Old Print Media, Radical Ideas and Vernacular Performance in the Life and Work of Robert Wedderburn (c.1762 -1835?) and Henry Box Brown (c. 1815 - ?)

> Texts obscure what performance tends to reveal; memory challenges history in the construction of circum-Atlantic cultures, and it revises the yet unwritten epic of their fabulous co-creation. (Roach 286)

Hal Roach's astute comment highlights the importance of performance and performativity in African Atlantic culture in the years 1789-1865 between the beginning of the French Revolution and the end of the American Civil War. This can be seen in the stellar career of Ira Aldridge (1807-1867), the American-born 'African Roscius' who bestrode the stage throughout Europe from Liverpool to Lodsz and was the first black actor to play Othello on a British stage. His Transatlantic presence has historically been downplayed in comparison to African Atlantic writers (Rice 16). For, although the slave narrative genre has been instrumental in the development of a thoroughgoing account of the conditions endured by enslaved Africans across the black Atlantic in this period, political speeches, dramatic interventions and performance pieces were also key to African Atlantic expression in the period. The slave narrative's dominance across a range of disciplines, and especially in literary and cultural studies, as the primary evidential base for the development of discussions about slavery and abolition has meant that African Atlantic expression that is not enveloped within its multivarious ranges is often ignored or downplayed. As Lisa Merrill reminds us in discussing William Wells Brown's act of guerrilla theatre in the Crystal Palace Exhibition of 1851 where he disrupted the American exhibit of Hiriam Powers's *Greek Slave* by juxtaposing it with a cartoon image to highlight extant American slavery:

> The popular cultural as well as the political landscape need be examined together as significant venues for the staging and ameliorating the horrors of chattel slavery. (335)

Over the past two decades, a range of critics including W.T. Lhamon Jr., Hal Roach, Marcus Wood, Daphne Brooks, Lisa Merrill and Deborah Jenson have written important books and articles that have foregrounded performance, the non-literary, visual culture and the vernacular as central to our understanding of the wealth of radicalism beyond the slave narratives. As Deborah Jenson comments, "…the majority of slaves, in all Western colonial slave cultures, were 'impossible witnesses,' those whose stories we will never hear…" (31). A crucial figure in the black Atlantic, ignored even by many of the revisionist authors above, in part because he did not write a conventional slave narrative, is the free black, radical preacher and protean anarchist, Robert Wedderburn (c.1762-1835?). Wedderburn of Scots/Afro-Caribbean ancestry lives much of his life in Britain, but is best framed in the context of the black Atlantic. His scurrilous pamphlet *The Horrors of Slavery* (1824) regales against the institution still extant in his home colony Jamaica and describes how Britain is still tied to it in a nexus of blood and abuse exemplified by his own life as the free mulatto son of the Scottish slave trader and plantation owner, James Wedderburn. As Iain McCalman says, Robert Wedderburn was a "direct product, witness and victim of the Jamaican slave system" (3). However, his political activism was not confined to regaling against the evils of that "peculiar institution" alone, but was directed at ending a domestic British abuse of power he saw as equally antediluvian, wage-slavery. His remarkably prescient acknowledgement of the interplay between race and class in capitalism makes his life an excellent example to show the limitations of a dogmatic insistence on the overwhelming primacy of race and of the written word as the determining factor in the creation of Atlantic personalities. Wedderburn attracted notice from the authorities not so much because of his racial politics, but rather on account of his radical critique of capitalism throughout the British Empire. Also,

much of his most pertinent thought was expressed in dramatic political speeches that we only have transcriptions of, highlighting the performative nature of his expression.

