THE QUARTO

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THE WEST INDIES

All readers of *The Quarto* know the Clements Library's shelves contain a wonderful array of primary sources on the history of North America from 1492 through the nineteenth century. The scholars who write books and articles based on our holdings; the undergraduate and graduate students who fill the Reading Room during the academic year; members of the general public who come to see our exhibits and attend our programs—all, or nearly all, can rattle off the areas of early American history in which the Library's collections are broad, deep, and rich. These include exploration and discovery, the American Revolution, culinary history, Native Americans, the Civil War, religion and reform movements, women's history, slavery and antislavery, and almost any other aspect of our pre-1900 heritage. The letterhead we use for our shrinking number of non-electronic communications has long displayed "A Library of Early Americana" above our 909 South University Avenue address, and that modest descriptor fits this institution well. We're proud of that, and we hope the Clements Library Associates, for whom we publish *The Quarto,* are as well.

This issue focuses on a Clements specialty that might not be as well known as our other strengths. Glancing through book curator Emiko Hastings' *Books Based on the Clements Library Holdings,* which came out last year and which lists some five hundred noteworthy scholarly volumes published since 1923 that have drawn significantly on sources here, I see that few of those titles deal directly with the West Indies. Since 1970, in fact, only five—David Syrett's *The Siege and Capture of*

Hydrographer Samuel Thornton hinted at the commercial potential of the Caribbean islands in the title of his A New and Correct Large Draught of the Trading Part of the West Indies *(London, ca. 1700).*

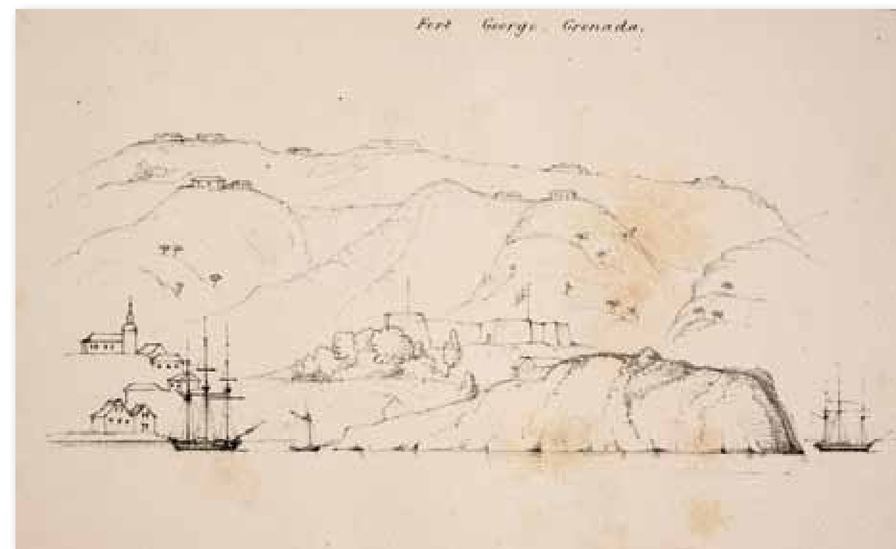
St. Pierre, Martinique, as seen in a 1782 watercolor by French naval officer Pierre Ozanne (1737–1813).

Havana, 1762 (1970); Richard S. Dunn's *Sugar and Slaves: The Rise of the Planter Class in the English West Indies, 1624–1713* (1972); Andrew J. O'Shaughnessy's *An Empire Divided: The American Revolution and the British Caribbean* (2000); Laurent Dubois's *A Colony of Citizens: Revolution and Slave Emancipation in the French Caribbean, 1787–1804* (2004); and James Robertson's *Gone is the Ancient Glory: Spanish Town, Jamaica, 1543–2000* (2005)—jump out from "Emi's List" (as her WLCL colleagues now refer to it) as concentrating on West Indies history. That surprised me, given the remarkable assortment of fascinating West Indies material here at the Clements, but perhaps I should take it as proof that our curators were right when they suggested devoting an issue to what we have for researchers interested in the islands of the Caribbean.

This issue accomplishes that goal, I think. Clayton Lewis looks at our prints of the 1762 siege of Havana that (briefly) transferred control of the city from Spain to England, images that combine aesthetic appeal with tremendous amounts of information on the siege, the architecture of Havana, European perspectives of the West Indies colonies, and copper-plate engraving in the eighteenth century. Cheney Schopieray dips into the Tousard, Tailyour Family, Leckie Family, Pratt & Kintzing, and Oliver Hazard Perry Papers to show that our manuscript collections are marvelous, unique resources on the cultural, social and political landscapes of the Caribbean between 1750 and 1820. The role of cane sugar in the West Indian economy, its reliance on slavery, and its growing significance in European food culture from the seventeenth through the nineteenth centuries form the basis of culinary curator JJ Jacobson's essay. We have a terrific selection of early printed and manuscript maps of the West Indies, and Brian Dunnigan discusses some of the ways historical researchers can mine those cartographic sources for useful information. All of the essays are "tip of the iceberg" peeks at the collections, so readers who spot anything of interest in this issue should be confident that they'll find much more along the same lines here at the Library. With the early stages of winter settling in as I type this column, the months ahead should be a good time to come to the Clements for some research on a warmer part of the Americas. Whether you are working on West Indies religion, piracy, food, slavery, colonial empires, revolution, wars, agriculture, property ownership, culture, trade routes, or diplomacy, the Clements Library will keep you busy with an impressive variety of primary sources you can't find anywhere else.

— *J. Kevin Graffagnino*
Director

Ft. George commands the entrance to the harbor of St. George's, Grenada, as seen in 1824. This privately printed lithograph, made by Maj. Edward Fanshawe, Royal Engineers (b. 1785), accurately captures the island's rugged topography.



TAKING HAVANA

It was, to date, the largest combined land and sea expedition of the eighteenth century. In terms of the scale of the mission and the casualties endured, the 1762 siege of Havana, Cuba, was the costliest British endeavor of the Seven Years' War in North America. The seventeen-week campaign involved as many as 17,000 seamen and marines and almost 13,000 regulars aboard a fleet of 200 vessels. When the dust settled, the British flag flew over El Morro, the strongest fortification in the Caribbean. Havana, Spain's mighty colonial economic hub, momentarily became a jewel in the crown of the expanding British Empire. Every officer who returned, from senior commanders to ship captains, received a share of prize money worth millions of pounds. The British occupation would be short-lived, but effects of the victory would linger in both Britain and Cuba.

Broadside prints produced in Britain shortly after the siege reveal the excitement generated by this victory and the importance of Havana as a colonial acquisition. At a time when copper-plate engraving was a very expensive, slow, high-overhead process, as many or more large-scale views of Havana were produced in the aftermath of the Seven Years' War as scenes of New York, Boston, or Québec, the fallen capital of New France.

Yet the siege of Havana has faded from long-term historical memory. General James Wolfe's demise and subsequent glorification by Benjamin West at the 1759 Battle of Québec totally overshadow the Havana assault. But the celebratory themes present in engravings of Havana (a setting sun, massive spaces, victorious British military) also powerfully expressed and reinforced British imperial ambition and foreshadowed the shattering loss of the American colonies that was soon to come.

Two series of prints stand out for their quality and ambition: *Six Views of the City, Harbour, and Country of Havana* published by Elias Durnford (1739–94) in 1764 and *Britannia's Triumph. These Historical Views of the Late Glorious Expedition, of His Brittanic Majesty's Ships and Forces, Against the Havannah* published by Lieutenant Philip Orsbridge (d.1766), also in 1764. The Durnford series shows us Havana as a tranquil Caribbean trading paradise. The Orsbridge images display the military conquest, step by step. Typical of eighteenth-century graphics, these print series report carefully observed facts layered with some revisionism.

The Durnford views begin with depictions of the foreboding fortifications protecting Havana, capturing the expanse of the harbor and city from high vistas. Two of the six prints take us into the central city at ground level—close enough to sense that we are interacting with the Spanish colonial architecture and the diverse Cuban population. The natural fertility of the region and wealth of the city are evident throughout. Few reminders of the recent siege are evident—some wrecked ships in the harbor and British troops on parade in the market square. Peace and prosperity reign. Children play in the street next to occupying soldiers. The tri-lingual captions demonstrate Britain's growing influence as an exporter of printed images and British pride in showing off the spoils of victory to the rest of Europe.

