 Ibid.
person, in grace, in engaging qualities…” 157 She was very complimentary of her own students, and only mentioned negative examples of adult creole women, not stating her impressions, if she had any of positive traits in the other creole women.

Fenwick never felt at home in Barbados, and longed to return to England. She constantly feared bad weather and insurrections. Her son, on whom she placed all the hopes for her family’s future, died of yellow fever in Barbados, which led Fenwick to fear for her daughter and grandchildren’s health as well. These terrors, and the problems that were constantly assailing her, such as being robbed by their quadroon slave, kept her from feeling comfortable in the West Indies. She left the islands to seek her fortune in America after her failed attempts in Barbados. She retained throughout her correspondence positive mentions of the girls who were her pupils. She did not go into detail describing the lifestyles of the parents because she was too busy with the children and did not come into constant contact with the adults. She was also a working woman, was not invited or exposed to the kind of society in which Nugent and Schaw participated. She remained a European “other,” but not at the level of the other women, yet, like them, she also felt isolated through her level of education. She also felt the social discourses and interactions in the West Indies to be lacking from comparison to the circles she was used to from England. Fenwick attempted to mold the creole girls into the learned women that she was accustomed to socializing with in England. However, she was unsuccessful and left to attempt her school in North America.

The “Journal of a Lady of Quality” by Janet Schaw is a rare work because of the author’s candor and wit. Schaw was an elegant and well connected Scotswoman who traveled with her brother to the Carolinas, Antigua and Portugal on a Grand Tour. This was a pleasure trip to see

157 Ibid., 209.
the North American Colonies, The West Indies and the Continent. Schaw traveled with Fanny, a creole young lady, who attended boarding school in Britain. Schaw meant for her work to be read and circulated by her friends back at home, unlike Nugent who wrote her journal for her own personal reflection. Schaw was received by the best society in Antigua and enjoyed her traveling, she often remarked on the exotic foods she encountered. She described the people with whom she came into contact with in similar terms as many of the male authors. She attempted to illustrate their lifestyles and appearances for her acquaintances back at home to understand this West Indian culture. She is quite positive in her assessment on the white creole women. Schaw traveled in the years 1774-1776, and visited the islands before either Nugent or Fenwick, but her remarks are often similar to the other women, with a focus on the temperance, manner, education and character of the female white creoles in the West Indies.

Schaw was determined to participate in the local culture, and begins her reminisces about Antigua by describing the local hotel. She was “received by a well behaved woman, who welcomed us, not as the Mrs of a Hotel, but as the hospitable woman of fashion would the guests she was happy to see.”¹⁵⁸ She was impressed by the attention she derived and the manners of even a working woman such as the Hotel proprietor. She enjoyed the company of the ladies, and was offered a drink called “sangarie.” According to Schaw this was a beverage made from liquor, water and spices. The other ladies did not partake of this drink, but Schaw did not see any harm from sampling the local refreshment. During dinner however, Schaw noticed that all the ladies only drank lime juice and water, nothing stronger and questioned the reason that they did not drink the evening beverage Madeira. The landlady, “who presided at the head of her table

(very unlike a British Landlady) gave her hob and nob with good grace,” and informed Schaw that women did not drink any alcohol in general. She advised Schaw not to follow the custom, for it was due to this “method of living that they were such spiritless and indolent creatures.” Schaw exclaimed that is was “a tyrant custom in every part of the world. The poor women, whose spirits must be worn out by heat and constant perspiration, require no doubt some restorative, yet as it is not the custom, they will faint under it rather than transgress this ideal law.” She went against local tradition and drank Madeira and enjoyed it, and the other women in her group followed her example for one evening. This observation agrees with the other remarks from the male authors as well as Nugent and Fenwick. The temperate lifestyles were universally applauded, but according to Schaw, these women needed a little rum with their drinks to help them have more energy and not be quite so “indolent.” She believed that they took “this virtue they have indeed to the extreme; they drink nothing stronger in general than Sherbert, and never eat above one or two things at table, and these the lightest and plainest.” Nugent continually wrote on the foods she ate, commenting that women indulge more when men are not around, but Schaw did not agree with Nugent’s assessment.

The manners of the West Indian creoles struck Schaw as quite proper and strict. She concluded: “No Lady ever goes without a gentleman to attend her.” Schaw was enraptured at meeting with fellow Scot and English ladies in Antigua. She remarked positively on their invitation to pass time with them after delivering to them letters from home, but also noted that they were recently from England and were happy to see familiar British faces. These two ladies

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159 Schaw, 80.
160 Ibid.
161 Ibid., 81.
162 Ibid., 114.
163 Ibid., 87.
were “two of the most agreeable people I ever saw.” Schaw countered the negative reports on
the wealth and luxury displayed in the West Indies through her remarks on a dinner party.
During this meal “which in England might figure away in a newspaper had it been given by a
Lord Mayor, or the first Duke in the Kingdom. Why should we blame these people for their
luxury? Since nature holds out her lap, filled with every thing that is in her power to bestow, it
were sinful in them not to be luxurious.” She believed these people deserved to live and
display their luxury since they were in the exotic West Indies, and had the means to display their
grandeur and also had reputations to uphold. Schaw also enjoyed the exotic food, especially the
turtle, which she reported is never as good after the long trip across the Atlantic, and much
preferred it fresh.

Schaw also enjoyed dancing, the customary entertainment in the West Indies. She
attended a ball, which was the main form of recreation for the white creoles: “Every body here is
fond of dancing, and [they] have frequent balls.” She did not regard this as a negative form of
entertainment as many of the male authors, but took pleasure in the company and amusements:
“We have been at several, very elegant and handsome, particularly one at a Docot Muir’s, whose
daughters were Fanny, her companion’s boarding school acquaintances, fine girls, with a most
excellent mother….” According to John Luffman, in his *Brief History of Antigua* published
from his correspondence while residing there: “The creole ladies are lively dancers, and the heat
of the clime does not in the least prevent them from engaging even to an extreme in this their

164 Ibid., 89.
165 Ibid., 95.
166 Ibid., 109.
167 Ibid.
favourite amusement.” Schaw did not see the “extreme” in this seemingly harmless amusement, and participates with relish. During one of these events, they reconnected with many of Fanny’s friends from Britain.

Schaw disagreed with this practice of sending away the children at a young age to Europe. Although this was the main way for young creole girls to receive a “proper” education, most of the authors agree that this practice also did harm to the pupils. Schaw and Fanny met with many of the latter’s former boarding school acquaintances from Britain. Although it was pleasant to discuss and remember former friends, Schaw went against her usual positive exuberance about the customs in the West Indies, and gave her opinion on the practice of sending young girls to Britain for their education. She did not believe they should be sent away at such a delicate age, for “they form their sentiments in Britain, their early connections, commence there, and they leave it just when they are at the age to enjoy it most, and return to their friends and country, as banished exiles; nor can any future connection cure them of the longing they have to return to Britain.” Although she enjoyed her own experiences in the West Indies, she did not think that it was superior to life in Britain. These girls would be part of neither society, they would return to the plantations without the comforts they were used to in Europe, and always long for the society they enjoyed during their education. Schaw attributed the problem the plantations had with owner absenteeism to this custom. Schaw concluded: “Of this I see instances every day, and must attribute to that cause the numbers that leave this little paradise, and throw away vast sums of money in London, where they are, either entirely

168 J. Luffman, *A Brief Account of the Island of Antigua Together with the Customs and Manners of Its Inhabitants, As Well White As Black : As Also an Accurate Statement of the Food, Cloathing, Labor, and Punishment, of Slaves: in Letters to a Friend Written in the Years 1786, 1787, 1788* (London: Printed for T. Cadell, 1789), Letter III.

169 Schaw, 92.
overlooked or ridiculed for an extravagance, which after all does not raise them to a level with hundreds around them…”\(^{170}\) She was predisposed to think highly of the people she met in her travels, but does admit their position in England. Regardless of their wealth, they were not admitted to the level of society that people with their amount of money would expect. Schaw believed that they should remain on the islands, that small “paradise,” and not attempt to remove to Europe, leaving their homes to the vices of the overseers.

Schaw agreed with the male and female writers of the destructive vices the overseers wrought on the West Indies. When the owners left for England they “neglect the cultivation of their plantations, and leave their delightful dwellings to overseers, who enrich themselves, and live like princes at the expense of thoughtless masters, feasting every day on delicacies....”\(^{171}\) These overseers were never looked at with a positive light. They were seen as the real negative force in the West Indies. They were growing rich, and enjoying “the young black wenches” who would “lay themselves out for white lovers, in which they are but too successful.”\(^{172}\) She assessed that Antigua had the most proprietors of all the West Indian islands, and St. Christopher was abandoned to overseers, which did not lead to cultural development. Schaw regarded both the overseers and their practices as odious, but did not judge the entire white creole population based on her assessment of the overseers. She looked upon the white creole men with fondness: “I think the men the most agreeable creatures I ever met with, frank, open generous, and I dare say brave…yet you must not suppose this the politeness of French manner, merely words of course: In short, my friend, the woman that brings a heart here will have little sensibility if she

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\(^{170}\) Ibid.
\(^{171}\) Ibid.
\(^{172}\) Ibid., 112.
carry it away.” Schaw did not criticize the white creole men, as many other authors tended to do, but focused on their good natures. She did not come into extended contact with this group as much as Fenwick and Nugent did, leaving her impressions rather cursory. She was able to see the first families of Antigua for short visits and did not spend enough time to get a comprehensive view of the life and characters of all the creole population. Schaw was equally affirmative with her impressions on the creole white women of Antigua.

Schaw was the most effusive in her praise of the creole white women out of both the male and female writers previously mentioned. She admired their characters and their housekeeping skills. Schaw concurred with the other authors on subjects, such as temperance and health, but did not follow the trend of criticism noted in other writings, such as the ones produced by Long, Moreton and even Nugent. Schaw’s singular look is unique. She was unable to spend an extensive period in the West Indies, and admitted to herself that she has not been acquainted with a great number of families in Antigua and St. Christopher. Even though she did not spend a great deal of time in the Caribbean, she still regarded her views as an adequate representation of the customs and temperaments of the creole white women. Schaw stated: “As to the women, they are in general the most amiable creatures in the world, and either I have been remarkably fortunate in my acquaintance, or they are more commonly sensible, even those who have never been off the Island are amazingly intelligent and able to converse with you on any subject.” Schaw countered the male authors, enjoying the company of even the women who traveled little, and did not view them as ignorant for their lack of worldly experiences.

