Introduction

In June 1730, sixty-eight-year-old Sally Bassett was burned alive.[1] Her burning body hung in Hamilton, the capital of Bermuda. Bassett, an elderly enslaved woman, whose father was a white European and mother a black African, was sentenced to death for her attempt to kill by poison Sarah and Thomas Foster, the white slave owners of her granddaughter Beck, and Nancy, an enslaved woman she considered more foe than friend. Although Bassett professed her innocence during her trial, the court concluded that she had been "moved and seduced by [the] instigation of the Devil."[2] Bassett was found guilty by the all-white male jury. Bassett's attempt at murder was not the first time she had committed a crime: in 1712, she had been charged with trying to poison the cattle and damage the property of two white Bermudians.[3] She is best remembered, however, for her gruesome death.

<TX>Bassett's identity as a mixed-race enslaved woman was crucial to her life and death. The status of being enslaved passed down through women, meaning that the children of enslaved women were considered enslaved from birth. The society in which Bassett lived was built on distinctions between humans based on skin color. White elite European men, already accustomed to placing humans in a hierarchy, created a structure that assigned those with more melanin as inferior to those with less. The latter group was fit for freedom; the former branded unfree. As a mixed-race enslaved woman, Bassett's gender shaped what types of labor she would perform, who could have unrestricted access to her body, and what forms of resistance she could enact. This society was maintained by extreme levels of racial- and gender-based violence; that Bassett turned to violence herself, therefore, should come as little surprise. The specific form of violence—poison—considered a woman's crime in England and commonly used by enslaved women who drew on West African forms of knowledge— reveals that although Bassett may have never set foot either in Britain or on the African

continent from which some of her ancestors came, its ideas ricocheted across the Atlantic Ocean. For Bassett and other enslaved women, poison became what social scientist James C. Scott called their "weapons of the weak," a subtle, silent, yet deadly form of resistance that existed alongside louder revolts and uprisings.[4] That Bassett died by burning—a harsh punishment for a severe crime—reflects white elite fraught fears of death by poison.

Sally Bassett's life and crime became the center of controversy once again 279 years after her death. In 2009, a bronze sculpture of Bassett was erected in Bermuda, Britain's oldest colony.[5] Occupied by the English since 1609, the island, covering fifty-four square kilometers and located in the North Atlantic, still belongs to Britain. As a non-sovereign state, it is one of six territories located in and around the Caribbean that are no longer called colonies but rather British Overseas Territories.

The idea of Bassett's statue began with the island's ruling local party, the Progressive Labour Party (PLP). Founded in the 1960s, the PLP represented the voice of the island's majority: Bermudians of African descent. But only in 1998 did the party finally win its first electoral victory against the United Bermuda Party (UBP), which tended to represent the island's white residents. Bassett's statue was created as part of celebrations commemorating the island's upcoming four hundredth anniversary and is the first monument of an enslaved person on the island. Its sculptor, Bermudian artist Carlos Dowling, titled the work *Spirit of Freedom*. Initially, the PLP wanted the statue placed in a central position in Hamilton's City Hall, but Sutherland Madeiros, the mayor of Hamilton, said there was no space for it. Madeiros's position as mayor is part of the Corporation of Hamilton, which administers the capital and has long represented the island's white elites.[6]

<IMAGE>[[Insert PI.2 (p. 3).jpg]]

<CP>[[Image caption: Sally Bassett statue, Bermuda, sculpted by Carlos Dowling.]]

<TXFL>His response sparked a "race row" with the PLP, which argued that the mayor did

not want a "prominent reminder of slavery greeting visitors to City Hall."[7] Eventually, the statue ended up in its current location in the grounds of the Bermudian government's cabinet office.

<TX>Yet the controversy that became divided along racial lines concerned not just the statue's location but its very existence. For some white Bermudians, the image of Sally Bassett at the stake, staring to the sky, was an unwanted reminder of a dark and depressing historical moment that tainted a (supposedly) racially harmonious society. Others argued that the statue would discourage tourism, a critical part of the island's economy.[8] Those who disliked the statue focused their rage on Dowling's portrayal of Bassett rising above the flames with her hands chained behind her back and a protruding stomach to signify that she was "pregnant with the spirit of freedom."[9] Black Bermudians were more inclined to celebrate the statue, arguing that Bassett belonged to a long litany of women who resisted their enslavement. Others praised the statue for helping refute the myth that enslavement in Bermuda was more benign than in other parts of the Caribbean.

