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The abandoned things confirm
that the last one to leave
left in a hurry;
the cold fireside, its quiet pressed
against those memories –
the meals my mother made, dreaming by the window
once steeped in thyme and peppermint –
now a backdrop for the shadeless lamp,
and the dusty face of a stopped clock;
a still life on the eating table.

[Dolores Gauntlett, The Empty House (2001)]

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INVITED GUESTS AT THE BETTY'S HOPE PLANTATION

The dining room as a contested space

In British satirical cartoons penned during the period of Abolition (1780s-1830s), cartoonists usually depicted white and Euro-Creole planters sitting, reclining or tottering within arm's reach of a punchbowl, supplied with every excess that life on tropical plantations offered in the artist's imagination, including abundant food and the coerced services of a retinue of barefoot slaves. The "Johnny Newcome" series penned by William Elmes ca.1808 (fig. 1 and 2) is part of this tradition of pictorial representation, in which the image of the lazy and overfed planter embodies the radical inequality, ostentatious foolishness and senseless brutality of plantation

slavery, in the broader context of plantation economies in the British Caribbean sugar islands. Further, many of the cartoons depicting plantation slavery were set in the dining room, a setting that bridged the visual repertoires used during the Georgian (1714-1837) and the Victorian (1837-1901) eras through the shared trope of overabundant planter hospitality. In the historiography on planation life in the British Caribbean, contemporary witnesses and historians alike often use dining room scenes to illustrate the excess of slavery: the scene usually comprises an assembled company, at once riotous and oppressive, who overeats and overdrinks with apparent disregard for the people whose bond labor furnishes their wealth, and whose service keeps the party going. In both pictorial and textual media, the dining room is thus presented as the epitome of the kinds of social order first imposed in the British Leeward Islands by plantation slavery; a social order that distinguished masters and slaves first in terms of degrees of unfreedom, then in terms of their position within productive labor, management and rentier capitalism.

Archaeologists researching the colonial past of British Caribbean islands often construe the dining rooms of plantation great houses as spaces that are both obvious and unproblematic in terms of their privileged position at the center of the relations of power that shaped the landscape of sugar plantations in the region. In the Caribbean as in the American South, plantation great houses are often understood as central features that structure plantation landscapes; as unchanging axes that swallowed up centuries of forced labor from the vantage of their well-appointed dining rooms. At the Bettys' Hope plantation of Antigua (fig. 3 to 8), this view might seem corroborated by the longevity of the Dwelling House[1] as a building, considering that it stood on the same spot from at least 1710 to 1938. During that time, the Betty's Hope plantation was

[1] The "Dwelling House" was the name given to the great house/plantation house of the Betty's Hope estate in the Codrington Correspondence, BL-RP2616.

also owned continuously by the wealthy Codrington family. After 1721, the Codrington owners of Betty's Hope became absentees. Over the following two centuries, they began dispatching a procession of resident attorney-managers to their Antigua property, with the mandate of managing the Codrington's affairs in the West Indies while keeping the owner's seat at the head of the Dwelling House dinner table.

Yet the dining room of the Betty's Hope Dwelling House, rather than being an impregnable fortress of agrarian capitalism and racist labor exploitation, was also a space in which unfree people contested the social order of the plantation, often through the interruption of planter sociality. For example, it is in the dining room that the threat of poisoning surfaced the most in contemporary accounts penned by white and Euro-Creole residents of the British Caribbean, who believed themselves to be the putative targets of such acts (Bryson 2013, Candlin 2012, Savage 2007). In Antigua, it was also in a dining room and ballroom that the alleged plot of the 1736 slave revolt was set to unfold during a lavish party, before a servant tipped off the owner of the mansion where the party was to take place, of the impending peril (Gaspar 1985). Dining rooms also harbored subtler and more mundane modes of resistance, including the subversion of domestic labor and the affirmation of African-Antiguan culinary culture in the dishes served to owners and managers. Dining rooms were spaces in which unfree servants and their descendants could witness the innermost aspects of social interaction among white and Euro-Creole residents, and could also interject their bodily presence, skills and discontent into a space that, over the course of the long nineteenth century, became increasingly distant from British metropolitan practice.

Under slavery, the dining rooms of plantation great houses in Antigua were also opened once a year, on Christmas morning, to the unfree laboring residents of the plantation who were

received as guests and presented with supplemental rations of food or cloth. The unfree guests of the plantation great house mobilized this staged act of convivial hospitality in reaffirming the customary rights of food entitlement they had carved for themselves out of a system of deep-seated oppression; plantation owners and resident attorney-managers similarly saw the occasional welcoming of slaves into their household as a way of reaffirming their control by momentarily allowing a lapse in the ruthless demands of plantation labor. Plantation owners who did not comply with the customary aspects of the Christmas holiday faced the prospect of retaliation on the part of their captives, as did Samuel Martin, an Antiguan plantation owner, who famously died at the hands of his slaves after denying them a day's rest on Christmas in 1701.

On sugar plantations of the Caribbean, the dining rooms was thus a space in which the contradictions of the mode of production were made visible, and in which those contradictions were also stabilized, negotiated and creatively reworked through the medium of convivial hospitality. As such, the space of the dining room simultaneously worked to both steady the social order of the plantation and undermine it at its very foundation, because it provided a space in which the convivial bonds and obligations of reciprocity that underpinned plantation life could be brokered through of edible goods – such as fresh produce, imported grains, pickled meats, locally-raised stock, dried fish, preserves, and alcohol. From dinner parties to Christmas feasts, from domestic servitude to creole hospitality, the dining rooms of plantation great houses simultaneously hosted and witnessed many of the socio-political configurations that shaped life in the British Caribbean during the long nineteenth century. As a space where the politics of hospitality could unfold, dining rooms also helped the residents of Antiguan sugar plantations navigate the changing global Atlantic world, through the abolition of slavery, the ebb and flow of naval imperialism and the emergence global consumerism in both the colonial Caribbean and the British Metropole.

Although practices of hospitality appear profusely in contemporary accounts and historical scholarship, particularly through accounts of dinner parties, hospitality as both a conceptual framework and as an object of analysis remains sorely under examined in historical and archaeological scholarship. Many works on colonial sociality in the Caribbean remain beholden to limited interpretive models of convivial consumption and household politics that only skim the richness of social interactions occurring in and around the spaces of hospitality on plantation sites. Further, the kinds of social relations that unfolded in the Betty's Hope Dwelling House dining room seem to exceed the confines of the reductive master-slave dichotomy enshrined in English law before 1834, and perpetuated through other categories of distinction well into the twentieth century. Such limitations are troubling, particularly in light of the crucial role played by convivial hospitality, domestic consumerism and bourgeois ideologies of the gendered household, into the making of British imperial societies during the long nineteenth century, both in the Metropole and its Atlantic colonies. Food consumption and convivial gatherings were crucial to the formation of the British imperial project and, concomitantly, of plantation societies in the Leeward Caribbean, particularly in regards to the constitution of social categories through which the imperial imagination was structured and materialized.

This dissertation examines how the residents of the Betty's Hope plantation of Antigua ate and socialized between 1783 and 1904, particularly in terms of the practices of hospitality in which they engaged, as well the circuits of exchange through which they acquired and distributed edible goods. The dissertation brings together archaeological and documentary archives to explore the politics of social positioning and distinction on sugar estates of the British Leeward Caribbean through the lens of host-guest relations, in order to unpack the complex relationships of labor, intimacy and exchange that underpinned the plantation mode of production during the long

nineteenth century, specifically in the context of absentee ownership, emergent consumerism and Britain's imperial civilizing discourse.

Through the findings of the dissertation, I offer the argument that residents of the Betty's Hope plantation used the consumption and production of food, particularly in practices of hospitality and strategies of food provisioning, simultaneously to stabilize, negotiate and dispute the contradictions of colonial categories of inequality they experienced as part of plantation life in the Caribbean. I further propose that, over the course of the long nineteenth century, the residents of Betty's Hope began projecting their anxieties about the shifting relations of social positioning they encountered, including those unfolding in and around the Betty's Hope Dwelling House, onto the figure of the absentee owner; a figure which they constructed as a temporally ambiguous poltergeist-like presence through their convivial gatherings, their commercial practices, as well as their transatlantic correspondence. To the end of anchoring the dissertation conceptually and methodologically, the following section reviews salient scholarship on hospitality and plantation archaeology, and then interpolates the idea of poltergeist activity with that of absentee ownership as a way to complement and expand existing models of plantation sociality based in surveillance and discipline. Previous work at the Betty's Hope plantation site is also presented, before outlining the methodological orientations and scope of the dissertation.

Master of the House: Hospitality and Distinction in the British Empire

Hospitality: Some Conceptual Bearings

Since the early history of their discipline, anthropologists have been concerned with understanding the logics of what makes different foods edible across different historical and cultural contexts (Adams 1998, Douglas 1975, Levi-Strauss 1968 and 2004 [1965], Barthes 1997, Harris 1997), with analyzing the rituals that surround the consumption of food and the foods that surrounds ritual practice (Camporesi 1989, Mauss 1923, Richards 1939), and with unpacking the myriad ways in which humans establish, maintain and negotiate relations of power through the sharing of food, including in the context of colonialism (Appadurai 1981, Bray 2003, Dietler 1996, Bourdieu 1984, Goody 1982, Mintz 1985, Wiessner and Schiefenhövel 1996, Wilk 2006, among many others; on moral economies of food, see also Kaplan 1982, Thompson 1971, Sen 1990). Within this constellation of works, the dinner party occupies a peculiar position in that it shares with the discipline of anthropology an intricate bond with British imperial colonialism and it, too, has participated in its civilizing project across Asia, Africa and the Caribbean (Bickham 2008, Cannadine 2001, Comaroff and Comaroff 1991, Cooper and Stoler 1997). Dinner parties and practices of hospitality[2] more generally can help us unpack social relations on Caribbean sugar plantations during the colonial period (which, in Antiguan, spans both slavery and post-Emancipation regimes of labor), in terms of a practical management of difference embodied by

[2] The present discussion is limited to hospitality as an anthropological, sociological and philosophical concept. For reflections on commercial hospitality and the tourism industry in the modern world, see Brotherton and Woods 2009, Lynch et al. 2011, Smith 2012; Goffman 1956 for a bridge.

hosts and guests (Levinas 1969, Lynch et al. 2011, Sahlins 1976, Selwyn 2000, Sheringham and Daruwalla 2007, Visser 1991).

Practices of hospitality occur with the shared consumption of food and drink consumption as a medium of exchange (Shryock 2012: S22), through which various and complex social processes might unfold between hosts and guests. Through these processes, hosts and guests might establish a social hierarchies and fold strangers or new members within the group's existing social order (Heal 1984, Derrida 2000, Simmel 1950, Turner 1967, Visser 1991), by drawing from culturally and historically specific templates through which acts of convivial food consumption are made intelligible as practices of ordering (Bourdieu 1984, Douglas 1975). Practices of hospitality are also a privileged stage for power relations, with the host commonly holding some form of authority or precedence over the guests, although this relationship typically remains open to a potential reversal[3] in the balance of power enacted between hosts and guests, for example when the roles of hosts and guests are permutated, or when participants fail to fulfill their respective obligations (Bilby 1984, Dietler 2003 and 2010, Gray 2010, Shryock 2012).

As such, practices of hospitality simultaneously aim to contain and manage difference, and they have been theorized along two opposing poles; the first, following Kant, imagines hospitality as a universal yet conditional practice, reflected in Kant's specifications for the ideal dinner party (1996 [1798]; see Chapter 3, p. 88 below). The second, following Derrida, imagines hospitality as a political project of unconditional openness to the Other (2001). In the Caribbean, as the following chapters will demonstrate, the British imperial project positioned its practices of hospitality

[3] The instability and reversal contained within practices of hospitality are reflected in etymology of the word, from the Latin hospes, which can mean both friend and enemy – much in the manner the French hôte can equally mean host or guest.

somewhere in between Kant's conditionality and Derrida's radical openness. The dinner party, along with other practices of hospitality, offers a privileged vantage from which to witness in action the containment and management of difference in the British Empire, particularly in regards to the processes by which the savage Other was made into a suitably civilized guest in the Leeward Caribbean or, conversely, by which this Other was excluded altogether a suitable participant to hospitable relations. Despite such exclusion, this Other, notably unfree Africans and African-descended people who were coerced into labor on Antiguan sugar plantations, was nevertheless systematically called upon to provide the crucial means through which imperial hospitality could be realized, including such diverse means as domestic labor, culinary expertise, sexual companionship and food production.

Residents of sugar plantations in the British Caribbean thus mobilized both the idea of hospitality and the practices of hospitality, in materializing the politics of social distinction peculiar to the British imperial project, based in criteria of civilization, ancestry and legal subjecthood (opposing chattel/unfree/slave and person/free/owner). These criteria corresponded to overlapping projects of social classification which pursued different aims in the management of difference along the lines of race, class, culture, labor, gender, or freedom. These criteria in turn translated to varying engagements with forms of hospitality and trade in edible goods that sustained food politics in colonial Antigua, including those accompanying the dinner party. At the Betty's Hope plantation, the politics of the dining room were further complicated by the contingencies of absentee ownership, in which the owner of the plantation and putative master of the Dwelling House occupied an ambiguous yet irreducible status.

On the one hand, absentee owners, including the generations of men from the Codrington family who owned the Bettys' Hope estate between 1721 and 1944, occupied on the estate an irreducible position in regards to English property law, including that relating to chattel slavery, which by and large structured the formal administrative aspects of plantation settlements in the Leeward Caribbean, by interpolating the various actors of plantation economies through their legal status. Furthermore, the legal statuses of freeman/owners and slaves/chattel were irreducible social positions within English law that continue to provide one of the principal lenses through which the historiography on plantation slavery examines the question of freedom and labor. Notably, the English dualist model of legal subjecthood surfaces in the way historians and archaeologists of Antigua and other Leeward Caribbean Islands tend to portion out the temporal plane of their work, distinguishing between the period of slavery and that of emancipated labor (Beckles and Shepherd 2000 for an overview). The legal dualism that underwrites such periodization risks blanketing the continuities in labor and power relations on sugar plantations after Emancipation, particularly in regards to the reiteration of institutions of unfreedom among laboring poor (Lightfoot 2015, Holt 1992).

Despite the relative irreducibility of their legal status, absentee plantation owners nevertheless occupied an ambiguous position in plantation economies, in terms of their ability to influence the day-to-day logistics of life and labor on the estates of which they were possessed, and in terms of their interjection within plantation social life, which remained beholden to the temporality of deferral through which plantation economies in the British Leeward Islands operated. The temporarily of deferral is here defined in as a temporal mode in which the horizon of reciprocated social exchange is always suspended, and in which different overlapping processes, like cane cultivation and labor emancipation, are always in becoming. This temporality was also

manifested in the protracted calendar of the visits the absentee would occasionally choose to pay to his otherwise-distant estates, and in the slow speed with which absentee owners could communicate their wishes and grievances to the attorney-managers residing on their Caribbean properties and thus interject their presence in the life of their distant estates.

This temporality of deferral suffused the construction of practices of hospitality at the Betty's Hope plantation during the colonial period, and helped orient the strategies of social positioning employed by the various residents of the site. The many actors involved in the plantation mode of production, and who occupied different slots within the British imperial imagination of management, experienced rather differently the deferred temporalities and social relations of Caribbean sugar plantations. At the scale of the plantation itself, different actors also related differently to the various spaces of the plantation including the Dwelling House, and had different perspectives on the House's dining room which the dissertation will consider together. Crucially, these different perspectives and relations mirrored the configurations of power that circulated within and through the plantation landscape, including those attending to the logistics of agricultural production, the flow of edible goods to and from the estate, and the kinds of contested intimacies that were inscribed in the space of the plantation (following Upton 1984).

The spaces of Caribbean sugar plantations were indeed traversed by complex and far-reaching relations of power, which contributed to shaping the very layout of plantation work spaces and buildings. To makes sense of these spaces, and particularly to locate plantation great houses within them, archaeologists of the colonial Caribbean tend to emphasize ideologies of surveillance in which the visibility of laboring bodies and the control of their movement in space are entwined with the colonial violence peculiar to plantation societies. In particular, archaeologists have been

keen to adopt the Foucauldian model of panoptical surveillance to make sense of plantation landscapes across the Caribbean and the American South. Yet although some plantation landscapes can indeed be unpacked productively through the idea of surveillance and through panoptical scenarios, others landscapes including that of the Betty's Hope plantation do not correspond to a panoptical layout and are more difficult to interpret in terms of a Foucauldian model alone. Furthermore, the ideologies of surveillance that motivated panoptical landscapes cannot account for certain aspects of the practices of hospitality that took place on Antiguan plantations over the course of the long nineteenth century, including aspects of intimacy, negotiated social positioning and deferred temporal horizons. To address these difficulties in the context of the Betty's Hope site, the following section reviews scholarship in plantation archaeology, before suggesting how models of plantation sociality, which currently emphasize surveillance and discipline, could be expanded to accommodate a wider spectrum of imaginaries of sociality and management on plantation estates, by considering a conceptual foray into the realms of poltergeist activity and haunting.

Plantation Archaeology and the Betty's Hope Site

Since the 1980s, the Betty's Hope Plantation site in Antigua has been the object of several archaeological research projects. Between 2007 and 2012, Fox (C.S.U. Chico) has led an excavation of the footprint of the Dwelling House which clarified not only the maximal extend of the building to the East, but also the various constructions techniques employed throughout the base-floor (Fox 2013). Fox's work at the Dwelling House is inscribed within the ongoing Betty's Hope Project, of which she is the principal investigator, and which aims to rethink current working models of plantation economies by combining Niche Construction Theory and modified World

Systems Theory (Fox 2014). Other previous archaeological work at the Betty's Hope site have included a survey of the great buff with a partial excavation of the North windmill ahead of its restoration by the Betty's Hope Trust (Pulsipher and Goodwin 1988, Goodwin 1994); a survey of the North Road bordering the estate (Clement 1989); a survey of the ruins of the Boiling House by the University of Florida (1994); as well as a partial excavation of a nineteenth century workers cottage located to the North of the manager's house (Gonzalez-Scollard 2008).[4] Between 2011 and 2013, I also carried out archaeological fieldwork at the Betty's Hope Plantation, detailed below and from which much of the current dissertation is derived.

The Betty's Hope site is one of many colonial plantations of the Caribbean to have been investigated by historical archaeologists in the region since the 1970s. Archaeologists working in the British Caribbean often represent "plantation houses" or "great houses", meaning the houses inhabited by plantation proprietors and resident attorney-managers, in terms of their material construction and of their role in organizing the spaces and movements of labor on the site. More particularly, archaeologists tend to emphasize how the Caribbean great house functioned as the center of authority (Armstrong 1990), efficiency (Bates 2015) and discipline (Delle 2014, Singleton 1990) on the plantation during the colonial period – a period that, in Antigua, extended between 1632 and 1981. Archaeologists of Caribbean plantations also commonly draw comparative examples from the great houses of the American South, notably those of South Carolina and

[4] Several graduate research projects in archaeology (Charlie Goudge, Bristol University), zooarchaeology (Alexis Ohman, William and Mary) and geo-chemicalsurvey (Corey Look, CUNY) are also currently ongoing at the Betty's Hope site – see Fox 2013. Further, as of 2014, Fox has begun excavating the area associated with the slave quarters and workers cottages, located to the Northwest of the Dwelling House.

Virginia (as have historians, e.g. Dunn 2014).[5] In both regions, the qualities and the effects on the landscape of the planation great house are usually contrasted to those of the slaves/workers quarters, which tended to be more ephemeral structures and attested to a material life marked by processes of resistance and creolization (e.g. Deetz 2010 [1996], Ferguson 1992, Hauser 2008, Orser 1988, Wilkie 2000).[6]

Archaeologists and historians of the British Caribbean are certainly justified in their interest in understanding the formation of plantation landscapes in terms of the practices of domination and resistance that left visible marks on sugar estates during the colonial period. Archaeologists and historians are also indubitably correct in pointing out how violent coercion, discipline and practices of surveillance (including, but not limited to, the presence of overseers and drivers in the fields), were integral to the system of labor upon which sugar production in the Leeward Islands was founded. Under that system, bells marked the beginning of the laboring day, overseers could invade slaves and workers' privacy at their discretion, slaves and workers were subjected torture and sexual abuse... the catalogue of outrages perpetrated on plantations of the British Caribbean is a lengthy one (cf. Beckles and Shepherd 2000, Blackburn 1997, Dunn 1973, Mintz 1985,

[5] Archaeological investigations of plantation houses in the British Caribbean remain few and far between, particularly by comparison to scholarship on the American South (including, but not limited to, the work of Orser, South, Deetz and Epperson) For the most part, archaeologists in and of the Caribbean have made strong and growing contributions to scholarship on slave/workers quarters, maroon communities, and manufacturing buildings. For reviews of recent scholarship on slavery and the African diaspora in the Caribbean, see Beckles and Shepherd 2000, Singleton and Bograd 1995, Hauser and Dicks 2007, Farnsworth 2001, Orser and Funari 2001; on plantation archaeology more generally: Farnsworth 1993, Howson 1990, Potter 1991.

[6] Few archaeologists of the British Caribbean, nor indeed of Euro-American colonial contexts more generally, have addressed other symbolic aspects of plantation "great houses" in their scholarship, such as its relationship to ideologies of kinship and lineage, aspects that are more commonly invoked in archaeologies of early civilizations, native American settlements, and so-called "house societies" (Zacek 2013 for a notable exception; see Joyce and Gillespie 2000).

Rediker 2007, Sheridan 1974, Smallwood 2009, Walvin 2001, Williams (1994 [1944]). In light of the violent and intrusive character of plantation slavery for its inmates, archaeologists and historians have, since the 1990s, understandably turned to discipline and surveillance as key concepts for framing the study of plantation great houses, particularly in order to understand how disciplinary practices contributed to the longevity of slavery in the Caribbean.

The concept of surveillance used by archaeologists of Caribbean plantations draws from the work of Foucault and his exploration of surveillance in the context of the French prison system (Foucault 2012 [1975]; Delle 2014, Epperson 1990, Singleton 2000). Foucault's work on the panopticon and panopticism[7] has been used by several scholars of Caribbean history to demonstrate how surveillance shaped the organization of labor and production on plantation sites, particularly in terms of the spatial dominance and lines of sight afforded to great houses over working bodies employed on plantation estates – the great houses here being made to correspond to the panoptic inspection house of Foucault's argument (again, Delle 2014 and Singleton 2000; Thomas 1998 for a counterpoint in Virginia; also Cossin and Hauser 2015, Delle et. al 1999, Hauser and Hicks 2007, Marshall 2015). Indeed, scholars have relied on the concept of panopticism to describe and analyze the configuration of plantation landscapes throughout the

[7] In Discipline and Punish (1975), Foucault traced how the French prison system went from using corporeal punishment and public torture as a mean to dissuade criminal behavior, to crafting prisons into a space of observation (offered to the gaze) in which criminal inmates were reformed by being conditioned into self-discipline (dressage). As part of his broader argument, Foucault analyzed the effects of Bentham's panopticon, a structure designed for enabling a single watchman to gaze upon and monitor the activities of hundreds of inmates at all times from a single vantage point, while also concealing from inmates when and whether they are being observed by the watchman. Foucault expounded on the panopticon's structure to understand how surveillance produced self-disciplining effects in inmate populations and contributed to the disciplining of subjects more generally.

Caribbean, across a variety of contexts – Spanish-, French- and English-colonial, on sugar estates as well as coffee plantation sites.

As shown in the work of many archaeologists, the ideal panopticon, which was designed by Bentham to reinvent confinement institutions in the 1790s, seems to fare quite well as an analytic device on plantations that maintained prison-like and spatially confining conditions, such as those of the Cuban coffee plantations documented by Singleton (2000). However, the panopticon is not always an equally successful analytical device in all scholarship on Caribbean plantations, and the concepts of panopticism and panoptic surveillance more broadly are themselves more often deployed as rhetorical tropes than as empirically-grounded explanatory models. For instance, in contexts where the analogy to prison-like conditions is not straightforward, an indiscriminate application of Foucault's analysis of the panopticon to interpret Caribbean plantation spaces might even be historically misleading. Indeed, the specific genealogy of modern prisons and practices of confinement, from punishment to discipline, does not correspond to that of plantation slavery during the eighteenth and nineteenth century or, more generally, to that of the regimes of labors enforced on sugar plantations of the British Leeward Islands during that time. More specifically, the histories of plantations and that of prisons, as well as between their modes of discipline, differ on several pointed terrains that include the framework of unfreedom in both contexts, the persistence of corporeal punishment in Caribbean plantation labor, and the spatial permeability of the plantation space.

On plantations, the fact of slavery, unfreedom and forced migration stemmed from ideological and economic motivations that differed significantly from those of conventional incarceration (on slavery: Blackburn 1997, Mintz 1985, Williams 1994 [1944]; on incarceration,

Foucault 2012 [1975], but also Cassella 2011). Slaves and prisoners also held different legal statuses in both British and Continental laws, which carried over to colonial locations throughout the West Atlantic. Furthermore, practices of surveillance on sugar plantations of the Leeward Islands were not introduced as a substitute for corporeal punishment, public execution and/or torture, as they were purportedly in the case of panoptical surveillance in prisons by Foucault's account. All these forms of punishment remained rampant on Caribbean sugar plantations throughout nineteenth century. For instance, the overseer/driver system, in which selected slaves or indentured workers were tasked with maintaining a brisk working pace among field laborers, relied on corporeal punishment and on the threat of physical violence, and it remained one of the main strategies for organizing field labor on sugar estates into the twentieth century (HAS 2002, Smith *et al.* 1988). Several accounts further suggest that workers continued to be beaten and whipped in the fields well beyond the formal abolition of slavery in 1834 (including Lanaghan 1844 and Martin 1847). Lastly, the people who were enslaved on sugar plantations of the Caribbean, including on the Betty's Hope estate, sometimes circulated between several spaces of labor and residence, often exceeding the boundaries of the plantation itself. Throughout the colonial period, numerous bondmen and women of Antigua were routinely hired out of the plantation to which they were attached, some even serving as sailors in long transatlantic voyages (Nicholson 2002). In the shadow of slavery, bondmen and women carved out domains of practice that escaped the direct restriction of the labor regimens of the plantation – most notably through the cultivation of crop gardens and the sale of produce at market (Nicholson 2002, Gaspar 1988 and 2005 [1985], Hauser 2008, Pulsipher 1994; also several mentions in Codrington Correspondence BL-RP2616).

In the case of the Betty's Hope plantation specifically, the panoptical scenario is difficult to substantiate through archaeological and cartographic evidence, considering that the placement of

the Dwelling House does not correspond particularly well to that of a panoptic instrument. Indeed, evidence suggests that a substantial vegetation cover surrounded the House from at least the 1770s until the 20th century, which considerably limited any lines of sights that the Dwelling House might have enjoyed over the Quarters and the sugar works (a notable difference from the manager's house studied by Delle 2014:100, for example). Even with all vegetation cleared, the topography of Betty's Hope suggests that much of the boiling house and the Northeast portion of the slave quarters would have been concealed from the vantage of the Dwelling House (see Davis 2013). These areas of the site also could not have been observed from the main veranda of the House, which was located to the East, overlooking water cisterns and a pasture.

Archival evidence further suggests that most of the surveillance and disciplining practices[8] at Betty's Hope took place through direct physical contact with the unfree laborers and did not rely on the Dwelling House as a panoptical structure, for example when overseers drove field laborers with the whip or removed the doors and windows of their houses in reprisal against insubordination. Also, managers and drivers at Betty's Hope and other sugar plantations depended on horses rather than fixed structures to survey cane fields and other work spaces of the estate under their purview, with the aim of monitoring laborers in their daily occupations. Rather than dominate the site like a watchtower, the Betty's Hope Dwelling House most probably receded behind the thickets and the silk cotton trees that flanked its front garden, its disciplining effect and its centrality to plantation life stemming from something other than panopticism.

[8] A kind of surveillance and discipline other than that to which unfree laborers were subjected, was also applied to the attorneys and managers of absentee owners through systems of accounting and residency, a topic to which we will return in Chapter 5.

Even when setting aside any specific shortcomings of the concept of the panopticon as an analytical device at Betty's Hope and other plantation sites of the Leeward Islands, the more capacious concepts of surveillance, discipline and punishment must yet overcome a significant analytical hurdle in historical studies of Caribbean plantations. Surveillance and corporeal punishment were important though not exclusive coordinates along which the disciplining effect of the plantation landscape manifested, nor were they the sole media through which the discipline of plantation labor could be enforced and/or resisted, experienced and/or narrated. Nor were practices of surveillance and punishment the only media through which bondmen, workers and other plantation residents engaged the landscape of the plantation and articulated their experience to the longer history of the estate on which they labored and lived. Other registers of social relationships, such as practices of hospitality, food production and spiritual observance, were also important aspects of the experience of the plantation mode of production.[9]

As such, it becomes important to qualify the models of surveillance and spatial patterning most commonly employed by archaeologists, if only in order to better study the presence of great houses and other buildings on the plantation landscape, as well as their contribution to plantation life and labor more generally. When considering panoptical models of surveillance more specifically, the emphasis on the gaze and on the visual sense over others also falls short of accounting for instances in which the inmates and staff of the plantation could not be observed by their captors and superiors, or instances in which the captives were the ones doing the observing. Indeed, domestic servants often attended their master's sleep and witnessed conversations about

[9] Scholarship on slave resistance and cultural creativity is abundant, but archaeologists who have considered those issues usually did so separately from the question of discipline and surveillance – e.g. Hauser 2008, Wilkie 2000, Armstrong 1990, Handler 1974.

the public and private politics of the plantations held within earshot but that were otherwise private to those involved in them. Unseen, unheard, yet present, the servants and domestic laborers also carried with them the specters of uprising which their masters feared the most – theft, rebellion, and poisoning.

It follows that the concept of surveillance, particularly in its panoptical inflection, ought not be they the only mode in which an archaeological engagement with the Caribbean great houses might be said to be historically significant. For example, Upton (1984) demonstrated that different landscapes and practices of place-making created by free and unfree, black and white residents, overlapped on the landscape of eighteenth-century Virginia plantations, through dynamic modes of self-presentation and architectural formalism which preclude any uniform interpretation of the plantation's landscape. Upton also traces the diachronic character of social life on Anglo-American plantations which the concepts surveillance and panopticism tend to flatten by focusing on the gaze as a central structuring device for social interaction. In addition, the specific patterns of activities and space-use established in the plantation landscape under slavery often lived on for several generations after Emancipation (1834 in Antigua; 1838 elsewhere in the British Caribbean), as the descendants of bondmen and rebels remained tangled in the slowly unraveling relations of labor, dependence and reciprocity put in place by two centuries of slavery (Dyde 2000, Smith *et al.* 1988; also Gaspar 1985, Mintz 2010). The depth of these entanglements is reflected in the narrative of a former employee of the Betty's Hope plantation, GiGi of Pares who, through the remembrance of her life on the estate, built an account of the management of difference and social positioning on the estate which interpolates the supernatural into the realm of the living.

Poltergeists, Hauntings and Uninvited Guests

In 1987, GiGi of Pares was interviewed about her time on the estate as part of a broader effort to kick-start historical preservation and research at the Betty's Hope site (HAS 2002; see also Carstensen 1993). According to the transcript of the interview, although GiGi was happy to hear that archaeologists and historians were preparing to unearth the history of Betty's Hope, she was also deeply ambivalent about the prospect. In GiGi's narrative, memories of the Betty's Hope fields and buffs[10] simultaneously elicited laughter and dread; nostalgia and a sense of unease. Throughout the interview, GiGi expressed this unease and ambivalence by discussing some of the encounters she had during her youth with jumbies (a type of malicious spectral beings common throughout the Leeward Caribbean Islands), especially those who resided on the Betty's Hope great buff.[11]

According to GiGi, some jumbies were a manifestation of the spirit of "bad" people: "Dem dead wid de debil so much dat dem just turn dat when dem dead, and bother human"[12] (HAS 1987: 8). GiGi laughed at how, to ward off jumbies, Antiguans used to put their clothes on

[10] Buff, or bluff: name given to the open space between the plantation work-yard (including the windmills, boiling house, curing house and distillery) and the great house; at Betty's Hope plantation, the great house was called the Dwelling House. Gigi considers the great house buff and the manager's house buff to be two separate areas (see fig. 4, 5 and 6).

[11] In her account of life and society in Antigua in the 1820s-1840s, Mrs. Lanaghan, a Scottish metropolitan traveler, gives the following definition of jumbies: "All superstitious people, in every part of the world, are prone to believe in the existence of imaginary beings; and while the English have their ghosts, the Scotch their brownies, and the Irish their banshees, the negroes have their jumby. These creatures, like all of their class, love to frequent churchyards, lonely roads, and the margin of ponds. They are represented by the believers in this creed to be very revengeful and malicious ; strangling children, knocking down people, frightening old women into fits, and indeed, doing all the mischief they can." (Lanaghan 1844: 58)

[12] This quote is a transliteration of Antiguan creole, as recorded by HAS in 1987. For this text, I was working with transcripts and did not have access to the recordings of Gigi's interview; as such, the HAS transcripts are reported as is.

backwards if they walked the roads at night, and at how women would go so far as to drape their skirts over their heads in an effort to deter the jumbies that "screamed round" passerby. According to GiGi, jumbies used to torment whoever ventured out in the Antiguan countryside after nightfall, until they were scared away by the rising popularity of cars with bright headlights (HAS 2002). As a former employee of Betty's Hope, GiGi also recalled the particular spirit who used to visit the plantation at night, a jumbie called Jack-a-Lantern.[13] "And Jack-a-Lantern come from Betty's Hope to a bid tower just by the old Cotton dere, and he roam from dere to Betty's Hope pillar" (HAS 1987:9). At Betty's Hope, Jack-a-Lantern resided in the large silk cotton tree[14] that grew in front of the Dwelling House, and it roamed the space between that tree and one of the plantation's twin windmills in an area of the site where sugar canes used to be received from the fields in order to be crushed and processed into sugar.

In her narrative, GiGi invoked by name not only Jack-a-Lantern, but also a former resident-manager of the Betty's Hope estate, Major Ledeatt, who acquired the plantation in 1944. Ledeatt used to torment the Betty's Hope workers by removing the windows and doors of their houses as a disciplinary sanction if they did not turn out to work; under him, the Betty's Hope workers "met some rough time" (HAS 2002, echoed in Smith *et al.* 1988). Ledeatt and Jack-a-Lantern are two key characters in GiGi's narrative, and they both haunt the surroundings of the Betty's Hope Dwelling House in the landscape of GiGi's memory. Although the Dwelling House had long been

[13] Although the spirit named by GiGi is described in her narrative as being specific to the Betty's Hope plantation, "Jack 'O Lantern" is a common class of spectral being Leeward Island folklore. See Lawrence 2007, Leid 2014, and Swank 2007.

[14] Silk cotton trees (Ceiba pentandra) are commonly believed to be the preferred residence of Jumbies throughout the Caribbean, including in the Virgin Islands, Jamaica, Trinidad, and Antigua (Leid 2014, Nicholls 1999: 51-52, Swank 2007).

bulldozed by the time GiGi's oral history was recorded,[15] Gigi nevertheless set her story of Jack-A-Lantern, of Major Ledeatt, and of the hard labor she used to shoot at Betty's Hope, against the spectral background of the buff that the Dwelling House used to command. The space between the vanished silk cotton tree and the ruined windmills continued to signify in her narrative. Today, although the Betty's Hope Dwelling House has now been leveled for several decades, visitors to the site still perceive its presence. In the words of GiGi: "Slavery building you can't mash down" – it cannot be obliterated.

Spectral encounters such as those described by GiGi can be grouped under the broad heading of "hauntings", defined here as uncanny[16] feelings of paranormal co-presence, and separated into different kinds of spectral manifestation, which refer to more specific kinds of encounters. Two salient kinds of manifestations appear in GiGi's narrative: ghosts and poltergeists. Ghosts can be defined as residues or after-images of past social actions, biographies and events, which continue to percolate through the contemporary temporal plane and repeat in the present an

[15] The house was bulldozed sometime in the 1960s, likely between 1966 (when the estate was acquired by the government of Antigua) and 1968 (when an aerial photograph of the site shows a patch of overgrown shrub where the house used to stand). According to local informants, by the time the house was destroyed, it had stood empty and ruined for some time. Children used to play among the ruins, and stones from the house were allegedly used to build a church rectory in New Winthrop (see Fox 2013: 36). This information could not be confirmed at the time of writing; thorough archival research, archaeological survey, and/or oral history census would be needed to clarify the history of Betty's Hope from 1944 to 1983.

[16] Following Freud (2003 [1919]), who defined the uncanny as a state of feeling in which dread is aroused by the presence of an otherwise familiar object or situation, which has acquired a quality of uncertainty, of duplicity, of wilderness. The uncanny is the familiar, un-tamed; it provokes a state of intellectual uncertainty that cannot be pinpointed or explained entirely. To illustrate the uncanny at work, Freud gives the example of a doll or automaton which appears to be alive and present the viewer with a situation in which it might be impossible to determine whether or not the object is, indeed, animated (Freud 2003 [1919]: 138). The uncanny also occurs in the phenomenon of the "double" in which the self is experienced as interchangeable (for instance when one encounters a doppelgänger), or which occurs "when a symbol takes over the full functions of the thing it symbolizes" (Freud 2003 [1919]: 150).

occurrence that has already taken place. Ghosts, when encountered repeatedly by observers, typically appear in the same form and in the same places and, because they are an accretion of past energies, they also tend to be space-specific. In American folklore, ghosts may appear for example in the form the former occupants of a house wandering its corridors at night, or in the form of soldiers who continue to visit the battlefields where they were killed in action.

By contrast, poltergeists[17] are an expression of living consciousness[18] still unfolding in the present; they are the manifestation of an excessive energy generated by the dread, fear and anxiety of living subjects, which is projected outward into a spectral phenomenon (Roll 2003). The resulting projection, the poltergeist, creates and uncanny double who may or may not be anachronistic to the world it inhabits depending on the specific character of the anxiety being amplified. Poltergeists nevertheless systematically respond to the changing character of social actions and events in the present. As such, while the ghost is a comparatively fixed image of the past that still recurs in the present, usually over long periods of time, the poltergeist is a more shifting embodiment of ongoing social concerns which may be of short duration (Houran and Lange 2001: 3-4). For example, in American folklore, poltergeists are often associated with the discontent and social unruliness of teenagers, around whom such supernatural manifestations tend to congregate.

Although the concept of poltergeist is specific to Western folklore, it provides useful heuristics for understanding the concept of the "jumbie" in the colonial Caribbean. For example,

[17] From German: noisy spirit, rackety spirit; spirit that causes a disturbance.
[18] An early report of this view, and a model for modern ghost reporting in the West, is the case of the Drummer of Tedworth (1661), in which a living demobilized roundhead drummer was said to cause an aural haunting at the house of the man who stole his drum. The roundhead drummer was eventually imprisoned for witchcraft (Finucane 2001: 10-11).

the idea of poltergeist highlights how, in GiGi's narrative, the Jack-a-Lantern jumbie manifested a spectral experience by attaching itself to the fears and anxieties of the passerby that it followed around the countryside. The Jack-a-Lantern is here tied to the psychic energy of the living and to individual experiences of uncertainty and/or dread (walking the plantation roads at night) in a way that the general spectral quality of the Betty's Hope Dwelling House is not (slavery building you can't mash down). Indeed, poltergeist phenomena are rich sites for understanding social tensions including the management of ambiguous social difference and of unresolved questions of social positionality, which are unfolding on the same temporal plane as the narratives describing the poltergeist encounter. By contrasts, ghostly hauntings are predicated upon the presence of an otherwise silenced relationship which is rooted in past encounters.

In both instances, the encounter of ghosts and poltergeists represents a tear into the fiction of normalcy (as per Marx), which brings to light contradictions that might otherwise be repressed (Freud 2003 [1919]) or suppressed (Trouillot 1995). As such, hauntings are also a mode of historical knowledge, whether in the form of a poltergeist encounter or of a ghost story, and a "means by which repressed histories can be brought back to the surface" (Huggan 1998: 29; Palmié 2002: 3). Repressed and suppressed anxieties can also generate a kind of epistemic murkiness which can productively de-stabilize and re-enchant objects whose historical trajectory is rooted in colonial classification and regimes of difference (Richard 2010, Taussig 1986).

Ghosts, poltergeists and jumbies are uninvited guests to history's dominant narratives, yet they bring with them the possibility to explore the bifurcated paths of human memory and subvert repressive ideological narratives about the past. Ghosts, like jumbies, can surface in the society of the living to disrupt the social order while demanding to be received by their mortal hosts; in that

sense, the relationships between supernatural specters and the realm of the living are indeed steeped in relations of reciprocity and accountability similar to those of hospitality (Kwon 2008). Whether wandering souls of strangers (like those encounter in Vietnam by Kwon 2008), troublesome poltergeists or howling jumbies like Jack-a-lantern, the spectral guests require their mortal hosts to be opened for other modes of sensibility that those otherwise dominating human sociality, particularly away from the gaze as the most reliable witness of the social relation being played out. If hauntings might be signaled to the experiencers by a feeling of being watched, they are managed as experiences of hospitality through the encounter with the spectral Other.

The concept of the poltergeist and its expression in the Antiguan figure of the jumbie, helps specify the idea of haunting and operationalize it as a space of analysis in which historical models of plantation life can account for the potential for reversals in plantation socialities (for example between discipline and subversion, hosts and guests, residents and absentee), as well as their attending non-visual sensitivities. The concept of haunting operationalized through the figures of the poltergeist and the jumbie in turn highlights aspects of the regimes of domestic and field labor which exceeded surveillance in the context of institutions that outlived slavery on the plantation, while also underscoring how the plantation articulated to other aspects of colonial life – such as Sunday markets, hired work, skilled workmanship, pan-Atlantic trade and practices of hospitality. The concept of haunting can also help us trace interruptions and degrees of intensity in terms of how relations of colonial power and complicity were applied in the daily life of the plantation, in and out of slavery. That a plantation landscape might be haunted by ghosts and poltergeists and that, conversely, someone like GiGi might be haunted by their encounter with such a landscape, belies a certain fluidity of experience, that might well be given over to the uncanny.

Furthermore, the following chapters will argue that, at Betty's Hope, the absentee owner of the estate was constructed as a poltergeist jumbie-like figure that manifested at different points of social life among the residents of the estate, and that provided a site onto which the anxieties of the residents could be projected, notably in regards to the management of difference and the negotiation of social positionality through practices of hospitality and food provisioning. At Betty's Hope, the poltergeist also allowed for the absentee owner to be presence as an absent host through his jumbie-like figure *in absentia*. This figure likely helped downplay the impossibility of hospitality as a greeting, face to face, of the absentee as a figure of authority and as an alibi for the brutal inequalities of sugar economies. More broadly, the ongoing temporality of hauntings complements the temporality of deferral peculiar to plantation life in the Caribbean during the long nineteenth century; the analysis of haunting on plantation sites allows us to witness in ghosts the residual historical relationships that surface through such specters, and in jumbies and poltergeists the unresolved issues contemporary to the period studied which continue to manifest.

Methodological Orientations and Scope of the Work

The following chapters are organized thematically, to highlight the diachronic unfolding of some of the practices and material configurations that shaped relations of hospitality at the Betty's Hope site and its Dwelling House during the colonial period. To better evaluate which of these configurations changed, which endured, and which left their haunting imprints on the plantation landscape, the dissertation considers the extensive timeframe of the long nineteenth century which, in the case of Betty's Hope, corresponds to 1783-1904. The dates bookending this

timeframe are significant: 1783[19] marks the moment at which plantation accounts were formalized at Betty's Hope, at the request of absentee owner Sir William Codrington II who demanded that, following a mismanagement scandal, the activities, expenses and profits of each of his Antigua estates, including Bettys' Hope, be reported to him in separate documents. 1904 marks the year in which the resident attorney-manager of Betty's Hope, in consultation with the absentee owner, relocated the processing of Betty's Hope sugars from the on-site facility used since the 1670s, to a new centralized sugar factory in Winthrop, Antigua. Although sugar cane continued to be grown in the Betty's Hope field and harvested by its resident laborers, the shift away from on-site processing of the sugar cane (including crushing, boiling and curing) was a major transformation in the logistics of labor within a mode of agricultural production that had remained virtually unchanged since the seventeenth century.

Each thematic chapter brings together archaeological excavation,[20] material culture analysis and archival research, drawing from the interdisciplinary methodology developed for this project. The data used in this dissertation was recovered primarily through archaeological research at the Betty's Hope plantation site in Antigua and through extensive archival research at several locations in the United Kingdom. The archaeological component of the project spanned three seasons at the Betty's Hope plantation site, focusing on the area identified at the service building compound and kitchen yard (hereafter "kitchen yard") attached to the Dwelling House, which comprised a

[19] Conveniently, 1783 is also the year in which Britain acknowledged the sovereignty of the United States of America in the Treaty of Paris – a turning point in the history of the West Atlantic.
[20] I also conducted archaeobotanical analysis of macro remains (seeds and pits) for this project; despite extensive sample and careful floatation, the preservation of macro flora in the contexts excavated was so abysmal as to preclude any conclusive analysis. By contrast, faunal preservation was overall good and consistent; faunal remains were analyzed by Alexis Ohman (2013), and the results of her analysis are reported throughout the text.

detached kitchen (F1000) and servants' quarters (F1003). I undertook a survey of the kitchen yard in 2011, followed by two seasons in 2012 and 2013 during which the detached kitchen and servants' quarters were excavated (findings for all three seasons are detailed in field reports on file at National Parks Antigua: Godbout and Davis 2011, Godbout 2012 and Godbout 2016). Overall, the total excavated area covered approximately sixteen square meter, and led to the recovery of over 6,000 artifacts and 15 features. Archaeological field research could not have proceeded as it did without the invaluable assistance of Mark Belloni, Catherine Davis (CSU-Chico), Erin Friedman (CUNY), Mary Leighton (University of Chicago), Cory Look (CUNY), Alexis Ohman (William and Mary), Reaksha Prassad (CUNY), as well as Prof. Georgia Fox (CSU-Chico) and Dr. A. Reginald Murphy (National Parks Antigua).

The archival component of the project spanned approximately nine months in total, spent between the Museum of Antigua and Barbuda and various locations in the United Kingdom. Archival research centered on the so-called Codrington papers, an extensive body of correspondence, account books and other personal documents of the Codrington family relating to their Caribbean properties, which is currently available for consultation in microfilm form at the British Library in London (thereafter BL; for a history of the Codrington Papers as an archive, see Barber 2012). Several archival trails led out of the Codrington Papers, and directed me to continue my work at the UK National Archives – Kew (thereafter NA, particularly through the Colonial Office Papers and Map Room), at the Gloucestershire Regional Archives (thereafter GRA), as well as at the West India Docks Company archives in London. Because of the ways in which these archives were constituted, the voice of white plantation owners and administrators was overrepresented in the documentary record, with notable exceptions such as Edward George Codrington, Grace

Brand, Lady Georgiana Codrington and others, whom we'll encounter in the substantive chapters that follow.

Chapter 2 offers a short history of the Betty' Hope plantation, outlining more specifically the material history of the Dwelling House and of the activities that took place in and around its kitchen yard. This chapter aims to provide some chronological grounding as well as an overview of the historical trajectory of sugar production and resident labor at the Betty's Hope plantation, to contextualize the arguments made in the subsequent chapters.

Chapter 3 traces the formation of dinner parties as practices of hospitality in the context of the British civilizing project, both in the Caribbean colonies and in the Metropole. Through the dinner party, the chapter raises the question of the relationship between Caribbean colonial dining practices and their metropolitan counterparts. The chapter considers, for example, the effects of British transatlantic mobility on social practice and techniques of the body (per Mauss 1971), and on the constitution of material assemblages in domestic contexts, assemblages that in turn left their mark on the archaeological record of plantation life in the Caribbean. The chapter also traces, through narratives of hospitality, the emergence of England-as-home as a salient category of social positioning among Euro-Creoles in Antigua.

Chapter 4 reverses the perspective adopted in chapter 3 by examining not how people ate together at the Betty's Hope plantation, but rather how they fed each other and themselves over the course of the long nineteenth century. The chapter unpacks the various networks of exchange through which edible goods were circulated in and out of the Betty's Hope plantation site, focusing more particularly on the importance of internal marketing to African-Antiguan sociality, on the politics of smuggling, and on the effects on Metropolitan practices of convivial consumption of

tropical commodities supplied through the plantation. Chapter 5 brings together the findings of the dissertation, to propose that the absentee owner of the Betty's Hope estate was constructed by the plantation's residents as a poltergeist figure onto which they could project their anxieties about social positioning on the plantation, and broker the relations that underlay these positionalities through practices of hospitality, the circulation of edible goods and the negotiation of food entitlement directed to the absentee as an arbiter.