Schaw remarked on the temperate natures of the white creole women in contrast with the creole men. Although this was seen as a positive trait in authors such as Fenwick and Nugent,

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173 Ibid., 111-112.
174 Ibid., 113.
Schaw seemed to believe that this left the women with little pleasurable amusements. She was afraid to remain long on the islands because she did not want to become quite as conservative as these creoles. "This last truth is, I can observe no indulgence they allow themselves in, not so much as in scandal, and if I stay long in this country I will lose the very idea of that innocent amusement…"\textsuperscript{175} She was impressed that these women did not seem to gossip or speak against each other, which was very pleasing for a visiting stranger. The reserve that these women displayed began to lessen and Schaw was able to become more acquainted with many of them and found them to be "agreeable companions," and worthy of her acquaintance. She also praised their lack of jealousy. Schaw remarked, "a jealous wife would be here a most ridiculous character indeed."\textsuperscript{176} This however has deeper meaning than what Schaw perceived. With the creole men notoriously chasing black and mulatto lovers, it would not produce any benefit for a wife to be jealous.

According to Schaw, the climate rendered the creole white woman more reserved and listless. Schaw saw the effects of the climate on her friend’s talent for music and art: "She believed her Genius was left in Britain; that even her musick was not now what it had been, and her pencil had lost the power of pleasing."\textsuperscript{177} The change in temperature rendered Schaw’s friend unable to perform at the levels she achieved in her native Britain. Schaw also remarked on the other effects of the sun: "The sun appears to affect the sexes very differently. While the men are gay, luxurious and amorous, the women are modest, genteel, reserved and temperate."\textsuperscript{178} These feminine traits were supposedly good, but might have been a mask for the deeper issues present in the West Indies.

\textsuperscript{175} Ibid., 114.
\textsuperscript{176} Ibid., 114.
\textsuperscript{177} Ibid., 132.
\textsuperscript{178} Ibid., 113.
The large issues present in the plantation islands, such as the white men and the black and mulatto lovers, troubled the British. Barbara Bush shows, “black women were viewed by white men as the embodiment of earthiness, sexuality…‘hot constitution’d ladies’, very free in their favours, ‘so great was their inclinations to white men.’”\(^{179}\) However, Schaw countered this with her view on the West Indian home life. Schaw affirmed that creole women “make excellent wives, fond attentive mothers and the best house wives I have ever met with. Those of the first fortune and fashion keep their own keys and look after every thing within doors; the domestick Economy is house, an excellent table, handsome carriage, and a crowd of mullatoe servants are what they all seem very fond of.”\(^{180}\) This is in complete contrast to the other writings that regarded creole women as lazy and insipid. Deirde Coleman asserts that Schaw’s “narrative strongly reflects the view that the future of the colony’s British race lies in the sexual purity and virtue of its white women. In contrast to so many descriptions of the dirt and disorderliness of Creole homelife and the notorious ‘housekeeping’ system in which white men lived with ‘colored’ women, Schaw assures us that the women she meets are…of good character.”\(^{181}\) Schaw made many friends on the island and was very positive in her assessment; however, she did not spend enough time to grasp fully the home life of the creoles in the West Indies. She also disagreed with Nugent in regard to religious devotion for creole white women. Schaw concluded: “Their sentiments are just and virtuous; in religion they are serious without ostentation, and perform every duty with pleasure from no other motive but the consciousness of doing right.”\(^{182}\)

This is opposite of what Nugent viewed in the clergy’s daughters raucous behavior during


\(^{180}\) Schaw, 113.


\(^{182}\) Schaw, 114-115.
church. Nugent was very religious and wrote often of her faith and devotions, but Schaw’s personal beliefs are not apparent in her writings.

Schaw remarked on the physical appearance of the creole white women, and was equally as positive in her views on their looks as in other aspects of their lives. Schaw stated: “In their persons they are very genteel, rather too thin until after thirty, after that they grow plump and look much the better for it. Their features are in general high and very regular, they have charming eyes, fine teeth, and the greatest quantity of hair I ever saw, which they dress with taste, and wear a great deal of powder.” Like Long and Edwards, Schaw appreciated the creole women’s teeth and eyes. The creoles stayed stylish with powder in their hair. They also were concerned with maintaining current fashions. They accomplished this through dressing as “light as possible; worked and plain muslins, painted gauzes or light Lustrings and Tiffities are the usual wear. They have the fashions every six weeks from London, and London itself cannot boast of more elegant shops than you meet with at St Johns....” Purchasing the latest clothes sent from London kept the creole ladies in the latest styles, and connected them to Europe.

Although Schaw approved of the fashion of the ladies of the West Indies, she did not agree with the custom of keeping creole girls away from all sunlight and activity. She did not believe that they reached their full potential for “they want only colour to be termed beautiful, but the sun who bestows such rich taints on every other flower, gives none to his lovely daughters; the tincture of whose skin is pure as the lily, and as pale.” The creole ladies wore masks so as not to tint their skin and make them brown, a color associated with the slaves and mulatto children. Schaw observed: “From childhood they never suffer the sun to have a peep at

183 Ibid.
184 Ibid., 114-115.
185 Ibid.
them, and to prevent him are covered with masks and bonnets, that absolutely makes them look as if they were stewed.” Schaw’s companion Fanny was prevailed upon to wear a mask, but Schaw did not agree with this custom and drove around Antigua and St. Christopher setting “face to weather, wherever I have been. I hope you have no quarrel at brown beauty.”186 She would not suffer to wear the mask and was proud at the color she could see on her face, believing it showed her blooming health. She also observed that under the mask, Fanny was wilting and losing her “rose” color, and transforming to be as pale as the local creole women. The measures that these women took to maintain their “hierarchy of color” in their skin is seen by contemporary scholars as evidence of the insecurity of the creole white women. Coleman asserts that these masks “stand as a metonym of the alienated nature of colonial experience in general- an expression of deep-seated racial insecurities within Britain’s white creole communities....”187 This is also apparent in the cashew oil women put on faces to “preserve an ‘aristocracy of skin.'”188 This extremely pale skin color, however, resulted in the creole women looking sickly to European eyes. The pallid countenance combined with their lack of fresh air and exercise made the ladies appear ill, rather than achieving the desired appealing effect.189

The precarious situation of the planters was commented on by many of the different authors, most notably by Fenwick. The West Indians could make great fortunes, but they were subjected to extenuating forces, such as weather and disease that could either render the planter prosperous or destitute. Schaw noted this phenomenon and agreed: “those who live will not fail to make fortunes, but the change of living more than climate kills four out of five the first

186 Ibid.
187 Coleman, 171.
188 Schaw, 172.
189 Ibid., 114-115.
This number is not confirmed in other sources, but shows the observation of the danger of traveling to the islands, regardless of the fortunes available for the surviving creoles.

The documents by female writers such as Nugent, Fenwick and Schaw present a different view than the male perspective seen in the travel histories. These documents by women were not widely circulated, and do not always agree with the works written by males or the popular representatives in Britain in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The men were focused on the appearance and sexual morality of the creole white women. All sources agree that the women were temperate, dependant on their slaves, and idle with the exception of dancing. The female writers do not focus on the lascivious disposition of the women, which seems to preoccupy the male writers. According to Wilson: “In the wake of Richardsonian revolution, an outpouring of novels and conduct literature attempted to convey female interiority and to regulate female conduct. The literature expanded a growing anxiety about the relationship between women’s agency, sexuality and their control.” The popular perceptions of the creole white women, seen in periodicals, literature, and pamphlets in Britain seem to follow this trend, taking for their sources the travel histories, which focused more on the sexual nature and the negative effects of the climate on the characters of the women, rather than the positive aspects noted by Schaw. The West Indian stereotype in periodicals and the literary stereotype seen in works such as Jamaica Lady, Jane Eyre, and the White Witch of Rose Hall agree more with the depiction from the travel histories. This stereotype was bolstered by mainland representatives from the West Indies who became notorious in their own rights, such as Teresia Constantia Philips, as well as the unlucky few who were presented in The Bon Ton Magazine and in other

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190 Ibid., 116.
191 Wilson, 141.
unflattering images, such as the caricatures from shops, such as the one owned by William Holland.
CHAPTER 4
CREOLE WOMEN IN POPULAR REPRESENTATION

Creole women are displayed in popular culture through media such as periodicals, printed satires, and novels. The figures and infamous representatives from those who inhabited the West Indies did not reflect well on the image of the female creole in eighteenth-century England. The stereotypes are distributed through print culture, which spread the images of white women through the travel narratives from Edward Long, Bryan Edwards and J. B. Moreton, which are confirmed in persons such as Teresia Constantia Philips. They were also visualized in the printed media, which combined the negative depictions with the popular satires that were used to show the “true” characters of individuals. Finally, the novels combined all the negative characteristics, and further maligned the creole white woman. All these sketches resonate with the character originated by the travel historians, containing little or nothing of the views from the female writers. The white creole women were denigrated into a set stereotype that strengthened throughout the century.

The figure of Teresia “Con” Phillips augmented the negative images of women in the West Indies. Phillips was infamous in England for her “scandalous memoirs” from her time as a courtesan who traveled around Europe before migrating to Jamaica. She was possibly the only woman in the eighteenth century to hold a colonial office, yet she had a reputation in England as a courtesan and memoirist.192 Phillips held the office of “Mistress of the Revels,” which provided her with the opportunity to participate in the cultural life of the elite in Jamaica. The colonial

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world became a “theatre” for Phillips. According to Kathleen Wilson in her study of transnational identities, the “theatre of transatlanticism was a dangerous place, where mimesis and citation could exalt and transgress as well as debase.” Wilson also focuses on the importance of the theater in reference to the theatre of power, as a way for English culture to be transplanted to the colonial possessions. Phillips survived five husbands and countless lovers, leaving her with the reputation as a “black widow,” one who devoured her husbands, gaining from their devotion to her. Phillips was able to succeed because of this intercultural experience, which gave her access to “perform” in a new colonial arena, without the social mores that had marked her as “ruined” in England.