The artist on the scene, Elias Durnford of the Engineers, was also aide-de-camp to the commander of the expedition to Havana, Lieutenant General George Keppel, 3rd Earl of Albemarle (1724–72), to whom he dedicated the series. Several writers have pointed out that most creators of early American landscape views were British military men. The curriculum of military academies of the eighteenth century included practical training in topographic drawing and the rendering of fortifications and architecture. Long before there was a Hudson River School or any clear American identity expressed in landscape art, officers like Durnford were delineating the scene for English and European audiences.

Elias Durnford's Scenographia Americana *view of the market square of Havana is packed with vignettes of British soldiers and sailors mixing with some of the city's inhabitants.*

Durnford's detailed renderings of street life in Havana rise above mere practical notation and are both informative and aesthetically charming. A team of engravers—Peter (Pierre Charles?)

Havana as seen from the west in a detail from one of the Cuban landscapes of Scenographia Americana. *The artist is seated at lower right with paper and pen.*

Canot, Edward Rooker, W. Elliot, and T. Morris—produced copper printing plates full of visual information.

The six Durnford prints of Havana are part of a larger grouping of twenty-eight views titled *Scenographia Americana*. This spectacular set of engravings visually defined the riches and vast scale of British holdings in America after the Seven Years' War with a virtual tour from the St. Lawrence River in Canada to Guadeloupe in the Caribbean. Included are views of the important American cities of Québec, Boston, New York, Charleston, and Havana as well as major rivers and waterfalls and a detailed depiction of an idealized North American frontier farm.

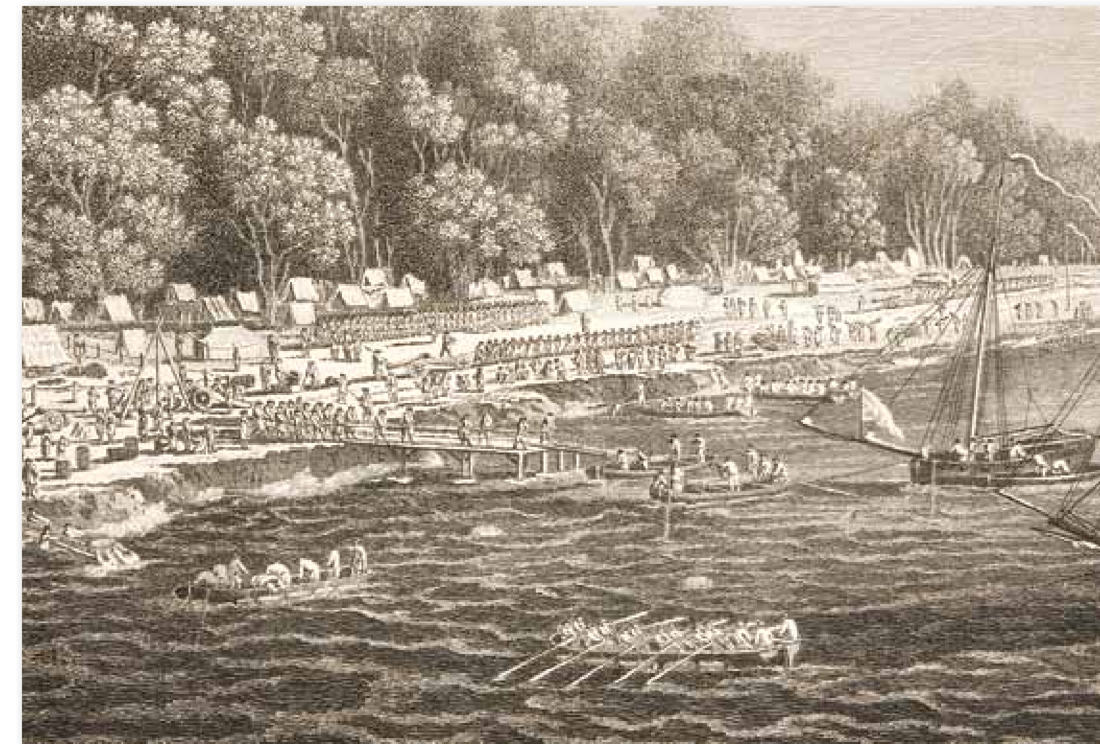
Scenographia Americana was published as a set in London in 1768 and sold collectively by the city's top print vendors for four guineas, the equivalent of about three to five hundred U.S. dollars today. *Scenographia* came with an added title page and contents list. The subsets were priced separately, with the Havana group selling for one pound, one shilling. Although clearly priced for the upper crust, these views would have been publicly displayed in urban print shops that attracted non-paying audiences from across class lines.

Shrewd buyers of eighteenth-century prints were likely aware that invented views of real places and imagined portraits of actual people were plentiful. The *Scenographia* title page emphasizes the accuracy of the reporting with the images described as based on "drawings taken on the spot by several officers of the British Navy and Army." The contents list adds further credibility, giving the officers' names plus their respective ranks and experience.

The artist and publisher of *Britannia's Triumph,* Lieutenant Philip Orsbridge, also carried the authority of an eyewitness, having participated in the assault on Havana. Orsbridge assembled a wealth of talent for his publication. Marine painter Dominic Serres (1719–93), originally from Gascony, had served as a common sailor and then sailing master in the merchant trade between Europe and Cuba. Serres settled in England after being captured by a British frigate in 1758. He rose to become Marine Painter to King George III. French-born and trained engraver Pierre-Charles Canot (1710?–77) worked in England. He was a member of the Royal Academy and specialized in maritime and landscape engravings. Eminent engraver James Mason (1710–80) was primarily known for landscape work, reproducing the great paintings of Poussin, Claude, Hobbema, and others.

Serres worked up sketches done by Orsbridge into magnificent oil paintings, now at the National Maritime Museum in Greenwich, England. The engravers Canot and Mason together produced twelve large, detailed copper plates. The whole production took a relatively short fifteen months, given the amount of labor involved. Print publishing was sometimes very profitable and at other times a money loser as there were many up-front expenses. Orsbridge was likely planning on making money directly, but given that the dedications in the captions of the prints are to superior officers of the expedition, he was clearly thinking about advancing his military career as well.

A victorious British fleet sails into the conquered harbor of Havana. From Britannia's Triumph *by Philip Orsbridge.*



British soldiers and sailors land artillery and ammunition for the siege of Havana. Detail from a plate of Britannia's Triumph.

The twelve prints recreate the siege step-by-step. The vantage point is as if you, the viewer, are in the "crow's nest," high on the mast of a ship, where Orsbridge very well may have been at times. The first two prints combine to give a panoramic view of the massive expeditionary fleet under the command of Vice Admiral Sir George Pocock (1706–92) as it lay off Barbados. The other scenes depict the dangerous navigation through the shoals of the West Indies, close action against two Spanish frigates, the preliminary bombardments of El Morro, the amphibious landings, the eventual capture of El Morro, and the fall of the city of Havana. The series compresses, simplifies, and sanitizes a long, chaotic, bloody siege in which thousands died both from military action and disease.

Orsbridge's precisely drawn spaces and multiple viewpoints give a vivid cinematic quality to the whole. The neat orderliness of the engravings implies the same precision in the action and makes the end result—British imperial domination—appear almost predetermined.

Typical of ambitious publishing ventures of the time, *Britannia's Triumph* was paid for in advance by subscribers (two guineas) and issued in installments. Orsbridge found a sizable market for these imperial images among the thousands who participated in the campaign.

These wonderful, celebratory images tapped and fed British enthusiasm for the spoils of victory, but the political reality was that George III wanted the long, costly war to end, and Spain wanted Cuba back. Havana was worth more to Spain than to England, as Havana's wealth was due in part to the flow of riches from Spanish Central and South America to Spain, riches diverted elsewhere during the British occupation. Florida was attractive to Britain as a geographic link to her colonies in North America. Spanish King Carlos III refused to agree to a treaty that would permanently cede Cuba. Nor would the British Parliament ratify a treaty that did not in some way respect British territorial gains made during the war.

While the printed views of Havana were in production, the 1763 Treaty of Paris reset the table in the Western Hemisphere, with Spanish Florida going to Britain and Cuba returning to Spain. What Spain failed to hold during wartime, it successfully recaptured by negotiation.

George III and his ministers celebrated with fireworks at Green Park in London. The conflicted feelings of much of the British public were expressed in an anonymous poem, published in London in 1764, and excerpted here:

The Crisis: On the Reduction and Surrender of The Havannah

From Britain's annals blot the fatal day, when her degenerate statesmen gave away,
half the rich fruits of all her battles won, in war triumphant, and by peace undone . . . .
A barren clime, ne'er water'd with a shower,
A Florida—without a single flower.
Where famish'd Indians never plow nor sow,
All flame above, and burning lands below.

