

DECIPHERING RACE

DECIPHERING RACE



*White Anxiety, Racial Conflict,
and the Turn to Fiction in Mid-Victorian
English Prose*

LAURA CALLANAN



THE OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY PRESS

Columbus

Copyright © 2006 by The Ohio State University.
All rights reserved.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
Callanan, Laura

Deciphering race : white anxiety, racial conflict, and the turn to fiction in mid-Victorian
English prose / Laura Callanan.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references (p.) and index.

ISBN 0-8142-1011-2 (alk. paper)—ISBN 0-8142-9089-2 (CD-ROM) 1. English fiction—
19th century—History and criticism. 2. Race in literature. 3. Literature and society—Great
Britain—History—19th century. 4. Race relations in literature. 5. Imperialism in literature.
6. Racism in literature. I. Title.

PR878.R34C35 2005

823'.8093552—dc22

2005018917

Cover design by Janna Thompson-Chordas.
Text design and typesetting by Jennifer Shoffey Forsythe.
Type set in Adobe Minion.
Printed by Thomson-Shore, Inc.

The paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of the American
National Standard for Information Sciences—Permanence of Paper for Printed Library
Materials. ANSI Z39.48-1992.

9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

CONTENTS



ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	vii
INTRODUCTION: Aestheticizing Mid-Victorian Racial Tropism	1
CHAPTER 1: Toussaint and the Staging of Political Aesthetics in Harriet Martineau's <i>The Hour and the Man</i> (1841)	21
CHAPTER 2: "Life Clothed in Forms": Radical Racism as Formalist Aesthetic in Robert Knox's <i>The Races of Men</i> (1850)	44
CHAPTER 3: The Dialectic of Scapegoat and Fetish: Failed Catharsis in Charles Dickens and Wilkie Collins's "The Perils of Certain English Prisoners" (1857)	76
CHAPTER 4: "So Help Me God, the Truth and Not the Truth": Hyper-Realism and the Taxonomy of Truth Seeking in the Royal Commission's Inquiry into the 1865 Jamaica Rebellion	96
CHAPTER 5: Race, Ruins, and Rebellion: Spatializing Racial Otherness in James Grant's <i>First Love and Last Love</i> (1868)	122
CONCLUSION: De-Aestheticizing Sara(h) Ba(a)rtman(n)	142
NOTES	159
BIBLIOGRAPHY	173
INDEX	181

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS



Completing this project would have been impossible without the help and support of many individuals and institutions. An Emory University Graduate Arts and Sciences Fellowship and a Dean's Teaching Fellowship provided me the time and support to get the project off the ground. A Mount Holyoke College Faculty Grant allowed me to complete my research. A Philip H. and Betty L. Wimmer Family Foundation grant and a National Endowment for the Humanities summer fellowship at Duquesne University allowed me to complete final revisions. The excellent staff of the Emory University Woodruff Library Interlibrary Loan Office, the Mount Holyoke College Library, and the Duquesne University Gumberg Library helped me find and obtain numerous documents and materials. The wonderful staff at The Ohio State University Press made the entire publication process from initial submission to final printing efficient and enlightening. In particular I want to thank Heather Lee Miller, Maggie Diehl, and Sandy Crooms, who each walked me through a stage in the process with grace and professionalism. I am very grateful to my research assistant, Ms. Heather Shippen, who worked tirelessly on the project during the final stages of manuscript preparation.

I have been the grateful recipient of support and advice from many fine scholars. Martine Brownley, John Sitter, and Michael Elliot all encouraged me during the project's initial gestation. Kate Nickerson's enthusiasm about the topic in its planning stages helped me to see the larger ramifications. Linda Dittmar helped shape my future research interests and continues to be a mentor and friend. Jerome Beaty guided the project through its early stages and provided valuable advice on its development. Margot Finn provided crucial feedback and suggestions, as well as a model for responsible and ethical mentoring. My debt to Walter Reed is incalculable.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

He provided pedagogical, intellectual, and professional guidance. I am particularly indebted to Christopher Lane, who generously shared with me his insights, vast knowledge, and intellectual discipline. The feedback provided by my colleagues in the British Studies Workshop at Emory University helped clarify my argument. My colleagues at Duquesne University—in particular, Linda Kinnahan, Daniel Watkins, and Magali Michael—have welcomed me into a dynamic intellectual community that has inspired and supported me over the past two years. The extraordinary graduate students in my seminar on Victorian racial representation at Duquesne University helped clarify my perspective on the materials discussed here.

I owe personal as well as professional debts of gratitude to Karen Poremski, Gale Elizabeth Pearce, Peter Logan, and Anne Brannen. Jennifer Nesbitt tirelessly read drafts, engaged with my conceptual and rhetorical struggles, and provided key insights throughout the revision process. Karen Cardozo-Kane's intellectual fearlessness continually pushes me to look deeper and more complexly. Danielle Mitchell supports and inspires me with her critical acuity and personal strength each day.

Finally, I am grateful to my parents, Harold Callanan and Isabella Callanan, for introducing me at an early age to the joys and rewards of intellectual exploration.

INTRODUCTION



Aestheticizing Mid-Victorian Racial Tropism

In the final pages of Frances Anne Kemble's *Journal of a Residence on a Georgian Plantation in 1838–1839*, in a chapter entitled “The Wreck of the *Pulaski*,” the author recounts the story of a shipwreck told to her by her neighbor, Mr. Couper. The steamship *Pulaski* sank June 14, 1838, about 150 miles off the coast of South Carolina. Very briefly, Kemble writes that at the first sound of the boiler exploding, Couper moved the two women and small boy for whom he was responsible into one of the lifeboats and then took charge of the boat, encouraging the men to continue rowing even when they were exhausted. As they began the difficult task of turning the lifeboat toward the coast and making their way to shore, Couper assigned each of the women, including a black woman, to an individual man who would be responsible for her safety. The boat then capsized as it made its way through the rough waters near shore, and everyone was thrown into the water. Kemble narrates that the man responsible for the safety of the black woman made it to shore having left her in the water. Couper, Kemble admiringly notes, even with the burden of saving Mrs. Nightingale, “had power of command enough left to drive the fellow back to seek her, which he did, and brought her safe to land” (Kemble, 340).

In John A. Scott's edition of the *Journal*, Scott notes that Kemble's account in general agrees with Couper's, as documented in a letter Couper wrote to his father immediately after the incident, in all but a few minor details.¹ However, it is in the most significant of the minor changes, I would argue, that we see evidence of Kemble's frustration and sense of futility with her ability to effect any change in the slave system: the events leading to the rescue of the unnamed black woman. In a footnote, we learn

not only that the incident had not occurred as rendered in Kemble's *Journal*, but also that in fact the slave woman had not even been in that particular lifeboat. Scott writes, "There is no mention, in Couper's original version, of this interesting detail about the Negro woman; as a matter of fact she had been transferred to the other lifeboat earlier in the day" (340, fn 5). There are two possible explanations for this change: either Couper told Kemble a different version of the events, or Kemble rewrote the incident to create a narrative in which a brave white man pressures another to honor his responsibility to a black woman.

Thus, Kemble either latched onto the story because of its reflection of a state of benevolent masculine paternalism she hoped to, but ultimately did not, find in Georgia, or she herself revised the tale to reflect that vision. In either case, the version of the shipwreck found in the *Journal* brings into reality a social dynamic she saw infrequently at best in her daily experience and that she hoped, as she expressed early in the *Journal*, to find more prevalent: "Nevertheless, I go prepared to find many mitigations in the practice to the general injustice and cruelty of the system" (11). These "mitigations" she never found. Instead, she creates or recreates a scene in which a brave white man turns a cowardly white man back into the water to save a black woman from death. This narrative adjustment allows Kemble to render the kinds of relationships between races and individuals that she is unable to achieve or discern in her daily confrontation with the slave system. Kemble uses the tale to compensate for her frustration and horror with the slave system and, increasingly over the narrative, with her husband's role in propagating that system, to create the racial dynamic that she hoped to be able to bring into being.

Kemble's rendering of this rescue occurs at the end of a narrative in which she is increasingly aware of the suffering of the slaves on the Butler properties, her husband's complicity with this exploitative system, and her own powerlessness to effect any real change for these people. At the beginning of the journal, in anticipation of her trip south, she famously declares her abhorrence for the system of slavery: "[a]ssuredly I *am* going prejudiced against slavery, for I am an Englishwoman, in whom the absence of such a prejudice would be disgraceful" (11, original italics). By the end of the text, after endless entreaties by slaves for food, clothing, relief from work, and extended rest after childbirth, to name just a few of the issues she hears about on a regular basis, Kemble finds herself angry, frustrated, and powerless. She is critically aware enough to be able to connect her own powerless position as a married woman in a situation of moral chaos with the slaves' inability to effect their own emancipation. And throughout the

journal, she repeatedly attempts to effect change in the material conditions of the slaves on the property. By the end of her visit, however, Kemble appears to become overwhelmed with the vast amount of suffering with which she is confronted on an hourly basis and with her inability to alleviate any of it.

As her sense of hopelessness grows, the narrative takes on an increasingly dreamlike quality. She takes more trips away from the grounds with her slave companion, Jack, and increasingly describes the environment as a blend of fictional and nonfictional elements:

I stopped for some time before a thicket of glittering evergreens, over which hung, in every direction, streaming garlands of these fragrant golden cups, fit for Oberon's banqueting service. These beautiful shrubberies were resounding with the songs of mocking-birds. I sat there on my horse in a sort of dream of enchantment, looking, listening, and inhaling the delicious atmosphere of those flowers; and suddenly my eyes opened, as if I had been asleep, on some bright red bunches of spring leaves on one of the winter-stripped trees, and I as suddenly thought of the cold Northern skies and earth, where the winter was still inflexibly tyrannizing over you all, and, in spite of the loveliness of all that was present, and the harshness of all that I seemed to see at that moment, no first tokens of the spring's return were ever more welcome to me than those bright leaves that reminded me how soon I should leave this scene of material beauty and moral degradation, where the beauty itself is of an appropriate character to the human existence it surrounds: above all, loveliness, brightness, and fragrance; but below! it gives one a sort of Melusina feeling of horror—all swamp and poisonous stagnation, which the heat will presently make alive with venomous reptiles. (226)

This fascinating passage vividly displays the ways in which Kemble's confrontation with the realities of slavery, and with her failure to carry out the changes she planned on the trip down to Georgia, precipitate a turn to fiction. Kemble, one of the foremost actresses of her time, blends Shakespearian allusions, with which she was so intimately familiar, with descriptions of the lush natural environment of Georgia and thoughts of the harsher Northeastern countryside in which resides Elizabeth Dwight Sedgewick, the addressee of the letters that constitute the journal. The performative rhetoric, evident throughout Kemble's writings, begins to break down as she yokes together a range of images to try to describe her state of mind. Kemble finds herself in a sentimentalized moment of

“enchantment,” reminiscent of her famous description of her first ride on the new railway so frequently anthologized. However, here the momentary static state of “enchantment” leads to Kemble’s expression of being caught between conflicting experiences of horror and beauty, even as she lives in a moment in which different geographies of north and south, representative of her horror and repulsion at the slave system, blend in her mind. Her thoughts drift to a time when she will leave the plantation and the moral, familial, and emotional chaos it has produced.

In other words, as Kemble becomes increasingly aware of the complexity of slave psychology, and of her position within the hierarchy as the mistress of the plantation and thus the target of incessant pleading, she begins to aestheticize her reality, both as an escape from the horrors of the plantation and as a palette with which to express her ideals. As Kemble’s faith in her ability to effect change on the plantation falters, she turns to the aesthetic in order to assuage a sense of anxiety produced by a confrontation with racial otherness and systemic oppression. This narrative method reveals a state of white bourgeois anxiety—where Kemble confronts her inability to bring into reality her goals for social transformation and, at the same time, becomes aware of and overwhelmed by the interlacing of gender, class, sexual, and racial oppressions. Her naïve belief that she would be able to use her position as benevolent slave mistress to dismantle the structures of oppression erodes even as she becomes the target of pleadings and requests throughout each day. Thus she finds herself slowly extricating herself from the realities of oppression and suffering on the plantation as she more frequently rambles about the estate with Jack.

This book explores five texts in which a white English author or character turns to the aesthetic in order to assuage a sense of anxiety produced by a confrontation with racial otherness. These moments reveal an anxiety of indeterminacy—where white characters or narrators confront the limitations of preconceived ideologies or the interlacing of oppressions, and subsequently falter. This is not a psychoanalytic study, but instead a narrative exploration—looking at the ways white anxiety, when confronted with racial otherness, manifests itself in narrative. Although I do refer to psychoanalytic concepts, especially in my discussion of fetishism, in general I agree with Judith Halberstam that “[w]ithin modern Western culture, we are disciplined through a variety of social and political mechanisms into psychoanalytic relations and then psychoanalytic explanations are deployed to totalize our submission” (Halberstam, 9). Rather than follow this route, I am more interested in unpacking the ways in which the narrative turn to the aesthetic in writings by white English individuals reveals

instability in the cultural understanding of race at mid-century. I am interested in continuing the project pointed to by Toni Morrison in *Playing in the Dark*: “But equally valuable is a serious intellectual effort to see what racial ideology does to the mind, imagination, and behavior of masters” (Morrison, 12). In the texts I discuss, white writers confront the complexity, indeterminacy, and irrationality of both racial difference and the systems put in place to understand that difference.

When I say that white authors and characters turn to the aesthetic, I use that term in a broader sense than is perhaps common. The term, in my study, refers to standards of form and genre, systems of social evaluation that contribute to producing the beautiful, and issues of desire and compatibility. The interrelationship between aesthetic ideologies and racial categories runs deep in the Enlightenment philosophies that underpin the Victorian social plan. Emmanuel Chukwudi Eze argues, in the introduction to *Race and the Enlightenment: A Reader*, that the concept of aesthetics was central to the creation of a racial hierarchy in Enlightenment thought (Eze, 98). There is a sense of prescriptiveness as well as judgment implied in the aesthetic that speaks to the relationship between aesthetic issues and structures of social stratification. So, for example, when Matthew Lewis describes the slave woman Mary Wiggins in *Journal of a West India Proprietor* (1834), he creates an explicit connection between race, objectification, and the realm of art: “I really think that her form and features were the most *statue-like* that I ever met with [. . .] Mary Wiggins and an old Cotton-tree are the most picturesque objects that I have seen for these twenty years” (Lewis, 46–47). Later, we will see Robert Knox, the notorious racial scientist, make the same connections while sitting in the British Museum gazing upon the Elgin marbles and musing upon his recollections of the *Venus Génitrix* viewed in the Jardin des Plantes.

