

**Eating English in Jamaica:
Food, and Creole Identity in Seventeenth-century, Medical Discourse**

by
Cathy-Rae Hollett

B.A., The University of New Brunswick, 2010

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF ARTS

in
THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES
(History)

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA
(Vancouver)

August 2011

© Cathy-Rae Hollett, 2011

Abstract

Food – its organization and consumption—offers a unique lens through which to understand the early workings of English colonialism, as well as national, bodily identity. In the seventeenth century English intellectuals sought to understand and prescribe national identity on a bodily level. However in the early stages of colonialism this same process was taking place across the Atlantic, in Jamaica, an island that supported a significantly different demographic makeup. Through the use of physicians’ casebooks, prescriptions and natural histories, buttressed with the words of English travelers, this paper argues that due to the efforts to encourage and define English bodily identity there was a simultaneous demarcation of an emerging Creole population. This Creole population was defined by what they were able to consume- particularly dishes such as turtle meat and chocolate.

Table of Contents

Abstract.....	ii
Table of Contents	iii
Acknowledgements	iv
Dedication	v
Introduction.....	1
“An Excellent Breakfast for a Salamander”: Eating English in Jamaica	13
“Our Bodies Do Crave a Little More”: The Tropic of Excess.....	21
“Infants Drink it Here as Commonly as in England They Feed on Milk”: Food as a Marker of Identity	31
Conclusion: Of Bodies and Entitlement.....	38
Bibliography	42

Acknowledgements

Thank you to the staff and faculty of the History department of UBC, without whom this would not have been possible. In particular thank you to Dr. Neil Safier for his valued criticism, and supervision. I would also like to thank Dr. Carla Nappi for her tireless efforts to break down my intellectual barriers, despite my tenacious belief in binaries, and for always offering academic and emotional support when needed. Your words have been an inspiration that will continue to shape my relationship with texts for years to come.

Thank you to the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council, and to the history department of UBC for your financial support, without which this thesis would not have come to fruition.

Thank you to my colleagues and peers for always being there to talk through issues over a pitcher- including Will, Amy, Kelly and John; to the members of the history of science reading group for pushing me to always try harder; and to my friends both past and present for keeping me grounded. A special thank you to Allen Chen for being a calm voice in the storm, and Christine Peralta for providing me with the background track, as well as countless hours of genuine support. History is about people, and you have never let me forget that. Also, thank you to the numerous musicians whose work has coddled me, and fed me during dry times, and to Carlin who was always willing to be a warm, purring distraction.

Finally, thank you to my family- my brother Randy who has toughened my skin, Nick Foreman who has always been a voice of faith, and my parents who have always urged me to question, and deconstruct the ordinary. I could not have been where I am, were it not for all of you.

To all the Turtles and Tortoises whose lives were lost to colonial trade.

You are remembered.

Introduction

“One Saturday evening, when we were in hot weather, a Hog being kill’d, and the Blood sav’d (to make Puddings) till Monday morning, they prov’d very hurtful, for although some, who had eat of them, complain’d not, yet several others were taken violently ill, some Vomiting with great pain, and others Vomiting and going to Stool with great Anxieties. Being call’d, and asking if they had eaten or drink any thing to occasion such great disorders, I concluded the Puddings to be the Cause...”¹

On September 12, 1687, Hans Sloane set sail for the West Indies from his new home in London England. He was a newly graduated physician and had eagerly accepted the opportunity to accompany the Duke of Albermarle, new lieutenant governor of Jamaica, despite the fact that his advisor, Dr. Thomas Sydenham, had suggested that Sloane would be better suited to ‘drown himself’ in a popular London park than journey to the colony.² The young Sloane was not only a physician, but also a burgeoning natural historian. As such, the benefits of the voyage outweighed the possible deficits as he sought to make a name for himself in the growing world of commercial botany. He would spend fifteen months in Jamaica, returning to England after the Duke who had sponsored him succumbed to his illness and died in October of 1688.

Once landed, Sloane spent his time observing and recording “strange things which [he] met with in Collections, and, was inform’d, were common in the West Indies,” as well as treating numerous patients.³ Most of his patients in Jamaica were of English origin, and most of the cases he recorded involved “fevers and fluxes” occasioned by the tropical weather’s

¹ Sloane, *A voyage to the islands Madera, Barbados, Nieves, S. Christophers and Jamaica with the natural history of the Herbs and Trees, Four-Footed Beasts, Fishes, Birds, Insects, Reptiles, &c. of the last of those islands; to which is prefix’d an introduction, wherein is an account of the inhabitants, air, waters, diseases, trade, &c. of that Place, with some Relations concerning the Neighbouring Continent, and Islands of America. Illustrated with the figures of the things describ’d, which have not been heretofore engraved; In large Copper-Plates as big as the Life. By Hans Sloane, M. D. Fellow of the College of Physicians and Secretary of the Royal-Society. In two volumes. Vol. I.* (London: printed by B. M. for the author, 1707), xcii.

² Thomas Sydenham as cited in St. John Brooks, *Sir Hans Sloane: The Great Collector and his Circles*, (London: Batchworth Press, 1955), 78.

³ Sir Hans Sloane, *A voyage to the islands Madera, Barbados, Nieves, S. Christophers and Jamaica...*, preface.

effect on temperate constitutions, but a number of them revolved around the repercussions of ill-chosen behavior.

One such case involved a group of patients, taken ill of a mass poisoning, and is cited above. Sloane makes no mention of the makeup of the group but it is likely that they were food-minded Europeans, making the most of a hog slaughter and suffering the consequences.⁴ Yet when they ate those puddings, these settlers were taking in much more than pig's blood and more even than the bacteria that would cause their discomfort – they were consuming a part of their distant homeland. As Jeremy McClancy has argued, “humans feed on symbols and myths as much as on fats, proteins and carbohydrates... food is both nutritious and a mode of thought.”⁵ These words and his work on the idea of consuming culture illustrate the extent to which food permeates everyday interactions. Not only do we require and relish in food, but we speak with food as well.⁶ When these settlers fell ill due to improperly prepared pudding, they were not purposely subjecting themselves to pain, but were enacting a culturally familiar scene.

As most physicians were also natural historians, they went to great lengths to catalogue the natural resources of Jamaica and habits of its inhabitants. The growth of botany was a driving motivation- in both a mercantile and professional sense.⁷ The discovery of a new plant could mean fame for the finder, and even commercial success if that plant was useful medically. Numerous natural historians would benefit from this trade, including Sloane himself who invested not only in quinine, but also in chocolate. English physician Thomas Trapham also reaped the benefits of this system even if it was only in name, and not in business, as he posthumously championed the European use of the

⁴ It is likely that this group was made up of Europeans, as Sloane is very quick to identify other individuals or groups, including “blacks”, “Indians”, and to a much lesser extent “Creolians.” In addition the pudding is a traditionally English dish, the spread of which would have elicited at least a comment from the British physician given his emphasis on the interactions between groups.

⁵ Jeremy MacClancy, *Consuming culture*. (London: Chapman's Publishers Ltd, 1992), 2.

⁶ For a further understanding of how food functions on a symbolic level see cited book by MacClancy as well as Helen King, “Food as a Symbol in Classical Greece.” *History Today* 36, iss. 9, (1986), <http://jstor.org>. Also see Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger: an analysis of the concepts of pollution and taboo*. (New York: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966).

⁷ Londa Schiebinger, *Plants and Empire: Colonial Bioprospecting in the Atlantic World* (New York: Harvard University Press, 2004), 5.

Bermudas Berry.⁸ Nevertheless, these natural historians were not just businessmen, they also charged with the task of recording the habits of the West Indian people and in so doing they found themselves recommending actions that would improve settlers' health.

As these natural historians collected their plants, animals, and minerals, along with making their observations on the nature of the inhabitants, they noticed that while English bodies had moved to a tropical setting, they maintained customs born of a temperate, northerly climate. Given the geographic determinist framework that the majority of European physicians adhered to at this time, a lack of adaptation would be a great cause for concern among those cataloguing the new colony.⁹ Complicating this was a fear of degeneracy, a fear on the part of "some Britons [who] worried that their own emergence from barbarism to civility was temporary, if not regulated closely."¹⁰ In some cases degeneracy was thought to end in a change of complexion, but it mostly manifested in the process of creolization, a process in which food choices played a central role. Even those that did not fear degeneracy maintained a sense of European superiority, which was reason enough to avoid taking on West Indian habits.

Physicians' early interventions all shared a similar theme- that adjusting to the climate, and adopting native practices was the best way to ensure English health in the colony. The English settlers "had models from the parent society... the peculiarities of new environments made it difficult to transplant traditional norms."¹¹ But rather than shirk traditional norms altogether, and create a new society, they attempted to cling to carefully

⁸ The Bermudas berry was a relative cure-all, and took the form of a dried fruit that was indigenous to the West Indies. Trapham recommended it for general evacuation with a special emphasis on the curing of Green sickness. Thomas Trapham, *Some observations made upon the Bermudas berries, imported from the Indies shewing their admirable virtues in curing the green-sickness / written by a doctor of physick in the country to the Honourable Esquire, Boyle.* (London : [s.n.], 1694)

⁹ Geographic determinism is the theory that cultures and bodies are shaped by the geography they are surrounded by. In the early modern period it was part of medical understandings of the world, and harnessed to explain the difficulties inherent in trafficking bodies to new terrain.

¹⁰ Roxanne Wheeler, *The Complexion of Race: Categories of Difference in Eighteenth-Century British Culture*, (NY: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), 11. Marcy Norton has dealt with this fear in the Spanish context and contends that food was central to this process. "Chocolate" she writes, "cleaved Americanized Spaniards from new Iberian arrivals; the latter notes and often balked at the peculiar habits and tastes of their creolized compatriots, while the former squirmed under the derisive condescension of haughty puninsulares." In Marcy Norton, "Tasting Empire: Chocolate and the European Internalization of Mesoamerican Aesthetics," *American Historical Review* 111, no. 4, (2006): 660.

¹¹ Trevor Burnard, "Inheritance and Independence: Women's Status in Early Colonial Jamaica," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 48, no 1 (1991), 93.

chosen customs, often with negative results. They continued to dress as they did in England despite the compromise to their health, Sloane notes, especially the “better sort”, who only loosened their clothing at night to allow for the circulation of humours. English settlers built their homes as they did in England, made of brick, “which [are] neither cool, nore able to endure the shocks of Earthquakes” despite the existence of Spanish structures that were successful at both.¹² The natural historian notes that “the better sort of people” go so far as to sleep as they do in England- despite the very real threat from ants, bugs and other vermin.¹³ Lastly, and most importantly, the settlers continued to drink and eat as they did in England due to large-scale trade between the metropole, and other English colonies.¹⁴ Whether this refusal to shuck off traditionally English practices was conscious or not is difficult to ascertain given the surviving written record for the era. However historians of later periods, such as the eighteenth century, have discussed the ways in which settlers sought to replicate the culture of the metropole, even if this replication manifested in compromise.

For physicians like Sloane and Trapham food was a way in which health and Englishness itself could be mediated and secured.¹⁵ This paper argues that these doctors’ concerns about food in the colonies were not only about health, but also about defining and maintaining a sense of English identity, a process that led to the demarcation of creolization.¹⁶ Furthermore through the medical understanding and application of foodstuffs English settlers, physicians and travelers were able to articulate the nuanced state of bodily identity in the colony, charting the early divergence between European and Creole.¹⁷ In a

¹² Sloane, *A voyage to the islands Madera, Barbados, Nieves, S. Christophers and Jamaica...*, xlvi.

¹³ *Ibid.*, xxx.

¹⁴ This trade is discussed by virtually every author referenced, and imports came to Jamaica from places such as England, France, Carolina, New England, Newfoundland and even as far as the East Indies.

¹⁵ By the late seventeenth century food and its preparation was a large part of class structure as well as understandings of national identities. See recommended text by Roxanne Wheeler, introduction of *The Complexion of Race: Categories of Difference in Eighteenth-Century British Culture*. (New York: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000).

¹⁶ The demarcation of creolization is the highlighting of systems that enforced difference between European and Creole. While the term Creole is not employed in most cases, the processes are very similar to those described by Marcy Norton for the seventeenth century Spanish empire, and Roxanne Wheeler and Kathleen Wilson for the eighteenth century British empire.

¹⁷ Concepts of acclimatization were consistently implemented to explain the benefits of time spent in these climactically dangerous colonies. Those who spent the most time there presumably became the most acclimatized. Effectively, this meant that those who were born in the region would be more ‘native’. Thus Creole was not a demarcation of class or race, but a way to describe a group of people who were known to have been born in the colony itself. So the blending that has come to denote the use of the word

colony where mortality and home were an obsession, health and familiarity became important concerns. There were many different ways in which these concerns were negotiated including: avoidance of the sun, limiting time spent in the colonies, and purposeful re-seasoning to the metropole; but an extremely significant one was the maintenance of habits through the use and abuse of foodstuffs. Using the lens of travel accounts and physicians' notebooks from late seventeenth-century Jamaica, it is clear that food- its cultivation, its preparation, and its medicinal uses- was seen as pivotal to the survival of the early English colony. While this assertion might seem obvious, survival in this context involved providing something more than just the daily nutritional sustenance required by settlers. In the late seventeenth-century, 'Jamaicans' were not made from newly landed British peoples, they were bodies that had adapted to the climate, the heat, and the food of the land they found themselves surrounded by.¹⁸ In addition, through enforcing behaviors founded on English traditions the beginnings of Creole identity were made much more apparent.