Aspects of the Treaty of Paris also inflamed British colonial subjects in North America, setting them on the path to rebellion and independence. In Cuba, the British military occupation brought revolutionary ideas. Antoni Kapcia writes, *in Cuba, Island of Dreams,* "from 1762 . . . access to non-Spanish shipping, the import of slaves, the tantalizing access to North American markets, and the impact of new ideas of free trade, freethinking, freemasonry, private property, and compensation—all broke the stranglehold of a monopolistic colonialism." "British occupation set in train developments that would change Cuba irrevocably."

The Cuban independence movement, initially contained, became irrepressible in the following century. George III, who willingly negotiated away hard-won Havana at the end of the Seven Years' War, would never reconcile himself to the loss of his North American colonies in the coming Revolution. Left behind in the wake of these larger events, we have these fabulous engravings to remind us of the moment in time when Britain ruled Cuba.

— Clayton Lewis
Curator of Graphic Materials

CARIBBEAN REVOLUTION

The Clements Library's manuscript collection documents diverse topics in the history of the Caribbean including colonial administration, military activity, agriculture, business and trade, slavery, and travel. Although its geographical strengths are Jamaica and St. Domingue (Haiti), the Manuscripts Division also holds material on Barbados, Antigua, Cuba, Dominica, Grenada, Santo Domingo (Dominican Republic), Martinique, Puerto Rico, St. Thomas, St. Vincent, Trinidad, and the Leeward Islands.

One of the treasures of the Manuscripts Division is the Anne-Louis de Tousard Papers. In 1955 the Library purchased forty-seven manuscripts of this Revolutionary War veteran, his second wife Marie-Reine (Joubert) St. Martin, and their family. This fascinating grouping includes nineteen letters written by Marie while she managed a coffee plantation on St. Domingue on the eve of the Haitian Revolution. The letters gained context when the Library received a generous donation of over five hundred additional Tousard manuscripts from descendants of the family in 2004.

René Phelipeau's Plan de la plaine du Cap François *(Paris, 1786) reveals property lines, owners' names, plantation buildings, and rows of slave housing. This detail records a small part of the fertile northern plain of St. Domingue (Haiti). The 1791 slave uprising devastated these plantations.*

Marie-Reine Joubert was born in St. Domingue in 1763 and likely grew up around Limbe, where her father owned a plantation. She married François Bernard Alexandre de St. Martin in 1784, but a horse-riding accident took his life only weeks after their wedding. In 1788 Marie married French Army Colonel Anne-Louis de Tousard, who had lost his right arm while serving in the American Revolution. From 1787 to 1791 the couple engaged in a deeply affectionate as well as business-oriented correspondence. Although Anne-Louis received a significant pension for his service in the American Revolution and continued to serve in the French Army, the two eked out a living by growing coffee on their St. Domingue estates. The couple shared the management of plantations at Vallière and Jérémie, while Anne-Louis was stationed in the northern town of Le Cap (Cap-François) in the late 1780s. They thus spent a considerable amount of time apart.

In the 1780s, St. Domingue was the world's leading producer of sugar and coffee, and the free labor of African slaves made plantations particularly profitable. White and free black planters made up only about ten percent of the population of the colony, while slaves and Maroons (runaway slaves living in the hills) comprised the rest. This severe imbalance of race and class created a climate of fear among the planters and a constant state of racial tension.

The Tousards' approximately 120 Congolese and Senegalese slaves undertook the manual work necessary to cultivate the coffee plants. Although Marie ultimately managed the plantation, an overseer, one Monsieur Jamette, supervised their slave labor. Jamette's severity and apparent delight in punishing disobedient slaves made Marie apprehensive. Two runaway slaves, Toulon and Jean Baptiste, were recaptured and beaten severely. She wrote: "the punishments are beginning to give me a heartache. He is radiant and I think this man is really cruel. How can one be so pleased when he is on the point of inflicting such pain. I stop writing. I cannot continue with the noise of the whip, and the screeches of these wretches gives me a heartache" (June 4, 1789). In the same letter she hints at the fear prevalent in the planter class even amidst these sadistic scenes: "he has now handcuffed them and is no longer afraid of them . . . in spite of the handcuffs on the mulatto when he approaches him his hand trembles and his face was white as a sheet."

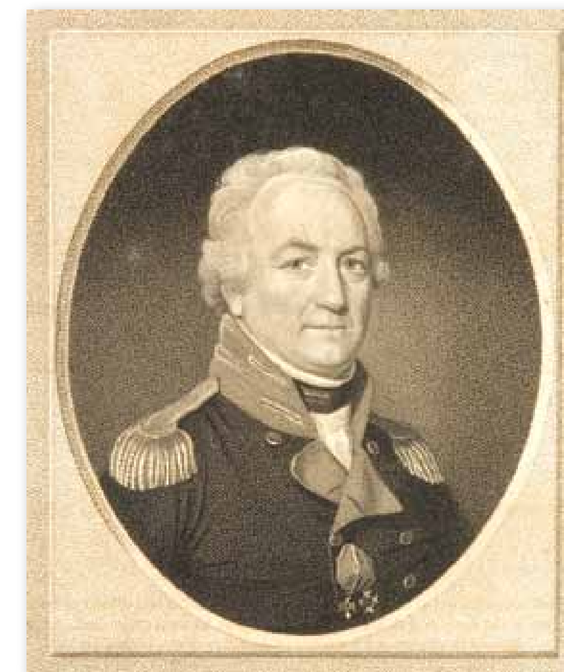
Nevertheless, Marie followed the conventions of her society. The management of the plantation required that she request chains, handcuffs, and collars and punish runaways. She wrote respecting the punishment of a slave: "He is in chains although I do not believe he has the means or the will to save himself. I have done it to punish him. He is quite humiliated. I hope that the wound will not fester." The runaway slave Antoine had "come back. I have shown mercy on the condition that he behaves, but if he acts the rogue he will pay every time" (January 8, 1788). Despite her husband's assurances that slave desertions would eventually stop, they did not, and the race and class divisions in St. Domingue soon became irreconcilable.

The island's planters were frustrated by France's *l'exclusif* legislation, which prevented them from trading goods outside the French empire. The ideals of liberty, equality, and fraternity heralded by French revolutionaries in Europe inspired notions of equality in St. Domingue's free colored population. Hostility between whites, free blacks, Maroons, and slaves reached a boiling point in 1791. The Haitian Revolution began with an organized revolt in August, when slaves rose up against their masters, killing and driving white French inhabitants out of the northern plains of the colony. The insurgents organized into a formidable military and political body with goals of abolition and equality. On October 16 and 17, 1791, Marie Tousard wrote from the Vallière plantation: "It seemed from the letters that peace is not so certain on that island, as they had before reported . . . . The mulattos are rising and threatening. . . . I have no appetite and a headache. I feel weak and do not know when I shall recover my health." By the end of the following year Marie had left St. Domingue for Philadelphia with her three children, black insurgents had seized Jérémie, and Colonel Tousard had been arrested and deported to France. Less than two years later, Marie-Reine Tousard became sick and left her husband a widower. He returned to the United States, where he was commissioned in the U.S. Army, served from 1795 to 1802, and published the first American artillery manual. Tousard died in 1821.

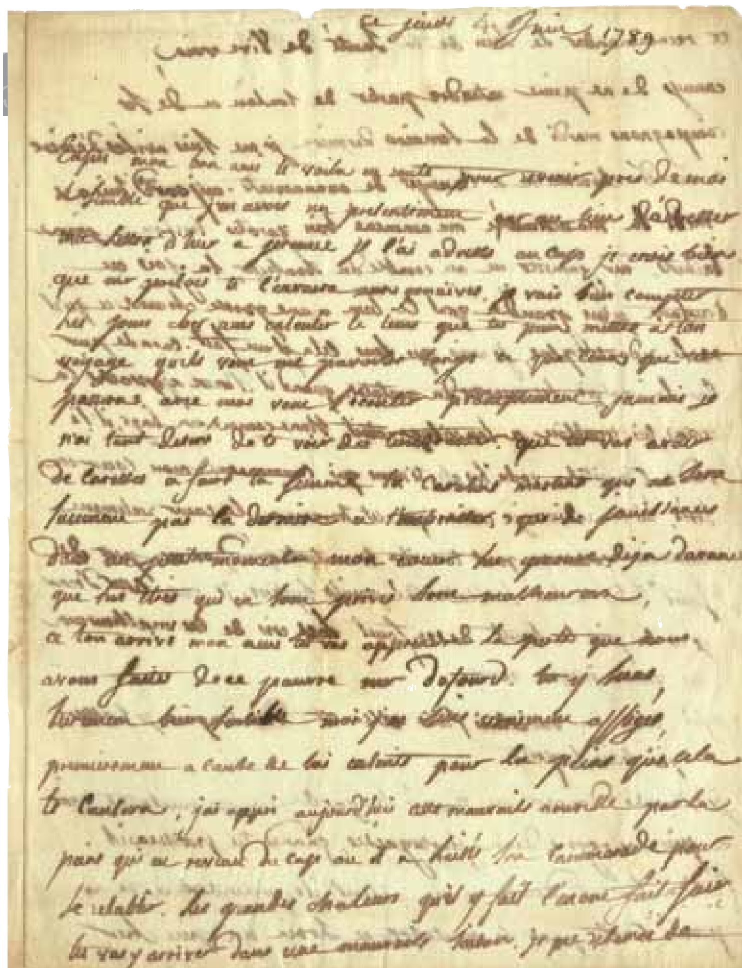
A view of Jérémie from Nicolas Ponce, Recueil de vues des lieux principaux de la colonie françoise de Saint-Domingue *(Paris, 1791). This book of beautifully engraved maps and views, was published the year of the Haitian slave uprising.*

