

TRANSATLANTIC TECHNOLOGIES OF NATIONALISM
IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY: EXHIBITING SLAVERY IN
HIRAM POWERS'S *GREEK SLAVE*, *UNCLE TOM'S CABIN*, *PUDD'NHEAD
WILSON*, AND *KING LEOPOLD'S SOLILOQUY*

by

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(Under the Direction of Tricia Lootens)

ABSTRACT

In the nineteenth-century, world's fairs offered scenes of mass spectacle in which the utopian possibilities of technological advances and empire seemed to promise limitless national progress; the Great Exhibition of 1851 in London marked the beginning of this trend and the Columbian Exposition of 1893 in Chicago was another important instance. At the same time that Great Britain and the United States hosted their respective displays of cultural and technical power, the issue of abolition largely became a way to celebrate the moral capital of each nation. This dissertation examines how representations of slavery intersected discourses of national progress in key artistic and literary texts that were produced in conjunction with these exhibitions. I argue that, while these exhibitions formed narrow definitions of who and what might be deemed "British" or "American," the media encircling them provide significant sites from which to understand how visual technologies played a mediatory role between the formation of mass culture and the display of enslaved persons.

The circulation of Hiram Powers's *Greek Slave* and illustrated editions of Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* at mid-century emphasized the contradictions and convergences among the currents of reformism, elitism, and middle-class formation in relation to abolitionism in the print culture of Great Britain and the United States. Two months after the Columbian Exposition, the publication of Mark Twain's *Pudd'nhead Wilson* in the *Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine* offered a surprisingly nuanced treatment of racial relations in the post-Reconstruction transatlantic publishing market. In 1895, the appearance of E. J. Glave's diary entries in the *Century* accentuated how narratives of technological and post-abolition progress provided a background from which to elide the significance of the atrocities in the Congo, a trend that Mark Twain "exploded" by indulging in extreme spectacle and sensation for his 1905 exposé, *King Leopold's Soliloquy*. In charting the display of enslaved persons in crucial media and print productions in the latter half of the nineteenth century, this dissertation considers how these texts interacted with the world's fairs with which they had close connections, and how they resisted, integrated, and sometimes generated new *technologies of nationalism*.

INDEX WORDS: Elizabeth Barrett Browning, Columbian Exposition, Great Exhibition, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Illustrations, Mark Twain, Mass Culture, Middle Class, Nationalism, Periodicals, Photography, Reformism, Technology, Transatlantic, Slavery, Victorian, Visual Culture, Whiteness

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A Dissertation Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of The University of Georgia in Partial
Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

ATHENS, GEORGIA

2012

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August 2012

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My heartfelt thanks go to Tricia Lootens for her informed and sympathetic insight throughout this process; she is an inspiration to me both as a person and a scholar. Also, to Doug Anderson and Richard Menke, my sincere appreciation for their patience, knowledge, and guidance. I am grateful for the opportunities to travel to conferences, conduct research, and otherwise expand my vision provided by the English Department and the University of Georgia.

I thank my parents, Ron and Judy Bracewell, for their help in every way imaginable. In addition, I have benefited from the kindness and reassuring presence of my “in-town” brother and sister-in-law, Mark and Charity Bracewell, as well as the “telescopic” support of Nathan and Tara Bracewell. I am also indebted to the wonderful friends who have helped me pick myself up and dust myself off many times along the way.

It makes me glad to know of the many ways that people I have met and people I hope to meet acknowledge their limitations and their powers, and try to do what they can.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Remembering numerous issues of *Punch* in which Abraham Lincoln was caricatured and both the North and the South were derided, Henry James wrote in 1883 that a reader seeking American “types” would find them most frequently portrayed in the three-penny weekly from 1861-65, “in which, during the long, weary years of the War, the primitive pencil of Mr. Tenniel contributed, at the expense of the American physiognomy, to the gayety of nations” (60).¹ In this passage acknowledging the high cost of the Civil War, James’s language shows the currency of the idea that the body, and especially the head and face, could express inner states or carry the signs of national character; James’s comments also emphasize the lasting mental impact of representations of the “national physiognomy.” On May 6, 1865, however, three weeks after Lincoln was assassinated, the tenor of coverage about the conflict in the periodical had changed abruptly. *Punch* ran a cartoon by John Tenniel that drew on the highly charged iconography of nationalism and slavery to depict a scene of British solidarity with the American people, ennobling the cause of the Civil War.²

“Britannia Sympathises with Columbia” pictures the two nations mourning the death of the president, while an unshackled slave sits in sorrow on the ground at the foot of Lincoln’s body. Unlike previous depictions of Lincoln in *Punch*, in this image the President’s “grotesque” appearance is veiled. Both of the “national” female figures participate fully in the ritualistic trope of the deathbed scene, gathering closely around the

deceased. Bent in anguish and bereft of her customary symbolic accoutrements, Columbia leans over the head of the laid-out corpse, while helmeted Britannia lays a wreath on the body. Like the formerly enslaved figure, Columbia yields to the load of grief, while Britannia stands tall, serving the function of an idealized, perfected emblem of dignified sovereignty. By honoring such a tragic loss, no doubt this image provided a “sympathetic” and refreshing reminder of Anglo-American bonds. Yet this scene also displayed the highly charged exchanges between expressions of patriotism, especially in transatlantic alliances, and representations of slavery in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

While movingly rendering the grief of the formerly enslaved, the composition marginalizes the black figure in the bottom right-hand corner of the picture. Against this figure, the two manifestations of each country function within the allegorical semiotics picturing women as embodiments of abstract principles, encoding the sanctity of the nation within a femininity of neoclassical whiteness.³ In a sense, the illustration reasserts the imagery of slavery to form a transatlantic alliance by updating the familiar visual abolitionist rhetoric of the eighteenth century Wedgwood emblem of a kneeling slave with the inscription, “Am I Not a Man and a Brother?” “Britannia Sympathises with Columbia” shows the “rebirth” of the United States into a new moment of nationalism in which the United States could join with Great Britain in claiming the moral capital of abolitionism. Within the pages of *Punch*, this Tenniel creation emphasizes the convergence of illustrated modes with narratives of post-abolition nation-building—upon the subjected blackness of the slave.

Transatlantic subjects were often featured in *Punch*, and as James's recollections demonstrate, the periodical was also disseminated across the Atlantic, along with the consumerist fare of capitalism.⁴ New transportation technologies and improvements in printing led to the escalating insertion of images into the texts that nineteenth-century readers encountered daily. The rise of the illustrated weekly was a sign of the increasingly visual nature of British and transatlantic culture, as well as its democratization.⁵ Yet, as many historians, theorists and critics have shown,⁶ the extensive emergence of the visual mode in British and American Victorian culture included much more than periodical and book dissemination: the daguerreotype led to photographic productions of individual identities, which were themselves distributed as cartes de visite; the magic lantern was fashioned from experiments with light and image so that the performance of the self, foreign lands, and everything in between were on view, while everywhere "things" proliferated in a spectacle of abundance. The increasing availability of printed matter also corresponded to new developments that made possible the proliferation of objects ready for the home.

James's intertextual retrospective about *Punch* in the American-based *Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine* evidences the ubiquity and longevity of transatlantic graphic forms and the power that visual representations held over their audiences.⁷ James also showed how much his conceptions of time and space were inflected by his visual experiences as a reader: "Half-an-hour spent to-day in turning over the early numbers [of *Punch*] transports [me] quite as much to old New York as to the London of the first Crystal Palace and the years that immediately followed it" (50-1). James's reminiscences indicate that the pictures in *Punch* taught him *how to see*. When he traveled to London as

a boy in the summer of 1855, he later wrote, his eyes were trained to view the city streets as they were conceived in the pages of the British illustrated periodical: “they had an extraordinary look of familiarity, and every figure, every object [I] encountered, appeared to have been drawn by Leech” (50). In fact, as Marcus Wood notes, “[t]he period 1830-60 saw the mass development of cheap illustrated journalism.” Wood pushes the implications of this development further: “In certain areas people began to read through pictures, and to expect pictures to tell them how to read” (151).

In this dissertation, I explore how technologies of mass literary and artistic consumption coalesced to articulate ideas of nationalism in Great Britain and the United States. I examine key texts, including the sculpture of Hiram Powers, the poetry of Elizabeth Barrett Browning, the sentimental fiction of Harriet Beecher Stowe, and the satire of Mark Twain, to show how the legacy of slavery featured in representations of the body politic to construct who or what would be termed “British” or “American.” At its heart, this is a study of patriotism, as profoundly informed by the technological and social changes in print and visual formats in the nineteenth century and their subsequent effects. In this study, I examine texts that encompass the interchange between print and graphics within the surfaces of the periodical and the novel. I also consider the mixed media that so often energized such interactions: art objects, parlor bric-a-brac, and exhibitions. This approach emphasizes the richness and availability of media forms for Victorian British and American readers, audiences, and spectators and how their viewing contexts affected constructions of race.

In using a transatlantic lens to juxtapose primary texts with intersecting written or visual foci, I argue that new technologies constantly repositioned and renewed histories

of national and cultural progress against discourses of race (as sometimes inflected through gender and/or class). I define *technologies of nationalism* specifically as the dialectic between the techniques available to artists within a specific medium, including the advances in print, imaging, and dissemination affecting the production of their texts, and the constructs of nationalism that shape how those texts are read and understood within their contemporary contexts. The methods I employ throughout this dissertation are deeply intertwined with the rationale for the project itself; the fields and theories with which I engage include cultural studies, feminism, and visual studies. The interdisciplinarity of the texts examined here is a reflection of the nature of visual studies, which in W. J. T. Mitchell's formulation, engages both with the "social construction of the visual field" and the "visual construction of the social field" (qtd. in Promey 288). In this, Thomas Richards's analysis of Victorian British consumer culture and its ever more powerful presence as a national force throughout the course of the century, especially informs my critique of how images of race were included in and understood through visual and print technologies. "The medium that transformed the self into a commodity," Richards writes, "was the same medium that had already transformed so much of culture into a commodity: spectacle. As defined, spectacle was a reorientation of representation around the fundamental economic dictates of capitalism" (195).

Though all of the primary texts featured in this dissertation chart the display of enslaved persons in the service of national rhetorics, each shows the imaginary of the nation-state in a particular way. Each particular selection provides a critical case study of how visual images of enslavement were interpreted within the context of democratization and the emergence of an increasingly literate populace from the middle to the turn of the

century. The first half of this dissertation discusses texts that appeared at mid-century: Powers's *Greek Slave*, Barrett Browning's poetic response to it, and Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. The latter part of the dissertation focuses on texts that were published from 1890 to the turn of the century: Twain's *Pudd'nhead Wilson* and his protest pamphlet on the Congo Free State, *King Leopold's Soliloquy*, as read through E. J. Glave's edited diary entries in the *Century*. The works analyzed in the first half of the project, including a poetic response to an enormously popular statue and a best-selling novel, demonstrate the consumption of a humanitarian issue in the form of visual productions within a burgeoning transatlantic mass culture. These works and their publication contexts invite inquiry and dialogue with the two key components of Anne McClintock's reformulation of Benedict Anderson's notion of imagined communities: that is, the gendering of nationalism in the interest of resolving the contradictions "between nostalgia and the impatient, progressive sloughing off of the past," and the organization of the idea of nation through "mass, national *commodity spectacle*" (92, 102).⁸ The second half of the dissertation, which deals with two works by Mark Twain, documents the absorption of the effects of this process of depicting slavery for mass consumption and/or artistic value in the literary output of the United States and Great Britain, both within the narratives themselves and in the stories of their print histories.

Because of its theme of anti-slavery, its immediate transatlantic popularity, and its continued circulation in numerous forms, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* is a presence in the foreground or background throughout this project. Stowe's novel was a pervasive force of signification, creating a lingua franca of abolition and racial representation that, paradoxically, was as inconsistent and scattered as the many British illustrated editions

and the ways in which the characters and plot entered (or were barred from) the transatlantic Victorian home. From this center, case studies of the convergence of print and visual media extend the display of enslaved persons in different ways that allow for an examination of how their readers constructed their tastes and identities, both in association with and against transatlantic institutions and mythologies of slavery and Africa. At the same time, the circumstances of the production and dissemination of these works intersect with broader developments in print and visual culture between the United States and Great Britain. These developments expose trends in discourses of nationality, as well as how these trends incorporate advances in graphic technologies and changing international publishing markets.

The primary texts of this study, as examined through the movements described above, come into focus through their convergence at expositions, the meeting point of technical, art, and commodity spectacles. While I situate these primary texts within the specific practices of their generic conventions and technological formats, world's fairs present concentrated geographical centers from which to "ground" them within the processes of nation-building and consumerism. The Great Exhibition of London in 1851 and the Columbian Exposition at Chicago in 1893 present definite occasions at which multi-media exchanges of peoples, things, and technologies overlapped, augmented, and contradicted texts measuring and narrating the material and cultural progress undergirding discourses of nation-building. The interplay of associations and scopic abundance, or, in Walter Benjamin's terms, the phantasmagoria, of these spectacles generated far-reaching ideologies in print and mass culture, from which it is possible to examine how discourses of nationalism intersected and constructed representations of

slaves, colonized subjects, and the dark and not-so-dark “other.”⁹ Central to the importance of world’s fairs as contextualizing events for the texts discussed here is also their organizing power for histories of the progression of print and visual technology, literary production and representational strategies of reform, and political developments regarding the abolition of slavery and rise of empire in both the United States and Great Britain.

The choice of texts for this dissertation highlights the interplay between reformism and consumerism in the two major slaveholding powers of the nineteenth century, as members of a rising middle class in both countries sought to define themselves within the individualist ethic of capitalist democracy. In the print culture covering and converging at the Great Exhibition of 1851, Britain’s abolition of slavery in 1833 was constructed as inextricably bound with the moral capital of the nation and its empire.¹⁰ At the Columbian Expo of 1893, the “accomplished fact” of emancipation equated the success of the United States with assertions of cultural advancement, claims that were complicated by the arrangement and display of colonial peoples. Thus, world’s fairs and their visual and written narratives of progress intersect and inform my own synchronic and diachronic examinations of representations of slavery. Every chapter begins with the drama of an exhibition or its afterglow, providing a mixed media milieu through which I foreground relevant topics in the primary texts for the discussion at hand. The transatlantic approach to the texts examined here also shows that, within their publication contexts and the connections forged through visual media, the *Greek Slave* and Elizabeth Barrett Browning’s sonnet, *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*, *Pudd’nhead Wilson*, and

the works dealing with Congo Reform all—to greater or less degrees—subsumed or resisted technologies of nationalism.

Three-dimensional feasts of specular pleasure, exhibitions were part window shopping, part museum, part military show, and part travelogue. In their mixture of things and ideals, commodities and allegorical figures, world's fairs flooded the visual fields of American and British Victorians, marking moments of highly-charged nationalistic feeling. The Great Exhibition of 1851, the so-called "Crystal Palace," displayed the emergence of industry and art within a social space shaped by patriotic agendas for both Britain and the United States: a space administered and narrated by guide books, reviews in periodicals, and first-person accounts. Imagined by Prince Albert, yet implemented by numerous committees, the exhibition showcased, along with domestic and imperial products, the nation-building ideologies of Great Britain as a country unified by its grandeur, social stability, and the utopic possibilities of political and technological progress. At the same time, American interests, from the former colony turned competitor, used the Great Exhibition to vie for a position as cultural and technical equal; the inventions and innovations in the much smaller display of the cross-Atlantic cousin were intended to rival the investment in empire and expanding capitalism of the host country.¹¹

At mid-century, the display of art's entanglement with transatlantic slavery, the exhibition of the *Greek Slave* at the Crystal Palace, captured the height of overwhelming British anti-slavery sentiment, providing a rich nexus from which to examine questions of aesthetics, transatlantic literary production and capital, and the power of visual representational modes to shape meaning. Hiram Powers's sculpture was the centerpiece

of America's claim to cultural authority, and was nearly as famous as the Exhibition itself. Elizabeth Barrett Browning's earlier poetic response to this creation of an American expatriate sculptor in Italy provides a crucial and explicit entrée into the dialectic between displays of the visual and the literary that is the crux of this dissertation. The graphic transmutations of Stowe's popular novel employ and take further those deeply resonant tropes of anti-slavery, neoclassical femininity, and domesticity which, to some extent, constitute the strategies employed by Barrett Browning, yet were ultimately a consequence of the transatlantic and American periodical appearances of her sonnet.

In the second chapter, I show that the *Greek Slave*, first completed in 1844, was a disputed site upon which the anxieties of narratives of national progress in Great Britain and the United States converged. At the same time, the statue's potent combination of signifiers offered powerful resonances with nineteenth-century constructions of art, femininity, and domesticity, forming a crucial role in mass culture. Elizabeth Barrett Browning's poetic response to Hiram Powers's sculpture in 1850 provides commentary on the role of art in representing of slavery at mid-century. Yet I argue that both the statue and the poem's contexts cemented a technology of nationalism, justifying a post-abolition imperialism in Great Britain and the repression of ethical interpretations for art in the United States.

I follow the *Greek Slave* as an exhibition piece and spectacle within a spectacle throughout its display in the United States (1847-49, and then in the 1850s), the Great Exhibition (1851), and in print. William Wells Brown's protest at the Crystal Palace during the summer of 1851, using the *Punch* parody of Powers's statue, is a key moment

through which I examine how his unveiling of the invisible black slave also reasserted the superiority of British culture as the site of free soil and “good taste.” Yet, the appearance of Elizabeth Barrett Browning’s sonnet in Charles Dickens’s *Household Words* (Oct. 1850) and its troubling absence from the pages of the American-based *Cosmopolitan Art Journal* in the mid-1850s demonstrate how the domesticizing of objects and publications of mass consumption nationalized the mixed media of anti-slavery.

In the third chapter, I expand and refine the focus on tropes of femininity, domesticity, and neoclassical whiteness in the previous chapter to examine how these Victorian ideals were employed in the many illustrated British book productions of *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*. Using Marcus Wood’s wide-ranging catalogue of editions of Stowe’s work as a guide, this chapter explicates the C.H. Clarke publication (1852) in relation to other editions to show how powerful the tableau of large illustrations can be in “fixing” a certain scene in readers’ minds and how repetition of an image can also form a text that is separate from the book-form itself. I argue that the Clarke version of the text narrates a story of middle-class progress into domesticity, whiteness, and England for Stowe’s “successful” characters.

The Great Exhibition and the rise of a specularly-oriented, consumer culture provide a crucial contextual framework here, as considered against concerns about class and labor both in Stowe’s text and in British politics and the abolitionist movement. While missionaries prior to 1833 had tried to “clothe” slaves in the respectability of a British national identity, the images of kneeling male and female slaves that became emblematic of anti-slavery and were widely circulated within popular culture, became a pervasive iconography in the print editions of *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*. British women could

see themselves represented both figuratively and literally as the guiding light for slaves within many illustrated versions of the novel, while several of these pirated texts offered pictures of orientalized, black female bodies. Such depictions replicated the vexed politics of representation that haunted the discourse of anti-slavery moral capital in the print culture surrounding the Great Exhibition and mixed with the more virulent images and discourse of an emerging scientific racism.

Published concurrently with advancing print technologies, the rise of illustrated transatlantic periodicals, and just after the Great Exhibition of 1851, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* appeared in Great Britain during a crucial moment. Its popularity shaped and infiltrated transatlantic mass culture even more completely and seamlessly than that of the *Greek Slave*. I examine the pictorial commodification of the characters in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in light of the resulting discourses of spectacle that surrounded both the sculpture and the phenomenon of the exhibition itself. The two chapters within this first section reflect both the technological confines and developments in printing at mid-century and the transatlantic literary ties borne of domestic ideologies, ties shaped by the Victorian fascination with classical subjects. Even more significantly, the works of Barrett Browning and Stowe and the appearances of these texts in print display the connections and tensions among anti-slavery, consumer culture, and attempts to narrate and visualize a unified, coherent body politic in Great Britain and the United States.

While the mass phenomenon of Hiram Powers's sculpture and illustrated editions of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* at mid-century emphasized the validation of American cultural creations, these texts largely, along with the publication contexts of Elizabeth Barrett Browning's sonnet, formed a mixed media of specular consumerist culture that joined

neoclassical iconography with domesticity, transmuting the meanings of slavery in different ways. By the end of the century, the trend towards empire had shifted across the Atlantic, where the United States hosted the Columbian Exposition and showcased American cultural and technological products as a testament to its status as an emergent world power. At the Columbian Expo in 1893, the presence and placement of both popular forms and sanctioned high art, as well as the technologies of continental expansion, attested to the efforts of the organizers to crystallize a European-rooted, technology-oriented notion of Americanism. The popular and “exotic” elements of the “Midway” were cordoned off spatially from the treatment of high art and industrial power at the “White City,” thereby accenting a fictional narrative of cultural, moral, and material progress based on the model of a (white) middle- and upper-class citizenry.¹²

Whereas the Great Exhibition of 1851 and the initial transatlantic appearances of the *Greek Slave* and *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* exposed the limits of technology and the assimilation of depictions of enslaved persons into competing narratives of American and British national progress, the publication of *Pudd’nhead Wilson* in the *Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine* (1893-94) during the afterglow of the Columbian Exposition generated another critical moment in the representation of the body politic. The *Century* exemplified both a nostalgic approach to race relations typical after Reconstruction and the newly emerging pride in American cultural forms, trends paralleling the rise to prominence of the periodical print media as the locus of upper-middle class taste and values.

In opposition to Stowe’s fetishization of the family as the site of national reform and her emphasis on relationships to humanize her characters, Twain’s second novel

dealing with slavery treats reform as a burlesque of a bygone time, instead subverting gender and racial boundaries to highlight the constantly shifting efforts to reinscribe white supremacy. Unlike the Expo and its exhibition literature, *Pudd'nhead* eschewed stories of grandeur with its constructions of racial and gender disguise, its parodic treatment of the sanctity of white southern lineage, and its brutal concentration on systems of exchange and human valuation. I argue that the very different transatlantic and domestic packaging of Twain's text shows how the illustrations accompanying the novel reflected the artistic, technological, and ideological struggles at the Columbian Expo. The prominently-featured actions and depictions of the enslaved-then-free character, Roxy, narrate her body as a contested site of nationalism.¹³

In contrast to the chapters in the first section, in which the texts being examined created their own phenomena of mass culture, in the fourth chapter, I examine *Pudd'nhead* as a signpost of the national currents in print culture. The novel's serialization in a "genteel," "progressive" American-based transatlantic periodical publication versus its dissemination in an illustration-heavy production of the declining subscription book business provide points of comparison here. *Pudd'nhead's* appearance in the *Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine* (December 1893-June 1894), I show, paradoxically combined a paratext including discourse on "types" and increasingly one-sided debate about the "freedman" with wonderfully subtle graphic techniques.¹⁴ The plates for the *Pudd'nhead* illustrations in the *Century*, which were also used in the British first edition, thus counter the increasing crudity of the iconography of scientific racism, iconography by which Twain's text was surrounded. In contrast, the late first domestic edition, distributed by the American Publishing Company (1894), combined a highly

retrogressive combination of the reemergence of caricatured black faces and figures in the 1890s with outdated printing methods.

The visual presentation of Roxy as the “norm” or “default” identity of white and middle-class, as opposed to her linguistic construction as black and enslaved, informs my close reading of both the *Century* serialization of the novel and the APC version. The oscillations in her identity and physical appearance, which form the most fascinating components of her character in Twain’s text, are visualized in the *Century* illustrations, demonstrating a telling gap in post-emancipation representations of gender and race within pseudo-scientific national narratives. I argue that Twain’s novel documents the highly constructed nature of race, while also undercutting this exposé with its faith in scientific modes of human hierarchization. At the same time, once again, it undermines this ideology of racial superiority with an incisive picture of capitalism at work.¹⁵

Even as African Americans sought acceptance within the United States and abroad, however, the exploitation of resources in Africa by European nations was exemplified by the atrocities perpetuated in the Congo by King Leopold of Belgium and the extensive network of trade and military exchange that hid the human toll involved and that reached its bloodiest proportions between 1890 and 1910. In my last chapter, I contextualize Mark Twain’s collage of satire, invective, illustrations, and photography, *King Leopold’s Soliloquy* (1905), to consider how the legacy of nation-building rhetoric, with its coupling of anti-slavery philanthropic and free-trade imperialistic missions, helped to create a climate in which the atrocities of the Congo Free State were for so long not recognized as such.

The Congo Reform Association (CRA) was initiated in Great Britain (1904); its most successful satellite organization was formed in the U. S. and counted Mark Twain as an active member. This chapter contextualizes Mark Twain's text on the Congo by considering how the imperial mission of uplift that glorified the "opening up" of Africa through British anti-slavery campaigns in the service of free trade paved the way for the uncritical acceptance of King Leopold's project in the Congo. Through my analysis of E. J. Glave's travelogues (1895-97) in the *Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine*, I show how publicizing the practices that were devastating the peoples of the Congo basin was mitigated by the glorification of its author as an anti-slavery crusader and by the pictures of technological "nation-building" accompanying it. I read this circumstance as a symptom of the intersections between adventurism and capitalism evident in the career of Henry Morton Stanley, whose popularity reflected jingoistic attitudes towards colonialism.

In a final shift in my focus on specific technologies, I then explore the ramifications of photography as a "witness" by examining how the images taken by missionaries depicting cruelties in the Congo Free State were used by the CRA and interpreted by apologists. Twain identified the Kodak as the most important tool in exposing atrocities in his pamphlet for the CRA, *King Leopold's Soliloquy* (1905). Twain's pamphlet confronts the reader with visual symbolism throughout: in both its sensational rendering of Leopold's ravings and in the production of its own spectacle. In contrast, the anonymously-produced *An Answer to Mark Twain* (1907) questions the validity of these photographic testimonials in a propaganda war waged largely upon the bodies of the peoples of the Congo. These texts invoke difficulties about the continued

representation of the black body as a contested artifact of pain; they also show the increasingly global, and ever more sensational, contexts for scenes of atrocity. The dynamics among geographical extremes, rapid technological changes, and cultural differences captured in the texts examined in this chapter provide key questions from which to understand the representation of suffering as this project progresses into new forms.

The historical and representational ties of this project chart the Anglophone trajectories of slavery and empire and the shifts in the visual and print media of the latter half of the nineteenth century to emphasize how these developments formed technologies of nationalism. This dissertation begins at the conjunction of mass culture formations, cultural capital contests, and mixed media spectacles with the exhibition of Hiram Powers's *Greek Slave*. I argue that the visual and written texts circulating around sculpture and the British illustrated editions of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*—and, to an extent, the print appearances of *Pudd'nhead Wilson*—can be read as artifacts through which nostalgic and utopian discourses of progress intersected gendered ideas of nationality and racially-inflected images and narratives. The periodical and book formats of Mark Twain's lesser-known and less idyllic narration of American slavery and Reconstruction, *Pudd'nhead Wilson*, as well as his account of the atrocities perpetuated in the Congo Free State, *King Leopold's Soliloquy*, provide counterpoints from which to explore how discourses of anti-slavery capitalism intersected representations of race from the 1890s to the turn of the century. As the most famous and reproduced text of the nineteenth century dealing with slavery, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* is a continual touchstone through which to gauge how representations of slaves revealed and served discourses of nationality not

only when it was published, but also during the last decade of the century, as Africa was partitioned, plundered, and mythologized. In the celebrity spectacle of Mark Twain and the print appearances of his work on slavery and atrocity in the context of imperialism, this project charts the explosion of mass spectacle begun with the convergence of domesticity, sentimentalism, and nationalism in the crucial texts circulating in conjunction with, and in the primary works of, Hiram Powers and Harriet Beecher Stowe.

CHAPTER 2

“MAN’S CRIMES IN DIFFERENT LANDS”:

THE TRANSATLANTIC DISPLAY OF HIRAM POWERS’S *GREEK SLAVE*

In the summer of 1851, the luminous Crystal Palace displayed the “advancement” of the rising British Empire and the status of the metropole as a commodity culture; this wonder marked the consolidation of Victoria and Albert’s emphasis on the family and progress. After the harsh economic and social conditions of the 1840s, American reformer Horace Greeley’s cautious remarks metonymically measuring the wealth of the Empire in terms of the comforts of the Victorian home show that the discourse surrounding the Exhibition focused on how the goods displayed created a sense of abundance, even endless surplus:

Not until every family shall be provided with a commodious and comfortable habitation, and that habitation amply supplied with Food and Fuel not only, but with Clothing, Furniture, Books, Maps, Charts, Globes, Musical Instruments and every other auxiliary to Moral and Intellectual growth as well as to physical comfort, can we rationally talk of excessive Production. (qtd. in Richards 29)

Thomas Richards asserts that the utopian promise of this “coherent representational universe for commodities” even led some to trust that the apparent excess and order of the Crystal Palace would translate not only into the realm of the family domicile but also on a broader scale of social change (29-30).

With its gleaming glass windows made possible by recent advances in technology, the Crystal Palace presented a visual world to its visitors, a “magical” domestic and consumer space, “elevat[ing] the commodity above the mundane act of exchange” (Richards 39). No price tags were attached to the objects, a clever strategy that prompted visitors to calculate their worth while also fixing them in the stasis of uncirculated desire (Richards 38). Andrew Miller asserts that the codes of desire constructed through the display of these goods and national power disguised middle-class fears of the workers whose labor had produced these objects, while the Exhibition also encouraged “several male observers to imagine the display of British women under glass” (10).

As Miller notes, the awestruck discourse of visitors not only fetishized visuality, but extended the affect of looking into the social sphere beyond the Crystal Palace (72). William Drew, a visitor from Maine, catalogued model after model: cottage terraces, a wooden Niagara Falls, a reconstructed battle of Trafalgar, horses and boats (157, 330-361). As he gushes, “It is, indeed, the World Daguerrotyped [sic]. What a spectacle! We have sat and feasted upon it for hours; neither we, nor others, ever saw the like before, and shall never see the like again. It is worth crossing the Atlantic to behold” (336). On display at the exhibition were also art objects from around the world, including *The Greek Slave*, by the American sculptor Hiram Powers. Intensely white, this nude looks away from the viewer with a calm, even peaceful expression on her face, although her hands are enchained in front of her. In the midst of the celebration of progress and empire that characterized the exhibition, many viewers’ later writings indicate that they not only

viewed the statue in “morally sanctioned” erotic terms, but also as an emblem of the “fragility of woman’s domestic life, as well as her physical integrity” (Kasson 60-3).

Exhibited within a space that fetishized national display, the textual accompaniment that explained the subject’s descent into slavery belied her status as a commodity. Powers created this narrative explaining the history of the slave in order to give “his audience something other than the woman’s nudity on which to focus” (Kasson 51). Although her whiteness signaled a transcendent purity, and the timelessness of slave’s story lent her status as an aesthetic object, her position as a slave put her dangerously close to commodification, threatening these signifiers of worth. As with the other objects on display at the Great Exhibition, the statue’s material significance is implied, evoking both her unattainability and exchange value, thus highlighting her appeal. Though Powers’s narrative attempts to romanticize the slave, deflecting the gaze of onlookers onto an understanding of her story, his text fully engages with the titillating semiotics of orientalism:

The Slave has been taken from one of the Greek Islands by the Turks, in the time of the Greek Revolution; the history of which is familiar to all. Her father and mother, and perhaps all her kindred, have been destroyed by her foes, and she alone preserved as a treasure too valuable to be thrown away. She is now among barbarian strangers, under the pressure of a full recollection of the calamitous events which have brought her to her present state; and she stands exposed to the gaze of the people she abhors, and awaits her fate with intense anxiety, tempered indeed by the support of her reliance upon the goodness of God. Gather all these

afflictions together, and add to them the fortitude and resignation of a Christian, and no room will be left for shame. (qtd. in Kasson 51)

The sexualized situation of this fictional, pygmalionesque woman plays upon the exoticism of the unknown and the eroticism of sexual bondage. The “shame” that is averted by her Christianity and chastity may be hers or may belong to those who look at the sculpture.

As Joy Kasson explains, Powers acknowledged in an 1845 interview published by C. Edwards Lester after the statue was completed that his narrative was meant to teach viewers how to understand their gaze, just as many pamphlets that accompanied nineteenth-century art instructed their spectators in the emotional reactions they were supposed to experience (55, 31). By constructing the lustful gaze as Turkish and barbaric, Powers’s narrative allowed contemporary viewers to differentiate “between themselves and her captors and agreed to view [the slave] in a different way” (Kasson 55). Despite this apparent control, Powers’s figure was still sexualized and racialized: “her future in the harem is the great unstated drama that gives the sculpture its poignancy” (Kasson 55). Poised between sanctioned and fallen womanhood, the innocence and danger of this threshold as narrated by Powers almost proscribes viewers to react to the statue in sentimentally aesthetic terms and express emotion over her plight; the precariousness of her situation and the onlookers’ relationship to her also demonstrates that any crack in this mixture of feeling and idealization would invite less sympathetic reactions.

Jennifer DeVere Brody notes in her study *Impossible Purities* that “[s]ome viewers minstrelized [Powers’s accompanying] text by filling in the blank with what they imagined were erased aspects of the slave’s story” (71). With its depiction of an

unclothed woman with her head averted and enchained wrists, the links of the shackles falling at her pubic area, the narrative of the *Greek Slave* pictured an ideal woman to viewers, purity personified against the threat of rape and her otherwise “locked” sexuality. In his comments on the “slave’s” creation to Lester and published in 1845, Hiram Powers reiterated the nineteenth-century fascination with Greek and Roman art as perfection epitomized: “If you find anything beautiful, very beautiful, you are just as sure to find something pure. This is illustrated strikingly in those remains of ancient art, which have so long attracted the gaze, and excited the admiration of mankind” (1: 90). Yet the statue’s expression of neoclassical perfection could also be read as its very elision of any quality other than “whiteness.”

Classed as one of the “Lions,” or must-sees, of the Great Exhibition and winner of the Prize Medal (Davis 172), the *Greek Slave* validated American claims to cultural authority amidst the art of the nations collected in the world metropolis. Its presence at the Crystal Palace also crystallized an intense outpouring of commentary from the upsurge of print media at mid-century. Lara Kriegel observes that “the displays [at the Great Exhibition] inspired—or even compelled—the publication of numerous texts.” Kriegel asserts that these texts interpreted and gave voice to the magnetism of the objects being shown: “As they meditated on the Exhibition, the texts endowed the commodities with narratives, saturating them with meaning. Like [...] the [Great] Exhibition itself, this literature made empire, and England’s dominion over it, imaginable” (232).

In their mixture of things and ideals, commodities and allegorical figures, World’s Fairs flooded the visual fields of American and British Victorians, marking moments of highly-charged nationalistic rhetoric and display that were reproduced textually in an

outpouring of books and periodicals. Brian Maidment explores the access to experience and layering of reality that one such exhibition publication, *The Illustrated Exhibitor*, promised readers: “The serial [...] was meant to be both catalogue and commentary. It also sought to construct an experience of the Exhibition which could be either a memorialising of a visit, a rendering permanent of the actual experience of the Exhibition, or else a substitute experience, a virtual Exhibition” (87). The *Greek Slave* provided a unifying thread for a vast amount of this literature; as an object and an event, the statue was a must-see and must-mention, amounting to a spectacle within the spectacle of the London’s Crystal Palace (and on a smaller scale, within its American version). The statue thus created and illuminated the intersection of art and mass culture, print and visual media on a transatlantic scale at mid-century, coalescing and expanding a process that had originated with its initial American tour.

The circulation of the *Greek Slave* around the United States and its display at London’s Crystal Palace therefore provide specific loci from which to understand the statue’s meanings within the burgeoning exhibitions of transatlantic visual and print media at mid-century, and from which to examine not only the statue’s politicization as a national icon or unifying force as an aesthetic object, but also its proliferation as a multimedia sensation. As Joy Kasson observes, while Powers produced six copies of the statue itself, it was also replicated in busts, statuettes, and engravings. Written interpretations ranged the generic spectrum: “pamphlets, poetry, reviews, letters, [and] diary entries” (“Mind” 81).¹⁶ From Powers’s own story about its subject to viewers’ readings of it, the statue’s conflation of art and mass culture typified its commodity status and the narrative “reflex.”

Indeed, the presentation of the *Greek Slave* in the United States and at the Great Exhibition of 1851 provides a rich nexus from which to examine its situation within the visual technologies of spectacle in the nineteenth century and the transatlantic print culture intersecting such displays. The British upper classes were the first to declare their praise for the statue and its creator. In a sort of allegory of transatlantic validation that would continually haunt its provenance, an English collector was the first purchaser of the statue. (It would later be the loan of his *Greek Slave* that would make possible the display of the sculpture as the highlight of the American section.) Captain John Grant expressed his satisfaction with both the work and Powers's promise as an artist in his correspondence:

I am highly gratified with the progress you have made in the *Slave* since I last saw it, and the exquisite taste and skill which you have displayed in the management of this beautiful statue strengthens the favorable opinion I had already formed of your talents. You are aware that, since I became the purchaser of it, I have had an opportunity of visiting all the choicest works of Rome and Naples, where I often wished you at my side while contemplating the wondrous beauties of art in these cities; at the same time I am free to confess that I have never yet seen a figure which combines so much feminine beauty as the *Slave*. No, not even the *Medici* [Venus] with all its beauties, and whatever my judgment or opinion this statue comes nearer the *beau ideal* of feminine beauty than any one I ever saw and I have seen a goodly number of what are called Venuses. (qtd. in Reynolds 146)

The cultural validation that a renowned sculpture and sculptor could afford the United States was not lost on American commentators; what the statue might mean for and about

the nation became a long-running, contentious theme swirling about the *Greek Slave*'s many exhibitions.

Even before the Great Exhibition, then, Powers's qualifications as a national representative were directly touted in the United States, while his credentials as an *American* artist were examined by the British and European press. For example, in "Sketches of Italy: Naples, Florence, A Contrast, The Studio of Powers, His Eve, and Greek Slave" published in February 1845, the month that Powers sent this first *Slave* to Grant (Reynolds 147), a correspondent for *Arthur's Ladies' Magazine* reported: "Thus far the men of taste in England have been his chief supporters—they throng to his studio and purchase his works. It is time that his skill should be called into the service of his country; that he should have an opportunity afforded him of executing some great work for the nation at large" (J. M. H. 64). During the statue's initial public showing by means of Grant's arrangement at Pall Mall in 1845, the *Broadway Journal*, under the editorship of Edgar Allan Poe, reprinted the *Athenaeum*'s assessments of the *Greek Slave*:

The figure in question is certainly a very remarkable work,—and might be thought still more so as the work of an American, were it not remembered that the sculptor has been for ten or a dozen years past resident in Florence, where his genius has fed on the Greek inspiration, and outlived, it may be supposed, the chastening apprehension of the prudes at home. ("British Criticisms" 403)

Powers's statue reached a British audience at Pall Mall in 1845, and it would soon circulate in the United States on its initial tour from 1847-49.

The validation of the object through European art channels and its aura of celebrity seemed to displace the statue's close association with the very pressing practices

of slavery in the United States. In 1847, for example, the New York-based magazine *Literary World* had questioned whether the statue would have been noticed at all were it not authenticated through its European connections: “The Greek Slave has now been several weeks in our city; and [...] it has been visited by thousands. [...] [H]ad it come among us without this grand distinction to recommend it, it is a question whether it would have been visited by dozens even” (“Fine Arts” 484). Joy Kasson observes that the political and social implications of the work seem to have escaped many American viewers during the initial 1847-48 exhibition of one of the replicas stateside:

The Greek Slave was just as popular in New Orleans, home of one of its purchasers, as in Boston, and much of its audience was apparently oblivious to the ironies of driving past American slave marts to shed tears over the fate of the white marble captive. Just as the sculpture might be said to have displaced its viewers’ sexual anxieties, so it displaced their anxieties about slavery as well. (*Marble* 66)

Many American responses to the *Greek Slave*’s initial domestic debut and subsequent tours were characterized by an impetus to narrate its purity and a propensity to deny or critique any reference to “unpleasant details” in association with the statue. A reviewer for the *Western Quarterly Review* in 1849, for instance, withheld approbation, declaring, “A great work of Art should [...] suggest ennobling, not degrading, things” (“Art. X” 97).