Wedderburn's linkage of the two horrors of wage and chattel slavery and activism designed to end them brought him into a conflict with the authorities which differentiated him from those black British liberal reformers of the period like Olaudah Equiano who did not consistently take such radical class-based positions or have the same class loyalty as Wedderburn (Wedderburn 6). His working-class Jacobinism was already developed at the time of the Gordon Riots in 1780 "when he looked on approvingly and later boasted of his friendship with one of the rioters" (ibid 7). His radicalism was also honed in part at least, during his service in the British Navy aboard *H.M.S. Polymethus* in the late 1770s and later as a privateer. Paul Gilroy identifies such service at sea as foundational for the development of an Internationalist radicalism in black activists of the period and links Wedderburn with the radical William Davidson (also from Jamaica) who was to be executed for trying to blow up the cabinet in the 1820 Cato Street Conspiracy:

> ...both Wedderburn and his sometime associate Davidson had been sailors, moving to and fro between nations, crossing borders in modern machines which were themselves micro-systems of linguistic and political hybridity. Their relationship to the sea may turn out to be especially important for both the early politics and poetics of the black Atlantic world that I wish to counterpose against the narrow nationalism of so much English historiography. (Gilroy 1993 12)

Wedderburn's dynamic internationalism is ironically learnt in the service of British imperial power in the Royal Navy. The ships are a microcosm of radical politics, however, as attested to by the later mutinies at Nore and Spithead in 1797. His major contribution came as a political activist and rabble-rouser and his speeches were both cogent critiques of imperial praxis and colourful performances that illuminated the radical fringe of London politics through the early nineteenth century.

For instance, he linked oppression abroad against Africans to that against a home proletariat by capitalists who controlled the political machine. At a speech heard by the government spy Sd. J. Bryant at the Hopkins Street chapel he made the link clear:

> They would employ blacks to go and steal females - they would put them in sacks and would be murdered if they made an alarm Vessels would be in readiness and they would fly off with them This was done by Parliament men - who done it for gain - the same as they employed them in their Cotton factories to make slaves of them to become possessed of money to bring them into Parliament. (Wedderburn 114)

The slave trade here is directly linked as oppressive praxis to the exploitation of labourers at home and the guilty parties are the most powerful in the land. Wedderburn's idea was that an alliance of rebels across racial divisions would create a class-based revolt against international capitalism in all its manifestations. As well as the writing and dissemination of pamphlets and contributions to periodicals containing such inflammatory materials, Wedderburn preached sedition in political meetings to the radical working class. He performed his radicalism through a series of speeches in a range of taverns and meeting rooms. Ironically we only have access to these rhetorical delights through the good offices of government spies who repeatedly reported how Wedderburn stressed the importance of the global context in his radical ideology, using Caribbean revolt to urge on the working class in Britain. The Reverend Chetwode Eustace reported on a speech in August 1819 where

> One of those men who appeared to be the principal in their concern is a Mulatto and announced himself as the Descendant of an African Slave. After noticing the insurrections of the Slaves in some of the West India Islands he said they fought in some instances for twenty years for 'Liberty' - and he then appealed to Britons who boasted such superior feelings and principles whether they were ready to fight now but for a short time for their Liberties - He stated his name to be Wedderburn... (Wedderburn 116)

Inspired by the rebellion on St. Domingo and the activities of rebellious maroons in Jamaica, Wedderburn uses a black Atlantic discourse of radicalism to

incite revolution on the streets of the imperial capital. We might mainly get access to the speechifying, vernacular rhetoric of Wedderburn through his enemies, however, his performative power shines through the perfunctory narrative of the straight-laced Reverend's discourse. These official narratives cannot drown out the authentic voice of black Atlantic radicalism that the imperial state apparatus seeks to neutralise. In fact they provide a window on black involvement in these movements that rescues these seminal figures in British radicalism from marginalisation. He should not only be identified as a black radical or even merely as a proletarian revolutionary, but as a key intellectual figure in the circulation of a new vernacular discourse. Wedderburn's language, learnt in his struggle against the Plantocracy in Jamaica, honed in his travels aboard ship, before being unleashed in the metropole where the chapel and the prison both contributed their specific discourses to what became a unique and splendidly polyglot Transatlantic dialect, frames a new counter-hegemonic ideology that challenges the imperial polity. His is the logical outcome of a truly "routed" experience that transcends the national boundaries of traditional historiography. Wedderburn's life journey is testament to this mobile radicalism. Wedderburn combined a vernacular Caribbean perspective with a demotic metropolitan dynamic to create a truly unique political discourse. Even, the English language cannot contain this new kind of voice and this is demonstrated by the way his written discourse is littered with "italic, bold, and upper-case characters from the typographer's case" as he attempts to bend the King's English to his oral mode and distinctive vernacular dialect (Linebaugh and Rediker 2000 403). For instance, in his *The Horrors of Slavery* , Wedderburn describes the extremities of his upbringing in Jamaica and plain type is shown as wholly inadequate to detailing them:

> I being a descendant of a Slave by a base Slave-Holder, the late JAMES WEDDERBURN, Esq. of Inveresk, who sold my mother

> when she was with child of me, HER THIRD SON BY HIM!!! She was FORCED to submit to him, being *his Slave*, THOUGH HE KNEW SHE DISLIKED HIM!... I have seen my poor mother stretched on the ground, tied hands and feet, and **FLOGGED** in the most indecent manner, though **PREGNANT AT THE SAME TIME!!!** her *fault* being the not acquainting her mistress that her master had *given her leave to go and see her mother in town*! (Wedderburn 1824 50-51).

Wedderburn manipulates the King's English here to tell a new story from the colonies; one from its subterranean reaches; literally inscribing what Gayatri Spivak would later term a "subaltern" perspective. In order to do so he imbricates his voice through the use of various typographical estrangements so that the plain discourse of written English is, as Homi Bhabha would term it, hybridised. *The Horrors of Slavery* cannot be related in the plain prose of normal typography, it is too large a horror, a horror that must be challenged with a vernacular discourse outwith the traditional literary language. Such hybridisation "reverses the effects of the colonialist disavowal, so that other denied knowledges enter upon the dominant discourse and estrange the basis of its authority" (Bhabha 175). Bhabha's description accurately delineates the power of Wedderburn's vernacular discourse to "unmask" the innocence of the master/slave relationship, showing the perverted and violent relations it perpetuates and moving by florid publication of its evils to a challenge to its hegemonic power in Transatlantic discourse. His written pamphlet's use of capitalisation and other orthographic device is meant to mimic the voice of his oral political discourse, hence imbricating the vernacular radical voice as performative praxis. It is not only in the realm of the printed word that Wedderburn challenged the imperial polity, however, his unique brand of political radicalism used counter-hegemonic discourse as a motor for physical action too.

Wedderburn's advanced a radical inclusive agenda that saw the problems of the African in the diaspora as related to those of the nascent British working class.

Wedderburn's multi-racial, geographically diverse and radical class-infected politics are expressed in a ludic vernacular mode. His agenda, though marginalised, was not completely lost at his death. In fact, Wedderburn could be seen as an exemplary figure of the black Atlantic in that he uses the possibilities inherent in the apparent geographical and economic straitjacket of that Ocean's race and class interrelationships to fashion a life which is ultimately liberating. Yet, in this chapter, it is the way that Wedderburn's career combines black Atlantic radicalism with a very British concern with the abuses of monarchy and the nobility that I want to foreground. His polemical, regicidal reaction towards the Prince Regent in the wake of the Peterloo Massacre in Manchester in 1819 where at least 18 working class activists for voting reform were trampled and sabred to death by government forces and over 700 injured is exemplary of his interventions.. Government spies reported him exclaiming at a public meeting in London:

> That the Prince had lost the confidence and affection of his people but that he the Prince being supported by the Army and surrounded by his vile ministers nothing short of people taking arms in their own defence could bring about a Reform and prevent the bloody scene taking place at the next Smithfield meeting as had taken place at Manchester; for his part old as he was he was learning his Exercise as a soldier and he would be one if he fell in the cause, for he would rather die like Cashman if he could but have the satisfaction of plunging a dagger in the heart of a Tyrant. (Wedderburn 119)