Note on terminology

Throughout the text, the term Dwelling House refers to the Betty's Hope plantation great house specifically and is capitalized to reflect how the term was used in contemporary correspondence and managerial archives.

West Indies refers to the Anglo-Caribbean region, understood from the perspective of the British Empire and its geographies of imagination. Caribbean is used as a more neutral geographical designation. Similarly, "West Indian" recurs as a colonial category used by contemporary authors to name either Euro-Creoles living in the Caribbean or owners of Caribbean plantations who lived as absentees in the Metropole.

Euro-Creole is used to designate Caribbean-born persons of European ancestry, accommodating the shifting definition of "whiteness" over the course of the nineteenth century. Afro-Creole is used to designate Caribbean-born free persons of African ancestry during the period of slavery, while African-Antiguan is preferred for Antiguan Afro-Creoles, following the convention of local Antiguan scholarship (Nicholson 1994, Murphy pers. comm.). The term African-Antiguan also recurs in the historiography to refer to African-descended bondpeople born in Antigua, and to label

low-fired coarse earthenware ceramic artifacts presumed to have been made by unfree persons in Antigua; the term was preserved here in that convention as needed.

To highlight the legacy of slavery and the persistence of institutions of unfreedom after Emancipation, the term “Unfree” is usually preferred to slave, to refer to people coerced into residing and laboring on plantations. The term bondpeople and its gendered variations are also employed to highlight the limits of mobility imposed by chattel slavery. To lay bare the racist undertone of correspondence relating to plantation slavery, the discriminatory terms and slurs employed in the archival documents cited are transcribed as is.

> I ate a particular breakfast at Betty's Hope, which is a comfortable old rustic mansion with pillared gateway, fantastic trees and wild birds and beasts swarming about it.
>
> (Coleridge 1826: 243)

2

A SHORT CHRONICLE OF THE LONG NINETEENTH CENTURY, 1783-1904

(THE BETTY'S HOPE PLANTATION AND ITS DWELLING HOUSE)

Foundation to American Independence: 1653-1783

The recorded history of the Betty's Hope plantation begins with a land dispute. The dispute opposed Dame Joan Hall, the widow of the late Governor of the Antigua Colonel Christopher Keynell, and Christopher Codrington, the eldest son of a prominent planter from Barbados (also named Christopher Codrington). Dame Joan Hall had seen her Antigua plantation, Betty's Hope, confiscated by the colonial government of Antigua in 1668 and re-attributed to Codrington the same year, following the short but disruptive occupation of the Island by French troops in 1666-1667 (Dyde 2000: 29, Oliver 1894: xvii). The French occupation occurred in October 1666, under the command of Joseph-Antoine le Fèbvre de LaBarre,[1] and ended in July

[1] La Barre was then the lieutenant-general of the French West Indies; he would later become governor of New France in 1682 (Dictionaire biographique du Canada, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio.php?BioId=34486, 26 February 2014).

1667 with the Treaty of Breda. Although brief, the French occupation helped transform the young English colony having settled in Antigua only a few decades earlier in 1632, by providing English colonial officials in Antigua with an opportunity (as well as an alibi) to reconfigure land ownership on the island to suit the newly emerging plantation economies (Dyde 2000: 13, Oliver 1894). When English dominion over Antigua was re-established after the French occupation on April 10, 1668, the Governor of the Leeward Islands, Lord Willoughby of Parham, and his council indeed declared "all old Titles to Land void and lost, by reason of the French King's Conquest," (Snagg et al. 1865: 35); as a result, several small holdings and subsistence farms were reattributed to new owners who often combined multiple small plots into larger estates, which not only concentrated land ownership and the political privileges tied to it in the hands of fewer families, but also enabled the creation of the vast estates requisite for the cultivation of sugar, then an up-and-coming cash crop that had yet to conquer the Caribbean landscape (Parker 2011: 184).

The dispute between Hall and Codrington over their ownership of the Betty's Hope plantation was instigated by the enforcement of the 1668 Act, by which Hall was said to have forfeited her Antigua property in 1666 when she fled to Nevis with her children (as did many other settlers), leaving behind her property and approximately 60 slaves to be taken by the French invaders. By 1666, Betty's Hope was already a well-established and coveted property; although the circumstances of the foundation of the plantation and the origin of its name remain unclear, Dame Hall claimed that she had been the mistress of the Betty's Hope estate since at least 1653 (Oliver 1894: xvii; Calendar of state papers 468). Nevertheless, the dispute over the ownership of

Betty's Hope was ruled in favor of Christopher Codrington,[2] who settled on the estate in 1674 and turned it over to the production of sugar.

The condition in which Codrington found the Betty's Hope plantations buildings and industrial equipment when he acquired the property is unknown. The property had likely suffered some substantial damage during the La Barre invasion, particularly considering that the Betty's Hope Dwelling House had allegedly been used as a garrison by local militiamen, who eventually abandoned their position and torched the sugar works as they fled, in an effort to leave behind nothing that could be of value to the invaders[3] (Oliver 1894: xvii). In 1710, General surveyor James Porter drafted a detailed plan of the Betty's Hope estate, which by then comprised 871 acres and 45,[4] of which 703 acres and 85 were earmarked for the cultivation of sugar cane (fig. 4, BL-RP2616-1-D1610-P3). The Porter survey also documented in detail the layout of buildings on the plantation, including the placement of the Dwelling House, the design of the kitchen yard and out building compound surrounding the house, as well as the location of stables, sugar works and slave housing.

The Porter survey shows a great degree of spatial contiguity between the Dwelling House, the service buildings and the cattle pens, which offers a glimpse into the organization of domestic labor at Betty's Hope at the turn of the eighteenth century. According to the plan, the "Cow Pen"

[2] Dame Hall and later her kinsman Valentine Morris, contested this transaction, going so far as to present a petition to the Lords of Trade and Plantations in 1677 (Oliver 1894 xxxviii; calendar of state papers 468). The petition was rejected, on grounds that Hall had not only fled Antigua during the French attack, but that she also acquired more land on the island than she could manage.
[3] This account contradicts the allegations that the stocks and slaves left behind by Hall were captured by the French; unfortunately, there are at present no further documentary or archaeological evidence for the period that might clarify the issue.
[4] Up from the 725 acres surveyed during the Hall-Codrington dispute in 1674 – see Lowe 1951:11

could only be accessed from within the enclosure surrounding the Dwelling House, while the "Cattle Pen" had an additional access point to the South. The proximity of human habitations, cattle herds and horse stables is notable, particularly considering that the Dwelling House kitchen is located well within the enclosure labeled as Cow Pen, and that the Cattle Pen is located upwind from the House. By contrast, slave dwellings, labeled "Negro Houses" on the plan, were located to the North-West of the Dwelling House, downwind from the House and near the still and curing houses. The large cistern complex used as the main water supply of the Estate was also located near the still and curing houses.

Further, the Potter survey shows that two windmills were already present on the Estate: an "Old" windmill and a "New" one. The old windmill presumably dated back to the Joan Hall ownership, while the mention of a "new" one in 1710 suggests that extensive construction and renovation work likely took place on Betty's Hope since the Codrington acquire the estate two decades earlier. Such construction would fit well with the overall trend towards active construction and acquisition on the Codrington Estates during the first quarter of the eighteenth century, both in Antigua and her sister island, Barbuda.[5] The expansion of the Codrington Estate occurred at a time when the Betty's Hope plantation was becoming increasingly profitable, despite the climate of political and social instability that otherwise hung over the island. The instability brought by the

[5] In 1684, shortly after acquiring the Betty's Hope estate and expanding Codrington interests from Barbados to Antigua, Christopher Codrington was granted proprietorship of the island of Barbuda, located offshore of Antigua to the North-East. Barbuda was not suitable for the production of sugar, but it would prove a valuable asset in producing food, cattle and slaves for Codrington's Antigua estates. Barbuda also generated a tidy income from the rescue of shifts that wrecked on Barbuda's jagged coast. By 1720, Barbuda boasted a small fort and an imposing dwelling house called "Highland Castle", which served as a pleasure estate for the Codringtons, their attorneys and guests well into the nineteenth century. For more on the history of Barbuda: Lowenthall and Clarke 1977, Sluyter 2012.

intense political and military rivalry between European colonial powers in the region[6] was doubled with an important demographic sea change that occurred on Antigua, as the island turned from settler colonialism to the intensive cultivation of sugar in the 1670s. The rapid expansion of the sugar economy and its insatiable demand for cheap labor prompted the kidnapping of millions of African across the continent, thousands of which were brought to Antigua to be enslaved. Consequently, the population of Antigua included some 6,000 unfree Africans and African-Antiguans in 1689, a number that swelled to approximately 12,500 by 1715, and over 37,500 by the mid-1770s (Dyde 2000: 31, Gaspar 1993). At Betty's Hope, the enslaved population rose to 322 in 1715 from approximately 65 under the tenure of Joan Hall, reaching a high of 393 in 1783 (table 1; BL RP2616-8-D1610-C2; RP2616-3-D1610-A8, RP2616-23-D1610-A12, RP2616-34-D1610-A5).

The relationships between unfree African-descended laborers and their free White captors were understandably tensed, and the simmering discontent of those subjected to the violent exploitation of plantation slavery often boiled over. One of the most famous incidents is perhaps the death of Samuel Martin, resident-owner of the Green Castle Plantation, who was killed by his slaves in 1701[7] after ordering them to work during the Christmas Holiday, the only Holiday systematically granted to slaves on Antiguan plantations and protected by law beginning in 1723 (Dyde 2000: 91; see Chap. 5). The death of Martin struck the cord of anxieties and imagined perils shared by white settlers in Antigua in regards to the potential revolt of the people they held captive,

[6] In the case of the Leeward Islands, France, England, Spain and the Netherlands were the European powers primarily battling for control of the islands.
[7] Martin's death bears some parallels to that of Governor Parke who was attacked at his local residence in Government House, St. John's in 1710, and was subsequently lynched by a mob of disgruntled planters and merchants in Antigua's capital city. Government House, was then burned to the ground, and would not be rebuilt until 1800.

and to the threat of Black leadership for the precarious social order of plantation societies in the Leeward Caribbean at that time. Following Martin's death, in effort to supress organized, independent leadership among the overwhelmingly unfree African/African-Antiguan population of the island, colonial officials in Antigua redoubled their efforts to capture and eradicate the small Maroon population who lived on Shekerley Mountain – efforts that lead to the de-facto eradication of the Shekerley Maroons by 1723.[8]

The loss of maroon leadership did little to prevent the unfree population from fomenting a major uprising in 1736 (Gaspar 2005 [1985] for a detailed account). According to accounts from court proceedings held in the wake of the uprising, the alleged conspirators, all African and African-Antiguan men, plotted to spark an island-wide revolt of the slave population by using several well-placed gun-powder kegs to blow up the company assembled at ball in celebration of King George II's birthday. Following the massive explosion, other co-conspirator across the island would work to spread the uprising to other towns and plantations. According to court records, informants foiled the plans for the armed slave rebellion by tipping off the planter who was set to host the King's Ball, just in time to thwart what promised to be a bloody retribution. Some 47 conspirators, including their leader "Court" King Klass, were tortured and executed on the public square in St. John's, and a further 42 were banished from the island (Davies 1963: 1-21). The discovery of the alleged plot in 1736 prompted the colonial government of Antigua to mobilize a formal militia on the island, to which all estates were required to contribute militiamen, uniforms and horses, and which would remain continually on duty until it was disbanded in 1838 (Lowe 1951: 6).

[8] By contrast, Maroon communities would remain strong and influential in other Caribbean locations, including Jamaica where the Maroons successfully obtained limited sovereignty from the British Empire in 1739, following the First Maroon War (Higman 2011: 115; see also Amaral 2015)

The Betty's Hop sugar plantation was of course not exempt from tensions between the unfree and free occupants of the estate, nor from the ever-present possibility of a slave rebellion. This possibility occasionally surfaced in correspondence and accounts relating to the estate, for example in an entry to the 1741 general account book which states that Dennis Cuonell was paid 14 shilling for "discoverying the plot for murdering Coll[d] King & the white servants" (BL RP2616-8-D1610-A2). Colonel Benjamin King was then the resident attorney-manager of the Codrington estates at Betty's Hope and, although the account does not specify it explicitly, one can hypothesize that the plot to poison King and the white servants was allegedly hatched by unfree Africans and African-Antiguans laboring on Betty's Hope, perhaps including within the House itself.

Despite the turmoil, through the mid-eighteenth century, the Betty's Hope plantation became increasingly profitable, and the Codrington proprietors continued to expand the productive capacity of their Antigua plantation, force more and more African captives into servitude, and to reap a staggering fortune from the sugar, rum and molasses they produced. Between 1710 and 1755, the scale of the Betty's Hope built environment grew considerably, as illustrated by the survey of the estate executed by Samuel Clapham in 1755 (fig. 6), in contrast to that recorded by Porter in 1710 (fig. 5).[9] In 1710, ownership of the Betty's Hope plantation passed from

[9] The Clapham survey (1755) and the Porter survey (1710) are the only two historic plans of the Betty's Hope estate known at present. The Clapham survey was likely still in use in the 1830s (Liggins to Sir Christopher Bethell-Codrington, 4 October 1830, BL RP2616-26-D1610-C37), and there is no evidence to suggest that Betty's Hope was surveyed again after that date.

When comparing the 1710 map with the 1755 Clapham survey, it is immediately apparent that some major changes occurred in the layout of the kitchen yard during the time elapsed. The most notable transformations are the addition, in 1755, of four cisterns North of the Dwelling House, in an area previously identified as a pen, the removal of the cattle pens from the kitchen yard proper, as well as the construction of a blacksmith shop abutting the detached kitchen, of a new sick house, of servants' quarters and of a Bookkeeper's House with attached enclosure. Though their function was not clearly identified in 1710, the buildings labeled as "Overseer",

Christopher Codrington the Younger (1668-1710, who had inherited Betty's Hope from his father Christopher Codrington the Elder in 1698) to his cousin, William Codrington (later Sir William Codrington I), who in turn bequeathed it to his son Sir William Codrington II (owner of Betty's Hope from 1738 to 1792) (see table 2 for a simplified genealogy). Perhaps as early as 1713, and certainly by 1728, Sir William Codrington I also acquired a small fleet of vessels that not lonely served to ferry sugar and supplies between Antigua, Britain (particularly London and Bristol), and the American colonies, but that also operated as private slavers out of the West Coast of Africa (Dyde 2000: 65, TAST Database). Between 1713 and 1735, at least six vessels registered to Sir William Codrington's name[10] in Antigua bought slaves out of the Bight of Biafra, the Gold Coast and the Gulf of Guinea Island. One of these vessels was the eponymous Betty's Hope sloop, which completed at least two slaving voyages between the African Coast, the Caribbean and South Carolina, one in 1731-1732 (292 slaves embarked, 222 slaves disembarked), and one in 1732-1733 (273 slaves embarked, 209 disembarked) (TAST Database, voyages 16659 and 16710). Many of the captives taken aboard the Betty's Hope sloop were resold on account of Sir William Codrington across the West Atlantic, while many others were brought to Sir William's estates in Antigua and Barbuda, including Betty's Hope. The slaves obtained on the African market were crucial to the growing profitability of the Betty's Hope plantation, which relied on a steady increase of its unfree laboring population. As mentioned previously, the number of slaves attached to

"Doctor's Room" and "Tradesman" in 1755 appear to have for the most part remained attached to the Dwelling House compound.

[10] In the TAST database, two slaving voyages in 1713 and 1715 are listed on account of the owner "Codrington", while a further four voyages (1728, 1731, 1733 and 1735) are listed on account of owner "Sir William Codrington" or "Codrington, William". It is possible that more slaving voyages were made on account of Sir William Codrington, particularly between 1715 and 1728, but went unrecorded in TAST database. Last accessed May 2016.

Betty's Hope in 1724 exceeded 360, nearly six times the number attributed to the Joan Hall tenancy.

William Codrington was the last of the Codrington proprietors of Betty's Hope to spend several years in residence on the Antiguan plantation, and the first in a long lineage of absentee "West Indian" proprietors who would oversee the affairs of their Antigua property from afar. In 1721, William Codrington used his thriving fortune to purchase the Dodington Baronetcy in Gloucestershire, England (thereby becoming Sir William Codrington, first Baronet of Dodington), and retire to his newly-purchased Gloucestershire estate, Dodington Park. Nevertheless, because Sir William Codrington I resided at Betty's Hope for some time between 1717 and 1721, and perhaps even as early as 1710, he likely oversaw some of the construction work that took place on the estate during that time, notably that occurring in and around the Dwelling House. Although the footprint of the Dwelling House remained relatively unchanged between the Porter Survey (1710) and the Clapham survey (1755), Sir William Codrington I likely ordered some improvements to the House's interior, as suggested by an invoice of household goods shipped in his account to Betty's Hope in November 1718. The content of this invoice suggests a high level of comfort within the Dwelling House, as attested by the specific items being shipped to Betty's Hope: "7 day pr of pewter plates", a mahogany table, a marble table with iron foot, "1 large silver punch corble, 1 ditto monteif,"[11] 8 salt cellars and enough silver plate and gilded cutlery to accommodate 12 guests (BL RP2616-8-D1610-C2/1). In addition, an invoice for cargo shipped to Betty's Hope in December 1717 also included several items that were also likely destined to furnish the Dwelling House, including three dozen China plates, delft plates, red curtains for the dining room, a looking

[11] A monteif (modern spelling monteith) is a large, ornate, stemware glass cooler with crenellated edges, typically made of silver or silver plate.

glass, and a violin with case (BL RP2616-8-D1610-C2/3).[12] All these items were, at the time they were shipped to Antigua, usually the purview of wealthy patrons in the Metropole, and were uncommon in more modest households.

Between 1710 and 1755, the domestic infrastructure in service of the Dwelling House was also expanded. The Clapham Survey (1755) recorded a notable addition to the Dwelling House compound: a large masonry building at the Northeastern edge of the kitchen yard. The results of a survey and excavation of the building I conducted between 2011 and 2013 suggest that the structure (F1003) was built sometime around of after 1720, and was used primarily as a servants' quarter until the 1860s (fig. 9)]. The construction of the masonry building F1003 suggests an expansion of the domestic service capability of the Dwelling House, which likely occurred under the tenure of Sir William Codrington I. This extension would be congruent with the construction of a large cistern complex holding up to approximately 20,000 gallons, which was completed sometime between 1710 and 1755 immediately East of the Dwelling House, and which considerably enhanced water supply at Betty's Hope in times of draught (BL RP2616-34-D1610-C20 1/4, f.17). It is unclear whether the construction of the cisterns began while Sir William Codrington I was in residence, but it is likely that the completion of the work occurred under the tenure of his son, Sir William Codrington II.

In 1738, the Betty's Hope estate was bequeathed to the Rt. Hon. Sir William Codrington, 2nd Baronet of Dodington, who remained its proprietor until his death in 1792. At the beginning of Sir William II's tenure, his attorney Benjamin King visited Betty's Hope to assess the state of the

[12] The longevity of his tenure as the proprietor of Betty's Hope makes him one of the most represented figure in the archival records relating to Betty's Hope, particularly the Codrington Correspondence (British Library, RP2616; see Lowe 1954).

plantation. He reported that the Dwelling House was in need of repair, that the sugar works were "in very bad order", and that the out buildings and cisterns "very much decayed & in wretched order" (this likely prompted the construction of the mammoth 20,000 gallon complex).[13] By contrast, the two windmills were in excellent condition, the northernmost one having been extensively repaired in 1737.[14] In light of King's assessment, Sir William II ordered the expansion of the boiling house and the addition of 5 new copper sugar boiling vats to the existing 10, an addition that was completed in 1740 (Gaspar 2005 [1985]: 104).

It is also likely in the early decade of Sir William Codrington II's tenure that the detached kitchen in service of the Dwelling House was remodeled, with the addition of an abutting blacksmith shop – a remodel that appears in the Clapham survey (1755) and was also visible in excavations carried out in the area of the kitchen yard initially identified as Feature F1000 (fig. 10). Archaeological excavation of F1000 further suggests that a new masonry kitchen building was erected on top of an existing structure, probably another kitchen as depicted in the Potter Survey (1710), and that the construction likely occurred in the 1740s – and certainly before 1763.[15] Around this new detached kitchen, probably placed on top of an existing one having been demolished to make way for the new construction, the kitchen yard and outbuilding compound was also completely reorganized, particularly in terms of the spatial relationship between the service buildings (including the stables and the servants' quarters) and their access to the Dwelling House.

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[13] From "A representation of the condition of ye Estates belonging to the late Sir William Codrington Bart", from Benjamin King to Sir William Codrington, 22 May 1743 – RP2616-13-D1610-C5.
[14] The original building date of the North windmill remains unknown, although it already appears on the 1710 Porter survey. They keystone of the West entrance to the windmill bears the inscription "Built by Richard Buckley Anno Domini 1737", which likely refers to remodel and repair work undertaken by Buckley at that time (MAAB, pers. comm.)
[15] A detailed account of the archaeological work undertaken in the kitchen yard, including survey, excavation and material culture analysis, can be found in Godbout 2012 and 2016.

Cattle and cow pens were moved outside of the Dwelling House enclosure altogether, and the stables were both expanded and moved further away from the House.

The period spanning the mid-eighteenth century to the American Revolutionary War (1775-1783) marked the apogee of the sugar plantation economy in the Leeward Island, in terms of the net produce returned to plantation owners and in terms of the political influence enjoyed by the many "West Indian" absentees who resided in the Metropole. The 1770s-1780s also mark the point at which the highest number of Africans and people of African descent were held captive in the Leeward Islands; in Antigua, the high-water mark for the number of bondmen on the island was reached ca.1775, at some 37,500 individuals (Dyde 2000: 89). The trend continued into the following decade, with 9,407 slaves entering Antigua through the port of St. John's between 1783 and 1793 alone (BL RP2616-3-D1610-E5). The Betty's Hope estate would reach its highest number of enslaved occupants in 1780 (reported as 394), after recovering from a sudden drop in population (reported as 312 in 1740) likely caused by epidemics and malnutrition among the unfree population. Epidemics and illness were indeed common at Betty's Hope, including outbreaks of smallpox in 1746 and 1756, an unidentified island-wide epidemic (perhaps an outbreak of cholera) in 1780, a fever imported from Grenada in 1792, as well as periodic outbreaks of various venereal infections among the plantation's residents (Lowe 1951: 6, 18 and 19, BL RP2616-34-D1610-C5[16]).

At Betty's Hope, the prosperous period spanning the 1750s-1780s is the most represented in the archival record, and it also left a strong archaeological imprint because of the

[16] Benjamin King to Sir William Codrington II, 29 March 1746, BL RP2616-34-D1610-C5: "We have been much infested with small-pox (...) which obliged me to propose Inoculation".

various construction projects that took place both in the kitchen yard and around the sugar works at that time. The 1770s and 1780s in particular were marked by yet another phase of expansion of the sugar works at Betty's Hope, by which a larger boiling house and new rum distillery were completed in 1780 (BL RP2616-3-D1610-A8; also University of Florida 1995). Archaeological evidence shows that the detached kitchen was also extensively remodeled again around that time, receiving a new cut limestone floor that appears to have been placed on top of an existing earthenware tile floor or subflooring (fig. 11). In the process, the kitchen's main cooking hearth was also apparently redesigned after 1780s and possibly moved further to the North (or "inward" in terms of the building's layout), as suggested by an ash deposit found under the flagstone. Similarly, to the East of the outbuildings enclosure, the servants' quarters also received a new stone floor (fig. 12, see Godbout 2013 for detailed description of the finds).

One of the few representations of the Dwelling House currently know, an ink and pen drawing offered to Codrington in 1778, also dates to this period (fig. 13, BL RP2616-24-D1610-A59). The 1778 drawing captures the Dwelling House at the moment when its household was the most populous (comprising the attorney-manager, his family and up to 19 domestic servants assigned exclusively to the House), and when the provisions, linens and furnishings used by the occupants of the Dwelling House were fully provided for on account of the Codrington absentee owners. Over the course of the long nineteenth century however, the absentee proprietors would provide less and less furnishings and food to the occupants of the Dwelling House, who increasingly turned to private import and internal marketing to supply their table (see Chap. 4). For example, although no household goods were purchased on account of the plantation after 1864, in December 1781, resident-attorney Richard Oliver reported a long list of expensive furniture he purchased from the estate of the late Richard Clarke, the former resident-manager of Barbuda, on

account of Sir William Codrington II. The list of items purchase by Oliver includes several pieces of furniture made of cedar, cane or mahogany, intended for the Betty's Hope Dwelling House dining room (chairs, tables, side boards) and for the resident-attorney's office (bureau, bookcases and an eight-day clock), along with several utensils, fine tablecloths, a backgammon table and a tea chest (BL RP2616-3-D1610-C13).

The death of Richard Clarke in 1781 was more than an opportunity for good auctions: it also occasioned the settling of his accounts, which in turn revealed that Clarke had not only been entertaining guests at Barbuda on account of the Codrington Estates, but that he had also used the land and resources of Barbuda to raise sheep that he sold for his own profit.[17] Sir William Codrington II felt blindsided by this behavior, and subsequently ordered that more systematic accounting practices be followed on his West Indian estates, and warned that all pleasure visits at Barbuda by parties of invited guests would no longer be tolerated. In a letter to his attorney dated 17 May 1784, Sir William Codrington II wrote the following:

> "I am not of that dispusition as to interfere with peoples enjoyments, which perhaps they are the more eager after merely because they are out of reach – but the visitors to Barbuda have been over [costly] to me in many respects & now the haunt is broke. I wish not to open it again – parties of pleasure who over there are entertaend at my expence & my negroes employed to attend upon them + their diversions &c &c &c" (Sir Wm Codrington Letter Book, 1783-1789, BL RP2616-31-D1610-C14/1, p.59).

[17] Barbuda suffered several other bouts of scandalous management and misconduct, most notably under Governor Thomas Beech (1741). Beech infamously abused the slaves bound to Barbuda, and the catalogue of the atrocities he committed on the island is rather grim: Beech burnt a slave woman alive with rum, downed a slave while fishing to turtle, and whipped slaves that he would then "[wash] with pickles" (Depositions against Thomas Beech, late Governor, 1741, BL RP2616-28-D1610-L9). Thought Richard Clarke was never accused of such brutal assaults on the people of Barbuda, he was also notoriously cruel to the slaves residing at Barbuda throughout his tenure as attorney-manager of the island.

Sir William Codrington II became aware of Clarke's misdeeds in 1783, and he was obviously more disturbed by Clarke's profiteering behavior than his having coerced slaves into providing "diversions", sexual and otherwise, to his guests at Barbuda. Sir William Codrington II also understood Barbuda to be somewhat of a pleasure estate compare to his other West India properties and, in 1772, he even declared wishing to retire and die at Barbuda in his old age.[18]

Plantation accounts and correspondence also hint at the fact that, under Clarke, Barbuda not only sent food provisions to Codrington estates in Antigua and entertained its guests: it might have also served as a slave nursery for the Codrington estates in Antigua – a proposition that, though amplified by folklore, does find roots in the fact that young Barbudan children were indeed shuttled to Codrington estates in Antigua throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth century (Lowe 1951, Lowenthall and Clarke 1977). The idea of Barbuda serving as a slave nursery is also based in the kinds of racist discourse on "breeding" that accompanied the discussion of unfree laborers in much of the Codrington correspondence[19] prior to Emancipation (1834).] Clarke's behavior prompted Codrington to request changes to the ways in which the business of his West India properties were accounted for and reported. In particular, Codrington instated that the produce and expenses for every estate (primarily Barbuda, Cotton, New Works, Garden and Betty's Hope) would be recorded and reported separately in increasingly systematic account books, so that Codrington may track fledging profits and foolish expenses more precisely and easily. This marked a turning point in the history and management of the Codrington estates in the West Indies: at the height of the lifestyle of ease and licentiousness enjoyed by many Antiguan planters and resident-

[18] Sir William never got his wish, and died at Dodington Park, Gloucestershire, in 1792.
[19] Particularly in Correspondense, Sir William Codrington, 1783-1789 BL RP2616-31-D1610-C14/1; with echoes through Sir Gerald Codrington's Scrapbook, 1872 GRA D1610-F46a.

attorneys, and which by and large corresponds to the stereotype of planter behavior in the Caribbean still circulated by historians today, the absentee owner of Betty's Hope demanded more accountability and, consequently, more restraint on the part of the men he hired to manage his valuable sugar estates.

Maturity of plantation slavery: 1783-1834

The year 1783 was not only marked by changes in plantation management brought on by the conduct of Richard Clarke at Barbuda, but also by the ratification of the Treaty of Paris that officially ended the American War of Independence. This event is often considered to be the highest achievement of the West Indian interest in Parliament, in which the Caribbean sugar colonies and the profit they turned over to the Metropole allegedly weighted heavily in favor of the decision by the British Crown to let go of the American colonies (O'Shaughnessy 2000). Yet the influential West Indian interest could not alleviate the damage inflicted during the American Revolution to the regional networks of trade that supplied the Caribbean colonies with produce, cattle and lumber from the North American continent.[20] Indeed, by the 1760s, Antigua and the other Leeward Islands relied heavily on foodstuffs imported from North America, such as dried cod, cattle and grains, which circulated through long established networks of trade between the American continent and the Caribbean. The restrictions placed on trade by the British Metropolitan government as a result of the American War of Independence had disastrous effects on food supply in Antigua.

[20] More on the provisioning and trade with North America in Chapter 4.

The effects of the diminished influx of North American produce in Antigua was exacerbated by a long and untimely drought, as well as by the overall disruption of transatlantic trade that had occurred since the onset of the Seven Years War. These combined factors resulted in intense periods of food scarcity in Antigua that are said to have led to the death of some 8,000 slaves in 1780 alone (Dyde 2000: 96, Lanaghan 1844: 114). Despite the staggering mortality among the slave population of Antigua, plantation owners do not appear to have been overly alarmed by the depletion of their laboring force which could always be replenished on West African slaving markets: as mentioned above, a total of 2,135 "new negroes" were imported into the port of St. John's between August 1783 and August 1784 alone, with 2,939 more reaching Antigua by August 1793 (BL RP2616-3-D1610-E5 1of2, loose leaf).

In 1792, the Codrington fortune and title of Baronet of Dodington passed to Christopher Bethell-Codrington (1764-1843), Sir William Codrington II's nephew. Sir Christopher Bethell-Codrington had been born and educated in England, but had resided in Antigua in 1789-1790 to prepare for his future role as Sir William's heir, which gave him a confident familiarity with the workings of Caribbean plantation economies reflected in the tone of his correspondence with the agents and attorney-managers of his Antigua estates. During his stay at Betty's Hope in 1789-1790, Bethell-Codrington was granted by his uncle an allowance of £150 per annum, apparently much less than he was used to receiving in London. He protested the allowance on the grounds that it was too meager for him to properly fulfill his duty as a host at Betty's Hope. In July 1789, Bethell-Codrington wrote to his is uncle, Sir William Codrington II:

> "that tho' I might live in your house, still I should be called upon to share the expenses of the table, and, that as I should in some measure be looked upon to there, it would be expected that I should invite people to dinner &c: &c: with many other expences [sic] which would amount to a vast deal more than what he allow'd me, besides the expences

> of fitting me out which he supposed would fall a little short of £200." (Letterbook of Christopher B-Codrington, 1789-1790, BL RP2616-34-D1610-C20/1)

Though Christopher Bethell-Codrington found his allowances too meager, he had at his disposal comparatively considerable sums that give a sense of scale to the wealth enjoyed by a family of absentee planters at the height of its prosperity and of its confidence in its West India interests. Nevertheless, such West Indian fortunes as that of the Codringtons were unknowing entering a long century in which the profitability of Caribbean cane sugar would implode, the political influence of West Indian interest in the Metropole would wane, and the Abolition of the slave trade (1807), followed by the abolition of slavery outright (1834), would instigate an unprecedented settling of accounts in the Caribbean colonies.

By the end of the eighteenth century, the British Parliament had already been debating the issue of the abolition of slavery in the British Empire for several years. The Parliament of the United Kingdom finally passed the Act for the Abolition of the Slave Trade in 1807, which would eventually lead to the abolition of slavery outright in the British colonies some 27 years later, in 1834. Following the abolition of the slave trade in the British Atlantic, West Indian planters were formally prohibited from purchasing "new" slaves taken specifically for the purpose of the trade, although plantation owners could still purchase or exchange people who were already enslaved in 1807, or who were born into slavery from unfree parents thereafter. In addition, between 1808 and 1820, seven groups of individuals "recaptured" from illegal slaver ships by the Royal Navy were landed at St. John's in Antigua where, rather than being returned to their port of origin, they were promptly indentured to various masters on the island, thus providing a pool of new bound African laborers for plantation work albeit outside the formal framework of the slave trade (Dyde 2000: 110). Some illegal human trafficking also took place via the neighboring French islands where the slave trade

remained legal, which might well have been one of the motivations behind the 1817 Act for a Public Registry of Slaves in Antigua requiring every plantation to declare its enslaved population in an annual "return" or census (Dyde 2000: 114).

At the Betty's Hope plantation, the years that followed the Abolition of the slave trade were accompanied by a downsizing of the Dwelling House household, reflected in the demolition of the East portico of the house in 1813. Resident-attorney L. L. Hodge wrote to Sir Christopher Bethell-Codrington in June 1813, likely in response to inquiries made by Sir Christopher about household expenses at Betty's Hope, to the effect that:

> "I can only assure you that it [the money spent on Codrington's account] has not been employed in embellishing my own residence for I have [contracted] rather than added to it, by taking down the East libby & I have only built a new wall to the East where the old one was actually falling down: I had intended, as I write to you to have taken down the West Part & have [put it] instead thereof a more small compact building. This part of the house is [barely] inhabitable & I am afraid that a Gale of wind will carry it away."
> (BL RP2616-33-D1610-C23)

The West side of the House was still in disrepair in 1817, as noted by resident-manager John Osborn who, at the time, was waiting for the price of lumber to go down before undertaking the requisite upkeep (John Osborn to Christopher Bethell-Codrington, 19 Oct 1817, BL RP2616-33-D1610-C28).

The apparent necessity on the part of resident managers-attorneys to of justify maintenance and construction around the house despite the alleged urgency of the work, shows the increased scrutiny to which household expenses and plantation budgets were subjected by Codrington absentees – in this case, Sir Christopher Bethell-Codrington who, it may be recalled, had asked for an allowance of £200 per annum to entertain his guests during his Betty's Hope residency in 1790. This concern for household expenses at Betty's Hope seems to stem not from

economic hardship, so much as from the steady professionalization of the managerial trade, and therefore the decline of importance of the West Indian Dwelling House as a reflection of the wealth and power of the owners who, by now, has been absentees for over fifty years. Nevertheless, throughout the 1820s and 1830s, despite the uncertainties facing plantation economies in the years leading to the Emancipation of slaves in Antigua, and at a time when many sugar estates of the British Caribbean were sinking into bankruptcy,[21] the Betty's Hope plantation remained profitable. Betty's Hope cleared an average profit of some £4,344 per year between 1821 and 1830, for sugar as well as other produce such as molasses and yams, despite wide variations in the estate's profitability from year to year – for example, Betty's Hope registered a loss of £5,687.12.10 in 1822, and a tidy profit of £12,031.7.2 in 1826.[22]

Emancipation and the turn to wage labor, after 1834

When the Slavery Abolition Act came into effect on August 1st, 1834, the freed people of Antigua celebrated their newfound freedom with restraint; after a day's holiday, the former

[21] Indeed, bankruptcy and insolvency among West India Planters had been the object of study of no fewer than three committees of the British parliament between 1807 and 1808 (Ragatz 1963 [1928]: 309). The Parliament's concern over the ill-effect of heavy mortgages on property development and production in the West Indies would lead to the 1854 Encumbered Estates Act, which would allow mortgagers to purchase the property to which they had loaned money at minimal cost.

[22] To give an order of magnitude to this profit, according to www.measuringworth.com/ukcompare (consulted 9 July 2015), the total proceeds made from Betty's Hope produce between 1821 and 1830, viz £43,442.3.5, are comparable to a real commodity price of some £3,474,000.00 in 2015 Pound Sterling currency, or to an income value of some £62,080,000.00. Also by means of comparison, in Jane Austen's Pride and Prejudice (1813), wealthy Mr. Bingley is said to have an income of £5,000 a year; Mr Darcy, £10,000; and Mr. Bennet, £2,000. The income received by Sir Christopher Bethell-Codrington from Betty's Hope alone is slightly less than Mr. Bingley's annuity.

bondmen and women overwhelmingly returned to work on the estate to which they had previously been attached, bracing for the new framework of labor introduced by the wage system. The free white population of Antigua was surprised by the calm with which Emancipation was accompanied on the island. Resident planters and attorney-managers in particular had feared that the violence and turmoil they had inflected upon their former slaves would be returned to them in kind in the early hours of August 1st. Despite their apprehension, plantation owners took comfort in the Contract Act of 1834, which required that newly emancipated field hands remain employed on the plantation on which they had formally been enslaved by entering a wage contract there for one year. After that period, they would be free to relocate if they so desired. This arrangement differed notably from the four-year period of "Apprenticeship" imposed on former slaves elsewhere in the British Caribbean, including in Barbados and Jamaica. The Antigua Contract Act also stipulated that porters, peddlers and hucksters were to obtain a license to ply their trade, without which they would be subjected to Antigua's increasingly stringent vagrancy laws (Dyde 2000: 134-5, Snagg et. al 1865: 178-186).

The Contract Act emphasized the emplacement and gainful employment of able-bodied Antiguans, with the goal of maintaining the dependence of the freed laboring population on the opportunities afforded by plantation economies; a system of economic production that by and large continued to work to their disadvantage until the twentieth century. For example, the managers of many plantations including Betty's Hope restricted the use of workers housing located on their premises to the laborers hired on the estate and their household. On Antiguan plantations, workers housing usually consisted in the very cluster of cottages that the freedpeople had built and maintained themselves before Emancipation, and that they had occupied for many years under slavery. Because very few free settlements existed in Antigua at the time, plantation

workers had only limited alternate options for housing outside of sugar plantation estates, and they were de facto threatened with homelessness by the resident labor policies adopted on many plantations should they fail to comply with the discipline of plantation labor. Furthermore, resident labor policies pushed superannuated and disabled workers further into poverty, by leaving them little to no recourse or public aid when they could no longer work the fields, whereas the former legal responsibility owners toward even the sickest and oldest of their slaves had offered them the slimmest of tether to housing and subsistence prior to Emancipation.[23] The precariousness of aged, sick and/or disabled Antiguans were largely unaddressed before the foundation of the Daily Meal Society, a charitable institution that catered to the urban poor which, although first established in 1828, did not receive sustained financial support from the state until 1855 (Dyde 2000: 15, Lanaghan 1844:253; see also Hall 1971: 180).

By contrast, skilled laborers, including masons, coopers and carpenters, seemed to have enjoyed more opportunities for mobility, both spatial and social, than field laborers and domestic servants did in the years surrounding Emancipation.[24] In 1833, Antigua legislature repealed the White Servants Act (1716), which had hitherto mandated plantation owners to keep a certain number of white servants per slaves on their estate, lest they pay a penalty (the so-called "white servant tax"). Because low-level managerial positions such as bookkeeper, overseer and manager, were counted towards the "servant" requirement, the repeal of the Act in 1833, together with Emancipation, formally opened to African-Antiguans and "colored" Creoles new avenues for employment in management and skilled labor within the plantation economy, which had previously

[23] The responsibilities of owners towards their slaves in Antigua were charted by the Acts for the better Government of Slaves (1697 and 1723) and the Amelioration Act (1798).
[24] Additionally, skilled laborers were more likely to find employment in towns and ports than agricultural laborers.

been held by white "servants" and which remained out of reach for non-skilled laborers and women (Lowes 1995: 6, Sturge and Harvey 1838: 48).

Women continued to find employment opportunities in towns through marketing and huckstering, a sector of Antiguan economy they had dominated since the eighteenth century. When the residency provision of the Contract Act expired, several women, along with children and the elderly, appear to have retired out of plantation employment in favor of other activities including marketing and garden agriculture. This likely contributed to exacerbating the labor shortage experienced on sugar plantations of Antigua during the latter half of the nineteenth century, including on Betty's Hope, in part because several Antiguans also left the island at that time to seek employment elsewhere in the West Atlantic in hopes of a better pay (Dyde 2000: 155). At Betty's Hope, according to an assessment of the plantation penned after the death of R. Jarritt in 1836, "[t]he crop for 1836 has suffered very materially from the deficiency of labour"[25] (Lowe 1951: 78). The shortage of labor would continue into the mid-nineteenth century, with Oliver Nugent reporting to Christopher William Codrington that he was "as hard pushed as ever for labor" (March 1845, in Lowe 1951: 78). In an effort to alleviate this shortage, the Assembly of Antigua turned to indentured labor, the system of labor recruitment which had been favored in the Leeward Islands before the widespread adoption of slavery in the 1670s-1680s, by facilitating the migration of hundreds of indentured laborers particularly from Madeira and the Cape Verde Islands[26] (1840s) as well as China[27] (1860s), several dozens of which were employed at Betty's Hope (Lowes 1995:3).

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[25] The 1836 crop was nevertheless highly profitable, and Jarritt was perhaps voicing a discontent in having more cane to harvest than the number of workers available could handle.
[26] Indentured laborers from Madeira and the Cape Verde Islands were referred to as "Portuguese" by Betty's Hope attorney-managers and legislators.
[27] The epithet of "Chinese" might have been given indiscriminately to emigrants coming from various parts of Asia, including Indian "coolie" laborers. Nevertheless, the presence of Chinese

Although plantation owners of Antigua complained that Emancipation created inconvenient shortages of labor on their estates, they did find an unexpected silver lining to Emancipation, including Sir Christopher Bethell-Codrington who had so vocally opposed the end of slavery. In addition to being relieved of the obligation of providing rations of food and clothing to their workers, sugar plantation owners, including absentees, received a substantial monetary compensation for the loss of "property" they incurred as a result of the abolition of slavery in the Caribbean. Under British colonial laws, slaves had been considered chattel property and, as such, the Slavery Abolition Act (1833) allotted some twenty million pounds sterling out of the public purse to compensate former slave owners partially for their financial loss (Slavery Abolition Act c 3 & 4 Will. IV c. 73, UCL Legacy Database). Sir Christopher Bethell-Codrington received a total compensation of approximately £30,000 following Emancipation, of which £5,089.5.5 was given in compensation for slaves at Betty's Hope alone.[28] The compensation Bethell-Codrington received corresponded to less than 25% of the total estimated chattel value of unfree individuals attached to the Betty's Hope estate in 1834 (Settlement of compensation, Antigua, #334, Betty's Hope BL RP2616-17-D1610-F5 and BL RP2616-3-D1610-E36; also UCL Legacy Database).

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stoneware in surface deposits associated with 19th century workers' cottages at the Betty's Hope site suggest that, indeed, Chinese immigrants resided on the site in the 1860s. They are sometimes credited with having introduced to sugar plantation settlements of Antigua the practice of using pit latrines rather than chamber pots; see Smith et al. 1988: 102.

[28] £30,015.12.8 to be exact. In addition to Betty's Hope, Bethell-Codrington owned many other estates in Antigua (Cotton, Cotton New Works, Garden, Clare Hall), Barbuda and Tobago (Bon Accord, Courland), upon which a total of 2,211 slaves were reported in 1834 (UCL Legacy Database). Some of the data provided in the UCL database on the compensation received for Betty's Hope is inconsistent with the compensation receipt kept in the Codrington papers (UCL lists the Betty's Hope compensation as 4,920.9.10). The later was used in the analysis presented here, which estimates that Bethell-Codrington received £13.11.6 per slave on average. To give an order of magnitude to that amount: according to measuringworth.com (consulted 9 July 2015), £13.11.6 compares to £1,165.00 real commodity price in 2015 Sterling Pound currency.

Sir Bethell-Codrington appears to have reinvested into his Antigua estates only a fraction of the sizeable compensation he received from the Parliament of the United Kingdom in the wake of Emancipation. Indeed, in 1837, the estates were said to have "fallen into a bad state under previous management", and an agent for the Codrington sugars in London, Mr. Liggins, was dispatched to Antigua in 1837 to inspect the Codrington properties (Journal of Sir Henry Martin, BL Add MS 74757, p. 102). The allegation that the estates had fallen prey to mismanagement was a familiar one that usually accompanied any change in management on absentee West Indian estates. Nevertheless, the claim might have had some substantive grounds in this case, considering that Liggins did recommend some substantial repair work to Sir Bethell-Codrington's Antigua plantations, and that the work was completed in 1839.[29] During his visit, Liggins stayed at Betty's Hope with the current resident attorney-manager Samuel Auchinleck and his family. At the time of the Auchinleck residency, the Betty's Hope Dwelling House was still quite sizeable, comprising five spare bedrooms in addition to the Auchinleck's own. These rooms often served to accommodate overnight guests after dinner parties when they wished to return home by daylight the following morning, whether the dinner had taken place at Betty's Hope itself or at a neighboring plantation where accommodation was wanting (cf. Martin 1847).

After Emancipation, the main concern of Betty's Hope attorney-managers shifted from the implementation of wage labor, to the weakening share held by West India sugars on the metropolitan market. Indeed, West Indian sugar was facing the increasingly fierce competition of

[29] The scope and character of the work remains unknown at the time of writing; it is likely, however, that Liggins recommended mostly repairs to the outbuildings and to the sugar works, considering that both he and Sir Martin seem to have enjoyed comfortable stays as overnight guests in the Dwelling House. Sir Martin was rather blunt in his assessment of other Antiguan estates in his diaries, and he likely would have mentioned any blatant disrepair at Betty's Hope should he have observed it.

East Indian cane sugar and Continental European beet sugar, a competition that became particularly dire for sugar producers of the British Caribbean following Sugar Duty Act of 1846 by which the preferential import rates established for West Indian sugars under mercantile colonialism were revoked. In Antigua, the Assembly had repealed in 1838 the long-standing export duty of 4.5% that had been levied on all sugars leaving the island since 1663, and which had paid handsomely for the annuity of generations of governors and other island officials (Dyde 2000: 106). Nevertheless, the repeal of export duties on sugars exiting Antigua did little to boost their sale in the Metropole or, more broadly, to guarantee their ability to hold of West Indian sugar economies afloat in the long term.

In a letter he wrote to Sir Christopher Bethell-Codrington in 1838, resident attorney-manager Samuel Auchinleck informed the absentee owner that rum was no longer distilled on Betty's Hope, a notable tweak to the process of sugar production at Betty's Hope which aptly illustrates the waning profitability of the plantation mode of production during the latter half of the nineteenth century. Indeed, since the seventeenth century, sugar producers in the British Caribbean had used molasses, the goopy residue of sugar crystallization, to distill rum as an integral part of the organization of production and of the cycles of sugar cultivation on their plantations. Rum had long been used as a bartering currency throughout the West Atlantic, and it had been a sought-after secondary commodity in its own right on the regional market for centuries[30] (Mintz 1985, Smith 2005: 31, 64-5). However, according to Auchinleck, by 1838:

> "Antigua has not now the character for good rum which it formerly possessed, it is certain that the so called improvements in stills does not produce the pure flavoured spirit of former days, but besides – the very great depression in prices caused most planters to abandon in great measure the manufacture because we found the molasses which was

[30] For example, at Betty's Hope, rum was used to purchase corn throughout the 1790s, possibly from American suppliers (BL RP2616-3-D1610-A8, misc. loose leaves).

> formerly distilled brought a much better price from the refiners." (Auchinleck to Codrington, 30 May 1838, BL RP2616-25-D1610-C32)[31]

This abandonment of distilling as part of plantation labor and the loss of the skills necessary to make "good rum" were symptomatic of a slow breakdown in the process of sugar production that spanned the second half of the nineteenth century and would culminate, at Betty's Hope, with the relocation of cane crushing and sugar processing to a centralized factory in 1904.