H. W. Janson’s characterization of Powers’s pursuit of spiritual perfection through his choice of material—“only a flawless piece of purest white marble would do for him”—reflects not only the artist’s negotiations within the restrictions of his craft, but also his awareness of how audiences would understand such choices (82). As the

reviewer for the *Athenaeum* labeled them, “the pruders at home” had never before been confronted with the display of an American-made nude, and the scale of its showing throughout the country was considerable: “*The Greek Slave* was widely exhibited in American cities and towns—in special tents, exhibition galleries, merchants’ exchanges, rotundas, etc.—throughout the last 1840s and ‘50s, and was lavishly praised at every stop” (Hyman 217). In Kasson’s estimation, it was viewed by more than one hundred thousand people domestically, more than any other American work of art before the Civil War (“Mind” 79).

Despite the deference afforded its medium, the *Greek Slave* posed the dilemma of an unstable set of multiple signifiers so that the ever-present issue of slavery, along with the absence of established behavioral codes for viewing “nudes,” especially emphasized the crisis of representation that accompanied the exhibition of the statue around the country: was it to be “high art,” mass culture, or some amalgamation of both? During its American tour, the sculpture was accompanied by a pamphlet at every city at which it was shown, instructing viewers on how they should and should not comport themselves: “not as if in a place of entertainment like Barnum’s museum or a theater, but as if they were in church” (Kasson, “Mind” 81). In the United States, the *Greek Slave* created its own democratizing phenomenon for art. The statuette could be bought for more well-to-do homes and art union subscribers might “win” one of the full-scale sculptures. Yet the encasement of its viewing within proper protocols of behavior could also reflect on the cultivation, or lack thereof, of the national body. As Wendy Katz explains, the statue “offered the spectacle of the ideal female body as private even in public. For male and female viewers, the sculpture imparted a model of innate refinement transcending

commerce, an opportunity to learn an ideal gaze, and a test of one's purity and ability to sympathize with the plight of another" (xix).

As the appearance of the Powers's statue in Hyde Park and the subsequent press coverage and even poetry decrying American hypocrisy made clear, in many ways, the simple fact of abolition in Great Britain, along with its long tradition of literary and artistic achievement, presumably sustained the soundness of the "National Taste." The success of Britain's "Art Manufactures" at the Great Exhibition was emphatically confirmed in *The Art Journal Illustrated Catalogue* ("Preface" vi); as one writer rhapsodized in an implicit comparison to the cultural and social achievements of antiquity, "Oh, that old Greece had possessed these arts!" ("Industrial" 529). Mimicking the look of marble, a ceramic glaze known most famously as Parian reduced high art for the parlor, and the *Greek Slave* was one of the statuettes produced in 1848 with the new technique. In an essay that same year for *Douglass Jerrold's [Shilling] Magazine*, reprinted in the American miscellany, *The Daguerreotype*, the innovation of Parian was celebrated as a dual triumph, a way to produce art for the middle classes and to reverse the lack of art in Britain: "We must have our pictures and our statues about *us*,—we must have them in our studies and our parlours. They help to make our rooms look comfortable. [...] We must manufacture Art" ("New Developments" 253). Fittingly perhaps, the very first production in Parian was *Narcissus* for the subscribers of the London Art Union ("New Developments" 254).

If, as Thomas Richards argues, the "semiotics of spectacle" at the 1851 fair invented "a democratic ideology for consumerism" (61), the creation of Parian ware, as well as other cheap decorative productions, and the subsequent rise of the London Art

Union just previously, devised a domestic ideology for art. Though the essayist for *Jerrold's Shilling Magazine* had regretted the “perversions of taste” that produced demand for a lace-veiled, yet otherwise naked Eve, and “an African queen sitting at the door of her hut, very jauntily attired in a cocked hat and a pair of Wellingtons, but without the due medium between these extremes” (“New Developments” 256), a statue of the *Greek Slave* might adorn British homes with no impression of cruel insincerity. Creating a new kind of interior that many critics have traced within the consumerist optics of the arcade and department store, like the middle-class parlor, the Crystal Palace arranged the objects of the globe, becoming synonymous with Britain’s “benevolent” empire, a convergence of the thresholds between nations.

Likewise, in 1850, Dickens’s *Household Words* constructed a sphere in print of the ordinary discourse of the nation, one founded on uniting the British populace through content acknowledging the rationality and tolerance of its readership at the forefront of a potentially utopian project of progress:

We aspire to live in the Household affections, and to be numbered among the Household thoughts, of our readers. [...] We seek to bring into innumerable homes, from the stirring world around us, the knowledge of many social wonders, good and evil, that are not calculated to render any of us less ardently persevering in ourselves, less tolerant of one another, less faithful in the progress of mankind, less thankful for the privilege of living in this summer-dawn of time.

(“Preliminary” 1)

Dickens’s two-penny weekly commenced amidst the publicity leading up to the opening of the fair. Sabine Clemm rightly traces the confluence of the periodical and the Great

Exhibition in London, in particular the rhetoric that Dickens employs in his Address: “Despite Dickens’s personal distaste for the Exhibition, the two media actually shared many values and characteristics. [...] Both *Household Words* and Great Exhibition [sic] claimed an inherent internationalism, ‘for nothing can be a source of real interest in one [nation], without concerning all the rest.’” (210)

Dickens could rely on a readership that would respond to articles on slavery as a matter of course or even as a cause for national pride.¹⁷ The anti-slavery cause united the British populace across class divisions, bolstering the nation’s moral and cultural authority, and adding respectability to the burgeoning middle class. His periodical and its lively contents created a commonsense *Weltanschauung* from which to emulate and stimulate a sense of the sober clarity of the “English drawing-room,” joining the expanding reading public to the plight of the worker and the slave, while bringing the empire “home.” Whereas it offered readers no illustrations to deliver visual interest, its cheap price made *Household Words* accessible to working-class readers, and its mixture of entertainment and reform, essays, original verse, and fiction, constructed and appealed to middle-class tastes (Waters 2; Huett 68). At mid-century, abolition was very much a source of pride for these groups and, in the aftermath of the social unrest and economic crises of the “Hungry 40s,” the eradication of slavery in the United States served as a rallying point for a unified national identity.

Though Elizabeth Barrett Browning may not have strictly approved of its publication in *Household Words* (Lohrli, “Mystery” 60; *Household* 217), her poetic tribute to the *Greek Slave* was included in the October 1850 number of the weekly, marking the sonnet’s earliest print appearance.¹⁸ With the closing injunction to Powers’s

statue to “Catch up, in thy divine face, not alone / East griefs, but west, and strike and shame the strong” (12-13), this text, penned by Britain’s beloved expatriate poetess, reaffirms the sculpture as cosmopolitan, and intensely anti-slavery, yet modified within its middle-class context, a combination of principles that resounded with the print mission of *Household Words*: bringing together reform and enjoyment to the home, metonymic of the “English drawing-room.”¹⁹ Barrett Browning poem’s publication in *Household Words* assimilated the abolitionist and working class sympathies of its reading public with the cheap price of original works of literary value “under the aegis of a celebrated novelist known in part for his depictions of idealized domesticity” (Huett 68).

Having emigrated to Italy with poet Robert Browning against the wishes of her controlling father in what would become one of the most celebrated literal and figurative anti-slavery literary romances of the nineteenth century, Barrett Browning had visited Hiram Powers’s studio in Florence with her new husband in May of 1847 (Stone and Taylor 188).²⁰ As Dorothy Mermin notes, the poetry Barrett Browning produced upon her “escape” abroad indicated her renewed commitment to political issues (156). An 1855 letter to John Ruskin expressed her awareness of her own familial implications in the slave system, while also showing her relief at not sharing in the American guilt in its continuation there: “I belong to a family of West Indian slaveholders, and if I believed in curses, I should be afraid. I can at least thank God that I am not an American” (“To Mr.” 2: 220). What Lootens terms Barrett Browning’s “idealistic internationalism” punctuates her almost paradoxical homage to Powers’s work and critique of slavery (263).²¹ Profoundly oppositional from its beginning, Barrett Browning’s poem posits the corporeal entrapment of enslaved women within the prison-house of their own bonded

bodies against the aesthetic dictates of the “nude”: “They say Ideal Beauty cannot enter / The house of anguish” (1-2).

In pronouncing this truism, the speaker-viewer then describes the statue, redirecting and subsuming the reader’s experience of the work to the imagined critical eye: “On the threshold stands / This alien Image with the shackled hands, / Called the Greek Slave” (2-4). Superficially, the text conflates whiteness, virtue, and purity, characteristics so central to the *Greek Slave*’s popularity and Powers’s conception: “(The passionless perfection which he lent her, / Shadowed, not darkened, where the sill expands)” (5-6). These qualities, however, are a parenthetical aside to the previously destabilizing contextual markers that unfix the sculpted female form and her narrative repeatedly: through her physical position, her unfamiliarity, and her undefined designation. The speaker-viewer’s investment in these gaps and the heated tone of the text are even more apparent as it was actually written: in the introduction, “Ideal *beauty*” is not capitalized, diminishing the noun’s weight; the statue is “*An* alien Image with *enshackled* hands, / Called the Greek Slave!”; and an implicit critique of “*That* passionless perfection” is conveyed through the distancing mechanism of the demonstrative pronoun.

Barrett Browning’s syntax and phrasing highlight the shifting signifying power of the sculpture. Although encased within all of the cultural paraphernalia of nineteenth-century womanhood, the statue’s nudity and title also carried the highly charged associations of the harem. Thus, viewers could and did “succumb” to erotic fantasies of capture and captivity, solipsistic reveries that were marked by the aesthetic “duties” of gazing on high art and sympathizing with the sculpture’s subject.²² In her text, though,

Barrett Browning presents a dialectic of encounter leading to a moral imperative. The abrupt turn of the sonnet one line early interrupts the hypnotic rhythms of the form: “To, so, confront man’s crimes in different lands, / With man’s ideal sense. Pierce to the centre, / Art’s fiery finger ![—]and break up ere long / The serfdom of this world[!] (7-10). Again, as in the earlier lines of the poem, the punctuation of the correct text—an additional dash and exclamation point—emphasizes the drama and disruptive force of Barrett Browning’s stylistic techniques. This break, paired with the repetition of six active verbs, deconstructs the necessarily one-sided phantasmic orientalism of the “alien Image” with its piercing, nearly phallic, presence as ethical art.

“Hiram Powers’ Greek Slave” (or as it was entitled for the periodical, “Hiram Power’s Greek Slave”) became a hybrid form with its inclusion in *Household Words*, textually and paratextually. Though just as, if not more, pointed than the publication’s satires, Barrett Browning’s text assumes a compact and compelling earnestness within the oftentimes rambling diversions and countercurrents of the periodical; as Michael Goldberg argues, Dickens’s “radicalism sprang as much from reactionary disgust as from the impulse to liberal reform” (76). The article by Dickens preceding Barrett Browning’s poem is a case in point. In this short narrative caricaturing an idiotic Mr. Snoady, Dickens describes the pettiness of the petite bourgeoisie: “I am not in the Church, but it may be that I hold a little place of some sort. [...] It may, or it may not, be a sinecure. I don’t choose to say. I never enlightened my brother on these subjects, and I consider all men my brothers. The Negro is a man and a brother—should I hold myself accountable for my position in life, *to him*? Certainly not” (“Lively” 97). The abolitionist motto, affixed most famously to the Wedgewood cameo, “Am I Not a Man and a Brother?” here becomes an

absurdist conflation, poking fun not only at this fictionalized self-indulgent dullard, but also perhaps at Exeter Hall.

The weekly's sentimental fare and simultaneous investment in commodity culture would afford her sonnet a middle-class valence not present in her *Poems*, yet Barrett Browning's work certainly contributed to its general anti-slavery and reformist tenor. For instance, William Blanchard Jerrold's "Food for the Factory" criticized Britain's economic reliance on slave-produced cotton by portraying workers' possessive individualism and patriotic sense of liberty as threatened by their parallel and inverse—American slavery: "When his blood boils at the indignities and cruelties heaped upon the colored race, in 'the land of the free;' [John Shuttle, weaver,] does not always remember that to the Slave States of America he owes his all" (225). Numerous contributors to and producers of *Household Words*, all encompassed anonymously within Charles Dickens's "conductorship," variously condemned American slavery, while many fiction and non-fictional texts for the magazine, such as Gaskell's *Cranford* and the essays of Samuel Sidney, constructed imperial economic connections as global and quotidian aspects of the British nation (Waters 102, 110).

While the anti-slavery cosmopolitanism of "Hiram Powers' Greek Slave" could join British readers across class divisions through its dissemination as the popular poetry of *Household Words*, the appearance of Barrett Browning's *Poems* in the United States exposed fault-lines within the cultural and geographical imaginary of the nation. The first American periodical publication of "Hiram Powers' Greek Slave" seems to be in December 1850, two months after it surfaced with vague provenance in Dickens's weekly, and a month after the authorized edition of *Poems* was released by Chapman and

Hall. Rufus Wilmot Griswold, editor of *The Poets and Poetry of America* (1842) and *The Poets and Poetry of England* (1845) (featuring Lydia Huntley Sigourney and Barrett Browning, respectively), reprinted the sonnet in the *International Monthly Magazine* with the recommendation of the inscription “From Dickens’s Household Words.” In February 1851, three months before Gamaliel Bailey’s announcement of the serialization of *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* in the *National Era*, and half a year after it had run Melville’s famous manifesto on American literature, “Hawthorne and His Mosses,” the *Literary World*, a New-York based periodical, critiqued Barrett Browning’s 1850 *Poems*.

The reviewer’s attempts to distinguish between the United States and the places (within the nation) in which slavery existed—“in many, if not most respects, independent communities”—particularly attracted his commentary on Barrett Browning’s poetry treating the subject (“Literature” 85). “The Runaway Slave at Pilgrim’s Point” was highlighted for consideration in the *Literary World* so that the reviewer could clarify that, as a “local institution,” slavery, “whether it be regarded with loathing, liking, or indifference, the Union has nothing to do; the American is not responsible for it,” offering a gentle rebuke to its author, “our early favorite” (“Literature” 85).²³ In contrast, the same reviewer for the *Literary World* apparently did not object to Barrett Browning’s sonnet and, in fact, drew special attention to “a tribute to our country in the verses entitled ‘Hiram Powers’ Greek Slave’” (“Literature” 85), despite the poem’s absence from the American edition (in effect, a semi-pirated edition from C. S. Francis for which the author received no compensation).²⁴ Such an interpretation of her works in the cause of a selective patriotism precisely inverted Barrett Browning’s own views on the duties of the United States and its citizens.

Similarly, the circulation of the *Greek Slave* stateside created a cultural event around which advertisements, raffles, and gossip glossed over the increasingly divisive politics haunting its subject. *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* reported that subscriptions to the Western Art Union increased "nearly one hundred percent" when it acquired one of the copies of the statue for distribution to members ("Monthly" 277). While advertisements in *The Literary World* offered the "Great Novelty!" of "a beautiful Statuette of Powers's 'Greek Slave'" (Greek Slave by Goupil 366), and guaranteed delivery "safe to any part of the Union" (Greek Slave by Ridner 326), rumors swirled about P. T. Barnum's offer to buy one of Powers's statues after it had been raffled off by the Western Art Union. The "Fine Art Gossip" declared Barnum "the only man in the Union who could effectually *bid* Jenny Lind to cross the Atlantic, and who understands how to *give* as well as to *get* the highest prices for the *best* cards" (175). By 1850-51, though, the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law, the publication of Elizabeth Barrett Browning's sonnet, and the serialization of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* for *The National Era* situated the statue within the context of American slavery, especially sexual slavery, ever more markedly, while the Great Exhibition heightened American viewers' silence or aversion towards this connection as an increasingly willful evasion or subversion of a national embarrassment.

Although, as noted, the original statue had already been purchased and shown initially in Great Britain at Pall Mall in 1845, within its national context at the Great Exhibition, Powers's production drew attention to the failure of the United States to put an end to slavery, in contrast to the passage of the system of gradual British abolition from 1833 to 1838. While its Italian origins and the transatlantic praise it garnered

initially framed the *Greek Slave* as “real” art, that is, authenticated within a European milieu, the national implications of its display at the Great Exhibition both subsequently signaled the moral failings of the United States, providing a counterpoint to the accomplishments of Britain, and, alternately, produced a global forum to bolster even further the *Greek Slave*’s reception as an artistic achievement.

When the first statue cast from Hiram Powers’s mold of the *Greek Slave* was displayed at the Crystal Palace, it was the focal point of an otherwise somewhat disappointing American section. As a writer for an American prison-reform journal acknowledged, “It has been said that such is the meagre appearance of the department of the United States, that this is all that saves us” (“Notes” 58). By 1852, a memoir of the visit of an American “young lady,” reprinted for readers of the *Southern Literary Messenger*, did not introduce or explain the statue, since, as the writer stated, it was “too well known and appreciated to need any description.” Despite this insouciance, the author does admit to becoming “piqued at the sneers and sarcasms of some of our trans-atlantic brethren, at the emptiness of our department” (“Letters” 175).²⁵

Although the *Greek Slave* provided a site around which interpretations and silences about femininity and slavery swirled, much of the transatlantic commentary recast the statue as a trophy that had the potential to guarantee its sculptor’s, and therefore America’s, entrée into the most coveted sphere of the fine arts. According to Maidment, the wood engravings depicting spectators in John Cassell’s weekly catalogue of the 1851 fair, which was reissued in volume form, focus both on family groups and the genial interaction of peoples from all nations, “suggest[ing] the harmonious *internationalism* of the Exhibition’s spectators” (92). Despite these concordant pictorial

narratives depicting intermingling peoples from around the world, the text next to the full-page illustration of the *Greek Slave* in the *Illustrated Exhibitor* shows a criticism of American artists that then flows into a generous astonishment: “the first sight of this statue—coming from the hand of a sculptor whose country has made comparatively little progress in this, the highest department of Art—afforded us no little surprise, but it also gave us infinite pleasure” (37). In another issue, the commentary’s patriotic edge returned. The *Exhibitor* dubbed Powers “the transatlantic sculptor,” misattributing his birthplace (Vermont) to Ireland: “the clever Irish sculptor, whom America, in virtue of his naturalisation in the United States, claims as her own,—and with what right, the fact of his birth in the sister-kingdom and his education at Rome seems somewhat doubtful” (290).

The *Greek Slave*, like other sculptures and examples of photography, stood at the center of expressions of patriotic pride and the sight-lines of fairgoers; numerous accounts highlighted the dual visual successes of the American section of the Great Exhibition. *Scientific American*’s correspondent praised the *Greek Slave* as a “*chef d’oeuvre*” and described the American daguerreotypes as “very fine,” eclipsing those produced in London and Paris for “a rich and full tone perfection in *chiara oscuro*” (Excelsior 290). Like much of the discourse surrounding the statue on its initial American tour, the description above fails to link the statue to slavery, instead validating American art through European models. As Henry Wright and William Farmer’s accounts show, however, when writing within the context of world’s fairs, anti-slavery advocates repeatedly infused their assessment of the American visual display, which centered around the *Greek Slave*, with political metaphors.²⁶ Farmer’s evaluation of American

daguerreotypes at London's fair presaged Wright's observations for New York's own "Crystal Palace" two years later for the same publication, the *Liberator*; as Farmer reported, their subjects afforded his group, composed of both "fugitive slaves" and British abolitionists, "an opportunity of commenting upon the conduct and character of the proslavery divines and statesmen, whose portraits disgrace the walls of the Great Exhibition" (116).

The realism of the *Greek Slave* undoubtedly contributed to the troubling reverberations of the sculpture with the material practices of slavery for many viewers. Powers's methods narrowed the gap between representation and actuality, producing mimetic "perfection." Art historian H. W. Janson asserts that "[m]ore than any other nineteenth-century sculptor, he was concerned with the technique of marble carving and the sensuous, fleshlike surface he sought to achieve" (82). The *Greek Slave* emphasized the tension between exhibition and idealism, representing "living" marble, statuesque art, as the ultimate commodity within the panoply of objects at the Great Exhibition. As the *New York Observer and Chronicle* reported on the proceedings of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society in London at Exeter Hall during the summer after the Great Exhibition's opening: "[Americans] exhibited the worst taste possible by placing a Greek slave there, and, beside the figure, placing a man with a stick to turn it round, precisely as they would do were they trafficking in human sinew and bone" ("British Anti-Slavery" 258).

The protestations about the poor "taste" of the statue's subject and its presentation here accentuate how the *Greek Slave*, especially within the highly charged collection of material display at the Crystal Palace and its organization by nation, elicited a sort of

conglomerate discourse that could be understood within many contexts: the synecdochal revulsion for the dehumanizing practices of slave exchange and their continuation within the United States intermixes with the discourses of art criticism and “manners.” Many assessments of the figure, for example, were apparently simply celebrity worship; the extent of the relation of the statue to contemporary events was often expressed as its aura of fame. A correspondent for the short-lived *Home Journal* described the *Greek Slave* as the most intriguing sight confronting viewers as they traversed the nave of the Crystal Palace, pointing out that the statue “is continually surrounded by a throng of admiring gazers,” including “the Queen and her little train” (J. A. 1). Victoria’s appreciative gaze here prefigures any other explanation about the value of the statue; leading her diminutive circle, she stands in as another “admiring gazer,” a royal corroboration of the middle-class performance of looking at art, and further validation of the *Greek Slave* as a suitable work upon which to direct one’s attention.

Punch’s 1851 caricature of the statue, “The Virginian Slave, Intended as a Companion to Power’s ‘Greek Slave,’” infamously displayed Powers’s statue as intricately connected with the visual dynamics of power and sympathy involved with whiteness and blackness, freedom and slavery. Just as Powers’s sculpture took on new meanings within the context of the Great Exhibition, so, too, did its caricature in *Punch*. The statue’s elision of enslaved black women was captured in print by the three-penny weekly, but this illustration was an ambiguous visualization at best. Part of the illustration’s effectiveness is its penetration of aesthetic barriers to emphasize the material conditions of the enslaved woman’s misery, switching the connotations of the pedestal for those of the auction block, yet this exchange also familiarizes the figure to

the gaze of viewers, reemphasizing her status as “pure” property and reinstating the identification of blackness with slavery. Though the punning of the *Punch* title could reflect the sexual vulnerability of the enslaved black subject, just as Powers’s accompanying narrative about a Greek girl about to be sold to Turkish buyers does for his statue, it may just as easily call to mind the falseness inherent in the appellation “virgin” for Virginia’s namesake queen, thereby exposing the woman pictured as both a figure outside of the realms of true womanhood and distanced from the ideal in art. In the latter case, the target of the pictorial satire would be more to point out hypocrisy in claims of moral and national supremacy for the United States, symbolized in the stars and stripes draping the bolster upon which the woman’s chained hands rest, and less to raise empathetic responses for those who were bodily enmeshed in the economics of slavery.

Yet the commentary on the illustration from the *Christian Register*, reprinted in July 17th number of *The National Era* a few pages after the installment of *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* concluding Eliza’s escape across the Ohio River, urges that “‘Punch’ is almost always thoroughly on the side of humanity,” instructing readers to look past any national criticism to see in it “a truth as pictured to be pondered with shame, and not to be turned from with resentment” (“Punch for June 14th” 116). Earlier in the summer of 1851, the *Frederick Douglass Paper* had taken a similar stance, yet one marked by its overt sanction of the undertones of national censure in the cartoon: “We venture the assertion that the melancholy picture of ‘The Virginian Slave,’ standing on a drum head, leaning against a post covered with the star spangled banner, will attract more attention than the Greek Slave, and will have a better moral effect” (“Punch: Our Leeds”). Tavia Nyong’o

asserts that the *Punch* image “exploited the Virginian Slave’s body to mock claims of ‘E Pluribus Unum’” (83).

The reportage on the *Punch* parody and its abolitionist associations during the summer of the Great Exhibition converged most prominently in the protests of William Wells Brown at the Crystal Palace, dramatically narrated by William Farmer for the *Liberator*; while the *Greek Slave* generated its own set of print and visual media spectacles, London figured as a sort of a metropole for anti-slavery, so that the fair provided theatrical intensity and a global forum for staged protests. As Stephen Knadler explains:

While nineteenth-century historians extensively parsed the fair’s role in the social control of capitalist labor and in the legitimation of colonial empires, diasporic African Americans, either as part of their transatlantic antislavery work or labor migrations, would re-appropriate the Crystal Palace—using it as a key trope to imagine a public space of cosmopolitan subversion that would complicate ideas of representative citizenship. (331)

In his letter to William Lloyd Garrison, reprinted in the *Liberator*, Farmer related how “W[illia]m Wells Brown took *Punch*’s ‘Virginia Slave,’ and deposited it within the enclosure by the *Greek Slave* [...] as its most fitting companion” (116). Thus, the statue as object came to be, at least momentarily, abrogated by its print parody, while earlier in the day its “admiring gazers” were supplanted by a tableaux vivant of formerly enslaved persons and their abolitionist friends.

While Hiram Powers’s statue was “clothed” within the antiquity of its medium and its accompanying narrative, William Wells Brown’s act of protest at the Great

Exhibition “unveiled” this mythology, reinserting the parallel histories of enslaved black women that Hiram Powers’s statue recast into whiteness. In his piece, “Fugitive Slaves at the Great Exhibition,” Farmer also described white abolitionists’ prior promenade with Brown and Ellen and William Craft “under the world’s huge glass case”; as Farmer wrote, the particular day was chosen because “the company was, on this occasion, the most distinguished that had been gathered together within its walls, since its opening day” (116). By means of their protest promenade, the abolitionist group at the Great Exhibition not only called attention to their cause, but also displayed the suitability of formerly enslaved persons to become middle-class members of the body politic, in opposition to the figures associated with slave-holding “aristocracy” that graced the American section’s technological and artistic displays. After having her portrait depicting her escape from enslavement in Georgia while disguised “in drag” as “Mr. Johnson” published in semi-sensationalist fashion in the April edition of *Illustrated London News* (Yellin 122), Ellen Craft appeared on the arm of a white abolitionist, reinscribing her idealized—dependent and protected—femininity. As Barbara McCaskill notes, “And now, instead of a male disguise, race operated as Ellen’s masquerade. With her Blackness slipped in a context undetected (a recognizably white woman escorted by a white man), Ellen focused this ‘arrangement’ on the arranged, invented racial biases that scaffolded doctrines of white supremacy” (524). Ellen Craft’s whiteness, though, also mirrored the double-edged pathos of the *Greek Slave*.

Indeed, the protestors’ performance proved both a method of remonstrance and a tool that enforced their own silence, trapping them within their middle-class tableaux of interracial respectability, which they were careful to effect “[u]nostentatiously, without

the least parade” (116). Despite repeated attempts, the group promenaded without inducing any dialogue from other spectators:

It would not have been prudent in us to have challenged, *in words*, an anti-slavery discussion in the World’s Convention; but every thing that we could with propriety do was done to induce them to break silence on the subject. [...] We spoke among each other about the wrongs of the slave; it was in vain. We discoursed freely upon the inequity of a professedly Christian republic hold[ing] three millions of its population in cruel and degrading bondage; you might as well have preached to the winds. (Farmer 116)

Though they were unable to provoke dialogue with other fair-goers, Farmer was generally pleased at that no one seemed to openly scorn their promenade and silent protest, a reaction that Knadler reads through Farmer’s British nationalism: “the Crystal Palace stood as the representative space of the liberal British public sphere, one that the rest of the world ought to emulate” (348).

Though the Crafts, Brown, Farmer, and the rest of their entourage staged a coup against the reigning crown of the American section, the neoclassical forms validating the authenticity of the statue were repeated throughout the glittering halls of the Crystal Palace and in assessments of the fair’s sculptures and “ornamental art”: “looking from Messrs. Osler’s glass fountain up the Eastern Division of the Nave, towards the American organ and its enormous eagle, a combination of splendours bursts upon the sight of overpowering magnificence. Here, as in the Transept, the objects which first attract the eye are the sculptures” (“History” xxv). In Charmaine Nelson’s estimation, “The nineteenth-century’s stylistic dependence upon classical sculpture, broadly termed

‘neoclassicism,’ made the privileging of the white body the aesthetic paradigm of beauty. Quite simply, the term ‘classical’ was not a neutral but a racialized term, which activated the marginalization of blackness as its antithesis” (170). Undoubtedly, Farmer could espouse the juridical advances in Britain that allowed the Crafts and Brown to stage their protest in the Crystal Palace, a space in which no American “dared” challenge the fugitives “upon British soil” (116). Yet, Knadler questions whether the majority of spectators registered anyone but William Craft’s appearance as other than “white”: “as Brown’s biographer William Farrison notes, this peaceful response was due to the fact that most of the audience did not know that the light-skinned Brown and Ellen Craft were of African descent, and hence representatives of the ‘invisible’ American slavery behind American and British manufactures” (348).

A satirical poem in *Punch* echoes the importance of art to a united British “National Taste,” yet here the speaker-viewer-turned-writer is a *former* fugitive slave. Appearing in the September 1851 issue, this rhyme was not paired directly with “The Virginian Slave,” yet it similarly reinserts and dismisses the presence of the black subject. In “Sambo to the ‘Greek Slave,’” the speaker is a spectator who shows how the unmarred statue circumscribed the enslaved body; this text keenly unmask the convergence of class and race with idealized womanhood in the neoclassical perfection that the *Greek Slave* embodied. “Sambo” reconnects and particularizes the figure within the slave systems with which he is obviously familiar, but his acute observations are also minstrelized, so that it is unclear whether he or the statue is being mocked: “You never did no workee wid such hands and feet as dose; / You different from SUSANNAH, dere,—you not like coal-black ROSE. / Dere’s not a mark dat I see ob de cow-hide on

your back; / No slave hab skin so smooth as yourn—dat is, if slavee black” (“Sambo” In 7-10). Though obscured by comic conventions, the verse also identifies the hidden cost of performances of interiority enjoyed by enraptured viewers of the statue and its trappings of neoclassicism and modesty, constructed in contrast to the marked enslaved female, “Susannah” or “Rose”; as Shawn Michelle Smith explains: “The spectacle of the tortured black body reinforced the *racialized* privilege of a *white* middle-class privacy produced by middle-class narratives of threat to the white female body. Such racialized displays of violence [...] reinforced the distinction between protected white middle-class bodies and black bodies ritually tortured before a public gaze” (47).

By inverting the viewer’s gaze of the statue through the spectatorship of a former slave, the text ends by reorienting the *Greek Slave* to its appropriate milieu—the cultural and political integrity of the “free soil” of Britain: “But now no fear of floggee, nor from lubly wife to part, / And here I stands and speaks my mind about de work ob Art; / De nigger free de minute dat him touch de English shore, / Him gentleman ob colour now, and not a slave no more!” (“Sambo” In 17-20). The hodgepodge of caricatures voicing “Sambo’s” perspective remains a jumble of patriotic abolitionist commonplaces, while the troubling echo of linguistic differentiation is recapitulated in the racist epithet in the final lines of the verse. Situating this encounter at the Crystal Palace affirms its claims as a space of “universal brotherhood,” as well, but the near presence of slaves—“Susannah, dere”—with the statue also creates a jarring juxtaposition that confuses an ostensible site of freedom with one of slaveholding, belying the black viewer’s incorporation into an unmarked place of internationalism and British respectability.

Presaging the height and last gasp of overwhelming British abolitionist sentiment, the Great Exhibition showcased its host nation as a unified populace and the first *anti-slavery* empire, while capturing the fissures in its former colony's democratic ethos: the most recognizable and lauded entry from the United States displayed the entanglement of its cultural production with transatlantic slavery. As its fame spread, the *Greek Slave* stood as a contested signifier of American achievement against the fruits of British abolition, and the timely 1852 publication of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in Britain and its subsequent proliferation in illustrated editions highlighted the pervasive problem of slavery in the United States even more stringently. As James Walvin explains, "Only slavery provided the chance for the [British] nation to *unite* behind a political issue, a moral crusade, the outcome of which would apparently be to everyone's economic advantage, would be a victory for Christian virtue and humanity. Moreover, it was a campaign which purified its supporters" (*England* 177). While Stowe's novel for the abolitionist cause would win widespread acclaim after the Exhibition's closing, the appearance of Elizabeth Barrett Browning's sonnet on Hiram Powers's *Greek Slave* in *Household Words* both supplemented the literary claims of an expanding "middle-brow" periodical culture in Britain before its opening and showed the moral high ground of this print culture within Britain's expanding anti-slavery empire.

While the discourse surrounding the *Greek Slave* in the United States in large part negated the statue's connection to American slavery or deflected the seriousness of such associations, Powers's creation intersected a moment in Great Britain characterized by the unifying force of abolition across classes. Dickens depicted the interracial harmony in Britain by contrasting it to American injustice and intolerance in his assessment of

“North American Slavery” in *Household Words*, prompted by the publication of *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*: “Even in an English drawing-room, the American who meets by chance a guest with negro blood marked on his forehead, feels like a cat upon whose domain some strange dog has intruded, and is not easily restrained from spitting” (“North” 3). Whereas the Crystal Palace houses the space of enlightened relations in Farmer’s account, Dickens places the expression of British reason within the sphere of the home.²⁷ As Thad Logan clarifies, “the parlour was the center of the home and the most important room in the house,” itself situated within “the emergent culture of consumerism and the ideology of domesticity” (23). Dickens’s account in *Household Words* of an American’s propensity to spit upon seeing an African American characterizes such behavior as doubly outrageous because of his invocation of the national associations of the feminized space of the *English* parlour, “the most public space of the house,” but also its “inner sanctum” (Logan 27, 31).²⁸

Yet by the second half of the 1850s, the legitimacy of overtly racist discourse in Great Britain was increasing and support for abolition more questionable. Additionally, as Jennifer Pitts argues, “British superiority and the justice of British colonial rule were nearly taken for granted by the bulk of the population by the mid-nineteenth century” (162). Catherine Hall notes that “[i]t was the [1857 Indian] Mutiny which brought the term ‘niggers’ into common parlance. This was the term that Carlyle had seen fit to use publicly in 1853” when his essay “Occasional Discourse on the Negro Question,” first published in 1849, was reprinted with the word *Nigger* in the title (*White, Male* 275). In 1853, Dickens’s “The Noble Savage” also appeared in *Household Words*. Though tongue-in-cheek, Dickens’s “Savage” resembles Carlyle’s “Quashee,” especially in his

penchant for laziness; in addition, this essay documents the extent to which the display of African peoples had become a commonplace in Britain, constructing audiences' "civilization" against the exoticism of African "savagery" ("Noble" 338). As Marx would write in 1853 as a correspondent of the *New York Daily Tribune* regarding the impact of British involvement in India: "The profound hypocrisy and inherent barbarism of bourgeois civilization lies unveiled before our eyes, turning from its home, where it assumes respectable forms, to the colonies, where it goes naked" (221).

By mid-century, the exhibition of the *Greek Slave* in the United States intersected the increasingly divisive politics accompanying continental imperialism, instead of supplementing anti-slavery as a staple of middle-class values and imperial expansion in mid-century periodicals, as in Britain.²⁹ In the years leading up to the Civil War, the exhibition of the statue presented a site around which fantasies of cultural progress and national unification were constructed. Yet the tasteful gaze constituting the appropriate middle-class reaction to the statue neither positioned the onlooker as complicit with the optics of economic and desiring spectatorship, nor as attentive to the distress of the enslaved "at home." For instance, in April 1851, *The Western Journal* touted the statue as an icon of national unity, an object of fine art to be viewed within the sanctums of public galleries and a fond ornament for every home: "And in thus making a name the heritage of an entire people, there is a reflex influence, which blends the national sentiment. Binding with united hand the wreath, quickens the pulse of fraternal sympathy. A kindlier feeling is nurtured, when we are reminded of our unity by the oneness of our interest and admiration" (G 63).

Like much of the print coverage of the sculpture in the United States, that in the *Cosmopolitan Art Journal* publicized the circulation of the statue as an agent of national unification; the statue also served to generate interest for its mission of “uplift” through art. Extant from 1854-1861, the Cosmopolitan Art Association (CAA) formed the only national art union during this time. The CAA was a commercial organization, unlike its predecessors, such as the relatively long-lived American Art-Union (1842-51). In addition, the *Cosmopolitan Art Journal* emphasized the publication of literature, along with the dissemination and discussion of visual art (Hewes 2). It offered subscribers an assortment of written and visual enticements: “prints were offered in lieu of a magazine subscription, so for the three-dollar fee, individuals received either the engraving or a magazine subscription [such as *Godey’s Lady’s Book*, *Harper’s*, and *Household Words*], a chance to win a work of art in the lottery, and a subscription to the Association’s new quarterly journal” (Hewes 4). In giving subscribers more prints for their membership, the *Journal* revealed how much it patterned itself after the *London Art Journal*, not only in its format, but in these “extras”: “This feature is added in answer to the urgent demand for such illustration, as well as to give to our ‘Journal’ the worth, and something of the character of the celebrated ‘London Art Journal’” (“New Volume” 134). The CAA and its “direct medium of communication to subscribers and the reading public” (“The Cosmopolitan” 32), the *Journal*, were positioned as the central media for all things visual and artistic in the United States. The CAA not only commissioned the architect of New York’s Crystal Palace to fashion plans for its proposed gallery, it also claimed credit for the most lavish catalogue of the 1853 fair: “The London Art Journal shows the perfection to which wood engraving has been brought in England, and our own New York

Illustrated Catalogue of the World's Fair, published by Putnam, shows specimens nearly, if not quite, as satisfactory" ("The Cosmopolitan" 32; "Wood" 54).

It would not be an overstatement to attribute much of the success of this commercially-oriented organization to the *Greek Slave* and its print and popular incarnations. Besides producing the engraving of the statue, the CAA raffled off the third copy of Hiram Powers's most famous work not once, but twice, in 1855 and 58, while the *Journal* printed features on its sculptor, reassessments of his work, and poems about the statue by "L. E." and Lydia Huntley Sigourney. The timely publication of Augustine Duganne's "Prize Ode," the winning text in the contest for the best poem about the sculpture, "tell[ing] the whole story of the statue in a rythm [sic] and expression of real classic elegance and strength," provided more advertising for the distribution of the *Greek Slave*, and in turn for the CAA and its *Journal*—"again will she go forth to gladden some home, and consummate her mission to advance and elevate Art-taste in America" (26). Indeed, in its context within the pages of the *Cosmopolitan Art Journal*, Duganne's "Ode to the Greek Slave" portrays the statue as an emissary of edification through art to every household: "Go, then, fair slave! and in thy fetters teach / What Heaven inspired and genius hath designed— / Be thou Evangel of true Angel, and preach / The freedom of the mind!" ("Prize" ll 40-3).

With its multimedia offerings, the Association supplied its audience with the possibility of a range of visual and textual experiences of "art," representing its *Journal* for its first wood-engraved cover in July 1856 as a sort of neoclassical global clearinghouse for the best print media and visual productions of the United States and Great Britain (Hewes 3), but the figurative and literal barriers to the function of "art

elevation” are evident throughout the pages of the *Journal*. The editors apologized continually for delayed or unfulfilled subscriptions and prints and cajoled “The ‘Women of America’” to recruit new subscribers: “In the family circle the *Journal* will be a welcomed visitor—let the daughter or mother use it as a means to introduce the Association to her circle of friends” (44). As Lauren Hewes explains, “The comments in the *Journal* clarify the very real challenges of publishing large engravings in the United States before the Civil War—a lack of skilled printers, no national postal delivery service, and never enough paper or time to pull a high volume of quality prints” (10). One of the most popular images of the *Greek Slave* was an engraving of its display at the Düsseldorf Gallery in New York, distributed by the Cosmopolitan Art Association in 1857. As Kasson observes, the statue looms above viewers out of scale with its actual size, while the emphasis on reverence in this print and the reviews of the statue in the Düsseldorf “were prescriptive, informing readers of the attitude and decorum that would be expected of them in the art gallery” (*Marble* 70-2).