Food is a central focus of the life and culture of all human beings, and the material and symbolic functions it has performed in the lives of historical actors have been the subject of much scholarly attention. In 1961, Fernand Braudel published an article in *Annales* suggesting that historians look at material traces of societies and connect them to social and economic movements.¹⁹ His call to study food was a narrow vision, related mostly to articles of exchange, and analysis of the healthfulness of historical diets. However, later that year, Roland Barthes published an article in the same journal that called upon historians to understand food not just as it relates to economics and nutrition, but also as a "system of communications, a body of images, a protocol of usages, situations and behaviors."²⁰

Creole was not always a blending of peoples, but also a blending of peoples with climate. I would argue that one of the ways in which these people blended with the climate, was through consuming indigenous foods.

¹⁸ 'Jamaican' is a term commonly used by Sloane, and Trapham. For the remainder of this paper the term Jamaican will be used when referring to someone who the physicians identify as being of European origin, but adapted to the island. This is not to be confused with 'Indian' or 'Ancient inhabitant'. It does however share almost all of its properties with the term Creole.

¹⁹ Fernand Braudel, 'Vie materielle et comportement biologiques: bulletin no.1', *Annales: Economies Societies Civilizations*, XVI (1961), 545-549.

²⁰ Roland Barthes, "Towards a Psychology of Contemporary Food Consumption." *Annales: Economies Societies Civilizations*. XVI (1961), 977-86. Translation found in Roland Barthes, "Toward a Psychology

Accordingly food history has emerged as a particularly insightful mode of addressing colonial identity. Building on the work of Barthes and later food studies scholars, a number of authors have addressed how food functions as a marker for identity- be it national, religious or other.²¹ This paper further draws on the work of Judith Farquhar, who has urged us to see eating as a mode in which a national body is formed through the practice of a shared experience.²² However, the national body will be discussed here as a solely discursive incarnation, bound together through written advice from self-styled experts. Historian Anita Guerrini has described the seventeenth-century as a time when “several authors attempted to define, through food, the peculiarities of the English body and how best to maintain its good health.”²³

Despite the work of these scholars, little has been written on this topic in the English colonial context. This expansion is important as colonial Jamaica offered an opportunity for food-minded individuals to study the English body in relation to Indigenous, Creole, as well as many different groups of African bodies. Moreover, the availability or absence of traditional foods shaped the way that many colonial transplants understood their distance from the metropole, and with that distance came a sense of difference. Most notably this sense of difference was articulated through a feeling of freedom, whether self-imagined or imposed, that caused many travelers to reflect closer on what it meant to be English.²⁴ This

of Contemporary Food Consumption”, in *Food and Culture: A Reader*, 2nd edition, ed. Carole Counihan et al. (New York: Routledge, 1997), 29.

²¹ Notably: Paulo Drinot investigated the place of food and race in working class identity in 1930’s Peru in his article “Food, Race and Working-Class Identity: Restaurantes Populares and Populism in 1930s Peru.” *The Americas* 62, no. 2 (2005): 245-270. Aitzpeia Leeizaola discusses how cuisine oriented tourism contributes to the construction of national identities and stereotype in 20th century Basque in “Matching national stereotypes? Eating and drinking in the Basque borderland.” *Anthropological Notebooks* 12, no. 1 (2006), 79–94. For a comprehensive historiography of food studies as specifically related to British colonial identity see “Introduction: On Turtles, Dining and the Importance of History in Food, Food in History,” in *Dining on Turtles: Food, Feasts and Drinking in History*. Ed. Dianne Kirkby et al., 1-12.

²² Judith Farquhar, *Appetites: Food and Sex in Postsocialist China*. (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002), 1-33.

²³ Anita Guerrini, “Roast Beef and ... Salad?” *History Today* 61, iss. 2 (2011): 1. In her work she discusses the multivalent practices found in English eating, refuting the myth that the English uniformly understood their diet as one that revolved around flesh. While most English persons did indeed prefer meat above other dishes, it was a largely gendered and classed set of consumptive practices. Guerrini goes on to describe the different individuals who encouraged vegetarian, and local diets be they scientific, literary, or religious authority figures.

²⁴ Edward Ward is quick to assume that the women who traveled to the colony were doing so to escape social constraints and take advantage of a lack of rule. This is not highlighted by natural historians who emphasized organization through their rhetoric, and so perhaps betrays a broader paranoia surrounding

relates heavily to works by Marcy Norton that discusses how the consumption of chocolate was imbued with overtones of indigeneity, and creolization in the Iberian colonial world.²⁵ Often England's links with chocolate are overlooked, as chocolate is subsumed under the history of coffee, or treated as a remnant of interactions with Spanish colonials. This ignores the first-hand interactions English settlers had with the substance that were framed in numerous ways from commodity, to food and medicine.²⁶

This thesis contributes to the growing literature on "foodways," which is a term employed as a "critical lens to explore trans-cultural, trans-national, and trans-regional mobility, locality, and local embeddedness of foodstuffs."²⁷ By passing judgment on what was or was not suited to the English constitution, early modern physicians were defining the mobilities of food and bodies, based on nativeness to place, and as well as carving out early sites of divergence. These mediations of experience and extraction contributed to the sense of scientific hegemony Londa Schiebinger discusses in *Plants and Empire* and helped to lay the foundation for future phases of settlement, and colonization.

In additions this paper enters into a dialogue with the works of Trevor Burnard who has written extensively on the history of British, colonial Jamaica. In his many works Burnard discusses the inability of European settlers to establish a sustainable white Jamaican culture. He cites high mortality and skewed immigration rates as the main deterrent. However speaking in terms of the time, English settlers were not just dying of malaria and other tropical diseases, as one might assume from a survey of articles written on nineteenth and twentieth century tropical medicine.²⁸ According to British physicians in the colony, they

the role of gender in the colonies, and a tendency to push socially accepted boundaries. For more on this in the Jamaican context see Trevor Burnard, "Inheritance and Independence."

²⁵ Norton. "Tasting Empire", 660. For the purposes of this thesis Indigeneity is the measure of ones nativeness to a place, an overarching process that includes concepts of creolization. For a more detailed discussion of the uses and abuses of definitions of indigeneity see Mathias Guenther, "The Concept of Indigeneity." *Social Anthropology* 14, iss. 1, (2006): 17-32.

²⁶ For a comprehensive study on chocolate as a commodity in Hans Sloane's Jamaica see James Delbourgo, "Sir Hans Sloane's Milk Chocolate and the Whole History of the Cacao", *Social Text* 29, (2011): 71-101.

²⁷ Carolyn De La Pena, "Introduction: Traversing the Local/Global and Food/Culture Divides." *Food and Foodways*, 19, no.1, (2011): 1.

²⁸ Immigration rates in Trevor Burnard, "Inheritance and Independence", 93-144. Also addressed in Trevor Burnard, "European Migration to Jamaica, 1655-1780." *The William and Mary Quarterly* 53, no. 4 (1996), 769-796. Also see Trevor Burnard, "'The COUNTRY Continues Sicklie': White Mortality in Jamaica, 1655-1780." *Social History of Medicine*. Vol. 12, no. 1 (1999), 45-72. Burnard's work on early colonial

were also dying by other means including excess, venery and an inability to let go of their English practices. This led physicians to contest and control the use of many things, chief among them food.

Lastly this thesis looks at a largely understudied period in the history of English Creole identity. The term Creole was not in heavy usage until the eighteenth century, consequently it is often considered to be absent in prior eras. Kathleen Wilson and Roxanne Wheeler have both dealt with English identity in the West Indies during the eighteenth century, a time in which Creole referred to someone of a varied complexion, but born in the region. Wheeler's treatment focuses on the concept of degeneracy, discussing Creole as a potential end state to this process.²⁹ However by focusing on the consumption of food the move from English to Creole becomes a process of its own, chartable through digestibility and medical treatment. For the purposes of this paper, Creole will be defined as the outcome of creolization--a process by which a unique body that was not native of, but well suited to, the tropical locale, in constitution and temperament, emerged.

This paper will largely be addressing the thirty-year period between 1670 and 1700- a period that marked the foundational stages of English colonial practices on the island of Jamaica, and encompassed increasing anxieties over English bodily identity.³⁰ I will analyze and compare the writings of two physicians, and a number of other visitors, with particular attention paid to the satirist Edward Ward. The writings by Dr. Thomas Trapham and Dr. Hans Sloane were chosen as they represent extremes in the process of differentiation between English and Creole. In addition seventeenth-century literature on the colonies is limited, medical advice even more so, but the referenced material by these authors is representative in form and content and was demonstrably popular in its time. All discussed authors were individuals who were concerned about health, and food in the growing colony.

Through the use of natural histories and travel accounts, section one will argue that the desire to continue eating in a familiar English fashion shaped how settlers organized their

Jamaica is extensive, and impressive. This is more of a philosophical divergence than a disagreement. Rather than blame malaria, and mosquitoes I believe we should frame mortality within in the scope of the actors' categories- such as venery, and excess-, which is what I hope to do here.

²⁹ See Roxann Wheeler, *The Complexion of Race: Categories of Difference in eighteenth-century British Culture*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), 1-48.

³⁰Guerrini, "Roast Beef and... Salad?", 2.

own eating habits, from their imagined hierarchy of livestock to their reaction to indigenous foodstuffs. It is imperative to first establish how English settlers ate, before the subtle nuances between English and Creole can be established. Accordingly, section two, “The Tropic of Excess” will outline how medical authorities discussed excess, particularly how this stereotypically English vice manifested in a new, tropical environment. This section will borrow from the casebook of Sir Hans Sloane, and it is in this section that the physicians’ justifications for authority are most apparent. It is also where the political differences between Sloane and Trapham are most sharply manifested, leading to a disagreement over what should be considered proper drinking practices- a disagreement that painted specific drinker with a ‘Jamaican’ brush. Section three will argue that particular goods functioned as diagnostic tools, and investigate how this was predicated on an understanding of a national constitution shared between bodies. The prescription of milk, especially breast milk, or chocolate was a tangible intervention on the part of these physicians in the assignment of divergent indigeneities. Combined, these arguments point to a particular discourse of English identity – one that was rooted in the body and in need of defense in the colony. This identity was contested terrain, and through consumption patterns and medical understanding was differentiated from that of Creole, a process that placed the latter category into sharper relief and contributed to its definition.

The first featured physician is Dr. Thomas Trapham. Under the patronage of “Lord Vaughan, Knight of the most Honourable order of the Bath,” Trapham published his sampled treatise, *A discourse of the state of health in the island of Jamaica...* in 1679 from Port Royal.³¹ Trapham was a vitalist, and represented a largely practical mode of medicine. Trapham had little exposure to medical theory, but decades of experience as a surgeon, both in the army and the navy. The surgeon enjoyed Jamaica so much that he continued his residence until his death in 1692, at the hands of the infamous earthquake.³² The fact that

³¹ Thomas Trapham, *A discourse of the state of health in the island of Jamaica with a provision therefore calculated from the air, the place, and the water, the customs and manner of living &c.* (London: Printed for R. Boulter, 1679), a2.

³² George C. Peachey, “Thomas Trapham-(Cromwell’s Surgeon)- and others.” Section of the History of Medicine. *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine*. 1931 August; 24(10), 1444. Thomas Trapham was a relatively obscure Naval surgeon who is probably best known for being present at Oliver Cromwell’s death, and acted as his surgeon at the battle of Worcester in 1651. He was also embalmer to King Charles I, and made several unsavory remarks about the task of reaffixing the King’s head to his

Trapham wrote, published, and lived in Jamaica indicated that he was speaking from a different vantage point than the other authors who will be discussed. He was not a visitor, but a settler, and so had more to gain from adapting to local customs and foodstuffs.³³ Due to this physicians who visited, but did not practice in Jamaica often referenced his works.

Dr. Hans Sloane spent roughly fifteen months in Jamaica as attending physician to the governor of the island and produced a two-volume account of his trip in the form of a natural history.³⁴ The end product was roughly one thousand pages containing geographic descriptions of the West Indies, a study of the habits of West Indian inhabitants, his medical casebook and sketches of plants and curiosities. While Sloane published the first volume of his book in 1707, the interactions and personal notes the book was based on were compiled over a fifteen-month period from 1687 to 1688. Therefore, despite period between genesis and publication, Sloane's work will be treated as a vestige of 1680s interactions. Sloane's work has been of particular interest to historians because he is one of the few early physicians who treated men and women, both black and white, in England and in the West Indies.³⁵ In addition future abolitionists used his description of slave keeping practices as evidence of cruelty. At the time of their publication though, these volumes served as a looking glass into the strangeness of the West Indies, and an extensive catalogue of new plants and materia medica.

body post-mortem. After this procedure he was described as a "rascally quack surgeon," among several "most inveterate enemies to the very name king." (ibid).

