Beyond the Exhibit: Zulu Experiences in Britain and the United States,
1879-1884

by

Erin Elizabeth Barbara Bell

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate and Postdoctoral Affairs in
partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts
in
History

Carleton University
Ottawa, Ontario

©2011
Erin Bell

Library and Archives
Canada

Published Heritage
Branch

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Bibliothèque et
Archives Canada

Direction du
Patrimoine de l'édition

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Your file *Votre référence*
ISBN: 978-0-494-83139-7
Our file *Notre référence*
ISBN: 978-0-494-83139-7

NOTICE:

The author has granted a non-exclusive license allowing Library and Archives Canada to reproduce, publish, archive, preserve, conserve, communicate to the public by telecommunication or on the Internet, loan, distribute and sell theses worldwide, for commercial or non-commercial purposes, in microform, paper, electronic and/or any other formats.

The author retains copyright ownership and moral rights in this thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's permission.

AVIS:

L'auteur a accordé une licence non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque et Archives Canada de reproduire, publier, archiver, sauvegarder, conserver, transmettre au public par télécommunication ou par l'Internet, prêter, distribuer et vendre des thèses partout dans le monde, à des fins commerciales ou autres, sur support microforme, papier, électronique et/ou autres formats.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur et des droits moraux qui protège cette thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

In compliance with the Canadian Privacy Act some supporting forms may have been removed from this thesis.

While these forms may be included in the document page count, their removal does not represent any loss of content from the thesis.

Conformément à la loi canadienne sur la protection de la vie privée, quelques formulaires secondaires ont été enlevés de cette thèse.

Bien que ces formulaires aient inclus dans la pagination, il n'y aura aucun contenu manquant.

Canada

The Department of History recommends to the
Faculty of Graduate and Postdoctoral Affairs
acceptance of the thesis

**Beyond the Exhibit: Zulu Experiences in
Britain and the United States, 1879-1884**

submitted by

Erin Elizabeth Barbara Bell, B.A. Hons.

in partial fulfilment of the requirements

for the degree of Master of Arts

Audra Diptee, Thesis Supervisor

Dominique Marshall, Chair, Department of History

Carleton University

26 August 2011

Abstract

This thesis focuses on the experiences of a group of Zulu performers from South Africa who toured Britain and the United States from 1879 until 1884. It has two aims. First, this project will demonstrate that some Africans chose to negotiate, influence, and resist the terms under which they were being exhibited. They did so using a wide range of methods. Second, although negotiating their labour was an important part of their experiences, this thesis will demonstrate through the use of specific examples involving the Zulu troupe, that many African performers had a multitude of encounters, experiences, and relationships that had little to do with their performances. This thesis provides a more multifaceted, balanced, and comprehensive narrative of the African experience of performing in exhibitions than typically offered in the existing literature. By keeping the African experience at the forefront of analysis and narrative, this thesis challenges historical assumptions about African performers in exhibitions during the nineteenth century.

Acknowledgements

This project and my graduate studies would not have been fathomable without the guidance, encouragement, and critiques of Dr. Audra Diptee. I am thankful to have her as both a mentor and a friend. She has helped me grow into a better scholar and recognized my love of African history before I did. She has taught me countless valuable lessons about history, the craft of writing, and academia, but the most important lessons were always about life outside the walls of the Department. Audra has believed in me every step of the way, has always been in my corner and it is because of her that I will go the fifteen rounds.

I am also deeply grateful to Dr. Dominique Marshall. To steal and poorly paraphrase the words of a thinker much more eloquent than me, George Orwell, she taught me one must not surrender to words but rather let the meaning choose the word and not the other way around. This is an important lesson to teach, especially to someone who has a tendency to be careless with words. Her support of my future endeavours in graduate school will not be forgotten and is greatly appreciated. Dr. Deborah Gorham has also provided me with advice, guidance, and friendship. I would also like to thank Dr. Danielle Kinsey, Dr. Meredith Terretta, and Dr. Alek Bennett for their helpful suggestions and for sitting on my defence committee.

Many thanks to the wonderful Joan White for her invaluable help on numerous occasions. Thanks also to Regina Aulinskas and Irene Sanna for the many times they offered me assistance.

Comments and critiques from Ceilidhe Wynn, Margaret Summerfield, and Jonathan Greenwood were especially fruitful in conceptualizing my first chapter. Thanks to the Audra's Angels Network. Friends, both old and new, provided much needed distraction and sustained my spirit. My dearest and oldest friends Kristie, Megan, Sarah, Amber, and Jessica warrant special thanks for their continual understanding. Kathryn Desplanque and Justin Rivest are to be thanked for their companionship and conversation. My family, especially Andrew and Sarah, have been a constant source of unconditional support and love. To my Nanny who once told me that watching me graduate from university was one of her proudest moments, I am so blessed to be your grand-daughter and will always work hard to make sure you stay proud.

Emmanuel deserves a mention for encouraging, restoring, challenging, pushing, and loving me when I needed it.

Finally, I would like to thank my parents Wanda and John Bell. Their unwavering faith and encouragement made this project possible. Without all they do for me, I could not follow my dreams. Their curiosity, perseverance, and spirit have inspired me every step of the way. I dedicate this work to them, with love and gratitude.

Table of Contents

Abstract	ii
Acknowledgements	iii
Table of Contents	v
List of Abbreviations	vi
List of Appendices	vii
Introduction	1
Research Questions and Project Goals	3
Historiographical Review	4
Theoretical and Methodological Approaches	11
Historical Context	14
Chapter Breakdown	29
Chapter 1: “They Objected to Being Handed Over and Sold Like Cows”: Negotiating, Influencing, and Resisting the Terms of the Exhibition	30
“The Discontented Zulus”: Legal Manoeuvring in London	32
Informal Methods of Protest	36
Shaping the Nature of the Exhibition	45
Working Conditions	49
Entrepreneurial Activities	55
Conclusion	61
Chapter 2: A “Lost Zulu”, An “Extraordinary Marriage”, and “The First American Zulu Born into Captivity”: Lives Beyond the Exhibit	62
Nineteenth Century Race Relations in a Historical Context	63
“A Lost Zulu”: Digandon’s Story	67
“A Most Un-Aboriginal Propensity for Drinking Irish Whiskey and Kicking Up Rows”: Alcohol Consumption	72
Interracial Relationships	79
“An Extraordinary Marriage”: Charley and Anita	81
The Double Burden of Race and Gender	85
Conclusion	90
Epilogue	94
Bibliography	98
Appendix 1	125
Appendix 2	126

List of Abbreviations

APS – Aborigines Protection Society

NNC – Natal Native Contingent

List of Appendices

Appendix One – Transcription of Playbill

Appendix Two – Transcription of the Marriage Certificate of Charles Devson and Anita Corsini

Introduction

African adventures await at every turn during this edition of the famous circus. From the remote reaches of the jungle come sixteen authentic Zulu warriors, captivating the audience with a traditional tribal ceremony. Dressed in native garments and wearing beaded necklaces and headdresses, they perform a tribal war dance supposedly never seen outside the African continent prior to the Ringling Bros show. – “Ringling Bros and Barnum and Bailey Circus Rolls Into Phoenix,” *Mohave Daily Miner*, May 24, 1988.

For a ‘first appearance on any stage,’ their debut on Tuesday was creditable at all events to them, their rude acting of scenes of their home life inspiring keen interest among the spectators. They came on the stage equipped with the shield, knobkerry, assegai, and other weapons with which the illustrative arts have made the public familiar. Of attire they none in spite of our climate, but much pains had been taken in the dressing of their hair and in the disposal of their savage ornaments and head-gear. The first part of their entertainment was a war dance, a curiously energetic performance... - “Zulus on Exhibition,” *London News*, July 9, 1879.

In 1988, newspapers across the United States reported on a special attraction at the 118th edition of “The Greatest Show on Earth” at the Ringling Brother and Barnum and Bailey Circus. In addition to animals, trapeze artists, and clowns, the show included a group of sixteen Zulu performers, allegedly “from the remote reaches of the jungle.”¹ They were from the province of Natal in South Africa, and during their performances they were “dressed in native garments”, wore “beaded necklaces and headdresses”, and performed “a tribal war dance, supposedly never seen outside the African continent prior to the Ringling Bros. Show.”² Intended to fit with the ‘African Safari’ and ‘Darkest Africa’ theme of the show, many reviewers praised the performers and their act for the ‘authenticity’ they lent the themes.³ A review in the *Chicago Tribune* reported that “the Zulu warriors...perform a war dance that gives you an idea of why the Zulus were the

¹ “Ringling Bros. and Barnum and Bailey Circus Rolls Into Phoenix,” *Mohave Daily Miner*, May 24, 1988.

² *Ibid.*

³ “Circus Still Alive and Well,” *The Wilmington Star*, April 15, 1988; “Zulus Dance, Gators Wrestle, Baboons Bike at the Circus,” *Los Angeles Times*, July 21, 1988; “Greatest Show on Earth Brings Africa Into the Ring,” *The Palm Beach Daily News*, November 29, 1989.

most feared foes of the British in their takeover of Africa in the last century...It's socially naughty to say so, but the Zulus' performance makes you regret that the modern concept of total war has made warriors obsolete."⁴ These performances and the reactions they garnered from the American media suggest the resonance of this kind of performance. Although they occurred a mere 23 years ago, the reactions to these "authentic" African performers have a long history.⁵

In fact, more than one hundred years earlier, another Zulu troupe from the same region, of what was then the British colony of Natal performed a similar act. Billed as 'Farini's Friendly Zulus', the troupe was engaged "to be exhibited, and show the customs of their country, their habits" and "their style of warfare."⁶ This group, which would eventually consist of seventeen men, three women, and at least one child, also toured the United States in the same circus company. Unlike the more recent troupe, they were given star billing in a segment of the show called the "Ethnological Congress of Savage

⁴ "At Last, A Circus with Real Teeth and a Team of Zulu Warriors," *Chicago Tribune*, October 21, 1988.

⁵ Another indication of the legacy of ethnographic shows came in 2005. A zoo in Augsburg, Germany hosted an 'African Village' event. Featuring artisans, performers, and educational material, the event led to widespread protest and outcry in Germany and around the world from academic associations like the European Association of Anthropologists and the Royal Anthropological Institute and activist groups. Critics claimed the organizers of the event were ignoring the implications this event would have and charged the organizers with ignoring Germany's colonial past and the legacy of Völkerschau (ethnic shows) and said the event reflected racism and discrimination. A German of African descent initiated a lawsuit against the zoo. Event organizers defended the event on the grounds one of the organizers was 'African' (Egyptian). In a report to the Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology, Prof. Dr. Nina Glick Schiller, Dr. Data Dea, and Markus Höhne found the "the racialization processes facilitated by the Augsburg zoo and other zoos are not benign because they can lay the ground work for discrimination, barriers to social mobility, persecution, and repression." Prof. Dr. Nina Glick, Dr. Data Dea, Markus Höhne, "African Culture and the Zoo in the 21st Century: The 'African Village' in the Augsburg Zoo and Its Wider Implications," Report to the Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology, July 4 2005, 2. The majority of 'African' performers, artisans, and participants in the event were German citizens. The report found these participants expressed their ambivalence about the location of the event. For more on the 'African Village' protest, please see, Charles Hawley, 'African Village' Accused of Putting Humans on Display," *Spiegel Online International*, August 6, 2009. Accessed July 25, 2010. <http://www.spiegel.de/international/0,1518,359799,00.html>; Prof. Dr. Nina Glick Schiller, Dr. Data Dea, and Markus Höhne, "African Culture and the Zoo in the 21st Century: The "African Village" in the Augsburg Zoo and Its Wider Implications," Report to the Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology, July 4, 2005, 1-48. Accessed July 27, 2011. <http://www.eth.mpg.de/cms/en/people/d/mhoehne/pdf/zooCulture.pdf>

⁶ "Police," *The Times*, December 20, 1879.

and Barbarous Tribes”. Prior to their arrival in the United States, the troupe’s shows were the talk of London, where the initial performances of six men coincided with the final days of the Anglo-Zulu War in 1879.

Research Questions and Project Goals

This project focuses on the experiences of this group of Zulu performers from South Africa who toured Britain and the United States from 1879 until 1884.⁷ The troupe went by the name ‘Farini’s Friendly Zulus’, as they were managed by ‘The Great Farini’, a Canadian man whose real name was William Leonard Hunt. This project has two aims. First, it will explore how this group and other Africans’ chose to negotiate, influence, and resist the terms under which they were being exhibited, demonstrating the diverse range of tactics used. Second, although these factors were an important part of their experiences, this thesis will demonstrate that the Zulus had a multitude of encounters, experiences, and relationships that had little to do with their performances. Analysis will be centered on the experiences of these men and women. This approach provides a more comprehensive telling of some of their stories by concentrating on encounters that occurred outside of their scripted performances. The project’s goal is to argue that many African performers actively and pragmatically contested aspects of their depiction or

⁷ The first group of six men arrived in London in July of 1879. Their names were Dingando, Posman, Macubi, Nrsan, Umkedan, and Usky. The second group arrived in Britain in December of 1879 from France where they had spent a month performing at the Folies Bergère in Paris. Nomanquansana, Inconda, Maquasa, Inquala, and Iatoi were more commonly referred to in the press by their English cognomens Squash, Jim, Sam, Charley, and John. In April of 1880, five performers, whose names were not discovered in the material reviewed for this project, arrived in London to join the group. In the winter of 1880, three women, Unolala, Unomdlaza, and Unozendaba joined the troupe.⁷ Two of the women’s names were listed as Amazulu and Unamadloza when they arrived in the United States in 1881. Unamadloza seems to have performed with her child. Their performances consisted of “marriage festivities”, musical performances and songs, re-enacting battle scenes, staged fights between two performers with various weapons (most frequently assegais and knock berries), war dances, and target throwing. While on tour with P.T. Barnum’s circus, some of the men raced against horses in the main ring.

treatment. Moreover, by focusing on aspects of their lives that are rarely discussed, it will show their diverse range of experiences in both Britain and the United States. To date, there has been little scholarly focus on the methods used by Africans to contest their treatment or working conditions and aspects of their lives beyond the exhibition. This project aims to fill this lacuna in the existing scholarship.

Historiographical Review

There is a large body of scholarship that focuses on colonial exhibitions, human zoos, freak shows, and ethnographic expositions.⁸ Much of this work asserts that exhibitions concentrated on the central themes of colonial rhetoric in the context of a single cultural event and ensured that Africans and other groups became a spectacle for mass consumption by the European public.⁹ Furthermore, historian Bernth Lindfors argues exhibitions figured prominently in the construction of racial iconography and

⁸ These works include Richard Altick, *The Shows of London* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978); Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, and Politics* (New York: Routledge, 1995); Burton Benedict et al, *The Anthropology of World's Fairs* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983); Zeynep Celik, *Displaying the Orient: Architecture of Islam at 19th Century World's Fairs* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992); Annie Coombes, *Reinventing Africa: Museums, Imperial Culture and Popular Imagination* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994); Raymond Corbey, "Ethnographic Showcases, 1870 – 1930," *Cultural Anthropology* 8 (1993): 338-369; Veit Erlmann, "'Spectatorial Lust': The African Choir in England, 1891-1893," in *Africans on Stage: Studies in Ethnological Show Business*, ed. Bernth Lindfors. (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1999), 107-135; Paul Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas: The Expositions Universelles, Great Exhibitions, and World's Fairs 1851- 1937* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988); Bernth Lindfors, "Hottentot, Bushman, Kaffir: Taxonomic Tendencies in Nineteenth-Century Racial Iconography," *Nordic Journal of African Studies* 5 (1996): 1-28; Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, *Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums, and Heritage* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998); John MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of British Public Opinion, 1880-1960* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984); John MacKenzie, ed. *Imperialism and Popular Culture* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986).

⁹ Especially influential in this regard is Raymond Corbey, "Ethnographic Showcases, 1870 – 1930," *Cultural Anthropology* 8 (1993): 338-369.

stereotypes in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.¹⁰ This project complicates such an interpretation by re-centring the performers within their own historical trajectory.

By far, the most popular subject of such works is Sarah Baartman, a Khoisan woman from South Africa.¹¹ Billed as the “Hottentot Venus”, she was displayed and performed in Britain and France during the early nineteenth century. Much of the academic literature discussing Baartman is highly theoretical. For example, Yvette Abrahams claims “upon Sara Baartman’s body a superstructure of scientific racism was built which supported the continued enslavement of Africans in the Americas and the ‘civilizing mission’ in Africa.”¹² Zine Magubane maintains that this theoretical fetishization of Baartman has had the result of preventing a serious analysis of the particularities of issues of race and gender during the nineteenth century. Moreover, she notes that although most works that discuss Baartman are careful to use terms like “invented, constructed, and ideological, in practice, they valorize the very ground of

¹⁰ Bernth Lindfors, “Hottentot, Bushman, Kaffir: Taxonomic Tendencies in Nineteenth-Century Racial Iconography,” *Nordic Journal of African Studies* 5 (1996): 1-28.

¹¹ For more on Baartman, please consult, Yvette Abrahams, “The Great Long National Insult: ‘Science’, Sexuality, and the Khoisan in the Eighteenth and early Nineteenth Centuries,” *Agenda* 32 (1997): 34-48; Yvette Abrahams, “Images of Sara Bartman: Sexuality, Race, and Gender in Early-Nineteenth-Century Britain”, in *Nation, Empire, Colony: Historicizing Gender and Race*, eds. Ruth R. Pierson and Nupur Chaudry. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998), 220-237; Sander Gilman, “Black Bodies, White Bodies: Toward an Iconography of Race in Late Nineteenth Century Art, Medicine and Literature,” *Critical Inquiry* 12 (1985): 204-242; Janelle Hobson, *Venus in the Dark: Blackness and Beauty in Popular Culture* (New York: Routledge, 2005); Z.S. Strother, “The Display of the Body Hottentot,” in *Africans on Stage: Studies in Ethnological Show Business*, edited by Bernth Lindfors. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999); Anne Fausto-Sterling, “Gender, Race, and Nation: The Comparative Anatomy of ‘Hottentot’ Women in Europe, 1815–1817,” in *Deviant Bodies: Critical Perspectives on Difference in Science and Popular Culture*, ed. Jennifer Terry and Jacqueline Urla. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995), 19–48; Londa Schiebinger, *Nature’s Body: Gender in the Making of Modern Science* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2004.)

¹² Yvette Abrahams, “The Great Long National Insult: ‘Science’, Sexuality, and the Khoisan in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries,” *Agenda* 32 (1997): 45.

biological essentialism they purport to deconstruct.”¹³ Furthermore, historian Sadiah Qureshi notes that:

The nature of Baartman’s story, and the power of the racial and gender politics invested in its retelling, has led — not surprisingly, and perhaps inevitably — to modern writers and artists appropriating her as a focal point for discourses upon race, gender, empire, and specifically Western representations of black female sexuality.¹⁴

Moreover, Qureshi argues that with this scholarship, Baartman has become a post-modern theoretical icon.¹⁵ She also makes the claim that much of the work done lacks historical specificity and makes general claims about Baartman’s life and times without conducting primary research.

Clifton Crais and Pamela Scullys’ monograph, *Sara Baartman and the Hottentot Venus: A Ghost Story and Biography* situates Baartman back within her own historical trajectory. Through their archival research, Crais and Scully have changed the existing narrative of Baartman’s life. Their work establishes that Baartman was at least ten years older than typically thought and that Hendrick Cesars, who accompanied Baartman to London and thought by the British public to be Baartman’s master, was a Free Black. They have also discovered that Baartman was in a relationship and had children prior to leaving Cape Town. Beyond widening the scope of what we know about her life prior to her arrival in Europe, these findings have significant implications for the treatment of issues of agency, autonomy, and race.

Nor have such limited analyses been restricted to Africans who were exhibited. In her monograph, *Authentic Indians: Episodes of Encounter from the Late Nineteenth-*

¹³ Zine Magubane, “Which Bodies Matter? Feminism, Post-Structuralism, Race, and the Curious Theoretical Journey of the Hottentot Venus,” *Gender and Society* 15 (2001): 817.

¹⁴ Sadiah Qureshi, “Displaying Sara Baartman, The ‘Hottentot Venus,’” *History of Science*, 42 (2004): 233.

¹⁵ Ibid.

Century Northwest Coast, Paige Raibmon examines a group of Kwakwaka'wakw men, women, and children from the Pacific Northwest who performed at the Chicago's World Fair in 1893. Raibmon contends that although there is a body of work that "deals with important issues of power, representation, and colonialism" it has "left largely unaddressed the question of what 'being exhibited' in self-congratulatory colonial spectacles meant for Aboriginal performers".¹⁶ Raibmon argues that in Chicago, both 'white' and Aboriginal people were able to exploit ideas and discourses of civilized and savage to communicate specific messages. Both Canadian and American authorities believed their displays of residential school attendees would exemplify the success of the civilizing mission. Those who performed exploited ideas about savagery, authenticity and Aboriginals through their performance of a controversial 'cannibal dance'. This performance offered Aboriginals a chance to "defy the Church and government assimilationist program on an international stage".¹⁷ By performing a controversial 'cannibal dance', Raibmon argues that they exploited common assumptions and stereotypes about 'savage Indians' in order to contest the policies of colonial officials in British Columbia.¹⁸ Although the terms of control of the shows were limited, men, women, and children from colonized regions were often able to exploit them for meaningful gains. As Raibmon argues, although the Kwakwaka'wakw had very little control over "the terms of the colonial discourse in which they were enmeshed, they worked with what they had".¹⁹

¹⁶ Paige Raibmon, *Authentic Indians: Episodes of Encounter from the Late Nineteenth-Century Northwest Coast* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005), 48.

¹⁷ Ibid., 50.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Ibid., 4.

Similarly, Roslyn Poignant's *Professional Savages: Captive Lives and Western Spectacle* follows two troupes of Australian Aboriginal performers from their homes in Australia, to the sideshow circuit in the United States and then on to Europe.²⁰ Her work attempts to situate the performers within the colonial policies of displacement and extermination in Australia the late nineteenth century. After their kidnapping by an agent of P.T. Barnum's, the group went on to perform in the sideshow and circus circuit in the United States. In 1884, the group travelled to Europe where they attracted the attention of anthropologists and ethnologists in virtually every capital city. Some of the performers would not return to their homes in the Aboriginal communities on the Palm Islands. A performer named Tambo was the first to die during the troupes engagement in the Ethnological Congress. His embalmed body was put on display at Drew's Dime Museum in Cleveland and it remained on display there until well into the twentieth century. Poignant's research found that only three performers out of the nine that left in 1883 might have survived their time in the United States and Europe. The others died of pulmonary diseases like pneumonia and tuberculosis and are buried in various cities around Europe.

Poignant is harsher in her assessment of existing works on colonial exhibitions. She asserts that "nineteenth century indigenous performers continue to be captive in more recent discourse of the show space."²¹ Furthermore, she emphasizes:

The narrative thrust of my approach, with its emphasis on the particular – particular lives and events – developed partly as a reaction to much of the recent discourse on the display of indigenous performers in the metropolitan show places and the larger exhibitionary formations such as world fairs and exhibitions. With a

²⁰ The group would perform alongside the Zulus in PT Barnum's Ethnological Congress.

²¹ Roslyn Poignant, *Professional Savages: Captive Lives and Western Spectacle* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 8.

few exceptions, there had hardly been a concern for the recovery of the actual lives and experiences.²²

Her work attempts to trace a narrative of their lives but Poignant claims her work is “more than the uncovering of a core narrative; it has been about unravelling the socioeconomic and cultural processes by which Toby, his wife Jenny, and their companions were reduced to objects and treated as commodities, and real and captive lives were written out of history.”²³

In her study of ‘living ethnological exhibits’ of Indian artisans at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition held in London in 1886, Saloni Mathur shows that perceptions of the artisans were shaped by “dominant discourse” but more significantly for the purposes of this study, that “the historical subjects of ethnographic display refused the terms of their exhibition.”²⁴ Moreover, Mathur points out the individuals that travelled to Britain often had personal motivations, suggesting that “bodies on display have their own biographies, strategies, journeys, and petitions that refute their inscription as mere ethnic objects.”²⁵ Moreover, she points out that “the ‘living display’ reminds us that anthropological subjects are also living beings whose movements, desires, motives, and tactics in highly charged ideological landscapes have never been adequately contained by anthropology’s representational forms”.²⁶ Kate Flint points out that ethnographic performance provided both Europeans and indigenous peoples with a cultural contact zone, asserting that some

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid., 9.

²⁴ Saloni Mathur, “Living Ethnological Exhibits: The Case of 1886,” *Cultural Anthropology* 15 (2001): 493.

²⁵ Ibid., 494.

²⁶ Ibid., 516

indigenous performers were often very vocal about their negative observations of European society.²⁷

Others who have spent considerable effort focusing on the lives of performers include Nancy J. Parezo and Don D. Fowler, as well as Robert W. Rydell. Parezo and Fowler note their account of the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition marks the “first attempt to systematically discover the names, cultural affiliations, and individual and family stories of these men, women, and children” that travelled to St. Louis to perform.”²⁸ Their monograph attempts to address several questions about performers, including what life was like for the people who were on exhibit, and demonstrates how certain individuals and groups coped with their times in St. Louis. Through their use of documentary records, including official files, newspaper reports and correspondence of fair officials and visitors, they attend to their questions. Their research provides glimpses of what they call “areas of contention”, including contact with fair visitors and fellow performers, disputes over living conditions, safety issues, food and personal rivalry.²⁹ The study of ‘areas of contention’ provides a lens into issues of everyday life for performers as well as coping and adaptive strategies.

Robert Rydell has published several works on World’s Fairs in an American context. Much of this work focuses on African performers. He has also published on the life of John Tevi, a West African man, who performed in exhibitions and went on to manage his own troupe of African performers. His work emphasizes the need to modify

²⁷ Kate Flint. “Counter-Historicism, Contact Zones and Cultural History,” *Victorian Literature and Culture* 27(1999): 508.

²⁸ Nancy J. Parezo and Don D. Fowler, *Anthropology Goes to the Fair: The 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007), 12. Parezo and Fowler note simply locating participants’ names and cultural affiliation took ten years of research.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 266.

the analytical categories that are typically used to study African involvement in exhibitions. He argues:

The story of African shows at world fairs, as much as it is a story of representation and ideological innovation within burgeoning visions of American empire, is not quite as seamless as it might appear. Through their performances, Africans put on display at America's fairs often rewrote scripts and turned showcases of empire into theatres of resistance.³⁰

It is against this historical backdrop that this thesis will offer a narrative that provides a fuller, more balanced, and complicated vision of the African experience while performing in exhibitions. Although there is scholarship that addresses theoretical issues concerning the dynamics of the exhibition, as well as issues relating to the colonial gaze and racial discourse, this thesis aims to keep the African experience to the forefront of the narrative by focusing on their actions, lives, responses, and reactions.

Theoretical and Methodological Approaches

This work is heavily influenced by the work of historian Frederick Cooper. Cooper maintains that scholars interested in African history must make deliberate efforts to widen the scope of the analytical categories they tend to utilize. This is particularly so for the history of colonial Africa. He asserts:

The binaries of colonizer/colonized, Western/non-Western, and domination/resistance begin as useful devices for opening up questions of power but end up constraining the search for precise ways in which power is deployed and the ways in which power is engaged, contested, deflected, and appropriated.³¹

³⁰ Robert W. Rydell, " 'Darkest Africa': African Shows at America's World's Fairs, 1893-1940," in *Africans on Stage: Studies in Ethnological Show Business*, ed. Bernth Lindfors. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999), 136.

³¹ Frederick Cooper, "Conflict and Connection: Rethinking Colonial African History," *American Historical Review* 99 (1994): 1517.

Furthermore, Cooper argues that “some of the best recent work in African history discards the categories of resisters and collaborators and starts with the question of how rural people saw their circumstances, made their choices, and constructed their ideas about the larger society”.³² To this end, he advocates the studies of diasporas, cultural linkages, and networks that are not limited to a regional focus.³³ Cooper, along with Ann Stoler, furthers this point in the introduction to their edited collection *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*. They argue:

It may be that we have taken the categories of colonial archives – organized around specific colonial powers, their territorial units, and their maps of subject cultures – too literally, and our colonial historiography has missed much of the dynamics of colonial history, including the circuits of ideas and people, colonizers and colonized, within and among empires.³⁴

Cooper also addresses some of the perceived problems of using colonial sources in projects that aim to re-centre Africans within their own historical trajectory. He believes that one can never quite get away from a colonial construction of Africa, but one can engage, challenge, and refashion it. Cooper’s appeal that Africanist scholars move away from the analytical binaries and dichotomies will inform this study. This project aims to not only to keep the African experience centre-stage, it also seeks to push past the analytical binaries that Cooper cautions against. This approach is particularly useful in order to complexify issues relating to this study. In particular, such a framework can aid in conceptualizing the experiences of Africans who ran and managed their own

³² Ibid., 1534.

³³ See Frederick Cooper, “What is The Concept of Globalization Good For: An African Historian’s Perspective,” *African Affairs* 100 (2001): 189-212.

³⁴ Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler, eds. *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 33-34.

ethnographic troupes at colonial exhibitions and World's Fairs, a topic that will receive greater attention in first chapter of this project.