Teresia Constantia Phillips was married twice before attempting her first trip to Jamaica. She was married first to a man who was supposedly already married, before wedding a son of a successful Dutch merchant. After the failure of this marriage, due to unwavering disapproval of his family, Phillips embarked on a series of love affairs and litigations with the Muilman family. She then followed a lover, Henry Needham, to Jamaica, where she lived “in a haze of happiness that outlasted earthquakes and the dreaded fever.” She enjoyed her stay in Jamaica, and only returned to England following her bout with yellow fever. Phillips seemed to fit the stereotype of the creole white women due to her “proclivities for extravagance in dress and conspicuous consumption.” Although she regarded herself as strictly British, her critics would link her behavior and dress with her time in the West Indies since “Phillips was also taken to embody a range of those attributes of West Indian Creole life that English observers were wont to

193 Wilson, 167.
194 Ibid., 163. Wilson affirms that the theater was the link for the colonies back to the mother country. The “transgressive power of theater lay in its status as a forum where power was visualized and political meanings intensified” (163). The theater also was a way to solidify British cultural superiority in the West Indies.
195 Ibid., 136.
196 Ibid., 132.
decry.”

Phillips reinforced the thought that West Indian women were “parasitical consumers,” through her propensity for “vulgar displays of wealth.” Many of her critics believed she fit into the society of Jamaica, since she achieved a degree of prominence during her time in the West Indies.

Phillips never identified herself as creole, and wrote about their lifestyles and habits, which agree with the other writings. The *Columbian Magazine* republished her thoughts on life in the West Indies in an article entitled “Jamaica in Miniature; or A Collection of Impossibilities.” In this article, written by the “celebrated authoress and beauty” forty years before publication, Phillips mentioned many prominent creoles by name in a satirical and ironic look at the creole culture. Phillips criticized the creole women with her stinging words: “When beauty, wit, and soft good nature/ Or tongue unting’d with meanest satire,/To Creole women once belong,/ Muse, I’ll admit you’re in the wrong.” Therefore, Phillips stated in this compilation of “impossibilities” that the creole women were devoid of “beauty, wit, and soft good nature.” The author also alleged that if she found a creole woman possessing these characteristics then she would recant her assertion. Phillips continued to invoke such stories from the prominent creoles such as Elizabeth Manning and her lover Ballard Beckford. Manning was notorious herself for the public divorce trial with her husband, at which Manning’s maid alleged that her mistress slept with a negro slave. Phillips had a reputation in England for her lifestyle, and was notorious for her memoirs and her ostentatious modes of dressing, yet viewed the creole women as beneath her. Phillips was famous for her memoirs, which focused on her love affairs

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197 Ibid., 144.  
198 Ibid., 145.  
199 Teresa Con. Phillips [sic.], “Jamaica in Miniautre; or A Collection of Impossibilities,” (c. 1760) in *Columbian Magazine*, (Philadelphia: Printed by W. Spotswood, 1798), 578.  
200 Phillips, 578.
and litigations, and for such a character as Phillips to be attacking the creole women did not contribute to the creation of a positive image for these West Indian women.

Phillips returned to England, where she had a few stints in prison for her increasing debts, while trying to publish more of her memoirs, which she sold from her own home. With her reputation tarnished in England, she was bribed into making the final voyage to Jamaica from Muilman, where she would spend the rest of her life. While in Jamaica Phillips “embarked on a new ‘career,’ that of marrying and burying a string of rich husbands that enabled her to amass a fortune and live in considerable style.”\(^{201}\) These riches, combined with her official position in Jamaica, cemented her reputation in England.

In 1757 Lieutenant-Governor Moore appointed Phillips “Mistress of the Revels.” She was a close friend of Moore, who was married to the travel-historian Edward Long’s sister. This period was the “pinnacle of social success and authority, while also ultimately cementing her association with the chicanery and alterity of colonial life.”\(^{202}\) This job put her at the “apex of social life” in Jamaica. This office was “responsible for licensing all theatrical presentations and public entertainments in Spanish Town and Kingston,” and other public festivals in which she took an active role.\(^{203}\) According to the *London Magazine*, as Mistress of Revels, Phillips had “power over the players there, entitled her to a place on the stage every time they played, and a benefit every season, by which she generally got 100 guineas.”\(^{204}\) The former “scandalous woman” became a colonial authority. This showed the relative ease for a woman of a dubious reputation to climb socially in the West Indies. The new “climate” was perfect stage for someone

\(^{201}\) Wilson, 158.  
\(^{202}\) Ibid., 161.  
\(^{203}\) Ibid., 131.  
like Phillips to restart. Although she considered herself strictly British, and even wrote against the creole women in Jamaica, she could not escape creolization herself, especially through her black servants, and her ostentatious show of wealth. Phillips’ successful return to Jamaica and the colonial office seemed to cement her creolization process. She exemplified the immorality of the West Indies and undoubtedly helped reinforce the negative stereotype in the minds of the British subjects, all too eager to place truth behind the spicy details of the travel narratives.

This view was also reinforced in the late eighteenth century through periodicals such as *The Bon Ton Magazine* and *Chambers’s Edinburgh Journal*. In 1838 *Chambers’s Edinburgh Journal* included an article entitled “Character of the West Indian Female.” This article took for its source material the writings of John Stewart, a late seventeenth-century travel writer.²⁰⁵ The editors William and Robert Chambers took Stewart’s assessment of creole women and summarized for their publication. Sondra Miley Cooney states the editors “promised that among the wide range of essays and articles there would be a weekly story that would be ‘no ordinary trash … but something really good.’”²⁰⁶ This publication was one of the first profitable cheap publications in Great Britain. The article on creole women shows the persistence of the stereotypes, even half a century later they were still believed and reported. The piece highlighted the common themes from the other works such as biological alterations and differences in appearance, the creole’s lethargical disposition, and fondness of dancing. This work gives a glimpse into the enduring nature of the stereotypes created by eighteenth-century travel writers into the nineteenth century.

The article on creole women directly compares the creole women to the English women. The English woman is the standard on which to base the opinion and the white creole woman is again the “other” to be judged, with the European woman as the point of reference. Chambers remarked, “The white females of the West Indies are generally rather of a more slender form than the European women.” Chambers reported on their appearance: “Their complexion, which they are peculiarly careful to preserve, is either a pure white or brunette, with but little or none of the bloom of the rose, which, to a stranger, has rather a sickly appearance at first, though that impression gradually wore off.” Other travel writers reported on the skin tone of the creole women, but no one else adds this perceived “sickly” aspect.

This article also shows the creole’s propensity to dance. Creoles might appear idle, but when given an activity they enjoyed they could readily participate. For although the possessed the “appearance of languor and indolence,” but they could be “active and animated on occasions, particularly when dancing, an amusement of which they are particularly fond, and in which they display a natural ease, gracefulness, and agility, which surprise and delight a stranger.” The dancing does not seem to be a negative trait in this aspect and does not seem to be compared with the negative influence of the black slaves. The author also observed that white women “are fond of music, and there are few who have not an intuitive taste of it, and fine voices.” Moreton also remarked on singing, but it is in reference to vulgar and suggestive songs, but in this case it seems to be a positive quality in the women. Chambers complimented the creoles for their talent and musical accomplishments.

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208 Ibid.
209 Ibid.
210 Ibid.
In the era of abolition, many writers sought to show the true characters of white female slave owners by showing that these women did not employ any labor at all, leaving everything to the employment of their slaves. This author placed those reports in this category, seeing these stories as opening them to censure rather than the truth of what was really happening in the West Indies. The insipidity of the white creole women is also reported, but disregarded as rumor. Chambers stated: “They are accused of excessive indolence; and exaggerated examples of this are given by those whose object is to exhibit them to ridicule. These are exaggerations, like all others of a national description, savour more of caricature than truth.”

Although the author treated the impressions that the West Indians are extremely lazy as an embellished report rather than the truth, he still censured them: “They are so excessively fond of pleasure and amusements, that they would be glad if the whole texture of human life were formed of nothing else; balls, in particular, are their great delight; they are averse to whatever requires much mental or bodily exertion, dancing excepted; reading they do not care much about, except to fill up an idle hour; and diligence, industry, and economy, cannot be said to be among the number of their virtues.” The abolitionists would use the characteristics noted in this article to create characters in order to censure the creole plantation culture. Chambers shows these reports to be as one of “national description” rendering these colonial persons as non-British individuals. Although they were British citizens, they were alienated and subject to characterization as if they were foreign. They were further treated as non-citizens through their contact with the climate of the islands. Chambers remarked that “the heat of the climate, joined to the still habits of a sedentary life, naturally beget a languor, listlessness, and disposition to self-indulgence, to which

211 Ibid.
212 Ibid.
the females of northern climates are strangers."\textsuperscript{213} This was a direct comparison to women in England, who, due to the difference in climate, lived more vivacious and productive lives. Chambers’ article is a good summary from the earlier work of Stewart that shows how many stereotypes endured, but some were thrown out as nonsense in Britain. Many of the stereotypes remained, shaping the ideas of British citizens through the mid-nineteenth century.

Another publication contributing to the stereotype of West Indian women was \textit{The Bon Ton Magazine}. \textit{The Bon Ton} was a publication predominately focused on “sexual gossip about the rich and famous combined with sensationalised news and fantastic everyday-life stories.”\textsuperscript{214} This magazine included criminal conversation cases, where a husband sued his wife’s lover to receive compensation for infidelity.\textsuperscript{215} These stories show the preoccupation with female chastity and marital fidelity. This anxiety was combined with the “anxieties regarding the perceived breakdown of social and sexual hierarchies” present in Britain.\textsuperscript{216} The cases including the West Indies focused on the same common themes as the travel narratives. By showing the negative effects of the climate on the women and linking their debauchery and infidelity with their West Indian background, the editors were able to demonstrate the model of the creole women from the travel histories.

Female licentiousness was a common theme in \textit{The Bon Ton Magazine}. In the Feb. 1792 issue the case, “The Amorous Recluse, and the Jolly Tyler,” was about a creole woman from the Caribbean. She was “born between the tropics,” and she was endowed with “all the warmth as

\begin{footnotesize}
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\item \textsuperscript{213} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{215} Morris, 34.
\item \textsuperscript{216} Ibid.
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well as all the lassitude of her climate.” 217 Her “lassitude” did not extend to her adventures with a local workman, who was discovered climbing into her window. Her husband set a trap to catch her in her offense. He was “Uneasy, at a negro servant who came over with her from the West Indies.” The slave’s dying breath, “he imputed his decay of constitution to her insatiable sensuality.” 218 Female servants, as in the Manning case confessed that a negro slave was her mistress’ lover, such as in this case. By combining the climate with slavery the authors were capitalizing on common themes regarding the West Indies, relating the issues in a familiar scenario for the British readers.