This firebrand speech calls for self-defence in the wake of Government murder and he rallies his fellow radicals to the cause by invoking the Irish sailor, fisherman and Napoleonic war veteran, Cashman, who had been arrested and executed after a London riot at Spa Fields in 1816. Regicide is justified by class warfare to avenge the dead in Manchester and closer to home in London. It is interesting that the only full record of this important and dynamic speech that we have comes from Government spies which illustrates again that in order to fully reconstruct black Atlantic history it behoves the critic to move beyond traditional literary texts and find black expressivity

in the interstices of the majority culture, even at their very heart in court and government records. Black, radical and performative culture is exemplified by Wedderburn's splenetic discourse. Without these copious "official" documents gathered about Wedderburn's "criminal" activities, we would only have a partial record of his contribution to a radical black alterity. The fervent atmosphere in Britain polarises opinion and Wedderburn's speech illustrates the way government repression has radicalised him. His clear-headed and polemical analysis is allied to a riotous, satirical and comedic performance in his piece, *Cast Iron Parsons, or Hints to the Public and the Legislature on Political Economy…* written from his prison cell in Dorchester and published in 1820. This wonderfully scurrilous pamphlet was a response to his imprisonment for blasphemy in 1819. I will discuss later the brilliance of this satire on religion but at the very end of the pamphlet, his hyperbolic scheme is expanded from the clergy to the monarchy:

> P.S. In those foreign countries where the Kings are mere drones, sunk in debauchery and licentiousness, troubling themselves with nothing but their own pleasures, and so completely absorbed in luxury and effeminacy that they leave the management of state affairs to the knaves and parasites by whom they are surrounded, signing every paper at random which the minister lays before them, - in such cases as these I think a CAST-IRON KING would answer every purpose and be a great saving. (Wedderburn 151)

Wedderburn's Swiftian satire speaks of "foreign countries" but obviously aims at his own here indicting a monarchy which is a rubber-stamp to a corrupt and undemocratic government. What is most interesting about Wedderburn's description of cast-iron oppressors of the common man is that they reflect an industrialising process at that moment changing the terms of engagement between the classes. In Wedderburn's clear-eyed vision the increasingly mechanistic world is best reflected by a futuristic mechanical monarchy. The irony is that in their iron-hearted rejection of the needs of their subjects, the Prince Regent and his acolytes already function as

Cast-Iron rulers. Wedderburn's attack on Monarchy and the Government are merely the postscript, however, to his pamphlet that concentrates most of its ire on the Clergy.

His attitude in the pamphlet illustrates his radicalism in religion too. Robert Wedderburn, had also been a Wesleyan convert in around 1786, but his later trajectory was to a more radical Nonconformism in a London radical underworld linked to the philosphies of the Jacobin Thomas Spence, becoming as McCalman asserts "a dissenting minister who cast himself as Spencean prophet or enthusiast who has undergone an ecstatic conversion to the movement's ideals and goals" which included millenarianism and redistributive politics (Wedderburn 12-13). In his radical blasphemy against the Christian religion noted at a meeting attended by government spies, Wedderburn refuses to honour a messiah whose message to oppressed people is to surrender. He describes how Government ministers,

> tell us to be quiet like that *bloody spooney Jesus Christ* who like a *Bloody Fool* tells us when we get a slap on one side of the face turn gently round and ask them to smack the other – But I like jolly old Peter give me a rusty old sword…(Wedderburn 122)

Wedderburn's depiction of the limits of Christian non-violence in a world of class and race oppression is key to his rejection of a quietistic faith that, in his view, supports a rotten system. This reaches its apotheosis in his satirical polemic describing 'Cast-Iron Parsons'. Like Swift's *Modest Proposal*, Wedderburn's satire works through an extreme rationality that calculates the economic and social costs of the replacement of the clergy with automota as the only solution to the corruption, venality and hypocrisy of the Church. He writes:

> Finding that the routine of duty required of the Clergy of the legitimate Church, was so completely mechanical, and that nothing was so much in vogue as the dispensing with human labour by the means of machinery, it struck me that it might one day be possible to substitute a CAST-IRON PARSON. I had seen the automaton chess-player, the automaton portrait painter, the mechanical figure of

> a beautiful lady who played delightfully on the piano-dulce… (Wedderburn 145)

The problem with these automata is the lack of a human voice, but Wedderburn is delighted that progress has now delivered the voice so that sermons can now be given by his Cast-Iron Parsons in parishes across the land. The clerk of the parish is paid more now as he has an enhanced role as he has,