The *Cosmopolitan Art Journal* explicitly featured a mission to disseminate art nationwide, while it navigated a complex set of potential sectional and class barriers both in its commitment to distinguishing itself from other periodical publications and in catering to its audience. In a feature entitled “Nationality in Art,” the editors articulated the magazine’s aim to champion cosmopolitan notions in art (77). This commitment to cosmopolitanism meant that the publication eschewed sectarianism in its attempts to dispense with the very persistent regional divides in the United States, and also that it did not recognize inherently national characteristics as salient markers of art. Though committed to “beauty” and “truth,” the features in the journal often mentioned the worth

of untutored reactions to art: “in Art, as in Literature, it is not the highly educated sense that always appreciates the best” (“Let All” 81). In addition, the *Journal* portrayed its undertaking as one that collapsed sectional borders—“North, South, East, West, every mail brings to us such expressions of compliment and encouragement” (“Expressions” 106)—while it also made particular efforts to cater to southern subscribers. In “Art at the South,” it extolled that “it is a *fact*, that there were, in Charleston, choice and valuable pictures, brought from abroad long before New-York began to stir herself” (132).

Despite its aims to champion American authors, Elizabeth Barrett Browning featured prominently as one of the darlings of the *Journal*. In 1857, she was presented as the literature part of “Masters of Art and Literature,” an editorial decision that arguably traded on the poet’s beloved stature with the popular reading public and her cosmopolitanism, beyond her culture cachet as a British writer. Interestingly, the article on EBB begins by satisfying readers’ ostensible curiosity about her appearance by a “medallion portrait”: “The cast literally ‘speaks for itself’—it is the head and outline of one of the noblest minds of the age” (“Elizabeth” 124). Offering praise for *Casa Guidi Windows*, the reviewer notes that “she shows how her heart is with the popular cause in poor, oppressed Italy,” condoning the poem’s “purpose of stigmatizing tyranny and upholding liberty” (“Elizabeth” 126). Notably, however, the essay mentions neither Barrett Browning’s abolitionist publications in the United States, nor her poetic response to the *Greek Slave*.³⁰ Though the magazine featured quite a few columns devoted exclusively to the poet and her work, including her “Tears” in one of its issues, the omission of the sonnet on Hiram Powers’s statue throughout its run is quite remarkable.³¹

As the close alliance of the sculpture and texts surrounding it for the CAA demonstrated, the cosmopolitanism of its mission to democratize art-taste only went as far as was palatable to those unsympathetic to the cause of anti-slavery: “The end and aim of effort ought to be to introduce some new element which shall be like oil on troubled waters, to soothe antagonisms, and restore a loving peace among men. What is that element—does the reader say? Disseminate a love for Art and Literature, and you have the instrument of reform” (“Women” 45). In “The ‘Women of America’ and ‘The Cosmopolitan,’” the *Journal* portrayed women as the civilizers of the nation through an idyll of a Western outpost of ornamented cottages with pianos and tasteful grounds, peopled by settlers “from all sections of the country.” This tale of the cultured town, “with a *Woman* for its warden,” weaves a vision of the supreme importance of female readers who will help with art dissemination to the nation—culling subscriptions for the *CAJ* (44-5). In its purpose to unify the nation through the medium of art, the *Journal* could well afford to highlight Elizabeth Barrett Browning’s profile, delineating her artistry, her use of classical literature, and her defense of liberty in Italy. The *Journal* could also feature her marriage and her presence at the center of a happy domestic circle, yet her abolitionist poetry, even the “laudatory” sonnet to the *Greek Slave*, inflected another mission for “woman” and art, a universalist ethics with national consequences for the hearth and home: “Pierce to the centre, / Art’s fiery finger!—and break up ere long / The serfdom of the world!” (8-9).

Though slavery splintered the country by region, the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 underlined viciously that its all-encompassing practices reached every part of the nation, captured by Jerrold’s moniker in *Household Words*—“Slave States of America.” Barrett

Browning, too, saw the states as unified in guilt and equally responsible for abolishing slavery: “All virtue is difficult. England found it difficult. [...] But we did not make ourselves an armchair of our sins. As for America, I honor America in much; but I would not be an American for the world while she wears that shameful scar upon her brow. [...] The States should unite in buying off this national disgrace” (“To Mrs.” 2: 111). In this economic solution to slavery, patterned after British abolition, Barrett Browning figured the objects of the “national” home as attached to its material practices, while also presenting a metaphorical picture of the country that translated injustice onto an (imaginably neoclassical) gendered body. In her formulation, instead of tainting the enslaved themselves or those of African descent, the crimes of slavery mark the American national physiognomy.

Despite, or perhaps because of, the focus on morality and personal reformation of nineteenth-century art, the *Greek Slave* stood in many ways as sign for the transnational tendency to make “an armchair of our sins.” The debut of the sculpture in the United States, and especially the display of the “original” statue at the Crystal Palace and the subsequent circulation of it and additional copies stateside, simultaneously obscured and pointed to the system of human exchange and sexual servitude upon which the rapidly expanding union dis-functioned. In reporting on Powers’s subsequent works and the raffle of the *Greek Slave* commissioned by the Cosmopolitan Art Association in 1856, the *United States Magazine* would conclude that “[a]s in most of those valuable qualities that refine and polish the body politic, so are the American people in regard to the Fine Arts—progressive” (“Progress” 262). Such pronouncements echoed the *Cosmopolitan Art Journal*’s assessments of “Art taste in America”: “there is a perfection in our progress

which no country ever knew” (“Nationality” 75). But, the rhetoric informing the saga of the selling and subsequent repurchase by the CAA of Powers’s statue at the Merchant’s Exchange both exposed and blithely negated the commodifying economics symbolized by its subject: “For awhile the ‘bulls’ and ‘bears’ ceased to *gore* and to *hug* one another, attracted by the novel scene of the *Sale of a White Slave in New-York*; [...] Such power has Beauty! [...] [A]nd who knows but Wall-street may yet become the *Art-mart* of America?” (“Editorial” 166).

Combining the cherished ideals of religion, refinement, and transcendent purity, the *Greek Slave* validated transatlantic cultural ideals and stood as an indication of American artistic progress and as an unjustifiable sign of national appropriation for abolitionists and British cultural critics alike, for totally divergent reasons. While representing the ability of Americans to transcend commerce in art achievement, the *Greek Slave* intersected a print and cultural milieu that both exposed the abysmal economics of slavery and covered them with the parlor manners of the (inter)national home. Viewed in the sanctified public space as high art or within the confines of the domestic space, the statue provided an event and focal point around which the populace could display its appropriately genteel and measured responses to art, yet as the literature and visual prints of the *Greek Slave* divulged, this construction of a unified viewing audience at London’s Crystal Palace, and stateside, especially, was a fantasy fabrication. Not naming American slavery explicitly, Elizabeth Barrett Browning’s sonnet drew on the force of the conventional signifying power of the statue, especially the female as a moral compass, both as goddess and angel in the house, to call attention to international injustice. Even so, her text did not appear in the pages of the *Cosmopolitan Art Journal*,

though her likeness was “cast” in Greek coinage for its readers as an art object of refinement and genteel creativity. For members of the Cosmopolitan Art Association and viewers across the country, the statue did in fact sound “thunders of white silence.”

CHAPTER 3

“IN A *LIVING DRAMATIC REALITY*”:PICTURING SLAVERY IN BRITISH EDITIONS OF *UNCLE TOM’S CABIN*

A few months after the close of the Great Exhibition, the specter of American slavery that Hiram Powers’s *Greek Slave* both called forth and repressed appeared in fictionalized form when Harriet Beecher Stowe’s *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* reached British shores in the spring of 1852. In John Cassell’s pirated version, one of fifteen editions that appeared across the Atlantic in 1852 (Thomas 22), the image of Emmeline on the auction block visually encoded the links and gaps between Powers’s sculpture and *Punch*’s “The Virginian Slave” within the novel for a British public. Emmeline and her mother, Susan, are introduced in the second half of Stowe’s narrative, waiting to be sold at a slave market in New Orleans. In Cassell’s edition, Cruikshank renders Emmeline as an “American” *Greek Slave* in one of the cities in which Hiram Powers’s statue was exhibited and the home of its first stateside purchaser, James Robb, crystallizing the meaning of the sculpture’s circulation in the United States within the notorious places and practices of slavery. Stowe begins this brief but forceful vignette through a panorama of the setting and its actors:

Beneath a splendid dome were men of all nations, moving to and fro, over the marble pave. On every side of the circular area were little tribunes, or stations, for the use of speakers and auctioneers. Two of these, on opposite sides of the area, were now occupied by brilliant and talented gentlemen, enthusiastically forcing

up, in English and French commingled, the bids of connoisseurs in their various wares. A third one, on the other side, still unoccupied was surrounded by a group waiting for the sale to begin. And here we may recognize the St. Clare servants,—Tom, Adolph, and others; and there, too, Susan and Emmeline, awaiting their turn with anxious and dejected faces. (288)

Instead of the gleaming surfaces of the Crystal Palace, a domed auction hall outfitted with the symbols of representative government and Christian values serves as the setting for an inversion of the internationalism and “universal brotherhood” of London’s fair.

“Emmeline about to Be Sold to the Highest Bidder” exemplifies how discourses of nationality were envisioned within the semiotics of domesticity and color-based empathy in many British versions of *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*. The spectacle of “priceless”—literally and figuratively—goods at the Great Exhibition and imperial progress is here replaced by the materiality of the market in human flesh and hypocrisy of American republican ideals. In lieu of the bare-breasted, s-shaped stance and blackness of “The Virginian Slave,” though, Emmeline stands on a raised platform within a hall of fluted columns, while behind her an auctioneer leans over his podium, pointing at her with his gavel. Male onlookers crowd in close around her. Above the plane of the pictured spectators and bidders, neoclassical female figures in recessed alcoves overlook the scene of Emmeline’s “sale.” These statues comprise, left-to-right from a reader’s perspective, blind-folded Justice, Liberty holding the Declaration of Independence, and Christianity with a cross and Bible folded into her left arm. As Sara Hackenberg observes, “Emmeline not only again stands *like Powers’s Greek Slave*, with a demure bowed head and hands loosely folded across her mid-section, but she is also placed in an auctionhall of

remarkably Grecian proportions” (37). Similarly to Powers’s statue, Emmeline is “clothed” through her purity and femininity, indicated by her beauty, downcast gaze, and posture.

As her garment and hair attest, Emmeline is an enslaved white figure, yet a contemporary young lady, as well. Because she is pictured as a young lady, arguably her objectification is made untenable more by her precarious public position than by her commodification as a slave. The caption for the Cruikshank image, lifted from a sentence in Stowe’s text, reads, “The young girl mounted the block, and looked around her with a frightened and timid glance” (290). The interiorized responses and orderly family groupings characterizing the placement of viewers in many prints of the *Greek Slave* are replaced in this depiction by the uplifted faces and direct stares of the men who congregate around Emmeline. In addition, her feet peek out from beneath her skirt and her ringlets hang down heavily from her uncovered head. Although she is clothed, her neck, shoulders, and arms are exposed, unlike those of her mother, Susan, who is located in front of the auctioneer’s podium, pleading with her own new master to buy her daughter. Stowe’s text likewise invokes the violation of physical boundaries implied by Cruikshank’s illustration in her description of Emmeline’s inspection just before the fast-paced moments of the bidding for her. The subsequent scene is rendered doubly indecent through the contrast between Emmeline’s “cleanliness” and position as a daughter against the literalized “dirt” of her as-yet unnamed and “bullet-headed” buyer: “He put out his heavy, dirty hand, and drew the girl towards him; passed it over her neck and bust, felt her arms, looked at her teeth, and then pushed her back against her mother, whose patient

face showed the suffering she had been going through at every motion of the hideous stranger” (290-91).

Indeed, Emmeline’s depiction shows the junction between the semiotics of slavery and idealized femininity; the happy domestic circle that she would ornament is replaced by the highly charged sexual connotations of the auction block. Caught in the plane between the bidders’ gazes and the neoclassical sculptures, Emmeline stands just below the auctioneer; no tasteful museum etiquette allows for her transcendence here. Emmeline’s appearance combines the precarious position of an unprotected, youthful “white” woman with the posturing of the *Greek Slave* and its sexual liminality in a national sense, as well. As Julia Thomas observes in her analysis of British editions of *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*, the sightlines of this picture place readers at the level of the crowd, so that they “are implicated” in the erotics of the sale. Yet the perspective of the image also leaves a critical distance from the auction scene, and an unobstructed view of the sculptural reminders of democracy and Christianity, which most of the figures in the image cannot see (40-1). Thomas also points out that “[t]here is an explicit reminder in the prominent inclusion of the Declaration of Independence not only of where this novel is set but that the problem of slavery is decisively removed from Britain and from the readers who were buying this edition of the book” (42). Unlike that of the “Virginian Slave,” Emmeline’s “worth” is encoded within whiteness and domestic purity. Her precarious position as a potential sexual commodity in this image is framed within the paraphernalia of national hypocrisy, so that her shame at exposure becomes the shame of the state, or, perhaps, “the Slave States of America.”³²

According to “Uncle Tom in England,” a pamphlet that informed American readers of the “English opinion of *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*”—or at least what was reported in the September 1852 *London Times*—“*Uncle Tom’s Cabin* is at every railway book-stall in England, and in every third traveler’s hand” (1). The characters of Stowe’s work were instantly appropriated into a spectacle for consumers to buy, watch, and play in the form of performances, games, songs, stationary, even wallpaper (Wood 146-7). Sarah Meer recounts the context of “Tom-Mania”: the term encompassed the sheer numbers that the book sold and the amount of discussion it sparked “on both sides of the Atlantic” (1). Just as the novel produced spin-offs in copious forms, it also was reprinted overseas in gilt and in penny numbers (Wood 146-7). According to Julia Thomas, because no international copyright law existed at the time of its publishing, the text and illustrations could be pirated and printed in British editions only a few months after the book came out in the United States (22). Scores of editions flooded the British market: “The proliferation of illustrated versions of the novel in the first year of its publication was unprecedented in British publishing history and can be compared with the just three illustrated editions that were published in America in 1852 under Jewett, the authorized publisher” (Thomas 23).³³ Though Stowe’s 1852 lawsuit against F.W. Thomas for his reprinting of *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* in the Philadelphia periodical *Die Freie Presse* demonstrates that she by no means had absolute control over her text even in the United States (Boggs 129, 138), the proliferation of British editions roundly outpaced American pirating activity. Although the compelling reading experience of the novel for a mid-century audience cannot be overstated, the rise of consumerism in Britain, an increasing pool of potential readers, and

better printing technology also accounts for the unprecedented success of the novel (McFadden 34).

According to Michael Winship, Stowe's book was "the first true example of the wholesale exportation, even globally, of an American cultural product" (370).³⁴ Along with the seminal rise of illustrated periodicals, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, in Marcus Wood's estimation, "appeared at a defining moment in the expansion of European visual culture" (151). Although the book was read internationally, the sales of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in Britain exceeded those in the United States by 1852 (Winship 370-1), and Stowe could claim to have her work not only pirated, but also misrepresented, through the proliferation of unauthorized editions. In fact, she did just that when she encountered the first edition that had appeared in Great Britain during April 1852, C. H. Clarke's version featuring 10 illustrations (Thomas 22). Stowe objected to its cover, showing a violent whipping scene of an enslaved woman whose body is exposed to view from the waist up, a common visual trope of abolitionist texts.³⁵ In her letter to the publisher in September of the same year, Stowe wrote:

It was my desire in this work as much as possible to avoid resting the question of slavery on the coarser bodily horrors which have constituted the staple of anti-slavery books before now. [...] Hence you will observe that there is not one scene of bodily torture *described* in the book—they are *purposely* omitted. My object was to make more prominent those thousand worse tortures which slavery inflicts on the *soul* [...] It was therefore directly in opposition to the spirit of my intention to have a whipping scene on the very cover, and were I at liberty to authorize the work the places of this kind would be to my mind an objection. (qtd. in Parfait 86)

In the context of this battle against Clarke's depiction of a scene in the novel that is, in fact, only told through the narration of a character (George, who resents his sister's harsh abuse after refusing the sexual advances of her master), Stowe emphasized her intentions of extending the kind of work that British abolitionists had already begun of "civilizing" slaves—and readers—through their connection with Christianity and domesticity. As Maurie McInnis confirms, "Like English female antislavery activists a generation before, Stowe deliberately turned away from the traditional emphasis on physical brutality and torture. [...] This shared Christian faith was intended to create a shared sense of humanity, symbolized by the emotional attachment to family" (52).

Indeed, from at least the eighteenth century onward, the abolitionist struggle was transatlantic and graphic, while this transatlantic visual discourse permeated popular culture and, in turn, was shaped by that culture. Benjamin Franklin's endorsement of the Wedgwood cameo of a kneeling slave in 1787 "Am I Not a Man and a Brother?" is emblematic of these dual tendencies, which were only intensified through advances in printing throughout the century. In the 1820s, the anti-slavery fight had come to be defined as a patriarchal spiritual battle, and as James Walvin states, "abolitionists tended to assume that [civil] rights were divinely ordained rather than secular endowments: 'sacred Rights which belong to all the Family of Man'" ("British Popular" 155). Twenty years prior to the appearance of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in Britain, middle-class missionaries to Jamaica employed rhetoric emphasizing the sanctity of the domestic sphere and the existence of a human family made possible through civilization and Christianization: "In constituting their own subjectivity they also constituted their subjects as manly men and domesticated, virtuous women rather than suffering and victimized slaves; the

characteristics they sought to clothe them with were a version of those which they sought for themselves and which expressed their national identity” (Hall, *White, Male* 210).

While missionaries tried to “clothe” slaves in the respectability of a British national identity, the female image that used the visual codes of the Wedgewood emblem showed how difficult that endeavor was. Like her male counterpart, the woman who asks, “Am I Not a Woman and a Sister?” is naked from the waist up.³⁶ As Lisa Collins notes, “Shown on her knees, bare-breasted, and in chains, this icon explicitly linked nudity with vulnerability and slavery with sexual violence in order to outrage women and press them to agitate for abolition” (102). The image of a kneeling slave appropriates the discourse of the “family of mankind” in which slaves were to be Christianized and civilized by their wiser, white, brothers and sisters; as Catherine Hall explains, “Blacks were the ‘sons of Africa,’ ‘babes in Christ,’ children who must be led to freedom, which meant adulthood” (*White, Male* 237). This discourse also met with the nationalizing tendencies of abolitionists. James Phillippo, a Baptist missionary, had measured his success in Jamaica by “the cottager’s comfortable home, by the wife’s proper release from toil, by the instructed child,” as Catherine Hall points out, “by the English middle class family model, in other words” (*White, Male* 232-33).

The appearance of Stowe’s work intersected a watershed moment in the history of British race relations when the high tide of philanthropic activity for slaves was already beginning to ebb, while the very aggressively publicized abolitionist images of slavery remained to influence the burgeoning visual culture of mid- to late-Victorianism. Moreover, the image of the family was common in abolitionist discourse, and, as Catherine Hall explains, was the articulation of the form of their racism: “[C]ultural

racism, with its paradoxical conviction that slaves were brothers and sisters, all God's children, but younger brothers and sisters who must be educated and led by their older white siblings, was most clearly articulated by the middle-class vanguard of the anti-slavery movement" (*White, Male* 208). This belief is what fueled missionary efforts to the West Indies and African countries, and the transmutation of this rhetoric eventually would justify Britain's imperial expansion. As Hall explains, the Baptist missionaries in Jamaica, who were "at the forefront of the struggle for emancipation in England in the 1830s," aligned themselves with the slaves there by constituting themselves "as privileged narrators [...] the parents of the universal imperial Christian family" (*White, Male* 210). Because the Christian family was a spiritual construction, it extended beyond national borders and authorized intervention. In 1835 British abolitionist George Thompson "argued that interference in the affairs of others was no offence since mankind was one great family" (Turley 164).³⁷

The Reform Act of 1832 was the first extension of the franchise beyond owners of landed property, and was followed only one year later by emancipation. Indeed, abolitionist positions affirmed the core principle of liberty upon which members of the middle class secured their status (Lorimer, *Colour* 98). Yet not only the institution of slavery but the rhetoric of abolitionists themselves left a mixed legacy that far from eradicated racism from the national consciousness. At mid-century Douglas Lorimer identifies a shift in conceptions of race and class, which could also be "read" in the illustrations of some British versions of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. In his monograph *Colour, Class and the Victorians*, he asserts that "[w]hile [an] acute awareness of class distinctions underlay mid-Victorian racial attitudes, a more strident racism only

materialized when a clear identification occurred between race and class. Until the mid-century at least, respectable Englishmen observed social distinctions between one black and another” (106-7).³⁸

When *Uncle Tom's Cabin* appeared in Britain in the spring of 1852, the slave trade in England had been outlawed for over 45 years, and slavery in the West Indies had been abolished for almost fifteen years (Fisch 29), while “the legal basis” for slavery on the Indian continent had been removed in 1843 (Midgley 122). Anti-slavery had been a movement with extensive popular support in Britain. According to historian James Walvin, “[b]y 1830 the extent and depth of anti-slavery feeling is difficult to overstress” (“British Popular” 157). As Catherine Hall points out, the abolitionist movement had also been overwhelmingly a middle-class movement: “By the 1830s an emancipationist position was effectively an orthodoxy within respectable middle-class society in England—only paid lackeys of the planters would publicly defend slavery” (*White, Male* 208). Yet key “failures” a decade after abolition called into question both its legacy and the efficacy of humanitarian work in Africa. The ill-fated Niger expedition (1841) had marked a public fiasco for missionary work in Africa and the decline in sugar production in former slave-holding colonies made it “impossible to assert with confidence any longer the superiority of free over slave labour” (Hall, *White, Male* 248).

Thomas Carlyle’s “Occasional Discourse on the Negro Question,” which appeared in *Fraser's Magazine* in December 1849, expresses an almost hysteric concern over the consequences of emancipation in the guise of an anonymous speaker:

Taking, as we hope we do, an extensive survey of social affairs, which we find all in a state of the frightfullest embroilment, and as it were of inextricable final

bankruptcy, just at present; and being desirous to adjust ourselves in that huge upbreak, and unutterable welter of tumbling ruins, and to see well that our grand proposed Association of Associations, the UNIVERSAL ABOLITON-OF-PAIN ASSOCIATION [...] do[es] *not* issue as a universal “Sluggard-and-Scoundrel Protection Society,”—we have judged that, before constituting ourselves, it would be very proper to commune earnestly with one another [on the Negro Question].

(4: 349)

Carlyle’s views indicated an extremely polarized position, as he undoubtedly intended to portray abolitionism as one part of an alliance of a broader “do-goodism” too preposterous to be taken seriously. Yet many versions of Stowe’s illustrated text combined the extremities of the vestiges of the paternalistic discourse of abolitionists with racialized representations that could have also been used to accompany Carlyle’s characterization of the formerly enslaved as “Sluggards.”

While the Great Exhibition had in many respects directed attention away from class differences and towards imperial spectacle, because of the limitations of mid-century technologies and publishers’ attempts to supply audiences with what would sell, many illustrated versions of *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* pictured race, rather than class, as the most salient distinguishing feature of difference.³⁹ The novel arrived in Great Britain when rising literacy and advances in printing technology formed a ready market (McFadden 34), while the subject of slavery in America also served as an outrage around which class tensions at home and the dubious effects of abolition in British colonies abroad could be redirected. In addition, *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* reemphasized the specter of American slavery, the institution that belied the proud American stance as the

neoclassical incarnation of republicanism and the land of the free. Like abolitionist rhetoric itself, Stowe's work intersected and combined the discourses of reform and sentimentality, encountering an overseas audience that could enjoy and employ it as political fodder, history, entertainment, and literature. After the widespread support of the abolitionist movement from the middle class and its less than euphoric results, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* reinvigorated the cause, especially for British women, across class lines, while the spectrum of editions available enabled readers from the working classes to enjoy the novel alongside the elite.

Just as the abolitionist paraphernalia carrying the image of the kneeling slave—including “plates, pitchers, snuff boxes, tea caddies, and tokens”—had infused objects and household goods in Britain (McCinnis 31), the pirated graphic productions of Stowe's novel and its subsequent commodification permeated American and British households with “plates, spoons, china figurines, bronze ornaments, [and] dolls” (Meer 1-2). The lack of any international copyright agreement at the time of its publication allowed the text to be distributed with illustrations that depicted both objectification of slaves and movements towards including them in the British body politic, yet this “honor” was reserved almost exclusively for whitened characters. In his examination of trans-Atlantic depictions of slavery, Marcus Wood identifies *Uncle Tom's Cabin* as a pivotal example of the intersection between emerging scientific racism and new illustration and print technologies: “When considering the cultural absorption of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* it must be remembered that the period 1780-1865 witnessed not only the occurrence of European and American abolitionism but the development of, and by the 1860s mass belief in, scientific racism” (144). With the developing “visual semiotics of the press” (Wood 151),

the various forms of images from numerous illustrators provided their audiences with ever-increasing and ever-changing formulae for reading a text.⁴⁰ Text could be sandwiched in serial numbers before and after advertisements. The illustrations themselves could be scattered within the text, singled out in full-page versions, or in framing images as if they were miniatures, as Julia Thomas discusses in her chapter on the illustrated British editions of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (31, 23, 33-4).

Stowe narrates different kinds of “success” through the divergent subplots of the novel: most famously, Uncle Tom dies in a scene of torture that is “redeemed” in Stowe’s depiction of Christian sacrifice.⁴¹ From its very beginning, the story shows how slaveholding infuses the domestic space by depicting the conversation between Mr. Shelby, a Kentucky slaveholder of the “humane” sort, and Haley, an ostentatious, ill-spoken slave-trader (1, 5).⁴² This exchange initiates the movements of the text and a recurring series of lessons on the economics of slavery and the “fine female article” as Stowe constantly defines and redefines the humanity of slavers and even benevolent slaverholders in contrast to the “chattel” they enslave (4, 10). Although Mrs. Shelby has assured her “servant,” Eliza, that her young son Harry will remain at his mother’s side, Mr. Shelby seals a deal with Haley to sell the child and the eponymous hero of the novel, Tom (8). Before being sold to the merciless Simon Legree, Tom first finds another pious soul in Eva, an angelic young girl whom he saves from drowning while en route to being sold by Haley. Eva’s father, Augustine St. Clare, buys Tom, who faithfully serves his indolent and indulgent master in New Orleans. Meanwhile, having overheard the conversation between the Shelbys about her son’s sale, unlike Tom, Eliza flees with her son Harry across the frozen Ohio River and eventually rejoins her husband, George, who

had already made his escape. These characters reach Canada and the material success of family and domestic happiness, in contrast to Tom's journey into the southern hell of slavery, a connection that is reinforced by the titles of the chapters that encompass this descent, "The Middle Passage" and "Dark Places."

The circulation of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in all of its varying forms provides both an example of how the ideals of liberty associated with abolitionism initially mainstreamed the book as resonant with British nationalism and how the issue of slavery came to symbolize part of the moral imperium of broadcasting British and, later in the century, American, culture worldwide. While the Crystal Palace and the publications cataloguing it showed all of the modern gadgets and gizmos in production, some British editions of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* both created an empathy of mimesis that was divided between the pictured "color" lines of black and white for Stowe's characters and tended to minimize the deprivations caused by slavery through "Victorianized" domestic scenes, such as pictures featuring Aunt Chloe with the latest and greatest kitchen stove available. In the numerous British editions, violence against female slaves was often sexualized and portrayed voyeuristically, while Uncle Tom's cabin was refurbished with bric-a-brac. The domestic ideologies that were so attached to a newly emerging consumerism at the Great Exhibition of 1851 created a hodgepodge of nationalizing tendencies that could be read in the illustrated versions of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, through which scores of readers "experienced" the brutalities of American slavery.

The proliferation of illustrated editions of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in Britain showcases the vexed problem of depicting enslaved black bodies in the mid-nineteenth century, especially the black female body. Read against the Victorian fetishization of

classical purity and feminine self-possession, the corporeality of the slave, especially the female slave, relegated her “to the marketplace of the flesh” (Spillers, “Interstices” 76). Depending on the packaging of the novel as a cheap number or a handsome authorized edition, the context in which readers viewed Stowe’s slaves ranged along a continuum from popular entertainment to significant literature. Though no one illustration could display the cache of cultural capital belonging to Hiram Power’s sculpture, the constellation of values inscribed by the statue’s visual codes and its accompanying narrative mimics the aesthetics of the graphic accompaniments to Stowe’s novel. As the illustrations of *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* demonstrate, despite the Great Exhibition’s great gleaming expanses and the cozy domesticity that British versions of Stowe’s novel upheld, the past and continuing dirt of human commodification threatened to implicate not only Americans, but also the British in its shame.

In some transatlantic editions of Stowe’s novel, the author’s own paratext introducing and concluding the narrative was augmented by introductions commending its subject and author to a British audience. The writer of the preface to the C. H. Clarke edition of *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* claims “this good book [for] British readers” and presents them with a reality rooted in physical conditions, while he simultaneously uses language infused with spiritual import (iii). Although Stowe ends her narrative with an injunction to her audience to “feel right” (624), the author of the preface to this 1852 version of her novel, “G.,” prophesies doom to “that city whose gates are barred against justice and humanity” (vii). According to “G.,” the entire British Empire should read *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* in order to fight American slavery:

It will sap the foundations of an institution which has prospered amid tempests of indignant eloquence; and we prophesy that what has been denied to Justice, contrary to the lowest instincts of brute compassion, will now be resigned, bit by bit, at the shrine of Respectability. Wherever the book is read—and thousands of copies are already at work in thousands of homes—contempt for the upholders of slavery must follow. Now contempt, unlike indignation, is a weapon impossible to parry; it loses little of its force by being struck from a distance; and, in a good cause, spreads like contagion. Therefore the sooner the story is circulated in every colony and village where English can be read, the sooner must the dread realities it chronicles become mere traditions to wonder over. (v)

This contagion of contempt is distinctly British in origin and spreads from the private sphere of domesticity throughout the Empire. That “G” distinguishes contempt from indignation implies that British readers will recognize their superior position as unbiased onlookers who are not implicated in the kind of violations the text will reveal. The wholesomeness of domestic space is so powerful that it can spread outward and over national borders, just as the religiously based “family of man” knows no limits.

In light of the universal domesticity that the author of the Clarke edition Preface constructs disregarding all class distinctions, St. Clare’s comparison of slaveholders with upper classes of England is very intriguing. The panacea of contagion that “G” invokes is much different from the liabilities that slaveholders are exposed to, according to St. Clare. Unlike “[t]he capitalist and aristocrat of England,” who “do not mingle with the class they degrade,” slaveholders make their children susceptible to this “race” through close association: “We might as well allow the small-pox to run among them, and think

our children would not take it, as to let [the slaves] be uninstructed and vicious, and think our children will not be affected by that” (Stowe 343-44). St. Clare’s analogy parallels the injustice of slaveholders and the English ruling class, while also releasing the latter from the socially and racially charged “degradations” of being associated with those whom they crush. Despite its British “packaging,” such a focus on contemporary events within the novel itself shows its potentially divisive commentary on class hierarchies. It discusses the very real possibility of a proletarian uprising, as Karl Marx’s call for revolution in 1848 was realized in many European countries, even while it equates the working classes with social and racial degeneracy, a very different picture from that of the sentimentalized space of the home, the cozy cottage hearth.

The consolidation of the abolitionist cause within the middle and upper classes after the publication of *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* aligned with what Douglas Lorimer identifies as a “more strident racialism” past mid-century that “grew out of the identification of blacks with a slave past and the association of this servile status with the English lower orders” (*Colour* 107). Mid-nineteenth-century “Englishmen” perceived racial divisions as similar to class distinctions, equating the slave with the factory laborer (*Colour* 100-2); these categories were ones that the novel itself upheld through St. Clare’s discussions of class. Yet the plight of farm laborers and servants, which were arguably more akin to those of slaves, was often ignored by Victorian commentators when discussing British social and economic conditions in light of Stowe’s work (*Colour* 102). Arguably, *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* overshadowed the comparisons between farm and slave labor that Charles Kingsley suggests in his novel *Alton Locke* (1850) through the speech of an agricultural worker: “the farmers make slaves on us. I can’t hear no difference between a Christian

and a nigger, except they flogs the niggers and starves the Christians; and I don't know which I'd choose" (qtd. in Lorimer, *Colour* 103). Such depictions gave voice to the intricacies of class and race that were often silenced by philanthropists.

Although no one edition can account for the plethora of British productions and the reading experiences they generated, one of the most enduring versions of the novel was, and probably still is, the 1852 Cruikshank illustrated version for publisher John Cassell that featured "Emmeline about to Be Sold to the Highest Bidder" as one of its images. Wood argues that George Cruikshank's "twenty-seven whole-page designs" created a tableaux of set pieces which relinquish the more revolutionary tendencies of Stowe's novel to "its popular essence, [...] founded in sentimental humour, violence and sex" (151-52). Wood points out that this version was quite obviously marketed for its illustrator—George Cruikshank's name in the front matter was printed in a font that doubled the size of the author and title (Wood 174). Some of the scenes that this text made iconic include Harry dancing for Mr. Shelby and Haley; Eliza's flight across the frozen Ohio; George's sister being whipped; Eva converting Topsy; Topsy capering in Miss Ophelia's room; Eva's death scene; Tom and Emmeline's auction; and Tom's flogging and vision of Christ (Wood 151). The earlier version printed by C. H. Clarke is the main text of my analysis; the edition from H. G. Bohn (1852), which includes nine illustrations (including the frontispiece), forms an ancillary point of comparison. Like the Cruikshank, both feature large images that form their own pictorial narrative, one that is never integrated on the page with Stowe's text.

The Clarke edition represented a large part of the market for the novel; it retailed at seven shillings sixpence, according to Thomas, while their People's Illustrated Edition

sold for four shillings (Thomas 23). The scene that drew Stowe's specific objection, picturing George's sister being whipped, appears not only on the cover of the book, but also within the text, bearing the title "Scenes Daily and Hourly Acting under the Shadow of American Law." Thomas speculates that the heavy paper on which some images were printed and the list of illustrations at the beginning of the novel may have encouraged readers to thumb through the pictures first, creating a narrative structure in which "it might have been less a question of the images matching up to the text than the text matching up to the images" (23). Although the illustrations of the Clarke edition were not printed on thicker paper than the surrounding text, they create an alternate text in many ways. The double of the table of contents is the list of illustrations. Each illustration has its own title; the title appears at the top of each image and a quotation from the text frames the bottom of the picture.

Like another London production of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in 1852, that of H. G. Bohn, illustrated by "Havelock [sic] K. Browne and John Leech," the Clarke edition pictures Eliza, George, and Harry on the "free soil" of Canada. In a conflation of Stowe's use of language with the post-emancipation rhetoric of Great Britain, the Clarke edition entitles the scene of the achievement of freedom "The Article Escapes into a State which Never Gives up a Fugitive" while the Bohn version more simply states, "Arrival of George and Eliza in Canada." Similar to the Clarke book, the Bohn version of Stowe's text also included an extensive introduction. In this preface, the Rev. James Sherman emphasizes the fusion of graphics and writing in his reading of the novel, as well as the picture-like quality of Stowe's text: "The genius which has strung together so many real incidents in slave life—the dramatic beauty with which the scenes are painted—[...] the

variety of characters introduced as well among slaveholders as slaves—[...] render it as irresistibly attractive to the learned and unlearned as Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* or De Foe's *Robinson Crusoe*" (xiii-xiv). Like the Bohn version, the static, almost mythic quality of the Clarke edition's full-page images interrupts the narrative of the novel; these images confront the reader with their own insistent text, instead of complementing and more discreetly altering the interpretation of the events narrated by Stowe.

Similar to the Cruikshank edition and many others, the Clarke and Bohn edition depict George and Eliza as white. As Marcus Wood points out,

The characters in the book who actively seek their freedom are an octoroon male, George, who is so white he has to blacken his skin at one point to pass for a Spaniard, and a quadroon woman, Eliza, who is also, for the purposes of illustration, chalk white. Mid-nineteenth century commercial wood-engraving leaves little room for subtle distinctions in the representation of skin tone, and George, Eliza and Harry consequently appeared in the illustrated editions, prints and ceramics as an ideal white family. (152)

One of the scenes of the novel that was depicted most often both in print and on the stage is Eliza's escape across the ice from slavery to freedom (Thomas 28; Brody 66). As Jennifer DeVere Brody surmises, "That the *tableau vivant* of 'Eliza's perils on the ice' was selected so frequently for reproduction may have been connected with a desire to see purity in absolute terms—as the whiteness of white and the blackness of black" (66). As Gregg Crane argues, Stowe's emphasis on identification meant that her means of arguing for the plight of the slaves was to show the resemblances between them and the whites who were in a position to help them: "[t]hrough 'the imploring human eye, the frail,

trembling human hand, the despairing appeal of helpless agony,’ and the fundamental resemblance between black and white families, such pictures work a kind of ‘magic’ on their audience’s sympathy” (63). Yet, as Crane points out, her “figural emphasis on resemblance” subverts the potential connection between races that Stowe inscribes within her text (65).

For the most middle-class enslaved figures in the novel, George, Eliza, and their son, Harry, the illustrations in the Clarke edition create a cultural progress from blackness and uncertainty to whiteness and the land of liberty—Britain. Stowe herself described George and Eliza as having mixed heritage of descent, inviting interpretations that their “white blood” is what ultimately allows them to escape and function outside of slavery.⁴³ In addition, Richard Yarborough points out the failings of Stowe’s characterization of Eliza as “the mid-nineteenth-century ideal of bourgeois femininity” (51). Though she is shown as maternal in order to counteract the belief that slave mothers did not care for their children, she displays “little real psychological depth or intellectual vigor” (Yarborough 52). Eliza’s getaway across the frozen Ohio captures the unbelievable heroism Stowe infused into her character. Within the context of the illustrations depicting the subplots of her family, George, Harry, and Cassey, a slave whom Tom encounters at the plantation of Simon Legree and who turns out to be Eliza’s mother, Eliza’s successful departure could also be read as her flight from slavery *and* blackness towards the other whitened characters who also share her achievement.

Within the context of George, Eliza and Harry’s flight, English shores are the very meaning of liberty, and this source of national pride is highlighted in the graphic text, as well as in the Clarke preface. The newly freed family’s escape into Canada is

depicted as an escape into an English country cottage and the accompanying quote taken from the novel (with altered punctuation) of course emphasizes Canada's ties to imperial Britain: "The blessed English shore—shores charmed by a mighty spell—with one touch to dissolve every incantation of slavery, no matter in what language pronounced, or by what national power confirmed" (327). This edition displays the British colonialist outlook in its preface, presaging the patriotic notion of the white man's burden that would develop later in the century: "the fact that to stand once within the boundaries of British rule is to place the artillery of an empire betwixt any man and slavery, advances that empire, all burdened and heavy laden as it is, to a degree of national excellence unattained elsewhere, either in old times or in new" (iv). In the image rendering this scene in the Bohn edition, the nuclear family grouping is pictured in a triangular composition. The kneeling slave of the Wedgewood cameo is transformed into the prayerful attitude of a well-dressed George, who expresses gratefulness to have reached Canada. In the background to the viewer's right, a country cottage also at the ready stands to receive the successful white characters into the domestic fold of Canada. On the left-hand side of the scene, a bonneted and shawled Cassy stands on the free soil of freedom with her back to the reader, watching a ship recede into the distance.