Other manuscript groups, such as our Haiti Collection, further document the plight of fleeing refugees, military activity, the effect of the conflict on trade, and international relations. The French National Assembly sent civil commissioners, including Léger-Félicité Sonthonax, to St. Domingue in 1792 to enforce legislation granting citizenship rights to free blacks. When France declared war on Great Britain in 1793, St. Domingue planters hastened to ally themselves with the British, who seemed to be the most sympathetic to the preservation of slavery. The arrival of St. Domingue planter and newly appointed Governor General François-Thomas Galbaud du Fort set in motion a chain of events culminating in a violent confrontation between the French commissioners and Galbaud at the northern port town of Cap-François in June 1793. To bolster his forces, Sonthonax declared that slaves who joined the army of the French Republic would receive their freedom. Under the command of Toussaint L'Ouverture, a leader in the 1791 uprising, the black army joined forces with the French.

The Haiti Collection also includes a manuscript deposition with contemporary notes related to the experiences of Comte Alexandre François-Auguste de Grasse, son of Admiral François de Grasse, commander of the French fleet at the Battle of the Chesapeake during the American Revolution. Alexandre traveled to St. Domingue in 1789 as a soldier in the French Army and witnessed the violence at Cap-François in 1791. According to de Grasse, the black revolutionaries "entered from all parts in the city of the Cape, having the Chiefs at their head. The pillage, the massacre, the flames became frightful. Men, women, children were assassinated, massacred, and they endured every imaginable horror. The unfortunate of every sex, of every age, who tried to save themselves in gaining embarkations, or by swimming were shot in the water." De Grasse was arrested for counter-revolutionary activity, acquitted, and then placed in charge of a group of white troops and refugees. Shortly after, he, along with his wife and child, joined a mass exodus of around 10,000 French citizens (some 60% of the white population) and black servants from St. Domingue to the



Anne-Louis de Tousard (1749–1817) wearing the uniform of the U.S. artillery and his Society of the Cincinnati medal. Frontispiece portrait from Tousard's American Artillerist's Companion *(Philadelphia, 1809).*



Marie-Reine Tousard's letter to her husband of June 4, 1789, describes the cruel punishments inflicted on her slaves by their overseer.

United States and other West Indian islands.

In 1793, with the support of the remaining planters, the British launched a series of offensives against the French on St. Domingue. Initial British successes were eventually overturned as their soldiers were called back to Jamaica to maintain order there. Another letter in the Haiti Collection, written by British soldier L. Ditcher, records the state of the conflict in "the Devil's own Country" (Cape Saint Nicholas Mole) on July 4, 1796: "[We are] surrounded by Brigands who amuse us by firing on the out Posts, which they return, otherwise we act upon the defensive . . . for the Brigands destroy our Parties passing & repassing, in fact, what from their numbers, & the immense army of Genl. Death, we shall be obliged to quit these Islands very shortly."

Other manuscript collections, such as the Tailyour Family Papers, Leckie Family Papers, and Pratt & Kintzing Papers, document mercantile activity in the West Indies. Traders kept a close eye on news related to St. Domingue in order to make business decisions. The Leckie family ran an ambitious business in trading dry goods between England, the United States, and the West Indies. William Leckie's letters to his brother reflect the impact of politics and war on his operation: "the reasons urged in my letters for the discontinuance of the dry good business are pretty well known to you, the principal, the precarious tenure of our possessions in St. Domingo. . . . At the last attack on Jeremie [the vicinity of one of the Tousard plantations], the French General Regaud [André Rigaud] a Mulatto, had nearly taken it. the mortality among our troops is so great and the brigands so numerous that if ever they make one successful attempt on Jeremie it must fall" (August 31, 1797). By 1801, Toussaint L'Ouverture had gained control of St. Domingue, ousted his rival Rigaud, overtaken Franco-Spanish Santo Domingo, and drafted a constitution for Haiti.

The United States remained neutral during the French Revolution, the European conflicts surrounding it, and related upheavals in the Caribbean. Nevertheless, the U.S. expressed a supportive position for an independent Haiti, with the expectation of new and profitable markets in the former French colony. A series of letters between Christopher R. Perry, Toussaint L'Ouverture, and Jean-Jacques Dessalines (a leader in the revolution and later first ruler of Haiti) in the Clements Library's Oliver Hazard Perry Papers relates to the role of Perry's vessel in blocking French privateers from the port at Jackmel in 1800. Additional manuscripts in the Tobias Lear Papers and Fenno-Hoffman Family Papers pertain to U.S. and British interests as Napoleon Bonaparte made a futile attempt to recover St. Domingue for France in 1802 and 1803.

The Clements Library is not well enough known for its Caribbean collections, but they are considerable and available to historians who study a fascinating part of the Americas. The above summary of the Tousard Papers draws heavily from U-M history graduate student Christine Walker's research paper, "A Precarious Love: The Letters of Marie and Louis Tousard on the Eve of the Haitian Revolution, 1787–1792."

— Cheney Schopieray
Assistant Curator of Manuscripts

Haitian leader Toussaint L'Ouverture *(ca. 1743–1803) as depicted in an 1838 Paris lithograph by Nicolas-Eustache Maurin (1799–1850).*

ISLANDS OF SUGAR

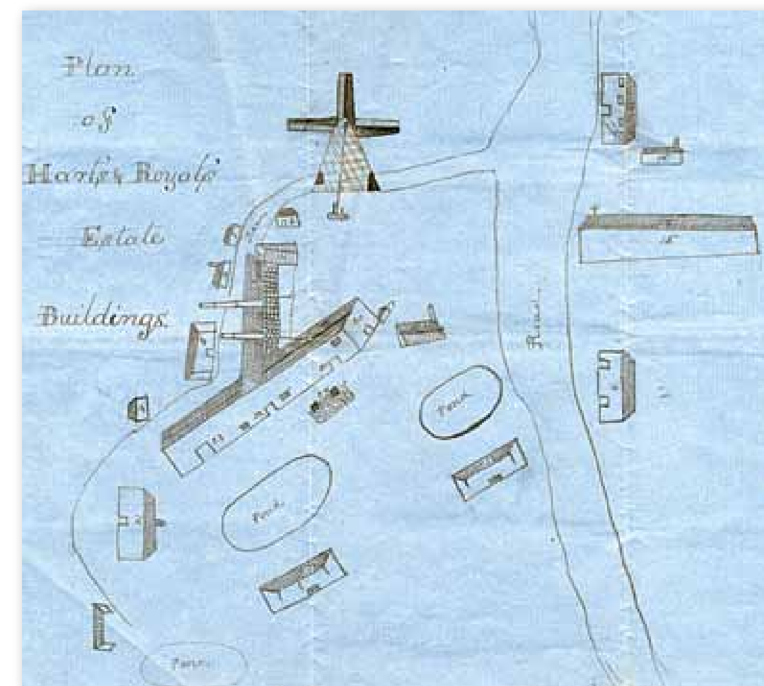
The history of the West Indies is inseparable from the story of sugar. Sugar involved the islands in transatlantic networks of trade, peopled them with European planters and African slaves, made them pawns of warfare and diplomacy, and molded a distinctive style of life for two hundred years. But, despite the prominent role of sugar on the world stage, it was still a commodity that had to be efficiently grown, processed, and marketed. Three books on the cultivation and production of sugar, one each from the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth century, illustrate of the rise and ebb of sugar's fortunes.