As Marilyn Morris demonstrates, “Loyalists and evangelicals rhetorically and imaginatively linked female purity to national stability.” 219 This concern showed a lack of equilibrium for the plantation islands, where women were subjected to the damaging effects of the climate and slavery, which made them prone to depraved behavior. The Bon Ton Magazine had many stories of marital infidelity in Britain, showing that not only creole women were disposed to immoral behavior. However, the correlation of climate and slavery exacerbated the predisposition in women for immorality. The depictions in the magazines were reinforced through visual portrayals in the popular printed cartoons.

White creole women have few visual representations that are still intact. There are hardly any portraits or depictions of white women, except the rare family portraits and the printed satires, which were popular around the end of the eighteenth century. The portrait of the family of William Young, governor of Dominica as well as the portrait of the Brodbelt children shows

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218 Bon Ton Magazine, 454.
219 Morris, 50.
that women were not really used in art to represent a new refined culture in the West Indies.\textsuperscript{220} These paintings look very general, and the women depicted do not appear to have much agency in their portrayals. The eighteenth-century artist Agostino Brunias painted a series on the West Indies, but chose to depict mulatto and black women, leaving out the white women entirely. According to Kay Dian Kriz, “The white West Indian woman was a specter within the regime of eighteenth-century visual culture; she appeared on the printed page in West-Indies histories and travel narratives with some regularity, but proved amazingly resistant to visual representation before the 1820s, excepting printed satires.”\textsuperscript{221} These printed satires were displayed in large shops where the British population would be familiar with the depictions. These caricatures take the negative aspects, such as the debilitating effects of the climate and slavery, and create an unflattering picture of the creole women. These prints agree with the stereotype from the travel narratives and the few famous examples from the contemporary culture in England.

The portraits of women in the British West Indies did not depict the women through illustrations from the travel narratives. According to Marcia Pointon “portraits contain symbols and denote individuals, portraiture as a practice and as a theory in this period cannot be understood merely by the application of iconographic procedures and by the identification of sitters.”\textsuperscript{222} The portraits contain little iconography to connect the sitters with their West Indian heritage. The few that remain do not reflect the culture of the lives of the creole women. They show women to be quite demure and looking very “English.” They are not portrayed in the fabulously ornate dress such as the mulatto women from Brunias’ West Indian paintings. The

\begin{footnotes}
\footnotetext[220]{Kay Dian Kriz, \textit{Slavery, Sugar, and the Culture of Refinement: Picturing the British West Indies, 1700-1840}, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 52.}
\footnotetext[221]{Kriz, 6.}
\footnotetext[222]{Marcia Pointon, \textit{Hanging the Head: Portrait and Social Formation in Eighteenth-Century England} (New Haven: Published for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art by Yale University Press, 1973), 4.}
\end{footnotes}
white West Indian population use portraits to assert their “Britishness.” The Young family was friends with David Garrick, “from whom they tried to borrow scenery and costumes for a private production of Julius Caesar in 1758.... The Van Dyck costume in which they are portrayed is therefore particularly appropriate.”

Therefore this creole family, stationed as the Governor of Dominica was dressing up to show their connections with England; they did not don native clothing, but dressed in theatrical costumes to conform to the fashionable trends in England.

The Brodbelt family portrait of the three children appears very British with a classical background lacking any reference to their colonial home. Anne Brodbelt was pleased at the portrait of her three children and that the complexions of the two girls went from sallow to red and white roses through their stay in England for their education. She also wrote in her letters about the local comments on the portrait from friends. The Brodbelt family shows the importance of the portraits to show their connection to Britain, and to remember loved ones who were across the Atlantic. In another portrait there was also a depiction of a woman “which may have been set in Jamaica and is attributed to Philip Wickstead, an artist who worked there in the later eighteenth century.”

Her whiteness was shown through “her extremely pale complexion, her upswept powdered hair (or wig), styled in the English fashion, her shoes and richly embroidered dress, the shaping of her body, with stays and petticoats, and especially by her hat, which bears no resemblance to the turban adopted by African and African-creole women.”

This resemblance was used to connect to the mother country with the sitter distancing herself

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223 Mary Webster, *Johan Zoffany, 1733-1810* (National Portrait Gallery, London: 1976) qtd. in http://www.62ndregiment.org/Henry_Young.htm. According to Webster: “The skillful use of this fancy dress, then at the height of its popularity, makes this picture one of the most romantic of English rococo conversation pieces. It could almost be called an English domestic version of the French fête champêtre as inspired by Boucher.”

224 Coleman, 173. See also Geraldine Nutt Mozley, *Letters to Jane from Jamaica, 1788-1796* (London: Published for the Institute of Jamaica by the West India Committee, 1938).

225 Kriz, 55.

226 Ibid.
from the influence of the black population and using her portrait to promote her “whiteness.” The portrait of Simon Taylor’s sister-in-law, who was the mother of his nephew and heir, also appears like the other representations. The famous painter Joshua Reynolds portrayed Elizabeth Taylor, the relative of the wealthiest planter in Jamaica. These portraits do not contain any of the immoral aspects noted by the popular perceptions in magazines or from the travel narratives. The depravity of the creole women was displayed in printed satires.

The creole women therefore made an “inglorious debut in British print culture,” with the cartoons focusing on the negative depictions. The white women were “invariably cast as fun-loving (at best) or, more commonly, cruel, lazy, and lascivious characters in graphic satires by artists such as Abraham James, William Elmes, and Richard Newton.”227 These popular prints increased the negative stereotype in the late eighteenth century, visualizing the already prevalent notions of the plantocracy of the West Indies. Amelia Rauser shows how caricature was popular in England as a political tool of “unmasking” individuals. In the 1780s in London, these prints became focused more on “unmasking the authentic truth of subjective individuals and maintaining an ironic stance towards its subjects. Caricature is emphatically different from earlier forms of satire.”228 Now this visual satire was associated with “privacy, foreignness, frivolousness, idiosyncrasy, and elitism.”229 With the growing preoccupation with “authenticity and identity, caricature was used “to expose the hidden truth of individuals’ interior lives.”230 The depictions of the creoles by artists such as Abraham James did not only feature creole women, but creole men and slaves as well. The negative aspects of the men are illuminated

227 Ibid., 166.
229 Rauser, 35.
230 Ibid., 56, 96.
through their excessive drinking and poor manners. Caricature was supposed to show the real characters of individuals and show the internal person to reveal the real “self.” The objective of caricature was to distort “the exterior appearance of a person, selecting and exaggerating certain notable elements of his or her visage; yet this exaggeration and deformation paradoxically makes a more-like likeness, a truer portrait.”

The creole women were not singled out as the only immoral individuals in the West Indies. The whole creole society was attacked, showing the lack of manners and the social transgressions present in the white population. These social critiques reinforced the perspectives of the creole white women.

By 1780, caricatures evolved to colored “autonomous visual objects” which were for sale in art gallery type print rooms for fashionable clients. People made collections of certain artists’ prints, valued for their aesthetic quality. William Holland owned a print room gallery. Print shops, such as Holland’s consisted of lounges, had exhibitions with their works for sale, catering to the fashionable clientele who frequented these shops. He made a print of “A Grand Jamaican Ball! or the Creolian hop a la Mustee; as exhibited in Spanish Town,” after a drawing by Abraham James. This depiction of creole culture captures the essence of the stereotype of West Indian plantocracy with “white women cavort with their male companions, exposing large expanses of leg.” This caricature displays the creole’s obsession with dancing, even with drums, showing the influence of blacks. James was a “soldier-artist” who spent time in Jamaica, creating a set of cartoons, a collection of satires on creole life in Jamaica and “high

\[231\] Ibid., 15.
\[232\] Ibid., 97.
\[233\] See Appendix, Figure 1.
\[234\] Kriz, 166.
\[235\] Mackie “Cultural Cross-Dressing,” 266.
society” in Spanish town.236 The women are dressed in finery, drinking, dancing with the legs in the air, and associating with the black slaves. This print is used to poke fun at the creole society, but reveals the social anxieties for the West Indies. The creoles in the print are not behaving like “proper” British subjects. These visual representations amplify the “exterior appearance of a person, selecting and exaggerating certain notable elements of his or her visage; yet this exaggeration and deformation paradoxically makes a more-like likeness, a truer portrait.”237 This true portrait was used to show the social and moral digressions, which were rampant in the West Indies. This resonates with the correspondence of Anne Brodbelt to her daughter. She often mentions balls for all “those who are fond of dancing and dress.”238 In another print by James, “Seger smoking society in Jamaica!,” the creole inhabitants, “are shown here smoking huge cigars (when this fashion was not established in 'polite' society in England) and lying back in chairs with their legs propped up against the wall.”239 The creole women “allow the tropical breeze to cool their nether regions,” visualizing the image of dissolution present from the travel histories.240 This image is supposed to depict the Jamaican Assembly, showing that the profligacy was present even in the “high society” of Jamaica. By representing even the richest and most powerful as succumbing to the wickedness and decadence of the tropical regions rendered the entire culture subject to moral decay.

The visual representations of the creole society were fashionable in London, due to the popularity of the travel narratives. These prints reveal the “wide interest in West Indian scenes

237 Rauser, 15.
238 Mozley, 95.
239 See Appendix, Figure 2; Robertson, 124.
240 Kriz, 166.
and highlighted the differences between the Creole lifestyles and English customs. They also demonstrate the lack of “Englishness” and show the separation and deterioration of British customs in the West Indies. The “Englishness’ of Anglo-Jamaican society, a key element in its own self definitions, became more open to metropolitan sneers and jeers.” These creoles were an object of fascination and the caricatures visualize the stereotypes of the creole white women for the British audience, ready to purchase and view the prints that would reveal the “inner character” of the sugar plantation societies. These prints reaffirmed the view that the climate and slaves negatively influenced the white creole women, and justified the stereotype through the prints of James, who was seen as a sort of authority on colonial life through his interactions with the culture and his status as “soldier-artist.” These visual representations continued the trend of ridicule towards the white creole women, but although they were depicted as morally and sexually indiscriminate, they were not shown to be cruel or malicious slave owners. They were negatively affected by the climate and interactions with slaves, but they were not developed fully into the negative depictions present in nineteenth century literature. The literary stereotype was where the creole white women were portrayed as both sexually immoral and malicious. The representations of creole women denigrated throughout the eighteenth-century and came to fruition in the works by abolitionists. They were able to strike using the familiar descriptions from the travel histories, the representations in popular culture, and the caricature prints to create profligate characters for novels.