In *The Ideology of the Aesthetic*, Terry Eagleton argues that the sense of flexibility in aesthetic criteria enhances its ability to function in relationship with social conflicts and structures of power:

But if the aesthetic returns with such persistence, it is partly because of a certain indeterminacy of definition which allows it to figure in a varied span of preoccupations: freedom and legality, spontaneity and necessity, self-determination, autonomy, particularity and universality, along with several others. My argument, broadly speaking, is that the category of the aesthetic assumes the importance it does in modern Europe because in speaking of art it speaks of these other matters too, which are at the heart of the middle class’s struggle for political hegemony. The construction of

the modern notion of the aesthetic artifact is thus inseparable from the construction of the dominant ideological forms of modern class-society, and indeed from a whole new form of human subjectivity appropriate to that social order. (Eagleton, 3)

Looking more specifically at the issue of race, Nancy Stepan argues that the evaluative criteria for beauty changed in relation to blackness as English culture became more invested in exploiting Africans for material gain: “Slowly blackness itself, which in the ancient world had often been associated with positive qualities such as physical or moral beauty, came to be associated negatively with the degraded condition of slavery. Eventually, a black skin was taken as a ‘natural,’ outward sign of inward mental and moral inferiority. The association between blackness and inferiority produced by racial slavery was grafted onto an earlier, primarily literary tradition, in which blackness and whiteness comprised the terms of a binary opposition” (Stepan, xii).

Stepan outlines the ways in which the evaluative criteria contributing to a definition of the beautiful changed in order to suggest an inferiority that justified exploitation. *Deciphering Race* is concerned with the structural, political, and thematic dynamics evident in moments in which racial discourse comes into direct confrontation with aesthetic issues. Connections between the body, the beautiful, the political, and racial categorization are central to my analysis.

My study works from the premise that mid-Victorian racial discourse was often tropological. By this statement, I mean that a series of rhetorical figures developed, with which writers conveyed shorthand allusions to complex social negotiations taking place within the culture. These figures took a variety of forms, including symbols, narrative patterns, historical events, and geographical locations. In *Rule of Darkness* (1988), Patrick Brantlinger notes how the figure of Nana Sahib became synecdochical for the 1857 Indian Rebellion (202–3). I argue that this linguistic phenomenon was more widespread, and that its prevalence reveals how the term “race” became imbued with a constellation of meanings and controversies during the period. These tropes themselves became what Mary Louise Pratt terms “‘contact zones,’ social spaces where disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination” (4). Informing my argument is Hayden White’s work on the tropological nature of historical narratives, especially in *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (1975) and *Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism* (1978).

I contend that it is from within these structures that we can begin to understand the social transformation of racial attitudes that took place in Victorian culture. And it is anxieties about these changes that reveal themselves in the broader turn to the aesthetic that brings these tropes into relief. For, as Paul Gilroy argues, “[r]acism does not, of course, move tidily and unchanged through time and history. It assumes new forms and articulates new antagonisms in different situations” (11). Many scholars argue that English attitudes about race underwent a radical transformation during this period. Eric Hobsbawm observes that “racism pervades the thought” of this time “to an extent hard to appreciate today, and not always easy to understand” (267). Catherine Hall asserts that “[b]y the 1850s [. . .] thinking about race was shifting away from ideas of black men and women as brothers and sisters, to a racial vocabulary of biological difference” (Hall, *Civilising Subjects*, 21). Late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century humanitarian arguments, which led to the abolition of the slave trade and, later, of slavery itself, lost influence in midcentury England, only to be replaced by violently derogatory racial representations fueling an increasingly zealous imperial project.

Early in Book IV of George Eliot’s *Daniel Deronda*, we find a particularly vivid example of the aestheticizing of this tropological structure. In this scene, dinner conversation takes an abrupt turn towards Governor Edward Eyre’s recent actions to suppress the Morant Bay Rebellion in Jamaica. Participants in the discussion express a variety of opinions about the event, revealing a range of attitudes and stereotypes about Africans, Jamaica, colonialism, and racial representation circulating in mid-Victorian English culture:

Grandcourt held that the Jamaican negro was a beastly sort of baptist Caliban; Deronda said he had always felt a little with Caliban, who naturally had his own point of view and could sing a good song; Mrs Davilow observed that her father had an estate in Barbadoes, but that she herself had never been in the West Indies; Mrs Torrington was sure she should never sleep in her bed if she lived among blacks; her husband corrected her by saying that the blacks would be manageable enough if it were not for the half-breeds; and Deronda remarked that the whites had to thank themselves for the half-breeds. (Eliot, 331)

This passage condenses into a brief moment a startlingly diverse set of perspectives on racial issues in one easily deployed conversational exchange.² Equally curious is its abrupt emergence and disappearance in the course of

the novel's plot. Eliot uses the historical moment of cultural conflict spurred by the Governor Eyre controversy as a complex racial trope that provides a vehicle for communicating identifying information about characters. It also speaks to Eliot's understanding that her readers would be familiar with the context of events and would recognize the representative positions taken by each of the characters. The author is thus able to use the controversial event to suggest personality characteristics for each of the dinner guests. Grandcourt, the cold, brutal future husband of Gwendolen, has little sympathy for the blacks. Sensitive Deronda sympathizes with Caliban in his outcast status, and at the same time employs conventional stereotypes of the African as, for instance, musical. The superficial women express ties with the West Indian planter society and fears of black savagery, including reference to the geographical displacement between the economic benefits reaped in the imperial center and the exploitation upon which those benefits are predicated. The passage ends with a thinly veiled, yet nonetheless startling, reference to miscegenation and interracial rape. The movement between these positions is essentially metonymic, with one leading to the other in an unstable ricochet between positionalities. By unpacking the implied arguments embedded within tropes such as the Governor Eyre controversy, we can view the array of views and points of contention that fueled and transformed the ideological climate of English culture during the mid-Victorian period. Moments such as the one in Eliot's novel signal the power of representations of racial conflict to figuratively spark and contain a collection of ideas, positions, and attitudes about race in Victorian culture. It is the purpose of this study to model a reading strategy for explicating the complex systems of meanings evident in such moments.

Contemporary scholars have given significant attention to the question of race as a tropological phenomenon. Douglas Lorimer's study of the overlap of class and race in mid-Victorian England, *Colour, Class and the Victorians* (1978), points out the interconnectedness of these factors within the figure of the "Negro." In a discussion of the significance of the Governor Eyre controversy, for example, Lorimer argues that, by the 1860s, "disputes about the Negro became a jousting ground for rival social and political philosophies. The transformation in English racial attitudes was not simply a response to the demands of imperial rule, but an extension into the Empire of social and political attitudes moulded within the changing environment of mid-Victorian England" (200).

The figure of the "Negro" became a symbol for an array of social issues connected with race in Victorian culture, including labor relations, immi-

gration, class definitions, and emancipation. In addition, public reaction to the Governor Eyre controversy precipitated a breakdown in the social and legal distinctions between the metropolis and the colony. Often during the first half of the nineteenth century, these social, legal, and geographical distinctions dynamically interacted within metaphors of racial and biological determinism.

Henry Louis Gates, Jr. suggests that race itself is a trope that brings together a virtually limitless collection of characteristics under its umbrella: “Race has become a trope of ultimate, irreducible difference between cultures, linguistic groups, or adherents of specific belief systems which—more often than not—also have fundamentally opposed economic interests. Race is the ultimate trope of difference because it is so very arbitrary in its application” (Gates, *“Race,” Writing, and Difference*, 5). My study builds on Lorimer’s and Gates’s observations to suggest that a range of individual tropes emerged rooted in historical, cultural, and philosophical conflicts about race in Victorian England. To decipher these tropes is to gain a window into the complexity of Victorian racial attitudes, social ideologies, and strategies of representation.

I am not suggesting that writers simply reduced a limitless collection of factors to an all-encompassing ideology of race. Quite the opposite: social controversies exist in active dialogue within a range of tropes with which authors engaged on these issues. The aestheticizing of these factors helped produce texts in which racial themes intersect within fractured and disjointed narratives, thus illustrating Christopher Lane’s point that racial representations are not limited by a need for logic (2). Racial texts are often conflicted and irrational, and those very conflicts give us the opportunity to examine the complex array of elements within each figure. I do not argue that by providing a careful, formal analysis of texts engaged with race, we can find the inconsistencies and therefore undermine their ability to hold social and discursive power. I am suggesting, instead, that the irrational, conflicted nature of these texts was part of their representation, that the power of racial rhetoric lies in its ability to outlast the formal exigencies of reason. Race is an irrational, yet powerful, ubiquitous, and persistent concept.

This study adds to current scholarship on nineteenth-century racial tropes by identifying and further explicating a range of tropes that have received varying degrees of critical attention, within the context of uses of and references to issues of the aesthetic. It is this combination of factors that this study seeks to explore as a way into the ideological complex in which race was produced. Chapter 1 examines how Haiti and Toussaint

L'Ouverture became complicated and multivalent signifiers in early nineteenth-century writing. This analysis then fuels a close explication of the way both tropes function in Harriet Martineau's abolitionist novel *The Hour and the Man* (1841), and, more particularly, in her overt dramatic staging of the various issues at work in the St. Domingo Revolution. Martineau's novel is a fictional biography of Toussaint, leader of the slave rebellion that resulted in Haiti's independence. Two issues become centrally important in my examination of this little-discussed work: Martineau's paradoxical emphasis on historical accuracy, despite her decision to eradicate the British presence in the fight to quell the rebellion; and an intriguing scene near the end of the novel, in which interpretation itself is represented as a metafictional key to understanding her text. In my discussion of both issues, I argue that Martineau's abolitionist political stance fuels her desire to turn Toussaint into a symbol of African potential, to make him as European as possible, and to delete any information that could possibly alienate readers. Martineau uses Haiti as a standard for black self-determinacy and potential. Additionally, my discussion of Martineau's use of interpretive indeterminacy suggests that this abolitionist text ironically relies on the very irrationality that often glues together racist texts. This binding force is often more comfortably attributed to texts with radically racist agendas, because it indicates their unreasonableness. However, no such easy distinction exists in mid-Victorian representations of race.

Deciphering Race then elaborates on Gates's observation that race itself functions as the ultimate trope of difference by looking at the term in the most notorious of anthropological and scientific studies, Robert Knox's *The Races of Men* (1850). Often considered to be one of the most extreme of the "scientific" racists, Knox declares that race should be understood as the determining factor of all human history. In this way, "race" became a term containing virtually unlimited explanatory power. Knox's text ends with a consideration of the importance of art in understanding race. "Race" functions throughout the text as both an empty and an overloaded signifier. The paradox of Knox's text is that it insists on the biological inability of particular races to coexist within the same political system, thus offering, through its segregationist rhetoric, a compelling critique of the imperialist project. This paradox explains why Knox views the St. Domingo Revolution as a failure; Africans, he suggests, are not able to live within European social systems, and so should be left alone. Contradictions in his presentation, however, become resolved and obfuscated by the concluding recourse to issues of aesthetics and beauty.

Chapter 3 examines the fetish as a particular type of racial trope in Charles Dickens and Wilkie Collins's 1857 Christmas story, "The Perils of Certain English Prisoners." Dickens consciously allegorized the events of the 1857 Indian Rebellion in this pirate tale set in South America. Within the fetish, the figures of metaphor and metonymy work together to produce a dialectic of identification and disavowal that speaks to the issues at work in discourses about events in India. Homi K. Bhabha argues that "the fetish represents the simultaneous play between metaphor as substitution (marking absence and difference) and metonymy (which contiguously registers the perceived lack)" (98). Race, at this time, was often seen as an ever-increasing collection of boundary crises about social, structural, and generic criteria. Dickens and Collins depict colonials transgressing traditional expectations of behavior in order to maintain the alleged integrity of their national identity. The conflict in a colonial outpost gives both authors' characters the opportunity to move beyond social norms, but only in the service of eradicating or outwitting the pirate demon bent on destroying both the colonials and the British way of life. "Perils" concludes with a catharsis that attempts to resolve the cultural rage triggered by the Indian Rebellion. The colonials humiliate a treacherous pirate demon, and a heroic British officer kills a traitorous black servant. I argue that these two figures function in the story as racialized fetishes, the eradication of which suggests an attempt at narrative closure. Ultimately, however, the two scenes fail to provide a sense of fictional resolution.

Turning then to governmental discourse, chapter 4 addresses the way the term "truth" functions as an implicit trope in the transcript of the Royal Commission's inquiry into the events of the Morant Bay Rebellion in Jamaica. Perhaps more than any other event over the course of the century, the Governor Eyre controversy polarized the British public, thus explaining the lack of contextual grounding needed by Eliot when she deploys the event in her novel. The transcript of the British government's inquiry into Eyre's actions is an exceedingly detailed set of documents, including hundreds of pages of interview sessions conducted with innumerable persons from the island's different communities. In my discussion of this text, I use the term aesthetic to speak to the rigid generic parameters governing the structure of the inquiry and its resulting text. Owing to a particularly acute Victorian belief in the ability to obtain the truth, the Royal Commission's transcript superimposes the hyperrational format of governmental inquiry with testimonies from a wide range of witnesses. The various social and economic positions of the witnesses partly determined individual testimony and the ability of the Royal Commission to

establish what they considered the real facts of the situation. An examination of this text, therefore, gives us an opportunity to address the figurative construction of “truth” and its place in the development of racial and social ideologies. When the British government tried to be most rational, the entire enterprise paradoxically collapsed into virtual meaninglessness.

My final chapter examines the trope of the ruin site in James Grant’s *First Love and Last Love* (1868). Written in the midst of the Governor Eyre controversy, Grant’s novel is a fiercely jingoist portrayal of the 1857 Indian Rebellion. Like Martineau’s novel, this text conveys the violent repercussions of racial rebellion from the perspective of its fighting participants. Both texts also engage more broadly with violence, as well as with nationalism and the centrality of women in colonial conflict. The main protagonist, Jack Harrower, carries with him a drawing of his home in England, and he turns to it for comfort in the midst of the chaos, as represented by the ruin sites in which he and the heroine of the novel take shelter. Grant’s use of the ruin scene—an image common to racial narratives during the period, and one I trace throughout this project—suggests a conflation of the domestic and colonial environments and functions as the spatialized racial other to Harrower’s drawing of home. Central to this dynamic is the figure of the Englishwoman and the trope of rape as articulated by Sara Suleri, Jenny Sharpe, and Nancy Paxton. Through his use of the raped and terrorized white female, Grant exploits exaggerated reports of widespread rape of white women by Indian men as a way to trigger rage against the Indian population. The conflation in his novel of violence, female exploitation, foreign danger, the domestic, and ruin structures creates a mood similar to one recurring in Gothic novels of the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century, suggesting an earlier manifestation of what Brantlinger has called the “imperial Gothic.”