³³ Marcy Norton discusses how distance might change the way new customs and foodstuffs were treated in print, particularly in the case of Pietro Martire d'Anghiera who wrote about the New World from his home in Madrid. Marcy Norton, *Sacred Gifts, Profane Pleasures: A History of Tobacco and Chocolate in the Atlantic World*. (New York: Cornell University Press, 2008), 55-56.

³⁴ Sloane was a well-known collector whose cabinet of curiosities, bequeathed upon his death, formed the foundation of the British Museum. Aside from being a collector, he was a natural historian, a savvy businessman who invested in quinine and other Jamaican goods, Sir Isaac Newton's successor as president of the Royal Society, and physician to Queen Anne, as well as other notable nobles. He was notorious as an individual who was thrilled at the prospect of rubbing elbows with social and financial desirables, and a useful contact in the scientific community of his time.

³⁵ Most notably his natural history has been studied by Kay Dian Kriz, in her article "Curiosities, Commodities, and Transplanted Bodies in Hans Sloane's "Natural History of Jamaica", *The William and Mary Quarterly* 57, no. 1 (2000). Sloane's trip and subsequent economic benefits have been studied by James Delbourgo in "Sir Hans Sloane's Milk Chocolate"; and his medical practice in the colony has been investigated by Wendy Churchill in "Bodily Differences? Gender, Race and Class in Hans Sloane's Jamaican Medical Practice, 1687-1688," *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 60, no 4, 2005. For a complete list of topics related to Sloane, written by these authors, see the bibliography.

Finally this analysis will borrow heavily from a work by Edward Ward. Ward was a well-known satirist who traveled to Jamaica in 1697 and published his short diatribe in 1698, upon his return to London. By the late seventeenth-century the West Indies had become a common destination for interested travelers who were no longer content with just reading about exotic curiosities. These travelers were encouraged to observe and comment on the resources and inhabitants of any country or colony they found themselves in for the good of the colonial project as well as for the amassment of knowledge in an enlightenment sense.³⁶ However Ward was more than just an amateur travel writer, he was a practiced author, with a biting wit whose main objective was to entertain.

To explain the divergent medical stances taken by Trapham and Sloane a few distinctions must be clearly articulated, namely that the two occupied completely different spaces socially, professionally and politically. Sloane was born into a Scott-Ulster family to a father who acted as tax collector for the English government. As such he was well versed in the nuances of English identity and interaction with controlled peoples. Little is known of Trapham's upbringing, although George Peachey ascertained that he was born to John Trapham of Maidstone in Kent.³⁷ He was licensed to practice chirurgery in 1633 by the University of Oxford, and shortly thereafter began his career as a surgeon. It is important to note that in the late seventeenth-century the gulf between physician and surgeon was a substantial one. Typically barber-surgeons were considered to be members of the trade class, while physicians were educated men who had taken university level classes.³⁸ While Trapham was eventually granted an honorary medical degree, his background as a barber-surgeon informed most of his opinions and practices. Conversely Sloane was initially trained as a physician, spending several years in London, Paris and Montpellier before graduating as an MD from the University of Orange in 1683. By 1687, the year of his trip, he was inducted as a fellow into the Royal Society and had attracted the attention of chemist Robert Boyle, naturalist John Ray, and famed physician (as well as mechanist) Thomas Sydenham. Finally,

³⁶ Linda Levy Peck, *Consuming Splendor: Society and Culture in Seventeenth-Century England*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 122-3.

³⁷ Peachy, "Thomas Trapham...", 1441.

³⁸ This system created intense competition in which surgeons were viewed as suspicious usurpers by paranoid physicians who went to great lengths to secure their positions atop the pyramid of the medical marketplace.

on differential politics Sloane was an ardent Royalist who owed much of his fame to the very people to whom he dedicated his publications. Trapham, though, was not a royalist- as evidenced by his noted support of Oliver Cromwell, which was confirmed through his role as surgeon in the New Model Army.

Given their dissident politic, social and professional histories and the differing tone with which they wrote their accounts of Jamaica, it is reasonable to assume their definitions of English might not be congruous. Indeed a reading of their natural histories betrays that categories were largely individualist and fluctuated depending on the author. This resulted in a marked change over the thirty year period, in what was understood as acceptable English practices, and what was understood as marking of Creole. As Leizaola has argued, food and drink choices construct national boundaries. I would also contend that food and drink recommendations can blur national boundaries in the face of colonial expansion, while creating social divides within the colony itself.³⁹

³⁹ The term a recommendation refers to medical prescription and authoritarian suggestions of what is palatable, what is healthy and what is not, based on the writings of Sloane and Trapham.

“An Excellent Breakfast for a Salamander”: Eating English in Jamaica

In a 1698 publication, author Edward Ward characterized Jamaica and its people as a “swe[a]ting Chaos.”⁴⁰ He journeys to the island after reflecting on his own constitution and finding that a “warm latitude” would most agree he set off for “that blessed paradise Jamaica, where gold is more plentiful than ice.”⁴¹ However, upon pulling out of port in preparation for his voyage Ward finds himself lamenting the loss of his country. He writes:

...Something there is that touches near,
I scarce can bid adieu;
'Tis all my Hope, my Care, my Fear,
And all that I pursue:
'Tis what I love, yet I Fly,
But what I dare not, must not Name.
Angel Protect the sacred Frame,
'Till I to England, shall return or die.⁴²

Ward's publication, simply entitled *A Trip to Jamaica* was an attempt to capitalize on popular travel narratives in a humorous way.⁴³ However, even in an article of bawdy satire the harsher sentiments of travel and separation are apparent. Ward is a writer; his purpose for travel is to document his experience and share it with his readership in London. But he is

⁴⁰ Ward, *Trip to Jamaica*, 4.

⁴¹ Ward, *Trip to Jamaica*, 7.

⁴² Ward, *Trip to Jamaica*, 4. This quotation is of particular interest because it illustrates the feeling of being separated from England, a feeling that I envision effected the decision to continue eating in particular ways despite the fact that physicians advised against it. More colloquially, I imagine that eating familiar food lessened the distance from the metropole on an emotional level.

⁴³ His later publications would be identified as being written by the same man who wrote “a Trip to Jamaica”, demonstrating the popularity of this particular piece in his body of work that included poems, discourses and diatribes.

just one traveler among many, all of whom are saying their ‘adieu’ to England in their own fashion.⁴⁴

Traveling to Jamaica for many Britons was “a momentous event, a decisive divide between the familiar and the unknown...”⁴⁵ It was an extension of England but only insofar as an English citizen could travel there quite freely in the hopes of creating a sustained colony. The “Caribbean represented the extreme of colonial existence, where the greatest fortunes were made and life’s lottery was most capricious.”⁴⁶ Moreover Jamaica represented the extreme of the West Indian experience, as well as being one of the most dangerous of the habitable islands. In response to this sense of alienation and foreignness, English transplants sought to replicate the aspects of their native existences that they found most comforting. They wore traditionally English clothing until the heat became too much, retained their ties with family in the metropole, and continued to eat as they did in England as best they could.⁴⁷ This experience was split along lines of class, where the wealthy could afford to maintain particular customs while the servants, workers and slaves were forced, to a greater degree, to adapt to the indigenous landscape of Jamaica and forage sustenance from its fruits. What resulted was a multi-tiered diet that enforced social difference, that when read through a medical lens became a bodily difference. This will be illustrated through the differing description of consumption in the sources, that painted a picture of wealthy travelers eating in an English fashion, while others adapted to the tropical environment. This runs counter to Anne Wilson’s assertion that “new foodstuffs were accepted most readily by the wealthy, for the sake of their novelty and interest,” but in a way supports that they were taken up by “those who had traveled and had already encountered them elsewhere.”⁴⁸

⁴⁴ Ward keeps an interesting catalogue of his fellow passengers, spending a good deal of time discussing more than one woman who is voyaging to Jamaica to reclaim her husband who was lost to a Creole mistress. Other passengers include fortune hunters, laborers and widows.

⁴⁵ Burnard, “Inheritance and Independence...”, 93.

⁴⁶ Burnard, “Inheritance and Independence...”, 90.

⁴⁷ The food trade from Britain to the West Indies was extensive. R.N. Salaman has noted that in 1783 Britain sent 16,576 tons of salt pork and beef, 5,188 fitches of bacon, and 2,559 tons of tripe to the West Indies, notably Jamaica, and that in Brazil the slaves lived on tons of cod from Newfoundland and tons of dried meat brought in from the south. This suggests that the import patterns for food did not experience a great revolution between the end of the seventeenth and the end of the eighteenth centuries. For more on this see Salaman, R.N. *The history and social influence of the potato*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1949).

⁴⁸ Anne C. Wilson, *Food & Drink in Britain: from the Stone Age to recent times*, (London: Constable and Company Ltd., 1973), 14. Of course, this argument was made about those classes in England

For those suffering from English nostalgia and homesickness in Jamaica, food came to represent the familiar, not just on an emotional, or intellectual level, but also often on a bodily level.⁴⁹ Physicians and laymen alike insisted that the English body required English food. For example, in the sixteenth-century, mystic Thomas Tryon claimed that West Indian ingredients engendered disease in the English body through the creation of excess blood.⁵⁰ So the threat of ill health was compounded with a thirst for home, discouraging people from fully accepting the fruits of their new terrain.

As such, British imports were a prized commodity, as were imports from England's North American colonies, but imports were not shared equally among the different groups of the island. One traveler noted that "the Meat of the Inhabitants of Jamaica, is generally such as is in England, as Beef, Pork, and Fish salted and preserved, and sent from hence and Ireland, Flour, Pease, Salted Mackerels" from New England.⁵¹ The wealthy inhabitants and masters of plantations generally enjoyed these imported meats, however masters were required to share with their servants, "both whites and blacks...three pounds salt-beef, pork, or fish every week."⁵² More often than not, the black servants were given the less desired ration of salted fish, which they reportedly coveted "extreamly" for pepper-pots.⁵³ According to the satirical Ward "its an excellent Breakfast for a Salamander, or a good preparative for a Mountebanks Agent, who Eats fire one day, that he may get better Victuals the next."⁵⁴

Like traditionally English meats, many of the ingredients for traditionally English breads needed to be imported. Flour from New York was "counted the best" but along with

demonstrating the importance of place in food choices. In the colonies, familiar foods were alluring and a sign of wealth, as opposed to the metropole, where exotic foods were put at the centre of socializing practices of the elite. See Kirky et. al. *Dining on Turtle...*, 1-12.

⁴⁹ For an exploration of the relation between Homesickness and food see work by Susan J. Matt, including the article "A Hunger for Home: Homesickness and Food in a Global Consumer Society" *The Journal of American Culture* 30, no.1, (2007). It is apparent when reading literature from the mid seventeenth century, to the late eighteenth century that most travelers lamented the loss of English tasting cuisine.

⁵⁰Guerrini, "Roast beef...", 2.

⁵¹ Sloane, *A voyage to the islands Madera, Barbados, Nieves, S. Christophers and Jamaica...*, xv.

⁵² Ibid, xv.

⁵³ Ibid, xviii. Pepperpot is a spicy stewed meat dish that can still be commonly found in the Caribbean. Typically it is spiced with cinnamon and a sauce made from cassava root, and is made with pork or beef. However as these meats would have been more difficult to come by it was usually made with salted fish in the late seventeenth century.

⁵⁴Ward, *Trip to Jamaica*, 15.

other flours and biscuits it was “subject to be spoiled with Weevils or small scarabei, if long kept.”⁵⁵ The price and rarity of flour meant that most inhabitants were required to make a bread-like equivalent out of powdered cassava, or substitute bread for yams.⁵⁶ These substitutes were judged to be adequate, but not ideal by British travelers to Jamaica.⁵⁷ In fact in 1673, Richard Ligon wrote “bread... is accounted the staff, or main supporter of mans life,” and “has not [in the West Indies] that full taste that it has in England.”⁵⁸

The reason bread and meat garnered a focus in these treatises is that both articles were of great importance to the English diet on physical, and on a symbolic level.⁵⁹ While bread provided a valuable portion of daily sustenance, it was also a symbol that the lower classes organized around.⁶⁰ In times of famine bread was often the easiest thing to make, as several different grains could be ground down and baked into a loaf. Even before English subjects found themselves spread across the globe, serfs and servants alike had grown used to breads made from poor ingredients, the most notable example being black bread. This flat, dark bread was made from rye grain and had served as a staple in many English households throughout the Middle Ages and up to the seventeenth-century, and closer resembled the bread settlers in Jamaica would have survived off of.⁶¹ Consequently those of a lower status were quicker to adapt to Jamaican substitutes, even if it represented a large shift from the symbolic English ideal.

Meat existed on the opposite end of the spectrum in the English diet, and was celebrated as a symbol of wealth and means of differentiation from other European peoples.⁶²

⁵⁵ Sloane, *A voyage to the islands Madera, Barbados, Nieves, S. Christophers and Jamaica....*, xix.

⁵⁶ This is a root, somewhat similar to yams.

⁵⁷ While a group ably identified as British did not exist until after 1707, Hans Sloane identified himself as English, despite his Scotch Ulster roots. For this reason the term British is used in this instance.