The sources used for this chapter present a methodological challenge. While reviewing the contemporary sources concerning the Zulu state and the Anglo-Zulu War, historians must remain mindful that some were written as much to impress the reading public with the perceived inherent violence of the Zulu state, as to make known the existence of depopulated areas suitable for European settlement and enterprise.³⁵ Some of the sources used are written records from British newspaper articles that purport to explain the points of view of Africans who may not have been able to speak English, resulting in a heavy reliance on translation. The sources can also be unbalanced, sensationalist journalistic writing. The challenges of using European or colonial sources while reconstructing African history are well known.³⁶ Like all sources, they must be subject to a critical analysis. Lynn Schler argues, "colonial sources can provide historians with a wealth of information about African lives during the colonial period but they must be read against the grain, filtering out valuable information from the biases and prejudices of European officials".³⁷ Schler's point speaks to the importance of the kinds of questions historians must ask in order to make these documents useful. Informed by Schler's assertion, this chapter seeks to use colonial sources to reveal a much more complicated account of colonial exhibitions than is typically represented by keeping the performers at the centre of analysis. While the sources can present a highly problematic

³⁵ Keletso Atkins, *The Moon is Dead! Give us Our Money! The Cultural Origins of an African Work Ethic, Natal, South Africa, 1834-1900* (Portsmouth: Heinemann, 1993), 9.

³⁶ For more on this topic see John Thornton, "European Documents and African History", in *Writing African History* ed. John Edward Phillips. (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2005), 254-266.

³⁷ Lynn Schler, "Writing African Women's History with Male Sources: Possibilities and Limitations," *History in Africa* 31 (2004): 319.

interpretation of words, these words must be analysed alongside the backdrop of the actions of the men and women. It is the actions of the men and women studied in this project– if not their words – that give insight into their motivations and choices.

Historical Context

As this project is concerned with keeping the African experience at the centre of the narrative, it is crucial to understand issues relating to the historical context of several issues, namely perceptions of Zulus during the nineteenth century. These perceptions would shape the interactions and encounters the Zulus would have with British and American men and women that will be discussed later in this thesis. In the late nineteenth century, Zulu warriors had captured the popular imagination in Britain, leading one commenter to note in 1880 “‘Zulu’ has become almost a household word.”³⁸ By the outbreak of the Anglo-Zulu War in January of 1879, Zulus had become iconographic clichés in British popular culture, frequently represented as savage and aggressive warriors.³⁹ This conceptualization had been present in British popular media and government discourse since the mid 1820s and the reign of the Zulu king Shaka Zulu. During his reign, Zulu identity was spread to many clans that were incorporated into the Zulu state, which was highly centralized and militarized. This occurred in the context of political and economic upheaval among Nguni farming societies in the region, ongoing since the eighteenth century, but especially desperate and violent during the first two

³⁸ Carolyn Hamilton, *Terrific Majesty: Shaka Zulu and the Limits of Historical Invention*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998), 112.

³⁹ Bernth Lindfors. “Hottentot, Bushman, Kaffir: the Making of Racist Stereotypes in 19th Century Britain,” In *Encounter Images in the Meetings Between Africa and Europe*, ed. Mai Palmberg. (Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, 2001), 66.

decades of the nineteenth.⁴⁰ This period has come to be known as the Mfecane – Zulu for the “crushing” or “scattering”.⁴¹ Shaka’s death in 1828 at the hands of his two half-brothers and a general led to a period of “intensive Zulu military and diplomatic engagements with the British and Afrikaners on the one hand, and inter-cine conflicts between rival aspirants to the Zulu throne on the other.”⁴²

British curiosity about the Zulus coincided with efforts to appropriate and establish settlements in southern Africa during the latter half of the nineteenth century. The earliest British works on the Zulus in the nineteenth century were written mainly by travellers and traders. Certainly motivated by economic factors, these works described Shaka as a cruel tyrant. One noted, “Chaka is one of the most monstrous characters who ever lived.”⁴³ Another commented, “history, perhaps, does not furnish an instance of a more despotic and cruel monster than Chaka.”⁴⁴ Finally, Nathaniel Isaacs, a British adventurer whose works would form the basis of many later works on the Zulus, described Shaka as “an insatiable exterminating monster.”⁴⁵ As these works suggest, Shaka obtained an almost mythical status in both British popular culture and historical

⁴⁰ Jeff O. Gump, *The Dust Rose Like Smoke: The Subjugation of the Zulu and the Sioux* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994), 32.

⁴¹ The debate about the source of the political upheavals during this time has two main interpretations. The first emphasizes the Zulu state emerged during a period when the population of southern Africa reached a critical density, causing dislocating and conflict. The second maintains conflict was caused by severe ecological and agricultural problems, leading to serious food shortages. Historian Julian Cobbing maintains that the concept of the Mfecane is a colonial myth, intended to conceal and justify white land expropriation during colonial and apartheid rule in South Africa. He contends the wars and the social upheavals of the period must be attributed to the increased white demand for black labour. Cobbing calls for historians to re-conceptualize the idea of the Mfecane. His work, as well as work done by Jeff Guy, alongside responses from dissenting historians has re-invigorated the study of the Mfecane. For more, see the edited volume, Caroline Hamilton, *The Mfecane Aftermath: Reconstructive Debates in Southern African History* (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1995).

⁴² Robert Trent Vinson and Robert Edgar, “Zulus Abroad: Cultural Representations and Educational Experiences of Zulus in America,” *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 33 (2007): 45.

⁴³ Daphna Golan, *Inventing Shaka: Using History in the Construction of Zulu Nationalism* (Boulder: L. Rienner, 1994), 35.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 36.

treatments, either demonized for his bloodthirstiness and cruelty or deified for his military prowess.⁴⁶

Later in the nineteenth century, travel accounts were replaced by ‘studies’ of the Zulu people organized within the academic disciplines of ethnography, history, and comparative folklore, all of which emphasized the militaristic nature of Zulu society. Missionary works depicted Zulus as savage and “subject to the tyranny of their kings”, perhaps not surprisingly, “only saved by conversion.”⁴⁷ An exhibit of Zulus in London in 1853 inspired Charles Dickens to publish an essay called “The Noble Savage” in his magazine *Household Words*. Inspired by a lecture given by the Zulus’ manager prior to the performance, which was in turn inspired by the works of Nathaniel Isaacs, Dickens wrote:

The noble savage sets a king to reign over him, to whom he submits his life and limbs without a murmur or question, and whose whole life is passed chin deep in a lake of blood; but who after killing incessantly, is in his turn killed by his relations and friends, the moment a gray hair appears on his head. All the noble savage’s wars with his fellow savages (and he takes no pleasure in anything else) are wars of extermination – which is the best thing I know of him, and the most comfortable to my mind when I look at him. He has no moral feelings of any kind, sort, or description; and his mission may be summed up as simply diabolical.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ See Carolyn Hamilton. *Terrific Majesty: Shaka Zulu and the Limits of Historical Invention*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998) and Daphna Golan. *Inventing Shaka: Using History in the Construction of Zulu Nationalism*. (Boulder: L. Rienner, 1994). For more information about the debates surrounding the Mfecane see David Gordon, “A Revisionist View of Shaka,” *The Journal of African History* 50 (2009): 315-316; Julian Cobbing, “The Mfecane as Alibi: Thoughts on Dithakong and Mbolompo,” *The Journal of African History* 29 (1988): 487-519; Andre Du Toit, “Founding and Crushing: Narrative Understandings of Political Violence in Pre-Modern and Colonial South Africa,” *Journal of Natal and Zulu History* 22 (2004): 1-52.

⁴⁷ Golan, *Inventing Shaka*, 46.

⁴⁸ Bernth Lindfors, “Charles Dickens and the Zulus,” in *Africans on Stage: Studies in Ethnological Show Business*, ed. Bernth Lindfors. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999), 73.

Dickens essay indicates popular perceptions of Zulus. Colonial officials would soon echo his words.

Prior to the Anglo-Zulu war, in an effort to convince the British government of the need to take over the Zulu state, the British High Commissioner, Sir Bartle Frere wrote that the Zulu king Cetshwayo was turning “every young man in Zululand into celibate man-destroying gladiators.” He also wrote that Ceteshwayo’s history “had been written in characters of blood.”⁴⁹ During the war, the Zulus were portrayed in contemporary accounts as fierce, savage, and barbarous warriors. Following the line of Natal’s colonial administration, the British press expressed that the Zulu people had to be freed from the cruelty and despotism of their kings and the legacy of Shaka. Often, images of Zulu warriors in the illustrated papers were racist caricatures, relying on stereotypes of savagery. However, the British understanding of the Zulus was more complicated. Additionally, the war was not popular with all citizens and caused many heated debates in Parliament about the cost of the war and future administration of the Zulu state.

British writers also commented favourably on the Zulu’s military system and admired and respected their courage and discipline in battle, especially after the Zulus won the Battle of Isandhlwana, the first battle of the war.⁵⁰ Queen Victoria described the Zulus as “the finest and bravest race in South Africa”.⁵¹ Many British citizens regarded the war as un-just and admired “their warrior culture.”⁵² However, regardless of how they

⁴⁹ Bridget Theron, “King Cetshwayo in Victorian England: A Cameo of Imperial Interaction,” *South African Historical Journal* 56 (2006): 64.

⁵⁰ Hamilton, *Terrific Majesty*, 112.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Julie Codell, “Imperial Differences and Culture Clashes in Victorian Periodicals' Visuals: The Case of Punch,” *Victorian Periodicals Review* 39 (2006): 412.

were portrayed, Zulus were almost immediately associated with warriors. This understanding of the Zulus led a reviewer to claim that an 1853 exhibition of Zulus in London “transcends all others we have witnessed of the kind...they [the Zulus] form a concert to whose savagery we cannot attempt to do justice.”⁵³ Used to advertise the shows in 1879 and 1880 in Britain that are studied in this project, this review speaks to the ways the Zulus entered and remained in British public consciousness – as warriors.

This was also the case in the United States. American perceptions of Zulus followed a similar trajectory during the nineteenth century. The American press also heavily covered the Anglo-Zulu War. Obviously, late nineteenth century American perceptions of Zulus and other Africans were complicated by the existence of the local African American community and the legacy of slavery. Robert W. Rydell argues that representations of Africans at exhibitions and World’s Fairs in the United States served “the purpose of ideological repair, serving to hasten the process of national reconciliation at the expense of people of colour, especially African Americans” and reinforced the paternal justification of slavery by representing Africans as savage and backward.⁵⁴ Later in the century, they aided in lending legitimacy to segregation and American activity in Africa. But, the African American community had varied perceptions of Zulus. Some acted as Zulus in exhibitions, a topic that will receive more attention in the first chapter of this project. Others created “cultural distance between themselves and Africans by advancing stereotypical images of Zulus.”⁵⁵ Politically engaged individuals often

⁵³ Lindfors, “Hottentot, Bushman, Kaffir”, 67.

⁵⁴ Robert W. Rydell, “ ‘Darkest Africa’: African Shows at America’s World’s Fairs, 1893-1940,” *Africans on Stage: Studies in Ethnological Show Business* ed. Bernth Lindfors. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999), 135.

⁵⁵ Robert Trent Vinson and Robert Edgar, “Zulus Abroad: Cultural Representations and Educational Experiences of Zulus in America, 1880-1945,” *Journal of Southern African Studies* 33 (2007): 43.

portrayed Zulu resistance to the British as the “‘greatest revolt against white supremacy’” and as a “model for diasporic black political activity.”⁵⁶

As argued above, the Anglo-Zulu War strengthened already existing British and American perceptions of Zulus. Historian Neil Parsons contends that this conflict brought the Zulu people to the attention of the British public like no other African people before or since.⁵⁷ Understanding these perceptions help to comprehend the dynamics of the interactions the Zulus would have while in Britain and the United States. Equally significant in shaping the lives of the Zulus was the social, political, and economic landscape of the Zulu state and Natal in the years prior to the war. While not much is known about their lives in South Africa, a general overview of this time provides a more nuanced view of their lives.

During the nineteenth century, the colonial borders of South Africa were shaped by increasing interest in the land and labour of Africans. European settlement in the region of Natal began in the 1830s, when substantial numbers of Afrikaners from the Eastern Cape, increasingly unsatisfied with the economic and social policies of the British government (chiefly, the abolition of slavery), began to trek into the interior. In 1824, a small group of British traders and hunters settled at Port Natal after receiving land grants from the Zulu rulers Shaka and Digane. The British annexed the Boer Republic of Natalia in 1842 and turned it into a separate British colony in 1845. After annexation, most of the Afrikaner population left for the Transvaal, again due to the

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Neil Parsons. “ ‘No Longer Rare Birds in London’: Zulu, Ndebele, Gaza, and Swazi Envoys to England, 1882-1894”. In *Black Victorians, Black Victoriana*. ed. Gretchen Holbrook Gerzina. (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2003), 114.

British prohibition on slavery.⁵⁸ Representative government was established in 1856. By this act, the Department of Native Affairs was exempted from the control of the legislature and five thousand pounds per year was set-aside for “native purposes.”⁵⁹

The Zulu state, which neighboured Natal, was one of the last independent African polities in South Africa. Here, many were able to maintain self-sufficient homesteads under the leadership of indigenous ruling families and many had little reason to work on white owned homesteads or plantations in neighbouring Natal. However, South Africa was undergoing immense social, cultural, and political change resulting from the discovery of diamonds near Kimberly in 1866 and the discovery of gold fields by Johannesburg in 1873.⁶⁰ The need for labour on Natal’s newly developed sugar plantations, combined with continual labour shortages in the mineral mines, gradually shaped British determination to subjugate the independent Zulu state. From 1875, South African colonial politics were dominated by the attempts launched by Colonial Secretary Lord Carnarvon to bring about the confederation of the various British colonies in the region.⁶¹ Many regarded an independent Zulu state as a dangerous example for other African communities in the region.⁶² In 1875, the Lieutenant Governor, Sir Garnet Wolseley claimed he did “not believe it possible for the two races to live together on perfect terms; one or the other must be the dominant power in the state and if the very

⁵⁸ Keletso Atkins, *The Moon is Dead! Give us Our Money! The Cultural Origins of an African Work Ethic, Natal, South Africa, 1834-1900* (Portsmouth: Heinemann, 1993), 16.

⁵⁹ Hamilton, *Terrific Majesty*, 89.

⁶⁰ The establishment of the mining industry reinforced established patterns of migrant labour and racial inequality.

⁶¹ Robert Ross, *A Concise History of South Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 64.

⁶² Ibid.

small minority of white men is to be that power, the great majority must be taught not only to confide in its justice, but to realise and acknowledge its superiority.”⁶³

In addition to the confederation efforts of British officials, in the 1870s the Zulu state was faced with a severe subsistence crisis, compounded by cattle shortage and pasture degeneration. Moreover, the Zulu population had increased significantly. The 1870s also saw years of drought, with particularly dry seasons in 1878 and 1879. The king, Cetshwayo, combated persistent destabilizing forces, especially the problem of divided loyalty among some of his more powerful advisors and chiefs. Moreover, conflict between Zulu leaders and Africans living in the colony of Natal not only continued after the British annexation of Natal in 1838, but also was most likely exacerbated.⁶⁴ The most notable manifestation of the conflict was the steady immigration of large numbers of Africans from the Zulu state to Natal. Between 1843 and 1879, there was a net immigration of Africans with their main origins from the Zulu state. Some of this migration seems to have been a result of bitterness and violence between the Zulu kings and their subjects.⁶⁵

Tension came to a head in December of 1878. Disregarding a report issued by a boundary commission appointed by the Natal government that rejected a Transvaal claim to Zulu territory, the high commissioner Frere issued a detailed ultimatum to Cetshwayo. This ultimatum included disbanding the army and abolishing the Zulu military system.⁶⁶

⁶³ Gump, *The Dust Rose Like Smoke*, 86.

⁶⁴ Michael R. Mahoney, “Racial Transformation and Ethnogenesis from Below: the Zulu Case, 1879-1906,” *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 36 (2003): 569.

⁶⁵ Ibid. For example, when the Zulu king Mpande was suspicious of an assassination plot, he ordered the death of his brother Gqugqu, along with his wives and children. This harsh act of managing potential rivals for leadership had the result of sending thousands of refugees into the Zulu state.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 71.

Cetshwayo instead chose to mobilize 30 000 men.⁶⁷ On January 11 of 1879, a British force with support from ‘native units’, known as the Natal Native Contingent and made of Africans, invaded the Zulu state.

The Anglo-Zulu War was particularly brutal. For the British, this was an unconditional war. For six months, both sides fought pitched battles that involved thousands of troops on both sides. Neither the British nor the Zulus were in the habit of taking prisoners. According to the British official estimate, 76 officers and 1007 British troops were killed in action, 37 officers and 206 men were seriously injured, a further 17 officers and 330 troops died of disease. Throughout 1879, a total of 99 officers and 1286 troops were invalided “from active duty from causes incidental to the campaign” – a euphemism for battle fatigue and psychological stress.⁶⁸ Officially, 604 Africans fighting with the British were killed.⁶⁹ This number is certainly a underestimation of the actual number as records relating to the N.C.C., the contingent composed of African soldiers, were deficient and many British officers recollected they were often not sure how many men were in their units. Historian Leonard Thompson estimates 604 may have been killed at one battle alone.⁷⁰ Zulu losses throughout the war can only be estimated, with some putting the numbers around 10 000 soldiers.⁷¹ This does not represent the damage done to the land, villages, and herds of cattle and the deaths of ‘non-combatants’, including women and children. Of this, there is no conclusive number tallied. After the war, the Zulu monarchy was abolished, Cetshwayo was exiled to Cape Town, and the

⁶⁷ Leonard Thompson, *A History of South Africa* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 124.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 12.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

Zulu state was divided into thirteen separate territories ruled by those friendly to the British.

However, the relationship between Zulus and the British should not be reduced to a colonizer/colonized binary. Relationships and encounters were in fact more complicated and colourful than this understanding suggests. Again, very little is known about the experiences of the male and female performers in South Africa. However, they did come into contact with two key British colonial figures, Sir Theophilus Shepstone and Frank Colenso, the son of the Bishop of Natal John Colenso, while they were in Britain. As will be discussed in the following chapters, Shepstone vouched for the ‘authenticity’ of some of the performers and later served as *amicus curiae* at a hearing in London. Frank Colenso served as a translator for some of the men during these same hearings. Shepstone and the elder Colenso played significant roles in shaping British/Zulu colonial dynamics. Their relationship demonstrates the multiplicity of views and opinions held by British individuals in South Africa.

No figure dominated Natal politics more than Sir Theophilus Shepstone, Secretary for Native Affairs from 1844 until 1877. Bishop Colenso was also an influential figure who would later be attacked as “a bishop sent to convert heathens who was instead converted by them.”⁷² Initially, Shepstone and Colenso were close friends and allies, united by a shared concern for the “protection and preservation of African institutions.”⁷³ Through Shepstone, Colenso stayed informed about the inner workings of colonial politics and as a prominent member of Colenso’s congregation, Shepstone offered Colenso support with his dealings with the Church. However, their close

⁷² Ibid., 48.

⁷³ Hamilton, *Terrific Majesty*, 101.

friendship would be shattered due to their disagreement about the so-called Langelibalele Affair.

Prior to his term as Secretary, Shepstone served as a diplomatic agent to various African groups in Natal and the surrounding regions. In his study of the Anglo-Zulu War, historian James O. Gump contends that this experience fashioned a paternalistic temperament, as well as a conviction that he retained an intimate understanding of the 'native mind'.⁷⁴ Influenced by his belief that Africans should be governed separately from the rest of the colony, Shepstone formulated a plan to remove all Africans in Natal to a region south of the colony. This plan was supported by the Lieutenant Governor but was vetoed by higher authorities. His plans for a system of indirect rule under what was known as the 'Shepstone System' proved more successful. Defined by a dual legal order, indirect rule enforced a separate but subordinate state structure for Africans based on African customary law.⁷⁵ Led by his belief that "tribal distinctions that obtain among Africans are highly useful in managing them in detail", Shepstone established a system of semi-independent territories, known as locations.⁷⁶ Indigenous leaders, each accountable to Shepstone, were responsible for collecting an annual hut tax and supplying the state with *isibhalo* (forced) labour for public works.⁷⁷ Native or customary law entailed the institutions of lobolo, polygamy, and chiefship was upheld. Shepstone viewed the maintenance and manipulation of chiefship and other existing forms of social organization and control as essential to successful administration in the face of strict

⁷⁴ Gump, *The Dust Rose Like Smoke*, 77.

⁷⁵ Stephen Pete and Annie Devenish, "Flogging, Fear, and Food: Punishment and Race in Colonial Natal," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 31 (2005): 11.

⁷⁶ Gump, *The Dust Rose Like Smoke*, 78.

⁷⁷ John Lambert, "Chiefship in Early Colonial Natal, 1843-1879," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 21 (1995): 269. Colonial administration relied upon taxation of African communities.

fiscal constraints.⁷⁸ Additionally, Shepstone believed lobolo and polygamy were of fundamental importance to homestead production, as they were the basis of labour power. Historian Daphne Golden argues the establishment of locations and the taxation system was designed to raise revenue, to accelerate social change, and to drive Africans into the labour market.⁷⁹ This has been characterized as a process of “grafting colonialism onto African patriarchy.”⁸⁰

Colenso arrived in Natal in 1855 as the head of the Church of England’s mission to the African population. He published widely on the politics and social customs of the Zulus. Additionally, alongside his Zulu colleague, William Ngidi, he published the first Zulu/English dictionary and translated parts of the Bible into Zulu. His work, *The Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua Critically Examined*, caused heated public debate in both South Africa and Britain. In it, he outlined his doubts about the literal truth of the Bible “which were re-awakened after his Zulu assistant, William Ngidi, questioned the historical accuracy of the flood.”⁸¹ Eventually, as a result of this work, and other controversial publications, the Bishop of Cape Town excommunicated him. By 1874, he became an outspoken advocate of African causes and was heavily critical of the colonial administration.

His advocacy and split with Shepstone began in 1874. Langalibalele, the leader of the Hlubi’s, who lived on a large location near Natal’s western border, was suspicious of an order that required all Africans who owned guns to register them with local

⁷⁸ Hamilton, *Terrific Majesty*, 88.

⁷⁹ Golden, *Inventing Shaka*, 42.

⁸⁰ Benedict Carton, *Blood From Your Children: The Colonial Origins of Generational Conflict in South Africa* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2000), 22.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 48.

magistrates and did not comply.⁸² The colonial government responded by moving a force of two hundred colonial volunteers, two hundred British regular soldiers, and five thousand African levies towards the location. Langalibalele, alongside other Hlubi's, left the location and moved towards Lesotho and clashed with a force of colonial troops. This clash led the force that was positioned near the Hlubi location to attack, smoke out the women, children, and males who sought shelter in caves, and kill the remaining males. Survivors were marched from the location and were distributed to local farmers as un-free labourers. Langalibalele was brought to trial in January of 1874 at a Special Court established under customary law, and Shepstone managed the proceedings.

As a result of discussions with Africans at the mission station established at Bishopstowe as well as accounts from colonists published in Natal's newspapers, Colenso grew sceptical of the official version of events. This forced him "to reassess the view he held for so long of the system of native administration in Natal" and his opinion of his friend, Shepstone.⁸³ Colenso tried to find defence council for Langalibalele but was not successful until the second day of the trial. The man quit after the presiding magistrate refused to allow him to meet with Langalibalele. Langalibalele was found guilty and banished to Robben Island, hardening Colenso's determination to protest the colonial administration in Natal. Colenso and Shepstone travelled to London in 1874 to address an inquiry into the trial. Shepstone returned to South Africa with a knighthood and instructions to advance the confederation of the various colonies in South Africa. Colenso received a letter from the Queen, congratulating him on his efforts but urging patience, as "unnecessary protest and agitation would only make it more difficult for the

⁸² Jeff Guy, *The View Across the River: Harriette Colenso and the Zulu Struggle Against Imperialism* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2002), 38.

⁸³ Ibid.

British government to bring about reform in Natal.”⁸⁴ This was the final break with his former friend, Shepstone. His wife wrote “for many years John has regarded Mr. Shepstone as the incarnation of justice to the natives, as standing between the typical colonist and the tribes settled in Natal...and now that confidence has given way *altogether!*”.⁸⁵

After the death of the Zulu king Mpande in 1872, Shepstone at first sought to maintain British authority by working closely with Mpande’s successor Cetshwayo. To this end, Shepstone ‘presided’ over the royal installation ceremony of Cetshwayo and routinely supported Zulu land claims against the neighbouring Afrikaner colony of Transvaal.⁸⁶ Cetshwayo based his foreign policy on this alliance with Natal as a safeguard against Afrikaner expansion from the Transvaal.⁸⁷ However, after the British annexed the Transvaal in 1877, Shepstone sought to gain Afrikaner support by supporting their claims to a disputed corridor of land between the Zulu state and the Transvaal. Cetshwayo sent envoys to Colenso, in order to gain support for the upcoming boundary commission. Colenso suggested the envoys meet with his son, Francis Colenso. Francis became a diplomatic agent in order to support the Zulu side and acted as Cetshwayo’s advisor for a short time.⁸⁸ Shepstone continually attempted to persuade the British high commission that an independent Zulu state represented a serious threat to British rule in Natal.

During the Anglo-Zulu War, Colenso and his son attempted to put forward the “Zulu point of view” and countered the colonial administration’s account of Zulu history,

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ Ibid., 70.

⁸⁷ Leonard Thompson, *A History of South Africa* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 124.

⁸⁸ Shula Marks, “Harriette Colenso and the Zulus, 1874-1913,” *Journal of African History* 4 (1963): 404.

culture, and practices. He preached sermons condemning the British invasion and pronounced Natal's system of native administration to be evil, corrupt, and unjust. Reportedly, he considered "the Zulu war an outrage on the part of the British, and has no hesitation in speaking his mind about it...he says that the God who requires justice and mercy is provoked by this cowardly delinquency in duty and base hypocrisy which are the causes of this war."⁸⁹ With the support of the Aborigines Protection Society and through his printing press at the mission station of Bishopstowe, letters to London papers and APS pamphlets, Colenso continually protested both the war and the post-war administration of Natal until his death in 1883. After offering his services as a translator for the group during their court hearings, Frank Colenso would continue to act as an advocate for Zulu causes. His efforts, alongside his sister Harriette, to pressure the Colonial Office, befriend influential politicians and to pass information to the Aborigines' Protection Society to benefit the social, political, and economic standing of the Zulus are beyond the scope of this project but nonetheless represent a more complicated vision of South African colonial politics.

Understanding the historical context of British perceptions of Zulus, the Anglo-Zulu War, and the fractured relationship between Shepstone and the Colenso family is important for several reasons. It demonstrates how the men and women studied in this thesis were perceived in Britain, of key significance to understanding British reactions to their behaviour. While not much is known about the Zulu experience in South Africa, this sections aids in shedding light on their lives before their arrival in Britain.

Additionally, it offers insights into the colonial mindset by presenting the multiplicity of

⁸⁹ "At Home and Abroad," *Frank Leslie's Sunday Magazine Volume VI – July to December 1879* (New York: Frank Leslie's Publishing House, 1879), 304.

viewpoints held by individuals with a close connection to the Zulus. Finally, this section provided an overview of the crucible in which complicated conceptions of Africans were born.

Chapter Breakdown

This project covers several key themes. The first deals with issues of labour. The first chapter explores how the Zulus and other Africans negotiated, influenced, and resisted the terms under which they were being exhibited. It also examines the working conditions of exhibitions and the various entrepreneurial efforts of the men and women who were exhibited. The second theme concerns issues outside of the exhibition. The second chapter deals with the social lives of the Zulus in order to interrogate how they were able to manoeuvre in British and American society. Analysis of these interactions demonstrate the ways this particular group controlled many aspects of their life, from consuming alcohol, to interacting with local people, and forming romantic relationships with local white women. The following discussion of these two themes provides a more comprehensive understanding of the experiences of the Zulu men and women on both sides of the Atlantic.

“They Objected to Being Handed Over and Sold Like Cows”: Negotiating, Influencing, and Resisting the Terms of Exhibition

Introduction

In December of 1879, a Zulu performer named Charley appeared at a hearing at the Westminster Police Court in London. Charley, a member of a troupe managed by a man known as the Great Farini, was protesting the terms of his contract to “illustrate the customs and sports of his country.”¹ During his testimony, Charley claimed he and the other Zulu men in his troupe objected to being “handed over” and “sold like cows” by their manager.² Together with Charley, several other Zulu men associated with the ‘Farini’s Friendly Zulus’ troupe spent the winter of 1879 and the spring of 1880 agitating for better terms for their contract with Farini. This attracted much attention from the British press. One journalist from the *Newcastle Courant* exclaimed:

These ‘friendly Zulus’ are becoming a decided nuisance. They have already monopolized too much of the time of the Westminster police magistrate, and they threaten to grow even more obtrusive. The fact is, they have been spoiled by too much good treatment. What they appear to stand most in need of is six months’ imprisonment with hard labour apiece. A little civilization is – emphatically – a dangerous thing.³

Another, from the *Daily Telegraph*, proclaimed:

¹ “Police,” *The Times*, December 29, 1879. Farini, a Canadian, whose real name was William Leonard Hunt, was a onetime tightrope walker who managed several different performers and acts, including ‘Zazal, the Human Cannonball’ and various acts with a connection to Africa prior to the Zulus. These included “the Black Venus” and the ‘Maravian Wild Women’. In an 1884 interview, Farini claimed he once had thirty-three Zulu performers working for him, divided into three troupes and still employed six. He later exhibited six individuals from the Kalahari Desert billed as the “Earthmen”. In the late 1880s, he would manage a young East Asian girl billed as “Krao the Missing Link”. For more on Farini, see Shane Peacock, *The Great Farini: The High-Wire Life of William Hunt* (Toronto: Penguin Books, 1995).

