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Fig. 1. Sir Robert Clayton (1629–1707), in the gold chain of a Chief Magistrate and dressed in magnificent robes. Marble statue sculpted 1701–2 by Grinling Gibbons (1648–1721). Originally stood at the main gate of Old St Thomas's Hospital in Southwark; now in a small garden south of the north wing of its later Lambeth Palace Rd site.

Tancred Borenius, Forty London Statues and Public Monuments, *London, 1926*

Fig. 2. Sir Hans Sloane (1660–1707) in doctoral robe. Marble statue sculpted in 1733 by Michael Rysbrack (1694–1770), commissioned by the Company of Apothecaries. The original was moved from Chelsea Physic Garden (where there is now a replica) to the British Museum in 1985. Another replica stands in the centre of Sloane Square.

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Fig. 3. Sir John Cass (1660–1718). 1899 replica of 1751 statue by Louis François Roubiliac (1702–1762). Façade of old Cass Foundation building, London Metropolitan University (ex Guildhall Univ.), Jewry St., EC3 (http://pmsa.cch.kcl.ac.uk/CL/CLCOL048x.htm).

Set in Stone? Statues and Slavery in London

by Madge Dresser

INTRODUCTION

In the run-up to the two-hundredth anniversary of Parliament's abolition of the British slave-trade debates have raged over what form such celebrations should take, whether apologies or reparations should be made and who precisely should be commemorated. Should there, for example, be a public monument marking the slave-trade's abolition? Are monuments

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impediments rather than incitements to public memory? Or are they a means by which a group or community attempts to establish its collective memory and thereby affirm its very identity? As Françoise Choay reminds us the word monument comes from the Latin 'monumentum', itself based on the word, 'monere', meaning to warn or recall. This derivation, she argues, shows that the type of memory intrinsic to the concept of the monument is not neutral but has the power 'to stir emotions'. Certainly recent scholarship around Holocaust and slavery commemoration attest the deeper socio-political and cultural tensions such monuments can continue to evoke.[1] The resurrection of 'dead' statues into living popular memory is dependent then on the specific historical and political context. The late Victorian statue of the merchant Edward Colston (1636–1721) in Bristol aptly illustrates the point. This representation of Colston as a saintly benefactor only began to be challenged in the late 1990s when his slaving connections were publicly revealed. Subsequent vandalization of the statue occasioned a furious public row and revealed deep local divisions about multiculturalism and civic identity. Even dead statues have the power to provoke.[2]

With these thoughts in mind, it seems fitting to consider how far statues and public memorials in the nation's capital represent Britain's involvement in both transatlantic slavery and its abolition. London was the largest slaving port in late Stuart times, and the City remained the commercial centre of what was, by the Georgian era, the world's premier slaving nation. Despite this, London's public monuments and their connections with slavery have remained curiously under-researched. Yet, as this article will first demonstrate, a significant proportion of the individuals commemorated by public statues in London during the long eighteenth century had important links with the slave-trade or plantation slavery. Such links need to be unearthed, contextualized and made explicit. As Seymour Drescher has remarked, 'monuments alone will not, in themselves, stimulate a constant rethinking of the past. That remains the task of historians'.[3]

It will further be argued that those statues, monuments and memorials which do explicitly mention slavery and the slave-trade – those honouring abolitionists – generally marginalize the experience of enslaved Africans in favour of a self-congratulatory and nationally defensive political agenda. Such an agenda logically derives, in part at least, from the tradition of figurative statuary in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, which favoured the portrayal of individuals or small groups – unlike the more abstract considerations of mass suffering or resistance in much late twentieth-century memorialization. In part, too, it derives from the particular political context in which each specific public monument was conceived, sponsored and placed on view.[4]

The meanings of such monuments are not set in stone but can be subverted and transformed.[5] Statues may be petrified personifications of the past, but audiences and associations change. The subsequent social lives of such slavery monuments thus merit closer investigation since 'new

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generations visit memorials under new circumstances and invest them with new meanings'.[6]

The imperial aspect of Britain's statuary heritage is beginning to be addressed,[7] but little 'post-colonial' analysis has been done on British public monuments in general and less still on London's in particular.[8] The notable exceptions have been Stuart Burch's pioneering research on the Buxton anti-slavery memorial, John Siblon's more populist work on the absence of public monuments dedicated to those of African origin, a chapter by James Walvin and Alex Tyrrell surveying slavery monuments in the nation as a whole, and John Oldfield's national study on slavery and commemoration in Britain, due to be published just as this article went to press.[9]

Even now, it is difficult to ascertain just what statues exist in London, let alone which might be confidently associated with the transatlantic slave-trade. Philip Ward-Jackson's magisterial book *Public Sculpture in the City of London* (2003) has made important inroads in identifying London statues, but his efforts are of course restricted to the City itself.[10] An on-line catalogue is being developed by the Public Monuments and Sculpture Association as part of its National Recording Project. This has built upon both the 1910 survey of outdoor monuments by the London County Council and the four-volume list of monuments in London published in 1924; its remit is broader, but it is as yet incomplete.[11]

What follows is not an exhaustive survey of Greater London's slavery-related statues, but an invitation to look anew at familiar pieces and to reconsider their meaning in the light of new research and approaches.

The article falls into three main parts. It first considers some of the silences around slavery as exemplified by a number of London's public statues erected between late seventeenth and the late eighteenth centuries. The premise adopted is that if statues were raised in the public arena to those who had significant and direct involvement in the slave-trade or slave-plantations then it is worth making this fact plain. Enquiring how such involvement was acknowledged or ignored at the time is a legitimate historical task, especially for those with a political interest in the present commemoration of slavery. Many Black Britons today, for example, feel personally excluded by the public commemorative conventions of their country. If monuments are about remembering, who or what gets 'forgotten' in the public discourse can be just as significant. As has been observed elsewhere, there is a tendency 'to suppress what is not meaningful or intuitively satisfying in the collective memories of the past'.[12]

The second part of this study discusses memorials and statues dedicated to British anti-slavery campaigners put up in the nineteenth century, asking who was celebrated and why?