In Clarke's 1852 edition, the only other black figure besides George who is depicted without African racialized features in the "pre-text" scenes—the cover, frontispiece, and title page—is George's sister. The cover shows a "picture of the whipping of a black woman by a black man with the appended words, 'Scenes Daily and Hourly Acting under the Shadow of American Law'" (Thomas 40). This illustration appears again in the narrative with a quotation from George, "She was whipped, sir, for

wanting to live a decent Christian life, such as your laws give no slave-girl a right to live” (Stowe 95). George looks on as his sister is whipped in this picture. Although a slave himself within the narrative time of the text, he is thoroughly “whitened” in the illustration, since he is presented wearing a coat with a ruffed shirt and depicted with an aquiline nose. His sister, Emily de Thoux, is shown wearing a turban-like head-piece, with orientalized features—a long straight nose, oval face, and blackened skin. Her two arms are uplifted, revealing the lower part of a rounded breast, while the upper part of her dress hangs down below her waist, and she gazes off into the distance blankly. This scene is the only image to appear more than once. The depiction of this event, which is only indirectly narrated by George in the novel, displays “the sexually charged, brutal nature of slavery while at the same time allowing [readers] to enjoy the forbidden titillation of such an evil,” as Paul Gutjahr notes (81).

This illustration undercuts Stowe’s emphasis on George’s sister’s sexual dilemma as a slave whose body is at the ultimate whim of her master, while erasing the master’s own white flesh and implicated body. In addition, it literalizes and realizes the erotic undertones of Lord Brougham’s description of slavery in the Clarke Preface, in which he focuses on the abuses that accompany a system of human chattel: “while men despise fraud, and loathe rapine, and abhor blood, they will reject with indignation the wild and guilty phantasy that man can hold property in man” (vi). The brutality of the white slavemaster’s attempted rape is replaced by the image of the sexually available, orientalized slave, while like both the *Greek Slave* and the “Virginian Slave,” this illustration displays for the viewer the “wild and guilty” fantasy of holding [wo]man as property. Thomas conjectures that the beater in this illustration is a black man (40), and

so he is. With his shirt collar open, his sleeves rolled up, skin blackened, short, “pug” nose, and curly hair, this man is also eroticized; the whole beating is sexually charged. George’s angry gaze at his sister’s whipping doubles in this composition as the voyeur’s entry into this sadomasochistic scene; we, along with the “white man,” look on at the black body whipping and being whipped. The distant anger of the white man and the corporeality of the potential rapist, who is black, misconstrues the reality of the slaveholders’ too-intimate access to their slaves.

While the cover image of Clarke’s edition for a British audience accentuates and invites readers to participate in the salaciousness of slavery, which Stowe herself never wrote into George’s story of his sister’s sexual bondage, the image of Prue’s death in this London edition displays the corpse of the black female body, a body which is not valorized in Stowe’s text. Ophelia, St. Clare’s cousin, repeats the lines again and again which form the latter part of the title of this particular illustration, “Death of Aunt Prue. ‘An Abominable Business—Perfectly Horrible!’” While Tom is paired with Eva in angelic positions for most of the written and illustrative narrative, and Eliza and George are whitened and allowed their freedom, Aunt Prue’s death is ambiguous—ignominious because she was a thief and drunkard, yet an indictment of a slave-holding society because she was driven to drink after being used for breeding and hearing her child cry as it died of exposure in a garret. As Marcus Wood shows, many editions chose to eroticize even Aunt Prue, disrobing her and displaying her being beaten: “A grinning crowd enjoys the spectacle and there is the appalling inference that we are meant to join them” (184-5).

Stowe focused on Uncle Tom’s Christian sacrifice and considered titling her work, “The Man Who Was a Thing” (Spillers 47), however the illustration of Aunt Prue’s

death in the Clarke edition shows the gruesome end of Aunt Prue, a woman who is treated like a thing. This scene mirrors the cover illustration, but instead of the turban and revealing dress of the young woman, a white wrapper encloses the horizontal S-shape of body of Aunt Prue, displaying a dark shoulder with flies hovering above it, a faithful rendering of Stowe's text. Frayed rope trails from her limbs, which are still bound, while a skull-like visage with a slightly open mouth, rests on two limp arms. This illustration appears almost exactly in the middle of the novel, and is the only one to display death so ingloriously. Unlike depictions of Tom and Eva's deaths, in which at least one figure mourns the dying person, Aunt Prue lies in a cellar alone with flies circling her head. The pictorial narrative suggests that the orientalized Emily de Thoux might turn into an Aunt Prue in her premature old age, while Eliza, who is successfully whitened and who enjoys the protection of a white man, will move on to a happy life on English shores.

Eliza's white womanhood as motherhood, or its precursor stage, the chaste, sexually vulnerable girl, also constructs its opposite, the degraded, biologically other of women, or as Stowe describes the slaves on the Legree plantation, "women that were not women" (Norton 301). Concerns with the commodification and sexualization of the female body were also filtered towards the representations of Eva. In bemoaning the "degraded" status of art, John Ruskin singled out the arbor scene between Tom and Eva as his example, an episode that had become another "set-piece" for illustrators of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*: "the sentiment which is supposed to be excited by the exhibition of Christianity in youth is complicated with that which depends upon Eva's having a dainty foot and a well-made satin slipper" (5: 96-7). Many illustrations of black women in the novel, however, were unmistakably sexualized, with no coy traces of fashionable dress to

divert attention from their forms. Iconographic images portraying Tom venerating white, virginal girlhood and praying to the figure of a white Jesus actualize in a simplistic, graphic form the traditional notions underlying Stowe's "vision." Although Ophelia's words are foregrounded in the depiction of Aunt Prue in the Clarke edition, Uncle Tom is actually the one in Stowe's text who shows concern for her.

The appearance of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* marked a transitional moment in British abolitionist culture, which by the 1830s had become a mainstream discourse. Because emancipation had been achieved, political action was no longer called for. The types of activities in which ladies' auxiliaries had been involved constituted the only channels yet available for anti-slavery action; according to Clare Midgley, "by 1850 women's societies had come to outnumber men's groups for the first time in the history of the anti-slavery movement" (125). The novel brought the issue of slavery to the transatlantic public and parlor, reframing the moral suasion that had fallen out of favor with mainstream abolitionists to a broader audience (Lasser 28). The aristocratic, "fashionable London literary set" met at the London residence of the Duchess of Sutherland in 1853 to present Stowe with a penny offering for abolition. In the Stafford House address, drafted by Anthony Ashley Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury (Midgley 148), the image of the family of man persists:

We do not shut our eyes to the difficulties, nay the dangers that might beset the immediate abolition of that long-established system; we see and admit the necessity of preparation for so great an event, but in speaking of indispensable preliminaries we cannot be silent on those laws of your country which in direct contravention of God's own law 'instituted in the time of man's innocency' deny

in effect to the slave, the sanctity of marriage at the will of the master: the wife from the husband and the children from the parents. Nor can we be silent on that awful system which either by statute or by custom interdicts to any race of man or any portion of the human family education in the truths of the Gospel and the ordinances of Christianity. (Hedrick 451-52, punctuation inserted)

At mid-century, Stowe's novel provided an impetus for "aristocratic Anglican 'ladies'" to involve themselves in abolitionism, a movement at that time led by "middle-class non-conformist women" (Midgley 148). As Midgley explains, Stowe's novel allowed women reformers to join ranks across class lines, affording them "racially based power" (144).

British women could see themselves represented both figuratively and literally as the guiding light for slaves within illustrated British versions of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. That Tom must be identified as a Christian for such dynamics to function is literalized in the frontispiece to the London edition published by Partridge and Oakey in November 1852, which bears the invented subtitle, "The History of a Christian Slave." As Midgley points out, "Stowe became a symbol of white women's philanthropic and missionary power to bring freedom and Christianity to grateful black slaves" (146).⁴⁴ One such example of this literalization is the illustration opposite the title page in the 1853 production from Adam and Charles Black. This version of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* "with Frontispiece by John Gilbert, ornamental title-page by Phiz, and 130 engravings on wood by Matthew Urlwin Sears" came out of Edinburgh and can be classified with other pirated editions from well-known publishers. While transatlantic abolitionist imagery featured set pieces, such as the middle passage, the slave auction, the fugitive escaping the jaws of pursuing dogs, the depiction of white, neoclassical female figures offering succor to kneeling slaves was

also prevalent. Jean Fagin Yellin locates the transatlantic dissemination from Britain to the United States in one such image from 1828 accompanying William Cowper's anti-slavery poem, "The Morning Dream" (20).

The radiant light emanating from Britannia's person in the abolitionist print finds an echo in the lantern that Cassy holds aloft in the *Black* frontispiece. Like previous allegorical abolitionist compositions using this visual trope, in the *Black* illustration, an unmistakably white woman stands above a kneeling Tom. The snippet of text that explains the scene and the picture together provide a reinscription of the image familiar from abolitionist literature of the kneeling black man who asks, "Am I Not a Man and a Brother?" As the text at the bottom of the image promises, a white British woman will lead this man to civilization and enlightenment: "O good Lord! Do look down—give me the victory!—give me the victory over all!" prayed poor Tom in his anguish. A footstep entered the room behind him, and the light of a lantern flashed on his eyes." Although within the text of the novel this scene is ostensibly the first of many experiences that will lead to the eventual conversion of the mulatto slave Cassy, the *Gilbert* frontispiece recasts Cassy as a christianizing white woman, the guiding light of British civilization.

This sort of imagery links the abolitionist efforts of the early part of the century to the work of empire throughout its latter half, as the writings of such notorious pseudo-scientists as Robert Knox (1850) began to be popularized. The abolitionists' culturally racist discourse became mixed with scientific racism, and claims, such as Knox's, that "race is everything: literature, science, art—in a word, civilization, depends on it" (qtd. in Walvin, *England* 88). The biological view of race and the image of a white woman as a guiding light for the world perhaps precludes the ability of the kneeling black man ever to

get off his knees, since, if he did, he would come face to face with white womanhood. Yet, through Tom's prayer and supplicating position, Gilbert's illustration provides assurance that he is thoroughly Christianized, humbly submissive to the influence of a white woman. Embodying Cassy as a sort of metaphorical embodiment of the moral mission of British women contains the potential specter of "miscegenation" within this visual coding, indirectly reaffirming white male privilege.⁴⁵

While the novel's focus on the family tended to humanize its black characters for the overseas audience, minstrelsy also provided many illustrators with stock images that they recycled for Stowe's text, an apt fit, since many of her characterizations draw on this tradition.⁴⁶ As Marcus Wood notes, "Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* is the key site for the examination of what popular audiences in the mid-nineteenth century wanted to see as, and what publishers wanted to impose upon, the representation of blacks within slave systems" (143). Julia Thomas locates the depiction of Uncle Tom's cabin as the focal expression of difference between British and American editions of the novel; the first American edition did not even contain an illustration of the cabin, and when this omission was "corrected" in the 1853 production of the American publisher, Billings, the content of the home was spartan, while British versions included objects that did not appear in the narrative, "but [were] necessary to make this house into a home" (43). Thomas points out that in the 1852 edition from the London publishers Partridge and Oakey, illustrated by Henry Anelay, the open cooking fire in Tom and Chloe's cabin "seems to have been replaced with a Victorian cooking range" (43).

Indeed, according to Thomas, the release of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in Britain coincided with what one contemporary observer called "[a] cottage-interior mania" at

exhibitions and in popular publications (43). As she points out, “[t]his coincidence between the illustrations for Stowe’s text and contemporary images of cottage life is intensified in the fact that both suggest that the domestic space is indicative of moral virtue” (43). C. H. Clarke’s edition also included a title page depicting a cluttered cabin-cottage. In this production, pictures, tableware, tablecloths, and ample furniture litter the composition, while a minstrelized Tom holds a child high in the air as he dances a jig; the master’s son looks on from his place beside the fire, and Aunt Chloe exclaims, “Can’t ye be decent when white folks come to see ye? Stop dat ar, now.” Uncle Tom, Aunt Chloe, and their children are shown with large lips and noses and low foreheads, features that Wood identifies as typical of “nineteenth-century assumptions about black phrenology and anatomy” (163). While the cabin is “Victorianized” to make it appear moderately comfortable for the British gaze, the black figures in it are depicted as inherently different biologically.

As Fisher asserts, considering that only the opening scenes of the text have anything to do with Tom’s cabin, the title of Stowe’s novel seems strange (119). In his analysis, however, this very absence is significant, since, for its audience, the cabin represents the “Christian image of heaven as the home to which [the reader] will return after a wandering on earth” (120). According to Fisher, sentimentalism is like romantic poetry because “[i]n these narratives an observer stares at an abandoned or ruined habitation, calls up the life that was once there and tells one of those stories of decline and ruin that make human presence itself seem unsustainable” (120). He emphasizes that the aesthetics of sentimental literature impel the reader to recognize the transcendental; the ruins within the narrative depend upon a sense of “historical sadness” (120).⁴⁷ As

many illustrated editions demonstrate, however, for a contemporary British reader, the sentimentalism of Tom's cottage also would have very material connotations. Thus, while the sentimental mode of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was potentially a very emotive and effective method for readers to identify with Tom, and his habitation replicated many of the features of middle-class life, his character could very easily be understood as one not attached to political and social realities. For a British audience reading the narrative of Tom's heavenly journey, his blackness could mainly remain safely ensconced as an otherworldly and overseas phenomenon, while his comic moments would transgress no boundaries, limited as they were to the legacy of minstrelsy.

Tom's glorified death ensures that he will never reach the "land of liberty," unlike Eliza and George, as they are depicted in the Clarke edition. This couple, however, attains ultimate whiteness—Britain—vindicating G.'s claim that "[i]t was not to whitewash the national dignity, but to reclaim a degraded race from degradation, that so mighty efforts [sic] were made by a generation now almost past" (iv). Eliza and George are lifted up from the "degradation" of their "race" to join the ranks of families in British homes reading *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, rallying against slavery, and spreading their contempt throughout the Empire. They achieve successful assimilation, becoming white and British, unlike Stowe's textual version in which they are deported from the other "land of liberty." The cover illustration and Aunt Prue's death, however, trace a darker journey, both literally and metaphorically. The illustrations to the Clarke edition show the extremity of representations of the black female body—one utterly desirable, the other utterly abject. As the pictorial narrative shows, Uncle Tom takes his place among the angels with Eva, but Prue's body lies unmourned in the cellar. Within the logic of the

Preface to Clarke's production, perhaps her body signifies the categorical criminality of the United States before British readers effect change through their contempt: "Until, however, this consummation be effected in so far as she is criminal, it is vain to assert for the republic of the United States greatness, or any share in the progress of the world" (v).

Prue is the sign of and provides the evidence for America's, and in turn, her own "race's" criminality and "degradation," as well as the potential fall of even respectable British women. Even while sympathizing with the plight of her "sisters" and arguing that it was not unfeminine to support the abolitionist movement, emphasizing "[t]he deep degradation of *our own sex* under this dreadful system, [...] the exposure of their persons to the lacerating whip," the author of the tract *A Vindication of Female Anti-Slavery Associations* still manages to blame female slaves for their sexual vulnerability, "which even leads its captives to glory in their shame" (qtd. in Midgley 96). Prue's corpse represents the obverse of the uncovered body of George's sister; having looked their fill, readers find just punishment for themselves and her in the death of the object of their gaze. In contrast, her prostrate corpse illustrates Stowe's maternal ethics more forcefully than her own text. This mother, a slave, could not reach her baby to keep it alive; consequently, she dies alone in "Hell," a useless sacrifice and useless to her own children. Prue's dead body shows the impossible standards that readers created when they upheld virtue as a prerequisite for female personhood, especially for slave women, while conversely illustrating the "just desserts" of a "salacious" black woman. In addition, Prue's black female body demonstrates the sacrifice inherent in Stowe's and the illustrator's depiction of Uncle Tom's worshipful stance towards white femininity and a white Godhead. Her "fall" narrates the text of the soul and one of culture in which the

black female body remains outside socialization—caught in its own materiality within the web of slavery and the gaze of readers around the world. This image, though powerful, is erased when the book is closed, and yet again the cycle of sexual violence repeats itself with beater, beaten, and onlooker/reader.

As the Governor Eyre controversy of the 1860s would demonstrate, middle-class support for abolition during the 1830s and 40s would not translate into a wider acceptance for formerly enslaved persons. When Edward John Eyre was tried for instituting martial law in response to the so-called Morant Bay rebellion of 1865 led by freedmen, the public support he garnered revealed a shift in national attitudes.⁴⁸ John Stuart Mill, along with other Victorian intellectuals, such as Charles Darwin, Thomas Henry Huxley, and Charles Lyell, formed the Jamaica Committee to investigate and prosecute Governor Eyre for his subsequent actions, orders that had led to the flogging and killing of hundreds of black Jamaicans. Carlyle headed the group of equally prominent Victorian figures who supported Governor Eyre, such as Charles Dickens, Alfred Tennyson, and John Ruskin. As the *Morning Herald* reported, “the world-renowned question, once thought so convincing, of ‘Am I not a man and brother?’ would nowadays be answered with some hesitation by many—with a flat negative to its latter half by those who regard the blacks as an inferior race” (qtd. in Lorimer, *Colour* 198-9). As Richards points out, blacks in England were still subject to the commodifying British gaze: “in the years after emancipation there were fewer and fewer people who thought of African blacks purely as objects of exchange. But most whites continued to read blacks economically” (127).

By the end of the Civil War, the revolutionary stance of Stowe's written text waned on both sides of the Atlantic as the popularity of causes associated with abolition in Britain lost support after mid-century, yet the illustrated narrative of color-coded nationalization—through the fates of Uncle Tom and Aunt Prue versus the success of Eliza and George Harris—remained in print. Instead of furthering the cause of egalitarianism in the United States after Reconstruction, various productions of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* served to showcase both American political and literary power at the expense of acknowledging the as-yet-unfinished narrative involving the agency of African Americans as citizens. Excerpts from political and literary figures full of praises for Stowe and the novel were published initially in the new 1879 edition, brought out simultaneously by Houghton, Osgood in Boston and by the Riverside Press in Cambridge, Massachusetts. Michael Winship observes that this introductory material may have presented the novel “as a work that offers support and Christian nurture to suppressed classes around the world,” but that this cause becomes lost within the various adulatory letters, “document[ing] the work's world-wide importance as a popular classic of historic proportions” (373).

This 1879 version of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* fused the large illustrations from the over one hundred and fifty drawn by George Housman Thomas and Thomas Robert Macquoid and engraved by William Luson for the 1853 Nathaniel Cooke edition out of London with those of the first American edition from Jewett, creating a composite text out of this odd pairing. The 1888 Houghton Mifflin edition reprinted much of the paratext from the 1879 Houghton/Riverside edition and also included illustrations from the 1853 Cooke edition. As the prefatory material promised readers, “The introduction of a new

American Edition of ‘Uncle Tom’s Cabin’ gives an occasion for a brief account of that book,—how it came to be, how it was received in the world, and what has been its history throughout all the nations and tribes of the earth, civilized and uncivilized, into whose languages it has been translated” (vii). The laudatory material from the 1879 edition, including the extensive bibliography of the novel’s printing history, compiled by George Bullen, Keeper of the Books, British Museum Library, surfaced again at the end of the century in the 1898 *History of the Work of Connecticut Women at the World’s Columbian Exposition*.

Indeed, the post-bellum afterlife of *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* took a strikingly nationalistic turn when the novel was displayed at the 1893 Columbian Exposition in Chicago. At the fair, the politics of exclusion were apparent both in the barring of African Americans from participation and in the canonization of Stowe’s novel as an exemplar of American literature *par excellence*. As Barbara Hochman explains, the memorialization of *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* under glass in the Woman’s Building Library was a deeply vexed assertion of a “self-congratulatory narrative of moral and social progress in U.S. culture” (83). At the Connecticut women’s exhibit in the library, Harriet Beecher Stowe was presented as a great American author (83-4). In addition, *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* served as a representative of Northern and national success in its display amidst an inkstand of two freed slaves and a bust of Stowe. The newest edition on display was the 1892 Houghton Mifflin two-volume reprint, illustrated by E. W. Kemble (Hochman 83). Kemble became a frequent contributor to many periodicals and “specialized” in drawing African Americans. As Francis Martin, Jr. notes,

During the thirty years of Kemble's heyday (roughly 1885-1915), illustrated journals were the most popular form of middle-class culture in the United States and their audiences greeted his caricatures with the kind of enthusiasm they had for vaudeville and the circus. [...] [These journals] had a significant impact on public opinion, and their illustrated jokes remain one of our best records of the stereotypes held by most middle-class minds at the turn of the century. (659)

Hochman argues that Kemble, whom Mark Twain claimed as a "find" for Gilder when Kemble drew for the excerpts of *Huckleberry Finn* published in the *Century*, portrayed African Americans as workers in this 1892 version of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, while presenting himself as an artist and creator: "Language (like technology) is Kemble's prerogative; silence and subservience are the portion of slaves" (100).⁴⁹

At the Columbian Exposition of 1893, the long abolition of American slavery ostensibly made passé the criticism of the gap between republican ideals and national practices presented in the visual argument of Emmeline-as-American-*Greek Slave*. Yet, the dynamics of representation at the Columbian Exposition mirrored the extensive exclusion of African Americans from the body politic. The jumble of pseudo-scientific racism and nationalism on display in Cruikshank's illustrations for Stowe's text was starkly echoed within an American context in the neoclassical "American Standards of Humanity." While immigrants arriving in New York were greeted by the newly-erected Statue of Liberty, visitors to the Columbian Exposition would encounter its central homage to "high culture," featuring displays such as these neoclassical statues, comprising "ideal" forms from measurements taken from 25,000 subjects by a Harvard professor, and undoubtedly placed as representatives of the apex of the evolutionary

ladder in the Anthropology Building in the “White City” (Bolotin and Laing 76). At the same time, the “White City” itself was a corollary and corrective to the drawbacks of corruption endemic to urbanization, especially the hub of the emerging mid-west, Chicago; it was planned so as to repudiate the notion that the United States was lacking in any of the arenas of nationhood.

Through its elucidation of the terrors of the Fugitive Slave Law, the text of *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* focused on the very conflict between the principles of liberty and the practices of slavery that had accompanied the presentation of the *Greek Slave* as a representative of American culture at the Great Exhibition. Indeed, in the concluding material of *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*, Stowe expressed her “desire to exhibit [slavery] in a *living dramatic reality*” (Norton 383).⁵⁰ But the glorification of Anglo features in the exhibit of “American Standards of Humanity” at the White City was already implicit in the subplots of her text. In British illustrated editions, the limitations of wood engraving, along with the artistic choices of the illustrators for *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*—what in Cruikshank’s case, Wood terms his “slackness in depicting blacks by this stage” (172)—solidified the distinctions that would become all too apparent in the technologies of nationalism on display at the Columbian Exposition and the plethora of plantation literature relegating African Americans to the roles of faithful slaves.

CHAPTER 4

DETECTING RACE AFTER TRANSATLANTIC EMANICIPATION:
TECHNOLOGIES OF ENSLAVEMENT IN *PUDD'NHEAD WILSON*

In 1893, the most devastating financial panic that the country had yet known hit the United States, just as the Columbian Exposition opened to visitors. Despite, and, perhaps, because of the economic crisis, fairgoers of all classes flocked to Chicago to ride the Ferris wheel, see and be seen, and hear orations. Exhibition literature of all kinds cajoled and mesmerized attendees as well as readers vicariously experiencing the fair through the medium of print.⁵¹ Emphasizing the importance of visual technologies for nation-building, Mariana Schuyler Van Rensselaer's illustrated essay for the *Century* assessing the Expo was published under editor Richard Watson Gilder's watchful eye, amidst his own contribution on the fair that year, a poetic rhapsody to "The Vanishing City."⁵² Van Rensselaer assessed and described the Chicagoan spectacle for a spectrum of middle- and upper-class readers ranging from education-minded neophytes to cosmopolitan and experienced fair-goers (437). Along with acknowledging Americans' tendency to view the expo "as illustrating the present condition of our nation from many points of view, and likewise its promises and prospects for the future," Van Rensselaer encourages her readers to structure their experiences as would a true *flâneur*: "wholly conscienceless,—not like a painstaking draftsman, but like a human Kodak, caring only for as many pleasing impressions as possible, not for the analyzing of their worth" (7, 12-3). Yet, as Julie Brown notes, "the idea that there could be such a thing as a

‘conscienceless’ image that had nothing to do with power, economics, and culture was as much an illusion as was the [Chicagoan] Dream City itself” (113).

The convergence between the rise of mass advertising in the United States during the 1880s and the broad cultural emergence of nostalgic narratives of slavery and antebellum life could be seen at the fair in Nancy Green’s performance of Aunt Jemima, cooking pancakes and “all the while singing and telling stories of life on the plantation, some real, some apocryphal” (Manring 75). In addition, Burris notes that “[t]wo blacks dressed as slaves sold cotton for the Brinker Cotton Company inside the Manufactures and Liberal Arts Building” (Burris 108). A phantasmagoria of amusement, culture, and advertising, the White City not only became a site of resistance and struggle over the potential display of otherwise marginalized groups to visitors and in print culture, it also marked a threshold determining how and to what extent mythologies of the nation would continue to exclude or invite participation from these groups in this momentary realization and vision of the country’s future. In her speech at the World’s Congress of Representative Women declaring “the threshold of woman’s era,” Frances E. W. Harper fused discourses of technological progress and nation-building to present her reformist views: “Little did Columbus imagine, when the New World broke upon his vision [...] the glorious possibilities of a land where the sun should be our engraver” (433). She called for women to “grapple with the evils which threaten to undermine the strength of the nation and to lay magazines of powder under the cribs of future generations” (433, 437).⁵³ While Harper emphasized the moral influence of women to “brand with everlasting infamy the lawless and brutal cowardice that lynches, burns, and tortures your own countrymen” (437), Ida B. Wells protested the organizational exclusion of African

Americans in the Haitian pavilion, handing out her systematic analysis of “Lynch Law” in *The Reason Why the Colored American Is Not in the World’s Columbian Exposition*, including a photograph of a lynching at Clanton, Alabama in 1891 (Rydell *Reason* 40).

New technologies of representation intersected pseudo-scientific discourses of race at the fair, legitimating a national mythos of *white* American cultural and moral ascendancy. An amateur photographer attempting to capture the Dahomey Village during his visit to the Columbian Exposition’s “Midway” found it “odd to still find people who are afraid of the photographic camera” (qtd. Brown in 112). While John Burris notes that “[t]he Western countries [including the Irish] represented along the midway avoided making parodies of their present-day societies by erecting villages of bygone European eras,” the Dahomeans who were purported to have been “found” by Sir Richard Burton, but were actually French colonial subjects from Benin, were not so fortunate: “Both fairgoers and the commentary of the time treated them with a degree of disdain that only the recently freed African American slaves could inspire” (117, 120). Frederick Douglass echoed this conclusion in naming “Slavery” as the answer to the implicit question posed in the title of the pamphlet he and Ida B. Wells had printed for the fair, *The Reason Why* (Rydell, *Reason Why* 10).⁵⁴

Published in the *Century* at the height of its popularity from December 1893 to June 1894, just as the magazine would begin its decline during the afterglow of the Columbia Exposition (Robbins 367), *Pudd’nhead Wilson* dramatizes the semiotics of race through the classification mechanisms of the newest scientific technology. While ostensibly gratifying readers’ appetite for tidy solutions dispensed by the newly popularized figure of the benevolent detective, the narrative continually emphasizes the

abysmal intertwining of the human and economic costs of slavery, questioning how African Americans might be understood in relation to the body politic. Mark Twain's only fully serialized novel and the accidents and contingencies of its initial transatlantic print appearances, all of them illustrated, trace performances of race as linguistically and visually encoded not only through the written text, but also through the fusions and disjunctions of the imagery of its illustrators. These performances are ultimately judged, quantified, and categorized intra-textually through the scientific apparatus of Twain's cutting-edge plot devices and by the onlookers at his climactic court scene. Their packaging also constructs an inter-textual system of signification through the artistry, technology, and imagination of the novel's illustrators and through the audiences encountering the imagery of the story within the cultural context associated with the publishing venues in which the novel was entangled.

The myth of the happy plantation and the spectacle of the white, middle class ascent to the apex of civilization reflected in the plaster architecture of the White City largely rewrote slavery in the *Century* into an instrument of cultural amnesia. In an effort to conciliate southern readers, formerly enslaved "Americans" were replaced in the histories of slavery by a different victim-turned-hero, shown in Wilbur Fisk Tillett's article, "The White Man of the New South": "We shall see that in physical, intellectual, and moral manhood the white man of the South, having shaken off the shackles of his bondage and rejoicing in his liberty, has joined the other freemen of the earth in running a nobler and better race in life" (Tillett 770). Bolstered by the unexamined celebration of nationalistic manifestations of culture and science in the *Century*, abolition and the subsequent failure of Reconstruction, both a historical and familial legacy, were remade

within its pages into an inheritance that readers could understand through the distancing mechanisms of time and place. Such remaking would be short-lived, the popularity of the ad-filled mass market magazines of the turn of the century would soon replace both the *Century*, and any unease cultivated by disquieting images with corporate self-reflections that would trigger readers' reorientation as connoisseurs of consumerism.⁵⁵

The *Century* belonged to the post-bellum generation of American illustrated periodicals that engaged and created a massive transatlantic readership; it targeted an audience that expected and was susceptible to the cultural myopia of this illustrated print culture: a myopia that, in the *Century*, crystallized a European-rooted, technologically-oriented notion of Americanism, narrowly circumscribing the compelling presence of African American artistic forms within its pages. Akin to the panoply of goods and art at the White City, yoking neoclassical façades with “a superstructure of modern engineering” in which the goods of consumerist capitalism “were piled one upon the other in mock architectural displays: palazzi of corn, cathedrals of canned goods” (Hales 219), the *Century* sold cosmopolitanism to its readers, with the assurance to its American audience that native forms were, “‘inherently’ valuable as the ‘best’” (Bond 69). Through the intensely dialectical relationship between the didactic content of the magazine and its readers' responses and sense of ownership, the *Century* imprinted transatlantic culture as a form of nationalistic conciliation, distilling white, middle-class readers as citizen-participants of a United States and cosmopolites of the world beyond. At the same time, through the pills and medicines of advertising, the rise of mass magazines would soon colonize these readers more simply as consumers.

A timely and provocative work questioning race as a known (visual) quantity, *Pudd'nhead Wilson* details the story of a slave mother's swapping of her master's son for her own. The story incorporates the fascination for discovering knowledge through sight characteristic of late-Victorian detective fiction alongside the colonialist, yet especially American, fetish for race, mixing the sensationalist elements of switched babies, gothic settings, and false identities with the realist mode of plausibility and an omniscient narrator. The story's critique of Gilded Age economics against the history of oppressive slave systems is dramatized through the tragedy of race played out between Roxy and her son, who is known as Tom Driscoll throughout the novel. A state of commodification through slavery consistently threatens to become the "true" identity for both mother and son. Though Roxy has already learned to negotiate systems of enslavement, as a white male in every aspect save his "bloodline," Tom would experience enslavement as total ruin.

Twain's story opens with a nondescript act of theft by one of Percy Driscoll's slaves and its potential repercussions on the slave community—being sold down the river. From this economic impetus, almost every plot turn flows from the desire for money. Shortly after the enslaved Roxy is introduced as a focal character of the novel, along with the recently arrived and undisputed failure from the East, David Wilson (soon dubbed "Pudd'nhead" by townsfolk), she switches her own baby for that of her master, an act of exchange that is followed by many more. Roxana decides to substitute the babies for each other because she does not want her son to be sold "DOWN THE RIVER" (13),⁵⁶ but being of the "First Families of Virginia" does not hinder Roxy's

owner, Percy Driscoll, from monetizing most of his relationships and falling into speculations after his wife dies.

Through *Pudd'nhead's* pseudotragic tale of thwarted social position, Twain's novel relentlessly chronicles the conjunctions of capitalism and monetized personhood. Distracted by his money troubles, Percy Driscoll does not recognize that "Tom" is not his own child, thanks especially to Roxy, who effaces the babies' "human aspect" by having them laugh so that "their faces were mainly cavities exposing gums" (18). After Percy dies, penniless from his speculations, his brother, the Judge, takes Tom on as his own and makes him heir; soon, the fascinating Capello twins arrive in Dawson's landing; their bejeweled Indian knife is subsequently stolen (by Tom). Having learned the truth about his mother and finding himself unable to repay his gambling debts, even after she voluntarily gives up her freedom to purchase his good standing, Tom Driscoll tries to redeem Roxy as a fugitive slave after she escapes from the Arkansas farmer to whom he had sold her, a betrayal of her initial act of willing sacrifice to sell herself for his economic shortfalls. Roxy suspects Tom's plan and commands him to confess his gambling debts and her sale to the Judge, who would then give Tom the money to pay for her freedom, but also disinherit him. The constant exchange of money, favor, persons, and goods in the novel highlights the flux of social identity that Twain dramatizes.

In *Pudd'nhead*, Twain constructs a plot that questions the limits of race as a visual construction. Yet he interweaves this interrogation with an abrupt ending that relies on a positivist scientific endeavor of the late-nineteenth century to racialize and classify individuals, namely, fingerprinting. Roxy threatens to reveal that she is his mother if Tom does not follow her orders: "I *knows* you's agoin'. I knows it becaze you

knows dat if dat if you don't raise dat money I'll go to him myself, en den he'll sell *you* down de river en you kin see you you like it!" (96). Although Tom subsequently kills the Judge during his botched burglary attempt to get the money without causing "his uncle" to change his will, the Capellos are accused of the crime. The twins are acquitted of the murder after Wilson's hitherto derided fingerprinting method is in fact proven to be useful evidence. Although ostensibly a scene of justice being served, the final courtroom drama offers a spectacle conflating racial typing with criminality. Tom is "discovered" in both senses: as a murderer, but, as Twain's plot shows, more importantly as a slave. In the ultimate demonstration of the capitalism undergirding the republican institutions of the United States, once he is discovered to be valuable property, instead of being tried, Roxy's initial fears at the beginning of the novel are realized when he is sold down the river.

As the insistence on "discovering" identity through fingerprinting, palmistry, and detective work in *Pudd'nhead* underscores, appearances that would ostensibly denote class and racial status were becoming more and more difficult to read. Improvements in technology facilitated the cheap production of clothing, jewelry, even books, allowing almost "anyone" to use the manufactured disguises to "pass." Twain's novel is replete with varying levels of "faux" displays of class, gender, and race: Pudd'nhead's dry wit keeps him "toiling in obscurity at the bottom of the ladder," Tom dresses as a young girl to steal valuables and parlor accoutrements in Dawson's Landing, and Roxy "blackens up" on her return to St. Louis after being sold to the South by her son (27, 51, 90). For audiences experiencing *Pudd'nhead Wilson*, the intricate maneuverings of these written performances would necessarily be inflected by their visual manifestations. Thus, the

choice of the illustrator in rendering and authenticating characters through processes of personal and social performance would be pivotal to interpretations of the meaning of race and character in the novel, especially within the cultural valences and technological capacities of its publication contexts.

The graphic accompaniments to the *Century* text, full-page inserts by staff artist, “Cleveland-born and Paris-trained” Louis Loeb (David and Sapirstein 24), were reproduced in the first British edition of the novel, brought out by Twain’s long-time house, Chatto and Windus; as in the case of *Huckleberry Finn*, the Chatto and Windus production was printed and released before the domestic edition. While drawing heavily on British artists and writers for its efforts towards gentility and national conciliation, the *Century* version featured a preponderance of American contributors and was directed to domestic readers; thus, the transatlantic serialization of Loeb’s images with the ornamental headpieces of the magazine were tinged with a peculiarly American racial memory. The 1894 American Publishing Company book, which was sold by subscription, appeared after both the domestic serialization and British first edition, featuring a radically different format. Twain had wanted to include illustrations that he had drawn himself in the first U.S. edition, but the head of American Publishing Company, Frank Bliss, commissioned two obscure artists, F. M. Senior and C. H. Warren, to produce its images (David and Sapirstein 25).

Pudd’nhead was “tastefully” serialized in the *Century* during the afterglow of the fabricated splendor of the Columbian Expo, which showed a sparkling veneer despite a disastrous dip of the stock market. After the Expo closed on a catastrophic note with the assassination of the mayor and a subsequent series of fires, “Chicago, like much of the

rest of the country, braced itself for what became a decade of cruel and destructive labor strife” (Thorenson 289). While the White City no doubt allowed many visitors to escape their financial woes, Twain’s fortunes did not turn drastically upon his visit to Chicago. The failure of his various schemes, including the Paige Typesetter, the innovation of Kaolatype, and the establishment of his own firm, Webster and Co., led to Twain’s having to publish in the monthly, as he had for piecemeal installments of *Huckleberry Finn* and *The Connecticut Yankee*. Although, in Martin Buinicki’s estimation, the emotional toll Twain suffered by writing for periodicals, expressed so vociferously and often in Twain’s letters, “easily matched the price paid by the publishers,” he was ecstatic over the respectability lent him upon his first publication for the *Atlantic*, “A True Story. Repeated Word for Word as I Heard It,” and felt the same way about writing for the *Century*, which he called “the best magazine that was ever printed” (254).

In keeping with the *Century*’s move towards imprinting transatlantic culture as a form of nationalistic conciliation, constructing white middle-class readers as citizen-participants of a United States and cosmopolites of the world beyond, the periodical featured full-page portraits and busts of the mostly American authors it published, presenting them as already memorialized within a tradition of *belles lettres*. Twain both emulates this kind of sanctification and parodies his anxiety over such a process of pictorial canonization by lending it a distinctly colloquial twist in the preface to *Pudd’nhead Wilson*. “A Whisper to the Reader” sets Twain’s own travels within the cultural crush of European culture and the imaginative escape of whimsical emigrant consciousness. During his linguistic performances of buffoonery, Twain conflates time and space through a long sentence piling a pyramid of prepositions upon commentary,

de- and then reauthorizing his own authorship in performing cultural usurpation by adopting and spoofing the ancestral heritage of the busts in the Villa Viviani and the ghosts of European literary masters:

just beyond the house where that stone that Dante used to sit on six hundred years ago is let into the wall when he let on to be watching them build Giotto's campanile and yet always got tired looking as soon as Beatrice passed along on her way to get a chunk of chestnut cake to defend herself with in case of a Ghibelline outbreak before she got to school, at the same old stand where they sell the same old cake to this day [...] (1)

By verifying his attempt to “photograph a court scene with his pen” through the doubtful credentials of “a trained barrister [...] who studied law part of a while in southwest Missouri thirty-five years ago” (1), Twain foreshadows the importance of the final court scene in his novel. He both calls attention to and questions the validity of his own scopic powers and knowledge of the law by noting that, while writing *Pudd'nhead*, his chapters were “rewritten under the immediate eye of William Hicks” (emphasis mine 1).

The dissemination of Twain's image merged new technological processes with a newly legitimate kind of *American* author. His persona as a cosmopolitan *flâneur* of a rustic national past in a full-page photograph picturing him *en plein air*, American style, graces the transatlantic serialization of *Pudd'nhead Wilson* as well as the British and American first editions. Twain's cigar-smoking leisure bespeaks his command of his surroundings as he stands, mirroring the verticality of the log-column around which his right arm is wrapped on the liminal space of the porch of a cabin, timelessly captured by the most advanced photographic technology available. Labeled as an “Amateur

Photograph,” in the *Century*, with the additional information that it was taken by James Mapes Dodge in 1890, this picture belies the playful confusion of Twain’s ensuing verbal performance in the preface to the novel, “A Whisper to the Reader.”⁵⁷ This image constructs him as a white-suited, polished representative of the rustic elite of the Gilded Age. The photographic process this picture displays is itself a sign of American supremacy and democratization, as the Kodak was an 1888 innovation of the Eastman Company of Rochester, New York: “Photography, which had been the province at first of a few scientifically-minded people, generally of aristocratic or professional background [...] was now available to all who wanted to try their hand at making pictures but had not the time or inclination for lengthy chemical processes” (Dimond and Taylor 73).⁵⁸

The self-assured, rustic simplicity of this photograph contrasts with a heliotype bust of himself that Twain suggested be included in the front matter of *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*. As Louis Budd queries, “Why did [Twain] insert the heliotype? [...] did the bust say: Don’t confuse me totally with the ragged, naïve, barely literate narrator?” (“Nobler” 34). By picturing himself to readers in such a way, Twain might well have sought to protect his claims as a legitimate artist.⁵⁹ By the 1880s, Twain was well known and respected transatlantically for his mastery of idiomatically national forms; as one reviewer for the *Athenaeum* stated, Mark Twain “shares with Walt Whitman the honour of being the most strictly American writer of what is called American literature” (qtd. in Welland 110-1). Twain’s success stemmed from his role as the quintessential American export, and his reputation in Britain was certainly not hurt by a review that Andrew Lang wrote in 1891 at Twain’s request for the *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (Bloom 131). Setting the standard for any American novel dealing with

issues of race that followed after it, both domestically, and, especially, overseas, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was Andrew Lang's point of comparison in his glowing commentary on *Huck* as "the great American novel" for the *Illustrated London News* (222). *Huckleberry Finn* had begun Twain's long association with E. W. Kemble and introduced the illustrator to both Richard Watson Gilder and readers of the *Century*, as well as to domestic and transatlantic audiences of its book-form. Indeed, it is precisely because Kemble did not illustrate and minstrelize aspects of *Pudd'nhead Wilson* in the pages of the monthly, that the work merits closer critical attention.