Field Work and Domestic Servitude: 1834-1904

In the winter of 1843-1844, Christopher William Codrington, who had just inherited Betty's Hope from his father, visited his new West Indian properties accompanied by his wife, Lady Georgiana Somerset. Lady Georgiana left a short but incisive diary chronicling her experience at Antigua, which preserves her first impressions of the Betty's Hope Dwelling House:

> "we arrived at Betty's Hope which is a very comfortable spacious & [respected] old House with a little Porch & small Perron giving upon a shrubbery which is walled & fenced all round with a wooden railing & encloses several curious & beautiful plants & inhabited by many birds as well as the usual quantity of guinea fowls cocks & hens & poultry of all kind which always swarm round every house in the West Indies. (...) The House was very clean & the household very well regulated by M^{rs} Affleck who certainly understands housekeeping & cooking very well indeed & the servants are very clean & waited pretty well. Our bedroom was terribly hot; as it looked to the South we had the sun all day for many nights I could not sleep being disturbed by the heat & the noise of the lizards, crickets & frogs which keep up a constant singing & croaking from sunset to sunrise also cats & the incessant barking of dogs & crowing of cocks which go on all night not to mention the cackling of guinea fowls in short the whole [formed] such a sabbat"

[31] In 1889, George Holborow, echoing the words penned by Auchinleck 50 years before him, wrote to Sir Gerald that: "I have made no rum at yours or any other estates for many years, it does not pay; if you wish some made for Dodington House use, we can [with] some bitter expenses and trouble fit up Betty's Hope distillery for the purpose; Please say if I shall do so?" (G. Holborow to Codrington, 29 March 1889, BL RP2616-14-D1610-C56)

(Lady Georgiana Codrington's Travel Diary 1843-1844, GRA, D1610/F43, p.50-552)

At the time of Lady Georgiana Somerset and Sir Christopher William's visit, residents of the Betty's Hope plantation were still in the midst of recalibrating of labor and social positionality following Emancipation, a process which would unfold into the following decades. In addition to shortages of labor which the hiring of indentured labor from Europe and Asia sought to alleviate, plantation laborers and managers were reckoning with wages as a new forms of labor compensation and a new framing device for negotiating labor relations. At Betty's Hope, the startup wages in 1836 were of approximately 1 s/day.[32] By 1838, this had increased to 9s/week for carpenters, coppers, and masons; men field laborers were paid 7s/week, while women occupying the same jobs were paid 4s4p/week. By 1842, the wages for Carpenters had increased to 12s/week, to 13s 6p/week for masons, 9s/week for distillers, and 9s/week for field laborers; the salary for female employees was not recorded for this date. The shift to wage labor thus opened a new terrain for gender differentiation among laboring crews, and was part of a broader transformation of women's presence and role in the workforce, particularly in light of emerging Victorian gender biases that would be circulated throughout the Empire via colonial policies and printed works.

Nevertheless, despite the presumed shortage of labor at Betty's Hope in the mid-nineteenth century, and despite the new interpolation of indentured labor and wage systems, resident attorney-managers by and large observed the well-established practices of labor and logistics of workflow that had governed plantation economies since their inception in the British

[32] The amount is given in shilling currency, not sterling. For a summary of broader wage trends in the Caribbean region during the latter half of the nineteenth century, see Cateau 2014.

Leeward Islands. The labors of cane sugar agriculture in the British Caribbean were perhaps most memorably captured in William Clark's "Ten Views of Antigua", a series of watercolors depicting sugar cane cultivation[33] as it appeared in 1823. In "Ten Views", Clarke showed the fields carved out in square holes ready to be planted (fig. 14); slaves taking down the sharp blades of the grass with bills and machetes (fig. 15); the bustle of cane crushing (fig. 16); the intense blaze of boiling room illuminating the night at harvest time (fig. 17). Indeed, the basic principles of agricultural practice underpinning sugar cultivation in the nineteenth century had remained virtually unchanged since the first cane field was planted in Antigua in the 1670s.

In Antigua, the cultivation of sugar cane would never be fully mechanized, and the introduction of steam power in the 1850s and 1860s which had so revolutionized manufacturing in the Anglo-American world, would serve mostly to expedite the transportation of cane bundles from field to factory, and to replace wind power as a more reliable way to propel cane-crushers during the harvest. The first steam engine recorded at Betty's Hope was installed in 1852 (BL D1610-A64 p.202, shown on the Musgrave Map of 1852, NA CO 700/ANTIGUA11). This engine, apparently assembled out of an old ship engine, replaced the main windmill in operating the cane-

[33] Sugar cane saplings or « ratoons »were planted in shallow squares or « holes », approximately 4 feet across, where they grew to maturity in 16 to18 months. To maximize production, there were usually three crops growing on Betty's Hope plantation at any given time, with planting seasons staggered in October and December and harvest in April and June. The saccharide content of sugar canes drops quickly once harvested, so the stalks had to be sent to the crushing mills as quickly as possible to yield the highest quality of sugar. Cane juice was funneled to large boiling vats where it was reduced until it crystalized; the raw syrupy mixture obtained was then set to cure in conical clay molds, which allowed the liquid potion of the sugar (molasses) to drain out and the solid mass to form loaves that could be easily handles and packaged in wood hogsheads. The molasses was either sold as is or further distilled into rum. During harvest, the mills and boilers would run pass sundown: the hurried pace of the job, the slipperiness of the work-floors covered in trash and sputtered cane juice, the fatigue and the proximity with the mangling jaws of the cane crushers were the source of countless injuries and death. (See Mintz 1985)

crushers, the same windmill that had been in used with uninterrupted success since 1737. The steam engine was presumably housed in a new extension to the existing sugar works, as suggested by the presence in the 1852 accounts of over 20,000 bricks and 9,000 cedar shingles purchased for the Betty's Hope Estate, along with the engine (BL RP2616-4-D1610-A15/5). Perhaps under the influence of the successful integration of steam power to the cane crushing operations, in 1863, a steam plough was first used at Betty's Hope, likely in the cultivation of the grains and grass grown as fodder for the cattle, rather than in the cultivation of sugar cane itself. As such, the steam plough had little overall impact on the organization of labor at Betty's Hope. Lastly, in 1898, attorney-manager Frank Holborow suggested that a centrifugal machine be used to speed up the curing of sugar at Betty's Hope, although it is unclear from the plantation records whether Sir Gerald Codrington, the absentee owner at the time, ever acceded to this demand.[34]

The difference in wages offered to women and men for comparable labor, as well as the overall seeming imperviousness of plantation work to technological interjections, point to some of the structures of inequalities built into the organization of agricultural work on Antiguan sugar plantations, as well as into the valuation of manual labor and its management, which would endure and thrive at Betty's Hope well beyond Emancipation. Over the course of the nineteenth century, the logistics of field labor and the management of laboring bodies at Betty's Hope were marked by continuity more than by the kind of radical change one might expect following Emancipation. Similarly, ideologies of domestic servitude continued to be established in contradistinction to that

[34] In 1885, attorney-manager George Holborows (Frank's uncle) experimented with the use of reusable galvanized steel molds instead of traditional ceramic ones in curing part of the sugar of the 1885 crop. Plantation accounts suggest that this experiment was not deemed successful enough to be repeated in subsequent years (D1610-C56). This marginal success was likely insufficient to inspire Sir Gerald Codrington, the absentee owner, to invest for more innovations in a mode of production from which, incredibly, he continued to profit.

governing laboring bodies in the field. Under slavery, the scales of valuation of the laboring body attributed to unfree people, both in terms of monetary chattel value and in terms of return on labor, skewed toward young (and therefore strong) male field hands and skilled craftsmen, and most strongly away from superannuated or disabled women. In much of the scholarship on plantation history, laboring bodies on plantations are usually understood in terms of an implicit alignment of field work and masculine labor, the default mode through which plantation labor "proper" tends to be understood, and of domestic servitude and women's work, which often corresponds to a concern for questions of gender and intimacy. This alignment is misleading considering that, under slavery (1750-1834 in Antigua), women and children in fact consistently supplied over fifty percent of the agricultural workforce at Betty's Hope between 1740 and 1834 (according to the returns of slaves currently archived in BL RP2616-3-D1610, Series E5 and E6), and therefore carried out the bulk of agricultural fieldwork, including the backbreaking tasks of holing and harvesting the cane.

In addition, men were allocated skilled tasks to which women remained ineligible, including the work of mason, carpenter, cooper, head steward, etc., revealing that managerial staff seemingly held a stronger the bias against women's capacity for skilled labor and complex thought than against the putative physical weakness attributed to their sex in Britain.[35] Before Emancipation, women were also excluded from work assignments for which men were given payment in currency, although they did participate in monetary exchange through internal marketing, which they dominated throughout the long nineteenth century (Armstrong 2010, Hauser 2008 and 2011). At Betty's Hope several women, mostly Creoles of mixed ancestry, served as

[35] From 1823 onward, the head rum distiller of Betty's Hope was a woman (BL RP2616-3-D1610-E6); considering that rum production would be abandoned a decade later, it is difficult to say with certainty whether distilling was still considered skilled labor at that time, or whether it had been included to the field of women's potential employments.

house staff and seamstresses,[36] though the high-ranking roles of steward/ head servant and head cook were typically reserved for men through the mid-nineteenth century. Since the occupation of each Betty's Hope employee was no longer listed after 1834, it is difficult to gauge from archival records the extent to which the gender balance among field workers changed after Emancipation. However, circumstantial evidence seems to suggest that the role of women on the plantation was reconfigured during the second half of the nineteenth century, with a turn away from field labor and a sustained presence as head staff in the Dwelling House, as suggested for example by the dress of the staff portrayed in a photograph of the Betty's Hope resident attorney's Household in 1904 (fig. 18).

Despite the fundamental differences in the ways in which field and house labor on Caribbean sugar plantation are portrayed in the historiography, and despite the radically different valuation each opposite on the spectrum of labor received under the system of chattel slavery in the British Atlantic, accounting records for the Betty's Hope plantation during slavery show that persons occupying different positions of enslavement received the same rations of food, clothing and shelter regardless of their occupation. Nevertheless, a layer of distinction did seep into the kinds of supplemental rations distributed among tradesmen and house servants. For example, tradesmen did occasionally receive supplemental rations in compensation for their work, and masons were customarily "encouraged" with supplemental rations of baitfish during major construction projects. Similarly, house servants were given livery and uniforms in addition to their

[36] Correspondence between resident attorney-managers and absentee owners suggest that, under slavery, several "seamstresses" and "house boys" might have been the illegitimate offspring's of managerial staff, who were given such assignations as an alibi against their being sold off or exchanged for African-born slaves. See Chap. 5.

annual clothing allotment, as suggested by the livery buttons and coat weights found in association with the servants' quarter (F1003) during archaeological excavations.[37]

In the decades surrounding Emancipation, the remarkable continuity in agricultural labor practices on Betty's Hope cannot bely the profound transformation of domestic life in the Dwelling House household that also unfolded between the 1810s and the 1860s. One of the remarkable changes registered in the archives is the rapid decline and eventual disappearance of household goods from the lists of stores shipped from England for use on the plantation, or from the ledgers of commodities bought in Antigua for the same purpose. In the 1720s, everything in the Dwelling House was provided for by the absentee owner, down to wine coolers, window hangings, coffee, tea pots and tins of biscuits. By the 1880s, all serving-ware has disappeared from the accounts, and the only edible goods included in the plantation stores were the oat and linseed meal used as fodder for the horses. These vanishing articles mark a process of distancing that occurred progressively between the absentee's household and that of the Dwelling House at Betty's Hope, and which was accompanied by the progressive abandonment of certain practices of food distribution established under slavery, such the rationing of cloth, grains or legumes to the laborers and staff, and the dolling out of a Christmas bonus in the form of cured meat or flour. Furthermore, the archaeological record shows that, beginning in the 1860s, the residents and staff of the Betty's Hope Dwelling House no longer obtained the tableware and utensils they used in their dining rooms from private imports brokered through the absentee owners and his agents in

[37] Throughout the nineteenth century, several indentured white servants and apprentices also lived at Betty's Hope, and benefitted from rations slightly more generous than those of chattel unfree people, including some rum and sugar.

the Metropole; rather, Betty's Hope residents tended to rely on Scottish refined earthenware manufactured for mass-export, likely obtained through resellers in St. John's commercial district.

These transformations documented in both the account books and the archaeological record of Betty's Hope show how the relationship between plantation management and domestic labor shifted over time, and how attorney-managers remained accountable to the absentee owner for these transformation through bookkeeping. Attorney-managers compiled lists of supplies, plantation stores, slaves and laborer's roles, all of which bore he mark of their personal styles of management as much as that of the expectations conveyed to them by the absentee owner. In the Betty's Hope accounts, all parameters of life on the plantation were recorded so as to be made portable, and thus opened to scrutiny, from distant transatlantic locations. At once instrumental and symptomatic, plantation accounting practices suspended the need for empathy at a distance as a gauge for the quality of the work being carried out, which had repercussions on the material provisioning of the plantation and, consequently, on the practices of hospitality carried out within the Betty's Hope Dwelling House. Tellingly, by the 1880s, Sir Gerald Codrington no longer invited the Betty's Hope attorneys-managers to dinner when they were visiting England to oversee the sale of the plantation's sugar in the Metropole.

In addition, much like the abandonment of rum distilling at Betty's Hope signaled a paring down of activities on sugar estates, the gradual transformation in the archaeological record of the Betty's Hope kitchen yard speaks to this slow shift in relations of domestic servitude and hospitality on the plantation. Sometime between the1850s and 1880s, the detached kitchen in service of the Dwelling House was significantly downsized and remodeled to include a residential component that endured until at least 1920. This remodel, as well as the presence of artifacts associated with

administrative activities such as writing slates and a lock plate, suggest that the activities of the detached kitchen and its occupants were increasingly independent from those of the Dwelling House during the latter half of the nineteenth century. This remodelling of the detached kitchen is visible archaeologically in the construction of Feature 1007 (masonry wall) on top of the flagstone surface (Feature 1009) hitherto associated with the kitchen's interior, and in the subsequent shifting to the North-East of the surface of occupation (fig. 10). Following the remodel, the building was likely used post-Emancipation as a labourer's cottage reserved for managerial staff, being being abandoned sometime in the early twentieth century (likely in the early 1930s). In the Betty's Hope kitchen yard, this course of occupation is symptomatic of broader changes occurring in the residential function of Betty's Hope plantation a generation after the abolition of slavery: the transition from low-investment slave villages to worker's cottages, the downsizing of the resident-attorney's household, as well as the changes in working and living conditions on the site following the abolition of slavery, which all had a visible impact on the archaeological signature of plantation labor in the kitchen yard.

In Antigua, the mid-nineteenth century was marked by a steep decline in the profitability of sugar estates, in part because the yield of sugar crops plummeted as a result of a protracted drought in the 1860s, and in part because West Indian sugars were decisively priced out of the metropolitan market by cheaper alternatives. During the second half of the nineteenth century, Antiguan estates also often changed hands repeatedly, notably following the Encumbered West Indian Estates Act of 1854 which facilitated the transactions of heavily mortgaged estates.[38] The

[38] This act empowered both owners of and creditors to West Indian properties to apply for mortgaged estates to be sold by decree from specially appointed courts, primarily in London, but also in a few colonies. The act specified that the proceeds from the sale would be divided among the creditors under the stipulations of the court and that, as a result, the newly sold estate would

Encumbered Estates Act prompted all but seven of the total sugar plantations of Antigua to change ownership between 1843 and 1878; and again, all but eight between 1860 and 1897 (Lowes 1995: 4). Remarkably, despite this widespread decline in the profitability of the West Indian sugar economy and Antigua's unstable landscape of ownership, the Betty's Hope plantation continued to turn a profit for its Codrington proprietors. Antigua merchant John Manning wrote to Lady Georgiana Somerset Codrington that, while 1865 had been a rough year, incredibly, the 1866 crop had yielded the largest profit on record for Betty's Hope since the celebrated crop of 1756, surpassing even the crop of 1826, which had been particularly profitable (John Manning to Lady Codrington, 16 August 1867, BL RP2616-14-D1610-C55). By then, the Betty's Hope estate had passed to Lady Georgiana's son, Sir Gerald William Henry Codrington (1850-1929), who visited the estate in 1872 (Lowe 1954:2).

During his visit to Betty's Hope, Sir Gerald visited sent letters to his mother, Lady Georgiana Somerset, comparing what he observed at Betty's Hope with the memories she kept in the 1844 diary. Sir Gerald described his accommodations at the Betty's Hope Dwelling House in the following terms:

> This is an excessively nice house & very cool & I have a very good sized room and an <u>enormous</u> bed surrounded with a mosquito curtain. Mr Holborow put up a very refreshing little shower-bath in a sort of bath room giving out of mine which looks out upon the two old windmill towers, one of which is now used for a water tank.[39] They certainly have made me very comfortable and their cook does pretty well. (...) I think and feel quite sure that Mr Holborow is a good man for his place & he certainly has got the estates in good order and the cottages & other buildings are so <u>much</u> cleaner and tidier than on any of the other estates. (Gerald Codrington to Lady Codrington, 23 April 1872, GA D1610-F46a, p.30/9; emphasis original)

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be free from any liabilities arising from previous mortgages (i.e. the estate would become unencumbered).

[39] Both windmills had presumably been decommissioned after the introduction of steam power in the 1850s.

After Sir Gerald's visit, the Dwelling House faded out of the documentary record of Betty's Hope through the 1880s and 1890s, with no mention of repair work, house inventories or notable guests. The archaeological record of the Dwelling House kitchen yard and out buildings compound corroborates this continuity in occupation: there does not appear to be any major transformation in the built environment or in trends in assemblage composition at Betty's Hope during that period. As such, the 1880s and 1890s appear relatively stable in terms of occupation on the buff, while the estate itself continued to generate some profit for its owners under the capable George Holborow (who served as resident attorney-manager of the estate from 1863 until 1891). The last decades of the nineteenth century were, nevertheless, exceedingly uncertain for plantation economy in Antigua, and they delivered harsh economic, political and environmental blows from which the plantation mode of production on the island would never recover.

Throughout the 1890s, residents of Betty's Hope, saw the crops on which their livelihood depended ravaged by protracted years of drought, epidemics of cane blights and pests, which exacerbated the already-widespread high unemployment rates that plagued the island. Several Antiguan workers, predominantly men, sought work on other islands such as Puerto Rico as well as on the American continent, notably in Panama (Lowes 1995:1). In addition, the management of sugar plantations such as Betty's Hope was increasingly influenced by large corporations such as Henckell DuBuisson & Co, which would spur Antiguan sugar producers to adopt centralized sugar processing factories as a substitute for the century-old crushing, boiling and curing houses hitherto operated independently on each plantation, in an unprecedented shift in the politics and economy of labor in Antigua (Dyde 2000, Lightfoot 2015, Lowe 995: 15-16). As the geopolitical landscape of the Caribbean changed around Antigua, the island's position as a lynchpin of British Naval power in the West Indies faded, leading to the British Navy abandoning in 1899 the naval station

known as “Nelson’s Dockyard”, which had been the bustling center of British Naval supremacy in the Leeward Islands during the 1780s and 1790s, and had furnished a young Horatio Nelson with a resented assignment during the American War (Buckley 1998, Nicholson 2002).

During the latter decades of the nineteenth century, the residential function of the Betty’s Hope site also seemed to dwindle, perhaps as a result of the growing number of towns and rural settlements that slowly reclaimed abandoned or unprofitable land hitherto guarded jealously as valuable sugar plantations. At Betty’s Hope in 1899, several unoccupied workers’ cottages located North of the Dwelling House were converted for other uses (as store or workshops for example), but in such a manner as to allow changes to be reversed at little expense should they be needed for housing again (Frank Holborow to Sir Gerald Codrington, 10 October 1899, GRA D1610-C58/2). The archaeological record of the kitchen yard suggests that the servants’ quarters (F1003) had also not been used as housing for sustained periods of time since the 1870s, and that it was likely abandoned altogether by the turn of the twentieth century. A few decades on, a 1927 inventory of Betty’s Hope reveal that only 25 cottages remained in various states of disrepair on the site at that date (Messrs. Henckell DuBuisson & Co to Sir Gerald Codrington, 24 February 1927, GRA D1610-C64/11). Nevertheless, in his autobiography, Antiguan agricultural laborer Samuel Smith portrayed Betty’s Hope as one of the last plantations of Antigua to offer its laborers gardening plots into the 1920s, which suggest that the workers settlement located North West of the Dwelling House, on the same spot as the slave quarters had been prior to the 1830s, still provided a communal node for the workers employed at Betty’s Hope at that time (Smith et al. 1988).

At the epicenter of the sweeping changes in labor relations, in industrial technologies and in transatlantic communication that shaped the long nineteenth century at Betty's Hope, resident attorney-managers and their household continued to be the representatives of generations of Codrington absentee owners in the Dwelling House. From the 1720s until the twentieth century, resident attorney-managers indeed maintained the Dwelling House on account of the Codrington absentees, and entertained guests of mark there on their behalf. One such guest was Lord Robert Nathaniel Zouche[40] who visited Betty's Hope in 1904, an event commemorated by two rare photographs taken in the Dwelling House's gardens (fig. 18 and 19). One photograph shows the front stoops of the Dwelling House while the other shows the back veranda with the corner of the kitchen yard in view; both photographs also depict two groups of sitters, centered on the House's guest of honor, Lord Zouche. Both photographs also show that, despite nearly two centuries of absentee ownership, the Betty's Hope Dwelling House was still a well-maintained two-story house, with overgrown gardens and wide verandas. The layout and general appearance of the house seems, to a large extent, to have been inherited from earlier phases of occupation on the site, of which few depictions survived. For example, the shape of the windows is consistent with a Georgian style, and the main reception rooms appear to have been on the first floor, likely retaining the open floor-plan design common to plantation houses of the eighteenth century. Nevertheless, the house also displays many stylistic elements typical of late-nineteenth century vernacular architecture in Antigua, particularly in the design of the back rotunda, which comprised an extensive wooden veranda (Bizerte 1980: 10-15, Gravette 2000: 23-26, 74-83).

[40] Robert Nathaniel Cecil George Curzon, 15th Baron Zouche (1851 – 1914) was a member of the Peerage and the son of the 14th Baron Zouche.

Another key feature of the Betty's Hope Dwelling House was its hipped roof, which had likely been the preferred roofline since at least 1778.[41] Hipped roofs were often preferred on Antiguan plantations and are still a popular style in Antiguan houses, because the shape of the roofline maximizes rain catchment and thus the volume of rainwater directed to a house's cistern. The acute scarcity of water on Antigua has indeed contributed importantly to shaping local domestic architecture, and the volume of water contained within the cisterns of a plantation house was at times called upon to illustrate the status of the owners of the house.[42] In the Leeward Islands, only a few examples of vernacular colonial architecture of the nineteenth century can still be observed; although they are often celebrated as valued illustrations of colonial architecture, most of the "great houses" that survive in Antigua today are generally inaccessible to the public. In addition, when contrasted to the crumbling vestiges of workers' houses and rural settlements, plantation great houses offer a stark reminder of the system of inequality and oppression from which they arose.

The photos taken during the visit of Lord Zouche in 1904 also give us a rare glimpse at the occupants of the Betty's Hope plantation and their metropolitan guests. The photo taken at the entrance of the House shows Frank Holborow (attorney-manager and nephew of the late George Holborow), his family, house servants and Lord Zouche, as well as several domestic servants and other personal attendants. The latter are well represented among the subjects appearing on the

[41] In 1740, Benjamin King, who inspected the Betty's Hope estate in 1740 on account of Sir William Codrington, noted: "Dwelling house lately repaired by Col. Gunthrop at great expense; the roof is so flat is must soon decay." The hip roof was presumably adopted at the Betty's Hope Dwelling House after King's visit (22 Dec. 1740, BL RP2616-13-D1610-C5), and is shown clearly in the 1778 sketch.

[42] As a reference, the capacity of the Betty's Hope Dwelling House cistern is approximately 20,000 gallons (BL RP2616-34-D1610-C20 1/4, f.17); that of an average three-bedrooms archaeology field house is approximately 3,000 gallons.

front stoops of the Dwelling House – at least 10 of the 31 sitters, judging by their clothing, footwear and position in the photograph. Eight of the subjects are barefoot, and all appear with some form of headwear, except Mrs. Holborow and the man who might be the head servant/butler of Betty's Hope. From the nineteen servants in the employ of the Dwelling House and of the resident attorney-manager on the eve of Emancipation, a core group of a half-dozen servants seem to remain by the turn of the twentieth century. None of the servants and attendants posing in the group photo appear on the second photograph of the Zouche visit, taken in the back of the House and showing its extensive octagonal wooden veranda. All of the few sitters present in the second photograph appear to be either Britons or Euro-Creoles; only Mr. and Mrs. Holborow, their two children, as well as Lord Zouche and two unidentified white men (perhaps a town agent or Lord Zoucha's travel companion) gaze back into the camera lens. [43]

In addition to being the year of Lord Zouche's visit, 1904 was also the time when Betty's Hope relocated the processing of its sugar cane to Antigua Sugar Factory (later the Gunthorpes Sugar Factory). Following the crop of 1904, the Betty's Hope crushers remained still; and the boiling house, vacant, for the first time in 230 years. Sir Christopher William Codrington (1894-1979) inherited Betty's Hope in 1929, and oversaw the sale of the Betty's Hope plantation to Major Ledeatt in 1944 (Carstensen 1993). Ledeatt's tenure was short-lived and, by the 1960s, Betty's Hope had ceased to produce sugar cane commercially. Ledeatt's tenure nevertheless impressed on GiGi the memories of work at Betty's Hope which she recounted to historians in 1987.

[43] Because they are wearing the same hats in both photographs, the people standing on the veranda are easily identified in the group photo at the entrance of the Dwelling House.

The Dwelling House was consumed by fire around 1938;[44] the empty masonry shell of the House stood as a crumbling ruin for a few decades, ripe for children's games and cut stone quarrying, until the ruin was razed sometime around the mid-century point, likely following the acquisition of the Betty's Hope site by the government of Antigua and Barbuda in 1966. The site was never deserted, however: the large cisterns that had supplied the Dwelling House were still functional and they were used by residents of the nearby Pares community, including GiGi, for laundry and drinking water in times of drought. Families and schools now use the site for gatherings and picnics, letting children play in the overgrowth that was once a tidy kitchen yard.

[44] The Betty's Hope Dwelling House was destroyed either in 1938, or sometime between 1927 and 1938, likely as a result of fire (William Triptree for Sendall & Wade to J.R.Mordaunt Esq., 6 December 1938, RP2616-16-D1610-C67).

and my teak table
with its lion-claw legs and its varnished surface

spread with fine scalloped linen, white as the sea's lace,
and ringing crystal, with a fresh wreath of orchids
like Remembrance Day, at my brass candlestick's base,

in Dennis's honour mainly, and the place cards
near the bone-china of my huge lily-pad plates.

[Dereck Walcott, Omeros (1990)]

3

THE IMPERIAL DINNER PARTY:

BETWEEN CIVILIZATION AND THE AWKWARD SPLENDOR OF HOME

The dinner party was one of the key forms of social practice through which life and labor on Caribbean sugar plantations was lived and represented during the eighteenth and nineteenth century. Dinner parties figure in several accounts of life in plantation great houses and port towns of the British Caribbean, and convivial dining more generally is a cornerstone to the idea of "plantation hospitality" which percolates through a variety of historical, anthropological and entertainment genres in narratives about colonial society in the Caribbean – as well as in the

American South.[1] The dinner party provides an entrancing point of entry into the study of hospitality and convivial life in the Anglo-American world from the 1780s to the 1900s, because it is a well-documented topic across a variety of contexts; and because, as a cultural institution, the dinner party sat at the privileged intersection of material culture, colonial discourse and documentary archives, yet remained tethered to the history of the West Atlantic's tumultuous passage through nineteenth-century modernity.

Beginning in the late-eighteenth century, the hosts and guests of dinner parties held in the houses of the "middling sorts" (Berg 2005, Davidoff and Hall 1987) participated in a codified performance of social position and status that involved the participation of other human and non-human actors, including tableware, dining rooms spaces, furniture and food. During that period, the dinner party also underwent notable changes in terms of its performative genre and material expression, following momentous cultural shifts as the development of Victorian ideologies of femininity, the surge of urban industrialization, and the rise of consumerism (Broomfield 2007, Gray 2010, Mennell 1996, Spencer 2002, Wilson 1994). Throughout the long nineteenth century, British consumers were exposed to imperial commodities and consumables that colonized their sculleries, dining rooms and parlors in growing numbers. These commodities were frequently presented and represented as interpolating Empire, Industry and Civilization in Museums exhibits across the Atlantic world, as well as in large-scale expositions such as The Great Exhibition of 1851 in London, which greeted the peoples and products of Empire as simultaneously guests and servants of Britannia (Auerbach 1999, Barringer and Flynn 1998, Kriegel 2007).

[1] On the American South: plantation hospitality figures importantly in cinematographic representations of ante-bellum life, perhaps most memorably in David O. Selznick's 1939 adaptation of Margaret Mitchell's Gone with the Wind (1936). For a Cuban counterpoint, Tomás Gutiérrez Alea's masterful La Última Cena (1976).

The new consumables of Empire contributed to multiplying the rituals of hospitality, such as high tea and dinner parties, to which the budding Metropolitan bourgeois participated to affirm their class and negotiate their social status. To that end, the idea of "taste" increasingly served as a crucial parameter of bourgeois consumerism in Britain, which guided the ways in which the quantity and, most of all, of the quality of goods consumed by the upper classes were elaborated (Berg 2005, Cohen 2006, Menell 1996, Myers 2001, Wilson 1994). By contrast, despite assumptions to the contrary in much of the historiography, the strong relationship between class, taste and consumption cultivated in Britain does not appear to have carried over neatly to colonial societies, including to those traditionally branded as "white" and "elite" – and thus, by default, as "metropolitan" in their preferences and ideals – such as the societies of Caribbean plantation owners and managers.

Rather, as I argue in this chapter, Euro-Creole and white residents of Antigua during the colonial period used convivial dining to perform the category of "home" and engage the politics of racial belonging, rather than those of "class" or indeed of "civilization" that remained primary criteria of distinction guiding British metropolitan practice. Caribbean colonial societies did not systematically invest the dinner party with the quintessential role of class performance assigned to it among bourgeois hosts and guests in Britain. One of the key parameters through which Antiguan social positioning was constituted was that of "England-as-home", which called out to the processes of displacement peculiar to the colonial Caribbean, which tended to prefigure one's position within colonial society based on one's point of origin; it is a truism to say that in Antigua, and in the Caribbean more generally, persons who traced their ancestry through Britain tended to be wealthy plantations owners, managers and merchants, while persons who traced their ancestry

through Africa were by and large coerced into slavery and excluded from reaping the staggering profits of sugar cultivation.

Over the course of the long nineteenth century, Antiguan Euro-Creoles began referring to England as "home" to mark both their proximity to Britain's fortune and their distance from the ignominious degradation of slavery. In so doing, they constructed a category of belonging through which they imagined their relation to the British empire, to non-white Antiguans and to themselves. The concept of England-as-home first appeared in the writings of persons who had been born and sometimes educated in England and who were writing about the metropole with the intent of returning there in the future. With time, Euro-Creoles and Briton increasingly began constructing England-as-home as a place of belonging purported to embody a set of material and social practices that identified Euro-Creoles as belonging with and to each other, as opposed to with and to Afro-Creoles and other non-Britons residing in the Caribbean. These material and social practices included the consumption of imported English goods and the performance of dinner parties.

In colonial British Leeward Caribbean Islands, and in Antigua more specifically, colonial societies imbued the dinner party, a highly codified British imperial institution, with the potential for subverting and reworking imperial categories of difference,[2] while drawing profusely from the ever-increasing variety of British imperial and global Atlantic goods available on Caribbean markets for their consumption. In Antiguan dinner parties, this potential for subversion was present not only in the materials and practices imported from the global Atlantic, but also in the very posturing of the dining body and of the serving body within the space of the dining room. The occupants of

[2] Including the "Savage Slot", per Trouillot 1991.

Antiguan plantations, including those of the Betty's Hope Dwelling House, used the same material culture, concepts and bodily techniques deployed by their Metropolitan counterparts in their performances of bourgeois taste and class, albeit to perform and argue about different concerns, such as those of England-as-home, which traversed colonial households in regards to the politics of social distinction. Caribbean dinner parties accomplished a work of subversion by reworking of the parameters along which difference and social distance could be established in plantation societies, entangling in the process all residents of the Betty's Hope plantation and other sugar estates of Antigua – first comprising unfree Africans, African-Antiguans and Euro-Antiguans, then their descendants. Over several generations, Antigua and its Metropole continued to use similar practices of hospitality albeit for increasingly different and distant aims, all the while engaging with the history of the dinner party itself – a sociable history that recapitulates Britain's tangle with colonial Others and her efforts to assert her ideologies of social order through the civilizing process.

The privilege of civilization: dining in the British Empire

Civilizing the Caribbean

A decade after The Great Exhibition brought to London the splendor of Victorian imperialism and industry, in a world that had seen the formal abolition of slavery in the British West India colonies (1834) but had yet to live through the bloody years of the American Civil War (1861-1865), Isabella Beeton published her seminal Household Management (1861). In her manual of "home economics", Beeton captured essential aspects of the British Victorian ideals of domestic propriety and private life while offering, perhaps unknowingly, a glimpse of the extent to which the

discourse on daily life in high-Victorian Britain was saturated by the imperial project. In the introduction to Household Management, Beeton wrote

> "It is not a dinner at which sits the aboriginal Australian, who gnaws his bone half bare and then flings it behind to his squaw. And the native of Terra-del-Fuego does not dine when he gets his morsel of red clay. Dining is the privilege of civilization. The rank which a people occupy in the grand scale may be measured by their way of taking their meals, as well as by their way of treating their women. The nation which knows how to dine has learnt the leading lesson of progress. It implies both the will and skill to reduce to order, and surround with idealisms and graces, the more material conditions of human existence; and wherever that will and that skill exist, life cannot be wholly ignoble." (Beeton 2008 [1861]: 363, emphasis original)

In this short paragraph, Beeton employed categories (aboriginal, native, privilege, rank, progress...) that are all-too-familiar in colonial discourse of the nineteenth century, and that chart some of the most well-trotted paths of post-colonial critique and imperial scholarship, including practices of Othering, essentialized social classifications, and reductionist primitivism (Said 1978, Cannadine 2001, Comaroff and Comaroff 1991, Cooper & Stoler 2007, Trouillot 1991 – etc.). In her confident and authoritative style, Beeton voiced the contemporary discourse on the duty of the British (and particularly English) Man towards his empire, and on the nature of the colonial Others who had to be reduced to civilized order; a discourse that circulated through such diverse media as advertisement, literature and public exhibitions (Barringer and Flinn 1998, Longair and McAleer 2012, Pevsner 1951). By Beeton's criteria, the people of Britain in 1861 were no doubt among the most civilized of the History of Man: not only did they engage in some of the most elaborate and codified forms of dining ever to be shared amongst commoners (including high tea and the dinner party), but they also deployed these codified forms to capaciously swallow and reduce to order the endless cargo of imperial trade spewed by the ton in the increasingly crowded cupboards of their bourgeois metropolitan homes.

While Victorian Britain represented itself as the pinnacle of Civilization and Progress by Beeton's "grand scale", it also constructed for itself the denizens of the opposite end, which she found in the reified colonial Savage, the Aboriginal, the Slave, and his lack of ornament (Trouillot 2001 and 2003, also Fabian 1983). According to British imperial ideology, the position opposite that of civilization on the scale of universal progress was closest to the state of nature, whether in terms of the blissful purity of the "noble savage", or in terms of the degenerate corruption of the barbarian. In both cases, the Savage, real or imagined, was understood as being devoid of those marks of civilization which Western metropoles were said to be perfecting, and which included such diverse practices as covering the skin in woven garments and confining bodily excretions to designated private locations (manners), participating in a state ruled by law which supported competitive struggle (democracy), as well as cultivating self-constraint in social interactions (civility) (Elias 2000 [1936], Cooper and Stoler 1997).

Between the two extremes of Civilization and Savagery existed a more ambiguous space, occupied by communities, practices and peoples that seemed to belong to neither extremes or, perhaps more disturbingly that seemed to belong to both, and thus opened up the British classificatory projects and their mechanisms of social distinction to political malleability. One notable group to be denied the crown of Civilization yet to remain unfit for the brand of Savagery in the Victorian imperial imagination, and indeed in the early British colonial imagination reaching back to the seventeenth century, were the so-called "West Indians". West Indians were wealthy plantation owners of the Caribbean who either visited the Metropole with familiar regularity, or took residence in the Metropole outright after having made their fortunes in sugar and delegated their colonial affairs to attorney-managers. The proprietors of the Betty's Hope plantation, the Codrington family, fall in this category. The general category of the West Indian can also be said to

include any Anglo-Caribbean man with strong commercial or personal connections to the Caribbean, including attorney-managers and commercial agents who spent most of their time in the Caribbean, while maintaining a toehold in the metropolitan archipelago.

The West Indians were ambiguous to the British scales of civilization because they maintained, on the one hand, identifiably British dining habits, they cultivated an interest in imperial commodities, and they were often educated in the public schools and universities of England.[3] On the other hand, West Indians also lived by rules of social reciprocity, conviviality and hospitality that exceeded the metropolitan ideals of civilization while seemingly refusing to be reduced to order. For example, when discussing West Indians, contemporary observers often insisted that the West Indian lifestyle, including the celebrated custom of drinking punch (Smith 2005 and 2008), encouraged excess over refinement (or "taste"). Observers also complained that, although such excess might be suited to the tropical dining-rooms, bedrooms, rum shops and brothels of the Caribbean wilderness, it was wholly disruptive when it arrived in Metropolitan society on the heels of wealthy West Indians. The West Indians trumped the cards of bourgeois class formation by muddling the emerging codes of taste with their purported vulgarity, and by complicating the aestheticized consumption of colonial commodities that otherwise served as an indicator of status (Berg 2005, Davidoff and Hall 1987, Gikandi 2011, McKendrick et al. 1982, Mintz 1985; on dining and wilderness: Campbell 1987, Cohen 2006, Dawdy 2010, Mennell 1996, Wilson 1994).

[3] The Codrington family is famously tied to Oxford University, where a generous bequest by Christopher Codrington the Younger in 1710 (see Chapter 1) enabled the construction and outfitting of the All Souls College Library (today the "Codrington Library", completed in 1751). Several Codrington heirs also attended Eton College.

Historians typically group the persons associated with colonial power under the heading of "planter class", used most commonly to index white plantation resident-owners who were either born in England or were of immediate English descent, and who are typically understood to be the Masters of their Estate and of the people who resided on it. The so-called planter class is also commonly expanded to include all white and Euro-Creole actors, typically male, who participated in the management of sugar plantations and shared in the profits made from the sale of sugar, rum and molasses. This extension of the term planter class to fold into one analytical category a broad range of actors and activity shows how the idea of a unified "planter class" might mislead the analyst. The so-called planter class was indeed rather heterogeneous. In many plantations, including at Betty's Hope, many actors involved in plantation mode of production: some resided on the plantation, others did not; some were English or Scottish or Irish by birth, some West Indian natives claiming British ancestry; all occupied various points in the sliding scales of whiteness, creoleness and freedom established, with varying degrees of formality, through British imperial ideologies. Furthermore, during the period of slavery (1632-1834), merchants, plantation owners, resident-attorneys and government officials of Antigua all socialized together and dined with one another, often on the products of the labor of the staff that served their dinner, of the wives that headed the table, and of the domestic partners that rounded out the company.

As such, "the planter's table" stood in for a complex network of actors and social relations, including not only plantation managerial staff and proprietors, but also domestic servants, slaves and other bound laborers who were involved in the preparation, service and success of the dinner party. Furthermore, by the mid-eighteenth century, plantation owners in Antigua were largely absentees residing in Britain or other parts of the Empire, meaning that the so-called planter class was composed chiefly of managers and resident-attorneys who took on the role of hosts in

plantation great houses in the absence of de facto owner and master of the house (the implications of absentee ownership are unpacked more thoroughly in Chapter 5). Absentee ownership in Antigua, and the system of attorney-management it engendered, continued to prevail until the end of the nineteenth century, despite the high turnover of estate ownership on the island.

Accounts for the period ranging between 1780s and 1834 make few mentions of the presence of "free-coloured" Antiguan among the guests of white hosts, and vice versa, except to note that free-colored households also adopted the dinner party as mode of sociality (Lanaghan 1844). The overall seeming lack of convivial interaction between free groups with different claims to ancestry was also likely compounded by the fact that, for the most part, free Afro-Antiguans and nonwhite Antiguans lived in or around the capital city of St. John's, where they were employed chiefly in merchant trades, and likely had little contact with the white Anglo-Antiguan populations living on secluded plantation estates where they served as managers (Lowes 1995: 7). That is not to say that the white population lived in isolation; while they may not have attended the dinner parties hosted in nonwhite household, they nevertheless had numerous occasions to socialize with nonwhite Antiguans: they went to the same auctions, rubbed elbows in the rum shops and brothels of St. John's, haggled to hire the same laborers on the docks... Also, white Antiguans and their nonwhite counterparts, both free and unfree "coloured", indeed occasionally lived in each other's houses, particularly on plantations where the unfree illegitimate children of white proprietors or resident-attorneys were often registered as "seamstresses" and "boy servants" in the service of the plantation (see Chap. 2 and 5).

After Emancipation (1834), the barriers between white and non-white sociality and civic life established by colonial racial classification did seem to momentarily relax until the close of the

1840s. In 1836, Governor McGregor invited members of the white and colored militias to a shared dinner, in an effort to "banish forever the objections to the seating of mixed and pure blood on similar occasions." (cited in Lowes 1995: 39). Similarly, it is during that period that Mrs. Lanaghan reports white and "coloured" men entering each-other's social circles, where they "walk, and talk, and dine together – drink sangria at one another's houses" (Lanaghan 1844: 189). Nevertheless, this conviviality appears to have never truly exceeded the bounds of the dining room and dissipated somewhat by the end of the decade when, despite an apparent diminution in prejudicial public discourse on nonwhite Antiguans, social boundaries were reaffirmed in the wake of the protracted economic crisis striking Antigua and the Leeward Islands in the second half of the nineteenth century. Members of the nonwhite urban elite were by then working to establish institutions such as banks and schools parallel to those ran by the white population, while continuing to be denied seats in public offices (Lowes 1995: 7 and 9).

In light of the complex politics of positioning that undergirded convivial sociality in the colonial Caribbean, dinner parties brought the civilizational ambiguity of the West Indian, and of plantation societies more generally, to the surface of social practice, which perhaps explains why the dinner parties held on sugar plantations of the Caribbean recur as a point of concern in metropolitan accounts. Accounts of dinner parties are scattered throughout the documentary archives of social life on Caribbean plantations during the eighteenth and nineteenth century and, in the case of Antigua, they often play on the themes of bodily restraint and material formalism (e.g. Carmichael 1834, Codrington 1844, Edwards 1818, Gurney 1840, Luffman 1789, Lanaghan 1844, Martin 1837, Nugent 2002 [1815], Schaw 1971 [1774], Stewart 1808). Metropolitan observers usually emphasize any difference from normative metropolitan behavior they might witness, as well as any wantonness or excess in food and drink consumption they might perceive on the part of the

colonial hosts and guests. In the context of Abolitionism, this emphasis further served as a political commentary on the state of Caribbean colonies for authors who contrasted the lavish lifestyle of plantation owners with the abject horrors of slavery and the ethics of frugal morality embraced my many religiously-motivated abolitionists (notably Moravians and Methodists in Antigua; see Prince 1841 and Saillant 2000).

By exposing the civilizational ambiguity of the West Indian and of the Caribbean planter class, metropolitan narratives also give voice to bourgeois anxieties over class formation that circulated across the Atlantic, and that find echoes in contemporary scholarship on the Anglo-American colonial sociality. These anxieties surface in the contrast that authors draw between the excessive West Indian and the more normative colonial settler of the West Atlantic, perhaps most saliently that of New England, as way to showcase and assess two divergent models of colonial sociality, the latter of which appears to embrace Metropolitan ideals more earnestly. In so doing, colonial authors also pass on to contemporary historiography a significant ambivalence in its representation of colonial subjects and of class formation in the West Atlantic. As early as the seventeenth century, the West Indian has been portrayed as invariably vulgar and dissolute: many authors (notoriously Cumberland in his The West Indian, 1771), portrayed the Caribbean planter as a coarse, gluttonous and lascivious character, intrusive and out of place in Metropolitan high society, who deserved social ridicule for the ways in which he squandered his staggering wealth, shunned refinement, and clung to modes of industry that were fast becoming anachronistic (cf. also Gikandi 2011). By contrast, in scholarship on Caribbean and Western-Atlantic colonial contexts more generally, the trope of the West Indian is often doubled with that of the privileged, white, usually Protestant settler, who emulates imperial metropolitan behavior in order to bolster his solidarity with his social peers and to perform the legitimacy of his power over New World

colonized subjects (cf. Dirks 1987, Goodwin 2002, Zacek 2007 and 2010). This appears congruent with the development of the category of England-as-home in colonial discourse from the Euro-Creole point of view, but nevertheless deserves further investigation to locate this development within the broader context of plantation slavery, absentee ownership and post-Emancipation social life in Antigua.

It is not entirely surprising that the dinner party, with its emphasis on formalized behavior and on aestheticized material consumption, should appeal to nineteenth-century British colonial societies: it provided a particularly fertile terrain for smuggling one's position within the British imperial world into habitual domestic practices, while applying its civilizing project and its modes of social distinction to local aims, such as the performance of England-as-home. As such, colonial dinner parties tended to take on some of the formal aspects of the British ideals of Civilization, which used various forms of material practices, particularly those relating to usages of the body such as clothing, bathing, and eating, to ascribe an individual or group a specific slot within the imperial classificatory scheme. The colonial society of Antigua and its Metropolitan counterpart shared a repertoire of material and discursive practices surrounding the politics of the table, which served to orient convivial dining in both locations towards diverging aims of social differentiation (along the lines of "home" for the former, and of class for the latter), all the while nurturing a sort of functional misunderstanding between Metropolitan and colonial subjects about the idea of Civilization. The history of the dinner party is, therefore, also one of colonial entanglements.

The 'dinner party' is a specific form of social ritual that progressively acquired its contemporary format over the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth century and that, in the process of this transformation, garnered a strong association with British high society. A dinner

party can be defined as the convivial gathering of six to twenty guests, invited by a host into a private dining space, most often the host's own dining room, but also occasionally an otherwise public venue such as a pub or tavern which has been reserved by the host for the private use of the dining party. Between the beginning of the eighteenth century and the end of the nineteenth, the hosts and guests participating to dinner parties in Britain and her empire mobilized bodily gestures and material assemblages in their performances, which were notably transformed by the experience of modernity. This transformation is illustrated by the shift in preference form French-style dining (*service à la française*), popular since the 1730s, to Russian-style dining (*service à la russe*) near the mid-nineteenth century point.[4] These two modes of service corresponded to different genres of formal dining, motivated by different ideologies of convivial sociality, as well as different engagements with commercial tableware and culinary arts. French- and Russian-style dining were also taken up differently in the Metropole and in the West India colonies, making them a privilege site to shed light on different constellations of social distinction within the British Empire at that time.

French-style dining (1730-1810): technique and order

The choreography and script of the dinner party as it exists today, including the relatively limited number of guests and the emphasis on casual conversation, originated in the format of the *soupers intimes* (intimate suppers) devised by Louis XV to momentarily escape the tedium of court

[4] French-style service, as its name indicate, was invented in France, while Russian-style service was allegedly first introduced to Europe by Russia's ambassador to France, Alexander Kurakin. Both styles were codified in France before being circulated throughout Europe, Britain and her empire, hence the French designation of "service à la française" and "service à la russe" usually used in etiquette manuals and household management literature (Spencer 2002).

protocol (Strong 2012, Visser 1991). The term "dinner party" is first documented in Samuel Johnson's *Dictionary* (1755), and was arguably first debated as a topic of philosophical and anthropological inquiry by Immanuel Kant, in *Anthropology from a Pragmatic Point of View* (1798). In *Anthropology*, Kant laid out the relationship between the dinner party and his theory of human nature, all the while charting a course for the study of human sociality and commensality that would be followed by social scientists for over two centuries. In an almost comical outburst of philosophical passion, Kant declared an explicit link between convivial dining and general health by stating that dining alone caused gastric distempers and was overall detrimental to one's soundness of mind. Yet according to Kant, not any and all company was healthful; only the most carefully selected company, coupled with the most appropriate state of mind on the part of the guests and the most attentive preparation on the part of the host, could yield a successful and fulfilling dinner party. Kant was devoted to the dinner party and named it an example of "civilized bliss" (Kant 1996 [1798]:186; also Cohen 2008), that is to say one of the rare social terrains that offered the possibility of resolving the contradiction between pleasure and virtue, which underpinned Kant's theory of the human character.

The kinds of dinner parties Kant had in mind when he wrote *Anthropology* were designed according to the principles of French-style service (*service à la française*),[5] inherited from the court of Louis XV, which emphasized casual conversation among the company assembled, as well as the symmetrical ordering of plentiful serving dishes on the table, in numbers proportionate to that

[5] In England, middling households also adopted a variation of French-style service, unimaginatively termed "English-style service", which included on the service of soup by the female host and the carving meats by the male host. Although the service of soup by women at table remained rather inconsequential, the carving of meats, particularly beef roast, would soon become an important status marker among British gentry, "it [became] the duty of the master of the house to carve the meat with skill and knowledge" (Ottomeyer 1998:110).

of the guests. This later characteristic is perhaps that through which French-style dining is most easily recognized, as illustrated in the elaborate templates for tablescapes proposed by Vincent La Chappelle in *Le Cuisinier moderne* (1742), which required some 80 dishes for an assembled company of 20 guests (for a similar tablescape, fig. 20a).