> …superintendence of the said automaton, and that he be punctual in regulating the machinery in such a manner that the ordinary service of the day be gone through in a regular manner, always recollecting that his voice is to be wound up to a higher key when the sermon is placed before him. (Wedderburn 148)

And of course once they have their voices these men of the cloth can indulge in their age-old task of supporting local landlords and national governments. Wedderburn gives the task of providing sermons to the local magistrates so that "he will become a more certain and uniform engine of the government than a live parson" (149). There would subsequently be no fear of rebel clergy to undermine corrupt government and Wedderburn makes this point:

> There have been instances of stubborn, headstrong, and independent men getting into the church, and what has happened once may happen again; therefore as the times are getting worse, and arbitrary measures more necessary to keep the '*swinish multitude*' in order, care must be taken against such an occurrence, by adopting my Cast-Iron Parson, who will at the end of every discourse say, '*Fear God, honour the King, pay your taxes, be humble and quiet that you may enter the kingdom of Heaven*.' (149-150)

The satire works of course because the 'Cast-Iron Parsons' are almost exact replicants of the craven clergy they replace. Like Swift in his 'Modest Proposal', Wedderburn has an economic imperative too, saving £3,000,000 annually by the saving of tax for clergymen's living and the economic argument is played out like the rest of the argument po-faced here to compound the effectiveness of a sharp satire on the workings of Church and State. Most of all though, Wedderburn (in jail remember)

uses the satire to joyously exult in a radical vision that refuses to bow down to so-called accepted wisdoms.

His anarchist vision and comic sensibility means that black voices of this period are not confined to the po-faced Abolitionist discourse they have often been assigned to. They also come out of and react to the ribald vision exemplified by the artist William Hogarth and the caricaturists George and Isaac Cruikshank whose dynamic satirical work illuminated the class and racial problematics of the British imperium in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century (Dabydeen). His work reflects developments in visual and performative culture much more than a limited literary vision. Later in the nineteenth century, black radicalism would assert itself again in a performative mode. To engage this later manifestation, I want to start with the landmark, epic reconstruction of this later performer.

In October 2009 in front of Leeds City Museum a Black British artist emerged from a packing box, in which he had been placed for nearly three hours, to a crowd of onlookers and local media. Dressed in Victorian garb he ventriloquised a speech that had been made close to that spot over 150 years before. Simeon Barclay had determined to do the journey from Bradford to Leeds in the box in homage to the escaped slave Henry 'Box' Brown. Brown who had escaped in a packing box from Richmond, Virginia to Philadelphia, Pennsylvania in 1849 made the performative potential of his escape methodology the centrepiece of an Abolitionist 'roadshow' he brought across the Atlantic and then toured throughout Britain. In West Yorkshire, he had determined to make the emergence from the box even more spectacular by having himself mailed and conveyed on the train from Bradford to Leeds. In May 1851, 'he was packed up . . . at Bradford' and forwarded to Leeds on the 6 p.m. train. 'On arriving . . . the box was placed in a coach and, preceded by a band . . . and banners

representing the stars and stripes. . . paraded through the . . . town … attended by an immense concourse of spectators.' James C. A. Smith, who had packaged Brown for his original escape, 'rode with the box and afterwards opened it at the musical hall.' In all Brown was confined for 2 3/4 hours, a mere bagatelle in comparison with the occasion of his escape where he had been in the box for 27 hours. The carnivalesque atmosphere of such events upset many of the more po-faced abolitionists, but was undoubtedly important in publicising the Abolitionist cause to the widest possible audience. Tickets for the show in Leeds cost from one to two shillings and Brown's transmogrification from Abolitionist orator to performing showman was sealed by such successful *coups de theatre*. (Ruggles 127-8).

