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IMAGES OF THE 'OTHER'

The visual representation of African people as an indicator of socio-cultural values in nineteenth century England

BARBARA BUNTMAN

Dissertation submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for
the Degree of Master of Arts at the University of the Witwatersrand,
March 1994

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DECLARATION

I declare that this dissertation is my own unaided work. It is being submitted for the degree of Master of Arts at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other university.

Barbara Buntman
31 March 1994

ABSTRACT

This research examines the way in which the ideology of difference is reflected in visual images of black people in Britain in the nineteenth century. Concepts of the 'other' are located within specific contemporary socio-cultural and political contexts. Historically, this was an important period in which theories of human difference proliferated, and which in turn informed diverse and often contradictory social practices. The white English behaviour towards, and perspective of, black people in England had a direct bearing not only on life in Britain, but in the colonies as well. The images produced in England were critical to the colonial enterprise. They informed British attitudes to Africa and the Empire more generally.

Implicit in the analysis of the images is an evaluation of the emergence of hegemonic ideas, and the manipulation of power by the ruling class. The beliefs and trends of a society are reflected in its visual arts. The methodology employed aims to bring together analyses of the production of visual representations within a broad chronological and thematic framework, so as to assess the social production of meaning in the images. To do this it is necessary to verify the presence of black people as residents in England. Chapter one addresses this issue as well as determines to what extent the notion of blackness was integral to an early formation of a black stereotype. Some of the implications of British participation in the slave trade are also considered. Images of slaves which are the main focus of chapter two, demonstrate socio-cultural attitudes of early nineteenth-century English people. Chapter three examines the rise of science and systematic knowledge which led to both technical and popular theorising about racial difference. The congruence between scientific and popular understandings led to the emergence of notions of 'types' and hierarchies of people, which were to dominate ideas and attitudes for decades. Concurrent with the rise of science was the growth of a popular image of a stereotyped black 'other'. Chapter four evaluates the processes through which these images were disseminated in a fast growing popular culture. The inequalities of power relations within English society, as manifest in the images, are analyzed. Chapter five considers the ways in which the white male producers of images perceived black women. The contradictions and ambiguities of the visual systems in this chapter point to the complexities of cultural practice, and of artists and producers' particular views on blackness and femaleness. The conclusion summarises the way in which the concept of an 'other' has been used in this dissertation.

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My final but most grateful acknowledgement is to my husband Jonny. Without his unfailing backing and understanding I could never have completed this work. He has given me both the unconditional love and financial support to sustain me through this project.

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INTRODUCTION

The primary aim and thrust of this dissertation is to analyze the manner in which the development of theories of race, and cultural attitudes about blackness, are reflected in visual productions of nineteenth century England. Examination of a range of representations, from 'fine art' to popular images, such as caricatures, will indicate the visual conventions which reflected and reinforced social attitudes. I begin by locating black people historically in England. I then assess how the visual representation of black people as a social construct shows how both black people, and representations of them, were considered as alien and different, and seen as the 'other.'

The dissertation postulates that society and culture are not static. The images reveal the changes in English people's perceptions about black people and blackness. In the beginning of the 1800s, people tended to acknowledge racial difference in a relatively benign manner. As the century progressed, however, racial difference was increasingly understood from racist perspectives.

I aim to explore some of the issues that lay beneath a seemingly united series of actions and objects. The task of analysis then, involves interpretation of the production of knowledge that over the years achieved some sort of status as an accepted form of truth or fact. This methodology uncovers the ongoing play of domination through selected images of the subjugated. Investigation did not reveal visual images which clearly demonstrate black resistance to white domination. (This is not necessarily surprising, as mechanisms of power often involve ignoring or hiding opposition to that power.) The absence of images of resistance, as well as the large number of additional issues the question of

resistance would involve if posed, put the question of resistance beyond the scope of this dissertation.[1] This is not to say, however, that the absence of images of resistance implies that black people did not challenge the encroaching racism of Britain in the nineteenth century. As Foucault notes, "[w]here there is power there is resistance, and yet, or rather consequently, this resistance is never in a position of exteriority in relation to power" (Foucault 1990: 95). While the theme of resistance is markedly underdeveloped in Foucault's work, he recognises its role in constituting power relations.[2] The question of resistance, while it remains beyond the scope of this dissertation, is relevant to future research on the visual constructions of race, racism and black people in England.

Examination of the inter-relationships between the forms of knowledge, the images and what informed their making, are made paramount. Like Scott, who uses "... knowledge, following Foucault, to mean the understanding produced by cultures and societies of human relationships...", I mean the complex and relative knowledge white English people had of black people and of their role within English social organisation. In Scott's understanding of the concept of knowledge it becomes apparent that

> ...uses and meanings become contested politically and are the means by which relationships of power - of domination and subordination - are constructed. Knowledge refers not only to ideas but to institutions and structures, everyday practices as well as specialised rituals, all of which constitute social relationships (Scott 1988: 2).

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[1] The dissertation does, however, allude to hints and examples of resistance. Specifically, Chapter one notes the existence of black intellectuals who opposed slavery; Chapter two notes black people involved in self-emancipation; Chapter three notes a contemporary publication which objected to racist typologies; Chapter four notes that Harriet Beecher Stowe's Uncle Tom was appreciated by whites precisely because he was not a resisting subject; and Chapter five notes black resistance to slavery as part of a class and race based issue.

[2] Foucault's lack of attention to resistance may in part be attributed to the fact that he considers resistance an aspect of power relations. Sarup (1993:81) notes that Foucault asserts that "power is everywhere: it filters up from below, it is produced at every moment", but Sarup also explains that while Foucault "remarks that where there is power there is resistance, he offers no grounds for encouraging resistance or struggle."

This art historical research is thus built upon history's scaffolding, and upon a multidisciplinary approach. I employ some of the traditional methodologies of art history which include a broad chronological framework, and the use of visual analysis to decode the inconographies and inconologies within the images. Nineteenth century artistic conventions and practices are noted where appropriate. Relationships between image and audience are also fluid. The artists were participants of the society and not isolated from it. A dialectical reciprocity exists in that the visual images inform the receiving culture, which in turn reinforces or alters prevailing attitudes of both makers and consumers of the visual object. Thus the visual images can be said to act as material evidence embodying values and ideas of that society. Moreover, production of representations is influenced by the power/knowledge couplet which produces a 'reality', which allows for a new (and more authoritative) exercise of power. It could be said that

> there is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same time power relations (Foucault 1979: 27).

The work of Foucault has been useful insofar as the relationship between power and knowledge with which he is concerned speaks to visual imagery; that is, the visual image can be implicated in the production of power and knowledge. This is an important aspect to the way theory has been used in interpretation of this dissertation. This is not to suggest, however, that this dissertation strictly follows restricted Foucauldian perspective; it does not. In contrast, in my reading of the visual materials and histories that are the focus of this dissertation, it is appropriate to have recourse to the ideas of both structuralism and poststructuralism (and postmodernism), drawing in particular on the work of Althusser and Foucault. Their frameworks are, of course, often fundamentally different, even contradictory, so that it is necessary to briefly demonstrate how this work constitutes their writing as compatible in the interpretation of images.

For Foucault, power is located in all arenas and through all relationships: it is power "diffused throughout multiple social sites" (Best and Kellner 1991:39). Power is thus not tied nor limited to obvious expressions of governance and control, such as legislatures or militaries: "it is, rather, a pervasive, intangible network of force which weaves its way into our slightest gestures and most intimate utterances"(Eagleton 1991:7). Althusser too recognises the various lodgings and expressions of power - broadly, in the infrastructure or economic base and in the superstructure - in particular, in the ideological and repressive state apparatuses.[3] For Althusser, however, some sites of power are more important than others, so, for example, in capitalist economy one can meaningfully speak of a dominant capitalist class, and in racist society one can meaningfully speak of a dominant class or group based on race. In this perspective, while power may on one hand be ubiquitous (as in/with Foucault), there are more or less important sites and expressions of power and dominance for Althusser. Without subscribing to his privileging of the economic base (albeit in the last instance) as the ultimate basis of power, this dissertation shares the notion that the ubiquity of power does not mean that dominant power(s) do not and cannot arise. Thus, the non-Foucauldian view, shared by Althusser and others, that power may coalesce in dominant groups, underlies an important part of the account of racist domination in this dissertation.

In understanding continuities between Foucault and Althusser, it is useful to consider the status of ideology. Both Althusser[4] and Foucault[5] would reject an understanding of ideology as suggesting any kind of false consciousness. For Althusser, this is because ideology is the way we experience ourselves

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[3] Refer to Louis Althusser, ***Essays on Ideology***: 1993

[4] "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses" in Althusser 1993: 1-60

[5] "Truth and Power" in Foucault 1980: 109-133

and our reality (which is not to suggest that this is a knowledge of the real, but an imagined representation of the real).

> Ideology represents the imaginary relationship of individuals to their real conditions of existence...
> What is represented in ideology is therefore not the system of the real relations which govern the existence of individuals, but the imaginary relation of those individuals to the real relations in which they live (Althusser 1993:36 and 39).

Foucault, on the other hand, rejects the ideas of ideology not because of their frequent association with ideas of 'false consciousness', but because, insofar as ideology speaks to "any kind of intersection between belief systems and political power (Eagleton 1991:6)[6], Foucault would reject the idea of power being a discrete sphere of existence, and in particular, reject privileging power as referring to the 'political' realm of government (or 'politics'). The concept of ideology is rejected because inter alia, "it assumes the possibility of a form of truth constituted outside the field of power (Best and Kellner 1991: 56). Power, for Foucault, is dispersed, indeterminate, heteromorphous, subjectless and productive...(Best and Kellner 1991: 48-49).

As Eagleton rightly points out, however, the problem with rejecting ideology because 'everything is ideological', is that there is no distinction made between more or less important relationships of power and power struggles. This is not to suggest any intrinsic or essential hierarchy or valorization of power, but rather that, in any given social formation, there is a greater and lesser importance attached to particular relationships of power. For Eagleton then,

> "[t]he force of the term ideology lies in its capacity to discriminate between those power struggles which are somehow central to a whole form of social life, and those which are not ... It is perfectly possible to agree with Nietzsche and Foucault that

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[6] Eagleton does not limit himself to this definition or understanding. He notes: "My own view is that both the wider and narrower ser of ideology have their uses, and that their mutual incompatibility, descending as they do from divergent political and conceptual histories, must simply be acknowledged (Eagleton 1991:7).

> power is everywhere, while wanting for certain practical purposes to distinguish between more and less central instances of it (Eagleton 1991:8).

Moreover, I argue that those 'central instances' are often instances marked by relations of domination, such as racial domination, and these warrant particular attention. Althusser is particularly useful here, as he is concerned with the power of ideology as an expression of dominant interests. While Althusser's understanding of ideology recognises both relations of support and opposition to dominant power holders as intrinsic to ideology, his primary concern is to understand ideology as a dominant formation (Eagleton 1991: 18).

The choice of a few central themes which form the chapter topics have allowed for evaluation of selected images to be made within specific contexts. Within each area of focus the images then allow for an exploration of a variety of different contexts which affected contemporary social reception and for an assessment of the impact of those representations of black people on the soci-political terrain. At times they will be shown to reflect existing attitudes, at others, they will provide evidence of the production of new knowledge. The contexts and settings of visual evidence are as heterogeneous as the publics for whom they were produced; for example, graphic art produced for popular illustrated periodicals would be differently consumed from that produced expressly for scientific purposes. Consequently a plurality of images produced in a variety of mediums, and functioning within a plurality of discourses and institutions will be shown to respond to the complex heterogeneity of English society. Similarly, the context of circulation is an integral part of meaning.

I employ a pluralist methodology to allow me to address a variety of images within contexts of social and political relations in nineteenth-century Britain. The analysis which follows breaks new ground for the following reasons. Firstly, it is an attempt to bring together a diverse range of images and ideas previously explored in other disparate disciplines, but which are topics nevertheless isolated by their own

disciplines. The texts and images examined are drawn from a wide range which varies from the original source, for example Stedman's 1796 *Narrative, of a five years' expedition against the Revolted Negroes of Surinam...* through to works such as Honour's *Image of the Black in Western Art.* Representations were sourced from all manner of orignal publications and from illustrated texts by nineteeth and twentieth century scholars whose works covered discourses in literature, social science and history, politics and in a few instances, art. In the light of theories and ideas gained from this broad scope of learning I present a new perspective and offer a reading of representations of black people produced in nineteenth century England.

In the main, taking high art images of black people from the wide corpus of western art, Honour discusses a selection in their historical contexts (Honour 1989). Boime, emphasising American work, argues "through selected case studies the ways in which images of black people exemplify the strategies of cultural practice in addressing societal conditions" (Boime 1990: xiv). Pieterse's (1992) images are useful but inadequately documented and his overview is superficial. Works in related areas by scholars such as Coombes (1985), Gilman (1985), Gould (1984, 1985), Pratt (1985, 1992) and Brantlinger (1985) are highly specialised and bear the original stamp of their authors. Ideas and concepts such as theirs have made substantial contributions in allowing me to scrutinize the art, evaluate the producing and receiving society and to stretch boundaries by exploring areas that have previously been ignored.

Specific scholarship covering research by art, social, and traditional historians, anthropologists, scientists, and critical theorists which adheres to the focus of each discipline has been utilised. Existing scholarship covered by the main areas of focus of this dissertation includes individual authors whose work was consulted for issues pertaining to different histories of black people in England and which do not usually acknowledge the value of the visual representation. Clearly, contemporaneously produced images, texts

and contexts formed a fundamental resource base. Extensive research undertaken into academic and religious tracts, art and popular media contemporary with the period allowed me to integrate appropriate components into this work. I bring all these different elements together into an art historical framework whilst the methodological framework remains rooted in the discipline's current practice.

The deliberate choice of a wide variety of representations ranging from the traditional categories of 'high' to 'low' art, allows secondly, for a comprehensive and thorough review of the many dimensions and ways in which English society confronted difference, explored questions and meanings of race and the role played by black people in English life. The range of images is very wide covering for example, scientific illustrations, images from popular literature to works of fine art. Thirdly, by grouping images together thematically, it has been possible to explore some significant areas of focus in some detail, for example the representation of black women. Fourthly, my use of a range of sources of visual representations, as well as my use, at times, of an interdisciplinary approach, allows for some investigation of the history of racism that, *inter alia* shows how racist attitudes change over time. This in turn allows me to suggest that as racism has been both less and more powerful in the past, so its power can be challenged in the future. It is important to demonstrate how visual imagery is fundamental and integral to 'everyday life' and consequently, the role of visual representations in both creating and challenging (racist) ideologies needs to be recognised. Finally, in bringing a cross section of themes and ideas together, this work extends existing knowledge of the ways in which visual culture operated at the height of British imperial expansion and this should contribute to understanding and scholarship in fields as diverse as colonial studies, feminist studies or the exploration of attitudes to racial difference.

Black people form the predominant subject matter in the images. However, the main subjects of the dissertation are the artists and other producers who made the images, and their consumer audience. In

this sense, the research concerns white rather than black people in England. The construction of the stereotyped 'other' indicates, therefore, a white nineteenth-century English view of Africans.

Neither black people of African origin nor the producers of the images, white English males, can be presupposed to have been part of a fully cohesive, homogenous group. It can be said, in the Althusserian sense however, that the dominant white male group made and presented images of a minority and subject group in England in the nineteenth century. English Society's practices and institutions defined the role of black people by maintaining and securing the racial and patriarchal order. Thus, this dissertation investigates the way in which white power and domination, with its attendant prejudices and bigotry, is presented and represented in the images chosen for analysis. In a Foucauldian sense, it explores the ways in which power traverses and produces things and forms knowledge and is considered as a productive network which runs through the whole social body, much more than as a negative instance whose function is repression (Foucault 1980: 119). It shows how males, as the producers of most graphic and sculptural images, were the makers and perpetrators of myths.

In order to accurately portray the perspectives of artists and other social commentators, I have adhered strictly to their language and spelling, particularly as their words or concepts reveal their partiality. Similarly, many of these words - like "savage" or "primitive" - which are politically loaded, or morally offensive to myself or readers, have been used in the original form. It is my intention that my dissertation as a whole challenges and deconstructs these notions and images. The terminology is used within the specific context of Victorian writing, or in comment on its thinking. Words like Negro/negro, Kafir or Hottentot, then are used as the authors and public used them. I have similarly retained the traditional use of "man" and "men" which, as Norton suggests, at once implies and disguises the

presence of women. She asserts that "woman are included in mankind only ambivalently. Woman is, and is not, man. She appears in mankind as an absence, a silence, a lack" (Norton 1988: viii).

The term black is used to denote people of African origin. It is important to note that many of the black people discussed in this work were English, so that given the nature of this research, racial distinctions have had to be drawn. That is, one cannot talk of the English and Africans, and assume them to be white and black respectively. In addition, I have been scrupulous in using only those examples which pertain in some way to British production or consumption.

The first chapter establishes the presence of black people in England from Roman times. It shows how ideas about black people and blackness as a social construct became entrenched in systems of thought that then became part of the dominant social structure. These concepts form a symbiotic relationship, each informing the other into a combined, synergetic relationship. The creation of a stereotyped image of black people *per se*, employed what had become traditional arguments and established myths. The chapter ends with the issue of the slave trade.

During the early years of the nineteenth century, still under the influence of the religious revival of the eighteenth century, missionary and anti-slave activities had social and political influence. Evangelists, humanitarians and philanthropists examined the slave trade and the institution of slavery itself. By mid-century abolition and emancipation and the "oppressed Negro" were popular issues of concern. Visual images which were used to enhance appeals for help and for protection of slaves were duplicated in countless missionary magazines and in the political arena. Chapter two explores these events and images, and shows how the generalised image of a slave had become what Pratt calls a widespread and stable form of 'othering'. She explains how "[t]he people to be othered are homogenized into a collective

"they", which is distilled even further into an iconic "he" (the standardized adult male specimen) (Pratt 1985: 120).

Popular racial theories and anthropological explorations form the background to chapter three. Status and class distinctions which were primary concerns of the mid-Victorians underlay their attitudes to race. The change to more overt racism came with the rise of general scientific inquiry and the popularisation of anthropology. Just as it was common practice for Victorians to compartmentalise all of society into convenient social classes, so they generalised people according to the concept of 'type'. Types and typology became an overriding way of seeing and thinking which was to last for the rest of the century and further to influence twentieth century thinking.

The complex system of codes and signs inherent in popular images come together in chapter four. From the late 1850s and 1860s onwards, racist attitudes hardened and were exaggerated. Physical and racial differences were transformed into moral and ethical differences and cultural identities. Along with a growth in a collective perception of Anglo-Saxon superiority and influenced by scientific developments and pseudo scientific trends, many images portray these changes. The values which were also part of the construction of meaning are seen to have been mythologised as concepts inherent within the image, as they were frequently seen to be 'read' or interpreted as empirical truths.

Chapter five brings together not only the ideas and attitudes with regard to blacks which had persisted for centuries, but also those representations and ways of seeing that specifically relate to the male gaze when viewing women and images of women. In particular, the focus is on the combination of racism and patriarchy, as black women are portrayed by white men. The variety of images of women which are analysed in this chapter are united more by their similarities than their differences in the way women, particularly black women, were depicted; they are shown to be another constructed identity.

Finally, one cannot talk of 'other' without an acknowledgement of 'self'. My aim is not to tell the story of blacks in Britain, nor to speak on their behalf. It is rather to contribute to an understanding of the experience and construction of British attitudes to 'race', based upon visual evidence. As representations communicate ideas to a spectator there is, in turn, a mediation between the viewer's perspective or way of seeing and the image itself. Visual production cannot be viewed in isolation. Thus both fine and popular art forms act as part of social and cultural practice; involving relations of power, dialectics, interactions, ideological practices, political and economic factors, all of which construct the values and belief systems of that society. The nineteenth century English construction of black people as a stereotyped and marginalised 'other' had a fundamental and lasting impact on South Africa. My interest in this work arises out of my commitment to non-racialism and a strong belief that to understand the past helps us confront, and in the case of South Africa, change the future.

Chapter One

ESTABLISHING THE PRESENCE OF BLACK PEOPLE IN ENGLAND FROM PRE-CHRISTIAN TIMES

This chapter establishes that black people lived in Britain from early Roman times, and surveys their presence there to the end of the eighteenth century. As black people of African origin were part of a clearly identifiable group, it also establishes some of the bases for the continuous construction of stereotypes. The associated development of English ideas about 'blackness' are also assessed. The overview demonstrates how these ideas became entrenched in popular imagination. The final section of this chapter shows that by the beginning of the nineteenth century, the central issue with regard to black people in Britain was the slave trade. By the early 1800's, white domination and institutionalised subjugation of blacks had been introduced and was beginning to be effective[1].

ESTABLISHING A PRESENCE

An inscription dated 253-258CE records the presence of a group of black Roman troops from Africa who were stationed in England to defend Hadrian's Wall. This establishes the presence of black people in Britain even prior to the development of an English identity (Fryer 1987: 1). Prompted by G.L. Cheesman's work *The Auxilia of the Roman Imperial Army*, Fryer suggests that Romans in Britain during the second and third centuries might have brought North Africans to serve as slaves and soldiers, and

[1] There are few visual images in this chapter as its purpose is primarily to locate black people historically in England. They function rather as illustrations to some aspects of the text and do not receive the analytical attention of subsequent images.

even as officers *(praefecti)* (Fryer 1987: 2)[2]. There are Irish and Scottish records which document the presence of Africans about 400 to 500 years after the Romans left (Fryer 1987: 2).

Early sixteenth century records place a group of Africans in Edinburgh at the same time that a black trumpeter was employed first by Henry VII, and subsequently by Henry VIII, in England[3]. In the summer of 1555, five men from what is now Ghana, were brought to England (Fryer 1987: 5). It is not quite clear whether this group were brought as slaves or if they were simply 'borrowed' as some sort of show piece. A possible motive for bringing them into England was to teach them to speak English. This would have allowed the five to return to Africa as interpreters for the English merchants who hoped to become involved in general trade. Although the Portuguese predominated in European trade with West Africa in the 1500s, as trade from England began to expand, English intervention became increasingly important. The British slaving business was relatively small up to the mid-1600s, but continued to expand, eventually to become a lucrative trade for, amongst others, British merchants.

The exact origin of a more permanent black population in England is not clear[4]. There were, however, enough people of African origin for Elizabeth I to note that the black presence did not please her[5]. Her concern was recorded in the *Acts of the Privy Council* (XXVI,1589-1601,16). Walvin notes that:

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[2] "An American Negro author, basing his claim on the writings of Tacitus, wherein he finds mention of "the swarthy faces of the Sieures, the curly quality in general, of their hair suggests that a black aboriginal race lived in the British isles in pre-Roman times" (Little 1948: 165).

[3] It is important to note that black people had a permanent as well as a temporary presence in England. Fryer (1987: xi) notes that blacks "have been in Britain since about the year 1505".

[4] By the end of the sixteenth century, the total population of London and Westminster was approximately 125 000 (Altick 1978: 34) and of England "around 3 000 000" (Fryer 1984: 10). It is not possible to ascertain what portion of the population owed its origin to Africa.

[5] Given Elizabeth I's attitude, it may be ironic to note that in the 1570's she too "was shown with a group of black musicians and dancers (who were) entertaining her courtiers and herself" (Fryer 1987: 9).

> In 1596 Elizabeth sent a letter[6] to the Lord Mayor of London and other cities saying that according to "Her Majesty's understanding...there are of late divers black moores brought into these realms, **of which kind there are already too manie**, considerynge how God had blessed this land with great increase of people...". In July of that year the monarch again expressed her views about the black settlers, asserting "...that those kinde of people may well be spared in this realm, **being so populous**...". Despite her efforts to rid the country, badly afflicted by hunger and poverty, of 'those kinde of people' by 1601 the problem was still felt to be so severe that the ageing Queen issued a royal Proclamation ordering all 'blacke-moores' out of the kingdom. (Walvin 1971: 12 emphasis added).

The attempt at deportation revolves around the activities of a merchant, Casper van Senden. In July 1596 he arranged for the release of eighty nine English prisoners held by Spain and Portugal, and asked the Queen in return for a license to arrest a similar number of "blackamoors" resident in England and "transport them to Spain and Portugal" (Fryer 1987: 11). In way of support of the request, Elizabeth not only assented but justified the act as one of compassion. Perhaps the *Acts of the Privy Council of England* (n.s. XXVI,1596-7 pp 16-17) reflect the current and popular opinion of the time.

> [c]onsidering the reasonablenss of his requests to transport so many blackamoors from here, [the queen] thinks it a very good exchange and that those kind of people may well be spared in this realm...[Public officers] are therefore...required to aid and assist him to arrest such blackamoors as he shall find in this realm, with the consent of their masters, who we have no doubt - considering her majesty's good pleasure to have those kind of people sent out of the land...and that, with christian love of their fellow-men, they will prefer to be served by their own countrymen rather than by those kind of people, will yield those in their possession to him (cited by Fryer 1987: 11).

This unscrupulous and immoral deal[7] did not succeed in substantially reducing the black population, nor did it keep the population of England white. Within five years, in 1601, Elizabeth I issued another

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[6] Open letter of July 11 1569 from Elizabeth I to the Lord Mayor of London and his aldermen and the mayors and sheriffs of other towns (Fryer 1987 10).

[7] The deal was struck and the return of English prisoners was made possible by the exchange. The unfortunate eighty-nine people appear to have, in turn, been resold to a German slave-trader (Fryer 1987: 12).

proclamation which registered her annoyance at the "great numbers of negars and blackamoors" , most of them alleged "infidels" who were receiving the food and care she felt were owed to her own people (Fryer 1987: 12). Ironically, Elizabeth's lack of success needs to be contrasted with her desire to bolster the economy[8] through encouraging trade with Africa. This trade in turn increased the numbers of Africans in England. The monarch's failure to alter the racial status quo is apparent. Walvin cites the *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1627-1628; 1667-1668* which note that within two decades "the black minority had firmly integrated itself into socially accepted positions" (Walvin 1971: 13).

Neither prejudice against, nor acceptance of black people prevented aristocratic and financial elites from owning one or two black slaves as household servants[9]. The majority of black slaves brought into England as slaves were children and youths, who in addition to their usefulness as servants, were considered exotic and thus served as social indicators of their owner's wealth and status. Their living conditions, were to say the very least, extremely hard and frequently inhumane. It was common practice to brand their bodies (Fryer 1987: 23). In addition, they would have to endure the humiliation of wearing collars made of brass, copper or silver generally inscribed with the owner's name, initials, coat of arms or other symbol (Fryer 1978: 22). To complete the process of completely deracinating people taken from Africa, their names were also changed.

> It was the fashion for black slaves owned by titled families, by high-class prostitutes, and by others with social pretensions to be given high-sounding Greek or Roman names: Zeno, for instance, or Socrates, or Scipio - or even Scipio Africanus. Commonest was

[8] "The English gentleman Sir John Hawkins made three trips to America from the West Coast of Africa between 1563 and 1567, taking with him several hundreds of the Natives, whom he sold as slaves. Queen Elizabeth became a partner in this nefarious traffic. So elated was she at its profits that she knighted him, and he most happily selected for his crest a Negro head and bust, with arms pinioned. It was a lucrative business, and though it at first shocked the sensibilities of Christians nations and rulers, they soon reconciled themselves, not only to the traffic, but introduced the servitude as part of the economic system of their dependencies in America" (Fryer 1987: Archer cited in Fryer 1987: 411).

[9] Lady Raleigh, the wife of Sir Walter, was one such slave owner (Fryer 1987:9).

> Pompey, which by the 1750's had virtually become a generic term for a black servant; from black servants 'it descended to little dogs' (Fryer 1987: 24).

Sometimes, however, to conform with the desire for their display of opulence, wealthy people would dress their slaves in elaborate costumes; sometimes even conflating fashion ideas from the East and Europe[10].

Political, economic and social conditions in England were ripe for the establishment of the slave trade.[11]

Colonial ideals played a vital role in its growth. Political support for colonial structures was gathered primarily because of the strong lobby to colonize the West Indies. The triangular trade between Africa, England and the West Indies was of fundamental importance. Development and growth of British industry and trade was directly related to the plantations in the colonies and the slave trade with Africa.[12]

West Indian production of monoculture crops, especially sugar, were highly labour intensive; slaves were seen as the way to satisfy agriculture's needs. In England, the rise of the merchant class paralleled that of the plantocrats in the West Indies. Economically, the relationship between the supply and demand for sugar and the growth of the factory system were contributory factors to English manufacturing and commercial development. The export/import trade flourished and the income that accrued helped build English infrastructure whilst simultaneously bolstering the slave trade.

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[10] Refer to Fryer 1987:25 and Dabydeen 1987.

[11] Refer to Rodney 1982: 93-146; Jordan 1974: 26f; Curtin 1964:68-70; Fryer1987: 33-52; and an example of 19th century texts in Fryer 1989: 117f; Walvin 1971:22f

[12] The problem of slavery is central to any discussion of the presence of black people in England from the seventeenth century onwards; some of the essential issues and events highlighted here will point to some of the major concerns and will provide the context for the later examination of nineteenth century images of slaves. Theories relating an in-depth discussion about the slave -trade are not appropriate in this brief historical outline.

In England, subsidiaries of the slave trade included shipbuilding, the insurance industry, investment banking, vast employment opportunities and the expansion of England's seaports. Africa's inland market and growing seaports accepted iron, textiles, firearms, rum and brandy in return for African people[13]. Whilst the growth of the factory system resulted in a particular set of socio-economic problems for white British people, the situation of seventeenth century black people in England followed its own complex dynamic. By the mid-seventeenth century the English slave trade was an established fact[14], despite some people having reservations[15] about buying and selling people as commodities. Adults and children were brought into England to perform menial labour or as "body-servants or pets" (Fryer 1987: 21). Many arrived on English shores on route to the West Indies, as rich plantation owners returning to England would often bring with them a retinue of servants. It was not unusual too, for servants to be given as perks for captains and other upper ranking naval officers.

Another component of the black population in England were freed African sailors who had replaced white English deserters. On retirement from a nautical life, they settled in England. Black people thus settled in the four provincial seaports of Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham and Bristol, although the largest concentration of black people in England was in London (Fryer 1987: 32). The example of the retired seamen serves to indicate that the social status of black people varied from different levels of servitude to freedom.

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[13] Refer to Walvin: 1971, Fryer 1987.

[14] Evidence of English trafficking in slaves before the 1660's is scrappy, but it does exist. By 1663 an English company, The Royal Adventures into Africa, obtained a charter specifying slaves as an objective (Fryer 1987: 20).

[15] For example, Fryer notes that in 1620, Captain Richard Jobson trading up the Gambia River refused to buy the female slaves offered to him, asserting that the English did not "buy or sell one another, or any kind that had our own shapes" (Fryer 1987: 20). This is a small instance of the complex nature of issues related to the slave trade.

The presence of blacks in England continued to be a cause of discomfort for some sections of the white population. In 1786, an elaborate and costly government scheme was launched in an attempt to remove substantial numbers of black people to West Africa, under the guise of 'repatriation'. The Sierra Leone 'resettlement scheme' was spearheaded by an eccentric botanist, Henry Smeathman, and received enthusiastic government support (Fryer 1987: 105, 198-202). The costly scheme proved to be totally unworkable, and was disastrous on a human level as well[16].

DEVELOPMENT OF IDEAS ABOUT BLACKNESS

Visual images of black people in nineteenth century England were based on a number of sources, many of which were centuries old. Even though there had been a noticeable presence of black people in England, knowledge of Africans was superficial. Firstly, many influential writers, such as Herodotus, Pliny, Alexander the Great and numerous others, failed to distinguish between 'Indians' and 'Ethiopians'[17]. These terms were used interchangeably to label black people. Secondly, given the conflation between 'Ethiopians' (Africans) and Indians, widely available mythologised and fantastical accounts of India and imagined Indian monsters also contributed to the production of stereotypes of Africa and Africans. Thirdly, ideas about these strange varieties of humankind who "differed in physical appearance and social practice from the person describing them" (Friedman 1981: 1) were, over time, conflated with popular ideas about black people. A more detailed discussion of these fantastical accounts follows.

Rudolf Wittkower's study of the history of monsters, or compound beings, (Wittkower 1942: 159) traces the Greek conception of ethnographical monsters to a belief that would locate the origins of monsters in

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[16] The experiences of Anna Maria Falconbridge, a white Englishwoman, which are recorded in her writing, *Narrative of Two Voyages to the River Sierra Leone (1802)* provide an interesting critique into the situation which pertained in the colony. Her narrative "sets out to decry the hypocrisy and ignorance of abolitionist do-gooders" (Pratt 1992: 103-104).

[17] Refer to Fryer:1987, George:1958, Jones:1965, Wittkower:1942.

the distant East; most particularly in India. He bases much of the early part of his argument on the fourth century BCE text by Ktesias which places the fantastic monsters in India. In stressing the idea that these were 'races' of men, he also notes that the Ancient Greeks were greatly confused with regard to a distinction between 'Indians' and 'Ethiopians'. Wittkower traces the confusion back in time to Homer.

> Poseidon, however, was now gone on a visit to the **distant Ethiopians**, the farthest outposts of mankind, half of them who live where the sun goes down, and half where he rises (Homer 1974: 26, added emphasis).

Wittkower describes the later report of Megasthenes who in c303 BCE was sent as Greek ambassador to the court of the then most powerful Indian king. His report on India which "remained unchallenged for almost 1500 years...not only repeated the old tales but added considerably to the list" (Wittkower 1942: 162). Megasthenes' report appears, on one hand, to present factual data on Indian geography, history, social and political institutions, and so on. On the other, it is an expanded version of popular tales that portray India as a land filled with fantastic beasts and weird human-type individuals surrounded by luxuriant natural growth and fabulous mineral wealth.

Although Megasthenes does not seem to have confused the Indians with the Ethiopians, nor the Ganges with the Nile, other aspects of his book remained for centuries with Ktesias' account, the fundamental basis of knowledge on India in the West. They became, in effect, verbal prototypes of the images people could expect to find in fantastic far off lands 'east of Eden'. These were then translated into visual images which formed the basis of a "pictorial tradition" (Wittkower 1942: 171) of the most extraordinary type. One of the major sources for examples of these may be found on maps. Bizarre representations which Wittkower describes as 'classical prototypes' feature, for example, on the late-thirteenth century Hereford map (Wittkower 1942: 174) [figs 1,2,3]. These depict some of "the fabulous races and animals" thought to be found in particular in India and Ethiopia. The effect of "this visual

material...together with the literary transmission, impressed itself on the minds of people and proved so influential in many branches of medieval thought" (Wittkower 1924: 176).

Building upon the imagination of Homer and Herodotus, Ktesias was responsible for describing and naming a host of strange creatures who inhabited an equally fantastic world.

> He populated India with the pygmies, who fight with the cranes; with the sciapodes, a people with a single large foot on which they move with great speed and which they use as a sort of umbrella against the burning sun;[18] and with the cynocephali, the men with dog's heads "who do not use articulate speech but bark like dogs." There are headless people with their faces placed between their shoulders; there are people with eight fingers and eight toes who have white hair until they are thirty, and from that time onwards it begins to turn black; these people have ears so large that they cover their arms to their elbows and their entire back. In certain parts of India are giants, in others men with tails of extraordinary length " like those of satyrs in pictures" (Wittkower 1942: 160).

The degree to which fact and myth were intertwined cannot be over-emphasised. Equally important is the acknowledgement that these fantastical stories became embedded within English culture and were accepted as undisputed 'truth'. One such example is that of Prester John. This legendary Christian ruler of the east, the centre of a number of legends, was created by the writer, Sir John Mandeville (Wittkower 1942: 181). His accounts of Africa (and elsewhere) and the literary fiction of Prester John's realm, are now acknowledged to be creative transformations imaginatively culled from the works of others. Assuming the role of observer, he embellished his tales of far off lands, to which he had not even travelled, with extravagant images [fig. 6]. Even though by the time of more exact reporting of explorations he was largely discredited, his influence on popular thought was firmly entrenched in society.

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[18] Refer to figure 2.

Similarly, writing in the thirteenth century on Africa, Roger Bacon's so-called scientific approach was also often dependant upon information selected from other sources. Citing the books of Pliny, he accepts as credible the existence of serpent-eating cave dwellers or Troglodites, who 'lack the intercourse of speech'. Further he refers to the "...Aethiopians (who are) much degraded also from that which human nature should be..." (Jones 1965: 2-3 cites *The Opus Majus of Roger Bacon* I: 331).

By the end of the thirteenth century, the conflation of images associated with India and Africa and the belief in the existence of verdant lands inhabited by fantastical creatures was firmly and unequivocally located within English minds. Both 'fact' and fantasy, inevitably intertwined, were also entrenched in popular imagination. In addition to a belief in the existence of individual creatures, further fantastic generalisations about groups and nations proliferated. Many of these were believed to be located in Africa.

> Readers were told that some Ethiopians had no noses, others no upper lips or tongues, others again no mouths. The Syrbotae were eight feet tall. The Ptoemphani were ruled by a dog. The Arimaspi had a single eye, in the forehead. The Agriophagi lived on the flesh of panthers and lions, the Anthropophagi on human flesh. There were people in Lybia who had no names, nor did they ever dream. The Gamphasantes went all naked. The Cynamolgi ('dogmilkers') had heads like dog's heads. The Blemmyes had no heads at all, but eyes and mouths in their breasts. The last of all the Affriens Southwarde, according to another book of the time, were the Ichthyophagi, or fish-eaters. 'Like vnto beasts', after a meal of fish washed up on the shore and baked by the sun, they would fall upon their women, euen as they had come to hande withoute any choyse; utterly void of care, by reason they are alwaye sure of meate in good plentye' (Fryer 1987: 6-7 cites Waterman's 1555 translation of Johan Boemus, *Omnium gentium mores*, 1520).

Some of the descriptions and visual depictions of mythical monsters also infer that their deviant appearance suggests unnatural relationships between humans and animals. The interest in this type of

creature cuts across nearly all European cultures and certainly became an established part of English folklore[19]. The Crane-man, for example, taken from a story which tells of a conflation between a crane and a pygmy, originates in one of its retellings, from Madagascar. A variety of images based on this particular compound being appeared in diverse European publications over a period of several centuries. By the time it had reached England and had appeared on a popular English pamphlet, as The Monstrous Tartar, 1664, [fig. 4] it had metamorphosed still further. The beaked face of earlier versions has changed into a half-human/half-animal being. The strangeness of the creature's appearance is exacerbated by the long, curved neck topped with a bushy mane which matches the beard, which in turn, has replaced the sharply pointed beak of earlier European examples. "From the English pamphlet the monster migrated back into 'literature' and was recorded by James Paris du Plessis in his *Short History of Human Prodigies* as having been on view at "Ye Globe in the ould Baily in February 1664" (Wittkower 1942: 194).