⁵⁸ Richard Ligon, *A True & Exact History of the Island of Barbados*, (London: Printed for Humphrey Moseley, 1657), 29. Ligon goes to great efforts to assure his readers that many English staples, including brisket and alcohols, are readily available on the island of Barbados.

⁵⁹ Claude Fischler, “Food, Self and Identity.” *Social Science Information* 27, no. 2, 1988: 275. And Peter Scholliers, ed., *Food, Drink and Identity: Cooking, Eating and Drinking in Europe since the Middle Ages*. (New York: Berg Press, 2001), 5. To understand the importance of this reaction to food substitutes taste is useful, but perhaps not the best lens. While taste, texture and personal preference are important this paper borrows from the claim that food also functions as a symbolic representation of identity

⁶⁰ Massimo Montanari, *The Culture of Food*, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1994), 107.

⁶¹ Montanari, *The Culture of Food*, 106.

⁶² In *The Animal Estate*, Harriet Ritvo explains, “according to popular belief, it was the consumption of red meat that distinguished brave and brawny English soldiers from puny, sniveling Frenchmen. Harriet Ritvo, *The Animal Estate: The English and Other Creatures in the Victorian Age*. (New York: Harvard

As early as the sixth century, meat eating “took a central role in the Anglo-Saxon and German aristocracy” and differentiated future English populations from Greco-Roman peoples who emphasized moderation and diets consisting mostly of vegetables.⁶³ While this symbolic, and often times literal, importance did not go unquestioned, it remained entrenched in English discourse until at least the end of the Elizabethan period.⁶⁴

For fiscal and logistical reasons settlers could not live on imports alone, and so they turned to the land. Finding a fresh supply of meat was of the utmost importance in Jamaica, as colonists could not keep “beef past some few days, and that salted, otherwise in three or four hours ‘tis ready to corrupt.”⁶⁵ This led to mass imports, as well as the development of a culture of subsistence farming and meat production in which people of every social and racial category kept animals for the purpose of slaughter. In these circumstances, swine began to upset cattle’s privileged position in the English settler’s diet.⁶⁶ All that was required to own swine was a tract of unpopulated land and enough scraps to tide the animals over in the drier seasons. Consequently, almost everyone on the island owned a pig or two. In his history of Jamaica, Dr. Hans Sloane paints a multi-layered, noisy existence in which, “the swine come home every night in the several hundred from feeding on the wild fruits in the neighbouring woods, on the third sound of the conch-shell.”⁶⁷ The swine are kept by “some Whites, Indians or Blacks” and “seem to be as much, if not more, under Command and Discipline, than any troops [he] ever saw.”⁶⁸

Swine were not the only animals kept by the people of the island. There were also kept “turkeys, which... much exceed the European,” as well as “hens, ducks, [and] Muscovy ducks.” The Muscovy ducks were the “most plentiful, and thrive extreamly, they coming

University Press, 1989), 49. She references several other works with this statement including Roy Porter, *English Society in the Eighteenth Century*. (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin, 1982.), 381.

⁶³ Colin Spencer, *British food: an Extraordinary Thousand Years of History*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), 23.

⁶⁴ Anita Guerrini, “Roast Beef and... Salad?”, 2-4. Guerrini’s analysis of seventeenth century cookbooks shows that the consumption of meat was heavily biased by class. While meat eating represented the English in general, actual excessive meat eating was more often than not reserved for the nobility.

⁶⁵ Sloane, *A voyage to the islands Madera, Barbados, Nieves, S. Christophers and Jamaica...*, xv.

⁶⁶ Ward notes that “in England you may nurse four children than you can one calf in Jamaica.”, 14. This demonstrates just how costly it was to keep cattle on the island, while also informing his readers on the ease of finding a wet nurse.

⁶⁷ Sloane, *A voyage to the islands Madera, Barbados, Nieves, S. Christophers and Jamaica...*, xvii.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, xvii. His use of the word ‘troops’ is interesting and conjured the idea of Empire, even if that was not his intention.

originally from *Guinea*”, which would have comparable weather and geography in the eyes of the European transplant.⁶⁹ The birds were fed on “Indian or Guinea corn, and ants nests brought from the woods, which these fowls pick up and destroy mightily.”⁷⁰ Given that the Spanish had earlier been turned away from their Jamaican colony by harsh conditions –the prevalence of ants chief among them – the birds represent a fascinating position in English settlement in Jamaica. They were not only imported livestock, but also an important protective component in continued occupation.

While the raising of swine became an intrinsic part of the English-Jamaican diet, there was still a perceived hierarchy of meat supplies, with imported livestock and dried meats at the top, followed by rare cattle, then swine, with turtle meat planted firmly at the bottom. Turtle meat, according to Sloane, was mostly consumed by “the poorer sort of the island” out of necessity.⁷¹ The birds occasioned by Imperial trade- such as the Muscovy duck- were the most sought after, whereas the native fauna of the island became the food of the lower classes. This organization, though not surprising, demonstrates the way in which ideas of empire became entangled with the concept of traditional English practices, shaping values in Jamaica as a colony.

Ward had the fortune (or misfortune) of sampling turtle on his short trip to Jamaica and had only criticisms for the dish:

“The chieftest of their Provisions is *Sea Turtle*, or *Toad in a shell*, Stew'd in its own Gravy; its Lean is as White as a Green-sickness Girl, its Fat of a Calves-turd Colour; and is excellently good to put a stranger into a Flux, and purge out part of those in Humours it infallibly creates.”⁷²

⁶⁹ Ibid., xvii.

⁷⁰ Ibid., xvii.

⁷¹ Ibid., xvii

⁷² Ward, *Trip to Jamaica*, 14. The use of the term stranger is common in early modern English writings when differentiating between English and foreign. Charlotte McBride has written that stranger is “an emotive classification that excludes any notion of cooperation or familiarity and rejects any possibility of beneficial interchange, whether economic or cultural.” Charlotte McBride, “National Stereotyping in Early Modern culture” in a *Pleasing Sinne: Drink and Conviviality in Seventeenth-Century England*. Ed. Adam Smyth. P. 184.

This glib criticism explodes with visuals that firmly place Jamaica in the realm of illness and enforce a dichotomy between stranger and native, Englishman and Jamaican.⁷³ For Sloane, the turtle represented the servant and slave classes, and for Ward it represented a way to understand shifting indigeneity in a visceral sense. The line between English settler and Creole was a fine one, and what these separate groups readily consumed was one of the ways in which difference were understood and marked.⁷⁴

Trapham declared that turtle meat was an easy source of nutrition and compared it favourably to traditionally English meats such as pork, venison, or beef.⁷⁵ In the same breath he could not resist anthropomorphizing the creatures, insisting that he could “not yet leave the Turtle, till [he] further remark [the turtle’s] neer approximation to reason, as well as [its] prodigious fullness of vital energy, both evidently insinuated by the signal property of weeping.”⁷⁶ In a scene of great discord, Trapham describes a female turtle trapped on her back, “(for that posture is their prison) fetching deep melting sighs, and profusely emitting tears from her languishing eyes, literally fulfilling *the creation groans for the hoped for liberty*.”⁷⁷ Traveler Thomas Amy relates a similar scene and assures his readers that the sight “raises in Strangers both Pity and Compassion.”⁷⁸ But for Trapham, as a Vitalist, this very sight indicates the quality of turtle flesh.⁷⁹

One of Trapham’s few published supporters on this front was Thomas Amy. Amy was an English traveler charged with the task of collecting information on the English colony

⁷³ Ward clearly places himself in the role of stranger, refuting the possibility that an individual could be a Jamaican and an English man.

⁷⁴ This was one of the ways in which Creole also took on class connotations.

⁷⁵ Trapham, *Discourse on the State of Health*, 58.

⁷⁶ Trapham, *Discourse on the State of Health*, 62.

⁷⁷ Trapham, *Discourse on the State of Health*, 63.

⁷⁸ Thomas Amy, *Carolina, or, A description of the present state of that country and the natural excellencies thereof viz. the healthfulness of the air, pleasantness of the place, advantage and usefulness of those rich commodities there plentifully abounding, which much encrease and flourish by the industry of the planters that daily enlarge that colony*. (London: published by T.A., Gent, 1682), 31. In the same passage Amy goes on to inform his readers that, “Compleatly six hours after the Butcher has cut them up and into pieces, mangled their Bodies, I have seen the Callope [stomach meat] when going to be seasoned, with pieces of their Flesh ready to cut into Stakes, vehemently contract with great Reluctancy rise against the Knife, and sometimes the whole Mass of Flesh in a visible Tremulation and Concussion, to him who first sees it seems strange and admirable.” Whether this is true or not, it betrays the belief that men like Trapham and Amy had in the vitality of the animal’s flesh.

⁷⁹ Vitalism is a framework that posits “the natural activities of the body are directed by a special force, one that is unique to living beings and that permits them to go on living.” Definition found in F. Gonzales-Crussi, *A Short History of Medicine*. (New York: Modern Library Press, 2007), 51.

of Carolina. He commented on the pervasiveness of the turtle slaughter, noting that “*Turtle, Barrel'd and Salted, if well condition'd,*” could be “worth from 18 to 25 shillings the Barrel.”⁸⁰ And that, “the Belly, which they call the *Callope* of the Turtle, pepper'd and salted, or roasted and baked, is an excellent Dish, much esteemed by our Nation in the *West Indies*: the rest of the Flesh boil'd, makes as good and nourishing Broath, as the best Capon in *England*, especially if some of the *Eggs* are mixt with it...”⁸¹ In almost every instance that an English traveler commented on the food of the West Indies, it was to compare it to traditional English fare. Therefore, what stands out in Amy’s prose is the possessiveness with which he refers to the West Indies. There are several instances in which he lays claim to the West Indies, or even the West Indians, on behalf of England at large.

What is clear from these treatises is that settlers and travelers contested the value of turtle meat. By insisting that the English body benefited from the consumption of turtle flesh, and laying claim to the West Indies as ‘our nation,’ both Amy and Trapham are creating a discourse in which West Indian foods could enter the realm of English fare. Conversely Sloane and Ward viewed turtle meat as a delineating substance. It was food for the lower masses, or for the decidedly non-English. Amy and Trapham were both settlers, English men who had carved out lives in the colonies, whether it was in Carolina or the West Indies. Consequently they were interacting with these foods in a permanent way that Sloane and Ward could not, and did not claim.

By establishing the ideal English diet, the subtle alterations in the colonial context are put into sharper relief. Much ado was made about the island inhabitants’ ability to continue eating English, even if the reality did not suit the discourse. The ability to continue eating in an English fashion was split along lines of status, or class, a divide that

⁸⁰ Thomas Amy, *A description of the present state...*, 29.

⁸¹ Thomas Amy, *A description of the present state...*, 30.

“Our Bodies Do Crave a Little More”: The Tropic of Excess

Excess is a fluid term, both useful and contentious because of its fluidity. However, it can be argued that excess becomes an issue when one in a position of authority defines and situates it as such. Consequently, excess became a medical concern when physicians like Sloane and Trapham began factoring it into their diagnoses of diseases and ailments and it became a cultural concern when men like Amy and Ward used it to assign meaning and value to a place.⁸² So for Sloane and Trapham excess was defined as extreme consumption resulting in medical ramifications. Historically excess was a vice “on which both the Germanic and Celtic peoples prided themselves” that “continued to characterize both their habits and their cultural identity” for centuries.⁸³ Indeed, in the seventeenth-century, English families “drank about 3 litres a day per person” of wine and ale.⁸⁴ Moreover, excess in drink and food were irrevocably entwined to the point that people assumed one came with the other.⁸⁵ Often this excess was viewed in a celebratory manner and functioned as a test for virility and masculinity. Other times excess was a synonym for danger, especially when coupled with a tropical environment. The framing of excess in the works of Trapham and Sloane demonstrate the multivalent stances available to authors who discussed excess in a colonial context. More than that excess emerged as a lens through which Trapham and Sloane could define what was acceptable for English drinkers, and how this differed from the ‘Jamaican’ drinker. In the same grain it was utilized as a familiar category of analysis for unfamiliar foods, allowing physicians to express concern over Jamaican goods in a legitimate fashion.

Excess in the seventeenth century was a contradictory category, lamented and embraced as an English characteristic, while simultaneously being relegated to the foreign. Physicians in general, and Trapham and Sloane in particular, were skeptical of this

⁸² For a detailed analysis of the concept of excess and its place in Early Modern English culture see Joshua Scodel, *Excess and the Mean in Early Modern English Literature*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002) For a deeper understanding of attitudes toward liquor in early modern England see: *A pleasing sinne: drink and conviviality in seventeenth-century England*. Ed. Adam Smyth. (Suffolk: D.S. Brewer, 2004).