Sugar cane, *saccharum officinarum,* was probably first cultivated in New Guinea. By 326 B.C. it was being grown in India, where Alexander's soldiers saw it, and it had reached Persia by the sixth century A.D. Arab traders carried it with them as they advanced around the Mediterranean, taking it to Syria, Cyprus, and Crete, whence it came to Spain in the early eighth century. Spain had a thriving sugar industry by the middle of the twelfth century. Early in the fifteenth century, the Portuguese brought the cane to Madeira, and it soon spread to the Canary Islands, the Azores, and West Africa. Christopher Columbus, who was married to the daughter of a Madeira landowner and who had lived there for several years, brought the first cane to Hispaniola during his second voyage to the island in 1493. The first sugar cane mill was established there around 1516, and by the end of the century sugar production had reached the rest of the Greater Antilles.

Like their colonial competitors, the British quickly grasped the economic value of sugar. Production on the British islands rose dramatically throughout the seventeenth, eighteenth, and early nineteenth centuries. Annual exports from the British sugar islands increased from 11,700 to 27,400 tons between 1669 and 1700. By 1730 exports had reached 51,000 tons and, by 1774, 125,587 tons. In part this was due to increasing acreage planted in sugar, but there were also advances in understanding of the cultivation of cane and elaboration and refinement of production technology and techniques.

Increased output went to supply rising demand. Sugar was consumed as part of three newly popular hot beverages—chocolate, coffee, and tea—and found its way into other foodstuffs as well. Cookbooks published throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries increasingly featured recipes that depended on sugar as well as multiplying kinds of preparations for sweetmeats and confections and growing numbers of recipes for cakes, puddings, and other desserts.

Barbados, the first British sugar colony, is the setting for our first book. During the 1620s and '30s Barbadian planters tried a succession of cash crops. Tobacco, ginger, cotton, and indigo each had its day but failed to prove consistently profitable. In the 1640s the planters turned to sugar. Richard Ligon's *A Trve & Exact History of the Island of Barbados* relates his voyage and sojourn there from 1647 to 1650. His account, published in 1657, was written at a time when Barbados had the attention of the British public as a newly successful sugar colony.



"Plan of Hart's & Royal's Estate Buildings" depicts a sugar-making complex, probably on Antigua ca. 1800. Jarvis Papers.

Ligon witnessed the changes on Barbados as it settled into what would become the typical pattern for sugar colonies. He saw the beginning of sugar monoculture and the transition from smallholdings worked by owners with some slave or indentured labor to large plantations farmed by gangs of slaves under overseers. Ligon provides considerable detail about the cultivation and production of sugar, making him a valuable source on the technology and practices at the beginning of the plantation period. Of particular value are his diagrams of a mill and boiling house and his descriptions of sugar-making apparatus. He also describes the investments made by one planter in his lands, equipment, and slaves and the subsequent value of this plantation, giving us a record of the economics of sugar at this early stage.

Ligon's account reveals planters still determining how best to cultivate cane and make sugar. During his time on the island, he says, the planters learned, both by trial and error and through visits to the more advanced plantations in Brazil, how to tell when the canes were fully ripe, how to manage the boiling of the sugar-cane juice, how to cure the resulting sugar, and how to treat it to make it whiter and thus more marketable.

Our second book is from Grenada in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Grenada had an eventful history, passing back and forth between the

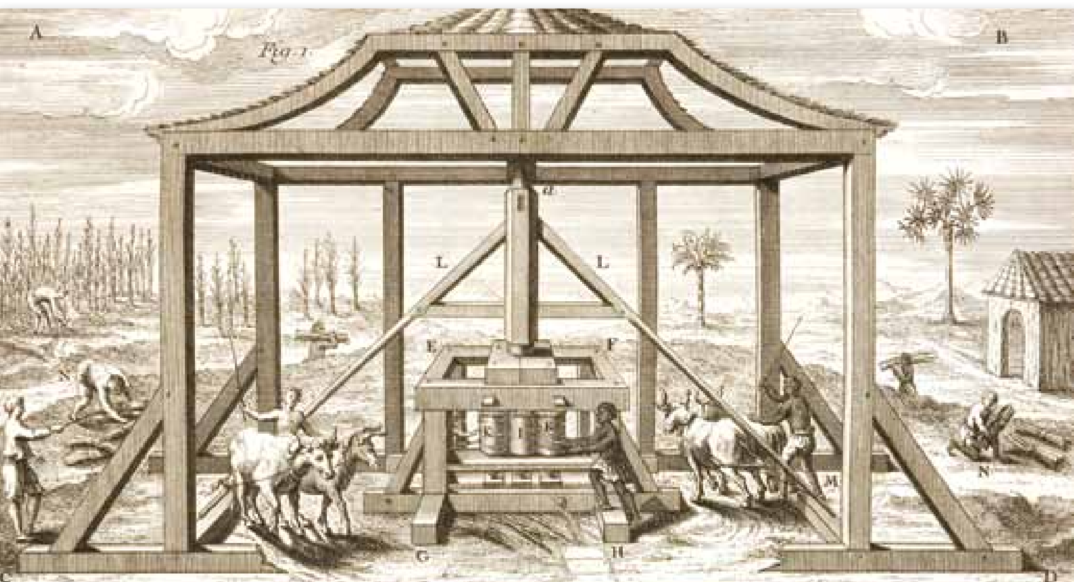
Slaves perform the backbreaking labor of harvesting in a print titled Cutting the Sugar-Cane *([London, ca. 1830]). The setting is probably Antigua.*

French and British several times. After it was first ceded to Britain in 1763, French and British planters coexisted on the island, with the latter group enjoying greater success. The British plantations were more productive and more profitable, and, by the end of the century, Grenada's production of sugar was the third largest in the West Indies.

Letters to a Young Planter; or, Observations on the Management of a Sugar-Plantation. To Which is Added, The Planter's Kalendar. Written on the Island of Grenada, by an Old Planter was published in 1785, only two years after the Treaty of Paris confirmed Grenada as a British possession for the second time. The "advertisement" that begins this work warns the reader not to expect a comprehensive treatise on planting but rather a collection of observations of particular use to the novice planter. However, it supplies more technical details than Ligon's book. The specifics it includes, particularly about cultivation in different types of soil, show us the increasing understanding of the variables a planter had to take into account. The "Kalendar," with the state of the crops and activities for each month, gives a detailed picture of the planter's year. Despite having much to say about the equipment used, the book despairs of conveying exactly what's needed in production: "It is impossible, I believe, by any rules to explain or illustrate the method of manufacturing the sugar, which can only be acquired by close application and attendance in the boiling-house, at least for one crop."