² Ibid.

³ “From our London Correspondent,” *The Newcastle Courant*, May 7, 1880.

[the men should be] Turned adrift into the streets for the day, and then taken up for the first misdemeanour they committed and punished like ordinary criminals. So far they have been enjoying life vastly, living on the police-court poor-boxes, and successfully defying their employers' efforts to make them fulfil their contract...London is threatened by an impi of outrageous Zulus, determined to live here, but equally determined not to work.⁴

While the British press perceived and described such behaviour as troublesome and annoying, the actions of the Zulu men are significant indicators that African performers were able to protest their working conditions while in Britain. Moreover, as Charley's testimony suggests, ethnographic performers objected to various elements of their contracts, portrayals, depictions, or performances.

By way of specific examples, this chapter will explore the ways in which the Zulu performers and other Africans chose to negotiate, influence, and resist the terms under which they were being exhibited. As outlined earlier, the Zulus in this study were exhibited in both Britain and the United States. Not surprisingly, efforts to negotiate the terms of their labour can be found on both sides of the Atlantic. At times, the Zulus used legal avenues in order to redress their grievances; on other occasions, they used more informal methods, such as striking or seeking other employment. This chapter will also focus on the working conditions and wages of individuals who performed in exhibitions and circuses. It will also explore their entrepreneurial endeavours, hitherto underexplored in the literature. It will also examine the occasions when Africans and other groups of people shaped the very nature of exhibitions. By bringing together the various ways the African performers negotiated the terms of their labour, and redressed their various grievances, pursued entrepreneurial activities, and shaped the nature of their

⁴ *Daily Telegraph*, January 7, 1880. 'Impi' is an isiZulu word referring to armed men.

exhibition, this chapter attempts to go beyond discussions in the existing historical narrative that concentrate on issues surrounding theories of exhibitions, the ‘colonial gaze’, and performance. While scholarship dealing with these issues is important and has helped in a great deal in the way historians understand colonial exhibitions, it often gives little insight into how performers experienced their daily lives. This chapter suggests that labour relations, contractual issues, as well as the active contestation of their depiction and portrayal were central to performers’ experiences in both Europe and the United States.

“The Discontented Zulus”: Legal Manoeuvring In London

The case of a group of Zulu men deemed “the Discontented Zulus” by the London press provides a specific example of how performer’s made use of the British legal system to bring attention to their complaints. In December of 1879, a group of Zulu men arrived in London. Nomanquansana, Inconda, Maquasa, Inqala, and Iatoi were more commonly referred to in the press as Squash, Jim, Sam, Charley, and John.⁵ Prior to their arrival in London, the men had been engaged at the infamous Paris music hall, the Folies Bergère, under the direction of W. Culley.⁶ They refused to work shortly after arriving at

⁵ For the purposes of this study, their English cognomens will be used, as they remain consistent in the sources consulted. Just as the Zulus went by English names in Britain, British citizens also went by Zulu names in South Africa. For example, Colenso was known as Sobantu or ‘Our Father’. Shepstone went by ‘Somtseu’, ‘Great Hunter’.

⁶ “Zulus! Zulus! Zulus!,” *The Era*, November 2, 1879. This group may have been the same as the one that was reported to have arrived in Marseilles in early August of 1879. See “Paris Items,” *Lloyd’s Weekly Newspaper*, August 10, 1879. British newspapers reported the mayor of Paris objected to the performances. The Zulus received attention and applause from anti-Bonapartists in the crowd, due to the death of the heir of the Bonaparte claimant to the French crown in the Anglo-Zulu War. The mayor feared conflict at ensuing shows. See “News from Paris,” *Daily News*, October 31, 1879 ; “Zulus in Paris,” *Birmingham Daily Post*, November 20, 1879. Culley was allegedly from Africa and was returning home.

the Royal Aquarium.⁷ Perhaps given the existing popularity of the shows and British fascination with all things ‘Zulu’ as discussed in the introduction to this thesis, the British press covered this story widely. One paper reported that “‘the friendly’ Zulus imported for exhibition at the Westminster Aquarium have assumed a decidedly unfriendly attitude towards Mr. Farini, having gone on strike for higher wages.”⁸ As a result of this work stoppage, the men were taken to the Westminster Police Court on December 16 in order to be charged with breaching their contract. Squash apparently was willing to perform, but the other five men refused and allegedly wanted to “get back to Natal.”⁹ The performers’ main and repeated objection appears to have been the way their contract was transferred to Farini from Culley, indicating they were not informed or consulted about the switch in their managers. Moreover, the men claimed they were still owed money from Culley from their performances in Paris. Additionally, at this hearing, Jim asked for higher wages. The magistrate advised the performers to “act up to their agreement, which they seem to have understood, and signed” and warned them they could be sued and forced to pay damages if they did not return to work.¹⁰

Later that day, without Squash, the men returned to the court to speak to the magistrate. On this occasion, “Charley for the first time spoke good English” and

⁷ Built in 1876, ‘The Aq’, as it was commonly known, had garnered considerable financial losses and its board of directors decided to switch the types of entertainment available. Rather than featuring concerts and educational lectures, the entertainment centred on so-called ‘human curiosities’, many of African or African American descent. The Aquarium now boasted acts like Millie-Christine, the Two-Headed Nightingale; a set of conjoined twins born to African American slaves, LaLa, “The Black Venus”, and the “Leopard Boy”, purported to be from a lost white African tribe. After the advent of the Anglo-Zulu War, acts with a connection to Zulus became popular. Farini presented the “Zulu Kaffir Boy” and “Umgame, the Baby Zulu” in March of 1879. In April, two women advertised as the “Maravian Wild Women” and purported to be the daughters of a Maravi chief, kidnapped by a war party of Zulus, were featured.

⁸ “Legal,” *The Graphic*, December 20, 1879.

⁹ “The Friendly Zulus,” *The Birmingham Daily Post*, December 30, 1879.

¹⁰ “The Importation Of Zulus,” *The Daily News*, December 17, 1879.

“explained that they had not been paid, and preferred to work for another master.”¹¹ The magistrate then arranged for the court to provide them with food and lodging until the matter could be sorted out. The magistrate also instructed that Frederick William Chesson, the secretary of the Aborigines Protection Society be contacted.¹² Chesson introduced the performer to John Colenso, the son of the famous Bishop of Natal. Colenso would serve as their interpreter in the ensuing court hearings.¹³

The men would return to court and use a pragmatic method to protest their contract. Later in December, Charley began proceedings to sue Farini for the detention of their clothing by filing a test summons. After meeting with the performers, Chesson believed “they would not listen to reason” and during the hearing, he requested the magistrate “to bring them to reason and let them know that it would be to their advantage to carry out the contract.”¹⁴ At the hearing for this case, through their translator, Colenso, Charley claimed the group objected to being “handed over and sold like cows.”¹⁵ Charley denied Squash had explained the contract to the other performers, claiming “they were asked to make their marks on the paper, and that was all.”¹⁶ Furthermore, the group

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² The Aborigines Protection Society was a lobby group, founded by abolitionists in 1837, dedicated to protecting indigenous individuals in the British Empire. Informed by the ideology of the ‘civilizing mission’, members of this group believed that the British government had a special duty to protect indigenous peoples. The APS pressed cases of land and treaty settlements but also attempted to bring the violation of legal rights of indigenous peoples in overseas colonies and Dominions to the attention of the British public and the Colonial Office. The APS helped pursue a legal case against the promoters of the ‘Savage South Africa’ exhibit held in 1899.

¹³ See the introduction of this project for more information on Colenso and his father, the Bishop of Natal.

¹⁴ “Police,” *The Times*, December 20, 1879.

¹⁵ “Police,” *The Times*, December 29, 1879; “The Zulus in London,” *The Penny Illustrated Paper and Illustrated Times*, January 3, 1880; “Summary of This Morning’s News,” *The Pall Mall Gazette*, December 29, 1879.

¹⁶ “Police,” *The Times*, December 29, 1879.

protested a clause in their contract that attempted to limit their mobility or as one journalist put it, their ability “to go on the street to do as they liked.”¹⁷

The barrister representing Farini, who was out of the country, offered the men a bonus if they returned to work with the existing contract. Charley refused and asked that a new contract be drawn up. At that moment, the case was adjourned, since Farini was not in London and his presence was deemed necessary to continue. When the case resumed in early January of 1880, Sir Theophilus Shepstone, whose role in South African politics was explored in the introduction to this project, acted as *amicus curiae* and “endeavoured to see if they could be brought to terms but without success.”¹⁸ The magistrate dismissed the summons, claiming it was a ruse to bring the matter of the contract to the attention of the court.¹⁹ Furthermore, he declared that it “was in their own interest to remain with Farini; they would find themselves in difficulties without a home or friends so far away from their native lands.”²⁰ As a result of further discussions with Colenso, the men remained at the Aquarium and returned to work.

While the magistrate ruled it a ruse, Charley’s summons against Farini was a pragmatic method for the performers to express their discontent about the conditions of their contract. The group was able to use this occasion to not only protest their existing contract, but also to ask for a new one. As a result of his discussions with the men, Colenso claimed the group felt “they were under a sort of duress...they would not allow themselves to be bartered from one white man to another.”²¹

¹⁷ *Newcastle Courant*, December 19, 1879.

¹⁸ “Law,” *The Times*, January 5, 1880.

¹⁹ “Law,” *The Times*, January 5, 1880.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ “The Friendly Zulus,” *Birmingham Daily Post*, December 29, 1879.

These cases are significant as they demonstrate that the men protested the nature of their contract, that some demanded more wages, and they objected to efforts to limit their mobility and ability to travel in London. Moreover, they did so by using legal means. The existence of contracts suggests that ethnographic performance was becoming increasingly formalized.²² The use of contracts between the performers and their respective managers further suggests some shared interests and relationships. The complaint about the ways in which their contracts had been switched to Farini indicates that the men had not been informed of the change in managers, which understandably unsettled them. To the Zulus, this breached the terms of their original contracts. In this case, the men did not object to performing or being exhibited. Rather, they sought to negotiate the terms of their labour. Although the magistrate dismissed their summons, the tactic of using the legal system to protest conditions of labour would be used again. John would use the legal system again to complain about his treatment. In late April of 1880, John applied for a summons against Culley “for the non-payment for ten pounds due to him for his services in Paris and London.”²³ These cases also demonstrate a certain amount of knowledge and understanding on the part of the Zulus of the legal system, and as such here we see knowledge of British law and legal procedures.

Informal Methods of Protest

²² There are examples of ethnographic troupes successfully demanding special privileges in their contracts, for example refusing to perform in bad weather and the extra payment of bonuses above their contractual wages for additional performances. See Pascale Blanchard et al., “Human Zoos: The Greatest Exotic Show in the West: Introduction,” in *Human Zoos: Science and Spectacle in the Age of Empire*, ed. Pascale Blanchard et al. (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2008), 1-52

²³ “Law,” *The Times*, April 30, 1880.

Yet not all Zulu performers used the British legal system to protest their contract. Instead, some resorted to more informal tactics. Case in point is a group of Zulu men who arrived in Britain in April of 1880 with a Captain Williams who “made them over to Mr. Farini to be exhibited at the Aquarium.”²⁴ Williams allegedly “served as a volunteer at the Cape....and had agreed to give them £3 a month” and while in Natal had obtained “a written agreement had been drawn up by the Inspector of Police at Natal.”²⁵ *Reynolds’s Newspaper* reported that “several of the Zulus have again become rebellious, and refuse to perform at the Aquarium...On Wednesday morning they were sitting outside the Houses of Parliament, ‘on strike’.”²⁶ Another newspaper, the *Aberdeen Weekly Journal*, claimed:

The Farini Zulus, who have been performing at the Westminster Royal Aquarium, have again become rebellious. They refused to obey the behests of their director, and, instead of going to the Aquarium, gravitated as if by natural impulse to the Houses of Parliament. Singing, dancing, flourishing their assegais, the Zulus refused all overtures, whether of peace or admonition.²⁷

As a result of this ‘strike’, the group was arrested and charged with disorderly conduct.²⁸ Evidently, the men refused to perform and left the Aquarium after receiving payment. Williams insisted the performers understood their contracts, “knew perfectly well what it [the agreement] means, and knew the value of the money paid to them.”²⁹ This hearing also discloses aspects about the working conditions of the performers. During the proceedings, it was reported that the performers “went on strike because they thought too

²⁴ *Pall Mall Gazette*, April 29, 1880.

²⁵ “Zulus at Large in Westminster,” *Lloyd’s Weekly Newspaper*, May 2, 1880.

²⁶ “Disaffected Zulus,” *Reynolds Newspaper*, May 2, 1880.

²⁷ “London Correspondence,” *Aberdeen Weekly Journal*, April 29, 1880.

²⁸ “Law,” *The Times*, April 29, 1880.

²⁹ “London Correspondence,” *Freeman’s Journal and Daily Commercial Advertiser*, April 29, 1880.

much dancing was required of them.”³⁰ Moreover, through a translator, one of the men complained “they had too much dancing to do, and it injured their health.”³¹ In addition to these complaints, in a short statement, a performer indicated the group was afraid they would not be paid.³² Furthermore, this group also complained about the way their contract was switched from Williams to Farini. This case was discharged and the men were told if “they had any complaint, to make it in a proper manner to the magistrate.”³³

A few days later, this group later applied to the court for public assistance, in “a wretched state and half dead.”³⁴ They had left the Aquarium and allegedly had not been paid for their performances. Like many other disadvantaged individuals in London, they had ‘slept rough’ on some straw in an empty shop the previous night, after being denied beds at a police station.³⁵ The magistrate perceived the men and their claims unfavourably. One performer, acting as the spokesman for the group, asked to be sent back to South Africa, according to the terms of their contract.³⁶ The magistrate refused this demand and ruled the group had no grievance; their destitution was through their own misconduct and began arrangements for their admittance to a workhouse.³⁷ Likely as a result of the ruling, the men eventually came to terms and continued performing.³⁸

Informal methods of protest also occurred in the United States. In April of 1880, Farini left Britain for the United States with four Zulu men, Dingando, Possoman,

³⁰ “Law,” *The Times*, April 30, 1880.

³¹ “Summary of This Morning’s News,” *The Pall Mall Gazette*, April 29, 1880.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ “Zulus At Large in Westminster,” *Lloyd’s Weekly Newspaper*, May 2, 1880.

³⁴ “Law,” *The Times*, May 1, 1880.

³⁵ “Zulus At Large in Westminster,” *Lloyd’s Weekly Newspaper*, May 2, 1880.

³⁶ “Law,” *The Times*, May 1, 1880.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ “Zulus At Large,” *The Graphic*, May 8, 1880.

Mauigibi, and Ousan.³⁹ By the end of 1881, eight more performers had arrived in the United States. Some of these men and women worked for travelling circuses, including P.T. Barnum's 'Greatest Show on Earth' and W.C. Coup's 'New United Monster Shows'.⁴⁰ For those employed by travelling circuses, pronounced forms of employee resistance were risky because workers had little recourse for airing their grievances.⁴¹ The practice of 'red-lighting', or stranding performers by throwing them out of a train without pay or transportation occurred occasionally if a circus was low on funds.⁴² By the end of the nineteenth century, circus contracts absolved managers of any liability for employees who were injured or killed during the season. Following these developments, performer's increasingly chose to express their grievances by using informal means. One option open to performers was to leave their engagement and seek work elsewhere. This was a tactic employed by a Zulu troupe performing at a dime museum in Chicago in 1883. The troupe was evidently a popular act as evidenced by reviews of the show

³⁹ Farini left London due to the dangerous nature of some of his acts. A British Member of Parliament Edward Jenkins attempted to pass the 'Dangerous Performances Bill' through Parliament in the winter of 1880. The bill was designed to "prevent the exhibition in places of amusement of acrobatic performances dangerous to life and limb". The bill was not passed before the spring dissolution and therefore died. Both the Home Secretary's Office and London papers were flooded with letters from the public attacking 'dangerous performances' and some of Farini's planned shows were cancelled at the Royal Aquarium. It must be noted that the Zulus performance did not come under fire after the end of the Anglo-Zulu War, as discussed in Chapter One. See Shane Peacock, *The Great Farini: The High Wire Life of William Hunt* (Toronto: Penguin Books, 1995), 260-263. Additionally, circus owner and showman P.T. Barnum was urging Farini to bring his acts, including the Zulus to the United States.

⁴⁰ By the 1880s when the Zulu entertainers were in the United States, the circus had become a cultural institution drawing larger crowds than sporting events or visits by elite rulers and monarchs. The rapid expansion of the railroad ensured large travelling circuses like Barnum's and Coup's came to most cities and towns in the American Northeast and Midwest. In many cities and towns, the day the circus arrived would be declared a public holiday. In her monograph, Janet M. Davis notes circuses were "enormous tented cities that could stretch across ten acres" Janet M. Davis, *The Circus Age: Culture and Society Under the American Big Top* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), 3. While not performing, the performers lived in specially designed sleeping cars. The show began with a parade like entry of exotic animals and performers into the main tent and approximately twenty to twenty five other acts followed.

⁴¹ Janet M. Davis, *The Circus Age: Culture and Society Under the American Big Top* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), 80. Unions for circus workers and performers would not be formed until 1937.

⁴² Ibid.

published in local papers, with one article reporting “the Zulus, with their weird, wild songs and quaint and warlike actions, although sadly out of their latitude in this cold and snowy country, are a great feature of the vast collection of the wonders of remote countries.”⁴³ In a matter of weeks, however, the group would leave their employment. A local paper reported:

The Chicago museum is no more, the Zulu warriors having put on their war paint and gone on strike for their salaries. It is sad that these untutored children of nature, that these flat nosed, big lipped and large eared sons of sunny Africa should have learned the white man’s trick of going on a strike, but such is the fact. This is a pity, for the show was a good one of its kind, and its genial manager deserved a better fate. But accidents will happen, and especially when one has a collection of cranky warriors, hammer-head sharks, sword-fishes, a baby with a transparent head, and other wonders. It is understood that the Zulus and the rest of the gang are looking for open dates.⁴⁴

This method allowed the Zulus to find other employment.

That this course of action was popular is suggested by the ways exhibitors and managers sought to control performers’ ability to leave shows as they sought to find better wages and conditions. Reportedly, a group of “managers of museums” met in Pittsburgh in 1883 “for the purpose of forming a combination that will give them control of the movement and salaries of all the living curiosities in the country.”⁴⁵ These managers supposedly believed that “living curiosities have been getting too much of their money ...this federation is really a strike on the part of capital against skeletons, fat women, two-headed girls, armless and legless creatures, midgets, giants, gorillas, Zulus

⁴³ “Chicago Museum,” *Daily Globe*, February 4, 1883.

⁴⁴ “City Globules,” *Daily Globe*, February 21, 1883.

⁴⁵ “Show People Organize Against Their Demands,” *The Daily Evening Bulletin*, August 17, 1883.

and such like.”⁴⁶ At this meeting, the managers agreed to set a wage for performers so the “attractions will have to accept whatever salaries the combinations will agree to pay them otherwise their charms will remain hidden from the public gaze.”⁴⁷

The ability to use the informal tactic of striking or leaving their current employment, as well as the success it brought was influenced by where the performers were working. Although there was not a large African population in Britain, there were opportunities for the performers to find work elsewhere. Given the popularity of Zulu shows in Britain at this time, with other shows in London, Aberdeen, Belfast, and Bridgwater, for example, it seems likely that the Zulu performers could have easily found employment and perhaps improved wages and treatment with another show.⁴⁸ Indeed, during their attempts to address their contractual complaints through the British legal system, two men indicated they wished to find work in another Zulu show.⁴⁹ What is more, throughout the nineteenth century in Britain, individuals of African descent were commonly employed at places of entertainment, in particular at theatres, music halls, fairs, and circuses. Michael Pickering’s work on minstrel shows in Britain reveals that troupes consisting of performers of African descent were popular.⁵⁰ They may have sought work in other forms of employment not related to performance. Caroline Bressey’s recent study suggests that during the nineteenth century, individuals of African descent made use of British newspapers to advertise their availability to work in domestic service, men looking for work as butlers, valets, grooms and coachmen, women searching

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ “ ‘ Zulus’ At Bridgwater,” *The Era*, July 13, 1879; “The Zulus in Belfast,” *Belfast Newsletter*, July 24, 1879; “Interdict Against ‘Performing Zulus,’” *Aberdeen Weekly Journal*, August 1879.

⁴⁹ “At Westminster, Mr. Farini of the Royal Aquarium,” *The Times*, January 5, 1880.

⁵⁰ Michael Pickering, *Blackface Minstrelsy in Britain* (London: Ashgate, 2008).

for jobs as maids, cooks, and nurses.⁵¹ But they also found other kinds of employment. For example, a Zulu performer named Sam apparently worked at a sugar refinery in Paris after leaving the show.⁵²

The African American population in the United States provided Zulus with opportunities related to their labour. But, there were also disadvantages. Its existence most likely ensured that the Zulus might have been able to blend into local communities if looking for other forms of employment. However, the popularity of Zulu shows meant that African American men were frequently hired to play the part of Zulu warriors. The fact that local blacks were also able to perform in these shows undermined the negotiating power of Zulus and other Africans. It was cheaper and easier to hire local African Americans and this practice became so common that it was customary to call any black individual hired to perform as an African a Zulu.⁵³ Furthermore, it became advantageous for local blacks to seek work as a 'Zulu'. Black circus workers could earn what was known as a 'Zulu ticket', a credit slip qualifying them for higher wages by acting as a Zulu.⁵⁴ Reviews of travelling circuses indicate the practice of hiring local African Americans was prevalent. An 1881 article noted of a circus:

two ugly darkies with nothing on but a feather belt and a turban, were walking around the tent chatting to the members of the band in good English...afterwards they were seen eating peanuts and enjoying the circus performance. They were nothing more than razor carrying darkies, and there are plenty of hod-carriers in town who would make better Zulus".⁵⁵

⁵¹ Caroline Bressy, "Looking For Work: The Black Presence in Britain 1860-1920," *Immigrants and Minorities* 28 (2010): 164.

⁵² "Westminster," *Daily News*, September 6, 1880.

⁵³ Robert Bogdan, *Freak Show: Presenting Human Oddities for Amusement and Progress* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 187.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ "The Circus, What They Had Real-Live Zulus," *Lancaster Daily Intelligencer*, July 30, 1881. 'Hod-Carriers' were labourers who carried bricks at building sites.

Another article claimed, “the first importation of Zulus, eight in all, were said to be genuine, but recruits from the ranks of the negroes have swollen the number to almost limitless proportions.”⁵⁶ Showman George Middleton, the owner of several dime museums, related a tale about a ‘fake’ Zulu in one of his shows:

In the sideshow we had a big negro whom we had fitted up with rings in his nose, a leopard skin, some assegais, and a large shield made out of cow’s skin. While he was sitting in the side show, along came two negro women and remarked, ‘See that nigger over there? He ain’t no Zulus, that’s Bill Jackson. He worked over here at Camden on the dock. I seen that nigger often.’ Poor old Bill Jackson was as uneasy as if he was sitting on needles, holding the shield between him and the two negro women.⁵⁷

W.C. Coup, the owner of one of the travelling circuses where the Zulu troupe performed noted:

About 1882, a very tall specimen of the African race walked into an Eastern museum looking for work...Knowing that his value as a negro giant would be but little, the proprietors resolved to introduce him as a monster from wild Africa. After consulting Rev. J.G. Woods’ *Illustrated History of the Uncivilized Races*, it was determined to make a Dahomey of the tall North Carolinian...At all events, long and interesting accounts of the ‘snuff-coloured giant from Dahomey’ appeared in most of the dailies, and for several weeks this Dahomey was the stellar attraction at that particular dime museum...the Dahomey ‘joined out’ with a side show, in which, for successive seasons, he posed as a Dahomey giant, a Maori from New Zealand, and Australian aborigine and a Kaffir. This man’s success was the initiative for a score of other negroes, who posed as representatives of any foreign races the side-show proprietor wished to exhibit.⁵⁸

While acting as ‘fake Zulus’ provided local African American men in the United States with employment, African Americans that acted in Zulu seemed less likely to

⁵⁶ “Showmen’s Secrets,” *Omaha Daily Bee*, February 16, 1883.

⁵⁷ Bogdan, *Freak Show*, 176. Middleton’s museum in Chicago would host the Zulus in 1884.

⁵⁸ Peacock, “Africa Meets the Great Farini”, 94.

formally and informally protest their working conditions. Some of the local people recruited to act as Zulus performed under conditions that pushed the boundaries that even the Zulu performers were made to confront. For example, an African American named Thomas Morris performed in both the United States and Europe during the 1880s. His performances were designed to scare and shock audiences. The *New York Times* noted: “He fed on raw meat in the sight of the spectators, and would gnaw and tear furiously at chickens tossed into his cage, sucking the blood and making a terrible fuss generally, as was supposed to become an uncivilized Zulu”.⁵⁹ Additionally, sixteen-year-old William Haggard posed as a Zulu at a venue called Proctor’s Pleasure Palace in New York City in 1896. To act the part, he was “attired as a savage” and “sits in a cage and eats raw meat”.⁶⁰ Although they often performed in less than ideal conditions, the men, women, and children who travelled from South Africa to Britain and the United States do not seem to have been compelled or coerced to act in such an extreme fashion. It is clear that local African American men were portraying an image of the ‘authentic’ African that was premised on themes of ‘savagery’ and ‘bestiality’. These cases suggest that while local African Americans could take advantage of the popularity of Zulu shows in order to find employment, they also seemed more willing to emphasize and reinforce British and American notions of an ‘authentic’, ‘savage’ Africa.

Thus, cultural perceptions of authenticity played a role in both how audiences received these shows as well as the willingness of African American men to participate in them. In their study of the cultural perceptions of Zulus in nineteenth and early twentieth

⁵⁹“A Tamed ‘Wild Zulu’,” *New York Times*, July 3, 1884. The article also noted that Morris, described as a ‘gigantic colored man’ brought a suit against Copper and Hewitt, a mining company for the balance of unpaid wages. Additionally, it also details his marriage to a German woman and later career as a strong man.

⁶⁰“Watchmen Saw A Gorilla,” *New York Times*, March 8 1896.

century United States, Robert Edgar and Robert Trent Vinson argue that “African Americans, widely admired by Zulu students as exemplars of black modernity, advanced divergent and often conflicting images of the Zulu that reflected their own collective ambivalence about Africa at a time when they struggled for their American citizenship rights.”⁶¹ African American participation in ‘fake’ Zulu shows may be viewed as a reflection of popular conceptions about Africa and ‘authentic’ Africans.

Shaping the Nature of the Exhibition

On the other hand, some African performers had at times more choice and were able to influence certain aspects of their exhibition. In fact, there is some evidence to suggest that Africans could resist European or American direction of their portrayal. Examinations of photographs of ethnographic performers taken at the 1896 Berlin Colonial Exhibition demonstrate this resistance. Although some African (and Pacific Island) performers allowed photographs to be taken of their performances, many objected to having Felix Von Luschan, an anthropologist working with the show, take individual photographs. There are also some instances of performers refusing to allow Von Luschan to photograph them at all. Others insisted on wearing European style clothing, if they were to be photographed rather than the costumes they wore during their performances.

The reason as to why many performers refused to allow themselves be photographed in the clothing from their shows may be found in their lives before they became performers. Many of the performers at this exhibition came from elite groups; this was particularly the case in regards to the Duala performers from Cameroon and

⁶¹Robert Edgar and Robert Trent Vinson, “Zulus Abroad: Cultural Representations and Educational Experiences of Zulus in America, 1880-1945,” *Journal of Southern African Studies* 33 (2007): 61.

Swahili speaking performers from the East Coast of Africa. Performers were often recruited from social groups that had long-standing economic and political ties to the colonial government. Historian Andrew Zimmerman has also emphasized this particular point by demonstrating how the performers refused to wear their stage costumes in pictures. For Zimmerman, this represents their belief that anthropological photographs were instead individual portraits and their preference to appear dressed in a manner more appropriate to their social standing.⁶² The particular case for a Duala man, named Bismark Bell and also known as Kwelle Ndumbe shows this point. He refused to be photographed in anything other than black tie dress. Bell was a member of a powerful ruling family in Cameroon that had close ties to the German colonial government. Bell “stood in an ambiguous relation to colonial powers: on the one hand, he was subordinate to the German state; on the other hand, he enjoyed a kind of social authority and power in his own right.”⁶³ For Bell, it was most likely essential to be regarded for what he perceived himself to be: an authoritative figure and one with ties to German colonial administration. It may have been important for Bell to be seen in Western style clothing to demonstrate his social position to both the Germans and the Duala.