⁸³ Montanari, *The Culture of Food*, 111.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 121.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 11.

celebration of excess. Likewise, many writers – including the famed poet George Gascoigne- saw drunkenness as a foreign blight, an invasive behavior that was not an inherent trait of the English people.⁸⁶ James Nicholls has argued that in the seventeenth-century petitions against drunkenness were framed in terms of national identity.⁸⁷ Similarly McBride has noted that, “the early seventeenth century saw a steady rise in the publication of treatises and pamphlets excoriating drunkenness,” that framed drunkenness as a vice of the Protestant ruling class and cast the individual as a “threat to the social fabric of the nation.”⁸⁸ These two examples of the scholarship when read together demonstrate that despite its long history in British territories, remained a contradictory category.

Nevertheless, a similar set of arguments was leveled against the English transplants in Jamaica. But rather than arguing that excess was not an inherently English trait, linked to the nationally defined body, physicians and writers argued that it was something tied to the very geography of the tropics, which needed to be tamed if English bodies were going to survive in their new tropical setting.⁸⁹ By settling in a foreign territory, English people were able to deflect the cause of their common vice, eliminating the question of whether or not it was an inherent trait for the physicians tasked with ensuring English health in the colonies. This was not the first time the English had harnessed similar arguments for this very purpose. Ironically, author William Harrison would use the same argument to defend excess in England, stating that, “The situation of our region, lying near unto the north, doth cause the heat of our stomachs to be of somewhat greater force; therefore our bodies do crave a little more ample nourishment than the inhabitants of the hotter regions are accustomed...”⁹⁰ In seventeenth-century bodily discourse the geography of their place of origin shaped the very way in which their bodies digested and the scale of their consumption. Consequently, moving English bodies to a warmer climate changed the definition of what was excessive, and what was necessary.

Throughout Britain’s colonial occupation of the island, Jamaica was envisioned as a

⁸⁶ James Nicholls, “Drink: The British Disease?” *History Today* 60, iss, 1., 3.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 3.

⁸⁸ Charlotte McBride, “A Natural Drink for an English Man: National Stereotyping in Early Modern Culture”. In *A Pleasing Sinne...*ed. Smyth, 185.

⁸⁹ In this context geography is both the topography, but also refers to the way in which topography interacted with the humoural balance, and effected constitutions.

⁹⁰ Quote from William Harrison found in “Introduction” to *A Pleasing Sinne ...*, xviii.

land of surplus and intemperance where virtuous adventurers were turned into lecherous fortune hunters. Londoners were bombarded with images of pirates and privateers, or bawdy women who made their way to Jamaica to obtain relative social freedom.⁹¹ They would have been familiar with figures like “the Renowned *John Davis a Jamaican* born... that had suckt in Piracy with his Mothers Milk.”⁹² Ward contends of the English settlers that “They regard nothing but Money,... not how they got it, there being no other Felicity to be enjoy'd but purely Riches”⁹³ Moreover, “A Broken *Apothecary* will make there a Topping *Physician*; a *Barbers Prentice*, a good *Surgeon*; a *Bailiffs Follower*, a passable *Lawyer*, and an *English Knave*, a very *Honest Fellow*.” Not to be misunderstood, he finishes his pained criticism of Jamaica by assuring his readers that “the Town of *Port Royal* is the very *Sodom* of the Universe.”⁹⁴ In the English imagination life expectancy was shorter in Jamaica was quicker and the quality of life was rougher than in England, and the mortality rates demonstrated this. According to Trapham, at the end of the seventeenth century as many as four or five men died for every “one of the other sex”.⁹⁵

As for the cause of Trapham’s high male mortality rates, a life of venery was often considered the likeliest culprit.⁹⁶ Venery represented a number of behaviors ranging from

⁹¹ Or, more accurately, they would be familiar with tales of women who would “have been Scandalous in England to the utmost degree, either Transported by the State, or led by their Vicious Inclinations, where they may be Wicked without Shame, and Whore on without Punishment.” Found in Ward, *Trip to Jamaica*, 4.

⁹² A. O. Exquemelin, *The history of the bucaniers being an impartial relation of all the battels, sieges, and other most eminent assaults committed for several years upon the coasts of the West-Indies by the pirates of Jamaica and Tortuga, both English & other nations : more especially the unparallel'd atchievements of Sir H.M... / made English from the Dutch copy ; written by J. Esquemeling, one of the bucaniers ; very much corrected from the errors of the original by the relations of some English gentlemen that then resided in those parts.* (London: Press Unknown, 1684), 10.

⁹³Ward, *Trip to Jamaica*, 15.

⁹⁴ Ibid., 15.

⁹⁵ Trapham, *Discourse on the State of Health*, 55. Trevor Burnard assert that death rates actually fluctuated between one and a half to two and a half male deaths for every female death until 1700, and males routinely outnumbered females in the colony by as many as three and a half to one. The fact that Trapham’s estimation is so far from the figures drawn from parish registries could the parish registries into question or it could indicates a general sense of paranoia surrounding the health of English transplants to Jamaica in the 1680s. Given the evidence, the latter is more than probable. See Trevor Burnard, “Inheritance and Independence”, 98. It also suggests strongly that this paranoia was highly gendered. In the same sense, concern over the maintenance of English tradition and ideals was often read alongside tales of women who were heartily out of control.

⁹⁶ It is clear in Sloane’s casebook those male patients that he treated often found themselves in ill health because of their eating and drinking habits. Unlike their male counterparts, the women he treated were

sexual activity to gluttony, but the one factor unifying these behaviors was the concept of inappropriate excess. A quick perusal of Sir Hans Sloane's casebook reveals several characters who compounded their illnesses through drinking alone, such as Captain Nowel, who drank so heavily all he could imbibe was the milk of women, or "Mr. Anthony Gamble, aged about forty five, a Cook, given to Drink" who was injured by a cannon bullet to the stomach and was cured of his pain, but "Drinking very hard, some time after, he fell into the Hemorrhoids with intolerable pain."⁹⁷ Among his other patients he makes mention of an unnamed "Gentleman, aged about Forty of a Sanguine Complexion, much given to Drinking and Venery," who "fell ill of the Gout."⁹⁸ As well as a young man named Wellington who was afflicted with the pox and drank wine "to such excess that he made himself Mad."⁹⁹ By embracing venery as the likeliest cause for almost any illness, physicians were creating a discourse in which their words carried more weight. As both Trapham and Sloane argued, if the settlers adhered to their advice, the dangers of the colony could be circumvented.

According to Trapham the reason for the high male mortality rate in Jamaica was a lack of moderation. The reason "is not very obscure," he writes:

"for whoso spends two hundred pounds in one place, as oft as in another he could one single hundred, must as soon again be bankrupt, which is much the state of the aforementioned case: wherefore let our moderation be known herin [sic] by prolonging our lives through alteration of customs to a suitable adjustment of Nature and Place."¹⁰⁰

Essentially, Trapham's words are reminding his English readers that excess, while already a problematic but common vice, is compounded by Jamaica's geography and that moderation is the key to survival.

often considered to be ill due to reproductive quirks, or a natural imbalance of their humours occasioned by their gender.

⁹⁷ Sloane, *A voyage to the islands Madera, Barbados, Nieves, S. Christophers and Jamaica...*, xcii.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, xciii.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, cxxviii.

¹⁰⁰ Trapham, *A Discourse on the State of Health...*, 55.

Drinking was typically thought of as a form of male sociability, the abuse of which was by extension also typically a masculine practice. No where is this more evident than in Sloane's treatment of "Two person who drank a large quantity of Wine." He first introduces his readers to a Mr. F-, a man of "Twenty four, extremely Corpulent and Fat," who was known to "eat heartily, and drink very hard without any great prejudice." This was until one evening when "he made a Challenge to another, who thought himself able to bear more drink than he, desiring him before the present Company to come to a fair tryal in that matter."¹⁰¹ Over the course of the competition they drank seven quarts of alcohol and Madeira wine, causing both men to vomit, and Mr. F- to fall into a stupor that took days to recover from. While Mr. F- won the competition (out drinking his adversary by three pints) Sloane notes that both men died in England during the intern between their treatment and his publication, and that they had "shortened their lives by such Actions."¹⁰²

Sloane thought that moderation was the key to avoiding alcohol related illness, while Trapham also recommended that English Jamaicans execute caution when choosing *where* to get their liquor. If English men were apt to drink, as he thought they should, Trapham suggested that they obtain wine from Madeira, and cut it with water.¹⁰³ In his view, the problem was not necessarily one of excess, but an issue of the quality of imported wines. "Canaries and sacks, for these," he writes of imported French wines, "more especially the balderdashed Clarrets, the covetous Brewers and Corrupters thereof seldome send them without having one part thereof burnt to serve the funerals of those they have killed."¹⁰⁴ Moreover, Madeira wines were "complying with the place they were designed for."¹⁰⁵ That is to say that wines designed and aged in Europe were suited to be drunk in Europe, while wines that were designed and aged in a location that matched the climate of the West Indies were inherently suited to the "Jamaica drinker."¹⁰⁶ While Trapham does not use the term

¹⁰¹ Sloane, *A voyage to the islands Madera, Barbados, Nieves, S. Christophers and Jamaica.*, cxvii.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, cxviii. Perhaps encouraged by his experiences in Jamaica, in the early eighteenth-century Sloane lent his support to a London based temperance movement that sought to limit the availability of alcohol among the poor

¹⁰³ Incidentally Trapham appears to a large purveyor of Madera wines, perhaps following in the footsteps of Oliver Cromwell, at one time his patient and a notorious drunk. Adam Smyth, *A Pleasing Sinne*, xxii.

¹⁰⁴ Thomas Trapham, *A Discourse on the State of Health*, 54.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 54.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 54. This is how Trapham referred to the non-indigenous inhabitants of Jamaica in the 1670s, a political label that ascribed placement, but not identity.

Creole this is one example, of several, in which the term Jamaican indicates an adapted English body.

As for the drinking of West Indian wines, Sloane disagreed vehemently. As a royalist Sloane was attracted to particular wines, that embodied particular political meanings.¹⁰⁷ “Canary, ... sack, [and] claret,” in particular were highlighted as politicized alcohols – the very kind of wines that Trapham is warning newcomers against imbibing.¹⁰⁸ As the seventeenth-century progressed in England, the politicized lines of drink moved from royalist versus antiroyalist to Whig versus Tory but vestiges of the old order remained.¹⁰⁹ Sloane was skeptical of wines that were not traditionally drunk in England and, as such, often blamed consumption of Madeira wine rather than excess for the illness of his patients.¹¹⁰

There are several examples of this in Sloane’s casebook, the prime example a patient he refers to simply as Mr. B. “Aged about Forty, of a Sanguine Complexion,” Mr. B was advised to avoid drink and meat alike.¹¹¹ Unlike most of Sloane’s patients, he complied and was cured for the duration of his diet. However, weariness overtook him and he turned to wine for comfort – “Madera-Wine and water” to be exact.¹¹² According to his casebook this behavior continued, almost reaching the level of excess, and Sloane was unsurprised when the man succumbed to his disease upon his return to England. Then there is Mr. Lane. This patient, in need of attention due to a fever, was only twenty-five and experiencing a quick progression of symptoms, as well as a very harsh relapse. Upon further prodding the physician learned that Mr. Lane had been consuming “White Madera-Wine contrary to

¹⁰⁷ A class in which Sloane was raised and found himself by choice in his later life.

¹⁰⁸ Angela McShane Jones, “The Politicization of Drink and Drunkenness in Political Broadside Ballads.” *In A Pleasing Sinne- Drink and Conviviality in seventeenth-century England*. Ed. Smyth., 73.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 77. Historian Angela McShane Jones has investigated drinking culture surrounding political ballads of the late seventeenth century and has found that wine occupied a privileged place in the social lives of royalists.

¹¹⁰ Whether it was the wine, or Sloane’s medical advice that was actually the culprit is inconsequential. Several authors, including his two cited biographers have made a point of casting Sloane as a mediocre physician. However the fact remains that his opinion was trusted enough to earn him numerous correspondences with other physicians, and a place treating members of the royal family. What is really of interest to this author is how Sloane himself understood the failings of seventeenth-century medicine, and poor patient compliance and the popularity of excess were two ways in which he framed it.

¹¹¹ Sloane, *A voyage to the islands Madera, Barbados, Nieves, S. Christophers and Jamaica...*, xcv. Oddly enough this is the exact mode of Consumption that Trapham recommends. It is possible that Mr. B. had either been Trapham’s patient, or was familiar with his school of thought.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, xcv.

direction.”¹¹³ Mr. Lane’s case is subsumed under the heading “Of one in great danger from drinking Wine in a Fever,” a category that could have encompassed a number of Sloane’s patients, but one that he reserves for the consumption of a West-Indian product.¹¹⁴

As always with drinking culture, it is important to take class into account, but in this case its primary importance is in how this effected the distribution and availability of imported wines.¹¹⁵ Said distribution and availability would act as a delineator for who could continue to drink like an English man. According to Ward, all forms of drinking would lighten the purse, but while, “Madera Wine and Bottle-Beer are Fifteen pence the Bottle; nasty claret, half a Crown... their best Canary [is] Ten Bits, or Six and Three Pence.”¹¹⁶ The most expensive and the one imported from the greatest distance were considered the most desirable to the class that continued consuming in the English.¹¹⁷ Unlike Sloane, who appears to be siding with Clarets because of their political connotation, Ward is referencing what is popular in England. Obviously what was popular in England– the Claret and Canary– was transported to Jamaica so the transplants could continue to drink like the English, even if it was at a price.