At the statue's unveiling in 2009, Richard Gozney, the British governor of Bermuda, compared Bassett's statue to monuments commemorating none other than English statesman and soldier Oliver Cromwell; US Confederate general Robert E. Lee, whom he lauded for his "strengths of character"; and the 1838 Boer Blood River battle waged against the Zulus.[10] Black Bermudians denounced Gozney, especially his egregious references to white supremacist Lee and to African colonizers, and some called on him to apologize.[11] But he offered no regrets.

This history of Britain and the Anglophone Caribbean is, in a sense, about Sally Bassett— how she and millions of others like her came to live in a society dominated by a powerful racial hierarchy, and what occurred in the centuries afterward. The heated debates about racism, memory, history, and the British Empire that are provoked by statues—Bassett's

being, of course, just one of them—resonate as much in Britain as they do in the Caribbean because, although the hereditary racial slavery that dominated Bassett's life no longer exists, the "racial-caste hierarchy" that was tied to it still does. And that hierarchy is historically rooted in and still shapes the Caribbean, as well as Britain.

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<TXF>Historians have been writing about the racial-caste hierarchy in the Caribbean for a long time, albeit without always labeling it as such. Stuart Hall called it the "colonial class pyramid."[12] Others have called it a pigmentocracy or a "white/brown/black pyramidal socioeconomic structure."[13] Whatever its name, it refers to a hierarchy based on race, skin color (that shaped colorism), class, status, and gender. At the core of this hierarchy is the construction of race: the creation of distinctions between men and women based on skin color and the linked process of racialization whereby an individual's racial identity becomes critical to their place within society. Ideas about whiteness and blackness existed long before the early modern European project of colonialism, but it was in this process, alongside the rise of hereditary racial slavery and capitalism, that modern ideas of race were codified.[14]

<TX>The construction of race had little to do with biology and everything to do with power, because it underpinned hereditary racial slavery—a racially based capitalist system that produced generational wealth for European nations and a small group of elites. White supremacy—defined by legal scholar Frances Lee Ansley as "a political, economic and cultural system in which whites overwhelmingly control power and material resources, conscious and unconscious ideas of white superiority and entitlement are widespread, and relations of white dominance and non-white subordination are daily re-enacted across a broad array of institutions and social settings"—was critical to the construction of race.[15]

Under hereditary racial slavery, social stratification ordered society. The racial-caste hierarchy became this structure and helped solidify "race" as a group identity. Unlike other

forms of human hierarchy, the Caribbean-derived racial-caste hierarchy was never static: at times it could be fluid, with different groups moving up or down. And although it was an overarching structure across the Anglophone region, there were nuances in individual colonies.

What made the racial-caste hierarchy so distinct was that it always interacted with other forms of category—such as class, gender, legal status, and religion—which exacerbated inequality further. Moreover, as the centuries wore on, new groups would fit into this hierarchy, including those from Asia and the Middle East. Ultimately, however, white men and women and especially elites maintained their power at the top of the racial-caste hierarchy. This hierarchy was the basis for the colonialism that explicitly structured society from the seventeenth to the mid-twentieth century. In the late twentieth century, this racial-caste system changed but did not disappear.

In Britain the racial-caste hierarchy operated differently. It was central and inherent to the economy and wealth accumulation that Britain experienced due to colonialism. It underpinned the powerful form of anti-black racism that became institutionalized through the country's "color bar"—a system that saw black and other people of color denied the same opportunities and rights as white Britons. It seeped into exclusionary laws designed to curtail the black presence in Britain and shaped policies that pitted white working-class communities against black Britons. Aspects of these instances of anti-black racism in Britain persist to this day, above all in the gaping racialized and class disparities in the criminal justice system, healthcare, education, media, politics . . . (the list goes on).[16] The overwhelming evidence of specifically anti-black, institutionalized, blatant, and subtle forms of racism occurs alongside historic and ongoing attempts to deny its existence.[17] In the Caribbean from the 1660s, the racial-caste hierarchy was explicit and codified by specific laws. As the centuries progressed, however, in both the Caribbean and Britain, the racial-caste hierarchy became more implicit,

though no less insidious or violent.