Performers could also make clever use of their stage personae, even when European managers imposed those personae on them.⁶⁴ A group of Duala men from Cameroon performed in a show in Germany in 1886. To increase interest in the shows, their manager advertised one of the performers, the son of a relatively unimportant local

⁶² Andrew Zimmerman, *Anthropology and Antihumanism in Imperial Germany* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 30. For more on wearing European style cloths as a form of resistance to colonialism, see Bernard S. Cohn, “Cloth, Clothes, and Colonialism: India in the Nineteenth Century”, in *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 106-162, and Philip Prein, “Guns and Top Hats: African Resistance in German South West Africa, 1907 – 1915” *Journal of Southern African Studies* 20 (1994): 99-121.

⁶³ Zimmerman, *Anthropology and Antihumanism*, 21.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 23.

leader from the village of Bonabella, as “King Dido”.⁶⁵ Unaware that this was merely a show name, Crown Prince Friedrich hosted King Dido and three other performers at the New Palace in Potsdam, and procured a royal coach to take them back to Berlin. This meeting angered Chancellor Bismarck and Julius Soden, the governor of Cameroon. They regarded it as having the potential it had to destabilize colonist efforts in Cameroon.⁶⁶ Soden wrote Bismarck that indigenous leaders in Cameroon viewed the people whom Friedrich had entertained as “damn niggers and slaves” and expressed his fears that such meetings would undermine German colonists’ claims that in comparison to a “German King or prince” the elites of Cameroon were themselves “nothing but damned niggers”.⁶⁷ Zimmerman asserts that given the reaction of Soden and Bismarck, this meeting was perceived as a challenge to German colonial rule in Cameroon.⁶⁸ Moreover, the performers transformed their popular representation of Africa into “a kind of unauthorized political representation”.⁶⁹

What is more, some performers travelled to Europe as authorized political representatives. In 1896, Herero leader Samuel Meherero sent five men including his son Friedrich to the Berlin Colonial Exhibition. This group performed in ethnographic exhibitions but also took the opportunity to discuss political reforms in German South West Africa with Kaiser Wilhelm.⁷⁰ Recruitment also often reflected political relations

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ When Friedrich, now Kaiser, was dying of cancer two years after the meeting, King Dido wrote from Cameroon. Bismarck forbade the Kaiser to respond. See Zimmerman, *Anthropology and Antihumanism*, 23.

⁶⁷ Ibid

⁶⁸ Ibid

⁶⁹ Ibid., 24.

⁷⁰ Sierra Buckner, “Spectacles of (Human) Nature: Commercial Ethnography Between Leisure, Learning, and Schaulust,” in *Worldly Provincialism: German Anthropology in the Age of Empire*, ed. H. Glenn Penny and Matti Bunzl (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003), 135. In addition to unauthorized and authorized political motivations in travelling to Europe in order to perform in exhibitions, some Africans

in the colony. This is clearly seen in the recruitment of performers from German East Africa. Here, German recruiters were only successful in finding men willing to come to Berlin in areas near the coast, where many coastal Swahili traders had good trading and political relations with the German colonial government.⁷¹ German recruiters had a much harder time finding willing participants that hailed from the interior, with the exception of the Masai, a group with whom the Germans had a long history of contact with.

Organized resistance was a method used by those being exhibited regardless of their place of birth. At larger exhibitions, like World's Fairs, many utilized different strategies to deal with the problems of living in the constant public gaze. In their study of the 1904 St. Louis Exposition, Nancy J. Parezo and Don D. Fowler assert "native people managed daily life by using role inversions, pranks, ironic language, poise, authority, educative speeches directed at officials and fairgoers, defiance, humour and compassion...often they ignored and actively defied rules...they staged passive protests, renegotiated extensively and controlled economic transactions."⁷² Zine Magubane agrees that various groups made use of such methods of resistance. She contests that "the refusal to speak [on the part of the performers] was yet another powerful method of resistance."⁷³ Historian Anne Maxwell relates the following anecdote about a group of African performers at the Chicago's World's Fair:

may have been motivated by a desire to continue their education. For example, in 1931, a group of Malagasy performers in France "requested official authorization to continue their education in France, after having passed the baccalaureate school-leaving examination in Paris." See Catherine Hodeir, "Decentering the Gaze at French Colonial Exhibitions," in *Images and Empire in Colonial and Post-Colonial Africa*, eds. Paul S. Landau and Deborah D. Kaspin. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 244.

⁷¹ Zimmerman, *Anthropology and Antihumanism*, 25.

⁷² Nancy J. Parezo and Don D. Fowler, *Anthropology Goes to the Fair: The 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007), 268.

⁷³ Zine Magubane, "Ethnographic Showcases as Sites of Knowledge Production and Indigenous Resistance," in *Contesting Knowledge: Museums and Indigenous Perspectives*, ed. Susan Sleeper-Smith. (Omaha: University of Nebraska Press, 2009), 58.

The Dahomeyans soon wearied of being characterized as the lowest order of humanist and chastised for their 'ugliness' and their eating habits. One morning visitors arrived at the Dahomeyan exhibit to be greeted by a placard politely asking them to refrain from interrogating the villagers about their former habits of cannibalism, because they found such questions annoying.⁷⁴

At the 1896 Exhibition in Berlin, the Togolese leader of a troupe continually prevented anthropologists from measuring and studying the female members in the group by making excuses. Felix Von Luschan, an anthropologist working at the exhibition, recollected that the man would evade such attempts by claiming "one day it was too warm, another too cold; one day the women were unwell, another day they had to bathe; once they just sat down to eat, another time they were cooking..."⁷⁵ Other groups of people also protested their conditions. Faced with poor living and working conditions, a group of Inuit performers at Chicago hired an attorney in order to protest in a court of law. Their attempt to sue their commissionaire for not fulfilling the terms of their contract was, perhaps surprisingly successful.⁷⁶ These are but a few of the examples that demonstrate such acts of resistance were commonplace in exhibitions.

Working Conditions

The fact that Zulus and others protested aspects of contracts and issues of labour, and as a result, shaped some of the terms of their exhibition, suggests that working conditions were not always ideal. In London, when employed at the Royal Aquarium, the Zulu men and women performed nearly all day and gave special performances in

⁷⁴ Anne Maxwell, *Colonial Photography and Exhibitions: Representations of the 'Native' and the Making of European Identities* (London: Leicester University Press, 1999), 81.

⁷⁵ Zimmerman, *Anthropology and Antihumanism*, 34.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 81.

reception rooms twice a day.⁷⁷ While engaged at dime museums, the entertainers generally stayed in attic accommodations above the museum.⁷⁸ These accommodations had sleeping cubicles and a common dining room. Some performers endured grueling schedules and worked long hours as suggested by the men who informally protested their contract “because they thought too much dancing was required of them.”⁷⁹ At Bunnell’s Museum, the performers may have staged performances six times daily.⁸⁰ Many entertainers were given only a small percentage of their earnings and would travel between museums weekly. If employed by a travelling circus, while not working, the performers lived in specially designed sleeping cars. While their performances were generally similar from venue to venue, part of their act in Barnum’s 1882 season consisted of racing against horses in the main tent.⁸¹

It seems most likely that poor living and working conditions influenced individuals from colonized regions around the world to protest their conditions. Such

⁷⁷ Shane Peacock, *The Great Farini: The High Wire Life of William Leonard Hunt* (Toronto: Penguin Press, 1996), 256. Built in 1876, ‘The Aq’, as it was commonly known, had garnered considerable financial losses and its board of directors decided to switch the types of entertainment available. Rather than featuring concerts and educational lectures, the entertainment centred on so-called ‘human curiosities’, many of African or African American descent. The Aquarium now boasted acts like Millie-Christine, the Two-Headed Nightingale; a set of conjoined twins born to African American slaves, LaLa, “The Black Venus”, and the “Leopard Boy”, purported to be from a lost white African tribe. After the advent of the Anglo-Zulu War, acts with a connection to Zulus became popular. Farini presented the “Zulu Kaffir Boy” and “Umgame, the Baby Zulu” in March of 1879. In April, two women advertised as the “Maravian Wild Women” and purported to be the daughters of a Maravi chief, kidnapped by a war party of Zulus, were featured.

⁷⁸ As the name indicates, dime museums were intended to be a cheap venue for varied entertainment. Their contents were varied and they integrated many different types of entertainment under one roof. Live performance were the major draw of the dime museums. At most, the main attractions were found on the so-called ‘freak platform’ and featured ‘human oddities’ and ‘exotic curiosities’. Other similar presentations would take place in lecture rooms. There were different types of performers who made their living at these venues. They included individuals from regions in Africa, Asia, and the Pacific Islands who were often promoted as savages or cannibals and people born with physical or mental disabilities, billed as giants, dwarves, or ‘pin-heads’. Additionally, dime museums featured performers who acted as though they had a disability or local African-Americans acting as Africans.

⁷⁹ “Law,” *The Times*, April 30, 1880.

⁸⁰ Andrea Dennet, *Weird and Wonderful: The Dime Museum in America* (New York: New York University Press, 1997), 57.

⁸¹ Shane Peacock, “Africa Meets the Great Farini,” in *Africans on Stage: Studies in Ethnological Show Business*, ed. Bernth Lindfors. (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 2001), 93.

conditions were particularly poor at most American fairs held between 1876 and 1909.⁸² These sites could often pose public health risks to the performers and spectators alike and as Robert W. Rydell reminds us “the last great smallpox epidemic of the nineteenth century had originated on the fairgrounds of the 1893 World’s Columbian Exposition.”⁸³ Many venues lacked basic sanitation facilities. The Midway Plaisance of 1893 at the Chicago World’s Fair, where African performers walked in a daily parade, infamously lacked public toilets. The Midway at the 1901 Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo gave off an extremely foul stench because it was covered in slag produced by local smelters.⁸⁴ Most African performers worked and lived in constructed ‘native villages’. They had little to no input into how or where these villages were constructed. Moreover, since African performers often lived at their venue, there was no going ‘home’ after the performance had concluded.⁸⁵ As a result, visitors expected to be able to view the performers at all times. At the 1904 St. Louis Exposition, a group of Mbuti performers from the Congo complained about American crowds:

Latuna said the white people did nothing but lean on the fence and ask questions, which they could not understand. ‘When a white man come to our country,’ complained Latuna, ‘we give them presents, sometimes of sheep, goats or birds, and divide our elephant meat with them. The Americans treat us as they do our pet monkey. They laugh at us and poke their umbrellas into our faces. They do the same to our monkey’.⁸⁶

⁸² Robert W. Rydell, “Africans in America: African Villages at America’s World’s Fairs (1893-1901),” in *Human Zoos: Science and Spectacle in the Age of Empire*, ed. Pascale Blanchard et al. (Liverpool: University of Liverpool Press, 2008), 286. He notes this was especially the case for indigenous ‘Eskimo’ performers.

⁸³ Robert W. Rydell, “Into the Heart of Whiteness: The Transnational Saga of John Tevi,” in *Straddling Borders: The American Resonance in Transnational Identities*, ed. Rob Kroes. (Amsterdam: VU University Press, 2004), 26.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ Parzeo and Fowler, *Anthropology Goes to the Fair*, 275.

Other venues also posed serious challenges. Living and working in a travelling circus could be dangerous. Several of the Zulu entertainers were involved in accidents during their time on tour with the circus. In the summer of 1880, one of the performers associated with Barnum's show "accidentally hit someone with his assegai."⁸⁷ The man recovered and "the person most grieved over the misadventure was the Zulu himself, who tried to express his contrition in every possible manner."⁸⁸ In the fall of 1881, some of the men were involved in an accident when fireworks exploded in a carriage during the parade prior to opening night. The explosion caused a fire but as the performers were dressed in their stage costumes, they were able to escape relatively unharmed.⁸⁹ Living in close quarters could often result in altercations. While with the W.C. Coup United Monster Shows in 1881, two of the performers reportedly "got into a fight" and "one of the combatants was pretty badly cut on the arm."⁹⁰ Furthermore, 1881 was reputed to have an "unusual occurrence of circus calamities" including "several railroad accidents to circus trains in which performers were killed and maimed."⁹¹ Barnum's 1880 route book suggests such dangers. While travelling through Texas, railway conditions were poor:

These Texas railroads are the only ones we have yet traveled over where they dispense entirely with rails, and run over the ties. The sleeping cars lurched to and fro like ships in a storm; and at times it was impossible to sleep, or even stand up in the aisles with safety. Four miles an hour was good average time. Every few miles wrecked cabooses and freight cars could be seen lying in the ditches.⁹²

⁸⁷ *Daily Globe*, July 10, 1880.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

⁸⁹ *New York Tribune*, September 6, 1881.

⁹⁰ *Omaha Daily Bee*, July 13, 1881.

⁹¹ "Minor Topics," *Lancaster Daily Intelligencer*, October 6, 1881.

⁹² Robert Good and J. W. Little, *Route Book, Season of 1880, P. T. Barnum's Greatest Show on Earth*, St. Louis: Globe-Democrat Job Printing Co., 1880. Accessed May 23 2011. <http://www.circushistory.org/History/PTB1880.htm>.

⁹² Davis, *The Circus Age*, 188.

Finally, the danger associated with living in a circus is made clear by a report from 1881, which claimed that particular year was “a bad season for the employees of circuses...rarely has there been a time when more of them have come to grief.”⁹³

In addition to living and working in what were often dangerous and unsanitary conditions, the Zulus also faced violence from spectators. While on tour with travelling circuses, the men and women may have been able to find networks of support and companionship, but they also faced racially motivated violence, prejudice and intolerance. During the season, circus performers and workers were also the target of local ‘roughs’. On July 7th, 1882, while with Barnum’s circus in Lowell, Massachusetts “several roughs amused themselves in the side show by annoying the Zulus...they [the Zulus] pounced on them and by the aid of detective Cooper cleared them out in style...Cooper was arrested but on explanation released.”⁹⁴ As this entry makes clear, despite the presence of local police and Pinkerton agents, groups of men would often gather together when the circus came to town to “posture, throw stones, and pull punches.”⁹⁵ The evening show and its aftermath were the time for men to fight – after the women and children had gone home.⁹⁶ Furthermore, in her study of nineteenth century travelling circuses, Janet M. Davis argues that in more rural areas, the annual arrival of the circus became a predictable, ritual stage for violence, an opportunity to ‘settle scores’ or vindicate one’s manly honour in a public setting.⁹⁷ As the route book entry makes clear, at least on one occasion, the performers were the targets of violence.

⁹³ “Globelets,” *The Daily Globe*, October 10, 1881.

⁹⁴ Robert Good and J. W. Little, *Route Book, Season of 1880, P. T. Barnum's Greatest Show on Earth*, St. Louis: Globe-Democrat Job Printing Co., 1880. Accessed March 1, 2011.
<http://www.circushistory.org/History/PTB1880.htm>.

⁹⁵ Davis, *The Circus Age*, 188.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 189.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

Additionally, Charley's experiences demonstrate the complicated nature of race in nineteenth century United States. In 1881, he found himself the target of abuse at Bunnell's Museum in New York City. During one of his performances, an actor named John Toner "began to annoy on the Zulu."⁹⁸ Toner reportedly called Charley names and "slapped him on the legs and shoulders."⁹⁹ In response, Charley struck Toner with a stick used in the show. As a result, Toner charged Charley with assault on July 9th, 1881.¹⁰⁰ Throughout Charley's trial, it was reported that during his visit to Bunnell's, while supposedly intoxicated, Toner claimed Charley was not an authentic Zulu.¹⁰¹ The performer then assaulted Toner. Through his interpreter, Charley testified that "Toner expectorated on the Zulu and dubbed him a 'Thompson-st. nigger.'¹⁰² The interpreter continued that this led the Charley to "hit his tormentor on the head."¹⁰³ When he took the stand to testify, Toner claimed he visited the museum as an escort to a young lady. The Zulus evidently frightened his companion and to alleviate her fright, Toner avowed he told her "they were only Negros from Thompson street."¹⁰⁴ Toner continued that when a performer asked what he said, he replied to the performer "his appearance was not pleasing to the young lady."¹⁰⁵ According to the testimony, the performer responded that he wanted to kick Toner. Toner claimed that he told the performer "that I thought

⁹⁸ "A Zulu Clubs His Tormentor," *The New York Times*, July 7, 1881.

⁹⁹ Ibid. Toner's race is not mentioned in the coverage of this case in New York newspapers, leading to a conclusion that he is most likely Caucasian.

¹⁰⁰ "Zulus in Court," *New York Sun*, July 13, 1881.

¹⁰¹ "A Zulu Clubs His Tormentor," *The New York Times*, July 7, 1881.

¹⁰² "A Zulu Chief Fined," *The Tribune*, July 14, 1881. Thompson Street was a poor slum with a large African American population, housed in tenements. Contemporary sources reported it was dangerous and full of crime and vice. Social reformer and journalist Jacob August Riis wrote in 1905: "The moral turpitude of Thompson Street has been notorious for years... The border-land where the white and black races meet in common debauch, the aptly named black-and-tan saloon, has never been debatable ground from a moral standpoint. It has always been the worst of the desperately bad." See Jacob August Riis, *How the Other Half Lives: Studies Among the Tenements of New York* (Stilwell: Digireads, 2005), 72.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ "Zulus in Court," *The Sun*, July 13, 1881.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

Zulus could not speak English, and that I thought he was a fraud.”¹⁰⁶ Toner claimed he was hit several times in the head with a club, and then was surrounded by a number of “curiosities who all said that I had called the Zulu names.”¹⁰⁷ Several other performers from the Museum testified in support of Charley’s actions being in self-defense, but during the proceedings, Toner’s witnesses were able “to prove the assault was an unprovoked one.”¹⁰⁸ As a result of their testimony, the Justice fined Charley \$10 and “required Mr. Bunnell to furnish bonds for their future good behaviour.”¹⁰⁹ The unidentified Zulu men who were attacked by local men and Charley’s experiences exemplify that race played an important role in the social dynamics of both the travelling circus and the dime museum, with the Zulu no doubt subjected to other forms of prejudice and violence.

Entrepreneurial Activities

No doubt, exhibited Africans were motivated to travel to Europe and the United States in order to earn sums of money that would not have been as easily procured in indigenous or colonial markets in South Africa. It is not surprising that, during a hearing in London in 1880 when the men were addressing their grievances in the British legal system, as explored earlier in this chapter, their translator indicated “they could not return without money from the ‘white man’, or they would be laughed at.”¹¹⁰ When Passman, a member of this previously discussed troupe, was returning to Natal, it was reported that he was “a saving ‘boy’, and had besides money, a large number of presents for his father,

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ “City and Suburban News,” *The New York Times*, July 14, 1881.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ “Police,” *The Times*, December 20, 1879.

mother, chief &c.” denoting that he had been able to save money from his wages.¹¹¹ Not all exhibited Zulus followed in Passman’s footsteps. Although Farini offered to pay for their expenses to return to Natal, some of the performers stated their wish to find work elsewhere in London.¹¹² Perhaps they were less resourceful than Passman and needed to save more money. Additionally, this decision may have been made, as there may have been too few opportunities to earn decent wages in South Africa. The exact wages earned by the Zulu troupes was never specified in the material reviewed for this project but a history of the theatre and circus published in 1882 notes that Charley made one dollar per day while in New York.¹¹³ Other sources reveal that wages for performers at dime museums ranged widely, from twenty-five dollars a week to five hundred dollars a week for the most popular performers.¹¹⁴ The minimum pay for performers at dime museums was “roughly four times the minimum for a female servant girl in a big city.”¹¹⁵ A group of Australian Aboriginal performers billed as “P.T. Barnum’s Last Sensation”, who was employed at Barnum’s circus at the same time as one of the Zulu troupes apparently earned three hundred dollars a week divided between eleven performers.¹¹⁶ A group of West African performers at the 1893 Chicago’s World’s Fair received around thirty dollars a month, while their manager Xavier Pene, earned ninety thousand dollars for the concessionaire.¹¹⁷

¹¹¹ “Police,” *The Times*, June 10, 1880.

¹¹² “Law,” *The Times*, January 5, 1880.

¹¹³ John Joseph Jennings, *Theatrical or Circus Life or Secrets of the Stage, Green-Room, and Sawdust Arena*, (St. Louis: Sun Publishing Company, 1882), 591.

¹¹⁴ Dennett, *Weird and Wonderful*, 68.

¹¹⁵ Roslyn Poignant, *Professional Savages: Captive Lives and Western Spectacle* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 100.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁷ Robert W. Rydell, “Africans in America: African Villages at America’s World Fairs (1893-1901),” In *Human Zoos: Science and Spectacle in the Age of Empire*, edited by Pascale Blanchard et al. (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2008), 288.

Individuals in shows were often able to earn money in other ways; they also clearly intended to exploit opportunities to make extra money. Although, as highlighted above, many performers balked at the idea of having their picture taken in ‘authentic’ dress, many ethnographic performers had their photograph taken by anthropologists. The exchange of these photographs formed a significant component of a “transnational network of exchange of new anthropological knowledge.”¹¹⁸ However, often performers were often able to keep all or some of the proceeds from the booklets and the photographs designed to accompany their shows that were sold to the public. There exists several photographs of the Zulu performers. Unfortunately, it is unknown if they participated in the common practice of selling these photos. At larger exhibitions, particularly ones that featured artisans, performers were able to sell art products to the visiting public.¹¹⁹ For some, performing in exhibitions was part of a family legacy. This is indicated from the fact that many of the Senegalese performers who appeared in the “Village nègre” in France in 1889 were rehired for later exhibitions elsewhere in Europe. Their children and grandchild appeared in ‘native villages’ in the 1920s and 1930s, which suggests that this type of performance had evolved into a “family business with contacts and trade secrets.”¹²⁰ Some performers developed other innovative strategies to make money in other ways while performing. The famous Apache leader Goyathlay, most commonly known as Geronimo, noted this of his experiences at the 1904 St. Louis Exposition:

¹¹⁸Poignant, *Professional Savages*, 177.

¹¹⁹ Nancy J. Parezo and Don D. Fowler, *Anthropology Goes to the Fair: The 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007), 274-276.

¹²⁰ Catherine Hoieder, “Decentering the Gaze at French Colonial Exhibitions,” in *Images and Empires: Visuality in Colonial and Postcolonial Africa*, ed. Paul S. Landau and Deborah D. Kaspin, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 244.

I sold my photograph for twenty-five cents and was allowed to keep ten cents of this to myself. I also wrote my name for ten, fifteen, or twenty-five cents, as the case may be, and kept all of that money. I often made as much as two dollars a day, and when I returned [to Oklahoma] I had plenty of money – more than I had ever owned before.¹²¹

Additionally, he refused to wear anything but European attire and would cut off and sell his coat buttons to audience members looking for a souvenir, sewing buttons back on later that night. As the case of Geronimo suggests, men, women, and children were often quite entrepreneurial and exploited various opportunities to make money.

Further complicating the typical scholarly treatment of colonial exhibitions, there are also examples of individuals from Africa establishing their own ethnographic troupes. John Tevi organized the Dahomey Village show at the 1893 Chicago World Fair as well as the Darkest Africa exhibit at the 1901 World's Fair. Born in West Central Africa, he travelled to Britain in the early 1880s. He returned to West Africa and the Congo in order to find recruits to perform at the 1893 World's Fair in Chicago. Tevi would travel back to Africa on two more occasions. He assembled another troupe of performers for the 1894 San Francisco Fair, and the 1895 Atlanta fair. He also recruited Africans to travel Buffalo for the 1901 Pan-American Exposition. Tevi wrote a pamphlet, entitled *A Tour Around the World and the Adventures of Dahomey [sic] Village*, published in 1912.

This volume has been characterized by Robert W. Rydell as “a record of a transnational life that few of Tevi's European or American contemporaries could have imagined.”¹²² There are quite likely a variety of motives and overlapping factors that led

¹²¹ Parezo and Fowler, *Anthropology Goes to The Fair*, 113.

¹²² Robert W. Rydell, “Into the Heart of Whiteness: The Transnational Sage of John Tevi,” in *Straddling Borders: The American Resonance in Transnational Identities*, ed. Rob Kroes, (Amsterdam: VU University Press, 2004), 25.

Tevi to manage ethnographic performers.¹²³ First and perhaps the most significant reason was that Tevi was an entrepreneur. While there are no precise indications of his earnings, he certainly made more money in his career in ethnographic performance than he would have earned as an indigenous labourer.¹²⁴ Given the levels of violence and warfare that accompanied colonial encroachment in French West Africa and the Congo, Tevi may have chosen the life as a ethnographic manager as a chance to escape an environment of conflict.¹²⁵ He may have also wanted to learn more about American and European society – indeed, few Americans or Europeans could boast as being as well travelled as Tevi.¹²⁶ Finally there is the likely chance that Tevi may have viewed performance and the rituals associated with it, such as carving masks and other objects, as a way to educate Western audiences about West Africa.¹²⁷

There were also several successful African managers of ethnographic troupes in Europe. Somali Hersi Ergeh Goresh managed a troupe in Germany for a number of years. J.C. Nayo Bruce was born in Togo, directed a troupe for over twenty years, travelling from nation to nation regularly and changing its name and act. Bruce came to Germany with his nephew Samuel Gabba who trained as a shoemaker in Berlin. He was apparently fluent in German and indicated he preferred to conduct the interview in English, since he spoke English better than German.¹²⁸ Bruce appears to have been motivated to join an ethnographic troupe in order to visit his daughter, who was studying in Europe. When asked if he and the other performers were frightened during their journey by ship to

¹²³ Ibid.

¹²⁴ Ibid.

¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁷ Ibid.

¹²⁸ Eike Reichardt, "Health, 'Race', and Empire: Popular Scientific Spectacles and National Identity in Imperial Germany, 1871-1914". (PhD Dissertation, SUNY Stony Brook, 2008), 99.

Europe, Bruce replied that “they live near the water and are decent mariners themselves.”¹²⁹ According to the interview, Bruce claimed he and the group were not homesick and were eager to remain in Germany as long as possible in order to improve the skills of their trade.¹³⁰

The interview also indicated Bruce’s opinion about colonial politics. He apparently “approved of the German justice system because the Germans, like the British, were very just people unlike French justices who were too lazy to investigate disputes and had no scruples from shooting ‘Blacks’ for minor offenses.”¹³¹ He was more critical in his view of other colonial policies, complaining that unlike individuals in British ruled colonies, Africans in German colonies were not allowed to attend university. When the interviewer told Bruce that university studies were long and difficult, Bruce replied “that he did not care because his nephew had studied in England, received a bachelor’s degree and would return as a lawyer.”¹³² Furthermore, in the interview, Bruce mentioned atrocities committed by European hunters and travellers and recommended a new governor. These cases of Africans running ethnographic troupes further complicate the typical historical treatment of exhibitions. Further work is needed on the topic of African managers like Tevi and Bruce as it could result in fruitful findings involving issues of the motivations and autonomy of Africans, as well colonial connections and networks and finally. It would also provide insight into relationships between Africans and Europeans. These cases also further the point that treatments of exhibitions need to push past analytical barriers that rely on a colonizer/colonizer binary.

¹²⁹ Ibid.

¹³⁰ Ibid.

¹³¹ Ibid.

¹³² Ibid.

Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated the ways the Zulus and other Africans objected to various elements of their contracts, portrayals, depictions, or performances. These examples show that they quite often attempted to negotiate the term of their labour by several different methods. Moreover, many Africans also resisted the terms under which they were being exhibited. Through the use of particular examples, this chapter showed that labour relations, contractual issues, as well as the active contestation of their depiction and portrayal were central to the performers' experiences in both Europe and the United States. The Zulus also had a rich and diverse range of experiences on both sides of the Atlantic that were not related to their labour or exhibition. To date, the body of scholarship concerning the lives of African performers outside the exhibit is relatively small. However, as the next chapter of this thesis will demonstrate exhibited Zulus made efforts to control aspects of their lives outside of the exhibition.

A “Lost Zulu”, An “Extraordinary Marriage”, and “The First American Zulu Born Into Captivity”: Lives Beyond the Exhibit

Introduction

In addition to the attempts made by exhibited Africans to negotiate the terms of their labour as described in the previous chapter, many also made efforts to control life outside their exhibition and performance. In fact, the group studied in this project had a diverse range of experiences, from socializing with black and white men and women on both sides of the Atlantic, to forming relationships with local women. The men and women spent at least four years living and working in Britain and the United States. Outside of their performances and exhibition, they travelled through Britain and the United States and interacted with local people, presumably outside of the scripted personas created for their show. This chapter explores these interactions, particularly ones involving alcohol and relationships, to interrogate how exhibited Africans manoeuvred in British and American society. Analysis of these interactions demonstrate the ways this particular group controlled various aspects of their lives, from consuming alcohol, to interacting with local people, and forming romantic relationships with local white women. The study of the social lives of ethnographic performers is underdeveloped.¹ Focusing on social lives not only provides a more comprehensive

¹ Some works that consider the social lives of performers are Clifton Crais and Pamela Scully, *Sara Baartman and the Hottentot Venus: A Ghost Story and Biography* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009); Catherine Hoieder, “Decentering the Gaze at French Colonial Exhibitions,” in *Images and Empires: Visuality in Colonial and Postcolonial Africa*, edited by Paul S. Landau and Deborah D. Kaspin (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 233-253; Upham Mansell, “From the Venus Sickness to the Hottentot Venus: Saartje Baartman and the Three Men in her Life, Alexander Dunlop, Hendrick Ceasar and Jean Riaux,” *Quarterly Bulletin of the National Library of South Africa* 61 (2007): 9-22; Mansell Upham, “From the Venus Sickness to the Hottentot Venus, Part Two,” *Quarterly Bulletin of the National Library of South Africa* 61 (2007): 74-82; Nancy J. Parezo and Don D. Fowler, *Anthropology Goes to the Fair: The*

understanding of their experiences on both the side of the Atlantic, it also complicates the historical treatment of issues relating to colonial exhibitions.