In the conclusion, I look at the recent return of the remains of Sara(h) Ba(a)rtman(n) and explore this event as a possible way in which we can begin to remove the image of the racial other from the realm of the aesthetic and return to it the dignity and respect accorded to all human beings. Throughout this study, I have chosen to illustrate the fractured identities of this woman by rendering her name Sara(h) Ba(a)rtman(n). This strategy keeps before me the multiple identities and constructions of this woman’s life as well as the anatomized and divided way her body was treated, both as a public spectacle and as an object for scientific dissection. Elements of her name are separated off in much the same way that parts of her body were isolated to prove her inferiority, aberrant nature, and radical difference from those who examined her. Ultimately, I argue that

Ba(a)rtman(n)'s life stands as a powerful example of the failure of Enlightenment scientific rationalism's aestheticizing and anatomizing project to produce any real, ethical, or useful knowledge about racial difference.

My interest in the aesthetics of Victorian racial tropism stems from a fascination with both the content and the underlying structure and dynamics of these resilient figures. We can understand a trope as a particularly complex sign, in which the space between the signifier and the signified works within the logic of a range of relationships, depending on the trope employed. In a simple metaphor, for example, a relationship of equivalence is set up between a sign and a signifier, based on an uncommon similarity embedded in their respective meanings. The space where the transaction occurs, and the bodies of information that intersect to create the equivalence, is of particular interest to me. Critics describe this tropic transaction between signifier and signified in a variety of ways. In Hayden White's analysis, tropes are "linguistic containers" holding a collection of complex, contested, and often irrational ideas about social distinction. Thus, for White, the space of tropic transaction is demarcated as a closed and finite one that contains a variety of linguistic negotiations. In his discussion of poetic figures, Gérard Genette suggests that what is important is not so much the container, to use White's term, but the gap, or space, implied by the boundaries of that container: "We see that here, between the letter and the meaning, between what the poet has *written* and what he *thought*, there is a gap, a space, and like all space, it possesses a form" (47).

What is intriguing about the example from Eliot's *Daniel Deronda* is that the moment, in essence, is a rendering of the world of the gap or the container. The figure, the Eyre crisis, is aestheticized in order to create firmer characterizations of the primary personages in the novel. Within the text, the trope is used as a way to delineate the ethical and moral differences between characters. But the event is not named specifically, and the resulting conclusions are not stated baldly. What we get is the dynamics of the gap—the various conflicting ideas, attitudes, and beliefs brought into interaction in cultural understandings of Eyre's decisions in Jamaica. The complex linguistic negotiations contained in the gap between signifier and signified, evident in tropic structure, parallels the service racial tropes provide to the cultures in question. Central to each of the texts I examine is the problem of racial conflict or unrest. The appearance of tropes speaks to the attempt to bridge the gap between the two cultures. As White argues, "Metaphors are crucially necessary when a culture or social

group encounters phenomena that either elude or run afoul of normal expectations or quotidian experiences” (*Tropics*, 184). Metaphors, in other words, provide a space where the characteristics of the two conflicting systems are brought together in the service of finding commonality or producing momentary dialogue. The contained nature of the moment in Eliot’s novel also harkens back to Edward Said’s famous reading of *Mansfield Park* in *Culture and Imperialism*. Said powerfully illustrates the importance of these moments for understanding the crucial ways the colonial environment underpins the cultural representations put forth in the nineteenth-century realist novel. I suggest that these moments, these discrete references to racial unrest and colonial economic structures, function tropically in Victorian writing. They provide a bridge between cultures in conflict. All of the texts I examine have at their root the problem of racial conflict in places such as Haiti, India, and Jamaica. The appearance of tropic structures as a way to represent conflicting cultural and value systems is to be expected.

I argue that the dramatic enactment of racial tropes also implies a simultaneous call to interpretation. Eliot’s reference to competing perspectives on the Governor Eyre crisis provides a trope that allows Eliot to bridge the differences between her characters, to bring together a wide variety of viewpoints on the crisis itself, and to create a momentary link between England and Jamaica. The moment also has built within itself the process of interpretive reflection. By having this moment abruptly appear and disappear, the text draws attention to the constructedness of the trope as a vehicle in itself; the trope encourages the reader both to understand the discussion as representative of the cultural crisis and to see the discussion itself as, in a sense, modeling the type of reflection that such events should precipitate. Certainly, the discussion of the event is not complex—positions would appear to align with the social and economic positions of the particular characters in question. But the encapsulation of these diverse viewpoints into this moment suggests the nature of social conflict and the ways in which rather simplistically formed attitudes have global ramifications. This reality in itself suggests, in chilling starkness, the connection between dinner table and colonial outpost.

In Victorian racial tropism, a complex array of controversies about categories of social stratification became reduced to one succinct reference. Race was a flash point for many social questions in mid-Victorian England: the rise of scientific racism; the expansion of the colonial project; the increasing instability of the conventional social hierarchy; anxieties about miscegenation; changing ideas about what constitutes “English-

ness”; and increasing colonial unrest. As the public became impatient with repeated outbreaks of violence in the colonies, domestic controversies dovetailed with accounts of these rebellions, greatly increasing racial animosity in the 1850s and 1860s. Abolitionist rhetoric, which held so much moral authority and popular support during the early part of the century, came under harsh attack as the economic problems of the newly emancipated West Indies and the conflict over slavery in the American context reached critical levels. The movement toward more democratic social relations weakened traditional social boundaries. Agitation by working-class populations, especially in the late 1840s and early 1850s, widening opportunities for women, and deteriorating distinctions among social classes—all these factors contributed to a growing concern about the security of social position, a concern that revealed itself in the tropes Victorian writers used to represent these issues.

The types of information boiled down within these tropes can be divided into three general categories: reports of the events of particular uprisings in the colonial context, such as the St. Domingo Revolution of the 1790s and the Indian Rebellion of 1857; accounts of the erosion of traditional boundaries, such as class and gender, in the metropolitan context; and studies of race and colonialism in historical, scientific, and travel writing. Often, especially in overtly political discourse, we find the same tropes used by speakers from different ideological positions. However, the complexity of ideological dynamics at work in the trope’s structure allows for the manipulation of positions, so that the images or signs can take on very different valences. For example, during Parliamentary debates about the abolition of slavery, a Member of Parliament invoking Haiti could suggest one of two very different responses: Britons’ fear of native attack in the colonial territories, or humanistic belief in the ability of the African people to rise to a level of self-determination equivalent to that of the Britons. Either belief, depending on context, could be suggested simply by mentioning the event. This procedure—transforming historical events into tropes condensing a wide array of cultural fears and concerns—occurred not only with the establishment of Haiti, but also with Emancipation, the 1857 Indian Rebellion, and, to a lesser extent, the 1865 Governor Eyre Controversy.

The significance of racial tropism extends beyond formal issues of representation to the ethical dynamics involved in critical examinations of these structures. In other words, the structure of the trope presents us with an ethical quandary: on the one hand, it allows for the communication of a range of viewpoints in one terse reference. When Lorimer refers to the

figure of the “Negro,” or Brantlinger to “Nana Sahib,” they allude to a constellation of issues, drives, and complexities surrounding these figures vividly illustrated in the passage from Eliot’s novel. On the other hand, alluding to a trope also allows for a certain critical distance, permitting both critic and reader to remain outside the ethically fraught situation of confronting the complexity of racist rhetoric. It is easy, in other words, to remain outside the complex convergences illustrated in the range of perspectives embedded in these structures. To engage with a racial text, such as Robert Knox’s *The Races of Men*, can produce anxiety in critics whose main ideological agenda is to dismantle the structures of racial oppression that still exist in Western society today. Fueled by the need to maintain a posture of judgment against the text’s offensive racial typology, critics generally veer away from such issues as Knox’s critique of imperialism because of the bizarre and faulty logic at the heart of the argument. However, I argue that conflicting ideological and ethical positions are part and parcel of racial tropism, whether in a liberal, abolitionist novel, or in an offensively racist, anthropological treatise. This interpretive crisis ties more generally into the process of formalist analysis. British Cultural Studies critics such as Stuart Hall often criticize American cultural critics for their emphasis on deconstruction, arguing that structural analyses do not take into consideration questions of ethics, given their ahistoricist focus on linguistic play. By adding to this opinion the problem of racist rhetoric, which seems to require an emphatic declaration of abhorrence, the process of structurally analyzing racist rhetoric quickly becomes suspect. This study suggests the overlap of the two—the marriage of close textual analysis and an overtly ethically focused project requires the articulation of an ideal of community toward which the work moves. Progressive methodologies have often given up the question of ethics to more conservative and traditional critics—this concept needs to be reclaimed.

Ethical positioning results from the speaker’s, narrator’s, or author’s control over a particular instance of deployment. Daniel R. Schwarz argues that “[r]epresentation of the relationship between author and reader is representation of an ethical relationship” (188). He continues: “If selfawareness of oneself and one’s relationship to family and community—including one’s responsibilities, commitments, and values—is part of the ethical life, then reading contributes to greater self-understanding. Reading complements one’s experience by enabling us to live lives beyond those we live and experience emotions that are not ours; it heightens one’s perspicacity by enabling us to watch *figures*—tropes, that is, personifications of our fellow humans—who are not ourselves, but like ourselves” (Schwarz, 195).

Eliot, for example, activates and stages a representative set of arguments about the Morant Bay Rebellion and presents them to the reader. It is, therefore, in the interaction among the author, narrator, trope, text, reader, and cultural context that we can discern a particular interpretation of a trope. It was when examining this transaction that I began to think about the ethical problems posed by the use of this structure to convey social controversies. Influenced by the critique of leftist liberalism carried out by many in the Critical Race Theory movement, my study looks at the ways in which the seeds of overtly racist ideas are to be found in liberal abolitionist rhetoric. I focus on white writers in order to understand better the dynamics of imperial discourse on race and, more specifically, to understand what led an overwhelmingly white culture, fueled by liberal ideologies and abolitionist rhetoric, to move in the direction of vehement scientific racism. I set out to understand the essential irrationality at the heart of white racial discourse. What I found was that when these writers employ a tropic structure to convey ideas about race, they implicitly convey a wide range of ideologies, as illustrated in the passage from Eliot's novel. The ultimate meaning to be derived from a particular usage relies on narrative emphasis to bring out one or another of the viewpoints implied in the trope. What is fascinating about Eliot's passage is that she uses the range in the service of character elucidation, and she implies her own ethical position regarding the events by means of the varying levels of ethical validity implied in her characters. Although Deronda, the character with the most ethical legitimacy, feels sympathy for the African residents, his sympathy is filtered through one of the most fraught racial touchstones in literature—Caliban. Thus there are no clear supporters for the rebellion, and the text's concern without clear support is balanced by the novel's treatment of Jewish identity. Although individuals (Mirah, the Jamaican Rebel, and Caliban) may have admirable qualities, the groups (Jewish and African) as a whole gain little support in the presentation. In fact, Eliot's revisionist understanding of Jewish identity in the metropolis points more clearly to an argument about class and cultural assimilation than about ethnicity and religion. The "good" Jewish characters, in other words, have identities and manners in keeping with conventional, middle-class cultural values.

This study is not intended to be an exhaustive examination of racial representation in the period. Rather, each chapter presents a detailed analysis of one work in which authors attend to issues of form in such a way as to stage the deployment of racial tropes. I then place this discursive moment within its cultural context. This contextual work provides an

understanding of the central debates about race at the time of the text's production and circulation; it also provides a broader model for reading representations of difference in Victorian writing. These central debates are often revealed in moments when the issue of the aesthetic becomes explicit, thus revealing the system of tropes at work, tropes which reduced to linguistic shorthand different and conflicting elements of the development of cultural attitudes and beliefs about race. Thomas McLaughlin argues that our basic cognitive procedures are interwoven with these tropes, which become so prevalent as to seem critically undetectable: "We come to think by means of figures worn smooth, made invisible" (86). McLaughlin suggests that "[f]igures convince . . . not by a strictly logical presentation but by an appeal to the irrational, the part of the mind that delights in their multiple meanings and deep reassurances" (88). In textual analyses, we study these tropes in order to unravel how cultural issues are reduced to succinct references, signifying such complex and conflicted categories as racial difference. This contextual work helps illuminate the particular tropological structures underpinning much racial rhetoric in mid-Victorian England—structures that continue to haunt British and American racial discourse today.

My goal in conducting this type of analysis is threefold: to explore issues of race and aesthetics; to understand how they are built out of the structural complexity of racial tropism and the conditions and ramifications of figurative deployment; and to comprehend the ways in which these controversies have a stranglehold on our way of understanding cross-racial conflict and communication. Increasingly, postcolonial and nineteenth-century scholars are focusing on alternative paradigms of knowledge and consciousness at work in the colonial environment. A critical shift from understanding these alternative epistemologies as outside of the Western master narrative, to understanding them as part of the construction of the narrative, may perhaps produce tools to help dismantle Western discursive authority structures. Collections such as *After Colonialism* (1995), edited by Gyan Prakash, and *Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge* (1996), by Bernard Cohn, engage with the epistemological paradigms and historical specificities of the colonial environment so as to disempower the discursive authority of conventional Western histories. *Deciphering Race* aims to contribute to this dialogue by unpacking the tropological structures in which English Victorians—and many contemporary critics—talk about race. The local analyses in my study model a reading strategy that encourages students and critics alike not simply to identify tropes of race, but also to look fearlessly at the ambiguous inter-

nal structures and arguments in the tropes' mechanisms. The methodology is in keeping with what Stuart Hall argues is the turn towards "ethnicity" which "acknowledges the place of history, language, and culture in the construction of subjectivity and identity, as well as the fact that all discourse is placed, positioned, situated, and all knowledge is contextual" (168). "Ethnicity" brings postmodern emphases on heterogeneity to bear on what is at times a monolithic concept of "race." Whereas Hall's work looks at contemporary British cultures and calls for the need "to *decouple* ethnicity, as it functions in the dominant discourse, from its equivalence with nationalism, imperialism, racism and the state" (169, original italics), my goal is to suggest one way that this coupling took place, and to show that the use of tropes to discuss race helped, in a sense, to solidify this link. This crucial textual work allows us to unmask the irrationality of these discursive structures, and to begin to understand how race functions as a battleground for a myriad of social issues at work in the culture in which it is deployed.