As a *Century* staff artist, Loeb was apparently unknown to Twain, but his illustrations "saved" the nuances within *Pudd'nhead Wilson*. In contrast, Kemble's long relationship with the *Century* traced both its rise as one of the most popular illustrated periodicals and its oscillations between caricature and thoughtful portrayals of "blacks," a trend that was reflected in its own dissemination, and the extensive print exchanges, between the U. S. and Great Britain. Like abolitionist and anti-abolitionist pictures, caricatured and more subtle images of colonized or formerly enslaved persons became even more transatlantic through the overseas circulation of illustrated periodicals.⁶⁰ *Scribner's Monthly*, which would be renamed the *Century* in 1881, "led an invasion of England by the American illustrated magazine, soon to be joined by *Harper's*" (Mott 278). Similarly to William Dean Howells, who wielded considerable influence on literary genre as editor of the *Atlantic* and then from his metaphorical "Editor's Study" at *Harper's*, Richard Watson Gilder managed to position his publication as "America's pre-eminent magazine" through a mixture of didacticism and popular appeal (Caron 153).⁶¹ Gilder courted American talent for his publication (Noonan 88), becoming increasingly

less indebted to English authors for filling its pages with worthwhile literature. In the October 1882 issue, a brief note to readers, entitled, “The Century’s’ First Year under Its New Name,” remarks on the increased circulation of the magazine after offering “a much greater amount and variety both of reading matter and of illustrations than ever before.” Despite its “astonishing growth” in Great Britain, the writer, presumably Gilder, declares the intention “to adhere to [the monthly’s] strictly American character,” an attribute that has aided its transatlantic success: “for if it is not the genuine American quality of the periodical that has attracted the curiosity, the interest, and the generous support of the hospitable intellectual public of Our Old Home, we do not know what quality it can be” (939).

In addition to disseminating plantation fiction and myths of “The Lost Cause” to its readership, ignoring the pressing racial concerns facing all Americans, under the editorship of Richard Watson Gilder, the *Century* printed bowdlerized scenes of *Huck Finn*, accompanied by E.W. Kemble’s minstrelized representations of Jim.⁶² As Janet Gabler-Hover points out, Gilder omitted scenes that served as moments of racial convergence (253). Indeed, in her estimation, in the 1880s, much of the content of the *Century* both “cancel[ed] out and simultaneously exploit[ed] the African-American presence” in its pages (254). Although readers would likewise have found written debates on the destiny of the “freeman” in the *Century* and Cable’s essay on “Creole Slave Dances” with Kemble’s well-drawn illustrations, much of its content perpetuated the nostalgic mythology of the racially stratified, but content, extended family of the plantation.⁶³ Articles such as the April 1884 “Uncle Tom Without a Cabin” and the October 1887 “Mrs. Stowe’s ‘Uncle Tom’ At Home in Kentucky” employed Stowe’s

still-ubiquitous characters to argue that federal Reconstruction had been an abject failure that had not accounted for the “racial instinct,” as well as to present a picturesque view of what systematized human bondage in the United States had been.

In fact, like the spotty coverage of the magazine, which published some debate about the urgent issues facing formerly enslaved persons but, at the same time, also suppressed important rebuttals and literary work from African Americans themselves, Kemble’s illustrations for the *Century* featuring black subjects varied widely between more caricatured renderings and thoughtful studies of individuals. From the Master to the Mammy to the Cook, however, Kemble’s images accompanying James Allen Lane’s account of slavery in Kentucky visualize plantation types to offer readers a “comfortable” assessment of life after emancipation: “The kind, even affectionate, relations of the races under the old regime have continued with so little interruption that the blacks remain content with their inferiority, and lazily drift through life” (867). Lane’s text frames Kemble’s drawings within these stereotyped parameters; as Barbara Hochman argues, the illustrator continued the pattern of equating African Americans within static formulations by depicting black characters as field hands for the 1892 edition of *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* and the 1899 Harper and Brothers version of *Pudd’nhead Wilson*: “Kemble’s illustrations of *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* offered an image of slave culture that memorialized—but also perpetuated—the cultural divide between African Americans and the contemporary white reader” (97-8).

Though the cultural mythmaking about slavery in the *Century* took on a peculiarly American character, transatlantic attempts to fix and codify social identity in racial, criminal, and class terms abounded in literature and science. As the franchise was granted

to ever larger portions of the male population in Great Britain and it seemed to be headed towards the kind of democracy of its former colony, race and nationalism became ever more conflated with each other; as Patrick Brantlinger points out, Victorian intellectuals such as Knox, Disraeli, Carlyle, Ruskin, Trollope “had no hesitation in believing race to be the most basic factor in national character, in imperial expansion, and, indeed, in historical causation” (*Postcolonial* 42).⁶⁴ Catherine Hall explains that as previously established class associations were superseded by novel formulations of “ethnic and racial identities, as Englishmen, as Anglo-Saxons, as members of the nation,” or, in John Bright’s terms in 1861, of England as “the living mother of great nations on the American and on the Australian continents,” the Civil War demonstrated the importance of the United States as a litmus test for Britain: “[t]he debate over reform in the 1860s had been framed by reference to questions of race and empire from the beginning, for it was the American Civil War which gave the impetus to working-class men to demand the vote again” (“Within” 221).⁶⁵

The increasingly widespread racialization of difference reflected the disaffiliation of the British working and middle class with the nationalistic ideals of liberty associated with abolition: “[t]he debate on free trade in sugar in the 1840s, the economic difficulties of the West Indies, and the enormous controversy over the Jamaica Insurrection in 1865 and its savage suppression by Governor Eyre led to a reassessment of the legacy of abolition” (Lorimer, “Reconstructing” 193). According to Douglas Lorimer, the United States continued to attract British interest, despite, or perhaps partly due to the official stance of neutrality towards the divided United States during the Civil War and the rancorous debates about the colonies in the Caribbean, fostered by the violent policies of

Governor Eyre against black Jamaicans: “When [British observers] considered issues of what we might term race relations—that is, the role of blacks and whites under modern conditions of agricultural production, industrial work, and political and legal status—the example most frequently looked to was the United States, and most notably the reconstructed South” (“Reconstructing” 193).

The rapid development of photographic technologies intersected this burgeoning transatlantic discourse of racial categorization, in ways that were evident both in fiction and in periodical print culture. In *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*, as we have seen, Stowe’s formulation of an intimate, one-of-a-kind personality in her titular character—“who, as he is to be the hero of our story, we must daguerreotype for our readers”—did not fully take into account the far-reaching impact of the alienating and replicating potential of her text, its illustrations, and the subsequent meanings that would become associated with racial typologies (18). Indeed, building on such precedents, the *Century* included an article on “Composite Photography,” introducing Frances Galton’s methods to readers by comparing the production of scientific “types” to the work of authors: “The novelist or poet holds us as we feel that the character which is portrayed is the type of a class. The artist draws an ideal head, his expression of a type for which no single model will serve, and we look with satisfaction and pleasure at the product of his fancy” (Stoddard 750). As an ever-prescient barometer of the cultural currents of his surroundings, Twain incorporated both discourses into his 1893 novel by creating a detective figure who uses fingerprints to “solve” the murder of Judge Driscoll.⁶⁶ Yet, in *Pudd’nhead Wilson*, the technology of identification is the ostensibly individualized, racially “blind” method of fingerprinting.⁶⁷

In *Pudd'nhead*, the interactions between Pudd'nhead and Roxy dramatize how rationalizing systems of knowledge and ways of seeing are complicit in "typing" individuals within the constructs of racialized groups.⁶⁸ The fascination the transatlantic public had for detective figures emphasizes the fetish for objective, empirical readings of race and class identities that culminated in the nineteenth century as visual and scientific modes gained legitimacy and ubiquity.⁶⁹ In Susan Gillman's estimate, however, Twain's novel both presents the fascination for fixed knowledge that drives detective stories and undercuts their assumptions by calling into question the "illogical and arbitrary" nature of such truths (99).⁷⁰ Throughout the novel, Pudd'nhead is a voyeuristic presence on the outside of town with a view of Judge Driscoll's house. Pudd'nhead is, unbeknownst to himself, "innocently" documenting and assessing Tom's identity through his fingerprinting of the switched children and his sighting of Tom in various female disguises as the latter perpetrates crimes at his uncle's house. While Tom's undeniable villainy is constantly a question of his "nature" or "nurture," Roxy's status as a woman, slave, mother, and mammy is rewritten again and again in the plot twists depicting her as all or many of these identities at once. The convergences, overlapping, and contradictions in Twain's plot and characterization that create such a questioning of fact and evidence were amplified, as well as erased, in the productions of *Pudd'nhead*. Loeb's illustrations for the *Century* reflect the momentary changes among racial, gendered, and situational identities in the novel. In the bright, "daylight" scenes of socially-registered identities, Loeb's tonal subtlety shows Tom as a dark-complected "white man," whose facial features and coloring reflect the individual variations of those around him. Roxy is pictured as very fair in her only daytime depiction, while both characters assume

changing shades of light and dark when they are shown in the “gothic,” dimly lit images during their clandestine meetings.

From its inception, Roxy’s plan to raise her own baby in the place of her master’s son is threatened by Pudd’nhead Wilson’s scientific dabbling, highlighting the connections between race and transgressive illegality before “Tom” ever commits a crime. Although the talk around town is that “he’s a fool,” Roxy recognizes Pudd’nhead Wilson as a threat to the success of her switching scheme: “Blame dat man, he worries me wid dem ornery glasses o’ hisn; *I b’lieve he’s a witch*” (17). Her reference to his “glasses” serves as a double entendre, conjuring both the methodology used to collect fingerprints and the apparatus of sight that allowed wearers to sharpen their vision. Roxy’s well-founded suspicions of Pudd’nhead conflate superstitions with “science,” heightening the tensions between ways of knowing that fix race and identity as stable entities and the very slight cultural constructs that keep such fictions potent. Rather than obfuscating the sexual degradations and dependencies of slavery, Roxy’s secrecy brings to light the blurred line between persons as family and property as she legitimates her son within the slaveowner’s systems. The knee-jerk reaction of the townspeople of Dawson’s Landing is to commodify Tom after his “heritage” is revealed; this incident only occurs after he is found to be the murderer of his “uncle,” yet as Tom’s subsequent fate of being sold down the river would demonstrate, it is Tom’s commodity status that is most important in Dawson’s Landing. Roxy’s prior recognition of Judge Driscoll’s readiness to turn his adopted son into a slave, if Tom’s “true” identity became known, shows that Tom’s “blackness” is in fact his crime all along.

The visual framing of the story of Roxy's "machinations" in the *Century* blurs the boundaries between both old and new photographic technologies and their domestic and public associations, just as the practices of slavery and its afterlife in American culture were associated with the multiplicity of varying and contradictory definitions, both legal and familial, produced by the "one drop rule."⁷¹ Roxy and Wilson's wariness of each other invokes the unnerving and wonderful power that access to new photographic technologies held for the middle and working classes, access that had previously been only available to those wealthy enough to serve as patrons to portrait painters.⁷² While Roxy is suspicious of Pudd'nhead's fingerprinting methods, a technology that would have been a sort of science fiction to readers in 1893, the cameo framing the beginning of the serialized novel showed the "magic" of daguerreotypy as they might have remembered experiencing it during the antebellum setting of the story. Shawn Michelle Smith describes the social optics of this type of representation:

As a mirror functions indexically, reflecting one's own image only when one is present, many early daguerreotype viewers felt that the person whose visage was seemingly "reflected" in the daguerreotype was somehow magically present in the photographic frame. Daguerreotypy and mesmerism were often linked in the mid-nineteenth-century popular imagination. (13-14)

Readers of the *Century* would reencounter the perplexity of such reflective technologies in the head-piece of *Pudd'nhead Wilson* in the *Century*, an ornamental flourish not translated into the Chatto and Windus book version of the text.

This embellishment pictures a mother, profiled in the shadows behind the white foreground of her sons, whose bodies are conjoined. Behind this oval portrait branch

sprigs heavy with cotton bolls, although no mention of cotton graces the text: Dawson's Landing is described as being below St. Louis "with a rich slave-worked grain and pork country back of it" (3-4). The cotton bolls encircling the cameo demonstrate the power of this commodity to symbolize both the South and its slave-holding past and to conflate enslaved persons with the commodity of their labor. The figuration of African American labor thus links antebellum slavery through the setting of *Pudd'nhead* (1830s-1850s) with the world of the *Century* reader encountering the novel in the pages of the magazine just after the nationalistic display of the White City. The strangeness of the cameo of the mother and two children ornamenting the title for *Pudd'nhead Wilson*, ostensibly Roxana and the young Valet de Chambers and Tom Driscoll, however, confuses this notion of slaves as the commodities of their labor. Although neither the Italian twins nor Roxy's "sons" are Siamese twins in the published version of the text, the nascent stages of the story depicting conjoined twins is reflected in this head-piece. Roxy's odd powers are reflected in this illustration, while also displaying the threat of commodification that reoccurs throughout the text.

This type of portrait would be small and old-fashioned at the time of *Pudd'nhead*'s publication, connoting the quaintness of earlier technological forms, while also recalling how the daguerreotype pictured the middle class to itself, making available a form of representation that had been reserved for those who were wealthy or important enough to have their portraits painted. Moreover, the idiosyncratic triadic-dyadic composition of the oval picture, an effect of the borderless boundaries of the children's bodies and the contrast between the darkly-lit/dark-skinned mother, who is set off behind the dazzling whiteness of the children, produces a disconcerting combination.

Commodified through its juxtaposition with King Cotton, the quaint sketch of the daguerreotype picturing Roxy and the children beginning the text of Twain's serialized novel presents its viewers with the conjoined racial history of their own national past, a reality that the *flâneur* of the imperial exposition in print could elide through pseudo-scientific showmanship, but, ultimately, not deny.

In *Roxana*, Twain created a blatant social-climber who is also fully human and lovable; from the first, this strong central female character attracted the attention of transatlantic commentators. As the reviewer for the *Athenaeum* observed:

The best thing in *Pudd'nhead Wilson*, by Mark Twain (Chatto & Windus), is the picture of the negro slave Roxana, the cause of all the trouble which gives scope to Mr. Wilson's ingenious discovery about finger-marks. Her gusts of passion or of despair, her vanity, her motherly love, and the glimpses of nobler feelings that are occasionally seen in her elementary code of morals, make her very human, and create a sympathy for her in spite of her unscrupulous actions. (qtd. in Budd, *Contemporary* 364)

These sentiments were echoed in other critical assessments of the novel, including the *Saturday Review* and the *Graphic*, which pronounced, "There is nobody in fiction quite like Roxy" (qtd. in Budd, *Contemporary* 362). Roxy's resolution to switch her son, Valet de Chambers, with her master's, highlights her awareness of the inventions of political and cultural hierarchies, as well as the power easily available to her as a woman, mother, mammy, and nurse. In addition to recognizing the interchangeability of appearances, specifically clothing as a signifier of wealth and privilege, Roxy derives authority for switching her baby with the Driscolls' from a source that mixes race with the

transnational, allowing her to question the systems of racialized and classed labor through her understanding of the arbitrariness of birth and systems of privilege, while her paradigms of value remain very firmly entrenched in capitalist realities.

As Linda A. Morris observes, at the same time, both Roxy's appearance and her revolutionary action unsettle the already disarrayed portrayal of markers of race and gender in the novel: "[t]he expected, indeed purportedly 'indelible' stamps of race, both black and white—facial features, hair, skin color—are unreliable from the beginning" (75). The anomaly of Roxy's linguistic and visual performances within the text situates her identity at the threshold of citizenship and social, economic, and political dis/enfranchisement: "To all intents and purposes Roxy was a white as anybody, but the one-sixteenth of her which was black out-voted the other fifteen parts and made her a negro. She was a slave, and salable as such. Her child was thirty-one parts white, and he, too, was a slave, and by a fiction of law and custom a negro" (9).

Assuming the stance of a frustrated nurse-mother, Louis Loeb's initial illustration for *Pudd'nhead's* run in the *Century* depicts Roxy as both "white" and dressed as a domesticized female, while her long, Pre-Raphaelite hair marks her sexuality; thus, the picture of Roxana that transatlantic readers initially encounter is one that is fully palatable. Her passivity and her very light skin are her most salient features. Chatto & Windus's caption, "Roxy was a doting fool of a mother," stresses motherhood as sensual, subordinate, and autocratic, as opposed to the periodical's blander version, "Roxy and the Children." The first "picture of the negro slave Roxana," therefore, fully inscribes her limited feminine powers within motherhood for audiences, even while the subject of the illustration contemplates assuming the role of trickster to protect her own child, a feat

that will drive the action of the novel. By coaxing viewers into understanding her character as maternal and subordinate, Loeb's illustration belies the range of roles that Roxana will assume throughout the text, while also foreshadowing the tragic powerlessness of her actions by the novel's end.

To justify her upheaval of ingrained roles, she recalls hearing a black preacher telling a story in a sermon. Ostensibly emphasizing the unpredictability of God's favor and grace, this recollection more notably reveals the constructions of race, class, and gender as a light-skinned woman exchanges the queen of England's child for her own, eventually becoming a king, as the queen's child, the newly-made commodity, is sold down the river: "De preacher said it was jist like dey done in Englan' one time, long time ago. De queen she lef' her baby layin' aroun' one day, en went out callin'; en one o' de niggers roun' 'bout de place dat was mos' white, she come in [...], en tuck en put her own chile's clo'es on de queen's chile, en put de queen's chile's clo'es on her own chile" (16-17).

Whereas Roxy imagines England as a parallel universe to her own reality, the illicitness of the scene in which Roxy threatens Tom with the "truth" of his racial heritage throws into stark relief the conditions of the social systems which make it so; since Roxy cannot gain recognition as a white-skinned mammy, she claims her right as his mulatta mother. Loeb's illustrations call attention to her efforts to resist the confines of her son's view of his "mammy" by occupying liminal spaces, traveling outside the town of Dawson's Landing and meeting her son in the haunted house, as well as cross-dressing and crisscrossing racial lines. While the caption for the *Century*—"Does you b'lieve me when I says dat?"—highlights Roxy's linguistic racial status and her threat of exposure

to “Tom,” the one for the British edition—“Her Eyes Flamed with Triumph”—erases the dialectical marker of “blackness,” which, combined with her turban, a sign of otherness, recasts her as a fiery, orientalized heroine, a figure whose multiple identities are rendered momentarily dangerous, yet are simultaneously recast and refamiliarized within the conventions of sensationalist fiction.

The height of the tension between Roxy’s various identities—enslaved, free, doting mother, demanding matriarch, white, black—can be read in the last illustration in Loeb’s trajectory that follows her from her initial introduction to viewers as a domesticized mother-figure. In contrast to Roxy’s initial penniless return to Dawson’s Landing, in which she is broken, but soon restored by telling of her steamboat adventures, in this scene, Roxy escapes from the brutal treatment of slave-owners. The reviewer from the *London Morning Post* claimed that “[t]here are several strongly drawn scenes, but the strongest of all is that in which Roxy appears in her son’s room in St. Louis” (qtd. in Budd, *Contemporary* 360). Though the reviewer attributes the vividness of this episode to Twain as a writer, the use of terminology here also points to Loeb’s impact as an illustrator in its crystallization in the mind of the reader. Instead of revealing her essential race and sex, her invulnerability in the guise of the desperate layerings of black cork on her white skin and male dress over her female form confuses these categories. Roxy’s power in this scene is fused into the violent motherhood of the desperate command and claim depicted in both versions of the publication, “Keep Still—I’s Yo’ Mother!” In delineating the ambiguity of Roxy’s figure visually and linguistically, Loeb’s illustration mirrors the oscillations in Twain’s depictions of Roxy.

As Christopher Koy points out, Roxy is described as disabled and rheumatic when she returns to Dawson's Landing at age 43, then as so desirable as to evoke jealousy from her new master's wife when she is sold by Tom (94). This scene also underscores the fluidity of the roles she assumes in the text. Her race and gender are in constant flux, as depicted through the inconsistencies in her sexual attractiveness, bodily health and age, and the range of her maternal and domestic posts and postures; her connection to her son both provokes her willingness to commit violence and serves as the only tie that obstructs her ability to flow among different communities. Loeb's illustration is split vertically by the lines of the door and slightly off-center bedpost, echoed by Roxy's form against the door. While Roxy's pointing finger breaks the upright lines of the right side of the image, the figure of Tom is backlit against a room-light on the wall above the rim of his top-hat, and his stance of defensive shock is mirrored in the diagonal of his umbrella, which breaks the plane of his person and the split frame of the image to "point" at his mother.

The chiaroscuro contrasts between Tom's darkened figure and Roxy's frontlit form accentuate the ambiguity of race and gender in this scene, rendering uncertain the balance of power between spectacle and concealment, master and slave, family and stranger, mother and son.⁷³ The gothic indeterminacy of identities, relationships, and motives captured by Loeb at this point in the novel, however, is tidied in a neat package of public, shining resolution in the final court scene at the story's conclusion by Pudd'nhead's skillfully efficient performance as scientist and detective, revealing Roxy's "crime" of switching her son for her master's, as well as Tom's murder of his "uncle." This "resolution," however, is anything but a neat catharsis. Loeb's last illustration closes the transatlantic productions of the novel with Pudd'nhead's backlit form, framed by the

window on which the fingerprints were imprinted and the captioned question, “Am I Right?”

The general confusion caused by the dissolution of Twain’s publishing house, Webster & Co., delayed the delivery of the blocks of the illustrations and prevented transmission of the spin-off novella for *Pudd’nhead* in which Twain comments on his process of composition (Welland 161). Thus, the author’s characterization of himself as a “jack-leg” novelist and ruminations about the genesis and writing of his novel are absent from both the British edition and the *Century* serialization (125). Because of a chaotic transmission process, neither the first edition of the novel for a British audience nor its initial appearance as a transatlantic serial included *Those Extraordinary Twins*. This tale premiered only in the American first edition, creating a “twinned” novella about twinning in which Twain admits to confusing himself and, potentially, his readers in typical tongue-in-cheek fashion, carrying himself and his manuscript “back and forth across the Atlantic two or three times” (125). Twain was forced to release the domestic book form of the novel with the American Publishing Company, a return to roots that he had been happy to forget with the establishment of Webster. Not only was Twain not in control of the publishing process for *Pudd’nhead* and *Those Extraordinary Twins*, he also did not superintend their illustrations.

As an American Publishing Company production, *Pudd’nhead Wilson* became a very particular sort of commodity. As Bruce Michelson notes, “The APC and the other major subscription houses could saturate the continental United States with editions and print runs that would have astounded a Boston Brahmin before the Civil War—fifty thousand, seventy thousand copies or more, gaudily adorned, jammed with pictures, and

vended nationwide in a matter of months” (18). Michelson explains that the electrotype process that made possible the bulky heft of American Publishing Company books, filled with illustrations, also facilitated the production of household goods that looked like they were composed of more expensive metals (39). The advent of printing developments like chromolithography and electrotype especially highlighted the tensions between forms of representation and the formation of national culture in the public sphere, as well as the home. As a contemporary observer related in 1878: “On a circular table (of course with pillar and claws) are placed books—too often selected for their bindings alone—arranged like the spokes of a wheel” (qtd. in Logan 2). Just as the technology to produce more objects and bric-a-brac made possible the famously cluttered cliché of the Victorian home, including the *Greek Slave* and the many household objects associated with *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*, in the United States as well as Britain, the showcasing of books became just another element of parlor display in the typical drawing-room. Subscription books like the APC *Pudd’nhead Wilson* were sold door to door by salesmen who displayed a prospectus for potential buyers and illustrations were always a main draw for these books, really *the* focal attraction.

Like various other parlor accoutrements, such as the sentimental groupings depicted in John Rogers’s statues, chromolithographs of nostalgic subjects, portrait busts, and copies of European paintings (Stevenson 60), subscription books were displayed as markers of material status, though their respectability was a good deal more doubtful than that of illustrated monthlies such as the *Century*. Although the tenor of such showcasing was distinctly American, the phenomenon of parlor display was transatlantic; indeed, the writers of *Illustrated London News* urged readers to preserve the newspaper in “the

drawing room, the portfolios or the library” (qtd. in Briggs 145). The American Publishing Company’s prospectus for *Pudd’nhead* markets both its images, “Every Page Illustrated,” and its girth, “over 450 pages.” At the same time selling the story as a bit of antebellum nostalgia, or, “impressions of life in an old-time Mississippi river town that will never be forgotten” (Railton “Peddling”).⁷⁴

Unlike the genteel aspirations for national culture encapsulated in the layout and content of magazines like the *Century*, the American book form of *The Tragedy of Pudd’nhead Wilson and the Comedy of Those Extraordinary Twains* traces the combination of post-bellum practices of popular subscription sales in the United States with a genealogy of racist representation in domestic publishing. Bearing the caption, “I Thought I Would Write a Little Story,” F. M. Senior’s illustration prefacing the companion novella for the first American edition highlights the ideologies of viewing; the receding v-structure of the picture shows Twain gazing at a poster of Siamese twins being advertised as shapely circus freaks, while the reader observes Twain’s looking. With the church steeple and quaint village skyline in the background, this graphic depiction portrays Twain as a cosmopolitan *flâneur*, smoking his cigar. As Twain divulges in his preface to the novella and his composition process shows, although he was in fact inspired to write a burlesque by a poster advertising Siamese twins, when he returned to the novel that became *Pudd’nhead*, the pressing melodrama of racial identity in the United States led him to a different plan (Wigger, “Composition” 93), information that underscores the compelling force of these issues on Twain’s imagination and the power structures obscured by this seemingly innocuous moment of looking.⁷⁵

By rendering the characters in the novel along strict visual parameters of black and white, however, the American Publishing Company's production of *Pudd'nhead Wilson* ultimately elided an inclusive critique of the commodification of the nation and its members by dividing the national body along longstanding racial lines. The images by Warren and Senior—described as “marginalia”—are technological and visual throwbacks to antebellum printing practices, “updated” by the emergent and more vituperative caricatures of the 1890s.⁷⁶ In the 1890s, depictions of “the comic black” reemerged in “high” and “low” culture, on posters, illustrated journals, and paintings (Martin 673). Currier and Ives, names that by the end of the century signified the sentimental, middle-class norm of lithographic pictures suitable for the home, released “over 170 racist caricatures” from 1884 to 1896 for its *Dark Town Series* (Vlach 124). One example in particular displays the intersection of iconography of nationalism and the linguistic- and race-based encoding of the representative female body. In a parody of the recently erected Statue of Liberty, formally “titled *The Great Bartholdi Statue, Liberty Enlightening the World*, [the icon] was redrawn as a grotesque black woman holding aloft a burning stick and described in a pseudo-black dialect as *Brer Thuldy's Statue, Liberty Frightenin de World. To be stuck up on Bedbug's Island, Jarsey Flats, opposite de United States*” (Vlach 124).

Such depictions denigrated dialectically marked speech and challenged the American-ness of formerly enslaved and dark-skinned peoples by implicitly questioning their intelligence and cultural capital, while also rendering their features in line with the recognizable visual semantics of racial caricature and eliminating subtle distinctions in shading. As Georgia Barnhill explains, “The history of graphic processes can be

understood as a progression from a linear to a tonal representation of reality” (32). Such technological and creative regressions contrast against the ambiguity and nuances conveyed by Loeb’s finely-rendered scenes, exemplary of the art department of the *Century* and its predecessor, *Scribner’s*, which had “developed techniques that opened a golden age of magazine illustration” (John 76-7). Ultimately, the monthly had combined the best artistic talent with the latest technologies in printing images, allowing the visual codes signaling contradictions between appearance, law, and custom within Twain’s descriptions and plot to exist within the material space of the reader’s interaction with the text.

In contrast, the APC marginalia are a technological and racist return to earlier print forms. Beverly David and Ray Sapirstein point out that these “small, cramped, and awkwardly composed drawings” had to be reduced to fit into the margins of the novel so that “their fragile lines frequently bleed into each other” (25). By not applying the printing techniques available at the time of its publication during the rising tide of political and cultural disenfranchisement for African Americans, the unsophisticated APC drawings not only undercut the moments of flux and gradation in racial identity within the text, but also quite ironically reinforced the visual stereotyping of the story’s setting in the antebellum frontier-turned Midwest. Indeed, the American version of the novel flattens the emotionally intense interactions between Roxy and her son into two white, outlined figures on the margins of the page, punctuated by blackface caricatures of the cartoonish African American visages drifting above them.

Though Loeb’s illustrations in the *Century* had subtly shown the oscillations in identities in *Pudd’nhead*, the APC version captured the economics of slave systems,

while simultaneously reinscribing polarized racial constructions. Carolyn Porter argues persuasively that the most compelling storyline in the novel is “Roxana’s Plot”: “what gives Roxana’s plot its radical and disruptive force lies in the contradiction at its heart—a contradiction we can imagine Twain violently warding off even as it looms up more powerfully all along—the contradiction between the power to negate, but one unleashed from within—and brutally reinforced as—the slave mother’s negated position” (136). Through his plot maneuvers, Twain makes it especially apparent that Roxy’s position is constantly in peril. Even when she is “free,” if she revealed her maternity, her blackness would nullify any claims her son might have to “legitimacy” within American cultural constructs. The threat of Roxy’s reenslavement, or her inability to escape her “negated position,” is realized when Tom takes out a runaway slave ad on his mother. In this scene, Tom takes on the role of master and cheat as he and his mother confront each other about the handbill advertising Roxy’s capture. Through the ideographic form of a runaway slave, Roxy is typecast as a fugitive slave being hunted by her own son, another literalization of the APC version that irrefutably reflects the slave-holding visual language of the American print past (APC 237).⁷⁷ Yet the anguish of unfulfilled motherhood caused by slavery, apparent in Roxy’s interactions with Tom before she reveals her relationship to him, is annulled when descriptions of her heartsickness are depicted in separate groupings showing her as unambiguously “white,” no relation to the grotesquely caricatured stereotypes of African Americans on the same page (63).⁷⁸

While the illustrations in the *Century* had avoided the blatantly racist caricatures of the 1890s, including the blackface APC marginalia that would later appear in the first American edition of the novel, the tone of “refinement” struck in the monthly, in the

service of constructing and disseminating national moral and cultural tradition also erases the brutally candid cynicism of Twain's text. In contrast, that cynicism is fully realized in the picture mirroring the final installment of Pudd'nhead Wilson's Calendar at the bottom of the "Conclusion" in the APC edition: "It was wonderful to find America, but it would have been more wonderful to miss it" (120). This fitting aphorism is mirrored by the drawings on the subsequent pages in which the commodification of the nation is on full display in the juxtaposition of what could be one of Columbus's ships, docked to a pier admonishing potential immigrants to "Use [some unknown brand of] Pills," below a sign advertising for "America. Lots Sold on Easy Terms" (300).⁷⁹ The sequencing of the pairing of text and image follows right after the final court scene, linking the reenslavement of Tom Driscoll with the revelation of his "true" race, thus uncovering the economic impetus of slave labor upholding the "Moonlight and Magnolias" nostalgia for simpler times alluded to in the APC prospectus.

As Stephen Railton explains, the final episode of *Pudd'nhead* echoes the unsatisfactory ending section of *Huckleberry Finn*, in which the novel and Tom toy with Jim: "In *Pudd'nhead Wilson*, however, Twain brings the act of repression into the open: when Wilson tells his white listeners that they do not know, and do not need to think about, why those babies were switched, we are witnessing the erasure of the reality of slavery" ("Tragedy" 535). Thus, the fingerprints restoring individual and, therefore, "racial identity" at the end of the story both assert the correctness of Wilson's pseudo-scientific palmistry and reveal the ultimate fetish in the novel as the personal marks of racial history, a conclusion that Twain's text yet again undermines by showing that money trumps all. Tom's (pre-determined) criminal identity is ultimately much less

important than the cash nexus of the novel's economy: "As soon as the Governor understood the case, he pardoned Tom at once, and the creditors sold him down the river" (121).⁸⁰ The embodiment of the legal system in the APC version of *Pudd'nhead* pictures capitalism in action, showing slavery as a system consonant with the democratization of consumerism, a process undeniably demonstrated for readers by the illustrations at the close of the American first edition. While unapologetically disseminating Twain's text as a picture-book dispensing old-times-on-the-Mississippi nostalgia to readers willing to accept its low-quality marginalia, the American first edition of *Pudd'nhead Wilson* publicized the commodification of nationality displayed in the text. At the same time, it also expunged any subsequent discomfort such cynicism might engender in white working- and middle-class viewers by replicating the grotesqueries of blackface caricature.

The often violent, sometimes fanciful renderings of the American Publishing Company edition parsed the novel into a narrative of clues for readers' perusal, synecdochally displaying body parts and marks of identity as schemes of witchcraft, fetishes of "oriental" origins, and, finally, tools of science. This marginalia fragmented *Pudd'nhead* into distilled bits, expunging racial ambiguity from the story and sublimating the failure of the justice system within the wake of post-Reconstruction Jim Crow through pictorial retrogressions to earlier caricatured print modes. In contrast, the publication of the novel in the *Century* had created a more ambiguous sphere of representation, one that highlighted the slave mother's oscillating racial and gender affiliations, calling into question the efficacy and desirability of "fixing" social identity. Although Twain's text ridicules the narrow-mindedness of small-town America and spars

with the ghosts of European masters in the preface, the print context of the novel both questioned and fulfilled race as destiny, tapping the pulse both of audiences enmeshed in popular culture who would comprise the domestic buyers of the American Publishing Company first edition and transatlantic readers of the *Century* implicated in the ideological oscillations of striving gentility.

Though the economic crisis did not hurt attendance at the Columbian Exposition of 1893, it did affect sales of the *Century* and other monthlies of its ilk, as mass market magazines like *Munsey's* and *McClure's* offered readers more popular content at cheaper prices. While the *Century* had been criticized for the number of advertisements it allowed, they were relegated mostly to the region of end-matter, the mass-market magazines of the 1890s, however, were replete with them. As Stephen Fox observes, “the genteel homes that had once admitted the *Century* and *Harper's*, with their few ads tucked in the back of the issue, let in *McClure's* and the *Ladies' Home Journal*, with up to one hundred pages of ads scattered all through the magazine, catching and holding one's eye” (35). The advent of these periodicals signaled another step towards the incorporation of the middle class through consumerism. Amidst the ubiquitous soap and medicinal ads, according to Philip Waller, “There was an institutional purpose, the creation of friendly corporate images by a nascent public relations sector, to counter campaigns waged against big business by anti-trust legislation, by trade unions, and by muckraking journalism” (333). Soon the overpowering of text with images would become a trademark of illustrated mass publications so that the *Century*—with its “elegant covers, page layouts, and a stately typeface that emphasized the neoclassical aspirations of the magazine” (Noonan xiii)—would itself become a relic of the print past.

Produced during a crucial turning point in Twain's career, the various initial illustrated performances of *Pudd'nhead Wilson* intersected histories of slavery and displays of transatlantic cosmopolitanism, while at the same time, its print productions revealed crucial correspondences with the rise of modern advertising techniques at the junction of outdated and emerging print and visual technologies. Though a cold kept him indoors, Twain had attempted to exploit the publicity opportunity afforded by the Columbian Exposition to promote the Paige Typesetter (Thoreson 289). Himself a dupe of Gilded Age financial ventures, Twain would assume the semi-permanent status of expatriate for the foreseeable future. In dire financial straits at the time of *Pudd'nhead's* composition, Twain would soon begin a series of exhausting lecturing tours to pay off his debt. With the declaration "I am an anti-imperialist" in October of 1900 to the *New York Herald*, he would address an audience eager for news of him upon his reentry into the United States and begin a publishing flurry of interviews, speeches, and essays critiquing American, British, and European imperialist ventures and their attendant spectacles of violence. Though Twain would pay homage to Richard Watson Gilder in his exposé of the systematic and sustained atrocities in the Congo river basin, the over-the-top bombast and string of illustrations in *King Leopold's Soliloquy* showed that, as ever, Twain would meet his audience more than halfway. At the turn of the century, that would mean producing a spectacle of the unspeakable.

CHAPTER 5
SENSATIONALIZING THE UNSPEAKABLE:
EVIDENCING ATROCITY IN THE CONGO FREE STATE

In 1901, British journalist and reformer W. T. Stead published a popular book heralding what he called *The Americanization of the World*, in which he seriously and hopefully entertained, among other notions, what might happen if the United States were to organize and administer British colonies. In order to voice his opinions, Stead quotes from the Yankee character Sam Slick, the creation of a Canadian humorist at mid-century; about the United States and Great Britain, Slick pronounces, “We are two great nations, the greatest by a long chalk of any in the world, speak the same language, have the same religion, and our Constitution doesn’t differ no great odds. We ought to draw closer than we do” (qtd. in Stead 434). In assessing the impact of American literature abroad, foremost, the endurance of *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* in popular culture, Stead mentions not only the continued fame of Stowe’s characters, but also her success in demonstrating “the essential humanity of the negro” for “[t]he white world,” a surge of feeling that he laments is “a tide which alas, to-day, seems somewhat on the ebb” (283-84). As Stead’s language clarifies, although he credits Stowe with “swell[ing] the tide of sympathy and compassion, even with the most forlorn and degraded of the human race” (284), this expenditure of heartfelt yet paternalistic emotion could also be viewed as keeping the affiliations of “the white world” in place.

As John Carlos Rowe points out, this was the “the historical period in which ‘imperialism’ had entered the popular vocabulary as a term of opprobrium” (175). Perhaps most famously indicated in 1899 by the appearance of Kipling’s “White Man’s Burden: The United States and the Philippine Islands” in *The Times* and its subsequent fame, the turn of the nineteenth century was characterized by jingoism in both countries throughout every class. Rooted as his text was in “journalism as well as colonial fiction,” Kipling’s infamous poem demonstrated the intertwining discourses of empire and paternalistic constructions of the colonized “savage” (Spurr 113). Like Stead, Twain had admired the “Anglo-Saxon race” and the United States as the new ur-civilization. In 1899, Twain had bragged that “there is to-day but one real civilization in the world, and it is not yet thirty years old. We made the trip and hoisted its flag when we disposed of our slavery” (qtd. in Putz 226). By 1900, though, he had declared to the *New York Herald*, “I am opposed to having the eagle put its talons on any other land,” and subsequently produced a series of essays critiquing the intrusive imperialism of the United States (qtd. in Giddings 200). In February 1901, his criticism of American activities in China, the Boer War, and the Philippine-American War, “To the Person Sitting in Darkness,” appeared in the *North American Review*; that summer, Twain wrote but could not bring himself to publish “The United States of Lyncherdom.”