Nineteenth Century Race Relations in a Historical Context

i) Race Relations in Britain

The men and women arrived in Britain during 1879 and 1880. As described in the introduction to this project, their arrival occurred immediately after the Anglo-Zulu War. There is a significant body of scholarship focusing on the black community in Britain during the eighteenth century and a large body of work centring on the migrations and lives of black migrants following the First and Second World Wars.² There has been less attention paid to the nineteenth century, despite the fact it was marked by significant events involving individuals from Africa and of African descent. The early decades of the century saw the gradual abolition of the slave trade and slavery in the British Empire. Cities like London, Bristol, Liverpool, and Glasgow were all engaged in the trans-Atlantic network of trade and had sizable black populations throughout the eighteenth

1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007); and Roslyn Poignant, *Professional Savages: Captive Lives and Western Spectacle* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004); Pamela Scully and Clifton Crais, "Race and Erasure: Sara Baartman and Hendrik Cesars in Cape Town and London," *Journal of British Studies* 47 (2008): 301–323.

² Studies include Mandy Banton, "Untold Histories: Black People in England and Wales During the Period of the British Slave Trade, 1660-1807," *Family and Community History* 13 (2010): 152-154; Lucy Bland, "White Women and Men of Colour: Miscegenation Fears in Britain after the Great War," *Gender and History* 17 (2005): 29-61; Kathleen Chater, "Job Mobility Amongst Black People in England and Wales During the Long Eighteenth Century," *Immigrants and Minorities* 28 (2010): 113-130; David Dabydeen, *Hogarth's Blacks: Images of Blacks in Eighteenth Century Art* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987); Paul Edwards, "Blacks in Britain: Black Personalities in Georgian Britain," *History Today* 9 (1981): 39-44; Paul Edwards, "'Unreconciled Strivings and Ironic Strategies': Three Afro-British Authors of the Late Georgian Period (Sancho, Equiano, Wedderburn)," *Immigrants and Minorities* 12 (1993): 28-28; Jeffrey Green, *Black Edwardians: Black People in Britain, 1901-1914* (London: Frank Cass Publishers, 1998); David Killingray, "'A Good West Indian, a Good African, and, in Short, a Good Britisher': Black and British in a Colour-Conscious Empire," *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 36 (2008): 363-381; Paul Rich, "Immigration into Britain: Blacks in Britain Response and Reaction, 1945-1962," *History Today* 36 (1986): 14-20; Gavin Schaffer, "Fighting Racism: Black Soldiers and Workers During the Second World War," *Immigrants and Minorities* 28 (2010): 246-265; James Walvin, "Blacks in Britain: The Eighteenth Century," *History Today* 31 (1981): 37-39.

and nineteenth centuries. Later, during the so-called Scramble for Africa, the British engaged in the construction of their colonial empire. Moreover, the nineteenth century also saw the development of new scientific discourses of race. Despite these factors, race relations between the black and white populations of Britain during the nineteenth century remains relatively understudied.

By the late 1850s and 1860s, there was growing hostility towards black people in Britain, influenced by emerging theories of race, especially as developed in the natural and social sciences.³ Racial attitudes also hardened with the Morant Bay Rebellion in Jamaica, in 1866, leading to fears of the insurrection of the black population of Britain.⁴ London had both a permanent and more itinerant black population, although it was a small portion of the population.⁵ On one hand, some of this population may have been seen as David Killingray suggests, as “initially exotic but perhaps were accepted later simply as fellow servants or neighbours.”⁶ On the other, “some may have suffered constant abuse because of their colour.”⁷ Norma Myers asserts that the oppression of both black and white working class workers ensured that class solidarity through racially

³ Caroline Bressey, “The Black Presence in England and Wales After the Abolition Act, 1807-1930,” *Parliamentary History* 26 (2007), 228.

⁴ Tensions in post-emancipation Jamaica reached a head in 1865. John W. Pullis notes “what began as a local protest concerning taxes and larceny resulted in the deaths of 350 toilers, the execution of Paul Bogle and George William Gordon on charges of sedition and the termination of Home Rule.” See John W. Pullis, “Morant Bay Rebellion” *Encyclopaedia of Slave Resistance and Rebellion, Volume 1, A-N*, ed. Junius P. Rodriguez (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2009), 332. The Rebellion and the response from Governor Eyre caused fierce public debate. The Rebellion ended Home Rule and resulted in Jamaica becoming a colony. For more on the Morant Bay Rebellion see Gad Heuman, *“The Killing Time”: The Morant Bay Rebellion in Jamaica* (London: Macmillan, 1994); Thomas C. Holt, *The Problem of Freedom: Race, Labour, and Politics in Jamaica, 1832-1938* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992); Joy Lumdsen, “‘A Brave and Loyal People’: The Role of Maroons in the Morant Bay Rebellion in 1865” in *Working Slavery, Pricing Freedom: Perspectives from the Caribbean, Africa, and the African Diaspora*, edited by Verene A. Shepherd (New York: Palgrave, 2002), 467-490.

⁵ David Killingray, “Tracing Peoples of African Origin and Descent in Victorian Kent” in *Black Victorians, Black Victoriana*, edited by Gretchen Holbrook Gerzina (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2003), 51.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 52.

⁷ *Ibid.*

mixed communities was a likely support network used by blacks during this period.⁸

Many black men married local white women, in part because of the gender imbalance in the black community. It has been estimated that after 1780, about eighty percent of the black people who came to Britain were men.⁹ These marriages occurred partly because of the black communities' presence alongside other working class communities. While there were certainly examples of racially motivated discrimination, Britain never enacted legally sanctioned, racially based segregation legislation, unlike the United States.

ii) Race Relations in the United States

The performers arrived in the United States in 1880 and 1881. Their arrival in New York City sparked publicity in several newspapers. Addressing events that will be described in more detail later in the chapter, one article reflected popular perceptions of blacks:

It would have startled the people of that day could they have seen the company of Zulus that arrived here by steamer yesterday, and crossed over to the North river on the ferry-boat in such scanty attire as made the other passengers shiver. The geography of thirty years ago, knew nothing about these savages or the country they inhabit. They appear to be magnificent specimens of African manhood and womanhood. But if the men get 'drunk and disorderly' as they did in London recently, it may create a small riot here as it did there, and necessitate something stronger than a club to crack their skulls. Their heads would make good targets for police practice.¹⁰

⁸See Norma Myers, *Reconstructing the Black Past: Blacks in Britain, 1780-1830* (London: Routledge, 1996). For more on the black working class in nineteenth century Britain see Caroline Bressey, "Looking for Work: The Black Presence in Britain 1860-1920," *Immigrants and Minorities* 28 (2010): 164-182.

⁹ Kathy Chater, "Black People in England, 1660-1807," *Parliamentary History* 26 (2007): 70.

¹⁰ "Poor Aaron Burr," *The Washington Post*, March 20, 1880.

Unlike in Britain, the black population in the United States was a sizable minority that faced different challenges due to legally sanctioned segregation and racially motivated discrimination and intolerance that were in many ways reinforced after the Civil War. Indeed, it may be argued that everyday life for African Americans did not get any easier; for many, the reality of daily violent threats meant it got worse. Either way, the abolition of slavery by no means equated social equality for African Americans. In 1883, the editorialist at the *New York Globe* argued that “although twenty years have elapsed since emancipation, colored men in some states, north as well as south, are even now subjected to the grossest indignities.”¹¹ With the end of slavery in the South, African Americans hoped their social and economic status would improve, but many found that race relations “were deteriorating, not improving.”¹² The failure of Reconstruction ensured that in many parts of the country racially based segregationist legalisation limited the franchise, mobility, and opportunities of African Americans. In some parts of the South, extreme violence directed against African Americans was a fact of everyday life.¹³ Immediately after the Civil War, violence against blacks reached staggering proportions, with the “largest numbers of violent acts stemming from disputes arising from blacks efforts to assert their freedom from control from their former masters.”¹⁴ By 1870, the Klu Klux Klan and other similar organizations “were deeply entrenched in nearly every Southern state.”¹⁵

¹¹ Jane E. Dabel, *“A Respectable Woman”: The Public Roles of African American Women in Nineteenth Century New York* (New York: New York University Press, 2007), 157.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ See George C. Rable, *But There Was No Peace: The Role of Violence in the Politics of Reconstruction* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2007).

¹⁴ Eric Foner, *A Short History of Reconstruction, 1863-1877* (New York: Harper and Row, 1990), 52-53.

¹⁵ Ibid.

This violence took place during a period of religious, social, and political mobilization of the black community. The withdrawal of black congregations from pre-existing Southern Protestant churches and the creation of independent churches meant, “the church was the first social institution fully controlled by black men in America.”¹⁶ These independent churches provided African Americans with social, political, and economic networks alongside educational opportunity. Moreover, local schools built, financed, and ran by African Americans were established across the South.¹⁷ Men and women struggled to define themselves as free labourers and sought to take charge of their economic lives.¹⁸ They also sought political reforms and agitated for political rights.¹⁹ It has been noted “the foundations of a modern black community were laid” during the Reconstruction era.²⁰ Although faced with racially based violence and increasing levels of discrimination, many African Americans were able to devise diverse and creative strategies and tactics to deal with the challenges of everyday life.

A “Lost Zulu”: Digandon’s Story

In the summer of 1880, articles appeared in newspapers in several states reporting about a “lost Zulu”. One of the men, Digandon, was missing from Barnum’s show.

Perhaps not surprisingly, given the contemporary uproar about and prohibition of

¹⁶ Eric Foner, *A Short History*, 41

¹⁷ Herbert G. Gutman, “Schools for Freedom: The Post-Emancipation Origins of Afro-American Education,” *Power and Culture: Essays on the American Working Class*, ed. Ira Berlin (New York: Pantheon Books, 1987).

¹⁸ Tera W. Hunter, *“To ‘Joy My Freedom’: Southern Black Women’s Lives and Labors after the Civil War* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007); Julie Saville, “Grassroots Reconstruction: Agricultural Labour and Collective Action in South Carolina, 1860-1868,” *Slavery and Abolition*, 12 (1991): 173-180.

¹⁹ Elsa Barkley Brown, “To Catch the Vision of Freedom: Reconstructing Southern Black Women’s Political History, 1865-1880” *African American Women and the Vote, 1837-1965*, ed. Ann D. Gordon et al. (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1997), 68-87; Elsa Barkley Brown, “Negotiating and Transforming the Public Sphere: African American Political Life in the Transition from Slavery to Freedom,” *Public Culture* 7 (1994): 107-144.

²⁰ John Spiller, “African Americans After the Civil War,” *History Review* 65 (2009): 43.

interracial marriages in most states, a Kentucky paper noted that “one of Barnum’s Zulus have run away from the show...show this to your wife, if she wishes to venture out on a picnic.”²¹ Apparently, Digandon, “escaped from the party in Detroit.”²² The *Detroit Free Press* reported “D.S. Thomas, press agent for Barnum’s shows, reported last evening that no trace had been gained of the missing Zulu who left the establishment in this city Tuesday.”²³ There are two divergent accounts of Digandon’s ‘escape’ from the show. While they differ, analysis of each suggests more details about Digandon’s life outside of the exhibit.

The first account noted Digandon disappeared after his performances with the circus. Apparently, he met a woman after the show and she asked him to take a ride in a carriage, later switching to a steam car.²⁴ In the morning, Digandon “was in a distant city; but the woman was gone and so was the \$100 in silver he had in a cloth bag.”²⁵ Digandon was allegedly in New York City. This newspaper account emphasizes that he had “no idea of time or space” and “was in impenetrable darkness, so far as conversation could aid him, and often his efforts to make himself understood resulted only in his being ridiculed.”²⁶ He could only say “Zululand” and as a result was placed on a ship.²⁷ After being at sea for a few days, Digandon returned to New York, although it is not clear how he managed his return, where he allegedly spent a night in jail for similarly unknown

²¹ *The Hickman Courier*, June 25, 1880. Kentucky passed legislation that made interracial marriage illegal in 1866.

²² “News and Notions,” *The Hartford Courant*, May 31, 1880.

²³ “Local Matters,” *Detroit Free Press*, May 28, 1880.

²⁴ “Barnum’s Lost Zulu,” *The Daily Globe*, July 7, 1880.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ *Ibid.* There are few details on this ‘return’ and being placed on the ship.

reasons.²⁸ He eventually saw a poster of Barnum and sat underneath it, leading a local police officer to suspect that he was the “missing Zulu.”²⁹

If Digandon was having difficulties being understood because of his limited command of English, choosing to sit under this poster was a smart tactic. The circus was aggressively advertised through lithographs, handbills, posters, and newspaper advertisements. Most of these featured the image of Barnum. Digandon was bound to have seen these materials while on tour with the circus and most likely recognized the poster in New York City. After this, Digandon returned to the show. This story of his disappearance was later used in publicity materials for the show. Most likely because of the tensions surrounding interracial relationships in the United States at the time, his encounter with the woman was emphasized for dramatic effect:

Digando, one of the Zulus, who seem swelled with such pompous importance has a little bit of romance connected with his recent history. On the night of the 25th of May, after the performance was over at Detroit, he got into trouble, with a “woman at the bottom of it”. Zulu must have been a bit zuloose [sic] in his conduct that night or he hardly would have met with the following experience.³⁰

The second account of Digandon’s experience differs considerably from the first. This account relates that Farini apparently sent D.S. Thomas, the press agent working for Barnum, the following telegram on May 26th: “The big Zulu was left in Detroit last night. See if you can find him and send him on immediately. He had considerable money, but cannot speak English.”³¹ Once more, this is another indication that performers were able to save money while working. The disappearance was reported to

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ “The Great Moral Show,” *Dubuque Herald*, July 16, 1880.

³¹ “Recovered,” *Detroit Free Press*, May 29, 1880.

the Detroit police. Local papers ran stories about Digandon's disappearance alleging, "several clues were obtained all tending to show that the semi-civilized African had got drunk and was being concealed until he should get sober."³² Digandon had supposedly left the show dressed in Western style street-clothes and was seen drinking in a local saloon by a policeman.³³ Detective High, the police officer assigned to the case, visited several "neighbourhoods in the city and around the suburbs where African citizens were residents, but failed to find the missing curiosity."³⁴ On May 28th, Thomas went to the Cass Hotel to ask railroad workers if they had seen the performer. While inquiring, he was stopped by Arthur Patten, a local African American man, who claimed he had "seen the Zulu at a settlement of colored people about twelve miles back of Windsor, and added that he was very drunk and seemingly content with his situation."³⁵

Digandon had apparently crossed the border into southern Ontario, where there were several black communities primarily settled by fugitive slaves and free blacks prior to the Civil War. While many returned to the United States after the War, some remained in these rural communities. Digandon was supposedly at the home of "William Macklie, a colored man who lives about a mile north of Maidstone Cross."³⁶ The *Detroit Evening News* reported he was found "by Barnum's men, across the Canadian border at a 'negro settlement'."³⁷ Supposedly, "he was somewhat sobered," but was angered by the attempts to persuade him to return to the show.³⁸ Digandon allegedly "roared and jabbered, and

³² Ibid.

³³ Shane Peacock, "Africa Meets the Great Farini," in *Africans on Stage: Studies in Ethnological Show Business*, edited by Bernth Lindfors (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1999), 92.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ "Lost Zulu Found," *Detroit Free Press*, May 29, 1880.

dodged about the house, smashing things.”³⁹ He was apparently persuaded to return to the show after speaking with Lizzie Dalzelle. Dalzelle, a white English woman and the sister of another performer managed by Farini, apparently spoke some Zulu. This “ability to converse with the ‘big Zulu’” resulted in Digandon agreeing to return to the show.⁴⁰ D.S. Thomas, Dalzelle, and Digandon then joined the rest of the show that had travelled on to Chicago.

While they differ, both versions of Digandon’s disappearance or ‘escape’ are significant. The first version suggests that he interacted with a local white woman, a subject that will receive more attention later in this chapter. As previously argued in the first chapter, his experiences are another suggestion that ethnographic performance could be lucrative, as both accounts emphasize he was able to save money. As evidenced by the alleged theft of his money, however, the story also reveals the vulnerabilities he faced while in the United States. Additionally, both versions contain themes concerning interactions with the local black communities on both sides of the Michigan-Ontario border. Detroit had a growing black population during the nineteenth century, but it was relatively small, numbering six thousand before the First World War.⁴¹ In Ontario, as previously mentioned, there were also small communities of blacks. The attention to alcohol in both accounts is noteworthy. The consumption of alcohol by employees was prohibited at Barnum’s circus.⁴² The method of holdback pay was used to curtail potential drunkenness, although drinking did occur. Digandon’s willingness to drink

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ “Recovered,” *Detroit Free Press*, May 29, 1880.

⁴¹ Susan Welch et al, *Race and Place: Race Relations in an American City* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 21.

⁴² Janet M. Davis, *The Circus Age: Culture and Society Under the American Big Top* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), 77.

despite such possible penalties suggests the possibility that he exerted a certain amount of control of his social life outside of the performances, whether this was a conscious act of rebellion or resistance against his conditions or a manifestation of his desire to drink and socialize with locals.⁴³ His act of leaving the show can also be read as a way for him to take a break from the demands of living and working in a travelling circus.

“A Most Un-Aboriginal Propensity for Drinking Irish Whiskey and Kicking up Rows:” Alcohol Consumption

For the men who performed in both Britain and the United States, it is clear that socializing while consuming alcohol was an important aspect of their social lives. Indeed, much of the documentary evidence about the men points to the fact that they consumed alcohol quite often. While in London, for example, two men, Passman and John Batika, were arrested for being drunk and disorderly. Additionally, Sam “got so frequently drunk” his employment at the Aquarium was terminated.⁴⁴ Charley and Squash “had also absented themselves, and got drunk at Yarmouth, but they had come to London and were wandering about somewhere.”⁴⁵ As discussed in the above section, in the United States, Digandon disappearance from the show was rumoured to be as a result of his drinking. These cases are indications of the ways they passed their time when not performing. It also demonstrates the ways in which they interacted and subsequently formed relationships with local people. Interestingly, the drinking of alcohol was an important if not integral part of this process in both Britain and the United States. An

⁴³ This was the case for a group of Native performers in Buffalo Bill’s Wild West show. Janet Davis argues persuasively that in this instance this group protested their long working hours by drinking whiskey. See Janet M. Davis, *The Circus Age*, 79.

⁴⁴ “Westminster,” *The Daily News*, September 6, 1880.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

analysis of their drinking habits suggests connections to Zulu cultural practices. Drinking was an important part of Zulu social life. Despite British and American cultural practices commonly making use of alcohol as method of socializing, the attempts to prohibit and the reactions to drinking suggest European and American anxieties about African alcohol consumption.

The arrests of Passman and John Batika suggest both men spent time travelling through London, interacting with local people of British and other origin. In June of 1880, Passman was arrested for being drunk and disorderly and was additionally charged with assault. Passman, accompanied by “some soldiers and women” went to the Westminster Palace Hotel.⁴⁶ These companions make it clear that Passman was able to interact with others and succeeding in forming relationships during his time of leisure. The mention of female companions also hints at the possibility that Passman was able to establish interracial sexual relationships.⁴⁷

At the hotel, Passman was refused service, possibly based solely on his ‘race’ or because of the possibly inter-racial dynamic of his surroundings. At his hearing, through Nat Behrens, an associate of Farini’s, Passman testified that he had “been beaten about the head by somebody” at the Hotel, conceivable due to racially motivated abuse.⁴⁸ The newspaper account mentions that Passman resisted arrest when the police attempted to eject him from the Hotel, which could have been an expression of frustration on his part due to the racial abuse he suffered. As Behrens posted bail and promised that Passman would return to Natal as soon as could be arranged, the magistrate discharged him.

⁴⁶ “Police,” *The Times*, June 10, 1880.

⁴⁷ The newspaper accounts make a point providing a somewhat suggestive interpretation suggesting these women were prostitutes.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

A similar example involved John Batika who was arrested “for fighting [drunk] with several men on Tower Hill” in May of 1880.⁴⁹ For this crime, Batika was sentenced to three days imprisonment. Tower Hill is located in London’s East End. By the 1880s, this area already epitomized London’s “urban social ills.”⁵⁰ It was also the home of many different immigrant groups, including Africans and those of African descent. Indeed, most of the black community in London could be found in the East End. There is some evidence to suggest the existence of alehouses and pubs in this region with a predominately black clientele.⁵¹ John’s presence in the East End may hint at his wish to associate with other individuals of African descent. His story would not end as happily as Passman’s, however. He would be sentenced to fourteen days imprisonment with hard labour for “violently assaulting” two men while in jail for his previous crime.⁵² It was later said that he had allegedly been sent to “a lunatic asylum, he having become perfectly mad.”⁵³

Finally, two of the performers were arrested in New York in May of 1883 for being drunk and “dancing about Grand street.”⁵⁴ The arresting police officer apparently thought “they were ordinary persons from Thompson street” and mistook them for local African Americans.⁵⁵ After a night in jail, the judge at their Jefferson Market Court hearing recognized them from their show. He admonished them, warning “it’s bad for

⁴⁹ “Legal,” *The Graphic*, May 15, 1880.

⁵⁰ Saloni Mathur, “Living Ethnological Exhibits: The Case of 1886” *Cultural Anthropology* 15 (2000): 500.

⁵¹ “Black Communities” <http://www.oldbaileyonline.org/static/Black.jsp>. Accessed June 3, 2011. This website describes the historical background to the proceedings of the British legal system as well as black communities in Britain. It was accessed on a website that has digitized the proceedings of the Old Bailey, London’s Central Criminal Court from 1674 until 1913.

⁵² “Law,” *The Times*, May 14, 1880.

⁵³ “The Friendless Zulu,” *The Era*, September 12, 1880.

⁵⁴ “Zulus Mustn’t Get Drunk,” *The Sun*, May 23, 1883.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

Zulus to get drunk” and “when they get back to Zululand they may do as the Zulus do.”⁵⁶ But, he did not punish the men: they returned to the show. Their arrest was based on the fact they were judged to be local African American men and the judge’s ruling depended on the fact that the men were African rather than African American. This case indicates the complicated nature of racial discourses in the United States.

The men’s alcohol consumption also indicates the retention of cultural practices from South Africa. In a way, this retention may have been a way to affirm a connection to South Africa. Drinking beer was a significant and meaningful practice in Zulu culture, similar to many other African societies. Made from sorghum, locally brewed beer was a staple of Zulu diets but it also played an important social role in entertaining, settling disputes, and celebrating social occasions.⁵⁷ But as in other regions in Africa, British colonists made little effort to understand the social significance of drinking in Zulu culture. The view that individuals from regions in Africa, Asia, the Caribbean, and the Pacific Islands could not “hold their liquor” entered British thought early in the period of colonial expansion.⁵⁸ African drinking of ‘European’ liquor generated much debate in late nineteenth century Britain.⁵⁹ This concern with the drinking habits of Africans points to fears of rebellion and insurrection, “which the colonizers associated with irrationality and which reinforced their conviction that access to alcohol was a prerogative of dominion.”⁶⁰ This is suggested by the legislation passed in 1863 in Natal, that decreed, “no person shall...sell, barter, or otherwise supply, to any native, any brandy, gin, rum, or

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Andrew M. Eason, “‘All Thing to All People to Save Some’: Salvation Army Missionary Work Among the Zulus of Victorian Natal,” *Journal of Southern African Studies* 35 (2009): 24.

⁵⁸ Barrows, Susanna and Robin Room, “Introduction,” in *Drinking: Behaviour and Belief in Modern History*, edited by Susanna Barrows and Robin Room. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 9.

⁵⁹ Justin Willis, “Drinking Power: Alcohol and History in Africa,” *History Compass* 3 (2005): 1

⁶⁰ Ibid.

any other spirituous liquors, nor any wine, nor any ale, beer, porter, nor any other fermented liquor of an intoxicating nature”.⁶¹ Although there were some that believed the sale of alcohol to indigenous Africans would be good for the colonial economy, many saw the sale of alcohol as dangerous to the colonial project, leading to the encouragement of the “weak character” of Africans, “who were unable to cope with alcohol and were prone to theft and idleness.”⁶² However, the passage of laws prohibiting the sale of alcohol illustrates the perceived dangers associated with African consumption of alcohol.

This evidence also exposes that each of these men was violating a special clause in their contract that was designed to limit their mobility. A section of their contract stipulated the performers would “never...go out in the street without the permission of the said Farini or those in whose charge they might be, inasmuch as that would be detrimental to their being exhibited.”⁶³ This clause appears to have been inserted into the contract, as it was believed it “would not be prudent to let them run loose.”⁶⁴ Moreover, there was an effort to ensure that the men were “under proper control” when they were not performing.⁶⁵ In small part, this clause may have been inserted in order to retain the popularity of the show. But, the emphasis on controlling the men appears to be linked to anxieties regarding their alcohol consumption and their presence in the spaces where this could occur, and indicates how the British perceived the dangers of Africans’ drinking, as explored above. An analysis over concerns about where the men would be lodged indicates these anxieties.

⁶¹ *Natal Ordinances, Laws, and Proclamations Volume One 1843-1870*, (Pietermaritzburg: Vause, Slater and Co., Government Printers, 1879), 413.

⁶² Anne Kelk Mager, *Beer, Sociability, and Masculinity in South Africa* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010), 2.

⁶³ “Police,” *The Times*, December 17, 1879.

⁶⁴ “The Friendly Zulus,” *Birmingham Daily Post*, December 29, 1879.

⁶⁵ “The Importation of Zulus,” *The Daily News*, December 17, 1879.

In December of 1879, after leaving the lodging provided for them by Farini, a group of performers were alleged to have stayed at the Regent Arms, a “public house with a music-hall attached.”⁶⁶ Chesson, the secretary of the lobby group the Aborigines Protection Society, expressed his anxiety about this. As he saw it, in this space, the men would be “exposed to all sorts of temptations.”⁶⁷ The magistrate expressed his hope that the men had not been exposed to “baneful influences.”⁶⁸ The paternalistic attitudes of Chesson and the magistrate suggest widely held beliefs about the dangers of public houses, where the assembly of working people could foster revolutionary activity and subversion against traditional authority and the ruling Government.⁶⁹ By this time, individuals from the working or lower classes mainly frequented public houses. In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, views relating to the drinking habits of the lower class was frequently linked to “antipathy for working class interests and fears of revolution.”⁷⁰ What is more, pubs were condemned as “dens of commercial vice and intemperance.”⁷¹ Music halls were also socially disputed institutions.⁷² Members of the upper classes often regarded alcohol, bodily contact, and music as “a highly explosive mixture, which only served to undermine the allegedly loose morals of working people

⁶⁶ “Police,” *The Times*, December 29, 1879.

⁶⁷ “The Discontented Zulus Again,” *The Illustrated Police News*, January 3, 1880.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Brian Harrison, “Pub’s” in *The Victorian City*, ed. H.J. Dyos and Michael Wolff. (New York City: Routledge 1999), 178.

⁷⁰ Susanna Barrows and Robin Room “Introduction” in *Drinking: Behaviour and Belief in Modern History*, edited by Susanna Barrows and Robin Room. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 8.

⁷¹ Seth Koven, *Shunning: Sexual and Social Politics in Victorian London* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), 234.

⁷² Dagmar Kift, *The Victorian Music Hall: Culture, Class, and Conflict* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 2. For more on Victorian music halls, see Peter Bailey, *Popular Culture and Performance in the Victorian City* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1998), 80–150; and Penny Summerfield, “Patriotism and Empire: Music-Hall Entertainment, 1870 – 1914” in *Imperialism and Popular Culture*, ed. John M. MacKenzie. (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1986), 17–48

even further”.⁷³ Accordingly, the proprietor of the Regent Arms vehemently denied his house was associated with a music hall and insisted since the men had been in his pub, “they had nothing but lemonade and ginger-beer, and had not tasted spirits or beer.”⁷⁴

Possibly as a result of these controversies, the group of performers that arrived in London in April of 1880 were not lodged in a public house, but rather, in a coffeehouse. Coffeehouses exploded in popularity in Britain the seventeenth century. Seen by the authorities as dangerous places, where revolt and radicalism could flourish, coffeehouses became the centre of London social, political, and economic life. However, by the Victorian era, the temperance movement began to establish coffeehouses that were designed for the working class and intended to be an alternative to the public house, music halls, and gin palaces.⁷⁵ They offered cheap food and accommodation but served soft drinks rather than alcohol. No doubt this group was lodged at a coffee house to avoid any further scandal. Whether their actions and decision to consume alcohol were intended to be rebellious, by travelling through the cities of Britain and the United States and consuming alcohol, the men were subverting the special clause in their contract designed to control them. Despite the limitations presented by their position in both British and American society, they were able to act in surprising ways.

⁷³ Ibid., 122.

⁷⁴ “The Discontented Zulus Again,” *The Illustrated Police News*, January 3, 1880.

⁷⁵ For more on this trajectory, see Antony Clayton, *London’s Coffee Houses: A Stimulating Story* (London: Historical Publications, 2003); Brian William Cowan, *The Social Life of Coffee: The Emergence of the British Coffee House* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005); Markman Ellis, *The Coffee House: A Cultural History*. (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2004).