The fascination of the British with the West Indies continued into the nineteenth century, and the creole woman became a set literary stereotype. Willie Sypher compares this interest with the creole to the “nabobs” returning from India. The two main causes for negative attention

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241 Robertson, 124-125.
242 Robertson, 125.
towards the creoles were climate and slavery. The preoccupation with climate cannot be
undervalued, such as in Richard Cumberland’s The West Indian, where Belcour, “the warm-
blooded hero” bemoaned his “‘curst tropical constitution!’”

The problem of the climate coupled with the increasing attention towards the West Indies plantations and the plight of the slaves through the work of the abolitionists, led to an unsavory depiction of the creoles who inhabited the plantation islands. The positive attributes mentioned by the female writers are completely lacking in the literary depictions. The other popular perceptions from magazines and caricatures agree with the literary descriptions with negative connotations. The literary stereotype retained many of the aspects that the male-authored travel historians focused, such as the damaging effects of climate, negative contacts with slaves, morality, and physical appearance. These depictions in the novels degenerated to include deeper negative features such as witchcraft and mental instability. Thus the creole white women aberrated from being an imperial “other” who was studied and recorded to reflect the nature of the colonial efforts in the West Indies, to a sinister deviation used to show the result of the combined vices of tropical climate and slavery.

The Jamaica Lady was one of the first surviving novels to focus on the West Indies, and reflects the same themes as the travel histories. Erin Mackie concludes that this work was “fuelled by anti-colonialist panic, xenophobia, and misogyny…” This story was published in 1720, and the author William Pittis focused on the morality of two Jamaican women on board a ship bound from the Caribbean to England. This story took place in 1713, the year that the navy

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243 Sypher, 503.
244 William H. McBurney, Four Before Richardson: Selected English Novels, 1720-1727 (University of Nebraska Press: Lincoln, 1963), xx. For more information about the creation of British identity in opposition to the “other” West Indian in performing arts see Jean Marsden, “Performing the West Indies: Comedy, Feeling, and British Identity,” Comparative Drama 42 (2008): 73-88.
was recalled from Jamaica back to England following the Peace of Utrecht. According to Carol Barash, “The text is structured by the intermingled stories of Bavia and Holmelsia…who meet on board and who are linked both by the sexual freedoms they exercise on and off ship, and by the…punishment for their sexual liberty in the novel’s conclusion.” Pittis described Bavia as a moral woman before traveling to Jamaica, and the climate altered her to a sexually indiscriminate woman. Holmelsia was also on board the ship, and as a quadroon, did not have any pretentions towards piety or morality. Pittis stated his purpose in writing this story was “to expose the Vice of two notorious Women, that others, whose Inclinations direct ‘em the same Course, may (if not for fear of future Punishment, yet) by the Dread of present, and of publick Shame, be refrain’d from their ill Intentions.” These two women were used to represent the dangers of the West Indies, for although they had different backgrounds, yet the result was the same for both, showing the inevitability of immorality on the sugar plantation islands.

Holmelsia was used as a representation of someone who lived their whole life in Jamaica, and the socially awkward progeny of liaisons between the white population and the black slaves. Although she was three-quarters white, she still had the taint of black blood in her, and Pittis used her to show how the offspring of the planter class and slaves might have all the pretentions of being white themselves, they could not shake off the negative connotations of their heritage. Holmelsia “was a Creole, and consequently of a pale yellow Complexion…when mov’d, of an implacable, revengeful Temper; yet a great Pretender to Piety and Virtue.” Her “yellow” appearance revealed her parentage, and her disposition show instability of character. Those

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246 Ibid., 197.
249 Ibid., 8-9.
aspects agreed, however, with the accounts from Nugent, who did not believe that the West Indian women were very religious. Her speech also concurred with the histories and female-authored accounts. Her “Language was a sort of Jargon, being a Dialect peculiar to the Natives of that Island, it being partly English, and partly Negrosih; so that unless a Man had been some time in that Country, he could not well understand their meaning.”\textsuperscript{250} Nugent also attempted to write out the nuances of the languages to remember the particular speech of the ladies. Holmelsia’s mother was also a Shop-lifter who was prosecuted in the Old Bailey.\textsuperscript{251} But Pittis moved beyond the characteristics mentioned by Nugent and others by making Holmelsia a “kept” mistress. Pittis stated that in the West Indies, people were apt to forget transgressions. When Holmelsia thought she was pregnant, she found out her lover had his eyes on someone else. But he was kind enough to bring a young carpenter to come and remove her from his care. They ended up getting married, but Holmelsia decided to return to England with a female companion and without her husband.\textsuperscript{252}

Although this story of Holmelsia was not extraordinary for novels in the eighteenth century, the justification of her actions shows the perceived state of the morals in the West Indies. In the West Indies, “They had a quite different Method of Practice; and that that Woman is of greatest Reputation in Jamaica who manages her Intrigues with most Prudence, and not who has the greatest Share of Modesty; for that the Scandal does not lie in the Action, but in the Discovery.”\textsuperscript{253} Although this same principle was undoubtedly practiced in England, this manner of living combined with the climate made the West Indies appear to be a place satiated with vice.

\textsuperscript{250} Ibid., 8-9.  
\textsuperscript{251} Ibid., 42.  
\textsuperscript{252} Ibid., 46-47.  
\textsuperscript{253} Ibid., 45.
The climate was seen as a real and almost immediate factor in the altering morality of both the men and women in the West Indies. Holmelsia lived in Jamaica her whole life, therefore the climate rendered her immoral from the beginning. However, Bavia was from England so therefore she was altered from a previous life of morality. Although she tried to remain pure, within seven years she succumbed to the desires of the flesh that the climate imbued within her. Some people on the ship asked how Bavia came to the West Indies, and men who claimed to know of her retold her story and how she came to Jamaica, since only “mad People and Fools, when posses’d of a plentiful Fortune, or even of a moderate Competency in England, in Paradice, would leave it, to go to Jamaica, the Sink of Sin, and Receptacle of all manner of Vices.”254 Only people with disreputable desires or reputations would choose to live in a place such as the West Indies. They were not the place of tropical delights, but “A Place so intolerably hot and suffocating, that he swore that was only a brown Paper betwixt it and Hell.”255 These strong words show the overall perception of the West Indies as a place in opposition to England. One story was told about Bavia, which was revealed later to be false, and the true story of Bavia was revealed.

Although two stories were told about Bavia, it was clear that she was married in England, but her husband sold her. She was supposed to go to a seraglio, but desired to return to England. Bavia gave the captain a jewel for her own “jewel,” for go to the West Indies instead of the seraglio.256 She ended up in Jamaica, a horrid place to her to go, but not as bad as the seraglio since it would somewhat ease her situation “to live amonst Christians.”257 She lived in the island

254 Ibid., 10-11.
255 Ibid., 10-11.
256 Ibid., 19.
257 Ibid., 15-18.
for seven years and was treated well. However, she began to morally deviate and took a lover and “gloried in her Guilt, and was proud to have it known that she had acquir’d so compleat a Gentleman for her Gallant,” and soon acquired another. One of Bavia’s immoral endeavors was to help corrupt her young charge, Dacia.

Bavia, while in Jamaica, was governess for a young creole girl, Dacia. Dacia, “tho’ not overburden’d with Wit, was very pretty for a Native of that Country, and encreas’d in Beauty as she did in Years.” A neighbor solicited Bavia to allow him time with Dacia to seduce the young girl. Bavia predicted to Dacia that she would end up marrying him. Dacia believed Bavia was a witch. Bavia became a procuress for this man, and he was successful in his endeavors. Dacia, however, became pregnant, yet when this news reached the neighbor’s wife, she was stricken with grief and died, leaving the neighbor free to marry Dacia. Dacia was so grateful to her companion and believed her to have had a premonition for the good fortune bestowed upon her. Therefore Dacia did end up marrying the planter, as Bavia predicted, cementing her status as a witch the creole girl’s eyes. Bavia is depicted as a “sexually insatiable con artist, procuress, and sorceress.” Portraying Bavia as a “con artist” resonates with popular themes in for eighteenth-century women, such as the life of Phillips, who spent time in Jamaica. Using this characterization of Bavia, Pittis is following “the gendered commonplaces of eighteenth-century discourses of value, especially those concerned with the reproduction of value, which frequently take form in fantastic female figures with uncanny, capricious, and sometimes demonic

258 Ibid., 20.
259 Ibid., 24, 26.
260 Ibid., 65.
261 Ibid., 52.
262 Ibid., 65-69.
263 Mackie, “Jamaican Ladies and Tropical Charms,” 199.
powers.”264 Although Bavia did not practice witchcraft herself, the elements of the supernatural are introduced in this story, showing that the inhabitants were somewhat superstitious. This would only increase with stories such as *The White Witch of Rosehall*, where the white woman did practice magic, with disastrous consequences.

Pittis somewhat excuses the women and their behavior, by blaming both the climate and the women. The author stated: “‘twas not her natural Inclination, but that cursed malevolent Planet which predominates in that Island…. ”265 The climate had such a power that it “changes the Constitution of its Inhabitants, that if a Woman land there as chaste as a Vestal, she becomes in forty-eight Hours a perfect Messalina, and that ’tis as impossible for a Woman to live at *Jamaica* and preserve her Virtue, as for a Man to make a Voyage to *Ireland*, and bring back his Honesty.”266 This shows the inevitability of immorality in the West Indies. Mackie states: “The colonial woman is pilloried on the charges of meretriciousness, demonic depravity, and monstrosity that England needs to purge from an accounting of its colonial enterprises.”267 After telling this story of Bavia it was determined she was a “Scandal to her Sex.”268 She ended up residing in Ireland, “that she might no longer be a Disgrace to her Friends…. ”269 She was not accepted back into England, because she did not belong there now, she was ostracized from her homeland due to her colonial contact. There are no hints of the positive aspects of the creole life shown in Schaw’s account, such as the kindness and regularity of the households, but only of the sexually charged women unable to control their desires from the influence of the climate.