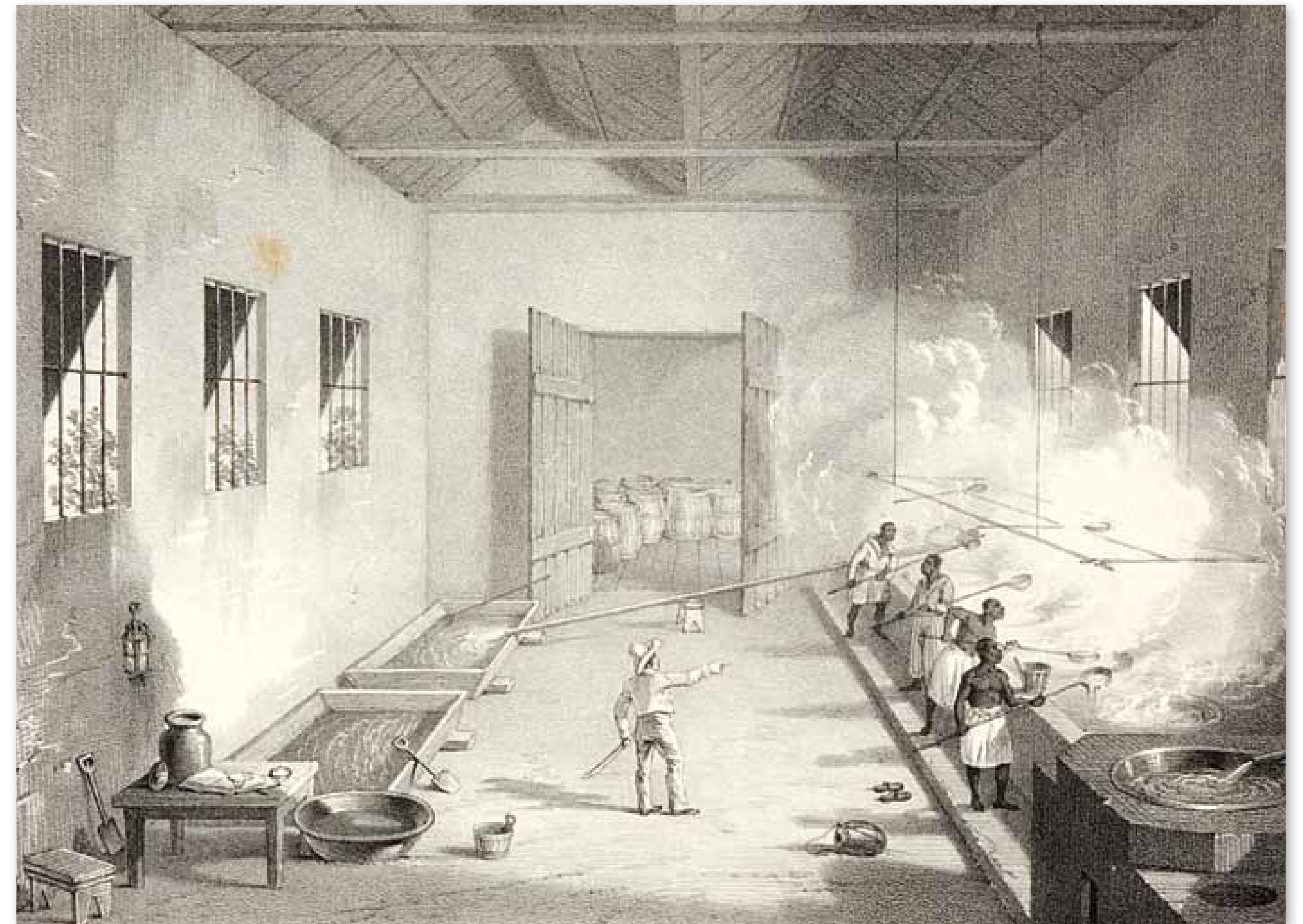
The author was Gordon Turnbull, who also published *An Apology for Negro Slavery: or the West India Planters Vindicated from the Charge of Inhumanity* in 1786, and *A Narrative of the Revolt and Insurrection of the French Inhabitants in the Island of Grenada* in 1795. We don't know much about Turnbull, but if he was an old planter on Grenada, we can assume a certain amount about his life. He would have acquired his lands between 1762, when the British captured the island, and 1779, when the French took it back. He was perhaps attracted to Grenada from one of the more established sugar islands by the prospect of fertile, uncultivated land not yet spoiled by the rapid deforestation and uninterrupted cropping common on other islands. If Turnbull survived as a planter during the economic uncertainty caused by the Revolutionary War, he either had exceptional luck with his crops, production, and sales or was a big enough planter to have access to credit to see him through. After the war, Turnbull, like other large planters, probably took advantage of the fact that smallholders were going bankrupt and bought up their holdings.

An ox-driven sugar-cane mill as commonly found in the West Indies. From Henri-Louis Duhamel, Art de rafiner le sucre *(Paris, 1764), Plate I.*



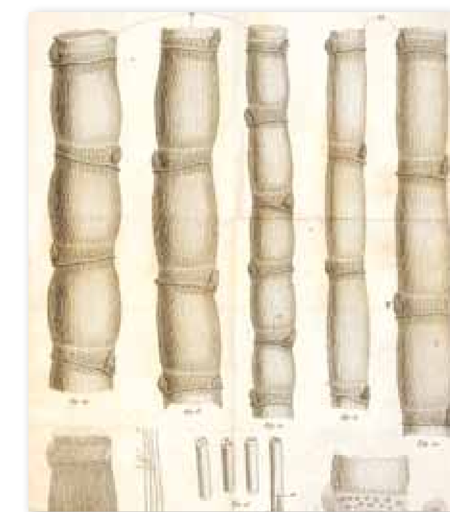
As we might expect from the author of *An Apology for Negro Slavery*, Turnbull goes into some detail about the treatment of slaves. Typical of pro-slavery writers, who saw (or at least portrayed) themselves as humane and compassionate, he admonishes his readers that it's in the planter's best interest to maintain the health of his slaves. He even goes a step farther and adds their happiness to the mix. As with other apologists of slavery, he moves easily from this topic to the care of the plantation's draft animals and other stock, putting them both on a level. He places great weight on the argument, much relied upon by slavery's defenders, that the slaves were no worse off than peasants in many parts of the world.

The third book, *The Jamaica Planter's Guide: or, A System for Planting and Managing a Sugar Estate,* was published in 1823, between Britain's abolition of the slave trade in 1807 and its emancipation of the slaves in 1834. This was a period when the Jamaica plantations, like others in the British West Indies, were beset by difficulties of various sorts: poor yields due to soil exhaustion, a shortage of labor, and fluctuating sugar prices. The author, Thomas Roughley, identifies himself as a planter with twenty years of experience and has much to say about the liabilities of running a plantation. He is particularly specific about what can go awry, picking out, for instance, the consequences of choosing the wrong workers for positions of responsibility and all the steps where neglect of the equipment will fail to produce "sparkling, strong-grained, fair-coloured, marketable Muscovada sugar."



Richard Bridgens published his view of the Interior of a Boiling-House *in* West India Scenery *(London, 1836).*

This is the most specific of the three books, offering cautions and admonitions at every step. The author's advice for addressing the growing problems of sugar production is to seek success through scrupulous attention to detail, controlling as many of the variables as possible. Despite this, his prescriptions for successfully growing and making sugar still rely heavily on the experience and judgment of the workers.



Segments of sugar cane stalks. From Jacques-François Dutrone, Précis sur la canne *(Paris, 1790).*

This stands in marked contrast to a work published a mere ten years later, Benjamin Silliman's *Manual on the Cultivation of the Sugar Cane and the Fabrication and Refinement of Sugar,* which places much more emphasis on quantitative measures and on the technology of production than on individual judgment and expertise.

Taken separately, these three books give us snapshots of production and the attitudes that surrounded it at three different stages in the history of the sugar island colonies. Taken together, they show the increasing sophistication of sugar production as knowledge was acquired and shared among planters. At the same time, they chart the trajectory of the British sugar colonies from their initial stages, as the planters worked out cultivation and production techniques, through their most prosperous period, to the beginning of their decline.