Interracial Relationships

While living and working in Britain and the United States, the men may have formed relationships with white women. As suggested by Dingandon's experience with the women who allegedly stole his money, some of these encounters may have resulted in brief interactions. This is also hinted at in a British divorce case in December of 1879 that was brought against Ann Turnbull. Her husband alleged she "had been living a dissolute life, and had been guilty of infidelity with several Africans, who were exhibited at Leith for some time as Zulus."⁷⁶ In an article about marriages of circus performers, a sword swallower with Barnum and Baileys circus show recollected, "half a dozen of the Cape Town niggers that Firini [sic] took to London and called Zulus are now married to English women".⁷⁷ Furthermore, the press paid much attention to the sexual lives of the performers. A visit paid by the first group of performers to the London zoo was widely reported for an "amusing incident that took place."⁷⁸ Evidently "a good-looking young lady at the refreshment department brought the chief some iced water... the chief, Dingandau, immediately wanted to buy her, and with seriousness asked how many cows her father would take for her!"⁷⁹ The *Birmingham Daily Post* reported that some of the performers would survey the female members of the audience. One performer believed "one he thought worth only one cow, but for another lady he would give three."⁸⁰ Papers also reported about a young Scottish woman who came to the shows in London "to marry a Zulu" and "accompanied by one of the eldest and in-favoured of these dusky strangers,

⁷⁶ "A Leith Divorce Case," *Aberdeen Weekly Journal*, December 15, 1879.

⁷⁷ *Salt Lake Herald*, February 25, 1883.

⁷⁸ George Bompas, *The Life of Frank Buckland* (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1885), 379.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁸⁰ "The Zulus in London," *Birmingham Daily Post*. July 21, 1879.

she presented herself to the manager of the Aquarium and requested him to aid her in her object.”⁸¹ The manager attempted to convince the woman that “she would only be one of the many wives when her contemplated husband returned to Zululand.”⁸² When this did not dissuade her, the manager told her that she could not marry without her parents consent and she left. While the press could have been presenting this information in order to titillate their audiences, it is reasonable to speculate that some men were able to form relationships, whether lasting or fleeting.

It is also realistic to suspect the efforts to control the Zulus, discussed in reference to controlling their ability to drink, were also motivated by a desire to stop relationships from forming between African men and British women. This would match efforts made in colonial Natal. During the 1860s and 1870s, white settlers in the Natal Colony were “gripped by the fear that female settlers were in imminent danger of being raped by African men.”⁸³ This fear, speaking to deeper anxieties about African economic competition, the influx of black migrant labourers into the colony, the proliferation of firearms and the autonomy of African communities, inspired the passage of a series of increasingly draconian racially based vagrancy laws.⁸⁴ Legislation of this nature culminated in Law 15 of 1869. Law 15 allowed for the conviction of “ ‘every coloured person’ in town found ‘wandering abroad after and before such hour as such [borough]

⁸¹ “In Love With A Zulu,” *Otago Witness*, June 5, 1880.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Jeremy Martens, “Polygamy, Sexual Danger, and the Creation of Vagrancy Legislation in Colonial Natal,” *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 31 (2003): 25.

⁸⁴ Ibid. Law 15 was significant for its racial definitions that would be incorporated into racially based legislation passed after 1869. Notably, Natal’s Criminal Law Amendment Act 1931 of 1903 deemed that “illicit sexual intercourse between any white women and any coloured person as defined by the Law 15, 1869, should be unlawful”. ⁸⁴ This act was replaced with the South African Immorality Act of 1950. C.R. Swart, the Minister of Justice, cited Law 15 as a precedent when introducing the Immorality Act.

Corporation may fix, and not giving a good account of himself.”⁸⁵ Natal did not pass legislation forbidding interracial relationships until Natal’s Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1903, which stated “illicit sexual intercourse between white women and any coloured person as defined by the Law 15, 1869 shall be unlawful.”⁸⁶ Being in Britain allowed them to behave in ways that while not yet legally prohibited in Natal, were certainly socially taboo.

“An Extraordinary Marriage”: Charley and Anita

As outlined above, the possibility that the men had encounters and relationships with women while not performing seems likely. It also appears that some were able to form lasting and significant unions. Charley, who worked at Bunnell’s Museum in New York City, married an eighteen-year-old Italian immigrant named Anita Corsini in 1881.⁸⁷ It seems as though the two met when Anita came to see Charley perform and “it was evidently love at first sight...her visits from that time were frequent, and as the weeks rolled by the Zulu began to manifest an affection for her.”⁸⁸ Determined to marry, they were halted in their attempts to elope by Anna’s father. Not pleased with “the prospect of a marriage between his daughter and a negro”, he allegedly had the couple arrested.⁸⁹

However, as New York was one of the few states that never enacted legislation restricting interracial sex or marriage, it is unlikely that Mr. Corsini could have the couple arrested for what would have been a crime in most other states. Furthermore, New York

⁸⁵ Ibid., 29-30.

⁸⁶ Ibid., 32.

⁸⁷ “An Extraordinary Marriage,” *Colonist*, December 19, 1881. *The Daily Globe* records his ‘American’ name as “Charley Denson”. See “Singular Marriage,” *The Daily Globe*, August 29, 1881.

⁸⁸ “Singular Marriage,” *The Daily Globe*, August 29, 1881.

⁸⁹ “An Odd Elopement,” *New York Times*, August 27, 1881.

City census records indicate that interracial marriages occurred frequently, most commonly black men marrying white women, frequently new immigrants.⁹⁰ These unions were often the source of controversy and the many of the men were targets of violence.⁹¹ But, as Jane E. Dabel suggests, as interracial relationships became more commonplace in the North, particularly in the second half of the nineteenth century, these couples may have been generally tolerated.⁹² This may have been because interracial marriages between black men and immigrant women “met the criteria that reflected nineteenth century ideas about race, class, and gender.”⁹³ First, the women may not have always been considered white, so some relationships may not have been seen as interracial.⁹⁴ These marriages also often occurred between individuals of similar class backgrounds and between people who lived in the same or similar working class neighbourhoods, so there was no crossing of class boundaries. Finally, Dabel points out that immigrant women were not always held up to the same standards as middle or upper class women, so these liaisons did not threaten ideals of proper female behaviour.⁹⁵ As Martha Hodes argues “poverty could intervene to cloud the supposed or ideal

⁹⁰ Jane E. Dabel, *'A Respectable Woman' The Public Roles of African American Women in Nineteenth Century* (New York City: New York University Press, 2008), 50

⁹¹ Martha Hodes notes this was especially the case during the New York City Draft Riots of 1863. See Martha Hodes, “The Mercurial Nature and Abiding Power of Race: A Transnational Family Story,” *American Historical Review* 108 (2003) 41

⁹² *Ibid*, 51.

⁹³ *Ibid*

⁹⁴ Dabel notes “as immigrant men attempted to differentiate themselves from black male labourers in the nineteenth century, immigrant women felt no such pressure.” For example, “Irish women were not considered to be ‘white,’ so their marriages to black men did not violate any standards of proper behaviour.” Dabel, *'A Respectable Woman'*, 179. For more on racial perceptions and concepts of the historical development of ‘whiteness’, see Noel Ignatiev, *How the Irish Became White* (New York: Routledge, 1995), Peter Kolchin, “Whiteness Studies. The New History of “Race” in America” *Journal of American History* 89 (2002) 154-173, David Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness Race and the Making of the American Working Class* (London: Verso, 1999)

⁹⁵ *Ibid*.

immaculacy of white womanhood.”⁹⁶ However, although lower class women had less to lose with interracial marriage than one from the middle or upper classes, they could still face hostility and rejection from their communities.⁹⁷

Although her father wanted Anita to be sent to Blackwell’s Island, a local mental institution, Anita “promised to obey him and leave the Zulu”, whereupon her father relented and took her home.⁹⁸ In spite of such efforts, Charley and Anita were successful in their next attempt and were married in Brooklyn at the Home of Reverend R.O. Page on August 25th. Purportedly, the newly married couple then went back to Bunnell’s where Charley performed that night with Anita in the audience.⁹⁹ Anita claimed she and Charley had reconciled with her father, who now supported the match.¹⁰⁰ News of this uncommon marriage was reported across the country.¹⁰¹ Marriages were common phenomena in the circus and dime museum circuit with managers often staging relationships and marriages between circus and sideshow performers as a publicity stunt.¹⁰² The marriage of Charley and Anita may have been intended to attract attention to the shows at Bunnell’s.

However, there is evidence to suggest that the relationship was committed and supportive.¹⁰³ In their work on cultural perceptions of Zulus in nineteenth and twentieth century United States, Robert Edgar and Robert Trent Vinson argue the two travelled the

⁹⁶ Hodes, “The Mercurial Nature and Abiding Power of Race,” 40.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 39-43.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹⁹ “Personal,” *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, August 28, 1881.

¹⁰⁰ “A Zulu Wedding in America,” *The New York Herald* Reprinted in the *Evening Post*, November 26, 1881.

¹⁰¹ See “An Odd Elopement – An Italian Girl and A Zulu Married in Brooklyn,” *New York Times*, August 27, 1881; “Married A Zulu,” *Chicago Tribune*, August 27, 1881; “Personal,” *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, August 28, 1881; “Othello and Desdemona,” *Chicago Tribune*, October 1, 1881

¹⁰² Davis, *Circus Age*, 120. Throughout such venues in the United States, ‘fat ladies’ frequently married ‘skeleton men’ For example, Hannah Battersby, a six hundred pound ‘fat lady’ with Barnum’s circus was married to John Battersby, a “living skeleton” who weighed seventy pounds. Additionally, Barnum heavily publicized the marriage of midget performers Tom Thumb and Lavinia Warren.

¹⁰³ John Joseph Jennings, *Theatrical or Circus Life or Secrets of the Stage, Green-Room, and Sawdust Arena* (St. Louis: Sun Publishing Company, 1882), 591

South in their own sideshow.¹⁰⁴ If this is the case, it point towards the levels of commitment in their union. In September of 1881, “the Zulu Prince in Bunnell’s Museum, who married a good-looking white women some time ago” and who “more recently gained notoriety by stabbing a boy in the eye with a spear head” was arraigned for the alleged incident.¹⁰⁵ The justice decided there was insufficient evidence to hold him. Anita accompanied her husband to this court appearance and provided support.

However, perhaps the strains of life on the road or hostility about the marriage undermined their relationship. Evidently, Charley’s contract expired sometime in January of 1882 and he accepted an offer to appear in a show in Pittsburgh.¹⁰⁶ Anita, Charley and another Zulu performer, Usikali went to the railroad station. At the station, Anita left Charley. An article in the *Washington Post* related:

Mkano and Vskali gave Mrs. Mkano \$50, and sent her in a carriage with their trunks to purchase tickets and berths and check the baggage. She was to await their coming at the depot. They found the depot, they found their trunks but they did not find Mrs. Mkano or her trunk or the \$50. She had left this message with the baggage-master: ‘If any coloured gentlemen call tell them I have gone’.¹⁰⁷

Charley came back to the Museum where several days later Anita reportedly returned.

On this occasion, it was reported that Charley claimed “she begged his forgiveness, saying she left him as because she did not want to go to Pittsburgh, as she feared she would catch small-pox there.”¹⁰⁸ Charley later claimed they reconciled.¹⁰⁹ Whether nor not the couple did eventually reconcile, their marriage is perhaps the strongest example of the ways exhibited Africans could form significant and meaningful relationships.

¹⁰⁴ Robert Edgar and Robert Trent Vinson, “Zulus Abroad: Cultural Representations and Educational Experiences of Zulus in America, 1880-1945,” *Journal of Southern African Studies* 33 (2007): 47.

¹⁰⁵ “Brooklyn,” *The Tribune*, September 18, 1881.

¹⁰⁶ “Othello Deserted,” *Washington Post*, January 8, 1882.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Edgar and Vinson, “Zulus Abroad,” 47.

The Double Burden of Race and Gender

There were at least two female members of the troupe, Amazulu and Unamadloza. Unamadloza had a baby, who was also featured in their act. They both arrived in London in the winter in 1880, along with another woman, named Unolala.¹¹⁰ One article detailing their arrival referenced the efforts by the men to negotiate their labour and noted:

Mr. Farini is rapidly collecting a complete happy family from Zululand. The latest addition to already considerable stock of contented, discontented, genuine, friendly and unfriendly Zulus is a select party of three ladies, one of them reputed to be the veritable daughter of Ketchwayo himself, the others, his daughters in name only according to the traditions of the tribe, by virtue of which every girl who is not the wife of the King becomes his daughter.¹¹¹

While it could have been possible for one of the women to have a familial connection to the Zulu royal family, it seems more likely this claim was made in order to create publicity and attract attendance to the performances. Amazulu and Unamadloza arrived in New York City in March of 1881 and Amazulu was billed as the 'Zulu Princess', again most likely in order to draw attention to the shows.¹¹² Outside of publicity, reviews, and advertisements for the shows, there is little evidence detailing aspects of the women's life when not performing. The evidence that does exist about them often details issues of domesticity and family life, reflecting contemporary expectations of gender roles.

Unlike the Zulu men, the exhibited women had fewer opportunities for interacting in the public sphere. As a result, the sources available offer much less insight into their lives outside of the exhibit and exploring stories involving their lives outside of the exhibit has been difficult due to this lack in documentary evidence, especially in

¹¹⁰ "Notes of Latest News," *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, February 8, 1880.

¹¹¹ "London Gossip," *Hampshire Telegraph and Sussex Chronicle*, February 18, 1880.

¹¹² "Cetewayo's Daughter in Town – Her Life in Zulu-Land, In London, and on the Way Here," *New York Times*, March 19, 1881.

comparison to the male members of the troupe. While the men faced limitations due to their position in British and American society, the women may have faced limitations due to both their race and their gender, especially in the United States. While recent work has illuminated issues of mobility, leisure and work, the roles played by African American women in the formation of social networks and the establishment of churches and reform societies, women of colour did face a double burden due to their race and their gender in late nineteenth century United States.¹¹³

Emancipation brought “developments that strengthened the patriarchy within the black family and consigned men and women to separate spheres.”¹¹⁴ Furthermore, a discourse of respectability was rapidly becoming central to the strategies for earning better treatment from whites. This included an adherence to “white middle class gender ideals” which led black male leaders to expect “women to devote their lives to their families and to defer to their fathers and husbands.”¹¹⁵ Certainly, many black women did not accept the intensifying patriarchy and many challenged this, for examples bringing disputes with men to public authorities.¹¹⁶ Moreover, it is important to note the “tension between prescriptive literature and black women’s actual behaviour” during this period.¹¹⁷

¹¹³ See Jane E. Dabel, *‘A Respectable Woman’ The Public Roles of African American Women in Nineteenth Century New York* (New York: New York University Press, 2008); Hazel Dicken-Garcia and Kathryn M. Neal, “Frances Ellen Watkins Harper and the Cult of True Womanhood,” in *Seeking a Voice Images of Race and Gender in the Nineteenth Century Press*, ed. David B. Sachsman et al. 179-189. (West Lafayette Purdue University Press, 2009); Martha S. Jones, *All Bound Up Together The Women Question in African American Public Culture, 1830-1900* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007).

¹¹⁴ Eric Foner, *A Short History of Reconstruction, 1863-1877* (New York: Harper and Row, 1990), 39.

¹¹⁵ Dabel, *‘A Respectable Woman’*, 158.

¹¹⁶ For example, Foner notes that the records of the Freedmen’s Bureau contain hundreds of complaints made by black women, alleging abuse, lack of support, and infidelity, objections to husbands signing labour contracts in their name, demands for separate wage payments and refusals to be declared liable for their husbands debt. See Foner, *A Short History*, 40

¹¹⁷ Dabel, *‘A Respectable Woman’*, 7.

But, this discourse also influenced ideas about how African American women should spend their time when not working. Black male leaders “had especially strict expectations of what African American women should do in their spare time.”¹¹⁸ The small black middle class urged women to avoid taverns and saloons, with papers urging African American women to dispense “with those idle pleasures and frivolous amusements which benefit neither mind nor body, but tend to enervate and destroy both.”¹¹⁹ The leisure activities of African American women often followed gender lines, “with black men engaging more in gaming and saloon life while black women frequented dance halls, theatres, stores for clothing and other goods, and restaurants.”¹²⁰ Black women did go to taverns and saloons and socialized there. However, this gendered division in leisure activities may help explain the lack of sources focused on the women. Perhaps they had limited opportunities to be in the public sphere, and especially to travel to saloons, pubs, and taverns, unlike the men.

Possibly reflecting this emphasis on traditional roles, many sources containing details about the women focus on Unamadloza and her child. Additionally, another one of the few stories focusing on the lives of the women details the birth of child. While in the city of Rome in New York, a female performer gave birth. The mother of the newly born infant is never named, so it cannot be said with certainty whether it was Amazulu or Unamadloza. The route book for the circus season noted: “Arrival into the world of the first American Zulu born into captivity, to use a Jumboian expression. Signor Farini was delighted, as there is a chance now of one of his many apprentices becoming President of

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 96.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 95.

¹²⁰ Ibid., 98.

this great republic.”¹²¹ The *Washington Post* claimed the child was reportedly named Francis Joseph, as “the mother is a devout member of the Roman Catholic church.”¹²² The mother left Rome for Syracuse with the rest of the show and “by advice of the physician she left the child behind.”¹²³ The article related the mother “felt very badly at leaving the baby, and was a pitiable looking object crying and taking on at the depot” but it was “deemed best that the child remain here in good hands for a few weeks until it should be in better condition.”¹²⁴ The materials reviewed for this project did not indicate if and when the woman was reunited with her child.

The lack of sources makes it difficult to know more about the lives of the women outside of the exhibit. This is perhaps both a reflection of the ways gendered perceptions of female behaviour and leisure activities can impact both the stories about them in contemporary accounts as well as an indication into the lack of opportunity to be in the same public spaces as the men. What the sources do make clear is that exhibited women faced challenges that were very different from the ones encountered by men. For example, the literature focused Sarah Baartman makes suggestions concerning the ways exhibited African women were sexualized and exploited. The relative silence of the sources about the women, especially considered in comparison to the rich amount of material about the men, provides another indication of the unique challenges faced by women. They also had experiences outside of the exhibit, as indicated by the apparent

¹²¹ Robert Good and J. W. Little, *Route Book, Season of 1882, P. T. Barnum's Greatest Show on Earth*, St. Louis: Globe-Democrat Job Printing Co., 1882. Accessed March 1, 2011.

<http://www.circushistory.org/History/PTB1880.htm>

¹²² “A Zulu Baby,” *The Washington Post*, September 8, 1882.

¹²³ Ibid.

¹²⁴ Ibid.

relationship and pregnancy of the women explored above. But these experiences may have been circumscribed by their gender.

Conclusion

This chapter has explored the lives of the men and women outside of the exhibit. It focused on particular interactions, particularly ones involving alcohol and relationships, to interrogate how exhibited Africans manoeuvred in British and American society. While there are divergent reports about the details concerning Digandon briefly leaving his employment in P.T. Barnum's circus, the case suggests he was able to have an interaction with a woman, and spend time in local communities. It also may suggest that he consumed alcohol, while prohibited. Alcohol consumption was a significant component of the men's social lives revealing possible connections to Zulu cultural practices, the ways the men chose to socialize and meet local people, and European anxieties about African alcohol consumption. Additionally, by travelling through the cities and towns of both Britain and the United States in order to consume alcohol, the men were violating a special clause in their contract designed to limit their mobility. This chapter has also suggested the men were able to form fleeting and lasting interracial relationships. Finally, it explored the lack of sources detailing the lives of the women outside of the exhibit, by pointing to the existing discourse about the gender roles of black women. Through the analysis of the evidence, this chapter has demonstrated the ways in which this particular group controlled various aspects of their life outside of their exhibition and performance.

Conclusion

Between 1891 and 1893, the South African Zulu Choir, a group of fifteen men and women, toured the United States and Britain. While the tour appeared to have been deemed dismal failure in terms of the audiences it attracted, at least one article contrasted it with the performances of the Zulus studied in this project.¹ It observed:

It is now some twelve years ago that any representatives of this interesting race visited our shores in the capacity of guests willing to furnish forth entertainment. That 'a good many things have happened since then,' to quote a saying of Mr. Disraeli, was apparent to the minds of those who saw our African visitors on Saturday and contrasted them with the aborigines whom Mr. Farini induced to come here about 1880. Then the effects of civilization were only in the earliest stage of development, and the material somewhat unpromising to work upon. But now, under the influence of the missionaries, unaided by the adjuncts of the rifle and the bayonet, the remarkable capabilities of the South African have been brought to light. The first troupe that came over here did little else than exhibit their particular mode of warfare, which it must be confessed is enough to disconcert the mind and upset the balance of the most stolid soldier that ever donned the Queen's uniform.²

While the language used in the piece was no doubt influenced by the discourse of the civilizing mission, this article also reveals how long lasting British perceptions of Zulus spanned nearly a century. As this thesis has demonstrated, however, the Zulu troupe did far much more than "little else than exhibit their particular mode of warfare."³ Yet, given the British and American conceptions of Zulus, Africans, and race, it is not surprising the contemporary reports about the Zulus use such language or describe them in such a way. What is more surprising is the relative lack of attention contemporary scholars give to the

¹ Veit Erlmann, "'Spectatorial Lust': The African Choir in England, 1891-1893," in *Africans on Stage: Studies in Ethnological Show Business*, ed. Bernth Lindfors. (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1999), 108.

² "Zulus at the Royal Aquarium," *Daily News*, June 6, 1892.

³ Ibid.

experiences of African ethnographic performers, despite the fact that the contemporary press and the public were particularly interested in the performer's lives.

This thesis has attempted to redress this gap in order to provide a more extensive and thorough narrative of the experiences and lives of the performers during their tours in Britain and the United States. It has provided a more multifaceted, balanced, and comprehensive narrative of the African experience of performing in exhibitions than typically offered in the existing literature by 'going beyond the exhibit', so to speak. It did so by keeping the African's experiences at the forefront of the narrative by focusing on the performers' actions, responses, reactions, and interactions during their everyday lives.

By doing so, this thesis challenged the historical assumption about African performers in several ways. The experiences of the Zulu performers, as well as other exhibited Africans, demonstrate that they challenged various elements of their contracts, performances, depictions, working conditions, and treatment. They protested their contracts and working conditions with legal and more informal methods. Moreover, they took advantage of their performances to pursue other entrepreneurial activities. Some also took the opportunity of being in Britain and the United States to seek other forms of employment. This behaviour was by no means limited to the individuals in the Zulu troupes as many other exhibited Africans followed similar paths. Furthermore, there are several examples of individuals shaping the nature of their exhibition or resisting elements of it outright. The incidents of Africans establishing, recruiting members of, and managing their own troupes needs to be explored in more detail as these examples also challenge the typical scholarly treatment of exhibitions.

However, this group also had a rich and diverse range of experiences that were not related to their labour or exhibition. These experiences speak to the ways the Zulu performers were able to manoeuvre through British and American society, despite limitations that may have been posed due to their race. Numerous examples demonstrate that they interacted with local people. Dingandon's experience, for example, demonstrates that he spent time in both African American and African Canadian communities. Alcohol consumption was a large part of their social lives, which can be explained by acknowledging Zulu cultural practices. Much like back home, drinking alcohol was one important way they chose to spend their time of leisure. Moreover, by connecting European anxieties about African alcohol consumption to the Zulus own consumption of alcohol, this thesis argues that the Zulu performer's successfully expressed their agency. By interacting with local people and consuming alcohol, the men defied a part of their contract that was intended to limit their mobility. Zulu agency was also demonstrated through their relationships with local women. This thesis made particular use of the marriage of Charley and Anita to demonstrate this point.

Finally, this thesis explained why stories relating to the experiences of the female performers are lacking from the documentary evidence. It did so by pointing to various ways gendered perceptions of female behaviour and leisure activities can impact the way the story was told. The lack of stories about the female performers in contemporary sources is an indication into the lack of opportunity to be in the same public spaces as the male performers.

The stories of Zulu performers are harder to trace after 1884. As noted in the second chapter, Zulu shows, and acts featuring Africans became increasingly common

throughout the 1880s and 1890s. A number of the men travelled to Germany and performed there.⁴ The case of Passman demonstrates how some performers returned to South Africa after their contract was completed. Some of the performers remained in the United States and took advantage of the opportunities to keep performing. This is indicated in a magazine article about circus and dime museum performers that reported “Oscar and Charley, two of the Zulus brought over by Barnum, are still earning their living in museums, and their wild, ferocious demonstrations still inspire respect, although in their boarding houses their society is highly esteemed.”⁵ Additionally, Oscar and Charley returned to Britain when they were part of Barnum’s ‘Greatest Show on Earth’ when it came to London in 1889. Zulu shows remained popular well into the twentieth century, and some may have taken advantage of the opportunities presented by such shows to find employment. They may have sought other entrepreneurial avenues. However, like countless other individuals from this era who did not leave primary documents in the form of diaries for example, stories concerning them fade away. But for the brief few years encompassed in this thesis, this group of men and women made their mark through their attempts to control their lives both inside and outside of the exhibition.

⁴ “A Zulu in Trouble,” *Trewman’s Flying Exeter or Plymouth and Cornish Advertiser*, September 23, 1885.

⁵ “Freaks of Nature,” *The Illustrated American Volume 4*, November 8, 1890, 363. It seems likely these two performers are Charley and Uskai.

Epilogue

At the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis, a group of forty to fifty South Africans were featured in a Boer War exhibit.¹ Echoing the publicity surrounding the shows examined in this project, emphasis was placed on the groups “ferocious and haughty” nature. Led by “Chief Umkali”, the group were referred to in the press and in materials from the Exposition organizers as ‘Kaffirs’. However, the men and women came from at least five different ethno-linguistic groups: Zulus, Swahilis, Basutos, Matabeles, and Khoisan.² In the press coverage about this troupe, much of the attention was focused on the Zulu members.³ These men and women did not act in battle re-enactments unlike the two hundred Afrikaners and one hundred and fifty British troops who were also performing in St. Louis. Instead, they performed war dances, re-enacted daily activities, and competed in athletic events. They were also expected to perform manual labour and take care of livestock. Their working conditions were likely less than ideal. After their arrival in the city, the *St. Louis Post Dispatch* claimed, “their clothing is not suitable for this climate and they suffered severely.”⁴

This exhibit was the only concession where the local press commented on the presence of visiting African Americans, and as Don D. Fowler and Nancy Parezo write in their account of the Fair, it was “noteworthy because the press generally ignored non-middle class, non-white visitors.”⁵ Some members of the local African American community would soon become very involved with the show. On May 7th, it was

¹ Don D. Fowler and Nancy J. Parezo, *Anthropology Goes to the Fair: The 1904 Louisiana Purchase Expedition* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007), 257.

² Ibid., 258.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid., 257.

⁵ Ibid., 259.

reported that some of the performers “made long and loud protest against the onerousness [sic] of the ‘black man’s burden’ and in a body attempted to desert.”⁶ Apparently, they did not wish to perform jobs outside of their expected duties. Ordered to police the grounds, “they swore by all their native gods that they would not do police duty, but they would leave the camp, shake the dust of St. Louis from their bare heels and hie them to the Dark Continent before they would submit.”⁷

A man called ‘Kaffir Tom’ by the press convinced some of the performers to stop working. Frank Fillis, the manager of the act, attempted to convince them to stay. His entreaties fell on deaf ears. Rather, the men “assured him they would rather leave than work.”⁸ As a result, Fillis ordered the men performing as British and Boer soldiers to stop them. These soldiers apparently did nothing at first. It was reported that as ‘Kaffir Tom’ shouted at the performers to fight for their freedom, “the half-clad blacks rushed to a lumber pile and seized sticks, which they brandished like their native war spears, at the same time hurling words of defiance at the British and Boers.”⁹ But this attempt was unsuccessful as the soldiers “charged the blacks, disarmed them, hustled them about, and after a sound drubbing, sent them back to the camp.”¹⁰

The group would soon attempt to leave their employment again. This time their efforts would prove successful. A few weeks later, an African-American woman named Mrs. Willetha Smith led a contingent of local African Americans to the exhibit to “liberate fifteen African performers.”¹¹ Fillis asked police reinforcements to force the

⁶ “Fuzzy-Wuzzies Mutiny at Order To Go To Work” *The St. Louis Republic*, May 7, 1904.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Parezo and Fowler, *Anthropology Goes to the Fair*, 258.

Africans to stay and again, British and Boer ‘soldiers’ caned the performers. This time, they also abused local citizens, including Mrs. Smith, who was injured. A Louisiana Purchase Expedition Company police sergeant stopped the soldiers and told Fillis and his staff they could not use physical force.¹²

Newspaper reports claimed the Africans wished to leave the show because they had not been paid the four dollars a week they had been promised.¹³ The police sergeant ruled “that any man was free to leave a job and that Fillis could not stop him.”¹⁴ After this exodus from the show, it was reported the “twenty Kaffirs” may “have found hiding places in the city.”¹⁵ Officials from the Immigration Department were eager to find the men as they were admitted to the United States with the understanding they would be “deported at the close of the World’s Fair” and “returned to Africa within three months after the closing of the Exposition.”¹⁶ Apparently, the other men and women who did not leave the exhibit applied to the Immigration Bureau “for permanent residence in this country...they claim that this is due to the influence of negroes in St. Louis, who have persuaded the Africans that their pay in their own country is meagre in comparison to what they can get here.”¹⁷ It appears as though some of men never returned to South Africa. The fifteen men left and entered the local work force, and apparently became coal heavers for the Donk Brothers Coal Company.¹⁸ Moreover, another twenty performers evidently also left the exhibit and “melded into the St. Louis community.”¹⁹

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ “Looking for Missing Kaffirs,” *The St. Louis Republic*, November 30, 1904.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ “Say Missing Kaffirs Have Been Located,” *The St. Louis Republic*, December 1.