The racial-caste hierarchy is not an all-encompassing concept. It does not consider all forms of anti-black racism. But it helps us center and understand the *structural* nature of racist hierarchies—how they shift and adapt over time and space; how they are made, remade, and resisted; and how they impact everyone, in different ways. The places where skin color, class, capitalism, sexuality, gender, legal status, politics, the economy, and geography intersect are never seamless or frictionless. In different ways and at different times, some of these categories overrode, undercut, or conflicted with others, but together they all helped determine how power remained in the hands of a few.

Paying close attention to the racial-caste hierarchy is also a reminder of how the British Empire (and empires in general) functioned—by adopting an overarching framework of "politics of difference" that included a variety of different people within society but that sustained distinctions and hierarchies among them.[18] This was especially the case when new groups from Asia moved to the Caribbean and had to be slotted into the hierarchy, creating tensions and collaborations with people of African descent. Moreover, the racial-caste hierarchy helps highlight one of the reasons racism is so enduring: because it keeps reinventing itself, adapting to different situations and contexts but still functioning in ways that discriminate.

Within this book run two (braided) arguments. The first is that the roots of contemporary racial and linked class divisions in Britain and the Anglophone Caribbean today lie in the racial-caste hierarchy created in the Caribbean in the early days of the British Empire. (Caste is understood specifically as a form of social stratification—a division of society dependent on different forms of identity. This usage of the term avoids comparisons to other caste systems that operate globally but differently and are not always tied to colonialism.)[19] And this first argument flows into the second: that the racial-caste hierarchy's endurance is based

on the British Empire's *continued* survival. Indeed, the British Empire is inseparable from the racial-caste hierarchy. Both grew in tandem.

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<TXF>The British Empire was a system of global white supremacy and class domination buttressed by violence, exploitation, extraction, and capital accumulation.[20] It was never a legitimate form of political power. Throughout its long existence, the empire has always been contested, especially by those who suffered its worst effects.[21] Mid-twentieth-century constitutional decolonization—the granting of political independence and sovereignty to former colonies—reinscribed British power more than it ended it, as British-led neocolonialism (that is, the persistence of colonialism), alongside US imperialism and neoliberalism, influenced the region. The British Empire lives on in the region's overseas territories, which show little interest in becoming sovereign partly because of their economic dependency on both Britain and the US.

<TX>The realities of neocolonialism reflect how decolonization did not confer a radical break with empire. The process was never designed to do so. Colonial-derived political, social, economic, and cultural ties endured deliberately, not just in former colonies but in Britain too, and not just in policies but also in ideas, ideologies, and institutions. Decolonization was and remains incomplete. And that is why the work to undo the legacies of colonialism—to, in effect, *decolonize decolonization*—reflected in the variety of decolonizing initiatives and projects (in part, including this book) remains vital. Indeed, this book is not only about the physical presence of the British Empire but also the ideological vestiges and legacies of colonial practice and thought that persisted beyond the diminution of that empire and that are ever-present today.[22] In the Caribbean, decolonization processes have begun, but the work is far from over. As of 2024, eight sovereign Caribbean states retain Britain's monarch as their head of state (although some are trying to change this), which is

just one example of the continuing presence of empire.[23] Documented here are the struggles between those who sought to maintain the racial-caste hierarchy and those who tried to end it; between those who tried to maintain empire and those who tried to challenge it.

Consisting of over seven hundred islands and mainland countries in South and Central America, the Caribbean is a small part of the world, and home to around 45 million people today.[24] Despite its relatively small size, the events that have taken place in the Caribbean have been crucial to the creation of the modern world. The Caribbean is the only region to have experienced colonization for a period of over five hundred years, and with this came a series of phenomena—including mass migration, forced relocation and displacement of populations, a brutal economic capitalist system (plantation-based hereditary racial slavery), revolutions, and the creation of entirely new cultures—all of which have tied the region to other parts of the world: the Americas, Europe, Africa, Asia, and the Middle East. Indeed, the history of the Caribbean has led to the region being described as the engine of globalization; a place that was "modern before modernity."[25] From the 1500s to the 1900s, the English (from 1707, "British"), Spanish, French, Dutch, Swedish, Danish, and the Americans carved out different parts of the Caribbean, which became critical to their global empires.[26] But ultimately, the British came to dominate the region, amassing more colonies there than any other Western power.