Anthony E. Cook, in his article on the development of Martin Luther King's vision of human community, argues that "I believe the postmodern preoccupation with deconstruction is but a precursor to serious reflection on how we should live in community" (101). The project is fueled by what I see as the ethical imperative to help dismantle structures of oppression, specifically in the languages we use to represent those different from ourselves. I use the term "deconstruction" not in any dogmatic way, but instead to suggest the process Gayatri Spivak articulates. She asserts that deconstruction "simply questions the privileging of identity so that someone is believed to have the truth. It is not the exposure of error. It is constantly and persistently looking into how truths are produced" (Spivak, 27). Tropes have the ability to reveal and obscure at the same time. A variety of ideas, perspectives, and ideologies become imbued within these "contact zones," and depending on the viewpoint of the one deploying the trope, and the aesthetic, historical, political, geographical, and discursive context in which it appears, different constellations of meanings become activated. As I stated earlier, unpacking these tropes will not immediately dismantle their power. The strategy of aesthetically rendering racial tropism, the phenomenon of reducing complexity into images and symbols that contain and maintain the controversies, is still at work in contemporary British and American culture. Our political and media machines thrive on the ability to create scapegoats and define geographical entities as Other in order to reduce difficult historical and cultural differences into easy binaries of good and evil. I argue, however, that the dynamics of the

original controversies are not lost—rather, they exist to be unpacked within the obscured meanings embedded within the signs.

To recognize the signifier “race” as a “linguistic container” in which battles rage regarding a constellation of social crises is to begin to understand why productive cultural movement away from racial typologies still eludes us. *Deciphering Race* provides reading strategies for moving beyond the identification of the tropes and themes by which Victorian culture conducted discussions about race to examine both the structure and ramifications of the figurative strategy. In this way, my hope is that this series of readings will help us to see how figurative structures, while providing a bridge between different cultures and epistemologies, also reinforce a distance that keeps groups separate. Only by disentangling these structures, by addressing and unpacking our assumptions and narratives about those different from ourselves, and by understanding our deep cultural anxiety and investment in these ways of talking about one another, can we begin to create the conditions for productive, local understanding between different cultures, races, and communities.

NOTES



Notes to Introduction

1. See footnote 4 on page 33 of Scott's edition of the *Journal*.
2. As Gillian Beer suggests, it is not surprising that Eliot would address racial conflicts directly: "Descent, development, and race are central to *Daniel Deronda*" (Beer, 182).

Notes to Chapter 1

1. See "Past and Present State of Hayti," *Quarterly Review* 21 (1819): 430–60. Note that this citation information differs from that found in the Appendix to the novel. The titles are the same, however, and there are no similar articles at the location Martineau cites.

2. Her topic also suggests an affinity with Victorian writings about the French Revolution, such as Thomas Carlyle's *History of the French Revolution* (1837), Karl Marx's *The Communist Manifesto* (1847), and Charles Dickens's *A Tale of Two Cities* (1859). The influence of Carlyle is especially important considering Martineau's close personal relationship with both the author and his wife, Jane. But Martineau's treatment of racial revolution has far less of the Romantic passion so powerfully conveyed in Carlyle's language and avoids the scapegoating of former slaves in which both Carlyle and Dickens engage when arguing for a more sympathetic attitude towards suffering white workers in England.

3. Parliamentary debaters tended to assume that the words of the government could produce rebellions. Diane Roberts argues, in her discussion of the American anti-abolitionist writer Louisa McCord, that opponents of Emancipation used "the anti-abolitionists' favorite example, Haiti, to describe the murder and rapine that would be visited on whites by outraged and vengeful black 'barbarians'" (66). As with Edwards's argument in 1797, the words produced by the home country—whether in pamphlets, tracts, or parliamentary debates—had the power to incite slaves in the colonial context to rebel. Slave uprisings, this argument suggests, were discursively fueled events.

4. See Ott's discussion of the specifics of the military campaign in his chapter "Toussaint and the British Invasion, 1793–1798" and C. L. R. James's analysis throughout *The Black Jacobins*.

5. See Ott's chapter, "The French Invasion, 1801–1802" for a historical description of these events in addition to C. L. R. James's detailed account.

6. Toussaint's Catholicism very likely impeded the conventional English reader's sympathy with his brand of Christianity, however.

7. An example of a text that takes the opposite position is Frances Trollope's *The Life and Adventures of Jonathan Jefferson Whitlaw: or Scenes on the Mississippi* (1836), a novel about a Louisiana slave plantation that connects the lack of education with an ignorance of Christian morality, rather than with the importance of, or need for, freedom (see 1:172).

8. In *The Problem of Freedom*, Thomas C. Holt suggests that the freedom into which the slaves moved was more of a transition in labor practices than true freedom from institutional restraint fueled by the intersection of abolitionism and the industrial revolution: "In this way slavery helped locate the outer boundaries of freedom; it was the antithesis of freedom. If slavery meant subordination to the physical coercion and personal dominion of an arbitrary master, then freedom meant submission only to the impersonal forces of the marketplace and to the rational and uniform constraints of the law" (Holt, 26). Holt is, of course, modifying Eric Williams's more economically deterministic argument in *Capitalism and Slavery*. In that work, Williams argues the following: "In 1833, therefore, the alternatives were clear: emancipation from above, or emancipation from below. But EMANCIPATION. Economic change, the decline of the monopolists, the development of capitalism, the humanitarian agitation in British churches, contending perorations in the halls of Parliament, had now reached their completion in the determination of the slaves themselves to be free. The Negroes had been stimulated to freedom by the development of the very wealth which their labor had created" (Williams, 208). Martineau speaks to the complex social and emotional situation of sudden freedom by having Toussaint's wife in the novel experience a sense of confusion and disorientation after realizing that they were free of the slave system (1:94–118).

9. Martineau's use of literacy as a narrative tool to gain the respect of the reader makes a great deal of sense, in terms of the ways in which the acts of reading and writing signify within the Western and European mindset. As Gates argues, "Writing, many Europeans argued, stood alone among the fine arts as the most salient repository of 'genius,' the visible sign of reason itself. In this subordinate role, however, writing, although secondary to reason, is nevertheless the *medium* of reason's expression. We *know* reason by its writing, by its representations. Such representations could assume spoken or written form. And while several superb scholars give priority to the *spoken* as the privileged of the pair, most Europeans privileged *writing*—in their writings about Africans, at least—as the principal measure of the Africans' humanity, their capacity for progress, their very place in the great chain of being" ("Introduction," 9, original italics).

The issue of literacy in light of work such as Edward Said's *Culture and Imperialism* (1993), and Gauri Viswanathan's "Currying Favor: The Politics of British Educational and Cultural Policy in India, 1813–1854" (1988) and *Masks of Conquest* (1998), cannot be left to exist as a kind of liberal idealization, however. Said's and Viswanathan's works illustrate vividly the power of the project of cultural literacy to intersect directly with physical and social brutality. Thus considering the way that Martineau's novel develops, a critique of the power of education as an imposition of social control over a population becomes significant.

10. C. L. R. James identifies Charles Bellair as Toussaint's nephew, and James argues that Toussaint "destined Belair to be his successor" (257).

Notes to Chapter 2

1. Rae discusses two incidents specific to Knox's work on the intersections of science and art: first, Knox's time in the British Museum studying the Elgin Marbles in 1848, and second, his visit at that time to the Jardin des Plantes where he viewed what I believe was the *Venus Génitrix*. This image of Venus is reproduced by Knox in a sketch in *Races of Men* on p. 401 of that work. Knox thus collapses particular Greek statues into an essential ideal racial type.

2. One of the controversies surrounding Knox was how he got hold of these black African bodies upon which he performed his work. As his biographer and contemporary, Henry Lonsdale, argues, "Of the many wicked stories told by his enemies, one had reference to his possessing so many Caffre skulls in his museum. It was alleged that when one of his students inquired of the Doctor how he got them, he replied: 'Why, sir, there was no difficulty in Caffraria; I had but to walk out of my tent and shoot as many Caffres as I wanted for scientific and ethnological purposes.' This monstrous accusation had its believers. Knox was tender to a degree, wherever humanity was concerned; he never approved of the Caffre war, and always extolled the Caffre man for his courageous conduct" (Lonsdale, 149, f. 1).

Both Lonsdale and Knox biographer Isobel Rae argue quite openly for a renewed appreciation for their subject, who, they suggest, was unfairly judged by both his contemporaries and history alike. However, Knox's paradoxical and erratic attitudes toward darker-skinned races suggest that the blind coldness evident in the above vignette was somewhat out of character for what we will see as the anti-imperialist racialist.

3. Lonsdale suggests that from the beginning of his interest in race, even before the lecture tour in the late 1840s that took his work to a broader audience, Knox worked to convince those around him of its central importance: "From an early period in his career as an anatomical lecturer, he had pointed out the import of the study of Race, and, after 1834, had indoctrinated the majority of his friends with his more advanced views; it was in the year 1846 that he ventured to appear on a public platform to address a non-medical audience. In the language of the day, these lectures caused a sensation by their novelty, and led to much talk out of doors, and no small amount of controversy in the press" (Lonsdale, 295).

Knox's professional identity as one of the foremost comparative anatomists and medical professionals positioned him to take his place at the center of the controversies surrounding race. The goal for these individuals became creating a connection between biology and racial characteristics. Douglas Lorimer argues, "Pride of place as men of science went to the medical practitioners with an interest in comparative anatomy. The purpose of their studies was to establish a correlation between anatomical features and mental traits and social behavior. In this task, the comparative anatomists were dependent upon the context of the common culture. They presumed that the psychological traits and social behavior of various races, as encapsulated in commonplace stereotypes, were known" (Lorimer, "Science and the Secularization," 213).

4. "Unsettled from 1842 to 1846, and moving to and from on both sides of the

Tweed; now living with an old pupil, now searching for employment in London, he was at length induced to give a few lectures on the ‘Races of Men,’ in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Manchester, &c. This peripatetic philosophizing made him known to the general public, and helped his finances; but it was not exactly the position for a man of Knox’s calibre to occupy in England, that had its ‘Royal Institution’ and many chartered corporations under whose wing he should have played a part equal to the best-cultured minds of the day. His letters at this period express disappointment, and no wonder. Possessing the highest gifts of intellect, he obtained to acknowledgment in the ranks of his own profession; the greatest teacher of anatomy could find no chair and no lectureship in the mighty metropolis; and the Government, not knowing the meaning of the word science, could not possibly see the merits of a man of genius” (Lonsdale, 284).

5. H. L. Malchow notes that Ralph Waldo Emerson’s view of hybrid individuals was influenced for the worse by his reading of Knox (Malchow, 184), thus suggesting a wide influence and reading of Knox’s work in the nineteenth century.

6. Early in the text, Knox addresses the common argument at the time that darker-skinned races must have smaller brains. When evidence emerged that some darker-skinned races have larger brains, Knox sought to explain the findings. Lonsdale reports that “Knox thought there must be a physical, and consequently a psychological inferiority in the dark races, not depending altogether on deficiency in the size of the brain *en masse*, but rather perhaps on specific characters in the quality of the brain itself” (308). Knox portrays Chinese people in a similarly contemptuous manner. Arguing against those who praise the scientific achievements of the race, Knox says, “A love for science implies a love of truth: now truth they despise and abhor. I do not believe there is an individual Chinaman who could be made to comprehend a single fact in physical geography” (283). Knox goes on to argue that “it is admitted on all hands that they are devoid of all principle, and essentially a nation of liars” (285). And he asserts that the Gypsy is “without a redeeming quality” (159).

Knox asserts that Jewish people should be classed among the dark-skinned races, and thus they deserve the most derogatory of descriptions. They have “no ear for music as a race, no love of science or literature; that he invents nothing, pursues no inquiry” (194), and they seek “callings where cunning of the mind surpasses the gifts of science, the profound knowledge of the arts, and the skill of the hands” (196). He argues that the “Slavonians” are the most intellectual race (356). The Saxon race he generally calls the most superior (46) because it comprises hard and determined workers without any artistic ability (54).

7. A mixed-race child is a “monstrosity of nature”; “there is no place for . . . a family” that could produce such a child (88). In general, “man can create nothing” that is not already produced in nature. All types and varieties are fixed: “Nature produces no mules; no hybrids, neither in man nor animals” (65). The mixed-race individual “cannot extend his race, for he is of no race” (111).

8. Stocking argues that the “roots of the APS in turn are to be found in the crusade led by Evangelical and Quaker philanthropists against the African slave trade and slavery in the British colonies” (“What’s in a Name?” 369).

9. As Stocking argues, the young scientists felt that women inhibited their ability to speak freely on all subjects: “the presence of women made it impossible to discuss freely matters of human anatomy and physiology, or such questions as phallic worship and male and female circumcision” (*Victorian Anthropology*, 253).

10. Far from dominating contemporary racial discourse, the attitude of the Anthropological Society was primarily reactive. The organization waged war on the still powerful ideology of monogenesis, attempted to destroy the remains of the abolitionist humanitarian stance towards the races, and sought to retain control over racial discourse by excluding women and by belittling the work of those of the Ethnological Society. According to Stocking, the growth and popularity of the ASL were phenomenal, “despite the fact that its internal life was marred by dissension and frequent resignations. Within two years there were over five hundred members, and in 1866 constitutional provisions were made for local branches” (“What’s in a Name?” 377). Darwinians, interestingly, remained members of the Ethnological Society. Many credible scientists stayed away from the ASL because they were perceived as a renegade group of scientific radicals who, as Stocking describes, “violated the canons of behaviour appropriate to a respectable scientific group.” Calling “themselves ‘The Cannibal Club’” and calling their meetings to order by gaveling “a mace in the form of a Negro head” (“What’s in a Name?” 380) exemplified this perception.

11. This argument perhaps suggests an ideological precursor to what Deirdre David calls the “trope of invasion by the colonizer and counterinvasion by the colonized” (204).

12. See also Benedict Anderson’s *Imagined Communities* (1983) for a discussion of the transition from language to race as a definitive component of national identity.

13. Stocking argues that “within Europe itself, the ‘racial’ nationalism of the revolutionary epoch of 1848”—commonly called the Springtime of Nations—“gave the idea of race a greatly heightened saliency, even for men of unquestioned humanitarian commitment” (*Victorian Anthropology*, 63).

14. Lonsdale also notes this change in public opinion: “Those who felt disposed to laugh in 1846 at Knox’s theories of Race, were surprised at the historical endorsement they obtained in 1860” (Lonsdale, 317).