Strange ideas and representations like these persisted for centuries, re-enforced in illustrated Medieval texts, biblical tracts and as part of pictorial history in the visual images on maps. The influence of sculptural examples from French Cathedrals on, for instance, the tympanum at Vezelay and the Grand Portal at Sens [fig. 5] appeared as part of the rich and complex schema of religious images. A comparison with the detail of the Sciapod, a man with one gigantic foot shading his head, from the Hereford map [fig 2], and the similar image from Mandeville, [fig. 6] show how ideas, images and perceptions proliferated.

To summarize, because information of Africa and Africans was based on scant knowledge and understanding, one of the general perceptions revolved around a popularly conceived notion in which black

[19] Both Wittkower's text and accompanying illustrations give a comprehensive account of the effect of these influences throughout Europe.

people were automatically categorised with 'monsters'. These ideas can be traced back to early Greek writings which were subsequently absorbed into mainstream European thinking. Medieval church writings and imagery served to entrench prevailing opinions which were then integrated into pseudo-scientific literature of the sixteenth and later centuries.

Moving beyond the stereotypes perpetuated by the ancients and those of Medieval Europe, common perceptions about black people in Reformation England are well documented. Although a small proportion of the population, they were visible in various roles ranging from domestic servants to the aristocracy to participants in dramatic performances. For example, black men led the Lord Mayor's pageants "to act as 'bogey man figures' to clear the way for the main procession" (Orkin 1987: 62)[20]. Symbols, representations and stereotypes of black people were portrayed in theatre by white actors, but sometimes, however, black people themselves did appear in theatrical productions[21]. Peacham's drawing of a sixteenth century production of *Titus Andronicus* serves as an illustration of one such occurrence [fig 7]. As can be seen in the image, the African person is an integral part of the production itself. In general, however, blacks, who were depicted as being socially unacceptable, remained anonymous and unrecognised.

During the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, English attitudes on race were influenced by reports of adventurers who embarked on voyages of discovery. The "spirit of adventure" was usually combined with a certain Christian religious commitment. Consequently, as Jordan suggests, "it was scarcely surprising that Englishmen should have used people overseas as social mirrors and that they were

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[20] This example demonstrates the continuity of ideas and practices that locate blacks as physically different or monstrous and the implication follows that they are frightening as well.

[21] Refer to Fryer 1987: 25-32, Tokson 1982, Jones 1965, Orkin 1987

especially inclined to discover attributes in savages which they found first, but could not speak of, in themselves" (Jordan 1974: 22-23). Biblical references and texts were used for interpreting certain modes of behaviour and as the justification for many ideas. Common themes were the linking of black people to perverse ideas of savagery, bestiality and libidinous behaviour. The writing of George Best[22], an Elizabethan adventurer, serves as a clear example. He describes the curses heaped upon 'Cham'(Ham) for his disobedience in having sexual relations with his wife. Included among these was Ham's son, "...this blacke and cursed Chus (from whom) came all these blacke Moores which are in Africa" (Jordan 1982: 57). Jordan describes what he considers to be typically Elizabethan moral and ethical assumptions wherein;

> English perceptions could integrate sexuality with blackness, and the devil, and the judgement of God who had originally created man not only 'Angellike' but 'white'. These running equations lay embedded at a deep and almost inaccessible level of Elizabethan culture: only occasionally did they appear in complete clarity, as when evil dreams: "...hale me from my sleep like forked Devils, Midnight, thou Ethiope, Empress of black Soules, Thou general Bawde to the whole world" (Jordan 1982: 57).

Attitudes such as these, implicit in contemporary commentary, indicated concepts of discipline and punishment related to sexual activity, in which good, for example, sexual control or chastity, was equated with whiteness, evil with blackness and unchecked sexual behaviour.

The actual words 'black' or 'blackness' are heavily loaded in the English usage. "Black was an emotionally partisan colour, the handmaiden of baseness and evil, a sign of danger and repulsion" (Jordan 1974: 6). The values associated with 'white', on the other hand, stood in diametrical opposition. Purity, virtue, beauty, beneficence, virginity and God were associated with 'whiteness' These constructs point to the way the perceptions and expectations of English people were literally coloured; where the colour

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[22] In 1577 George Best sailed from England in search of the Northwest Passage. Although his writing was to show the possibilities of inhabiting different parts of the world, he devoted much of his energies to suggesting that the blackness of 'Negroes' was all to be explained by Biblical exegesis.

white was associated with good and God, so white people were to be thus perceived. In contrast, black and therefore black people, represented evil both in terms of the colour of their skins and their social practices. Thus moral and ethical assumptions were fundamental in the creation of racial stereotypes, and the resulting racism could be described as a societal value, where colour acted as a sign and a curse.

Jordan asserts that as deeply entrenched ideas associated with blackness were so negative, early attempts to delineate an African as an heroic character rendered it necessary to apologise for the construction of an affirmative image of blackness (Jordan 1974: 6). For example, traditional depictions of black Africans were so negative that when Aphra Behn described positively, the central character in her novel *Oroonoko* (c1678), she stated that the colour of his skin was "perfect Ebony, or polished Jett" not "that brown, rusty Black"; his impressive eyes had in them the whiteness of snow as were his teeth; and "His Nose was rising and Roman, instead of African, and flat" (Fryer 198: 145). This description ascribes to black people so-called positive attributes usually ascribed by whites to and of themselves.

The seventeenth century in England was a period characterised by emphasising " man's ability to reason". As in the rest of Europe, England saw a rise in interest in empirical, scientific doctrines. Despite claims of adherence to this reasoning process, Africa was placed as the evil centre of the world, dark and foreboding. The commitment to reason entailed inter alia, the systemization[23] of all human knowledge, which was popularly held to be authoritative. The empirical scientific methodology was

[23] The ancient systematizing scale, The Chain of Being, in which life forms were graded from the lowest to the highest, achieved great popularity during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Another significant trend conceptualising differences amongst living forms could be said to be represented by the methodology determined by Linnaeus. He described and classified both plants and all forms of animal life. Refer to Stocking: 1987, Gould: 1984, 1985, Stepan: 1982

exemplified by Sir William Petty[24], a founder member of the Royal Society. He emphasised grading people on a basis of physical distinctions.

English thinkers were strongly influenced by the writings of men like the Dutch anatomist Peter Camper, physician, and scientist Edward Tyson,[25] and the Swedish botanist, Linneaus, who advanced strong biological and scientific theories. Although their work differed, their projects shared ideas concerning the relationships between human and animals, primarily apes. Many of their ideas were very influential. These involved ethnocentric generalisations that were rooted in scientific jargon. The theories were presented with technical diagrams and language, but elements of the fantastical remain.

Two examples from Tyson's reconstructions of his pygmy chimpanzee serve as examples [figs. 8,9]. Tyson presents his young ape in a manner which alludes to his human-like qualities; both factual and imagined. In the first [fig. 8], as the ape could not walk erect naturally, he has been supplied with a walking stick which alludes to its human-like qualities and the apparent similarity between apes and humans. In the second image [fig. 9], the skeleton, has greatly exaggerated human qualities. They are shown in the way in which the skull has been positioned on the spinal column, the chimpanzee's upright posture, and the way in which subtle details of proportion are featured. These, Gould asserts, are classic examples of the use of illustration to demonstrate a point (or illustrate a bias) (Gould 1985: 277)[26]. As ideas obtained currency, they became embedded within English language and discourse.

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[24] Petty is probably better remembered for his theories on political economy. However he studied medicine at the universities of Paris, Leiden and Oxford, and among many other attributes acted as professor of anatomy at Oxford.

[25] In Tyson's 1699 *Anatomy of a Pygmy* in which he compared the anatomy of a monkey, ape and man, he exaggerated the humanlike qualities of the juvenile chimpanzee. In attempts to justify a link between apes and black people, subsequent readers have often misread or misrepresented both Tyson's text and illustrations, particularly the images, as the young ape is represented to enhance his human-like features.

[26] Gould's essay is a valuable addition to this discussion as he demonstrates how deeply scientific 'fact' is embedded in culture, not only that prevailing at the time of presentation, but the culture of subsequent generations (Gould 1985). My Chapter three, which deals with the nineteenth-century's interest in science,

Combined with established notions and assumptions of perceived White, European and Chusha superiority, they also formed part of the prevailing culture and social order; to become conceptualised within accepted disciplines, and in moral and ethical assumptions.

A consideration of the role played by seventeenth century scientific ideas needs to be juxtaposed against general English perceptions about skin colour, varied concepts of blackness, and established attitudes about personal freedom. Briefly, in terms of labour, bondage or villeinage, and freedom, the English system allowed for three main types of labour; free wage labour, chattle slavery, and a contractual indentured servitude (Jordan 1974: 28). The English differentiated between, on the one hand, various ideas of service, and being a servant, and on the other, the idea of slavery. Slavery implied a total loss of liberty: a complex rationale was often employed to explain or justify this state within the English system.

> More than any other single quality, *captivity* differentiated slavery from servitude...Slavery was a power relationship; servitude was a relationship of service. Men were "slaves" to the devil but "servants" of God (Jordan 1974: 32).

"The twenty thousand African slaves who lived in England prior to 1772 had no legal status whatsoever (Scobie 1972: 48)". So thus, although black people were now permanent members of the community, they had no recognition in law.

> The situation before 1772 seems to have been very confused and was not helped by statements from various judges. First the Court of Common Pleas made it quite clear that a slave remained a slave while he was in England because he was a heathen. Many of them were therefore converted to Christianity and baptized, thinking they would automatically be set free. Then during the reign of Queen Anne (1665-1714), Chief Justice Holt stated that "As soon as a negro comes

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presents some further points appropriate to the way in which stereotypes were constructed and 'the other' was viewed.

> to England he becomes free"[27]. Slave masters paid not the slightest attention to this declaration since it was not a decision given in court and had no real legal weight (Scobie 1972: 49).

This confused state of affairs naturally led to exploitation, uncertainties and many abuses in which white employers took unfair advantage of the situation.

In addition, the diverse nature of seventeenth and eighteenth century Enlightenment ideas popular amongst intellectuals meant that established patterns of thinking and behaviour were constantly being challenged. Popular 'liberal enlightenment' egalitarian perspectives pertaining to liberty, justice and freedom coexisted with other more conservative views prevalent at the time. There was frequent questioning of scientific and philosophical ideas, the resultant theories and opinions however differed greatly. Many of these diverse and even contradictory ideas affected understandings of race. This, coupled with the increased visibility of a growing number of black people, heightened the complex ways in which black people were perceived and treated.

Scobie discusses the variety of attitudes emanating from different sections of the English community in the eighteenth century. In attempting to show that some slave owners, poets and writers were compassionate and considerate towards black people, he also notes that racist prejudices, as commonly held and experienced in the twentieth century, did not at that time exist. In his opinion, racial prejudice only seemed to arise with the abolition of slavery. He argues that,

> as slaves, Africans were looked upon as harmless property. But when freed this same property, plantation owners believed, became not a fellow human but a raping monster. Despite this, in eighteenth-century England many masters showed great consideration, arranging for them to be educated, to be taught crafts and trades and even bequeathing them freedom and money. Several of the leading authors of the day wrote tracts and

[27] Fryer, citing contemporary legal reports, adds that these two rulings "probably" of 1706, explain that one could be a villein but not a slave in England. Fryer 1987: 113-114.

> satirical poems on the slaves' behalf. Some donated money to help them against rapacious slave owners who took them to court in order to claim ownership. (Scobie 1972: 37).

Scobie does not, however, acknowledge or see that the acceptance black people experienced under slavery was based on the racist ideas that black people were only safe or good when under white control domination, and subjection.

Furthermore, Scobie's view needs to be critically examined, inter alia, in light of the substantial body of writing produced in support of racist ideas which were directed specifically against black people[28]. Much was written to inflame emotions in support of slavery. Edward Long, a one time Jamaican judge and an absentee plantation owner living in England, published a *History of Jamaica* in 1774[29]. He supported his opinions on issues like those of colonial government and 'the negro question' with lengthy references that lent a scholarly air to his work. Called the father of English racism, (Fryer 1987: 70), Long's vociferations and energies were directed to propagating his form of naked racism. Believing that Africa was "the parent of everything monstrous in nature" (Fryer 1987: 159 cites Edward Long, *Candid Reflections* 1772: 48-49), Long utilized popular plantocratic ideologies of race as justification for his words and deeds. His ideas that "[n]egroes were less than men...fitted all too well into the pattern of racial and cultural pride already prevalent in English thought" (Curtin 1964: 45). Further,

> ...his book's pretensions to scientific rigour gave English racism a respectable cover, a curious authenticity, just as the slave trade and slavery were beginning to trouble public opinion and arouse opposition...the timing of Long's book is significant for British imperial

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[28] The comments of Sir John Fielding, a prominent late-eighteenth century London magistrate, reflects some contemporary attitudes. He objected to the attitudes and behaviour of slaves that plantation owners brought back to England. He asserts that they have "no right to wages", yet "put themselves on a footing with other servants" and "become intoxicated with liberty, grow refactory, and either by persuasion of others or from their own inclinations, begin to expect wages according to their own opinion of merits..." (Little 1948: 176).

[29] Refer to Walvin 1971: 7,115f and Fryer 1987.

> history: it came out just as the British government was taking responsibility for direct rule over a 'native' people, in Bengal (Fryer 1987: 134).

Walvin suggests that Long "was among the most extreme in his animosity towards the slaves and, as a propagandist, the most widely read" (Walvin 1971: 116). However, his was certainly not a lone voice. Men like Bryan Edwards, Thomas Carlyle and Anthony Trollope, depicting 'Negroes' in a way that fed upon already well entrenched prejudices, published bitter attacks against philanthropists[30].

Not only were black people a tangible presence, but they also appeared in popular discourse in a range of guises. Africa and Africans would feature in image and text in a range of published works from popular newspapers and periodicals, to literary, philosophical and scientific works. These images presented an accumulation of preconceived ideas which were considered to be representative of the physical, mental and behavioural characteristics of the whole group; that is black people. Generalised and simplified, images of blacks became stereotyped representations of anonymous 'others'. This became the norm in contemporary hegemonic power relations between blacks and whites. There were, however, a few black personalities who rose above the anonymity[31].

The first of these, Ignatius Sancho, was born on a slave-ship. He was a prose writer, poet, playwright and minor composer, although he was originally employed by his mentors, the Montagus, as a butler. He

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[30] Carlyle, was author of *Sartor Resartus* (1836) and *The French Revolution* (1837). However, his great friend, John Stuart Mill, publicly attacked him for a work published in *Fraser's Magazine*, 1849, then again in 1835 in a work entitled *Occasional Discourse on the Nigger Question*. In this he asserted that "...when white men had dealings with black men righteousness gave place to hierarchy. [Carlyle asserted that]...Africans had been created inferior in order to serve their European masters. Whites were born wiser than blacks, and blacks must obey them" (Fryer 1987: 172).

[31] The brief accounts of some of these personalities not only undermine England as all-white, but also suggest that racism is not a transhistorical 'fact'.

was popular among London's literary and artistic society in which he was active[32]. Later, aided by a legacy left to him by the Duchess of Montagu, he and his Caribbean-born wife opened a small grocery shop in Westminster. In addition to working there, he sustained his English literary interests. His *Letters* (1782) which "attracted over 1200 subscribers, more than any other publication since the *Spectator* of Steele and Addison 70 before" (Fryer 1987: 96), exhibit a strong sense of assimilation into English society. He did, however, always remain conscious of his African origins (Fryer 1987: 97), and he also wrote on behalf of enslaved Africans[33].

There were other black individuals like George Bridgtower,[34] and "the violinist Emidee (ca1780-1860), a native-born, African...of mixed-race ancestry, [and] the Chevalier de Saint-Georges (1739-1799), an internationally acclaimed violinist, conductor, and composer" (Lotz and Pegg: 1986 21) who, because of their talents, achieved particular attention and fame. Historical evidence shows that black musicians had been popular in Europe and England for several centuries. (Fryer 1987: 79-88; Lotz and Pegg 1986: 14-24). From the sixteenth century on, royalty in Scotland and England hosted black musicians and a tradition of black musicians in the military was established. Both the sound and the sight of the

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[32] Sancho's portrait was painted by Gainsborough in 1768 and Bartolozzi produced an engraving of him (Little 1948: 199). Pratt (1992: 102) in mentioning Sancho in terms of the dynamics of early letters and biographies, presupposed relations of subordination and resistance.

[33] Fryer (1987: 98) notes that as Sancho was brought to England at the age of two, he grew up as a black Englishman. His cultural models, in literature and music alike, were English, not African. But a black Englishman, even one with the broad talents, white friends, and endless patience and good humour of Sancho, was not an easy thing to be in the eighteenth century... 'I am only a lodger - and hardly that,' he wrote.

[34] George Augustus Polgreen Bridgtower born in Poland in 1779 to an African adventurer father and Polish mother. Father and son came together to England in 1789 where the young violin prodigy and "darling black" was rapidly accepted by the upper classes after a very successful command performance for George III and Queen Charlotte. He went on to receive the patronage and protection of the Prince of Wales, later George IV, (who had an Afro-American as another personal friend). After a short stay in Europe to see his mother and during which he befriended Beethoven, Bridgtower returned to England. He received a music degree at Cambridge University in 1811, after which his performing and composing career continued to flourish. He died in Peckham, London 1860 (Scobie 1972: 110-114).

elaborately dressed drummers proved to be immensely popular so that "during the last decade of the eighteenth century all the drummers of the 7th Royal Fusiliers were black men" (Fryer 1987: 85). Similarly, black musicians made their mark generally in the popular cultural environment.

> By as early as 1789, white Londoners as well as black were dancing to black music at what a contemporary acount describes as 'an innocent amusement, vulgarly called *black hops*, where twelve pence will gain admission' (Fryer 1987: 80).

As well as having gained personal fame and acclaim, these individuals were important in that they influenced attitudes to black people more generally. Lotz and Pegg assert that Bridgetower, Emidee and de Saint-Georges helped to create a climate of racial tolerance, and paved the way for nineteenth-century black musicians who came from American racial segregation to perform in England (Lotz and Pegg 1986: 24)[35].

The focus on events and individuals challenges the commonly held view that England has always consisted of an all white society. Furthermore, the common racist proscription on inter-racial sexual relations is not in evidence. Documentation of eighteenth century social hierarchies shows that there were no race-based sexual barriers in England. Records show marriages between black and white people (Scobie 1972: 38-40). Many black and white couples, for whatever reason, did not legalise their relationships, and love affairs, open and secret, were very common[36]. Another example of the presence and integration of black people into English society, is that a small number of black children are also said to have received an education[37].

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[35] The chapter on popular culture deals briefly with minstrels.

[36] Refer to Dabydeen: 1987, Scobie 1972: 37-41, Pratt 1992: 86-107.

[37] It was alleged as many as 50 African boys and girls were at school in Liverpool, and others in London and Bristol (Lotz and Pegg 1986: 25).

The activities and occupations of black people were not, however, limited to domestic service, music and entertainment. Some black people[38] became intellectuals and there was a significant element of resistance against slavery from the black community. Fryer points to "evidence of cohesion, solidarity, and mutual help among black people in Britain" (Fryer 1984: 67). It appears then that from the perspective of black people themselves, there was by the middle of the eighteenth century, a certain black self-awareness. The literary and political expression by black English writers and black visitors to England was mostly a response to slavery and the rise of political protest as a matter of self-preservation.

Although black people in England were generally a small and generally disempowered group of people, a few black individuals are notable for their public opposition to slavery[39]. Ottobah Cugoano, brought to England, baptised John Steuart, and freed there in 1772, became a spokesperson and leader of the black London community. Among his published works is *Thoughts and sentiments on the evil and wicked traffic of the slavery and commerce of the human species* (1787)[40]. Noting the economic consequences

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[38] Refer to Fryer who notes the roles played by men and women in "Eighteenth Century Voices" (Fryer 1987: 89-112).

[39] Accurate population figures are impossible to find, but Lord Chief Justice Mansfield's 1772 assessment of 14 000-15 000 black people is generally accepted by historians. Scobie's figures are higher; "20 000 African slaves lived in England prior to 1772" (Scobie 1972: 48); with "20 000 more (freed blacks) by the time the war with America ended in 1783" and by "the latter part of the eighteenth century, the number was close on 45 000 to 50 000, if those living in Liverpool, Bristol and other parts of the country are included" (Scobie 1972: 63). However, Scobie's figures are problematic as he does not give references and his generalised figures seem to be estimates. Josephine Wright in (Lotz and Pegg 1986: 15) and Benth Linfors (Linfors 1984: 43) support Fryer's figures. Fryer cites *Gentleman's Magazine XXXIV* 1764: 493 which places the number then at 20 000. He also cites Shyllon, who asserts that the black population must have fluctuated during the eighteenth century. Disease, poverty, ill treatment, and starvation must have kept the core number from growing (Fryer 1984: 68; note p.489).

[40] "This book, 'one of the earliest expressions of African thought to reach a European audience', seems to have been written with the help of Cugoano's fellow-African and fellow-author Olaudah Equino" (Fryer 1987: 99 and n5,n6, 514).

of the slave trade, alongside moral considerations, he publicly demanded its end in conjunction with the demand for freedom for all slaves. He also argued that labour in the plantations would be more productive if voluntary.

Olaudah Equiano, born an Igbo, was first brought to England via the West Indies in 1757. As was the case with all slaves, he was renamed, and known thereafter as Gustavus Vassa (or Vassa). After a very chequered career during which he was bought and sold more than once, he consequently travelled widely, finally returning to England in 1777. He and Cugoano were both unwillingly involved in the Sierra Leone resettlement scheme, which they correctly predicted would be unworkable. His work as a writer and outspoken public speaker was more successful. Combining the former activities with latter writing, his campaign against slavery entailed mobilizing others to action. In 1788, Equiano presented a petition to the Queen on behalf of Africans in the West Indies (Little 1948: 201). Because of his perceptive understanding of current political situations, he became one of "the acknowledged political leaders of his fellow-blacks" (Fryer 1984: 166).

Parliamentary debates on slavery began in 1788 under Prime Minister Pitt.[41] In the drawn out public and parliamentary debates, moral, ethical and legal concerns were counter-balanced by the economic self-

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[41] While the history of the slave trade and the reaction it aroused in Britain are of immediate importance to my dissertation, they are not the focus of the dissertation. Some prominent names and organisations traditionally cited with reference to accounts of anti-slavery follow. My select bibliography and Midgley 1992: 259-265 refers the reader to some of the literature which deals with the Slave Trade and anti-slavery.
Granville Sharp 1735-1813; directly involved in humanitarian work with slaves in London.
John Wesley 1703-1791; rallied philanthropic support and attacked the slave trade.
James Ramsay 1773-1789; activist and writer for the abolitionist cause.
Thomas Clarkson 1760-1789; activist and writer for the abolitionist cause. He devoted his life's work for attainment of black freedom, collected evidence against the slave trade, 1785 wrote *Essay on the Slavery and Commerce of the Human Species.*
William Wilberforce 1759-1833; active campaigner for the emancipation of slaves.
1787 *Society for Effecting the Abolition of the Slave Trade* founded by the Quakers in London.

interest of the slave owners. The James Somerset case[42] highlights the inequalities and vagaries of the iniquitous slave trade. Although Lord Mansfield, the Chief Justice of the Kings Bench, declared in June 1772 that legally a slave was freed on arrival on English shores, instances of slavery continued. White abolitionist action did however, continue. The relationships of power and the power struggles directly related to the slave trade debates had a direct impact upon English people's perceptions of African people and their constructed blackness and 'otherness'. Different kinds of representations showing the complexities of the both the slave trade and anti-slavery movements were produced.[43] They subsequently became part of the fabric of English society, and thus demonstrate the intricacies of each supporting group. Just as these heterogenous images took different forms they reinforced a range of attitudes so that those images found in different contexts and disseminated through multiple social sites would contribute to an English way of seeing black slaves.

By the early ninteenth century humanitarians and radical reformers alike were able to bring about changes to the system as the effects of American agricultural products and colonial economy had a declining effect on British financial status. The forceable transport of millions of Africans as part of the Triangular Trade was coming to an end. Austen and Smith suggest that by the time that Parliament abolished the slave trade in 1807, the ideas and attitudes characterizing British relations with Africa and, I would argue, towards people of African origin, had been formed in the course of slave trade debates with regard to British political realities, and not African conditions (Austen and Smith 1969: 82).

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[42] The case is well documented. For a full account see, for example, Scobie 1972: 48-61, Fryer 1987: 120-130.

[43] Refer to Honour 1984: IV (1) *Slaves and Liberators.*

The continued and ever growing presence of black people in England led to the broader English society developing understandings, perceptions and ways of seeing black people. That is, systems of thought which formed the white view framed the way in which black people were perceived. As a group identifiable by their skin colour, it soon became apparent that black people were expected to assume specific roles or a particular place in society. As a result then of historical events, ideas and practices, white English society, both consciously and unconsciously, developed particular attitudes towards both black English people and black people from other places.

Chapter Two

SLAVERY AND ABOLITIONIST IMAGES

This chapter looks at images of slaves, drawn from a variety of sources, that were produced between c1789 and the 1840s. Some of these images were produced on behalf of groups and individuals supporting the idea of the abolition of slaves, and reflect attempts to win acceptance for their cause. Others, although not formally linked with any programme, will also be shown to give expression to important aspects of the socio-cultural attitudes of early nineteenth-century English society.

The particular institutional modes, cultural and social processes by which black Africans were objectified and consequently 'othered' signify the relations of power and of the production of knowledge during the nineteenth-century. Some of the most often seen images of black people produced in England during the first third of the century, are indicative of and reinforce white power, even while they purport to be liberatory. Furthermore, the apparently liberatory perspective of the abolitionist in turn establishes a new relationship of subjugation of whites over blacks. But, like all other visual images, those discussed here also changed with time. As such, they gave expression to transformations and the customs, values and institutions of English society, but also became, in effect, social products and agents. Wolff draws attention to this complex process when she writes that

> Works of art...are not closed, self contained and transcendent entities but are the product of specific historical practices on the part of identifiable social groups in given situations, and therefore bear the imprint of the ideas, values and conditions of existence of these groups, and representatives in particular artists (Wolff 1981: 49).

An analysis of nineteenth-century English images of slavery begins, ironically, with the ending of the slave trade in 1807. Despite the halting of the trade, possession of black slaves in England and the colonies was still legal. So although, officially, Britain ceased this hideous traffic in human life, slavery remained a contentious issue for decades thereafter.

Prior to 1807, the importation of African slaves by Europeans was a process of "social violance" which involved "...warfare, trickery, banditry and kidnapping" (Rodney 1982: 95)". European slave traders were inextricably involved in the destruction of African community life. Africans were the vital element in the Triangular Trade, as to send slaves "...to markets controlled by Europeans..." was in the interest of European capitalism and nothing else (Rodney 1982: 95)[1]. Nevertheless, deaths of captives, incredibly cruel practices, and the utter brutality of people being killed or injured in the whole dehumanising process in Africa and on the seas, were some of the issues that brought socially and politically motivated abolitionists in England together[2].

As the eighteenth-century drew to a close, a viable abolitionist movement was established. The interests and the commitments of the reformers ranged from those with extreme political ideals, represented often by working class activists[3], to genteel philanthropists. "From its earliest stages the British anti-slavery movement contained conflicting tendencies: on the one hand, it was a philanthropic middle-class campaign

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[1] Fryer (1987: 207) challenges the popular understanding that slavery ended because of moral and ethical opposition. He gives a brief resume of the nineteenth-century writings of economist Dr. Franz Hochstetter, who cited economic and political reasons. The writing in 1938 of C.L.R. James, a Trinidadian historian, activist and theorist who cited the unprofitability of slavery as a method of production in the West Indies is noted. Eric Williams asserted in 1944 that the slave trade was halted in order to curtail the overproduction of sugar (Fryer 1987: 207,8).

[2] Honour notes that at the urging of a minority of West Indian planters all references to injustice and inhumanity were omitted from the preamble to the Bill on Abolition of the Slave Trade, passed by Parliament, 1807. Montgomery's volume of poems reflects the official view behind the decision to pass the Bill, which states that it was then 'expedient' to abolish the trade (Honour IV (i) 1989: 97). Rodney shows that nineteenth-century European powers were aware that the procurement of slaves from Africa was inconsistent with more pressing European economic needs. Agricultural objectives in Africa itself were considered to be more profitable than the export from Africa of its labour (Rodney 1981: 98).

[3] In addressing meetings in London and the provinces in 1794 and 1795, John Thelwall, an English radical "most feared by the government" (Fryer 1987: 212) directly linked the struggle against slavery with the struggle against a corrupt ruling class at home. His friend, Samuel Taylor Coleridge [fig. 44], joined the growing struggle against slavery. In time the struggles by the radicals on behalf of slavery were replaced by a concern with the problems of 'the poor and labouring part of Society' in Britain (Fryer 1987: 213).

promoting an imperial Christian mission; on the other, it was a popular movement for human rights regardless of race" (Midgley 1992: 93). Yet, the common bond between the different constituencies of abolitionists was the struggle against slavery. The struggle against slavery was of course not universally popular. Radical abolitionists suffered under government enactments in 1795 which, inter alia, prohibited public meetings. In 1799 radical, trade-union and extra-parliamentary abolitionist activities were outlawed (Fryer 1987: 212).

By the beginning of the nineteenth-century, general anti-slavery propaganda, disseminated by the upper and middle class abolitionists, revolved less around the forces and evils of capitalism, than around the human atrocities of the Slave Trade. The teachings of Christianity were often the basis for those committed to the anti-slavery cause. For example, evangelical Christianity was the driving force behind the abolitionist work of politician and philanthropist, William Wilberforce, who shared his crusading work with a group of middle and upper-middle class Christian humanitarians at one time called the 'saints'[4] (Fryer 1987: 207). Organisations opposing the practice of slavery were formed. A group of English Quakers were the first to submit a substantial anti-slavery petition to Parliament in 1783 (Fryer 1984: 208). So it was not surprising when the *Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade* was formed in 1789, nine Quakers were part of the initial committee of twelve (Fryer 1987: 208).

Christians, or those inspired by Christianity, were not the only abolitionists. Although middle and upper-class white people predominated in the abolitionist movement, black slaves and ex-slaves in England were

[4] Originally called the 'saints' and later the Clapham Sect, the group comprised the following people: William Wilberforce, Thomas Clarkson, Granville Sharp, Henry Thornton, Charles Grant, Edward James Eliot, Zachary Macauly, and James Stephen. Although they worked together at times, it does not appear as if they were formally organised as part of a constituted organisation.

also responsible for resistance to slavery and were instrumental in some self-emancipation[5]. This period witnessed a rise in political radicalism as well. White working people were also drawn into the struggle even in provincial centres like Manchester and Bristol where in the 1790s petitions showed some public opinion to be supportive of abolition of the trade. A 1794 mass meeting in Sheffield went even further:

> ...attended by thousands of artisan cutlers, a unanimous resolution called for the ending of the slave trade. The resolution was a fascinating blend of abolitionist humanitarianism, radicalism, and working-class solidarity: precisely the three traditions that were to resist the rising tide of racism throughout the nineteenth-century (Fryer 1987: 211).

Philanthropists and activists, individuals and societies, used all the avenues open to them to convey their message to the English public. " ...[E]xtra-parliamentary political activities in support of anti-slavery were a key means by which both men and women developed the arena of civil society through the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century" (Midgley 1992: 5) Petitions to government or bringing specific cases to court[6], were but two of the methods employed.

One of the weapons used in the struggle for liberty was visual imagery[7] in a number of different forms. The interdenominational *Society for Effecting the Abolition of the Slave Trade* was dominated by Quaker abolitionists who, although traditionally indifferent to visual arts, agreed that a need existed for the use

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[5] In a discussion on individual acts of self-emancipation and resistance, Fryer cites D.A. Lorimer's essay on the freeing of black slaves in Britain (Fryer 1987: 203-207). Two members of the Society of Spencean Philanthropists, a group of revolutionary socialists, were black men; William Davidson and Robert Wedderburn (Fryer 1987: 213-214). Some individuals discussed in Chapter One are also relevant and noteworthy.

[6] A famous legal example is the 1772 judgement of Lord Chief Justice Mansfield in 1772. He ruled that slaves could not be shipped out of England against their will. He did not order the emancipation of slaves, as is often mistakenly reported. Refer to Fryer 1989: 68,124-7, 132, 156, 203-6, 414 and to Chapter One.

[7] Whilst not supplying definitive meaning, Boime's approach is a useful one to consider. "Visual art...(can be considered as) essentially a language that transmits...ideas about reality held concurrently in the larger social realm which shaped the artist's particular world view and in turn is reinforced, reinvigorated and disseminated by the visual agent" (Boime 1987: xxi).

of images in order to win support for the movement (Honour IV (I) 1989: 18). Consequently the society commissioned a motif that would serve its purpose.

> An emblem devised as the seal of the society showed, as its committee determined, a slave kneeling in a "supplicating posture" with the words: "Am I not a Man and a Brother?" (Honour IV (1) 1989: 18).

The original design was produced on the instructions of the committee. The three men charged with this task were not reputed to have any interests in the visual arts and it is not known who actually designed the seal[8]. The maker of the cameo version, produced by Josiah Wedgewood, Am I Not a Man and a Brother? 1787 [fig. 10] is usually held to be William Hackwood.[9]

A line of text partially encircles the kneeling, almost asexual figure who holds his hands together in an attitude of pleading and supplication. He is nude save for the strategically draped cloth. Prominently depicted are the strong chains which link his shackled hands and feet. The young face, featured in profile, is bland and expressionless although both it and the eyes, which are turned pleadingly upward, reenforce the beseeching tone of the symbol. As an emblem it was appropriate that the forms should have been simplified for efficient reproduction and easy recognition. However, the resultant image becomes an

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[8] The only reference in the minutes of the *Society* to the commissioning and design of the emblem refers to Joseph Woods, Dr. Hooper and Philip Sansom, two of whom were Quakers in whose opinion the visual arts were regarded as frivolous and denoted luxury. Nevertheless, "[i]n 1788 the emblem was printed, presumably as a mark of the committee's approval, on the title pages of James Field Stanfield, *Observations on a Guinea Voyage in a Series of Letters Addressed to the Rev. Thomas Clarkson* (London 1788) and of a pamphlet entitled *Am I Not a Man? and a Brother? with all Humility Addressed to the British Legislature* (Cambridge 1788) published anonymously by Peter Peckard, Master of Magdalen College, Cambridge, and vice-chancellor of the university" (Honour IV 2 and 314 n 121).

[9] Honour gives a detailed account of the original production and early dissemination of the cameo. This includes details of a consignment sent in 1788 by Wedgewood to Benjamin Franklin, in Philadelphia. Replying, Franklin praised the propagandistic effects of the cameo which would work to their mutual interest in seeking freedom for "those oppressed people". In 1808, Clarkson describes how the Wedgewood cameos which had been mounted in gold and used as ornament on snuff boxes, bracelets, hair pins and so on, had effectively been worn "... in the honourable office of promoting the cause of justice, humanity, and freedom" (Honour 1989: IV(1) 62,63, 314 n 120-125).

encapsulation of various ideas: in this case not only ideas of the evil of slavery but also of the humanity of the person being represented. The crouching body, with hands raised as if in prayer, demonstrates the slave's helplessness. In the obsequious image, the pleading supplicant is positioned as the subjugated member of society. The slave is automatically 'othered' by his viewers' perceptions as they place themselves in a position of power over him. Given the context of a white English audience, the suggestion is that each member of the community has the power to break those shackles and release the slave, which at once empowers the viewer and disempowers the subject - the black slave. Lorimer asserts that by "...the early nineteenth-century, this image of the Negro as suffering slave and natural Christian effectively engaged English sympathies on behalf of blacks" (Lorimer 1975: 34).

Repetition also plays a significant role in the development of stereotypical images. Stereotypes gained acceptance as they became popularised by frequent exposure and repeated dissemination. Consequently, they become accepted at face value as if they were factual representations. In another dimension of the issue of slavery in which Christian abolitionists equated slavery with the greatest of moral crimes, the evangelically inspired abolitionists sought to convert heathen slaves to Christianity.

> Striving to rid the world of the sin of slavery and anxious to save the slave from the fiery furnace, abolitionists asserted that under freedom and just treatment, the Negro would instinctively be attracted to the bible and a Christian life (Lorimer 1975: 33).

The general tone and prayer-like gesture of the supplicant seem to reinforce this aim.

In Robert Smirke's illustration for James Montgomery's *The West Indies, a Poem in Four Parts* in *Poems on the Abolition of the Slave Trade*, 1809 [fig. 11] an enthroned Britannia is seen granting liberty to four black slaves. As the potential dispenser of earthly justice, she functions simultaneously on several levels. As she is represented within the convention of an enthroned Madonna, she lends strong religious overtones to the composition. The figure hovering above her right shoulder, could refer to Justice holding

up her scales, or more overtly, to a ministering angel. The lion resting on the dias could be said to represent the wild untamed continent of Africa; now tamed. It could also hold allusions to English heraldry.

All four of the figures in the left hand corner are placed in some sort of position of pleading, but the predominant image among them, is the darkest figure at the base of the steps in the foreground. This asexual figure is the replica of the chained slave of the *Society's* medallion. Another nude, chained male kneels behind. The dark tones of the kneeling figure are juxtaposed against the white of the seated figure, and the lighter hatching of the naked, full breasted woman. Like the child she protects, she gazes up at the central figure, who does not seem to return the gaze. The sexual implications are clear as the modestly draped mother-figure is sharply contrasted with her nakedness. She could be said to represent either sexuality or fecundity; both qualities attributed to excesses associated with Africans. It was this type of image that acted both overtly and covertly to further the aims of the abolitionists. The illustration reflects religious undertones, implicity conveying suggestions of the growing move towards a justification of the 'civilising mission'.

Depicted in a variety of ways and for somewhat different formats, the generalised figure was either used by the *Society* or was repeated or adapted by others as social values and assumptions intersected with the representation. One such example is found on the front cover of the gold-leaf embossing on the leather bound book[10] written by Wilson Armistead, a leading abolitionist Quaker from Leeds[11], A

[10] A Tribute for the Negro was published simultaneously in England and America (Honour IV (1):159).

[11] Both Mr and Mrs Armistead served on the interdenominational committee of the Leeds Anti-Slavery Association. Although the association commissioned a variation of the traditional medallion (fig 10), which featured both a male and female slave, and the motto "Am I not a Woman and a Sister (and) Am I not a Man and a Brother", men and women did not share equality within the group. (Midgley 1992: 168).