Accounts of dinner parties in Antigua and other Leeward islands during the second half of the eighteenth century suggest that French-style service was commonly used at that time, and that an abundance of dishes were presented on the table at once, in several courses. It is difficult to determine to what extent the presentation of dishes on British Caribbean tables adhered to the complex symmetrical templates recorded in metropolitan household manuals. Indeed, the tablescapes laid out at Caribbean dinners during the colonial period remain for the most part undocumented. Nevertheless, some information can be garnered from accounts of dinner, such as that of Janet Schaw who noted that "[t]he method of placing the meal is in three rows the length of the table; six dishes in a row, I observe, is the common number." (1774: 95-96) Though suggestive of a continental influence, such symmetry might not have endured into the nineteenth century, and it might have been a punctual practice rather than a widespread preference at West Indian tables. In a diary published some sixty years later, relating travels that took place between 1820 and 1826, Mrs. Carmichael was astonished to note that dishes in Antigua were placed on the table haphazardly "without the least apparent reference to regularity", which prompted her unremitting desire to rectify the placement of the dishes herself (Carmichael 1834: 35).[6]

[6] Whether she ever did spring into action was, however, not recorded.

The apparent disregard for symmetrical tablescapes at dinner parties of the British West Indies is perhaps best understood as a commentary on the part of the metropolitan observers, itself inscribed within a broader recurring trope of accounts of West Indian dinner parties, by which authors emphasize the abundance of food presented to the guests as opposed to the aesthetics or decorative qualities of the table settings. In his 1808 Account John Stewart remarked:

> "When an entertainment is to be given, no expense or pains are spared to render it as sumptuous as possible. The table is spread with a profusion and variety of all the viands and delicacies which industry or money can procure. ... [T]he table is at once loaded with superabundance ... in a style which rather shews the hospitality and the abundance of the master or mistress of the feast, than their taste and selection." (Stewart 1808: 187)

A decade later, reflecting on his residency in Barbados at the turn of the nineteenth century, Bryan Edwards observed:

> "[It was] not uncommon thing to find, at the country habitations of the planters a splendid sideboard loaded with plate and the choicest wines, table covered with the finest damask, and a dinner of perhaps sixteen or twenty covers; and all of this in a hovel not superior to an English barn." (Edwards 1818: 8).

And so on through most records of West Indian social life, including those relating to Antigua, notably Luffman (1789), Lanaghan (1834), Martin (1837) and Gurney (1840). Overall, it appears that geometrical table arrangements were not the chief concern of West Indian dinner parties during the long nineteenth century, despite an otherwise consistent adherence to French-style service – that is, a style of service in which the dishes were presented to the guests in courses, in collective serving vessel, directly at table. This distinction seems to be a first point at which notable differences between metropolitan and West Indian dinner parties begin to emerge – in this case in the diverging deployment of similar forms of tableware.

French-style service dictated that a large and increasing number of dishes be presented to the guest simultaneously, which therefore demanded an increasing number of serving dishes to

host dinner parties in that style; the adoption of French-style service, in turn, prompted an increase in the overall amount of tableware commonly owned by a single household. While this proliferation of tableware was initially the purview of the aristocracy and wealthy elite, it quickly became more affordable to a wider variety of social classes in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, including the growing English "middling-sort", thanks to the development of the development of mass-manufactured refined earthenwares such as those developed by Wedgwood, Spode and other industrial potteries of the Staffordshire region (Berg 2005, Born 1964, Davidoff and Hall 1987, McKendrick et al. 1982, Myers 2001). By the 1770s, ceramic bodies, including porcelain, stoneware, and refined earthenware, dislodged silver as the material of choice for serving dishes and tableware on West Atlantic markets, even reaching the table of such high-profile customers as Queen Charlotte and Catherine the Great. In addition, ceramic lent itself with unparalleled ease to crafting innovative serving dishes and table objects, including new forms such as the tureen and the epergne (a tiered dessert serving dish composed of several ornate baskets or platters held by a central base), which were also part of the dining innovations that marked the mid-eighteenth century and provided a new medium for social distinction.

The turn to ceramic table objects in the 1770s left a highly visible mark on the archaeological record of post-medieval archaeological sites of the British Isles, as well as on colonial sites scattered across the British Empire (Brassard and Leclerc 2001, Hume 1969 and 2001, Miller and Shlasko2000), from the Ivory Coast, to Newfoundland, to the Caribbean, with the introduction of the readily identifiable cream-colored wares (1763), and pearlware refined earthenware (1779). Although the adoption of these new refined earthenware ceramic technologies is readily intelligible archaeologically, the particular practices and modes of service at table to which they participated are more difficult to assess, in great part because the same

materials and forms of table object could be used and reused in a myriad of ways. At Betty's Hope, the challenge of studying modes of service and dining practices archaeologically is further compounded by fact that relatively little material culture was recovered in the archaeological assemblages associated with the service of the Dwelling House.

Indeed, the artifacts recovered from the Dwelling House kitchen yard and outbuildings compound between 2011 and 2013 were both highly fragmented (the majority being less than 50mm across) and relatively sparse compared to other archaeological contexts associated with domestic activities in the West Atlantic at the same period.[7] The relative absence of ceramic objects in the contexts associated with the kitchen might well be the result of the practice, common across the colonial Caribbean, of keeping tableware and silver under lock and key within the Dwelling House; a practice that, in effect, also kept those objects out of archaeological assemblages in the kitchen yard (Archangeli 2015:72). Furthermore, the ceramic artifacts recovered from the Betty's Hope kitchen yard were frequently too small to allow a systematic study of vessel forms, even along such basic criteria as estimated diameter and overall vessel form (i.e. open or constricted). Nevertheless, while these formal characteristics of the artifacts recovered at Betty's Hope might limit a direct reconstruction of the tablescapes and dining assemblages used in the Betty's Hope Dwelling House (including, for example, the relative proportion of tureen, serving bowls or serving platters), they do provide crucial information about the stylistic and technological

[7] This likely indicates that the kitchen yard was kept clean and relatively free of household refuse. This in turns suggests that discarded objects, presumably including table scraps, were gathered and relocated elsewhere on the site, most likely to the manure pile considering the overall scarcity and valuableness of manure on Antigua during the colonial period. A detailed description of the finds can be found in the three field reports prepared alongside this dissertation, viz. Godbout and Davis 2012, Godbout 2013, and Godbout 2016.

properties of the tableware used at Betty's Hope, and about the various trade networks that supplied them over time.

From ca.1720 until ca.1760, the archaeological record shows a clear trend in the distribution of ceramic wares associated with table service in the Betty's Hope kitchen yard. In the area associated with the detached kitchen, the few fragments of serving ceramic found were predominantly white salt-glazed stoneware. Though most of these fragments did not show a diagnostic style, some fragments did present a diaper-dot molded design, mostly identifiable on marley edges characteristic of open serving vessels such as plates or platters. By contrast, the tableware found in the area of the kitchen yard associated with the servant's quarters for the same period (ca.1710-1760) was predominantly tin-enameled earthenware. This earthenware did comprise several diagnostic fragments that suggest the predominance of small-to-medium sized bowl, with an estimated diameter of between 20cm and 30cm. This range in sizes is significant because it corresponds to that commonly encountered for punch bowls in this period, an artifact often considered representative of West Indian hospitality (Smith 2005 and 2008).

Despite the marked difference in the ceramic assemblages found in the areas of the kitchen yard associated respectively with the servants' quarters and the detached kitchen for the early eighteenth century, the ceramic assemblages associated with the second half of the eighteenth century and after are remarkably similar between the two areas. Indeed, the ceramic assemblages for the second half of the eighteenth century are dominated by refined earthenwares in a wide range of decorative styles, with a slight bias toward reddish glazes and blue transfer-print decors.

The change in ceramic assemblages recovered from the Betty's Hope kitchen yard might well reflect, on the one hand, the uniformity in style and materials brought on by the mass-

production of refined earthenware in Metropolitan potteries in the latter half of the eighteenth century, itself not inconsistent with a shift towards more homogenizing French-style dining service and tablescapes. On the other hand, despite the overwhelming adoption of refined earthenware in the latter half of the eighteenth century, ceramic assemblages from Betty's Hope do not seem to mirror the increased preference for matching ceramic tableware sets observed in metropolitan Britain at the mid-eighteenth century point, at least not until ca.1860.[8] This absence of matching tableware in the Betty's Hope archaeological ceramic assemblages would be consistent with the apparent disregard for symmetrical tablescapes suggested in travel accounts, and thus with a kind of selective adoption of French-style service in the Caribbean plantation. According to the household management literature published in Britain after ca.1770, matching tableware were coveted for their capacity to lend further visual and stylistic unity to a table set à la française – which proved a lucrative scheme for the ceramic industry. Ceramic serving-dishes could be produced quickly, comparatively cheaply and were imminently breakable, making them suitable to rapid stylistic changes and the vagaries of fashion that would mark the Victorian age – particularly in contrast to silver and silver plate which retained its visual unity across varied styles and could be acquired progressively to form a "set".

[8] Even when the transition to similarly matched refined earthenware takes place at Betty's Hope, it occurs on a completely different aesthetic regimen than the one typically ascribed to mid-nineteenth century British colonial assemblages. Specifically, the Betty's Hope assemblages dating to 1860-1900 display a noted penchant for sponge ware done in saturated and garish polychromes, while the asserted trend for high Victorian assemblages is toward neo-Gothic white monochrome tableware. As such, this might reflect the availability of imported ceramics on the local markets more than an over stylistic choice.

Russian-style dining: new assemblages of hospitality

The rising popularity of mass-manufactured refined earthenware tableware was also accompanied by the shift from French-style to Russian-style service in Britain, from *service à la française* to *service à la russe*, which brought on new rules of etiquettes and material mastery that also influenced colonial sociality in the Leeward Islands. It is in 1810 that the tables of Western Europe were first laid out in the Russian style, and Russian-style service soon had a tremendous impact on Continental and British dinner parties, already dramatically transforming the choreography of the meal by the 1830s. In contrast to French-style service where guests help themselves directly from a large quantity and variety of serving dishes, *service à la russe* presents the diners with courses of food that are already pre-apportioned, plated, sauced and paired with their appropriate side-dish (fig. 20b).[9] Although some guests at Russian-style dinners did enjoy an honorific seating position (following English dining custom, the heads of the table were reserved for the hosts, who sat their guests of honor immediately to their left), all diners received the same quantity and quality food, and enjoyed the same overall dining experience. While this may sound trivial, "everybody was offered a similar portion and everybody got the same share of food. This is an entirely new concept of human society, that guests seated at a common table should be equal in regard to what was offered to them." (Ottomeyer 1998: 113; Strong 2002:233)

In Victorian Britain, and arguably among colonial officials scattered throughout the Empire, an invitation to dinner was also a recognition of shared social position, which had to be validated by an adequate command of dining techniques, gestures used at table and rules of etiquette.

[9] The mode of serving à la russe is, generally speaking, similar to that experienced in restaurants today, particularly in the context of formal dining.

Dining etiquette and the mastery of its technical minutiae did vary between Metropole and colonies, in such a way as to produce a slight yet tangible unease or feeling of the uncanny in some metropolitan visitors to the Leeward islands (as seen in accounts by Mrs. Carmichael (1834), Sir Martin (1837) and Lady Codrington (1844), among others) and, conversely, in colonial visitors to the Metropole that would have otherwise been said to move within commensurable social circles (among the merchant or wealthy land owning classes, for example).

By the 1870s, *service à la russe* dominated British private dining and formal entertainment, through which the middle class constituted itself politically, aesthetically and socially in unprecedented ways (Mars 1994: 120, Wilson 1994: xii; Berg 2005; Davidoff and Hall 1987, Houghton 1957:4). However, it is difficult to assess to what extent Russian-style service was also adopted in the households of attorney-mangers in Antigua and of other Caribbean islands who lived in houses owned by absentees.[10] At Betty's Hope, this difficulty arises in part from the fact that the otherwise leafy documentary archives relating to the management of the plantation did not record whether tableware, including serving dishes and decorative centerpieces, were considered essential household equipment to be provided to attorneys by their employers, or whether attorneys had to supply their own. The later seems more likely: the list of plantation stores at Betty's Hope for 1717 (that is, during the Codrington residency) features an extensive dining equipage provided for use at the Dwelling House while, by the second half of the nineteenth century, accounts of plantation stores cease to comprise ceramic table objects altogether by 1864.

[10] Chapter 4 examines more closely the relative influence of metropolitan suppliers, local retailers and private imports on access to matching tableware and on the composition of archaeological assemblages at Betty's Hope.

Despite the popularity of Russian-style service in the Metropole, and indeed despite its strong association with aristocracy and the uppermost upwardly mobile of the bourgeoisie, French-style service likely remained dominant at Antiguan tables,[11] albeit in a modified form that combined French-style presentation with Russian-style rules of etiquette. Furthermore, Antiguan etiquette, dining habits and the composition of company stayed remarkably unchanged following the abolition of slavery in 1834, as did the over-all positon of the Dwelling House household within the plantation system. The Betty's Hope plantation might here figure as an anomaly in the history of the Leeward Islands, considering that Betty's Hope remained in possession of the Codrington family and attached to the title of Baronet of Dodington from 1674 until 1944, which certainly contributed to the relative continuity in provisioning strategies and dining practices observed on the estate among a relatively narrow circle of well-acquainted performers (Lowes 1995: 35).

The performance of home

Techniques of the dining body, choreography of the meal

British imperial and Euro-Creole dinner parties, both in the metropole and her colonies, thus dictated the kinds of objects that should appear on the table and how these objects should be manipulated. Dinner parties also codified the whole of the relationship between hosts and guests during the time allotted to the dinner party. By the beginning of the Victorian era, British

[11] Despite the rise of Russian-style service in most private functions, French-style service remained de rigueur for state dinners and feasts at the table of European and British heads of state through the nineteenth century.

dining etiquette posited that the success of a dinner party depended on the interpolation of a specific set of material and social conditions, which included tableware, table settings, choice of menu and selection of guests. This interpolation was outwardly visible in the movements of diners and objects during the convivial gathering, which depended on a set of techniques of the body here defined as the "ways in which from society to society men know how to use their bodies." (Mauss 1973: 70).

Techniques of the body are ensembles of actions and gestures performed by the human body, such as walking, swimming, sitting and eating. These gestures often involve the interpolation of the human body with non-human materiality, they can be learned through proper apprenticeship, and can subsequently be performed, as assemblages, in the specific sequence required for them to achieve their desired end. Dinner parties relied on codified gestures that assembled, dis-assembled and re-assembled human bodies with the material world, while also policing the process of their interpolation. Through the concept of "techniques of the body", the dinner party is exposed as a situated history of bodies in action, as a fleeting assemblage and transient performance, as well as a practice of hospitality that took place in the context of specific cultural expectations. On such expectations, Mauss remarked that is was by "[imitating] actions which have succeeded and which he has seen successfully performed by people in whom he has confidence and who have authority over him" that the apprentice learned to master techniques of the body (1973: 73).

Imitation must here be distinguished from emulation as an efficacious mode of social action, a crucial conceptual distinction that many studies of modern consumerism and of Western convivial dining tend to overlook. Imitation is the replication of social behavior with the goal of

duplicating it exactly. By contrast, emulation requires that a logic of competitive excess be built into the replication of socially efficacious behavior, which transforms that behavior through a performative amplification. As such, models of dining habits that may assume dining was, by default, emulative during the modern period tend to uncritically accept the social authority and influence of upper-class practices on those of lower groups, and by extension of metropole on colony. The influence of upper-class/metropolitan practices is often considered to exert an inescapable and even desirable pull on consumer practice across a broad social spectrum, as it "trickle down" the social ladder (Bourdieu 1984 [1979], Mennel 1996, Veblen 1936 [1899]; for implications in historical archaeology: Goodwin 2002, Hayes 2011, Hodge 2014, Mann and Loren 2001, Miller 1980 and 1991, Pezzarossi 2014, Spencer -Wood 1987, Klein 1991; critical reviews in Majewski and Schiffer 2009, Mullins 2011:140). Such top-down authority was not always actualized in practice and deserves further consideration.

The assumption that upper-class practice exerts a dual effect of trickle-down and pull ascribed is problematic for the analysis of colonial contexts, firstly because it takes for granted that the idea of an "upper class" in the Western Metropolitan sense can be transposed to colonial societies relatively unchanged, while retaining its analytical pertinence and usefulness. Secondly, the use of trickle-down models to explain colonial practices of consumption discounts colonial innovations and re-contextualization as irrelevant to the constitution of cultural models of ideal social behavior held by members of colonial societies, and it thus risks confining them to the role of mere apprentices to metropolitan modes of convivial consumption. In the context of historical scholarship on colonial sociality, including in the British Caribbean, emulative models of consumption and convivial practice thus reinforce the metropolitan position as being the most relevant to understanding the history of hospitality and convivial eating across colonial societies, all

the while portraying the Metropole as an epicenter of cultural practice, and precluding the start of serious investigations into the production of social order in colonial settings. This preference for metropolitan practice as an explanatory model further occludes work of cultural negotiation that accompanied colonial encounters in the West Atlantic and that inflected the very process by which the apprenticeship of techniques of body such as those underlying the dinner party, were made efficacious in colonial societies.

Indeed, the efficacy of the dinner party depended in great part on how techniques of the body were deployed in the formation of dining assemblages, following a sort of scripted choreography that itself illuminates the history of the dinner parties as a British imperial institution. What those techniques entailed in the colonial Caribbean was markedly different than in the metropole, as illustrated by the persistence of French-style service in Antigua. Another important distinction between dinner parties in Britain and in the West India colonies, at least in the case of Antigua and Jamaica, was the predominant homosocial character of most dinner parties hosted by settlers and Euro-Creole groups. In the British Caribbean, men vastly outnumbered women among the people identified as free and "white" in colonial censuses, while the unfree portion of the population tended to present a more balanced distribution of the sexes. Consequently, men were the primary *convives* of the superabundant dinner tables of the West Indies, with a strong presence of military officers in civilian social events including dinners hosted on plantation estates. One observer, Lady Maria Nugent, often remarked on this in the diary she kept of her Jamaican residency (1801-1806). In an entry dated 18 August, 1801, she wrote: "A large party at dinner; Lord Hugh Seymour and his Flag Captain (Penrose), the Rev. E. Ward, Mr. Mitchell, Colonels

Gillespie and Wale, &c. &c. Mrs Pye the only lady." (2002 [1815]: 24).[12] By contrast, Metropolitan dinner parties[13] maintained a relative balance between the sexes, particularly after the practices of alternating between an equal number of male and female guests around the dining table was popularized by John Trusler's etiquette handbook, *Honours of the Table* (1791).

Despite the different gender composition of dinner parties in Britain and in the Leeward Islands, Britons and Antiguans participated in dinners parties that shared an overall similar choreography during the Victorian era. The choreography of the dinner party as a meal was organized by the individual place-setting still familiar on Western dinner tables today (knives to the right, forks to the left; bread plate to the upper left, glasses to the upper right, etc.). Individual place-settings were well-suited to the minimal intrusion of the dining body onto the dining surface (no elbows on the table, napkin on the lap, avoid spilling food on the tablecloth and reaching over fellow diners), as well as the sequence and overall temporality of service it required (the meal is served in courses, from savory to sweet, with a clear beginning and end). The dinner party thus relied on bodies and non-humans acting in concert in the space of the dining room; to paraphrase Bourdieu, the form of the dinner party was before all "a matter of rhythm." (Bourdieu 1984:196).

The choreography of the Victorian dinner is perhaps best illustrated by the full description of it provided by Anna Maria Fay in her 1923 memoirs. Anna Maria Fay visited England as a young

[12] Lady Nugent is one of the few commentators to remark systematically on the gender composition of the company at table. Otherwise, the dominant presence of men in Antiguan society, and indeed in Caribbean society more generally during the colonial period goes widely unmentioned. This is perhaps, unsurprisingly, due to the fact that a majority of accounts were penned by men.

[13] Men continued to be the quasi-exclusive guests and customers of meals taken in taverns and coffee houses until well into the 1860s, when the new concept of "restaurant" altered the gendered landscape of public dining towards other institutions (Kay 2015).

American woman in 1851-1852, and she wrote a detailed description of a dinner party she attended at the seat of Robert Henry Clive and Lady Harriet Windsor, in the English countryside (Fay 1923: 79-84). The sequence of events, gestures and tablescapes she described were fairly common across dinner parties held in Britain from the mid-nineteenth century to the end of the Edwardian period (1910), and provides a useful heuristic for understanding the choreography of dinner parties in the British Atlantic during the long nineteenth century.

Guests were first welcomed by house staff and ushered into the drawing room where they were announced to the company. According to Fay, the male guests and host would shake hands although guests would not greet each other in that manner; a slight bow or curtsey was usually sufficient. Fay also writes that no formal introductions were made between the guests, that "It was not until the end of the evening that we knew who composed the party" (Fay 1923: 79) though the guests already present in the drawing room when the Fays were introduced had presumably thus learned the names of the new members of the company.

After all guests were assembled and a gong was sounded to signal that dinner was ready, the hostess paired male and female guests so that each male guest escorted a female guest to the dining room, though never their spouses or the woman they accompanied into the drawing room initially. The pairs thus formed would then become table neighbors. It was customary for the hostess to be "led in" by the male guest of honor, or male guest of the highest social rank, and for the host to lead in the female guest of honor. The guests lined up and filed into the dining room, the host and his female charge first, the hostess bringing up the rear. The hosts usually sat at either end of the table, with the female guest of honor seating to the left of the host, and the male guest of honor to the right of the hostess. The center of the table was decorated with flowers,

confectionary, porcelain ornaments and silver candle-holders placed on glittering mirrored platters; the place reserved for each guest at the table was laid with individual dining equipages, complete with a folded cloth napkin (sometimes containing a dinner bread roll), glasses, and all the silverware necessary to the meal (except for desert, desert spoon and forks being brought in separately). Dinner then proceeded in courses.

After the dessert service had been cleared, the hostess endeavored to catch the eye of the female guest of honor, so that she may signal the ladies to rise and retire to the drawing room for tea and coffee, while the gentlemen remained at table a while longer for claret and, depending on households, smoking. After retiring, women would engage in informal conversation, some attending to needlework if residing at the house where the dinner took place. The men, meanwhile, would carry on the kinds of conversations that were deemed unsuitable for a mixed company, including business, politics and other topics concerning public life. Occasionally, the interlude of androsociality afforded to men might even be dedicated to the performance of the ritual of the loving cup, in which a double-handed cup is passed around for each of the guests to drink from it in turn.

Euro-Creole dinner parties

Fay's account of the dinner party illustrates how hosts and guests were organized differently in their movements in and out of the dining space according to their gender. They also partook in different kinds of post-dinner entertainment. Antiguan hosts and guests included the procession to dinner, followed by the momentary separation of female and male guests, to the choreography of their dinner parties. It seems indeed that Caribbean dining circles followed rather

systematically the custom of men taking claret while women retired, as early as 1801 in Jamaica (Nugent 1815) and certainly at least since the 1830s in Antigua though most likely before then (Lanaghan 1843). Travel accounts, including the diary of Sir Henry W. Martin (1837), also note that the time spent by men at the table after the women retire was typically much shorter in Antigua than in the Metropole, despite a notably longer time allotted to each course in Antigua overall. In Britain in particular, and arguably less so in Antigua, the place of women in the dining room and in the drawing room as a space of conviviality mirrors the changes in discourse and ideologies of domestic femininity that marked the Victorian era.

In Victorian Britain, ideals of femininity were redefined in terms of the role of women as the chief organizers of domestic consumption, as illustrated in the work of Beeton (2008 [1861]), and as the moral pillars of the family within the sanctity of the private home, the space best suited to delicate nature (Davidoff and Hall 1987, Flanders 2004: 5, Gray 2013). The nature of Man, by contrast, was of course best suited to the business of capitalist speculation and of colonial conquest; of public drinking, coffee house sociality and tavern dining (Ellis 1956, Kirby and Luckins 2007, Thompson 1963). These shifting ideologies of domesticity and gender-at-home inscribed the separation between the socializing spheres of men and women within the very architecture of domestic spaces in British bourgeois homes, particularly in regards to the separation of the spaces where food was prepared (kitchen, scullery and office) and where it was consumed (dining room for evening meals, and sitting room for tea and luncheon) (Cohen 2006). By the 1830s, Victorian domestic architecture systematically comprised a separate dining room that isolated the diners from the smells of the kitchen where their meals were prepared, as well as a network of paths and staircases unseen by guests and ignored by the owners of the house, which connected the living areas with the areas used by the serving staff (Strong 2002: 242). In Victorian domestic

architecture, dining was thus marked as an activity socially significant enough to deserve its own space, and the performance of the meal was simultaneously affirmed as being the socially efficacious aspect of convivial practices through the concealment of the service areas where the meal was prepared and through the radical separation of the paths through which diners and staff circulated, respectively from drawing room to table and from kitchen to dining room (Goffman 1959, Musson 2009).

By contrast, in the British Leeward islands, the spaces dedicated to cooking and dining were already separated de-facto by the preponderance of detached kitchen, including at Betty's Hope (Arcangeli 2015). Furthermore, large estate houses of the British Caribbean of the nineteenth century were typically laid out following an open floor plan that maximized airflow and that could be enclosed using moveable dividers as needed to delineate different areas of activity within the reception room (fig. 21). Event Government House, the residence of the Governor of Antigua since 1810, was built in that fashion. In the case of houses built in the 18th century, including the Betty's Hope Dwelling House, it is possible that the open character of their floor plan was an artifact of the time when they were originally built, before the general adoption of the designated dining room.

In the case of Betty's Hope, the Dwelling House likely retained the same overall layout from its initial construction ca.1710 to its destruction in the 1930s. The main change in the layout of the Dwelling House reception rooms was the reduction of the East wing in 1813 with the addition of an octagonal veranda on that side. Nevertheless, these transformations likely had little effect on the layout of the reception rooms on the first floor, which appear to have remained opened. According to Lady Georgiana Codrington, who visited the estate in 1844, the living and dining areas were then still separated by moveable screens and ornamental architectural fans (BL RP2616-33-

D1610-C23, GA D1610/F43:63). As such, the backdrop to West Indian dinner parties of the nineteenth century, even those held in private plantation houses on deeply isolated agricultural estates, remained more open to the serving staff and other non-guest observers than their metropolitan counterparts, and they never adopted the degree of seclusion encountered in wealthy English country homes by the end of the nineteenth century.

While the privacy of eighteenth-century dinner parties, including those hosted by Kant, was instrumental to enable unfettered conversations and debates, in Victorian England, the idea of privacy was most closely associated with the development of a "domestic sphere" separated from the public one. Though separated from it, the domestic private sphere nevertheless reflected the public one, because the choice of guests one welcomed into one's home progressively came to reflect the public connections and social standing of the hosts in the public world (Gray 2010, Kay 2015, Mars 1994). And so too did the dinners hosted at Betty's Hope reflected on its absentee owner. As such, the dinner party became a key locus of permeability between the private and the public spheres, two nodes of social practice that were, and often continue to be, conceptualized as separate and mutually exclusive from the perspective of gender. While men were charged with establishing productive, commercial and political connections in the outside world, women were "recast as domestic goddesses in the newly fashioned private sphere of life. And central to that sphere was the dinner party over which these goddesses were to preside." (Strong 2002: 276; also Sussman 2000). In Caribbean contexts, including at Betty's Hope, the politics of the so-called private sphere were further complicated by the institution of slavery, and by the ambiguous quality of dinners hosted by attorneys residing in the house of an absentee proprietor (see Chapter 5).

Despite similarities in the techniques of the body and choreographies deployed during dinner parties in Britain and in Antigua, certain notable differences thus set the Antiguan dinner party apart from their metropolitan counterpart. These distinctions included the predominance of male guests, the longer temporality of service, the custom of drinking punch, as well as the relative openness of the dining room as a space of conviviality. In addition, contemporary accounts suggest that hosts and guests at Caribbean dinners were more tolerant of the presence of pets at table. Sir Martin, for example, was troubled by the tamed pigeons that perched on the shoulders of guests during dinner at Dr. Osborn's estate (1837: 91), while Nugent was amused when Lord Balcarres' pet piglet invariably appeared in the dining room in search of scraps (1815: 14). A more significant characteristic of Antiguan dinner parties, and one that perhaps was less vulnerable to individual eccentricities, was the very food served at dinner, particularly in regards to the use of culinary shortcuts and the management of leftovers.

In Britain, because Russian-style service involved pre-plated meals, it also afforded occasions for using culinary shortcuts, substitutions and leftovers in a way that the abundant presentation of dishes required by French-style service did not (Attar 1991, Broomfield 2001: 144, Mars 1994). In this regard, it is unsurprising that the Victorian cookery books reveal a "delight in mock recipes" (Spencer 2002: 288), a delight that arguably led to what Mennell has termed the "decapitation of English cookery" – that is, an alleged impoverishment of the English culinary tradition that still inflects contemporary perception of British cuisine abroad (Mennell 1996: 204). By contrast, surrogate foods, leftovers and "mocks" do not seem to have been as popular in the Leeward as they were in the Metropole, in part because fresh produce was readily available year-round, and the very tropical climate that ensure this availability also made the preservation of leftovers near impossible before the advent of widespread refrigeration. Rather, in the Leeward

Islands, and certainly at Betty's Hope, leftovers were also usually circulated among the serving staff immediately after dinner rather than being kept and recombined for a subsequent meal within the Dwelling House.[14]

Caribbean cuisine in the Leeward Islands also never shared Metropolitan enthusiasm for "mocks" and shortcuts, in great part because the cooks of creole and African descent who staffed the kitchens of plantation houses, including the Betty's Hope Dwelling House, overwhelmingly dictated the flavors and cooking techniques deployed in Caribbean cuisine during the long nineteenth century, and were perhaps more likely to use local tropical produce and fish than metropolitan cooks and housekeepers had they been transplanted to Caribbean locations. In her 1756 cookbook, The British Housewife, Bradley noted the following about "cayan" peppers: "we imported this from the Negroes of our Plantations. The Fruit is common in Africa, and they having been accustomed to eat it there, shewed our People the Way in America, and they have taught us." (cited in Bickham 2008: 107) Similarly, in 1774, Schaw noted that in Antigua fish was generally dressed with rich and spicy sauces, and that pepper pods as well as fresh limes were laid by every plate so that the diners might liberally season their food (Schaw 1774: 96). That African-descended cooks influenced the cooking techniques used in the kitchens of Betty's Hope is also illustrated by the continued presence of fragments from thick low-fire coarse-earthenware cooking vessel in the archaeological assemblages found in the Betty' Hope kitchen yard (fig. 22a and 22b). These vessels, both in the forms of "yabba" cooking pots and flat griddles, are associated with a local African-Antiguan fabrication (Hauser 2009, Nicholson 1995, Rebovitch 2011), and seem to

[14] Such practices are suggested in Mr. Oliver's "Hints and Regulations" to his successor as resident attorney-manager of Betty's Hope, James Walrond, ca.1784 (RP2616-33-D1610-C15). Leftovers were redistributed among the serving staff – see Chapter 4.

indicate the enduring of non-Western cooking practices brought over by first-generation slaves and perpetuated by their descendants who served as household staff at the Dwelling House until well after Emancipation. The influence of unfree African and African-Antigua cooks and their descendants might also be part of why, in colonial Antigua, dinner parties and convivial gatherings never acquired the same goal of upward social mobility as their metropolitan counterparts, and were instead concerned with the ways in which intimacies among all members of the plantation household manifested.

The intrusive servant

African-descended and African-Antiguan staff, both under slavery and after Emancipation, influenced the lives of Euro-Creole planters and administrators well beyond culinary practice, in many aspects of colonial lives. Servants and domestic slaves were intimate participants to the daily life of plantation houses, including the Betty's Hope Dwelling House and they, like the staff of British homes, played a key role in preparing and serving the many dinner parties that took place there. According to metropolitan criteria, the role of servants in the performance of dinner parties was transformed by the rise of Russian-style service, as the practice for diners to help themselves and each other directly from serving dishes was increasingly replaced by the intervention of a retinue of servants. This change in the respective role of diners and serving staff in turn helped reconfigure the relationship between guests and relegate well-performed service to an essential and highly technical, yet necessarily unobtrusive, component of the dinner party. The proximity and degree of interaction between guests and servants was yet another point of departure between metropolitan and Caribbean practices of hospitality.

According to British metropolitan dining etiquette of the nineteenth century, servants, or more specifically the presence of serving bodies, were increasingly effaced in the wake of the introduction of Russian-style dining and of the formalization of bourgeois domestic manners. Because the dinner party was regarded as an event that occurred strictly between hosts and guests despite the essential participation of cooking and serving staff, servants attending to dinner parties were expected to interact as little as possible with the guests. Ideal domestic servants knew to anticipate their employer's needs while remaining for the most part unseen, avoiding eye contact and refraining from engaging conversations with guests. In the Leeward Islands, the African-descended and Creole domestic staff of plantation dwelling houses appear to have had more interactions with the diners than their metropolitan counterparts, answering back to the queries of hosts, while also casting themselves as spectators of white planter entertainment in Antigua. For example, Lady Georgiana Codrington wrote in her diary that dining rooms of Antigua "are much cooler with the Jalousies wall the windows open & the room never gets fusty unless they allow the black people to crowd outside the windows whilst looking on or dancing as they do mostly whenever they hear any music which certainly then makes the most dreadful smell" (1844: 69). In her account, the voyeurism of "black people" is further aggravated by their bodily odor, which Codrington understands in terms of a dirtiness that also stands in contradistinction to the neatness expected of metropolitan serving staff, [15] the only non-invited guests suffered to participate in private bourgeois convivial gatherings.

[15] This expectation did not extend to all household workers; indeed, scullery maids performed some of the filthiest and most physically demanding tasks, such as polishing pots and cleaning fire places, which made their appearance predictably and consistently dirty.

In the Metropole, a servant's skin was abject, and any direct contact between it and the table objects used by dining guests, let alone with the food to be consumed by the guests, was unthinkable in British ideals of purity and danger at the dinner table (Douglas 1966). To that end, servants attending to dinner parties were asked to wear gloves or, in the event that gloves hindered their safe manipulation of fragile dishes, the visible portion of their hand had to be covered with a white napkin or cloth (Brears 1994: 102). By contrast, throughout the long nineteenth century, servants in the West Indies maintained a visible presence at dinner, and their physical appearance, most particularly the texture and color of the skin of black servants, was conspicuous part of the aesthetic landscape of dinner parties. Black and creole servants of the Leeward Islands were objectified and aestheticized in a different way than their white counterparts; for example the Right Honourable Ralph Lord Lavington[16] had a notorious disgust for the black skin of his Antiguan servants, nevertheless doubled with a fetishistic fascination. "He had, of course, an immense number of attendants, but he would not allow any of the black servants to wear shoes or stockings, and consequently his ebon footmen used to stand behind his carriage as it rolled along, with their naked legs shining like pillars of jet, from the butter with which, in accordance to his Excellency's orders, they daily rubbed them." (Lanaghan 1844:136-137)

That Lavington's servants went barefoot was not, in itself, unusual: a wide variety of accounts of plantation life, from Colonial Office correspondence to travelogues, confirm that domestic servants of African descent in Antigua typically did not wear stockings, and only rarely wore shoes. At Betty's Hope, domestic staff nevertheless likely made a limited yet notable use of livery, uncommon across most estates of Antigua, attested by the presence of numerous coat

[16] Lord Lavington was Captain-general and commander-in-chief of his majesty's Leeward Caribbee Islands from 1771 to 1775, then again from 1779 until his death in 1807.

weights in the assemblages of recovered from the kitchen yard, as well as by a livery button found in the surface collection of servants' quarters dating to 1852-1875. The limited use of livery was also part of a tendency to aestheticize and objectify the black skin of domestic servants, who became coveted ornaments, embodied ebony and objects of desire. Far from being a new development, this fascination with blackness is found early on in British colonial culture, for example through the blackamour ornamental motif (Gikandi 2012; also Comaroff and Comaroff 1991, Johnson 2004).

At Caribbean dinner parties, the black skin and overall appearance of the serving body was manipulated with clothing and ointments to make it more desirable, in a manner that likely more titillated than repulsed Metropolitan visitors. By contrast, although the sight of black skin might have thrilled dinner guests, travel diaries and correspondence suggest that contact with this skin and the smell emanating from it tended to be perceived as unpleasantly intrusive, or even repulsive, by guests at plantation houses in the nineteenth century. Such repulsion is clear in Lady Codrington's writing, as well as in Lady Nugent's diary. As disappointed as Lady Nugent was about the lack of female dining companions during her Jamaica residency, she was most vocal about what she perceived to be the intrusive odors of the serving staff, particularly unfree black men and women. About a large state dinner held in Montego Bay in April 1802, she writes that she felt relief upon entering the ballroom after dinner because, although the room was crowded and hot, "the smell of the blackies [sic] and of the hot meats was absent, and that was some comfort [sic]." (1815: 121).

Codrington and Nugent provide a vivid sketch of the kinds of social inequality and posturing that underlay Leeward Caribbean convivial dining culture; their remarks also touch on

three points of intersection between dinner parties and British colonial domination, namely the relationship between material consumption and transatlantic exchange, the gendering of domestic life and "the home", as well as the importance of policing bodies, particularly those occupying an ambiguous or transgressive space in the colonial social order, as in the case of the black domestic slave/servants living in and around plantation great houses. The repulsiveness to Metropolitan observers of the smell and touch of black servants was further compounded by what they perceived as inappropriate interactions between servants and diners at the West Indian table, and between servants and their masters in the Leeward islands more generally. Not only did servants interact with their master and employers in a more cavalier manner than was normally permitted in the Metropole, there was also a more open acknowledgement overall that domestic servants were fed off the leftovers of the master's table and that they were an integral part of the intimate life of the plantation household.

Overall, it thus appears that the dinner party was a more permeable social space in nineteenth-century Antigua than in the Metropole, both before and after the abolition of slavery and the legal disaggregation of bound members from the plantation household. While the metropolitan dinner party closed back on itself as the nineteenth century progresses and displayed an increasingly complex classification of guests, hosts, tableware and servants, the West Indian dinner apparently maintained and even cultivated a high degree of intimacy between diners and servants, gathered in the cool openness of colonial houses, and harbored a more relaxed attitude toward the formal organization of table objects such as serving vessels. The comparatively intimate and relaxed character of the Caribbean dinner party is further illustrated by the practice of opening the house to the slaves during for a feast and dance at Christmas (cf. chapter 4).

Christmas celebrations provided a terrain for cultural negotiation, building on the kinds of intimacy that characterized the system of resident labor and the participation of African-Antigua servants and bound laborers in the practices of hospitality in the Dwelling House, including dinner parties. The proximity and permeability of free and unfree sociality in the Leeward Islands, both in the dining room and around the plantation, at Christmas and on ordinary days, seemed by contrast to take on the appearance of promiscuity in light of the metropolitan ideals. A certain work of cultural negotiation must have occurred on the part of metropolitan observers who were confronted with West Indian hospitality and with the necessity of finding a suitable slot for these self-identifying Englishmen of the Caribbean, who seemed to share neither in the savagery of their Afro-Caribbean counterparts, nor in the fully bourgeois civilization of their metropolitan kinsmen – who, in sum, recapitulated the civilizational ambiguity of the West Indians from the perspective of the British Imperial project.

Awkward splendor: The Savage Slot and post-Emancipation dining

Overall, the formation of creole dining in Antigua was characterized by the persistence of superabundance French-style service, by the proximity of serving staff to the dinners assembled at table, and by the culinary prowess of African-descended and Creole cooks. Antiguan dinner parties on plantation estates such as Betty's Hope were also co-constituted by the construction of England-as-home through Creole practice, in a drift away from the definition of England through the metropolitan metropolitan geopolitical configurations (Colley 2005).

Antiguan practices of hospitality and the dining techniques deployed in Caribbean dinner parties exceeded British metropolitan templates of class formation and of social distinction

through consumer taste. This excess highlights the ambiguous relationship of West Indian colonial society to British ideals of Civilization and Progress, despite the determination of Antiguans to maintain a connection to England as their place of cultural belonging, their "home". Antiguans and Euro-Creoles who referred to England as home constructed for themselves an alternate geography of belonging that troubled imperial geographies of imagination through the shared category of "England" and the shared practice of the dinner party. The disjuncture between the specific practical and imagined contents of England-as-home performed in Antiguan practices of hospitality and the England coming into focus through the formation of class in the Metropole, contributed to the civilization ambiguity of Creole conviviality from the point of view of the British imperial project. By performing England-as-home, Euro-Creoles of Antigua scrambled the British imperial categories of social distinction as well as the position of West Indian colonial society within the "grand scheme" of civilization, in which there could be only one England (pace the Union of 1707), rather than the duplicitous category encountered in the Caribbean colonies, as the pinnacle of its achievement.

One West Indian who referred to England as "Home" was Lady Clarke, the wife of the Chief Justice of Barbados, whom the ever condescending Lady Codrington mocked in her diary, going so far as to disdainfully transliterate Lady Clarke's Bajan accent:

> "may I ask (I beg y^{r} pardon for being so curious) what is <u>your</u> native country? "I am a na<u>tif</u> of <u>By</u>ar<u>by</u>d<u>t</u>oes" [sic] I very nearly laughed in her face I <u>was</u> so convinced before hand of the fact but was determined I sl^{d} make her say it. The breakfast to us poor English people was quite uneateable [sic]" (emphasis original; Codrington 1844: 33-34)

Lady Codrington's cruel mimicry reflects the condescending attitude adopted by many Metropolitan observers when faced with the exuberance of West Indian dinner parties and the relative degree of cultural permeability, and therefore uncertainty, they afforded in regards to the

British civilizing process. At dinner parties, this permeability manifested for example in the ways in which similar table objects and compatible choreographies of the meal could be deployed towards divergent ideals of hospitality in Antigua and in the Metropole. The mark of this divergence followed West Indian absentees in England as well; in the case of Antiguan absentees, Luffman wrote during his residency at Antigua in the 1780s:

> "those persons who follow the huckstering business, are generally the most successful in accumulating riches, many of these people having acquired property sufficient not only to purchase estates here [at Antigua], but also to retire home (i.e. that is to England) where they live in aukward [sic] splendor on the profits which have arisen" (Luffman 1789:47-48).

By naming the "awkward splendor" of West Indian lifestyle, Luffman here qualifies precisely the site at which Metropolitan models of social classes failed to neatly encompass Antiguan practices of hospitality into the dominant slots of colonial imagination – the "awkward splendor" of Antiguan dinner parties fit neither the Civilized nor the Savage slots, because it was equally masterful, abundant, colonial, ill-mannered, excessive and subversive. Although Antiguan dinner parties might have been "splendid" to Luffman, they nevertheless could not be accounted for on the terms of the Metropolitan bourgeois ideals of class and domesticity, in part because they were concerned with different categories of belonging than those most salient in Metropolitan dinners. In other words, Antiguan dinner parties, and by extension the guests and hosts who participated in them, were both, and neither, quasi-civilized and quasi-savage.

These labels of quasi-savage and quasi-civilized seem to befit the managerial class in the Leeward Caribbean, including in Antigua, because they tended to participate in British imperial projects including plantation slavery without reluctance, while nevertheless embodying the permeability and plasticity of British cultural classificatory scheme, perhaps most saliently those

policing race and freedom. In doing so, the members of colonial society in the Leeward Caribbean exposed, perhaps unwittingly, the means through which the British civilizing project could be subverted from within. The glimmer of subversion carried by Antiguan dinner parties that married British metropolitan forms of cultural practice and techniques of the body with British Caribbean ideas of England-as-home, came in part from the awkward fit between practices of hospitality among the plantation managerial class of Antigua and the metropolitan templates of civilization enforce through such practices in Britain. Antiguans spoke of England as their homeland with the distinctive accents of West Indian natives; they served hot peppers and tropical fish stews in English bone China; and they hosted private dinner parties that were freely witnessed by uninvited bound laborers through opened windows.

To Antiguans, the facts of birth and education, reflected in the embodiments of dining techniques, were beside the point of what the concept of "home" might mean, and therefore of what the relationship between Antigua and England was all about, in a context where they, the Anglo-Antiguans, Euro-Creoles and resident attorney-managers of Betty's Hope and other estates, appropriated both Anglo-British and Afro-creole modes of convivial hospitality for their own purposes. As such, the dinner party served to materialize this England-as-home and create a space in which it could be performed, and therefore legitimized. Although it might be tempting to regroup the processes shaping convivial practices on plantations of Antigua under the broad heading of "creoledom", the term might downplay the self-conscious attachment Antiguan plantation resident-attorneys cultivated with England as their place of belonging, thus raising the political stakes of the civilizing process among colonial settlers who remain, on the whole, willing and active participants in the British imperial expansion.

More specifically, Antiguan plantation hospitality recast the politics of the civilizing project in terms of a disruption of the practical manifestation of class and decadence, which not only vexed Anglo-European models of ancestry, but further engaged the classificatory relationship between "blackness" and "whiteness" that underpinned racist ideologies common in colonial contexts,[17] on the intimate terrain of convivial hospitality. This relationship was further complicated by the abolition of slavery (1834 in Antigua) which, despite its tremendous consequences for legal subjecthood, for British imperial administration and for the compensation of labor in the sugar-producing Caribbean, seem to have done little to shift the categories of belonging underpinning Antiguan convivial hospitality, including that of "home". Indeed, at Betty's Hope, much of the practices of hospitality and ideologies of domestic labor that guided the activities of the Dwelling House household continued, uninterrupted, well into the twentieth century.

The various accounts of dinner parties at Antigua cited above show how Antiguan dinner parties and their attending choreographies were governed by rules of social classification that grew notably different from those of the British Metropole over the course of the long nineteenth century, and were pinned to the ideological fixity of race rather than the horizon of class. This difference is perhaps best illustrated by the variant relationships between hosts and serving staff, which grew increasingly distant (at least from a formal, performative point of view) in Victorian Britain, while remaining comparatively casual and intimate in Antigua and other Leeward Islands. Because the relationship between the participants of the dinner party followed different rules and expectations, although the choreography of a meal might remain for the most part unchanged, and although the materials presented to them were for the most part familiar, the metropolitan diners were at a loss

[17] Such classifications included "castas" in Spanish colonial contexts, as well as the various qualifications of "whiteness" in the British Empire, including "mulattoe", "quadroon" and "creole".

to make sense of the underlying politics of West Indian dinner parties. This incomprehension, in turn, was part of what made the presence of the quasi-savage, quasi civilized, West Indian planters so problematic, because it introduced a kind of fearsome instability to imperial sociality by providing an ambiguous area in which the slots of civilization might be reworked and in which usurpers might go unrecognized. This instability was augmented by the prospect of an intersection between free-nonwhite and white social circles, which, until Emancipation, carried high political stakes in terms of the survival of plantation slavery and of the lucrative transatlantic economies they spawned.

on the seventh day
after yr death. the yellow flour
in the cup-cakes in the kitchen have gone sour

there is an eye of rancid in the middle of their meal

[Kamau Brathwaite, Kumina (2004)]

4

PROVISIONING: NECESSITY AND FOOLISH EXTRAVAGANCE

In both historical accounts of the long nineteenth century and contemporary scholarship on the period, the life of white colonists and resident Euro-Creoles in the Leeward Caribbean islands is often presented through a trope of gluttony and of excessive convivial consumption of food and alcohol (Bickham 2008, Petley 2012). In both kinds of writing, the trope of planter gluttony recurs as a descriptive as well as rhetorical frame, often further juxtaposed with one of the many political cartoons penned during colonial period to depict the purported excesses of plantation hospitality and the tropical luxuriance in which they unfolded (as seen in works by Rowlandson and William Elmes, for example – fig. 1 and 2). Consequently, one might expect this abundance to be reflected in the archaeological and archival records of Caribbean sugar plantations, showing for example a steady flow of edible goods to so-called "great houses" or a high density of archaeological materials in deposits associated with these locations. Yet, at the Betty's Hope plantation, the archaeological deposits associated with the kitchen yard and out buildings compound are

surprisingly sparse. Similarly, the documentary archives of food provisioning at the Betty's Hope plantation and in Antigua more broadly, likewise show the precariousness of the circuits of exchange and production through which edible goods were brought both to and from Antigua, as well as the vulnerability of those circuits to disruptions, delays and insufficiencies throughout the colonial period. Both material and documentary archives show that provisioning, far from being peripheral to social life on plantations of the Leeward Islands, was a central concern in performing social positionality within the plantation mode of production, including for negotiating the often-tensed relations of exploitation and reciprocity that traversed plantation communities both under slavery and after Emancipation (1834).