¹⁸ Fowler and Parzeo, *Anthropology Goes to the Fair*, 259.

¹⁹ Ibid.

While this story does not concern the Zulus studied in the body of this work, it echoes many of the themes addressed. Similarly to the Zulus studied in this thesis, for example, this group left their employment for several important reasons. They left due to their unhappiness about the payment they received; they also left because of the nature of their employment. In another way that echoes the experiences of the Zulus studied in this thesis, the performers in St. Louis were also able to take advantage of the local African American community after they left the show to find employment; they also did so to avoid detection by Exposition and Immigration Bureau officials. Finally, it is important to mention that the African American community also offered them companionship and social networks, which was an essential part of the Africans' lives as foreign performers. Taken alongside the evidence presented in the body of this thesis, the stories of the African performers in St. Louis suggest that there are many more to be recounted.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

i) British Newspapers and Magazines

Aberdeen Weekly Journal
Belfast Newsletter
Birmingham Daily Post
Daily News
The Era
The Examiner
Freeman's Journal and Daily Commercial Advertiser
Hampshire Telegraph and Sussex Journal
Hull Packet and East Riding Times
The Graphic
Illustrated Police News
Judy, Or The London Serio-Comic Journal
Leeds Mercury
Liverpool Mercury
Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper
Manchester Times
Newcastle Courant
Reynolds's Newspaper
The Pall Mall Gazette
The Penny Illustrated Paper and Illustrated Times
Plymouth and Cornish Advertiser
Punch
The Stage
The Times
Trewman's Exeter Flying Post
Western Mail

ii) American Newspapers and Magazines

Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser
Baltimore Sun
Colonist
Chicago Tribune
Detroit Free Press
Daily Evening Bulletin
Daily Globe
Dubuque Herald
Frank Leslie's Sunday Magazine
Hartford Courant
The Hawaiian Gazette

Hickman Courier
 The Illustrated American
 Lancaster Daily Intelligencer
 Los Angeles Times
 Maysville Evening Bulletin
 Mohave Daily Miner
 Monroe County Mail
 National Republican
 New York Herald
 New York Times
 New York Tribune
 New York Sun
 Omaha Daily Bee
 Palm Beach Daily News
 Sacramento Daily Record Union
 Salt Lake Herald
 Sedalia Weekly Bazoo
 St. Paul Daily Globe
 Washington Evening Critic
 Washington Post
 Wilmington Star

iii) Monographs

Bompas, George. *The Life of Frank Buckland*. London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1885.

Holden, William C. *History of the Colony of Natal, South Africa*. London: Alexander Heylin, 1855.

Holden, William C. *The Past and Future of the Kaffir Races*. Cape Town: Gothic Printing Company Limited, 1868.

Good, Robert and J. W. Little. *Route Book, Season of 1880, P. T. Barnum's Greatest Show on Earth*. St. Louis: Globe-Democrat Job Printing Co., 1880. Accessed May 23 2011. <http://www.circushistory.org/History/PTB1880.htm>.

Jennings, John Joseph. *Theatrical or Circus Life or Secrets of the Stage, Green-Room, and Sawdust Arena*. St. Louis: Sun Publishing Company, 1882.

Lucas, Thomas J. *The Zulus and the British Frontier*. London: Chapman and Hall, 1879.

Mann, Robert James. *The Emigrant's Guide to the Colony of Natal*. London: Virtue and Co., 1868.

Mason, G.H. *Zululand. A Mission Tour in South Africa*. London: James Nesbitt and Co, 1852.

Methley, James Erasmus. *The New Colony of Port Natal with Information for Emigrants Third Edition*. London: Houlston and Stoneman, 1850.

Natal Ordinances, Laws, and Proclamations Volume One 1843-1870. Pietermaritzburg: Vause, Slater and Co., Government Printers, 1879.

Parr, Hallam, Henry. *A Sketch of the Kafir and Zulu Wars*. London: C. Kegan Paul & Co., 1880.

Riis, Jacob August. *How the Other Half Lives: Studies Among the Tenements of New York*. Stilwell: Digireads, 2005, 72.

Trollope, Anthony. *South Africa: The Cape Colony and Natal, Volume One, Third Edition*. London: Chapman and Hall, 1878.

Youngshusband, Francis. *South Africa of Today*. London: Macmillan and Company, 1899.

Secondary Sources

i) Monographs and Journal Articles

Abrahams, Yvette. "Images of Sara Bartman: Sexuality, Race, and Gender in Early Nineteenth Century Britain." In *Nation, Empire, Colony: Historicizing Gender and Race*, edited by Ruth Roach Pierson and Nupur Chaudhuri, 220-237. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998.

Abrahams, Yvette. "The Great Long National Insult: 'Science', Sexuality, and the Khoisan in the Eighteenth and early Nineteenth Centuries." *Agenda* 32 (1997): 34-48.

Adams, Rachel. *Sideshow U.S.A.: Freaks and the American Cultural Imagination*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001.

Adi, Hakim. *West Africans in Britain, 1900-1960: Nationalism, Pan-Africanism, and Communism*. London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1998.

Altick, Richard. *The Shows of London*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978.

Ames, Eric. "Seeing the Imaginary: On the Popular Reception of Wild West Shows in Germany, 1885-1910." In *Human Zoos: Science and Spectacle in the Age of Empire*, edited by Pascale Blanchard, Nicolas Bancel, Gilles Boëtsch, Eric Deroo, Sandrine Lemaire, and Charles Forsdick, 205-220. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2008.

- Anderson, Benedict. "Rituals of Representation: Ethnic Stereotypes and Colonized Peoples at World's Fairs." *European Contributions to American Studies* 27 (1994): 28-61.
- Anderson, Catherine A. "A Zulu King in Victorian London: Race, Royalty, and Imperialist Aesthetics in Nineteenth-Century Britain." *Visual Resources: An International Journal of Documentation* 24 (2008): 299-319.
- Apter, Andrew. "Africa, Empire and Anthropology: A Philological Exploration of Anthropology's Heart of Darkness." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 28 (1999): 577-598.
- Assael, Brenda. *The Circus and Victorian Society*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2005.
- Atkins, Keletso E. "'Kafir Time': Preindustrial Temporal Concepts and Labour Discipline in 19th Century Colonial Natal." *The Journal of African History* 29 (1988): 229-244.
- Atkins, Keletso E. *The Moon is Dead! Give us Our Money! The Cultural Origins of an African Work Ethic, Natal, South Africa, 1834-1900*. Portsmouth: Heinemann, 1993.
- Auerbach, Jeffery A., and Peter H. Hoffenberg, eds. *Britain, the Empire, and the World at the Great Exhibition of 1851*. Burlington: Ashgate, 2008.
- Bailey, Peter. *Popular Culture and Performance in the Victorian City*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Banton, Mandy. "Untold Histories: Black People in England and Wales During the Period of the British Slave Trade, 1660-1807." *Family and Community History* 13 (2010): 152-154.
- Barrows, Susanna and Robin Room "Introduction." In *Drinking: Behaviour and Belief in Modern History*, edited by Susanna Barrows and Robin Room, 1-29. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991.
- Benedict, Burton. *The Anthropology of World's Fairs*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983.
- Benedict Burton. "International Exhibitions and National Identity." *Anthropology Today* 7 (1991): 5-9.
- Bennett, Tony. *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, and Politics*. New York: Routledge, 1995.

- Berger, Iris. *South Africa and World History*. Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2009.
- Bland, Lucy. "White Women and Men of Colour: Miscegenation Fears in Britain after the Great War." *Gender and History* 17 (2005): 29-61.
- Blanchard, Pascal., and Nicolas Bancel, Gilles Boëtsch, Éric Deroo and Sandrine Lemaire. "Human Zoos: The Greatest Exotic Show in the West: Introduction." In *Human Zoos: Science and Spectacle in the Age of Empire*, edited by Pascale Blanchard, Nicolas Bancel, Gilles Boëtsch, Eric Deroo, Sandrine Lemaire, and Charles Forsdick, 1-52. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2008.
- Blanchard, Pascal., and Nicolas Bancel and Sandrine Lemaire, "From Scientific Racism to Popular and Colonial Racism in France and the West." In *Human Zoos: Science and Spectacle in the Age of Empire*, edited by Pascale Blanchard, Nicolas Bancel, Gilles Boëtsch, Eric Deroo, Sandrine Lemaire, and Charles Forsdick, 104-114. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2008.
- Blier, Suzanne Preston. "Meeting the Amazons." In *Human Zoos: Science and Spectacle in the Age of Empire*, edited by Pascale Blanchard, Nicolas Bancel, Gilles Boëtsch, Eric Deroo, Sandrine Lemaire, and Charles Forsdick, 159-165. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2008.
- Bluford, Adams. *E Pluribus Barnum: The Great Showman and the Making of U.S. Popular Culture*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press: 1997.
- Blume, Harvey. "Ota Benga and the Barnum Perplex." In *Africans on Stage: Studies in Ethnological Show Business*, edited by Bernth Lindfors, 188-203. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999.
- Boëtsch, Gilles., and Pascal Blanchard. "The Hottentot Venus: Birth of a 'Freak' (1815)." In *Human Zoos: Science and Spectacle in the Age of Empire*, edited by Pascale Blanchard, Nicolas Bancel, Gilles Boëtsch, Eric Deroo, Sandrine Lemaire, and Charles Forsdick, 62-73. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2008.
- Boëtsch, Gilles., and Yann Ardagna. "Human Zoos: The 'Savage' and the Anthropologist." In *Human Zoos: Science and Spectacle in the Age of Empire*, edited by Pascale Blanchard, Nicolas Bancel, Gilles Boëtsch, Eric Deroo, Sandrine Lemaire, and Charles Forsdick, 114-123. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2008.
- Bogdan, Robert. *Freak Show: Presenting Human Oddities for Amusement and Progress*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988.
- Bogdan, Robert. "When the Exotic Becomes a Show." In *Human Zoos: Science and Spectacle in the Age of Empire*, edited by Pascale Blanchard, Nicolas Bancel,

- Gilles Boëtsch, Eric Deroo, Sandrine Lemaire, and Charles Forsdick, 89-95. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2008.
- Bowman, Joye. "Reconstructing the Past using the British Parliamentary Papers: the Anglo-Zulu War of 1879." *History in Africa* 31(2004): 117-132.
- Burkhardt Jr, Richard W. "The Leopard in the Garden: Life in Close Quarters at the Museum d'Histoire Naturelle." *Isis* 98 (2007): 675-694.
- Braude, Benjamin. "The Sons of Noah and the Construction of Ethnic and Geographical Identities in the Medieval and Early Modern Periods." *The William & Mary Quarterly* 54 (1997): 103-142.
- Bressey, Caroline. "The Black Presence in England and Wales After the Abolition Act, 1807-1930." *Parliamentary History* 26 (2007): 224-237.
- Bressey, Caroline. "Looking For Work: The Black Presence in Britain 1860-1920." *Immigrants and Minorities* 28 (2010): 164-182
- Browder, Laura. *Slippery Characters: Ethnic Impersonators and the American Identity*. Durham: University of North Carolina Press, 2000.
- Brown, Elsa Barkley. "To Catch the Vision of Freedom: Reconstructing Southern Black Women's Political History, 1865-1880." In *African American Women and the Vote, 1837-1965*, edited by Ann D. Gordon, Bettye Collier-Thomas, John H. Bracey, Arlene Voski Avakian, and Joyce Avrech Berkman, 68-87. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1997.
- Brown, Elsa Barkley. "Negotiating and Transforming the Public Sphere: African American Political Life in the Transition from Slavery to Freedom." *Public Culture* 7 (1994): 107-144.
- Brown, Lucy. *Victorian News and Newspapers*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985.
- Buckner Sierra. "Spectacles of (Human) Nature: Commercial Ethnography Between Leisure, Learning, and Schaulust." In *Worldly Provincialism: German Anthropology in the Age of Empire*, edited by H. Glenn Penny and Matti Bunzl, 127-156. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003.
- Bundy, Colin. *The Rise and Fall of the South African Peasantry*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979.
- Byrd, Alexander X. *Captives and Voyagers: Black Migrants Across the Eighteenth Century British Atlantic World*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2008.
- Carton, Benedict. *Blood From Your Children: The Colonial Origins of Generational Conflict in South Africa*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2000.

- Celik, Zeynep. *Displaying the Orient: Architecture of Islam at Nineteenth Century World's Fairs*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992.
- Chakrabarty, Dipesh. *Habitations of Modernity: Essays in the Wake of Subaltern Studies*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2002.
- Chakrabarty, Dipesh. *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002.
- Chater, Kathleen. "Black People in England, 1660-1807." *Parliamentary History* 26 (2007): 66-83.
- Chater, Kathleen. "Job Mobility Amongst Black People in England and Wales During the Long Eighteenth Century." *Immigrants and Minorities* 28 (2010): 113-130.
- Ciarlo, David. *Advertising Empire: Race and Visual Culture in Imperial Germany*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2011.
- Clayton, Anthony. *London's Coffee Houses: A Stimulating Story*. London: Historical Publications, 2003.
- Cobbing, Julian. "The Mfecane as Alibi: Thoughts on Dithakong and Mbolompo." *The Journal of African History* 29 (1988): 487-519.
- Codell, Julie F, ed. *Imperial Co-Histories: National Identities and the British and Colonial Press*. Cranbury: Associated University Presses, 2003.
- Codell, Julie F. "Imperial Differences and Culture Clashes in Victorian Periodicals Visuals: the Case of *Punch*." *Victorian Periodical Review* 39 (2006): 410-428.
- Cohn, Bernard S. *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996.
- Comaroff, Jean and John Comaroff. "Through the Looking-glass: Colonial Encounters of the First Kind." *Journal of Historical Sociology* 1 (1988): 6-32.
- Comaroff, Jean and John Comaroff. "Africa Observed: Discourses of the Imperial Imagination." In *Perspectives on Africa: A Reader in Culture, History, and Representation*, edited by Roy Richard Grinker and Christopher B. Steiner
- Cook, James W Jr. "Of Men, Missing Links, and Nondescripts: The Strange Career of P.T. Barnum's 'What is It?' Exhibition." In *Freakery: Cultural Spectacles of the Extraordinary Body*, edited by Rosemarie Garland Thomson, 139-158. New York: New York University Press, 1996.

- Coombes, Annie. *Reinventing Africa: Museums, Imperial Culture and Popular Imagination in Late Victoriana and Edwardian England*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994.
- Cooper, Frederick. "Conflict and Connection: Rethinking Colonial African History." *American Historical Review* 99 (1994): 1516-1545.
- Cooper, Frederick. "Africa's Pasts and Africa's Historians." *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 34: (2000): 298-336.
- Cooper, Frederick. "What is The Concept of Globalization Good For: An African Historian's Perspective." *African Affairs* 100 (2001): 189-213.
- Cooper, Frederick. *Colonialism in Question: Theory, Knowledge, History*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005.
- Cooper, Frederick and Ann Laura Stoler, eds. *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997.
- Cope, Richard L. *Ploughshare of War: The Origins of the Anglo-Zulu War of 1879*. Durban: University of Natal Press, 1999.
- Cope, Richard L. "Local Imperatives and Imperial Policy: The Sources of Lord Carnarvon's South African Confederation Policy." *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 24 (1987): 601-626.
- Cope, Richard L. "Written in characters of blood? The reign of King Cetshwayo Ka Mpande 1872-9." *The Journal of African History* 36 (1995): 247-269.
- Corbey, Raymond. "Ethnographic Showcases, 1870 – 1930." *Cultural Anthropology* 8 (1993): 338-369.
- Cowan, Brian William. *The Social Life of Coffee: The Emergence of the British Coffee House*. Yale University Press, 2005.
- Crais, Clifton and Pamela Scully. *Sara Baartman and the Hottentot Venus: A Ghost Story and Biography*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009.
- Crais, Clifton. *White Supremacy and Black Resistance in the Preindustrial South Africa*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1992.
- Craton, Lillian. *The Victorian Freak Show: The Significance of Disability and Physical Differences in Nineteenth-Century Fiction*. Amherst: Cambria Press, 2009.

- Curtin, Philip. *The Image of Africa: British Ideas and Action, 1780-1850*. London: Macmillan, 1965.
- Dabel, Jane E. *A Respectable Woman: The Public Roles of African American Women in Nineteenth Century New York*. New York: New York University Press, 2007.
- Dabydeen, David. *Hogarth's Blacks: Images of Blacks in Eighteenth Century Art*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987.
- Davidoff, Leonore. *Worlds Between: Historical Perspectives on Gender and Class*. London: Routledge, 1995.
- Brion, David Davis. "Constructing Race: A Reflection." *The William & Mary Quarterly* 54 (1997): 7-18.
- Davis, Janet M. *The Circus Age: Culture and Society Under the American Big Top*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002.
- Delsahut, Fabrice, "The 1904 St. Louis Anthropological Games." In *Human Zoos: Science and Spectacle in the Age of Empire*, edited by Pascale Blanchard, Nicolas Bancel, Gilles Boëtsch, Eric Deroo, Sandrine Lemaire, and Charles Forsdick, 294-307. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2008.
- Dennet, Andrea. *Weird and Wonderful: The Dime Museum in America*. New York: New York University Press, 1997.
- Durbach, Nadja. *Spectacle of Deformity: Freak Shows and Modern British Culture*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010.
- Durbach, Nadja. "London, Capital of Exotic Exhibitions from 1830-1860." In *Human Zoos: Science and Spectacle in the Age of Empire*, edited by Pascale Blanchard, Nicolas Bancel, Gilles Boëtsch, Eric Deroo, Sandrine Lemaire, and Charles Forsdick, 81-89. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2008.
- Durbach, Nadja. "The Missing Link and the Hairy Belle: Krao and the Victorian Discourses of Evolution, Imperialism, and Primitive Sexuality." In *Victorian Freaks: The Social Context of Freakery in Britain*, edited by Marlene Tromp, 134-155. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2008.
- Duffield, Ian. "Skilled Workers or Marginalized Poor? The African Population of the United Kingdom, 1812-52." In *Africans in Britain*, edited by David Killingray, 49-88. Ilford: Frank Cass & Co., 1994.
- Du Toit, Andre. "Founding and Crushing: Narrative Understandings of Political Violence in Pre-Modern and Colonial South Africa." *Journal of Natal and Zulu History* 22 (2004): 1-52.

- Eason, Andrew M. "‘All Thing to All People to Save Some’: Salvation Army Missionary Work Among the Zulus of Victorian Natal." *Journal of Southern African Studies* 35 (2009): 7-27.
- Eckert, Andreas and Jones, Adam. "Introduction: Historical Writing About Everyday Life." *Journal of African Cultural Studies* 15 (2002): 5-16.
- Edgar, Robert and Robert Trent Vinson. "Zulus Abroad: Cultural Representations and Educational Experiences of Zulus in America, 1880-1945." *Journal of Southern African Studies* 33 (2007): 43-62.
- Edgerton, Robert B. *Like Lions They Fought: The Zulu War and the Last Black Empire In South Africa*. New York: Macmillan, 1988.
- Edwards, Elizabeth, "Photography and the Making of the Other." In *Human Zoos: Science and Spectacle in the Age of Empire*, edited by Pascale Blanchard, Nicolas Bancel, Gilles Boëtsch, Eric Deroo, Sandrine Lemaire, and Charles Forsdick, 239-248. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2008.
- Edwards, Paul. "Blacks in Britain: Black Personalities in Georgian Britain." *History Today* 9 (1981): 39-44.
- Edwards, Paul. "‘Unreconciled Strivings and Ironic Strategies: Three Afro-British Authors of the Late Georgian Period (Sancho, Equiano, Wedderburn).'" *Immigrants and Minorities* 12 (1993): 28-28.
- Ellis, Markman. *The Coffee House: A Cultural History*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2004.
- Erlmann, Veit. "‘Spectatorial Lust’: The African Choir in England, 1891-1893." In *Africans on Stage: Studies in Ethnological Show Business*, edited by Bernth Lindfors, 107-135. Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1999.
- Etherington, Norman. "Natal’s Black Rape Scare of the 1870s." *Journal of Southern African Studies* 15 (1988): 36-53.
- Evans, Julie and David Phillips. "‘When There’s No Safety in Numbers’: Fear and Franchise in South Africa – the Case of Natal." In *Law, History, and Colonialism: The Reach of Empire*, edited by Diane Kirby and Catherine Colbourne, 91-106. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001.
- Ewen, Elizabeth and Stuart Ewen. *Typecasting of the Arts and Sciences of Human Inequality*. New York: Seven Stories Press, 2008.
- Ezra, Elizabeth. *The Colonial Unconscious: Race and Culture in Interwar France*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000.

- Falola, Toyin and Christian Jennings. *Sources and Methods in African History: Spoken, Written, Unearthed*. Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2003.
- Falola, Toyin. "Mission and Colonial Documents." In *Writing African History*, edited by John Edward Phillips, 266-287. (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2005).
- Fausto-Sterling, Anne. "Gender, Race, and Nation: The Comparative Anatomy of 'Hottentot' Women in Europe, 1815–1817." In *Deviant Bodies: Critical Perspectives on Difference in Science and Popular Culture*, edited by Jennifer Terry and Jacqueline Urla, 19–48. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995.
- Finney, Nikky. "The Greatest Show on Earth: For Saartjie Baartman, Joice Heath, Anarcha, Truugini, and Us All." In *Black Venus 2010: They Called Her 'Hottentot'*, edited by Deborah Willis, 147-149. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2010.
- Flint, Kate. "Counter-Historicism, Contact Zones and Cultural History." *Victorian Literature and Culture* 27: (1999), 507-511.
- Foley, Timothy P., Lionel Pilkington, Sean Ryder, and Elizabeth Tilley eds. *Gender and Colonialism*. Galway: Galway University Press, 1995.
- Foner, Eric. *A Short History of Reconstruction, 1863-1877*. New York: Harper and Row, 1990.
- Forsdick, Charles. "Postface: Situating *Human Zoos*." In *Human Zoos: Science and Spectacle in the Age of Empire*, edited by Pascale Blanchard, Nicolas Bancel, Gilles Boëtsch, Eric Deroo, Sandrine Lemaire, and Charles Forsdick, 377-393. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2008.
- Fredrickson, George M. *White Supremacy: A Comparative Study in American and South African History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981.
- Fredrickson, George M. *Racism: A Short History*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002.
- Freeman, Victoria. "Attitudes Towards 'Miscegenation' in Canada, the United States, New Zealand, and Australia, 1860-1914." *Native Studies Review* 16 (2005): 41-65.
- Fretz, Eric. "P.T. Barnum's Theatrical Self-hood and the Nineteenth Century Culture of Exhibition." In *Freakery: Cultural Spectacles of the Extraordinary Body*,

- edited by Rosemary Garland Thomson, 97-108. New York: New York University Press, 1996.
- Frost, Linda. *Never One Nation: Freaks, Savages, and Whiteness in U.S. Popular Culture, 1850-1877*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005.
- Frost, Linda. "The Circassian Beauty and the Circassian Slave: Gender, Imperialism, and American Popular Entertainment." *Freakery: Cultural Spectacles of the Extraordinary Body*, edited by Rosemary Garland Thomson, 248-265. New York: New York University Press, 1996.
- Fryer, Peter. *Staying Power: The History of Black People in Britain*. London: Pluto Press, 1984.
- Fyfe, Christopher. "Race, Empire and the Historians'." *Race and Class* 33 (1992): 15-30.
- Garland-Thompson, Rosemarie. "From Wonder to Error: Monsters Antiquity to Modernity" In *Human Zoos: Science and Spectacle in the Age of Empire*, edited by Pascale Blanchard, Nicolas Bancel, Gilles Boëtsch, Eric Deroo, Sandrine Lemaire, and Charles Forsdick, 52-62. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2008.
- Garland-Thompson, Rosemarie. *Extraordinary Bodies: Figuring Physical Disabilities in American Culture and Literature*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1997.
- Geber, David A. "The 'Careers' of People Exhibited in Freak Shows: The Problem of Volition and Valorization." In *Freakery: Cultural Spectacles of the Extraordinary Body*, edited by Rosemary Garland Thomson, 38-55. New York: New York University Press, 1996.
- Gilman, Sander. "Black Bodies, White Bodies: Toward an Iconography of Race in Late Nineteenth Century Art, Medicine and Literature." *Critical Inquiry* 12 (1985): 204-242.
- Gilman, Sander. "The 'Hottentot' and The Prostitute: Toward an Iconography of Female Sexuality." In *Black Venus 2010: They Called Her 'Hottentot'*, edited by Deborah Willis, 15-42. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2010.
- Golan, Daphna. *Inventing Shaka: Using History in the Construction of Zulu Nationalism*. Boulder: L. Rienner, 1994.
- Gomez, Michael A, ed. *Diasporic Africa: A Reader*. New York: New York University Press, 2006.
- Goodall, Jane R. *Performance and Evolution in the Age of Darwin: Out of the Natural Order*. London: Routledge, 2002.

- Gordon, David. "A Revisionist View of Shaka." *The Journal of African History* 50 (2009): 315-316.
- Gordon, Rae Beth, *Dances with Darwin: Vernacular Modernity in France, 1870-1910*. Burlington: Ashgate, 2009.
- Gould, Stephen J. 1985. *The Flamingo's Smile: Reflections in Natural History*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company.
- Greaves, Adrian. *Crossing the Buffalo: The Zulu War of 1879*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 2005.
- Green, Jeffrey. *Black Edwardians: Black People in Britain, 1901-1914*. London: Frank Cass Publishers, 1998.
- Green, Jeffery P. "A Revelation in Strange Humanity: Six Congo Pygmies in Britain, 1905-1907." In *Africans on Stage: Studies in Ethnological Show Business*, edited by Bernth Lindfors, 156-188. Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1999.
- Greenhalgh, Paul. *Ephemeral Vistas: The Expositions Universelles, Great Exhibitions, and World's Fairs 1851- 1937*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988.
- Gump, Jeff O. *The Dust Rose Like Smoke: The Subjugation of the Zulu and the Sioux*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994.
- Gunn, Simon. *History and Cultural Theory*. Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 2006.
- Gutman, Herbert G. "Schools for Freedom: The Post-Emancipation Origins of Afro-American Education." In *Power and Culture: Essays on the American Working Class*, edited by Ira Berlin, 260-298. New York: Pantheon Books, 1987.
- Guy, Jeff. "Non-Combatants and War: Unexplored Factors in the Conquest of the Zulu Kingdom." *Journal of Natal and Zulu History* 22 (2004): 53-71.
- Guy, Jeff. "'A Paralysis of Perspective': Image and Text in the Creation of an African Chief." *South African Historical Journal* 47 (2002): 51-74.
- Guy, Jeff. *The View Across the River: Harriette Colenso and the Zulu Struggle Against Imperialism*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2002.
- Halpern, Rick. "Solving the 'Labour Problem': Race, Work and the State in the Sugar Industries of Louisiana and Natal, 1870-1910." *Journal of Southern African Studies* (2004): 19-40.

- Hamilton, Carolyn. *Terrific Majesty: Shaka Zulu and the Limits of Historical Invention*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998.
- Hamilton, Carolyn. *The Mfecane Aftermath: Reconstructive Debates in Southern African History*. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1995.
- Harries, Patrick. "Plantations, Passes and Proletarians: Labour and the Colonial State in Nineteenth Century Natal." *Journal of Southern African Studies* 13 (1987): 372-399.
- Harries, Patrick. "The Roots of Ethnicity: Discourse and the Politics of Language Construction in South-East Africa." *African Affairs* 87 (1988): 25-52.
- Harrison, Brain. "Pub's." In *The Victorian City*, edited by H.J. Dyos and Michael Wolff, 161-191. New York City: Routledge 1999.
- Heuman, Gad. *'The Killing Time': The Morant Bay Rebellion in Jamaica*. London: Macmillan, 1994.
- Hobson, Janelle. *Venus in the Dark: Blackness and Beauty in Popular Culture*. New York: Routledge, 2005.
- Hobson, Janelle. "The 'Batty' Politic: Toward an Aesthetic of the Black Female Body." *Hypatia* 18: (2003): 87-105.
- Hodeir, Catherine. "Decentring the Gaze at French Colonial Exhibitions." In *Images and Empires: Visuality in Colonial and Postcolonial Africa*, edited by Paul S. Landau and Deborah D. Kaspin, 233-253. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002.
- Hodes, Martha. "The Mercurial Nature and Abiding Power of Race: A Transnational Family Story." *American Historical Review* 108 (2003): 84-118.
- Hoffenberg, Peter H. *An Empire on Display: English, Indian, and Australian Exhibitions from the Crystal Palace to the Great War*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001.
- Holmes, Rachel. *African Queen: The Real Life of the Hottentot Venus*. New York: Random House, 2007.
- Holmes, Rachel. *The Hottentot Venus: The Life and Death of Saartjie Baartman*. London: Bloomsbury, 2008.
- Holt, Thomas C. *The Problem of Freedom: Race, Labour, and Politics in Jamaica, 1832-1938*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992.