Tribute for the Negro,1848, [fig. 12]. The manner in which the human figures are represented adheres to what was accepted as a regular, accepted picture. Armistead is generally presented as an enlightened humanitarian and abolitionist and yet the cover of his book resorts both to the standard, conventional image and to current book-binding techniques so, the way in which these images are employed demonstrates a man who shows himself to be a product of his time and class, consenting to the production and maintenance of racial stereotypes. In this he is both conventional and conformist. Flanked by stylized dwarf palms, the supplicant on the front cover shows the chains more clearly as the kneeling posture has altered. Palm trees serve an emblematic role in the composite landscape setting. Whilst they provide a generalised, non-specific framework for the implied narrative, they allude directly to tropical and therefore different, Africa. There is an almost heraldic gesture in the way in which the motto, "Am I not a Man and A Brother", is placed below. The bonds of the figure on the spine have been removed and are now shown artistically draped above the upright figure's head. This decorative element is only part of the elaborate design of tropical foliage, ribbon bearing the title of the book and the small scale African homestead in which the figure stands.

In A Tribute for the Negro Armistead describes "Negro slavery... as the most extensive and extraordinary system of crime the world ever witnessed" (viii), and writes of "white men, civilized savages" (ix) who must cast aside "previously imbibed prejudice" and begin to heed the call of the "injured Negro" (Armistead 1848: vii,ix,17). His "remarkable books on the Negro" not only anticipated twentieth century scholarship, but complimented the work of contemporary black abolitionists such as William Wells Brown[12] (Bolt 1971: 228). It is clear from reading Armistead's text that he was driven by strong religious principles and evangelical humanitarianism which allowed him to challenge the system which

[12] Brown attempted "to prove that Africans had long contributed to the civilization and progress of the world" (Bolt 1971: 226).

supported slavery, nevertheless, he believed that civilisation could only occur within the ambit of Christian and western values.

A Tribute for the Negro (fig 12a) is also noteworthy for the account (p359f) and frontispiece illustration taken from an ca.1836 painting by Room; Jan Tzatzoe, Andries Stoffles, the Revd. Dr Philip & Revd. Messrs. Read Senr.& Jr., Speakers at the London Missionary Society. The characterisation of the "Christian Kafir Chief", Dyani Tshatshu (Jan Tzatzoe) is significant.[13] Elegantly dressed according to fashionable English mode, the representation of the young chief is both an unusual record and portrayal of a black African of the day. Tshatshu visited Britain in 1834 as part of a delegation to appear before a select committee that was to investigate the rights of indigenous people in the British colonies. This presentation of the strikingly handsome representative of his people, giving evidence, is not surprising as it complies with Lorimer's suggestion that for a black man to be accepted by "respectable Victorians" it was necessary for him to conform to all the requirements of a 'gentleman'(Lorimer 1978: 45). It may further be suggested that to commemorate such a memorable event the artist would have to conform to established conventions for representations of such 'gentlemen'. The end of Armistead's account of the visit of Tshatshu and Stoffles (the Khoikhoi deacon of a mission who was part of the delegation) to England and Scotland, acts as further substantiation of this attitude.

> Their visit afforded to multitudes a satisfaction of the highest order, and must have benefitted the cause of Christian missions throughout the world. They entered our domestic circle, and attended our religious assemblies, and were affectionately and cordially welcomed as brethren by Christians of every denomination; and their intelligent and pious conversation gladdened the hearts of all who had intercourse with them and their truly exemplary deportment exemplified the influence of the gospel in their hearts. ...the eloquence of the Hottentot produced impressions that will never be forgotten. (Armistead 1848:369).

Tshatshu has been co-opted as he appears to conform to the roles of Christian gentleman combining them with the status of a Xhosa chief, all of which is complimented by his striking poise and fashionable

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[13] See Armistead 1848: 359-369; Honour 1989 IV (i): 175-178.

dress. Armistead's use of visual imagery demonstrates the way he conformed to conventions and accepted stereotypes. These two examples show on the one hand, the slave who has the potential to be saved and on the other, the so-called picture of success, civilised black Africans.

> Although Armistead insists on the equality of all humans and pays tribute to African social systems, in keeping with current Western theories regarding primitive societies, he still supports the general theory of human progress and civilization, and uses the criteria that pro-slavery opponents valued in European society (visible sign of civilisation such as the adoption of Christianity and success in Western education) to validate the equality of Africans and their potential to be civilised (Dietrich 1993:246).

The use of motifs which respectively repe and suggest the submissive slave (on the cover), indicates, however, that the generalised representation was accepted in an unquestioned manner. So whilst part of the book's cover suggests, as does the title, that the 'negro' is worthy of acknowledgement, there is a constant reminder, visually, of the black African as fettered slave. Though a small and subtle reference, the low status slaves held in society is validated by the ironically gold-coloured slave, who represents the silenced 'other'.

Not all depictions were as fantastic nor as elaborate. The repetition of the symbolic device on the frontispiece for the text of the lecture to be given to the Chelmsford Ladies Anti-Slavery Association adheres more closely to the original intention of a pleading, disempowered bound slave [fig. 13]. One of several lectures on British Colonial Slavery, the theme of the lecture was devoted to the thought that "the utter extinction of Slavery [is] an object of Scripture prophecy". Consistent with the aim of arousing the Christian conscience, the two short quotations[14] and the dedication to Wilberforce, reinforce both the notion of liberty and the by now established message of the image. Honour asserts that

> the inscription "Am I not a Man and a Brother"... acquired a curious ambiguity...For the rhetorical question might seem to be asked either by the slave or by whites advertising their membership in a philanthropic elite (Honour IV (2) 1989: 18).

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[14] "Liberty is the word with me" Aesop
"Above all liberty" Selden

Honour later cites the funerary bust of Zachary Macauly [fig. 14] as a good example of this ambivalence. Zachary Macauly, first as governor in rotation 1792-1799, then as secretary of the Sierra Leone Company, was part of the second attempt[15] in the establishment of a home for former slaves and the poor[16].

> After his death in 1838 Macauly was commemorated in Westminster Abbey by a monument prominently incorporating the medallion of the abolitionist society. Never more clearly do the words *Am I not a Man and a Brother?* designate the philanthropist rather than the slave. This, significantly, is the only image of a black in the abbey, apart from that on the nearby monument to Fox, [see below for details] and the ultimate testimony to the success of the abolitionist emblem (Honour 1989: IV 101-102).

However, I would argue that in terms of the visual messages encoded in the monument itself, the depiction of the black slave is more significant than the inscription. The stern authority in Macauly's face, comparable to that of an ancient Roman portrait, sets the commanding tone. The small abolitionist's medallion is reduced to the focal point of the drapery which falls toward the foliage, reminiscent of wreaths of both Christian mourning and Roman honour. The juxtaposition of the commanding, yet sightless, Macauly and the small kneeling slave continues to reinforce the social role each played. Each in his own way has become emblematic of his place in society: Macauly represents the strong, m tivated individual and the slave reflects the prevailing English conception of the silently suffering slave. So, on one hand, the monument presents a true reflection of the status quo at the time of Macauly's philanthropic work; that is that, whether motivated by religious zeal or by secular notions of justice and freedom, the (white) abolitionists remained in a position of power. On the other hand, the chasm between the two keeps the anonymous, unliberated black slave, who by 1842 was theoretically no longer enslaved, still as a pleading, anonymous 'other'.

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[15] Part of the political failure of the scheme arose out of a situation in which it transpired that the black settlers, former slaves and later displaced people, "were not the pliant and unformed human material of the British mental image" of them. Government figures like Macauly tended to be lacking in human understanding and in issuing proclamations and "exhorting the settlers to be grateful to himself" displayed "an increasingly self-righteous attitude" (Curtin 1964: 132-133).

[16] Curtin 1964: 8-119 and 132-139 in a chapter entitled "New Jerusalems" and in other parts, presents an interesting contextualization of the plan.

Although Honour's comments about the inscription are valid, the subtle effect of the visual image is less ambiguous. As members of an empowered elite, the abolitionists were in a position to bring about change. The black slave, on the other hand represents the silenced; millions of people reduced to a single pleading supplicating symbol. The particularly bland image of the begging slave objectified slaves even further, widening the gap between the two groups of people. Although claiming to represent the sensitive humanity of the abolitionists as well as the unrepresented 'silenced' slaves, the pose further disempowered slaves, and, by extension, other black people. By repeating the image of the black African slave in a variety of locations and over many decades, the subject had become an objectified, generalised 'other'. Honour's reference to the "success of the abolitionist emblem" therefore depends on the subjective meaning of 'success'.

Earlier, however, Honour does acknowledge the negative aspects of the archetypal 'docile black'. He comments further:

> Despite the good intentions of its originators, it [the image] had the effect of depersonalizing and degrading blacks - a process taken even further in the second of the abolitionists' images, the diagram of a ship printed to show the appalling conditions in which Africans were transported across the Atlantic (Honour 1989: IV (1) 18).

The latter, a Description of a Slave Ship, Plan and Cross-section of a Slaver, *The Brookes* of Liverpool (fig 15), has been dated 1789[17] but was used as a propaganda tool by abolitionists for many years thereafter[18].

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[17] See Honour 1989 IV (I), 64 and p315 n136 who states that the print was first published in spring 1789 by *The Society for Effecting the Abolition of the Slave Trade*. Clearly a wide circulation was anticipated as 1 700 copies were printed from a copper plate and 7 000 from a wood block. Copies were sent to people considered by members of the *Society* to be influential, including Members of both Houses of Parliament. The text accompanying the diagrams [fig. 15] explains that the *The Brookes* of Liverpool was the ship used as example in the report delivered to the House of Commons, 1788, by Captain Parrey.

[18] There is a record of the design being published in Philadelphia, with some variations, in May 1789. The text was translated into other languages when necessary (Honour 1989 IV (I), 66).

Visually, the 'Description' represents in a schematic technical manner, a series of diagrams drawn to accompany a text listing details about the transportation of slaves across the Atlantic[19]. The ostensible intention was to demonstrate the horrendous conditions of transportation. People like William Wilberforce not only wanted to increase the British public's general awareness[20] but also to inform society of the extent to which those involved in slavery did not consider the Africans as human. If it was anticipated that the entreaties of the supplicant in the former image [fig. 10] would evoke a strong emotional appeal, it is possible that this diagram would be expected to call upon people's emotions in different ways. Given the very technical nature of the drawings and the reliance on the text for elucidation, it is probable that these diagrams were not readily accessible to ordinary people. A figurative image, like the kneeling slave, would have a wider appeal. Clearly the intention appears to have been to engender feelings of outrage and disgust at the evidence of the slavers' blatant inhumanity. Sadistic treatment and inhumane conditions were the one component of slavery upon which conservatives, radicals and liberals could agree (Boime 1990: 46). Furthermore, the fact that most Members of Parliament would have seen the print, would have allowed Wilberforce in his speech to have emphasised the horrors involved when six or seven thousand wretched people were chained together for the Trans-Atlantic crossing.

If the diagrams aimed to show the utter degradation forced upon helpless captives as they lay amidst filth and disease, in appalling conditions without adequate food, water or ablution facilities, they would

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[19] One example of its use is by Thomas Clarkson *The Cries of Africa to the Inhabitants of Europe, or A Survey of the bloody commerce called the Slave Trade* who utilizes the set of diagrams in his careful and unemotional account of the horrors of the slave trade. In calling upon the "common principles of morality and justice, as established among civilized men" he cites such "un-Christian" behaviour as "unacceptable" (Clarkson undated: 43). See too Clarkson 1808: Vol II, 111-115.

[20] Because the print was sent to all members of Parliament, Honour concludes that it "...must therefore have been seen by all those who listened to William Wilberforce's speech in the House of Commons on 12 May proposing a resolution for the abolition of the slave trade" (Honour 1989: (I) 65).

possibly have been inadequate. The relationship of image to text in this example[21], [fig. 15] is significant. A close reading of the text clearly elucidates and elaborates upon the horror the diagram suggests; not only reinforcing it, but legitimating it. A description which relied upon the numbered and lettered technical diagrams, could be seen to be dehumanising as the tiny human forms, almost decoratively depicted, are completely remote from any indication of suffering and misery. The shapes require firstly a careful contextualisation and then decoding, before a response can be elicited. In this way, whilst attracting some attention to the plight of the slaves, it appears doubtful that these illustrations could immediately have had wide general impact. It could be argued that any force this work might have had would be dependent to some degree on the effect of the text.[22]

A few of the stark statistics taken from the text (in Honour's example) exemplify the strong impression of the textual account. Men were kept in the room that was "of a more secure construction than the rest" as it from them "only that insurrections are to be feared"; nevertheless, although according to the plan the ship was to hold 190 men, the report states that in fact 261 men, "kept continually in irons",

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[21] Discussion here is based upon the text which accompanies the image in Honour 1989: IV (1) 65, fig 24. In other sites, the image would have been accompanied by different texts, for example Clarkson 1808: 111f where he states:

> The committee (formed by the House of Commons, 22 May 1787, for the Abolition of the Slave Trade) ... brought out their famous print of the plan and section of a slave-ship, which was designed to give the spectator an idea of the sufferings of the African in the Middle Passage, and this so familiarly, that he might instantly pronounce upon the miseries experienced there.
>
> As this print seemed to make an instantaneous impression of horror upon all who saw it, and as it was therefore very instrumental, in consequence of the wide circulation given it, in serving the cause of the injured Africans, I have given the reader a copy of it in the annexed plate,...

His account continues with details of the measurements of the ship *Brookes*, followed by comments of the disparity between the space theoretically allowed and the reality as practised by the slavers. He reports the effect as being "for many, on looking at the plate, considered the regulation itself as perfect barbarism" (ibid 114).

[22] The following extracts are taken from the text of fig 24 in Honour 1989: IV (1) 65. Honour does give the immediate context of circulation of this particular reproduction, but he discusses the production and continued use of the plan, pp 64-66.

lying "on their sides, or on each other" were transported this way for a 6-8 week voyage. The report describes the inhumanity of the journey including the "horrible mortality"; the lack of bedding; the combined results of the friction of the motion of the ship and the effects of the chains on their bodies which caused the flesh to be "rubbed off their shoulders, elbows and hips". It comments that "[t]o persons unacquainted to the mode of carrying on this system of trading in human flesh these plans and sections will appear rather a fiction, than a real representation of a slave ship." (Honour 1989" IV(1) 65, fig 24). On the other hand, the very loss and denial of humanity that this image connoted could be read as underscoring its message of the horror of the slave trade. One may perhaps speculate that this is why those members of the English public who in some way or another did consider the plight of slaves came to associate this, and similar images too, with the religious and moralist abolitionist cause.[23]

There was another more political and radical facet to abolitionist propaganda which attempted to demonstrate more overtly slave owners' and traders' cruelty. Interestingly, in England this remained largely in textual form, with several notable exceptions. There are late eighteenth-century examples of the caricatures of James Gillray and Isaac Cruikshank whose "...accounts of the nauseating cruelty... [aimed to] display the barbarity of the white planters and captains of slave ships, not always without a suggestion of sadistic glee" (Honour 1989: IV (I) 90-1). Images which depict the cruelty and humiliation of corporal punishment produced for example, in Brazil, significantly portray actions and attitudes of people ostensibly outside of Britain and therefore, claiming to be removed from British behaviour and responsibility[24].

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[23] The "Cross-section of a Slave Ship" was frequently reprinted in England during the next thirty years, sometimes with the text translated into other languages" (Honour 1989: IV (I) 66).

[24] See Honour 1989 IV (I) 137-146 for details on both the excessively harsh lifestyle contrasted with 'the picturesque traditions' which emerged from early nineteenth-century Brazil. He notes how the life of slaves of Brazil differed from that of Africans in the West Indies or United States.

Significantly however, although they reveal circumstances and events no different from those relating to British colonials involved in the slave trade, there does not seem to be *visual* evidence of this sort in England itself. Absence of existing evidence should not be construed as total absence of such behaviour. Written documentary accounts describe punishment of slaves by flogging, lashes or some sorts of deprivation. As the nineteenth-century progressed, the plight of black people in England itself deteriorated. While they were no longer enslaved, they now had to endure unemployment and grinding poverty.

William Blake's late eighteenth-century engravings[25], which illustrate the mercenary, Captain John Gabriel Stedman's account of the suppression of a black slave rebellion in Surinam[26], have a stark simplicity which emphasises the brutality of the events, yet still manages to show a nobility of the silently suffering victims. Various types of humiliating and brutal physical punishment of slaves served as subject matter for many commentators. Blake's interpretation of *A Negro Hung Alive by the Ribs to a Gallows* (1792) [fig. 16], leaves little to the viewer's imagination and is consistent with the account in the text :

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[25] I deal with these in more detail because they were so widely seen well into the nineteenth century. The account *Narrative of a Five-year's Expedition against the Revolted Negroes of Surinam* first published in England in 1796, was so popular that two further editions appeared in 1806 and 1813. It was translated into Dutch, German, French, Swedish and Italian. "Illustrations after Stedman's own informative but artless drawings were engraved by Francesco Bartolozzi, William Blake, and others...It is not known how far Blake's engravings differed from Stedman's original drawings, only one of which has been traced" (Honour 1989: IV (I) 87, 319 n216). What is important, however, in terms of my research is the acceptance and popularity of the art work as it appeared, illustrating such a popular text.

[26] An English mercenary, employed by the Dutch colonial army, Stedman actually supported and defended the institution of slavery. However, the sadism with which slaves were treated there shocked him. Stedman reported a particularly horrifying event in which a woman slave was sentenced to two hundred lashes, then forced to drag a chain several yards long, one end of which was locked around her ankle and the other fixed to a weight of at least one hundred pounds (Boime 1990: 49). Stedman fell in love with a fifteen year old slave, a " beautiful mulatto maid", Joanna, whom he describes as being "possessed of the most elegant shape that nature can exhibit, moving her well-formed limbs with more than common gracefulnes..." and whom he eventually married (Stedman 1796: Vol 1, 86, 87, 106).

> Not long ago, (continued he) I saw a black man suspended alive from the gallows, by the ribs, between which, with a knife, was first made an incision, and then clenched an iron hook with a chain; in this manner he kept alive three days, hanging with his head and feet downwards, and catching with this tongue the drops of water (it being the rainy season) that were flowing down his bloated breast. Notwithstanding all this he never complained, and even upbraided a negro for crying while he was flogged below the gallows, by calling out to him, - you man? - *D cay fast?* - Are you a man? you behave like a boy (Stedman 1796: 109).[27]

Dominating the format, the helpless, still living, bound slave hangs like a piece of dead meat. To reinforce this notion and to stress the inevitable consequence of the torture, three skulls and a few human bone fragments lie around him, clearly indicating his fate. On another level the scene alludes to Golgotha, the mound and bones representing the site of the hill of execution outside the walls of Jerusalem, and a reference to three gallows and three skulls to the Crucifixion.[28] An analogy may also be drawn between the suffering and sacrifice of Jesus and that of all slaves. An interpretation of the text would support this reading, as the dying man's stoicism recalls the events of the Crucifixion. Visually, there is no sense of individuality. Not only is the victim 'othered' by his plight, but he becomes an anonymous part of a group of cruelly treated slaves within an unacceptable system. So any attempts by a potentially sympathetic audience to identify with the plight of an individual, are hampered. The framing device of the gallows and the small, distant sailing ship are vivid testimony to the colonial presence. The mood of still and silent suffering adds to the mood which indicates the slaves's impotence and the colonists' power. The account and image above, and Stedman's comments below, serve to encapsulate the complex way in which slavery was viewed by contemporary society.

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[27] It is not clear if this image arises out of an original drawing by Stedman (see fn25 above) or if it was Blake's response to the graphic description of the horrible execution which was narrated to Stedman by a "decent looking man" who noticed the Captain's "hurt at the cruelty" he witnessed in other public floggings and executions (Stedman 1796: Vol 1,109).

[28] The correlation between Blake's image and Golgotha was suggested by Annie Coombes. Similar use of this notion of the mound at the base of the cross and/or the inclusion of a skull is noted in the following examples:
Giotto, Crucifixion, 1304-1313, Arena Chapel, Padua
Masaccio, The Holy Trinity with the Virgin and St John, 1425, Sta. Maria Novella, Florence
Fra Angelico, Crucifixion with attendant Saints, 1441-2, San Marco, Florence
Mantegna, Crucifixion, 1459-60, Louvre, Paris

> These transactions (Stedman had witnessed other executions) almost induced me to decide between the Europeans and the Africans in this colony, that the first were the greater barbarians of the two - a name which tarnishes Christianity, and is bestowed on them in too many corners of the globe, with what real degree of justice I will not take on me to determine (Stedman 1796: 108, emphasis added).

It seems likely that this sort of image, designed to make the viewer uncomfortable in some way, would only have been seen as an accompaniment to a text. Some reports[29] assert that committed Quaker abolitionists placed the image of slaver's ships on their walls. That would have served the necessary purpose of reinforcing a message to the converted. Abolitionist imagery was generally considered to be too hostile and/or unaesthetic to serve as wall decoration especially in the homes of most classes of English society. But with the rise of small paintings to be used as decoration in even middle class homes, the range of subject matter in fine art works was substantially widened. Exhibition pieces whose subject matter included the issue of slavery also became increasingly acceptable by the end of the first quarter of the nineteenth-century.

The English artist, Charles Landseer[30], accompanied a diplomatic mission to Brazil in 1824-25. Its task was first to negotiate peaceful relations between Portugal and its former colony and then to establish an Anglo-Brazilian commercial treaty (Honour 1989: IV (I). Although Landseer was clearly sufficiently moved to record some of the horrors of public flogging of slaves[31], there does not seem to be strong evidence of significant public dissemination, in England, of these images. Yet they might have been seen along

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[29] Honour 1989: IV (I) 64.

[30] Landseer, a prominent, highly reputable and esteemed artist by the late 1830's enjoyed a successful career. His later patrons included Queen Victoria. He is generally known for his love of animals, delight in textures, and sensitivity to creating a convincingly sympathetic impression of the events he depicted.

[31] Extant examples are available to show his interest, for example: Charles Landseer *Black Punishment at Rio [de] Janeiro*, 1825-26, pencil and sepia on paper, 222 x 282 mm, Private collection. Despite the enormous popularity and wide distribution of Landseer's prints of animals, I cannot say if images of the atrocities inflicted upon slaves were seen in England.

with his popular prints as Johnson in *Paintings of the British Social Scene* says of Landseer: "Before all else...he capitalized on the market for engravings, spreading ever more widely through an increasingly literate public" (Johnson 1986: 184). Landseer appears to have shown an interest in attitudes towards, and the treatment of, slaves. The oil painting composed from his many Brazilian drawings, on public view at the British Institution 1827, is a subtle reference to contemporary attitudes.

The Interior of a Brazilian Rancho in the Province of Santo Paulo, with a Travelling Merchant, His Slaves, Merchandise, etc., (1827), [fig. 17] serves as a vehicle for Landseer's manner of portraying the richness and opulence of textures in the hides and the glossy coats of the animals. He depicts a richness of tropical fruit, and exotic draped cloths and outfits. Depicting happy and contented slaves is a somewhat Romantic notion. There are no overt signs of direct brutality to the people; the central black figure has a cheerful, smiling face, another, leaning against a pole is smoking, and a third is busy, stick raised, herding animals. The main protagonist is the stern faced slaver. He has a menacing quality as he sits whip in hand, dagger in his spurred boot and two pistols at his side. Landseer makes the juxtapositions usual to a Romantic comment on 'uncivilized Africa' and 'civilized Europe'. The contrast includes a clothed European man who represents power, sitting on his trunk surrounded by his possessions. 'Wild nature' is represented by tropical palms, fruit, the straw hut which covers the three slaves. The domestic animals also represent nature who, together with one slave half-naked, two others clothed, signify the enslaved and tamed. In other words, Landseer's images are encoded messages which reinforce prevailing attitudes in the authoritative manner of the 'high art' of oil painting.

Generally, the audience for fine art works, irrespective of content, was a more limited audience than that for the graphics produced for the growing illustrated press. Consumption of high art such as those by

Morland, Landseer and others [32], was not confined to wealthy upper class collectors and connoisseurs. Throughout the century the consumers of fine art could be said to have encompassed a wide range of the general public. Although abolitionists, as we have seen, came in the main from other classes they too would have had access to fine art. Several major museums and fine art institutions in London and the provinces opened up their doors to the artisanal and working class people as these establishments which were an important part of cultural formation were founded in accordance with the principle of access for all.[33] It is difficult to ascertain to what extent visual representations such as these would

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[32] Although some of the issues with regard to form, content and ideological position would be the same in the type of image under evaluation, paintings produced within the 'high art' context deserve separate consideration. However, that too is beyond the scope of this dissertation. At least three issues deserve mention. Firstly, in dealing with subject matter that included slaves or dealt with the topic of slavery, issues of patronage and "art for art's sake" need consideration. Secondly, the viewing public at places like the Royal Academy would have included a cross-section of upper-class and educated people. Their influence needs to be assessed. Thirdly, contemporary art criticism is relevant; see for example Honour 1989: IV (i) 149-150.
Some of the significant works one could include in such an analysis are:
J.M.W. Turner, Slavers Throwing Overboard the Dead and Dying - Typhoon Coming On (The Slave Ship), Royal Academy, 1840, oil on canvas, 91 x 38, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston Mass. Turner's subtle references make a strong comment against the slave trade. Many commentaries exist on this work but see especially, Albert Boime "Turner's Slave Ship: The Victims of Empire", *Turner Studies*, Summer 1990, 10 (1) 34-43.
Francois Baird, The Slave Trade, Royal Academy, 1840, oil on canvas, 162.5 x 228.6 cm, Hull City Museums and Art Galleries. "Illustrating the cruelty and callousness of several types of slave traders and all the pains and humiliations suffered by the slaves, the picture is an inventory of miseries" (Honour 1989: IV (i) 149).
George Morland, The Slave Trade, 1791, Engraving by John Raphael Smith after the painting exhibited Royal Academy 1788, Mezzotint, 481 x 654 mm.
George Morland, African Hospitality, between 1788 and 1790, 86.7 x 122.3 cm, Houston, Menil Foundation. This work illustrates Katherine George's assertions about how new patterns of description in eighteenth century constructs of the "character" of the so-called African primitive (George 1953: 70).

[33] The museum, moreover, offers the cultural historian a precise exemplar of the working of ideology - the ways in which interest, whether it be of the state or of a particular class or group, permeates and patterns cultural practices and acts of communication. Study of the museum offers the opportunity to understand artifacts functioning neither as isolated cultural icons or masterpieces,nor as emblems of personal wealth, but as components in a perpetually shifting language that works to create understandings of concepts such as 'the past', 'the present', 'art', 'nation', 'state', 'individual'. These are concepts that have a crucial part to play in recognising structures of power in a modern world and how those structures function (Pointon 1994: 3).
Refer for example Borzello: 1987, Cocks: 1980, Hutchison: 1986, Pointon: 1994, Reynolds: 1989.
See too, footnote with reference to chapter 5, figure 59.

have had in conscientising them, although they must be acknowledged as part of the plurality of visual influences. It is possible that those verbal accounts or popular images that people heard in daily conversations, or read of or saw in some or other prevalent form, had a far stronger influence on the formation of public opinion.

The eighteenth-century literary image of the 'noble savage' had enjoyed a certain popularity which seems to have peaked by the turn of the next century. Philip Curtin contextualises the role of 'the alien or savage literary hero' whose exotic, heroic stature indicated an idyllic situation, away from the real world, and to whom the writer could ascribe some sort of glorified natural state.

> This literary African had some of the characteristics of the biological African of the same period. He was just as much an abstraction, and drawn just as much from the needs of European thought without concern for the empirical evidence. The noble savage as a literary hero of this period was something of an abstraction, designed to point moral lessons. His exceptional qualities of strength, intellect and virtue reflected, while at the same time they reinforced the ethical standards of the age (Curtin 1964: 48).

For the society which created a stereotype of 'noble savage', the idealist image served to strengthen notions of difference between peoples, but not necessarily an overtly pejorative one[34]. A likely reason for this is the way in which the image of the African was adapted to accommodate European values. Lorimer asserts that in written English the image of the "...Negro hero (was) suitably Europeanised in physical appearance, as uncorrupted man, enjoying his natural freedoms and rights in his African home

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[34] Fryer gives examples of early use in English literature of what he considers to be "...ethnocentric stereotypes other than hostile ones". The legend, sympathetic to a woman of colour, of Yarico and Inkle, printed in England in 1657, tell of a Caribbean woman who despite saving a Christian's life is first made pregnant then deserted by him.
Appropriated by anti-slavery writers in the eighteenth century, with the heroine's race suitably changed, this touching tale inspired at least forty separate works...The African as 'noble savage' was first portrayed in Aphra Behn's novel *Oroonoko* (c1678), which adapted by Thomas Southerne, ...as to be performed on the stage nearly every season for one hundred years.
Other English and Scottish writers who propagated the idea of the 'noble savage' include Blake, Burns, Coleridge, Cowper, Southey, Wordsworth, and other romantic minor poets and writers (Fryer 1987: 145).

(Lorimer 1978: 24). Curtin, in turn, describes *Oroonoko* as "merely the standard hero in fancy dress" (Curtin 1964: 49). Heroic status, plus the closeness to nature gave the 'noble savage' a certain dignity. Yet at the same time, he (and it was invariably a male) was always an outsider and often one who despite his nobility, was viewed as somewhat inferior to the English audience.

Concerned more with moral rectitude and the eradication of evil than with African people themselves, religious humanitarians sought to play an active part in carrying out the positive Christian commitments of doing good deeds. For some English people, African people provided the means for this activity. Whereas the secular abolitionists fought for the slaves' freedom and basic rights, nineteenth-century committed Christians were to accept monogenetic theories which supported biblical authority. So that even if Africa remained the 'dark continent' and its people 'black savages', they were 'fellow creatures' and sometimes even 'noble savages'.

Traditional Christian thinkers accepted unquestioningly that Africans were descended from Adam through the 'cursed' line of Ham. John Wesley, who participated in the anti-slavery movement as a humanitarian, was however,

> ...ambivalent in his attitude towards Africans and their culture...treated 'savages' in general as a moral lesson - an example of the influence of untrammelled original sin on corrupt mankind. African culture was thus degenerate, showing the common lot of man without Christianity (Curtin 1964: 53).

An underlying justification for the 'civilizing mission' rested upon the fundamental belief that although some people were alien, heathen and black, they were capable of being 'civilized'[35]. For Christians there was no better authority than Ephesians 5:8 which states "For ye were sometimes darkness, but now are ye light in the Lord: walk as the children of light". Biblical injunctions were only part of the

[35] In literary terms a well known early example of this practice is Shakespeare's device of making his Moore acceptable: he finds it necessary to make him Christian (Orkin 1987: 72).

process of fixing images on the public mind. It has been demonstrated (in chapter one) that an accumulation of images which were constructed over time became embedded in society and social practices. Wesley serves as a nineteenth-century example.

Early English consciousness of Africa, Africans and their cultures, as we have seen, was based largely on accumulated mythologies and misinterpretations considered to be accumulated fact. By the eighteenth-century, Curtin asserts that whether by travellers, biologists, "men of letters" or anti-slavery writers, all groups would assign a special role to "[t]he Negro's place in nature" (Curtin 1964: 34). In a movement that reflected the mood between anti-slavery and Christian humanitarianism, a patronising attitude developed which popularised the theme of noble African or noble Negro. Quoting mainly from a range of written sources, Curtin claims that:

> After its phase of greatest popularity in the last three decades of the eighteenth-century, the theme of the noble Negro died out slowly, with an occasional re-appearance throughout the first half of the nineteenth. Its importance for English thought is difficult to assess. It certainly helped to form a vague and positive image of the 'good African", and it was widely used by the anti-slave publicists for exactly this purpose (Curtin 1964: 51).

The visual images demonstrate how the subtle use of such artistic conventions and devices analyzed above, sought not only to state the position of white producers but also to reflect the situation of the silenced 'other'. The relationship of the representations to the systematic ideas of the time is complex. Many theoretical problems arise in an attempt to reconstruct the intentions of the producers of visual images[36]. However, it is important to reassert the contention that the effects of the images were not always consciously constructed although they did produce meanings.

[36] Refer to Baxandall 1985.

In 1812 a funerary monument was designed by Richard Westmacott[37] to honour Charles James Fox [fig. 18] a long-time champion of enlightened causes[38]. Westmacott features a black man as "part of an allegorical composition, the personification of Africa mourning Fox who dies in the arms of Liberty with Peace weeping at his feet" (Honour 1989: IV (I) 98). Interestingly, Africa is here portrayed as a male although, from about the sixteenth century, traditional European visual representations of the four continents would have depicted Africa as a woman [fig. 19]. In a strongly classical depiction, Westmacott portrays his male 'Africa' physically, in heroic proportions and reminiscent of the 'noble savage'. It is in these very rippling muscles and the suggestion of physical strength that a certain contradiction seems to lie. His pose is reminiscent of that of the supplicating slave. So as well as elevating African people, on one level Westmacott subjugates them by demonstrating that despite the physical strength, they remain in a position of pleading and begging. The personification of Africa remains the slave of the *Society's* emblem irrespective of his stature and the absence of chains.

The African man functions on another contradictory level as well. In scale and technical treatment he is equal to the dying Fox and the personifications of Liberty and Peace, and so, as part of the allegory, he becomes heroic. Yet he also becomes the archetype of the ideal candidate for conversion to Christianity. Westmacott's mourning Africa is the product not only of the sculptor's ideas but it reveals values and beliefs of the specific social and historical time. Once again it is neither possible to reconstruct nor to assert Westmacott's conscious intention. However, the ideas conveyed by his image are congruent with the influence of prevailing value systems and well-established attitudes of English people with regard to

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[37] The monument was designed in 1812, but due to building operations, it was only installed in its intended place in Westminster Abbey in 1822. The statue of the kneeling black man was, however, exhibited on its own at the Royal Academy in 1815 (Honour 1989: IV (I) 98).

[38] James Fox, a parliamentarian for thirty four years, was particularly proud of having moved the resolution in 1806, in the House of Commons, for the abolition of the slave trade. The inclusion of a black person was considered to be particularly appropriate (Honour 1989 (IV) (I) 97-98).

the idea of the 'noble savage'. Africa is represented to conform with established British values and, in turn, reinforces them.

By 1838, the emancipation of slaves in Great Britain and throughout all the British colonies was official policy. National pride dictated the need for the several commemorative medals[39] which were duly struck. Most contain both image and text. Written recognition for liberty was given variously to people like William IV, Granville Sharp and William Wilberforce. Biblical justifications like "Is this not the fast that I have chosen? To loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free and that ye break every yoke" (Isaiah 58: 6) vied with sentiments like "We are men and brethren" and "Their names shall be had in remembrance when the oppressors will perish with their dust" (Honour 1989: IV (I) 146).

In a medal designed by Charles Frederick Carter the text encircles a standing figure who exaltingly proclaims "England I revere. God I adore. Now I am free" [fig. 20]. To demonstrate his joy at liberation, the broadly smiling African man flings his arms upwards and flashes a wide smile. The broken chains which lie symbolically at his feet, form part of a stylized tropical landscape featuring a most atypically African windmill as well! His body, nude save for the cloth draped over part of his lower half is, to all intents and purposes, that of the supplicating slave now arisen. Both visually, and in terms of meaning, there is reference to the risen Christ and associated ideas of spiritual and physical liberation. His joyous freedom seems also to indicate other certain shifts in popular thinking. Whilst clearly no longer the 'noble savage', he is an African, representative of a people, who in English eyes were ready to be 'civilized'.

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[39] Refer to Honour 1989: IV (I) 146.

Samuel Roberts, writing in 1826 in *The Negro's Friend*, or the *Sheffield Anti-Slavery Album*, could almost be said to be speaking on behalf of those who, throughout the century to follow, would support or personally embark upon the 'civilizing mission'.

> I feel no hesitation in affirming that under kind and orderly masters, instead of enslavers...["Negroes, generally speaking"]... would become the most obedient and mild race of servants that could anywhere be found together in equal numbers. Christianity taught and *practised* among them in anything like purity, would be generally received with avidity. It is in a peculiar manner fitted for their state and disposition (cited by Lorimer 1975: 33).

Brantlinger asserts that between the last decade of the eighteenth century and the 1840s, the most influential kind of writing about Africa was abolitionist propaganda. The two strands he notes are firstly, one that reveals European atrocities and barbaric behaviour, and secondly the type of writing that showed how the Romantics, unlike the Victorians later, were able to envisage and to convey to their audience the notion of independent Africans, free of European interference (Brantlinger 1985: 168, 170). The visual images produced in support of abolition demonstrate a similar trend. Again, with reference to writing, Brantlinger adds: "Abolitionist portrayals of Africans as perhaps noble but also innocent or 'simple' savages were patronizing and unintentionally derogatory" (Brantlinger 1985: 170). Similarly, the images evaluated above encoded, reflected and reinforced social processes and ideas. In time the representations became an integral part of the social system and actually affected and influenced opinion and practice.

The messages encoded within them reflect those of the 'voiced' who determined that those depicted as 'other' remain silent. Whether physically present in England or absent in Africa, the black slave was denied the opportunity to challenge the contemporary image. Ostensibly empathetic and purporting to be apparently 'neutral', the images supported and encouraged the strategies of power and maintained the *status quo*.

The nineteenth century inherited a myth of black African people which was supported by the discourse, voice and eye of its producers which in turn reflects their dominance within the controlling system. Honour suggests that art works...

> were conditioned by the demands and especially the prohibitions of the societies in which they were produced - with significant differences in continental Europe, Britain, and the United States. ...(Some) have a force of moral protest but end as statements of established attitudes, ... (others) begin with objective likenesses of individuals but become increasingly vehicles for the expression of artists' technical skills and inner feelings (Honour 1989: IV (i) 18).

So one could conclude that whether categorised as "moral protest" or so-called "objective likeness", which clearly indicates that both the means of representation and the images themselves changed by the end of century, the images reflected commissioners' demands or artists' personal feelings: in fact all images reflected established cultural attitudes. The construct of the myth was clearly portrayed in the visual image which became part of the universally accepted discourse which determined the way in which English people both saw and represented black Africans.

In discussing the *"total situation* of art making", Nochlin suggests that the development of the art maker, the nature and quality of the work of art itself all occur within a social situation. She states that "...art is not a free, autonomous activity" but one in which the former elements are integral to this social structure, and "...are mediated and determined by specific and definable social institutions..." (Nochlin 1991: 158). Visual images, then, are not produced in isolation. Not only informed by other cultural forces, they in turn substantiate opinion and help to form new ideas and systems of thought.

In examining a part of nineteenth-century English history through the medium of visual culture it becomes increasingly clear that the eyes of the producers reflect their position within the social structure, dominating over the silenced 'other'. Issues of race and class, influenced by a growing interest in science and a changing political environment, were to play a crucial role in the following years.

Stereotypes often laid the basis for racism and oppression; though stereotypes could also be attempts to legitimize an otherwise inequitable status quo. The establishment of stereotypes in discourse in turn reinforced their power and meaning.