This chapter explores food provisioning in Antigua during the eighteenth and nineteenth century in order to better understand how abundance and scarcity of edible goods were managed at the Betty's Hope plantation in relation to the social order of the estate. Further, the chapter also considers how tropical produce, particularly turtles and pineapples, were taken up by the Codrington absentees in their own practices of convivial hospitality in England. By examining how residents of Betty's Hope produced, acquired and distributed edible goods, I aim to highlighting how this flow of edible goods participated in the negotiation of social positioning on the plantation, particularly contrasting the conspicuous consumption of tropical produce and the discrete ostentation of packaged goods in the context of absentee ownership. At Betty's Hope as in other plantations of the Leeward Islands, edible goods were produced and circulated at multiple scales – local, regional and global Atlantic. Through these scales, edible goods were also differently available to actors of the plantation mode of production according to their position within plantation society, such that food and drink provisioning served to establish and negotiate relationships

among and between the free and unfree laborers of Antigua, its resident attorneys and managers, as well as Metropolitan absentee proprietors.

Logistics of provisioning at the Betty's Hope plantation

Scales of trade in the West Atlantic

At Betty's Hope, as in the Leeward Caribbean more generally, the people involved in plantation economies used food provisioning and the practices of food consumption it enabled, to triangulate their position within the British imperial world, while navigating the politics of distinction, circuits of reciprocity and economies of desires that undergirded colonial sociality. Throughout the long nineteenth century, the circulation of edible goods and the politics of food availability (or "food entitlement", following Kaplan 1982 and Thompson 1971) also played a key role in stabilizing the economies and regimes of coerced labor upon which the plantation mode of production was founded. These economies and regimes of labor further depended on the several interlocking levels of production and consumption that circulated in the Leeward Caribbean region, against the backdrop of changing relations of race and social distinction within the plantation mode of production throughout the colonial period.

The documentary and archaeological archives of food provisioning on sugar plantations of the Leeward Caribbean show that an extensive group of middling managers and resident attorney-managers populated the space between master/|owners and slave/laborers, where they acted as a lynchpin in the flow of goods to and from plantation estates, while also grounding a location that both sent and received, acquired and produced edible goods within the global West Atlantic. The position of managers and resident attorneys also transformed as the relationship between the two

polar opposites of master and slave shifted with the Abolition of the slave trade (1807) and Emancipation (1834). Resident attorney-managers enjoyed a pivotal position in food provisioning networks which was neither unique nor exclusive in the colonial Caribbean – it was shared, for example, by the many resellers and vendors that supplied the Sunday Markets in Antigua (see below); nevertheless, the position of resident attorney-managers is uniquely apt at illuminating aspects of plantation economies and social politics that unfolded between Metropole and colony over the course of the long nineteenth century, including the peculiar economies of desire that flourished between the sliding scales of transatlantic commerce which supplied table of the Betty's Hope Dwelling House.

The food eaten by occupants of the Betty's Hope Dwelling House came in part from imports, in part from local markets, and in part from the English-style gardens and enclosures that framed the kitchen yard and the service building compound of the House (fig. 5 and 6). By the 1740s, the agricultural output of the island of Antigua had been all but monopolized by the cultivation of sugar cane, leaving insufficient arable land and labor power for a local subsistence agriculture to sustainably feed the island's population. As such, throughout the colonial period, the people of Antigua, regardless of their position within plantation economies and colonial bureaucracies, depended on imported goods for their subsistence, which included salted cod from Newfoundland, cattle and grain from the American Colonies, barreled meats, flour and butter from the Metropole, as well as water from the neighboring islands of Montserrat and St. Kitts. Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth century, Antigua remained firmly established in many networks of trade that connected the island to a variety of food suppliers catering to the needs of the island's residents at often-overlapping yet complementary scales, ranging from local garden agriculture to long-distance trade in the global Atlantic.

According to plantation accounts of the nineteenth century, the staff of the Dwelling House household supplied the House's table with vegetables, tubers and tropical fruits such as tamarind and limes grown on the Estate. They also raised poultry hogs, sheep and, rarely, cattle. At Betty's Hope, cattle were primarily used for labor, and steers and cows were so rarely slaughtered that the occurrence was often advertised in the St. John's newspaper with great excitement. Live cattle were usually obtained from American traders or, occasionally in the case of Betty's Hope, from the island of Barbuda, a Codrington dependency that served as an important food supplier to the Antigua estate throughout the eighteenth century and up to 1876 (See Chap. 2). A good portion of the beef eaten at the Betty's Hope Dwelling House was imported as a salted and barreled product, often out of Ireland, but also through various English retailers. Other foods imported from the Metropole along with salted beef included flour, peas and butter, which would often grow rancid or become damaged during their shipment to the Caribbean; archival evidence suggests that these damaged foods were nevertheless consumed on the Betty's Hope plantation, even by the members of the Dwelling House household.

At Betty's Hope as on other plantations, the gardens kept in proximity to the Dwelling House were explicitly destined to feed the inhabitants of the House, particularly the resident attorney-manager and his household. By contrast, the gardens tended by resident laborers, first as "provision grounds" allotted under slavery, then as garden plots adjoining laborers cottages, not only supplied the resident laboring force with produce and small stock, but also furnished much of the fruit, vegetable, legume and other edible crops sold at Sunday Markets across the island (including at the central market at Otto's Pasture in the capital city of St. John's; fig. 23). Under slavery, unfree vendors did most of the trading and bartering at Sunday Markets, often selling the fruit of their agricultural labor for currency and thus securing a point of entry into the many cash

economies that festooned the Caribbean Atlantic (Beckles 1989: 45-47 and 79, Hauser 2008, Pulsipher 1990).

In addition to unfree vendors, hawkers and their "free-colored" counterparts, the Sunday marketplace at St. John's, Parham and other major towns in Antigua, was also frequented by various merchants and wholesalers who dealt in (often generously marked-up) imported goods, obtained from America, Britain, her empire and other retailers through the many trade circuits that dispersed the ever-multiplying products of industry across the global Atlantic. Many of the merchants operating in Antigua were of Scottish origin, and they tended to set up shop on the same street in the capital city of St. John's, a street unimaginatively nicknamed "Scotch Row", which would be an influential node of trade in Antigua throughout the nineteenth century – particularly after Emancipation, from the 1850s onward (Dyde 2000: 165, Lowes 1995: 12).

Throughout the long nineteenth century, the residents of Betty's Hope thus accessed various provisioning outlets – their own gardens, the Sunday Markets and Scotch Row in particular – distributed along the far-reaching axes of trade that moored Antigua to the British Metropole and the American continent within the context of the Global Atlantic. At the broader scale of transatlantic trade within the British Empire, the shipping circuits that piped sugar to the Metropole and plantation stores to Antigua, carried goods and provisions destined to personal consumption along with profit-yielding cash crops. As such, the various actors who participated in plantation economies enjoyed a different kind of access to the networks of trade that brought edibles to and from Antigua. They also imagined themselves to be the legitimate recipients of different goods, in relation to the influence they could exert over the quantity and quality of provisions directed to them and which they sent outward. This influence was in turn leveraged in different ways in

different positions within the plantation mode of production: by unfree Antiguans to affirm customary rights regarding access to food and participation in the Sunday Markets; by resident attorney-managers to negotiate the changing ideologies of managements and reciprocity that underlined the plantation mode of production over the course of the long nineteenth century; and by absentee owners, to press their estates for profit while maintaining access to the tropical commodities they needed for their bourgeois performance of class in the Metropole.

Abundance and scarcity in plantation accounts

For plantation resident attorney-managers, subsistence and provisioning rested on often-precarious scaffolds established at least in part by and for Metropolitan interests. In Antigua, an island that frequently teetered on the edge of food scarcity, Metropolitan interests compounded the challenge of food provisioning with an apparent tension between managers and owners over the volume and kinds of provisions and stores that should be, and would be, provided to the plantation on account of the absentee owners. In the plainest of terms, absentee proprietors, including the Codringtons at Betty's Hope, wanted to maximize their profit and minimize operation costs by reducing to its minimum the amount of stores and provisions they sent to their plantations; while the resident attorney-managers sought to secure a certain level of comfort for themselves and their household, all the while continuing to predictably provide the rations and access to garden plots they owed to the resident laboring force either through customary rights or formal legislation.[1] As such, managers and absentees, indulging those of the Betty's Hope Plantation, often argued about necessity, luxury, and excess, tracing through their correspondence

[1] Such laws included the 1798 "Act for the Betterment of Slaves".

the sutures that held together, albeit sometimes loosely, the social and convivial fabric of the plantation household and of its absentee counterpart.

In the documentary archive of plantation life in the eighteenth and nineteenth century, and arguably in contemporary historiography as well, food consumption on Caribbean sugar plantations is usually divided in two starkly opposed categories: that of the starved unfree laborer, and that of the gluttonous overweight planter (see chap. 3). That planters overate and overdrank in the British Caribbean is such a trope of the historiography that it verges on the caricature; yet the excess, luxury and extravagance associated in the historiography with the lives of plantation resident owners and resident attorney-managers remains elusive in both the documentary and archaeological archives of the Betty's Hope plantation.

In the Codrington archives, correspondence from the eighteenth century overall suggests that absentee owners considered it their responsibility to supply the plantation household with "necessities", while their estates supplied them not only with the income derived from sugar but also with tropical foods grown on or obtained through their West India properties. This exchange established a form of reciprocity between the two households that transformed and, in many ways, eroded over the course of the long nineteenth century, while the image of exuberant planter hospitality yet remained seared in the global Atlantic imagination. Although the Codrington absentee owners of the Betty's Hope plantation had been responsible for providing food rations and household objects to the estate since the 1720s, over the course of the nineteenth century, they dramatically reduced the volume and variety of edible goods and table objects they sent on their account for use at the Betty's Hope Dwelling House, particularly from the 1850s onward,

despite the fact that they continued to rely on resident attorney-mangers who lived and entertained at the Betty's Hope estate until the 1930s.

The dwindling involvement of the Codrington absentees in food provisioning at Betty's Hope also corresponded to the intensive use and reuse of table objects on the plantation, as illustrated by the artifacts recovered from the kitchen yard, and to a minute management of food and human waste by the resident attorney-managers. Indeed, the archaeological evidence recovered from the plantation's kitchen yard, far from signaling the exuberant hospitable lifestyle one might expect from the historiography, is strikingly sparse, particularly compared to the archaeological materials typically recovered from other non-plantation sites of the nineteenth century in the colonial West Atlantic. A quick survey of recent projects in such diverse contexts as farmsteads, taverns and various urban sites across the Caribbean and North America attests to the typically high density of artifacts found in Euro-American colonial sites and settlement – in contrast to the low density found at the Betty's Hope plantation site (SHA.org, DAACS). As suggested by Arcangeli (2015), the relative paucity of tableware in the kitchen yard might indicate that serving vessels and utensils were kept inside the Dwelling House, likely under lock and key, rather than in the kitchen area.

In addition, the low density of artifacts recovered at the Betty's Hope site from contexts dating to the eighteenth and nineteenth century, the relative small size of the finds (for example, ceramic fragments recovered from STU105 were 30mm long or less on average) and the long temporal range associated with each assemblage (reaching up to approximately 50 to 75 years), suggest that staff and servants kept the kitchen yard clean and reused objects extensively. This hypothesis seems supported by the observation that, although the small-size of artifacts might also

indicate their vulnerability to bioturbation, only the uppermost archaeological contexts (corresponding to the 1890s and after) showed any signs of disturbance by roots and tarantula burrowing. The interface between contexts also was typically clear and distinct, suggesting overall little mixing between the various contexts after their deposition which might have contributed to displacing older materials to the surface and vice versa, thus skewing assemblage composition towards longer temporal ranges.

The relative paucity of archaeological materials in the Betty's Hope kitchen yard is further illuminated by the persistence in managerial correspondence reaching back to the early eighteenth century at least, of a concern for manure and the fertilization of plantation lands exhausted by the cultivation of sugar cane. This concern would be consistent with a scrupulous management of organic waste at the Betty's Hope plantation, including not only cattle dung and table scraps, but also human excrements. Indeed, no latrines have been identified at the Betty's Hope site, be it through archaeology, documentary archives or oral histories, and the occupants of the Dwelling House continued to use chamber pots until the end of the nineteenth century at least. It is likely that human waste, together with kitchen scraps and dung, were added to the manure pile, perhaps located in the pasture to the North of the House.[2]

The occupants of the Betty's Hope Dwelling House and its surrounding outbuildings thus lived in an everyday environment that seemed marked, paradoxically, by simultaneous abundance and scarcity; by an access to thriving networks of trade as well as severe food shortages. Everyday

[2] This assessment is somewhat corroborated by Smith, who affirms that pit latrines were introduced to Antigua by Chinese migrants in the 1860s and that, in workers villages, human waste had hitherto been collected in large cesspools, or "kooka bendals", presumably themselves used for manure (Smith et al. 1988:102). See Chapter1.

practice at Betty's Hope was characterized, on the one hand, by the high levels of inequality and exploitation which were readily apparent through what and how plantation residents ate; and, on the other hand, by a material constellation of well-worn domestic goods and the scrupulous collection of organic waste suggestive of the long temporalities of material lives on the estate. In that light, it seems that the disputes over provisioning maintained between resident attorney-managers and absentee owners at Betty's Hope in their correspondence, revolved indeed more around a question of necessity than one of luxurious extravagance. Importantly, the often subtle yet nevertheless constant tug of war between absentees and managers over the provisioning of the estate, reveals how food, food consumption and food entitlement served as media through which the relationships of authority, kinship and reciprocity attendant to absenteeism were brokered and accounted for at a distance. The role of food as a social cultural medium is perhaps most vividly illustrated by the importance of convivial hospitality, such as dinner parties, to social practices in the British Leeward Islands during the colonial period, as well as within the social circles of absentee plantation owners in the Metropole.

The various sources through which we might encounter dinner parties in the colonial Caribbean tend to display an intriguing disparity of contents, notably between archaeological assemblages, travel accounts, diaries and correspondence about food and eating. This disparity reflects, on the one hand, the emergence of Creole dining practices that appear as familiar to Metropolitan observers yet out of step with their own models of ideal conviviality which, in Victorian Britain serve, through domestic consumption, to materialize taste and class rather than the idea of "home" as they did in Antiguan society. British metropolitan observers and long-term residents of the Caribbean are the predominant authors of accounts of Caribbean hospitality during the long nineteenth century. These authors usually depict practices of hospitality and convivial gatherings

on sugar plantation as comprising impressive amounts of food and drink presented without any refinement. By using this trope of quantitatively exuberant yet qualitatively deficient hospitality, British writers positioned West Indian convivial hospitality as extravagant yet vulgar, because of its lacking engagement with metropolitan templates of taste and refinement (see chap. 3). A few quotations on the matter are noteworthy:

In a letter from January 1787, Luffman wrote to his correspondent that

> “yet, however paradoxical it may appear, when I tell you this discription [sic] of men sport several dishes at their tables, drink claret, keep mulatto mistresses, and indulge in every foolish extravagance of this western region, it is nevertheless strictly true.” (Luffman 1789: 43-44, emphasis added).

In his 1808, Stewart, an Englishman and Jamaican resident of twenty-one years, wrote:

> “When an entertainment is to be given, no expense or pains are spared to render it as sumptuous as possible. The table is spread with a profusion and variety of all the viands and delicacies which industry or money can procure. ... [T]he table is at once loaded with superabundance ... in a style which rather shews the hospitality and the abundance of the master or mistress of the feast, than their taste and selection." (1808: 187).

A decade later, Edwards observed about his residency at Barbados:

> "[It was] not uncommon thing to find, at the country habitations of the planters a splendid sideboard loaded with plate and the choicest wines, table covered with the finest damask, and a dinner of perhaps sixteen or twenty covers; and all of this in a hovel not superior to an English barn." (Edwards 1819: 8).

Again in Lanaghan, albeit with more gentle and forgiving remonstrance:

> “About seven, the whole party assemble around the dinner-table, where luxurious fare and choice wines receive additional gusto from a profusion of handsome plate, rich glass, showy table-linen, and a well-lighted apartment.” (Lanaghan 1844: 207)

The British writers cited above were likely impressed by the abundance of tropical products such as pineapples, turtles, fruits, flowers and tropical fish which, through commonplace and readily available in the Caribbean, remained rare, exotic and suitable for exquisite displays in the Metropole. Such goods were comparatively abundantly supplied on West Indian table and, by Metropolitan accounts, over-consumed to the point of gluttony by the riotous, exuberant and overweight company of West Indian dinner parties. This purported gluttony appears readily in caricatures of the West Indian as a sign of vulgarity and, by the turn of the nineteenth century, as an index of the moral depravity of West Indian planters and the mode of production they stood for (Petley 2012: 85).

Needful things

In addition to their portrayal of gluttony, accounts of West Indian Euro-Creole hospitality also lay out a subtext of want and desire which reverberates through the correspondence relating to the Betty's Hope plantation, in the language of need that accompanies the discussion of food provisioning and agricultural production between owners, managers, merchants and attorneys – a language punctuated by such semantic signposts as landing, forwarding, obliging and "please send". In this correspondence, absentee owners and attorney-mangers extensively discuss the circulation of staple provisions such as grain and preserved meats, which were produced for and thus obtained through large-scale of trans-Atlantic trade, using a similar language of need as that used to discuss the circulation non-staple edible goods – particularly turtle, tamarind, beer and butter. By contrast with preserved meats and grain, turtle, butter, beer and tamarind were more commonly obtained in small volumes either through short-range regional trade (as for butter) or

directly from the productive output that sent it out – including Dodington's cellar, Barbuda's reefs and Betty's Hope gardens – rather than through third-party retailers. This language of need was also mobilized to position the various recipients of these goods within the plantation mode of production.

Outside the bounds of the relationships linking plantation owners, laborers, merchants and managers, the language of need yielded to that of excess, particularly in the voices of Metropolitan observers for whom tropical products were often more than trade goods. For British Metropolitan writers, tropical food and drink tended to evoke a morally suspect interface between luxury, pleasure and desire, which exceeded the various ideologies shaping British metropolitan consumerism during the long nineteenth century, first in relation to the ideals of order of the Enlightenment, then to the Victorian ideals of domestic morality (see Chap 3). This excess might perhaps have pressed Luffman, cited above, to deem the extravagance of West Indian hospitality "foolish" (Luffman 1789: 44). In British imperial contexts, both in the Metropole and in the colonies, the consumption of tropical produce, of black bodies and of oriental aesthetics was further compounded by the complex politics of lust, pleasure and sensuality that accompanied colonial expansion (Gikandi 2011, McClintock 1995, Stoler 2001) and framed the production of excess as a necessary parameter of modern consumerism (Assouly 2011, Campbell 2005, McKendrick et al. 1982, Veblen 1934 [1899]).

The necessity of excess, whether as luxury or surplus production, traverses a wide swath of scholarship on modernity from Voltaire (1736)[3] to Marx (e.g. chap 20 in Capital II). In

[3] Voltaire's most cited work in this regard is arguably "Le Mondain" (1736), although the continued expanding and defending his apology of luxury in other poems and letters throughout the 1730s. "Tout sert au luxe, aux plaisirs de ce monde. O le bon temps que ce siècle de fer! Le superflu,

archaeology, too, scholarship often frames so-called luxury goods in terms of the political valence associated with their consumption, for example as a ritual affirmation of power through feasting (Dietler 2001, Van der Veen 2003, Wiessner and Schiefenhövel 1998). In both bodies of scholarship, the ideas of luxury and excess are often established in contradistinction with that of necessity, a concept commonly used to convey an often-naturalized sense of bare human needs, perhaps doubled with an idea of comfort or of sustainability. In his seminal work *Distinction* (1984 [1979]), Bourdieu unpacked the concept of "necessity" as an explicitly cultural category, which participated in the politics of social distinction and the expression of "taste" through class habitus in twentieth century France. Although Bourdieu analyzed a context that did not specifically reflect the peculiar social arrangements of plantation economies during the long nineteenth century, he did trace a compelling relationship between regimens of consumption and social relations – of class in Bourdieu's work, which can usefully be deployed towards an understanding of "home" as a relational category in the case of the Betty's Hope plantation and other Leeward British Caribbean colonial contexts.

In *Distinction*, Bourdieu argued that taste is preconditioned by class habitus. As such, although the bourgeois upper-class cultivates a taste for luxury, the working classes gravitates towards a taste of necessity – that is, they desire what is necessary over what is refined, because they consider themselves to be the "legitimate recipients"[4] of necessary goods rather than luxuries

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chose très nécessaire, A réuni l'un et l'autre hémisphère." "Everything serves luxury and pleasure in this world. Oh what a good time this iron century is having! Needful superfluity has united one hemisphere with the other."

[4] Bourdieu's scholarship here resonates with the historiography on moral economies in the modern West, particularly in regards to important role of food availability (or "food entitlement"), notably that of bread and flour in Western Europe, as a gauge of political legitimacy and labor relations (Kaplan 1982, Thompson 1971).

(Bourdieu 1984 [1979]: 375). Conversely, members of the bourgeois upper-class consider themselves the legitimate recipients of goods and services that might be luxurious in other classes, but that are nevertheless perceived to be necessities qua upper-class habitus, particularly in terms of their role in reproducing social capital (e.g. restaurant outings and tailored clothing) (Bourdieu 1984 [1979]: 436). For Bourdieu, the taste for necessity expressed by the working classes is related, for the most part, to a lack of social capital as assessed through the medium of bourgeois aesthetic refinement – a lack that becomes most apparent when members of the working-class become upwardly mobile. As such, the taste for necessity (*choix du nécessaire*, choosing that which is necessary – that is to say, needful), contrary to necessity itself (*necessité*, deprivation), is not tied strictly to monetary income but, rather, arises from working-class habitus which continues to inflect consumption choices regardless of a potential increase in income level.

It follows that, for Bourdieu, the definitions of that which is necessary and needful, change among different social classes – all taste being, to some extent, a taste of necessity. In the case of the working classes, necessity also coincides with that which is necessary. What "necessity", "the necessary" and needfulness might entail is also historically specific and might change over time, according to the array of social expectation to which it speaks. For example, such a change occurred in the shift form French-style to Russian-style dining in British Bourgeois households in the nineteenth century (cf. chapter 3). According to Bourdieu, luxury and necessity are ultimately relative to each other, and defined in terms of a broader field of consumption practices and of "systems of need" that define the threshold of deprivation within any given context. As such, the notion of "necessity" as discussed by Bourdieu does shed light on why absentee owners and resident attorney-managers might have argued over what necessity entailed on Caribbean plantations, in terms of food provisioning, workers compensation and technical equipment,

considering that either party occupied vastly different positions not only within trans-Atlantic economies of the British Empire which they navigated, but also in regards to the social activities taking place at the Betty's Hope Dwelling House and the networks of reciprocity in which the Dwelling House household was entangled.

What constitutes necessary and needful material objects in the Atlantic World, more specifically in Euro-American contexts and their colonial Caribbean counterparts, has expended tremendously since the acceleration of mass-manufacture and of global trade since the early eighteenth century. For example, in 1718, the future Sir William Codrington I brought to Antigua only "5 fine neck cloths" and a similar number of undershirts for a prolonged residency at Betty's Hope (BL RP2616-8-D1610-C2), a paltry number compared to the content of the bursting suitcases many tourists bring to their week-long Caribbean vacation today. While the number of items wanted as necessities in Euro-American contexts multiplied throughout the long nineteenth century and indeed continues to do so, tableware provides an intriguing point of contrast to the mid- to late-nineteenth century because it appears to have followed the opposing trend. Indeed, what might be considered as a full dinner service in middling class households today is considerably more limited than the dinner services of high-Victorian bourgeoisie, who insisted on tea sets, abundant linens, centerpieces and specialized serving utensils (Gray 2013).

Furthermore, in addition to its nutritional and gustative properties, food is open to culturally and historically specific grammars of edibility encoded by colonial geographies and ideologies of consumption (Douglas 1972, Goody 1982, Mennell 1996). In eighteenth and nineteenth century Britain, tropical produce such as sugar, tea and pineapples, participated to the formation of class and emerging consumerism, where tropical goods were folded into new "cultural criteria of

privilege" (Stoler 1989: 639) in the context of practices of hospitality, notably dinner parties and high tea (Beaudry 2010, Beauman 2005, Berg 2005, Goodwin 1999, Gray 2013, Wilson 1994). Over the course of the long nineteenth century, the contents of the criteria of privilege expressed through food consumption in the British Atlantic were reshaped following the changing economies and politics of distinction within the global Atlantic world (Gikandi 2011, Higman 2005, Lowes 1995: 10, Mintz 1985, Williams 1994 [1944]). As these criteria were reshaped, in the dining rooms of the Betty's Hope plantation and of Dodington Park, the presence of imported goods oscillated between conspicuous consumption and discrete ostentation; between the performance of luxuriance and that of necessity through practices of convivial consumption, markedly oriented towards the consumption of tropical goods.

Following the pioneering work of Mintz (1985), scholars have become sensitive to the specific journey undertaken by sugar from luxury good to staple, transforming the culture of edible distinction in the British Empire. Yet other tropical goods, although they never quite became staples of Western and other global diets, played an entirely different part than "king sugar" in the cultural, dietary and economic histories of the Caribbean and of imperial Britain – including curry (Chadhuri 1992), coffee (Weiss 1996) or ostrich feathers (Stein 2008). Pineapples[5] and sea turtles also remained rooted in conspicuous colonial desire in the Metropole in parallel with the emergence of Creole hospitality in the Leeward Islands, without becoming staples of the Anglo-American diet in the global Atlantic. Other goods were eaten less conspicuously, like tamarind preserves which, in the household of the Codrington absentee proprietors in England, catered to

[5] With the caveat that pineapple did become a mass-grown and mass exported commodities in the 20th century, in part because of technological advances in the canning industry, and in part because of the entry of Hawaii and the Dole food Company in the market (Beauman 2005:221).

the more intimate desire for a performance of familiarity with the West Indies. The kind of discrete ostentation with which the Codrington proprietors ate tamarind, as well as the circuits of exchange that fed the need for tamarinds at the Codrington table, was mirrored in the nonchalant reverence with which the resident attorney-managers at Betty's Hope consumed beer and butter they obtained through various circuits of trade.

Discrete or conspicuous goods:

Transatlantic circuits of needs between Antigua and the Metropole

Pineapples, turtles and conspicuous colonial desires

Pineapples and turtles figure prominently in colonial imagery, and enjoyed a long career as sought-after commodities whose consumption was surrounded by markers of refinement and social distinction. The desire for pineapple and turtle indeed spurred the development of greenhouse technologies in Britain for the former, and of the multi-course formal and highly labor-intensive "turtle dinner" (or "turtle feast") for the latter. Despite being objects of desire, both pineapple and turtle resisted easy exportation from the Caribbean to the British Metropole, and remained stubborn outliers to the development of food preservation technologies into the twentieth century. Indeed, although both turtles and pineapples were sought-after perishables, they could not be brought from the Caribbean to England at peak freshness and flavor; and they nevertheless spurred the development of commercial and convivial practices that contributed uniquely to taste and hospitality in Britain during the long nineteenth century.

Pineapples are perennial herbaceous *Bromeliacea* native to South America and the Caribbean. In Antigua, the "black pineapple", a variety celebrated as the island's national fruit, is a prized delicacy characterized by its small size, barbed leaves and intensely sweet taste. In addition to their strong Caribbean connections, and indeed precisely because of it, pineapples were also coveted status symbols in early imperial Britain. In seventeenth century Britain, the ability to produce pineapple at one's dinner table connoted the hosts' access to colonial resources and political influence; pineapples were then almost exclusively private importations. This connotation is perhaps best illustrated by the portrait of Charles II by Danckerts, which shows the King being presented by his gardener, John Rose, with the very first pineapple grown in England. This portrait is doubly significant because it also marks a shift in the connotation associated with the presentation of pineapples on the dinner table, namely a show of the capacity of growing one's own pineapple on-estate by investing in a costly and sophisticated greenhouse designed specifically for the cultivation of pineapples – the pinery. Indeed, throughout the eighteenth century and well into the nineteenth, pineries were highly coveted by wealthy English landowners, peers and upwardly mobile bourgeois who might have them built on their country estates (Beauman 2005: 153-156). The pineapple became such a marker of abundance and wealth that a new market emerged for pineapple rental in cities where hosts wanted to garnish their tables with pineapples without being able (or willing) to foot the expense of either growing them themselves or importing them privately.

Unsurprisingly, several West Indian absentees residing in England also built pineries on their estates, which they furbished with cuttings often obtained directly from their Caribbean holdings. The seat of the Codrington Family, Dodington Park, almost certainly comprised a pinery, perhaps

put in during the remodel of the grounds by Lancelot "Capability" Brown in 1764.[6] That Dodington had a pinery is suggested by the numerous mentions of "pines" and "pine tops" being shipped to Dodington found in the Betty's Hope records from the early eighteenth century until at least 1893. For example, in June 1830, an agent of Sir Christopher Bethell-Codrington in London, Mr. Liggins, wrote that upon receiving the sugars from Antigua: "I have safely departed in Port Lane [towards Dodington] the two turtles which are of good size (not very large) and they appear to be in good condition (...) also three pine tops which I found on board the brig, they are alive, I do not know if they are of any use but they will take no room." (Liggins to Codrington, 3 June 1830, RP2616-26-D1610-C37).

The juxtaposition of pineapple saplings and turtles is here significant. Like pineapples, turtles also resisted easy exportation from their tropical habitats in the Pacific and Caribbean, at least until the development of canning technology in the 1860s. Like the pineapples that lost their sweetness as they rot un-ripened below the decks of cargo ships, live turtles shipped to England lost most of their meaty, fatty taste on their way over to the Metropole in the rancid water barrels in which they were transported. Although many turtles survived the journey, they usually withered and became sickly because of inadequate nutrition during shipping, lack of exercise, and the cold conditions in which they were kept once in England – usually dank cellars or slimy tanks in a tavern's kitchen. As such, the turtles eaten at English turtle dinners offered comparatively flavorless meals to metropolitan diners, in contrast to the fragrant and delicate turtle to be enjoyed fresh in the Caribbean.

[6] English Heritage listing for Dodington Park: Accessed 13 January 2016 http://www.historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1000566

Turtle was a common item of British Caribbean menus during the colonial period, including in Antigua where it often figured in accounts of dinner parties on the island. Turtles and tropical fish are abundant in the Caribbean, and it is unsurprising that they found their way to the colonial table as cornerstones of convivial hospitality (Lanaghan 1844:137). When he traveled to Antigua in 1837, Sir Henry William Martin kept a personal journal in which he chronicled the numerous dinners he attended and social call he paid. In an entry dated 16 March 1837, he notes about a dinner he attended that: "There was plenty of turtle, which is the case at all set dinners" (original emphasis; Martin 1837: 116). At Betty's Hope, over the course of three archaeological field seasons, we recovered only one turtle bone and one shell fragment (Ohman 2014). This lack of zooarchaeological evidence might indicate that turtles consumed at Betty's Hope were likely butchered offsite before being brought over to Antigua the same day, likely from the island of Barbuda (see below).

The practice of hosting a "turtle dinners", centered on the consumption of the aquatic reptile in three dishes (boiled, baked and made into soup), developed separately from that of hosting "fish dinners" and appears to have been for the most part a metropolitan invention, based in West Indian cooking practices. In the Metropole, turtle dinners were multi-course affairs that combined both the display of fine material culture and skillful culinary execution (Kirby and Luckins 2007). The first difficulty in hosting a turtle dinner in Britain was to secure the animal to be consumed and keep it alive until the day before the dinner, a difficulty encountered by botanist and Fellow of the Royal Society Joseph Banks who offered a turtle to the Royal Club diners in October of 1783. Having enjoyed fresh turtle while travelling with Captain Cook (1768-1771), Banks regretted that the taste and delicate fattiness of wild turtles could not be equaled any of the sick or moribund specimen he had eaten in England. Nevertheless, Banks set out to acquire a turtle that

proved rather quickly to be in miserable health. The turtle had initially been kept in a rancid water tank, before being allowed to roam the kitchen freely and wrapped in a blanket at night. Despite the best efforts of Banks' cook, the turtle, 'having shown strong symptoms of mortality, had its throat cut upon a general consultation'. The turtle was prepared for a dinner hosted on 23 October, yielding three tureens of soup that were "very good and well: cooked; but not to be compared with a plain turtle steak or cutlet". (Cited in Kirby and Luckins 2007: 3)

Banks' dinner occurred at the height of the turtle dinner craze, which had begun in Britain around the mid-eighteenth century and continued well into the twentieth century. In Britain, turtle soup was served at the prestigious London Lord Mayor's Day Banquet every year from 1761 to 1825 (Clarkson 2010: 115). Throughout the long nineteenth century, despite an overall decline in the popularity of the practice after the mid-century mark, hosting a successful turtle dinner remained somewhat of a social achievement, as suggested by the nine turtle skulls kept as trophy and displayed in the kitchens of Burghley House, an opulent manor of Lincolnshire. Burghley House also boast an impressive copper soup tureen shaped like a large green turtle, likely dedicated to use during turtle dinners. The practice of hosting turtle dinners also endured in the city, where taverns could be rented for private parties, as attested by a London city guide of 1850, which stated of the London Tavern of Bishopsgate Street that: "The landlord has always on hand the largest and healthiest stock of living turtles in London. Turtles will live in cellars for three months in excellent condition, if kept in the same water in which they were brought to this country. To change the water is to lessen the weight and flavour of the turtle." (Cunningham 1850: 301-302).

In the Metropole, recipes for turtle soup were commonly circulated in cookbooks and housekeeping manuals. Bradley's seminal and oft copied The Country Housewife (1732) provides a recipe for preparing and serving a turtle, which he obtained from "a Barbadoes Lady", suggesting that the knowledge and rules for dining on turtle, at least in their early performances, were lifted from West Indian colonial society (Bradley 1732: 95). The Caribbean origin of the meal is unsurprising, and several travel accounts and correspondence suggest that turtle dinners were common occurrences in British Caribbean colonial societies, including Antigua, throughout the long nineteenth century. The very ingredients of turtle soup, the centerpiece of the turtle dinner, likewise bear the mark of Caribbean cuisine, with cayenne pepper, nutmeg, black pepper and mace serving a key seasoning (three spoonsful for every twelve pound, according to Simmons' 1796 American Cookery (1958 [1796]:146-9), along with sweet herbs, Madeira wine, and butter (Lanaghan 1844: 138).

Turtles were shipped regularly from Antigua to the Codrington family in England, as attested in various correspondence and plantation accounts. The turtles sent to the Codrington proprietors were most likely hunted near the island of Barbuda, which engaged in a lucrative sale of turtles between 1779 and 1855 at least (RP2616-12-D1610-A56/1-22) (table 3). The island of Barbuda, Antigua's sister island to the North, was granted to the Codrington family as a dependency through a lease beginning in 1685, and which was periodically renewed until 1876, at which time the Codrington family finally surrendered the lease of Barbuda (Dyde 2000:194). At Barbuda, the sale of turtle to private interest on account of the Codrington proprietors likely went on throughout the Codrington tenure, beginning early in the eighteenth century and continuing on until the end of the lease. At Barbuda as in Antiguan markets, turtles were sold by weight, mostly as live specimen but also "slaughtered" (as per the terminology used in the accounts), presumably

for export in the case of live turtles, and for immediate local consumption in the case of butchered meat. Of the many turtles sold, most were of the Green and Hawksbill variety, with a few mentions of “chicken” turtles and eggs also recorded. Turtle shells, particularly those of hawksbill turtles, were either sold separately by weight at a premium, or sent directly to the Codrington proprietor.

The partial character of the data on the weight of specimen sold at Barbuda makes it difficult to determine whether there existed a consumer preference for animals of a certain size or, additionally, whether the Barbuda turtles were depleted through overexploitation, accounting for the increased representation of smaller specimen over time. The sale of turtles at Barbuda appears to have followed a stable seasonal pattern, with most reported sales occurring between June and November. By contrast, both the volume and the relative profitability of turtle sales in terms of price per pound achieved by Codrington attorneys at Barbuda varied markedly over time (cf. RP2616-12-D1610-A56 series). The accounts and data currently available further suggest that turtles weighing in excess of 100lb were sold regularly between1804 and 1849, with most turtles sold weighing between 40 and 60 lbs. Coincidentally, the remains of three green turtles excavated at the Leadenhall Buildings site in London, dating to between c.1750 and c.1815, suggested a live weight of approximately 27kg, or just above 60lb, consistent with the range within which most turtles sold out of Barbuda were located (Armitage and McCarthy 1980: 11). The turtle remains of Leadenhall Buildings presented butchery marks suggesting the animals were prepared for a turtle dinner, perhaps hosted by Leadenhall occupant J. J. Keighly, a West India merchant, ca.1799 (Armitage and McCarthy 1980: 10).

In addition, the accounts of sale of turtles at Barbuda illustrate that, besides those specimens destined for convivial consumption both in Antigua in the Metropole, turtles were also

sold to ships captains who brought the live animals on board in an effort to supply fresh meat to their crew. Indeed, the merchants and sailors of the global Atlantic were likely those who introduced the practice of eating turtles to the Anglo-American world, along with the culinary knowledge gained in the Caribbean on how to prepare the animal. Seafarers and merchants of the West Atlantic had eaten turtle since the seventeenth century, at first arguably as a starvation food, but then promptly as edible meat in its own right (Mandelkern 2013). Turtles were also invaluable as provision meat, because they could be conveniently kept alive on ships for long periods until such time as weary appetites commanded their demise, whether they were destined for consumption by the crew or for subsequent resale. For instance, a man identified as Captain Pizany in the Barbuda accounts bought 40 green turtles in 1806, and 26 of the same the following year, likely with the aim of either bringing them on his own expeditions, or reselling the turtles at profit to an outfitter. Similarly, in 1810, 14 green turtles were sold to the HMS Porlen and, in 1834, 10 turtles went to Capitan Johnson (RP2616-12-D1610-A56).

Local produce: Barbuda and garden agriculture in Antigua

After the sale of Barbuda, the Codrington absentees continued to receive turtles from the Caribbean through their Antiguan resident attorney-managers, although access to fresh turtles in Antigua appears to have become increasingly challenging by the 1880s. In July 1874, Betty's Hope resident attorney-manager George Holborow wrote to Sir Gerald Henry Codrington: "I send three fine turtles by her [the Night Watch] addressed to you as before. I trust they will arrive safe." (RP2616-14-D1610-C56 loose leaf). Nine years later, Holborow promises to "send some yams and guinea corn and two turtles, if I can get them", probably not by the middle of the following

month. Yet the island of Barbuda had provided the Codrington proprietor and the Betty's Hope estate with more than turtle meat. Barbuda supplied the Codrington estates in Antigua with a variety of stock, including cattle, sheep, goat, horse, turkey, fowl, game, venison and hogs, as well as produce such as corn and yams (Sluyter 2009). In 1783, the former resident attorney-manager of Betty's Hope, Richard Oliver, instructed his replacement, Joseph Lyons Walrond that, throughout his residence at Betty's Hope, he would be entitled the following provisions from Barbuda:

> "24 fat sheep, 12 lambs, 12 kids, 6 [female] goats, 2 doz fowls to be sent at your expence [sicº to Barbuda to breed and fed there beyond the 2 doz now there. 12 turkeys also to be sent by you for breed & fed for you [12] small turtle or otherwise in weight equal to 360 pd an necessary wood for the kitchen at BH, frog according to luck & when opportunities offer of sending it to you, much as crabs, lobsters, wild fowl, venison or other game – the whole of the above an annual supply according to your desire when opportunities offer to the [moment]." (RP2616-31-D1610-C14/1, p.1)

The island of Barbuda also provided Codrington proprietors with rights to the wreckage that inevitably occurred on the jagged coral reefs that surround the island. At Barbuda, wreckage, or more precisely the profit obtained from the public auction of the goods recovered at Barbuda from wrecks, were split evenly between the captains of the wrecked ship and the Codrington proprietors. The wreckage scheme proved very lucrative one, and it accrued thousands of pounds of supplemental income to the Codrington absentees throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth century. In addition, the wrecks that occurred off the coast of Barbuda provided the resident attorney managers of Barbuda and, to some extent, of other Codrington estates in Antigua including Betty's Hope, the first choice on the unexpected supplies generated by the goods recovered from wrecks, such as gin, pickles, flour, guns and riggings. These goods were typically not destined to Antigua, and they would have been hard to obtain on the island under other

circumstances. For example, in March 1784, the contents of the De Neutralitite, shipments of fine silk destined to New York, were auctioned off to an eager crowd who also enjoyed the fresh punch customarily served during auctions in Antigua (RP2616-19-D1610-E20).

In 1783, as Joseph Lyons Walrond took his residence at Betty's Hope, Mr Oliver also cautioned him that, because he received an annual salary of £300 sterling "no house expence [sic] to be charged to Sir William for kind after expenditure of the articles laid in at Sir William's expence". In other words, Walrond was to receive his annuity, provisions from Barbuda, tableware and stores on account of the Estate as selected by Sir William and his agents in London – but no more. Although Walrond's allowance in provisions for the Betty's Hope Dwelling House table is here cast in a language of limitations, it nevertheless represented a considerable expense on account of the Codrington absentee. However, the financial and logistical involvement of the Codrington absentee in the provision of the Betty's Hope table would progressively dwindle as the nineteenth century wore on. By 1848, the Betty's Hope Dwelling House no longer received provisions "on account of" the Codrington proprietors for consumption at the House: food destined for human consumption and housewares was no longer listed under "expenditure" in plantation accounts, although the plantation still received oats and corn to feed the animals (RP2616-23-D1610-A64]. At the same time, the archaeological record shows an uptick in the relative proportion of Scottish refined earthenware in the Betty's Hope kitchen yard assemblages, which would be consistent with a turn to local, predominantly Scottish retailers in Antigua for household supplies. Indeed, many local retailers of Antigua set up shop in St. John's on a street nicknames "Scotch Row", denoting the metropolitan origin of the merchants who set up shop on the street, and from whom the attorney managers residing at Betty's Hope certainly obtained provisions and other goods.

Nevertheless, by 1848, the Betty's Hope plantation, far from having relied exclusively on Codrington exports to supply its inhabitants with food and cooking implements, in fact had a long history of drawing from a variety of local supply networks for its sustenance, which included both the neighboring French island of Guadeloupe and local Sunday markets, particularly in St. John's and Parham. As such, despite the shift in provisioning network away from private Codrington imports toward local retailers in Antigua observed after the 1840s, the provisioning of the Betty's Hope Dwelling House table continued to rely heavily on the "internal market" system already well-established in Antigua since the eighteenth century (Tomich 2000 [1990]). The internal market in edible goods (produce, legumes, fish, small stock, herbs and sweets) centered on the Sunday public Market in St. John, where workers and agriculturalists, predominantly African-Antiguans, offered for sale the produce and small stock raised in their private gardens and provision grounds. Under slavery, Antiguan workers began supplying the island's internal market with produce they had grown or raised in their garden, through which they gained access to a terrain of autonomous economic activity outside of plantation agriculture, which they maintained well after Emancipation and into the twentieth century.[7]

The practice of granting unfree Antiguans provision grounds on the plantation to which they were bound simultaneously established a resilient system of garden agriculture that provided the unfree population with a solid foothold in "internal marketing" and parallel economies, as well as a venue in which to build community ties across plantation estates (Beckels 1989, Hauser 2008, Mintz and Hall 2000 [1970], Pulsipher 1990 and 1994, Tomich 2000 [1990]). Internal marketing

[7] On the enduring importance of kitchen gardens in economies and social life in of in the Leeward Islands, see Thomasson 1994. For a recent review of scholarship on "slave gardens" and yards in the United States, see Heath and Bennett 2000.

based in both currency and bartering, helped to maintain a "parallel geography" that often exceeded the confines of plantation labor and the restricted patterns of movement and socialization it imposed (Lightfoot 2015). As such, throughout the Caribbean, garden agriculture is associated with forms of cultural resistance and resilience based in agricultural practice and the commercial exchanges it made possible. Garden agriculture also highlights the contribution of unfree persons to the adoption of exotic tropical species in the Caribbean, such as eddoes and groundnuts, intertwined with the perpetuation of botanical knowledge carried over during the Middle Passage (Carney and Rosomoff 2011, Kelly and Wallmann 2014).[8]

From the point of view of plantation management, garden agriculture and the involvement of unfree Antiguans into a steady trade in edible goods within the island also seemingly relieved the logistical problems stemming from food shortages and rationing on the plantation. The ration system on plantations of Antigua was not framed by legislation until the 1790s, when the Leeward Islands legislature passed an Act that purported to support the "betterment of slaves". The 1798 Act for Ameliorating the Situation of the Slaves purported to rise the rations in grains given to each working slaves from 8 to 9 pints per week, and to add supplemental allowance in food, of which 1.5 wand of salt-cod, fish or herring to be handed out by plantation owners as they saw fit, most usually as rewards or "encouragement" for tradesmen (Dyde 2000, Gaspar 1985, Lightfoot 2015, Lowe 1951). Additionally, each male slave was to receive one pair of trousers and two jackets annually, and female slaves, one petticoat and two wrappers. Although working conditions remained oppressive, and rations insufficient, the 1798 Act for Ameliorating the Situation of the Slaves was part of an effort to curb mortality among the unfree population, in preparation for the

[8] See Sluyter 2012 for a similar argument about cattle herding in Barbuda and the American South.

abolition of the slave trade that would occur in 1807. In 1823, the Leeward Islands legislature passed a second Act, which would be followed in 1823 by an Act of Parliament in the Metropole.

In parallel to the formal framework of the various "slave acts" that dotted colonial legal history in Antigua, under slavery, unfree laborers in Antigua and other Caribbean islands were given small parcels of land or "provision grounds" which could otherwise not be planted in cane, to cultivate their own provisions and produce. Unfree people could trade the surplus production of their gardens at public markets on Sunday, their day off. The practice of Sunday marketing centered on Otto's Pasture market in St. John's, with smaller markets also held at Parham, English Harbor. Sunday Markets and the ability to sell produce openly on that day was one of the most fiercely guarded customary rights that unfree Antiguans had carved out of the brutal exploitation of labor of slavery. In March 1831, on the eve of Emancipation, Antigua legislators attempted to ban Sunday Markets "in observance of the Lord's day", which would have effectively squeezing Antiguan laborers out of the trade by precluding them to do business on their only off day. Antiguan vendors, laborers and hucksters protested the proposed legislation by rioting and setting fire to cane fields and bagasse heaps across the island. Although the Sunday market ban was never formally lifted, by 1832, market day had quietly shifted to Saturday, where it would remain until the close of the nineteenth century (Lightfoot 2015:67-68, 80; on arson, see also Richardson 2004).

For unfree Antiguans, Sunday Market was an occasion to grow communities outside the confines of plantation landscapes while cultivating forms of commercial enterprises that gave them access to cash currency, along with other non-monetized forms of exchange such as bartering. Contemporary descriptions of market scenes as well as plantation account suggest that the means

through which unfree Antiguans gained access to currency were markedly gendered: women dominated the Sunday Markets but were denied access to most skilled craftsmanship positions, which remained reserved for men who labored as carpenters, coopers, strikers,[9] sailors, blacksmiths, etc. (see chap. 2). Both modes of employments, as market vendor and skilled laborer, were built into the regimens of labor maintained on Antiguan plantations, with the food grown and raised by unfree Antiguans in fact providing a crucial of fresh products to the resident white Creole population who depended on the skilled labor of their captives. Nevertheless, the fact that unfree people could accumulate currency and secure access to property through customary rights, were cause for anxiety among British imperial administrators.

In the years leading to Emancipation, the Select Committee of the House of Lords on the State of the West India Colonies interviews many plantation attorney-managers and resident owners, often plying them for information on West Indian slaves access to property. On the topic, John Baillie, a Jamaica "planter", offered the following:

> " -- Have you ever borrowed Money from Slaves?
> I have.
> -- How did the Slaves become possessed of that Money?
> By their Stock, their Poultry, and the Sale of their extra Provisions, Vegetables, and so on.
> (...)
> -- To what Amount of Money has a Slave ever been possessed of to you Knowledge?
> It is impossible to specify exactly, but Two or Three or Four hundred Pounds in the Instance I mention." (House of Lords 1832: 59)

Although Baillie's account is impressionistic, it still illustrates that currency circulated among the unfree population of the Leeward Islands as well as between free and unfree people, and unfree

[9] The striker overseers the boiling of cane sugar and determines when the syrup is ready to be crystalized with an alkaline and potted; as such, before the development of precise viscometers, a skilled striker could make or break the fortune of a plantation estate.

people could and did gain access to currency through employment as skilled tradesmen on plantations and elsewhere, and through the sale of provisions at market.