Nonetheless, in 1905 the United States could be counted the only country besides Britain in which “the cause of Congo reform be[came] a full-scale crusade” (Hochschild 243). The text Twain produced that year for the Congo Reform Association (CRA) extended his recent trend of political engagement by vilifying the truly villainous King Leopold II of Belgium. On the half-title page of Twain’s work on behalf of the CRA, the

purpose of public awareness and advocacy is clearly delineated through the note from the American publishers, P.R. Warren, indicating that the proceeds from the sale of the booklet “shall be used in furthering effort for relief of the people of the Congo State.” The first country to recognize Leopold’s claims to the Congo (Hochschild 81), the United States is portrayed in Twain’s pamphlet as a dupe of the philanthropic and free-trade auspices under which the King, along with the actual participants in the Berlin Conference (1884-85) had legitimated their actions to portion out parts of Africa to European powers (7).⁸¹ Rejected by both *Harper’s Monthly* and the *North American Review* (Wuliger 235; Michelson 200), Twain’s reformist-publicity text, *King Leopold’s Soliloquy*, skirted the tensions between the mission of the “White Man’s Burden” to “open up” Africa to Western technologies and civilization to save natives from “darkness,” and the great cost of such thinking on the lives of African peoples.

As its title indicates, Twain’s pamphlet uses the figure of Leopold himself to detail the atrocities in the Congo basin; *King Leopold’s Soliloquy* casts the monarch as an unhinged tyrant, raging against his enemies and spilling out every travesty of the crimes he has allowed or ordered to be committed as he repeats the detailed reports of the officials and missionaries who have documented the cruelties characterizing the existence of Congo Free State. In his pamphlet, Twain identifies amateur photography as the ideal witness. Indeed, images taken by missionaries of the individuals maimed under Leopold’s annexation of the area would dominate the coverage of the news in New York newspapers a year after Twain’s pamphlet was circulated; in addition, the subsequent propaganda produced in Belgium attempting to discredit Twain’s text unleashed a photographic battle over the meaning of these photographs as “evidence.”

Not only did this text become an embattled object, Twain framed content that was on a vastly horrid scale within the sensationalized explosions of Leopold's rage. In one episode during the series of rants in *King Leopold's Soliloquy*, Leopold converts the lists of objects characterizing the abundance at world's fairs into the detritus of death, portraying the systematic destruction in the Congo as a degenerate form of nation-unbuilding. On its surface, this analogy functions as a look at the "wrong" kind of progress, yet the too-close association between projects of nationalism and the decimation of peoples unrecognized as autonomous and self-sustaining cultures by Western nations is also apparent in Twain's comparison of the blood and skeletons of the persons killed in the Congo basin to the area of the St. Louis and its 1904 fair:

They remark that "if the innocent blood shed in the Congo State by King Leopold were put in buckets and the buckets placed side by side, the line would stretch 2,000 miles; if the skeletons of his ten millions of starved and butchered dead could rise up and march in single file, it would take them seven months and four days to pass a given point; if compacted together in a body, they would occupy more ground than St. Louis covers, World's Fair and all [...]." (11-12)

This "statistical analysis" grafts the grandiose scale of Leopold's destruction onto the latest display of American progress. Instead of the measurements and assessments of the achievements to be seen and wondered at within exhibitions, however, this metaphor displays commodity spectacle at its limit and ultimate end. In counting the uncountable—the lives lost and communities decimated across Central Africa—Twain not only offers an illustration of the sheer magnitude of the "depopulation" of the Congo basin, he also

pushes the quantification of material progress past its utopic future, into an explosion of death.

The official European, British, and American sanction for Leopold's land grab in Central Africa allowing the subsequent carnage there had been partly made possible by a transatlantic climate of racism, as well as the zeal for colonialism. In 1871, Henry Stanley's famous search for the explorer and missionary, David Livingstone, had begun and ended in sensational fashion, sealing Stanley's fame and the fascination of "mapping" Africa for a print media audience in both the United States and Great Britain: the *New York Herald* had partnered with the British *Daily Telegraph* in financing Stanley's search for Livingstone and the adventurer's subsequent African expeditions in the 1870s (Twain *Weapons* 5; Winston 131). A few years later in 1876, King Leopold II of Belgium had pushed forward his plan to acquire territory in Central Africa, a scheme that had become formalized during the course of Stanley's journey that year to chart the Congo to its source. Leopold had invited well-known explorers and officials from European nations to Brussels to form the International African Association (Association Internationale Africaine) (Hochschild 45). This would be one of many conventions in Brussels that Leopold would either organize or play a large part in to "open up" Africa for the ostensible goal of exploration and extending European philanthropic reach in the area. The professed purpose of the International African Association—suppressing the slave trade and stimulating commerce—fit with the long-established abolitionist rhetoric justifying involvement in Africa, including Britain's annexation of coastal territories in western Africa in the 1840s (Burroughs 23-4).⁸² After Stanley's return to Britain, Leopold had sent an emissary, the American General Henry Shelton Sanford, to meet him

in an effort to recruit Stanley to explore the region and launch trade, an undertaking that was eventually successful (Burroughs 23, 37; Hochschild 59, 76).

While the slave-trade was indeed a terrible, disruptive cruelty, the anti-slavery campaign and its rhetoric also justified further interference in Africa; what Stead would term “the white world” could join together against injustice to “map” the continent for “legitimate” trade. Crusades to establish free trade and root out slavery had been well established objectives of the mythic exploration of Africa and the excitement of “discovery” perpetuated by David Livingstone and Henry Morton Stanley’s travels and subsequent travelogues. Patrick Brantlinger argues that “[p]aradoxically, abolitionism contained the seeds of empire” (“Africans” 44). In his assessment, the “myth of the Dark Continent” was accepted by scientific and political authorities, as well as popularly. This highly resonant trope of the geographical imaginary of Africa endowed Britain with an ethical imperative to colonize the continent on “moral, religious, and scientific grounds” and was a result of “the success of the antislavery movement, the impact of the great Victorian explorers, and the merger of racist and evolutionary doctrines in the social sciences” (Brantlinger, “Africans” 45). As Christopher Brown notes, and other historians and cultural critics have observed, “European governments and adventurers intent on seizing power in Africa at the end of the nineteenth century, most famously, would justify their partition of the continent and its subjection to imperial rule as one aspect of their war on slavery” (457).

The various sham commissions and societies formed by Leopold justifying the subjugation of peoples in the Congo basin were at first readily accepted by the rest of the Western world. By 1878, the International Association of the Congo had been created “to

sound confusingly similar to the moribund ‘philanthropic’ International African Association of crown princes and explorers” (Hochschild 65). During the height of the “Scramble for Africa” when European powers participated in the Berlin Conference held during the winter of 1884-85, they recognized the organization of “the International African Association” and its pledge to support free trade, “improve the ‘moral well-being’ of the natives, and to suppress the slave trade by the Arabs” (Hawkins 152). While the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Denmark, France, Great Britain, Italy, the Netherlands, Portugal, Russia, Spain, Sweden-Norway, and the Ottoman Empire carved up the African continent, Central Africa was partitioned to the Congo Society, providing a “buffer” free trade zone there. The Act of Berlin thus did not recognize a colony or protectorate as such, but a loosely defined entity. After the conference in May, Leopold II changed the name of his newly acquired territory to the terribly oxymoronic Congo Free State (État Indépendant du Congo) (Hochschild 87). The subjugation of peoples in the Congo Free State partially commenced in 1888 through “mandatory seven-year labour contracts [on inhabitants] in repayment for the cost of colonization” (Burroughs 33). As Burroughs notes, “This decree, was, of course, unknown to virtually all of those peoples, comprising hundreds of internally dynamic ethnic groups, which it affected” (33). Established in 1888, the so-called Force Publique largely consisted of natives, many of whom were impressed into service to enforce these draconian policies (Hochschild 127). Full-scale persecution followed in the 1890s, as entire tribes and villages were maimed or killed for failing to collect the requisite amount of rubber.

In 1890, George Washington Williams, an African American Civil War veteran and minister, wrote his “Open Letter to King Leopold on the Congo” during his travels

through Leopold's territories. According to the Williams, whose text was the "first published eyewitness attack on the Congo Free State" (Burroughs 17), he had learned that, during Stanley's travels to map the Congo basin on Leopold's behalf, Stanley had used technological ruses to shock and awe the peoples he encountered into "signing" treaties. This document, as Adam Hochschild points out, identified nearly every major accusation against the Congo Free State that would be brought by the CRA after a decade had passed (109).⁸³ Printed in pamphlet form in Europe and the United States (Hochschild 112), the "Open Letter" detailed the outrages belying the "*benevolent enterprise*" in the Congo basin (100). In his pamphlet, Williams described how Leopold's agent had contrived "sleight-of-hand tricks" to convince local leaders to enter into treaties, including a battery-wired "strong-man" handshake, and a cigar lit by using a lens that displayed "his intimate relation to the sun" (99). As Robert Burroughs points out, in response, "[t]he explorer and pioneer of Leopold's colonisation of Central Africa, Henry Morton Stanley, who comes in for personal ridicule in the open letter, defamed Williams on the grounds of his race" (17). The technological sideshow recounted by Williams starkly highlights the clash of cultures and technologies instigated by European exploration and colonization of Africa. Stanley's ploys would also foreshadow the photographic ruses used in the battle of representation waged by Leopold's supporters against the reformist organizations whose pictures showed the injuries inflicted on individuals who did not collect the requisite amount of rubber for "the state."

Cited as a central source of inspiration for Joseph Conrad's narrative of European corruption in and by Africa, *Heart of Darkness* (1899), E. J. Glave's narratives of his fight against slavery provide a site of intersection between the "arm-chair" hero-worship

of African adventurers and the outrages perpetuated in the name of philanthropy and free trade before the story of King Leopold II's notorious abuses in the Congo Basin came to be more fully acknowledged. As Burroughs and Peter Firchow point out, Glave's reminiscences of learning of the "Dark Continent" as a boy parallel Conrad's biographical depictions, as well as *Heart of Darkness* narrator's impressions, of the "blank spaces" of Africa (Burroughs 20-21; Firchow 132-33).⁸⁴ In a condensed version of Glave's own narrative of childhood nostalgia, recorded in his *In Savage Africa* (1892), Robert Howard Russell legitimates his subject's credentials for African travel through his fascination with the adventures of Livingstone and Stanley. Russell's brief article appeared in the *Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine* in 1895: "The young Englishman who was to venture upon this perilous undertaking was not without sufficient experience to qualify him even for an adventure of such magnitude. From his boyhood he had studied with eager interest the pages of Stanley's search, following with breathless attention the thrilling narrative of the journey 'through the Dark Continent'" (865).

The story, though not the visualization of, the depopulation and decimation perpetuated in the Congo was widely available to transatlantic readers through E. J. Glave's reportage of his travels in Central Africa for the *Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine* (published from 1895-97). The appearance of Glave's series of articles in the *Century* captures the alignment of and many fissures in anti-slavery "moral capital" between the United States and Great Britain, not only because of their transatlantic history of slaveholding, but also through representations of the childlike and primitive dark "other," a formulation with a host of floating signifiers that fit in with both anti-slavery rhetoric and narratives of African exploration. According to Patrick Brantlinger,

“[f]ollowing the Civil War, slavery seemed largely confined to Africa; along with such staples of sensationalist journalism as human sacrifice and cannibalism, slavery looked more and more like a direct extension of African savagery” (“Africans” 53). What Glave’s writing and its framing did and did not show about the atrocities in the Congo Free State demonstrate the extent to which Leopold’s proposed philanthropic and free-trade mission fit into already-existing, entrenched discourses of “uplift” and the beneficence of commerce in the “dark continent.”

In the years leading up to the full-scale publicity of the outrages and destruction in the Upper Congo, Glave’s travelogues offer an exemplum of the tensions between image and text in constructions of Western authorial authority against the unknown and unseen spaces and peoples of Africa. By narrating the history of the Congo through its “mapping” and exploration, Glave’s writings created a paradigmatic view of his relationship to, and readers’ interest in, Central Africa. An admirer and follower of Henry Morton Stanley, the Englishman had first traveled to the Congo in 1883, where he had taken orders from Stanley to man and retain an outpost at Lukolela (Glave, “Slave Trade” 824). After three years at this remote station and a brief return to Britain in 1886, Glave had returned to Africa to join the Sanford Exploring Expedition (Burroughs 23, 37; Hochschild 59, 76). While on the Expedition, Glave met Roger Casement (Burroughs 37), an Irishman whose Congo Report would expose the systematic brutalities of Leopold’s regime after the turn of the century.⁸⁵ Glave’s trips to Africa had intersected with the building of Leopold’s stronghold in the Congo. His efforts aided its advancing infrastructure; at the closing stages of his last journey, he also became privy to indications of the systematic abuses in the region.⁸⁶ During his third trip to Africa in

1893-95, Glave retraced Stanley's former route. As Burroughs claims, "It is no coincidence that Glave's trans-African tour, in particular its Congo leg, followed Stanley's passage of 1874-77. Glave envisaged his journey providing an update on the battle against slavery waged by European colonialists in the 20 years since Stanley's march across the continent" (Russell 39).

Before his relationship with the *Century* became more formalized, Glave contributed a few short essays about the Congo in which he introduced readers to its geography and peoples, as well as to the exploitation associated with slave-trading. In one of these early, short essays for the February 1890 issue, the author covers the establishment of outposts and the state of the slave trade in "The Congo River of To-Day," with the byline, "By One of Stanley's Former Officers." Glave's introductory history of the region situates Stanley's exploits as both mythic and central to practical advances in the area: "Since Mr. Stanley's descent to the mouth of the Congo River, in 1878, after his perilous and adventurous voyage across the Dark Continent, very great changes have taken place in that part of Equatorial Africa. [...] [A]t the Berlin conference in 1885 he had the gratification of seeing this wild country proclaimed by [...] the great powers 'The Congo Free State'" ("Congo River" 618).

Glave's piece, describing the civil services and infrastructure in the territory, including regular steamship lines running from Europe to the Central Africa, postal service, and the building of a new hotel and railway, immediately follows W. P. Tisdell's report of his trip to the Congo in the pages of the *Century*, undertaken at the time of the Berlin Conference as an official representative of the American government. The juxtaposition of the American Commissioner's and Glave's articles in this number of the

Century constructs their involvement in Africa as a reflection of the alliances consisting of economic power and humanitarianism between their respective nations. These essays were published concurrent with the Anti-Slavery Conference in Brussels from 1889-90, hosted by Leopold, who in the 1880s “had been elected honorary president of the Aborigines Protection Society, a venerable British human rights organization” (Hochschild 92).

Tisdell’s essay shows the seemingly contradictory but quite widespread linkage between the humanitarian mission of abolishing the slave trade in Africa and a high level of disdain for Africans themselves. To a modern reader, the American Commissioner’s account displays the inarguably racist viewpoint of a sojourner to Africa who has little patience for understanding the geography and peoples he encounters, beyond a hopeful wish for favorable economic outcomes. The publication of his opinions in the *Century* indicates that such content was deemed acceptable for the magazine’s American and transatlantic readership. Tisdell’s customary humanitarian appraisal of the slave-trade retains the language of commodification, merged with the idiom of Africa as an isolated geography. The American Commissioner notes, for example, that Boma was once “the principle slave-trading station on the lower Congo River.” He observes, however, that “[h]appily this traffic has now has ceased to exist so far as export to the outside world is concerned, but the trade in slaves is still largely carried on among the people of the country” (610). Tisdell concludes that the peoples of the Congo are “as low as the lowest” and finishes his assessment with the pronouncement: “I cannot coincide with any one who recommends the Congo country as a desirable place for residence” (618). In comparing a chimpanzee to the natives, and arguing favorably for the intelligence of the

former, Tisdel participates in the pseudoscientific evolutionary discourse of racism, while also narrating a revealing proverb: “The natives say that the chimpanzee is very smart; that he can talk, but he knows enough not to talk, because if he were to talk, the white man would catch him and sell him for a slave” (615-16).

As the pairing of Tisdel’s and Glave’s articles in one of the most popular transatlantic monthlies demonstrates, interest in the Congo was piqued by the adventurism of African exploration. The rhetoric of discovery blended with paternalistic discourses of abolition in this new “stage” of anti-slavery agitation, grafting old tropes onto new ones in a mishmash of inconsistent ideologies, including assertions of the moral and intellectual backwardness of slaves and the savagery of Africans. The very factual victimhood of enslaved persons in Africa was overshadowed by justifying colonial histories.

That the cluster of paternalistic language of philanthropy and uplift associated with ending the slave trade in Africa might have both manipulated and gratified an American audience is evident from the Belgian Ambassador’s description of the outcomes of the Anti-Slavery Conference in Brussels for the *North American Review* in 1892. In 1888, the Archbishop of Algiers and Carthage, Cardinal Lavigerie, had begun an extensive anti-slavery campaign that garnered international support. Quoting the language of a communication from the British government to Leopold, Daniel Laqua explains that “the Belgian reception of the propositions for repressing the Trade of Negroes made to Europe by Cardinal Lavigerie” was a point of reference when the British specifically petitioned Leopold to host the Anti-Slavery Conference at Brussels (711). As Laqua observes, in light of recent scholarship, “the Brussels Conference of

1889–90 appears less as a diplomatic episode in the history of humanitarianism, but more as a perpetuation of policies associated with the Berlin Conference of 1884–5.

Underlining these continuities, invitations to Brussels were initially confined to governments that had been present at Berlin” (711). The subsequent measures adopted at Brussels to fight slavery enabled the Belgian monarch to continue to subjugate the peoples in his territories under the guise of the forward march of civilization; as Adam Hochschild elucidates, “The Anti-Slavery Conference was a boon to Leopold, for the delegates [...] approve[d] some plans the king proposed for fighting the slave-traders—plans that, it happened, bore a striking resemblance to those for the expensive transportation infrastructure he was hoping to build in the Congo” (93).

In describing the victimhood of native peoples in the *North American Review*, Alfred Le Ghait, the Belgian Ambassador, authorizes a triumphant view of Leopold’s land-grab in Central Africa amongst the colonial ambitions of other European powers several years after the Berlin Conference. His introductory statements also obliquely draw attention to the importance of representation in the discovery of slavery in Africa, belying the impending struggle between Congo reformers and apologists, fought with sensationalist discourse and atrocity imagery:

When the Berlin Conference, in 1885, had put the African organization on an international basis and consecrated the work, initiated, since 1876, by the King of Belgium, by placing him at the head of an independent State in Africa, the dark veil covering this continent was to be torn; the benefits of civilization were to penetrate it; a free commerce of all the nations was to be inaugurated; but, before all, the slave-trade, with all its horrors, was to disappear. When dawn approached

on the social condition of this country, when the missionaries, the explorers, the first traders, returned to present to us the thrilling picture of thousands of victims succumbing almost daily to this outrageous hunt for man, a universal cry of terror rang through the civilized world; the heart of every Christian, of every free man, swelled with pity, and a charitable and humanitarian crusade was preached everywhere. A moral obligation prevailed, in both the Old and New World, to hasten to the aid of a victimized race, to stretch out a fraternal hand to these human victims! (287)

The feminized and sexualized continent of Africa here heroizes a sort of humanitarian-adventurist Anglo-European masculinity that was no doubt quite a palatable combination to many readers. Le Ghait's allusions to the Civil War also sought to legitimate the conflict for his American audience as a just cause for a righteous nation: he lists "the blood [Americans] shed for the enfranchisement of oppressed races" as one reason for the participation of the United States with "European powers" in the "purely humanitarian act of the Brussels Conference" (295).

In May 1893, the same month and year of Frances E. W. Harper's speech at the Columbian Exposition, E. J. Glave departed from New York on his commission from the *Century* as a "special correspondent"; this trip was his third and final one through Central Africa (Burroughs 39), a journey that also ended his life.⁸⁷ E. J. Glave's accounts of his travels from 1893-95 for the *Century*, years leading up to the exposure of the systematic brutality and slavery of the rubber regime of the Congo Free State, show the fraught disjunctions between impulses to heroize the figures of African exploration and their purposes, and the abuses and the damaging, oftentimes calamitous consequences of

Western philanthropic and economic missions of “uplift” to the land and peoples affected. The *Century* hired Glave to traverse the Congo as a sort of anti-slavery reporter; a contributor to the magazine, Robert Howard Russell, summarized his mission:

His purpose was to proceed from Zanzibar to the strongholds of the Arab raiders far in the interior of the “Dark Continent,” and there to obtain such exact information as to the strength, system and source of supplies of the African slave-dealers as would enable the civilized powers now interested in Africa to proceed intelligently toward the eventual suppression of the horrors of the cruel traffic in human lives carried on by Arab man-hunters. (865)

The alliance between the British traveler and the well respected illustrated monthly was certainly a winning proposition for the publication: a way to add yet another travelogue to its pages, while also serving moralistic and philanthropic functions. The purpose of Glave’s journey was also undoubtedly a reaction to both the urgency created by the publicity afforded by slave-trading in the region and the 1889-90 Anti-Slavery Conference in Brussels. For his anti-slavery activities around Lake Nyassa during the time recorded in this series of entries, Glave was awarded a Central Africa Silver War Medal by the British government after his death. The *Century* did not miss the chance to reprint a reproduction of this medal at the ending of Glave’s final published diary entries for the September 1897 issue.

An unmistakable function of Glave’s coverage of Arab and intertribal slave trade in the *Century* was that such reportage deflected attention away from current events in the United States and simultaneously refashioned old stereotypes about “blacks” with newer mythologies of imperialism. As Burroughs observes, “Because the need to translate

unfamiliar information is encoded into the travel text's form, language, subject matter, tone and register, positioning and structure, and more, even purportedly documentary, objective representations of travel are shaped by the preconceptions and wants of the traveler, and the culture to which he or she reports" (4). When contrasted against the continued inhumanity apparent in the practice of slavery in Africa, abolition in the United States could conceivably overshadow the violent reinscription of racial hierarchies across the nation in the 1890s. At the same time, the rhetorical construction of Darkest Africa reaffirmed the savagery of its inhabitants, and in turn, perhaps informed readers' understanding of "freedmen" during the nadir of race relations and widespread lynchings of African Americans.

A persistent and powerful trope in transatlantic adventure literature and travel narratives, the discourse of African degeneracy and death, employed in even the most careful and balanced accounts of exploration, constructed a manichean series of associations through which white Europeans brought progress to black Africans who were otherwise without culture or hope. Partly because of the powerful force of this trope and the psychological associations of Europeans discovering their own savagery that are attached to Conrad's narrative, and partially because of the connections between the *Century* and Twain, I trace the afterlife of Glave's accounts not to the *Heart of Darkness*, but to *King Leopold's Soliloquy* here. This rhetoric, combined with the condescension in transatlantic abolitionist discourse of the nineteenth century, formed an entrenched topos of white superiority constructed against "black" deficiency. Such views are evident in Robert Howard Russell's summary of Glave's travels in the pages of the monthly, in which the explorer is described "pushing into the very heart of the districts peopled by

the wildest natives of the Congo basin, murderous slave-raiders and cannibals. It was during this work of investigation that he became acquainted with the unspeakable horrors of the slave-trade and its attendant practice of cannibalism” (866-67). This passage ostensibly focuses on the terrible consequences of slavery in Africa. In a series of confluences typical of writing dealing with this topic, however, the slave-traders are distinguished only as “the wildest natives of the Congo basin.” Thus, the “unspeakable horrors” of Africa itself overshadow and diffuse the ostensible focus on slavery.

In posthumously publishing parts of Glave’s diary, the *Century* validated and was in turn validated by his anti-slavery mission and his connections to the figures populating sagas of African exploration. The cosmology of myth and preconceptions that went along with such personalities also informed these articles. In a note explaining the context for the article, “Glave in Nyassaland,” a letter of introduction from Stanley explains the traveler’s credentials both to those he might encounter along his route and to readers of the *Century*, bolstering the monthly’s reputation in the process: “I beg then simply to say that Mr. Glave was one of my pioneer officers on the Congo, where he performed excellent and most faithful service. He has since been traveling in Alaska and Western America, and has lately been sent by *The Century* to write up articles such as may be published in a high-class illustrated magazine.” In presenting Glave’s as an irreproachable voice beyond the grave, the printed pieces of his journal in the monthly, edited “to form a narrative of special interest to the general reader,” collapsed barriers between subjective interpretations and faithfully rendered events, combining both the aspects of eye-witness reportage of African travelogue and the confessional aspects of private writing, unintended for the public eye (Glave, “Nyassaland” 590).

Glave in fact observed and participated in a very significant change in power in Central Africa. Peter Firchow explains that, during his tour, “Glave was witnessing a massive social and economic transformation brought about by two factors, not unrelated: (1) the final defeat in 1894 of the so-called Congo or Zanzibari Arabs centered in Stanley Falls and (2) the deliberate shift in commercial policy by the Congo State from ivory to rubber” (140). In the first appearance of his published diary for the August 1896 issue of the *Century*, the accompanying pictures complement the narrative of his information-gathering, expeditions, and fighting as a representative of Western anti-slavery nations. Coming from a deceased onlooker and martyr to the anti-slavery crusade, Glave’s writing documents the steady progress, in the name of European involvement and development in Africa, against the brutal practices of the slave traders. In this description, he discusses how Arab slavers deceive those they have enslaved to prevent them from being freed by saying that “the white men will eat them” (“Nyassaland” 590). Yet Glave also reports on the progress against slavery, including “magnificent highway to the heart of Africa,” the Zambesi, which “is playing a great part in the suppression of the slave-trade” (“Nyassaland” 591). After joining a raid led by Harry H. Johnston against Arab slaving vessels, Glave enters the stronghold of a local chief who had gained power through his slave-trading and ivory-trading activities, remarking that “[m]any old women seemed grateful at finding themselves well cared for in the hands of the whites” (“Nyassaland” 596).

The captions to the supplementary photographs, such as “A Cargo of Slaves Released by a British Man-of-War,” and “Arab Slavers Captured by a British Man-O-War” strengthen the impression of Glave’s service as a kind of victorious journey against

slavery on behalf of British nationalism and transatlantic readers. In addition, these images present their subjects as a group sharing similar characteristics within the squared-off frame of the readers' vision, managed and categorized according to their roles within the anti-slavery mission of white campaigners. Like the other slave-traders active in the Congo basin, the "Arab man-hunters" featured in the *Century* were probably "Swahili-speaking Muslims" (qtd. in Firchow 146; Hochschild 92). In David Rieff's estimation, this information "led to the European antislavery campaign's becoming a crusade in the literal as well as metaphorical senses of the term" (60). Additionally, as Peter Firchow points out, these men by and large "looked like dark-skinned Central Africans rather than light-skinned North Africans" (146). In the pages of the illustrated monthly, the "captured" Arab slavers are thoroughly demonized through their turbaned and white-robed figures, while their blackness supports accounts that portrayed slave trafficking as an African crisis.

The writing Glave produced right before his death shows an abrupt and growing realization of the extent of the unnecessary suffering and death being perpetrated by the administration of the Congo Free State. It is difficult to know if this effect is more or less marked as a result of the editing these reports were subjected to before being published in the *Century*. Instead of encounters describing European warfare against Arab and intertribal slavery, however, Glave's final diary entries record his shock at coming across testimonies and evidence of abuses committed against the peoples of the Congo, including enslavement, as a result of state policies. The process of liberation takes on a starkly different meaning in these later accounts, in contrast to the triumphant activities in "Nyassaland": "In Europe we understand from the word « libérés » slaves saved from

their cruel masters. Not at all! Most of them result from wars made against the natives because of ivory or rubber” (“Cruelty” 709). The title affixed to this last article, “Cruelty in the Congo Free State,” partially indicates the momentousness of the “disclosures” captured in Glave’s writing, and positions the piece as staid reportage. All the same, the sheer depth of abuse touched on in this text foreshadows its inclusion within the spectrum of sensationalist journalism. Glave depicts the depopulation of entire districts, writing sympathetically of uprisings, even cannibalism, as just retribution for the brutality of the Force Publique and “the harsh, cruel policy of the state, wringing rubber from these people without paying for it” (“Cruelty” 706). The disgust that Glave expresses in seeing these horrific changes almost eclipses some of the revulsion included and discussed at length in his earlier accounts of the ritual sacrifices and cannibalism associated with Arab and intertribal slavery. Repulsed by the physical mistreatment of an aging woman he sees from the “*commissaire* of the district,” Glave states, “They talk of philanthropy and civilization! Where it is I do not know!” (“Cruelty” 708).

Even so, Glave’s text does not retreat from aggrandizing the mission of progress in Africa. He continually reiterates his faith in efforts to establish economic ties there. In effect, his pronouncements indicate a preference for an ambiguous or depreatory European presence over none at all: “We must not condemn the Congo Free State too hastily or harshly. They have opened up the country, established a certain administration, and beaten the Arabs in the treatment of the natives. Their commercial transactions need remedying, it is true” (“Cruelty” 713). Such assessments fit with his earlier outlines of the relations between colonist and colonizer:

The native villages are attacked if they won't work in some way for the good of the land. Some are required to cut wood for station purposes; others to search for rubber; others for ivory; some to serve as soldiers for six or seven years. This is good, for when once broken in, the natives continue to work. It is no crime, but a kindness to make them work. By the system of forced labor they gain cloth, etc., and by a little hard work can soon become rich. The state also makes a profit, increasing its finances so as to enable it to continue the occupation of the land, which means saving the natives from the slavers. ("Cruelty" 702)

In this passage, Glave grafts stereotypes of the "lazy black" in a perverse chain of cause and effect. While conveniently tallying Euro-centric notions of "benefit," this illogic also would remake the enslavement of the peoples of the Congo basin a method to *prevent* slavery; an additional advantage would be to produce burgeoning mini-capitalists in Africa. While discordant with the escalating instances in which Glave records many and varied abuses, in these final entries of his journey and his last days alive, he repeatedly reiterates his faith in the project of civilization in the Congo Free State.

The tension between Glave's eyewitness accounts of the atrocities perpetuated in the service of the rubber trade in the Congo and his belief in the benefits of development of both its infrastructure and its peoples is rendered invisible, at least in the images accompanying his text. Within the written text, the sojourner enumerates many inconsistencies and failings in the technological effort most symbolic of British and American advancement in the nineteenth century: the steam engine. He records dangerous places in the railroad's construction, accidents, and its high cost ("Cruelty" 714-15). Indeed, in detailing yet another abuse, the overworking of porters, Glave goes so

far as to write: “The Belgians often ask what will the Bakongo people do when the railway is finished. What did they do before the white men came to rule them? Did they die of hunger, and lie unburied on the road?” (“Cruelty” 713). In contrast, Glave’s photographs of railways that most correspond to this series of entries, adopted into sketches rendered by Harry Fenn and inserted several pages earlier in the text, form a montage of picturesque views of the impressive paths forged by tracks winding through the landscape, as well as and scenes of further construction. Thus, though Glave’s written accounts in the *Century* publicize the exploitation in the Congo Free State in the nascent stages of the campaign against abuses there, the imagery included with these entries tells a story of European technological, and implicitly, cultural progress.

The impact of Glave’s reports of abuse was also considerably muted by his lionization, which took form as an exercise in ethnocentric discourse. His early demise in May 1895 at the very end of his journey for the *Century*, before leaving Matadi for Britain, created an irresistible narrative of his “rise and fall” as a young, intrepid African explorer, and understated campaigner against the slave trade. In its summer issue of 1895, the *Journal of the American Geographical Society of New York* eulogized his “untimely death” at 32, frustrating a “worthy ambition.” In addition, the obituary emphasized his “strength of character” and his “influence over the wild men with whom he lived” (“Geographical” 187). In October of that year, the *Century* published a short text assessing “Glave’s Career” by Robert Howard Russell. At the end of Russell’s article, the editor of the *Century*, Richard Watson Gilder, included his elegy to his erstwhile contributor, simply entitled “Glave,” offering praise for him as a young savior of “our doting age”:

Then, as I read, outshone the face of youth,
 Hero and martyr of humanity,
 Dead yesterday on Afric's shore of doom!
 Ah, no; Faith, Courage fail not, while lives Truth,
 While Pity lives, while man for man can die,
 And deeds of glory light the dark world's gloom. (9-14)

Glave is memorialized in the front and back matter of Russell's article through a full-plate photograph of the deceased, seated, and sporting an ascot as he gazes directly out of the frame. A reproduction of his signature and birth and death dates below the image introduce this commemoration, while the poem by Richard Watson Gilder appears at the bottom of Russell's essay to finish the tribute. The paratext of Russell's eulogy constructs Glave as a white Anglo martyr to the struggle against slavery in Africa, a young explorer who eventually succumbed to the debilitating geographical and psychological effects of the "Dark Continent," as Russell terms it twice in as many paragraphs. This trope captured a corresponding host of associations that enabled the heroization of its white explorers.

By 1897, it became clear that the glorious narrative of European colonialism coupling the anti-slavery crusade with free trade would need reexamination. In that year, as Burroughs relates, the secretary of the Aborigines Protection Society, H. R. Fox Bourne, had stirred up sufficient support to prompt Sir Charles Dilke to offer inquiries about the Congo Free State in Parliament. Yet the movement for reform did not immediately gather momentum; the focus on "war in South Africa and the jubilee of 1897 ensured that concern for Britain's own dominions exceeded public interest in other

nations'. For the next few years, if the Congo featured in the press, it was most often in positive reports on the construction of the Boma-Matadi railway, or the 'Arab wars'" (34).⁸⁸

Eight years after "Cruelty in the Congo Free State" appeared in the *Century* in 1897, Twain's *King Leopold's Soliloquy* (1905) fashioned an exhibition based on his own celebrity that fused the hyperbolic techniques of sensationalist journalism with images of atrocity. In this pamphlet, the truly horrific accounts excerpted from the testimony of eye-witnesses to the Congo atrocities collide with the character of Leopold and verbiage against them into a visual and verbal collage. Twain's text explodes the white male explorer's adventurism in "Darkest Africa," with its accompanying sexual undertones, and the phantasmagoria of national display at world's fairs into a spectacle of technological reformism. In *King Leopold's Soliloquy*, the democratic technology of photography, made accessible and cheap by the Eastman Kodak company in the late 1880s, plays the foil to the degenerate kingdom of decivilization in the Congo Free State, and to a degree, Belgium. The discourse of Twain's pamphlet addresses how ideologies of colonialism could go terribly wrong without fully undermining them. By including excerpts listing the sufferings of the peoples living under Leopold's remote misrule and fictionalizing a one-sided interview of the miscreant with himself, Twain uses some of the techniques of sensationalist journalism to call attention to the abuses of imperialism during the height of British and American jingoism. In tactics similar to those employed by W. T. Stead and his "New Journalism," Twain's *King Leopold's Soliloquy* includes bits and pieces of the considerable number of texts detailing the abuses perpetrated under King Leopold's rule in Central Africa.

Twain's correspondence with the founder of the British Congo Reform Association, E. D. Morel, shows how important he knew visual documentation would be to telling the harrowing tale of Leopold's inhumane governance, and *King Leopold's Soliloquy* is exceptional among Twain's anti-imperialist publications from this period for its inclusion of illustrations. After Morel contacted him about contributing to the cause, Twain wrote back in October of 1904 that he needed "some terrible illustrations" to accompany his reading of the "Senate Memorial" presented by American missionaries to Congress in April of that year (Hawkins 154; Wuliger 235). In their attempts to bear witness to the persecution of native peoples in the Congo, the British and American missionaries who wrote letters and reports of atrocities to their own organizations' newsletters and mainstream publications assume a heroic stature within Twain's text, but Twain depicts the personal camera as the most moving testimony to the horrors committed there: "Ten thousand pulpits and ten thousand presses are saying the good word for me all the time and placidly and convincingly denying mutilations. Then that trivial little kodak, that a child can carry in its pocket, gets up, uttering never a word, and knocks them dumb!" (40).

Appended to the *Soliloquy* is Stead's 1905 interview for his own publication, *Review of Reviews*, bearing the designation "Ought King Leopold to Be Hanged?"⁸⁹ A note at the bottom of this text, signed "M.T.," states the "article came to hand as the foregoing was in press and is commended to the king and to readers of his Soliloquy" (51).⁹⁰ In sensationalist terms, Stead describes the background leading to his title and his interview of one of the Congo missionaries:

The Rev. J. H. Harris, an English missionary, has lived for the last seven years in that region of Central Africa—the Upper Congo—which King Leopold has made over to one of his vampire groups of financial associates (known as the A. B. I. R. Society) on the strictly business basis of a half share in the profits wrung from the blood and misery of the natives. (52)⁹¹

Harris's wife, Alice Seely Harris, took many of the photographs that were used in lantern shows and reform literature to publicize abuses in the Upper Congo, some of which were subsequently reprinted in *King Leopold's Soliloquy* (Burroughs 87-9). As Robert Burroughs explains, "Having emigrated as missionaries to Central Africa in 1898, the same year in which they were wed, the Harrises were stationed at Baringa, a settlement [...] situated in territories owned by the largest rubber-producing concession in the colony, the ABIR, the capital stocks of which were owned by British and Belgian investors as well as the Congo State" (81).

Stead's interview from his *Review of Reviews* seamlessly integrates into the generic hodgepodge of Twain's pamphlet for the Congo Reform Association and its theatrical dramatization of Leopold's maniacal interview. Sensationalism and radicalism had mixed in the Chartist politics of mid-century British publications such as the *Northern Star* and the *Weekly Police Gazette* (Winston 122), but the so-called New Journalism that was Stead's special brand was also modeled on American practices; as a co-worker at the *Pall Mall Gazette* remarked to Stead, "After seeing how the [New York] *Herald* and the *World* are worked we are...struck with the wonderful way in which you have assimilated *all* the features of American journalism" (qtd. in Baylen, "New Journalism" 370). Under Stead's editorship of the *Pall Mall Gazette* (1883-89) (Dawson

172), the paper conformed to the typographic practices of sensationalist presses: “bold headlines, cross-heads in leaders, maps, pictorial illustrations, special articles and interviews, ‘extras,’ and indexing” (Baylen, “New Journalism” 375). Both the typography and the manner of writing in Stead’s monthly were calculated, in his words, to “arrest the eye of the public” (qtd. in Dawson 187).

Kate Campbell’s assessment of Stead’s “Government by Journalism” as expressing and deploying “the visibility, theatricality and symbolism on which modern politics is based” easily reads as a description of Twain’s style in the *Soliloquy* (32). Moreover, the bold tone and use of text and image in the pamphlet on the Congo arguably reflect the sensationalist devices used in the New Journalism of Stead. Leopold’s rants, along with the exclamation points and blanks following the italicized “stage directions” that begin the *Soliloquy*, demonstrate Twain’s own turn to sensationalist tactics (5), both visually and stylistically. *King Leopold’s Soliloquy* replicates the staged orality that Campbell argues was so central to New Journalism: “Stead’s own aspiration to approximate to oral communication in journalism itself comprised a politics of ‘the masses’ against the classes, weighing directness or ‘the personal element’ as the people’s idiom” (29). Twain focuses on the ascendancy of speech as both an enlarging and invalidating power; of course, Leopold’s fictionalized attempts to regain control of public opinion implicate him by outlining all of the evidence against him.

In a departure from the relationship between reader and editor that characterized sensation journalism, in Mark Twain’s pamphlet, the King sometimes speaks in the first person plural. This reinscription of monarchy contrasts with the multiplicity of voices

inserted into the text and the “democratic” witness of photography. In the context of Leopold’s overwrought stylizations, this royal “we” shows that the interaction that is the most prominent is that of the maniacal speaker with the ghostly accusations of his accusers in print. At both the *PMG* and the monthly *Review of Reviews* (1890-1912), for example, Stead developed a “very personal tone” (Baylen, “New Journalism” 375), one which eschewed the “awe of the mystic ‘We’” in his confidence that the “‘editor is the uncrowned king’ of the new era of mass democracy” in changing policy and influencing readership (qtd. in Dawson 172). From the formatting of text to the inclusion of illustrations and renderings of photographs, Twain’s short work confronts the reader with stylistic blasts of how *not* to read the texts that “Leopold” encounters. In one of his “confessions,” the fictionalized monarch mentions the corporeal signs of empathy encoded within sentimental texts: “And the tears I have caused, the hearts I have broken—oh, nothing can persuade them to let *them* alone!” (12). Yet the continual torrent of words, interrupted only by the fragments of reportage about which Twain shows Leopold ranting, deflects codes of identification. Instead Twain offers viewers the spectacle of the sensation journalist turned inward, imploding on Leopold himself.