— JJ Jacobson
Curator for American Culinary History

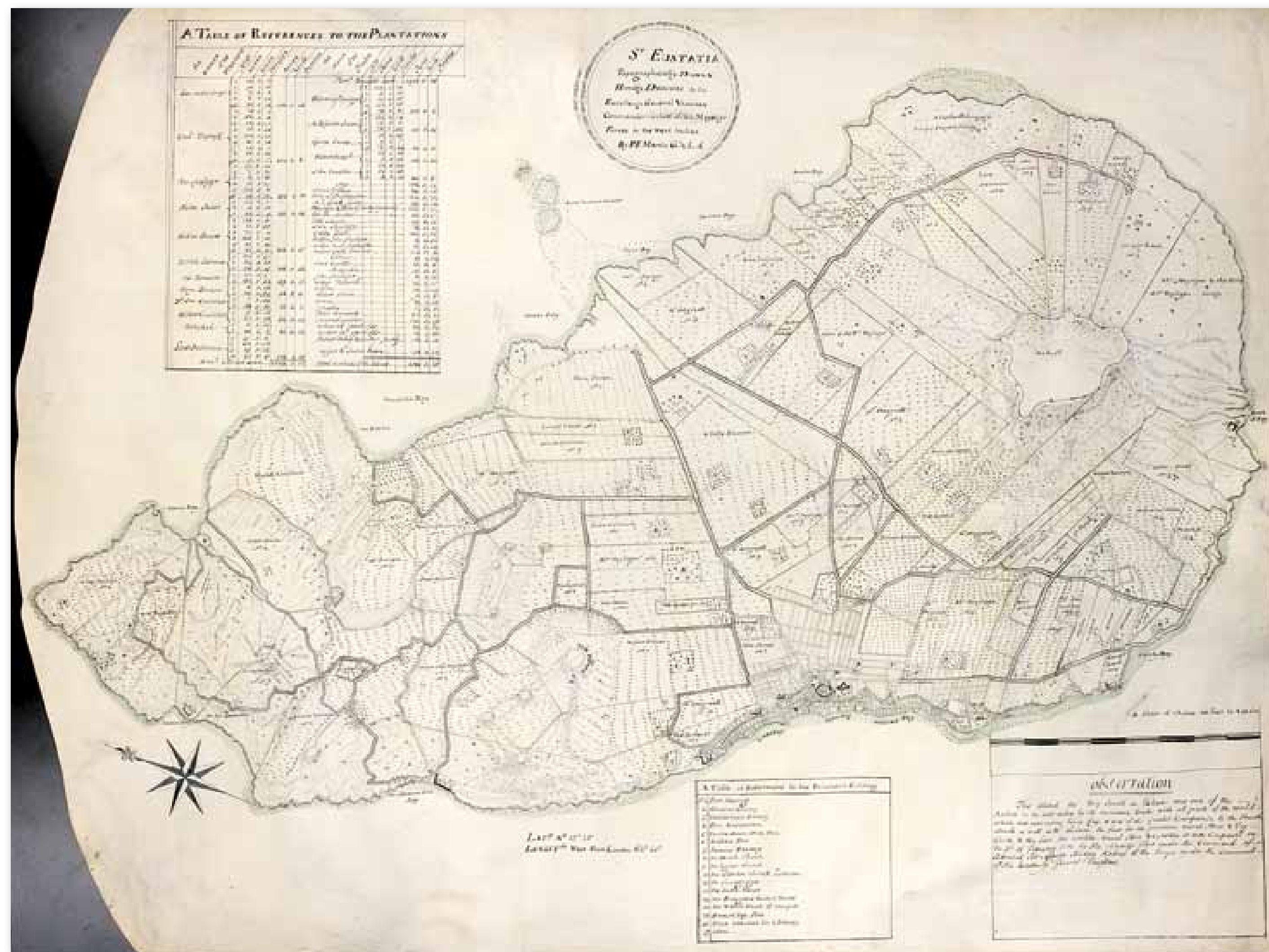
THE DEVIL IS IN THE DETAILS

While re-cataloging the Library's map collection in the gray, dismal winter of 2009, it was perhaps inevitable that the curator's attention should be drawn to five tightly packed drawers in banks 7 and 8 of the map cases. There, identified under the categories of "Islands" and "West Indies," is the best of the Library's cartography depicting the Caribbean and its distinctive and historical islands. It was an easy decision to postpone work on maps of Pennsylvania and New Jersey and shift focus far to the southward. Somehow, the task of cataloging seemed warmer and brighter as the maps suggested palm trees, sandy beaches, forested peaks, and azure water. Oh, and Jack Sparrow . . . sorry, that's *Captain* Jack Sparrow.

On closer examination, our maps of the West Indies also reveal far less pleasant aspects of life on these lovely islands. From the time of the first visits by Christopher Columbus in the 1490s, the islands of the West Indies were the setting for acts of violence and strife rivaling anything to be found in the history of any other part of North America. The native population was soon enslaved and largely annihilated by European colonists and diseases. Captive Africans were imported to replace them and provide labor for a developing plantation economy. Slavery remained prevalent in the West Indies until its abolition in the mid-nineteenth century, and these involuntary workers enabled the large-scale cultivation of lucrative cash crops such as sugar, coffee, indigo, and tropical fruits.

The West Indian islands were also important elements of the colonial empires of several European powers—Spain, France, Britain, the Netherlands, and Denmark—and, as such, they were inevitably affected by the wars fought between their parent nations from the seventeenth to early nineteenth centuries. Most of the islands changed hands more than once, and their commercial value made them bargaining chips at peace negotiations. Fortifications large and small dotted the islands, while their harbors served as bases for men-of-war, privateers, and pirates. Land and sea battles were fought at many locations, and the West Indies saw especially heavy military and naval activity during the Seven Years' War, the American War for Independence, and the Napoleonic Wars.

P. F. Martin's superbly detailed map of St. Eustatia, drawn following the British capture of the island from the Dutch in 1781. Germain Papers.



And then there was the scourge of tropical diseases, which haunted the islands. Yellow fever, malaria, and other maladies proved particularly deadly to troops fresh from Europe and contributed to the reputation of the West Indies as a graveyard for soldiers and sailors.

Having disabused oneself of modern, romantic, and cinematic impressions of the West Indies, a careful examination of the many maps of the Clements's rich collection reveals numerous minute details that provide evidence of land ownership and use, slavery, production of sugar and other commodities, military architecture and activity, urban life, and occasionally even disease.

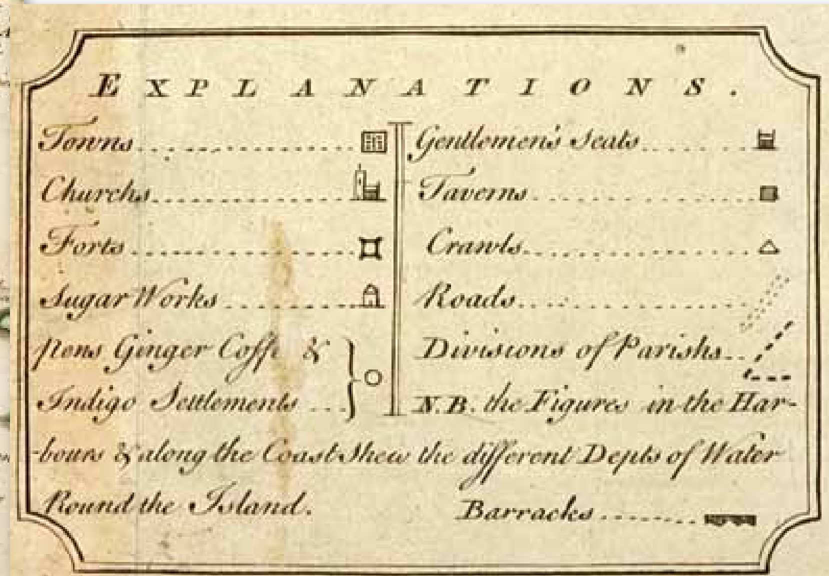
The great majority of our West Indian maps depict the dramatic topography of these volcanic islands. Steep slopes and elevated positions influenced agriculture and the locations of fortifications and towns. Few of our maps illustrate the relationship of topography to land use as comprehensively as P. F. Martin's manuscript composition "St. Eustatia Topographically Drawn," prepared soon after the capture of the Dutch island in February 1781 by British Admiral Sir George Brydges Rodney (1718–92) and General John Vaughn (ca. 1731–95), to whom the map was dedicated. Included in this careful composition are buildings, fence lines, roads, and the names of proprietors. Seldom is a map so inclusive and realistic in its details.

Documentation of property ownership is a feature of many of the West Indies maps. Land boundaries are often depicted, sometimes enclosing the name of the proprietor or a number keyed to a table or a separate text. Surveyor John Byres directed an effort to plat the islands ceded to Britain by France by the 1763 Treaty of Paris. Several of his maps were published in 1776, and the Clements collection includes those of Bequia, Dominica, St. Vincent, and Tobago, all done in the same style. Other compositions, such as Patrick Browne's *A New Map of Jamaica* (London, 1755), forego boundaries but associate the names of owners with a symbol representing their houses or plantations.

The architecture of plantation life is frequently depicted on maps. Browne's *Jamaica* includes symbols for towns, churches, "sugar works," ginger, coffee and indigo operations, "Gentlemen's Seats" (plantation manor houses), taverns, barracks, and roads. Daniel Paterson's *A New Plan of the Island of Grenada* (London, 1780) identifies water-powered and ox-driven sugar-cane mills and distinguishes coffee and cocoa plantations from those growing sugar cane. Even more visual is Jens Beck's *Tilforladelig Kort Over Eylandet St. Croix* (Copenhagen, 1754, with manuscript additions of 1767). Its brightly colored properties each bear the name of the owner on this Danish possession, with symbols that pinpoint every windmill and horse mill for grinding sugar cane.

Tilforladelig Kort Over Eylandet St. Croix udi America *by Jens Beck (Copenhagen, 1754/1767) identifies property boundaries, owners' names, and sugar-cane mills. Windmills are easily distinguished from those turned by horses.*

Without a doubt the most evocative and chilling details are those that reveal the dependence of West Indian planters on African slavery. The key to Patrick Browne's 1755 map of Jamaica includes small triangles identified as "crawls," which the Clements's antique copy of the *OED* defines as "a pen for hogs or slaves." The tiny renderings of windmills on Robert Baker's *A New and Exact Map of the Island of Antigua* (London, 1748/49) are each surrounded by crude representations of the cabins that housed slaves. James McMahon's 1805 manuscript survey "A Plan of the Estates of the Right Honorable James Lord Cranstoun . . . in the Island of St. Christopher" (St. Kitts) carefully identifies the boundaries and use of each field of the plantation. Eleven small or irregular waste parcels are noted as "Negro houses & provisions ground," where the slaves lived and farmed small plots. McMahon's plan details three separate sugar-cane mill complexes to boot.