Gardening continued after Emancipation, as did the practice by plantation management of allotting garden plots to resident laborers who continued to occupy the same housing structures and settlements first established under slavery (Holt 1992, Lightfoot 2015, Smith et al. 1988). Gardening also became entwined with institutions of unfreedom after Emancipation, as continued employment and residency on plantations remained for many Antiguans a necessary condition for housing and land for self-provisioning. As such, the necessity of garden plots for self-provisioning in Antigua was leveraged by Antiguan legislators as a means for keeping the laboring force in place after Emancipation. Throughout the colonial period, Antiguan gardens were located near the cluster of "cottages" provided for resident laborers on plantation estates. These gardens relied on intercropping, or "compound gardening", in which ground provisions (yams, ground nuts), vegetables (gourds, greens, eddoes, beans), legumes, fruits (bananas, plantains), herbs and other crops grew alongside each other (Twitty 2011: 245). According to Smith, Betty's Hope continued to provide garden plots to its workers until the 1940s, as well as some skilled tradesmen positions such as blacksmith (Smith et al. 1988: 88).

Smuggling in the West Atlantic

In addition to produce obtained at local Sunday markets and through Barbuda, as well as goods sent from the Metropole through agents of the absentee owner, the occupants of the Betty's Hope Dwelling House also relied on American suppliers for grains, cattle, lumber and other stores. While trade between Antiguan and the American East Coast flourished during the first half

of the eighteenth century, it became significantly hindered on the eve on the Seven Years War, with the imposition of various colonial taxes in British America including the Sugar Act (1764) and the Stamp Act (1765).[10] In 1783, after American Independence, the British metropolitan government swiftly closed off direct trade between its Caribbean colonies and the United States within the framework of the Navigation Acts. Both the Stamp Act and the Navigation Acts had dire consequences for the Leeward Caribbean islands, including Antigua, which relied heavily on American import for their subsistence.

Despite Metropolitan guidelines, and despite the risks of depredation by privateers, many of the Leeward Caribbean islands continued to trade with the United States after 1783, and indeed well into the nineteenth century (Carrington 200: 343, O'Shaughnessy 2015). The Stamp Act in particular imposed unprecedented restrictions on commercial exchange between continental American and Caribbean colonies, restrictions that would begin to transform the long-lived and reciprocal trade partnership enjoyed between the two regions, by pushing them to pursue widespread illicit practices for over four decades. Illicit trade in Antigua, however, was not solely as an exceptional measure directed at the food insecurity that plagued the island during the last quarter of the eighteenth century; rather, illicit trade was part of a longer trend in practices of provisioning which, in Antigua, is arguably best exemplified by the trade in fresh water between Antigua and its neighbor to the South, Guadeloupe, in times of prolonged drought.

Trade with Guadeloupe and continental North America provided Antigua with a valued provisioning lifeline throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth century, particularly before the advent

[10] The restrictions placed by the Stamp Act on regional and trans-Atlantic exchange were further expanded in 1775.

of steam transportation. Because Metropolitan goods had to be shipped across the Atlantic in often perilous voyages, American products tended to be more reliably obtained in Antigua; they were less likely to be lost to storms or piracy, to spoil or be damaged; and they were also chapter that goods bough locally from merchants and resellers on Island. In that context, the many naval conflicts that plagued the long eighteenth century in the colonial Caribbean had direct consequences on food provisioning in Antigua, because of the disruption occasioned by privateering, blockades and military engagements. As such, the experience of the American Revolution and its repercussion on trade and provisioning varied throughout the Caribbean, and within the Leeward Island group as well. In the case of Antigua, because the island's potential for subsistence agriculture had stalled by in the mid-eighteenth century, Antigua's vitality hinged on the possibility of trade with its Atlantic neighbors, and a potential exclusion of American colonies by the Metropole from British colonial networks of trade carried the threat of a subsistence crisis.

Of course, Britain was not the only party restricting trade in the West Atlantic following the Stamp Act: North American traders also boycotted the British islands that complied with the Act and refused to send them any outbound cargo (Bemis 1962: 32-33). British Leeward Islands colonies, such as Antigua, feared that the interruption of American supplies, already diminished by the war, might provoke severe famines that, in turn, would nurture unrest among the slave population. The unfree population was indeed the first to see its rations diminished and to suffer from hunger in times of scarcity; malnutrition was, it may be remembered, one of the leading causes of the exceptionally high slave mortality in Antigua in 1780 (Brown 2008: 56, Dyde 2000: 96, Lanaghan 1844: 114, Sheridan 1976; see also Chapter 1). As such, many islands including Antigua, Nevis and St. Kitts resisted the Stamp Act and continued to accept unstamped American cargo in their ports. American boycott was one way in which the rebellious colonies

hoped to leverage support in the sugar colonies; and many islands, including Barbados, did comply with the Act.

In 1775, with the American Declaration of Independence, Britain officially cut off direct trade between its Caribbean colonies and the United States, although trade did continue throughout the war via so-called neutral islands such as St. Eustatius, where American goods could be obtained licitly, albeit at inflated prices. This inflation caused a rise in the cost of operation of Antiguan plantations, which ate away at the margin of profit of sugar estates and was highly visible in plantation accounts. In 1782, the attorney-manager of the Betty's Hope plantation in Antigua, Richard Oliver, felt compelled to append a note to the plantation account books explaining to the owner of the Betty's Hope plantation, Sir William Codrington II, why expenses had increased so significantly for that year. He writes that "the very high price of articles formerly had from North America" is driving the market (Plantation Accounts 1782, BL RP2616-23-D1610-A23, p.61). Oliver includes a table comparing expenses at the Betty's Hope plantation between 1775 and 1782 (reproduced in table 4), thus highlighting the effects of the inflation. To place these effects in context, it is useful to mention that the average operating cost of Betty's Hope in the 1760s was approximately 20,000 currency per year; the increase in expenses reported by Oliver what therefore not negligible. Oliver does not specify whether these were official market prices for goods imported from England as a substitute for American commodities, for goods purchased locally from Antiguan resellers, or for American goods obtained through neighboring neutral islands – it was likely a combination of all three. Finally, Oliver hints at a "risky" trade he maintained with New York in order to dispose the estate's sugars through the "usual" conduits – and also quite likely to obtain stores and provisions through unregulated trade routes.

If trade between America and the Caribbean suffered acute shortage and interruption during the War, it was event further diminished by the terms of the Navigation Acts in 1783, then again in 1788. Nevertheless, trade between America and the Leeward Islands did continue well into the nineteenth century, often under in defiance of metropolitan regulations on the part of the Caribbean colonies. Despite restrictions and political censure from the Metropole, Antigua continued to import an important quantity of stores and supplies from the United States. The need for American goods in Antigua was made all the more urgent by the severe and unrelenting droughts that plagued the island in the 1770s and 1780s, and that further diminished the already limited output of its local subsistence agriculture (Berland et al. 2013, Dyde 2000). American produce and stores remained a crucial supplement to metropolitan imports and they continued to be brought in Antigua well into the nineteenth century, either through other islands such as St. Eustatius, or through outright smuggling (Carrington 2000: 344, O'Shaugenssy 2000: 214).

Antigua is an island particularly suited to smuggling, both in times of conflict and intervals of peace, because it comprises hundreds of isolated bays that are difficult to police consistently (fig. 3). Smugglers often thwarted the efforts of the naval enforcers of the restriction of trade, including a young Horatio Nelson, who was then a naval lieutenant stationed at English Harbor between 1784 and 1787, and who made a point of chasing American ships across the Caribbean Sea. Perhaps Nelson's efforts were short-lived, or perhaps the task at hand was so monumental as to be improbable: but the estimated produce and stores imported from America into Antigua between 1787 and 1792 averaged 15,192 vessel tons a year. (RP2616-32-D1610-E25, loose leaf; see Table 5). These estimates show a sharp drop in imports for 1790, which might perhaps be linked to a shortage of corn in America reported by Christopher Bethell-Codrington in a letter to his uncle, Betty's Hope proprietor, Sir William Codrington II, in April of that year (BL RP2616-34-D1610-

C20/2, p.2). Between 1787 and 1792, and indeed throughout the eighteenth century, some of the most traded items besides corn included peas, rice, oat, lumber, staves, shingles, metal hoops (to make the hogsheads in which sugar was shipped), and some livestock.

Most trade and shipping in Antigua was routed through St. John's harbor, the capital city of the Island. In addition, the Betty's Hope Estate enjoyed the services of a private fleet stationed at Parham Harbor, the same that was involved in the slave trade in the 1730s (see chapter 1), and which may or may not have been involved in smuggling – no evidence could be found to confirm or deny this hypothesis. There are, however, some well-document instances in which the attorney-managers of Betty's Hope obtained American goods through Antiguan resellers. For example, provisions from America were received on the Betty's Hope estate from a reseller by the name of Stein, at least from1799 to 1801. The value of these goods was listed by L.L. Hodge, the man who replaced Oliver as the new Betty's Hope attorney-manager after the War, in the Betty's Hope accounts as totaling 128.16.2 ¼ currency (Accounts Antigua Estates 1811-1815, 6 May 1811, BL RP2616-D1610-A14,).

Evidence from the Betty's Hope plantation accounts suggest that smuggling American goods in Antigua was an already well-established practice by the 1770s and not merely a temporary way to cope with a political crisis, for instance while other networks of trade and supplies were being consolidated; nor was illicit trade with the United States strictly an act of political defiance directed explicitly at the changing political landscape of the West Atlantic after the American Revolution. Indeed, Antigua shared in a long tradition of illicit and unlawful regional trade – or, more accurately, in a long history of inter-regional trade in the West Atlantic that tended to eschew the specific legal prescription imposed by the Metropole, often momentarily, following the

vagaries of colonial conflict. The long-history of illicit trade in the eighteenth-century Leeward Islands also comprises the well-documented long-term trade relationship between Antigua and the French island colony of Guadeloupe.

Smuggling and illegal trade are, by definition, difficult to track systematically in the documentary record but, fortunately, evidence of these practices often finds its way to the archaeological record, including at the Betty's Hope Archaeological site. In 2012 and 2013, during the excavation of the Betty's Hope kitchen yard (STU106-4 and STU106-15), we recovered fragments of French faïence tin-enamel earthenware that were likely not obtained through trading channels sanctioned by British Imperial laws (fig. 24). Tin-enamel earthenware is a region-specific ceramic technology that often goes by the moniker of "Delft" for English and Dutch productions, and "faience" for French production. It is easily recognized by its opaque, glossy enamel applied to a porous body. In Euro-American colonial contexts, tin-enamel ceramic was very popular for tableware (such as punch bowls, plates, jugs) and, to a lesser extent, for storage vessels and ointment jars (Genet 1996, Jelks 2007, Waselkov and Walthall 2002). In the British Atlantic, tin-enamel wares were most popular between the 1670s and the 1760s, after which their popularity dropped sharply with the introduction of refined earthenware, such as the iconic Wedgewood Creamware and Blue Willow blue-on-white transferware, which took over tableware assemblages in Britain and her colonies (Brassard and Leclerc 2001, Miller 2000, Noël Hume 1969). Unlike porcelain, tin-enameled ceramics found their way across a variety of socio-economic context and, as such, should not be interpreted as de facto markers of an "elite" or privileged status.

At the Betty's Hope site, tin-enameled ceramics are very rarely found in post-1783 contexts, which makes them firmly associated with the first half of the eighteenth century. Further,

approximately 90% of the tin-enameled ceramics found during the excavation of the Betty's Hope kitchen yard were of English or Dutch manufacture, which is consistent with the restriction in trade imposed by the Navigation Acts that blocked French faïence from most British colonial markets. This restriction is precisely why the presence of French faience on the Betty's Hope site is significant. Overall, I identified two rim fragments and one non-decorated base that were likely manufactured in either Brittany or Normandy in Northwest France. The faience we found at Betty's Hope was likely not a private import, particularly the non-decorated vessel base. French faience was actually not a particularly sought-after commodity in the British Caribbean colonial market, contrary to popular Dutch delft and German stoneware, for example (both of which were found alongside the faïence in STU106-4 and STU106-15). Furthermore, there are no indications that the owners of the Betty's Hope plantation, the Codrington family, might have had a special connection to France at that time. By contrast, faience tableware are common artifacts in French colonial contexts, in part because of the connection of Normandy and Brittany to the North-Atlantic cod fisheries, which supplied rations to the French Atlantic colonies via metropolitan *entrepôts* (cf. Avery 2007).

In light of dominant networks of trade in the West Atlantic during the eighteenth century, I hypothesize that the French faience we found at Betty's Hope might have been acquired through the neighboring island of Guadeloupe, where residents of Antigua frequently obtained fresh water during times of drought. Antigua has long suffered acute water scarcity, having no reliable sources of fresh waters such as rivers or springs on its territory; to this day, the water supply on the island depends chiefly on water cistern as it did during the colonial period – although Antigua's access to freshwater is now backed by a local desalinization plant (Berland et al. 2013). At Betty's Hope, water supply came chiefly from eight cisterns distributed in two areas of the Estate, one to the

North-West near the cane fields, and one immediately adjoining the Dwelling House. The cisterns complex adjoining the Dwelling Houses comprised four brick-lined tanks holding up to approximately 20,000 gallons of water, which continued to be used as emergency water supply and laundry-water supply by the residents of the nearby community of Pares well into the 1960s. By contrast, the cisterns located in the North-West portion of the estate, which held approximately 6,000 gallons, appear to have fallen into disused much earlier in the 20th century.

During the colonial period, water shortages in Antigua were usually accompanied by bouts of dysentery, and supplies in drinkable freshwater were invaluable. As such, when supplies were low, it was common for Antiguan planters and merchants to obtain freshwater from the neighboring islands of Monserrat, St. Kitts and Guadeloupe. This practice is documented throughout the eighteenth century, and likely began as early as the late seventeenth century (cf. Dyde 2000). It is quite possible that the faience found at Betty's Hope was acquired during a water-trading expedition, perhaps as a curiosity, but more likely as a container for some perishable good, which would be consisted with the objects being deposited archaeologically in the Dwelling Houses' kitchen yard. Furthermore, tableware, valuable plate and imported ceramics were typically kept in the Dwelling House, often under lock and key, and the artifacts found in the kitchen yard tend to be associated with food preparation and storage (Arcangeli 2015). Some of the items (other than water) that might have been smuggled out of Guadeloupe into Antigua are alluded to by Luffman in a 1789 letter in which her writes:

> "at public entertainments, and at the houses of the principal merchants and planters, Claret is the rage. The best is imported from London, under the denomination of London Claret; some also from Ireland, which is called Irish Claret, but the greatest part of this luxury, drank here, is smuggled from our French and Dutch neighbours at Guadeloupe and St. Eustatia." (Luffman 1789: 51-52).

Discrete ostentation: Beer and Preserves

Throughout the long nineteenth century, the occupants of the Betty's Hope plantation Dwelling House thus relied on a variety of sources to supply the edibles and tableware needful for their domestic consumption and convivial sociality. Some articles, like water and fresh produce, appear self-evidently necessary to human survival; others, like imported English butter and meats, might appear to be more superfluous to good life but were nevertheless needed. Similarly, Metropolitan absentees and traders "needed" turtles and pineapples in their social life, to affirm their position as hosts and engage in the processes of class formation that circulated through the consumption of tropical goods in modern Britain. Some of the goods that circulated in both Antigua and the British Metropole were used for conspicuous forms of consumption, like turtles and smuggled wine. Yet, in parallel, other edible goods like bottled English beer and tamarind preserves were the object of a more discrete ostentation: they were meant to be displayed to guests with a nonchalant familiarity – to make some sort of point about broader issued of social positioning, in regards to "home" for Antiguan planter society, and to "class" for the metropolitan bourgeoisie.

Both English beer at the Betty's Hope plantation and tamarind preserves at Dodington Park, the Codrington absentee household in Gloucestershire, shared this peculiar quality of being comparatively rare and coveted in the location where they were the object of discrete ostentation (beer in Antigua and tamarind preserves in Gloucestershire), although they also retained the veneer of familiarity they enjoyed in their respective points of origin. In other words, beer and tamarind were treated as familiar in Antigua and Gloucestershire respectively, although they were also comparatively difficult to obtain and consumed only moderately in those locations. This cultivate

familiarity was part and parcel of the efficacy of tamarind preserves and beer in processes of social positioning in Gloucestershire and Antigua, through the performative enjoyment of beer as a maker of England-as-home at Betty's Hope, and tamarind preserves as a marker of bourgeois upper class in Dodington Park. The social efficacy of the performance of the familiar enjoyment of beer and tamarind also depended on the recognition of these items as markers of belonging by the guests to which they were discretely, yet ostensibly, presented.

In addition, English beer and Antiguan tamarind preserves were part of the many circulated edible goods that became embedded in the deferred temporality underpinning both sugar cultivation and absentee management. In the context of the plantation mode of production, the harvest cycles and of the calendar of social interaction that surrounds the production and distribution of cane sugar modulated the circulation of edible foods across the Atlantic, because shipments of food (whether from England or Antigua or elsewhere in the Atlantic circuits of trade) usually accompanied those of sugar, rum and molasses destined for resale. In the context of absentee management and ownership, the food and drink circulated across the Atlantic made present and familiar locations that were geographically distant on account of the long, deferred temporality of nineteenth-century trade and the slow-paced dialogues held among plantation employees, slaves and owners by means of written correspondence and traded goods. Bottled goods, such as beer and preserves, were particularly suited to both long-distance trade and deferred exchange, because they were both portable and comparatively resistant to the spoilage that befell fresh commodities such as butter or turtles.

At Betty's Hope, butter and turtles were commonly eaten together, butter sauce being the favorite way of "dressing" turtles in Antiguan Creole households (Lanaghan 1844:137, also

Codrington 1844:54). Butter was imported to Antigua from England in wooden firkins, which did little to ensure the product would arrive unspoiled by weeks of humidity and heat; the rancid taste of butter in the West Indies was one of the first things Lady Georgiana Codrington noted about Caribbean food upon her arrival in the region in 1843. She wrote that:

> "every dish was well soaked in butter (the Antigua butter being quite poisonously nasty) it may easily be conceived that the smell or taste of the cookery was not enjoyable. The cooks in Antigua are generally very good & clean & dress the turtle soup to perfection but they are terribly fond of heaping butter with every thing which their masters seem to like xally [sic] as much as they do." (Codrington 1844:54).

Despite its purported toxicity, butter remained part of the diet at the Betty's Hope Dwelling House and in Antiguan cuisine more generally (though not to the extent that is permeated the cuisine of French colonial islands such as Martinique), where it was marshaled by white Creoles in their embodied performance of England-as-Home, along with other food and drink such as beer and ale.

In modern Britain, beer and ale were staples of everyday diet, which also provided important venues for socialization, particularly in tavern, inns, and urban public houses (Drummond and Wilbraham 1958:198-199). Daily beer consumption and the culture of the pub were one of the many aspects of metropolitan foodways that did not carry over significantly to Antiguan plantation society, in part because beer remained comparatively rare in a region where rum was distilled abundantly but beer brewed only exceptionally (Smith 2005). Beer nevertheless remained a coveted drink in colonial Antigua, and it was imported to the Betty's Hope estate directly by the Codrington absentees who sent on average six to eight dozens of bottled beer were sent with the plantation stores every year throughout the 1740s (RP2616-8-D1610-A2 series). In 1756, Edward

Codrington,[11] the brother of then Betty's Hope proprietor Sir William Codrington II, wrote to Sir William while in residence at Betty's Hope that:

> "Mr Redhead [Betty's Hope resident attorney-manager] frequently treats me with some of your beer which is the best I ever drank in my life but [hole in the document] is fortune is that it is almost gone, when your cellar [at Dodi]ngton are over stocked we should be much obliged for [hole in the document]." (Edward Codrington to Sir William Codringon, 1 Jan 1756, RP2616-33-D1610-C7).

This passage suggests that Edward Codrington could not readily access beer on the Antigua market, perhaps because of his crippling insolvency, but also likely because it was most efficiently obtained through private import that through local resellers.

At Betty's Hope, beer continued to be sent privately on account of the Codrington absentee until at least 1810 (Accounts of expenses at Betty's Hope, 1 September 1810, RP2616-3-D1610-A8). For example, in 1779, a hogshead of "indifferent beers" presumably bottled was sent to the estate (RP2616-8-D1610-A5-4); in 1783, a cask of Dorset beer made its way to resident attorney-manager Richard Oliver (RP2616-31-D1610-C14/1, f25) and, in 1790, another cask of beer was sent directly to Christopher Bethell-Codrington, the nephew of Sir William Codrington II who would inherit the Betty's Hope plantation two years later. In the 1830s, guests of the Betty's Hope estate were still treated to English ale and beer by the resident attorney-managers, who likely received it from the Codrington proprietors. Nevertheless, the practice of receiving beer at Betty's Hope from the Codrington absentee appears likely tapered off in the subsequent decades as did the custom of receiving edible goods on account of the absentee

[11] Edward Codrington was Sir William Codrington's brother and not the famed Admiral Sir Edward Codrington (1770-1851); the later, a cousin of Sir William's, was a naval officer and veteran of both the Battle of Trafalgar and the Battle of Navarino.

proprietor; the import of edible goods on account of the Codrington absentee for use at the Bettys' Hope table ceased completely by the mid-nineteenth century.

When the Codrington absentees did ship beer to Betty's Hope, they did so either in wooden casts or stoneware bottles and growlers – the vessels in which beer was commonly available throughout the Anglo-American world. Bottles were used to carry small quantities of beer, large amounts being, for the most part, stored in wooden barrels and kegs. It is unclear which container, whether wooden casks or stoneware bottles, were preferred by the Betty's Hope residents, although the only mention of a broken beer container or damaged liquid recorded in the Betty's Hope archive concerns a wooden casks, with Christopher Bethell-Codrington writing to his uncle that: "I have received a cask of beer for which I return many thanks, but, it arrived in so debilitated a state fm the badness of the casks, that we are obliges to leave it at St. John's, intending to bottle it as soon as fine, for we gave no attempt to bring it here." (RP2616-34-D1610-C20/2, f3, Letter book of Christopher Codrington to Sir William Codrington, 13 April 1790). Another cask of beer or cider was sent by Sir William and received by his nephew in February 1791 (Letter Book Christopher Codrington to Sir William Codrington, February 1791, BL RP2616-34-D1610-C20/3, f.6).

Wooden containers are rarely preserved in the archaeological record and, as such, beer bottle fragments usually provide an important trace of the drink in archaeological assemblages. At the Betty's Hope site, less than a dozen stoneware beer bottles fragments were found among the hundreds of artifacts recovered from the area of the kitchen yard excavated between 2011 and 2013 (inducing BH2012-STU100-6-22, shown in fig. 25). Although the quasi-absence of beer bottles in the Betty's Hope assemblages suggest that wooden casks might, after all, have been the

preferred container for beer importation at Betty's Hope, it also suggests that beer bottles might have been an unusual and likely significant sight at the Betty's Hope Dwelling House, particularly considering that other drink containers, particularly glass bottles, were far more common. The beer bottle fragments of Betty's Hope thus participated in the circulation of uncommon yet commonplace needful objects that helped maintain, for Euro-Creole Antiguans, a lifeline to an imagined place of belonging, England-as-Home, which as not West Indian despite existing only through West Indian practice.

Beer was not the only drink imported into Antigua on account of the Codrington absentees. Coffee, chocolate, tea and wine also made their way to the Betty's Hope plantation throughout the long nineteenth century, in various quantities and at various frequency. Wine, more particularly, was picked up in Madeira with shipments of plantation stores on their way to Antigua, before being subsequently sent back to England with the hogshead of sugar ready to be sold on the Metropolitan market. (e.g. Richard Oliver to Sir William Codrington, April 1783, BL RP2616-31-D1610-C14/1, p.25). Madeira wine was also part of the drinks consumed in the context of convivial hospitality at the Betty's Hope Dwelling House, together with beer, gin and other imported spirits, as well as rum. Rum was often drunk with punch, a mixture of fruit juice, rum, aromatics and sugar served in large ceramic bowls. Both punch and punch bowls were emblematic of West Indian sociality, including in Metropolitan imaginary of colonial life, which prompted punch bowls to appear commonly in political cartoons on the Caribbean colonies and in the bar equipage of inns[12] and coffee houses throughout the British Empire (Harvey 2012).

[12] Several pubs and coffee houses even commissioned custom punch bowls bearing the name of their establishment (Harvey 2012).

Throughout the nineteenth century, the key ingredients of punch, rum and limes, were sent to Dodington Park along with other tropical produce grown on the Bettys Hope estate, including tamarind fruit preserves. According to the Potter survey (fig. 5), tamarind trees (*Tamarindus indica*) were cultivated at Betty's Hope at least as early as 1710, when a "tamarind walk" was apparently set up in the Southern portion of the Estate.[13] By that time, tamarind fruit was likely already being preserved as a sweet jam following practices that would become a well-established component of English household management with the growing availability of sugar on the metropolitan market during the eighteenth century. Though tamarind preserves were certainly enjoyed by the occupants of the Betty's Hope Dwelling House, they were also shipped annually to the Codrington household in Gloucestershire, where generations of absentee owners grew up enjoying the puckering sweetness of tamarind with other sweetmeats.

In1752, Samuel Redhead, an agent of Sir William Codrington II both in Antigua and Britain, was monitoring the sale of Betty's Hope sugars in the Metropole when he wrote to Codrington that "The turtle came safe & was a very fine one & in good order, & ye sweetmeats & pickles are likewise come to land" (Redhead to Codrington, 20 June 1752, BL RP2616-31-D1610-C6, p.38. The "sweetmeats" referred to by Redhead included tamarind preserves. The Codrington household was still receiving tamarinds in 1843, as indicated in the Betty's Hope accounts compiled by Oliver Nugent which included among the items he "sent home for private use" one barrel of sugar, one puncheon of rum, 10 pounds of ginger root, 10 pounds of guava, 2 bottles of pickles, 2 bottle of cayenne pepper, tamarinds, ground nuts and arrow root (RP2616-18-D1610-

[13] On Betty's Hope, archaeologist Cory Look has observed that tamarind trees still grow unusual densely in the area of Pares corresponding to the Southern portion of the Betty's Hope Estate (Cory Look, pers. comm.).

A9, loose leaf). In 1899, resident attorney manager Frank Holborow wrote to Sir Gerald Codrington that "the jar of Tamairnds [sic] is being forwarded to Dodington by the mail." (RP2616-18-D1610-A9, loose leaf) Holborow also indicated, perhaps at the request of Sir Gerald, that the tamarinds were picked when in season and packed in molasses[14] for shipment. Sir Gerald had visited Antigua one, in 1872; that Holborow had to provide this detail to Sir Gerald illustrate the latters' overall lack of familiarity with the activities of the plantation.

The Codringtons' appetite for tamarind preserves unfolded, within the Dodington Park dining room, a sensory engagement with Empire that made available for their consumption an un-visited space-time, that of their Antigua properties and of the complex society that sustained them, which was yet familiar to their tongue. Furthermore, this familiarity built from trans-generational ties cultivated by the Codrington absentees and their children through the consumption of the fruits of Empire to a land most of them had yet to see. Sir Gerald fed his children tamarinds packed in molasses, the way his father gave them to him with a blunted sense of wonder, a sense of entitled sweetness perhaps, and a certainty that the fruits would be shipped, consumed and demanded for generations to come. The Codrington's entitlement as the legitimate recipients of tamarind preserves was nevertheless doubled by a form of dependence on the competence of their attorney-managers, which recapitulates much of the dynamics of need and reciprocity upon which transatlantic provision of and by the Betty's Hope plantation relied. The provisioning of the Betty's Hope plantation tables and that of its employees was given over to uncertainties that never

[14] By contrast, Sir William Codrington demanded that his tamarind be preserved in double refined sugar: "I have not at present any call for more rum, but of different sweetmeats preserved in double refined sugar particularly tamarinds I should like the tamarinds last sent are not of the best owing to the inferiority of the sugar." (Sir William Codrington to Joseph Walrond, BL RP2616-31-D1610-C14/1, p.108)

burdened the occupants of Dodington Park, notably the precariousness of food entitlements and the shifting landscape of food marketing in post-Emancipation Antigua.

In sum, on Betty's Hope and other plantations of the Leeward Islands, what people ate and how they obtained it depended in great part on their position within the political and productive order of plantation slavery and its legacies in the British Empire. Overall, in Caribbean sugar plantations of the nineteenth century, food provisioning and the circulation of edibles played a key role in stabilizing the economies of need and regimes of coerced labor upon which the plantation mode of production was founded, both under slavery and after Emancipation. Provisioning also brought together various networks of trade and reciprocity, formal and informal, illicit and channeled through the conduits monitored and sanctioned by the colonial state. The circulation of edible goods to and from the Betty's Hope Dwelling House was brokered through a language of need shared across the plantation mode of production, but that aligned with different criteria of distinction, cultural prestige and legitimacy among different groups (resident laborers, attorney-mangers and absentee owners) as the nineteenth century wore on. Edible goods contributed to the performance and negotiation of social positioning within plantation economies, whether through the conspicuous consumption of elaborate table display, or the discrete ostentation of commodities meant to showcase a familiarity with either "home" or "class" which marked the performer as the legitimate recipient of the edible goods necessary for their social life and convivial hospitality.

not only are they relieved of our customary sorrow,
they are without hunger, without any appetite,
but are part of earth's vegetal fury; their veins grow

with the wild mammy-apple, the open-handed breadfruit,
their heart in the open pomegranate, in the sliced avocado;
ground-doves pick from their palms; ants carry the freight

of their sweetness, their absence in all that we eat,
their savour that sweetens all of our multiple juices,
their faith that we break and chew in a wedge of cassava,

and here at first is the astonishment: that earth rejoices
in the middle of our agony

[Derek Walcott, The Bounty]

5

HOST, GUEST, MASTER, SLAVE:

POLITICS OF CONVIVIALITY UNDER ABSENTEEISM

To frame the context in which residents of Antigua were developing vernacular ways of socializing throughout the long nineteenth century, the historiography often cites absentee proprietorship as one of the defining characteristics of sugar economies of the British West Indies. Beginning in the 1780s, absentee proprietorship was also repeatedly invoked by Metropolitan commentators and Parliamentary committees to explain away the dwindling profitability of sugar

estates in the Leeward Islands, as well as the apparent stagnation of the sugar industry in a world given over by the mid-century point to steel, steam and factory labor. The absence of plantation owners from the dining rooms of their Caribbean estates was also leveraged to attack the alleged decrepitude of colonial elite society in the Leeward Islands during that time, particularly after Emancipation (Burnard 2004, Draper 2014, Ragatz 1931, Williams 1994 [1944]). Although the effects of absentee ownership on the health of Caribbean sugar economies remains a contested topic, absentee ownership at the Betty's Hope plantation did have a notable impact on the politics of residency and domestic life on the estate, including in regards to practices of hospitality and food circulation. For example, absentee ownership informed the paternalistic ideologies that guided plantation management and inflected not only what people ate on the plantation and with whom, but also how they obtained and/or produced food and drink (Mintz 1996: 17-32, Petley 2011, Zacek 2010).

This chapter examines what sort of social presence the absentee owners of the Betty's Hope plantation enjoyed on their Antigua estate over the course of the long nineteenth century. I argue that the figure of the absentee served to orient, and to some degree to stabilize, the relations of convivial reciprocity through which resident labor was negotiated at Betty's Hope, particularly between resident laborers/slaves and resident attorney-managers. Because the figure of the absentee was also a site onto which the residents of the Betty's Hope plantation could project their concerns in regards to colonial sociality in Antigua, the absentee owner was ultimately constructed a spectral jumbie-like figure which manifested the anxieties of plantation society during the long nineteenth century. In particular, the chapter considers the interrelationship among hosts, guests, masters and slaves, which undergirded the plantation mode of production during that period, in

light of the decline of paternalistic ideologies of plantation management and of the changing politics of social positionality brokered through Christmas feasts and manumission.

Absenteeism and ideologies of paternalism in plantation economies of the Leeward Caribbean

Absentee ownership at the Betty's Hope Plantation

Absentee Caribbean plantation owners of the colonial period are stereotypically represented as men having left the Caribbean after an initial period of residency to live off the profits of their sugar estates in the Metropole. This specific kind of absenteeism, the returned "West Indian", was in fact for the most part a figure of the early eighteenth century, despite its influence on accounts of plantation economies well into the late nineteenth century. When discussing absentee ownership of sugar plantations in the British Caribbean, many scholars rely on a somewhat impressionistic concept of absenteeism which blankets, perhaps unwittingly, both the diversity of situations through which absentee owners came into possession of Caribbean estates, as well as the great degree of variability in absentee experiences occurring during the long nineteenth century. In the case of sugar plantations of the British Leeward Caribbean islands, estate owners became absentee proprietors of West India properties upon which they did not primarily reside under four kinds of circumstances: by sovereign fiat, by inheritance, by lien, and by retiring to England after having been a resident planter for some time (Hall 1964).

Plantation owners who became absentees after having made their fortune during a substantial period of residency in the Caribbean, represent a relatively limited and historically specific mode of absentee ownership of sugar plantations most encountered during the early colonial period. Indeed, during the later decades of the eighteenth century and throughout the nineteenth century – that is, throughout most of the history of sugar cultivation in Antigua and other Leeward islands, absentee owners rarely had first-hand experience of sugar cultivation, as they tended to be mostly Metropolitan-born Britons having acquired their Caribbean estates through inheritance and lien. Nevertheless, the returned "West Indian" absentee remained a key figure through which contemporary metropolitan observers built the stereotype of the vulgar West Indian throughout the long nineteenth century (see chap. 3), and which continues to influence the models of plantation ownership used, almost as a default analytical stencil, in much of the contemporary scholarship on absentee ownership in the colonial British Caribbean. In the case of the Betty's Hope plantation, both absentee and resident proprietors have been possessed of the estate throughout the colonial period. In particularly, members of the Codrington family owned the Betty's Hope plantation uninterruptedly between 1668 and 1944. Although Codrington proprietors initially resided on Betty's Hope, they quickly became absentee owners beginning in 1721. After that date, several generations of Codrington owners put in place different types of absentee proprietorships and managerial arrangements between Antigua and their primary residence in Gloucestershire, England, until the sale of the Betty's Hope estate in 1944 (cf. table 2).

Christopher Codrington the Elder, who acquired Betty's Hope following the French incursion of 1666-1667, was a resident owner until his death in 1698, as was his son and heir Christopher Codrington the Younger (1668-1710). After the death of Codrington the Younger, the Betty's Hope plantation was bequeathed to Codrington's cousin, William Codrington, who had been born in

Barbados but educated in England. Upon inheriting Betty's Hope, William Codrington took a short residency on the estate, likely between 1717 and 1721, before purchasing the Dodington Park estate in Gloucestershire along with a Baronetcy, and permanently relocating to England by 1722. Sir William Codrington I was thus the first absentee proprietor of the Betty's Hope plantation, and a classic returned "West Indian". His short tenure as proprietor of Betty's Hope was followed by the remarkably long ownership of his son, Sir William Codrington II (1719-1792) who, although he visited Betty's Hope and his other West India properties on several occasions, was the first Betty's Hope proprietor to be formally a Metropolitan absentee, born and educated in Britain. Sir William II entrusted the management of Betty's Hope and other Antigua estates to his brother, Christopher Bethell, who also oversaw the sale of sugar in Britain and, quite possibly, slaving operations off the African Gold Coast, treading in the footsteps of his uncle Slingsby Bethell (see Chap. 2). In managing the Betty's Hope estate, Christopher Bethell worked together with various agents and resident attorney-managers, including Richard Oliver, a close friend of Sir William Codrington II and resident of Betty's Hope.

In 1792, Sir William Codrington II bequeathed the Betty's Hope plantation and other West India properties to his nephew, Christopher Bethell-Codrington (1764-1843), who had resided at Betty's Hope in 1790-1791 before taking ownership of the Estate. Sir Christopher Bethell-Codrington would be the last Codrington absentees to have spent a considerable residency on his Antigua Estate, meaning that he would be the last Betty's Hope proprietor to witness in full the eighteen-month cycle of sugar cane cultivation, and to try his hand at selling the Betty's Hope sugars through agents of the Metropole in Antigua. Sir Bethell-Codrington would invoke his familiarity with the life of Caribbean sugar plantations to buttress his anti-abolitionist stance, stating in 1806 that: "The opinions I hold have been formed in the midst of those slaves, and I will assert,

that if the inhumanity so profusely heaped upon the planter, or the supposed horrors of the negroes in the West Indies can ever have existence, they will be the fruit of the bill[1] in question." (Codrington mss GRA D1610/x17, cited in HistoryofParliamentOnline.org[2])

Despite his rhetorical flourishes, Sir Bethell-Codrington did spend most of his tenure of the Betty's Hope property as an absentee by inheritance. To manage his West India affairs, he first relied on the services of a resident attorney-manager, Joseph Lyons Walrond, whom he had first met while residing at Betty's Hope in the 1790s, preparation for his inheriting the Estate. Walrond eventually married Sir Bethell-Codrington's sister in 1797, thus becoming a de-facto member of the Codrington family while in charge of the management of the Betty's Hope plantation. Like his predecessor Richard Oliver, Joseph Lyons Walrond had been born and educated in the Metropole, though both he and Oliver made their career managing sugar plantations in the Leeward Islands, mostly on behalf of absentee owners.

In the 1830s, Sir Christopher Bethell-Codrington began shifting the management of the Betty's Hope plantation and other Antigua properties away from the Codrington family's extended kin, by hiring West-India-born resident attorney-managers at Betty's Hope who, despite their credentials, were strangers rather than close friends or family members. These West-India-born and usually Metropole-educated resident attorney-managers formed the new professional class that would take on most of the management of estates owned by absentees on Antigua until the twentieth century. Sir Bethell-Codrington did eventually meet in person several of the resident

[1] I.e. the Act for Abolishing the Slave trade (passed in 1807), which paved the way for the Slavery Abolition Act (1833).
[2] Glos. RO, Codrington mss D1610/x17, Cited in http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1790-1820/member/bethell-codrington-christopher-1764-1843#footnote6_ap3f7el

attorney-managers who passed through the Betty's Hope Dwelling House over the years, usually when those attorney-managers called upon Sir Bethell-Codrington while travelling to the Metropole to oversee the sale of sugars and the shipment of plantation stores. Sir Bethell-Codrington and his wife, Lady Georgiana Somerset, also visited Antigua in 1843-1844, at which time they were hosted by resident attorney-manager Samuel Auchinleck at the Betty's Hope Dwelling House.

Sir Bethell-Codrington's heir, Sir Christopher William Codrington, continued to hire resident attorney-managers from a pool of professional West Indian strangers, notably the indefatigable George Holborow who would manage the Codrington's affairs in Antigua from 1863 to 1891. It is George Holborow whom the last Codrington absentee-owner of Betty's Hope, Sir Gerald Henry, would meet while visiting the Betty's Hope plantation in 1872. After the death of George Holborow in 1891, his nephew, Frank Holborow, took over the management of Betty's Hope and other Codrington properties in Antigua illustrating how, for some, the profession of attorney-manager had become a family business in the Leeward Island by the close of the nineteenth century (Peterson 2010: 107).

Paternalistic imaginations of plantation management

As suggested by this short genealogy, absentee ownership at the Betty's Hope plantation answered broader trends in plantation ownership and management which unfolded in the British Caribbean over the course of the long nineteenth century, and which corresponded to changing ideologies of management and imaginations of belonging in plantations of the Leeward Islands, particularly in regards to the relationships between owners/masters and slaves/laborers within the changing context of the British Atlantic. One such transformation included the attrition and

reworking of paternalistic ideologies that had guided plantation life during the seventeenth and early-eighteenth century. The transformation of paternalistic ideologies on sugar plantations of Antigua throughout the long nineteenth century was itself entwined, on the one hand, with the growing convivial distance between absentee owners and their Caribbean estates which contributed to deepening the temporarily of deferral attending to plantation sociality; and on the other hand, with the professionalization of plantation management, itself also related to the changing ideologies of management that accompanied the rise of absentee ownership in Antigua. As such, absentee ownership and the shifting relations of trade and labor that swept the West Atlantic from the 1760s to the 1860s also worked to transform plantation life by inaugurating new kinds of presence/absence in the plantation mode of production, which were brokered through practices of hospitality such as dinner parties and Christmas feasts, as well as other practices through which social positions were enacted on plantation estates, including food provisioning and manumission.

In the Metropole, the rise of absenteeism among proprietors of West Indian sugar plantations accompanied a change in the political presence of Caribbean plantation owners in British political office, without however successfully challenging the trope of the vulgar West Indian in political discourse. In the final decade of the eighteenth century, West Indian sugar plantation owners residing in Britain were contributing actively to the conspicuous rise of the rentier capitalism (or "gentlemanly capitalism", in contradistinction to industrial capitalism for example), skated on a distinctly bourgeois performance of class within structures of landownership such as country estates, and of participation to public offices including seats in Parliament, which had previously been the purview of peers and aristocrats (Daunton 1989, Smith 1994). Given the close relationship between modes of ownership, consumerism and class formation in the making of

rentier capitalism in Britain, it is unsurprising that this formation also corresponded to the rise of gentility as a criterion of social distinction from the 1780s onward, which encouraged absentee owners to relate to British modes of hospitality and class formation rather than keep up with West Indian ones (Attar 1991, Bickham 2008, De Groot 2006, Gray 2010, Petley 2007: 91, Thompson 1961).

In the early decades of the so-called sugar revolution which, in Antigua, spanned the 1660s to the 1700s, a majority of sugar plantation proprietors of the Leeward Islands tended to reside on at least one of the estates they owned in the Caribbean. Such was the case with Betty's Hope, where proprietors Christopher Codrington the Elder and his heir Christopher Codrington the Younger resided primarily on the estate from 1671 until 1710, as did their successor, Sir William Codrington I before 1721. In the early eighteenth century, sugar plantation proprietors such as William Codrington began returning to England in large numbers in order to establish themselves as absentees in the Metropole, often joining government and participating in the powerful West India Interest political faction[3] which held remarkable sway over Parliament in affairs of colonial trade until the turn of the nineteenth century, arguably through the 1840s (Higman 1967, O'Shaughnessy 1997).

From the 1780s onward, plantation managers and attorneys began constituting a professional class in a context where Abolitionists and Christian missionaries, particularly Moravians and Methodists in Antigua, appropriated the discourse on paternalism hitherto

[3] All Codrington absentee proprietors of the Betty's Hope plantation held a public office during the lifetime; all sat in Parliament, except Sir Gerald Henry William Codrington, who served as Captain and Hon. Major for the Dodington Squadron of Gloucestershire Yeomanry (HistoryofParliament.org, The Sporting Life 1906: 201).

associated with plantation management, and re-oriented it toward new ideals of "amelioration". Following these ideals, the various political, cultural and political interventions of Abolitionists and missionaries leading to the Emancipation of slaves and their subsequent civilization into the free-labor market, would be cast as acts of father-like benevolence. As such, the paternalistic ideologies and their imagination of a joint transatlantic family or household uniting plantation owners, managers, and unfree laborers, were redirected away from ideologies of management on sugar plantations, and towards emerging discourse on post-emancipation Christian citizenship and discipline. In such discourse, the absentee owner lost much of his authority as a figure of paternalistic benevolence in the context of plantation economies. On the contrary, pro-slavery absentee advocates such as Sir Christopher Bethell-Codrington were cast in the abolitionist literature as the tyrannical and gluttonous antithesis of the benevolent patriarch, exploiting rather than nurturing God's children of which slaves of Caribbean plantations were the most down trotted (Moore and Johnson 2004, Petley 2012, Ward 1988).

During the eighteenth century, paternalistic ideologies provided a strong undercurrent to the practices and posturing that surrounded the social and political lives of owners of sugar plantations in the Caribbean who resided in Britain, the so-called "West Indian". Many of these absentee owners retained not-so-distant memories of resident ownership in the Caribbean, embodied in the many illegitimate children they often fathered on plantation estates during their residency. These children were commonly of mixed Euro-African ancestry and born into slavery, to mothers who had often been victims of sexual violence and exploitation. In his 1738 will, the owner of Betty's Hope Sir William Codrington I bequeathed upwards of £1,000 either directly to various illegitimate children he fathered on his Antigua estates while in residence (approximately 1717-1721), or towards the upkeep of their female relatives (reproduced in RP2616-24-D1610-A59, loose leaf).

In addition to resident plantation owners, other white and Euro-Creole men employed by Codrington-owned property in the Caribbean also fathered illegitimate children birthed into slavery by often unwilling mothers on the estates they frequented (Beckles 1989). For example, in 1787, the attorney-manager of Barbuda, Langford Lovell, asked Sir William Codrington whether he could sell the children of one of the estate's managers, a Mr. Parke who, according to Lovell, had taken an enslaved black woman for his wife in Barbuda. Lovell likely brought the question to Sir William as a way to prompt Sir William to amend the clauses of the power of attorney given to him, by which Lovell was not yet empowered to purchase and sale slaves on accounts of Sir William. Lovell's attempt at increasing his power over the Barbuda estate was thwarted when Sir William Codrington simply recommended that the children be given to Parke (Lovell to Codrington, 5 Nov 1787, BL RP2616-31-D1610-C14/1, xx109).

The Parke household, mixing free and unfree, African- and European-descended members, was in no way exceptional on the Codrington proprieties of Antigua and Barbuda under slavery. Over the course of the long nineteenth century, the various attorney-managers who resided at Betty's Hope kept in their employ up to eight "seamstresses" and several "house boys", many of whom were likely illegitimate children fathered by the managerial staff to unfree women residing on the estate. In 1830, the resident attorney-manager of Betty's Hope R. Jarritt listed in the return of slaves he prepared for that year, that some nineteen unfree servants were attached to the Dwelling House, including seven children between the ages of 4 and 15, and eight "coloured" women over 15 years of age listed as seamstresses (BL RP2616-24-D1610-C29). In the 1830 return prepared by R. Jarritt as in other lists and censuses of the Betty's Hope unfree population drafted in the nineteenth century, all slaves assigned to the Dwelling House were listed as being either "mulattoe" or "coloured". Slaves who were considered "mulattoe" or otherwise non-black were customarily

not put to work in the cane fields because of their perceived whiteness, and were therefore either sold off as house servants, workmen or prostitutes. It is likely that several attorney-managers wished to space their illegitimate offspring the fate of being sold off, and desired to keep in the intimacy of their legitimate household at Betty's Hope. As such, even on absentee-owned estates, the politics of paternity and legitimacy intersected with those of plantation management, perhaps astride of ideologies of management, particularly paternalistic ones, which placed the estate owner at the highest and most authoritative position within the plantation household.

Indeed, even in absentee-owned estates such as Betty's Hope, eighteenth-century paternalism imagined that the plantation, organized around the Dwelling House household, was an extension of the absentee's English household, upon which he therefore presided with the same patriarchal authority as he did his own residence. As such, when plantation owners were absentees, the resident attorney-managers they hired in their place were but a conduit to the authority of the absentee who technically retained the final say on the management of the plantation and on the organization of its social life. Unsurprisingly, such ideologies nevertheless did not necessarily reflect the practices espoused by resident attorney-managers who, rather, cultivated increasing managerial independence from absentees as the ninetieth century wore on. This independence manifested, in part, in the increased number of non-white children kept by resident attorney-managers within the Betty's Hope Dwelling House.

Furthermore, beginning in the 1780s, ideologies of paternalistic plantation management in Antigua came under the jurisdiction of a series of laws and "Amelioration Acts" passed for the "betterment" of slaves and the improvement of their life conditions on the island (Gaspar 1992). While these Acts were congruent with the characteristically paternalistic ideal that plantation

owners should benevolently provide food, clothing and shelter for their slaves, and although the Acts located the legal accountability for slave provisioning squarely onto the plantation owning class, the "Amelioration Acts" also effectively moved some of the decision-making associated with plantation management and provisioning out of the hands of plantation owners, thus taking a perhaps unwitting first step towards the professionalization of plantation management which unfolded throughout the long nineteenth century. Concomitantly, because absentee owners had to sanction managerial decisions for their estates at a distance and through slow transatlantic communications, absentee ownership tended to delay decision-making in regards to the affairs of sugar plantations. Leveraging these delays in communication to their advantage, managers, attorneys and agents could assert their influence over plantation life and its staggered cycles of production, in the temporality of deferral that settled over absentee-oriented plantation economies,

During the nineteenth century, the guiding impact of paternalist ideologies and their imaginations of transatlantic households on provisioning and labor practices in plantations of the British Leeward Caribbean, faded with the professionalization of plantation management, which included a spatial and temporal space of separation between the owner and the bondpeople – a separation that would only increase with Emancipation and its radical reworking of the legal framework within which sugar cultivation operated in Antigua and other British Caribbean locations. By contrast, paternalistic ideologies remained much more central to the American model of plantation economies, which continued under slavery until the 1860s, and which remained by and large controlled by resident owners and their household, rather than by professional attorneys and managers until the Civil War. In that light, the different ideologies of management and geographies of domesticity that organized plantation life in the American South and the Caribbean, also appear to nourish different tropes of hospitality, such that Caribbean plantation hospitality and southern

hospitality should not be considered as necessarily commensurable or analytically interchangeable, particularly in the late nineteenth century (on slavery in the American South, see Berlin 1998, Davis 2006, Dunn 2014, Rediker 2007, Schlotterbeck 2013, Stevenson 1996, Stowe 1990, Walvin 2006).