Caribbean geography shaped British dominance. The islands were accessible by sea routes, which led to their "discovery" and directed thousands of newcomers to the region. The Caribbean's beauty attracted, and continues to entice, travelers and tourists, but its geography can be severe. The stereotype of the Caribbean as a tropical paradise runs parallel to its reputation for death and destruction following in the wake of hurricanes, earthquakes, and volcanic eruptions. Yet the region is not monolithic. From the relatively flat islands, like Barbados, to the volcanic St. Vincent or the mountainous Dominica; from large islands like

Jamaica to the small cays of the Bahamas, one of the distinguishing features of the region is its diversity. Although widely used, the term *Caribbean* is not entirely accurate.[27] It usually refers to all the islands and mainland countries bordering the Caribbean Sea. But the Bahamian archipelago that lies in the southern North Atlantic is also considered part of the Caribbean.

This book takes an expansive view of the Anglophone Caribbean: it explores all the British-controlled areas—from islands located in and around the Caribbean and North Atlantic seas like Bermuda to countries that lie in Central and South America, such as Belize and Guyana. This approach puts into sharp perspective the complexities and variations of the region. And racial diversity matches geographic diversity: throughout the Anglophone Caribbean, one will find African, Chinese, Indian, Lebanese, Syrian, European, and indigenous communities. Together, these cultures lived alongside and interacted with each other, leading to a process of what is known as *creolization*. As a metaphor, used by various Caribbean writers and intellectuals (like Barbadian Edward Kamau Brathwaite, Martinican Édouard Glissant, and scholars like Richard Price) creolization describes the "process by which enslaved and self-liberated Africans, against all odds, created new institutions (languages, religions, legal systems, and more)—for the ways that these people coming from a diversity of Old World societies, drew on their knowledge of homeland institutions to create new ones."[28] From the ashes of violent colonialism new creolized Caribbean cultures and societies were formed that are both hybrid and heterogenous. And of course, within these societies, hierarchies, all rooted in colonialism, continue to exist.

In the early days of England's fledgling empire in the seventeenth century, the Caribbean provided the wealth that fueled Britain's growth as a superpower. When hereditary racial slavery ended, the region's economic significance waned. Former prime minister David Lloyd George derided the Caribbean as the "slums of the Empire."[29] Nevertheless, the

intimate entanglement between the Caribbean and Britain endured even as empire withered away because the colonial connection was so deeply embedded. Britain was never far away from the Caribbean—and the Caribbean was never far away from Britain.

Indeed, and foremost, *Empire Without End* compresses the space between the British and Caribbean archipelagos, arguing that the two regions became deeply entangled with one another. It is also a history of the legacies of the British Empire in Britain and the Caribbean, which centers the Caribbean in key parts of British history. Previous scholarship may have overlooked the "Caribbeanization" of Britain or considered it only in relation to the period of racial slavery, or when larger numbers from the Caribbean moved into post-1945 Britain. The book considers these entangled histories over a much longer period, adopting a *longue durée* approach up to the present.[30] In doing so, racism is placed at the heart of both regions.[31] Telling a history of empire means reckoning with many things—identity, society, the state, capitalism and neoliberalism, policing, education, housing—and these topics were indelibly shaped by racism and therefore feature throughout.

The British Empire was vast and varied, but in its focus on the Anglophone Caribbean, this book hopes to challenge generalizations about it, which are often dominated by a combination of nostalgia or amnesia, or emotions of shame, guilt, and pride. All are evident in polls that reveal, for instance, that Britons in 2020 were more likely than people in Germany, Japan, France, and any other former colonial powers to say that they would like their country to still have an empire.[32] And that many Britons have not only pride in the British Empire but also deep dismay, and even regret, over its demise.

Part of this nostalgia comes from an inability to connect the British Empire to contemporary racial and globally unequal divisions.[33] It is also influenced by the sweeping Victorian-era image of the British Empire, which, in the aftermath of the genocide of indigenous communities and the terror of hereditary racial slavery, reinvented itself as a

supposed liberal, benevolent empire, determined to spread "civilization" and "modernization" (euphemistic terms for white supremacist ideology) to the purportedly backward peoples of Asia and Africa.