The key to Patrick Browne's A New Map of Jamaica *(London, 1755) identifies symbols for different types of structures including "crawls"—hog or slave pens. Several may be seen at top left in the parish of Vere on the island's south coast.*

Neatly drawn ships illustrate the movements of the French and British fleets at the Battle of the Saintes, fought near Guadeloupe on April 9–12, 1782. Martineau, author of a three-sheet plan figuratif, *was a deck officer of the ship-of-the-line* Glorieux, *shown dismasted at "C" in this detail. French vessels are identified by white naval ensigns; the British by red.*

Our map collection includes signs of slavery on the French islands as well. Neatly spaced rows of black squares appear on named private holdings on René Phelipeau's *Plan de la plaine du Cap François en l'Isle St. Domingue* (Paris, 1786). These represent slave cabins on large plantations in the most productive part of France's wealthiest sugar colony. Slave housing is sometimes shown in even greater detail, often in connection with sugar-processing complexes. Two neat rows of incomplete, penciled rectangles, surely slave cabins, march away from a group of buildings that includes the house and sugar-cane mill of Aimé-Benjamin Fleuriau as surveyed about 1753. His plantation, located near Port-au-Prince on St. Domingue (Haiti), is drawn in extraordinary detail.

Warfare also makes its appearance on our maps of the West Indies. Plans of every important harbor or town include their protective forts or batteries, ranging from small earthworks to huge fortresses and walled cities as depicted in Henry Mercier's beautifully colored manuscript "Plan of the Havana" (ca. 1767). Mercier shows the city under bombardment by British artillery in 1762. Military and naval action appears again on George Vaughan Hart's "A Sketch of Part of the Island of Ste. Lucie" documenting the contest for St. Lucia between British and French troops in December 1778. Even more graphic is a three-sheet, pictorial manuscript plan of the Battle of the Saintes drawn and colored by a French officer named Martineau. This full-scale fleet encounter of April 9–12, 1782, broke French naval power in the Americas though six months too late to save Cornwallis's army from its fate at Yorktown.

The Clements Library holds cartography, both printed and manuscript, of virtually every major island of the West Indies. Careful examination of these maps would surely reveal much more visual evidence of the economy, culture, and history of the island chain that arches across the Caribbean from Cuba to Grenada. The devil may be in these details, but they still have much to tell us.

— *Brian Leigh Dunnigan*
Associate Director and Curator of Maps

DEVELOPMENTS

On October 5, 2011, University of Michigan President Mary Sue Coleman presented her vision for the next one hundred years. She did this by first looking back saying, "when Henry Tappan was named the University's first president in 1852, he laid out a remarkable vision for a university that at the time had fewer than three hundred students. He called for robust teaching of science, medicine, literature, and the arts. He proposed libraries, museums, laboratories, and an observatory." Looking to the future, President Coleman spoke of the need to create "transformative learning experiences" and "scholarship without borders." In keeping with this vision, the staff of the Clements has worked diligently to redefine and broaden our reach.

One of the most important things we can do is encourage faculty to use our collections for teaching. This is the gateway to attracting young students to the Clements. In November, the Clements and other museums and libraries on campus participated in a Provost's Seminar to talk with faculty about incorporating the information available in our collections into their course work. Mark Clague, associate professor of musicology, captured the spirit of the program when he said, "The human aspects in documents—the passion, the exclamation marks, the emotional language—are more apparent when working with original documents. They have a resonance for students, who usually only see documents reproduced in textbooks or electronic scans."

We are also broadening our online reach to connect with a new generation of researchers. We have created an electronic newsletter that highlights Clements collections that tie into current issues in historical research, and we now send it to over 2,000 researchers nationwide. We have established a blog, created a Facebook page, and begun to build a following on Twitter. We have completely revamped our website to make it more user-friendly and responsive to younger generations. We now post virtual versions of all of our original exhibits online in addition to creating some, like *The Barbary Wars at the Clements,* solely in electronic form to make our collections accessible worldwide.

We expanded our research fellowship program significantly in 2011 and now offer seven postdoctoral fellowships in addition to the well-established Price Fellowships. In 2012 the Clements will host its first Reese Fellow in the Print Culture of the Americas. Funded by the William Reese Company, this fellowship encourages research in the history of the book and other print formats, bibliography, and print culture from the sixteenth century to 1900. This is a great honor bestowed on the Library, and we are looking forward to the scholarship that will come of the effort.

To serve researchers who cannot travel, we digitize items from our holdings, and members of the Clements staff make frequent appearances on radio and TV to talk about American history, collecting, and the Library's holdings. In the past three years, our curators have gone across the country to present more than one hundred historical talks in states such as Florida, New York, Colorado, Michigan, Ohio, Delaware, California, and Pennsylvania. Our audiences have included local historical societies, book clubs, alumni, academic conferences, professional library meetings, civic groups, retirement communities, collector organizations, and high school students.

And we are expanding audiences within our building as well. In 2008 we instituted a series of monthly public lectures on American history topics. Audience response to programs such as William Cronon on environmental history, Wes Cowan on the Americana auction world, Nicholas Basbanes on book collecting, and Peter Wood on Winslow Homer's Civil War has been enthusiastic. Since 2008 we have doubled our exhibit-case capacity, refined our schedule of changing exhibits, and worked to create shows that combine academic and popular appeal. International researchers and visitors from China, Canada, Great Britain, Australia, France, Germany, New Zealand, Japan, and Spain, and Americans from more than forty states now use the collections, attend lectures, or view exhibits. The Clements Library continues to grow as a lively center of discussion, dissemination, and discourse about early America. Proud scholarly traditions remain a vital part of our mission, but now an enthusiastic focus on engaging broader audiences has breathed new life into this venerable institution.

— *Ann Rock*
Director of Development

British batteries pound Havana and its defenses during the 1762 siege of Spain's West Indian commercial metropolis. Detail from Henry Mercier's 1767 plan of the city and environs.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

John D. Wheeler

The Clements Library lost one of its most devoted friends and boosters on May 19 with the death of John D. Wheeler. A member of the Clements Library Associates Board of Governors since 1979, John served as Chairman from 1991 to 1998. Among his many historical interests were the French and Indian War and one of its most colorful characters, Robert Rogers.

Library Receives NHPRC Grant

The National Historical Publications and Records Commission has awarded the Clements a two-year Basic Processing Grant to hire an archivist to create finding aids and catalog records for over 1,500 manuscript collections and 125 photograph albums. These represent many topics of research, including commerce, education, sports and leisure, anti-slavery movements, Native American history, military conflicts and much more. We thank the NHPRC for its generous support. When the project is completed in the fall of 2013, all of the Library's manuscript collections will be processed, and the finding aids will be online.

Jan Longone Receives Amelia Award

On November 10 the Culinary Historians of New York honored Clements Library Curator of American Culinary History Janice Bluestein Longone with its 2011 Amelia Award. Named for Amelia Simmons, author of the first American cookbook (1796), the award cites Jan's "extraordinary lifetime achievement in culinary history," her work at the Clements, and her donations to the Library. The presentation was made at the New York Public Library and was followed by Jan's lecture on the social and political impact of charity cookbooks.

Library Given ca. 1842 Daguerreotype

Clements Library Associates board member Len Walle has presented the Clements with what might well be the earliest photograph taken in the State of Michigan. The daguerreotype captures Detroit millionaire Eber Brock Ward (1811–75) with his wife and infant son. Research suggests a date of ca. 1842 for this image, which strengthens the Library's growing photography collection. Many thanks, Len.

Correction

The Spring-Summer 2011 issue of *The Quarto* mistakenly credited the 2003–04 refurbishing of the Library's Great Room to a grant from the Earhart Foundation. The work was, in fact, made possible by generous support from the Elizabeth E. Kennedy Fund. We apologize for the error.

CALENDAR OF EVENTS

October 17, 2011 – February 17, 2012: Exhibit: "'So Once Were We': Death in Early America." Weekdays, 1:00–4:45 p.m.

February 27, 2012 – June 1, 2012: Exhibit: "The War of 1812: A Bicentennial Exhibition." Weekdays, 1:00–4:45 p.m.

March 8, 2012: Lecture by Curator of Maps Brian Leigh Dunnigan: "Troubled Waters: The Great Lakes Frontier on the Eve of the War of 1812." 4:00–6:00 p.m.

March 29, 2012: Founder's Day Lecture. TBA. 4:00–6:00 p.m.

May 1, 2012: Clements Library Associates Board of Governors Meeting.

Clements Library Director
J. Kevin Graffagnino

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Clements Library Associates share an interest in American history and a desire to ensure the continued growth of the Library's collections. Funds received from Associate memberships are used to purchase historical materials. Annual Membership Contributions:
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