264 Ibid., 196.
265 Pittis, 35.
266 Ibid.
268 Pittis, 95.
269 Ibid., 100.
This is one of the first instances of employing the stereotype of the depraved West Indian woman. The West Indies were of interest in England ever since Edward Ward’s *A Trip to Jamaica* was published in 1698, running eight editions by 1702.\(^{270}\) In his travel narrative, Ward was also critical of the creole white women, preceding the remarks of Long and Edwards. Ward is famous for virulent remark that the only women who would travel to Jamaica were those who “have been Scandalous in England to the utmost degree, either Transported by the State, or led by their Vicious Inclinations; where they may be Wicked without Shame, and Whore on without Punishment.”\(^{271}\) Pittis, “one of the wits at the Rose Tavern,” was a journalist and writer. Pittis and Ward were also close friends, and their works have many similarities. Since Pittis himself never traveled to Jamaica, McBurney proposes that Pittis received his first hand knowledge of the location and people from his travel historian friend.\(^{272}\) Therefore the travel histories, such as the early work by Ward were used as a template in the creation of this literary stereotype that developed throughout the eighteenth century and came to fruition in the nineteenth century.

Other literary depictions reflect the fear of the West Indies, and the desire to keep young girls in England so that the association with slavery and the plantation lifestyle will not taint them. In Jane West’s *Advantages of Education or the History of Maria Williams*, “Maria Williams, the heroine, is the daughter of a Jamaican planter corrupted…by creole life.”\(^{273}\) Her mother “keeps Maria in England so that her mind will not be ‘vitiated by…pernicious examples of pride, cruelty and luxury.’ Yet Mrs. Williams herself is ‘Creolian.’”\(^{274}\) These perceptions deepen through the next century in the literary works of *Jane Eyre* and the twentieth century.

\(^{270}\) McBurney, xx.
\(^{271}\) Edward Ward, *A Trip to Jamaica: With the True Character of the People and the Island* (London: J. How, 1700), 16, qtd. in Zacek, 332.
\(^{272}\) McBurney, 85n, 86n.
\(^{273}\) Sypher, 513.
\(^{274}\) Ibid., 513.
novel of Annie Palmer *The White Witch of Rosehall*. The other eighteenth century works that include the creole white women are greatly anti-slavery in nature. These works depict the white women as uneducated, violent and insensitive through the influence of slavery.

The abolitionist movement used the negative descriptions in the travel histories and in the literature to help their cause to end slavery. The abolitionists were able to take the negative connotations and attribute the result not to climate but to slavery. They did not focus on the sexual morality, but the lack of education and the exposure and participation of violence. The mid to late eighteenth century was full of works that mention the white creole women. Sypher sums up their depiction: “Yellowish in complexion, lassitude of body and mind, fitful spells, of passion and energy, generously bordering on improvidence, sentimentality combined with a streak of haughtiness and cruelty to subordinates, and a certain exotic grace, especially in the creole girl.”

Works like *Jamaica Lady* show the negative influences of climate, where poems such as “The Epistle to William Wilberforce” by Anna Laetitia Barbauld focus on the increasing harmful influence of slavery. The forces of climate and slavery would be combined in works such as *Jane Eyre* and *The White Witch of Rosehall* to strengthen the depictions and augment their vigor.

The authors took for their depictions in their anti-slavery novels from many representations of slave owners in the West Indies. There were many women who were slave owners and businesswomen who participated in the cultural aspects of colonial life. Slave owners in the West Indies such as Mary Elbridge and Mary Travers shed light on the experience of European women participating in this culture. When “Mary Elbridge’s husband died in the early eighteenth century, leaving a jointly owned plantation in her hands, Mary threw herself into

\[275\] Ibid., 504.
the task of running the Jamaican estate...she did not shy away from slave owning or managing, and her relatives marveled that within a few year’s time, she had entirely turned around an estate in decay.” She was able to use her business acumen to gain a profit in a very “masculine” business. Yeh also remarks about Mary Travers, another sugar plantation owner. Also, the “sight of creole women examining the genitals of male slaves in the Market before making purchases,” offended European observers. Negative perceptions about women culminated because of the combination of “raw violence, sexuality, intimidation, and subjugation.” The British “genteel” did not approve of this gender inversion, especially since these female slave owners “were often the harshest of slave owners,” which contradicted the new trend of sensibility in Britain.

Elbridge and Travers were actual slave owners, and the female anti-slavery authors of the eighteenth century created their own depictions of female slave owners using examples such as these women. They used the abolitionist popularity to create their own works using the creole white women as characters ranging from the benevolent slave owners to the cruel plantation mistresses.

British anti-slavery literature was mostly written by women and often in the perspective of a man showing the creole white women their wrongdoings to lead them towards a more enlightened path. According to Thomas, authors linked “the degenerate moral and intellectual character of the white Creole with the cruelties of the slave-labor system in Jamaica.” This is apparent in Sara Scott’s *History of George Ellison* and Charlotte Turner Smith’s *The Wanderings of Warwick*. In these stories creole white women are marred by their association with slavery,

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276 Yeh, 80.
278 Yeh, 80.
279 Ibid., 81- 82. Yeh sees the rising of the culture of sensibility following the “reformation of manners” in the seventeenth century. This culture clashed with the harsh world of slavery in the Caribbean.
280 Thomas, 1.
which upset the sentimentality of the gentlemen associated with them. Other depictions are of somewhat enlightened creoles who free slaves such as in Elizabeth Helme’s *The Farmer of Inglewood Forrest*. Although not all of the anti-slavery literary depictions are negative, the overall view is that the women are tainted by association with slavery and the slaves, and could improve their status through returning to England to become more “civilized.”

Helme’s *The Farmer of Inglewood Forest* was published in 1796 to include the story of a Mrs. Palmer who owned estates in Jamaica and would buy some slaves just to free them. She was not corrupted by Jamaica, yet saw that her new slaves were “branded with hot bits of silver.” So although she was freeing some slaves, she still participated in the violent act of branding the slaves she did keep in her possession. Although she was depicted as a more compassionate slave owner, she did still have streaks of cruelty through branding. However, Palmer is much more caring than other depictions of plantation mistresses.

Scott’s *History of George Ellison* was published in 1765 and narrates the story of a colonial merchant who marries a creole white woman and inherits a plantation in Jamaica. This is often referred to as a “sentimental novel,” with Ellison as a man of sensibility. He was “appalled by the living condition of the slaves and ameliorates their situation.” His wife, Mrs. Ellison, did not regard the black slaves as humans with souls and although “she had a reasonable share of compassion for a white man or woman, but had from her infancy been so accustomed to see the most shocking cruelties exercised on the blacks, that she could not conceived how one of that complexion could excited any pity.” She was not necessarily cruel, but insensitive to sufferings through her lifelong association with the system of slavery. However

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281 Sypher, 514.
283 Sypher, 510.
in Smith’s *The Wanderings of Warwick*, the “one of the friends of the hero witnesses a lashing supervised by his betrothed, a creole girl.” This shocks the man, who was used to seeing his “fair” and “gentle” Marianna as a delicate woman, who would “weep over the fictitious distresses of a novel, and shrink from the imaginary sorrows of an imaginary heroine,” witnessed and participated in the punishment to a mulatto girl of ten years of age. He “saw this Marianne...direct the punishment, and increase its severity; — I heard the shrieks of the miserable little victim; - I saw her back almost flayed; and Miss Shaftesbury seemed to enjoy the spectacle- a spectacle which I was little able to bear.”

The creole woman is used to witnessing extreme punishments, even on young girls, without being affected by sight. This is in contrast to her emotional displays while reading novels, which disturbs the young gentlemen for her lack of respect for genuine feelings and pain.

The negative influences of slavery are most strongly worded in Barbauld’s “Epistle to William Wilberforce, Esq. on the Rejection of the Bill for Abolishing the Slave Trade.” Barbauld is an abolitionist who writes this poem to show what happens to British citizens through the influence of slavery. Sypher notes her “libertarian frenzy” in this work, where she “sketches fully the ‘character’ of the West Indian, using her harshest palette.”

She attacks first the West Indian men, and then moves to the females:

Lo! where reclined, pale Beauty courts the breeze,
Diffused on sofas of voluptuous ease;
With anxious awe her menial train around
Catch her faint whispers of half-uttered sound;
See her, in monstrous fellowship, unite
At once the Scythian and the Sabyrite!
Blending repugnant vices, misallied,
Which frugal nature purposed to divide;
See her, with indolence to fierceness joined,

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284 Ibid., 512.
285 Ibid., 518.
Of body delicate, inform of mind,
With languid tones imperious mandates urge;
With arm recumbent wield the household scourge;
And with unruffled mien, and placid sounds,
Contriving torture, and inflicting wounds.286

This poem echos the works by male authors, beginning with the physical appearances such as Moreton and Long. Barbauld pointed out such as the “pale” beauties of the West Indies, listlessly reclining on sofas, surrounded by slaves. This passage reflects strongly account from the travel histories. The use of “Scythian” represented savagery and barbarism, and “Sabyrite” to show a person seeking luxury, pleasure and comfort, so the females were a combination of both, something truly both archaic and dangerous.287 Barbauld also states that they are “inform of mind” to show their lack of education, and ends her poem with the creole females “contriving torture, and inflicting wounds” to convey their proclivity towards heinous violence. This is taking the depictions from the travel histories, and imbibing them with increased fervor and damaging connotations. This new stereotype was now one of the tyrannical and somewhat unstable slaveholder.

The previous works focused either on the destructive power of the climate towards sexual morality, or concentrated on the violent influences of slavery towards the disposition of the West Indian women. These two determinants were brought together in the next century with popular works such as Jane Eyre by Charlotte Brontë. The creole character in novels such as Jane Eyre and The White Witch of Rosehall did not have even slightly positive attributes, such as the

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benevolent slaveholders seen in eighteenth century literature. These women were either mentally unstable and dangerous, or filled with occult powers used to terrorize slaves and seduce men.