Like the *Review of Reviews*, which increased the perceived closeness between editor and reader by “appealing directly to readers’ judgments on particular subjects above the heads even of acknowledged experts” (Dawson 193), Twain’s portrayal of Leopold’s hyperbolic personality and inclusion of government documents and eye-witness statements require that the readers tease out the difference between Leopold’s attitudes towards his self-damning confessions and the texts interspersed between these rants; in effect, Twain’s satire continually solicits readers’ participation in condemning

both Leopold and the atrocities in the Congo. This method of quotation also loosely conforms to the “cut and paste” method of New Journalism. Using practices similar to “the penny weekly *Tit-Bits*,” Stead was able to lower the price of his own publication by quoting extracts from a variety of more expensive and established periodicals (Dawson 172). Just as Stead’s *Review of Reviews* summarized the highlights of more sedate periodicals for its readership, the excerpts of missionary statements and official reports in the *Soliloquy* offer readers access to the “lowlights” of the terrors committed against the peoples of the Congo. Unlike Twain’s most recent and pointed political satires after the turn of the century, this pamphlet is peppered with illustrations and images; visual framing encodes its interactions with readers from start to finish.

Two cross-shaped quotations bookend the *Soliloquy*, signaling the bad faith of Leopold’s administration of the Central African territory after his “campaign for control of the Congo basin” at the Berlin Conference, in which “Britain, France, and Germany [...] saw safety and value in backing the claims of a lesser power in the Belgian monarch” (Burroughs 23). In addition to bolstering the anti-Catholicism in which Twain indulged in this text, these two pictographs form a written portrait of Leopold’s extravagance against the systematic terrorization of the peoples forcibly impressed into rubber collection in Central Africa. The first cross, consisting of quotations from Belgian authorities praising the cult of Leopold and his work in Africa, opposes the ending, which excerpts Belgian Parliamentary Debate recording that the hands of living people were cut off (1, 44). These corrupted religious symbols of state power also provide a stark differentiation against the two plates in the center of the *Soliloquy* that were composed of photographs of individuals affected by the enforced brutality of the Belgian regime’s

Force Publique, taken by missionaries in the Congo. In one, a sitting man in profile gazes with furrowed brow at the body parts of a small child; the caption reads, “foot and hand of child dismembered by soldiers, brought to missionaries by dazed father.”⁹² Another presents a collage of people whose hands have been cut off, all wearing white wraps, which set off their missing limbs against their bodies.

King Leopold's Soliloquy was also printed in London by T. Fisher Unwin in 1907, and Burroughs observes that “though it addresses US audiences, was widely cited by the reformers in Britain, no doubt because of the fame of its author” (17). In response to this British version of the pamphlet, what Adam Hochschild dubs “the royal propaganda machine,” anonymous supporters of Leopold probably guided by the king himself, produced *An Answer to Mark Twain* in 1907 (242), a text that supplies pictures to attest that “[t]ruth shines forth in the following pages, which summarily show what the Congo State is—not the hell as depicted by a morbid mind—but a country which twenty years ago was steeped in the most abject barbarity and which to-day is born to civilisation and progress” (*Answer* 6). While Twain’s depiction of Leopold’s massacre of the natives in the Congo basin displays the persons of individuals maimed by the practices of his regime, the anonymous *Answer* explains away these injuries, reproducing photographs of orderly buildings and settlements instead.

Mark Twain’s work on behalf of the CRA spurred this counter-publication out of Brussels defending Leopold’s impact on his territories in Central Africa, in an outright war of representation, visually and textually. As the first page of *An Answer to Mark Twain* declares, “No Belgian would take the trouble of discussing such filthy work” (5). Twain’s pamphlet had incriminated the King through “his own voice,” dramatizing his

fictionalized rant listing crime after crime and railing against the (previously published) statements, also included in the pamphlet, that are reported by “[t]hese meddling American missionaries! these frank British consuls! these blabbing Belgian-born traitor officials!” (7).⁹³ The pamphlet from Brussels used running headers of Twain’s “slander” to counter his claims with photographs showing tidy, well-built organizations attending to subjects’ health and well-being. The apologist’s response features illustrations of serpents; however, the heads of the snakes gracing the cover of *An Answer* are those of E. D. Morel and Mark Twain, whose bodies coil around a quill pen. Morel’s mouth drips S-L-A-N-D-E-R and Twain’s oozes L-I-E. These floating images disrupt a left-right composition in the background in which the burning and pillaging of villages on the left-hand bank of the Congo depict “The Past,” while the neat buildings and steamships of the right-hand bank of the river show “The Present Belgian Congo.”

The transparent, facile tactics informing the visual argument on the front of *An Answer to Mark Twain* are updated on its back cover. This text displays photography as an unreliable measure of reality in an attempt to undermine the effectiveness of the atrocity photographs that were disseminated by the CRA, featured in Hearst’s newspapers, and included in Twain’s pamphlet. The ideological work of this argument, however, just as easily applies to the methods used in the document out of Brussels: 37 of its 47 pages show photographs of the so-called technological advances and humanitarianism in the Congo Free State, including the railways, shipping infrastructure, automobiles, train stations, churches, and hospitals. The back cover juxtaposes two almost identical photographs featuring seated African women employed in their tasks. The top image shows clay pots in the laps of the subjects and the caption corroborates

that, indeed, these are “Potters at Work in the Congo.” Below this picture, however, the pots are gone, replaced with skulls, a crude but effective bit of doctoring. The caption of this photograph reads “The Same Photo at Liverpool.” With this visual propaganda, the anonymous creators of the pamphlet locate the “heart of darkness” in England, at the site of the campaign against Leopold, the CRA—and by extension, in the United States, specifically in the celebrity matrix that was Mark Twain. The back cover of the *Answer to Mark Twain* also counters the imagery included in the frontispiece of *King Leopold’s Soliloquy*, showing Leopold atop a pyramid of skulls, flanked by an avenue of headless skeletons. Such a depiction of the carnage perpetuated against the inhabitants of the Congo basin in Twain’s pamphlet had thus reoriented the trope of the “Dark Continent” onto the figure of a degenerate European monarch.

Yet the exploitation of Ota Benga, a Central African Batwa whose village had been destroyed by the Force Publique, and who had subsequently been displayed at the 1904 St. Louis fair, provides a chastening corollary to any congratulatory claims about Anglo humanitarianism. Though in *King Leopold’s Soliloquy*, Twain’s comparison of the carnage in the Congo implicitly contrasted the sheer enormity of such barbarism to the celebration of forward progress at the fair, Ota Benga was shown in at the St. Louis as a curiosity. Potentially rich sites of cultural exchange, throughout the nineteenth century, world’s fairs, industrial exhibitions, and “anthropological” shows across Great Britain and the U. S. displayed the technological prowess of the host countries in opposition to the “uncivilized” peoples these nations had colonized. At the turn of the century in both the U. S. and Britain, caricatured depictions of African Americans and British colonial subjects abounded, and religious and scientific authorities in both countries espoused

national versions of theories similar to those of Henry Ward Beecher and Josiah Brooks, whose beliefs, as outlined by Harold Bush, included “a Christianized America of abundance, progress, civil religion, vaguely social Darwinistic theories of race, [and the] superiority of Anglo-Saxons” (68-9).⁹⁴ Electing to remain in the country after the fair was over “in part because he no longer had a home,” Benga had then been exhibited at the Monkey House in the Bronx Zoo (Adams 32).⁹⁵ As Rachel Adams observes:

Ultimately, this living specimen, having passed through numerous identities from explorer’s faithful native informant to colorful midway inhabitant to ape-like savage to heathen cannibal, could no longer tolerate his sojourn among the civilized. In March 1916, Ota Benga, apparently distraught at the difficulties of returning to Africa, took his own life. (42)

Repeating long-established stereotypes, William Hornaday, the director of the Bronx zoo, had commented that “evidently...[Benga] felt that he would rather die than work for a living” (qtd. in Adams 42). Such assessments would be echoed in arguments used to validate the civilizing project of the Congo Free State, rhetoric printed in *An Answer to Mark Twain* identifying laziness as “the mother of all vices and the cause of the misfortune of the African race which can only be regenerated by work” (*Answer* 7).

It was William Randolph Hearst’s *New York American* that in 1906 had broken the news provided by a disgruntled member of Leopold’s American lobby that “a staff member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee” had been bribed to “derail Congo protest resolutions” (Hochschild 249). Hochschild asserts that Hearst had taken full advantage of the scoop, “splashing tens of thousands of words and dozens of [atrocious] photographs across the pages of the *American* and many other papers he owned” (248).⁹⁶

The public response to this news had prompted President Roosevelt to write to the British Foreign Secretary that the United States would support Congo reform (Hochschild 248; Hawkins 173). In the same year *Punch* had also carried an arresting illustration by Edward Linley Sambourne that pointed towards the stranglehold on African peoples caused by the appropriation of their resources for export. “In the Rubber Coils” shows a boa constrictor/rubber snake encircling a well-muscled African man, who in struggling against this killing force, confronts the head of King Leopold II.

The efforts of the Congo Reform Association showed the awareness that photographic technologies could raise through displaying the traces of physical pain evidenced through the missing limbs of the subjects featured in these images. The danger in exposing such images to the gaze of viewers was that they would efface the humanity of those depicted through the distancing effect caused by their organized, sanitized presentation in print, a hazard that would become greater as such images flooded the visual fields of their viewers. In Twain’s text, the commodification of media took the form of an object simple and cheap enough for a child to use. Indeed, the famous Brownie camera brought out by Eastman Kodak at the turn of the century had sold for \$1, democratizing photography with the slogan, “You push the button, we do the rest.”

Developing photographic technologies made possible a mediated form of eyewitness testimony that, in turn, was used immediately to call this new dimension of representation into question. In soliciting support for their respective causes, the CRA and the apologists for the Congo Free State clashed over the meaning of the “unspeakable” in their respective attempts to evidence and negate atrocity. Most striking, though, are the pictures of the people who have been hurt by Leopold’s rule. The terrible

truth of the abuse committed against those wounded or killed in the Congo basin showed the rhetoric of forced labor for what it was: slavery and mass genocide. Stead and Twain's faith in the power of direct representation raises questions about how to expose or narrate mass crimes and the power of written or graphic depiction to capture the sympathy, anger, or involvement of an audience, while also invoking difficulties about the continued representation of the (black) body as a site of suffering. *King Leopold's Soliloquy* enters into these debates by setting the democratic (and American) technique of photography, as developed by the Eastman Kodak Company, up against the technologies of death that Twain locates in the deranged person of King Leopold.

CHAPTER 6

CODA

On the cusp of the Harlem Renaissance, Freeman Henry Morris Murray published what Steven Nelson identifies as “the first text of African American art history” (283). *Emancipation and the Freed in American Sculpture* surveys domestic artwork from Hiram Powers’s antebellum tour-de-force to the latest installations at San Francisco’s Panama Pacific Exposition just before its publication in 1916. As Nelson points out, Murray’s last essay on the *Shaw Memorial* overlapped the author’s personal narrative; his father was one of the soldiers of the 54th and 55th Massachusetts Colored Regiments commemorated in the monument (291-92). Murray’s study not only imagines the presence of an ideal black subject, it also provides a site upon which to critique racist constructions and fashion the act of viewing the scenes within sculptural groupings. Richard J. Powell characterizes his project:

[Murray] presupposed that there was a world in which black peoples and their cultures, rather than always being filtered through white supremacist eyes and mindsets, could be seen and represented differently: either through the non-racist (or at least, multi-dimensional) lens of whites, or through the knowing and racially self-conscious eyes and imaginations of blacks themselves. (qtd. in Nelson 285)

Murray’s purpose is arguably to situate “art” within politically informed and thoughtfully crafted scopics. As Steven Nelson points out, “Murray constructed a black subject in

Emancipation and the Freed which fused race with the psychological and the political. [...] From such a standpoint, the art object became the visual manifestation of political realities—either historic or contemporary—and a vehicle for articulating a larger political agenda” (289).

Emancipation and the Freed balances personal interactions with art to create a socially- and politically-energized sense of the “universal.” Nelson argues that “Murray insists that the universal has a place for black Americans, and his belief in both the affective qualities of art and the notion that to understand art is to enter into ‘universal culture’ drives his desire to use American sculpture as a vehicle for uplifting the black race” (285). In his preface, Murray, “an editor and journalist” (Nelson 284), revises John Ruskin to explain his desire to find universal truths in art that references (or should reference) “Black Folk” (xix). Yet Murray’s epigram—again from Ruskin—also reveals the probable sting in this subject for the author: “They cost me much thought, and much strong emotion, but it was foolish to suppose that I could arouse my audiences in a little while to any sympathy with the temper into which I had brought myself by years of thinking over subjects full of pain” (xxxix). While showing Murray’s validation of the transcendent in art, his choice of Ruskin additionally demonstrates how Murray navigated his position within the complexities of American history and cultural capital by drawing on the most respected, and, incidentally, British, art critic of the prior century for his survey of African Americans and sculpture. Nelson points out that “Murray’s projection of himself onto an object, as in *Emancipation and the Freed* more generally, moves dialectically between a black self and a black other. In engaging the represented Murray either finds (identifies with) or *creates* his own place as an American subject” (288).

Perhaps one of the “subjects full of pain” is epitomized by Murray’s decision to begin his study with Hiram Powers’s *Greek Slave*, a statue that sharply demarcates the absence of an ideal black subject. The author admits that “whether or not we regard the ‘Greek Slave’ as an artistic triumph, we must admit that it ‘took well’ with the American public” (2). Murray’s explication of the *Greek Slave* is not only concerned with how figures of slavery were presented to audiences at mid-century, he also notes the striking continuation of racially-biased vision in his own historical moment: “then, as now, a ‘white’ slave would attract more attention and excite far more commiseration than a black one or one less white than ‘white.’ Everybody could sympathize with the white slave in what Mrs. Browning called her ‘white silence,’ and anybody could safely ‘take her part’ without being suspected of endeavoring to stir up strife” (2). Working in the mode of art historian, Murray does not ignore Hiram Powers’s statue, but he contextualizes it in such a way that enables him a means to begin constructing a social and ethical aesthetics of sculpture that fully takes account of the meanings of blackness and whiteness in practices of viewing. Unlike statues that elicit Murray’s approbation, such as Sidney W. Edwards’s bronze of Frederick Douglass (1899), Murray’s analysis of the *Greek Slave* initially questions its artistic merit, but then reorients its reception within American art *and* American history. His critique of the *Greek Slave* shows how this cultural production prompted constructions of nationality that revealed the intense intersection of power, optics, and writing; Murray’s analysis synthesizes both Victorian paradigms of personal interaction with art and the immense popularity and afterlife of Powers’s creation. Fully aware of the “art for art’s sake” movement, Murray chooses to see aesthetics in art through the lens of his own analysis. Highly individualized though

his “vision” is, it is not individualistic, nor myopic in terms of racial constructions.

Murray leaves the artistic achievement of Powers’s statue and, implicitly, its anti-slavery consequences in question until he couples it with Elizabeth Barrett Browning’s poetic response to Powers’s work, which he reads as a “scathing” and “sarcastic” indictment of slavery in the United States (2). In light of Barrett Browning’s sonnet, however, Murray declares that the *Greek Slave* is “American art’s first anti-slavery document in marble” (2-3).

When Murray projects the possibility of less empathetic responses from spectators if the *Greek Slave* had been “less white than ‘white,’” his semantic tangle suggests that the statue embodied definitive purity at the verge of collapse: sexually, racially, religiously, and artistically. An embattled icon of American national pride and concomitant shame on the worldwide stage, the statue prompted swirling discourses hybridizing sentiment, spectacle, and religious experience. Murray acknowledges that the sculpture’s popularity may have been largely due to “anti-slavery agitation[, which] had already noticeably impressed the general public with the evils, cruelties, and brutalities connected with slavery as an institution,” but the “pure” whiteness and passivity of the *Greek Slave* attracts his ambivalence towards the statue and its neoclassical popularization of anti-slavery imagery (2). The narrative accompanying the statue alluded to the exoticized realm of the harem, a construction that was both deeply ahistorical and that existed as a contemporary, and simultaneously sexually-charged and orientalized phenomenon. Murray recontextualizes the statue within an ethical and transnational milieu that emerges from his own moment, after the failures of Reconstruction and the nadir of race relations at the turn of the century

Though Murray's ambivalent stance towards the *Greek Slave* and its positioning as a visualization of abolitionist tropes was partly due to the scopics of color-coded sympathy, his apparent distaste for the statue as a stand-alone creation was also no doubt an effect of its permeation of mass culture, which had erased any political valences that had accompanied anti-slavery productions upon which it drew so much of its signifying power. As we have seen, Powers's narrative and the statue's accessories of a cap, locket, and cross, which cascade from the bolster upon which her right hand rests, recast the beleaguered figure as an iconic woman and exotic type, keeping the statue at the forefront of the national and international imagination long after its initial debut. In addition, its display combined mass appeal and aestheticized sanctity, intersecting the middle class ethic of instruction, improvement, and entertainment. The story legitimating the nudity of the statue mobilized the effectiveness of narrative art forms; in Kate Flint's estimation, "the popularity of narrative works during the Victorian period, with their mass of particularities inviting identification and exemplification, was unarguable. A picture which told, or could be made to tell, a story served the requirement both of those who required art to instruct, and those who expected it to entertain" (198).

In beginning *Emancipation and the Freed* by reading the *Greek Slave* through a sonnet by a popular and well-respected British poet, Murray finds a way to situate his study as an act of resistance while validating his approach within accepted methodologies, such as ekphrasis. His characterization of the sculpture's appearance at the Great Exhibition also reveals his sense of the extent to which the viewing of this statue registered performances of nationalism: "It had been exhibited in London—at the Exhibition of 1851—but its chief drawing power there was probably curiosity to see that

which the Americans had made an ado over” (1). Murray’s pairing of poem and statue emphasizes how the *Greek Slave* became a focal point around which debates about slavery and femininity converged in transatlantic print and visual media at mid-century, but this mixed media combination also provides a geographical imaginary of possible alternate histories against which he reclaims the black subject as an appropriate figure for idealization. Just as “Hiram Powers’ Greek Slave” had become a hybrid text with its first print appearance in *Household Words*, Murray, too, alters the sonnet when he quotes its final four lines: “Appeal, fair stone, / From God’s pure heights of beauty against man’s wrong! / Catch up in thy divine face, not alone / East’s griefs, but West’s,—and strike and shame the strong, / By thunders of white silence overthrown” (3). By including apostrophes after the geographical markers of “wrong,” Murray ensures that the global abuses to which EBB alludes are attached definitely to the places to which the blame *belongs*. His pairing of statue and sonnet to generate an artistic palimpsest of American abolition accentuates the historical and aesthetic currents that converged in this iconic figure.

Murray’s multimedia metaphor—“American art’s first anti-slavery document in marble”—situates the meaning of the *Greek Slave* within an international, yet also implicitly British context. Via EBB’s sonnet, Murray can place the sculpture within a historical context that would implicitly trace back to William Wells Brown’s act of affixing *Punch*’s “Virginian Slave” as the “suitable companion” for the display of Powers’s statue at the American section at the Great Exhibition. Murray’s post-slavery, post-emancipation coupling reorients Brown’s performative combinations. By diminishing the importance afforded Powers’s sculpture at the Great Exhibition,

Murray's pairing of the poem and sculpture also takes on another valence and serves a related purpose, that of reading the statue in light of British moral and artistic capital, which, in turn, constructs both a broader view of the American cultural field and understanding of the body politic. As we have seen, the multiplicity of visual and print technologies at the fair had heightened Brown's own mixed media protest, accentuating Britain's position as a refuge for peoples enslaved in the United States and its ethical high ground at mid-century. William Farmer's report to the *Liberator* in the summer of 1851 detailing the sequence of events leading up to Brown's personal witness of the illustrated periodical's "inversion" of the statue had shown that the protestors were very aware of their appearance in relation to the specular semiotics of the Great Exhibition: Brown was a "fugitive" and "slave" using British popular print culture to parody American pretensions to "high art" and the glorification of national institutions such a display entailed. Murray's pairing of Powers's sculpture and Barrett Browning's sonnet created a very intentional cultural formulation in which he restored the *Greek Slave*, with its neoclassical associations, to its proper viewing context from the vantage point of his own historical moment in 1916: one, that is, from which the failures of Reconstruction affected every depiction of emancipation and "freedman."

Although Murray begins his study on a "high art" note, his intentions to publish other monographs "[u]nder the general title, 'Black Folk in Art,'" signals that his universalist views also encompass a wide perspective for objects of study (xviii). The author of *Emancipation and the Freed* takes a catholic approach to art. Indeed, Murray does devote quite a bit of space to "vernacularized" forms of sculpture: specifically, the John Rogers groups, sentimental statuettes that became available to and indicated the

expansion of the middle classes. As David Jaffe explains, “Rogers Groups resonated with the desires of thousands of middle-class American families to create artful interiors that represented a significant element of their identities and amplified the deeply felt ideals of cultural elevation and education that prevailed in the decades after the Civil War” (172). In particular, he praises “Uncle Ned’s School” (1866), a grouping of African American figures featuring an older man in the midst of sounding out words in a book held by a well-dressed young woman, while a boy, having laid his own book aside, playfully tickles the foot of the aging man with a feather.

Murray begins his study with the multimedia, transatlantic phenomenon of the *Greek Slave*, but he ends it with the fusion of national history within his own familial past. The scene with which he concludes brings the performances of anti-slavery on a global stage into his “home,” in which his father, a Civil War veteran, creates a sentimental, domestic tableau with Murray’s daughter. Indeed, Murray’s high praise for Rogers after discovering this later grouping is certainly in large part due to its fusion of progressive political engagement with the personal and sentimental. Having purportedly learned of this Rogers’s creation from his widow, Murray allows himself the speculation that it completes an “Epic of Freedom,” which “The Slave Auction” (1859) had begun (153, 158). Such an object would be meant for the parlor, in which consumer domestic ideologies of the middle class met the idiosyncrasies of the individualized family: “But let us admit and remember—and remember with thankfulness—that Rogers made his chief appeal to those whom we call the ‘common people’; of whom I am pleased and proud to regard myself as one” (163). This grouping allows Murray to claim an idealized, yet intimate place for himself within an American middle class, foreshadowing the

personal narrative and “grouping” that ends his study—the story of his own father’s role in the Civil War and courtship of “Katie,” Murray’s mother: “And I am gratified to tell you that he still lives, and Katie, too; and often do I see my own little daughter put her arms lovingly around this old veteran’s neck and call him, ‘Grandpa’” (174). While Murray’s art history reorients sculpture towards an understanding of how African Americans should be viewed *within* the body politic of the United States, the representational struggles in which his analysis engages also concern his own intellectual performance against denigrating assessments of the abilities of “freedman” and descendents of enslaved persons.

In *Emancipation and the Freed*, Murray extends an interaction with visual culture that can be traced to William Wells Brown’s performances at the Crystal Palace and Frederick Douglass’s photographic self-fashioning in print, yet Murray writes from the role of critic and audience. He moved within African American intellectual circles in the early part of the twentieth century and was associated with W. E. B. Du Bois and his mission for the Talented Tenth: “What they all had in common was the pursuit of racial uplift through a massive racial make-over, a complete revamping of the image of black American not only to a white society bent on denying them political, civil and social equality, but also, and just as importantly to raise black self-esteem” (286). Because of the narrative qualities attached to nineteenth-century art, Murray’s interpretations of sculptural groupings allow him to read the power dynamics encoded within their positioning as if he is reading a carefully plotted storyline, but the narration this author is arguably most concerned with is the story of the African American as an American citizen. The figure of Douglass provides Murray’s closest engagement with the *moment*

of that incorporation, yet, as Douglass's multiple photographic likenesses show, he reinvented his image continually to construct himself as fully incorporated person and citizen. As has been well documented in his writing, speeches, and by numerous critics, Douglass hailed daguerreotypes as a way for otherwise stereotyped individuals to be pictured without exaggeration, but the widespread insertion of photographic images into print forms would not be possible until the 1880s. Even then, the ethnographic framing of exoticized subjects would contribute to anthropological narratives in which peoples of other cultures were measured, categorized, and distanced from "civilized" viewers.

The importance Douglass attached to technologies of representation can be read in the care he took to use portrait photography in the frontispieces of his autobiographies to fashion a careful self-presentation in relation to his various identities of blackness, masculinity, and association with slavery, a sort of pictorial extension of his famous chiasmus in *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass* (1845): "You have seen how a man was made a slave; you shall see how a slave was made a man." Though he could not control all aspects of his appearance and reception *in vivo*, Foner argues that "Douglass saw his portrait, like his writing, as a critical weapon in the abolitionist cause" (35). Even before mid-century, Douglass had encountered preconceptions about race and physical characteristics abroad. During his first trip to Great Britain, Douglass had quipped in a letter to Francis Jackson in 1846, "I find I am hardly black enough for British taste, but by keeping my hair as woolly as possible I make out to pass for at least for half a Negro at any rate." The rise of pseudo-scientific caricature in the latter half of the century, though, revealed the prescience of Frederick Douglass's remarks in the *North Star* for April 7, 1849: "Negroes can never have impartial portraits, at the hands of white artists. It

seems to us next to impossible for white men to take likenesses of black men, without most grossly exaggerating their distinctive features” (qtd. in Stauffer 51). Like Douglass, Murray also acknowledges the visual patterns of subordination that the iconography of abolition and emancipation had created, while his close attention to the molding of figures with “African” features also poses him to engage with and invalidate pseudo-Darwinistic visual and written discourses. Like Douglass, too, Murray attaches an almost *national* importance to representation. As John Stauffer observes, Douglass “even went so far as to suggest that ‘the moral and social influence of pictures’ was more important in shaping national culture than ‘the making of its laws’” (54).

In light of the domestic scene that closes Murray’s study, as well as the transatlantic nationalisms that can be read through the multimedia developments and reincarnations of the *Greek Slave* at its beginning, two photographs displaying interiors associated with Frederick Douglass provide fascinating entry, or perhaps more aptly, departure points into the convergence of race, middle-class culture, and this statue. One shows the west parlor at Cedar Hill, Douglass’s residence in Washington, D. C. from 1878 until his death; the other displays Douglass deeply immersed in his work at his desk in Haiti (Burns and Brown). The first picture, a typical parlor scene of the period, complete with piano, knick-knacks, framed prints, and a lamp, seems quite unexceptional. Yet perched on top of the piano, along with another white bust, is a statuette of the *Greek Slave*. The other image features Douglass himself in a less formal room in Haiti, confirming that the presence of the statuette is not incidental; just behind his bent head, over Douglass’s left shoulder, the miniaturized form of the *Greek Slave* can be seen. Considering the highly charged history of this statue, most likely the most

popular and ubiquitous sculpture in nineteenth-century America, the juxtaposition of Douglass in a photograph with the *Greek Slave* shows an intriguing representational convergence in visual culture.

While Hiram Powers had chosen to model his sculpture with the “accessories” of slavery so that it would be acceptable to American “prudes,” Douglass used his own image to refashion viewers’ ideas about how a formerly enslaved person would look and, of course, was himself subsequently memorialized in bronze. Within the visual symbolism of parlor culture, the statuette of the *Greek Slave* could be viewed as a strange bit of bric-a-brac to grace Douglass’s work space. In the nineteenth century, the miniature forms of Power’s statue had become a popular wedding present in a feminized gift economy of “mutual obligations” (Katz 171), while the availability of its mass-produced shape was a paradoxical foil to the neoclassical “high art” associations of the sculpture. Yet, just as the replication of Douglass’s image throughout the incarnations of his autobiography accustomed viewers to his form, the very recognizability of the *Greek Slave* in miniature also validated any space in which it was displayed as participating in the ornamental language of “good taste”—that is, of course, until it was no longer fashionable. How the unknown history behind this statuette might intersect the personal and political to give a sense of why Douglass would keep such a figure close is a captivating question. The nude certainly replaces a feminizing “influence” in Douglass’s workspace with an ornamental “woman,” perfect in her passivity and beauty. The broader implications of such an interpretation, however, do not do justice to Douglass’s efforts on behalf of women’s rights.

In a sense, this scene “returns” the *Greek Slave* to the tradition of universal human rights upon which the iconography of much abolitionist imagery was initially based. Instead of the neoclassical white female figure holding the light for the kneeling slave, the *Greek Slave* watches as the aging Douglass works on. When displayed in this picture of Douglass in Haiti, the statuette of the *Greek Slave* brings its circulation full circle to the expatriate sphere of celebrity in which it began—with a twist. Though Powers’s studio in Florence was visited by dignitaries and luminaries, he was known for his “Americanness” abroad, while Elizabeth Barrett Browning, once the darling poetess and contender for Laureate in Britain, was chastised severely for “cursing” her own nation in her *Poems before Congress* (1860); many reviewers reacted scathingly to her decision to redirect “A Curse for a Nation”—once an abolitionist poem against the United States—towards British policies in Italy (Arinshtein 38). A former “fugitive slave,” Douglass, however, helped to reinvent what being American would mean. In the context of his interiors and his public persona as a representative of the United States, the presence of a statuette of Powers’s work expands the sill of the threshold between the personal and the global. Like Elizabeth Barrett Browning’s sonnet, this pairing creates an “Alien image,” one that readjusts the scopics associated with the neoclassical sentimentalism of the high art and domestic configurations of the *Greek Slave* as “multi-dimensional.” Whatever the histories and intimate exchanges, or otherwise, possibly associated with this particular *Greek Slave* in his biography, when paired with Douglass within the representational progressions of his career, a different sort of technology of nationalism emerges, and the *Greek Slave* could indeed be christened “American art’s first anti-slavery document in marble.”

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¹ The conflict certainly held a prominent place in the pages of the British publication; Boritt asserts that from 1861-65, “more than 20 percent of *Punch*’s weekly cartoons focused in whole or in part on the American war” (3).

² With the beginning of conflict at Fort Sumter in the United States, pressing issues in Great Britain—the effects of democratization, limits of citizenship, and management of empire—could all be followed by British observers through the Civil War; as Christopher Kent notes, “Many Britons viewed America as the crystal ball in which, for better or for worse, they might read their own country’s future” (153).

³ In *Reading for Realism*, Nancy Glazener summarizes the allegorical uses of woman in her analysis of nationalism and nineteenth century art:

Classical and Christian culture being equally patriarchal and misogynistic, their idealizing uses of female figures have always instituted a tension between the figure’s potential to function as a mimetic representation—an image of a model or an invented woman—and its proper function of signaling a “higher” meaning relating to the cultures’ overlapping ethical and spiritual frameworks that depended on the exclusion or subordination of women. (81)

⁴ As Richard Altick notes, only four years after its inception in 1841, *Punch* could number Thomas Carlyle, Elizabeth Barrett, Robert Browning, Christina Rossetti, Charlotte Brontë, Queen Victoria, and Prince Albert among its audience, while across the Atlantic, Emerson, Longfellow, Melville, Emily Dickinson and James Russell Lowell counted themselves as readers (xvii).

⁵ Similar to the living exhibits that became de rigueur at world’s fairs, in announcing the *Illustrated London News* to “the British Public” in 1842, the stated mission of the publication would be to “keep continually before the eyes of the world a living and moving panorama of all its actions and influences” (1). Such a panorama was eminently reflexive. In reinforcing through its masthead and its opening address the circulation of news and the visual into every aspect of British life, the *Illustrated London News* located revolution solely in the technological progress that centered in the metropole, promising to entertain and soothe readers’ “curiosity” and “anxieties” by presenting “the public portraiture” in politics, the “criminal tribunals,” and foreign events in character, “whether the cowardice of China or the treachery of Affghanistan [sic] be the theme of your abhorrence or resentment” (1).

⁶ Among the many important studies of Victorians and Visuality, Asa Briggs’s *Victorian Things* (1990) completes his trilogy on Victorian culture, using “things” to note the new ways of seeing promoted by changes from the miniscule to the magnificent. In *The Victorians and the Visual Imagination* (2000), Kate Flint builds on Briggs’s monographs, as well as on the work of other media and visual theorists, such as Jonathan Crary, to discuss how technologies of vision not only focus power “in capturing and representing other cultures, a power which may also be turned on one’s more immediate society, [but also how] the same mechanical apparatuses can be remarked on as affecting domestic understandings of selfhood” (3). Nancy Armstrong has applied this body of work on visuality to the more specific task of understanding generic conventions through her readings of fiction within an imperial context in *Fiction in the Age of Photography: The Legacy of British Realism* (1999), while, for his *Telegraphic Realism: Victorian Fiction and Other Information Systems* (2008), Richard Menke shifts away from visual forms to look at writing to propose that it “responds in crucial and defining ways to the nineteenth century’s new media and the ideas they encouraged about information, communication, and language” (3).

⁷ In the words of Sidney Blanchard, son of a *Punch* contributor, “the publication was recognised by people of all classes as the representative of a predominant portion of British character, as supplying, in fact a distinct requirement” (qtd. in Altick 732). Throughout its tenure, the dialectic of *Punch* reflecting and also constructing the Britishness of its readership meant that it also caricatured outsiders within the pictorial conventions of pseudoscientific racism: “*The Times*, *Punch*, and the *Spectator* in the 1880s and 1890s do not make pleasant reading” (Harvie 163). Postdating the founding of *Punch* by ten months, the appearance of *Illustrated London News* augured the European and transatlantic rise of graphic periodicals, including the appearance of *Leslie’s Illustrated Paper* (1845) and *Harper’s Monthly* (1850) and *Weekly* (1857) (Hampson 69).

⁸ Anne McClintock outlines this bifurcated view of nationalism:

[T]he temporal anomaly within nationalism—veering between nostalgia and the impatient, progressive sloughing off of the past—is typically resolved by figuring the contradiction in the representation of *gender*. Women are represented as the atavistic and authentic body of national tradition (inert, backward-looking, and natural), embodying nationalism’s conservative principle of continuity. Men, by contrast, represent the progressive agent of national modernity (forward-thrusting, potent and historic), embodying nationalism’s progressive, or revolutionary, principle of discontinuity. Nationalism’s anomalous relation to time is thus managed as a natural relation to gender. (92)

⁹ Indeed, the world expositions in the latter half of the century manifested the fact that “[t]he [British] empire was publicised and commercialised as never before for domestic consumption” (Kennedy 20), yet as the 1876 Centennial Exposition would show British and European observers, unlike the “calculated manner” in which these powers presented their “colonies abroad,” the first American fair revealed that “the United States was living in its colonies” (Burriss 95).

¹⁰ The free-trade ethos that ruled the Great Exhibition presented it as a force uniting all classes: “because [the 1851 fair] upheld values of ownership, moderate political change and opposed social revolution, the Exhibition gained even wider support among [...] traditional classes, as well as in society generally. The Exhibition was therefore an advert not just for industrialism, but for an industrial programme that included the ruling élite rather than opposed them” (Davis 212).

¹¹ The United States government did not actually officially sponsor or allocate funds to represent the country at the Great Exhibition.

¹² With the participation of African Americans in the Chicago Expo sharply curtailed, and their erasure only made more evident by the “Colored Jubilee Day,” Ida B. Wells spearheaded the printing of the pamphlet *The Reason Why the Colored American Is Not in the World’s Columbian Exposition* with Frederick Douglass amidst her anti-lynching lectures in England (Rydell *Reason Why* xxiv-xxviii). A decade before Du Bois’s call for “The Talented Tenth,” the pamphlet contested the cultural and economic constructions of the Columbian Expo by locating of African American cultural forms within the idiom of American folk art and thoroughly analyzing debilitating financial penal structures, such as the convict lease system. Juxtapositioning photography with statistics and narratives of atrocity, a technique that Walter White would emulate nearly forty years later in a similarly journalistic style for his “I Investigate Lynchings,” Wells’s pioneering written contribution to the pamphlet uses photography to document her systemized indictment of these murders within the power structures of Gilded Age America.

¹³ The importance of the struggle over the representation of African Americans is highlighted by the efforts of Frances E. W. Harper, Frederick Douglass, and Ida B. Wells at the Columbian Exposition to bring to light the exclusion of African Americans from the fair and from participation in the political and social structures within the United States generally.

¹⁴ Changes in printing technology allowed for images to be more frequently inserted into texts at mid-century, “[i]n the 1880s the half-tone process was invented, which ultimately would lead to better and cheaper color reproductions; photoengraving replaced wood engraving, and photolithography replaced lithography for general printing purposes” (Boyle 15).

¹⁵ The underlying cash nexus of the 1893 fair disintegrated any potential incongruities among the Barnumesque display of colonial peoples, reflecting the trend that “in American political and economic circles” the 1890s, according to Curtis Hinsley, was “the nineteenth century’s high-water mark of free-trade rhetoric”: “Ultimately the magic of trade and exchange promised to resolve the troubling questions of human difference. The process of commodification rested on the premise that at bottom everything is for sale and everyone has a price—that the world, no matter how bizarre, is reducible to cash terms” (362).

¹⁶ Along with busts and daguerreotypes of the *Greek Slave*, Powers produced six full-scale statues. As Donald Reynolds explains, “The last one differs from the others in that it has manacles instead of chains binding the wrists” (note 2 146).

¹⁷ Dickens complained of writing for a weekly format as “crushing,” and, although the serialization of *Hard Times* (1 April through 12 August 1854) did have the desired effect of boosting sales of *Household Words*, the idea for the venture came not from the author himself, but from the printers of the weekly, “who were concerned about the magazine’s sagging sales” (Kaplan and Monod 223).

¹⁸ In a 12 March 1850 letter to her sister Arabella Barrett Browning predicts that *Household Words* will not succeed: “By the bye, Mr. Forster has written to ask us to contribute to Dickens’s new periodical—which won’t succeed, I predict, especially as they have adopted the fashion of not printing the names of contributors” (“Letter 48” 1: 302). Anne Lohrli enumerates Barrett Browning’s objections to publishing anonymously in a periodical as one of many reasons why she did not accept Dickens’s offer to have her work appear in the weekly (“Mystery” 58; *Household* 217), yet Lohrli connects the poem’s appearance to a valid source in her later consideration of the matter: the part-proprietor of *Household Words*, John Forster, also had legitimate access to the proofs of Barrett Browning’s poetry before publication (*Household* 217). The alterations to the poem still point to strange kinks in the line of transmission, however.

¹⁹ In *Household Words*, additional commas appeared between the command and oppositional phrase indicated here, while a missing dash fails to emphasize the last injunction. I have presented the text as it appeared in the journal. Here are the lines as written without the additional punctuation: “Catch up in thy divine face, not alone / East griefs but west,—and strike and shame the strong” (12-13). In this section, I quote from the poem as it appeared in Dickens’s weekly. The comparisons to the correct text of the sonnet and other citations of Barrett Browning’s poetry are drawn from the Broadview edition of her work, edited by Marjorie Stone and Beverly Taylor.

²⁰ As Rowena Fowler explains, “Browning’s family, like that of Elizabeth Barrett, had owned property in the West Indies for several generations. His father’s revulsion from the slave system shaped Browning’s own childhood and upbringing. Browning was proud of his father for refusing

to remain on the family plantation in St. Kitt's" (59). Edward Moulton-Barrett did not give permission for any of his children to marry; Dorothy Mermin observes that "[w]hen [Elizabeth Barrett] married she became in the eyes of her father and brothers a 'runaway' herself" (158).

²¹ When she reported her visit Powers's studio to Arabella in a letter on the 29/30th of May 1847, Barrett Browning expressed her preference for *Eve* over the *Greek Slave*: "I liked the Eve best & the Fisher boy *least*, I think" ("Letter 15" 1: 89).