Of course, drink was not the only way in which people could participate in intemperance. Along with excess drinking came excess feasting. The kind most discussed by Sloane and Trapham is the consumption of too much flesh. Montanari, among others, has identified meat as a symbol of privilege and status.¹¹⁸ As such, physicians and religious authorities often attacked meat for spreading physical and moral degradation.¹¹⁹ It was not particularly easy to access in late seventeenth century Jamaica, but those in an ill state were cautioned against the forms that were available. It is possible that although it was flesh that Sloane was prescribing against, flesh represented more than just meat, signifying a form of diet that was innately excessive. The idea of extensive meat consumption and celebrations

¹¹³ Ibid., xcvi.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., xcvi.

¹¹⁵ For a discussion of the shifting understandings of class and drinking establishments see Michelle O’Callaghan, “Tavern Societies, the Inns of Court, and the Culture of Conviviality.” In *A Pleasing Sinne...*, 37-51.

¹¹⁶ Ward, *Trip to Jamaica*, 16.

¹¹⁷ This concept is discussed in Stella Achilleos’ article “The Anacreontea and Refined Male Sociability.” In *A Pleasing Sinne...*, 21-35.

¹¹⁸ Montamari, *Culture of Food*, 73.

¹¹⁹ Guerrrini, “Roast Beef and... Salad?”, Also see Montanari, *Culture of Food*, 78-82.

blur together because “both the consumption of food and the social context in which that activity took place were, above all, tools for the expression and manifestation of power.”¹²⁰ Like access to meat in medieval and early modern Europe, the ability to feast was just as rare, and reserved for a particular class.

A number of the men Sloane treated for excessive drinking were also known for excessive eating of ‘flesh’ and as such were instructed to quit both overindulgences. Most refused, and some like his patient ‘Dick’ even had the aid of nurses in their resistance. This individual is described by the physician as a “plethoric, choleric, much given to drinking Rum-Punch and Strong Liquors...” who was allowed by his nurse, “much Wine and Flesh, contrary to instruction.” Eventually Dick was cured through a serendipitous aligning of planetary bodies, and strict adherence to the recommended diet, but Sloane makes his displeasure known through his tone.¹²¹

While Trapham insisted that the fruits of Jamaica were good for any English body, as time passed by English visitors grew more and more suspicious of the land and its natural products. “They have Oranges, Lemons, Limes and several other Fruits just as Sharp and as Crabbed,” as the people of the West Indies, Ward notes, “not given them as a Blessing, but as a Curse.”¹²² Those who indulged to excess – and there were many who did – would develop the “dry Belly-Ache; which in a fortnight, or Three Weeks, takes away the use of their Limbs, they are forced to be led about by Negro’s [sic].”¹²³ This state, Ward insists, appears to be the personification of the very land of Jamaica, suggesting that those who ate Jamaican fruits were transformed into vestiges of Jamaica.¹²⁴

“Irregularities,” rather than excesses, is what they are termed by Dr. James Lind in his treatise on illnesses incidental to hot climates, published almost a century later. He writes that it is “not the air of the country,” they fall victim to, “but their own debauchery.”¹²⁵ He

¹²⁰ Montanari, *Culture of Food*, 91. This is also demonstrated through Sloane’s constant prohibition of flesh for his patients who demonstrate an inability to control their own appetites. As a rich, strong consumptive it was believed to be easier to gorge on flesh, than say vegetables.

¹²¹ Sloane, *A voyage to the islands Madera, Barbados, Nieves, S. Christophers and Jamaica...*, cxliv.

¹²² Ward, *Trip to Jamaica*, 15.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, 15.

¹²⁴ This points to a belief in degradation but it is difficult to say, as Ward does not employ specific terminologies, whether for semantic, poetic, or purposeful reasons.

¹²⁵ James Lind. *An Essay on diseases incidental to Europeans in hot Climates, With the method of preventing their fatal consequences...* (London: printed for T. Becket and P.S. de Hondt, 1768), 7.

notes of Jamaica in particular that it is the drinking of warmed rums, and the overeating of foreign fruit that causes the brunt of illnesses among the young.¹²⁶ It is not just excess, but excess of foreign foods in a new more sweltering environment. However, rather than frame his concern in English terms Lind suggests that this response is common to *Europeans in general*, a conclusion he comes to upon a comparison with the health of the Dutch in the East Indies. From Settler, to English to European the terms that were employed to differentiate from the locals over the early colonial period show a marked change. Despite the incongruent terminology one thing was clear whoever Lind was speaking to was not Creole.

Excess continued to be a concern as despite repeated advice from medical figures, the religious community, and politicians, the venerous behavior continued, not just in England but abroad.¹²⁷ This behavior was in many ways a gendered behavior, and a gendered concern. Sloane and Trapham both framed their concerns in terms of mortality, and survival of the colony, while Trapham in particular made it clear that men were disproportionately affected by the phenomena, – making it necessary to target men in particular when it came to changing behaviors.¹²⁸ Indulging in excess compromised the constitution and opened men to disease, some that only they could be subject to.¹²⁹ It was through considerations of excess that masculinity and early concepts of empire became intertwined and fell under the scope and authority of medicine. Through an emphasis on the physical dangers of tropical terrain and the vices it encouraged medical discourse reminded those in England that their lives depended on the literature they consumed, and the very men who wrote it.¹³⁰

More importantly concerns over excess also highlighted the distinction made between drinking like an English man, and drinking like a Jamaican. By shifting focus of excess from scale to type, Sloane was creating a dialogue with English settlers, reminding them what alcohols were fit for English constitutions. He defied Trapham's advice, creating a

¹²⁶ Ibid., 7. He does note that even the most temperate people die in “unhealthy countries” but emphasizes that the irregular die first.

¹²⁷ Nichols, “Drink: The British Disease?”, 3.

¹²⁸ Both Karen Britland and Susan J. Owen have written on the culture of drink and women's place in it in the seventeenth century. Despite the fact that women made up a large portion of producers, sellers and consumers of alcoholic substances drinking and excess were typically considered male vices. See the chapter “Drink and Gender” in *A Pleasing Sinne*, ed. Smyth, 109-142.

¹²⁹ For example in the 1760s Lind advises his readers that excess in Jamaica will lead to contraction of the Yellow Fever, but only for English men, as women were not able to contract the disease.

¹³⁰ Kriz discusses this in her article on Sloane, “Curiosities, Commodities and Transplanted Bodies”, 35-37.

dichotomy through the invocation of proper English drinking practices that would firmly place Trapham's supporters on the side of Creole. Trapham is speaking to "Jamaican drinkers" a group that was often treated similarly to that of Creole. Indeed as the era progressed the exact behaviors he is encouraging in order for English bodies to flourish in their new setting would cause English travelers and physicians alike to view these consumers with suspicion.

“Infants Drink it Here as Commonly as in England They Feed on Milk”: Food as a Marker of Identity

Aitzpea Leizaola has noted that at times particular foods can emerge as a spokesperson, or symbolic representation of a culture.¹³¹ Usually the particular dish or item is something that is either prolific, or considered distasteful to outside or bordering cultures. Implanted in the works of Trapham and Sloane are assumptions about particular foods embodying specific cultures, or regions. Furthermore these foods are used to treat geographically defined bodies, separated Indian, Creole and European from one another. Through a nuanced reading of their natural histories, and attention to the long history of the English diet, milk emerges as the best cure for a patient with an English constitution. When used properly from birth to death it is treated as an exceptionally useful guarantor of health. Meanwhile chocolate is discussed as a food with several uses in the tropical climate. It is used as a breakfast, a form of easy nutrition, as a cure for cold tempers, and lastly used to measure ones level of ‘West Indian-ess’— a discursive bodily state that existed in gradations. These two substances are given special treatment within Sloane and Trapham’s texts, and through prescription and consumption are utilized as a way to assign idigeneity in the colony.¹³²

Milk as a cultural symbol had a long history in England before the seventeenth century. In early history early Saxon people were drinking milk at banquets and offering it to envoys in a ritualistic manner.¹³³ Throughout the middle ages milk garnered attention not just as a food, but also as a medicine. Most medically prescribed herbed drinks were composed of a mix of herbs, ale and milk— to make it more digestible.¹³⁴ Reay Tannahill has suggested that genetics might play into the symbolic representation of milk as an Anglo—Saxon drink, but while the data used to frame her argument is useful it does not explain how

¹³¹ Aitzpea Leizaola also includes stereotypes in this process. In “Matching national stereotypes?”, 80-81.

¹³² Again indigeneity in this instance means the ascription of nativeness. That could be nativeness to England- in the case of those prescribed breast milk, or nativeness to the West Indies- in the case of those prescribed chocolate.

¹³³ Montaari, *Culture of Food*, 20.

¹³⁴ Spencer, *British Food*, 34.

this digestibility was understood by the physicians of the late seventeenth century, or how consumption was organized.¹³⁵

Physicians often warned against consuming cows milk for urban dwellers in England. While healthy cow's milk was usually available in rural environments, with goats' milk sometimes used as a substitute, urban sources for the commodity were recognized as deplorable. The cows were kept in filthy sheds, and milked in dark, damp conditions into rusted pails lined with dirt. Likewise, Anne Wilson insists, "the well-to-do rarely consumed milk in its raw state, for it was known to curdle in the stomach, and was thought to engender wind there."¹³⁶ But if fresh milk was to be consumed by this group, the milk of women, and of asses was judged the best.¹³⁷ This picture of the metropole was drastically different than what was depicted as having taken place in the colonies. Several visitors to Jamaica in the late seventeenth century note the abundance of fresh, affordable milk. Sloane insists that it was due to the sheer number of dairy cattle who responded well to the open, grazing space and lush vegetation of the island. Milk was so abundant in Jamaica that Ward worked it into his satire stating that it "is so plenty you may buy it for fifteen pence a quart"¹³⁸, a price that would have raised eyebrows in London neighborhoods.

Eighteenth-century physician Samuel Ferris refers to it as a peculiar "article of diet... because, with but few exceptions, it is, under some shape or other, alike proper for the valetudinarian, and convalescent, as for one of unimpaired health."¹³⁹ The liquid was so central to the English medical paradigm that at times it was the best remedy on its own. As before mentioned the milk of women was judged to be the most digestible and often in moments of ill health wet-nurses were employed by the elderly, or invalids and it is extensively clear that this practice was carried out in England and the Americas.¹⁴⁰ When

¹³⁵ Reay Tannahill, *Food in History*. (New York: Three Rivers Press, 1995). Quoting papers from two research teams Tannahill informs her readers that lactose digestion relies on an enzyme called lactase and that regardless of the fact that all newborns produce this enzyme, ninety-six percent of those of Western European decent continue to produce it, while only twenty-five percent of those comprising all other ethnicities do.

¹³⁶ Anne Wilson, *Food and Drink in Britain for the Stone Age to Recent Times*. (London: Cookery Book Club, 1973), 156.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, 156.

¹³⁸ Ward, *Trip to Jamaica*, 14.

¹³⁹ Samuel Ferris, *A Dissertation on Milk*, (Edinburgh: Printed By John Abraham, 1785), 13.

¹⁴⁰ Anne Wilson, *Food and Drink in Britain*, 156. For more on the use of breast milk by adult patient in a colony environment both Marylynn Salmon, "The Cultural Significance of Breastfeeding and Infant Care

used in conjuncture with other medications breast milk could be used in lieu of cow's milk as it was considered easier to digest. Just how widespread this practice was is revealed when Sloane encounters it in Jamaica. He treats a middle-aged gentleman who had severe problems with a bellyache, which resulted in a jaundicing of the skin and a loss of appetite.¹⁴¹ Sloane mentions several times that this man is an avid drinker. Sloane treats him with a mixture of herbs based in, "Madera Wine, a Diet-drink of sarfa, China... mixed with an equal quantity of Cow's Milk every morning".¹⁴² But through continued correspondence, found that at his worst the only thing he could stomach was breast milk. Before Sloane treated him the man had been victim to a violent fit after which "he had suck'd two Negro Womens Milk, by which he was perfectly recovered".¹⁴³ The nursing of adult patients, a demonstratively English practice, continued in Jamaica despite the climactic and demographic changes. In fact availability of wet nurses was even greater than the availability of dairy cows, so long as one was not concerned about the race of the nurse.

Sloane insists that white settlers should not be concerned about the race of their wet-nurses, despite demonstrations that they acted in the contrary. Black nurses were the easiest to be had, but not "coveted by Planters, for fear of infecting their children with some of their ill customs, as thieving etc."¹⁴⁴ But Sloane insists that he had yet to see a negative outcome of such a pairing, and that no matter the race of the nurse it must be nearer to the child's constitution than cow's milk. This is one of several examples in which Sloane is seeking to correct what he considers to be faulty behavior. But while his largely mechanist lens allows him to discount concerns about race, the English settlers he is speaking to clearly have their own ingrained assumptions about breast-feeding and its repercussions. If they were European, they felt their children should be nursed on European breast milk, from a nurse with upstanding morals and healthful physical characteristics. This contributed to preceding narratives that cast milk as an English drink, and was one of the ways in which settlers sought to replicate their traditional norms.

in Early Modern England and America." *Journal of Social History* 28, no. 2 (1994), 247-269, and Wendy Churchill, "Bodily Difference?", 425.