Overall, the ideologies of paternalism that informed plantation economies from the late seventeenth century to the mid-eighteenth, broke down over the course of the long nineteenth century in part because of the distance and modes of deferral imposed by absentee ownership and its effect on plantation sociality. Before telegraphy and steam navigation, absentee owners communicated with their distant estate, or rather with the managers and attorneys they left there as their representatives, chiefly through the slow tempo of transatlantic correspondence and shipping. Requests took several weeks to reach the absentee, who responded with similar delay, in an authoritative yet often obsolete tone, to the situations on the plantation which had often changed in the time it took for the exchange to take place. Furthermore, because sugar cane crops took some eighteen months to mature, two to three crops were grown simultaneously and cut down in staggered harvests every six months or so. As a result of this staggered cultivation, plantation accounts were rarely settled and sales calculated before the following harvest, which induced further delays in implementing new agricultural or commercial strategies for the crops to follow. The productivity of the estate was thus simultaneously always in the making and always deferred; the profits were assessed as a potential, and every threat to future crops were greeted with dreadful disappointment, particularly in times of severe drought. Consequently, absenteeism revealed the ways in which residency on plantation estates and the concomitant kinds of "waiting for" that accompanied the management of absentee-owned estates, including Betty's Hope, were

crucial in shaping the kinds of expectations and spaces of sociality that guided plantation life throughout the long nineteenth century.

Mismanagement and the politics of residency

For absentee owners, the convenience of living in the Metropole came at the cost of leaving their West India estates in the care of a third party who, despite his competence and familiarity to the owner, might always be liable to mismanaging the estate. As third-party managers, resident attorney-managers maintained authority over the affairs of the sugar estates they oversaw, less in accordance to the stipulations of a formal contract with the absentee owner than from the "power of attorney" which was issued by the absentee owner on their behalf. At Betty's Hope, several persons were usually named on the document, which empowered them to act on behalf of the Codrington absentees in different aspects of their West India affairs – including for such transactions as the sale of sugars, the purchase of slaves, the payment of custom duties and taxes, as well as the management of sugar production on the planation estates.

Plantation owners and the people they hired to act on their behalf defined their respective authority and domains of accountability through the powers of attorney more than any other document. As such, owners, managers and agents sidestepped the forms of legal obligations bound with the contract form in the rising tide of managerial bureaucracy in the context of emergent capitalism (Weber 1981 [1947] and 2002 [1904]), while leaving considerable room for political maneuvering among the partners of the agreement. Such maneuvers could, in a productive sense, allow for nimbler management practices in times of personal conflict or when sugar production was subjected to the uncertainties of colonial wars, inclement weather and the

mortality of workers and staff. In a more subversive light, the maneuvering room left by the power of attorney as a form of contractual relationship also opened a space in which mismanagement could be concealed form the absentee owner.

From the absentee's point of view, as revealed by correspondence relating to the affairs of the Betty's Hope plantation, the attorney-managers and agents acting on his behalf in the Caribbean were always liable to depredating his estates, cooking his accounts and neglecting the affairs of his estate for their own profit. New attorney-managers often played on the absentee's anxiety when they took office at the helm of their West India affairs in the context of the loose contractual obligations delineated for them in the power of attorney. Indeed, new attorney-managers, including those employed by the Codrington absentees at Betty's Hope, were usually quick to point out the flaws of their predecessor's managerial practices and bemoan the pitiful state in which they had found their new charge upon arriving on the plantation. In their initial assessment, new attorney-managers somehow always found the plantation in disrepair, on the brink of collapse, and in desperate need of their capable care; such rhetoric was used by nearly all of the resident attorney-managers who lived at Betty's Hope over the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth century, including at the height of the estate's profitability in the 1750s-1770s.

Through their use of the trope of plantation mismanagement, new attorney-managers contributed to tracing a rhetorical motif of "decline and fall" in terms of plantation productivity that echoes through Codrington correspondence of the long nineteenth century as well as through parliamentary documents written in the Metropole about the state of West India colonies. The trope of the declining plantation estate with its anticipated insufficient productivity, echoes some of the concerns resident attorney-managers and plantation owners harbored for the success of future

crop during their deferred entry into market, as discussed above. The temporality of such deferral was also inscribed in the positionthat Euro-Creoles who served as resident attorney-managers constructed for themselves within the British imperial project, through such means as the performance of England-as-home as a deferred place of belonging, as discussed in previous chapters. The actuality of Euro-Creole's return to Britain mattered little, compared to the cultural work done in Antiguan society by the very performance of their expectation of a distant homeland, which made the temporality of colonial social life both fleeting and ever-delayed. The protracted pace of sugar production and transatlantic management was thus reflected in plantation sociality, in which one was always, in some way, waiting.

Codrington absentee owners, in their personal correspondence relating to the of Betty's Hope plantation, often mulled over the tropes of mismanagement leveraged by new resident attorney-managers as they took office. Codrington absentees always entertained some suspicion about the honesty and sincerity of their representatives in Antigua in the management of their West Indian affairs, a suspicion that initially prompted them to hire primarily family members to oversee their Caribbean Estates – as Sir William Codrington II did when he hired his brother Christopher Bethell, and Sir Christopher Bethell-Codrington when he kept in his employ his brother-in-law, Joseph Lyons Walrond. Soon however, Codrington proprietors had to hire attorney-managers who were not family members, and they began regarding residency on the part of the attorney-manager as a token of his honest dedication to the affairs of the estate – and consequently as a perceived necessary condition to ensure the long-term profitability of the plantations for their Codrington absentee proprietors.

The Codrington absentee owner's preference for truly resident attorney-managers was already well-asserted by the 1750s, as suggested in a letter from merchant Robert Bowes to Betty's Hope proprietor Sir William Codrington: "I must needs say, but all that I could either hear or see that Mr Redhead is greatly attch'd to your interest, and what confirms it, is his residing on Bettys Hope, & almost continually on the spott in the midst of your affairs, which was not the case formerly, and if continues must be much to your advantage." (Robert Bowes to Sir William Codrington, 16 September 1752, BL RP2616-33-D1610-C7). The sentiment continued into the nineteenth century, when a new resident attorney-manager at Betty's Hope was instructed that: "Residence on the property must be of course considered indispensable" (Christopher Codrington to L. L. Hodge, 15 October 1805, BL RP2616-33-D1610-C23). According to plantation accounts, all resident attorney-managers for the Codrington Estates in Antigua would take up residence at the Betty's Hope Dwelling House until at least 1904, and would receive substantial provisioning benefits on account of the Estate for use at the Betty's Hope table, until the 1850s at least.

Since at least the mid-eighteenth century, Codrington absentee proprietors understood that attorney-managers, if they were to oversee their affairs to the best of their ability, had to take the place of the absentee owner at the head of the Betty's Hope Dwelling House household and preside over its dining room. In this context, the presence of attorney-managers "on the spott" was considered by the Codrington absentees to be a form of accountability, which showed and performed the attorney-manager's dedication to efficient production and orderly life on the Bettys' Hope and other estates. Conversely, the attorney-manager, vested with the power of attorney and residing in the Betty's Hope Dwelling House, also provided a means of making the absence of the owner present within the plantation mode of production – or, more precisely, of serving as a placeholder in constructing the deferred presence of the absentee owners between his visits to his

West India estates. In the Dwelling House and on the Betty's Hope estate more generally, the authority of the absentee owner was thus constructed in part through a specific kind of presencing in which a third party, the attorney-manager, was empowered to personify the owner *in absentia*.

The point of residency and deferred authority is here crucial in understanding the transformation of plantation ownership during the long nineteenth century and its corresponding effects on the politics of convivial reciprocity at the Betty's Hope Dwelling House, at the center of which dwelt the ambiguous figure of the absentee. Both the rise of absenteeism and the fraying of paternalistic ideologies of plantation management were part and parcel of the emergence of Creole practices of hospitality, which were in part directed toward affirming England as the shared "home" of plantation management and absentee owners, and in part directed to the immediate politics of reciprocity and kinship within the plantation household. Over the course of the long nineteenth century, absenteeism drove a wedge of social estrangement between Master and Slave, which revealed the middling levels of management, trade and social stabilizing that lay under the veneer of legalistic dualism in Antiguan society. Although non-binary arrangements become salient in historiographical works on post-Emancipation labor, such arrangements came into being long before the 1830s – as early as the 1720s in the case of Betty's Hope – and they carried with them various forms sociality which could potentially destabilize the authority of absentee owners and, more generally, the hierarchies and regimens of coerced labor upon which the plantation mode of production was predicated. Despite the deeply-rooted sources of instabilities inherent to the plantation mode of production, plantation society nevertheless endured in Antigua until the turn of the twentieth century at least, in part because of the stabilizing work done by and through practices of hospitality and food consumption on sugar plantation estates, including Christmas

feasts, which interpolated the sociality of free and unfree, White and African-descended Creoles of Antigua both under slavery and well after Emancipation.

Staged Conviviality, Manumission and the Negotiation of Social Positionality

Christmas feasts under slavery

Christmas feasts here refer to the days of rest and celebration that interrupted the rhythm of sugar production during Christmas time, and during which Antigua's laboring population enjoyed a break from the tedious and often-violent daily toil of cane cultivation. The Christmas holiday prompted not only sustained convivial and festive socialization among the Antiguan laboring population but also, particularly under slavery, a rare overt intersection of free and unfree, White and non-White convivial life on plantation estates. Indeed, prior to 1834, plantation owners and their attorney-managers gave supplemental rations of meat or flour to the slaves residing on their estates and, at Betty's Hope, also usually entertained them for one evening in the Dwelling House. On such occasions, slaves who came to collect their Christmas rations and/or feast in the master's house arrived as a transformed people, dressed in their finest clothing and most elaborate ornaments, and momentarily acknowledged into the circles of white Euro-Creole conviviality.

Christmas feasts, despite providing a respite from the daily tempos of life on the plantation, were nevertheless inscribed within the broader cycles of plantation practice in harvesting, accounting and socializing. As such, the Christmas feasts laid bare, if momentarily, the politics of reciprocity on plantation estates, according to a script that eschewed transformative liminal

vulnerability often associated with rituals (as per Turner 1967; free and unfree people alike attended Christmas celebrations in already transformed, in attire and posture), while nevertheless opening a space in which customary rights could be affirmed through potentially carnivalesque forms. Resident plantation owners momentarily became hosts to people whom they would never have otherwise consider as guests – the unfree people bond as chattel slaves to their plantation estates, and were obliged to extend to them a certain set of staged acts of conviviality, centering on the distribution of rations and the halting of plantation labor.

Christmas feasts and the distribution of Christmas rations in the Betty's Hope Dwelling House was an exceptional yet recurring event, inscribed in the customary networks of entitlement that circulated among plantation communities before Emancipation, and continued to inflect relations of production (of food as well as of cash-crops) until the twentieth century. As such, Christmas feasts and the apparent reversal of social order they occasion were not simply about re-affirming predominantly white Euro-Creole solidarity (pace Dirks 1987), but rather about navigating more complex relations of reciprocity both within and between members of the various social categories that made up plantation societies, most notably those relating to race and labor. Christmas feasts raised the stakes of negotiation, manipulation and affirmation of one's position within the plantation mode of production and the politics of reciprocity and exploitation upon which it was founded, and which was manifested for example in access to edible goods through rations and marketing, and in dinner parties. As such, the working and reworking of social categories through convivial practices at Christmas celebrations troubled the British colonial regimes of classification and social distinction that structured ideologies of civilization during the long nineteenth century.

As early as the late seventeenth century, slaves of sugar plantation such as Betty's Hope received supplemental food and/or cloth rations every Christmas, in an act of affected conviviality performed by the plantation owner or, on absentee-owned estates, by the resident attorney-manager on behalf of the absentee owner.[4] Christmas rations, also termed "Negroes Christmas" in the plantation accounts, usually comprised flour, pork and/or finer cloth than the one provided for in accordance to the Amelioration Acts, although plantation accounts suggest the exact content of the Christmas ration might have varied from year to year, depending on the availability of pork and flour on the market. For example, in 1779, 25 barrels of flour were purchased "for the Negroes use at Xmas" (Plantations Accounts 1779b, BL RP2616-34-D1610-A5m p.9), while 12 barrels of pork and 12 barrels of flour were purchase for the same purpose in 1816 (1816 Account for Betty's Hope, BL RP2616-D1610-A13/3), and 12 barrels of flour in 1826 (Betty's Hope Accounts Jul 1826-Jun1827, BL RP2616-32-D1610-A12/5). In January 1818, L. L. Hodge, then resident attorney-manager at Betty's Hope, wrote to Sir Christopher Codrington that: "Owing to the great scarcity of pork, I could not get it in time for your negroes Xmas allowance, and only [enjoyed] it two days ago as it was not landed, however I am happy to say they sustained this disappointment with great patience." (RP2616-27-D1610-C37, p.118)

On absentee-owned estates, the distribution Christmas rations by the attorney-manager on behalf of the owner also served to presence the absentee owner as a host, albeit punctually and despite his customary estrangement, within the broader architecture of food circulation on the estate. To that end, at Betty's Hope, bondpeople were customarily invited to collect their

[4] Although Christmas remained a major Holiday after Emancipation, plantation managers discontinued the practice of giving resident laborers gifts of food and cloth on Christmas day at the same time as they abolished the distribution of food rations mandated by Amelioration Acts under slavery.

Christmas allowance in the Dwelling House, and even to dance, drink, and sit down for dinner in the spaces usually reserved to white Creole socializing. Christmas festivities continued among unfree persons after they left the confines of the Dwelling House and the company of plantation managers, while white Creoles, too, carried on their Holiday celebrations among themselves. It is likely that the supplemental rations given to laborer were re-circulated among plantation residents and perhaps between plantations as well, as part of practices of hospitality and conviviality that went unrecorded in the archive generated by Metropolitan observers. Such recirculation occurred with leftovers from the Dwelling House table throughout the year, and it is likely that it took on an augmented character at Christmas, as suggested by the following observation made by Lady Georgiana Codrington on Christmas feasts: "A dinner was once given [at Betty's Hope] to some of the Negroes at Xmas they were all very much affronted & refused to sit down to table they were only pacified by being told they might each take away his share." (Codrington 1844: 62) It is possible that the Betty's Hope guests were anxious to retain control over how they consumed their Christmas allowance, perhaps in terms of potential redistribution practices associated with the holiday.

Overall, Christmas feasts and revels are among the best documented festive events of the British colonial Caribbean, appearing in several travel accounts and correspondence penned during the long nineteenth century. This omnipresence stemmed perhaps from the curiosity they inspired because they showcased an unusual overlap of free and unfree sociality, and also perhaps from the importance of Christmas celebrations throughout the British Empire – one to which Metropolitan writers and readers could relate (Lannaghan 1844, Luffman 1789, Schaw 1776; extensive review in Dirks 1987). Most if not all accounts of Christmas feasts for that period were penned by white observers, often Metropolitans writing to a British Imperial audience, and who

were often necessarily outsiders to the modes of hospitality they witnessed in the Caribbean. As such, although Christmas feasts involved the intersection of free and unfree sociality, very few records of the social life of unfree African-Antiguans and their descendants penned by Afro-Caribbean authors exist for the eighteenth and nineteenth century, which contributes to the deep bias of the archive of plantation life during the colonial period (fig. 26).[5] The case is somewhat different with Euro-Creole social life to which Metropolitan observers participated actively, notably as guests to dinner parties, yet with which they become notably out of step by the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

The predominance of white Metropolitan and Creole voices in the documentary archive of plantation sociality helps explain why, before Emancipation, Christmas was often associated with periods of perceived social unrest or of potential for riotous behavior on the part of the slaves. These anxieties were often expressed in terms of the "uncivilized" character of the unfree population who was said to raise Cain, so to speak, during what should have been a religious holiday; in the years leading up to Emancipation, anti-abolitionists sometimes leveraged Christmas revels as evidence that African-descended Caribbean people were unfit for freedom and legal subjecthood (see fig.27, set in the broader context of a dinner party attended by both Abolitionists and freedpeople). In the words of Wentworth, a Metropolitan who published his observations on the West Indies on the eve of Emancipation: "At an early period after the colonization of these [Leeward] islands, it became necessary to adopt precautionary measures against the spirit of

[5] For example, in the narrative of her life, Mary Prince mentioned Christmas not as a moment of intense socialization and festivities, but rather as the cause for her religious awakening during her enslavement in Antigua (Prince 1997 [1831]: 82). Because Prince's narrative was published (and to a large extent edited) by London-based abolitionist Thomas Pringle, it is possible that Pringle himself chose to emphasize the religious significance of Christmas in Prince's narrative, in line with the kinds of moral ideologies put forth by the abolitionist movement in their political literature.

rebellion on the part of negroes, which too frequently has been manifest at this particular season, whence it has been deemed expedient to put martial law in force during the holidays." (Wentworth 1834 2:39).

In Antigua, the anxiety of white Creoles over the disruptive potential of Christmas feasts was rooted in the story of Major Samuel Martin, the wealthy owner of the Green Castle Plantation, who was killed by his slaves on Christmas for demanding that they work during the holiday in 1701 (Rebovitch 2011, Dyde 2000: 44). In doing so, Martin breached customary law regarding labor practice, and likely also the distribution of Christmas rations which was expected to be accompanied with a day of rest. Martin's actions, which ultimately lead to his demise if one believes the accounts of his death recorded most influentially by Lanaghan (1844:79), were similar to those of a bad host exposing the negative underside of scripted practices of reciprocity. As such, the death of Martin is significant in understanding the politics of food circulation, labor and convivial holidays in Antigua; as a bad host, Martin helps us understand the stakes of hospitality on Antiguan sugar plantations under slavery, namely balancing servitude and freedom with exchange and consumption, in a social field that is simultaneously open and closed to manipulation (Shryock 2012: S20; also Heal 1984).

The story of Martin's death and the "spirit of rebellion" invoked by Wentworth also underscore the subtext of spectrality and supernatural encounters that accompanied certain aspects of Christmas feasting in the Leeward Caribbean, which further dramatized the role of hosts and guests during the holiday, particularly in terms of the potential disruptions that could accompany a breakdown in scripted host-guest relationships. Christmas feasts of the eighteenth and nineteenth century involved not only the sharing of food, including the presence of slaves at

their master's dinner table, but also public parades, masquerades and balls that eventually morphed into the specific performative repertoires of contemporary Carnival celebrations, beginning in the 1950s. During Christmas revels, many specters that were otherwise mostly hidden from public performances emerged as masques for the holiday, including John Canoe, John Bull and the Mocko Jumbies. Mocko Jumbies are still prevalent in Leeward Caribbean Carnival celebrations across the Leeward Islands and draw from masque forms that were common in Christmas celebrations since at least the eighteenth century. During the nineteenth century, and also arguably in the contemporary Caribbean, Mocko Jumbies were supernatural beings personified by mask actors on stilts, anti-Jumbies of sort, who came as guests for the annual Christmas celebration and "mocked"[6] the more sinister jumbie spirits by showing their undergarments to the crowd amassed to cheer them on (Nicholls 1999, Reed 2007; also Dirks 1987).[7]

In Antigua, Christmas feasts and house parties occurred in most settlements and plantations throughout the island, with masked figures showing on the doorstop of plantation great gouses and other white Creole households. In addition, Christmas parades were also held, predominantly in urban centers such as St. Johns, in which the figure of the Mocko Jumbie often appeared in conjunction with that of John Bull. John Bull manifested as a dancer wearing cattle horns and a heavily padded leather apron upon his back, which another performer would whip as the pair made its way down the street (fig. 28). The name "John Bull" was also that of the fictionalized personification of England first made popular by political cartoons of the eighteenth

[6] This phonetic proximity between mocko and mocking is felicitous; the term "mocko" more likely refers to the elongated limbs of the stilt performers.
[7] It will be remembered, from GiGi's narrative, that jumbies of Antigua tend to flee when people show them their backside, and wear their clothes backwards or inside out.

century and, as such, “running John Bull”, meaning chasing a John Bull masquerader and whipping at his protective apron, has been interpreted as an overt commentary on the violent character of British colonialism in the sugar-producing Leeward Island, a violence which as momentarily reversed during Christmas festivities (and, following the 1950s, during Carnival) (Nicholls 2009). Nevertheless, the pairing of John Bull with the Mocko Jumbies and other characters of Christmas revels complicates the story of social reversal that might emerge from a superficial engagement with the structure and function of the Christmas feast. Indeed, the pairing of John Bull and Mocko Jumbies with Christmas feasts plays on the entanglements of customary rights and staged reciprocity, particularly in regards to food entitlement, manifested notably in the tenuous bond of the Negroes’ Christmas; a bond that would unravel during Emancipation while continuing to haunt institutions of unfreedom in Antigua after 1834.

Manumission and purchasing one’s freedom in the context of Emancipation

In the years leading to Emancipation, several slaves bound to Betty’s Hope and other Codrington Estates in Antigua asked to purchase their freedom from Sir William Codrington. The requests for self-purchase sent by unfree persons of Antigua to Sir William II, were inscribed in a longer history of manumission through dating back to the early years of plantation slavery in the Caribbean, a process that occurred mostly through wills and deeds initiated by slave owners, although requests for self-purchase also sparsely occur in plantation accounts before 1807 (Handler 1974). In the 1830s, the requests for self-purchase presented at Betty’s Hope appear both more numerous and more insistent that those previously recorded, and it is likely that the persons petitioning for their freedom were perhaps moved to do so because, faced with the

uncertainty of Emancipation, they might have desired to regain some control over their own emplacement and resist their families being dispersed following the proclamation of Emancipation.

In plantation accounts of the 1830s, resident attorney-manager R. Jarritt recorded several instances in which he was approached by unfree people bound to Betty's Hope, most often skilled laborers or overseers, who desired to either purchase themselves and/or their wives and children. Although their access to property and legal rights were severely limited by the legal framework of chattel slavery, unfree persons of the British Leeward Islands could nevertheless gain access cash currency while in bondage, for instance through the sale of produce grown in their gardens, through cash compensations given by their owners in lieu of cloth and food provisioning, and even through "hired" labor compensated in currency.[8] The fact that unfree persons had access to enough money to purchase manumissions, whether their own or that of others, seems to concur with the evidence presented to the Select Committee of the House of Lords on the abolition of slavery, to the effect that some slaves had in their possession enough ready money to purchase their freedom by the 1790s, although they did not or could not do so (cf. minutes of evidence in Select Committee 1832). The uncertainty hanging over the process of Emancipation and how it would play out in Antigua, particularly in terms of residency and family dispersals, likely spurred this interest in securing one's freedom ahead of the process.

[8] Although the suggestion that enslaved workers, particularly skilled laborers such as carpenters, coopers and blacksmiths, occasionally received wages in compensation for their labor seems to run against the very definition of slavery in contradistinction to waged labor in the Marxist sense, it nevertheless underscores the empirical precedent of currency as a form of labor compensation well before Emancipation, for unfree peoples on British sugar plantation and in British territories of the Leeward Islands more generally (cf. Cateau 2014).

In the years leading to Emancipation, several unfree persons of the Betty's Hope estate thus petitioned to purchase their own freedom or that of their relatives from the absentee owner, sometimes by communicating directly with the absentee, but usually by asking the resident attorney-manager to serve as a go-between. The absentee, rather than the resident attorney-manager, ultimately decided whether or not slaves who petitioned for a manumission should be granted it for the sum offered, despite the fact that most attorney-managers had the power to buy and sell slaves as they saw fit. Resident attorney-managers recorded many requests for manumissions at Betty's Hope between Abolition and Emancipation, including that made by an employee named Ray, already manumitted, who asked to purchase the freedom of a woman, and of three children of whom he was the father. Ray offered Bethell-Codrington £75 for all three (£50 for the woman, £25 for both children) through the intermediary of R. Jarritt, the attorney-manager of Betty's Hope. Jarritt recommended that Sir Bethell-Codrington agreed to the manumission of the woman and her children be manumitted, meaning here agreeing that their freedom be purchase by Ray, because they were all "fair mulattoes; the kids are nearly white" (Jarritt to Christopher Bethell-Codrington Bart, 15 March 1831, BL RP2616-3-D1610-C29). Although the woman and her children were enslaved, Jarritt would not put them to work in the fields because of their perceived whiteness.

Another person who petitioned Sir Bethell-Codrington to purchase herself in the 1830s was Grace Brand, a 19-year-old house servant. In 1831, Grace Brand offered to purchase her freedom from Sir Christopher Bethell-Codrington for £50, through the intermediary of attorney-manager Jarritt. At the time of her request, Brand was hired out to the archdeacon of Antigua in St. John's, which is likely where she gained accessed to cash currency either through trade or through her

labor as a house servant.[9] In addition, because she was hired out and not in residence at the Betty's Hope plantation to which she was bound, Grace Brand could not be manumitted directly by Jarritt without the intervention of Sir Bethell-Codrington. Grace Brand was reported in the Betty's Hope accounts as a "mulattoe" whom Jarritt considered to be "nearly white". Jarritt wrote to Bethell-Codrington that he looked favorably on Grace Brand's offer, noting: "I would not request you to dispose of any of them [i.e. the slaves at Betty's Hope], that were of value to you or beneficial to the Estate. But these people [meaning Grace Brand and other light-skinned African-Antiguans] in my opinion you are better without." (Jarrittt to Christopher Bethell-Codrington Bart, 15 March 1831, RP2616-3-D1610-C29)

By 1833, Grade Brand remained legally bound to the Betty's Hope plantation in Antigua, yet had found her way to London where, it appears, she continued to demand if not her freedom, then at least the right to purchase herself from Sir Bethell-Codrington. In a letter written in February 1833, J. Liggins, an agent of Sir Bethell-Codrington who shuttled between Antigua and the Metropole to sell sugar and found himself in London at the time of writing, assured Bethell-Codrington that Grace Brand, though now in London, "will not want the manumission" until she returns to Antigua; Liggins went on to advise that the issue of her freedom should nevertheless be settled right away, without affidavit (Liggins to Sir C. Bethell-Codrington, February 1833, BL RP2616-32-D1610-C39 p.3). It is unclear whether Grace Brand obtained her freedom before general Emancipation in August 1834 but, considering that slave owners received in compensation for the loss of their property only a fraction of the appraised value of the people they kept captive, it

[9] What kind of service Brand performed at the Archdeacon's house was, however, not recorded.

certainly would have been to the financial advantage of the Sir Bethell-Codrington to have accepted the £50 offered by Grace Brand.

Brand was not the only unfree person attached to Betty's Hope who was seeking to purchase herself in London in 1833. In a letter from June 1833, J. Liggins wrote to Sir Christopher about a meeting he had with George Thwaites, an unfree man belonging to Betty's Hope who found himself in London under unspecified circumstances, and who approached Liggins in the hope of buying back his freedom. Liggins promised George Thwaites he could go back to Antigua protected from prosecution and purchase his freedom there, for whatever sum he could lay down upon his arrival in Antigua. Thwaites turned down the offer, presumably out of suspicion as to Liggins' sincerity (Liggins to Sir C. Bethell-Codrington, 12 June 1833, RP2616-32-D1610-C39).

In the years leading up to Emancipation, while most unfree persons seeking to purchase their freedom first petitioned their owner through R. Jarritt, the attorney-manager residing at Betty's Hope, or Liggins, Sir Christopher's agent in both London and Antigua, exceptionally, Edward George Codrington addressed Sir Bethell-Codrington directly in the following letter, transcribed:

> " Cotton New Works, 6 September 1829
>
> My dear master,
>
> I have taken the liberty of addressing you a most particular favor, that is with your permission to allow me the privilege of purchasing myself and I hope this may not be an offense to you _ if so I will be extremely sorry my dear master this address is with a sincere regard toward your well fare as well as myself. I shiver at the attempt if asking the favor from knowing that you have a family which must inherit us here after but I trust in your kindness with god willing that this letter should reach you and also meeting you in good health and my young master and the other part of the family my dear Master I do not ask his favor for any other purpose than for the benefit of myself nor ~~should~~ shall I shrink from the profession that I how hold as a farrier is not my intention if I was three times free to give up the name of CBC therefore I will is you will be kind enough to grant m this favor be myself down to serve you in the farriers line. I have not waited on Mr Jarrit [rubbed out] our present attorney who I know would be willing to lead me through any

thing that is legal but it was impossible for me to do so whe I know his mind must been six [sic] from the abusive treatment that he has received from a few of Bettys Hope and the garden negroes in the behalf of you.

I remain my dear master your most humble and obedient servant,

Edward George Codrington "

(RP2616-28-D1610-C34)

Edward George Codrington's letter was penned in a distinctive handwriting encountered nowhere else in plantation accounts, correspondence and other archives relating to Betty's Hope, which suggests that Edward George Codrington was, remarkably, a literate slave. Moreover, Edward G. Codrington had a personal tie to the absentee owner Sir Bethell-Codrington, having been a servant to him when he resided on the estate in the 1790s – and presumably also during Sir Bethell-Codrington's subsequent visits to Antigua. Interestingly, Edward G. Codrington, who is listed in the returns of slaves at Betty's Hope, appears to have deliberately addressed his letter to Bethell-Codrington from the Cotton plantation, the plantation abutting Betty's Hope which was also owned by Bethell-Codrington, perhaps as a rhetorical move to distance himself from the unruly Betty's Hope workers who doled out an "abusive treatment" to attorney-manager R. Jarritt.

Edward George. Codrington's letter, though remarkable, was written in a genre which recurs periodically in the correspondence relating to the Betty's Hope plantation and other British Leeward sugar estates, that of the appeal to the absentee as arbiter. Such appeals occur in letters penned by both free and unfree people residing on Caribbean estates, as well as in correspondence about resident labor discontent on absentee-owned estates. For example, in 1779, William "Tomly" Jones, an Irish indenture servant, wrote Sir William Codrington II a letter in which he used the genre of the appeal to the absentee and a similar language of servitude as that

appearing in Edward George Codrington's letter decades later. According to the letter, Tolmy had been "turned away like a dog" from the Barbuda after having been employed on the estate as a stable boy for several years, and he now petitioned Codrington to remain in his employ, presumably beyond the terms of his indenture. Beyond their stylistic similarities, Tolmy's and Edward Codrington's letters might also reflect a particular aspect of domestic servitude, which afforded a higher access to literacy as well as a higher degree of intimacy with the absentee household, whether through immediate contact with the absentee during a visit or through intimacy with the people who stand in for the absentee himself on the plantation (i.e. the resident attorney-manager and his household).

Furthermore, Edward George Codrington, together with Thwaites and Brand who also requested to purchase either themselves or their relatives from their absentee owner, likely sought to regain some control over the process of emancipation taking shape in the 1830s, and perhaps to eschew the temporality of deferral peculiar to abolitionist discourse in the early nineteenth century. Abolitionist pamphlets and publications indeed often constructed freedom a horizon that was inevitably drawing closer, yet always just beyond reach (Holt 1992). Beginning with early abolitionist pamphleteers in the 1780s, by the 1830s, the freedom of plantation laborers in the Caribbean had already been mediated by the abolition of the slave trade and by protracted committees, hearing and inquiries in Parliament which, form a legal perspective, held the manumission of all slaves of the British Empire as a breathless promise. Unfree Antiguans' worry over the possibility of reaching the horizon of freedom was well-founded, to the extent that institutions of unfreedom continued after emancipation (Dyde 2000: 155-156, 160-166, Lightfoot 2015, Lowes 1995). Indeed, the Slavery Abolition Act in the British Empire (1833, in force 1834) carried the clause that slaves should first undergo four years of apprenticeship under the owner

which they had been bound, before acceding to full legal freedom. This clause was intended as a measure to curb the anticipated shortage of labor that Metropolitan legislators imagined would accompany the abolition of forced labor, particularly on sugar plantations. Notably, Antigua was the only British colony with the Bahamas to reject the apprenticeship clause, choosing instead to implement nominal freedom fully and immediately on August 1st, 1834.

In Antigua, plantation owners and the resident Euro-creoles who worked on their behalf knew that the shortage of arable land and alternative spaces for free settlements on the island would surely enable them to continue limiting the mobility of the laboring force on which their wealth depended, because sugar plantation owners could continue to yoke housing and, crucially, food security to permanent employment on their estates. In other words, plantation owners stipulated that only employees of their estates could reside upon it and cultivate a garden there, and that any non-laboring resident found in the plantation's workers' settlement would be promptly evicted (Laws of Antigua 1805, Smith et al 1988). As such, after Emancipation, freedpeople by and large continued to labor on the plantations to which they were bound under slavery, in order to retain access not only to housing but also to a means of feeding themselves, whether through wages or access to gardening plots. In 1834, nominal freedom in Antigua thus paradoxically worked to renew institutions of unfreedom on the island because freed people still endured limited conditions of labor and access to civic representation despite having become legal subjects nominally free to be compensated in currency for their labor, to receive the succor of the courts in the application of their rights, and to move as they pleased seek and pursue whatever opportunities they desired.

Faced with the uncertain horizon of freedom, it is unsurprising that several employees and slaves of the Betty's Hope plantation sought to take control of the process of Emancipation when they had the means and opportunity to do so. The examples of Ray, Grace Brand, George Twaithes and Edward Codrington show how, in the 1830s, people who reclaimed the protracted process of Emancipation promised by the British Empire through self-funded manumission, also reclaimed the possibility of controlling their own positionality within the social relations and relations of production that undergirded plantation society in colonial Antigua, within the broader civilizing projects of the British Empire at the cusp of the-Victorian age. By subtracting themselves from the new paternalisms offered by abolitionists, in which slaves would be gently restored to humanity and civilization by benevolent brethrens, they also wrote themselves out of the very civilizing process that treated African-Antiguans and African-descended Creoles of the Leeward Islands as passive objects of Metropolitan policy, to be slotted and re-slotted into various tiers of savagery by colonial policy.

The active role that several Antiguans took in their own manumission would have been shocking to paternalistic ideologies, abolitionist or otherwise, that made them into the recipients of white British patriarchal goodwill, including at Christmas. Yet the bondpeople of Antiguan plantations were not only necessary, if often reluctant, participants to the social interactions that produced and reproduced the plantation mode of production; they also troubled the plantation's position within the British imperial civilizing project as illustrated by accounts of dinner parties waited unpon by the unfree members of self-designating white Creole households; of internal marketing lead by unfree women every Saturday; and of the role of skilled yet unfree tradespeople and sailors in the production of sugar. By resisting the Metropolitan-lead process of Emancipation, those who opted to purchase themselves also refused to become strangers to the very system

that had thrived on their exploitation for two centuries, and that demanded a perpetual state of waiting from all those involved in it.

In Absentia

Waiting and the temporality of deferral on the plantation

Throughout the long nineteenth century, deferrals, anticipations and receding horizons thus suffused the plantation mode of production and the kind of colonial society that made it possible, particularly on absentee-owned estates, and perhaps most acutely during the decades surrounding Abolitions (1807) and Emancipation (1834). Waiting and the kinds of deferred temporality it constructed, were arguably constant parameters of most activities on the Betty's Hope estate, including activities linked to sugar cultivation, plantation management and convivial socializing. To the student of British plantation histories, waiting also suggests a rich semiotic subtext of deferral which suitably describes, among many things, the kind of temporal mood that accompanied the monitoring crops over their eighteenth-month growth period of sugar cane and the waiting for rain to fall when needed (which, in Antigua, was all too often); of waiting for cane juice to reach its optimal boiling point before striking it with lie, and for the price of sugar to rise before bringing the crop to market; the waiting for stores and supplies to come in from the Metropole and other Atlantic trade partners, for hogsheads of sugar, tamarind preserves and rum to be shipped out, for accounts to be settled and for the response of absentees on letters sent weeks before; the waiting on guests at dinner, the waiting on the resident attorney-manager's

household which, itself, formally held the place of the absentee owner until his awaited return to his Caribbean estate.

At the Betty's Hope plantation, absentee ownership further introduced to plantation life different kinds of deferrals that were at once spatial and temporal; it marked both geographical and chronological distances between and among the various actors who took part in plantation economies, and who experienced these distances and deferrals differently depending on their position within the plantation's networks of production, consumption and provisioning, For the Codrington absentees, the Betty's Hope Dwelling House was a space of postponed residence and therefore of deferred social obligation in Antigua; as such, the guests who visited Betty's Hope during their absence remained, nevertheless, indebted to them as hosts. Conversely, for the attorney-managers who resided at Betty's Hope, the Dwelling House was a temporary residence, while England-as-home was an imagined place of deferred permanent residency. As Hall succinctly put it: "It was not so much true that absentee owners were residents [of the West Indies] gone abroad, as it was that residents in the colonies were temporarily, they hoped, absentees from Britain." (Hall 1964: 107). For resident laborers, particularly African-descended Antiguans under slavery, residency at the Betty's Hope was implicated in the deferral of actual freedom. In the Dwelling House, deferral was further entangled with the domestic servitudes of unfree persons who, while expecting the horizon of freedom, continued to wait on those Others who waited to be taken to different spaces of belonging and reciprocity.

In all cases, the deferrals themselves were the crucial coordinates along which social relations were positioned and negotiated at Betty's Hope during the colonial period, and which, over the course of the long nineteenth century, also accompanied the breakdown of paternalistic

ideologies of management on the plantation outlined above. As such, the experience of plantation life and sociality through the medium of convivial hospitality and of the temporality of "waiting" suspended the resolution of such questions as whether the absentee would become a resident host in his sugar plantation, whether the resident-attorney would return to England, or whether the laborer would reach the horizon of his freedom. This deferred resolution in questions of positionality in turn enabled and stabilized the ongoing processes of negotiation and creative manipulation of the British imperial social order that transformed Caribbean plantation societies during the long nineteenth century . In short, the deferrals experienced by residents of Betty's Hope and other absentee-owned plantations of Antigua were fundamental to the making of plantation sociality and of plantation economies during the long nineteenth century. Moreover, the vanishing of the spaces and times of deferrals that accompanied the professionalization of plantation management and technological developments in transatlantic communication and transportation were arguably part and parcel of the waning of plantation society on the island during the twentieth century.

Further, as the nineteenth century unfolded, the figure of the absentee owner increasingly appeared as a framing device employed by plantation residents to contain their shifting cultural and political concerns about ideologies of race, class and production in the Leeward Caribbean and the global West Atlantic more generally. At Betty's Hope, the absentee was constructed by resident laborers, administrators and staff as a site unto which their anxieties as living subjects were projected and given a poltergeist valence of their own - meaning here that the figure of the absentee took on many characteristics associated with poltergeist and jumbie activities,[10] such as

[10] The basic distinction between poltergeist, jumbies and ghosts established in chapter 1 bears repeating: While the poltergeist and the jumbie can interject themselves in the affairs of the living with a certain unpredictability (Houran and Lange 2001, Roll 2003), by contrast, the ghost

unpredictable behavior and a capacity to interfere with the affairs of the living, in such a way as reflected concerns over labor, emplacement, food provisioning and transatlantic economic partnerships (Houran and Lange 2001, Nichols 1999, Roll 2003). A close attention to practices of convivial hospitality and food circulation at Betty's Hope further shows how the spectral presence of the absentee played out precisely through the temporarily of deferral, and that deferral was itself central to the peculiar kinds of host-guest relationships that circulated through the specific experience of absentee ownership at Betty's Hope.

Owner and Poltergeist, Resident and Guest

Following Abolition (1807) and certainly after Emancipation (1834), the figure of the absentee owner took on a different quality in the correspondence and accounts relating to the Betty's Hope plantation than he had previously, at the same time as Euro-Creole dining practices were consolidated, and that At Betty's Hope the space of the Dwelling House kitchen yard was restructured to include a strong residential component in the detached kitchen. More specifically, it is the quality of the absence of the absentee which changed over the course of the long nineteenth century, an absence which progressively took on a spectral, poltergeist-like, and even jumbie-like character. Like the disruptive jumbie and the poltergeist, the figure of the absentee had a real effect on the unfolding of plantation life at Betty's Hope in the present, a sort of projected efficacy through which he participated actively to the politics of convivial hospitality and reciprocity on the Betty's Hope estate, where he remained the putative host *in absentia*.

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presences the residue of historical relationships without affecting or effecting the course of their unfolding; the ghost is merely an uninvited guest (following Kwon 2008 and Shryock 2012).

Despite their protracted absences, the Codrington owners of the Betty's Hope plantation indeed remained the masters of the Dwelling House, and the distant hosts to everyone who came to it including the resident attorney-mangers. The latter systematically refered to the Dwelling House as "your house" in correspondence with the absentee owner, particularly in regards to visitors and maintenance work. Yet, in reading plantation accounts, the individual identity of the absentee owner seemed to matter little in itself to the course of social practice on the estate, even as the property occasionally changed hands. In the Betty's Hope accounts and correspondence, absentee owners seemed to morph into a singular social figure through successive generations, perhaps in part because of the continued association of the Codrington name with ownership of the Betty's Hope estate from the 1660s until the 1940s. The apparent contradiction between the relative anonymity of the absentee and his centrality to Euro-Creole colonial practice casts the absentee owner as a figure that remained at once distant yet present in plantation life. Because of its fluid contours, the figure of the absentee owner further invited a realignment of positionality in plantation society which vexed the dualism of master-slave inscribed in legalist models of subjecthood within the British Empire pre-1834, and in which subjects were defined in terms of being free (potentially transient) or unfree (necessarily emplaced). Here, too, the figure of the poltergeist absentee can help unpack some of the levels of ownership and management that complicated the master-slave duality, in relation for example to the the interplay of resident unfree labor, waged unfree labor and domestic servitude.

Beginning in the 1720s, Codrington absentee owners as individuals were somewhat excluded from and peripheral to practices of sociality at Betty's Hope, in part because of the intimacy of proximity and sexual filiation that circulated among the residents of the Betty's Hope Estate, which did not necessarily imply and intimacy of affection, but to which individual absentee

owners could understandably not participate. By contrast the absentee owner as a category, as a position within the plantation mode of production, continued to inform interactions among Betty's Hope residents and remained very much present in the Dwelling House dining room. The absentee, as a social category, mattered a great deal to social life at Betty's Hope because it mattered that the Master of the estate, though absent, was a wealthy Englishman who sent provision, sold sugar, and kept the lid on the disputes that arose between managers and laborers on the Estate. Within the logic of absentee ownership from the vantage of Betty's Hope resident, the Codringtons were perfectly interchangeable, despite having different social lives, political aspirations, educations, etc.; yet the stability of the category of "Codrington absentee" was fundamental to sociality at Betty's Hope until the twentieth century, and to how social bonds and tensions manifested through convivial practice and the relations between hosts and guests.

At Betty's Hope, the Codrington absentees nominally owned both the estate's property that comprised cane fields, housing and sugar processing equipment, as well as the Dwelling House that stood at the epicenter of both management and social life on the estate. The activities of the House were supplied and carried out "on account of" the Codrington absentees, the productivity of the estate and its management reflecting on the fortune of the Codringtons, and the kinds of entertainment offered at the Dwelling House likewise hinting at their wealth and social stature. When visitors from the Metropole came to Betty's Hope, they usually remarked that the Dwelling House was one of the finest mansions in Antigua (e.g. Coleridge 1826: 243), and they also usually wrote to the Codrington absentee to report on his House and to thank him for the hospitality they received their while visiting the plantation. By the 1850s, although the Dwelling House was no longer stocked on account of Codrington, attorney-managers continued to keep the House in excellent repair in order to provide a suitable abode to the absentee should he

choose to visit his Antigua property, but also, and arguably more importantly, to accommodate overnight dinner guests and Metropolitan visitors in the meantime. In that regard, the visits of Sir Henry Martin (1837) and Lord Zouche (1904) illustrate the enduring practice of hosting guests of mark at the Betty's Hope Dwelling House, a practice involving the guests visiting the Codrington estate rather than calling upon its resident attorney-managers. Therefore, although the attorney-managers and their household welcomed and entertained guests at Betty's Hope, they often did so as representatives of the Codrington absentee who remained, in terms of social reciprocity, the "actual" host on that occasion. Similarly, hosts and guests within the Betty's Hope Dwelling House, who were called upon to perform deferent roles in the choreography of the meals that unfolded in the dining room, continued to stage their performance around the ambiguous figure of the absentee, an outsider-host who rarely, if ever, attended the dinner parties held in his Antigua House, except in spirit, As such, the guests of resident attorney-managers at Betty's Hope, including the unfree persons who participated to Christmas feasts, were, in a way, guests of guests; and because the Codrington absentees overall remained the imagined hosts of convivial dining at Betty's Hope, the guests of the Dwelling House only ever received a kind of deferred hospitality, which took place while waiting for the host to appear.

Despite his position as a distant host, the absentee owner did occasionally take his seat at the Betty's Hope Dwelling House table and became host-in-presence as not only befitted his legal status as owner of the estate, but also his imagined role in the architecture of social positioning with the plantation mode of production. Yet the presence of absentees in the dining rooms of estates they otherwise owned at a distance, often seemed jarring, arguably increasingly so after absentee owners were phased out as figures of father-like authority following the slow breakdown of paternalistic ideologies on absentee-owned sugar estates during the latter half of the nineteenth

century.[11] In the case of the Codrington absentees, accounts of their visits to Betty's Hope offer an ambiguous image of the visiting absentee, who appears at once to be both the master of the estate and its visiting guest – a guest whose arrival was greeted with enthusiasm and a flurry of convivial gatherings, in part because of the novelty these visitors brought to dinner conversations in the otherwise well-trotted circles of white Creole hospitality, in part because of the possibility of interacting directly with a person who occupied such as seemingly fundamental place within the structure of plantation society (for example as a business partner or an employer of other guests gathered at table), and in part because the visiting absentee was also expected to leave, eventually.

Sir Henry Martin and Sir Christopher William Codrington, accompanied by his wife Lady Georgiana Somerset, both visited their Antigua estates following Emancipation (1837-1838 in the case of Martin and 1843-1844 in the case of the Codringtons), and both left accounts of the busy social calendar that accompanied their sojourn. Sir Martin noted that, after arriving to his property, the Green Castle Estate where his ancestor, Samuel Martin, had died at the hands of his slaves in 1701, he was greeted with such a rush of visitors calling upon him and inviting him to dinner that he "can't do much else" but engage in convivial activities across Antigua (Journal of Sir Martin, BL Add MS 74757, p.90). Lady Georgiana wrote extensively about the people she met at Antiguan dinners (see chap. 3), and she also met several resident workers at Betty's Hope, most of whom had been attached to her estate as chattel slaves only a few years before. She recounts the encounter in her signature deriding and racist style:

[11] This sense of the otherwise-absentee's presence being jarring to the rhythm of plantation life and sociality was perhaps compounded by condescending and dismissive attitude some visiting Metropolitan displayed towards plantation life, notably Lady Georgiana Codrington.

> "All the people belonging to William's estates came to see us their servility & extravagant compliments were quite disgusting & their manners so grotesque & extraordinary I thought at first most of them were mad some of them addressed us like this: "to tink dat I sould see me Mapame Missis! Me nebber tought tie Almighty so merciful to your slave! Yes me was y^{r} slave now me free me work for you always! (…) etc. all in similar strain only with many more exclamations & pregnant use of the Lords' name" (Codrington 1844: 56-57).

The visit of absentee owners to their West India estates was thus accompanied by intense bouts of socializing with plantation residents, managers and other Euro-Creole hosts and guests, which arose perhaps because the departure of the absentee necessarily remained anticipated. By the 1840s, a visit from an absentee owner at Betty's Hope was sufficiently rare and remarkable to be met with a certain sense of wonder and effervescence, not unlike that which would accompany a masquerade or a conjuring; to echo the words of Betty's Hoper workers, as reported by Lady Georgiana, many residents of the plantation likely thought they would never meet in the flesh the "masters" of the estate for which their worked and where they continued to struggle with institutions of unfreedom well after Emancipation.

The visit of the absentee owner was oddly disruptive of a lifestyle that hinged precisely on his absence and on the temporalities of waiting that it made possible; indeed, the stabilization of social relations on the absentee-owned Betty's Hope plantation during the long nineteenth century appears to have depended on the absentee being available as a site onto which the anxiety of the living could be manifested.[12] As such, from a temporal point of view, the visit of the absentee visit was neither uninvited nor unexpected, but rather unknown, a nuance that pries apart the different temporal modes through which deferral operated as a medium of social relations on Betty's Hope.