Box Brown's re-enactment at Leeds is an example of a kinetic or "guerrilla memorialisation" that brought home to a population thousands of miles from the American plantation economy the horrors of a system that would force a man to risk death by suffocation in order to escape. By "guerrilla memorialisation" here I mean to describe the way memorialising sometimes takes on an overtly political character in order to challenge dominating historical narratives (Rice 11 & 64). Brown's escape symbolises much for him too, however: on leaping from the box and delivering his speech, he transformed himself into a radical transatlantic figure, transcending his slave status and becoming a free agent. Barclay's restaging of Brown's West Yorkshire 'escape' as part of Leeds' Black History Month celebrations was stunningly successful, attracting large crowds and bringing the media spotlight to an important black figure who had been neglected in local and national historical narratives. Barclay's aim was to spectacularly reinsert Box Brown into the region's historical memory. He achieved this and more (Barclay). In fact his intervention exemplifies memorialisation that works against the silencing of minority histories: as

Box Brown had collapsed geography in his 1851 re-enactment so Barclay had collapsed chronology in his 2009 homage.

In the mid nineteenth century such local interventions by African American Abolitionists in towns and cities throughout the United Kingdom were important in helping to build a transatlantic movement against American slavery that would build pressure on the American government and help finance the abolitionist campaign. There are still treasures to be found in local archives far from the metropolitan centres, still new light to be shed on the imbricated histories and complex motivations of key actors in this internationalist movement. This can be shown in the life of Brown himself as recent research by Kathy Chater establishes, through census records, new information about his lost years in Britain between 1859 and 1871 including marriage to a Cornish woman, helping to bring up three children and a successful career in showbusiness that allows him when he lives in Cheetham, Manchester to frame himself as Professor H.B. Brown and employ a servant (Chater 32-3). Another interesting recent discovery was made in Shropshire archives in 2008: a playbill for a Mr. Henry Box Brown event at the Music Hall in Shrewsbury (Entertainments bill). The playbill provides new information about Brown's life as a performer and activist beyond that outlined in the excellent Jeffrey Ruggles biography *The Unboxing of Henry Brown* (2003). The bill promotes 'For Five Days Only' in December 1859 Brown's 'Grand Moving Mirror of Africa and America! Followed by the Diorama of the Holy Land!' Central to the former was his escape in the box which also provides the major visual image on the bill. By 1859, Brown's unconventional escape had become the visual signifier that framed his other performative activities. The text on the poster unselfconsciously promotes the aesthetic dimension of his life and work as a framework for his political agenda:

> The public . . . when they witness this entertainment, . . . will not only appreciate it as a work of art but also award it that approbation that all faithfully executed paintings should command. (ibid)

Casting political action as dramatic art, the bill also promises that "Mr. H Box Brown will appear in his Dress as a Native Prince" in a performance highlighting the nobility of the African . . . before the advent of the Transatlantic slave trade. "APPROPRIATE MUSIC WILL BE IN ATTENDANCE" to provide a soundscape to the chronologies and geographies presented (ibid). These details underline the importance of visual iconography and the performative in fully understanding not just Brown but the wider culture of abolition, as Marcus Wood reminds us in his seminal studies (2000 & 2010). Brown uses his black bodily presence as a weapon against slavery, but with an eye to entertainment value that establishes him as the showman par excellence. Playbills posted throughout a town or city invited the non-literate or those unable to access slave narratives into the exotic, counter-cultural world of African American abolitionism. They advertise the presence of radical black transatlantic figures, transmitting information about the institution of chattel slavery beyond the sphere of the chattering classes, making inroads into popular culture at the same time as helping to define the political arena. As Daphne Brooks describes:

> Brown effectively transcended the discursive restrictions of the slave narrative and redirected the uses of the Transatlantic body toward politically insurgent ends. In this regard, Brown engineered multiple ruptures in the cultural arm of mid-century Transatlantic Abolitionism. (68-69)

As Brook asserts, for a full understanding of African Atlantic writers and history throughout the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, the critic cannot rely on following the trajectory of the slave narrative alone as sanctioned by the Abolitionist movement of the time and the makers of the Black Canon in the present, but must study in the interstices of the culture to find the African Atlantic figures that help to reflect their culture in the fullest sense. Hershi Bhana Young reminds us of the

> … centrality of diasporic Africans to the building of modernity. Black bodies were the indispensable coerced mechanisms of labor, the Other against whom the whiteness of the imperial subject was formed. Diaspora Africans are both inside and constitutive of modernity and outside and negated by modernity: both haunted and haunting. (47)

The task of the critic is to release the spectres, to allow the forgotten and troubling voices speaking room, and make their often performative histories as central in the academy as those famous conventional slave-narrative writing figures in whose shadow they far too often dwell.