Chapter Three

THE RISE OF SCIENCE AND GROWTH OF RACISM

The opening chapter of this dissertation demonstrated the acknowledgement of, and emotional response to, racial difference was not a phenomenon new to the nineteenth century. This chapter deals with certain socio-political attitudes which arose out of the development of "science" and systematic knowledge, and which highlighted racial difference and the manner in which those attitudes were manifest in visual images. The images played their part, amongst other factors, in leading to the development of "rationalized and elaborate theories about race difference" which were a feature of scientific exploration and teaching from the 1840's (Curtin 1964: 29) and which came to dominate English[1] and European thought of that time.

Despite the fact that there was not one monolithic scientific theory, an analysis of images reveals a certain sense of unity in contemporary ways of seeing and in the viewers' inherent biases and prejudices. The visual representations do not present a neat uniformity with the scientific theories to which they gave expression, as they were constructed according to the specific requirements of the particular scientists. In effect, the common use of images produced in what were held to be authoritative, scholarly documents attested to a relationship of power, and in turn became a technique for the exercise of power. As images of this kind were generally understood and accepted as 'the truth' by most sections of the English public, the pictures form part of the mechanics of this power structure.

> Power must be analyzed as something which circulates, or rather as something which only functions in the form of a chain. It is never localised here or there, never in anybody's hands, never appropriated as

[1] "Many of the scientific theories shaping the study of race originated, and had their major development, in Britain" (Stepan 1982 xix).

> a commodity or piece of wealth. Power is employed and exercised through a net-like organisation (Foucault 1980: 98).

It is argued here that the production and reception of visual images constitute one of those techniques embedded within the complex discursive web of English social and cultural life. In the case of representations of black people, both producers and spectators participate in their own ways in the transmission of dominance. The subjects, black people, were caught up in these multiple forms of societal behaviour and visual representations that constitute the 'net-like organisation of power' that was responsible for black subjugation. In questioning how power is exercised and how power relations permeate and constitute the social body, Foucault asserts that among other 'effects' of power, one must examine techniques which have become embedded within local institutions. He states that forms transmit relations of dominance and become embedded in techniques which then intervene in power relations. They become "the multiple forms of subjugation that have a place and function within the social organism" (Foucault 1980: 95-6).

Activist involvement by supporters of the abolitionist movement in England reached its zenith during the 1830s. As the century progressed, the preoccupation of early nineteenth-century people with philanthropy was being overtaken by contemporary interests in ethnography and anthropology. Consequently, the relationship between slavery and the scientific[2] study of man is pertinent. Parallel with and implicit in these new intellectual currents were changes in general attitudes. Although twentieth-century commentators label some of the empirical observations of this period as pseudo-scientific, it must be remembered that "these rationalized and elaborate theories about race

[2] I have avoided the complex debate which centres on the historical distinctions which have been made between 'science' and pseudo-science'. I would concur with Gould that science is not an objective enterprise. As my thesis suggests, science, like the images it produces, is not a neutral enterprise but is also culturally informed. See Gould 1981 21 and Stocking 1987 106ff.

difference... [represent]...the teachings of science at its best for its own time" (Curtin 1964: 29) and should be understood within that context[3].

The ubiquitous English belief which held that black people were inferior to whites lingered on in the British psyche. Related to "the Neoplatonic idea that associates inner being with outer appearance" (Tokson 1982: 37), these concepts and prejudices had been frequently used to justify slavery on moral grounds. Colour prejudice and the conflation of other ideas reflected, reinforced and continued to produce in the public mind, a seemingly plausible link between the condition of slavery and black African people themselves. The conflation of ideas and theories about physical traits and assumptions about different cultures which eventually led to deeply entrenched notions of racism could be said to have evolved in the following way:

> The assumption by Europeans of their own superiority over all other forms of humanity was partly a result of ethnocentrism, partly a consequence of scientific and philosophical thought, and partly a product of the hierarchical ordering of eighteenth-century society (Lorimer 1978: 133).

The period of the Enlightenment had witnessed the beginnings of scientific approaches[4] allied to the biologists' need to systematize all forms of knowledge in what was considered to be the growing understanding of human origins. The inquiry, carried out along the lines of scientific investigation, became the preserve of natural scientists, biologists and zoologists. Eighteenth century naturalists like Linnaeus and Banks aimed to examine, order and classify, then systematically arrange all aspects of

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[3] "...the story of scientific racism is not merely a story of 'pseudoscience'. Bad science perhaps, but not pseudo science" (Stepan 1982: xvi).

[4] Some of the influential zoologists, biologists anatomists and theorists thinking in biological terms include Carl Linneas, Petrus Camper, Count de Buffon, George Cuvier, Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, Julien Joseph Virey, John Caspar Lavater, Lord Monboddo, Edward Tyson and Jean Baptiste Lanmark (Stepan: 1982, Honour 1989: IV (2); Stocking: 1987; Fryer: 1987; Kiernan: 1982).

nature into rational order. However, even at that early stage Linnaeus' so called 'rational order' depended to some extent upon

> ... behavioural or personality traits (in which) for example, the typical traits of *europeens* were identified as 'light, lively and inventive', while those of *afer* (Africans) were 'cunning, slow and negligent' (Boonzaier 1988: 61).

By the early nineteenth century botany, zoology and other related disciplines were well established, and although trends in racial thinking and stereotyping were culturally entrenched, they were not strongly supported scientifically. The proliferation of writings and the growth of institutions like the *British Association for the Advancement of Science*, founded in 1831, encouraged work in the natural sciences and also in researching ideas around theories of race[5]. People became preoccupied with the concept of

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[5] Husband's summary of the concepts of 'race' and 'racism' generally covers the terms as they are used by myself and the majority of twentieth century commentators and sources consulted. He states that

> ...racism refers to a system of beliefs held by the members of one group which serve to identify and set apart the members of another group who are assigned to a 'race' category on the basis of some biological or other invariable, 'natural seeming', characteristic which they are believed to possess, membership of this category then being sufficient to attribute other fixed characteristics to all assigned to it. 'Race' is a socially constructed categorization which specifies rules for the identification of members. Racism is the application of 'race' categories in social contexts with an accompanying attribution of invariable characteristics to category members (Husband 1982: 18).

Husband's definition of 'race' is as a socially produced category, which is antipathetic to Tobias' use of the term (below) which he asserts 'race' is a natural biological category. A brief summary of Tobias' definition is also to be noted in terms of current usage. "Race is a biological concept that helps us to bring order out of the otherwise chaotic nuances of human variation." He cites Henri Vallois: "A race is a natural group of men displaying a particular set of common hereditary characteristics" (Tobias 1972: 3).
Stocking describes Darwin's conception of race which, coupled with his notion of culture, was "part of a different worldview from that of modern anthropology". Explaining Darwin's observations among the Fuegians where he saw

> ...a kind of hurried, unanalyzed ethnographic gestalt, in which paint and grease and body structure blended into a single perception of physical type, perpetually unseparated from what he heard as discordant language and saw as outlandish behaviour - a gestalt that he subsumed under the term 'race'. This was in fact quite consistent with the natural historian's treatment of other animal species, in which body type, cries or calls, and habitual behaviour were all data to be used in distinguishing a variety or a 'race' (Stocking 1987: 106).

'race'[6] so that by mid-century the heightened interest in scientific pursuits like classification systems led indirectly to the birth of a scientific racism.

This encouraged growth of scientific institutions whose membership consisted of scientists, scholars and other interested middle-class gentlemen[7]. These men read and presented papers at meetings, which were followed by discussion and intellectual interaction. This was significant in the formulation of ideas and opinions. Furthermore, national and international exploration and field work was encouraged and financially supported by organisations. During the early and mid-Victorian period, the aims and techniques of research show some humanitarian concerns, but the dominant trend was an increasing empiricism, manifested in transformations in science and changes in disciplines. There was thus, for example, a significant shift in focus from ethnography to anthropology. This was evinced in the move towards the expansion of the British Empire and subsequent colonial expansion which was to bring about important political and social changes in England.

The development of scientific societies, academies and organisations from about the 1830's produced forms of knowledge which were partly responsible for the growth of a particular Victorian cultural ideology. Of particular interest to this study were the foundation of *The Ethnographical Society of London*[8] in 1843 and *The Anthropological Society of London* in 1863. Espousing "significantly different

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[6] Bolt states that although Victorians agreed that racial theories and conflicts were important, the exact meanings of the word 'race' and the concept of 'racism' were so vague they caused a dangerous confusion between biological and cultural concepts (Bolt 1971: 206).

[7] "In the 1860's professional men, educated at the public schools and universities and cultivating the attributes of gentility, sought social recognition by joining the growing ranks of learned societies." As an added inducement to their pretensions to status the Council of the Anthropological Society allowed them to add the letters F.A.S.L. after ir names, thus becoming 'Fellows' of the Society (Lorimer 1978: 159).

[8] This organisation was an offshoot of the earlier *Aborigines Protection Society*.

objectives", the former was originally instituted for the study of man free from applied political and philanthropic purposes and strove to avoid controversial non-scientific issues (Rainger 1978: 51, 65). As the leadership of this society included several prominent Quaker physicians[9], it is not surprising that the dominant tone of humanitarianism and monogenesis was the preferred ambit in which their scientific studies were pursued. Members of the latter society, like its founder Dr James Hunt, were concerned with human physical difference as 'evidence' of permanent racial inequalities, since they believed that race determined both physical and cultural characteristics of all people. Hunt, Robert Knox (an Edinburgh anatomist) and Richard Francis Burton typified the outspoken and often highly provocative atheist attitudes of the polygenist members as they "consciously mixed science and politics" (Rainger 1978: 52).

Societies such as these produced a 'vision' of black people in the public eye. Part of the complex interconnected process between seeing, speaking and practical actions in which English systems of thought were formed, were the delivery of papers and subsequent discussions in the numerous scientific institutions. Access to these organisations where Victorian scientific thinking was the preserve not only of scholars, anthropologists and ethnologists but also lay people, was open mainly to the membership, a

[9] Arising out of the *Aborigines Protection Society*, membership of the *Ethnographic Society* included leading Darwinians including T.H.Huxley, Augustus Henry Lane Fox, Sir John Lubbock and Edward Burnett Tylor. In 1846 ethnology was accorded recognition within a subsection of the British Academy, with the society strongly biased toward biology and natural sciences. Due as much to the parameters of study as the dynamics between office bearers there was an ongoing bitter dispute between this and the *Anthropological Society of London*. It, in turn "defined its aims as the study of man 'in all his leading aspects, physical, mental and historical' by means of 'patient investigations, careful induction, and the encouragement of all research tending to establish a *de facto* science of man'" (Cowling 1989: 11). Between 1866 and 1871 people like Huxley and Lubbock worked towards union of the two groups which was eventually facilitated due to the deaths of Crawford (1868) and more significantly Hunt (1869) and to the pragmatic realisation that debt and flagging membership of both made good sense of amalgamation. The new *Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* did not recognize the general views and scientific trends of Hunt and his colleagues.

relatively small elite. As generally only men seem to have been involved officially[10], an interest in science, membership of organisations and the availability of the public platform to them became yet another social and/or intellectual forum for that unique individual, the English gentleman[11].

The institutions and their journals provided a legitimate and respected site in which to observe and subsequently pass their scientific or moral judgement in the ongoing and deliberate study of the 'other'. As an important vehicle of contemporary communication, the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*[12] served as an example and practical manifestation of the aforesaid. During its "first decade of existence, in which Lane Fox was the leading figure" (Stocking 1987: 261), it was not only largely Eurocentric, with a strong Anglocentric focus, but it was also "heavily archaeological". Stocking's analysis of the contents of the first two decades "...reveals relatively little that one might call, even by loose analogy, 'normal science' within an evolutionary paradigm" (Stocking 1987: 258). Generally however, contents of its numerous issues over many decades reflect the diverse interests of the members and a variety of debates. These included anthropology as an emerging science, evolution and race, heredity and environment, 'primitive' religion and Christianity, human physical characteristics

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[10] The *Ethnological Society* distinguished between meetings where "popular" and "scientific" topics would be discussed and additionally, at which latter where subjects would receive more technical treatment "ladies will not be admitted" (Stocking 1987: 256).

[11] With few exceptions, the members of the Anthropological Institute practised anthropology merely as an occasional or avocational activity. Stocking notes further that "anthropology was likely to be only one intellectual interest among several: just as Lang was largely occupied with reviews and poetry and fairy tales...[others were doctors and /or lawyers first]" (Stocking 1987: 263).
The artifacts of British barrows and the cranial characters of visitors to Galton's Anthropometric Laboratory were as much the subject matter of a general "science of man" as the details of Australian social organisation. And if they did not all clearly articulate in a coherent paradigm, they were nonetheless able to be encompassed within a broadly evolutionary perspective - in which traditional ethnological questions of racial geneology could find a place alongside those of a more strictly sociocultural evolutionary character, and both were enveloped in a pervasive ethnocentric aura of racial and cultural hierarchy" (Stocking 1987: 262).

[12] Hereafter, *Journal*.

and psychological differences, numerous systems of classification and, of course, the theory of natural selection.

Editions of the *Journal* are generally scantily illustrated and visual representations followed members' wide ranging interests. Although visual images of black people of African origin were available in a variety of publications, of central concern to this section of the research is the evaluation of their importance in shaping opinion and influencing scholarly debate. Ostensibly simple specimen drawings show not only what was consciously thought, seen and expressed but also what was unthought in both seeing and expressing; what Foucault referred to as "invisible but not hidden" (Foucault 1979: 184).

In *Discipline and Punish* Foucault (1979) shows how concepts of visualisation came to be embedded in institutional practices. In referring to the hospital and other institutions, he highlights the 'examination'.

> The examination combines the techniques of an observing hierarchy and those of a normalising judgement. It is a normalising gaze, a surveillance that makes possible to quantify, to classify and to punish[13]. It establishes over individuals a visibility through which one differentiates them and judges them. That is why, in all the mechanisms of discipline, the examination is highly ritualized. *In it are combined the ceremony of power and the form of the experiment, the deployment of force and the establishment of truth.* At the heart of the procedures of discipline, *it manifests the subjection of those who are perceived as objects and the objectification of those who are subjected.* The superimposition of the power relations and knowledge relations assumes in the examination all its visible brilliance. (Foucault 1979: 184-5, emphasis added).

Foucault's discussion of the examination also applies to exhibitions[14] as well as activities of the

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[13] For my purposes, 'punish' is understood here to mean the whole complex of experiences of black people under the dominant hegemonic power.

[14] Altick's (1978) descriptions and analyses of successive shows and exhibitions in nineteenth century London demonstrate how Africans and other people were displayed and objectified. An investigation and appraisal of this type of presentation of the 'other' could form a dissertation or research project of its own. In this work I have, therefore, restricted myself to a discussion of the portrayal of Sartjie Baartman as an

scientific establishment. The processes of production and viewing the printed image are also firmly interwoven in the acknowledgment of the scientific pretensions of scientist-presenters and the reader-spectators. Both groups, often the same people, wanted to display and reaffirm their specialized physiological and anatomical knowledge. Interest in the early nineteenth-century moved toward the emergence and popularity of comparative anatomy which in turn had grown out of the late eighteenth century fascination with biological diversity.

As early as the 1850s the presentation and conceptualisation of information about racial difference claimed to be 'scientific'. Individuals and groups like the *Anthropological Society* would follow what they considered to be a methodology of scrupulous scientific observation and investigation. The conclusions at which they arrived were then generally held to be u[illegible]vilable. This process involved an inductive method of making accurate observations, accumulating evidence and then evolving a body of laws and making predictions in accordance with the findings (Cowling 1989: 11). Thus, by applying a purportedly scientific anatomical system, with a bias towards a graded scale highlighting "the phrenologists' idea of innate differences in the organs of the brain of different races" (Stepan 1982: 46,7), science, complete with its racist prejudice, was well established to utilise all available forms of persuasion to inform its public.

Examination of bones, tissues and so on is the work of anatomists; it is their laboratory material. In the hands of the anthropologists these objects took on a somewhat different meaning. The study of cranial formation was useful for assessing anatomical taxonomies because the "cranial cavity of a human skull provides a faithful measure of the brain it once contained" (Gould 1981: 53). Easier than classifying and systematizing skin colour or measuring facial angles, the skull, indicating the size and shape of the brain

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example of this practice (see Chapter Five).

was also useful as the focus of physiognomical interest. The skull, related to the brain and therefore to logic, was considered to be the indicator of man's intellectual and moral development (Cowling 1989: 57). The polygenist president of the Anthropological Society of London, James Hunt,

> ...frequently emphasised the importance of the skull. In the first volume of the *Anthropological Review*, 1863, a report of a paper read by Hunt records him as recommending the form of the cranium 'as the most convenient and certain distinctive mark' for racial classification; cranial distinctions, says Hunt, being coincident with the mental and moral characters which are solely dependent on man's physical structure (Cowling 1989: 57).

For example, a technical drawing was taken from an actual skull brought to England by Surgeon-Major Gore, a member of an 1873 army group "following up on the trail of the Ashantee army..." (*Journal* 1874: 62). The Notice of a Skull from Ashantee and supposed to be that of a Chief or Superior Officer [fig. 21], February 10 1874, presented by the then president of the *Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, George Busk, follows what became the traditional scientific illustrative format of different views of a human skull. The chart, in the same article, dealing with Dimensions, Capacity and Proportions appears to be similarly technical and serves to expand on both written text and illustration.

Anthropologists like Busk and Galton spent much time measuring and assessing skulls in the hope of finding information that would highlight the differences in the intellectual capacities of different human races. The four views of the Ashantee chief's skull are an example of the type of image that would be cited to serve as corroborating 'evidence'. There is a suggestion that because the skull belonged to a black person who was a chief, it should be inevitable that certain supporting evidence of race and rank should be apparent from it. Critical reading of the text description of the skull reveals Busk's beliefs. He writes:

> Weak and delicate, however, as it may be for a negro skull, the muscular impressions are well marked and vigorous, and there is no actual reason for supposing it not to be that of a man. He could not, however, have been a very powerful individual, and was very young - two circumstances rather opposed to the notion that he had been a military leader among savage troops, in whose commanders either age or personal prowess, we might suppose, would be

demanded. We may suppose, however, that the rank of the individual may have given him an importance, independent of his personal qualifications as a warrior (*Journal* 1874: 63-64).

Presentation of this type of image seems to support notions of the importance of rank and race within English society. This centuries' old attitude is typified by Francis Galton[15], writing later in 1884 to show the superior worth of white over black people. He stated that the white traveller would seldom meet a black chief whom he might consider "the better man" (Gould 1984: 76).

Despite the close inter-relationship between word and image, many scientific texts reveal a subtle disparity between those two elements.[16] Texts and oral communications were of paramount importance and, as teaching was oral, there were few visual examples. Language of the text which accompanied images, would invariably include racist assumptions and moral value judgements which would reflect and articulate a shared public opinion. Words like 'primitive' and 'savage' would be part of this unstated, but commonly understood social formation. In the scientific world, thinking, writing and talking was generally held to be more influential than the visual image; yet in popular everyday images which formed part of public discourse, the influence of the text translated into image became racist and stereotyped.

One of the most authoritative precedents for a variety of images came from the images accompanying the text in Peter Camper's 1794 *Works*. He asserted these diagrams were "figures after the life and with the utmost accuracy" (Cowling 1989: 94 cites Camper). He examined the rules which are purported to have been derived from "the discovery of an...immediate and intimate connexion between

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[15] Galton, often called the 'father' of eugenics, believed in the fundamental differences between classes and races. Although many of his scientific studies appear to be ahead of other studies of his time, his belief in the innate superiority of one group over another shows that he retained some of the prejudices of the belief system of the average Victorian gentleman and his class.

[16] These assertions are based on a discussion on this issue held with Professor Philip Tobias, Medical School, University of the Witwatersrand, November 1993.

the sciences of human and comparative anatomy, and of the history of animals (Cowling 1989: 94)[17]. The diagrams of Camper's Facial Angles [figs. 22, 23] used the ranking order which places the ape at the bottom of the scale, the Negro just above that, working up to the Caucasian/white/European at the top. In the first of these two images [fig. 22] he applied his angle of measurement to the profiles and skulls of a tailed monkey, an orangutan, a 'Negro' and a Kalmuck. There seems to be a strong, but unstated, correspondence between the profiles drawn for scientific purposes which had an authority accorded to them and the caricatur d profiles so often used in popular imagery. Both types would still have functioned in the same way to ridicule and diminish black people. Honour (1989: IV(2) 16) makes an apposite comment with regard to the earlier images of the *English Abolitionist Society's* emblem which was also a profile and to their other official image, a diagram of a slave ship; both of which reduced blacks to depersonalised slaves. In the second example [fig. 23], Camper's facial angle is applied to a variety of animals and a bird, culminating in a black and white person. In addition to his graded ascending scale, another aspect of Camper's work worth noting was his assertion that scientists like himself could offer "specific information to artists concerning the physical and psychological characteristics of particular types" (Cowling 1989: 94)[18].

The influential American scientist, Samuel George Morton[19] whose fame rested on his collection of skulls and the way in which he used them to assess racial thinking (Gould 1981: 53) utilised the comparative method to illustrate his hypothesis. Refer to Comparison of Three Heads and Three Skulls [fig. 24a]. This type of image which follows on Camper's convention was constantly used and reused by

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[17] from: P. Camper, *Works*, ed T. Cogan, iii, vi, cited by Cowling

[18] Refer to Honour 1989: Vol IV (2) 13-9.

[19] When Morton, whose name and reputation were well established in Britain, died in 1851, The *New York Times* wrote that "probably no scientific man in America enjoyed a higher reputation among scholars throughout the world, than Dr. Morton" (Gould 1981: 51 cites Stanton).

numerous illustrators in a diverse range of publications[20]. There are three major problems underpinning the way Morton presented his examples. Firstly, they are crassly overt in the distinctions they draw between the three types of people, represented here by their heads and skulls. They function as propaganda for an idea which propagates not only racial difference but a xenophobic othering. Gould writes that the interaction of theory and fact is a theme which "so well displays the human side of science - the intrusion of mind ... nature and their necessary interpenetration in all creative activity" (Gould 1985: 263). The divide between appearance and reality is so great that there were those English people who objected. The *Athenaeum* complained of the prejudice shown in the comparison, which they said 'ought not to have been suffered in a work professedly scientific' [Athenaeum, 17 June 1854: 746] (Cowling 1989: 61). Whilst their comments may only reflect a minority view, they are significant.

Secondly, Morton manipulated his data "in the clear interest of controlling a priori convictions" although Gould suggests it was an unconscious act and not open fraud (Gould 1981: 54).[21] Both text and images, (for example fig. 24a), were accorded a great deal of authority when they appeared in Nott and Gliddon's 1854 edition of Morton's "influential" (Cowling 1989: 60) *Types of Mankind*. Morton collected, selected and commented upon his data, claiming that he could establish and confirm his hypothesis "that a ranking of races could be established objectively by physical characteristics of the brain, particularly by its size"(Gould 1981: 51). The prestige of Morton's published works rested largely on his reputation which developed from the belief that he presented his readers with so-called objective data to support his theories.

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[20] See Cowling, 1989 for a variety of examples.

[21] Refer to Gould 1981: 68-9 for a summary of the four general categories of the way in which Morton "fudged and finangled" his measurements and findings.

> They [Morton's works] represent the major contribution of American polygeny to debates about racial ranking. They outlived the theory of separate creations and were reprinted repeatedly during the nineteenth century as irrefutable "hard" data on the mental worth of human races (Gould 1981:53).

Thirdly, Morton's methodologies and style represent what was to develop into an extremely common way of seeing, which meant that his illustrations (and texts) played an active role in producing current assumptions about race. Each of the three heads which is said to represent the best of its race, is accompanied by a skull. Once again there is the allusion to the degree of intelligence, the angle and shapes of the skull, with the added interest to aesthetic appeal in the profiles at the left. The comparison starts with the Caucasian at the top. He (naturally!), is represented by the Apollo Belvedere which conjures up notions of Western Civilization and all the idealism associated with the nobility suggested by the Greek god. The firm delicacy of his features and the whiteness of his face is juxtaposed against the heaviness of the negro's face. Linear accents emphasise those features which are said to determine the differences between groups of peoples. Strong black lines outline the staring eye, the flaring nostril, thick lips and heavy jawline. Substantiating the disparities, the adjacent skull is placed at such an angle as to further emphasise the differences between this and the 'Greek' above. The chimpanzee is somewhat anthropomorphized to link it to the face in centre, whose placing alone could render it the focus of difference. There is almost a sense of aggression to the simian face, whose form seems to mirror the bony Creole Negro, lying in the central section of the image.

Images like these provide an instant type of coding, allowing the viewer to make giant leaps of judgement without having to make any sort of evaluation of what is being presented. By juxtaposing the faces with their matching skulls, the total image is accorded a scientific authentication. It validates the content of the image and, by locating it within the influential book, it invites unquestioned acceptance.

The important result is that anatomy, anthropology, and development theory were combined with value judgements in the scale of comparisons.

Dogmatic assertions like Camper's fuelled the positivist myth, which gained great currency in the nineteenth century, that claimed that science represents an unassailable 'truth' in which 'facts' are removed from culture. In demonstrating a counter argument Gould shows that

> science...is a culturally embedded activity...[in which]...[f]acts are not pure and unsullied bits of information; culture also influences what we see and how we see it. The most creative theories are often imaginative visions imposed upon facts; the source of imagination is also strongly cultural (Gould 1984: 21-22).

Analysing 'biological determinism', Gould shows how nineteenth-century "[d]eterminists have often invoked the traditional prestige of science as objective knowledge, free from social and political taint" (Gould 1984: 20). Whilst believing "that a factual reality exists and that science...can learn from it" (Gould 1984: 22), Gould shows how "the history of scientific views on race...serves as a mirror for social movements" and that "many questions are formulated by scientists in such a restricted way that any legitimate answer can only validate a social preference" (Gould 1984: 22). Those images which were used as partial 'proof' to show the differences between races reveal how "the techniques of an observing hierarchy and those of a normalising judgement" acted as selective social perspectives for nineteenth century English people.

Studies of the anatomical structure highlighting racial difference were certainly not restricted to people of African origin [fig. 24b]. The vast output of all forms of representations of the 'other' "corresponded with the ever-expanding economic, missionary and military penetration and colonisation of Asia, Africa

and the Pacific during the nineteenth-century" (Bell 1982: 73)[22]. Just as with literature, it must be remembered "that imperialism, understood as England's social mission, was a crucial part of the cultural representation of England to the English" (Spivak 1985: 243). Political concerns with Empire, for instance, resulted in systematised studies of groups of people also being produced for the British Admiralty (Bayly 1990: 281). The following two examples demonstrate contemporary Victorian interest in comparative recordings of the "measurement of the external characteristics of peoples' bodies (anthropometry)" (Bayly 1990: 282) using J.H. Lamprey's[23] popular method.

The profile image of Anthropometric study of Bengal sailor, c1880 (fig. 25) placed before a grid of two inch squares shows concern with such elements as facial angle, length of hair and emphasis on the nose and beard. Also significant is his nudity, the purpose of which is unknown and conjecture is unwise. Using the same and other methods of measurement, but of more dramatic content, is the Anthropometric study of an Andamanese Woman, M.V. Portman c1893 (fig. 26) which also makes for interesting visual and theoretical comparisons with the 'Hottentot Venus' (see chapter five). Clearly the contemporary interest value in this woman as specimen revolves around her exaggerated anatomical features which are made more prominent by her stance. The instruments and grid which enforce her position supply the formalising procedures of scientific enquiry. Subjecting people to these often humiliating situations was

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[22] Due to constraints on length of this dissertation, the concepts of colonialism, Empire and Imperialism and their impact "within the white world of England" (Lorimer 1978: 210) are, regrettably, only referred to and not dealt with in detail. Although the scope and length of this dissertation does not allow for an examination of black people in the context of nineteenth century colonial imagery, it is noted that the construction of those representations is seminal to the subject.

[23] Lamprey of the Royal College of Surgeons and the Royal Geographical Society devised a standardised measurement system whereby the subject was photographed against a background grid formed by hanging silk thread on a large wooden frame, forming two inch squares. "Shortly after this the International Statistical Institute was established (1887) and copies of the Anthropological Institute's *Notes and Queries* and the Royal Geographical Society's *Hints to Travellers* were printed with gold blocked 6-inch rulers along their inside covers" (Bayly 1990: 282).

frequently undertaken without consideration of their feelings. An episode is recorded when images were being collected for Dalton in which the "...wild timid creatures" tearfully "resigned themselves to the ordeal" of photography and measurement (Bayly 1990: 282). Examples such as these were specifically designed to highlight difference by couching it within the realm of science as knowledge gained not only by observation but substantiated by experiment and empirical evidence. However, stress was placed on outward appearance with colour and anatomy as primary indicators of 'otherness'.

The influence of the polygenist Paul Broca, President of the Anthropological Society of Paris, who also published in England, extended beyond his academic published works and lectures.

> Broca, a great medical anatomist and anthropologist, embodied the great nineteenth-century faith in quantification as a key to objective science. If he could collect enough human parts from enough human races, the resultant measurements would surely define the great scale of human progress, from chimp to Caucasian. Broca was not more virulently racist than his scientific contemporaries (nearly all successful white males, of course); he was simply more assiduous in accumulating irrelevant data, selectively presented to support a prior viewpoint (Gould 1985: 292).

The 1877 November issue of *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* (1877 VII 389-393) reproduced a chart that Broca had developed for the purposes of systematising instructions for use by observers when collecting data. The chart was in colour, and represented a typology of human skin colours for use by the researcher.[24] The two pages provide the guide for the anthropometric committee's observations of English "country folk" who are then further divided into "pure country folk" and "very pure country folk" depending on the number of parents and grandparents who

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[24] (i) The following example, whilst not a drawing or similar image per se, is included because the format and the use of colour are germane to the discussion. A reproduction of these two pages has not been included as an adequate copy of the colours was not possible. The original is available in the Periodical Library of the University of the Witwatersrand. (ii) In 1864 Broca published "the first scale of skin colours, with 34 shades ranging from the blondest of Europeans to the darkest of Africans" for the *Bulletins de la Societe d'anthropologie de Paris*, which, Honour suggests presents an significant relationship between the typology of skin colour and the "great revaluation of colour in painting" (Honour 1989: (IV)2 14).

were town or country people. Each page is divided into five strips of colour, much like the colour charts one would find today when selecting house-paint. The ten names of the numbered colours range from "very fair" to "black" have a second number which relates to Broca's table; for example "No 7 BROWN...BROCA -42 -28" (*Journal* 1877: VII 89-390). The purpose for which this particular guide was intended was for the description of hair colour of the above group "as a means of establishing suitable standards of comparison for the British Isles" (*Journal* 1877: VII 392). There is a caution contained within the text that

> [a]lthough the colours in the little book ... do not in all cases agree exactly with the shades of M. Broca's tables ... representing colours of the skin and hair of different races, they approach them sufficiently to enable a reference to be made in each case... (*Journal* 1877: VII 392).

The example serves to show to what extent knowledge was gained firstly by so-called scientific observation and evidence and then held to be neutral scientific practice. Subsequently this sort of information was systematised and accepted as general principle, somehow always encoding the notion of human inferiority to a reference to "different races". Gould asserts that Broca's selectively gathered facts were reliable " (unlike Morton's)" but they were "then manipulated unconsciously in the service of prior conclusions", which were, he suggests, "the shared assumptions of most successful white males during his time - themselves on top by the good fortune of nature, and women, blacks and poor people below" (Gould 1981: 85).

Interest in difference was not always hostile, nor did it always focus dehumanising practice, as an analysis of the illustrations to text in Prichard's volumes[25] will show. James Cowles Prichard studied

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[25] Prichard, who associated himself with Blumenbach and his work, followed a methodology of "biological analogies, comparative ethnology and comparative linguistics". His writings which dominated British racial science "for much of the nineteenth century was to reassert the traditional Christian view of the unity of the different races of mankind" (Stepan 1982: xiv, xiii). These works include several editions of *The Natural History of Man* and *Researches into the Physical History of Mankind.*

the "evolution of varieties" within a single species created by God" (Stocking 1987: 51). He could be said to be a representative of the evolutionary approach of the *Anthropological Society*, because Prichardian, like Darwinian theory[28], was predicated upon the overriding belief that physical form modified over time. Prichard's concern for the development of civilizations

> ...may be viewed in terms of one implicit visual metaphor: that of a tree, with contemporary tribal twigs linked by major racial branches to the trunk of a single human species, rooted - for this metaphorical tree had a precise location - near the point where Noah's Ark had come to rest in Southwest Asia. By the third edition of the *Researches*, a proliferation of ethnographic data and more rigorous methodological criteria had combined to blur the structure of the tree. (Stocking 1987: 52).

Debates, theories and opinions proliferated as monogenists and polygenists argued, challenged and contradicted one another. Theories about race were applied to "cultural, linguistic, and political, as well as physical, differences (which) further confused the already ambiguous meanings given to the conception of race" (Lorimer 1978: 135). With Prichard in the lead, ethnologists moved away from "physical classification towards linguistic affinities to prove the unity of mankind" and extended their examination to national characteristics and cultural groupings (Lorimer 1978: 135).

Many of the illustrations which accompany Prichard's text would fit in some ways within the genre of a portrait-like representation. Kafir of the Amakosah [fig. 27] (1837), follows the conventions of an idealized portrait which makes allusions to a likeness of the original sitter.

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[28] Following his first published abstract in 1859 of a forthcoming book entitled *On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection, or the Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life*, Darwin's place in a discussion of nineteenth century science is fundamental. Within a few years the theory of evolution affected almost all aspects of the social and natural sciences. "Far from dislodging old racial ideas, evolution strengthened them, and provided them with a new scientific vocabulary of struggle and survival" (Stepan 1982: 49). So although "at the heart of Darwin's argument for evolution,...was a reliance on the traditional chain of races... his use of the 'lower' races, whilst obviously reflexive of the racial ideas of his period, had little to do with overt racism *per se*" (Stepan 1982: 55, underlining added). In addition, his works were not liberally illustrated. More importantly, as this dissertation does not attempt to show images of the history of science *per se*.

> Most portraits exhibit a formal stillness, a heightened degree of self-composure that responds to the formality of the portrait-making situation. Either the sitter composed himself, or the portraitist does it to indicate the solemnity of the occasion and the timelessness of the portrait image as a general, often generous statement, summing up 'a life' (Brilliant 1991: 10).

Based on common perceptions of the portrait and employing the painterly techniques of small, precise brushstrokes Prichard's artist produced the stern image. It appears to sum up an individual life[27], but this is a false assumption because this portrait has to be viewed within the context of its publication in a scientific book.

First, the title makes no reference to the particular person but refers to his so-called tribal identity immediately making the sitter a typical representative of the whole group. Further, in the introduction in which Prichard identifies his motivation, he states that his researches are an endeavour to

> ... derive arguments from the many *general* facts in the history of organised beings that might tend to elucidate the relations of different human races to each other (Prichard 1837: introduction, emphasis added).

Thirdly, Prichard states that in his investigation of "the Native Races of Southern Africa, beyond the Tropic" he is considering "inferior tribes" about whom his writings include "general remarks on the moral characteristics of the Kafir nation".

> The Kafirs in general, even the most barbarous of their tribes, hold a decided superiority when compared with the destitute savages who occupy the insulated hamlets of central Negroland (Prichard 1837: 287).

Like the text, analysis of the image reveals a subtle tension. On the one hand the text praises certain qualities of the people, whilst on the other it subtly reinforces stereotypes about savagery and morality

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[27] Compare this portrait with that of Zachary Macauly (Fig. 14) which, although highly idealized, refers directly to his personal identity and achievements by use of the iconographic devices which allude to his life's work and achievements. Further, the context of Macauly's marble bust, produced to endure, also adds to the construction of identity.

surrounding the popular perceptions of black Africans from the 'Dark Continent'. The image functions on a level similar to the three-quarter figure which is portrayed to demonstrate the conventions and appearance expected (by Europeans) of an African by using the iconographic device of depicting him nude. His physique does not make a particular personal comment but is meant rather to be viewed as a document whose purpose it is to reveal a social "reality".

This dispassionate view is extended further in page 313 [fig. 28] of the 1845 second edition of *The Natural History of Man*. The generalised image of the Hottentot Female, shows her short curly hair, flaring nostrils indicating a broad nose, and thick lips which inevitably form part of such illustrations. Much more significant however, is the way this figure displays the perceptions of the researcher as he identifies with his value system and mode of thinking. The subjects and objects of his research derive from a completely different value system. The woman is no longer a person with an identity but, as visual object placed on the page with the Skull of a Bushman, she becomes a specimen, the supreme object of 'the examination'. Both illustrations on the page become the visible channel of the discourse as they expand upon and reinforce the text[28]. Prichard's mode of thinking and presentation is not neutral, and cannot be described as 'factual' information despite the producer's desire to exhibit 'authenticity' and 'universal values'.

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[28] Prichard's acknowledgement of and reliance upon such overt racists as Cuvier and Knox in his own references on this particular page are a useful reminder that, despite their disputes, these theorists and researchers were intellectually closely aligned. In the dedication in the 1845 edition of *The Natural History of Man* Prichard acknowledges that he intends to illustrate and extend the views of his "venerable friend Blumenbach" [fig. 24b]. A comparative anatomist, Blumenbach's main interest lay in the measurement of craniums from which he divided humankind into five varieties denying that any one group was inferior to another and asserting that Africans could acquire learning. He even corresponded with Ignatius Sancho and collected a library of books by black authors (Fryer 1984: 167). It is interesting to note therefore, Prichard's references to these three men. The distinctions between Prichard and Blumenbach on the one hand, and Hunt and Knox on the other, underscore the fact that one cannot be reductionist and simplistic in recognizing the racism of their work.

The graphic [fig. 29] in the 1855 fourth edition of Prichard's *The Natural History of Man* appears to be a replication of the earlier image [fig. 27]. Entitled Kosa Kafir, it forms an integral part of the page of text and is a not a separate plate like the earlier one above [fig. 27]. Once again it represents no particular tribe and makes no attempt to query the personality of the sitter, thus removing it from a true portrait genre. Instead, resemblance is based on type, skin colour and physical features and relates to the way in which the group is identified by means of perceived racial attributes.

Prichard's representations generally have the appearance of gentle portraits yet in effect, along with his text, they display a heavily loaded 'terminology' in subtle yet pejorative terms about the outsider group. They betray a negative consciousness of ethnicity and cultural identity within a certain set of Victorian historical conditions and processes. Prichard utilises the phenomenon of personal selection in which the cognitive process that proceeds the visual image is a reflection of both the producer's mental image of the subject matter and a social representation.

Documenting "the examination" which "places individuals within a field of surveillance, also situates them in a network of writing: it engages them in a whole mass of documents that capture and fix them" (Foucault 1979: 189). Foucault describes the "power of writing" as constituting an "essential part of the mechanisms of power" (Foucault 1979: 189). Visual images could equally be considered an integral part of these disciplinary or controlling documents which classify, categorize, determine, average and fix norms (Foucault 1979: 190). Foucault shows further that the examination opened up two correlative possibilities; one which allowed the individual, by means of description and analysis, to maintain an individuality under the gaze of a permanent corpus of knowledge; and the other comparative system which is characterised by collective facts which produces an overall group identity (Foucault 1979: 190). By extension then, concurrent with the rise of science, the representations of human form as portrayed

by men emerging in the fields of the "'clinical' sciences" (Foucault 1979: 191), anatomy, anthropology and so on, became another form in which power over the social and individual body were extended.

