fomenting unrest among enslaved workers who believed the measure would lead to their emancipation.

In chapter 6 Paugh looks at examples of free colored women who helped to shape the response of Caribbean women to abolitionism and the Christian missionary movements that increasingly influenced sexual politics in the region. Paugh uses the sermons and correspondence from the climax of local planter persecution of Methodists, especially Reverend Shrewsbury and Sarah Ann Gill, and Methodism’s advocacy of Christian marriage for enslaved converts. She examines the inherent hypocrisy of local sexual and reproductive politics and the challenges this posed to discussions about fertility and reproducing the enslaved workforce.

Although Paugh delivers convincing testimony linking fertility discourse to abolitionist and pro-slavery movements through Barbadian examples, she could provide context for the much larger regional reality of low fertility, high infant mortality, and the perpetual decline of the slave population in the British Caribbean by 1834. The Barbadian case is certainly an outlier in the region’s demographic history of the slave trade and slavery, exposing some challenging truths about the effectiveness of abolitionist propaganda in the age of abolition and its accompanying counter-narratives from the pro-slavery lobby which sought to promote the natural increase of the slave population with little success in the rest of the region. Proclaimed pro-natalist policies in both the metropole and the colony had little effect on the low birth rate and the high infant mortality on the region’s plantations. However, her analysis of the increasing state intervention into the sexual and reproductive lives of enslaved women, and later, free colonial subjects provides valuable insights for researchers.

Paugh’s investigation of enslaved women’s fertility, which is largely drawn from sources privileging the white dominant male voice in both abolitionist tracts and planter management manuals, could also consider the influence of African culture on slave reproduction. Although Barbados could be said to be largely a Creole society by the 1790s, this does not obfuscate the role that African perceptions about fertility and its control played in reproduction, particularly in terms of how enslaved women viewed their bodies and pregnancy as well as how enslaved and free colored women engaged in midwifery practice. There is good evidence from across the region that enslaved women continued to entrust their care to practitioners of largely African-derived medical systems of knowledge.

The Politics of Reproduction provides further insights into the debates about enslaved women’s bodies and reproduction in both imperial politics as well as on the ground in British Caribbean slave societies.

Tara Inniss
The University of the West Indies, Cave Hill Campus
tara.inniss@cavehill.uwi.edu


Cromwell’s “Western Design”—the Protectorate’s military effort to challenge Spanish hegemony in America—is typically narrated as a tale of poor planning, humiliating defeat, and catastrophic loss of life. Carla Pestana challenges this careworn account of imperial opportunities lost. Using sources that have been “overlooked or used without regard” for “context” or “origin” she painstakingly reconstructs the activities of the English navy and army, following them from Barbados to Hispaniola to Jamaica (2). Pestana deftly melds military, religious, and cultural histories, producing a fresh interpretation of the “monumental nature” of the Western Design which resulted in England’s seizure of Jamaica in 1655 (12). Pestana portrays the
Cromwellian scheme as the denouement of a revolutionary moment—one that reshaped the English state and permanently altered the power dynamics between England and Spain. She also unsettles longstanding assumptions about the most significant events and the most important players in the history of colonial Jamaica. Engaging in more than a decade of imperial conflict, the Western Design’s hard-bitten leaders and motley group of soldiers bear little resemblance to the more familiar pirates, merchants, and planters who take pride of place in conventional accounts of the West Indies. Religiously inspired and more often just struggling to survive, they had motives that diverged sharply from the “profit maximization” impetus that is traditionally cited as driving England’s involvement in the region (154).

Following a roughly chronological timeline, Pestana alternates between chapters that detail English military activities in the Caribbean and those that analyze literary representations of the events. Although secrecy shrouded the Western Design, its scale raised European expectations of another Cromwellian success before the venture was launched. But, as the men who set sail for the Caribbean learn, the best laid plans of mice and men go awry. Chapter 2 exposes the disjuncture between metropolitan plans and “colonial conditions,” a theme that Pestana returns to throughout the book (53). When Cromwell’s men reach Barbados, they encounter resentment rather than the subservience they expect. After struggling to enlarge their troops with local recruits and failing to acquire necessary firearms and food supplies, the military sets out for Hispaniola where the divergence between imperial strategy and local circumstances intensifies. Chapter 3 follows the footsteps of an ill-equipped and poorly provisioned army as it embarks on a long march in the tropics without adequate water or food. Thousands of men died of starvation, dehydration, and disease (88). With chapter 4, Pestana returns to Europe, exploring the religious dimensions of English and the Spanish interpretations of the event in print culture.