By returning to the origins of the British Empire in the seventeenth-century Caribbean, *Empire Without End* tries to dispel this image, notwithstanding the hostility toward histories of Britain that foreground white supremacy, which often provoke a loud defense and violent backlash. Remaining invested in myths of the British Empire (often shaped by a cheap patriotism) is dangerous because it fuels persistent inequalities that stem from colonialism, and which perpetuate violence today, just as it has done in the past.[34]

While seeking to contribute to British as well as black British history, this book also intervenes in Caribbean history. Centering attention on the creation and long life of the racial-caste hierarchy allows for the complexity of Caribbean society and the various groups in the region to be seen more sharply. To focus on it serves as a reminder of the centrality of racial slavery to the political, economic, cultural, and social issues that have dogged the Caribbean's past and that bear heavily on its present. This history also shines a light on some of the smaller islands in the Caribbean, often overlooked in studies of the region due to their size or relative obscurity, to highlight the diversity of the Anglophone area.

A global system built on the fiction of white supremacy, and one maintained through physical and psychological torture across centuries, whose ongoing presence shapes contemporary racial, political, economic, and spiraling environmental inequalities, is something to oppose. Admonitions to tell "both sides of the story"—especially to emphasize the supposed good of this global system, as popularised by historian Niall Ferguson or the theologian Nigel Biggar—are troubling,[35] as they contribute to curtailing ongoing anti-racist movements, deny the reality of institutionalized racism in Britain, undermine the growing reparations movement, and energize violent white nationalism. Moreover, they fail to

consider that no amount of balanced or "both sides" history will obliterate the racist roots of the British Empire.

The racial-caste hierarchy that emerged amid racial slavery was never a betrayal of Britain's purported image of being a freedom-loving land. It was central to its foundation. If there is pride to be had in the British Empire, it lies in the fact that there were always those, like Sally Bassett, who tried to resist it. And in attempts to resist, new forms of Caribbean and British identity and culture were created—in language, religion, music, dress, and literature. Indeed, cultural resistance to the racial-caste hierarchy was endemic throughout this period.

Included here too are the stories of those who went to great lengths to ensure that the empire endured. In telling these stories it is important to remember that not everyone who was invested in upholding empire was the stereotypical rabid racist or die-hard imperialist. Many more were complicit, knowingly and unknowingly, through indifference or willful ignorance of supporting systems of domination. While others, especially African-Caribbean men and women, were heavily invested in empire, seeing it as an important political community that they were just as much a part of as white Britons. Indeed, Caribbean people played a critical role in expanding British identity, as they saw themselves not as outsiders but rather as insiders, and in turn helped inspire new forms of British-Caribbean identity. However, over the course of centuries, Caribbean people's service to empire was often responded to with violent denial and exclusion.

Empire Without End focuses on key moments to tell the history of the racial-caste hierarchy and the persistence of the British Empire, concentrating on the black-white-mixed-race (people of African and European heritage) racial dichotomy. Occasionally it stretches beyond Britain and the Caribbean—in particular to consider how British colonialism in the region shaped the intensification of control in North American colonies and Asia and expansion in Africa. The British Empire did not operate in isolation from its European

counterparts or the US's growing empire. Its interactions with other empires provoked change, competition, and innovation that influenced its mission in the Caribbean and the racial-caste hierarchy. Moreover, the racial-caste hierarchy, while specific to the Caribbean and Britain, spread its tentacles across the globe, overlapping with other racist structures in different colonial locations, or with Jim Crow segregation in the US. Just as the racial-caste hierarchy interacted with broader racialized global empires, there were always those who tried to challenge it. Detailed here are the coalitions across the "Black Atlantic" that African-Caribbean people forged with other people of color in the US, Africa, and Asia. Black politics and culture were never confined to one nation-state or ethnic group; it was intrinsically transnational, drawing on how the legacies of hereditary racial slavery created transoceanic networks and ties between Africa, Europe, the Caribbean, the US, and Asia.[36]

Empire Without End builds on (and is indebted to) current and emerging scholarship and draws on numerous sources. It follows a broad chronological structure, starting in the 1400s and ending today, and features the voices and stories of Caribbean men and women. This is not an even or linear history: some chapters dwell more on the Caribbean or British side of the story. Simultaneous global connections and the ways that events in one part of the world impact the other are highlighted throughout. Ultimately, it seeks to contribute to "reparatory history" through its attempt to consider how a violent past—one example being the life and death of Sally Bassett—that still shapes the present can pave the way for a radically different future. As historian Catherine Hall has aptly described: "Reparatory history must be about more than identifying wrongdoers and seeking redress: it begins with the descendants, trauma and loss, but the hope is that the work of mourning can be linked—to hopes for reconciliation, the repair of relations damaged by historical injustice."[37]

This book is not just written to enlighten. It is written with the optimism that it may contribute to a willingness to dismantle unsustainable five-hundred-year-old hierarchies.