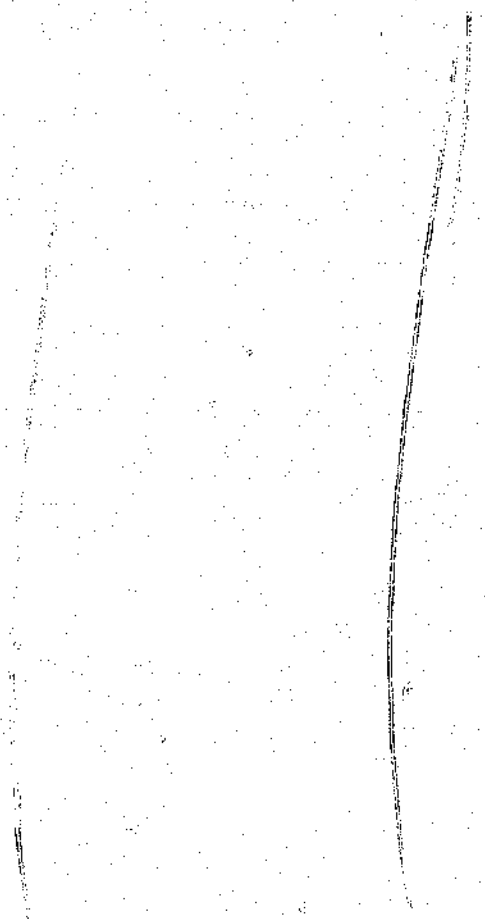
The images, which generally were supported by texts, claimed to be scientific and were therefore held to be representative of the 'truth'. However, they were subjective perspectives, rooted in prejudice, and were often the result of questionable scholarly methods. The significance of the examples used in this chapter lies in the important effect they had on popular, as well as scientific, audiences. The scientific illustrations are a result of the interconnected processes of seeing, doing and speaking within the complex of social, political, and ideological discourses.

The highly influential theories of the monogenists and the doctrines of polygenesis provoked an ongoing and often acrimonious debate. Ironically they shared a common bond as both sides had shared assumptions about 'negroes' and 'primitive people'. Whilst the former aligned themselves around scriptural orthodoxy and the latter proclaimed separate origins for the different races and espoused eugenicist theories, they were generally united in their racist attitudes. Anatomist Robert Knox asserted

> [t]hat race is everything, is simply a fact, the most remarkable, the most comprehensive, which philosophy has ever announced. Race is everything: literature, science, art - in a word, civilization depends on it. (Pieterse 1992: 49).

The broader debates ranged over a wide field of inquiry which included heredity and environment, 'primitive' religion and Christianity, the physical differences of people, classifications of all types including language and appearance and so on. However, they were invariably fraught with value judgements and value laden language. Concepts such as civilized or primitive, barbarous or savage, heathen and sinner which were to become embedded within language systems, were uncritically accepted and applied in support of all arguments and similarly, applied to visual representations. People from Africa, Asia, and other parts of the 'new' world, as well as groups within Europe and the British Isles, were also

considered within a racial and broad evolutionary perspective. Despite the debates which emerged on the specific merits or demerits of systematic scientific investigations, the overriding concern with race seemed to dominate. The central interest in the production of scientific illustrations of black people of African origin was defining, describing, analysing and above all, proving racial difference, and racial inferiority and superiority.



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Chapter Four

OBSERVING BLACK PEOPLE IN POPULAR CULTURE

Analysis of the historical conditions of everyday life of nineteenth century urban England reveals elements of a complex discourse which both implicitly and explicitly exposes a society that, in general, marginalised black people. Representations that emerged at different times from a variety of sources will be seen to function as elements of an unstructured group of images which, taken together, portray black people in England as the objectified 'other'.

Debates around slavery and biological diversity, coupled with a legacy of ideas and attitudes about black people, resulted in the production of a heterogeneous body of representations of people of African origin. Popular nineteenth-century mass culture was not unified; rather it presented its own way of seeing the world constructed out of its own language and set of representations. The majority of the images, products of the new printing processes, were part of an emerging urban, consumer society. There are, however, exceptions and some of the representations of blacks which were produced within the scope of 'high culture' will be evaluated. The particular view of life which this type of painting expresses, belongs to a general category which traditionally served the taste, aesthetics and ideological interests of the ruling class.

This chapter examines some of the processes which rendered black people visible in popular imagery. The images are considered as part of the terrain which reflected contemporary, unequal power relations within English society in general, and the additional marginalisation of black people in particular. The complexity of social activity, and therefore its representations, reveals producers and audiences who did not form an homogenous group. The presented images, however, display striking similarities of opinion.

Running consistently through the texture of English society, more like a cable than a thread, are ever-increasing hostile racist attitudes[1]. However, as examination of society and its contemporaneously produced images demonstrates, the forms and content of images giving expression to racist discourse varied. Relying on an underlying emotive ethnocentricism, popular visual representations which formed a language of their own became part of the everyday life of the dominant culture of nineteenth-century England.

The printed media were producing relatively plentiful, cheap publications which were rapidly distributed and widely available. Modern technology acted as an enabling medium for the transmission of information old and new, as well as being the vehicle for the dissemination of particular value systems. Communication of ideas between previously small groups of people, often elites, expanded into the broader public sphere. Neither producers nor audiences were homogenous so that varied social perspectives and theories exposed members of society to a complex, dynamic culture.

Scientific interest in racial difference was one of those factors which influenced popular opinion and upon which society at large considered itself qualified to make assumptions and pass value judgements. Racial and class differences were used to explain social problems or to justify established social roles in terms of behaviour patterns. Alleged characteristics associated with black people of African origin were accepted as if they were universal 'black' qualities. Supported and in fact exacerbated by scientific trends, these oral and written images were reinforced by visual images in popular media. In translation from the academic to the accessible, the work of many social commentators moved from idealized and conventionalized scientific typological representations to the exaggerated forms of the caricature.

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[1] Especially important for late twentieth-century readers to remember is the insidious nature of racism as an integral, almost subtle, part of society's mechanisms and processes rather than its existence as an overt racist social programme which is supported by such attitudes.

By the nineteenth century, caricature as a graphic form was an established practice in England. It had developed from Joshua Reynolds (1723-1792) and Thomas Patch's (1725-1782) eighteenth-century conversation pieces into often malicious depictions of politicians. Hogarth's[2] satires, whilst often mistaken for caricatures were rather insightful and critical social commentaries on contemporary human behaviour. However, both in form and content and equally significantly, stylistically, his influence is important. As an ever increasingly popular genre in Victorian England, caricature featured strongly in the often-times humorous, often critical, political cartoons.

Weekly cartoons in publications like *Punch* were responsible for institutionalising the notion and form of political caricature among the English middle class[3]. Social comment in the humorous illustrations of George Cruikshank (1792-1878) was far less vicious than those of the last few decades of the eighteenth-century graphic satirists Gillroy and Rowlandson. Considered by many to be an astute observer of human nature, Cruikshank's Tom and Jerry series included black people as part of his commentary on contemporary 'low life'. His seemingly spontaneous style of work in which "[t]he concept of type provides the focus for the complex relationship between physiognomy, anthropology and art" (Cowling 1989: xxix) would highlight racial differences with a few strokes of the pen. Yet despite

[2] Varnedoe and Gopnik state that William Hogarth had actually denounced [illegible] in his famous 1743 print Characters and Caricatures, "...because of the caricature's aristocratic origins and snobbish pretensions. Caricature, Hogarth suggests, is a decadent, elite game played in ignorance of the grander and truer tradition of Raphael, with its emphasis on clear stories and rounded characters" (Varnedoe and Gopnik 1991: 110).

[3] An in-depth study of black people and caricature could itself form a major study of social and cultural attitudes in Victorian England. The range of material is vast including periodicals as diverse as *The Graphic* and *Vanity Fair* and individuals as different as Thomas Rowlandson, the Cruikshanks, Max Beerbohm and Aubrey Beardsley. Some studies do exist, for example see George, M.D. ***Hogarth to Cruikshank: Social Change in Graphic Satire:*** 1967.

being a moral reformer, Cruikshank, as Honour points out, shared prevailing, highly generalised, views about black people. These are summarized by Thomas Carlyle[4] as follows:

> ...[the black as] a swift, supple fellow; a merry-hearted, grinning, dancing, singing, affectionate kind of creature, with a great deal of melody and amenability in his composition (Honour 1989: IV (1) 200).

"To him [Cruikshank], all blacks seem to have looked alike and, indeed, like blackface comedians in a minstrel show" (Honour 1989: IV (1) 199-200).

By drawing attention to political and social situations, the artistic convention of caricature was establishing itself as a democratic vehicle. Exposing the "underbelly" culture, it was becoming part of the European (particularly French and English) tradition of social criticism. The caricaturist seemed always to be probing society to reveal a reality that lay beneath appearance. The simplifications and generalisations of the caricaturist's technique in which he exaggerated already generalised physical characteristics or distinctive personality traits led to the production of a stylization which produced a generic 'black'. There is a clear similarity between this technique and scientific methodologies employing taxonomies and hierarchical comparisons to reduce members of race groups or classes to a generic whole.

Blacks in domestic service was a centuries old English tradition[5]. Throughout the centuries numerous oil paintings were made which feature portraits of royal or upper class people attended by usually

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[4] Thomas Carlyle wrote the violently racist *Discourse on the Nigger Question*: 1849. See also chapter 1.

[5] From before the time of Elizabeth I, black people were employed in the homes of the aristocracy and the wealthy, their numbers growing to an estimated 20 000 prior to 1772 (Scobie 1972: 48). The rise of the triangular trade and slavery increased the number of free and enslaved people to an estimated 45 000-50 000 throughout Britain by the latter part of the eighteenth century (Scobie 1972: 63). However, Shyllon cited by Fryer, asserts that the black population must have fluctuated during the eighteenth century due to disease, poverty, ill treatment and starvation which would have checked the growth of a permanent core of people (Fryer 1987: 68). In 1830 there were 10 000 people of African descent in England (Lotz and Pegg 1986: Introduction book 3). Although a large number of these were either enslaved or employed in domestic service, significant numbers had other occupations.

anonymous, black slaves and servants. Analysis[6] of these groups and portraits tends to demonstrate the social status of the sitter. The accompanying black servant, very often a child, pets and other indicators of wealth and status all add up to a statement about status and class. Hogarth's original narrative prints changed the way black people could be depicted in English art.

> English art shows the experience of the black at both ends of society, English painting depicting his situation among the upper classes, and the English print his contact with the lower orders. What emerges from English painting is a sense of solitude of blacks in the alien environment of the aristocratic household (Dabydeen 1987: 21).

In her study of the pervasiveness of Victorian physiognomy[7] and its application in Victorian art, Mary Cowling stresses the importance of

> ...the visible embodiment of those ideas and assumptions which invariably structure our (sic) perceptions of human types. The physiognomical conventions embodied in art are among the most striking and informative examples of that inescapable cultural conditioning which accompanies and unconsciously determines the form of every human thought and action (Cowling 1989: xvii).

The inclusion of these ideas and assumptions in the whole gamut of visual images produced as part of popular culture provided the fertile breeding ground in which "constant repetition makes things believable" (Barthes 1993: 12). The notion of a Victorian popular culture proposes a collective knowledge with its own language and world view which both utilised, and inevitably changed, the thought systems and rhetoric of society generally. The culture which developed, created, and then fixed its own representations, conceptualized them as part of its own world view as if most images were historically 'true'. Constant repetition in a variety of forms and locales lent credence to what were merely common

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[6] See Dabydeen: 1987.

[7] In the nineteenth-century a purportedly scientific discipline, physiognomy, provided a fixed code or system of reference against which any type or feature might be measured. Victorians "all but universally believed in" the identification of character through the facial features and forms of the head and the body (Cowling 1989: xviii and 9). Phrenology "the original 'science' of judging various mental capacities by the size of the localized brain areas" (Gould 1984: 93), and pathognomy, the study of the passions and emotions and the sign or expressions of them, were complimentary and all formed part of popular Victorian preoccupations with human characteristics and behaviour.

assumptions about issues such as 'race'. What was being created was a myth about black people. At the same time as a Victorian stereotype of 'the Negro' was becoming part of the ideology of everyday life, Victorians considered the image or sign of black people in terms of a value as well. As these signs became encoded within the social order, the British public would constantly use them as value judgements when confronting or seeing black people or visual images of them.

The following four images of servants are examples of the types of illustrations which formed part of the general format of popular media's productions. There is a problem in that it has not been possible to find the exact context or source from which each originated.[6] They are included, however, as they are likely either to have been published in a variety of printed forms which came to occupy a large middle ground which catered to different elements of society. Location of satirical prints and graphic caricatures was widespread; not only were they included in numerous publications but they were to be found pasted on walls at street corners and in ale-houses and gin-shops but also in fashionable homes (George 1987:17). ... speculation has been employed but it has been moderated by careful consideration. It is acknowledged that the immediate context of circulation has a crucial role to play when attempting to access meaning. Given the complicated nature of the influence images have in the complex relationship of power and knowledge, these particular images may be regarded to be merely one small aspect within a larger discourse. Expression in popular media should not be considered purely as a 'top down' manipulation of a passive audience, but also, an interactive expression of the collective experiences of daily life. This type of graphic form was widely used to represent and, very often criticize, social customs, manners and behaviour which cut across the 'high-low life' divide. Producers of

[6] These images were originally researched in london in 1988, at the BBC Hulton Picture Library and Mary Evans Picture Library. Despite numerous attempts in March 1995, by telephone, fax and the internet, I could not get any further information on them. I explored all likely reference institutions in Johannesburg but was also unsuccessful.

texts and visual images would respond to both market forces and to spoken and unarticulated demands from specific social groups defined in terms of class, race, religion, and so on.

Analysis of the artistic means of caricature in the images demonstrate that for black English servants "servitude is not merely a status, it is a way of being" (Pieterse 1992: 131). Caricatures acted as an enabling device for both producers and audience to pass comment on their own society. The style often allowed for an incisive probing beneath the surface to reveal a truth that lay beyond appearance. The conventional form involved a gross exaggeration of human features to achieve a comic effect, inevitably mocking the subject and thus denying his/her dignity. The usual intention of the caricature was to unmask aspects of the subject to reveal some inner or perceived innate characteristic by emphasising particular external physical features.

The print [fig. 30] that features Lady Caroline Norton (holding the book)[8] illustrates Dabydeen's point about the solitude of blacks in the alien aristocratic household, (although Dabydeen refers to paintings and this is an engraving). The serving man at left is completely ignored by the group of women gathered around the table; the typical 'invisible' servant. According to the fashion of the day, the servant is appropriately attired to suit his position. His profile features and dark skin colour situate him as an anonymous 'other' and reduce him to a silent, alien stereotype. Consistent with the eighteenth century practice of including black servants, and pets, particularly dogs, in family paintings, the ubiquitous dog is also present at this tea-party.[10] As a contrast, however, the women in the scene are recognisable as

[8] Left to right: Mrs Hall, L. E. London (in front), Mary Russell Mitford (behind table), Lady Morgan (in front). Harriet Martineau, Jane Porter, Lady Caroline Norton (Caroline Elizabeth Sarah [Sheridan] 1808-1877). The details, obtained from the BBC Hulton Picture Library, were taken from the original print which was, obviously, much clearer.

[10] See Dabydeen 1987: 21-26, figs 9-13, 16.

individuals, because the depiction imitates their actual facial features - one of the basic elements of portraiture as a genre in the west. Lady Caroline Norton was not an ordinary "aristocratic" woman, in that "in 1836 she embarked on a campaign to secure women's right to custody of her children following divorce (Midgely 1992:156). This representation which is clearly about her and the group of women around her in that she was an identifiable personality. There is, therefore, a distinction between this and the examples of caricatures of black servants which follow, in that even though she is was an identifiable personality in her own right, in this image she is subsumed into her class which, in turn is played off by the presence of the servant who serves to substantiate Lady Caroline's class and its attitudes and which provides further evidence of the way in which black servants were considered and represented.

Illustrative, informative prints were as much part of popular culture as caricatures and humorous prints. The following three images exemplify the type of illustration that was to be found in a very diverse range of publications; from broadsheets which were pasted on the walls of public houses or gin-shops to the widely distributed variety of periodicals and newspapers that became so popular due to the growth of the mass printed media industry. Despite intensive efforts to verify the exact context of each image, it has not been possible to identify the original location and context of the following three images. They have been included as they demonstrate the role and manner in which caricature played in othering black people. An Airing in the Dog Days, [fig. 31] features a black male servant carrying a lapdog and pulling another reluctant one along as the three of them follow his female employer out for a stroll. The caricaturist pokes fun at the situation of all figures as each plays their socially defined role. The man's presence, his duties which include caring for the spoilt dogs and his liveried attire all help define his social place and the class of his employer: all of which are the butt of the caricaturist's pen. The comic effect for the contemporary audience is heightened by further definition of the man's blackness.

Attention is concentrated on the gross exaggeration of his profile facial features which are consistent with the scientific trend of isolating the shape of his nose and lips for special attention. It is further heightened by the ridiculously small top hat perched above his pigtailed head.

The full face of the Negro Manservant (who) Assists His Master To Dress, 1838, [fig. 32] follows the same convention but takes racial stereotyping one step further. The big head on the skinny body has the pronounced white eyes and big toothy smile associated with the common perception of "the comic Negro"[11] which renders him a more obvious foil for his haughty and indecisive master who uses his servant as an inanimate object. The servant's dark head seems to be deliberately placed in front of the stark white of the bust. This appears to be a conscious ploy to juxtapose notions of the civilized (inherent in the classical sculpture), against those of the primitive (suggested by the African man). In addition the depiction of the servant as smaller and lower, his bent legged posture suggesting subjection, the smile expressing availability are elements of an iconography of servitude (Pieterse 1992: 131). The satirical depiction in which features from life were deliberately distorted results in an easily and spontaneously recognisable stereotype.

Useful Hints No.5 [fig. 33] draws attention to the hierarchy that existed amongst domestic servants themselves. To keep servants in their place, numerous books were published which gave advice to both employers and employees. Caricaturing the absurdities of the people, but not necessarily their life and times, the hint accompanying this humorous cartoon advises that "[s]ervants should be particularly careful not to disgrace their uniform by paying the slightest attention to a parcel of Trades-peoples wretches". The pecking order is clear. The disdainful white servant leans back in his chair reading, whilst his

[11] The term comes from Pieterse (citing Sterling Brown) who distinguishes "five main types of blacks in American fiction: the contented slave, the comic Negro, the exotic primitive, the tragic mulatto, and the brute nigger" (Pieterse 1992: 152).

counterpart, also indicating a level of superiority with his thumbs hooked into his waistcoat, totally ignores the young delivery boy. Both bewigged men are similarly dressed in the fashionable uniform and the suggestion is that they share an equal status within the social order, but closer analysis of the image reveals clearly stated differences between white and black servants. The white man nonchalantly rocking back in his chair reading is indicated as being the superior. His apparent literacy is another possible pointer to the differences between the men. As he sits and the black man stands his authority is asserted over the other two, separating and socially elevating him above his b x colleague despite the fact that the two of them share the same uniform. Moreover, with just his face and hand as indicators of his difference, the stylised black man is mythologised and reduced to the sameness of all other black men. Just as the mid-Victorians did not need to rely on race to assign (or enforce) a marked place to their servants, the domestic workers themselves did not need either white or black skins to be reminded of their place (Lorimer 1978: 105). In this parody the patient little messenger boy has no choice but to fit into this hierarchy.

Generally, as "a hierarchy within a hierarchy" servants in England acted as "link between high life and low life" (George 1987: 70). With a few notable exceptions, black servants usually occupied the lowest end of that hierarchy.

> The first role blacks were permitted to perform in white society, after that of slave or servant, was that of entertainer. Indeed entertainment,...was itself one of the functions of slaves (Pieterse 1992: 136).

Black performers and musicians were not new to the English tradition. "As early as 1510 Moors had been represented in English masques, and in 1522 they had been portrayed in street pageants" (Tokson 1982:1)[12]. Elizabeth I, had her own black performers[13]. African musicians in eighteenth-century

[12] See chapter one of this dissertation and Tokson: 1982.

[13] See chapter one above.

England included "folk musicians, street singers, and amateur performers, concert artists, conductors, composers, and writers about music, as well as teachers of applied music and music composition" (Lotz and Pegg 1986: 14)[14].

By the end of the nineteenth century music halls[15], entertainment places especially characteristic of London, were popular places in the everyday life of English people.

> According to a Parliamentary Commission in 1892, "the large collection of theatres and music halls gathered together, the amount of capital used in the enterprise, the great number of persons, directly and indirectly provided with employment, the multitudes of all classes of the people who attend theatres and music halls of London, find no other parallel; in any other part of the country (Steadman Jones 1974: 477).

Growing in popularity during the last quarter of the century, these venues formed an important part of London's working class social life and were even instrumental in providing a place where women of most classes could share in popular entertainment. This was a change from the previous situation where only the "lower classes" felt comfortable at musical entertainments held in pubs and coffee shops; the kind of place commentators like Cruikshank had depicted showing London's "Low Life",1847 [fig. 34].

Prior to the advent of the respectable and socially acceptable music halls, popular rendezvous common among working class people were local drinking houses and coffee shops. The typically English habit of enjoying "the old 'free and easies' and pub sing-songs which had been popular in the 1840's" (Steadman Jones 1974: 480) developed there. It was not unusual for entertainment to be provided by a black musician or group of black singers. George Cruikshank's 1840 graphic shows the black fiddler in his fool's hat. This was possibly Billy Walters, knows as the Negro fiddler, who provided the music for a

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[14] See Josephine Wright's essay on *Early African Musicians in Britain* in Lotz and Pegg: 1986.

[15] The first built in 1849 to hold one hundred people was enlarged so that by 1856 it could accommodate fifteen thousand. By the 1890s "it was calculated that the 35 largest halls alone were catering to an average audience of forty five thousand nightly" (Steadman Jones 1974: 477).

happy and appreciative crowd. Images such as these fuelled popular, unsubstantiated notions about the innate musicality of black people. John Wesley, for example, cited this 'attribute' as part justification for conversion of Africans when he said: "I cannot but observe that the Negroes above all the human species I ever knew, have the nicest ear for music. They have a kind of ecstatic delight in psalmody" (Walvin 1982: 68). White people capitalised on the popularly held conception of the musicality associated with black people. This is yet another example of the way in which whites would emphasise their own notions in their constructions of the generalised characteristics of blacks. The nineteenth-century American invention, the black minstrel, fed into this when it presented a white audience with a myt. logical caricature of a jolly, smiling, singing and dancing African.

> One of the first black figures to achieve popularity in modern western culture was the Minstrel[16] - a white imitation of black culture. Or, more accurately, in the words of Kenneth Lynn, 'a white imitation of a black imitation of a contented slave' (Pieterse 1992: 132).
> While it was organized around the quite explicit "borrowing" of black cultural materials for white dissemination, a borrowing that ultimately depended on the material relations of slavery, the minstrel show obscured these relations by pretending that slavery was amusing, right and natural (Lott 1993:3).

American Minstrelsy did not actually criticise slavery itself but allowed for some criticism of its "excess and abuses" whilst at the same time ridiculing abolitionists as "stupid, hypocritical, subservient to England and committed to 'racial mixture'" (Pieterse 1992: 134). In a sense minstrel shows defended slavery as they depended "for their main content [on] ... the myth of the benevolent plantation" (Pieterse 1992: 134). Whilst Pieterse (1992: 133) locates the "ideological background" of the "Jim Crow" as the white backlash against abolition, Lott (1993:83) situates the minstrel show, of which "Jim Crow" was an important part, in a "debased cultural position", inextricably bound up with class formations and racial meanings.

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[16] Born out of extreme class and race conflicts, blackface Minstrelsy had a strong political dimension in America as the genre often lampooned Afro-Americans and their culture. The form must have assumed different dimensions in England in terms of overt social and political expression and audience response.

Jump Jim Crow was a popular 1828 American minstrel routine authored by a white man, Thomas Dartmouth (Daddy) Rice,[17] [fig. 35]. T.D. Rice As The Original "Jim Crow", c1830s, [fig. 36] shows Rice with his face blackened and dressed in the tattered rags of a man with a deformed right shoulder and crooked left leg, whom, it is purported, he imitated after having seen him dancing (Honour 1989: I(2) 62).[18] Following his successful United States tour as the dancing, singing, crippled 'Negro', Rice brought the act to London in 1836 where it met with great popular success. Building on the general attitude of people like Cruikshank and Carlyle, Rice and minstrelsy, reflected key negative white attitudes to blackness. He presented a highly conventionalised and simplistic representation, using verbal and non-verbal images to support his character.

> There was in minstrelsy an unsteady but structured fluctuation between fascination with (or dread of) "blackness" and a fearful ridicule of it, underscored but not necessarily determined by a fluctuation between sympathetic belief in the authenticity of blackface and ironic distance from its counterfeit representations - within a single audience, and even within individual audience members (Lott 1993:124).

Included in his routine was a little song that soon became well-known: "Well about and turn about and jus'so,/Eb'ry time I weel about, I jump Jim Crow". It was "[a] catchy tune and a novel dance step, as well as physical deformity that provoked unfeeling mirth, [and] made immediate appeal to the white public" (Honour 1989: IV (2) 62). Other individual and group minstrel shows soon followed and rapidly gained popularity. The construction of music halls to house large numbers of people solely for the benefit of popular entertainment is significant. St. James Hall, in Piccadilly "was the home of London's first permanent and most famous black and white minstrel company...[where] the minstrel variety show ran continuously until 1904" (Lorimer 1978: 151).

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[17] Later the term became a highly offensive and derogatory term used to describe Afro-Americans. The "Jim Crow Laws" were used to describe enforced racial segregation in the US South, 1877 to the mid 1950's, and the term "Jim Crow" was often used as a noun to indicate their segregated life-style.

[18] "T.D. Rice used an old black stableman's song and dance in his first "Jim Crow" act (Lott 1993: 50-1).

Both locally produced and touring American minstrel shows were very popular in England. Like all forms of popular entertainment, the genre travelled with the British wherever they went. The illustration On the Voyage out with the Reinforcements: Negro Minstrelsy from *The Graphic* [fig. 37] shows a group of service men on their way out to South Africa to the 1879 "Zulu War" being entertained on board ship. There is something deeply ironical about white English soldiers on their way to fight a war against the Zulu people being entertained by whites masquerading as Africans. It begs a range of questions about the political and cultural differences between the soldiers, the people with whom they are about to engage in war and the nature of the entertainment itself.

The more popular the entertainment the more easily it facilitated the formation of the image of the minstrel into a popular stereotype. The text accompanying the illustration of The Ethiopian Serenaders,1844-1846, [fig. 38] describes the concepts in England as "affording an accurate notion of Negro character and melody". After adding a disclaimer that "it is impossible to come to any right conclusion as to the authenticity of the African airs" it devotes comment to "ludicrous air(s)", "buffoonery and antics" of the players, and adds general praise for the minstrel's ability to entertain. Clearly concerned about authenticity, the final sentence notes that the recommendations from President Polk and other leading Americans should attest to the "accuracy of their African delineations". The physical appearance of minstrels revolved around an exaggerated "jet" blackness, "ruddy lips, and large mouths" (outlined in white grease paint), and of course, the ubiquitous woolly or tightly curled black hair. The name chosen for the group further entrenches the ancient stereotypes associated with Africa and Ethiopia, but which were also by now fixed in common English usage.

The generic minstrel figure exhibited many of the attributes the English public associated with black people, conveniently amalgamated into one stereotype: Jim Crow. Although a popular American

character, he also featured prominently in English life. Jim Crow could also be said to be the caricatured fool or jester figure who is a variation of one of the folklore figures of black American fiction, Sambo.

> Familiar since the beginning of the nineteenth century from stories and jokes, from minstrel shows ... Sambo has been ubiquitous in American popular culture as the prototype of the contented slave, the carefree black 'the eternal child, the eternal dependent, happy though given to unaccountable moods of depression, lazy, enjoying the banjo and the dance, passionately religious, but passive in most other things - a rather spirited but lazy over-grown child' (Pieterse 1992: 152-3).

The representation of Jim Crow, the American Mountebank [fig. 39] is a replication of Rice's original character. This image could possibly have been printed as a handbill as the subtitle advertises the minstrel's performance at the Grand Theatre. He is depicted wearing the conventional costume of battered hat and shoes, high white collar and flying coat-tails, dancing in the now characteristic pose, in front of a barely discernable row of spectators. All these elements combine to present an easily recognisable stereotypical figure. There is some ambiguity however, in that the profiled, hawk-nosed face reminds the viewer that this character is not black. However, popular, usually rather crude, prints such as this one evoked images of the inherent qualities of a 'musical black', providing entertainment. They had strong anti-black overtones, fuelled racist feelings and played an important part in interpreting messages for popular consumption.

The minstrel form, almost exclusively performed by whites masquerading as blacks, was insidious for its selective perceptions which perpetuated all the old preconceptions about black people. Its effects operated on several levels. For instance, minstrels and depictions of them, again highlighted the importance Victorians laid on physiognomy in the definition of social roles and attributes, the minstrel made use of caricatures' language of reduction of the complex into a simplified, parodied form.[18] Lott

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[18] The *Jubilee Singers* form a contrast. A group of Americans (predominantly ex-slave) students from Fisk University, the choir visited England in 1873 and 1875 to raise funds to equip their university. Membership of the choir changed over the years; the 1873 group consisted of seven women and four men with an average age of twenty. "Their fame spread quickly, and soon they were singing for Queen Victoria,

reports that the burlesque skits of T.D. Rice's English tour were "vulgar even to grossness," and that he (Rice) "captivated chimney sweeps and apprentice boys of London, who wheeled about and turned about and jumped Jim Crow, from morning until night, to the annoyance of their masters, but to the great delight of the cockneys" (Lott 1993: 68).

The artistic means and approach changes from caricatures to 'high art' and serious graphic techniques in a different kind of image produced for the portrayal of black people who participated in serious theatrical productions. Traditionally, with few exceptions, the parts of black people in English theatrical roles were taken by whites. The first most noteworthy exception was Ira Aldridge, born in New York in 1807. Determined to have a theatrical career and hoping to find a more open racial climate, he worked his way to London where he thought he would have a greater chance of success. Because of his colour the response to his first known British performance in 1825, as Oroonoko in *The Revolt of Surinam, or A Slave's Revenge*, had a mixed, and mainly hostile, reception. Despite support from actor friends in the Garrick Club, other tragic roles Aldridge played continued to elicit an increasingly negative reception from certain critics and members of the public.[20] Aldridge persevered, for the next nineteen years performing

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who 'listened with manifest pleasure'". Some members remained behind and/or returned later to Britain to continue their studies (Fryer 1987: 440-441). Their well received *Concert of Slave Songs* introduced a new song form which soon passed into English popular repertory "The Negro Spiritual". The authentic music sung by Afro-American people was a far cry from the caricatured song-dance routines of the 'blackface' English and American minstrel entertainers.

[20] Lott cites the British actor Charles Mathews who used "scraps of song and dialect from several black sources, usually from the street" who said of himself "I shall be rich in black fun... It is a pity that I dare not touch upon a preacher. I know its danger, but perhaps the absurdity might give a *colour* to it - a *black* Methodist!" (Anne Mathews). Mathews lampooned Aldridge thus belittling him, yet, in what Lott suggests is an astonishing turn about, Aldridge incorporated the song Mathews popularized into his own repertoire. "We are thus confronted with the perverse spectacle of one of Mathews's most profitable caricatures becoming one of Aldridge's most profitable performances. Its influence is a forceful reminder of the way the minstrelization of black practices helped to obscure them" (Lott 1993: 46). There is another strange irony with regard to Charles Mathews whose disgust at the behaviour of visitors to the exhibition of Sartje Bartman is recorded in Chapter 5 as it appears to be inconsistent with his behaviour in other respects.

several major English cities and in the Provinces.

> The pressure of prejudice was great on the black actor. One newspaper admitted: "not unconscious of his own natural disadvantage - that of his colour - Mr Aldridge awaited, with characteristic modesty, the invitation to appear again. Managers lacked, to say the least of it, the moral courage to engage him then opportunity occurred" (Scobie 1972: 131-132).

In 1852, Aldridge left England for Europe and Russia where his acting met with great success. He returned to Britain five years later having received numerous acting awards and accolades from Arts societies and Prussian royalty.

The *Illustrated London News*, July 3 1858 devoted a lengthy and complementary article detailing his achievements, headed *Mr. Aldridge, The African Tragedian.* The graphic accompanying the text captioned, Ira Aldridge, The African Tragedian, as "Othello" [fig. 41] shows a powerfully built man wearing a short but elaborately draped tunic. The somewhat exotic tasselled headdress, necklaces, sandals and curved dagger complete his costume. To have dressed 'the Moor' in such an exotic manner appears to follow an older tradition used by people like Gainsborough and Reynolds, of rendering black people in Near Eastern/Arabic finery. This image which featured in the popular newspaper presents a positive, admiring depiction of an actor in a tragic role. Although there is little direct sense of the heroic in his facial features, the strength seems to come from his stature and bearing. However, it is significant that at least two oil paintings were made of the man during his theatrical career, which places works and sitter firmly within the realm of 'high art'. This was underscored by the oil paintings being placed within cultural institutions which reinforced aesthetic notions associated with upper and upper-middle class Victorian values. There is further an anonymous c1858-67 Portrait of Ira Aldridge in the Role of Othello [fig. 42], now in the Moscow State Theatrical Museum. The representation of a black actor dressed in rich, draped fabrics with heavy jewels at his neck and hoop ring in his ear, supports the idea that it could have been modelled by Aldridge in one of the parts he played successfully

in Russia. The theatrical quality intensifies as he grasps at his chest with his left hand whilst the right grips the hilt of a sword as gesture combines with intense expression to portray the tragic hero.

On the other hand, James Northcote's portrait Head of a Negro in the role of Othello [fig. 43] 1826, does not reflect any of the dramatic tension, nor the dramatic costume of the former two representations. However, both Honour (1989: IV (1) 117) and Cowhig (1893: 741-2) consider it to be a portrait of Aldridge. It is difficult to assess the validity of this attribution on such scant evidence and from the reproductions available.[21] Nevertheless, an original painted portrait of a black man is itself significant, as most images of blacks were mass produced copies.

Walter Wallis' portrait of Samuel Coleridge-Taylor, 1881 [fig. 44] which hangs in the National Portrait Gallery, London fits into a similar category. All three are original, unique, autonomous art works specifically executed to express a likeness of the sitter in a painted image. As such, the society for which they were produced bestowed upon the paintings a status elevated above the graphic print produced, for example, for a newspaper.

> The very fact of the portrait's allusion to an individual human being, actually existing outside the work, defines the function of the art work in the world and constitutes the cause of its coming into being. This vital relationship between the portrait and its object of representation directly reflects the social dimension of human life as a field of action among persons, with its own repertoire of signals and messages (Brilliant 1991: 8).

These works thus move the black men (the object of representation) out of the world of the generalised 'other'. The making and display of these particular works support the place the subjects made for themselves in English society, with all the complexities that implies.

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[21] I am reluctant to pass any judgement even though I have copies of two other images which I received from the National Theatre Museum at Covent Garden, London. The one bears a strong facial likeness to the Northcote portrait but is undocumented. The other has a very clear caption but no other authentication with regard to date, context and so on. In this image the very dramatically dressed Aldridge has facial features that are completely different from the other images which are far more stereotypically African.

Born in 1875 and living only until aged 37, Coleridge-Taylor was said to have made "the biggest contribution yet made by a black person to British concert music" (Fryer 1987: 256). He was a musician, composer and conductor of serious concert music whose first performance of his own composition, *Hiawatha's Wedding Feast* (op. 30, no. 1, 1898) "was described by the principal of the royal College of Music as 'one of the most remarkable events in modern English musical history'" (Fryer 1987: 256). Although the son of an educated man[22], and exceptionally talented himself, Coleridge Taylor suffered form the rampant racism experienced by black people during the last years of the nineteenth-century. Scobie, Fryer and Lotz and Pegg describe some of his direct experiences[23] of racial prejudice. In addition to his music he became very involved in the Pan African movement, writing music for its 1900 Conference and being elected to its executive committee. Yet Coleridge-Taylor is an outstanding example of someone who rose above the naked racism and abuse he suffered as a black person in England, by being involved both politically and professionally at the highest possible levels. But it is also clear that being black and therefore being different was part of his life. His half sister recollected her mother's story of how the portrait came about.

> There was a group of artists[24] in Croydon, which was not quite a town then, not a suburb of outer London as it is today. They met at the public hall...and they asked mother if they could paint Coleridge. They put a shawl over his shoulders to look ornamental and a basin on his head, so he looks a bit like an African (Lotz and Pegg 1986: 33).

A certain amount of mythologising operates at this level as well. The artists' group were attempting to reconstruct popular assumptions and/or notions about Africans in the way they dressed up the young

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[22] His father arrived in England from Sierra Leone in the 1860s and qualified as a member of the Royal College of Surgeons. "Samuel was named after the poet; the hyphen came later" (Fryer 1987: 257).

[23] Scobie 1972: 134-6; Fryer 1987: 256-262; Lotz and Pegg 1986: 33-34

[24] There were several paintings. The family owned one, the other in the National Gallery, and the sister had "no idea where the other pictures are" (Lotz and Pegg 1986: 33).

Samuel. Yet Wallis's sensitive painting of the young boy shows little of this almost unconscious, yet deeply embedded prejudice about Africans and difference, or of the attempt to exoticise him in any way.

These three oil paintings indicate some of the complexities of Victorian attitudes to race and class, as they reveal an intricate network of values and assumptions. The works function as social constructions, elevating the actor and musician on one level, but reducing and separating them in the eyes of the viewer, on another. Once identified and acknowledged, the subjects are kept apart so that although they were intellectually equal to the producers and audience, they remained socially and culturally different.

Three major elements were applied in the construction of white Victorian middle-class forms of knowledge about the black human subject. We have seen firstly how the rise of science and secondly, the attendant moral judgements, acted together as agents for the organisation of power relations. Implicit in this was the power and authority of middle-class Victorian men to affirm the values of the dominant, established social order. This included a third element; upholding middle-class morals and values. Questions and answers about race relied heavily upon the values and assumptions formed by a hierarchical, class-conscious social system/order which did not even allow equality to all white people.