The reader does not learn about Jamaica—the place in the book’s title—until chapter 5. It is in the second half of the book that Pestana makes her most important contributions. She challenges a historiography that treats Jamaica as predestined to become dependent upon plantations worked by enslaved Africans. Instead, the period of English military occupation of the island points toward a different trajectory. Contesting the seminal work of Richard Dunn, Pestana argues that the first generation of soldier-settlers had no interest using Barbados as a blueprint for Jamaica. The march toward sugar and slave labor was not inevitable. Instead, early English settlers followed Spanish precedent, practicing mixed agriculture and rearing livestock. They lacked the resources to purchase enslaved Africans and displayed little interest in doing so. However, people of African descent feature prominently in Pestana’s work, though not in their standard roles as slaves or maroons. She takes issue with characterizations of varied groups of African-descended peoples as “maroons,” arguing that this misnomer downplays their significance to both the English invasion and the “international rivalries” (184). Instead, Pestana emphasizes the importance of *ladinos*—a Spanish term for the African-descended people who were born on the island and spoke Spanish (146–47)—who fought against the English and also forged alliances with them (208). Pestana implicitly identifies these people as the most adaptable and successful of Jamaica’s settlers and views instances of peaceful alliances and the creation of mixed-race communities as offering “a different path for relations between English and Africans” (246).

*The English Conquest* insists upon the innovative nature of the Western Design and stresses its importance in forging a nascent English empire. As Pestana states, the Western Design “brought England to the centre of the Caribbean sea,” forcing Spain to accept the presence of its rival (185; 213). Though it was not an immediate success, the Western Design inalterably shifted power relations between European empires in the Americas. These bold assertions prime the reader for a strong account of how Cromwell’s plans directly transformed England’s position in the world. Yet by ending the book in the 1680s, Pestana leaves these expectations somewhat unfulfilled. Most of her work details the failures, rather than the strengths, of the English state overseas. On a similar note, she foreshadows Jamaica’s centrality to the empire without offering strong evidence of the colony’s significance. The book provides a more
historically grounded and gritty blow-by-blow account of a new brand of military colonialism launched by Cromwell in the mid-seventeenth century, one that discloses England’s weaknesses as much as its strengths on the international stage during this time.

Christine Walker
Yale-NUS College
christine.walker@yale-nus.edu.sg

DIANA PRESTON. *Paradise in Chains: The Bounty Mutiny and the Founding of Australia.*  
doi: 10.1017/jbr.2018.14

This well-written work retells the story of the mutiny on the *Bounty* (April 1789) and details the early years of the colony of New South Wales (January 1788–1808) and the daring escape from that colony in March 1791 by convicts William and Mary Bryant, their two children, and seven others. Diana Preston’s title implies a link between the founding of New South Wales and the *Bounty* mutiny. It is true, as Preston states, that part of the original plan was for one of the convict transports, after depositing its human cargo on the east coast of Australia, to travel to New Zealand for flax and then to Tahiti for breadfruit plants. However, this plan was abandoned before the First Fleet sailed.

There was in fact no direct link between the two events. Both were simply part of a larger British government strategy. The Australian historian Alan Frost has clearly shown how the British government’s aim was to expand its commerce in the Indian and Pacific Oceans (see, especially, *Botany Bay: The Real Story*, 2011). Bases and supplies would be required along the major sea routes. The new colony on the east coast of Australia was a part of this plan. This is why the government put so many resources into equipping the First Fleet. It was not simply an exercise in the dumping of convicts.

Sir Joseph Banks, the legendary president of the Royal Society, was very much involved in this strategy. He was passionate about the transfer of useful plants between various British settlements. He had visited Tahiti with Cook in 1769 and seen the breadfruit plants as a seemingly cheap source of food. He had, on the same voyage, visited Botany Bay in 1770 and would later advocate the east coast of Australia as the place for a settlement. The *Bounty* voyage was under Banks’s direction. If breadfruit plants could be successfully transferred to the West Indies, they would provide cheap food for the plantation slaves.

The reason for the *Bounty* voyage has been obscured by the sensational events of 28 April 1789, when Fletcher Christian seized the ship. The breadfruit plants on which Captain Bligh had lavished so much care (even at the expense of his own crew) were immediately thrown overboard in a marvelously symbolic gesture.

And it is not only the mutiny itself that has intrigued generations, but also its incredible aftermath. Bligh’s 3,618-mile voyage from near Tonga to Timor in *Bounty*’s launch with eighteen men and little food was unprecedented. Bligh returned a national hero. However, while he was away on his second breadfruit voyage on *Providence*, from 1791 to 1793, Edward Edwards, who had been sent on the *Pandora* to find the mutineers, returned with those who had not already fled to Pitcairn Island. Tales of Bligh’s bullying and manipulation of his role as purser for his personal profit changed the popular view of Bligh and the campaigns by Christian’s brother and the Heywood family further blackened his reputation.

The *Pandora* voyage was itself not without incident. Wrecked on the Great Barrier Reef in August 1791, the survivors had to make their way by boats to Timor, partly duplicating Bligh’s own voyage of a few years before. Among them were fourteen captured mutineers who had