1 Debate remains about the accuracy of Bassett's first name. In some records she is listed as Sarah or Sary, in others Sally. I use Sally as this is the name by which she is most commonly referred.

2 Bassett's trial is recorded in the Courts of Assizes minutes in: Court of Assize— AZ/102/6, Court Proceedings—Sally Bassett Case—1730, 221, Bermuda National Archives.

3 Quito Swan, "Smoldering Memories and Burning Questions: The Politics of Remembering Sally Bassett and Slavery in Bermuda," in Ana Lucia Araujo (ed.), *Politics of Memory: Making Slavery Visible in the Public Space* (New York, 2016), p. 73; Clarence V. H. Maxwell, "'The horrid villainy': Sarah Bassett and the poisoning conspiracies in Bermuda, 1727–30," *Slavery and Abolition* 21 no. 3 (2000): pp. 68–69.

4 James C. Scott, *Weapons of the Weak*: *Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (New Haven, 1985), p. 29.

5 For a detailed account of the statue controversy see: Swan, "Smoldering Memories," pp. 71–91.

6 Swan, "Smoldering Memories," p. 84.

7 Tim Hall, "Race Row Swirls Around Statue: Why Did City Hall Turn Down Sally Bassett?" *Bermuda Sun*, November 14, 2008, p. 8.

8 Swan, "Smoldering Memories," pp. 86–87.

9 Tom Vesey, "A magnificent statue, in just the right place," *Bermuda Sun*, November 21, 2008, p. 9.

10 Tauria Raynor, "What Governor Said,", *Royal Gazette*, February 11, 2009, p. 6.

11 Tauria Raynor, "Governor's remarks were 'insensitive"—Commissiong," *Royal Gazette*, February 11, 2009, p. 1; Tom Vesey, "Governor, please explain what you meant about those statues," *Bermuda Sun*, February 13, 2009, p. 7.

12 Stuart Hall with Bill Schwarz, *Familiar Stranger: A Life Between Two Islands* (London, 2018), p. 97.

13 Gordon K. Lewis, *Main Currents in Caribbean Thought: The Historical Evolution of Caribbean Society in its Ideological Aspects, 1492–1900* (first published 1983; London, 2004), p. 9; Gordon K. Lewis, *Grenada: The Jewel Despoiled* (Baltimore, 1987), p. 7; Charles W. Mills, *The Racial Contract* (first published 1997; London, 2022), p. xxxii.

14 The construction of race in the context of the Caribbean built on earlier forms of human hierarchies that shaped medieval Europe and European contact with the Islamic world, see: Cedric J. Robinson, *Black Marxism: The Making of the Black Radical Tradition* (London, 1983), p. 2.

15 Frances L. Ansley, "Stirring the ashes: race, class and the future of civil rights scholarship," *Cornell Law Review* 74, no. 6 (1988–89), fn129, p. 1024.

16 For a fascinating contemporary take on some of these issues, see: Akala, *Natives: Race and Class in the Ruins of Empire* (London, 2019).

17 For more on the subtle forms of racism, see: Nicola Rollock, *The Racial Code: Tales of Resistance and Survival* (London, 2022).

18 Jane Burbank and Frederick Cooper, *Empires in World History*: *Power and the Politics of Difference* (Princeton, 2010), p. 11.

19 For an insightful discussion of caste similarities and differences in Germany, India, and the United States, see: Isabel Wilkerson, *Caste: The Lies that Divide Us* (London, 2020).

20 For a detailed study of the violence of British colonialism, see: Caroline Elkins, *Legacy of Violence: A History of the British Empire* (London, 2022).

21 For a fuller account of anti-colonial resistance, see: Priyamvada Gopal, *Insurgent Empire: Anticolonial Resistance and British Dissent* (London, 2019).