Certainly there were supporters for the ideas of equality, and also people who believed that there was in each human being the potential for self-improvement which some could concede would include blacks. But, as a consequence of the ongoing lessons of contemporary science, when it came to people of African descent all ideas of human individuality were disregarded and black people were subsumed into a group with a single identity. So people were socially defined using physical criteria and then placed within the narrow confines of a rigid class system.

> An increasing number of spokesmen in the mid-nineteenth century asserted that gentlemen by definition were white, and that a black or brown skin, irrespective of an

> individual's wealth, learning or manner, marked that individual as a member of the inferior orders. The transition in racial attitudes from an earlier ethnocentric response to a more openly racist one occurred when a white skin became the essential mark of a gentleman. This change occurred not so much in response to the needs of Empire, as out of new attitudes towards social status emerging within English society (Lorimer 1978: 15, 6).

Part of the vocabulary used in the categorisation of class and race was the idea of 'type of class'. Cowling asserts that "[in] the Victorian age, the very idea of type implied a distinct physical and moral entity, whether applied to the real or the painted figure" (Cowling 1983: 466).

From the 1830s, as the costs of paper and printing decreased, new forms of popular literature, especially fiction which was designed to entertain rather than educate, became available to large sections of the literate population (Lorimer 1978: 82). The new forms were far more acceptable than the so-called popular literature previously distributed by the philanthropic agencies, the contents of which had been of a didactic nature with a naturally limited appeal and influence. A publishing milestone occurred with the appearance in England of the American novel, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Within a year of its publication in 1852, Harriet Beecher Stowe's book sold over on and a half million copies in the United Kingdom and the Empire. It was ranked "...among the books most commonly owned by prosperous labourers' families, and became the most widely-read moral tract and text book on nineteenth-century race relations" (Lorimer 1979: 82).

Besides its importance as one of the new forms of written media which utilised advanced Victorian technology, the influence of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* cannot be overemphasised[25]. Readers of Beecher Stowe's novel interpreted her messages about slavery and race relations for popular consumption in a unique and unthreatened way. Honour describes the successful way she crystallised already aired ideas as she

[25] As there were no copyright laws, fourteen different editions were published in England in 1852; with four more the following (Honour 1989: IV 200).

> ... veiled her story in an aura of sentimental philanthropy, undenominational Christianity, and wholly unpolitical ideas of freedom. There is nothing in the book that could give offence to anyone - Catholic, Protestant, or agnostic, conservative or liberal - apart from those who supported slavery (Honour 1989: IV, 10 204).

Honour is incorrect here: such an issue could never be "unpolitical". Beecher Stowe's book must be considered part of the hegemonic system, supporting the practice of racial subordination and incorporating some of the oppositional currents as part of ruling class interests; all part of the prevailing system of rule. She created a range of stereotyped characters, with the emphasis on the heroic, compliant Uncle Tom whose very lack of resistance was what endeared him to so many white readers. "The key text of explicitly antislavery romantic racialism is of course Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (Lott 1993: 33).[26]

> Uncle Tom is *black and yet* a Christian. This echoes a trusted theme in western perspectives - *black and yet*, or *black but*, as in 'black skin but white soul', and in *nigra sum sed formose*, 'I am black but beautiful' of the Song of Solomon. Or as in Blake's 'The Little Black Boy': "My mother bore me in the southern wild, And I am black, but O! my soul is white; White as an angel is the English child But I am black, as if bereav'd of light (Pieterse 1992: 61).

Illustrations to the text and the merchandising of the commodified characters not only added a new dimension to the stereotype but intensified the popularly perceived differences between blacks and whites.

Despite the general acclaim and Victorian ability to accept things in terms of Honour's analysis above, there were a few detractors who found it difficult to accept such support for black people. In the September 16 1852 edition of the *Morning Chronicle* Beecher Stowe

> ... defended her portrayal of Uncle Tom by appealing to the notion that the Negro's nature made him naturally sensible to Christianity. 'The negro race is confessedly more simple, docile, childlike, and affectionate, than other races; hence the divine graces of their love and faith, when inbreathed by the Holy Spirit find their natural temperament a more congenial atmosphere' (Lorimer 1978: 81).

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[26] This led to the phrase 'behaving like an Uncle Tom' becoming the pejorative term it is today.

This kind of defence pandered to sections of the public who strongly supported the civilising mission and who were eager to apply already socially defined racial traits to her characters. Notions of difference and racial superiority were exacerbated by the condescending paternalism white Victorians held up as contrast to the opinions they had of themselves.

George Cruikshank illustrated one of the first 1852 English editions of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. George Shelby Giving Liberty to his Slaves [fig. 45] is consistent with his generalising style as he "...depicted the slaves with caricatured facial features and exaggerated gestures, rejoicing as they are given their certificates of freedom by the calm young white master" (Honour 1989: IV (1) 199). These characteristic touches of seemingly simple peasant types would include the dancing figure in the centre, or the stylized profile behind him. This type of stereotype illustration conformed with the many stereotyped verbal images the author constructed, particularly of the black characters, for example, the religious Uncle Tom and the comic Topsy.

The variety of illustrations to this text seem to have been religious or classically bland stereotypes typical of popular Victorian novels [fig. 46], or Cruikshank's caricatured type. The pose and gesture of the "aged patriarchal negro, who had grown grey and bald on the estate (who) now rose, and lifting his trembling hand, aid Let us give thanks unto the Lord!" (Stowe 1852: 519) is strongly reminiscent of the freed slave of Carter's 1834 medal [fig. 20]. His stance is echoed by the young man in the distance. Circling the bearded old man is a group of newly freed slaves, two of whom have hands clasped as if in grateful prayer. The two pictures [figs. 45 and 46] illustrate the same event and yet the styles are so different. The evangelical fervour of the Nelson edition can be contrasted with the strong elements of caricature which are present in Cruikshank's image.

portance of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* lies in the influence it had on focusing the attention of the Victorian public on black people. But the illustrations alone, or as adjunct to the messages of the text, are only partially responsible for the impact of the novel. In 1853 Beecher Stowe visited Britain. For a tour of that nature it was an unparalleled success; during her time there she was invited to give public speeches and was presented with gifts and encouraging petitions[27]. Her book and the substance of its content had become part of the cultural fabric of urban life.

Uncle Tom's Cabin was adapted for the stage, often repeated and well received throughout the century. Illustrated songbooks and Uncle Tom almanacs, Topsy Dolls and nursery room wallpaper "depicting Uncle Tom and Topsy in characteristic poses, or Eliza and Harry's famous escape" (Lorimer 1978: 85), mementoes and ornaments featuring characters from the novel proliferated on the English scene. Public interpretation of the messages contained within *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was produced for popular consumption, and impacted on the growing capitalist market; serving as an example of the growing power of popular culture.

Expressed in a range of institutions and products, the hero Tom, the cruel Legree and all the other characters provided consumers, viewers and readers with a way to view the world. At the same time they endorsed familiar notions of 'otherness' and unconsciously heightened preconceptions about blacks and whites, ideas about slavery and notions of freedom as political facts. So, whilst on one level some people perceived Beecher Stowe's intervention to be favourable to black people, on another level,

> [i]n enhancing the awareness of racial differences, Harriet Beecher Stowe threatened the very empathy she hoped to build between her white readers and the novel's black heroes. Some writers noted a subtle racial hierarchy working within the novel (Lorimer 1978: 85).

This added fuel to another English response to *Uncle Tom's Cabin* which affected established attitudes to

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[27] See Honour 1989: IV (1) 202 for details of a gold bracelet simulating the fetters of a slave, and Lorimer 1978: 83, for details of The Stafford House Address, a 576 000 signature petition declaring British women's abhorrence of slavery.

class and traditional assumptions about race difference. Not only did it reveal tensions between different American and English attitudes to slaves and workers respectively but it hardened attitudes in the mid-century debate on the similarities between the conditions pertaining to black slaves and the English underclass.

> Amidst the tremendous enthusiasm and interest which greeted the novel, English journalists and critics made frequent comparisons between race relations in the slave South and class relations with mid-Victorian England...[as Stowe's]...Augustine St Clare, a slave-owner of aristocratic but humane sentiments, claimed that the condition of his slaves was no worse than that of the factory operatives in England (Lorimer 1978: 92).

Southern United States slave owners argued that the plight of slaves and conditions of slavery was no worse than that of English workers (or northern United States workers). Support for this stance came from the radical English press which, appalled at general conditions of so-called free labour, levelled accusations against the hypocrisy of middle-class abolitionists. This particular white humanitarian support arose as a response to the ongoing hardships of the poor and the specific suffering and injustice experienced by poor black people.

> By the time the early years of the nineteenth-century had disappeared the age of the "darling black" had also come to an end, having faded with the elegance and eccentricity of the eighteenth century (Scobie 1972: 118).

The Black Poor was a term recognised by the Poor Law Authorities. The escalating effects of the disastrous 1786 Sierra Leone project, the official end of the Slave Trade and general social conditions resulted in a 1814 Parliamentary Committee report to conclude "[t]hat there were many Negroes in London whose condition deserved the attention of the House of Commons" (Little 1947: 185). The Society for the Suppression of Mendicity operating from 1820 to 1826, was formed with the purpose of attending to the needs of over four hundred black beggars in London. Nineteenth-century philanthropy had many aspects, not all of them humane. Fryer describes some of the Society's methods of dealing with the beggars, which include the flogging and imprisonment of a fifty-six year old man, as punishment for a previous history of begging (Fryer 1987: 230). Not surprisingly, black beggars did all they could to

evade the authorities. This presents one of the uncommon examples identified in this research of black resistance, as they were among the few people who proclaimed their individuality and reacted against discipline and control. It demonstrates what Foucault asserted to be tactics against the institutions of power[28].

Known collectively as the St Giles' Blackbirds, there were several notorious black beggars who earned themselves a place in the daily life of London, almost as urban legends.

> The survival against heavy odds of those who turned professional earned them both the grudging respect of the better-off (in the form of persistent folklore about the immense wealth they were supposed to accumulate) and the grudging tribute of London's down-and-outs, who elected the black, one-legged violinist Billy Walters 'King of the Beggars' and turned out in force for his funeral in 1823 (Fryer 1987: 231).

The available visual depictions of some of these characters show their physical characteristics rather than attempting to portray their personality traits. The 1815 picture of Charles McGee [fig. 47] seems to have been produced in accordance with a specific act of Parliament, the details of which I have not been able to trace. McGee was always to be found in his regular pitch at the Obelisk at the foot of Ludgate Hill.

> He was said to have bequeathed 'many hundred pounds' to a lady who 'not only gave him a penny or a halfpenny more frequently than anyone else, but enhanced the value of the gift by condescending to accompany it with a gracious smile' (Fryer 1987: 231).

It is puzzling that McGee should have had to resort to begging if he left a sizeable legacy. From a racial perspective the most likely explanations for this are that as an unskilled black person no other occupation was open to him or he was an eccentric who had saved a substantial sum of money. On the other

[28] Some outstanding black personalities are referred to in this dissertation. Further examples can be found in Fryer 1987: Chapter nine p237f.

hand, however, such a phenomenon may say more about his particular eccentricity than about the politics or portrayals of blackness.

The representation of McGee is drawn according to the basic cannon of the caricature with deliberate grotesque forms and purposeful distortions of face and body. There is no element of the humorous as there was in the parody of the man dressed in the uniform of a servant employed in a wealthy home. McGee is dressed either in discarded clothes or perhaps those retained from previous employment. His powdered wig is askew, his shoes torn open, and he has a broomstick for a walking stick and a tattered, upturned top hat in hand. There is also little suggestion of sympathy or pathos. The fine line between tragedy and comedy is ambiguously drawn as 'T.S.' has exaggerated McGee's lips, flattened a large nose and shown the one open eye to be starkly white in contrast with the rest of the face.

R. Cooper's engraving of Toby is captioned A Well Known Imposter [fig. 48] thus implying some sort of fraud. Fryer, citing an 1817 source, John Thomas Smith, describes him as

> [a] well-known beggar, who lived in Church Lane, St Giles, 'was destitute of toes, had his head bound with a white handkerchief, and bent himself almost double to walk upon two hand-crutches, with which he nearly occupied the width of the pavement' (Fryer 1987: 232).

Toby stands in a building-lined street that features another beggar to the left behind him, and in the distance moving away to the right, a woman and child and a horse-drawn cab. The anecdotal features locate the bent figure in his urban setting. But once again the text points to the prejudiced attitude against the black man. Depicted here with what appear to be perfectly healthy feet (perhaps the clue to the sub-text 'imposter'), the disfigured body is hidden under the greatcoat. Cooper, like T.S., is as much part of the matrix of London society as are the beggars they portray. Whilst appearing to be neutral records of beggars, the images, being rooted in their time, betray the particular attitudes of the

producers and their society to the subject matter. The stress on clothing, stance and physiognomy define the persons as beggars who are socially and racially 'othered'.

Although "[b]y the 1850's black beggars had disappeared from the London streets" (Scobie 1972: 121) poor black people were still part of English society as they assimilated into the population, particularly in the seaport towns. However, in London "black settlements grew up", particularly near the docks in places like Canning Town (Scobie 1972: 121). The group of men Waiting for the Doctor, 1881 [fig. 49][28] includes an African man, arm in a sling waiting with other sailors at the Seamen's Hospital Dispensary, Well Street, London Docks. Documentary in nature, this representation of a waiting room realistically portrays the heavy sadness that surrounds all people in such a situation. Most of the men are type-cast as the sick and injured and also include a turbaned Indian, the despondent couple at the fire and the typical white bearded 'sailor' in the front right. On one level, the black man is treated no differently from the other stereotyped characters, each of whom is representative of a larger group of people. On another, his profile repeats the deliberate conventional mode of the latter end of the century depictions of blacks which implies that all members of a racial group look alike.

Underlying the non-verbal image created and continued throughout the century were certain tacit assumptions about race. Assuming that racial and ethnic groups were distinct entities and that by looking alike it could be assumed all black people thought and behaved alike, white people could safely assert their feelings of superiority. Accumulated social assumptions about class and race supported by the application of Victorian value systems led whites to prejudiced modes of behaviour which became part of accepted collective knowledge.

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[29] This image shows a group of men waiting at the Seaman's Hospital Dispensary, Wall Street, London Docks.

Although visual images produced out of and for the common place or the scientific institution seem contradictory at times, they point to the dialectical relationship that demonstrates that power is located in all forms of everyday life and does not reside only within the state. The mechanisms of society and its processes are revealed by the audience, the artists, and their products, the visual image. During the nineteenth-century many visual images were commodified. With few exceptions, the images reveal how, by adopting a notion of 'the other', white people devalued black individuals politically, socially and economically. The procedures for the production of knowledge of black people relied upon a variety of institutions and their practices which were rooted in a growing and active distaste for people who were different from themselves. The apparatuses employed by white English people engaged in making popular forms of culture was to marginalise and degrade black people.

Chapter Five

REPRESENTATIONS OF BLACK WOMEN

This chapter examines some of the ways in which white nineteenth-century English society perceived black women. Representations of black women were constructed over time by artists, illustrators and caricaturists: all white men, whose perceptions were rooted in a 'white' and 'male' perspective and who assumed an ideology of difference. The male artists were a product of their social system and its cultural practices through which notions of blackness and femaleness were transmitted, and which, therefore, informed their artistic production. In turn, their visual images contributed to understandings of social identity and, by extension, to the general definition of (racial and sexual) 'difference'. Consequently, discourses of power and subjection can be read as being embedded in the images which have been constructed, and used to foster particular perspectives and biases. They are shown here also to be increasingly influential visual productions.

Spectators, as well as artists, as products of their society, were each partly responsible for determining some of the ways in which society looked at women. Importantly, nineteenth-century English images of black people predominantly depicted males. This invites the question as to whether or not the majority of black people were male, and the answer is 'no'. Why then are the depictions pre-eminently male? A first suggestion could be that the male producers saw males (black and white) as prototype humans and identified in some way with a male perspective. The male artist, considering himself as 'creator' in an omnipotent manner, would (when working to depict black people) generally choose black males as subject matter, whether slaves, servants or beggars. The second possibility lies in an unconscious imposition of

Eurocentric values, locating the male as predominant[1]. Thus, in one way, the English social system is revealed in the visual image, and valorizes maleness[2].

Consequently whilst blackness has been seen to have been made into 'otherness', within the 'othering' process there has also been a simultaneous subtle identification with maleness. By extension then, black women were made more different from black men, and 'othered' even further. Black women were then doubly subordinated in the nineteenth-century male-dominated society, and were subject to England's repressive norms and practices. Analysis of the images of black women reveals the conditions and experiences of women within the context of the oppressed and silenced 'other'. Pollock (1988: 87) asserts that "the economic and social conditions of the bourgeois as a class are structurally founded upon inequality and difference in terms both of socio-economic categories and of gender", and I would add, race. She describes

> ... an imaginary order of nature which designates as unquestionable the hierarchies in which women, children, hands and servants (as well as other races) are posited as naturally different from and subordinate to white European man (Pollock 1988: 87).

The social systems in which the ideological schemata of class, race and gender act as the fundamental systems of power, reflect the manner in which male domination over women was sustained. These operations of power were evinced, *inter alia*, in the production and wide ranging distribution of images within newspapers, books and periodicals. This means that they were viewed by all sections of the English public.

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[1] The principle of hierarchical social organization based on male domination, however, exists in most societies. For example, African, Asian and European men would generally view themselves as dominant, and women as subjected.

[2] There are other ways in which visual images valorize maleness. For instance, women are a constant theme in English art forms which reveal the systems of class or family structures, and in which white English women are shown to be 'other'.

Cultural practices are dynamic, and reflect the interaction between two-dimensional representations and the perspective of the viewer. One of the contexts in which ideas and representations of black women were produced was through shows and exhibitions. Despite the fact that a substantial number of people of African origin were resident in England, it was not unusual to import black people for the sole purpose of exhibiting them as curiosities. Highly ritualised shows made subjected black people visible.[3] This both reflected and reinforced a mind-set which encouraged white domination. The shows allowed for imposition of power over people who were perceived merely as fascinating objects.

Itinerant showmen and others had already established a long-standing English tradition of exhibiting so-called 'freaks' and human aberrations[4], into which they now slotted the display of "primitive" people. Generally, these shows served several purposes. Functioning as entertainment, they pandered to specialist and popular taste, providing all sections of society with a variety of interesting displays and events. The content ranged from tableaus of living human oddities, set against romantic backgrounds[5], to exciting spectacles of dance and music.

Perhaps the most tragic show to be seen in early nineteenth-century England was the exhibition of Sartjie Baartman, a Bushman (San) woman who was brought to London from the Cape in 1810. She was placed on display at 225 Picadilly and became known as the 'Hottentot Venus'.[6]

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[3] Refer to Coombes 1994; Deb 1994.

[4] For a comprehensive historical survey of such exhibitions, see Altick 1978: 5-39.

[5] The virtuosity of people like Phillippe Jacques de Loutherbourg, painter of The Picturesque and the Sublime who would create highly dramatic special effects added to the high standard of many of the shows. De Loutherbourg was also renowned for producing the Eidophusikon, a fascinating miniature sound and light show (Altick 1978: 117-127).

[6] The satirical double-barrelled title "Hottentot Venus" seems firstly to define Baartman racially, with all the attendant negative notions of black as 'other' and black as overly sexual. Secondly, it simultaneously

> Spectators were charged 2s. a head. The exhibition was, by present-day standards, wholly degrading; and even in Regency London there were some who protested. *The Times* said that Sartjie was 'produced like a wild beast, and ordered to move backwards and forwards, and come out and go into her cage, more like a bear on a chain than a human being' (Fryer 1987: 229).[7]

There were many who did not approve of the show, as the comments of the actor, Charles Mathews, demonstrates. He reports[8] on finding her "surrounded by some of our own barbarians", including

> ... some females! ... One pinched her, another walked round her; one gentleman *poked* her with his cane; and one lady employed her parasol to ascertain that all was, as she called it, *"nattral"*. This inhuman baiting the poor creature bore with sullen indifference, except upon some great provocation, when she seemed inclined to resent brutality, which even a Hottentot can understand (Altick 1978: 269, his emphasis).

Representatives of the African Association, "'a Society of benevolent and highly respected gentleman'" (Altick 1978: 270) urged the attorney-general to approach the Court of the King's Bench on her behalf. In addition to concerns for her wellbeing, part of the testimony referred to the paucity of her clothing.

> ... she is dressed in a colour as nearly representing her skin as possible. The dress is contrived to exhibit the entire frame of her body, and the spectators are even invited to examine the peculiarities of her form (Altick 1978: 270).

Nevertheless, Sartjie Baartman's managers convinced the bench that she was being well cared for and her privacy respected. This included having two black boys to attend to her, the assurance that she

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and ironically categorises her as Plato's Vulgar 'Goddess of Love'. There are many possibilities in the play upon the archetypical notions of 'Venus', from the fecund fertility goddess type, such as the Venus of Willendorf (Vienna; Museum of Natural History) to the countless images of 'Venus' as the personification of female sexuality.

[7] It is in this view of black women that the association, and even conflation, between blackness and monsters, discussed in chapter one, is evoked.

[8] It is important to note that there were men who were critical of practices such as this exhibition. This dissertation repeatedly shows that, despite the general prevailing attitudes and discourses, there were challenges to oppressive actions and discriminatory ideas. It is interesting to note however, Altick's reported response of Mathews and the actor John Kemble, who also objected to such ill treatment, as juxtaposed against Lott's (1993) descriptions and assessment of the racial attitudes T.D. Rice. See too chapter 4.

would receive warmer clothes, and that "the man that shews her never comes till she is just dressed, and then only ties a ribbon round her waist" (Altick 1978: 270). In light of her near nude state, the substance of that last comment is to be assessed with great scepticism. Remaining in the care of "her keepers" and out on show, displayed and ridiculed by the majority of spectators, the passive and submissive Sartjie Baartman became the subject matter for many visual representations.

The construction of these images did not, however, originate in a vacuum. Representation such as Le Vaillant's Hottentote a Tablier [fig. 50], which was reproduced in his work describing his travels to the interior of the Cape in 1798, were already well known in England. Le Vaillant vastly exaggerated the size of women's genitalia, and this depiction was considered by many to be an accurate representation of all so-called Hottentot women. The exaggerated depiction of genitalia was probably a result of a combination of the practice of some African women to lengthen their labia, and the prejudices of European men who saw African women as hypersexualised. It was not uncommon for Europeans to describe the result as "the apron of the 'disgusting' Hottentots" (Gilman 1985: 229). Thus Le Vaillant's engraving was a convenient image to support often outrageous opinions.

Le Vaillant's representation, and images of this type, thus set the stage for how Sartjie Baartman was perceived, and in turn for how she was portrayed in visual imagery. In the majority of the images of her, she is almost totally naked except for an array of beads, a tiny apron over her genitals, soft shoes and in some, a skin kaross is shown thrown over her shoulders. The aquatint, Sartjee, the Hottentot Venus exhibiting at No 225, Picadilly, 1811, [fig. 51] is an exceptional image as she is depicted with a strange v-shaped tattoo-like marking placed regularly all over her body, except for her face and hands. As this marking is never mentioned in texts about her, nor shown by other artists, it could be a figment of Lewis's imagination, or it could be an artistic convention for showing a net or lace body covering. He

might also have added it to indicate an exotic aura to his portrayal of a regal and dignified looking woman. Other details that distinguish this image from all the others are the feathered cap she wears, and the attention the artist paid to a detailed depiction of her beadwork. She stands next to a fine Regency chair with a stringed instrument at its base. In the majority of other examples, Sartjie is shown holding a long stick and is seen puffing on a pipe. The most important difference between Sartjie, the Hottentot Venus exhibiting at No 225, Picadilly and other images of Sartjie Baartman is that, in the former she is presented frontally, whereas in other images she is shown in profile. Two examples of profiles are Sartjie, the Hottentot Venus (1810 [fig. 52], and Sartjie, the Hottentot Venus: from Gamtoos River South Africa [fig. 53]. It is likely that the profile was a device employed to demonstrate the steatopygia as an index of difference[9]. The profiles are more typical than the frontal view of the images produced of her for many years thereafter.

Sartjie Baartman was objectified in both the full frontal and profile images. Displayed for viewing, she was reduced to a specimen over whom the viewer passed a normalising gaze which quantifies and classifies[10]. Her identity as a person was subsumed into the naked object. In many ways, Sartjie Baartman becomes the prototypical black female Gilman suggests that "[w]hen the Victorians saw the female black, they saw her in terms of her buttocks and saw represented by the buttocks all the anomalies of her genitalia" (Gilman 1985: 219). She is surveyed by what Berger describes as the principal protagonist who is never depicted within the work of art, namely the spectator, who is usually

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[9] Darwin had stated that the buttocks of the Hottentot are a somewhat comic sign of the primitive, grotesque nature of the black female. So, as Gilman suggests, as the nineteenth-century progressed it could be said that "[f]emale sexuality is linked to the image of the buttocks and the quintessential buttocks are those of the Hottentot" (Gilman 1985: 219).

[10] Baartman ended her days in France where the emphasis had also been laid on her physical characteristics especially her genitalia and her steatopygia. When Cuvier dissected her, the former were placed in the *Musee l'Homme*. "Thus the figure of Sarah Baartman was reduced to her sexual parts" (Gilman 1985: 213).

presumed to be male. Berger asserts "[t]his nakedness is not, however, an expression of her own feelings: it is a sign of her submission to the owner's feelings or demands" (Berger 1985: 52). In this case, curious white women were also clearly a part of the hegemonic group prodding and viewing Sartjie, were also locked into the complex of unequal relationships.

The great variety of representations of Sartjie Baartman even extended to the realm of fine art, with an oil painting of The Hottentot 1824 [fig. 54] being painted by Otto Landsberg of the Cape. His approach was to depict her absolutely nude and not even record the basic bits of clothing which she wore when exhibited. The [illegible]-quarter view intensifies aspects of her naked form which seems to signify that Landsberg related her with basic concepts about nature[11]. He also sites her in a simple shed with sheep which suggests that he did not see her on display in Picadilly.

> W. Bird wrote in his book, *State of the Cape of Good Hope in 1822*, the following: "A rare specimen of the size of a native female was furnished in the person of the Hottentot Venus, who went to London and died in France a few years since. It would not have been difficult to have found three Hottentot graces of the same calibre, for her accompaniment; but it is only in women and sheep, which are indigenous, that nature is so profusely prodigal at the Cape" (de Villiers cites Bird 1974: 86).

Several illustrations appeared with her as the object of the caricaturists' pen. One of society's favourite methods of 'othering' is to present people as a homogenized whole. In written texts one device is to refer to what Pratt (1986: 20) describes as "a collective 'they'". In visual terms, the producer would adapt what were ostensibly 'natural features'. The deliberate exaggeration of Sartjie Baartman's facial features and already pronounced buttocks became the almost standard version for all cartoonists, not only Cruickshank, to portray black women. Walvin asserts that

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[11] It is not clear whether Landsberg saw Sartjie before she was sent to England. The quotation, above, written in 1822, might throw some light on Landsberg's intention.

> [t]he mythology of the Blacks - as a species and as individuals - was perpetrated by cartoonists who added to and exaggerated some of the existing stereotyped images (Walvin 1982: 59).

Although blackness in people themselves is so clearly identifiable as a feature of 'the other', many producers of images made additional and conscious efforts to depersonalise black people even further. This led to a practice which depicted stereotyped and standardised features of black people. These were not idealisations but rather generalisations which were frequently exaggerated. In the early part of the century, it became topical to refer to Sartjie Baartman in particular as the prototype of African women. The two cartoons A Pair of Good Bottoms [fig. 55][12] and Prospects of Prosperity, for Good Bottoms going into Business [fig. 56][13] not only utilize the black-woman/'Hottentot Venus' convention but make a contemporary political statement as well. They refer both to the fact that it was suspected that Lord William Grenville was to lead a coalition government to replace Perceval's ministry and to the earlier 1740's coalition which Horace Walpole had called 'The Broad-Bottomed Ministry'.

> Several satirical prints resulted from this latest conjunction of politics and popular exhibitions; another, no less timely, drew a pertinent analogy between the Venus's contours and the amorphous corpulent mass that was soon to become the Prince Regent (Altick 1978: 271).

The text reinforces the image as Perceval, Grenville and Sartjie all refer to her 'bottom'. A convenient stereotypical image had developed out of a genuine physical characteristic to become a highly subjective detail which would impact on the viewers. In the eyes of spectators, Sartjie Baartman then became a generalised image of any black woman.

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[12] Figure 55: Lord Grenville, right, and the playwright-politician Richard Brinsley Sheridan, then a member of parliament, applies the callipers (Altick 1978: 271).

[13] Lord Grenville is the figure approaching the Venue; behind him are Lord Percival, in the gown of the chancellor of the exchequer, and Lord Wellesley, the foreign secretary. The Venus' proprietor is at the right" (Altick 1978: 272).

Three Graces, [14] published 1810, [fig. 57] makes an unequivocal statement about the way in which white men looked at women. The ironic title refers to the three daughters of Zeus who personified beauty, grace and charm who are replaced in this image by three so-called grotesque female figures. In traditional depictions of the Three Graces as Aphrodite's handmaidens, they are conventionally nude whereas in this image only the black woman is shown to be nude. The image is likely to have been a broadsheet or handbill advertising the appearance of Miss Ridsdale and Miss Harvey at Wigley's Rooms, Spring Gardens. Sartjie Baartman's profile figure dominates the format, her sheer size further dwarfing the already stunted white woman behind her. She is Miss Ridsdale, who fully grown to only thirty inches allows the artist to portray the four feet six inch tall Baartman by comparison, as large and grotesque. The second white woman could be said to represent, visually, the traditional 'beautiful female', one of English society's predetermined stereotypes with long flowing blonde hair, gentle smile and stylish dress. Miss Harvey however, is, like the other two, a 'freak', as the text proclaims her to be a "beautiful albino with silk hair perfectly white, and pink eyes" . By juxtaposing Baartman with both white women, the cartoonist reinforces the notion of her being the representative of a whole group: black women. She becomes what Altick describes as "[t]he 'brutal Hottentot' (who) was the epitome of all that the civilized Englishman, happily, was not" (Altick 1978: 269). Bolt notes that while Europeans persistently considered the supreme ideal of female as fair, the black people of Africa were seen as the grossest (Bolt 1971: 131-2). People were not always unaware of their bigotry. Honour cites Sir Joshua Reynolds who said "...that the form and colour of the European is preferable to that of the Ethiopian; but I know of no reason we have for it but that we are more accustomed to it" (Honour 1989: IV (2) 10).

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[14] The three women are identified, from the left, as "Mijs Ridsdale, Sartjie and Mijs Harvey". The text above Sartjie, states: "but Uggerly tings no like a fine Woman no Grouse a bout dim like I" (Africana Museum, Johannesburg: 56/677).

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The exact date of the engraving, The Power of Beauty or the Painter Enamoured [fig. 58], is unknown, but it is likely to have been produced relatively soon after Sartjie Baartman appeared in London, as she was still a topical issue. The Power of Beauty makes direct reference to 'The Hottentot Venus'. Whilst pointing to her picture on the wall, the artist directs his gaze to the sitter who is thus identified with the sexualized stereotype. The subject does not conform to the standard notion of a beautiful woman sitting for a portrait. In several ways, difference is inscribed both within the image and suggested in the caption. Her role in society is categorized in a highly ironic manner: her sexuality as an African is implied in the reference to the 'Venus'; her passive role, suggested by her pose as sitter, and the caustic comment on her "lack" of beauty, in her exaggerated facial features. She presents a certain contradiction in that she is made to represent all women: she is stylishly dressed and she sits submissively for the male. Yet this is sharply contrasted by the overstated profile and the details in the full-face on the easel which reinforce her blackness. This way of seeing was consistent with contemporary bourgeois ideas which, backed up by popular scientific thought, determined the 'Hottentot' at the lower end of the scale of beauty (Gilman 1985: 224).

Shows and exhibitions of the type that displayed Sartjie Baartman, and the images that came out of them, were but one basis for the representations of black women. Christianity was another very important discourse that informed attitudes of those that produced and consumed images of African women. Three groups of Christian influences are examined: the recognition of black women as slaves in the abolition movement, missionary attitudes to Hottentots, and an example of the traditional western fusion of Christianity and high art in The Victory of Faith [fig. 59].[15]

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[15] By mid-century there was an interesting development in the consumption of fine art. It took the form of a deliberate and concerted campaign led by Rev Samuel Barnett, "a textbook example of a reformer, who travelled the route from traditional to cultural philanthropy" (Borzello 1987: 33). He sought to bring art and culture to the working class poor. He believed that if confronted with the spiritual qualities art possessed, the miseries and overwhelming poverty of the working class urban poor would be counter balanced by the enriching values of art and culture. In some ways Barnett could be said to embody aspects of the fundamental principles and activities demonstrated by the founders and trustees of the Royal Academy - that

Women played a significant part in the abolitionist struggle although their ideas and actions were generally consigned to the margins by both contemporary reports and subsequently by historians. Midgley's study[18] of the contributions made by women to the abolitionist's cause and her analysis of gender dimensions of the campaign illuminates the important, but often unstated role of women in the construction and continued functioning of the extra-parliamentary campaign against slavery. During the 1820s and 1830s white middle-class campaigners who led the British anti-slavery movement distanced themselves "from both black resistance to slavery and working-class agitation for social, economic and political rights ...[as they] predominantly attempted to develop an anti-slavery ideology within the secure bounds of white philanthropy"(Midgley 1992: 93). They contributed to the cause in extra-parliamentary activities by applying public pressure whenever the opportunity arose. A theme which was to dominate women's writing, and therefore agitation, throughout the history of the anti-slavery movement was to delineate the sufferings of the female slave and the violation of family life under slavery (Midgley 1992: 20). During the earlier part of the century, (up to the late 1830s) organisation revolved around the central issues of funding, supplying information, petitioning and boycotting sugar from slave grown estates (Midgley 1992: 35).

While, as noted, the primary focus of the abolitionist movement focused on black men as prototypical slaves, there was a general recognition of women slaves. Thus, we return to the earlier part of the nineteenth-century where the image of the chained, kneeling, pleading person had become the well known, almost an iconic version of the black slave. Chapter two has already noted the asexuality of the emblem of the English Abolition Society, anthough the text *Am I not a man and a brother?* [fig. 10] left

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is the bringing together of lofty ethical values with high artistic excellence said to be located in works of high art (Borzello 1987). It is possible that the fine art images evaluated in chapters 2 and 5 could have be applicable in these instances.

[18] Clare Midgley, *Women Against Slavery The British Campaigns, 1780-1870*: 1992

no doubt that the social practices and institutions defined the slave as male. In 1828 women abolitionists adopted and adapted the Wedgewood cameo to be used in their own campaign against the slave trade (Midgley 1992: 97).[17]

Two figures share the format with the slogan "Am I not a Woman and a Sister?" running along the top half, and a line from the Psalms "Let us break their bands asunder and cast away their cords" below. [fig. 61] Visually, the biblical phrase seems to underscore the ethos of Christian philanthropy guiding anti-slavery at that time. Each text refers to roles women occupied in the abolitionist arena and reflects the attitude of the women campaigners that women possessed an natural sympathy with their own sex. Kneeling on some rocky ground, the stereotypical slave looks up to a gently stooping female representation of '*Justice*' who is depicted in a conventional classical form. The elegantly draped figure of a woman holds the scales of Justice and some indeterminate foliage. The slave's chained wrists and pleadingly clasped hands and "justice's" open palmed hand extended out to her, form the focal point of the roundel. The kneeling slave is not the a-sexual representation of other examples (fig 10 and fn14) as there is a suggestion of a breast which serves no other function than to proclaim her gender. The soft drapery falling from her waist reveals her thighs and shows her body as 'woman', but without an overt sexual suggestion. On the other hand the white woman encapsulates many of the fundamental western notions of perfect womanhood. The lyrical lines of her body suggest a subtle sensuality beneath the diaphanous robes, but her primary role appears to be the dispensation of freedom and equity. Although the medallion was struck to further the cause of the slave, the female emancipator is the dominant figure, visually and in terms of meaning.

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[17] These seals, listed in the *Rules and Resolutions of the Dublin Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society* (Dublin: printed for the Society, 1828), p. 16, were supplied by the Female Society for Birmingham (see account for supply of seals etc. to Dublin in *Third Report of the Female Society for Birmingham .... for the Relief of British Negro Slaves* (Birmingham: B. Hudson, 1828), p.54). (Midgley 1992: 232 n25). More than one female version of the abolitionist's medallion were made; see for example Pieterse 1992: 60.

Christian and other humanitarian efforts to end slavery were largely successful with the 1834 act to abolish slavery in the British Empire. By the late 1850's the age of the great Victorian explorers and missionaries was well established. The goal was very often identified as the 'civilizing mission' as they claimed to bring light and civilisation to Africa, a continent they considered to be filled with evil.

Part and parcel of the Christian project to ensure morality entailed the appropriate behaviour for women as well as men. Christianity (and to some extent Western thought more generally), had long had recourse to a set of dichotomized prototypes of what women should be: the virgin or mother, and the great danger that she should not succumb to the whore or impure woman. Pollock elaborates:

> Historians of sexuality have drawn attention to the construction of 'Woman' both in terms of gender contrast and around the polarity of virgin/whore, Madonna/Magdalen. In the Victorian period, the distinction between Madonna and Magdalen which had previously been seen as residing in all women was reworked as a distinction between women. This is not to say that women were simply divided into two separate categories, but that woman was defined across the opposition of the *pure, womanly woman* and the *impure whore*. The contrast had important class connotations. The bourgeois 'lady's' (a)sexuality was defined against not only the prostitute but also a sexuality imputed to working-class women in general[18]. Visual representations of woman in this period participated in the processes of definition and regulation of feminine sexuality (Pollock 1988: 113).

As will be seen in the following discussion of images of Hottentots, Pollock's comments about class are also true of race. The "civilizing mission" was concerned to correctly socialize Hottentots to conform to Christian understanding of appropriate male and female behaviour.

Missionary attitudes had a fundamental input into nineteenth-century British political and social order, and formed an integral part of the discourse of power and subjugation. Although located within a carefully

[18] The range of Victorian explorer and missionary visual representations is vast. I am not analysing these images but note that their influence is significant as these images were widely seen in England and the colonies. The scope of explorer and missionary imagery is too great to be included within the parameters of this dissertation, and deserves a research project of its own.

structured male hierarchy, women and children were fundamentally involved, not necessarily by choice, in all the sectors of the missionary movement. Although agendas, aims and goals might have differed among the many groups and individuals involved in the imposition of generalised Christian beliefs and value systems, it resulted in women's subordination by the religious male hierarchy.

The October 1855 Quarterly Paper of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel reports [t]here is a great work" to be done "amongst the Hottentots and the Malays" (*Society for the Propagation of the Gospel* 1855: 2). The former, described as "...the aboriginal tribes of Southern Africa, and are believed to be descended from Ham, the second son of Noah", support what was believed to be a Biblical justification for denigrating black people, whilst the Malays are defined as "a nobler race" (*Society for the Propagation of the Gospel* 1855: 2,3). Despite an explanation of the manner in which they were driven from their land, and estimating the population to be "205 000 souls" which could be construed as understanding and empathetic of their plight, the representation of Hottentots in both image and text is strongly negative.