One of the most enduring villains in Romantic literature was the “madwoman in the attic” from Jane Eyre. In England during the early nineteenth century, the word creole became a “derogatory name for the West Indian sugar plantocracy” and when this novel was published in the 1840s, the sugar plantation slavery was very disliked in Britain, and Bertha Mason is the female “‘immoral West Indian planter’” used as a literary stereotype to indicate depravity.288 Thomas states: “The discourse of white Creole moral degeneracy could offer Brontë a type, which might be construed as perverse…”289 Bertha was West Indian, and in one of her “mad” fits, burns down the manor in which the hero of the story lives, rendering him blind. The character is introduced when strange events occur in the home, but she is little more than an apparition throughout the story. According to Jenny Sharpe: “Rochester’s first wife is commonly read as a symbolic substitute for Jane Eyre and the monstrous embodiment of unchecked female rebelliousness and sexuality.”290 She embodied the stereotypes from the travel histories, and many of the other literary depictions, yet did not hold the place of the anti-slavery character of the “plantation mistress,” although her mental insanity “bears the signs of an idle plantocracy in the state of decline.”291 However, Bertha’s “madness” came from her “moral degeneration” through her excessive lifestyle, not through wielding power over slaves.292

Bertha Antoinetta Mason was a drunkard, insane, and a West Indian heiress. She was not the simple or kind lady that Nugent or Schaw met, but a woman incapable of any conversation

288 Jenny Sharpe, Allegories of Empire: The Figure of Woman in the Colonial Text (University of Minnesota Press: Minneapolis, 1994), 45.
289 Thomas, 3-4.
290 Sharpe 45.
291 Ibid., 46.
292 Ibid., 46.
other than ranting and cursing. She was a truly sinister representation of the effects of the climate and slavery upon a woman. The heroine, Jane, was a governess in the Rochester household. Jane and Rochester fell in love and at their wedding a startling revelation was revealed that Rochester was married. Rochester kept his wife, who he met during his travels in the West Indies, locked in the attic due to her madness. Bertha Antoinetta was the daughter of a merchant and his wife who was a creole from Spanish Town, Jamaica. Rochester admitted that he was married to Bertha for fifteen years. She was mad and “she came of a mad family.” She copied her parents in that aspect. Bertha’s mother, the Creole, was both a mad woman and a drunkard! — as I found out after I had wed the daughter.” This goes completely against the views of Schaw, who remarked that the women did not partake of any alcohol. The use of drunkenness goes against the image of the creole women from the travel histories, and especially the female narratives. This was a device to add to the immorality of the West Indian female placing her in the category with fallen women, through combing the “vices of intemperance, cursing, and unchastity.”

Since Rochester was the second son, he was sent to the Caribbean to wed a West Indian heiress. His father’s acquaintance Mr. Mason was a wealthy West Indian planter and merchant. Mason had a son, and daughter with a fortune of thirty thousand pounds. Rochester was sent to Jamaica, not told about his bride’s fortune, only about her good looks, which proved to be true. She “was the boast of Spanish Town for her beauty.” This agreed with many of the other reports, especially Long and Moreton who were quite appreciative of the beauty of the West Indian women. Rochester and Bertha only met at parties, with others around and she was always

294 Brontë, 306.
295 Ibid., 306.
296 Thomas, 6.
297 Brontë, 321.
“splendidly dressed.” He did not meet her alone, not ever have a conversation with her.
Rochester excused his hastiness in marrying her: “She flattered me, and lavishly displayed for
my pleasure her charms and accomplishments.”298 She was resplendently dressed in the current
European fashions, regardless of the climate, to show her wealth and position. Rochester thought
he was in love: “I was dazzled, stimulated: my senses were excited; and being ignorant, raw, and
inexperienced....”299 The climate combined with the novelty of this woman “dazzled” and
“stimulated” him, without considering caution. By depicting the entire Mason family in this
negative light, “Brontë engages with emerging ethnographic discourses about white Creole
people, which chart a racial variation of whiteness based on susceptibility to moral degeneration
and physical and intellectual adaptation to a tropical climate.”300 Through the negative affects of
the climate the creoles, such as the Masons, were shown to alter both in moral, physical, and
intellectual capacities. They were becoming a different race entirely. This resonates with the
descriptions from the travel histories, which placed the creoles in a different biological structure
than the English white race. They were depicted to show their physical alterations, such as in
Edwards suggestion that the West Indians became taller, and more slender.301 Their intellectual
and moral degenerations usually are grouped with their contact with the slave race. By
categorizing them as something separate from the English race, writers, such as Brontë were able
to villainize these negative characteristics. This justified the creation of a character such as Bertha
Mason, since she was not her colonial sister, but a biologically, racially, and moral “other.”

The Mason family was deceptive by hiding the truth about the mother’s condition. The
family informed Rochester that his bride’s mother was dead, he soon found out she was locked

298 Ibid., 321.
299 Ibid., 322.
300 Thomas, 12.
301 Edwards, 11.
away in an insane asylum. Rochester’s family was aware of this affliction, but convinced him to marry her for her fortune. Rochester attempted a normal marriage, but could not achieve any level of conversation with her that did not “turn at once coarse and trite, perverse and imbecile.”

Things did not improve with time, and Rochester was miserable in Jamaica. Rochester recalls the early days of the marriage:

Her character ripened and developed with frightful rapidity; her vices sprung up fast and rank: they were so strong, only cruelty could check them; and I would not use cruelty. What a pigmy intellect what had— and what giant propensities! How fearful were the curses those propensities entailed on me! Bertha Mason,— the true daughter of an infamous mother,— dragged me through all the hideous and degrading agonies which must attend a man bound to a wife at once intemperate and unchaste.

Rochester did not hate her mental instability as much as he does her “debauchery.” She would yell all night using foul language in their home and Rochester felt as if both the temperature and the marriage were suffocating him. The house they lived in did not provide any protection from the noise of her ravings. This agrees with Nugent’s depiction of homes she visited, where she could hear all that was taking place, to her great discomfort. He was about to take his life, when a “wind” from Europe hit his face and he knew he should return home. According to Thomas, the “sweet wind from Europe” is the call for emancipation for the black slaves and Thomas Buxon’s movement in the House of Commons. This was also seen through amelioration laws from the British to the Jamaican House of Assembly. Rochester decided to lock Bertha up in his manor in England, and hired a strong nurse to care for her and protect the

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302 Brontë, 322.
303 Ibid., 323.
304 Sharpe, 45.
305 Thomas, 8.
house from her madness. 307 On the day of Rochester and Jane’s wedding, Bertha’s brother comes to stop the wedding by revealing his sister. They all go up to view this “monstrous” creature, who attacks her brother. Therefore, “Bertha Mason is a Calibanesque figure — a cannibalistic beast who chews her brother’s flesh to the bone, a fiend who spews forth obscenities, and a monster who cannot control her sexual appetites.” 308 This made her a vampiric-like creature, which dehumanized her even more. 309 Bertha is only free though her self-immolation at the end of the story. Rochester attempted to save her, but she died, and Rochester was left blinde]. This resonated with other works, where the British man would “save” the creole woman. However, this creole was past the point of redemption, and her suicide death was the final punishment for her former crimes, leaving Rochester free to be with the “pure” untainted English woman, Jane.

This story was met with immediate success in the nineteenth century, and the character of Bertha Mason was mysterious and dangerous, particularly since she “shows that ‘whiteness’ alone is not the sign of racial purity.” 310 She was a product of the climate, which left her mad, and made Rochester feel as if he was suffocating. Only the breeze from England reminded him of who he was and what he needed to do to regain his life. He had to leave the West Indies, and take along his unwanted property as a virtual prisoner. Bertha did not have a voice in this story, she did not have a chance to tell her side, justify her situation, or let the reader have a chance to judge her sanity. The male character’s words, and Jane’s thoughts on her shapes her character,

307 Brontë, 323-326.
308 Sharpe, 45.
309 Clement King Shorter, The Brontes: Life and Letters. Vol.1, (Hodder & Stoughton, 1908), 383, 384. Brontë remarks in her correspondence that Bertha Mason suffered from “moral madness.” Brontë states in a letter to W. S. Williams: “There is phase of insanity which may be called moral madness, in which all that is good or even human seems to disappear from the mind, and a fiend-nature replaces it…Mrs. Rochester, indeed, lived a sinful life before she was insane, but sin itself a species of insanity- the truly good behold and compassionate it as such.”
310 Ibid., 46.
which is frightening and precarious. Mason was taken to England where she did not fit in and is marginalized into a windowless attic.

The last example is the most severe representation of a white West Indian creole woman. This book was first published in 1929, and set in the year 1831. This story was based on fact, which is obscured by legend. Annie Palmer was a plantation mistress and was murdered by her slaves in the slave uprisings of 1831, but the rest is lost in fiction. Although she was white, of Irish and English descent, her skin color was also “complicated by her mastery of voodoo, also functions as a scapegoat, in this case for all the excesses, crimes, and sins of pre-emancipation white domination.” This story shows how “rememory” of slavery and creole white women can have a great impact on the depictions of white women in the West Indies in the long eighteenth century. The literary stereotypes remain and actually grow with severity from the nineteenth century depictions such as in Jane Eyre. This twentieth century rendition shows how the fascination remained for the British sugar plantation era in the West Indies.

Although this work is not contemporary with the other examples, this piece shows the relevant through its “rememory” of ante-emancipation Jamaica. In Seeing the Unspeakable: The Art of Kara Walker, Shaw examines the art pieces of Kara Walker to see how “rememory” of slavery affects the way individuals create their identity and examine their ancestral heritage. Shaw states: “The manner in which some European Americans deal with personal guilt and the

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313 Gwendolyn DuBois Shaw, Seeing the Unspeakable: The Art of Kara Walker, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004). Shaw introduces this subject with the quote: “What if identity had to be reconstituted out of a strategic amnesia, a selective remembering, and thus a selective dist(re)members of experience?(37).” De Lisser’s White Witch of Rosehall was a work in which the slaves were able to exact their revenge on the tyrannical slave mistress, and was a positive re-memory in that aspect.
legacy of slavery today is similar to this rehumanizing impetus of professional historians.”  