22 On the colonial mind, see: Robert Gildea, *Empires of the Mind*: *The Colonial Past and*

the Politics of the Present (Cambridge, 2019).

23 As of August 2024, these currently include Antigua and Barbuda, the Bahamas, Belize, Grenada, Jamaica, St. Lucia, St. Kitts and Nevis, and St. Vincent and the Grenadines.

24 This figure is taken from https://worldpopulationreview.com/continents/caribbean-population (accessed 5/6/2024).

25 David Scott, "Modernity that predated the modern: Sidney Mintz's Caribbean," *History Workshop Journal*, Issue 58 (2004): pp. 191–210.

26 For a broad overview of the various empires operating in the Caribbean, see: Carrie Gibson, *Empire's Crossroads: A History of the Caribbean from Columbus to the Present Day* (London, 2015).

27 Oftentimes the region is divided into the Greater and Lesser Antilles. The Greater Antilles in the north include the Cayman Islands, Cuba, Haiti, the Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico, Jamaica, and the Lesser Antilles in the south and east that include Antigua and Barbuda, Barbados, Dominica, Grenada, St. Kitts and Nevis, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and the Grenadines, Trinidad and Tobago, Martinique, Guadeloupe, the US Virgin Islands, and Aruba, among others.

28 Richard Price, "Créolisation, Creolization, and Créolité," *Small Axe* 21, no. 1 (March 2017): p. 214. Edouard Glissant, "Creolisation and the Americas," *Caribbean Quarterly* 57, no. 1, (March 2011): pp. 11–20; Edward Kamau Brathwaite, *The Development of Creole Society in Jamaica, 1770–1820* (Oxford, 1971).

29 Marc T. Greene, "Slums of the Empire," *Spectator*, August 15, 1947, p. 7, http://archive.spectator.co.uk/article/15th-august-1947/7/-slums-of-the-empire (accessed 18/1/2024).

30 For more on the significance of the *longue durée* approach, see: Jo Guldi and David Armitage, *The History Manifesto* (Cambridge, 2014), pp. 14–37.

31 By focusing on Britain and the Caribbean, I wish to spotlight the centrality of both areas to the changing nature of racism while recognizing that they do not fully encapsulate everything there is to say on this issue.

32 Robert Booth, "UK More Nostalgic for Empire than Other Ex-Colonial Powers," *Guardian*, March 11, 2020, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/mar/11/uk-more-nostalgic-for-empire-than-other-ex-colonial-powers (accessed 28/4/2022).

33 Paul Gilroy, *After Empire: Melancholia or Convivial Culture?* (Oxford, 2004), pp. 102–3. It is also part of the "imperial history wars"; see: Dane Kennedy, *The Imperial History Wars: Debating the British Empire* (London, 2018).

34 Richard Drayton, "Where Does the World Historian Write From? Objectivity, Moral Conscience and the Past and Present of Imperialism," *Journal of Contemporary History* 46, no. 3 (2011): p. 685. For more on the ways in which the historical discipline has shaped the British Empire, see: Priya Satia, *Time's Monster: History, Conscience and Britain's Empire* (London, 2020).

35 Niall Ferguson, *Empire: How Britain Made the Modern World* (London, 2003); Nigel Biggar, *Colonialism: A Moral Reckoning* (London, 2023). There are recently published works that counter the narratives of Ferguson and Biggar; see: Gopal, *Insurgent Empire*; Sathnam Sanghera, *Empireland: How Imperialism Has Shaped Modern Britain* (London, 2021); Kehinde Andrews, *The New Age of Empire: How Racism and Colonialism Still Rule the World* (London, 2021); Kojo Koram, *Uncommon Wealth: Britain and the Aftermath of Empire* (London, 2022); Charlotte Lydia Riley, *Imperial Island: A History of Empire in Modern Britain* (London, 2023); Sathnam Sanghera, *Empireworld: How British Imperialism Has Shaped the Globe* (London, 2024); Alan Lester (ed.), *The Truth about Empire: Real Histories of British Colonialism* (London, 2024); Corinne Fowler, *Our Island Stories:*

Country Walks through Colonial Britain (London, 2024).

36 Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic*: *Modernity and Double Consciousness* (London, 1993).

37 Catherine Hall, "Doing reparatory history: bringing 'race' and slavery home," *Race & Class* 60, no. 1 (2018): p. 12.