> In stature, the men are usually about four feet four inches high, and the women four inches high, and the women four feet, the colour of their skin that of a dry tobacco leaf, or light copper tint. Their arms and legs are long and disproportioned, their joints large, and the hands and the feet, the colour of their skin that of a dry tobacco leaf, or light copper tint. Their arms and legs are long and disproportioned, their joints large, and the hands and the feet misshapen and deformed. Their physiognomy is the form of an inverted isosceles triangle, the pointed chin being the apex; their noses are broad and flat, the nostrils being extended to be in like with the corners of the mouth; their lips are large and flat; their eyes set obliquely in their heads, and the cheek-bones protruding and almost touching the outer corners of their eyes. Their ears stand out from the head, the cranium of which is debased, and thinly dotted with small pellets of black wool. They are without eyebrows, beards, or whiskers. In their habits they are grovelling and debased, nor is there on the face of the earth any known tribe more degraded, or requiring more urgently the elevating and ennobling mission of Christianity and Divine love to raise them (*Society for the Propagation of the Gospel* 1855: 2,3).

The engraving on the front cover of the Society's 1855 journal, A Party of Hottentots [fig. 60], utilizes the emotive language of the above and adds the then customary value judgements about the people's habits. "Our engraving represents a group of the Hottentot nation, as they are constantly to be seen roving in idle degradation throughout the colony, the contour of their persons being decidedly not prepossessing" (*Society for the Propagation of the Gospel* 1855: 2). To support the claims of the text the people are shown to exhibit those traits that the missionaries would seek to eradicate. There is the suggestion of "idleness": the group relaxes around the fire with bottles which indicate the consumption of alcohol. Particularly offensive to missionaries and their readers would have been the bottle next to the woman, signifying that she would have been drinking. The facial characteristics that were deemed to be so offensive to themselves (the Christian Missionaries) and their readers are shown, and particularly emphasised in the three profiles. The only head not completely covered is that of the woman whose hair, protruding from her 'doek' does not conform to the racist and derogatory description of a debased cranium ... thinly dotted with small pellets of black wool".

The engraving of two young Kafir Girls, 1878 [fig. 62] on the front page of the *The Gospel Missionary*, October 1878, also serves as contrast to the Party of Hottentots [fig. 60] and to the type of written images above. The representation of the daughters of the two 'Kafir pastors'[19] who were sent away from home to a school in Cape Town where the *Society for the Propagation for the Gospel* records its hopes "they will grow up good, sensible Christian women, able to do a great deal for the many little girls of Kaffirland, black, yellow, and brown, who have not had their advantages" (*The Gospel Missionary* 1878: 146). In the engraving from a photograph of the two stern-faced little girls dressed in the stifling prim and proper Victorian manner, one cradles a little white doll, the other holds her hat and basket.

[19] The text describes them as Pauline, the elder of the two "really an orphan, her father an excellent man, having died a few years ago" and Grace, the younger one, whose father was employed as a missionary at St. Marks, Kaffraria (The Gospel Missionary, 1878: 146).

Compared with the Hottentot woman [fig. 59] they are the epitome of the Missionaries' success story and the Madonna ideal. Clean, neat, tidy and well dressed according to English standards, they have been moulded into the desirable form which spells out hope for their future and the future of those they will help.

The woman in A Party of Hottentots however, represents the work that has to be done; barefoot, dissolute, drinking and in the company of men with similar behaviour she portrays the worst of moral conditions and the spectre of the fallen woman looms. The nondescript and bland expressions and physiognomy of the two girls counterpointed against the profile of the woman at the fire reinforces all the stereotypes of the African face. The engraver of this image incorporated Campers' facial angle, the flat nose and the thick protruding lips. In both cases, the colouring of the skin, dark in the monochrome prints, is almost incidental to other encoded messages.

St. George Hare's The Victory of Faith, 1891 [fig. 58] presents a curious example of black and white women together. The nude, calmly sleeping couple are said to represent two early Christian women, unafraid of the imminent martyrdom in the Colosseum. The two young women are colouristically juxtaposed but physically interlinked. Their bodies and their faces are strikingly similar, only their colour differentiates them. The black woman has her right hand strategically placed over the white woman's pubis, while the latter gently lays her hand on her companion's arm. Several attempts are made to locate them within a religious setting as they lie in a stone dungeon, on straw which could refer to the manger. The rope which binds one to the wall on which symbolic references to Christianity are scratched, also refers to their martyrdom. The scriptural references are relatively subtle when one takes into account the strong emotional feelings the more overt sexual message would convey. This young, black woman does not in any way suggest the stereotype seen, for example, in representations of

Hottentot women. If, as Gilman asserts, "the physical appearance of the Hottentot is, indeed, the central nineteenth-century icon for sexual difference between the European and the black" (Gilman 1985: 212), this academy work which makes no reference to the exaggerated stereotyped elements, could be said to convey a religious meaning to its late nineteenth-century audience. Further, Honour suggests that "to a public as yet unenlightened by Krafft-Ebing, Freud and Havelock-Ellis, a picture by St. George Hare of a nude black women sleeping beside a white companion may well have seemed innocently sentimental" (Honour 1989: IV (2) 183).

All the above is possible, as it is likely that the work would have operated on several levels. However, given prejudices that were entrenched in society about sexuality, lesbians and black women, the painting raises more complex issues. Whether this image was sexual or religious cannot obscure the widespread association of (hyper) sexuality with black people. Indeed, this opens the complex issue of the interrelationship between race, gender and sexuality, to which this chapter now turns.

Jordan points to the association drawn between Africans and a carnal sensuality. (His comments about West Africa are true of assumptions made about Africa more generally).

> Undertones of sexuality ran throughout many accounts of West Africa. To liken Africans - any human being - to beasts was to stress the animal within man ... Lecherousness among Africans was at times for Englishmen merely another attribute which one would expect to find among heathen, savage, beastlike men. Sexuality was what one expected of savages (Jordan 1982: 53).

The assumption followed that African woman should also, by association, be considered in a similar if not identical light. Much has been written by the English and other Europeans on the alleged sexuality of African man[20]. Jordan, writing on the historical context of racism in Britain, explains that Englishmen

[20] Many writers note that visual imagery which accompanied some texts or adorned old maps often showed men with exaggerated sexual organs (Curtin 1964: 46).

who were actively involved in the slave trade would also supply descriptions of the sexual attributes of black women. He adds;

> By the eighteenth-century a report on the sexual aggressiveness of African women was virtually required of European commentaters. [One report gives the following account] ... "hot constitution" Ladies" possessed of a "temper hot and l lascivious, making no scruple to prostitute themselves to the **Europeans** for a very slender profit, so great is their inclination to white men" (Jordan 1982: 54).

In the constant search to justify prejudice, there existed a conflation between attempts to "prove" racial difference and the assumption and adoption of popular myths into everyday life. The everpresent myth of African sexuality is an example.

Both monogenists and polygenists thought the penis of Negro men was larger than that of Europeans, and that Negro women were sexually more desirable for physiological reasons left unexplained. Thus a great deal of the popular xenophobia and racism already prevalent on the fringes of Empire came to be expressed in terms of race difference and endowed with "scientific" authority (Curtin 1964: 47). Once again we are confronted with the making of stereotypes based on highly emotive so-called evidence which was used to observe, assert, and explore racial differences. Victorian middle-class people would transform sex and race differentiation into non-neutral moral and ethical differences.

Within this context, Victorian morality and prudery is also a myth that needs debunking. Although commonly known to be an era of sexual repression, it was more importantly an era of double standards with public and private attitudes and behaviour commanding different poles. Henry Spencer Ashbee"s[21]

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[21] Fryer notes that Ashbee

> ... throws an interesting sidelight on Victorian society, and on its peculiar brand of hypocrisy, that so respectable and respected a figure as Henry Spencer Ashbee - a member of the Royal Geographical Society, of the Royal Historical Society, of the Society of the Arts: a corresponding

three volume bibliography of Victorian erotica highlights the prodigious output of English writers and illustrators of this genre[22]. Both Ashbee and the works he collected demonstrate the enormous gap between a public show of respectability and licentious private behaviour.

In Ashbee's exhaustive bibliography, he gives a resume of the contents and passes qualitative judgements upon the merits and demerits of the text and illustrations of the books. Black people are very rarely mentioned and when they are noted, they are accorded neither status nor comment different from any other group of people. It is therefore significant that no special stress nor emphasis is laid upon the popular conception of black Africans as being specially libidinous, highly sexed or possessed of particularly large or gross sexual organs or appetites. In other words, when noted, black people are treated in the erotic literature in a non-racial and matter-of-fact manner.

Illustrations are not included in this dissertation, as in the number of books consulted, not one visual image of nineteenth-century erotica included people of African origin[23]. It is uncertain what this absence indicates. A deliberate omission on the part of authors and illustrators is unlikely as these

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> member of the Royal Academy of Madrid; and successively Renter Warden, Upper Warden, and Master of the Worshipful Company of Curriers, no less - that so solid a pilar of what, nowadays, we have learnt to call the establishment should, under the thin cloak of an annagramic Latin pseudonym, have soberly and deliberately violated his society"s most cherished taboos (Fryer 1970: 11-12).

[22] In Ashbee's introduction (a sequel to the 1877 privately printed volume), he included a brief apologia and justification of his undertaking. He states; "I maintain that no production of the human (brain) should be ignored, entirely disregarded ... for every writing ... has a value for the true student, in estimating the individual who wrote it, or the period in which it was produced" (Ashbee 1970: 18-19).

[23] This presents a markedly different situation from the eighteenth-century when numerous erotic images produced in England include black people; See Wagner 1988; Dabydeen 1987. Works perceived by the English as erotica from cultures other than English or European which featured people who were not white, are not included in this discussion. Said (1991: 8) refers the reader to analysis of Victorian pornographic novels as analyzed by Marcus.

books left nothing to the imagination and did not attempt to hide any practices. There are several possibilities, but they remain conjecture. However, within the realm of fine art, Honour suggests;

> [b]lack men were, however, seldom shown in physical contact with white women in nineteenth-century art. (Othello when depicted as a black was usually placed somewhat apart from Desdemona, and his hands did not touch her body even in the murder scene). ... On the other hand black and white women were depicted together, sometimes without social distinction[24] (Honour 1989: IV (2) 182).

But assessment of works produced within the realm of "high art" (which is the category to which Honour refers) demands different evaluative parameters from the type of image that would have been produced in popular erotic literature. It was consistent with prevailing social mores that pornographic or overtly erotic subject matter would not have been acceptable to the Victorians for viewing in a public environment, nor within the other realms of high or academic art. Absence of black people in popular erotic visual images could point rather to the paucity of black people who were involved in these marginal activities. But that absence seems ...nge as there was a receptive audience for erotica and "... both the function and reception of pornography are dependent on the value system and the socio-political conditions of a given society (Wagner 1988: 7)". The contradictions serve as an indication of the complexity of the web of social interactions. Neither pornography"s producers nor its audience were a homogenous whole. The audience would have included all levels of society ranging in attitude from those who delighted in the genre, to those who would view production of the obscene as a protest against morality and authority, to those who found the genre ethically unacceptable.

The depictions of black women as servants, in England and the colonies[25], were another way in which racial and sexual power relationships were reflected and reinforced. What is especially interesting about

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[24] In addition, I have also not seen any examples of black women shown in any physical or sexual contact with white men. See particularly fig. 59 and the related discussion, with regard to black and white women.

[25] Gilman asserts that even within the wider realms of European art, the figure of the black servant is ubiquitous (Gilman 1985: 209).

the images of black women servants (and black women in servitude) encountered in the course of research is that the portrayals were usually in the oil paintings of high art; and reflected the attitudes and assumption of orientalism. Said elaborates:

> *Orientalism* is the generic term that I have been employing to describe the Western approach to the Orient; Orientalism is the discipline by which the Orient was (and is) approached systematically, as a topic of learning, discovery, and practice (Said 1987: 73).

"[T]he essence of Orientalism is the ineradicable distinction between Western superiority and Oriental interiority ... (Said 1978: 42)", and this is of course seen through images of black women servants. Both black and white women were objectified within one realm of fine arts oil paintings. Women, but especially white women, were portrayed as exotic fantasies for the male viewer. Black women were doubly "othered" as females and Africans, and thus open to being debased by servitude, by being portrayed as ugly by virtue of their race, or by not "deserving" the rights to privacy and modesty accorded white women.

The English identified the Orient with a sense of excitement and mystery. Its popularity related to travel, trade and most importantly to British colonial expansionism. As Said asserts,

> The Orient is an integral part of European *material* civilization and culture. Orientalism expresses and represents that part culturally and even ideologically as a mode of discourse with supporting institutions, vocabulary, scholarship, imagery, doctrines, even colonial bureaucracies and colonial styles (Said 1991: 2).

One favourite type of Oriental scene was the luxurious indoor setting of the Harem. The lavish interior in John Frederick Lewis"[26] ca 1876 The Harem [fig. 63], evokes an atmosphere of sumptuous living as

[26] The Englishman John Frederick Lewis, described by Thackeray as living like a "... a languid lotus-eater - a dreamy, hazy, lazy, tobaccoed life" (Reynolds 1987: 143), lived in Cairo from 1842 to 1851. Lewis had a number of English patrons who enjoyed the real-looking mysterious fantasies of a timeless and 'other' way of life that he created. Honour cites contemporary sources commenting on a work of Lewis' exhibited in 1850 at the Society of Painters in Water Colours. This work, reported to be the first harem scene to be

the rich interior decor, creates an exotic and beguiling setting for six women and a little lap dog. The central figure is a young black woman. "In pictures of harem life they (black women) normally figure as attendants of slaves of the almost invariably fair-skinned wives" (Honour 1989: IV (2) 98). In this example the servant is wearing sumptuous fabrics but is modestly covered as she kneels before the languid reclining female figure on the settee. In the familiar posture of a servile black, she holds up a mirror for the "fair skinned" woman. Centrally placed within this opulent setting, the black serving woman, (face in profile, showing the facial features of another stereotype), represents the woman at the very bottom of the hierarchical scale, totally subjugated even within the ordered confines of the harem.

Lewis constructs a perfectly believable rational space into which he locates his figures. And yet, conversely, the interior scene provided the appropriate locale which suggests a timeless, unchanging world - an a-historical space ostensibly removed from the harsh realities of English life. As the richly elaborated surfaces heighten the sense of the perceived mysterious Orient, they act as authenticating detail, signifying the reality of the room, its contents and most important of all, the actions taking place.

Like the contemporary male viewer whose ideas Lewis could be said to represent, he is implicitly sanctioning slavery or at least servitude as all the women are slaves of some from or another. The male viewer, speaking on behalf of all other men, acknowledges, accepts and maybe even fantasises about

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exhibited, received favourable reviews. One noted that the black woman slave being unveiled by a black male slave was "voluptuous - or it would not be true to its theme" and despite that, it gave "no offence to Western feelings of decorum"; another critic declared it "a marvellous picture; such as men love to linger around, but such as women, we observed, pass rapidly by" (Honour 1989: IV (2) 98). It is reasonable to speculate that if the setting were London and the women white, general reactions would be vastly different! Note too, the observation that although the males "love to linger", the white women, also subjugated and assigned their role in English society, were clearly socialized into needing to hurry past. All this despite the fact that although "... descriptions suggest that the girl's attitude was modestly restrained, it was popularly believed that black women were particularly lascivious, appealing to depraved sexual tastes" (Honour 1989: IV (2) 98).

their lifestyle. He also legitimates each woman's role, with all their ramifications, as being acceptable to Westerners purely because Lewis depicts them in an Oriental setting. The controlling male gaze remains outside the picture, yet it is at the same time both legitimating and possessive.

A New Light in the Harem, 1884, [fig. 64], by Frederick Goodall exhibited at the Royal academy in the same year, employs similar conventions. His orientalising has strong Christian overtones. It was common for moralising English travellers and missionaries to comment upon the vice of idleness, so that in this image, even though the black woman is caring for and amusing the baby, the atmosphere is one of languidness. The two women in this work submit to the male ordered society, each in her own predetermined way. The 'fair-skinned wife' clad in a clinging diaphanous tunic lying passively on a richly patterned couch has been objectified into an object of male possession. The black slave at her feet who attends to her infant child is also a male possession. She could have had a sexual function but as she is childminding, her full breasts suggest her present job is as wet nurse. The roles of each woman are juxtaposed one against the other, as once again the hierarchy is apparent, with the black assuming the subservient role. But it is equally clear that both women in this and in The Harem [fig. 63] all conform to a range of ideas associated with difference. Despite the play on the words, ideas and images implicit in 'the New Light' the baby brings, the power still resides within the absent male, as producer and viewer. He has the controlling gaze, he stimulates and perpetuates the silent passions and sexual fantasies, and he maintains his hegemony over the women within the work and the social and political order they represent. The inclusion of the deer and the bird imply a further element of control. They suggest the conflation of the woman with nature, and moreover, a tame and subdued nature. Furthermore, the animals are on the same level as the black women and the infant child.

The narrative for Edwin Longsden Long's 1875 entry for the Royal Academy The Babylonian Marriage Market [fig. 65] was based upon George C. Swayne's A History of Heredotus. The subject matter

concerns the tradition of auctioning off young women who were judged for marriage according to their beauty. Swayne explained the system: "... the prettiest girl would be auctioned first and so on until 'the damsel who was equidistant between beauty and plainness, who was given away gratis'" (Chapel 1982: 108). The horizontal format of this large canvas allows for the long line of commodified women in the foreground. Long has already determined the aesthetic scale starting with the beautiful woman on the left. She is looking into a mirror whose brilliance reflects back at her, heightening her light coloured face. Berger suggests that while the mirror was used as a device to symbolise feminine vanity, its true purpose was to make the woman connive in treating herself, first and foremost, to be viewed as an object (Berger 1985: 51). It seems then that Long suggests that women themselves collude with the practice of woman as the surveyed.

The women's beauty and physical attributes determine the ranking order as they move down to the dark (but not black) woman on the right. Her features include the broad nose and lips of the typical African.

> The latter figure fulfils all of Virey's categories for the appearance of the black. This (line of women) is however, the Victorian scale of sexualized women acceptable within marriage, portrayed from the most to the least attractive, according to contemporary British standards (Gilman 1985: 221).

But the women in ordered row are almost secondary. They sit with their backs to the cluster of buyers, almost concealed by the dias where the true emphasis is placed. All attention is focused on the two women who stand on the pedestal, facing the multi-racial crowd of males. They represent the most beautiful and the ugliest or as a contemporary of Long's wrote; "There is a touch of genius in concealing the faces of the Alfa and Omega of comeliness" (Chapel 1982: 109). The fair skinned beauty is attended by a dark skinned woman, the serving, African, female 'other'. Her blackness stands out as she stands on the light dias and the upper part of her body is framed by the exotically tiled background.

These representations were also part of the English fascination with the east that fostered orientalising practices. Said contends that the west consciously produced "... the Orient politically, sociologically, militarily, ideologically, scientifically and imaginatively in the post-Enlightenment period" (Said 1991: 3). In producing a fantasy of a timeless, unchanging 'other' lifestyle peopled by exotic women, The Harem, The Babylonian Marriage Market and others like it, encapsulate those elements. As part of the cultural and social process, all these ideas did not remain on the walls of the academy. Generated by English culture, not necessarily bound by class, they circulated within society to become part of the cultural system. The self-perpetuating male gaze could be said to have become the collective gaze and the determining gaze for the production of images in popular culture as well.

The women in the advertisement for Pears Soap[20] [fig. 66] move out of the believable space of the Harem scenes into a more exotic romantic vision, clearly drawing upon Romantic and Orientalising styles. Like Goodall's two women, the reclining white remains the seductive temptress and the black woman, the serving handmaiden. However, the black woman, not necessarily of African origin, is far more explicitly revealing, her nude breasts sanctioned for public gaze because she is the black "other". Victorian double standards operate as the passive, modestly draped woman turns her face away from the viewer. Lying on a bed of flowers she is seen to have accorded to her an elevated status, from her half-nude attendant to the putti hovering above her with the bar of soap. It is with her that the female consumer would identify. But she remains submissive and surveyed; an "available woman" offset by the black woman whose task it is, as perceived by the codes implicit in the representation suggests, to serve. Once again text explicitly reinforces image as the advertisers suggest that a woman"s skin should be velvety soft, while implicitly suggesting that the skin may be pure white or excitingly black.

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[20] Late nineteenth-century Pears advertising could form the basis of an analysis of race, class and gender in Victorian England. See for example the advertisement which shows the little black child's body being scrubbed white with a tablet of Pears.

Representations of women reveal the complex construction of the whole society. White women were also responsible for "othering" of black people. The traditional role assigned to women as mother meant that the many attitudes towards black people emanated from the nursery. Although the well known counting rhyme "Ten Little Niggers"[21] is alleged to have been written by an Englishman Frank J. Green in 1864 (Pieterse 1992: 166), its renewed use was surely encouraged by women as well. The black Golliwogg was the invention of two women. In 1895 a mother and daughter team wrote and illustrated a book entitled *The Adventures of Two Dutch Dolls and a Golliwogg*. According to Pieterse the family owned a "grotesque nigger (minstrel) doll on which the image of the Golliwogg was based" (Pieterse 1992: 157). In the thirteen books that were published, the happy Golliwogg was depicted with a broad smile[22]. However, in the card game that followed [fig. 67 and fig. 68], his appearance altered a little. There were two black characters in the game, The Black Servant and The African, from whom he was clearly differentiated. The images show that his costume deviated somewhat from the original which was modelled on high white collar and bow tie [fig. 67] of the popular Minstrel Singers. The mop of hair, staring white eyes and exaggerated mouth and of course jet black face, hands and feet remained the hallmark of the Golliwogg.

By the end of the century, with the push to the colonies in full swing, and racist attitudes towards black people an open feature of English society the gentler moralistic stories[23] that featured black people in children's story books were supplemented by some visual images of more brutal and/or more subtle racist

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[21] "For more than a hundred years, then, children in the West have been learning to count by making non-Western children disappear, usually in not such pleasant ways. "Ten little nigger boys went out to dine; one choked his little self, and then there were nine"" (Pieterse 1992: 16).

[22] Refer to the images and stereotypes of caricatured black servants.

[23] See for example numerous illustrated issues of the *Peter Parley Annual*, edited by S. G. Goodrich, which 1864 Christmas edition featured for instance, the story of The Faithful Negro.

nature. The image of Black Mambo, 1899, [fig. 69] taken from the children"s story book *Little Black Sambo* sums up several of the generalisations about black women, particularly as seen by white men. It is a simplified, highly conventionalised image, like Florence Upton"s Golliwogg, well suited for its function as a children"s book illustration. Black Mambo represents many of the roles that self-respecting white Victorian males could wan to see in any woman; although barefoot, she is in the kitchen, nurturing and caring for the family! Black Mambo combines this with her more general place in English society, either to be seen as servant or safely removed in a far distant colony. Social practise, in which white men and women colluded, was reinforced in this sort of learning by the young. The return to the emphasis of particular racial characteristics indicates too the increased level of racist thinking prevalent in late Victorian England.

Implicit in all these depictions of women is the role they were expected to play in English society. Making visual imagery does not mean merely putting up a mirror to reflect social structure. Visual images play a seminal role in determining that particular society"s form and structure and then endorses it by maintaining the status quo. The way in which white men saw black women reflected their own socialisation and the images are a comment upon the w in which they perceived women. Black women were seen in precise categories and having to follow prescribed forms of conduct. They were generally powerless as even white women were socialised into allowing their own subjugation. In this discourse, which became commonly accepted, both verbal and visual symbols served not only to create but equally to reinforce, the prevailing culture and depression. At the same time it allowed white men to strengthen their power base. These selected images show how nineteenth-century white men saw women within some of the roles English society had determined for them.

CONCLUSION

> A distinction needs to be made between training for community leaders and training for community housing educators. The latter requires training both in housing matters and in running workshops. It also requires that a standard course be developed for them to use in community level workshops.Such frameworks incorporate and fabricate cues as to how they are to be reckoned with by individual subjects and groups (Preziosi 1989: 169).

One of the aims of this dissertation has been to show that images that include or are about, black people have been made in England for centuries. Produced in a number of ways and for different purposes, they have functioned as some sort of communication on a variety of levels of society. The meanings which the visual images contain are more often implicit than explicit.

A second aim has been to contextualize examples of these representations within the framework of those that produce them and, the society that receives them. They have been seen to act as part of the signifying systems of English culture. As such, amongst other meanings, they can be said to be constructions of an ideology about Africa and Africans, serving as cultural values within a political agenda. Thirdly, this work has argued that visual culture had an important role in developing ideas in nineteenth-century English society. Pictures, illustrations to texts, and other visual images were part of a general discourse in which inequalities of power were established.

Central to the present is the notion that black people were viewed as being different and 'other', and representations of them were made on this assumption of 'otherness'. The perception of 'otherness' is rooted in a particular nineteenth-century English way of seeing, and relates primarily to visual constructions. Whilst the natural skin colour of people of African origin might have been 'black', the ideological construction of a black person, or blackness became a sign and/or a fictionalised amalgamation

of fact, fantasy and myth. The visual productions themselves came to serve a purpose in defining the role of marginalised blacks.

The concept of the 'other' as it has been applied throughout this work has been placed between inverted commas to indicate that it is a popular and generalised concept. A reductive definition of the concept 'other' has been consciously avoided, as the 'other' has been used here to illustrate the concept of a collective and individual way of thinking, seeing and making images. Representations of the 'other' are constructions which are part of a complex cultural process, and of the social production of art. This included contemporary stylistic conventions and techniques of image making. The range of people who saw black people as 'other' is vast. It has been demonstrated that in the early part of the century blacks were regarded as relatively different, but eventually this difference hardened into a stereotype around which were built a series of conventions and myths. These constructs became perpetuating images of the black person as 'other'.

The selection of visual representations has shown that during the early part of the nineteenth-century, abolition was seen by many whites to be the saving grace for Africans. As the decades passed English attitudes changed, and with that there was a shift in society's discursive practices, including in pictorial representation. There was little questioning of accepted notions of power particularly in relation to popular perceptions of black people perceived as innocent savages. With the beginnings of the more negative views that were to follow, blacks were portrayed so as to justify a new and growing force; the Christian civilizing mission.

In 1807, the official end of the Slave Trade for British subjects marked the beginning of concerted government-supported British missionary efforts in Africa. Parallel to the commercial trade which

replaced the slave trade, missionaries saw their calling to be one, to go to Africa and spread moral enlightenment among people they considered to be heathens. The Christianizing mission of 'bringing light into the darkness' was a popular concept which would be used with ever increasing determination to vindicate British intervention in Africa.

Religion and missionary activity became increasingly important. Reference to Ham as the biblical justification for British claims of black infericrity and difference pointed to another important contemporary contradiction. On one hand, religion was used for moral and ethical legitimation of difference and inferiority, but on the other hand, abolitionist support relied on biblical notions of slavery as a morally reprehensible condition. Pieterse points to the strange paradox in which "[t]he period of abolitionism coincided with the rise of racism" (Pieterse 1992: 57). Yet he also notes that coexistent with the questioning of the moral legitimacy of slavery, "...the idea of race came into its own...[and] race emerged as the buffer between abolition and equality" (Pieterse 1992: 59). So, whilst there was not an order, nor a unity to these attitudes and practices, there is a clear link between abolition, the rise of scientific inquiry, and the emergence of racism.

Inherent in this effort, however, was the construction of an ideology about Africa, and the establishment of a political agenda to determine future policy in and towards Africa.

> [English] attitudes were rooted in misconceptions of African political and economic realities, mainly because of the lack of reliable information about Africa and because, given this lack of information, arguments presented in the slave trade debates had been framed in terms of the political situation in England rather than conditions in Africa (Austen and Smith 1960: 70).

Brantlinger asserts that although the literature of the anticlavery tradition involved a re-evaluation of the atrocities inflicted by slavery, it also envisioned an idyllic vision of free and happy Africans living without European interference (Brantlinger 1985: 168-170). Many of the popular visual images substantiated the

notion of the noble savage cavorting in an Edenic far off land. The myth of the Dark Continent was one of the constructions popular with all strata of English society. Myths like this contained value systems in which the relationships between humanitarianism, philanthropy and imperialism merged.

A strong political undercurrent running throughout the century was the rise of colonialism, stimulated by the growth of Imperialism and the subsequent desire to establish the British Empire. The concerns of colonialism increasingly moved from the West Indian plantations and the triangular trade to the growth of British hegemony in Africa. (This is not, of course, to exclude British colonialism in India and elsewhere). Part of the growth of imperialist propaganda was a complex support network of visual imagery.[1]

The writings and illustrations of both early nineteenth-century and Victorian explorers and travellers are well documented. The adventures of these men[2] stimulated a popular excitement amongst all those who read and heard of their travels and experiences. Their impressions of Africa in text and image, offered a welcome and exciting escape from the humdrum and monotonous lifestyles of their readers. The view they offered was of a mysterious Dark Continent filled with strange black people. The strong moral views which often accompanied their tales, were also most appealing to, and reinforcing of, the strict morality of middle class readers. Brantlinger describes these illustrated works as

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[1] This dissertation has not dealt with these images directly and indirectly related to colonialism, the formation of Empire and their impact "within the white world of England" (Lorimer 1978: 210). This is a very significant area, and it should form a study of its own. There are numerous possible approaches to the subject. For a specifically art historical approach, refer for example, to the D.Lit et Phil dissertation by Keith H. Dietrich, *Of Salvation and Civilization*, University of South Africa, March 1993. Unfortunately, I have only seen this during the final stages of my own writing.

[2] The travels and writings of Mary Henrietta Kingsley are an exception to the mainly male preserve. She explored parts of equatorial Africa in 1893 and 1894-95. Joseph Chamberlain, private advisor to the then Minister of the Colonies, consulted her popular reports which were primarily ethnographic (Hugon 1991: 105-107).

> ...nonfictional quest romances in which the hero/authors struggle through enchanted or bedeviled land towards a goal, ostensibly the discovery of the Nile's sources or the conversion of the cannibals. But that goal also turns out to include sheer survival and the return home, to the regions of light (Brantlinger 1985: 176).

So successful were these accounts that in 1857, within a few months of publication, Livingston's *Missionary Travels* sold seventy thousand copies (Brantlinger 1985: 176). Many other texts written by missionaries, travellers and adventurers depicted darkest Africa as a mysterious part of the world, filled with strange and weird creatures, both human and animal. Entrenched in social, cultural, religious, political, philosophic and economic practices and attitudes was a covert ideology of difference.

Many of the popular images were rife with inaccuracies, inconsistencies and fanciful transformations. The myths that were created ranged from idealised noble savages, capable of civilization and conversion, to those who were irredeemable, uncivilized, heathen wild savages. In an article which explores two distinct types of exhibition: the colonial and the missionary (Coombes 1985:453)[3], Coombes suggests that there was a differentiation between the two. Missionaries at home and abroad asserted that salvation was available to heathen Africans and yet they adhered to the popular belief that Africans belonged "on the lowest rung of the evolutionary ladder". This resulted in an ambivalence which was a "constituent of the missionary exhibition that is not present in their colonial counterpart" (Coombes 1985: 455). She continues...

> it is clear that while the missionaries societies were by no means impartial bystanders in the face of colonialism they exploited an ambivalent position as both intrinsic to and on the fringes of that enterprise. As a consequence they were able to present an 'image' of Africa and the African through their exhibitions, that can be distinguished from the representation of the African in the colonial exhibition sufficiently enough to beg the question, 'Why have these exhibitions been silenced through their absence in historical analysis?' (Coombes 1985:464).

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[3] Although in "'For God and for England': Contributions to an image of Africa in the first decade of the twentieth century" Coombes examines two twentieth century exhibitions, her valuable insights on the image of Africa and Africans which relate directly to nineteenth century constructions of identity, are germane.

It is unlikely that these distinctions would have been perceived by the average nineteenth century viewer. What is clear is that contrasts were constantly implicit in these types of composite images, and the difference between Africans and Europeans was constantly emphasised. To the average nineteenth-century spectator one might suggest, the views were inevitably seen as being of people outside and beyond themselves.

The influence of British imperialism included the transmission of English language and culture, which the British attempted to imprint on their subject peoples. The visual images in England thus played a seminal role in formulating, structuring and reinforcing the organs of society at home and abroad with far-reaching and long-term implications. The study of colonialism reveals the imprint of the social, political and religious ideas of missionaries, adventurers, travellers and explorers whose texts and images reflected English cultural practice. Their works were related to imperialist practices which were part of building the British Empire, and attitudes to black people in England. These representations of black people as a different 'other' had a strong ideological function, and in many ways we are dealing with this legacy in the continuation of racism to this day.

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Fig 1 **"Gigantes"**, Hereford Map, 13th c., (Wittkower 1942: opp 173).



Fig 2 **"Sciapod"**, Hereford Map, 13th c.. (Wittkower 1942: opp 189).



Fig 3 **"Martikhora"**, Hereford Map, 13th c., (Wittkower 1942: opp 189).



Fig 4 **The Crane-Man** or **Monstrous-Tartar**, English pamphlet, c1664, (Wittkower 1942: opp 194).



Fig 3 **"Martikhora"**, Hereford Map, 13th c., (Wittkower 1942: opp 189).



Fig 4 **The Crane-Man** or **Monstrous-Tartar**, English pamphlet, c1364, (Wittkower 1942: opp 194).



Fig 5 **"Sciapod"**, Sens Cathedral, Grand Portal, 13th c., (Wittkower 1942: opp 185)

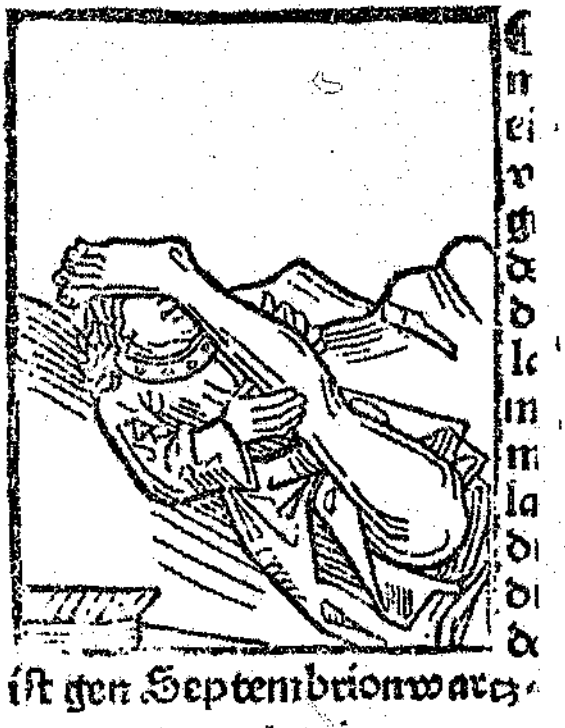


Fig 6 **"Sciapod"**, 1482, Mandeville, Augsberg, (Wittkower 1942: opp 185)

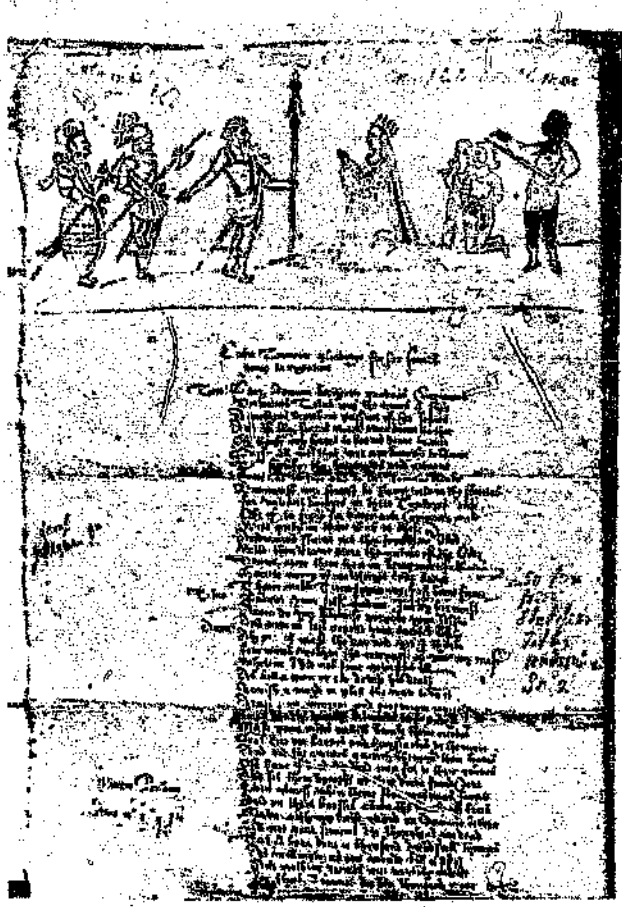


Fig 7 Peacham, Production page of **Titus Andronicus,** 16th c, drawing, (Jones 1965: pl 3).



Fig 8 Tyson's "Pygmie", from Edward Tyson, 1699, *Treatise*, (Gould 1985: 27ð).

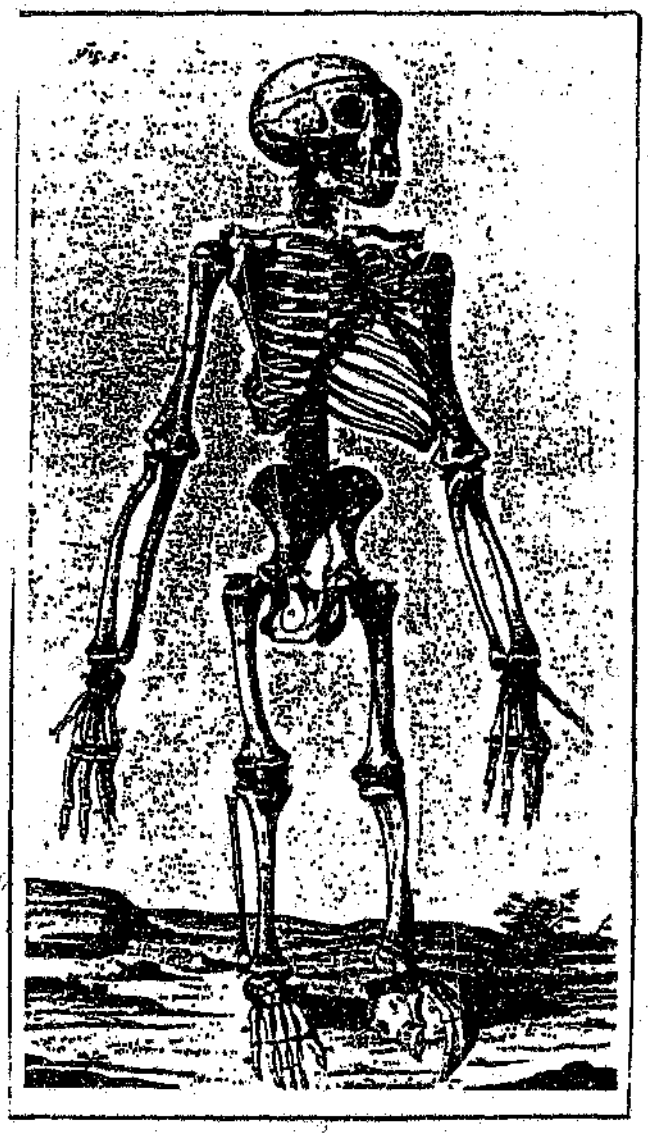


Fig 9 **Skeleton of Tyson's "Pygmie"**, from Edward Tyson, 1699, *Treatise*, (Gould 1985: 277).