¹⁴¹ Sloane, *A voyage to the islands Madera, Barbados, Nieves, S. Christophers and Jamaica.*, cliii.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, cliii.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, cliii.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, cxlviii.

Like many of their dietary habits Trapham and Sloane appeared to have grown keen on the consumption of chocolate due to the writings and personal insistence from Spanish colonials who had inhabited the island prior to the English. While it is possible credence was given to Spanish dietary writings because Jamaica was a new colony, and in English approximation the Spanish constitution better matched the English constitution than say the indigenous or African might there is something else to consider. When Jamaica first fell to England in 1655, the European nation was not yet an Imperial power.¹⁴⁵ Settlement and resource extraction were relatively new concepts that had only been carried out on a small scale. Thusly the tools of empire had to be learned, and for this the early actors of English empire turned to the European power that had preceded them.¹⁴⁶

Chocolate found its own niche in seventeenth century medicine. It was a warming substance, good for curing plethoric ailments and depression. In its early reception it was touted as a cure all, that eradicated “consumption, and cough of the lungs,” that expelled poison, cleaned teeth, and increased beauty.¹⁴⁷ In addition it was thought not only to aid in, but also to cause conception.¹⁴⁸ Later it was subsumed under coffee as a revitalizing substance, that stirred the mind but also the passions.

One of its lesser-discussed functions was its ability to designate and mediate indigeneity. Thomas Trapham discusses this at length in his treatise, insisting that chocolate (or cacao) was the best way to gauge an Indian’s health. Of the substance he writes:

“...all Natives ere observed most greedily desire it from their infancy, and if ever the refuse Chocalata, it signifies they need rectifying their stare. Wherefore it is not only a good, but a natural test of health, for when the stomach hath too much

¹⁴⁵ For a better understanding see *The Oxford History of the British Empire. Volume 1: The Origins of Empire, British Overseas Enterprise to the Close of the Seventeenth Century*. Ed. Nicholas Canny. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

¹⁴⁶ It is not uncommon to see Trapham and Sloane using the term European in their discourses, suggesting some sort of cohesiveness in the face of new, even more differentiated peoples. Later in the period the English would distance themselves colonially and medically from the Spanish, as well as other Iberian peoples but this medical distinction based on national constitutions was exacerbated by continued competition over colonial holdings.

¹⁴⁷ Anon, *The Virtues of Chocolate: East India Drink*, (London, 1660), 1.

¹⁴⁸ This rhetoric could be connected to the general belief, as revealed in Trapham’s discourse that people in the colonies most heavily imbued with chocolate propagated quickly.

cholera, as to quarrel with Chocalata, it indicated evacuation thereof necessary and expedient, or some other provision for regulating of disordered temper.”¹⁴⁹

The doctor is suggesting its use to measure health. But its efficacy is predicated on an understanding of a shared constitution that is identifiably native. While Trapham also recommends the nut in its raw form for the purposes of easy nutrition, he recommends it with the ilk of a naval surgeon, suggesting it would do well to be put into naval provisions and army rations as it is easy to keep a transport. If an English Jamaican is to consume it, as he thinks they should, it should be eaten in raw form and washed down with water, as the natives like it.¹⁵⁰

Sloane’s experiences with chocolate were more complicated. He found that most people drank chocolate in the morning, as was the Spanish custom but he “found it in great quantities nauseous, and hard of digestion,” which is why he was hesitant to, “allow weak stomachs the use of it.”¹⁵¹ He held this stance despite the fact that he observed, “Children and Infants drink it here as commonly as in England they feed on Milk.”¹⁵² While Sir Hans Sloane goes on to discuss a sense of universalism through the human body’s ability to find sustenance in any terrain, perhaps in a justification for colonial intentions, the difference has already been made. He has informed his readers that in Jamaica children were virtually nursed on the land through the consumption of chocolate, while the English were nurtured by milk. Oddly enough, it appears that the only patient Sloane cures through the use of chocolate is a young fever ridden child, born in Jamaica and belonging to a “Mrs. Cook.”¹⁵³ He also treats the skin condition of twelve-year-old girl through the use of chocolate as a purgative, a therapy that innately relies on indigestibility, but this treatment was not met with success. While the drink was indeed indigestible, it did not clear her skin.¹⁵⁴

¹⁴⁹ Trapham, *A Discourse on the State of Health*, 56.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 56. The term Jamaican here appears to be assigned to those that are gastronomically similar to the ‘natives’ of the island, but of European origin.

¹⁵¹ Sloane, *A voyage to the islands Madera, Barbados, Nieves, S. Christophers and Jamaica...*, xx.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, xx.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, cix. The child was born in Jamaica, spurring Sloane’s belief that chocolate would be a healthful remedy. This is an example of medical treatment suited to a Creole body preceding the label of Creole.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, cxxxiii. The physician identified the real cure as an infused oil, which was rubbed on the girl’s scalp.

Through the rhetoric of indigeneity it is easy to read the increased consumption of chocolate by Jamaicans as a move toward the emergence of a Creole body, understood as having distinct medical needs. Chocolate would not have been used as a purgative had the girl not been of European origin, just as Sloane would have been less likely to prescribe chocolate to a baby born in England, as opposed to Jamaica. The fact that he was unwilling to allow those with a weak stomach to consume it only supports this. Those with weak stomachs would have included children, the elderly, and invalids— the exact English groups that benefited the most from the ingestion of milk.

Among Sloane's more classically notable contributions is his invention of milk chocolate. Sloane, like Trapham, found raw chocolate to be nearly indigestible, so he mixed it with milk. This augmentation was implemented in Jamaica, due to the easy availability of both substances. Later Sloane's recipe would be manufactured and sold in England, and would inspire the recipe used by "Messrs. Cadbury brothers from 1849 until about 1885."¹⁵⁵ However by this time milk chocolate had more or less left the realm of medicine, to one of luxury good, desired due to its taste. That is not to say that taste did not affect the choice of the English physicians to adopt the use of chocolate, but that in the late seventeenth century its medicinal properties, and much needed nutrition were what made it so desirable.

Indeed by the 1660s chocolate had already made its way to England in the form of a drink, as evidenced by the writings of Samuel Pepys.¹⁵⁶ The drink was well liked for its taste, as well as its medical properties. However it is important to note that as medical intervention in the West Indies continued the style of consumption changed from Spanish style to English style chocolate, which was born of necessity in the colony and suited uniquely to English bodies.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁵ G. R. de Beer, *Sir Hans Sloane and the British Museum*. (London: Oxford University Press, 1953), 72. A full recipe for Sloane's milk chocolate, and for Chocolate the "Spanish way", can be found in the same book, on page 73.

¹⁵⁶ Smyth, *A pleasing Sinne...*, xiii.

¹⁵⁷ Even though chocolate was naturalized as a European food by the late eighteenth-century it was still imbued with contested meanings, such as danger and sensual excess. See Mimi Hellman, "Of Water and Chocolate". *Gastronomica: The Journal of Food and Culture* 4, no. 4 (2004), 9.

The decision to mix chocolate with milk is not a surprising one, and likely had little to do with taste, but rather was associated with medical need based on constitution.¹⁵⁸ The different modes of chocolate consumption were a physically evident way in which social distinction could be made, not only between settlers in the colonies, but also between settlers and the societies from which they originated.¹⁵⁹ Sloane did not recommend cacao in its nut form. At the very least he recommended that it be cut with water, and warmed in the Spanish custom.¹⁶⁰ Trapham saw the use of the nut form, but advised only those with a hardy constitution to partake. This augmentation was not taking place in value free terrain. The different modes of consumption marked the individuals who were consuming it while betraying the mindset of the individual who prescribed it. Trapham was writing as a settler, out of necessity, who understood chocolate primarily as a foodstuff, and peripherally as a medicine. Conversely Sloane emphasized the uses of chocolate within a prophylactic framework, as a substance that required alteration in order to reach full efficacy.¹⁶¹ By mixing chocolate and milk Sloane was taking something foreign and splicing it with the familiar, he was adapting goods from the colony to the needs of the metropole. Making Chocolate the “English way” was part of a greater effort to define what foods were suited to the English constitution, an endeavor with repercussions that included the cleaving of English and English Jamaican, to create a category that was defined by its ability to consume chocolate as the natives did.

¹⁵⁸Spencer, *British Food*, 30. Most histories written on milk consumption pick up after pasteurization and focus on regulation. Typically these histories ignore the fact that milk was still consumed in large quantities despite the fact that it was expensive in England and dangerous to drink if it was not completely fresh. Moreover in Jamaica it was quite easy to come by, especially in the form of breast milk.

¹⁵⁹ Marcy Norton has discussed very similar themes both in her above cited article, “Tasting Empire”, as well as in her book *Sacred Gifts, Profane Pleasures: A History of Tobacco and Chocolate in the Atlantic World*. (London: Cornell University Press, 2008).

¹⁶⁰ It is interesting to note that many English authors, including Sloane acknowledged that water was the healthiest drink in the West Indies.

¹⁶¹ This is a clear demonstration of Peck’s assertion that consumption was part of a travel network involving the interests of aristocrats, merchants and scientific academies. Peck did not directly address food in this argument, but when chocolate is framed as a medical luxury, as is the case with Sloane’s writings, it becomes above all else a consumable. Peck, *Consuming Splendor*, 122.

Conclusion: Of Bodies and Entitlement

Embedded in the motivations of these authors is a need to advertise the colony. Setting the limits of the English body within a temperate climate would undermine burgeoning colonial and economic expansion, the exact enterprises that provoked men and women to hazard the Atlantic voyage. Successful expansion required willing settlers who were assured of their survival, and even their ability to flourish, in the tropical colony. By highlighting the uses of local foodstuffs, their digestibility, or the ease with which they could be transformed into something digestible, these authors were assuaging anxious, prospective settlers.

Trapham, like most authors of his time, opens his treatise with an explanation of what inspired him to conduct and articulate his research. And again, like other authors it features a royal impetus:

“It having pleased his Serene Majesty, our most Gracious Sovereign in all placed to Manifest his Royal care of his happy subjects; even the most remote in the West Indies, living on the refreshing therof: Distances separating nothing from his extensive goodness, but rather evidencing the bounty of the overflowing source... at least as an observer and well wisher to health and life; it may seem not improper for me, to remark in a new Colony, as Jamaica is, the Conducers thereto, and to transfer such to a further cultivation; that the English or others may not miss of their ends in transferring themselves thither, nor his Majesty of his Subjects by too immature deaths.”¹⁶²

This quotation does more than illustrate the importance placed on the early processes of establishing a colony. It also suggests a very particular attitude about how distance, and identity were perceived, through the emphasis placed on the availability of English goods and practices. This short justification refutes the image of Jamaica as a tumultuous jungle, filled

¹⁶² Thomas Trapham, *A Discourse on the State of Health*, 1-3.

to the brim with hazards, and instead attempts to stretch the rule of England to the satellite settlement.

In a field that was trying to establish authority the colony, and the modes of transportation to the colony, offered fresh opportunities as a new barely traversed stage in need of experts. By informing English subject about the parameters of English bodies through digestion these physicians were contributing to a discourse that stretched the limits between the medical and the political. Joining authors of travel literature they were the primary source of information for Londoners, thirsty for news of the exotic, or burgeoning mercantile opportunities. Embedded in Sloane's casebook, and Trapham's advice is an effort to define healthy and unhealthy English practices for the good of English bodies in a foreign setting. These efforts place the colony at the forefront of efforts to define an English body in the seventeenth century.¹⁶³

The Jamaica of which Sloane and Trapham were writing was a fleeting vision, as was the metropole that feasted on their words. By the middle of the eighteenth century West Indian goods and foods were being sold en masse in London shops.¹⁶⁴ The century after Ward and Sloane penned their dismissive criticisms actually saw turtle meat move from undesirable sustenance to delicacy, as turtle came to represent prestige for many circles within the British elite.¹⁶⁵ Diane Kirkby, Tanja Luckins and Barbara Satich discuss the ways in which turtle was received in England, a dining experience that they insist was not only a culinary voyage but “an act of colonialism.”¹⁶⁶ Despite their interpretation the men who dined on turtle were prepared to accept it as part of an expanding English cuisine. In the

¹⁶³ While this project is a just a portion of nascent dialogue, perhaps it offers us a new way of complicating the processes of early modern medicine. Mary Fissel argues that as the early modern period progressed markers of health became increasingly internalized, especially as new forms of supervision were created and adapted to allow the growing visibility of disease. But the medical mediation of food is a situation in which the internalization did not, ultimately, rely on an ability to view or depict illness. While there were visceral ways in which this could be done, such as the monitoring of excretions both expected and unexpected, just as often physicians relied on patient testimonials, and the sheer presence of excretions rather than their qualities. Moreover there were expectations of what particular bodies needed based on lines of indigeneity and illustrated by the prescription of particular foods for particular, nationally defined, bodies. Mary Fissel, *Patients, Power and the Poor in Eighteenth-Century Bristol*. (Cambridge University Press, 1991), 11.