Professor Alan Rice **University of Central Lancashire**

Acknowledgements

I have been researching in African Atlantic performative culture for the last two decades and would like to thank all my co-workers, but especially, Lisa Merrill, Fionnghuala Sweeney, Celeste Marie Bernier, Sabine Broeck, Dorothea Fischer-Hornung and Joke Kardux. Portions of this article have appeared in a different form in *Radical Narratives of the Black Atlantic* (Continuum, 2003) and *Creating Memorials, Building Identities* (Liverpool University Press, 2010), in the introduction to the special issue of Slavery and Abolition on "African Americans and Transatlantic Abolition 1845-1865" which I jointly edited with Fionnghuala Sweeney in 2012 and in my 'Ghostly and Vernacular Presences in the Black Atlantic' in Susan Manning and Eve Bannet (eds.), *Transatlantic Literary Studies 1680-1830* (Cambridge University Press, 2012).

Works Cited

Barclay, Simeon. 'Henry Box Brown Event' on You Tube at http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yC9H0aewkXQ (accessed 5 Jan 2013).

"Signs Taken For Wonders: Questions of Ambivalence and Authority under a Tree Outside Delhi: May 1817." *Race Writing and Difference*. Henry Louis Gates Jr. Ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986. 163-184.

Brooks, Daphne A. *Bodies in Dissent: Spectacular Performances of Race and Freedom.* , 2006.

Chater, Kathy. “From Slavery to Showbusiness”. *Ancestors*, December 2005: 32-33.

Dabydeen, David. *Hogarth’s Blacks: Images of Blacks in Eighteenth Century English Art*. Denmark: Dangaroo, 1985.

Gilroy, Paul. *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness*. London: Verso, 1993.

Entertainments bill, “Henry Box Brown showing a mirror of Africa and America at the Music Hall”, 12-17 December 1859; 665/4/367 Shropshire Archives.

Jenson, Deborah. *Beyond the Slave Narrative: Politics, Sex and Manuscripts in the Haitian Revolution*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2011.

Linebaugh, Peter and Rediker, Marcus. *The Many-Headed Hydra: Sailors, Slaves, Commoners and the Hidden History of the Revolutionary Atlantic*. London: Verso, 2000.

Merrill, Lisa. “Exhibiting Race ‘Under the World’s Huge Glass Case’: William and Ellen Craft and William Wells Brown at the Great Exhibition in Crystal Palace, London, 1851.” *Slavery and Abolition* 33(2) June 2012: 321-36.

Rice, Alan. *Creating Memorials, Building Identities: The Politics of Memory in the Black Atlantic*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2010.

Rice, Alan. “Tracing Roots and Routes and Facing Forward: African Atlantic Residents and Sojourners Make their Mark in the Cottonopolis 1789-1949” in *We Face Forward: West African Art Today*. Manchester: Manchester City Galleries, 2012: 16-21.

Roach, Joseph. *Cities of the Dead: Circum-Atlantic Performance*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1996.

Ruggles, Jeffrey, *The Unboxing of Henry Brown*. Richmond: Library of Virginia, 2003.

Wedderburn, Robert. *The Horrors of Slavery; exemplified in the Life and History of the Rev. Robert Wedderburn*. 1824. *The Horrors of Slavery and Other Writings*. Ed. Ian McCalman. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1991. 43-61.

Wood, Marcus. *Blind Memory: Visual Representations of Slavery in England and America 1780*-1865. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000.

---. *The Horrible Gift of Freedom: Atlantic Slavery and the Representation of Emancipation* (Athens: Georgia University Press, 2010).

Young, Hershini Bhana, *Haunting Capital: Memory, Text & the Black Diasporic Body* (Lebanon NH: Dartmouth College Press, 2006).