15. One element of the late-1840s revolutionary environment in Europe that perhaps contributed to a climate in which Knox’s ideas could receive a more sympathetic reception was the influx of refugees into England, fleeing a number of the 1848 European national conflicts. Referring to this phenomenon as “one factor that has not been sufficiently explored” (17), Wetzel argues that three issues contributed to an environment within English culture that could nurture incipient racism. First, “in 1850 half the population of England was under twenty-six, a decrease of six and a half years over the average age ten years before” (17). This change combined with the “unprecedented movement from the countryside to the cities” (17) of rural citizens over the previous fifty years. However, when these rural citizens arrived in the city, they found life “risky and uncertain” and “competition over jobs, food, and clothing” was fierce (17). Add to this situation the final factor of “the presence of aliens” brought about by the revolutionary climate, and you have all the ingredients for creating a sense of racial “xenophobia” (17). And although Wetzel argues that it is necessary not to overemphasize the significance of this situation, it becomes important as another contributing element in a cultural environment moving away from humanitarianism.

16. England exemplifies this dynamic. Knox has special contempt for the government of England, arguing that the feudal Norman government—in what he describes as “semi-Saxon England”—imposes itself on the people, resulting in the oppression of much of the population (*Races*, 371). He suggests that “the military force at the disposal of the

government for the crushing down and intimidating the freemen of England is more effective, more insulated from the people, than in the most despotic European state” (372). So the nation becomes the vehicle in Knox’s work for a government’s oppression of its own people in the direction of the race that has the preeminent natural strength within the population. Government becomes the way in which the oppression of one race by another is masked by the mirage of national destiny.

17. Although racial conflict is inevitable, and one race will always try to dominate another, Knox labels the races that yearn for freedom and liberty as superior. As with Martineau’s *The Hour and the Man*, the concept of liberty becomes crucially important in Knox’s text, most pointedly in his dramatic presentation of Saxon superiority. For Knox, “all men love liberty, in one sense or another; but all do not attach to the term the same ideas. Each race interprets the expression differently” (*Races*, 373). Liberty, for Knox, comes to be yet another slippery term, however, introducing a linguistic relativism in the relationship between the races. “Each race has its own ideas of liberty,” Knox argues, but the Saxon race is the only one whose “ideas on this point are sound.” And the Saxon perspective is sound, because the political system that he most desires is democratic, and it is only the Saxon “who combines obedience to the law with liberty. But the law must be made by himself, and not forced on him by another” (374). Therefore, the Saxon resists being the object of colonial oppression because as a race, he cannot live with the imposition of external laws not natural to his racial makeup. And this reverence for liberty perhaps ties in with Knox’s declaration of admiration for rebellious slaves. The desire to be free is a mark of racial superiority.

18. Knox argues that his experience studying race had shown him that avoiding the subject served the interests of dominating colonial powers who justify their subjection of races by not acknowledging the distinctions that exist: “More than thirty years ago, observation taught me that the great question of race—the most important, unquestionably, to man—had been for the most part scrupulously, shall we say purposely, avoided—by the statesman, the historian, the theologian; by journalists of nearly all countries. Unpalatable doctrines, no doubt, to dynasties lording it over nations composed of different races” (*Races*, 4).

Rae argues that “[a]lready, in 1820, Robert Knox held sufficiently advanced opinions to make him a supporter of equality and fraternity—an early and unfashionable anticolonialist” (16). In addition to his criticism of aggression masking as administrative paperwork and posturing, Knox is particularly hard on the use of the cloak of Christianity. But the “inevitable” as always blended with the “constructed” in Knox’s observations: “A profitable war is a pleasant thing for a Saxon nation” he notes, and he then maintains that “a crusade against the heathen has always been declared praiseworthy” (*Races*, 4). But Christianity, which he calls “the everlasting truth,” has no ability to “alter race” (367). For Knox, however, Christianity certainly does not ensure a civilized manner and agenda: “Civilization and Christianity are identical, it is true; but then it must be real, and not sham Christianity—the actual, not the shadow” (399). Here again, we see this issue of the actual and the shadow, the real and the fictional, the biologically determined versus the obscuring construct. Rather than being a vehement anticolonialist, Knox advocates for a directly aggressive manner against those a group wants to dominate: “I prefer the manly robber to this sneaking, canting hypocrisy, peculiar to modern civilization and to Christian Europe” (*Races*, 43). What he seems to find offensive is the dishonest “justification” used for aggressive colonial policy, not the reality of the actions.

19. This discussion begs the relationship between Darwinian evolutionary thought at this time and this idea of biological determinism as rooted in the development of the embryo. And although Knox delimits the role of progressive change or adaptation, certainly the development and mutations of the embryo suggests some kind of historical component. Beer's discussion of the role of evolution and the evolutionary metaphor (18) becomes important here, in that one can see Knox struggle with how to fold in the temporal nature of human biology and to configure the role of human beings in relation to the rest of the living world. Beer argues that one of the most challenging aspects of evolutionary theory was the placing of human beings in the realm of the rest of the animals (19). Darwin remained a believer in monogenesis all his life, although his theories were often seen as a way to unite the impulses of both strands of racial thinking. However, as connected as the living world became in evolutionary theory, there was still an implied hierarchy at work along a now evolutionary scale (Stepan, 55).

20. "By the latter half of the nineteenth century, the analogy between race and gender degeneration came to serve a specifically modern form of social domination, as an intricate dialectic emerged—between the domestication of the colonies and the racializing of the metropolis. In the metropolis, the idea of racial deviance was evoked to police the 'degenerate' classes—the militant working class, the Irish, Jews, feminists, gays and lesbians, prostitutes, criminals, alcoholics and the insane—who were collectively figured as racial deviants, atavistic throwbacks to a primitive moment in human prehistory, surviving ominously in the heart of the modern, imperial metropolis" (McClintock, 43).

21. See footnote 1 for this chapter.

22. Knox died December 20, 1862.

Notes to Chapter 3

1. See Ruth Glancy's specific remarks regarding "Perils" in *The Christmas Stories* (1996), 171.

2. There are many accounts of this event. See, for example, Lillian Nayder's description in "Class Consciousness and the Indian Mutiny in Dickens's 'The Perils of Certain English Prisoners,'" (1992), 693.

3. See Nayder, "Class Consciousness and the Indian Mutiny in Dickens's 'The Perils of Certain English Prisoners'"

4. Oddie suggests that this characterization of the servant is made to bear the weight of a growing and virulent British xenophobia: "The character of Christian George King, clearly enough, is an expression of the pathological hatred of 'natives' that swept over England during the mutiny. Dickens was not, in any case, very well disposed towards dark-skinned races, and King is a kind of all-purpose 'wog,' half negro and half Indian, on to whom he can fasten his loathing" (7).

5. According to H. L. Malchow, "the multicultural nature of ships' crews became analogous in the nineteenth century to a kind of miscegenation, and the white sailor, by association (and perhaps sexual liaison) with racial aliens both on ship and in exotic ports of call, absorbed some element of their strange, deviant ways" (Malchow, 103).

6. Like the pirates of "Perils," the crew of Marryat's *The Pirate* has representatives from many different nations: "The crew consisted in all of one hundred and sixty-five

men, of almost every nation; but it was to be remarked that all those in authority were either Englishmen or from the northern countries; the others were chiefly Spaniards and Maltese. Still there were Portuguese, Brazilians, negroes, and others, who made up the complement, which at the time we now speak of was increased by twenty-five additional hands" (435).

7. Karl Marx, "The Fetishism of Commodities" (1986).

8. See especially the following: Emily Apter and William Pietz, Eds., *Fetishism as Cultural Discourse* (1993); Jean Baudrillard, *For a Critique of the Political Economy of the Sign* (1981); Homi K. Bhabha, "The other question: difference, discrimination and the discourse of colonialism," *Literature, Politics and Theory: Papers from the Essex Conference 1976–84* (1986); Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (1963) and *Black Skins White Masks* (1967); Lorraine Gamman, Lorraine and Merja Makinen, *Female Fetishism* (1994); Henry Krips, *Fetish: An Erotics of Culture* (1999); and Hayden White, "The Noble Savage Theme as Fetish," *Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism* (1978).

9. For example, Charles Bernheimer gives a particularly lucid description of the phallogocentric limitations of Freud's theory of the fetish: "Even after it is revealed to be a false front, this construct continues to determine a central truth of psychoanalysis, the truth of castration. But this truth is of course a phallogocentric deceit: woman cannot be deprived of an organ that was never hers in the first place. In terms of the criterion of factual reality that Freud himself introduces in this context, the unmasking of sexual difference reveals that woman is uncastratable, not that she is castrated" (65).

10. See also the following from Hayden White: "From the Renaissance to the end of the eighteenth century, Europeans tended to fetishize the native peoples with whom they came into contact by viewing them simultaneously as monstrous forms of humanity and as quintessential objects of desire. Whence the alternative impulses to exterminate and to redeem the native peoples. But even more basic in the European consciousness of this time was the tendency to fetishize the European type of humanity as the sole possible form that humanity in general could take. This race fetishism was soon transformed, however, into another, and more virulent form: the fetishism of class, which has provided the bases of most of the social conflicts of Europe since the French Revolution" (*Tropics*, 194–95).

11. "His costume was elegant, and well adapted to his form: linen trousers, and untanned yellow leather boots, such as are made at the Western Isles; a broad-striped cotton shirt; a red Cashmere shawl around his waist as a sash; a vest embroidered in gold tissue, with a jacket of dark velvet, and pendant gold buttons, hanging over his left shoulder, after the fashion of the Mediterranean seamen; a round Turkish skull-cap, handsomely embroidered; a pair of pistols, and a long knife in his sash, completed his attire" (Marryat, 434–35).

12. "Cleveland himself was gallantly attired in a blue coat, lined with crimson silk, and laced with gold very richly, crimson damask waistcoat and breeches, a velvet cap, richly embroidered, with a white feather, white silk stockings, and red-heeled shoes, which were the extremity of finery among the gallants of the day. He had a gold chain several times folded round his neck, which sustained a whistle of the same metal, the ensign of his authority. Above all, he wore a decoration peculiar to those daring depredators, who, besides one, or perhaps two brace of pistols at their belt, had usually two additional brace, of the finest mounting and workmanship, suspended over their

shoulders in a sort of sling, or scarf of crimson ribbon” (Scott, 532–33).

13. Interestingly, Peter Fryer’s description of the appearance of slave-ship captains has much in common with the pirate captain, perhaps suggesting an allegorical connection between the characterization of Mendez and the slave trading system, which would have been in full flower in 1744: “These slave-ship captains were the elite of their calling, identifiable not only by their ‘privelege Negroes’ but also by their gaudy laced coats with big silver or gold buttons, their cocked hats, the silver or gold buckles on their shoes. Most of them, whatever they had been like when they entered the trade, turned into brutal tyrants. But it was a trade that tended to attract sadists” (Fryer, 55).

14. See Edward Said, *Orientalism*, New York: Vintage, 1979.

15. Of course, Mendez’s popularity with audiences would seem to suggest that this goal was not achieved.

Notes to Chapter 4

1. From the statement of George Lake in the papers submitted by Governor Eyre describing the oath Paul Bogle, a central rebel leader, asked his followers to take in meetings previous to the Morant Bay riot.

2. The specifics of the rebellion are from the Royal Commission’s Report and Supporting Documents; Heuman, *‘The Killing Time’: The Morant Bay Rebellion in Jamaica* (1994) and *Between Black and White: Race, Politics, and the Free Coloreds in Jamaica, 1792–1865* (1981); and Lorimer, *Colour, Class and the Victorians* (1978).

3. Thomas Carlyle, *Occasional Discourse on the Nigger Question*, London: Thomas Bosworth, 1853.

4. Information about the reception of accounts of the rebellion in England is from Bernard Semmel, *The Governor Eyre Controversy* (1962). Heuman also provides information about English reception of the news of the rebellion, but his source is primarily Semmel.

5. H. L. Malchow argues that “the fascination in the press with the grisly anatomical details of Jamaican mutilation resonated strongly with similar preoccupations with the dissection theater and the cannibal feast” (Malchow, 211), thus suggesting a link between the discourses surrounding both the Burke and Hare scandal and the stream of colonial uprisings in the first half of the nineteenth century.

6. “News of the rebellion reached London ahead of Governor Eyre’s report of the events of Morant Bay. Jamaican newspapers as well as passengers on an earlier ship had already publicized the rebellion, and the British press had reprinted some of the stories emanating from Jamaica. When Eyre’s dispatch arrived on 16 November, the reaction in the Colonial Office was one of relief that the insurrection had been suppressed. However, there was also concern about the manner in which the rebellion had been put down” (Heuman, *Killing*, 164).

7. The following is from a footnote to the *Autobiography*: “Among the most active members of the Committee were Mr. P. A. Taylor, M.P., always faithful and energetic in every assertion of the principles of liberty; Mr. Goldwin Smith, Mr. Frederic Harrison, Mr. Slack, Mr. Chamerovzow, Mr. Shaen, and Mr. Chesson, the Honorary Secretary of the Association” (Mill, 209n).

8. 7167. You saw him shot, what became of you?—I was hiding, as I was in the

house. I was compelled to hide from the soldiers.

7168. Did you see it from your house then?—Yes.

7169. From your own house you saw him shot; were you in the house?—I was in the house when he was shot.

7170. And you could see it from your house, it was so near as that?—Yes, between my gate and the treehead cut off as a post.

7171. He was taken straight from your house and was shot?—Yes.

7172. Was he tied to the tree?—Tied to the tree.

7173. Who shot him?—The soldiers. (Report, II:148)

9. In the continued testimony, the first discrepancy surfaces about whether the brother was hit with a sword:

7183. Did not you say a short time ago that you did not see that?—Yes, I did say it.

7184. Which do you say now?—I say that he received three balls.

7185. Attend; you say he had a chop over the brow?—Yes.

7186. Did you see that chop given?—Yes.

7187. Do you mean to say that?—Yes. (Report, II:148)

10. 7195. And did you say before, when you told this story to this gentleman, that you did not see that sword blow given?—The soldier gave it to him.

7196. Did you say you did not see it given; do you understand the question?—I saw the whole of them in the crowd, and the soldier struck him over the head.

7197. Only one did that you say; only one drew the sword and delivered the blow?—Yes, delivered the blow.

7198. Have you not said this morning, when you told the story before, that you did not see this done?—Understand me, sir, I was hiding myself in the house, and saw the soldiers as they came; they tied him to the post, tied him to the tree, and after that they shot him. (Report, II:148)

11. 7285. When they got to your house at 7 o'clock what did they do?—They came for Ned Bryan, and said he was a rebel. He said no, and one of the soldiers came and held Ned Bryan and James Bryan.