Shaw suggests a type of “genetic guilt,” where “[e]ach viewer is prompted to face his or her own potentially traumatic relationship in history and acknowledge whatever repressed guilt and complicated feelings he or she might have about any personal relationship to slavery.”  

Shaw proposes that current depictions often have a greater impact, and shape the way people view events, than the actual events themselves. The White Witch of Rosehall is a re-memory of antemancipation Jamaica, which carried on the same tradition as the previous works, while impacting a new audience with this stereotype.

De Lisser creates a decisive villain in the character of Annie Palmer “who was a legendary plantation owner, a sadist, and a witch” in this “sensationalist historical novel.”

Although she was of European descent she “unacceptably blurred the line between black and white, slave and master, by becoming involved with the practice of African-derived ‘tropical charms’ such as obeah and voodoo.” In the stereotypical tradition of West Indians in literature, de Lisser also combined climate and slavery. He also touched on the other moral and physical attributes mentioned by the travel historians, such as complexion, and inclination towards English men.

The story begins with Robert, the naïve young Englishman who comes to Jamaica to work as a bookkeeper on a plantation to “learn the business.” His father owned a plantation in Barbados, but did not want him to go there, but to see the workings from a lower station to appreciate the machinations before attempting to run the operation. He found employment at the plantation owned by the thrice-widowed Annie Palmer. Robert was struck immediately by her
beauty, since “her figure was slight and girlish,” wearing a stylish “long riding habit sweeping
down below her shoes, her feathered beaver placed jauntily on her head.”318 He remarked on her
skin color: “Her complexion was brilliant, her colouring indeed was part of the attractions of
Annie Palmer and had not been affected by her rides in the sun of the West Indian tropics,
probably because her horseback excursions were seldom taken in the bright sunlight.”319 She was
careful not to taint her skin with the sun. The remarks on complexion was in accordance with all
the first hand accounts from both male and female writers from the eighteenth century. He was
also immediately shocked at his first sight of her, since it is at a gathering where she was
witnessing punishment to a disobedient slave. He wanted to shield her from this sight, thinking it
will harm her sensibility, but soon realized that she was unmoved by this event. He
comprehended shortly after that nothing fazed this small and determined young woman.

Robert and Annie formally met, and this young and strapping English gentleman
immediately enamored Annie, who discerned he was no ordinary bookkeeper, but on the same
social level with herself. She was quite frank in asking Robert to become her lover, even moving
in to the house with her. She stated that Jamaica is different than England, and it was no
consequential if they live together unmarried.320 Yet after he “surrendered” to Annie, he felt
startled that his morals would so soon be abandoned, a “careless acceptance of the moment,
however flagrantly might be violated every principle of circumspect conduct.”321 Robert knew
that even though it was Jamaica, there were still some moral codes and realized that what they
did in secret should not be open to public knowledge for a “different standard for women of the

318 De Lisser, 30.
319 Ibid., 35.
320 Ibid., 52.
321 Ibid., 65.
upper orders” still remained.\textsuperscript{322} Robert was thinking of taking his mulatto housekeeper as his lover as well as Annie, for “To be a model of virtue here would be merely to make oneself ridiculous.”\textsuperscript{323} There was no pretense for any kind of household order or morals in this sugar plantation.

Robert was startled that Annie rode around at night in a male habit, cross-dressing to show her authority, and for the comfort and ease of the male attire.\textsuperscript{324} He began to question her virtue, and learned “Annie ruled her people by terror” both through physical violence, and emotional trauma delivered through her knowledge of obeah, a form of voodoo.\textsuperscript{325} Robert’s mulatto housekeeper warned him against Annie: “‘She is hell. She is de devil himself. She is the worse woman in Jamaica!’”\textsuperscript{326} As more strange apparitions and sinister events occurred with Annie’s enemies, Robert and the other white workers on the plantation began to discuss Annie’s background. The drunken clergyman “Rider” proposed: “‘Pride, and the life she has led, and the power she has had over her slaves, may have unhinged her brain.’”\textsuperscript{327} She was from Haiti, her father was Irish and her mother was English. Annie learned voodoo in Haiti from a female black plantation owner who looked upon Annie as a daughter. When her parents died, Annie was moved to Jamaica, where the prospects were better for a white lady. She married and moved to Rosehall with her first husband, where she had two subsequent husbands, who all died, before Robert moved onto the plantation and the story took place.\textsuperscript{328} Annie never returned to England after the death of her husbands for she believed “she would count for but little.”\textsuperscript{329} In Jamaica

\textsuperscript{322} Ibid., 68.
\textsuperscript{323} Ibid., 102.
\textsuperscript{324} Ibid., 104.
\textsuperscript{325} Ibid., 80.
\textsuperscript{326} Ibid., 85.
\textsuperscript{327} Ibid., 240.
\textsuperscript{328} Ibid., 127-130.
\textsuperscript{329} Ibid., 137.
she could reign supreme, and exercise her passion for executing pain upon people, living a life “almost unfettered, the life she loved, a life of domination and of sensuality.”\textsuperscript{330}

Annie was jealous of the mulatto housekeeper who Robert had almost taken as his lover. She placed a hex upon her using her obeah magic. She could not allow Robert to place this woman as her equal, even though this was often the custom in Jamaica: “Other white women might compromise with the existing conditions and make a sacrifice for some sort of external peace,” but Annie Palmer was not one of them.\textsuperscript{331} The mulatto girl died, and her grandfather exacted revenge by gathering up many of Annie’s slaves and giving them rum to drink, and led them into the Great House to murder Annie.\textsuperscript{332}

This story combined the vices of slavery and climate, with the African magic of obeah. Through using this unnatural power, Annie was able to wield incredible influence over the minds and bodies of her slaves. Annie was greedy for power over her husbands, which she achieved through their deaths, yet she was not able to control Robert who still looked at his free-mulatto housekeeper, Millie. Annie was the product of ultimate colonial corruption. She agreed with the stereotype from Moreton, who noted many of the West Indian women whom he “obliged” to “please their inclinations.”\textsuperscript{333} Annie herself was susceptible to this young Englishman, but she was unable to control herself.

Annie also drank alcohol in great quantities, which shocked Robert. Robert himself was surprised at the amount he was drinking in the West Indian tropics, and realized he was succumbing to this local tradition as well.\textsuperscript{334} This consumption goes against the travel histories

\textsuperscript{330} Ibid., 137.
\textsuperscript{331} Ibid., 223.
\textsuperscript{332} Ibid., 240-249.
\textsuperscript{333} Moreton, 110.
\textsuperscript{334} De Lisser, 94.
of female alcohol intake, but adds to the maligning of her character, placing her in the category
with scandalous white creoles such as Bertha Mason. Annie was “standing in a long line of white
Creole females renowned for their imperious sadism,” and she was grouped with all of the West
Indian female literary representatives from the eighteenth and nineteenth century.335 Yet, by
creating this horrible image of the white women “colonial corruption and failure is figured as
purely West Indian and emphatically feminine.”336 These authors are blaming the failure of the
West Indian plantation system on this representational icon to remove the blame from the white
men who inhabited the islands as well. Through “representing Palmer as a corrupt and lascivious
female who amasses wealth through murderous and occult means, de Lisser’s narrative strips her
of her social and economic powers and ultimately destroys her.”337 Annie Palmer became the
“scapegoat for the cruelty and corruption that brought the downfall of white colonial rule in
Jamaica.”338 The blame for the problems in Jamaica is removed from the British-run government
in the West Indies, the absentee plantation owners and the white male planters, to the women and
their moral digressions.

In the long eighteenth century creole white women from the British West Indies were
subjected to scrutiny in the male-authored travel histories. They placed the women in the “other”
category, between the British women and the savage. Although authors in Britain were also
creating satires on British women, according to the colonial rhetoric, British women were
premium, whereas the creole women were less than ideal. Creole women were subject to
negative effects from the climate, and influence from the black slaves as well as a lack of
education and proper speech and manners. Although there were positive aspects noted by female

335 Mackie, “Jamaican Ladies and Tropical Charms,” 204.
336 Ibid.
337 Ibid., 206.
338 Ibid., 208.
writers who were in contact with the creole women, these did not affect the stereotype, which was popularized through the infamous characters such as Teresia Constantia Phillips, and distributed through printed caricatures and periodicals. All the negative aspects from the travel histories and caricatures culminated in the literature focusing on the British West Indies. The creole women were no longer the indolent or characterized by their poor manners. They were depicted as lascivious and cruel, and became notorious characters in the nineteenth-century novels. However, this is not the less sensational depiction of the creole women, which can be found in with the accounts from the journals of Maria Nugent and Janet Schaw. The creole women were popularized through the male observation seen in the travelogues and printed satires. These works created a prevalent stereotype, but should not be taken as an accurate view of all the creole women. The creoles who went to Britain for education and returned to the West Indies detested the islands and longed for their life in Britain. This loathing of life in the Caribbean is displayed by the number of women who returned to England after the death of their husbands, such as Anne Brodbelt, who preferred the security of their homeland rather than the uncertainty of the West Indies. Brodbelt found life very uninteresting in Jamaica and wrote to her daughter at school in England: “it is in general so terribly dull here that a person can scarcely find subject for a Letter….“339 Brodbelt remarked on the monotony, and stated that the town was so “shockingly dull that its impossible but any other place must be more pleasing to a young person.”340 Dances were the only amusement that broke up the monotony for this creole family.

Although some creole women might have fit the created model, many were like Brodbelt who identified themselves as British, and lived simple, often dull lives, with only occasional dances to break the boredom of the plantation islands. They were scrutinized and categorized,

340 Ibid., 114.
but they were not in charge of their destinies in the West Indies. White women crossed over with their husbands or fathers, to live an idle life with little entertainment. Many of them lived abstemious lives, demonstrated through their lack of partaking in alcoholic beverages. Some women attempted to recreate some kind of British culture, but often succumbed to some kind of undemanding plantation life. Although they were vilified in British culture, most of them probably fit the descriptions made from the personal writings of Nugent, Fenwick and Schaw.
APPENDIX

CREOLES IN CARICATURE
Figure 1  Abraham James, ‘A Grand Jamaican Ball! or the Creolian hop a la Mustee; as exhibited in Spanish Town’ (London: William Holland, 1803).

Figure 2  Abraham James, ‘Segar smoking society in Jamaica,’ (London: William Holland, 1802).
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