¹⁶⁴ Peck, *Consuming Splendor*, 121.

¹⁶⁵ Diane Kirkby et al. *Dining on Turtle: Food, Feasts and Drinking in History*. (New York: Palgrave MacMillan press, 2007), 1.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 1.

1780s, men of the Royal Society sat down to a meal that was occasioned by their countries overseas power, a set of circumstances that highlighted the rarity and value of the dish, even though in the 1680s, Dr. Thomas Trapham was arguing against numerous opponents and naysayers when he claimed that turtle meat was a healthy meal for English settlers.¹⁶⁷ This highlights the difference in acceptance of foods, given lack of necessity and distance from the source. In addition, the argument over turtle meat was the first of many instances in which Trapham demonstrates a unique understanding of how English settlers should interact with the colony in order to maintain good health, a mode of behavior that would lead to creolization if not degeneracy in the eyes of later authors.

While degeneration was not a concern for Trapham the people he is writing about appear to have held different opinions. It is difficult, if not impossible to access their voices, but a nuanced reading of Trapham's words can reveal much. His imploring tone, and manner of assurance betrays a need to calm concerns and control behaviors that the surgeon reportedly did not indulge in himself. Moreover the fact that Trapham repeatedly advises against particular behaviors implicitly suggests resistance to his ideas. Resistance is something Sloane also comments on when he makes it explicit that his patients rarely follow his advice— often with deadly consequences. Settlers clung to particular practices and foods to protect their indigeneity, and in an attempt to minimize the shock of their distance from home. Some practices, such as the continued rearing of choice livestock, and the consumption of milk were impartial if not beneficial to their health, while indulgences in specific forms of excess proved deadly in the eyes of seventeenth-century physicians. The fact that James Lind picked up on the same themes a century later suggests a continuation of identifiably problematic behaviors, as well as the continuation of an imagined Jamaica known for its excess.

The term Creole is scarcely employed by the referenced authors, and the term 'Creolian' only used by Sloane. Even then it is used sparingly and only to describe those

¹⁶⁷ As before mentioned many English peoples, physicians included were wrestling with ideas of degeneration and indigenization. Simply put, people were what they ate. If they relied on Jamaican flora and fauna, they ran the risk of becoming indigenous to that climate. However, by continuing to consume foods that were tied to Britain- either through world trade systems, or because they were grown in Britain proper- Britishness, and Englishness could be maintained.

“born and bred” on the island of Barbados, with one short mention of those in Jamaica.¹⁶⁸ But even without a fixed terminology the demarcation of bodies by consumption— whether due to scale, mode or content— is evident in the literature making its way out of Jamaica in the late seventeenth century. Settlers were organizing the value of their livestock, and choosing their drinks based on terms of English identity, and by doing so the differences between English and Creole were being marked. Each settler had to negotiate the tension between maintaining English practices and the necessity of adapting to the land, while simultaneously digesting medical advice from those who would wish to mark them as the other. Jamaica began as a colony that relied on imports, filled with English settlers who sought to remain English. What emerged decades later was a “sweating chaos”, an outpost imagined as the definition of intemperance and swift wealth where English men and women became Jamaicans that would equip London with curiosities, fineries, and colonial cuisines.

¹⁶⁸ Sloane, *A voyage to the islands Madera, Barbados, Nieves, S. Christophers and Jamaica.*, xlvi.

Bibliography

- Amy, Thomas. *Carolina, or, A description of the present state of that country and the natural excellencies thereof viz. the healthfulness of the air, pleasantness of the place, advantage and usefulness of those rich commodities there plentifully abounding, which much encrease and flourish by the industry of the planters that daily enlarge that colony / published by T.A., Gent ...* London: 1682.
- Anon. *An Exact account of all who are the present members of the Kings College of Physicians in London and others authorized by them to practice in the said city, and within seven miles compass thereof whereby ignorant and illegal pretenders to the exercise of the said faculty may be discovered, who daily impose on unwary people, and claim immunities and priviledges appertaining onely to that corporation. Printed for Henry Brome at the Gun at the West-end of St. Pauls.* London: 1673.
- Anon. *The Virtues of Chocolate: East India Drink.* London: 1660.
- Bell, David et al. *Consuming Geographies: We are what we Eat.* New York: Routledge Press, 1997.
- Roland Barthes. "Towards a Psychology of Contemporary Food Consumption." *Annales: Economies Societies Civilizations*. XVI (1961): 977-86.
- Roland Barthes. "Toward a Psychology of Contemporary Food Consumption", in *Food and Culture: A Reader*, 2nd edition, ed. Carole Counihan et al. New York: Routledge, 1997.
- Fernand Braudel. 'Vie materielle et comportement biologiques: bulletin no.1', *Annales: Economies Societies Civilizations*, XVI (1961): 545-549.
- Brooks, E. St. John. *Sir Hans Sloane: The Collector and his Circles.* London: Batchworth Press, 1954.
- Trevor Burnard. "Inheritance and Independence: Women's Status in Early Colonial Jamaica." *The William and Mary Quarterly* 48, no 1 (1991): 93.
- . "European Migration to Jamaica, 1655-1780." *The William and Mary Quarterly* 53, no. 4 (1996): 769-796.
- . "'The Countrie Continues Sicklie': White Mortality in Jamaica, 1655-1780." *Social History of Medicine*. Vol. 12, no. 1 (1999): 45-72.
- Canny, Nicholas, ed. *The Oxford History of the British Empire. Volume 1: The Origins of Empire, British Overseas Enterprise to the Close of the Seventeenth Century.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.

- Carlin Martha et al. ed. *Food and Eating in Medieval Europe*. London: The Hambledon Press, 1998.
- Churchill, Wendy. "Bodily Differences? Gender, Race and Class in Hans Sloane's Jamaican Medical Practice, 1687-1688." *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 60, no 4, (2005): 391-444.
- de Beer, G.R. *Sir Hans Sloane and the British Museum*. London: Oxford University Press, 1953.
- De La Pena, Carolyn. "Introduction: Traversing the Local/Global and Food/Culture Divides." *Food and Foodways*, 19, no.1, (2011): 1-10.
- Delbourgo, James. "Sir Hans Sloane's Milk Chocolate and the Whole History of the Cacao." *Social Text* 29, (2011): 71-101.
- Doolittle, Thomas. *Earthquakes explained and practically improved occasioned by the late earthquake on Sept. 8, 1692 in London, many other parts in England, and beyond sea / by Thomas Doolittle*. London: 1693.
- Douglas, Mary. *Purity and Danger: an analysis of the concepts of pollution and taboo*. New York: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966.
- Drinot, Paulo. "Food, Race and Working-Class Identity: Restaurantes Populares and Populism in 1930s Peru." *The Americas* 62, no. 2 (2005): 245-270.
- Exquemelin, A. O. *The history of the bucaniers being an impartial relation of all the battels, sieges, and other most eminent assaults committed for several years upon the coasts of the West-Indies by the pirates of Jamaica and Tortuga, both English & other nations : more especially the unparallel'd atchievements of Sir H.M. / made English from the Dutch copy ; written by J. Esquemeling, one of the bucaniers ; very much corrected from the errors of the original by the relations of some English gentlemen that then resided in those parts*. London: 1684.
- Farquhar, Judith. *Appetites: Food and Sex in Post-Socialist China*. Durham: Duke University Press Books, 2002.
- Ferris, Samuel. *A Dissertation on Milk*. Edinburgh: Printed By John Abraham, 1785.
- Fischler, Claude. "Food, Self and Identity." *Social Science information* 27 (1988): 275-292.
- Gonzales-Crussi, F. *A Short History of Medicine*. New York: Modern Library Press, 2007.

- Guerrini, Anita. "Roast Beef and ... Salad?" *History Today*. Vol. 61, Issue 2, Feb. 2011.
<http://jstor.org>
- Guenther, Mathias. "The Concept of Indigeneity." *Social Anthropology* 14, iss. 1 (2006): 17-32.
- Hammond, P.W. *Food and Feast in Medieval England*. Phoenix Mill: Allan Sutton Publishing Ltd, 1993.
- Harrison, Mark. "Science in the British Empire." *Isis*, Vol. 96, No. 1 (2005): 56-63.
- . "The Tender Frame of Man": Disease, Climate and Racial Difference in India and the West Indies, 1760-1860." *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, Volume 70, No. 1. (1996): 68-93
- Jardine, N., ed. *Cultures of Natural History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- King, Helen. "Food as a Symbol in Classical Greece." *History Today*. Vol. 36, iss. 9 (1986)
<http://jstor.org>
- . *The Disease of Virgins: Green Sickness, Chlorosis and the Problems of Puberty*. London: Routledge Press, 2004.
- Kirkby, Dianne et al. ed. *Dining on Turtles: Food, Feasts and Drinking in History*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan press, 2007.
- Kriz, Kay Dian. "Curiosities, Commodities, and Transplanted Bodies in Hans Sloane's "Natural History of Jamaica", *The William and Mary Quarterly* 57, no. 1 (2000): 35-78
- Leeizaola, Aitzpeia. "Matching national stereotypes? Eating and drinking in the Basque borderland." *Anthropological Notebooks* 12, no. 1 (2006): 79-94
- Ligon, Richard. *A True & Exact History of the Island of Barbados*. London: Printed for Humphrey Moseley, 1657.
- Lind, James. *An Essay on diseases incidental to Europeans in hot Climates, With the method of preventing their fatal consequences...* London: printed for T. Becket and P.S. de Hondt, 1768.
- MacClancy, Jeremy. *Consuming Culture*. London: Chapmans Publishers Ltd, 1992.
- Matt, Susan J. "A Hunger for Home: Homesickness and Food in a Global Consumer Society" *The Journal of American Culture* 30, no.1, (2007): 6-17.

- Montanari, Massimo. *The Culture of Food*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1994.
- Norton, Marcy. *Sacred Gifts, Profane Pleasures: a History of Tobacco and Chocolate in the Atlantic World*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008.
- . "Tasting Empire: Chocolate and the European Internalization of Mesoamerican Aesthetics," *American Historical Review* 111, no. 4, (2006), 660.
- Nicholls, James. "Drink: The British Disease?" *History Today*. Vol. 60, Issue 1, Jan. 2010. <http://jstor.org>
- Ritvo, Harriet. *The Animal Estate: The English and Other Creatures in the Victorian Age*. New York: Harvard University Press, 1989.
- Salaman, R.N. *The history and social influence of the potato*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1949.
- Salmon, Marylynn. "The Cultural Significance of Breastfeeding and Infant Care in Early Modern England and America." *Journal of Social History* 28, no. 2 (1994): 247-269.
- Peachey, George C. "Thomas Trapham-(Cromwell's Surgeon)- and others." Section of the History of Medicine. Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine. 1931 August; 24(10): 1444.
- Linda Levy Peck. *Consuming Splendor: Society and Culture in Seventeenth-Century England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Schiebinger, Londa. *Plants and Empire: Colonial Bioprospecting in the Atlantic World*. New York: Harvard University Press, 2004.
- Wheeler, Roxanne. *The Complexion of Race: Categories of Difference in Eighteenth-Century British Culture*. New York: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000.
- Wilson, Kathleen. *The Island Race: Englishness, Empire and Gender in the Eighteenth Century*. London: Routledge Press, 2003
- Scodel, Joshua. *Excess and the Mean in Early Modern English Literature*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002.
- Sloane, Sir Hans. *A voyage to the islands Madera, Barbados, Nieves, S. Christophers and Jamaica, with the natural history of the Herbs and Trees, Four-Footed Beasts, Fishes, Birds, Insects, Reptiles, &c. of the last of those islands; to which is prefix'd an introduction, wherein is an account of the inhabitants, air, waters, diseases, trade, &c. of that Place, with some Relations concerning the Neighbouring Continent, and Islands of America. Illustrated with the figures of the things describ'd, which have not been heretofore engraved; In large Copper-Plates as big as the Life. By Hans Sloane, M. D.*

Fellow of the College of Physicians and Secretary of the Royal-Society. In two volumes. Vol. I. London: printed by B. M. for the author. 1707.

Smyth, Adam, ed. *A Pleasing Sinne: Drink and Conviviality in Seventeenth-Century England.* Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2004.

Spencer, Colin. *British Food: An Extraordinary Thousand Years of History.* London: Grub Street Press, 2004.

Tannahill, Reay. *Food in History.* New York: Three Rivers Press, 1995.

Trapham, Thomas. *A discourse of the state of health in the island of Jamaica with a provision therefore calculated from the air, the place, and the water, the customs and manner of living &c.* London: Printed for R. Boulter, 1679.

---. *Some observations made upon the Bermudas berries, imported from the Indies shewing their admirable virtues in curing the green-sickness / written by a doctor of physick in the countrey to the Honourable Esquire, Boyle.* , London : [s.n.], 1694

Ward, Edward. *A trip to Jamaica with a true character of the people and island / by the author of Sot's paradise.* , London : [s.n.], 1698.

---. *A curry-comb for a cocks-comb: or, the Trip to Holland detected. By the author of The trip to Jamaica,* London : s.n., printed in the year, 1698.