7286. What did they do with them?—They took them out in the road.

7287. When they got out into the road what became of them?—As they got to the road the soldiers asked for a rope, and they took the rope, and Ned Bryan said, "I am just from Kingston last night, and I am going to dead this morning. What have I done?" And a white gentleman, with a black soldier, riding a horse, was there. The whole of the black soldiers were riding, and when they carry him out in the road he said, "I am just from Kingston last night." The gentleman, who the soldier said was the doctor, had a pistol in his hand, and he took the pistol and knocked Ned Bryan on his hand, and said, "Go on; I want no chat from you." They went a little in the road and they tied the two brothers, James Bryan and Ned Bryan together, and the doctor ordered three soldiers to come off and shoot those two men. They tied him to a tree by the side of the road, and cut off the head of the tree, and three soldiers came and shot the two of them.

7288. Shot both of them?—Yes.

7289. Were they close together?—Yes; and they shot them facing each other. The three soldiers shot the two, and when they shot the two Ned Bryan was tied to the post that way, and James the other to the front, and as they shot him James dropped down, and Ned stood up, and out the soldier drew a sword out of his sheath, and chopped Ned Bryan right down. (Report, II:149)

12. 7319. (*Mr. Walcott*) Where was George Bryan when the soldiers fired?—He hid behind the patch of bush at the time.

7320. At the time the soldiers were firing at James and Edward?—Yes.

7321. Then he was not in his house at the time?—No. I begged him to hide, for the soldiers would kill him.

7322. Then he was behind the bush when the soldiers fired at James and Edward?—Yes. (Report, II:150)

13. 10,907. Is it not true that you went into the bush?—The bush was before the house, and I ran through the bush. I was in my own house.

10,908. Is it true that at the time your brother was shot you were hid in the bush?—No, I was not hid in the bush; I was in the house.

10,909. You say you went through the bush?—Yes.

10,910. Where was the bush?—On the side of the road.

10,911. At the back of your house?—No.

10,912. In front of your house?—No.

10,913. Do you say there was no bush in front of your house?—On the other side of the road.

10,914. And you were not concealed in that bush?—No.

10,915. Do you know that your sister-in-law stated that you were concealed in that bush?—No; she states I was in the bush. She don't know when I went in.

10,916. Was there anybody else shot at the same time as your brother was?—No, sir, because I did not see the other person shot, I really think.

10,917. You did not see any other person shot at the same time as your brother was?—No, I did not see the man when they were tied, but I saw the man that was on the back at the back of him.

10,918. Was there any other person shot at the same time that your brother was?—Did I see any person shot at the same time?

10,919. Yes; any other person shot at the same time your brother was shot?—No; I said that already. There was no other person shot, only farther on. (Report, II:217)

14. 10,937. Then it must have been very soon afterwards that the wife cut him down?—Soon, sir, very soon.

10,938. Did she not have to go and get a person from the town to come and take the body away?—Well, sir, it is me, the same one that took the body, and another man.

10,939. Who was the man?—Another man named Edward.

10,940. You and Edward took the body?—Yes, and buried it.

10,941. Where?—In his own yard. (Report, II:217).

15. 10,980. (*Suggested by Mr. Gorrie.*) What was the name of your brother who was shot; that you have been describing as having been shot?—What is the name of my brother?

10,981. Yes; that brother you say was shot at this time?—Ned Bryan?

10,982. Is he your brother?—My brother-in-law. Married to my sister. I call him brother.

10,983. Do you know a person of the name of James Bryan, or did you know a person named James Bryan?—A person of the name James Bryan?

10,984. Do you know a person of the name of James Bryan?—Yes.

10,985. Who is he?—Not my brother.

10,986. Any relation of yours?—No.

- 10,987. No relation at all?—No.
- 10,988. Where is James Bryan now?—I heard this one James Bryan was dead, but I don't know him.
- 10,989. Was he no relation of yours?—No.
- 10,990. None at all?—No.
- 10,991. You heard he was dead?—Yes.
- 10,992. Where did he live?—He was living down the river.
- 10,993. Have you any other brother?—Yes, I had one.
- 10,994. What name?—Name of James Bryan, too.
- 10,995. But I asked you whether James Bryan was your brother, and you said no?—I had one, the one that went to Kingston, of the name James Bryan.
- 10,996. He is your brother?—Yes.
- 10,997. Is he alive?—Yes.
- 10,998. Where is he?—At Long Bay now.
- 10,999. Have you any other brother?—No.
- 11,000. Had your brother in law any brother?—Yes.
- 11,001. What was his name?—He had a brother named Edward Bryan.
- 11,002. No; he was Edward Bryan?—No, there is two of them, Ned Bryan and Edward Bryan, and he had one of the name of William Bryan that I gave to you, who was at Manchioneal, and the soldiers shot him.
- 11,003. Where is Edward Bryan?—At Long Bay now.
- 11,004 Had he any other brother?—Another in Kingston named John Bryan.
- 11,005. Is he alive still?—Yes. (Report, II:218)

Notes to Chapter 5

1. In *Suggestions Towards the Future Government of India*, a work in which Martineau makes suggestions for dealing with the immediate aftermath of the 1857 Indian Rebellion, the author argues for continued rule by the East India Company rather than an assertion of control by the British government by making a comparison with what she feels is the British failure in the West Indies to deal fairly with Africans: “We have done what we could there in reparation of our misdeeds to the negro race and our favouritism to the planters; but the alternating distresses of the two races are an evidence of such serious errors in colonial government as leave us no cause for confidence that we could succeed better in ruling a greater number of races under far more difficult circumstances” (*Suggestions*, 6).

2. Jenny Sharpe suggests that events such as the “Mutiny” triggered ideas propagated in scientific writings, thus further supporting the thesis that “scientific” ideas about race had a wide cultural impact: “I want to suggest that the Indian Mutiny, along with other rebellions in the colonies, activated scientific theories of race” (Sharpe, 5).

3. Penny Tinkler argues, in her introduction to the special issue of *Women's Studies International Forum* (1998), the following: “As Catherine Hall pointed out in her WHN plenary address, it is a ‘blind eye’ through which we see the Empire. In other words, despite the attention that empire currently attracts, fundamental aspects of imperialism are obscured, including, importantly, the exploitative relations that underpinned it and the interconnectedness of ‘home,’ be it Britain or other Western nations, and empire”

(Tinker, 217). Also see Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780–1850* (1987), for a fuller discussion of middle-class family structures and environments. However, this work has little discussion of the relation of metropolitan family arrangements and colonialism.

Note to Conclusion

1. Robyn Wiegman argues in *American Anatomies* that Cuvier's work helped move the search for legitimizing evidence for oppressive racial distinction within the human body: "The move from the visible epidermal terrain to the articulation of the interior structure of human bodies thus extrapolated in both broader and more distinct terms the parameters of white supremacy, giving it a logic lodged fully in the body" (Wiegman, 31).

BIBLIOGRAPHY



- Abrams, Yvette. "Images of Sara Bartman: Sexuality, Race, and Gender." In *Nation, Empire, Colony: Historicizing Gender and Race*, edited by Ruth Roach Pierson and Napur Chaudhuri. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998.
- Ackroyd, Peter. *Dickens*. New York: HarperCollins, 1991.
- Altick, Richard D. *The Shows of London*. Cambridge: Belknap Press, 1978.
- Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities*. London: Verso, 1983.
- Anonymous. "Past and Present State of Hayti." *Quarterly Review*. Vol. 21. London: John Murray, 1819.
- Anonymous review of *The Hour and the Man*, by Harriet Martineau. *The Athenaeum* 5 (December 1840): 958–59.
- Anonymous review of *The Hour and the Man*, by Harriet Martineau. *The Westminster Review* 35 (1841): 235–37.
- Apter, Emily, and William Pietz, eds. *Fetishism as Cultural Discourse*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993.
- Bachelard, Gaston. *The Poetics of Space: The Classic Look at How We Experience Intimate Places*. Trans. Maria Jolas. Boston: Beacon Press, 1964.
- Barringer, Tim. "Images of Otherness and the Visual Production of Difference: Race and Labour in Illustrated Texts, 1850–1865." In *The Victorians and Race*, edited by Shearer West. Aldershot: Scolar, 1996.
- Baucom, Ian. *Out of Place: Englishness, Empire, and the Locations of Identity*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999.
- Baudrillard, Jean. *For a Critique of the Political Economy of the Sign*. Trans. Charles Levin. New York: Telos Press, 1981.
- Bayer-Berenbaum, Linda. *The Gothic Imagination: Expansion in Gothic Literature and Art*. London: Associated University Press, 1982.
- Beer, Gillian. *Darwin's Plots: Evolutionary Narrative in Darwin, George Eliot and Nineteenth-Century Fiction*. London: Routledge, 1983.
- Behn, Aphra. *Oroonoko and Other Writings*. 1688. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994.
- Bernheimer, Charles. "Fetishism and Decadence: Salome's Severed Heads." In *Fetishism as Cultural Discourse*, edited by Emily Apter and William Pietz. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993.
- Bhabha, Homi K. "Introduction." In *Nations and Narration*, edited by Homi K. Bhabha. London: Routledge, 1990.

- . “The Other Question: Difference, Discrimination and the Discourse of Colonialism.” In *Black British Cultural Studies*, edited by Houston A. Baker, Jr., Manthia Diawara, and Ruth H. Lindeborg. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996.
- Bindman, David. *Ape to Apollo: Aesthetics and the Idea of Race in the 18th Century*. London: Reaktion Books, 2002.
- Bolt, Christine. *Victorian Attitudes to Race*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1971.
- Brantlinger, Patrick. *The Spirit of Reform: British Literature and Politics, 1832–1867*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1977.
- . *Rule of Darkness: British Literature and Imperialism, 1830–1914*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988.
- Brooks, Peter. *Reading for the Plot*. New York: A. A. Knopf, 1984.
- Burg, B. R. *Sodomy and the Pirate Tradition: English Sea Rovers in the Seventeenth Century Caribbean*. New York: New York University Press, 1995.
- Burke, Edmund. *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990.
- Carlyle, Thomas. *Occasional Discourse on the Nigger Question*. London: Thomas Bosworth, 1853.
- . *Past and Present*, edited by Richard D. Altick (first published in 1843). New York: New York University Press, 1965.
- Carolan, Katherine. “A Study of Christmas in the Works of Charles Dickens, With Special Attention to the Christmas Books.” Diss. The George Washington University, 1972.
- Chapman, Maria Weston. “Hayti.” *The Liberty Bell*. Boston: American Anti-Slavery Society, 1842.
- Chase-Riboud, Barbara. *Hottentot Venus*. New York: Doubleday, 2003.
- Clarkson, T. “Thoughts on the Necessity of Improving the Condition of the Slaves in the British Colonies, with a View to their Ultimate Emancipation; and on the Practibility, the Safety, and the Advantages of the Latter Measure.” London: Society for the Mitigation and Gradual Abolition of Slavery Throughout the British Dominions, 1824.
- Cook, Anthony E. “Beyond Critical Legal Studies: The Reconstructive Theology of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.” In *Critical Race Theory: The Key Writings that Formed the Movement*, edited by Kimberlé Crenshaw, Neil Gotanda, Gary Peller, and Kendall Thomas. New York: The New Press, 1995.
- Cordingly, David. *Under the Black Flag*. New York: Random House, 1995.
- David, Dierdre. *Rule Britannia: Women, Empire, and Victorian Writing*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995.
- Davidoff, Leonore, and Catherine Hall. *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780–1850*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987.
- Dickens, Charles. “The Noble Savage” (first published in *Household Words*, 11 June 1853). *Reprinted Pieces: The Uncommercial Traveller and Other Stories*. Bloomsbury: The Nonesuch Press, 1938.
- . *The Letters of Charles Dickens*. The Pilgrim Edition, edited by Graham Storey and Kathleen Tillotson. Oxford: Clarendon, 1995.
- . *The Christmas Stories*, edited by Ruth Glancy. London: Everyman, 1996.
- Dickens, Charles, and Wilkie Collins. “The Perils of Certain English Prisoners, and their Treasure in Women, Children, Silver, and Jewels.” In *The Christmas Stories*, edited

- by Ruth Glancy. London: Everyman, 1996.
- Douglass, Frederick. *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, An American Slave*. In *The Classic Slave Narratives*, edited by Henry Louis Gates, Jr. Baltimore: Penguin, 1987.
- Drescher, Seymour. *Capitalism and Antislavery: British Mobilization in Comparative Perspective*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1987.
- Eagleton, Terry. *The Ideology of the Aesthetic*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1990.
- Edwards, Bryan. *An Historical Survey of the French Colony in the Island of St. Domingo*. London: John Stockdale, 1797.
- Edwards, Yuko. *Politics from a Black Woman's Insides*. Written, Directed, and Produced by Yuko Edwards, 1977.
- Eliot, George. *Daniel Deronda*. 1876. London: Penguin, 1995.
- Ellis, Kate Ferguson. *The Contested Castle: Gothic Novels and the Subversion of Domestic Ideology*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989.
- "Extent of the Indian Mutinies." *Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country*. Vol. LVII (Jan. to June, 1858): 358–62.
- Eze, Emmanuel Chukwudi. *Race and the Enlightenment: A Reader*. Cambridge: Blackwell, 1997.
- Fabian, Johannes. *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1983.
- Fanon, Frantz. *The Wretched of the Earth*. New York: Grove Press, 1963.
- . *Black Skins, White Masks*. New York: Grove Press, 1967.
- Ferguson, Moira. *Subject to Others: British Women Writers and Colonial Slavery, 1670–1834*. New York: Routledge, 1992.
- Ferrus, Diana. "A Poem for Sarah Baartman." <http://www.safrika.info/ess_info/sa_glance/history/saartjie.htm>
- Finn, Margot. *After Chartism: Class and Nation in English Radical Politics, 1848–1874*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- Fladeland, Betty. *Abolitionists and Working-Class Problems in the Age of Industrialization*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1984.
- Freud, Sigmund. "Fetishism." 1927. *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*. Vol. XXI. Trans. James Strachey. London: Hogarth Press, 1981.
- Frye, Northrop. *Anatomy of Criticism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957.
- Fryer, Peter. *Staying Power: The History of Black People in Britain*. London: Pluto Press, 1984.
- Gamman, Lorraine, and Merja Makinen. *Female Fetishism*. New York: New York University Press, 1994.
- Gates, Henry Louis, Jr. "Editor's Introduction: Writing 'Race' and the Difference It Makes." In *"Race," Writing, and Difference*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1985.
- . "Introduction." *The Classic Slave Narratives*. Baltimore: Penguin, 1987.
- . *The Signifying Monkey*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988.
- Geggus, David. "British Opinion and the Emergence of Haiti, 1791–1805." In *Slavery and British Society*, edited by James Walvin. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982.
- Genette, Gérard. *Figures of Literary Discourse*. Trans. Alan Sheridan. New York, Columbia University Press, 1982.