²² Unlike numerous reports constituting the extensive print coverage on the *Greek Slave* and its display in the United States that omitted any mention of American slavery, the author of a *National Era* article recast its tour within the international and local fact of slavery that belied middle-class performances of restraint and sympathy constituting appropriate responses to the statue, presenting them instead as the hypocritical sympathies of selective memory. Soliloquizing both the viewpoint of a spectator and the perspective of the statue, the fictionalized account allows the latter to have the last word and offers an explanation of universal sisterhood that replaces the sculpture with the enslaved woman of color. Though having supposedly been purified of any "unchaste thought" by the statue's loveliness, the viewer becomes increasingly annoyed at having his attention diverted from "the elevating and humanizing sentiments which I dreamed this image should inspire me with" by "ebony maidens or men, or what humanity requires for them." In the (oxymoronic) "mute language of the marble," the statue replies: "I am the representation of the captive and the forsaken everywhere, and whatever sympathy I may secure for my enslaved sisters in Turkey, are due to my sisters of another hue in the land throughout which I am making my pilgrimage" ("Powers's" 9).

²³ A poem written in response to the solicitation from the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society, this ballad seems to have been Barrett Browning's first work in Italy (Mermin 156); it appeared in the gift-book superintended by Maria Weston Chapman, *The Liberty Bell*, for 1848. A monodrama of an enslaved black woman's rape and infanticide, this poem rechristens the sacred ground of the pilgrims' landing with the crimes of slavery: "I look on the sea and the sky! / Where the pilgrims' ships first anchored lay / The free sun rideth gloriously / But the pilgrim-ghosts have slid away / Through the earliest streaks of the morn. / My face is black, but it glares with a scorn / Which they dare not meet by day" (197-203). Rewriting the founding of the nation as a history of sexual slavery and generational abuse, this ballad appropriates the voice of a runaway slave, who learns to hate whiteness and the violence it signals, a stark departure from patriotic memorials, such as Lydia Huntley Sigourney's "The Pilgrim Fathers": "Turn ye to Plymouth-rock, and where they knelt / Kneel, and renew the vow they breathed to God" (54-55).

²⁴ In a letter to Arabella, dated 18 Nov. 1851, Barrett Browning detailed the situation of her publications in the United States thus far:

We had a visit yesterday from a Mr. Fields, an American publisher,—(the publisher of Robert's poems in Boston, in fact—) on his way to Italy. He told us a great deal about my poems also. Langley [publisher of *The United States Magazine* 1841-46], who printed my first edition, is not to blame for not keeping his agreement with me—he became bankrupt & gave up business— But the edition [*Poems* (1844) as *A Drama of Exile*] sold. A second edition was printed by Francis, & sold—and a third edition by Francis also, came out just before the last English one [presumably *Poems* (1850)]. Mr. Fields said that he wanted to bring out a new one on the English model, but Mr. Francis remonstrated so emphatically against the injustice & cruelty of it, that he forbore .. observing however that he had intended to pay Mrs. Browning as if she were an American author .. on which, said Francis .. "Whatever *you* will give her, *I* am ready to give her!" Very generous intentions

on both sides; and between the two, I get nothing!—To make the piracy complete, Francis seizes on the “Portuguese sonnets” & “Casa Guidi Windows,” [*Prometheus Bound, and Other Poems* (1851)] while Fields gives a smile of sympathetic publishership, from under the knitted brows of his disapproving moral sense- (“Letter 73” 1: 429).

²⁵ The American display of the *Greek Slave* epitomized the stark disjunction between “universal brotherhood” undergirding the spectacle of cosmopolitanism at the Great Exhibition and the championing of republican principles in the United States. Though a Chartist observer saw the manufactures of the fair as “plunder, wrung from the people of all lands, by their conquerors, the men of blood, privilege, and capital” (qtd. in Johnston 79), the symbolism of hypocrisy in the American section was especially palpable for many viewers. For example, an essay for the *Westminster and Foreign Quarterly Review*, reprinted by the popular New York miscellany, *The Eclectic*, reviews the objects associated with the United States by apposing them as productions of a rapacious cultural and moral desert: “Further down the nave, ‘down east,’ there is another statue, by Hiram Powers, ‘The Greek Slave,’ placed in the waste lands of the ever-grasping men, who here, as there, complain they are crowded, and call out for more territory—here as there, with ‘Colt’s revolvers’ protecting the boundary of civilized beauty” (“Industrial” 530). The East and West of universal wrong in Barrett Browning’s sonnet in this account become the “nowhere” of the dissonant display in the Eastern nave and the expanding violence of the voracious U.S. to the geographical West.

²⁶ Stateside, in 1853 at the Exhibition of the Industry of All Nations, in the *Liberator*, Henry Wright echoed Irving’s linkage of the statue and American slavery. For Wright and other abolitionists, the exhibition of the *Greek Slave* emphasized the ongoing cruelties of slavery in the United States, in stark contrast to the “free soil” of Britain. Amidst his raptures about “HUMAN BROTHERHOOD” at what he termed the “*Fusion Palace*, where all nations are fused into one,” Henry Wright noted the uneasy relation of the figure to slavery in New York’s “Crystal Palace:” “The United States perpetuates a worse despotism than [Austria and Turkey], under the name of liberty, and hunts the fugitive slave while she shouts out, ‘Asylum for the oppressed of all lands!’” The sheer wonder excited by the visual abundance at the fair infuses Wright’s report to Garrison, while the intensifying proximity between perceiving subject and object also apparently collapsed barriers among the items themselves for him: “Before and close to me, is the Greek Slave, standing right between Washington and Webster—two slavehunters!” Moreover, the pervasive presence of things as overly burdened national signifiers additionally inspired his list of inglorious objects that remained *in absentia*: “I walked all through the United States, and could not find a fetter, a chain, a handcuff, or a slave-whip. Slavery is abolished in the United States, as she is exhibited to the gaze of other nations!” (147).

²⁷ The rhetoric of “universal brotherhood” within the context of the British parlor is spoofed in the pages of *Punch* in “The Cosmopolitan Before and After the Exhibition.” International idealism meets national housekeeping in the fictional grievances of a harried British housewife in her letter to the periodical: “When [my husband] does come home to dine, he generally brings two or three of those foreigners with him that he has picked up at that Exhibition [...] He calls this cementing the bonds of universal brotherhood. After they are gone, I always sprinkle the floors with vinegar” (“Cosmopolitan Before” 44). This not unsympathetic lampoon of the distress of “Mrs. Veal” over “Mr. Veal’s” change in personal appearance and clothing cleverly discloses the importance of “taste” in the construction of the middle class, making light of, but not totally deflating, the idealism of “universal brotherhood” by nationalizing it and putting such high-mindedness in its “proper sphere.”

²⁸ Logan explains that the words *drawing-room* and *parlour* do indeed have different class connotations, but that “the class distinction between the terms, in British nineteenth-century practice, was not in fact strongly marked” (12).

²⁹ The expansion of the United States was violent and slavery was the root cause of much of the divisiveness; the border-states were the site of bloodshed, but the strife was played out in Congress when Preston Brooks caned Charles Sumner in 1856. As Stanley Harrold explains: Each side perceived the other as the offender. As the 1850s progressed, the impression spread in the North that an “aggressive slaveocracy” or “slave power” controlled the federal government. Millions of northerners believed slaveholders used aristocratic, corrupt, and antidemocratic methods to threaten the rights and undermine the interests of the North and free labor. The effort to expand slavery into the southwestern territories, the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850, and the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854 opening the region west of Missouri to slavery appeared to be southern attacks on northern freedom. So did a diplomatic initiative undertaken in 1854 to make Cuba a slaveholding state and the Supreme Court’s 1857 *Dred Scott* decision legalizing slavery in all U.S. territories. Throughout the South, during the same span of years, northerners appeared to be the aggressors. (161)

³⁰ By 1857, two unmistakably abolitionist poems by Barrett Browning targeting American slavery had appeared in the publication of the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society, the *Liberty Bell*, which was sold as a fund-raiser at its annual bazaar. “The Runaway Slave at Pilgrim’s Point” was published in the 1848 issue, available at the December 1847 bazaar, and “A Curse for a Nation” followed in the 1856 issue (Stone, “Garrisonians” 34, 55). Marjorie Stone points out that Barrett Browning addressed both the oppression of working-class children in Britain and enslaved peoples in the U. S. by juxtaposing “The Cry of the Children” next to “The Runaway Slave” in the 1850 *Poems* (“Garrisonians” 47).

³¹ The *Journal* featured a review of *Aurora Leigh* (March 1857) chastising its author for “vulgar and inartistic” diction in “something very good” (“Mrs. Browning” 88). “Tears” appeared in the Sept. 1858 issue. In “The Author of *Aurora Leigh*” (December 1857), a “letter writer” describes a visit to the poet at Casa Guidi, “a small, slight figure,” amidst the grandeur of an “old palace drawing-room, hung with faded arms, furnished with black oak, carved furniture, bookcases of the same, [...] and weighed down with ancient-looking books, many of them bound in parchment. Cinque Cento pictures, Giotto’s, with gold backgrounds, look down from the walls, and the whole air of the room is shady, dreamy, and poetic” (“Author of” 21). In a truly bizarre comparison for “Editorial Etchings” (June 1857), the courtship of the Brownings and a “negro preacher’s account of the way he ‘fotched’ a sinner” are sketched out as two instances of “wooing and winning” (136).

³² Carol Lasser explains that Harriet Beecher Stowe’s novel momentarily stressed “what William Wells Brown called ‘the degradation in the domestic circle of the master,’” while southern periodicals extensively protested such descriptions: “*DeBow’s Review*, the *Southern Literary Messenger*, and the *Southern Quarterly Review* in particular [...] published significant numbers of articles and reviews in response to *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* devoted at least in part to denying that sexual exploitation was essential or endemic to slave society” (110).

³³ Likewise, the first American printing of the complete text and fast-paced sales of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* are the stuff of myth; J. P. Jewett, the authorized American publisher, kept the printing presses working day and night, except on Sundays, to meet the public demand (Reynolds 12).

³⁴ The novel's various manifestations in different media created type characters, which would remain in the public imagination in both countries for generations. As Leslie Fiedler sweepingly states in his study, *The Inadvertent Epic*, "for better or worse, it was Mrs. Stowe who invented American Blacks in the imagination of the whole world" (26).

³⁵ *Uncle Tom's Cabin* embroiled Stowe in controversy in slave-holding states, when, as Moira Davison Reynolds explains, "the people of the South woke up" (12). Somewhat predictably, while pro-slavery southerners set out to refute Stowe's work by assigning her pecuniary motives, they also touted her lack of experience and their superior understanding of slaves: A lady friend of ours, travelling northward [...], was similarly enlightened as to some of the iniquities constantly practiced round us, but which, blinded creatures that we are, we have to leave home to discover. Miss C., she was informed, had a cousin who had gone school-keeping to Georgia, and that cousin told Miss C., on her word, as a lady, that she had often and often seen baskets full of ears and noses cut and pulled from the negroes by way of punishment and torture. Miss C. couldn't say whether they were big baskets or little ones; she supposed they were not very big ones, because the supply of ears and noses would be exhausted, and she did not suppose it was a case to call for miraculous increase. She could not account for it all exactly, but she knew that it was true—she did. Her cousin was a lady, and had seen it herself. Pity it is that Mrs. Stowe had not made acquaintance with Miss C.'s cousin; the ears and noses would have made a fine picturesque point, graphically introduced among her "dramatic realities." (McCord 250)

³⁶ This image was used on the cover of the annual report of the Female Society for Birmingham &c. for the Relief of British Negro Slaves in 1826. It also appeared in the front matter of George Bourne's *Slavery Illustrated in its Effects upon Woman and Domestic Society*, printed in Boston in 1837.

³⁷ Victorian texts engaging in social protest, such as Thomas Hood's "The Song of the Shirt," also prepared readers to understand sympathetic characters as family members. Combining the tropes of slavery, Christianization, and the moral influence of the home, this poem encapsulates the disastrous consequences of the intrusion of capitalism within the domestic: "Oh, Men, with Sisters dear! / Oh, men, with Mothers and Wives! / It is not linen you're wearing out, / But human creatures' lives! / Stitch — stitch — stitch, / In poverty, hunger and dirt, / Sewing at once, with a double thread, / A Shroud as well as a Shirt" (25-32). Both the Quaker settlement in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and Hood's poem appraise the spiritual well being of the family through its members' association with material objects, a trope that George Eliot would revisit for the British reading public a decade after the publishing of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* when Silas Marner sees his lost treasure in a child who has toddled upon his hearth.

³⁸ In an 1860 letter from the secretary of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society to Lord Brougham, a Whig MP and supporter of the abolitionist cause, L. A. Chamerovzow agrees with the former's view "that we ought to endeavour to prevent contamination from affecting our own people here in England," but admits that "the prejudice against colour" is "the terrible legacy Slavery has bequeathed to Freedom, & many generations must die out before it is itself obliterated" (qtd. in Lorimer, "Reconstructing" 192).

³⁹ As John Davis observes,

The Great Exhibition was [...] enormously important in forging a new social unity that accepted industrialism. For those elements of the working classes committed to ownership and social stability, it was evidence that the rule élite had their interests at heart and were committed to moderate reform. [...] Only a few were aware that there was an element of whitewash in all this. (213)

⁴⁰ When discussing her writing with Gabriel Bailey, the editor of the *National Era*, the publication that initially serialized her novel, Stowe equated the most valuable words with images, displaying a somewhat naïve faith in the “inherent objectivity of pictures” (Cognard-Black 80). As she told Bailey, “[M]y object will be to hold up in the most lifelike and graphic manner possible Slavery. [...] There is no arguing with *pictures*, and everybody is impressed by them, whether they mean to be or not” (qtd. in Cognard-Black 80).

⁴¹ According to Jane Tompkins, Stowe’s novel shows a new axis of success. Tompkins discusses the generic fusion of *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* in *Sensational Designs*; she views the novel as “a political enterprise, halfway between sermon and social theory, that both codifies and attempts to mold the values of its time” (126). In Tompkins’s analysis, Stowe overturns traditional, “masculine,” political systems by reinscribing a different axis of success, which is based on a Christianized belief in victory in sacrifice and “dying as the supreme form of heroism” (127). She argues that Stowe focuses on the “four last things—Heaven, Hell, Death, and Judgment” to remind her readers that these eternal truths illuminate human events (133).

⁴² These page numbers correspond to the Norton critical edition of the novel.

⁴³ As Yarborough so aptly states, “We can no more envision these two slaves singing a spiritual or turning a ‘summerset’ than we can Stowe herself” (59).

⁴⁴ Harriet Beecher Stowe claimed to have been divinely inspired to compose *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*. According to legend, while at church she saw a vision of a black man being flogged to death and praying for forgiveness for those who had wronged him (Reynolds 7). As her son recounts, the scene of Uncle Tom’s death was the first to be written: “she took pen and paper and wrote out the vision which had been as it were blown into her mind as by the rushing of a mighty wind. [...] Thus Uncle Tom was ushered into the world, and it was, as we said at the beginning, a cry, an immediate, an involuntary expression of deep, impassioned feeling” (Stowe 148-49).

⁴⁵ The fear of the “pollution” of white women was a useful tool for slaveholding men of the southern United States, as well as British colonialists elsewhere. In *Staying Power: Black People in Britain Since 1504*, Peter Fryer explains that although slavery was ended in 1833, racism—disguised in such forms as the figure of pure white womanhood—remained useful, becoming “the principal handmaiden to empire. The culminating stage in the rise of English racism was the development of the strident pseudo-scientific mythology of race that would become the most important ingredient in British imperial theory” (165).

⁴⁶ According to Paul Gutjahr, Stowe herself never referred to *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* as a novel; he also points to her *Key to Uncle Tom’s Cabin* and the public’s view of religious literature as “absolute nonfiction” to highlight the ways that Stowe “benefited by the association that would be drawn in many readers’ minds between the truth of religious tracts and the truth they were about to read in her depiction of slavery” (80-1).

⁴⁷ Catherine Gallagher's assessment of industrial novels of the 1850s highlights the compatibility of considering the work of Elizabeth Gaskell and Charles Dickens alongside that of Stowe: "we find that the family itself is a paradoxical formation, combining prerational, ethical and particularizing tendencies with rational, ethical, and universalizing tendencies. The family, in short, is presented as everything capitalist society is not" (121). The middle section in which the slave mother Eliza finds refuge at the Quaker settlement has been viewed by many critics as the redemptive heart of domesticity at the center of the novel, a foil to the later chapters following Tom on his descent into hell at the plantation of Simon Legree, a revisitation of the terrors of slavery after the warnings and promise of revolution from St. Clare: "One thing is certain,—that there is a mustering among the masses, the world over; and there is a *dies irae* coming on, sooner or later. The same thing is working in Europe, in England, and in this country. My mother used to tell me of a millennium that was coming, when Christ should reign and all men should be free and happy" (Stowe 344). This chapter begins by cataloguing the domestic objects that provide the refugee warmth, comfort, and safety, while the kindly Rachel Halliday refers to Eliza as "daughter" (Stowe, Norton 116-7).

⁴⁸ On the strength of the astounding popularity of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and her successful tour of Britain, Harriet Beecher Stowe formulated an appeal to the British public during the Civil War as a reply to the petition written by the Earl of Shaftesbury and publicized by the Duchess of Sutherland in 1852. Among the many responses, a tract entitled, *A Voice from the Motherland, Answering Mrs. H. Beecher's Stowe's Appeal*, credits Stowe with "having aroused the attention of civilized Europe to the horrors of the system of domestic slavery in America, by words of burning eloquence and scenes painted with living power" and avows that "in this matter British feeling is unchanged and unchangeable" (1). Yet, the anonymous writer's refutation of any "real progress of heathen nations" within the British Empire (12), transfers to the opinions advanced about the liminal status of enslaved persons in the United States:

Supposing that the whole four millions of slaves could be set free to-morrow, what could be done with them? To this, as we have just seen, all the thought and sagacity of the President can find but one answer. They must be banished from the soil. They can find no refuge as free men in the United States; the social ban and hatred of race as effectually expelling them from the Free States as does slavery from the South. (34)

Though incorporation into the polity was encouraged by British progressives for African Americans, the view towards its own colonies became increasingly monolithic: "For [John Bright] and for other radicals male suffrage in the Australian states and the eventual enfranchisement of black men in the aftermath of the US Civil War in 1867 marked instances of the best of the imperial spirit. Manhood suffrage, at this stage, however, was best left to the white settler colonies [...] and to that great former colony, the United States" (Hall "Within" 222).

⁴⁹ As three excerpts from the yet-to-be-published *Huck Finn* were spanning the pages of the Christmas 1884 to February 1885 numbers, Sam Clemens boasted to his nephew and publisher Charles Webster of Gilder's appreciation for the discovery of the illustrator. In this November letter, Twain reports that Gilder had told him that

[w]e are not only indebted to you for a good chapter for our next number, but are profoundly indebted to you for unearthing a gem of an artist for us. As soon as we saw Kemble's pictures in your proofs, we recognized the fact that that was a find for us, & so we went for him & we've got him. He is going to New Orleans for us to illustrate a long article of Cable's. ("Letter to Charles")

⁵⁰ Although she accepts most of Tompkins's premises, Hortense Spillers problematizes the former's reading of *Uncle Tom Cabin* based on its elision of race and her position that Stowe's

sacrificial model “seem[s] to galvanize the murderous instincts of patriarchal, phallogocentric synthesis rather than effectively challenge them” (“Changing” 40).

⁵¹ While they joined forces to fund and publish the pamphlet addressing the marginalization of African Americans at the Columbian Exposition, Frederick Douglass (acting as the representative of Haiti) and Ida B. Wells split over their support of the idea of “Colored People’s Day.” With Wells in Great Britain on a series of invited lectures about lynching in the United States, Douglass moved ahead with his support of the Jubilee Day (Rydell *Reason Why* xxvi-xxix).

⁵² The content in the *Century* contained the mishmash of culture and technology that mirrored the vistas of the Chicagoan fair: travel writing, poetry imported from Great Britain and American verse, fiction, essays on new technologies, such as “Edison’s Invention of the Kinetograph” (June 1894), as well as politics, features on the visual arts, in addition to at least one pictorial essay, “From the Old World to the New, Told in Pictures by André Castaigne” (April 1894).

⁵³ Though women wielded considerable power at the fair, as Hazel Carby documents, the Board of Lady Managers did nothing to accommodate representatives of color: “The fact that six black women eventually addressed the World’s Congress was not the result of a practice of sisterhood or evidence of a concern to provide a black political presence but part of a discourse of exoticism that pervaded the fair. Black Americans were included in a highly selective manner as part of exhibits with other ethnic groups” (5).

⁵⁴ This answer appears in Douglass’s introduction to the pamphlet:

What I have aimed to do, has not only been to show the moral depths, darkness and destitution from which we are still emerging, but to explain the grounds of the prejudice, hate and contempt in which we are still held by the people, who for more than two hundred years doomed us to this cruel and degrading condition. So when it is asked why we are excluded from the World’s Columbian Exposition, the answer is Slavery. (Rydell, *Reason Why* 10)

⁵⁵ As Thomas Richards explains, “by the turn of the century, commodity culture had discovered that it was by the very nature of the knowledge it imparted to consumers that it exerted its greatest control over them. The experience of consumption had become all-encompassing, inseparable from the knowledge of the self” (7).

⁵⁶ All quotations from the text are cited from the second Norton edition, edited by Sidney Berger (2005).

⁵⁷ James Mapes Dodge was an inventor and industrialist, and the son of Mary Mapes Dodge, editor of *St. Nicholas Magazine* for children in which *Huckleberry Finn* was published. In his 1950 speech to the Newcomen Society of Philadelphia, George P. Torrence remarks, “Mark Twain once said that ‘Jim’ Dodge was ‘the greatest story teller in America,’ and in this he but described in fewest words one of Mr. Dodge’s most striking traits” (14).

⁵⁸ *Punch* satirized the ubiquity of the amateur photographer in its 4 October 1890 edition with a full-page cartoon entitled “The Amateur Photographic Pest.”

⁵⁹ Because of the lateness of his request, Twain’s publisher had to tip in the picture as a double frontispiece, next to Huck’s rakish grin anchoring the title page (Fischer and Salamo 374).

⁶⁰ The visual dynamics of scientific racism are exemplified by Thomas Nast's infamous depiction of a black freedman and white Irishman sitting on the scales of justice, both rendered with the receding foreheads and large jaws typical of this especially insidious type of caricature, with the caption: "The Ignorant Vote—Honors Are Easy." Appearing in *Harper's Weekly* at the end of 1876, this illustration captures the frenzy of uncertainty that the rapid social and technological changes of the latter half of the nineteenth century engendered, and the high stakes of nationalism in the representation of the body politic within the ever-expanding realm of print and illustration.

⁶¹ In 1887, the *Century* outstripped its competitors in circulation numbers, followed by *Harper's* and the *Atlantic* straggling behind (Fox 33), but such publishing venues also came with a redoubled sense of the striving white middle-class respectability of their readership.

⁶² While erasing divisions between North and South in efforts to reconcile the nation (Gabler-Hover 241), "the historical and literary pieces published in the *Century* during the run of its 'Civil War Series' were willfully silent on matters pertaining to the freedmen, preferring instead to emphasize a knitting together of the nation's white citizens" (Caron 152). During the 1880s, "Battles and Leaders of the Civil War" raised circulation in its second year from 127,000 to 250,000, "making the *Century* the most popular magazine of the age and Gilder the most powerful arbiter of literary tastes in late nineteenth-century America" (Caron 151).

⁶³ When George Washington Cable's 1885 essay, "The Freedman's Case in Equity," bluntly described the de facto caste system that held former slaves in thrall, a failure highlighted by the 1883 Supreme Court reversal of the Civil Rights Act of 1875 (Gabler-Hover 251), Gilder was careful to invite a response from Henry Grady, of the *Atlanta Constitution*, a proponent of "New South" policies including "northern investment, southern industrial growth, diversified farming, and white supremacy" (Grem). Although the *Century* supported Cable at the time, as Timothy Caron notes, "Increasingly, Cable's strident articles in defense of Southern blacks and their rights had alienated him from most of the white South, and the editors of the *Century*, fearful of hurting their growing subscription rates came to prefer the myth-making stories of [Thomas Nelson] Page" (158).

⁶⁴ At a banquet in New York in 1878, Mark Twain wittily showcased the nineteenth-century networks of thought conflating social and evolutionary progress in his "introduction" for Bayard Taylor, whose "lectures [on foreign lands] always contained comparative passages that assured audiences of the superiority of Western civilization" (Stevenson 57):

Across the chasm of the ages we take the oyster by the hand and call him brother. [...] And as we stand, dazed, transfixed, exalted, and gaze down the long procession of life, marking how steadily, how symmetrically we have ascended step by step to our sublime estate and dignity of humanity—out of one lowly form into a little higher and a little higher forms—adding race after every change—developing from tadpoles into frogs, frogs into fishes, fishes into birds, birds into reptiles, reptiles into Russians. ("Progress" 61)

⁶⁵ The mythos of egalitarianism in the United States obscured boundaries of race and class: boundaries that were strengthened through representations within the visual discourse of scientific racism, yet the U. S. also stood as a testing ground for Republican ideas for many Britons. The Civil War surely held a prominent place in the pages of *Punch*; Boritt asserts that from 1861-65, "more than 20 percent of *Punch's* weekly cartoons focused in whole or in part on the American war" (3).

⁶⁶ Anne Wigger succinctly explains Twain's previous use of fingerprints as a plot device and his acquisition of Galton's newly published book on the subject ("Source" 517-18). Moreover, John Whitley traces some of the ideas in *Pudd'nhead* directly to the author of *Fingerprints*: "Galton emphasizes on several occasions that fingerprints are 'incomparably the most sure and unchanging of all forms of signature' and that they can 'establish the identity of the same person at any stage of his life between boyhood and old age, and for some time after his death'" (64). Finally, in his extensive cultural history, Simon A. Cole notes that

Tom and Chambers embody a concern of early twentieth-century American race scientists such as Earnest Hooton: that some white individuals appear black, and some black individuals appear white. This, of course, was precisely Galton's eugenic project: to use hidden somatic markers like fingerprint to visualize racial, ethnic, and hereditary identities that were not visible simply by looking at a face or body. And, ultimately, as popularists like Havelock Ellis suggested, this would enable scientists to see who was "bad" and who "good"—namely, to diagnose criminal predispositions, which was precisely what Galton meant when he called fingerprints "the most important of anthropological data." (239)

⁶⁷ Twain combined the cutting-edge, racially-inflected findings in Galton's *Fingerprints* with his fascination with the stories of Sherlock Holmes, which were available to American audiences in 1891 through George Newnes's brand-new pictorially-formatted and transatlantic mass-market magazine, *The Strand*. In conceiving of the layout of *The Strand*, George Newnes followed the examples of *Harper's* and *Scribner's*, convinced that a British magazine featuring "a picture on every page" was poised for success (qtd. in Pound 30). Susan Gillman confirms that the detective stories "had been a best-selling phenomenon in America ever since the first Sherlock Holmes story, *A Study in Scarlet*, appeared in *Beeton's Christmas Annual* (1887)" (95). Gillman explains further that "Twain also appropriated from popular fiction the equation between seeing and deductive power, perhaps most memorably expressed in the insignia of the Pinkerton agency [...] Sherlock Holmes's power, too, is notably ocular; his special vision enables him to deduce biographical facts from ordinarily unnoticed details" (96).

⁶⁸ Like the composite photographs that Frances Galton promoted as a way to classify socially successful and unsuccessful "types," his fingerprinting method was soon adopted to identify criminals, bringing to light their individual aberrancies through categorization. The Holmes stories, along with sensationalist novels and adventure fiction, and what Patrick Brantlinger terms "imperial Gothic fiction," penned by authors "from Stevenson and Haggard and Conrad," both narrated and expunged "the threat of racial degeneration or contamination" (*Postcolonial* 45).

⁶⁹ The rise of such personae in the nineteenth century paralleled both the greater fluidity of social mobility and the invention of the camera in both Great Britain and the United States. As Ronald Thomas points out, although seemingly benevolent, the Sherlock Holmes figure replicates the camera with his ways of seeing, and his observations function as cultural surveillance: "[t]ogether, camera and literary detective developed a practical procedure to accomplish what the new discipline of criminal anthropology attempted more theoretically: to make darkness visible" (135).

⁷⁰ Catharine O'Connell's analysis of the twinned characters and twinning structures in the novel and novella echoes the tenor of Gillman's conclusions: "The baby-switch is not an inversion of a rightful and stable order; instead, it is an intensification of already-existing alienation and

absurdity” (124). On the other hand, Derek Parker Royal asserts that Pudd’nhead’s duality as a detective-figure implicates him in the reassertion of white supremacy at the novel’s end:

David Wilson stands out as perhaps one of Twain’s most mysterious of manipulative strangers in that throughout most of the text, he strikes the people of Dawson’s Landing (and the reader) as a quiet, bumbling—and perhaps even gentle—citizen of the town. However, it is his most striking hobby, the seemingly innocent art of fingerprinting, that best defines him and helps legitimate a culture of injustice and oppression. Writing in a time that privileged individual industry and scientific inquiry, Twain suggests in *Pudd’nhead Wilson* that intentional or not, enlightened rational endeavors can have a subtle yet potentially devastating effect. (417)

⁷¹ Christopher Gair locates this fear in the transitional immigrant figures of Angelo and Luigi: Whereas a culture exemplified by the White City is designed to instruct immigrants and foreigners in the niceties of culture, [Sydney G.] Fisher’s [1896 *Popular Science Monthly*] article [using statistics to blame immigrants for crimes] and the behaviour of certain characters in Twain’s novel reveal the simultaneous fear that white American behaviour will be contaminated by the presence of a threatening and undesirable otherness. (195)

⁷² As Kate Flint argues, in the nineteenth century visual technologies not only focused power “in capturing and representing other cultures, a power which may also be turned on one’s more immediate society, the same mechanical apparatuses can be remarked on as affecting domestic understandings of selfhood” (3).

⁷³ Laura Skandera-Trombley notes that, in portraying Roxy and her son’s transvestism, Twain “shatters such binaries as what it means to be African-American and European-American, master and slave, and male and female (90).

⁷⁴ Although such advertising seems to be the height of provincialism and was no doubt meant to conjure antebellum nostalgia in potential readers, Stephanie Le Menager recasts such notions: The peculiarly double, regional and global, character of the Mississippi allowed Twain to envision continuity among early modern elaborations of commercial empire, like the international slave trade, U.S. expansion into the continental West, and later nineteenth-century imperial ventures outside the borders of the United States. As a writer whose favored setting, the Mississippi Valley, was characterized throughout the nineteenth century as both western and southwestern, Twain also teaches us the importance of recognizing that the West and the South once could be seen as a “single physiographic region” (an argument traceable to John C. Calhoun, among others) which was naturally articulated to international interests. (408)

⁷⁵ Langston Hughes conjectures that the suspenseful form of the novel, what he terms “old-fashioned melodrama,” is strangely like “plays performed on the riverboat theatres of that period” (329). The setting of *Pudd’nhead Wilson* and its publication here provide interesting counterpoints to each other, as serialization would also be an explanation for this structure.

⁷⁶ As Phillip Lapsansky explains, caricatures of African Americans grew in popularity in the 1830s, largely in response to working-class fears about potential competition from free black men and encroachment on jobs from enslaved laborers. Virulent images, such as Edward W. Clay’s etchings, *Life in Philadelphia*, responded to fears about African American success and were republished in Great Britain, “[g]iving] an American refinement to the popular caricature of

middle class nouveau rich pretension,” in other words, employing black figures as their primary subjects (218, 220).

⁷⁷ This page number references the Oxford reprint of the APC production of the novel, edited by Shelley Fisher Fishkin.

⁷⁸ This page number references the Oxford reprint of the APC production of the novel, edited by Shelley Fisher Fishkin.

⁷⁹ This page number references the Oxford reprint of the APC production of the novel, edited by Shelley Fisher Fishkin. In his brief analysis of the novel, Hughes notes that this entry in Pudd'nhead's calendar “would have almost surely, had there been a McCarthy committee in Twain's day, caused the author to be subpoenaed before it” (329-30).

⁸⁰ Eric Sundquist reads this penultimate scene as the culmination of the trope of imitation in the novel:

The value of Tom's whiteness as a kind of “property” does him no more good than it did Homer Plessy; the court recognizes only his blackness, in which property is not self-possession or identity but a sign of the rights of others. Consciously tying his own flawed art to the courtroom theatrics of David Wilson, Twain engaged in a ghostly reduction of the world of the novel to a stage play or parodic codes and habits in which the law dressed as one more player, and in his identification with Wilson Twain admitted his complicity in restoring to order the plantation myth subverted by Roxy's act and Tom's role. (71)

⁸¹ As James White explains, “The United States recognized Leopold's claim on 22 April 1884, and the Berlin Conference of 1884-5 gave Leopold control of the Congo” (292).

⁸² John Halstead confirms that “[t]he extensive Slave Trade correspondence found in the Foreign Office records leaves no doubt that its abolition was a major factor in the extension of British control over the Gold Coasts in the 1840s, southern Nigeria in the 1850s and 1860s, and Nyasaland, northeastern Rhodesia, and the Sudan in the 1880s” (43).

⁸³ Because of the Aborigines' Protection Society's sole focus on the slave trade, it “refused an invitation to join an early protest against King Leopold's Congo in 1890” (Lorimer, “Reconstructing” 201).

⁸⁴ As Burroughs notes, “Conrad began writing *Heart of Darkness* the day after the *Saturday Review*, which he read, published Glave's account of the ‘decoration’ of Rom's flowerbed on 17 December 1898” (21). In September 1897, this description had been included in “Cruelty in the Congo Free State” in the *Century*: “Recently the state post on the Lomami lost two men killed and eaten by the natives. Arabs were sent to punish the natives; many women and children were taken, and twenty-one heads were brought to the falls, and have been used by Captain Rom as a decoration round a flower-bed in front of his house!” (706).

⁸⁵ In addition, Glave became acquainted with Herbert Ward (Burroughs 37), who would publish an exposé of Stanley's abuses and mismanagement in the debacle of the Emin Pasha Relief Expedition in 1891, *My Life with Stanley's Rear Guard* (Burroughs 37).

⁸⁶ Thomas Richards explains the expedition:

In 1886 Stanley—veteran of the American Civil War, former correspondent for the *New York Herald*, and one of the founding father of the Congo Free State—had been dispatched to Africa by a coalition of businessmen with orders to assist a shadowy figure named Emin Pasha in consolidating British power in the East African interior and to return with a compensatory cargo of seventy-five tons of ivory. To this end—an end doubly sanctioned by the pressing Anglo-German rivalry in the region—almost any means could and did suffice. *In Darkest Africa* tells the story of how Stanley, like a nineteenth-century conquistador, resolutely cut his way across Africa at the head of a virtual slave army, leaving a wake of debris, death, and deforestation behind him. (124)

⁸⁷ After his second trip to Africa ended in 1889, Glave traveled to Alaska, then published his description of this trip in the *Century*.

⁸⁸ While deflecting attention away from the “Congo question,” the celebration of Queen Victoria’s unparalleled longevity as monarch provided a confirmation of the British imperial project. Mark Twain, a spectator of the Diamond Jubilee, wrote that “[the Queen Empress] was the procession herself; [...] in her the public saw the British Empire itself. She was a symbol, an allegory of England’s grandeur and the might of the British name....The procession stood for sixty years of progress and accumulation, moral, material and political” (qtd. in Arnstein 597).

⁸⁹ Matching Twain’s bombastic acerbity with his own, Stead informs the reader from the very beginning of his piece that the “credit [...], or, if you like, discredit” for the title belongs entirely to himself, not to the Baptist missionary who began work for Morel’s Congo Reform Association full-time one year later in 1906 and subsequently “addressed more than two hundred public meetings in forty-nine [American] cities” (Hochschild 216, 242). In the interview, Harris discusses the surprising reputability of the Commission of Inquiry formed by the king to muffle the charges of violence in direct opposition to the previously appointed “sham Commission for the Protection of the Natives” during the 1890s (Hochschild 250).

⁹⁰ In *The Americanization of the World*, Stead lists Mark Twain as a great humorist, an inheritor of this great comic tradition, “who is *facile princeps* among the American writers of to-day” (282, 287).

⁹¹ In September 1904, W.T. Stead and E. D. Morel paid May French Sheldon to report on the circumstances in the Congo Free State, but, “[u]nfortunately for them, French Sheldon took their money, as well as that of Leopold’s business associate and consul in Britain Sir Alfred Jones, denied the existence of atrocities, and praised the colonial administration” (Burroughs 50-2).

⁹² This image features a man named Nsala. As Burroughs elucidates, “Describing Alice Harris’s most famous photograph—of Nsala, who contemplates the remnants of his infant daughter [...]—John Harris thought that, as a lantern slide, ‘the mute appeal of the hand & foot’ and ‘expression on the father’s face...will cause a great burst of outrage...& might be useful to the Government” (87). *An Answer to Mark Twain* remakes Nsala himself into the cause of this scene:

This photograph which is calculated to cause an impression of horror represents a native contemplating a human hand and foot cut off. Now it appears from the report of the Commission of Enquiry that this native committed the mutilation himself as it is stated in the report that « the natives who desire to furnish a tangible proof of the death of one of their number, and who cannot or will not produce the dead body itself, are still accustomed to exhibit the hands or the feet of the deceased ». (44)

⁹³ Burroughs warns that “[t]here is no single ‘missionary perspective’ on violence in the Congo Free State” (73); he focuses on the activities of “two British, Protestant organizations: the BMS [British Missionary Society] and the non-denominational Congo Balolo Mission (CBM)” (73). Rev. A. E. Scrivener, one of the BMS missionaries, had extracts from his diary published in the reform organ of the Congo Reform Association, the *West African Mail*, in 1904; Twain drew on them for the *Soliloquy* (Burroughs 5). Twain also quotes Rev. William H. Sheppard, an African American Presbyterian minister in the Congo, whose work “appeared in *The Times* and the *Globe* on 23 February 1900” (18). Appointed to the position of British consul in 1899, Roger Casement wrote his report of abuses in the Congo in 1904 after interviewing peoples in the Upper Congo in 1903 at the behest of Foreign Secretary Lord Lansdowne, whose attention to the matter was prompted by a May 1903 debate in the Houses of Commons (Burroughs 53). A Force Publique captain from 1893-96 (Burroughs 44), Edmond Tilkens was one of the “blabbing Belgian-born traitor officials.” In advertising 1903 Tilkens’s text to potential U.S. publishers, Morel characterized it “as a true scene of Congo life,” even comparing it to *Heart of Darkness* (Burroughs 44-5).

⁹⁴ As Joanna De Groot explains, representations and information about colonial others validating imperial rule were widespread, permeating every facet of life by the end of the nineteenth century, blending together in discourses of fact and fiction, reportage and narrative:

Kipling, Rider Haggard and Henty are just iconic and successful examples of a whole spectrum of ‘empire writing’ in fiction, journalism, verse and travel narrative, as well as missionary journals, pamphlets and lantern shows. Depictions of glamorous, comic or threatening figures of colonial people (‘wily’ or sexy orientals, ‘unfortunate’ slaves, loyal or dangerous Indians, ‘sambos,’ Zulu warriors) in plays, cartoons, pantomime, music hall and other forms of entertainment brought a whole cast of imperial characters for purchase and consumption in the mainstream of British culture. (176)

⁹⁵ Benga stayed briefly at the American Museum of Natural History in New York; Adam Hochschild points out that it received artifacts from Leopold to win the support of board member J.P. Morgan during the height of the Congo controversy (244).

⁹⁶ As Brian Winston explains, “new systems of imaging—including, in the last decades of the nineteenth century, photography—were inevitably melded with journalism. Half-tone photographic images had been successfully engraved and printed on flat-bed presses from 1880s on; by the following decade they were common” (139).