- hooks, bell. *Black Looks: Race and Representation*. Cambridge: South End Press, 1999.
- Hunter, Tera W. *To 'Joy My Freedom: Southern Black Women's Lives and Labors after the Civil War*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007.
- Ibawoh, Bonny and Harvey Amani Whitfield. "Problems, Perspectives, and Paradigms: Colonial Africanist Historiography and the Question of Audience." *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 39 (2005): 582-600.
- Ignatiev, Noel. *How the Irish Became White*. New York: Routledge, 1995.
- Jacquemin, Jean-Pierre. "The Congolese in 'Imperial Belgium.'" In *Human Zoos: Science and Spectacle in the Age of Empire*, edited by Pascale Blanchard, Nicolas Bancel, Gilles Boëtsch, Eric Deroo, Sandrine Lemaire, and Charles Forsdick, 269-276. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2008.
- Jaffe, Hosea. *European Colonial Despotism: A History of Oppression and Resistance in South Africa*. London: Kamak House, 1994.
- Johnson, David. "Representing the Cape 'Hottentots,' from the French Enlightenment to Post-apartheid South Africa." *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 40 (2007): 525-552.
- Jolly, Rosemary. "Rehearsals of Liberation: Contemporary Postcolonial Discourse and the New South Africa." *PMLA* 110 (1995): 17-29.
- Jones, Martha S. *All Bound Up Together: The Women Question in African American Public Culture, 1830-1900*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007.
- Joost, Cote. "'To See is to Know': The Pedagogy of the Colonial Exhibition, Semarang, 1914." *Paedagogia Historia* 36 (2000): 340-366.
- Kapoor, Ilan. "Hyper-self-reflexive Development? Spivak on Representing the Third World 'Other'." *Third World Quarterly* 25 (2004): 627-47.
- Kelk, Anne Mager. *Beer, Sociability, and Masculinity in South Africa*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010.
- Khumalo, Vukile. "Political Rights, Land Ownership and Contending Forms of Representation in Colonial Natal, 1860-1900." *Journal of Natal and Zulu History* 22 (2004): 109-148.
- Kift, Dagmar. *The Victorian Music Hall: Culture, Class, and Conflict*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

- Killingray, David, ed. *Africans in Britain*. Ilford: Frank Cass & Co., 1994.
- Killingray, David. "Africans in the United Kingdom: An Introduction." In *Africans in Britain*, edited by David Killingray, 2-28. Ilford: Frank Cass & Co., 1994.
- Killingray, David. "Tracing Peoples of African Origin and Descent in Victorian Kent." In *Black Victorians, Black Victoriana*, edited by Gretchen Holbrook Gerzina, 51-71. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2003.
- Killingray, David. "'A Good West Indian, a Good African, and, in Short, a Good Britisher': Black and British in a Colour-Conscious Empire." *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 36 (2008): 363-381.
- Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara. *Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums, and Heritage*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998.
- Kline, Benjamin. *Genesis of Apartheid: British African Policy in the Colony of Natal 1845-1893*. Lanham: University Press of America, 1988.
- Knight, Ian. *Brave Men's Blood*. London: Greenhill Books, 1990.
- Knight, Ian. *A Companion to Anglo-Zulu War*. Pen and Sword Books Limited: Barnsely, 2008.
- Kolchin, Peter. "Whiteness Studies: The New History of 'Race' in America." *Journal of American History* 89 (2002): 154-173.
- Kruger, Loren. "'White Cities', 'Diamond Zulus,' and the 'African Contribution to Human Advancement' African Modernities and the World's Fairs." *TDR: The Drama Review* 51 (2007): 19-45.
- Laband, John. *Kingdom in Crisis: The Zulu Response to the British Invasion of 1879*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992.
- Lambert, John. "Chiefship in Early Colonial Natal 1843-1879." *Journal of Southern African Studies* 21 (1995): 269-285.
- Lambert, John. "The Anglo-Zulu War and its Aftermath." *South African Historical Journal* 45 (2001): 278-291.
- Landau, Paul S. "Introduction: An Amazing Distance: Pictures and People in Africa." In *Images and Empires: Visuality in Colonial and Postcolonial Africa*, edited by Paul S. Landau and Deborah D. Kaspin, 1-41. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002.

- Lee, Christopher. "Subaltern Studies and African Studies." *History Compass* 3 (2005): 1-13.
- Lemire, Elise Virginia. "*Miscegenation*": *Making Race in America*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002.
- Lewis, Robert M. *From Travelling Circus to Vaudeville*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2003.
- Lieven, Michael. "'Butchering the Brutes All Over the Place': Total War and Massacre in Zululand, 1879." *History* 84 (1999): 614-632.
- Lindfors, Bernth. "Courting the Hottentot Venus." *Africa* 40 (1985): 133-148.
- Lindfors, Bernth. "Hottentot, Bushman, Kaffir: the Making of Racist Stereotypes in 19th Century Britain." In *Encounter Images in the Meetings Between Africa and Europe*, edited by Mai Palmberg, 54-76. Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, 2001.
- Lindfors, Bernth. "Introduction." In *Africans on Stage: Studies in Ethnological Show Business*, edited by Bernth Lindfors, vii-xiii. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999.
- Lindfors, Bernth. "Ethnological Show Business: Footlighting the Dark Continent." In *Freakery: Cultural Spectacles of the Extraordinary Body*, edited by Rosemary Garland Thomson, 207-219. New York: New York University Press, 1996.
- Lindfors, Bernth. "Charles Dickens and the Zulus." In *Africans on Stage: Studies in Ethnological Show Business*, edited by Bernth Lindfors, 62-81. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999.
- Lindfors, Bernth. "Dr. Kahn and the Niam-Niams." In *Human Zoos: Science and Spectacle in the Age of Empire*, edited by Pascale Blanchard, Nicolas Bancel, Gilles Boëtsch, Eric Deroo, Sandrine Lemaire, and Charles Forsdick, 229-239. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2008.
- Lorimer, Douglas. "Reconstructing Victorian Racial Discourse: Images of Race, The Language of Race Relations, and the Context of Black Resistance." In *Black Victorians, Black Victoriana*, edited by Gretchen Holbrook Gerzina, 187-209. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2003.
- Lorimer, Douglas. *Colour, Class, and the Victorians: English Attitudes to the Negro in the Mid Nineteenth Century*. Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1978.

- Lumdsen, Joy. “‘A Brave and Loyal People’: The Role of Maroons in the Morant Bay Rebellion in 1865.” In *Working Slavery, Pricing Freedom: Perspectives from the Caribbean, Africa, and the African Diaspora*, edited by Verene A. Shepherd, 467-490. New York: Palgrave, 2002.
- Mackenzie, John M. *Imperialism and Popular Culture*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986.
- Mackenzie, John M. *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of British Public Opinion, 1880-1960*. 1880-1960. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984.
- Mackenzie, John M. “The Imperial Exhibitions of Great Britain.” In *Human Zoos: Science and Spectacle in the Age of Empire*, edited by Pascale Blanchard, Nicolas Bancel, Gilles Boëtsch, Eric Deroo, Sandrine Lemaire, and Charles Forsdick, 259-269. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2008.
- Maddra, Sam. “American Indians in Buffalo Bill’s Wild West.” In *Human Zoos: Science and Spectacle in the Age of Empire*, edited by Pascale Blanchard, Nicolas Bancel, Gilles Boëtsch, Eric Deroo, Sandrine Lemaire, and Charles Forsdick 134-142. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2008.
- Magubane, Bernard M. *The Making of a Racist State: British Imperialism and the Union of South Africa, 1875-1910*. Trenton: Africa World Press, 1996.
- Magubane, Bernard M. “Whose Memory – Whose History: The Illusion of Liberal and Radical Historical Debates.” In *History Making and Present Day Politics: The Meaning of Collective Memory in South Africa*, edited by Hans Erik Stolten, 251-279. Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, 2007.
- Magubane, Zine. “Ethnographic Showcases as Sites of Knowledge Production and Indigenous Resistance.” In *Contesting Knowledge: Museums and Indigenous Perspectives*, edited by Susan Sleeper-Smith, 45-65. Omaha: University of Nebraska Press, 2009.
- Magubane, Zine ed. *Postmodernism, Post-Coloniality and African Studies*. Asmara: Africa World Press, 2003.
- Magubane, Zine. *Bringing the Empire Home: Race, Class and Gender in Britain and Colonial South Africa*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004.
- Magubane, Zine “Which Bodies Matter? Feminism, Post-Structuralism, Race, and the Curious Theoretical Journey of the Hottentot Venus.” *Gender and Society* 15 (2001): 816-834.

- Mahoney, Michael R. "Racial Transformation and Ethnogenesis from Below: the Zulu Case, 1879-1906." *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 36 (2003): 559-583.
- Mahoney, Michael R. "The Zulu Kingdom as a Genocidal and Post-Genocidal Kingdom, c 1810 to the Present." *Journal of Genocide Research* 5 (2003): 251-268.
- Mahoney, Michael R and Julie Parle. "An Ambiguous Sexual Revolution? Sexual Change and Intra-Generational Conflict in Colonial Natal." *South African Historical Journal* 50 (2004): 134-151.
- Maharaj, Bru. "The Historical Development of the Apartheid Local State in South Africa: The Case of Durban." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 20 (1996): 587-600.
- Malchow, H. L. "Frankenstein's Monster and Images of Race in Nineteenth-Century Britain." *Past and Present* 13 (1993): 990-130.
- Mamdani, Mahmood. *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996.
- Mansell, Upham. "From the Venus Sickness to the Hottentot Venus: Saartje Baartman and the Three Men in her Life, Alexander Dunlop, Hendrick Caesar and Jean Riaux." *Quarterly Bulletin of the National Library of South Africa* 61 (2007): 9-22.
- Mansell, Upham. "From the Venus Sickness to the Hottentot Venus, Part Two," *Quarterly Bulletin of the National Library of South Africa* 61 (2007): 74-82.
- Maphalala, S.J. "Zulu Relations with the Whites During the Nineteenth Century: a Broad Perspective." *Historia* 25: (1980): 19-27.
- Marks, Shula. "Harriette Colenso and the Zulus, 1874-1913." *Journal of African History* 4 (1963): 403-411.
- Martens, Jeremy. "Polygamy, Sexual Danger, and the Creation of Vagrancy Legislation in Colonial Natal." *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 31 (2005): 24-45.
- Martens, Jeremy. "Settler Homes, Manhood and 'Houseboys': An Analysis of Natal's Rape Scare of 1886." *Journal of Southern African Studies* 28 (2002): 379-400.
- Mason, Peter. "The Onas Exhibited in the Musée du Nord, Brussels." In *Human Zoos: Science and Spectacle in the Age of Empire*, edited by Pascale Blanchard,

- Nicolas Bancel, Gilles Boëtsch, Eric Deroo, Sandrine Lemaire, and Charles Forsdick, 151-159. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2008.
- Mathur, Saloni. "Living Ethnological Exhibits: The Case of 1886." *Cultural Anthropology* 15 (2000): 492-524.
- Maxwell, Anne. *Colonial Photography and Exhibitions: Representations of the 'Native' and the Making of European Identities*. London: Leicester University Press, 1999.
- Mazrui, Ali A, 2005. "The Re-invention of Africa: Edward Said, V. Y. Mudimbe, and Beyond." *Research in African Literatures* 36 (2005): 68-82.
- McClendon, Thomas. "You Are What You Eat Up: Deposing Chiefs in Early Colonial Natal, 1847-58." *Journal of African History* 47 (2006): 259-279.
- McClendon, Thomas. "The Man Who Would be Inkosi: Civilising Missions in Shepstone's Early Career." *Journal of Southern African Studies* 30 (2004): 339-358.
- McKittrick, Katherine and Woods, Clyde ed. *Black Geographies and the Politics of Place*. Cambridge: South End Press, 2007.
- Mitchell, Robin. "Another Means of Understanding the Gaze: Sarah Baartman in the Development of Nineteenth Century French National Identity." In *Black Venus 2010: They Called Her 'Hottentot'*, edited by Deborah Willis, 32-47. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2010.
- Mitter, Partha. "The Hottentot Venus and Western Man: Reflections of the Construction of Beauty in the West." In *Cultural Encounters: Representing 'Otherness'*, edited by Elizabeth Hallam and Brian V. Street, 35-51. New York: Routledge, 2000.
- Morton, P.A. *Hybrid Modernities: Architecture and Representations and the 1931 Colonial Exposition*. Paris. Cambridge: MIT Press, 2000.
- Myers, Norma. *Reconstructing the Black Past: Blacks in Britain, 1780-1830*. London: Routledge, 1996.
- Naragon, Michael. "From Chattel to Citizen: The Transition from Slavery to Freedom in Richmond Virginia." *Slavery & Abolition* 21 (2000): 93-116.
- Nelson, Charmaine. "The 'Hottentot Venus' in Canada: Modernism, Censorship, and the Racial Limits of Female Sexuality." In *Black Venus 2010: They Called Her 'Hottentot'*, edited by Deborah Willis, 112-126. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2010.

- Northrup, David. *Africa's Discovery of Europe, 1450-1850*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.
- O'Connor, Damian P. "Imperial Strategy and the Anglo-Zulu War of 1879." *Historian*. 68 (2006): 285-304.
- O'Connor, Damian P. "Sir Bartle Frere and the Anglo-Zulu War of 1879." *History Review* 48 (2004): 8-11.
- Painter, Nell. *Southern History Across the Color Line*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002.
- Parezo, Nancy J and Don D. Fowler. *Anthropology Goes to the Fair: The 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007.
- Pascoe, Peggy. *What Comes Naturally: Miscegenation Law and the Making of Race in America*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- Parsons, Neil. "No Longer Rare Birds in Africa: Zulu, Ndebele, and Swazi Envoys to England. 1882-1894." In, *Black Victorians, Black Victoriana*, edited by Gretchen Holbrook Gerzina, 110-145. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2003.
- Peacock, Shane. *The Great Farini: The High-Wire Life of William Hunt*. Toronto: Penguin Books, 1995.
- Peacock, Shane. "Africa Meets the Great Farini." In *Africans on Stage: Studies in Ethnological Show Business*, edited by Bernth Lindfors, 81-107. Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 2001.
- Pete, Stephen and Annie Devenish. "Flogging, Fear, and Food: Punishment and Race in Colonial Natal." *Journal of Southern African Studies* 31 (2005): 3-21.
- Pettit, Clare. *Dr Livingstone, I Presume?: Missionaries, Journalists, Explorers, and Empire*. London: Profile Books Limited, 2007.
- Pickering, Michael. *Blackface Minstrelsy in Britain*. London: Ashgate, 2008.
- Poignant, Roslyn. *Professional Savages: Captive Lives and Western Spectacle*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004.
- Poignant, Roslyn. "Billy the Australian in the Anthropological Laboratory." In *Human Zoos: Science and Spectacle in the Age of Empire*, edited by Pascale Blanchard, Nicolas Bancel, Gilles Boëtsch, Eric Deroo, Sandrine Lemaire, and Charles Forsdick, 220-229. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2008.

- Popke, E. Jeffrey. "Managing Colonial Alterity: Narratives of Race, Space, and Labour in Durban 1870-1920." *Journal of Historical Geography* 29 (2004): 248-267.
- Prakash, Gyan. "Subaltern Studies as Postcolonial Criticism." *American Historical Review* 99 (1994): 1475-1490.
- Prein, Philip. "Guns and Top Hats: African Resistance in German South West Africa, 1907 – 1915." *Journal of Southern African Studies* 20 (1994): 99-121.
- Purbrick, Louise., ed. *The Great Exhibition of 1851: New Interdisciplinary Essays*. Manchester: University of Manchester Press, 2001.
- Qureshi, Sadiya. *Peoples on Parade: Exhibitions, Empire, and Anthropology in Nineteenth Century Britain*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011.
- Qureshi, Sadiya. "Displaying Sara Baartman, The 'Hottentot Venus'." *History of Science* 42 (2004): 233-257.
- Rable, George C. *But There Was No Peace: The Role of Violence in the Politics of Reconstruction*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2007.
- Raibmon, Paige. *Authentic Indians: Episodes of Encounter from the Late Nineteenth-Century Northwest Coast*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2005.
- Ranger, Terrance. "The Invention of Tradition in Colonial Africa." In *The Invention of Tradition*, edited by Eric Hobsbawm and Terrance Ranger, 211-263. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.
- Reichardt, Eike. "Health, 'Race', and Empire: Popular Scientific Spectacles and National Identity in Imperial Germany, 1871-1914". PhD Dissertation, SUNY Stony Brook, 2008.
- Reid, Richard J. *A History of Modern Africa, 1800 to the Present*. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009.
- Reiss, Benjamin. "Barnum and Joice Heth: The Birth of Ethnic Shows in the United States (1836)." In *Human Zoos: Science and Spectacle in the Age of Empire*, edited by Pascale Blanchard, Nicolas Bancel, Gilles Boëtsch, Eric Deroo, Sandrine Lemaire, and Charles Forsdick, 73-81. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2008.
- Rich, Paul. "Immigration into Britain: Blacks in Britain Response and Reaction, 1945-1962." *History Today* 36 (1986): 14-20.

- Roediger, David R. *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class*. New York: Verso, 1991.
- Ross, Robert. *Beyond the Pale: Essays on the History of Colonial South Africa*. Hanover: Wesleyan University Press, 1993.
- Ross, Robert. *A Concise History of South Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- Rosset, Nathalie. "The Birth of the 'African Glen': Blackface Minstrelsy Between Presentation and Representation." *Rethinking History* 9 (2005): 415-428.
- Rothfels, Nigel. "Aztecs, Aborigines, and Ape-People: Science and Freaks in Germany, 1850-1900." In *Freakery: Cultural Spectacles of the Extraordinary Body*, edited by Rosemary Garland Thomson, 158-173. New York: New York University Press, 1996.
- Rydell, Robert W. *All the World's a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987.
- Rydell, Robert W. *World of Fairs: The Century-of-Progress Exhibitions*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993.
- Rydell, Robert W. "Africans in America: African Villages at America's World Fairs (1893-1901)." In *Human Zoos: Science and Spectacle in the Age of Empire*, edited by Pascale Blanchard, Nicolas Bancel, Gilles Boëtsch, Eric Deroo, Sandrine Lemaire, and Charles Forsdick, 286-294. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2008.
- Rydell Robert W. "Into the Heart of Whiteness: The Transnational Sage of John Tevi." In *Straddling Borders: The American Resonance in Transnational Identities*, edited by Rob Kroes, 22-34. Amsterdam: VU University Press, 2004.
- Rydell, Robert W. "'Darkest Africa': African Shows at America's World's Fairs, 1893-1940." In *Africans on Stage: Studies in Ethnological Show Business*, edited by Bernth Lindfors, 135-156. Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 2001.
- Saunders, Christopher C. *The Making of the South African Past: Major Historians on Race and Class*. Cape Town: David Phillip Publishers, 1988.
- Saville, Julie. "Grassroots Reconstruction: Agricultural Labour and Collective Action in South Carolina, 1860-1868." *Slavery and Abolition* 12 (1991): 173-180.
- Semonin, Paul. "Monsters in the Marketplace: The Exhibition of Human Oddities in Early Modern England." In *Freakery: Cultural Spectacles of the*

- Extraordinary Body*, edited by Rosemary Garland Thomson. 69-82. New York: New York University Press, 1996.
- Schaffer, Gavin. "Fighting Racism: Black Soldiers and Workers During the Second World War." *Immigrants and Minorities* 28 (2010): 246-265.
- Schiebinger, Londa. *Nature's Body: Gender in the Making of Modern Science*. Piscataway: Rutgers University Press, 2004.
- Schler, Lynn. "Writing African Women's History with Male Sources: Possibilities and Limitations." *History in Africa* 31 (2004): 319-333.
- Scully, Pamela and Clifton Crais. "Race and Erasure: Sara Baartman and Hendrik Cesars in Cape Town and London." *Journal of British Studies* 47 (2008): 301-323
- Sharpley-Whiting, T. Denean. *Black Venus: Sexualized Savages, Primal Fears, and Primitive Narratives*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1999.
- Sharpley-Whiting, Denean. "Writing Sex, Writing Difference: Creating the Master Text on the Hottentot Venus." In *Gender Relations in Global Perspective: Essential Readings*, edited by Nancy Cook, 307-321. Toronto: Canadian Scholars Press, 2007.
- Shelton, Anthony Alan. "Museum Ethnography: An Imperial Science." In *Cultural Encounters: Representing 'Otherness'*, edited by Elizabeth Hallam and Brian V. Street, 155-194. New York: Routledge, 2000.
- Singer, Debra S. "Reclaiming Venus: The Presence of Sarah Baartman in Contemporary Art." In *Black Venus 2010: They Called Her 'Hottentot'*, edited by Deborah Willis, 87-96. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2010.
- Spiller, John. "African Americans After the Civil War." *History Review* 65 (2009): 43.
- Sparks, Stephen. "'Playing at Public Health': The Search for Control in South Durban, 1860-1932." *Journal of Natal and Zulu History* 20 (2002): 1-28.
- Storey, William. *Guns, Race and Power in Colonial South Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- Strother, Z.S. "The Display of the Body Hottentot." In *Africans on Stage: Studies in Ethnological Show Business*, edited by Bernth Lindfors, 1-62. Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 2001.
- Summerfield, Penny. "Patriotism and Empire: Music-Hall Entertainment, 1870 - 1914." In *Imperialism and Popular Culture*, edited by John M. MacKenzie, 17-48. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986.

- Swaisland, Charles. "The Aborigines Protection Society, 1837-1909." *Slavery and Abolition* 21 (2000): 265-280.
- Sweet, James. "The Iberian Roots of American Racist Thought." *The William & Mary Quarterly* 54 (1997): 143-166.
- Terreblanche, Sampie. *A History of Inequality in South Africa, 1652 – 2002*. Scottsville: University of Natal Press, 2002.
- Thode-Arora, Hilke. "Hagenbeck's European Tours: The Development of the Human Zoo." In *Human Zoos: Science and Spectacle in the Age of Empire*, edited by Pascale Blanchard, Nicolas Bancel, Gilles Boëtsch, Eric Deroo, Sandrine Lemaire, and Charles Forsdick, 165-174. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2008.
- Thode-Arora, Hilke. "Abraham's Diary - A European Ethnic Show from an Inuk Participant's Viewpoint." *Journal of the Society for the Anthropology of Europe* 2 (2002): 2-17.
- Thompson, Leonard. *A History of South Africa*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995.
- Thompson, Paul S. *Black Soldiers of the Queen: The Natal Native Contingent in the Anglo-Zulu War*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2006.
- Thompson, Paul S. "The Natal Native Contingent in the Anglo-Zulu War." *Journal of Military History* 69 (2005): 245-247.
- Thornton, John. "European Documents and African History." In *Writing African History*, edited by John Edward Phillips, 254-266. (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2005).
- Tromp, Marlene, ed. *Victorian Freaks: The Social Context of Freakery in Britain*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2008.
- Turner, John M. "Pablo Fanque, Black Circus Proprietor." In *Black Victorians, Black Victoriana*, edited by Gretchen Holbrook Gerzina, 20-39. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2003.
- Vandervort, Bruce. "The Natal Native Contingent in the Anglo-Zulu War." *Journal of Military History* 69 (2005): 245-247.
- Vaughan, Christopher A. "Ogling Igorots: The Politics and Commerce of Exhibiting Cultural Otherness, 1898-1913." In *Freakery: Cultural Spectacles of the Extraordinary Body*, edited by Rosemary Garland Thomson. 219-234. New York: New York University Press, 1996.

- Wallace, Michele. "The Imperial Gaze: Venus Hottentot. Human Display, and World's Fairs." In *Black Venus 2010: They Called Her 'Hottentot'*, edited by Deborah Willis, 149-155. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2010.
- Walton, Jean. "Re-Placing Race in (White) Psychoanalytic Discourse: Founding Narratives of Feminism." *Critical Inquiry* 21 (1995): 775-804.
- Walvin, James. "Blacks in Britain: The Eighteenth Century." *History Today* 31 (1981): 37-39.
- Welch, Susan and Lee Sigelman, Timothy Bledsoe and Michael Combs. *Race and Place: Race Relations in an American City*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Welting, Matthew. *The Aftermath of the Anglo-Zulu War*. Minneapolis: Lerner Publishing Group, 2009.
- Willis, Deborah, ed. *Black Venus 2010: They Called Her 'Hottentot'*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2010.
- Willis, Justin. "Drinking Power: Alcohol and History in Africa." *History Compass* 3 (2005): 1-13.
- Woodward, Helena. *African-British Writings in the Eighteenth Century: The Politics of Race and Reason*. Westport: Greenwood Publishing Company, 1999.
- Young, Jean. 1997. "The Re-Objectification and Re-Commodification of Saartjie Baartman in Suzan-Lori Parks's *Venus*." *African American Review* 31 (1997): 699-708.
- York, Edmund J. "Anglo-Zulu War." *Journal of African History* 35 (1994): 148-151.
- Zimmerman, Andrew. *Anthropology and Antihumanism in Imperial Germany*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009.

ii) Websites

- Adesanmi, Pius. "Disappearing Me Softly: An Open Letter to Sandra M. Gilbert and Susan Gubar." Accessed June 3, 2011.
<http://www.pambazuka.org/en/category/comment/43548>.

Hawley, Charles. “ ‘African Village’ Accused of Putting Humans on Display.” Spiegel Online International, August 6, 2009. Accessed July 25, 2010.
<http://www.spiegel.de/international/0,1518,359799,00.html>

Schiller, Glick Nina Professor Doktor, Dr. Data Dea and Markus Höhne. “African Culture and the Zoo in the 21st Century: The “African Village” in the Augsburg Zoo and Its Wider Implications.” Report to the Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology, July 4, 2005, 1-48. Accessed July 27, 2011.
<http://www.eth.mpg.de/cms/en/people/d/mhoehe/pdf/zooCulture.pdf>

The Proceedings of the Old Bailey, 1674-1913. “Black Communities.” Accessed June 3, 2011.
<http://www.oldbaileyonline.org/static/Black.jsp>.

Tertiary sources

Porter, Andrew, ed. *Bibliography of Imperial, Colonial, and Commonwealth History Since 1600*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

Corey, Melinda., and George Ochoa eds. *The Encyclopaedia of the Victorian World: A Reader's Companion to the People, Places, Events and Everyday Life of the Victorian Era*. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1996.

Dabydeen, David., John Gilmore and Cecily Jones eds. *The Oxford Companion to Black British History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.

Falola, Toyin. *Key Events in African History: A Reference Guide*. Westport: Greenwood Press, 2002.

Gilbert, Erik., and Jonathan T. Reynold eds. *Africa in World History: From Prehistory to the Present*. New Jersey: Pearson Education, 2004.

Roberts, Adam Charles. *Victorian Culture and Society: The Essential Glossary*. London, Arnold, 2003.

Saunders, Christopher C., Nicholas Southey, and Mary-Lynn Suttie. *Historical Dictionary of South Africa, Second Edition*. Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2000.

Appendix One – Playbill

Royal Aquarium
Farini's Friendly

Zulus

Who were originally brought over by Mr. N. Behrens
FROM SOUTH AFRICA for MR. G. A. FARINI
OF THE ROYAL AQUARIUM, WESTMINSTER

THE TIMES (speaking of Farini's Zulus) says – "The songs and dances are difficult to distinguish the expression of love from the gesture of martial defiance. Nevertheless as a picture of manners nothing can be more complete; and not the least remarkable part of the exhibition is the perfect training of the wild artists. They seem utterly to lose all sense of their present position; if English actors could be found so completely to lose themselves in the characters they assumed, histrionic art would be in a state, truly magnificent."

ZULUS!

THEIR WAR DANCES
THEIR MARRIAGE FESTIVITIES
THEIR KNOB KERRY FIGHT!
THEIR GRIEF!
THEIR JOY!
AS THEY ARE AT HOME!
AS THEY ARE IN WARFARE!

PRINCESS AMAZULU and her Two Female Attendants.

Special Performances...	2.30	5.30	9.30
-------------------------	------	------	------

ADMISSION, ONE SHILLING

Appendix 2 – Transcription of Marriage Certificate (sourced from New York City Department of Records and Information Services)

All the following blanks are required to be filled

OF THE GROOM:

Name, Charles Devson

Residence, 245 Washington St.

Age, 21 yrs

No. of Marriages, 1st

Occupation, Stage Actor

Place of Birth, Zululand, Africa

Father's Name, William Devson

Mother's Name,

OF THE BRIDE:

Name, Anita Corsini

Maiden Name, if Widow,

Residence, 117 West 11th St.

Age, 18 yrs

No. of Marriages, 1st

Place of Birth, Florence Italy

Father's Name, Thomas Corsini

Mother's Name,

We, the Groom and Bride named in the above certificate, hereby certify that the information given is correct to the best of our knowledge and belief.

Signed Charles Devson Groom
Signed Anita Corsini Bride
CERTIFICATE OF MARRIAGE, BROOKLYN

I hereby Certify, that Charles Devson and Anita Corsini were joined in marriage by men,
in accordance with the Laws of the State of New York, in the city of Brooklyn, this
twenty eighth day of August 1881.

Attest: R.O. Page
Official Station, Episcopal Clergyman
Residence, 318 Union St.

Witnesses:
Uzkai Uoute Clazi
Charles Richards