- Gilman, Sander L. "Black Bodies, White Bodies: Toward an Iconography of Female Sexuality in Late Nineteenth-Century Art, Medicine, and Literature." In *"Race," Writing and Difference*, edited by Henry Louis Gates, Jr. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985.
- Gilroy, Paul. *"There Ain't No Black in the Union Jack": The Cultural Politics of Race and Nation*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987.
- Glancy, Ruth. "Introduction." *The Christmas Stories*. London: Everyman, 1996.
- Gould, Stephen Jay. *The Flamingo's Smile: Reflections in Natural History*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1985.
- Grant, James. *First Love & Last Love: A Tale of the Indian Mutiny*. 1868. London: Routledge, 1887.
- Halberstam, Judith. *Skin Shows: Gothic Horror and the Technology of Monsters*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1995.
- Hall, Catherine. *White, Male and Middle-Class*. New York: Routledge, 1988.
- . *Civilising Subjects: Metropole and Colony in the English Imagination 1830–1867*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002.
- Hall, Stuart. "New Ethnicities." In *Black British Cultural Studies*, edited by Houston A. Baker, Jr., Manthia Diawara, and Ruth H. Lindeborg. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996.
- Hearst, David. "Colonial Shame: African Woman Going Home after 200 years." *The Guardian* 30 (April 2002): 13.
- Helsing, Elizabeth K., Robin Lauterbach Sheets, and William Veeder, eds. *The Woman Question*. 3 vols. New York: Garland, 1983.
- Heuman, Gad J. *Between Black and White. Race, Politics, and the Free Coloreds in Jamaica, 1792–1865*. Westport: Greenwood, 1981.
- . *'The Killing Time': The Morant Bay Rebellion in Jamaica*. New York: Macmillan Caribbean, 1994.
- Hobsbawm, Eric. *The Age of Capital, 1848–1875*. New York: Vintage, 1996.
- Hobson, Janelle. "The 'Batty' Politic: Toward an Aesthetic of the Black Female Body," *Hypatia* 18:4 (Fall 2003): 87–105.
- Holt, Thomas C. *The Problem of Freedom: Race, Labor, and Politics in Jamaica and Britain 1832–1938*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992.
- Iser, Wolfgang. *The Act of Reading*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978.
- James, C. L. R. *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution*. New York: Vintage Books, 1989.
- Keenan, Thomas. "The Point Is to (Ex)Change It: Reading Capital, Rhetorically." In *Fetishism as Cultural Discourse*, edited by Emily Apter and William Pietz. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993.
- Kelsall, Malcolm. *The Great Good Place: The Country House and English Literature*. London: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1993.
- Kemble, Frances Anne. *Journal of a Residence on a Georgian Plantation in 1838–1839*. Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1984.
- Kingsley, Charles. "Cheap Clothes and Nasty." *Alton Locke, Tailor and Poet, An Autobiography*. London: Macmillan, 1911.
- Knox, Robert. *The Races of Men: A Fragment*. London: Henry Renshaw, 1850.
- . *Great Artists and Great Anatomists; A Biographical and Philosophical Study*. Reprint of the 1852 edition. New York: AMS, 1977.

- Krips, Henry. *Fetish: An Erotics of Culture*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999.
- Lane, Christopher. "The Psychoanalysis of Race: An Introduction." In *The Psychoanalysis of Race*, edited by Christopher Lane. New York: Columbia University Press, 1998.
- Lefebvre, Henri. *The Production of Space*. Trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith. Oxford: Blackwell, 1991.
- Lewis, Matthew. *Journal of a West India Proprietor*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.
- . *The Life and Times of Sara Baartman, "The Hottentot Venus."* Film by Zola Maseko. First Run/Icarus Films, 1998.
- Lightman, Bernard. "Introduction." In *Victorian Science in Context*, edited by Bernard Lightman. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997.
- Lonsdale, Henry. *A Sketch of the Life and Writings of Robert Knox the Anatomist*. London: Macmillan, 1870.
- Lorimer, Douglas A. *Colour, Class and the Victorians*. Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1978.
- . "Race, Science and Culture: Historical Continuities and Discontinuities, 1850–1914." In *The Victorians and Race*, edited by Shearer West. Aldershot: Scolar, 1996.
- . "Science and Secularization of Victorian Images of Race." In *Victorian Science in Context*, edited by Bernard Lightman. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997.
- Lowenthal, David. *The Past Is a Foreign Country*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.
- Magubane, Zine. "Which Bodies Matter?: Feminism, Poststructuralism, Race, and the Curious Theoretical Odyssey of the 'Hottentot Venus.'" *Gender & Society* 15:6 (December 2001): 816–34.
- Malchow, H. L. *Gothic Images of Race in Nineteenth-Century Britain*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996.
- Martineau, Harriet. *Suggestions Towards The Future Government of India*. London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1858.
- . *Society in America*. 1837. 3 vols. New York: AMS, 1966.
- . *The Hour and the Man*. 1841. New York: AMS, 1974.
- . *Autobiography*. Vol. 2. London: Virago, 1983.
- . *Harriet Martineau's Letters to Fanny Wedgwood*, edited by Elisabeth Sanders Arbuckle. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1983.
- Marryat, Captain Frederick. "The Pirate." 1836. *The Works of Captain Marryat with Illustrations*. Vol. 20. New York: Peter Fenelon Collier, 1900.
- Marx, Karl. "The Fetishism of Commodity." In *Karl Marx The Essential Writings*, edited by Frederic L. Bender. Boulder: Westview Press, 1986.
- McCallum, E. L. *Object Lessons: How to Do Things with Fetishism*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1999.
- McClintock, Anne. *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest*. New York: Routledge, 1995.
- McLaughlin, Thomas. "Figurative Language." In *Critical Terms for Literary Study*, 2nd ed., edited by Frank Lentricchia and Thomas McLaughlin. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1995.
- Memmi, Albert. *The Colonizer and the Colonized*. New York: The Orion Press, 1965.

- Metz, Christian. *The Imaginary Signifier: Psychoanalysis and the Cinema*. Trans. Celia Britton, Annwyl William, Ben Brewster, and Alfred Guzzetti. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982.
- Midgley, Clare. *Women Against Slavery: The British Campaigns, 1780–1870*. London: Routledge, 1992.
- Mill, John Stuart. *Autobiography of John Stuart Mill*. New York: Columbia University, 1924.
- Minh-ha, Trinh T. *Woman Native Other: Writing Postcoloniality and Feminism*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989.
- Mitchell, Sally. *Daily Life in Victorian England*. Westport and London: Greenwood, 1996.
- Morrison, Toni. *Playing in the Dark: Whiteness and the Literary Imagination*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992.
- Mukherjee, Rudrangshu. “‘Satan Let Loose Upon the Earth’: The Kanpur Massacres in India in the Revolt of 1857.” *Past and Present* 128 (August 1990): 92–116.
- Mulvey, Laura. *Fetishism and Curiosity*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996.
- Nayder, Lillian. “Class Consciousness and the Indian Mutiny in Dickens’s ‘The Perils of Certain English Prisoners.’” *Studies in English Literature* 32 (4) (Autumn 1992): 689–705.
- Oddie, William. “Dickens and the Indian Mutiny.” *The Dickensian* 68 (January 1972): 3–15.
- Ott, Thomas O. *The Haitian Revolution 1789–1804*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1973.
- Patterson, Lee. “Literary History.” In *Critical Terms for Literary Study*, 2nd ed., edited by Frank Lentricchia and Thomas McLaughlin. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1995.
- Paxton Nancy L. “Mobilizing Chivalry: Rape in Flora Annie Steel’s *On the Face of the Waters* (1896) and Other British Novels about the Indian Uprising of 1857.” In *The New Nineteenth Century: Feminist Readings of Underread Victorian Fiction*, edited by Barbara Leah Hannan and Susan Meyer. New York: Garland, 1996.
- Peters, Catherine. *The King of Inventors*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991.
- Pietz, William. “The Problem of the Fetish, 1.” *Res* 9 (Spring 1985): 5–17.
- . “The Problem of the Fetish, 11: The Origin of the Fetish.” *Res* (Spring 1987): 23–45.
- . “The Problem of the Fetish, 111a: Bosman’s Guinea and the Enlightenment Theory of Fetishism.” *Res* (Autumn 1988): 105–23.
- Poovey, Mary. *Uneven Developments: The Ideological Work of Gender in Mid-Victorian England*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988.
- . *Making a Social Body: British Cultural Formation 1830–1864*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995.
- Pratt, Mary Louise. *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*. New York: Routledge, 1992.
- “Prospects of the Indian Empire.” *The Edinburgh Review*. No. CCXVII (January 1858): 1–50.
- Rae, Isobel. *Knox the Anatomist*. Springfield, MA.: Charles C Thomas, 1964.
- Rediker, Marcus. *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.
- “Report of the Jamaica Royal Commission 1866. Part I. Report.” *House of Commons Par-*

- liamentary Papers*. Vol. XXX. 1866. 1–41 [Chadwyck-Healey Microfiche 72.232].
- “Report of the Jamaica Royal Commission 1866. Part II. Minutes of Evidence and Appendix.” *House of Commons Parliamentary Papers*. Vol. XXXI, 1866. 1–1172. [Chadwyck-Healey Microfiche 72.233–72.245].
- Reports from Commissioners Regarding the Jamaica Disturbance. “Papers Laid Before the Royal Commission of Inquiry by Governor Eyre.” *House of Commons Parliamentary Papers*. Vol. XXX, 1866. 1–484. [Chadwyck-Healey Microfiche 72.227–72.232].
- The Return of Sara Baartman*. Film by Zola Maseko. First Run/Icarus Films, 2003.
- Richards, Evelleen. “Huxley and Woman’s Place in Science: The ‘Woman Question’ and the Control of Victorian Anthropology.” In *History, Humanity and Evolution: Essays for John C. Greene*, edited by James R. Moore. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.
- . “The ‘Moral Anatomy’ of Robert Knox: The Interplay between Biological and Social Thought in Victorian Scientific Naturalism.” *Journal of History and Biology* 22:3 (Fall 1989): 373–436.
- Richards, Thomas. *The Imperial Archive: Knowledge and the Fantasy of Empire*. London: Verso, 1993.
- Ritchie, Robert C. *Pirates: Myths and Realities*. The James Ford Bell Lectures, Number 23. University of Minnesota: The Associates of the James Ford Bell Library, 1986.
- Roberts, Diane. *The Myth of Aunt Jemima*. New York: Routledge, 1994.
- Robinson, Jane. *Angels of Albion: Women of the Indian Mutiny*. London: Viking, 1996.
- Roper, Michael, and John Tosh. “Introduction.” In *Manful Assertions: Masculinities in Britain since 1800*, edited by Michael Roper and John Tosh. London: Routledge, 1991.
- Said, Edward. *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage, 1979.
- . *Culture and Imperialism*. New York: Vintage, 1993.
- Sanders, Prince. *Haytian Papers. A Collection of the Very Interesting Proclamations, and other Official documents; Together with Some Account of the Rise, Progress, and Present State of The Kingdom of Hayti*. 1816. Westport: Negro University Press, 1969.
- Sartre, Jean-Paul. “Introduction.” In *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, by Albert Memmi. New York: The Orion Press, 1965.
- Schwarz, Daniel R. “Performative Saying and the Ethics of Reading: Adam Zachary Newton’s *Narrative Ethics*.” *Narrative* 5.2 (1997): 188–206.
- Scott, Sir Walter. *The Pirate*. 1821. *Waverly Novels*. Volume XIII. London: Macmillan, 1900.
- Semmel, Bernard. *The Governor Eyre Controversy*. London: MacGibbon and Kee, 1962.
- Sharpe, Jenny. *Allegories of Empire: The Figure of Woman in the Colonial Text*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993.
- Sharples-Whiting, T. Denean. *Black Venus: Sexualized Savages, Primal Fears, and Primitive Narratives in French*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1999.
- Shepherdson, Charles. “Human Diversity and the Sexual Relation.” In *The Psychoanalysis of Race*, edited by Christopher Lane. New York: Columbia University Press, 1998.
- Society for the Mitigation and Gradual Abolition of Slavery throughout the British Dominions. “Substance of the Debate in the House of Commons on the 15th May, 1823, on a Motion for the Mitigation and Gradual Abolition of Slavery Throughout the British Dominions.” London: Ellerton and Henderson, 1823.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Spivak, Gayatri. *The Spivak Reader: Selected Works of Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak*, edited by Donna Landry and Gerald Maclean. New York: Routledge, 1996.
- Spurr, David. *The Rhetoric of Empire*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1993.
- Stepan, Nancy. *The Idea of Race in Science: Great Britain 1800–1960*. Hamden: Archon Books, 1982.
- Stocking, George W., Jr. “‘What’s in a Name?’ The Origins of the Royal Anthropological Institute.” *Man* 6 (1971): 369–90.
- . *Victorian Anthropology*. New York: Free Press, 1987.
- Thomas, Gillian. *Harriet Martineau*. Boston: Twayne, 1985.
- Tinkler, Penny. “Introduction to Special Issue: Women, Imperialism, and Identity.” *Women’s Studies International Forum* 21.3 (1998): 217–22.
- Trollope, Frances. *The Life and Adventures of Jonathan Jefferson Whitlaw; or Scenes on the Mississippi*. 3 vols. London: Richard Bentley, 1836.
- Turley, Hans. *Rum, Sodomy, and the Lash: Piracy, Sexuality, and Masculine Identity*. New York: New York University Press, 1999.
- Tuson, Penelope. “Mutiny Narratives and the Imperial Feminine: European Women’s Accounts of the Rebellion in India in 1857.” *Women’s Studies International Forum* 21:3 (1998): 291–303.
- Underhill, Edward Bean. *The West Indies: Their Social and Religious Condition*. 1862. Westport: Negro University Press, 1970.
- Viswanthan, Gauri. “Currying Favor: The Politics of British Educational and Cultural Policy in India, 1813–1854.” *Social Text* 19–20 (1988): 85–104.
- . *Masks of Conquest: Literary Study and British Rule in India*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- Webb, R. K. *Harriet Martineau: A Radical Victorian*. London: Heinemann, 1960.
- Wetzel, David. *The Crimean War: A Diplomatic History*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1985.
- White, Hayden. *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975.
- . *Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985.
- Wiegman, Robyn. *American Anatomies: Theorizing Race and Gender*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1995.
- Wilberforce, William. “An Appeal to the Religion, Justice, and Humanity of the Inhabitants of the British Empire, in Behalf of the Negro Slaves in the West Indies.” London: J. Hatchard and Son, 1823.
- Williams, Eric. *Capitalism and Slavery*. New York: Capricorn Books, 1944.
- Williams, Raymond. *Keywords*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1985.
- Wiss, Rosemary. “Lipreading: Remembering Saartjie Baartman.” *The Australian Journal of Anthropology* 5.1–2 (1994): 11–40.
- Woodward, Christopher. *In Ruins*. New York, Pantheon Books, 2001.
- Young, Robert J. C. *Colonial Desire*. New York: Routledge, 1995.