[12] Building here from Brown on death in the context of Atlantic slavery (2008), Huggan (1998) on ghost narratives, Palmié (2002) on historical consciousness, and Roll (2003) on poltergeist phenomena.

Absentee ownership of Caribbean sugar plantations might thus perhaps be understood as a form of uncanny host/guest relationship that came into focus particularly when the otherwise-absentee owner visited his property, because such visits created a kind of duplicity by which something was present where it should not have been, and missing where it was expected (Freud 2003 [1919]: 150). This duplicity, too, cut at the heart of the kind of work done by the figure of the estranged absentee within plantation communities in terms of managing anxieties over social positionality, and of negotiating the various tensed and tender relationships that underpinned the fragile balance of the plantation economies, both under slavery and, crucially, after Emancipation.

The unknown dimension of the visit of absentee owners, as a temporal, spatial and social configuration, further suggests that the visiting absentee intruded to some extent on a social world in which he remained a stranger, but which nevertheless depends on his support and on the cultural practices of England-as-home he represented. In 1793, Metropolitan writer and long-time Barbados resident Bryan Edwards wrote that: “In no part of the globe is the virtue of hospitality more generally prevalent than in the British Sugar Islands,” where “the gates of the planter are always open to the reception of his guests,” and to “be a stranger is of itself a sufficient introduction.” (Edwards 1793: 8, as cited in Petley 2012: 92). In his account of seemingly open-ended plantation sociality, Edwards drew from the British (and modern Western more broadly) principle by which hospitality serves as a mechanism for incorporating strangers into existing social relationship. Edwards nevertheless misunderstood on the one hand how his status as a white Metropolitan placed him in a position of the guest by default rather than that of a stranger whose uncertain status must be sorted, considering that, in the Euro-Creole social circles he visited on Caribbean plantations, Edwards appeared as somewhat of a succedaneum to absentee plantation owners. On the other hand, Edwards was also oblivious to how the very definition of the roles of

hosts and guests were beginning to shift in the region under the influence of absenteeism and the repositioning imposed by the then-emerging debate on the abolition of slavery.

Furthermore, these shifting host-guest relationships in the colonial British Leeward Islands and the kinds of poltergeist absenteeism on which they thrived, afforded an affective possibility that exceeded that of representation (drawing here from Kelly and Kaplan 2001, in response to Anderson 2006 [1983]), and that cannot fully be accounted for either by British metropolitan models of consumerist bourgeois sociality, or by models of the plantation mode of production that emphasize landscapes of surveillance and legal formalism. At Betty's Hope, the figure of the absentee owner, at once master, arbiter and guest *in potentia*, was constructed as a projection of the anxiety the plantation's residents over the relations of inequality that percolate through their daily activities and labors. These anxieties were perhaps most salient on matters of relating to geographies of belonging, filiation, property ownership and freedom, arbitrary violence and food entitlement.

The kinds of socialities through which the absentee-as-poltergeist was experienced also reflect the concerns proper to plantation life and its peculiar modes of hospitality and customary reciprocity, particularly in regards to the legacy of slavery and the tensions of white and non-white Creole identities. The dinner party is arguably the mode of hospitality which highlights these tensions most capaciously, as illustrated in the story of the unquiet death of Governor William Matthew Burt in 1781. Before dying in the throes of feverish hallucinations, Burt imagined himself to be visited at dinner by a man standing stubbornly behind his chair – a man whom, of course, none of the other guests assembled in the dining room could perceive. Burt being taunted by a man standing as a servant or a slave would, behind the governor's chair at dinner, offers a potent

image of the anxieties of colonial elites in Antigua being enacted as a disquieting and even sinister presence in the dining room, who disrupts Euro-Creole sociality through the medium of a social practice inherited from Metropolitan templates of formal hospitality adopted by Creole hosts and guests throughout the Caribbean. Like the jumbies that roamed Betty's Hope, including Jack-a-lantern and the figure of the absentee, the servant/slave standing behind Burt as if to provoke the delirious fever that would herald the governor's demise, points us to forms of embodied historical consciousness that otherwise remain elusive in the archive, including in regards to the legacy of slavery and the British imperial civilizing project (Palmié 2002). The specters of the tensed conviviality that marked plantation hospitality during the long nineteenth century, also carry forth the ongoing character of temporality of plantation life continues to recur on sites such as Betty's Hope, when the past might surface as an uninvited guest (Brown 2008, Huggan 1998, Kwon 2008, Trouillot 1995).

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

In this dissertation, I have chosen to enter the study of plantation societies of the colonial British Caribbean through the lens of host-guest relationships, and of the kinds of practices of hospitality, convivial food consumption and food provisioning upon which they relied during the long nineteenth century (1783-1904). At the Betty's Hope sugar plantation of Antigua, the case study around which the dissertation was organized, these host-guest relationships further unfolded in the context of absentee ownership, which proved to be a significant coordinate along which categories of distinction and social classification were aligned in colonial Antigua.

Practices of hospitality, notably the dinner party, materialized the categories through which the British imperial imagination managed difference in the Leeward Caribbean during the period of slavery, and which continued to signify well after Emancipation (1834). In so doing, dinner parties and other practices of hospitality, including Christmas feasts and the convivial consumption of punch, provided the residents of Betty's Hope and other sugar estates of the Leeward Caribbean the means of both stabilizing the relations of radical inequality upon which plantation economies were founded, and of contesting and manipulating these very relations from within. The dinner party took place through the interpolation of material culture, colonial discourse on difference and practices of managements that marked the West Atlantic's tumultuous passage through nineteenth-century modernity.

In colonial British Leeward Caribbean Islands, and in Antigua more specifically, the residents of sugar plantations mobilized for their own purposes both metropolitan forms of social interaction, such as the dinner party, as well as trade goods acquired through global imperial trade whose path they bifurcated towards vernacular forms of social entertainment. The Creole dinner party indeed worked to subvert the British civilizing project by staking the politics of social distance and distinction firstly on the management of intimacy and belonging among the actors of plantation economies, including free and unfree, black and white, strangers, hosts and guest. As such, so-called West Indian rules of social reciprocity, conviviality and hospitality exceeded the metropolitan ideals of civilization; they placed at the center of the social order of the plantation a dining room in which the tensed complexity and violence of relations among the actors involved in sugar production were displayed and openly negotiated.

This negotiation occurred in part through the performance of England-as-Home, in which Antiguan Euro-Creoles leveraged the discrete ostentation of metropolitan necessities (notably refined earthenwares, ale and butter) to materialized the imagined geographies of belonging underpinning the colonial Caribbean social order. Creole Antiguans who imagined "England" as their home invested this category with a different formal and ideological content as that of the "England" coming into focus in the Metropole at that time. This difference contributed to the growing disjuncture between Antiguan and metropolitan practices of hospitality; to the awkward fit between their ideals of convivial relations, which supported a kind of functional misunderstanding between Antiguans and Metropolitans while nevertheless showing the edges of the British imperial idea of Civilization and the colonial entanglements that inhered in its formation.

Residents of the Betty's Hope plantation also directed the economy of their needful desires towards the increasingly distant figure of the absentee owners, heirs to the Codrington fortune, who resided in Gloucestershire, England from 1721 until the sale of the estate in 1944. Over the course of the nineteenth century, residents of Betty's Hope projected onto the figure of the absentee their concerns over their ability to command the goods and services of which they imagined themselves to be the legitimate recipients, as well their anxieties about the broader shifts in constellations of social positionality within plantation economies they were experiencing, notably following Emancipation (1834). These anxieties projected onto the figure of the absent owner progressively led residents of the Betty's Hope plantation to construct the absentee as a poltergeist, jumbie-like figure that provided a site for negotiating social distinction and managing difference on the plantation, notably through practices of hospitality and food provisioning that cast the absentee as an ambiguous yet essential spectral host.

While during the eighteenth century the absentee owner, as an individual, had been construed as a figure of patriarchal authority on the plantation, during the long nineteenth century, the absentee was dislodged by a poltergeist-like figure projected in his place at the head of the Dwelling House dining table. This manifested a significant shift in the imagined geographies of belonging experienced by the residents of the Betty's Hope estate at that time, which accompanied the professionalization of management and the temporalities of deferral peculiar to sugar plantation economies. Residents of absentee-owned sugar plantations such as Betty's Hope were indeed constantly waiting for various processes to unfold: for laborers having endured the period of slavery, freedom was an ever-receding horizon that they had yet to reach; for merchants, the profits they drew from the sale of sugar were simultaneously always in the making

and always deferred; and for attorney-managers, their position at the helm of plantation estates was always susceptible to being revoked by a potential return of the absentee. All residents of Betty's Hope were therefore linked, in various ways, through the impermanence of waiting which inflected most of their activities, including those linked to sugar cultivation, transatlantic exchange, subsistence agriculture, plantation management and convivial socializing.

Overall, this dissertation aimed to trace how the historical formation of the modern Atlantic world occurred in part through the practices of collaboration and confrontation occurring between hosts and guests, food producers and food consumers, both at the dinner table and at public markets, thus inviting a re-examination of the master-slave relationship in terms of the host-guest relationship. As such, this dissertation works to interpolate the history of the plantation mode of production with that of modern consumerism and social distinction, with the aim of enriching our understanding of the social relationships that made plantation slavery possible and that continue to haunt institutions of unfreedom in the West Atlantic today.

Epilogue

We had talked about driving to Betty's Hope at night since the beginning of the season, but I think it was Harvey[1] who finally suggested we took the drive, to see what it was like, and maybe test out some long-aperture photography in the hopes of capturing the curious scintillations of the Antiguan night sky.

[1] Pseudonym used to preserve anonymity.

The night we drove out was oppressively hot and humid. Everyone at the field house was tired by a long day, of processing mostly. Our time in the field was coming to an end and we were all scrambling to get our projects finished – Harvey wrangling his surface collection data, Chuck digitizing maps she found at the Museum, and me laying out assemblages for high-resolution photographs. I had worked through five or six assemblages that day, including the monstrous but beloved BH2013-STU106-4 – the one with the near-complete refined earthenware basins and the well-preserved iron hoe, which had earned 106-4 the nickname of "hoe event" in my field notes.

After dinner, we all sat around, listless and exhausted by the August heat, training our ears to the evening rain that hadn't come yet, although it usually did like clockwork. I suppose that, after a few months on island, the conditions of our work were beginning to catch up to us - the heat, the physical exertion, the government water, the surprise power outages and insect bites: our scholarly efforts were limping to a halt under the "withering effects of the tropics", a favorite expression of the crew, inscribed on a headstone near Shirley heights where some English woman who had perished from the affliction was buried; a headstone we diligently visited year after year. Although I had high hopes of writing a substantial entry to my field diary that evening, all I could muster was a laconic "Hot. Catalogued all day." scrawled next to the moist indentation left in the graph paper by my left palm. As I put my notebook away on the table, it soaked up some of the condensation that had pooled under my clear cool glass of gin and tonic, now precariously balanced on the armrest next to me on a fiberglass coaster.

In anticipation of the night's drive, the three of us put away our notes, polished off our drinks (except Harvey, our driver, who brought his Ting along in the car), and climbed into our citron-green Suzuki with restless minds and fatigued bodies. We headed out towards Parham --

pass the road to Indian Creek, and that house where the dogs always barked on the way back; pass Willoughby Bay, which always looked to me like the set of a pirate movie except that one time we had to run through the seaweed on the beach; pass that field they douse in pesticides wearing long sleeve shits, and the junkyard where we once saw the old coppers from the site (we think) -- then left at the meatballs gas station where we get the ice and along that stretch of road they repaved when Prince Edward came to visit in 2012.

We reached Betty's Hope around 23:45. Even at night, the sign seemed to have a rainbow hung above it. As we pulled into our preferred parking spot near the big tamarind tree, we rolled down the windows and began taking in the atmosphere of the site at night – so different from the usual bustle of the dig. The chack-chack of sifting screens and chatter of tour groups had been replaced at sunset by the squeaking of frogs and the distant rustling of unseen stray animals. There was a good breeze blowing through Betty's Hope too, which felt pleasant and comfortable compared to the still air of our field house. We could hear two donkeys braying in the woods by the old workers cottage, which drew our attention in that direction and initially invited us to go investigate further, wondering if we could reach that spot where we had found an overturned headstone a few days earlier, but deciding that we'd rather nor risk stepping into a nest of fire ants for lack of proper lighting – or disturbing the slumber of the fabled naked farmer, whom Terry thought was a ghost the first time he saw him emerge from the dense overgrowth, barefoot, with a cutlass on his shoulder.

We soon set up the tripod to work on our night photography. I first directed the lens towards the cachou apple tree that sheltered the picnic tables set up for tour groups. The shot came out surprisingly beautiful: you could see the trees silhouetted against the distant lights of

Parham harbor, amplified by the low aperture that also made the slow-moving cloud stand out above the trees like a wispy mist. After a few shots, I turned the tripod around, to photograph the iconic twin windmills – which I had never found particularly photogenic to be honest, until I saw them looming in the darkness, surprisingly crisp against the midnight sky. Harvey and Chuck were taking photos of the windmills too, Harvey with his DSLR, Chuck with her phone. Chuck's phone left a bright trail of bluish glow in the foreground of one of Harvey's pictures. It looked like something that would get a second look from a paranormal research society in the US, and maybe some Buzzfeed coverage. We thought the effect was interesting, and began using our phones and flashlights to write bright shapes in our long aperture DSLR shots. Soon we were running around the windmills, between the trees, down the road…

The spectral atmosphere of the photos called to our minds the stories of the Jack-a-lantern jumbie, said to roam Betty's Hope at night, about which we had read in an old MAAB newsletter the last time we were in town. We had all been struck by the narrative of GiGi, and her accounts of hauntings at Betty's Hope. "Imagine if we got a photo of a real ghost," said Chuck, "with the outline of the house in it or something." "Yeah, and there could be people in the house, like that in that photo from 1904." "And one of them would be a little girl, and every time we'd take another photo she'd get closer, and she would be pointing as something…" [silence] "Jack-a-lantern come get yah!" Harvey rasped, clutching his throat with claw-like hands.

We laughed and heckled, but the cachou apple tree gnarled onto itself, and the twin windmills leaned together towards the road. The dried banana trees that fenced the neighboring property rattled in the breeze, quiet and distant like the sounds of the night-animals, perhaps waiting for the darkness to break open – and maybe for the outline of the House to appear, behind

the tamarind and the empty space left by the silk cotton tree that stood there in the time of absentee owners.

I supposed we had half-expected, half-hoped that something would happen at midnight, but it didn't, and the night continued uninterrupted. I was flipping through the night's photo on the viewfinder of my camera; suddenly, I felt uninvited. My thoughts drifted to GiGi, to the buildings she said could not be mashed down, to the blood and spit soaked up by every square inch of the site. "Alright guys, I think I'm good. Let's head back to Top House." Chuck and Harvey agreed. We climbed back into the cab of the Suzuki, which lit up briefly as the engine hiccupped, the soca blared, and the headlights came on like a sigh of relief.

APPDENDIX A: TABLES

Table 1:

Number of slaves attached to the Betty's Hope Plantation, ca.1666-1834
(Codrington Papers, British Library, RP2616)

Year	Number of slaves reported at Betty's Hope
1666	60+
1715	322
1721	393
1740	312
1766	353
1774	372
1780	394
1782	390
1790	382
1793	357
1805	314
1806	350
1807	330/340
1808	355
1809	350
1810	348
1811	348
1812	308
1813	311
1814	342
1817	310
1819	308
1826	310/312
1827	310
1830	289
1834	29

Table 2:
Simplified Genealogy of Codrington **owners** at the Betty's Hope plantation of Antigua, 1668-1944

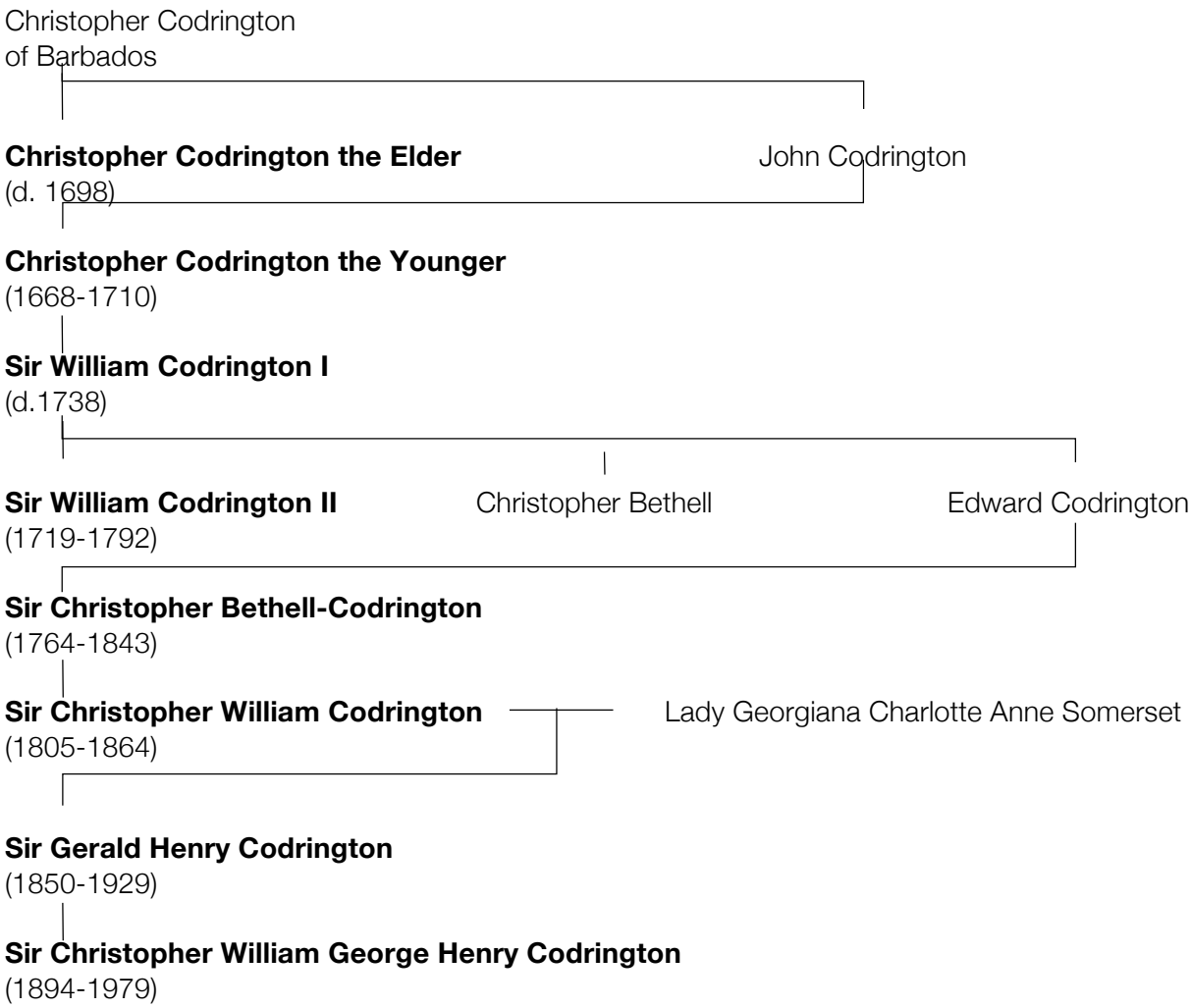

Table 3:

Table comparing expenses between 1782 and 1775
(Plantation Accounts 1782 BL, RP2616-23-D1610-A23, p.62)

Provisions	1775	1782	Difference
1500.5 bushels of beans	450.3.0	1289.14.0	839.11.0
639 bushels of Corn pease & Guinea Corn	465.15.0	127.16.0	337.19.0
5 puncheons of flour	82.16.0	160.0.0	77.4.0
3 lbs of cask pork	22.10.0	37.10.0	15.0.0
18 lbs [mess] pork	99.0.0	144.0.0	45.0.0
50 lbs herrings	75.0.0	165.0.0	90.0.0

Table 4:

Account of American Produce imported into Antigua, 1787-1792

Year	1787	1788	1789	1790	1791	1792
Total Vessel tuns	15156	15726	18162	15690	12818	13601

Table 5:

Sales of Turtles at Barbuda, 1779-1852

Year	Minimum number sold	Average indiv. weight
1779	9	57.9
1803	46	83.9
1804	64	125.1
1805	6	141.0
1806	56	50.1
1807	47	51.1
1808	43	95.2
1809	40	n/r
1810	62	18.94+
1811	16	28.8+
1812	18	17.4+
1813	25	83+
1814	9+	n/r
1815	50	18.6+
1816	14	75.9+
1817-1818	45	22.3+
1819	14	n/r
1826	6+	n/r
1827	5+	n/r
1828	6	n/r
1829	25	n/r
1830	40	18.3+
1831	7	n/r
[1832]	13+	44.7+
[1834]	16	30.9+
1848	3	22
1849	6+	[129]
1851	29	63
1852	4+	[160.4]

APPENDIX B: FIGURES

Fig. 1: Johnny enjoying the sports of the field, from Plate 1 of The adventures of Johnny Newcome by William Elmes (publisher Thomas Tegg1812:180). National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, London, Michael Graham-Stewart Slavery Collection. ZB2759

Fig. 2: Plate 2 of The Adventures of Johnny Newcome, by William Elmes (publisher Thomas Tegg, 1812:180, National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, London, PAF3748).

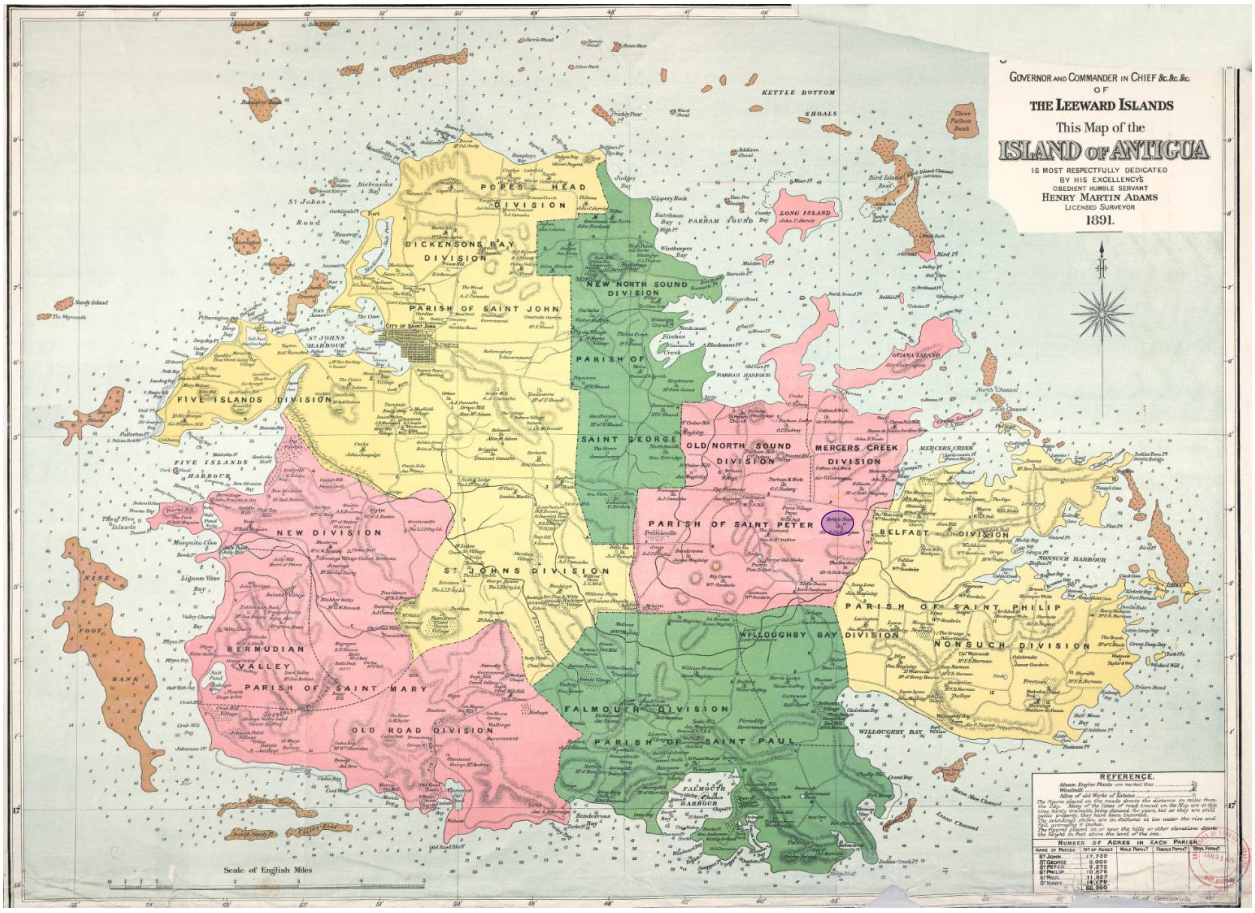

Fig. 3: Map of Antigua showing the location of the Betty's Hope plantation (Map of the Island of Antigua, by Henry Martin Adams, Licensed Surveyor, New York, 1891, NA CO 700/ANTIGUA16; Image from www.dloc.com).

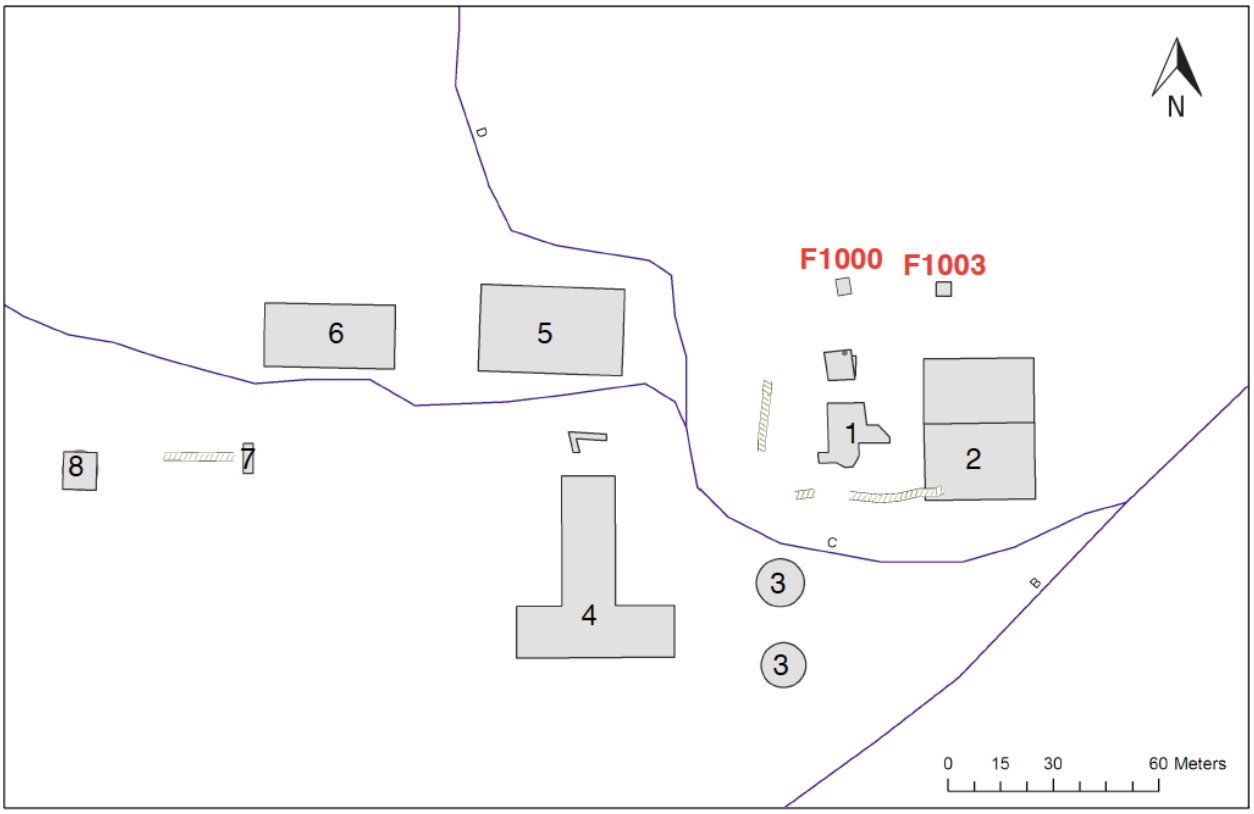

Fig. 4: Map of Betty's Hope Plantation (PEH-001) showing location of the two areas excavated for this project, F1000 and F1003. Other buildings represented, as follows: (1) Dwelling House; (2) cisterns; (3) windmills; (4) boiling and curing house; (5) manager's House; (6) Stables; (7) trough; (8) cistern. (Cory Look, for The Betty's Hope Project – CSU-Chico, February 2012).

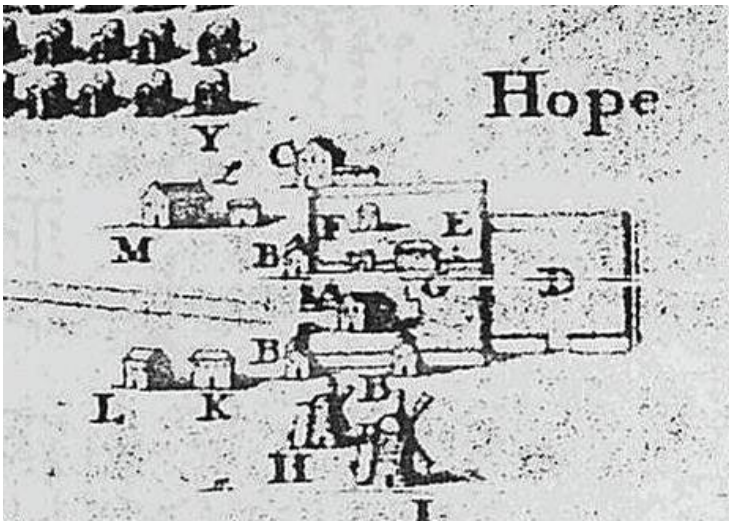

Fig. 5: Excerpt from a plan of the Betty's Hope plantation ca. 1710, showing the Dwelling House (A), with old cistern (B), cattle pen (C), cow pen (D), kitchen (E), old will (G) new mill (L) and the slaves quarters (Y). (The plan of Betties Hope & Cotton Plantation belonging to the hon. Sir William Codrington Esq. w/ references, James Porter, Surveyor general, ca. 1710, BL RP2616-1-D1610-P3).

Fig. 6: Excerpt from a map of the Betty's Hope plantation in 1755, showing the Dwelling House (e) as well as two windmills (a), new cisterns (k), room for the servants (l), kitchen (n), blacksmith shop (o); slaves quarters represented by clusters of small red squares (Map of the Estate of Sir William Codrington in Antigua in 1755, surveyed by Samuel Clapham, BL RP2616-D1610-1-P4).

Fig. 7: Aerial photograph of the Betty's Hope site in 1968, with the cisterns highlighted (courtesy of the Museum of Antigua and Barbuda).

Fig. 8: Aerial photograph of the Betty's Hope site ca. 1995 (courtesy of the Betty's Hope Trust).

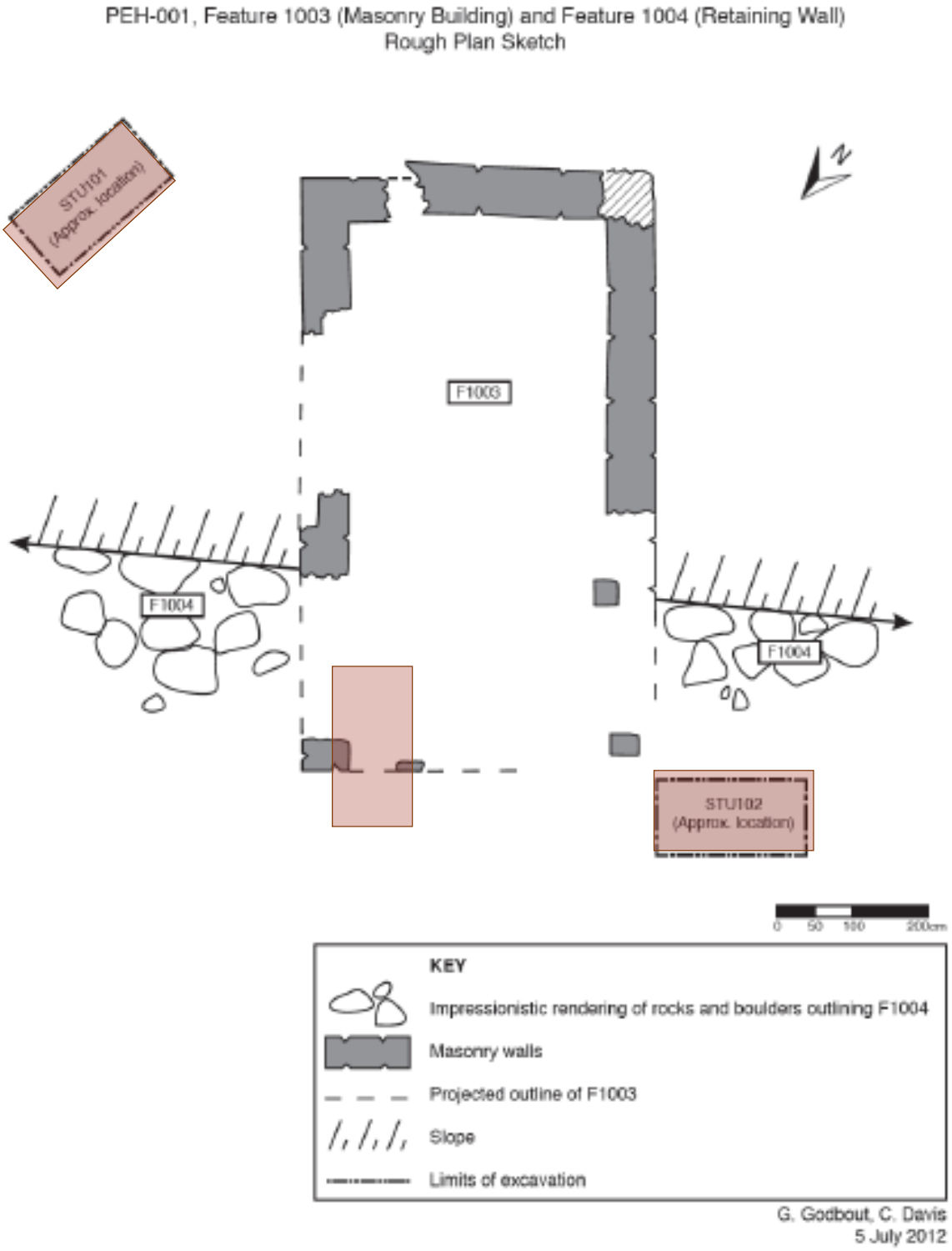

Fig. 9: Plan of F1003, Servants quarters showing the location of three excavation units (Godbout 2012 and 2013)

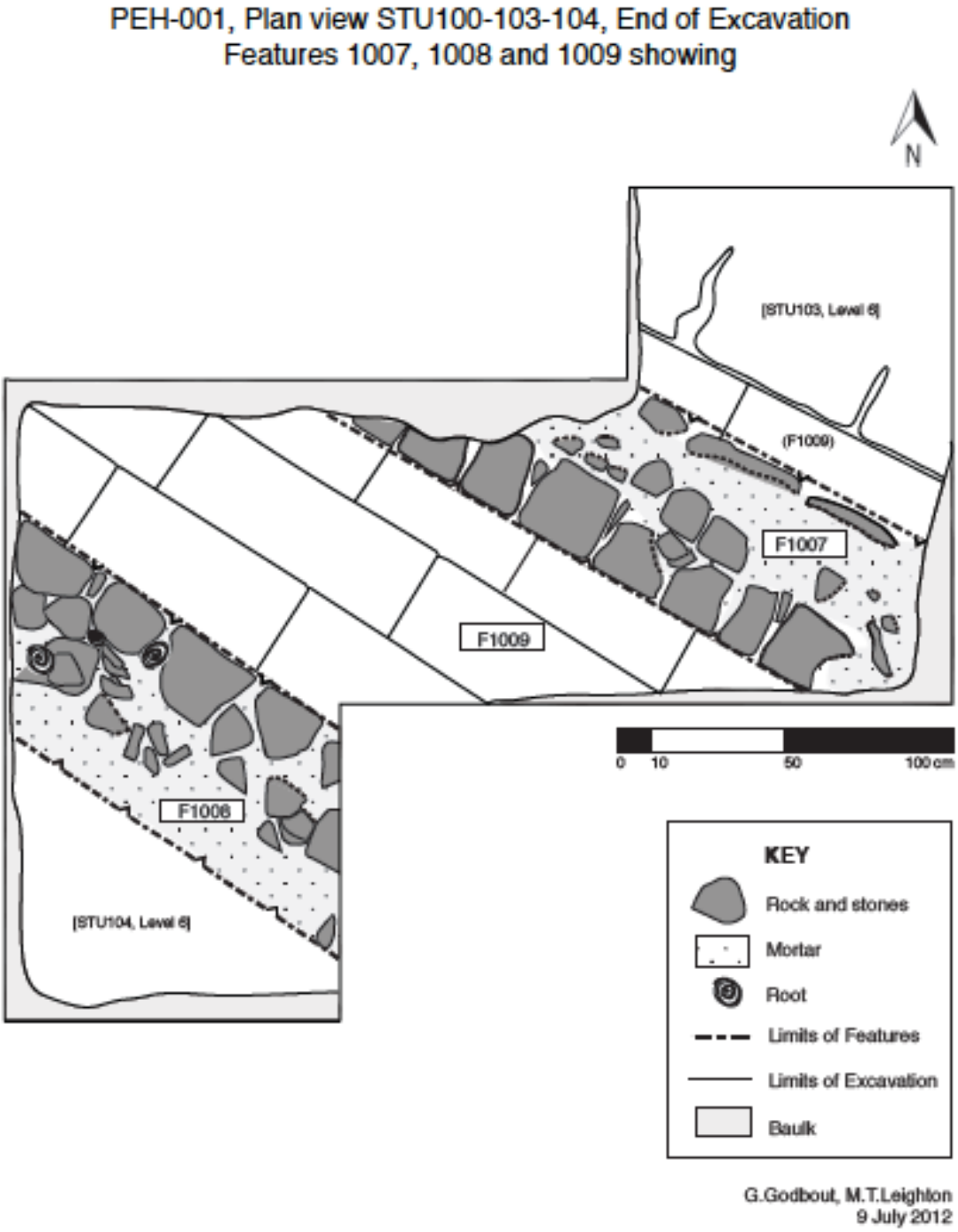

Fig.10: Excavation plan of F1000, detached kitchen showing the flagstone flooring surface (F1009) and masonry wall association with a remodel ca.1860 (F1007) (Godbout 2012).

Fig. 11: Flagstone flooring surface (F1009) of the detached kitchen, showing the masonry wall built on top of the floor (F1007) during a remodel ca.1860 (Godbout2013).

Fig 12: Flagstone flooring surface (F1016) in the servants' quarters (F1003)) during excavation (Godbout2013).

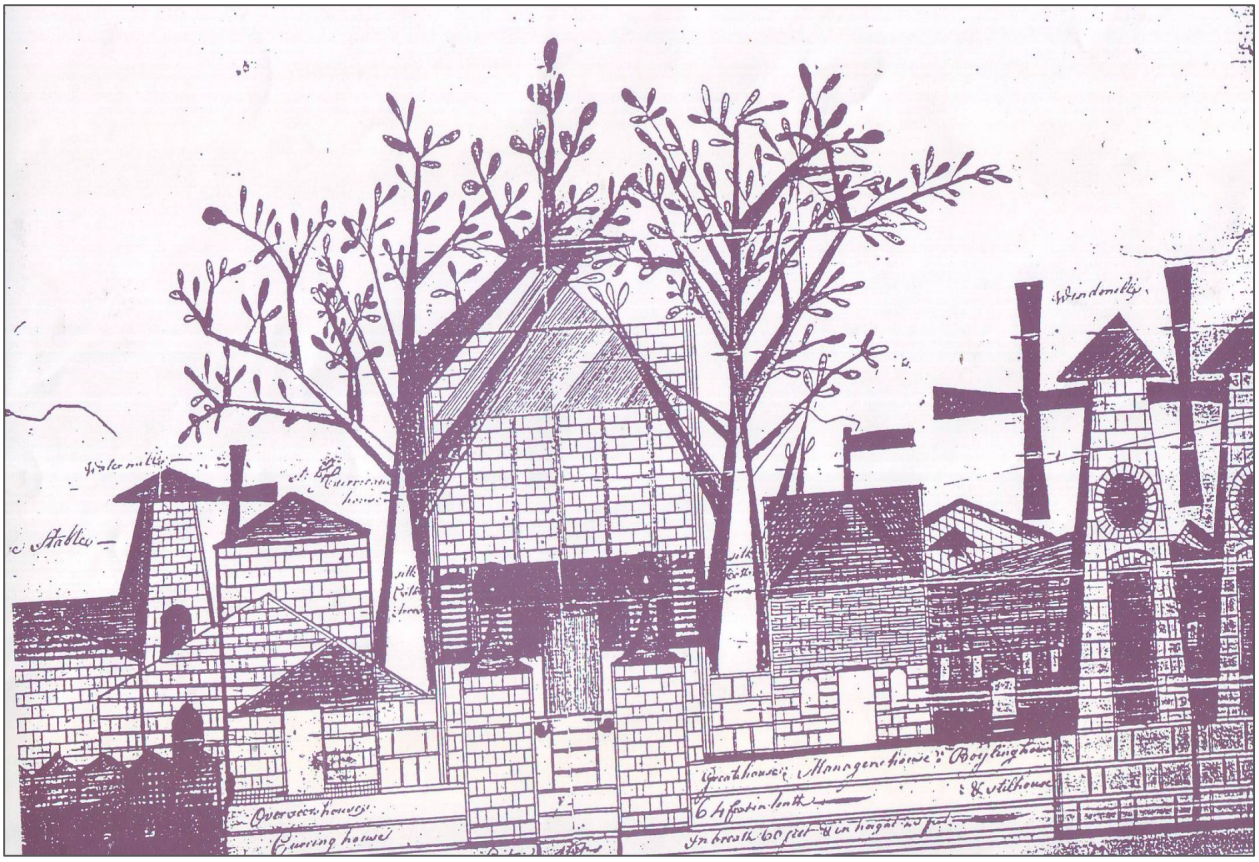

Fig 13: Ink drawing of the main buildings of the Betty's Hope plantation in 1778, showing the Dwelling House and two silk cotton trees flanking its front gardens. Note the representation of slave housing in the lower left foreground (A plan of Sir William Codrington's plantation in the Island of Antigua Betty's Hope Estate, by [Delia Hunter?],1778; National Archives Antigua and Barbuda D1610-A59, reproduced in Carstensen 1993 p.1)

Fig 14: 'Digging the Cane-holes' from Ten Views in the Island of Antigua, by William Clark (printed by Thomas Clay, London, 1823, BL 063523

Fig. 15: 'Slaves cutting the sugar cane', from Ten Views in the Island of Antigua, by William Clark (printed by Thomas Clay, London, 1823, BL c13321-20).

Fig 16: 'The Mill Yard' from Ten Views in the Island of Antigua, by William Clark (printed by Thomas Clay, London, 1823, BL 002698).

Fig. 17: 'The boiling house' from Ten Views in the Island of Antigua, by William Clark (printed by Thomas Clay, London, 1823, BL 004307).

Fig. 18: Visit of Lord Zouche, front view of the Betty's Hope Dwelling House, 1904 (courtesy of the Museum of Antigua and Barbuda).

Fig 19: Visit of Lord Zouche, rear view of the Betty's Hope Dwelling House, 1904 (courtesy of the Museum of Antigua and Barbuda).

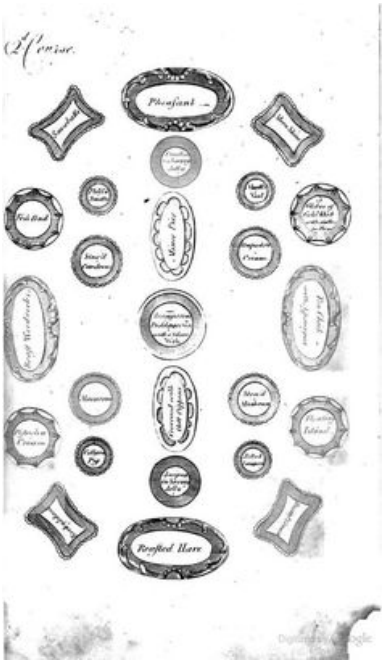

Fig 20a: Table setting for the second course, French-style service (‘The Young Woman's Companion, or, Frugal Housewife’, 1813)

Fig. 20b: Table setting for first course, Russian-style service (Isabella Beeton, Beeton’s every-day cookery and housekeeping book, Ward, Lock & Co., London, [ca.1895]. Caroline Simpson Library and Research Collection, Sydney Living Museums RB640 BEE/1)

Fig. 21: The dining room of Government House, Antigua, 1934 (NA CO 1069-233-9)

Fig. 22a: Antiguan coarse earthenware cooking vessels, including “yabbas” (restricted round-bodied vessels with handles) and griddles (flat vessels with low rim), made by Seaview Farm Potters for the Museum of Antigua and Barbuda (Godbout 2013).

Fig. 22b: Coarse earthenware bowl excavated from the Betty' Hope kitchen yard, attributed to local African-Antiguan fabrication (BH2012-STU102-8-16, photo by Godbout 2013)

Fig 23: Sunday market in Antigua, 1806 (Negro market in the West Indies, by W. E. Beastall, printed by Anthony Cardon. Yale University, Lewis Walpole Library, 806.00.00.51+).

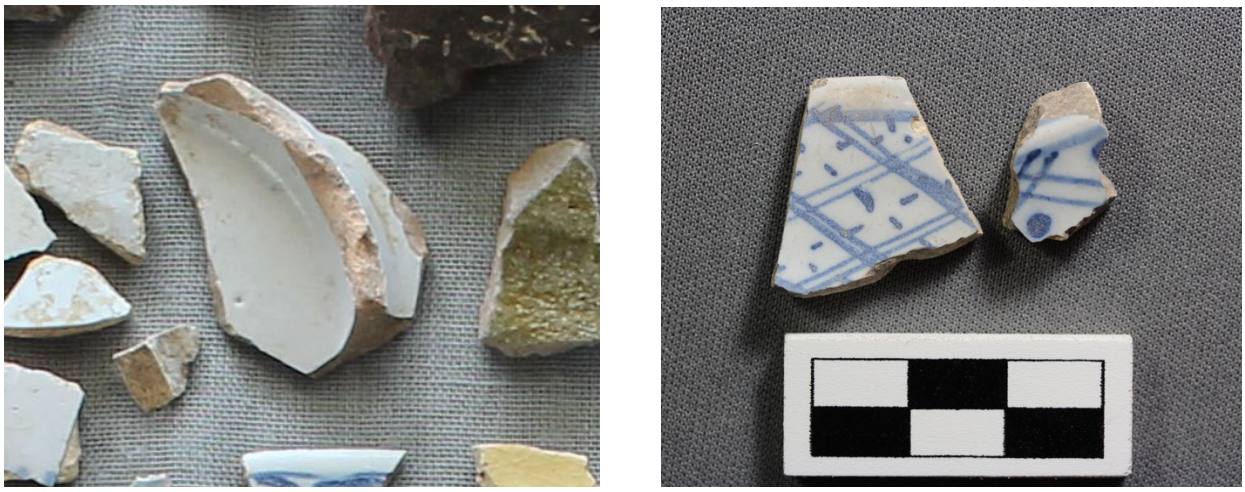

Fig 24: French faïence from the Betty's Hope site, PEH-001-BH2012-STU104-2 (left) and PEH-001-BH2013-STU106-11 (right) (Godbout 2012 and 2013).

Fig. 25: Stoneware beer bottle fragment, BH2012-STU100-6-22, shown with the assemblage recovered from the same context (Godbout 2012)

Fig. 26: Richard Bridgens, West India Scenery...from sketches taken during a voyage to, and residence of seven years in ... Trinidad (London, 1836), plate 23; Image Reference NW0166, as shown on www.slaveryimages.org, compiled by Jerome Handler and Michael Tuite, and sponsored by the Virginia Foundation for the Humanities and the University of Virginia Library.

Fig. 27: The New Union: Club, Being a Representation of what took place at a celebrated Dinner, given by a celebrated – society, by George Cruikshank, 1819. National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, London, Michael Graham-Stewart Slavery Collection ZBA2498

Fig. 28: Running John Bull, Antigua, ca.1948-1950 (NA CO1069-415-90)

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