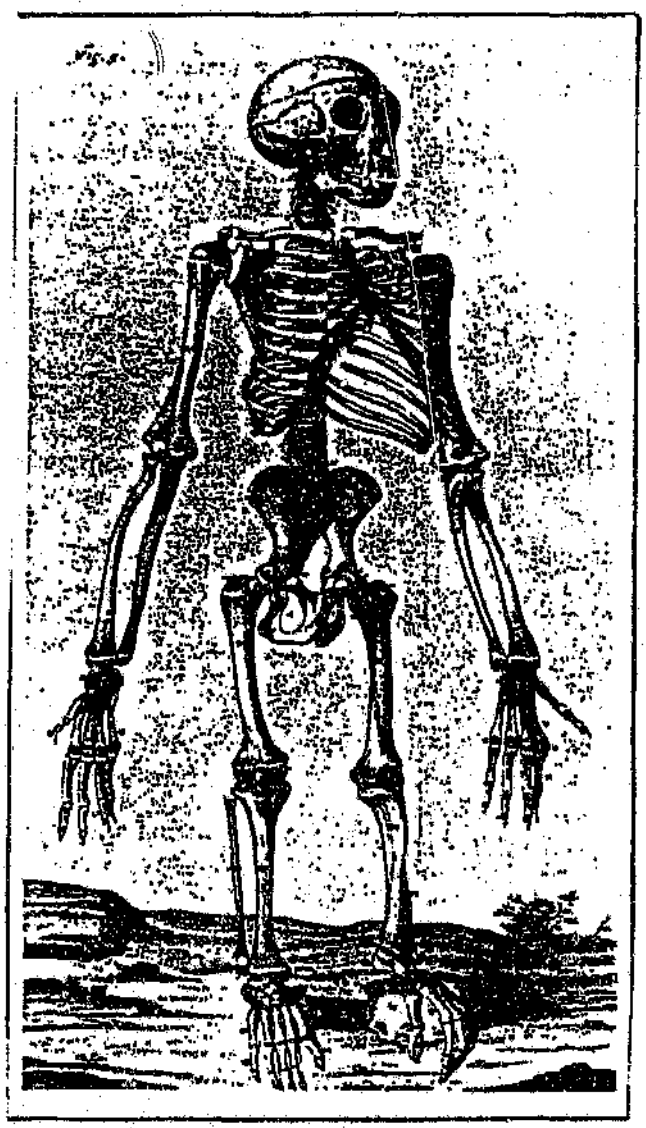


Fig 9 **Skeleton of Tyson's "Pygmie"**, from Edward Tyson, 1699, *Treatise*, (Gould 1985: 277).



Fig 10 Josiah Wedgewood's Medallion, **Am I not a Man and a Brother?**, 1787, Jasper-ware, 35 x 35mm, Barlaston, Wedgewood Museum, (Honour 1989: IV(1) 62).



Fig 11 Robert Smirke, illustration for James Montgomery, *The West Indies, a Poem in Four Parts,* in *Poems on the Abolition of the Slave Trade,* 1809. **Britania granting liberty to four black slaves**, 1808, steel engraving by William Henry Worthington, 166 x 145mm (Honour 1989:IV(1)97).

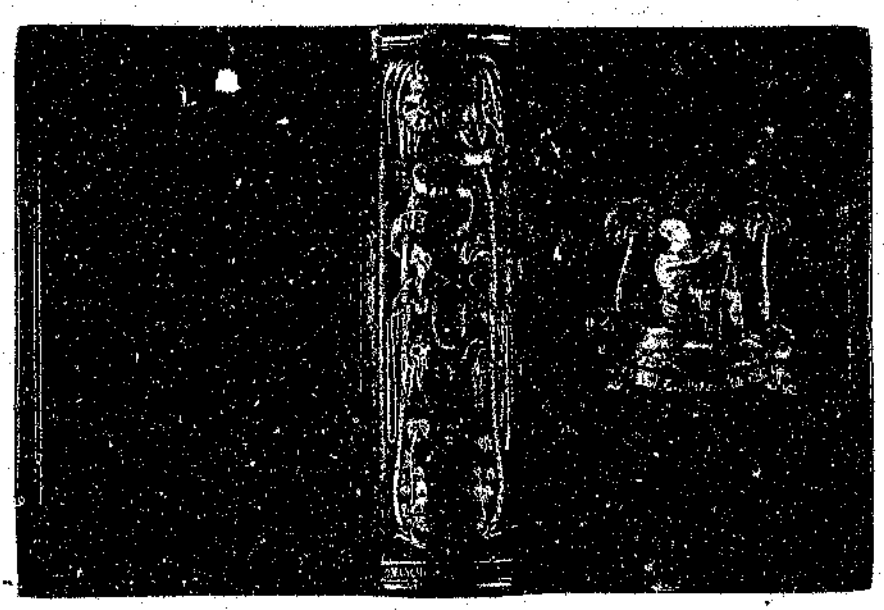


Fig 12 **A Tribute to the Negro**, gold leaf and leather, cover and binding of William Armistead, ***A Tribute to the Negro,*** (Cullen Library, University of the Witwatersrand).



Fig 12 a Henry Room, **Jan Tzatzoe, Andries Stoffles, the Rev Dr Philip and Rev Messrs Read Senior and Junior, Speakers at London Missionary Society,** c 1836, oil on canvas, 101.6 x 127mm (Honour 1989: IV(1) 175).

THE UTTER EXTINCTION OF SLAVERY AN OBJECT OF SCRIPTURE PROPHECY:

A

LECTURE

THE SUBSTANCE OF WHICH WAS DELIVERED AT THE ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE

CHELMSFORD

LADIES' ANTI-SLAVERY ASSOCIATION

IN THE FRIEND'S MEETING-HOUSE,

ON TUESDAY, THE 17TH OF APRIL, 1832:

WILLIAM KNIGHT, ESQ. TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

With Miscellaneous Notes.

BY

JOSEPH IVIMEY,

A MEMBER OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

DEDICATED TO WILLIAM WILBERFORCE, ESQ.



"LIBERTY IS THE WORD WITH ME."—*Esop.*

"ABOVE ALL LIBERTY."—*Selden.*

LONDON:

PRINTED BY S. WOODFALL, PATERNOSTER ROW; MESSRS. HATCHARD, PICCADILLY, MESSRS. SEELEY, FLEET STREET; HOLDSWORTH AND BALL, ST. PAUL'S CHURCH YARD; WESTLEY AND CO. STATIONERS' COURT, MASON, CITY ROAD, AND PATERNOSTER ROW; DARTON AND HARVEY, GRACECHURCH STREET; J. W. CALDER, OXFORD STREET; AND AT THE BOOK ROOM, IN EXETER HALL.

1832.

Fig 13 Front page of bound copy of *A Lecture* delivered to the Chelmsford ladies Anti-Slavery Association, 1832, (British Library, London).



Fig 14 Henry Weekes, **Funery Bust of Zachary Macauly**, 1842, marble, Westminster Abbey, London, (Honour 1989: IV(1) 101).

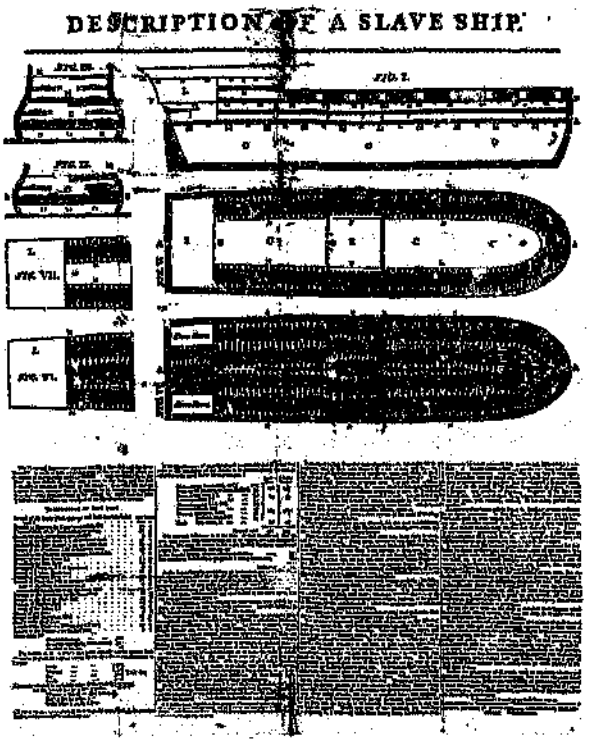


Fig 15 **Description of a Slave Ship, Plan and Cross-section of a Slaver,** *The Brookes* of Liverpool, 1789, copper engraving, 604 x 504mm, (Honour 1989: IV(1) 88).

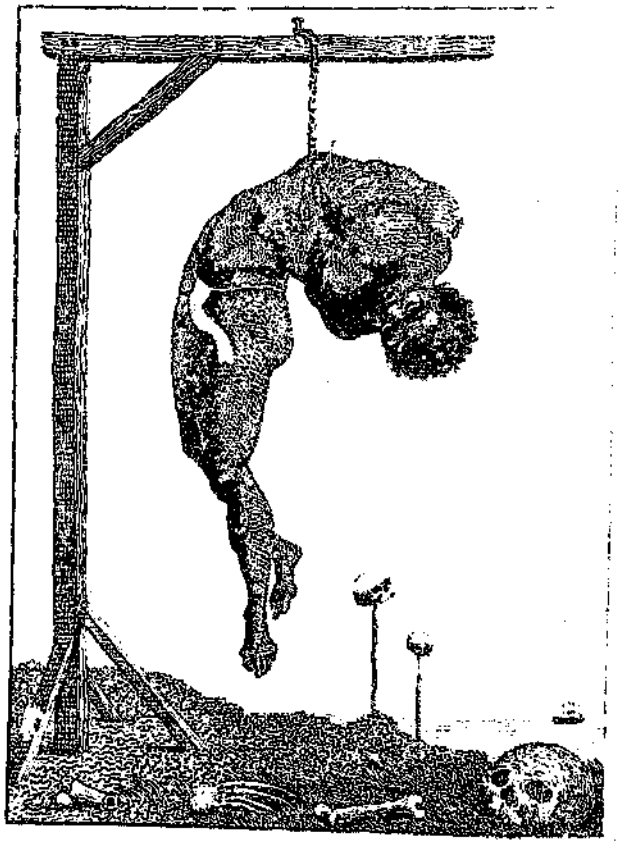


Fig 16 William Blake, Illustration for J.G. Stedman, *Narrative of a Five Year's Expedition against the Revolted Negroes of Surinam*, 1796, **A Negro Hung Alive by the Ribs to the Gallows**, 1792, line engraving after the author's drawing, 184 x 133mm, (Honour 1989: IV(1) 65).



Fig 17 Charles Landseer, **The Interior of a Brazilian Rancho in the Province of Santo Paulo, with a Travelling Merchant, His Slaves, Merchandise, etc.,** 1827, oil on academy board, 480 x 633mm, Private Collection, (Honour 1989: IV(1) 98).



Fig 18 Richard Westmacott, **Funerary Monument to Charles James Fox,** 1812-22, marble, London, Westminster Abbey, (Honour 1989: IV(1) 98).



Fig 19 Richard Westmacott, Detail of Figure; **Personification of Africa** in **Funerary Monument to Charles James Fox,** 1812-22, marble, London, Westminster Abbey, (Honour 1989: IV(1) 99).

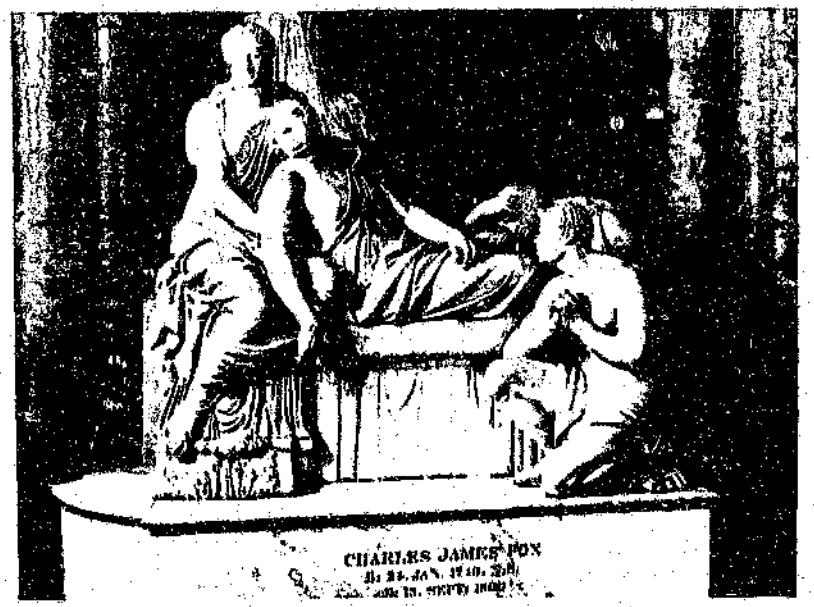


Fig 18 Richard Westmacott, **Funerary Monument to Charles James Fox,** 1812-22, marble, London, Westminster Abbey, (Honour 1989: IV(1) 98).



Fig 19 Richard Westmacott, Detail of Figure; **Personification of Africa** in **Funerary Monument to Charles James Fox,** 1812-22, marble, London, Westminster Abbey, (Honour 1989: IV(1) 99).



Fig 20 Charles Frederick Carter, Medal Commemorating the Abolition of Slavery in British Colonies, 1834, copper, diameter 51mm, London, British Museum, Dept. of Coins and Medals, (Honour 1989: IV(I) 148).

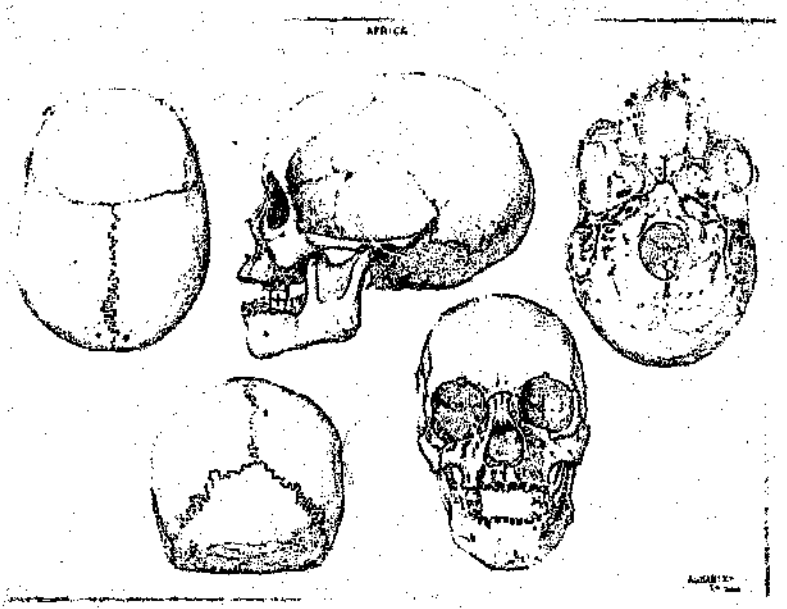


Fig 21 **Notice of a Skull from Ashante and supposed to be that of a Chief or Superior Officer**, February 1874, from an article by Prof. Busk, Plate V, in the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, (Cullen Library, University of the Witwatersrand).

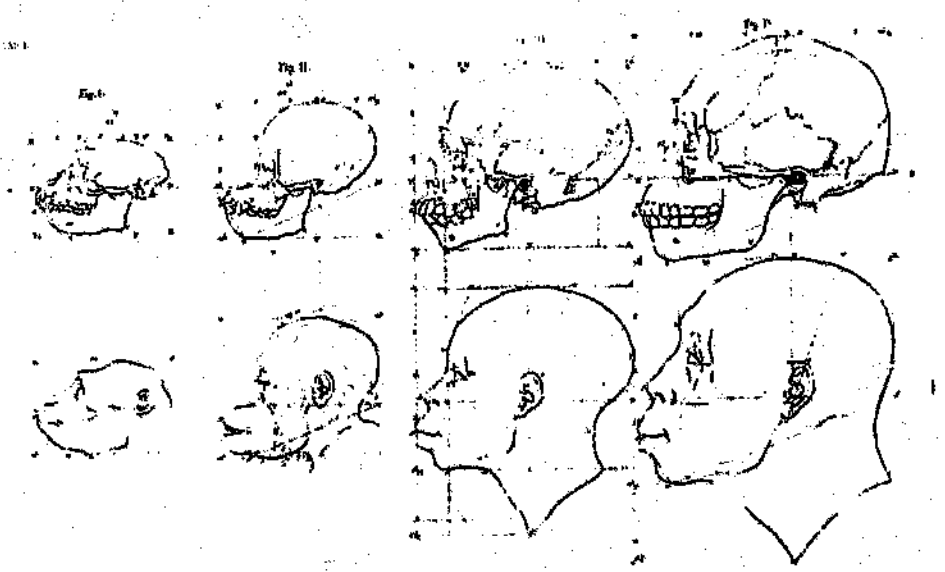


Fig 22 Peter Camper, **Facial Angles applied to the profiles and skulls of apes and human beings: (I) tailed monkey, 42 degrees; (II) orangutan, 58 degrees; (III) Negro, 7 degrees; (IV) Kalmuck, 70 degrees**, Camper, Cogan ed., *Works*, 1794, (Cowling 1989: 95).

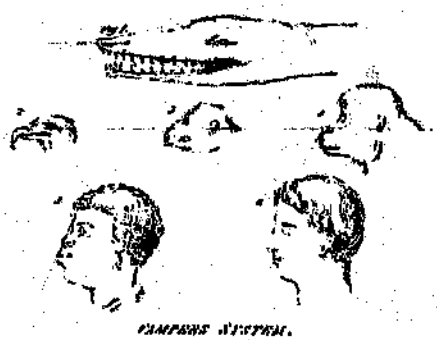


Fig 23 Peter Camper, **Facial Angle**, (and Blumenbach, **Vertical Angle**), from D.G. Gryder, "Introduction to the Study of Phrenology", *Phrenological Almanac*, 1842, (Cowling 1989: 62).

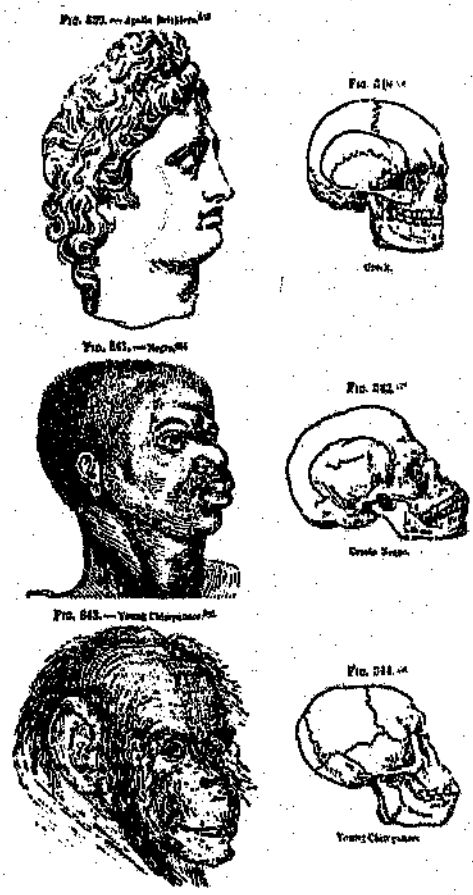


Fig 24a C. Morton, **Three Heads and Three Skulls**, Nott and Gliddon, eds., *Types of Mankind*, 1854 ed., (Cowling 1989: 61).

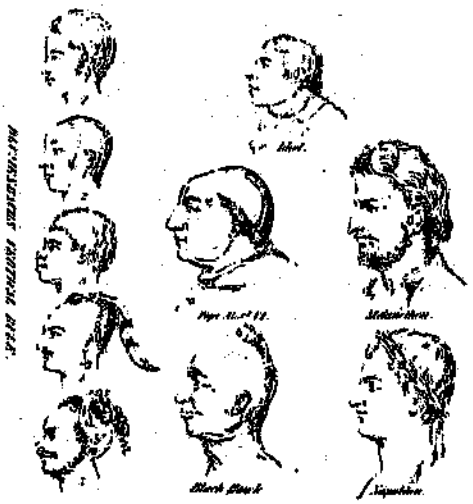


Fig 24b Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, **Vertical Angle**, (and Peter Camper, **Facial Angle**) from D.G. Gryder, "Introduction to the Study of Phrenology", *Phrenology Almanac*, 1842, (Cowling 1989: 62)..



Fig 25 Unknown photographer, **Anthropometric study of a Bengal Sailor using the Lamprey Grid**, c 1880, albumen print on board, 17.2 x 13.8, London, Royal Anthropological Institute, (Bayly 1990: 282).



Fig 26 M.V. Portman, **Anthropometric Study of Andamanese Woman**, c1893, platinotype, London, British Museum, (Bayly 1990: 286).



Fig 27 J.C. Prichard, **Kafir of the Amakosah**, 1837, in *Researches into the Physical History of Mankind*, 3rd ed., II, (Cullen Library, University of the Witwatersrand).

distended; the belly becomes protuberant, and the posteriors are covered with a huge mass of pure fat."



There are few skulls belonging to this race in European collections. The cranium of a Bushman female has been described by Blumenbach, and another by Cuvier. Dr. Knox, who has seen the people in their native country, assures us, that the face of the Hottentot resembles that of the Kaffirs, excepting in the greater thickness of the lips; and he sets them down as a branch of the Mongolian race. The width of the orbits, their distance from each other, the large size of the occipital foramen, are points in which the Hottentots resemble the northern Asiatics, and even the Esquimaux. The annexed outline represents the cranium of a Bushman, in



Fig 28 J.C. Prichard, **Hottentot Female** and **Skull of a Bushman**, 1845, in *The Natural History of Man*, 2nd ed., 2nd book, (Cullen Library, University of the Witwatersrand).



Kosa Kafir.

Fig 29 J.C. Prichard, **Kosa Kafir**, 1855, in *The Natural History of Man*, 4th ed., 3rd book, (Cullen Library, University of the Witwatersrand).



Fig 30 **Women at a Table**, mid-19th c, engraving from colour original, (BBC Hulton Picture Library, London, H100829, col. orig. H64099).



Fig 31 Anon, **An Air in the Dog Days**, 1800-1849, engraving from colour original, (BBC Hulton Picture Library, London, H100829, col. orig. H64099).



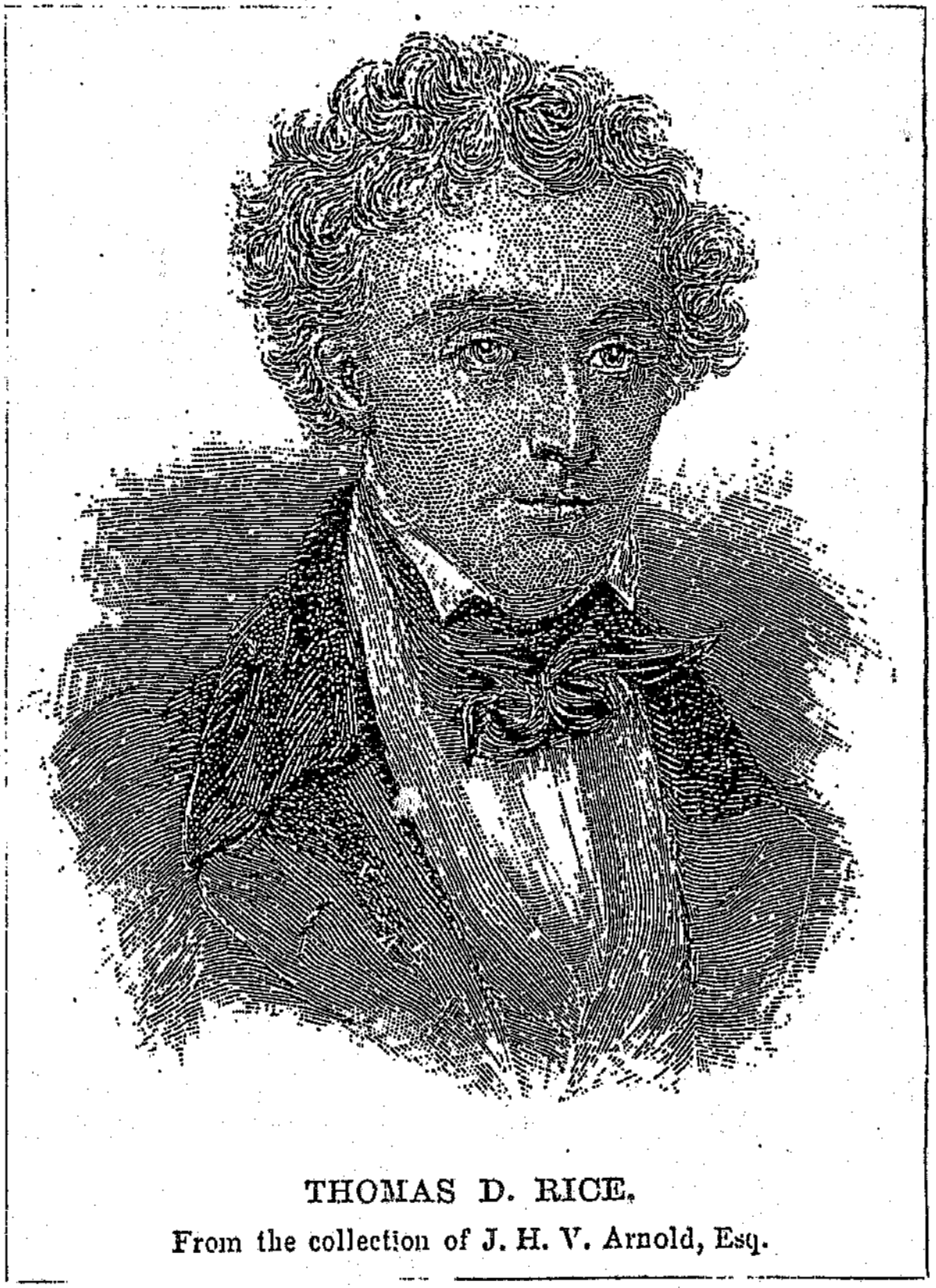
Fig 32 Anon, **Negro Manservant and His Master**, 1838, engraving, "Characteristic Sketches of Young Gentlemen", (Mary Evans Picture Library, London).



Fig 33 Anon, **Useful Hints, No 5**, c1800-1849, caption reads: "Servants should be particularly careful not to disgrace their Uniform by paying the slightest attention to a parcel of Trades-peoples wretches.", W. Follit (Pub.), (BBC Hulton Picture Library, London, GN H73115, orig H72836).



Fig 34 George Cruikshank, **London's "Low Life"**, 1847, engraving, illustration to *Frank Heartwell*, (Mary Evans Picture Library, London).



THOMAS D. RICE.

From the collection of J. H. V. Arnold, Esq.

Fig 35 Anon, **Portrait of Thomas D. Rice**, c1830s, engraving, caption reads: Collection of J.H.V. Arnold, esq., (Mary Evans Picture Library, London).



T. D. RICE AS THE ORIGINAL "JIM CROW."

From the collection of Thomas J. McKee, Esq.

Fig 36 Anon, **T.D.Rice As The Original "Jim Crow"**, c 1830s, engraving, caption reads: Collection of Thomas J. McKee, esq., (Mary Evans Picture library, London).



THE ZULU WAR—ON THE VOYAGE OUT WITH THE REINFORCEMENTS: NEGRO MINSTRELSY

Fig 37 W.R.(initialled), **The Zulu War - On the Voyage out with the reinforcements:Negro Minstrelsy,** 1879, engraving, *The Graphic*, (Mary Evans Picture Library, London).



THE ZULU WAR—ON THE VOYAGE OUT WITH THE REINFORCEMENTS: NEGRO MINSTRELSY

Fig 37 W.R.(Initialled), **The Zulu War - On the Voyage out with the reinforcements:Negro Minstrelsy,** 1879, engraving, *The Graphic,* (Mary Evans Picture Library, London).



Fig 38 Anon, **The Ethiopian Serenaders,** 1844-1846 (?1846), engraving from an unspecified newspaper/periodical article, (Victoria and Albert Museum, Covent Garden Theatre Library, London).



JIM CROW, the American Mountebank
performing at the Grand Theatre.

Fig 39 I.H.(initialled), **Jim Crow, the American Mountebank**, subtitled: performing at the Grand Theatre, 19th c., London, pub. A Watson, (Mary Evans Picture Library, London).



IRA ALDRIDGE, THE AFRICAN TRAGEDIAN, AS "OTHELLO."

Fig 41 Anon, **Ira Aldridge, the African Tragedian as "Othello"**, 3 July 1858, *Illustrated London News*, (Victoria and Albert Museum, Covent Garden Theatre Library, London).



Fig 42 Anon, **Portrait of Ira Aldridge in the role of Othello**, c1858-67, oil, 117,5 x 85,3cm, Moscow Bakhruskin State Theatrical Museum, (Honour 1989: IV(1) 117).



Fig 43 James Northcote, **Head of a Negro in the Character of Othello**, 1826, oil, 76,2 x 63,5cm, Manchester, City of Manchester Art Gallery, (Honour 1989: IV(1) 117).



Fig 44 Walter Wallis, **Samuel Coleridge Taylor**, 1881, oil on canvas, no size, London, National Portrait Gallery.



Fig 45 George Cruikshank, Illustration for Harriet Beecher Stowe, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, **George Shelby Giving Liberty to His Slaves**, 1852, wood engraving by W.F. Meason, 94 x 158mm, (Honour 1989: IV(1) 199).

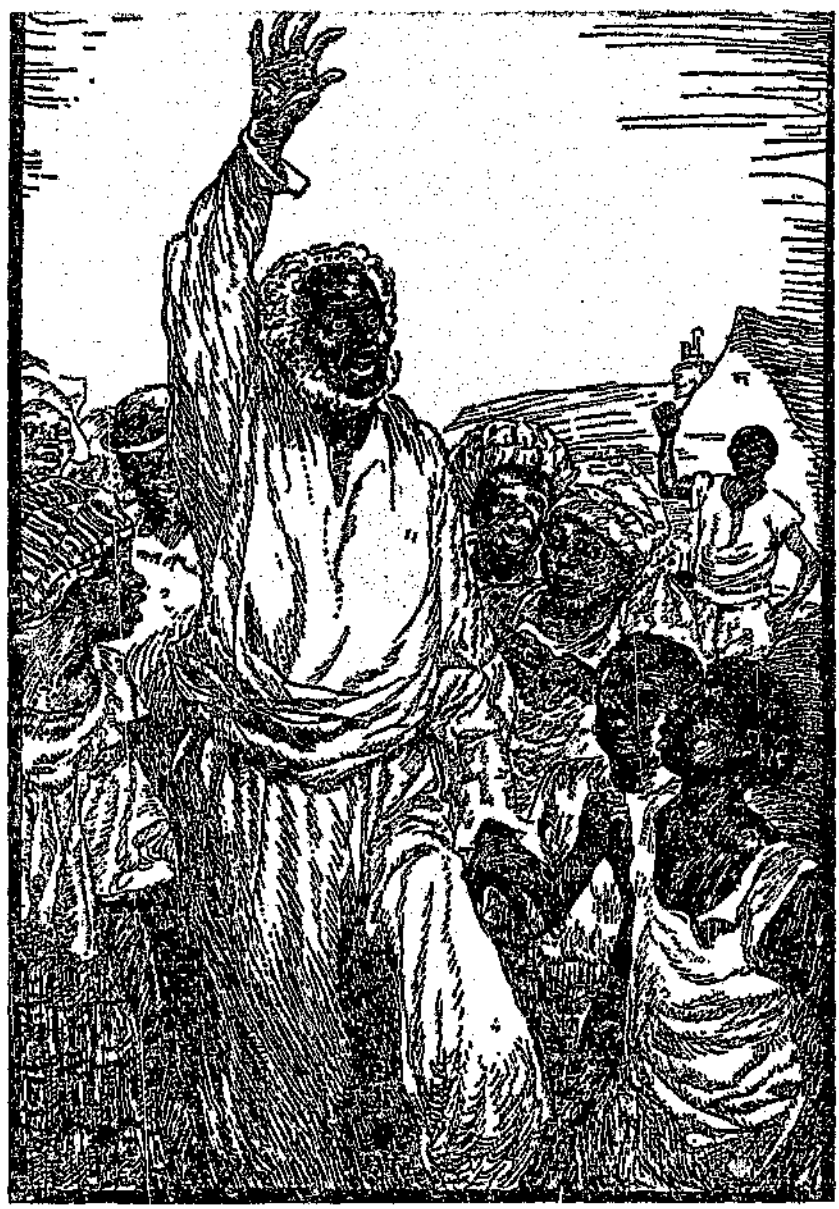


Fig 46 Anon, Illustration for Harriet Beecher Stowe, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, **Let us Give Thanks unto the Lord**, 1852, from Thomas Nelson Edition, undated, opp 520.



Charles M'Gee, a notorious black man, whose father died at the age of 108. He usually stood at the Obelisk, at the foot of Ludgate Hill.

Fig 47 T.S.(initialled), **Charles McGee**, 1815, engraving, pub. John Thomas Smith, Covent Garden, (BBC Hulton Picture Library, London).



Fig 48 R. Cooper, **Toby, a Well Known Imposter**, undated, engraving, (Mary Evans Picture Library, London).



Fig 49 Anon, **Waiting to see the Doctor**, 1881, engraving, (BBC Hulton Picture Library, London, CN H20398 orig H20253).



HOTTENTOTE.

Fig 50 F. le Vaillant, Reproduced in *Voyage de Francois le Vaillant dans L'interieur de l'Afrique pour le cap de le Bonne-Esperance*, Vol 2, 1798, (Cullen Library, University of the Witwatersrand).



Fig 51 Lewis (Delim et Sculp), **Sartjie, the Hottentot Venus: Exhibiting at No 225 Picadilly**, 1811, coloured aquetint, London, (Inscription: London, Published as the act directs. March 14 1811 by S Bartman 225 Picadilly), (Africana Museum, Johannesburg).



SARTJEE. THE HOTTENTOT VENUS.

Fig 52 Anon, **Sartjee, The Hottentot Venus**, 1810, aquetint, London, (Africana Museum, Johannesburg).



Fig 52 Anon, **Sartjee, The Hottentot Venus**, 1810, aquetint, London, (Africana Museum, Johannesburg).



Fig 53 Anon, **Sartjee, The Hottentot Venus: from the Gamtoos River South Africa**, no date, photograph in the British Museum, London, (Africana Museum, Johannesburg).



Fig 54 Otto Landsberg, **Hottentot Venus**, oil, 25 x 37cm, Potchefstroom Museum, Transvaal, (de Villiers 1974: 86).



Fig 55 William Heath, **A Pair of Good Bottoms**, captioned **"Hottentot Venus"**, 1810, coloured engraving, (Africana Museum, Johannesburg).



Fig 56 C. Williams, **Prospects of prosperity, or good Bottr oing in. Business,** 1810, coloured engraving, pub. Walker and Co. 7 Corn. London, (Africana Museum, Johannesburg).



Fig 57 Anon, **The Three Graces**, 1810, caption: To be seen at Whigling Rooms, Spring Gardens, engraving, (Africana Museum, Johannesburg).



Fig 58 Anon, **The Power of Beauty, or the Painter Enamoured**, 1810, (coloured) engraving, pub. McCleary, (Africana Museum, Johannesburg).



Fig 59 St. George Hare, **The Victory of Faith**, RA 1891, oil, 123,3 x 200cm, Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria, (Honour 1989: IV(2) 183).



Fig 60 **A Party of Hottentots**, 1855, engraving, printer: R. Clay, London, ***Society for the Propagation of the Gospel***, October 1855, (Cullen Library, University of the Witwatersrand).



Fig 61 **Am I not a Woman and a Sister?,** Female version of the emblem of the *Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade*, (Midgley 1992:99).



LONDON:

Fig 62 **Kafir Girls,** 1878, engraving from a photograph, published by George Bell and Sons, Convent Garden, in *The Gospel Missionary,* October 1878, (Cullen Library, University of the Witwatersrand).



Fig 61 **Am I not a Woman and a Sister?,** Female version of the emblem of the *Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade*, (Midgley 1992:99).



Kafir Girls. (*From a photograph.*)

LONDON:

Fig 62 **Kafir Girls,** 1878, engraving from a photograph, published by George Bell and Sons, Convent Garden, in *The Gospel Missionary,* October 1878, (Cullen Library, University of the Witwatersrand).



Fig 63 John Frederick Lewis, **The Harem**, c1876, oil on wood, 89 x 112cm, Birmingham, City Museum and Art Gallery, (Honour 1989: IV(2) 99).



Fig 64 Frederick Goodall, **A New Light in the Harem**, RA 1884, oil on canvas, 122,7 x 215,3cm, The Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool, (Verrier 1979: pl 33).



Fig 65 Edwin L. Long, **The Babylonian Marriage Market**, 1875, oil on canvas, 172,6 x 304,6cm, Royal Holloway College, (Chapel 1982: pl 41).



Fig 66 **Advertisement for Pears Soap**, 19th c., from *Illustrated London News*, (Mary Evans Picture Library, London).



Fig 67 Card game with the original **Golliwogg and the Dutch Dolls**, 1885, London, (Pieterse 1992: 156).



Fig 68 **'Golliwogg bound'** (left) and **'Golliwogg trenching'** (right), 1885 from the original *Golliwogg Card Game*, London, (Pieterse 1992: 156).

And his Mother was called Black Mumbo.



Fig 69 Helen Bannerman, 1899, *The Story of Little Black Sambo*, **Black Mambo**, page 9, London, Chatto and Windus.

And his Mother was called Black Mumbo.



Fig 69 Helen Bannerman, 1899, *The Story of Little Black Sambo*, **Black Mambo**, page 9, London, Chatto and Windus.

Author: Buntman Barbara.
Name of thesis: Images of the 'other'- the visual representation of African people as an indicator of socio-cultural values in nineteenth century England.

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