INDEX



- Aborigines Protection Society. *See* race:
and anthropological exploration
- Abrams, Yvette, 147–49, 156
- Ackroyd, Peter, 78
- aesthetic. *See* race: aesthetics and
- Africans, 7, 10, 15, 17, 24, 35, 39, 41, 52–54,
64, 69, 150; physiognomy of, 29, 30
- African American literature: Signifyin(g)
practices of, 22; and the Signifyin(g)
Monkey figure, 42
- After Colonialism* (ed. Prakash). *See*
Prakash, Gyan
- Altick, Richard, 146–47
- American slavery, 15
- Anthropological Society of London,
57–58, 72–73, 103, 163n10; and the
exclusion of women, 57; and racial
attitudes of British public, 58
- Athenaeum, The*, 27, 28–29
- Ba(a)rtman(n), Sara(h), 12, 45–46, 141,
142–57; and the ethic of care, 142, 155,
156; and *Politics from a Black Woman's
Insides* (Edwards), 146
- Barringer, Tim, 57
- Beer, Gillian, 49, 159n1, 165n19
- Beyer-Berenbaum, Linda, 136
- Bhabha, Homi K., 11, 88
- Bindman, David, 46; and George Mosse,
46
- Bolt, Christine, 46, 105
- Brantlinger, Patrick, 6, 12, 16, 81, 102; and
the “Imperial Gothic,” 135–36, 144,
145, 146
- Burg, B. R., 91
- Buxton, Thomas Fowell, 24
- Caliban, 7–8, 17
- Carlyle, Thomas, 99, 102–3, 137, 159n2
- Carolan, Katherine, 78–79
- Cohn, Bernard, 18
- Collins, Wilkie, 75, 76–77, 90, 94. *See also*
“The Perils of Certain English Prison-
ers” (Dickens and Collins)
- community, 19
- Cook, Anthony E., 19
- Cordingly, David, 91
- Critical Race Theory, 17
- Cultural Studies, British, 16
- Daniel Deronda* (Eliot). *See* Eliot, George
- David, Deirdre, 163n11
- Davis, David Brion, 30
- deconstruction, 19, 30
- Dickens, Charles, 11, 92, 102–3; and the
Christmas tale, 77–80; and the Indian
Rebellion, 80–81. *See also* “The Perils
of Certain English Prisoners” (Dickens
and Collins)
- Douglass, Frederick, 33
- Drescher, Seymour, 23
- Eagleton, Terry, 5–6, 143
- Eliot, George, 7–8, 11, 13, 14, 16, 17,
159n1; and Jewish identity in *Daniel
Deronda*, 17

- Ellis, Kate Ferguson, 136–37
- Emancipation, 15, 23–25, 73, 98, 147, 156, 159n3; and education, 32–35
- Enlightenment philosophy: and aesthetics, 13, 46; and racial hierarchy 5; and egalitarian ideals, 58
- Ethnological Society of London, 56, 57; and the admission of women, 57
- Eyre, Governor Edward, 7–9, 11–12, 13, 14, 15, 95, 96–98, 101–5, 107–13, 119–20, 123, 126, 147, 156; and the Eyre Defense Committee, 102–3
- Eze, Emmanuel Chukwudi, 5
- Fabian, Johannes, 55
- Fanon, Frantz, 88
- Ferrus, Diana, 142, 152–53, 155–57
- fetish (and fetishism), 11, 77, 87–93, 94
- Finn, Margot, 63
- First and Last Love* (Grant). *See* Grant, James: and *First Love and Last Love*
- Fladeland, Betty, 34
- Freud, Sigmund, 87–88; 166n9
- Fryer, Peter, 46
- Frye, Northrop, 29
- Gates Jr., Henry Louis, 9, 10, 34, 42, 160n9
- Genette, Gérard, 13
- Gilman, Sander, 146–47, 148
- Gilroy, Paul, 7
- Glancy, Ruth, 78, 79
- Gordon, George William. *See* Morant Bay Rebellion (Jamaica, 1865), and George William Gordon
- Gothic, the: and imperialism, 12; and novels, 12, 136–38, 140, 141; in *First Love and Last Love* (Grant), 121, 123, 133–34, 138–40; in *The Hour and the Man* (Martineau), 36, 138; and racial characteristics, 145
- Gould, Stephen Jay, 147
- Governor Eyre Controversy. *See* Eyre, Governor Edward
- Grant, James: and *First Love and Last Love*, 12, 36, 121, 122–41, 145–46, 156; and trope of rape, 127–28; and trope of the home, 126, 128–32, 140
- Haiti, 9, 14, 15, 23–25, 54, 64, 65, 69, 103, 109–10, 111, 122, 150, 159n3
- Halberstam, Judith, 138, 139, 141
- Hall, Catherine, 7, 103, 105, 126
- Hall, Stuart, 16; and “ethnicity,” 19
- Heart of Darkness* (Conrad), 86, 136
- Heuman, Gad J., 101, 105, 114
- Hobsbawm, Eric, 7, 58
- Hobson, Janell, 149
- Holt, Thomas, 160n8
- Hottentot Venus* (Chase-Riboud), 144, 153–54
- Hour and the Man, The* (Martineau). *See* Martineau, Harriet
- Hunt, James, 57, 103
- Indian Mutiny. *See* Indian Rebellion (1857)
- Indian Rebellion (1857), 6, 12, 15, 75, 77, 80–82, 84, 89, 103, 111, 122–29, 132, 135, 145, 170n1; Nana Sahib and, 6, 16; and white British women, 123, 124–26
- interpretation process, aestheticized. *See* race: and aesthetics; strategies of reading and interpretation of
- interpretation strategies. *See* race: strategies of reading and interpretation of
- Iser, Wolfgang, 35
- Jamaica, 7, 13, 14, 25, 95, 96–105, 120, 126, 147
- James, C. L. R., 26, 29, 30
- Journal of a Residence on a Georgian Plantation in 1838–1839* (Kemble). *See* Kemble, Frances Anne
- Journal of a West Indian Proprietor* (Lewis). *See* Lewis, Matthew
- Kelsall, Malcom, 129
- Kemble, Frances Anne, 1–4; “enchantment” and dreamlike narrative by, 3–4; and slave system, 1–2; and turn to fiction, 3–4
- Knox, Robert, 5, 47–48, 54–55, 76, 77, 123, 152, 156; and the aesthetic, 70–74; and Burke and Hare scandal, 47–48; and the English home, 50, 128–29, 140,

- 141; and the female form, 73–74; and *Great Artists and Great Anatomists*, 46, 71; Henry Lonsdale, biographer of, 47–48, 63, 64, 74, 161n2, 162n6; Isobel Rae, biographer of, 47–48, 70, 161n1, 161n2, 163n14, 164n18; and *The Races of Men*, 10, 16, 44–45, 48–55, 60–70; and “transcendental anatomy,” 67–68
- Lane, Christopher, 9
- Lefebvre, Henri, 139
- Lewis, Matthew, 5
- Lightman, Bernard, 49
- Lonsdale, Henry. *See* Knox, Robert: Henry Lonsdale, biographer of
- Lorimer, Douglas, 8, 15–16, 49, 57, 58–60, 161n3
- L’Overture, Toussaint, 9–10, 21, 26, 28–30, 35–40, 42–43; and Rousseau’s Noble Savage, 21; and Aphra Behn’s Oronooko, 21; as heroic figure, 22, 29; and religious piety, 29–30
- Lowenthal, David, 137
- Magubane, Zine, 148, 150
- Malchow, H. L., 144, 162n5, 165n5, 167n5; and the “Racial Gothic,” 144, 145, 146
- Marryat, Captain Frederick, 89–90, 92
- Martial Law. *See* Morant Bay Rebellion (Jamaica, 1865): and Martial Law
- Martineau, Harriet: and abolitionism, 10, 21, 22, 27, 151, 156; and education, 32–35, 43; and historical accuracy, 22–23, 25; and “historical romance,” 29; and *The Hour and the Man*, 10, 12, 21–23, 26–43, 54, 76, 121, 138–39, 140, 150–51; and the Jamaica Committee, 104, 120; and the *Quarterly Review*, 22, 159n1; and *Society in America*, 25; and *Suggestions for the Future Government of India*, 170n1; and the trope of the monkey, 40–41
- Marx, Karl, 87
- McClintock, Anne, 83
- McLaughlin, Thomas, 18
- Memmi, Albert, 111–12
- Midgley, Clare, 28; and *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*, 28
- Mill, John Stuart, 102, 104–5, 120
- Minh-ha, Trinh T., 154–55
- Mitchell, Sally, 78
- monogenesis, 56, 61; and James C. Pritchard, 56
- Morant Bay Rebellion (Jamaica, 1865), 7, 11, 17, 95, 96–98, 101, 105, 111, 121, 126, 147; and Edward Underhill, 99–101, 110, 113–14, 116; English reaction to, 102–5; and George William Gordon, 98, 101–2, 104, 110, 114; and the Jamaica Committee, 104, 120; and Martial Law, 96–98, 111, 113, 118, 119
- Morrison, Toni, 5
- Mukherjee, Rudrangshu, 126, 127
- Mulvey, Laura, 88
- Nayder, Lillian, 84
- Paxton, Nancy, 12, 125, 127–28
- “The Perils of Certain English Prisoners” (Dickens and Collins), 75, 76–77; 82–95, 121, 122–23, 124, 139, 141, 145, 156; and Christian George King, 76–77, 84, 86, 93–95, 145, 165n4; and the Dickens-Collins collaboration, 82–83; and Pedro Mendez, 77, 84, 86–87, 89–95, 141. *See also* Collins, Wilkie; Dickens, Charles
- Pietz, William, 87, 88
- pirates, 11, 84–87, 89–93; and masculinity, 90–93; in British reading, 85; racial diversity and “otherness” of, 85, 145, 165–66n6
- polygenesis, 56, 57, 68; and Robert Knox, 56
- Poovey, Mary, 72, 73, 102
- Prakash, Gyan, 18
- Pratt, Mary Louise, 6
- Quarterly Review*. *See* Martineau, Harriet: and the *Quarterly Review*
- race: and aesthetics, 4–6, 11, 18, 21, 30, 70–74, 141, 143, 150; and anthropological exploration, 55–56; and anxiety, 7,

- 14, 16, 20, 27; and biology, 7, 9, 52, 57, 60, 100, 111, 152, 162n6; and ethical issues, 16–17; and European revolutions of 1848, 62, 163n15; and Governor Eyre's justification of violence, 108–9; and hero figure, 21, 28–29; and history, 51–52, 66–67; and humanitarianism, 7, 23, 55–56, 150; and irrationality, 9, 17, 19; and nationalism, 61–62; and figure of the “Negro,” 8–9, 16, 53–54, 57; and the “other,” 12, 123, 138, 141, 143, 145–46; and scientific racism, 14, 44, 55–56, 58; and skin color, 30–32; as a signifier, 10, 13, 20; and the status of gentleman, 59; strategies of reading and interpretation of, 20, 21, 35, 40–42; tropism and tropes of, 6–7, 9, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16–19, 44, 149
- Races of Men, The* (Knox). *See* Knox, Robert
- Rae, Isobel. *See* Knox, Robert: Isobel Rae, biographer of
- reading strategies. *See* race: strategies of reading and interpretation of
- “Report of the Jamaica Royal Commission 1866,” 11–12, 95, 96, 105–19, 120, 141, 147, 156; racial differences articulated by, 114
- Richards, Evelleen, 54
- Richards, Thomas, 106–7, 118, 119
- Roberts, Diane, 159n3
- Robinson, Jane, 124–25, 126
- Roper, Michael, 93
- Royal Commission (Jamaica). *See* “Report of the Jamaica Royal Commission 1866”
- ruins (architectural) and ruin sites, 12, 121; in *First Love and Last Love* (Grant), 122–23, 128, 130–41, 146; in *The Hour and the Man* (Martineau), 35–37, 130, 133, 134; in “Perils of Certain English Prisoners,” 86, 130–31, 133
- Sahib, Nana. *See* Indian Rebellion (1857), Nana Sahib and
- Said, Edward, 14, 160n9
- Sartre, Jean-Paul, 111
- scapegoat, 77, 84, 87–89, 94
- Schwarz, Daniel R., 16
- Scott, Sir Walter, 89, 90, 92
- Sharpe, Jenny, 12, 77, 93, 123, 170n2
- Sharpley-Whiting, T. Denean, 151–52
- Society for the Mitigation and Gradual Abolition of Slavery Throughout the British Dominions, 24–25
- Spivak, Gayatri, 19
- St. Domingo Revolution (1790), 10, 15, 21, 22, 29, 31; British involvement in, 25–26; and the French National Assembly, 26; and Napoleon Bonaparte, 26, 39–40
- Stepan, Nancy, 6, 49
- Stocking, George, 47, 48, 55–56, 103, 162n8, 162n9, 163n10, 163n13
- Suleri, Sara, 12
- taxonomy: empirical, 97, 106, 117, 119, 120, 152; racial, 46, 152, 156
- Tinkler, Betty, 170–71n3
- Tosh, John, 93
- Trollope, Frances, 160n7
- trope. *See* race: tropes and tropism
- “truth” and truth-telling, 97, 106, 119; data collection and “facts” as a measure of, 106–7, 114, 119; Victorian belief in, 11, 107; and Royal Commission, 11, 116;
- Turley, Hans, 91
- Tuson, Penelope, 124
- Underhill, Edward. *See* Morant Bay Rebellion (Jamaica, 1865), and Edward Underhill
- Victorian racial tropism. *See* race: tropes and tropism
- violence, 12, 113, 145–46, 155–56; in colonial India, 126; in *First Love and Last Love* (Grant), 125; in *The Hour and the Man* (Martineau), 28; and the Morant Bay Rebellion (Jamaica, 1865), 112, 115, 122

INDEX

- Viswanathan, Gauri, 160n9
- West Indies, 7, 15, 23, 26, 96–99, 113
- Westminster Review, The*, 29, 42–43
- Wetzel, David, 62, 163n15
- White, Hayden, 6, 13–14, 88, 166n10
- Wiegman, Robyn, 171n1
- Wilberforce, William, 25
- Williams, Eric, 30, 160n8
- Wiss, Rosemary, 151
- Woodward, Christopher, 36
- Young, Robert J. C., 61, 103