The third section considers, so far as we can discern it, the subsequent 'social life' of these memorials. How have such statues and memorials been received? What impact have they had on the public consciousness? What has

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Table 1. Slavery-related Statues in London, 1695–1779

Person commemorated	Sculptor and date erected	Status of person	Slavery links	Location and status of statue and patron
Sir John Moore (c. 1620–1702)	Grinling Gibbons 1695	Merchant London, member of Grocers' Company (1646), Alderman (1666–7, 1671–9, 1688–1702), Master of Grocer's Company (1671), Knighted (1672), Sheriff of London(1672), Lord Mayor of London (1681), MP (1685)	Member of Court of Assistants (i.e. Board of Directors) Royal African Company, 1687–9, 1700–1702; and investor in Guinea trade. Second largest shareholder in East India Company	Originally in city at Christ's Hospital; relocated to Horsham, Sussex, 1902
Sir Robert Clayton (1629–1707)	Grinling Gibbons 1702	Merchant and banker; London Alderman and Sheriff; Knighted 1771, Lord Mayor for London (1679–80), President St. Thomas's Hospital	Member of Court of Assistants, RAC, 1672–1682, married daughter of Bermuda merchant and was Factor in Bermuda	St Thomas's Hospital
Sir Hans Sloane (1660–1753)	John Michael Rysbrack 1737	Physician, collector and writer; Member of the Royal College of Physicians, President of the Royal Society	Married widow of Wealthy West Indian Planter who was also daughter of Ald. Langley of the City of London	Replica in Chelsea Physic Garden: original moved to British Museum, 1985
Sir John Cass (1660–1718)	Louis François Roubiliac 1745?	Member of Carpenters Company and Skinners Company; MP for the City and Alderman of Portsoken Ward, 1710; Sheriff of London 1711; knighted 1712, MP for City of London	Member of the Court of Assistants of the Royal African Company 1705–8; bequeathed shares in RAC on his death.	Original lead statue in John Cass Institute; replica outside London Metropolitan University, Jewry St.
William Beckford (1709–1770)	John Francis Moore 1772	MP for Shaftesbury 1747–54 and for City of London 1754–1770 1755 Sheriff of London 1761 MP for City of London Lord Mayor of London 1762, 1769 and 1770	Inherited sole interest in 13 sugar plantations in Jamaica and owned approximately 3,000 enslaved Africans; served in Jamaican National Assembly before returning to England in 1744	The Guildhall
Thomas Guy (1645–1724)	John Bacon the elder 1779	Member of the Stationers Company; Philanthropist	Made his fortune from South Sea Company	London, Guy's Hospital

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been the relationship between the transatlantic slave-system, 'dead' statues and the 'theatre' of popular historical memory?

This article cannot fully answer these last points but it can raise them as issues that demand further empirical investigation. In considering statues and other public memorials as 'memory texts' we need to ask how they have 'been mediated, articulated, assimilated, incorporated or co-opted by the various institutions or domains of the public sphere'.[13]

PUBLIC STATUES, PHILANTHROPISTS AND THE REPRESENTATION OF SLAVERY

In 1834, the Parliamentary Act purporting to free enslaved Africans in the British colonies took effect. A century later, in 1934, this Act was commemorated in London by a series of summer church services and a formal meeting that autumn at the City's Mansion House. An account of that meeting was published in *The Times* under the title, 'An End to Slavery: Task which Began in the City'.

> London's Lord Mayor, Sir Stephen Killik, addressed this gathering, which had been convened by the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society. There Killik expressed his particular pleasure that the meeting had been held at the Mansion House, . . . for the great task had begun under its roof. The City had been deeply concerned and it was at the Mansion House church of St Mary Woolnoth that Wilberforce was induced to devote his life to the freeing of the slaves.[14]

We do not know if the Lord Mayor also mentioned that the sermon Wilberforce had found so inspirational had been preached by the ex-slave-trader turned abolitionist, John Newton (1725–1807), who was then St Mary Woolnoth's vicar.[15] In any case, Killik certainly went on to suggest that the City had been an abolitionist stronghold. He informed his audience that the abolitionist Granville Sharp had been a member of a City Livery Company (the Fishmongers). Sharp, he contended, had been supported by Sir Robert Kite, Lord Mayor who in 1767 ruled in favour of a mistreated slave, Jonathan Strong. condemned the slave-trade as a regrettable one and was reported to have said he was sure that 'pubic opinion would never rest until such inhuman traffic was finally stamped out'.[16] At a commemorative event in another City church, St Botolph's, Bishopsgate, held earlier in 1934, the City was similarly presented as a focal point for antislavery activity.[17]

This comfortable version of the City's history was selective at best. Killik had chosen his dates well. In actual fact, City merchants had been crucial to the development of the transatlantic slave-trade and the plantation economy it serviced.[18] So whilst it was true that by the 1760s the slave-trade was

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beginning to be questioned in some circles, in the century before City merchants had been involved in the development of Caribbean slave-plantations and in the management of the Royal African Company, from 1672 when it was set up. By the 1690s London merchants excluded from such Royal monopolies were clamouring for a share in the African and West Indian trade.

The first known proposal for a public statue in London referring explicitly to Caribbean slavery took issue with the City's complicity in the cruelties of the slave-system. Published in 1682, a brief pamphlet by the Anglican Rev. Morgan Godwin, entitled *The REVIVAL: or directions for a Sculpture, describing the extraordinary Care and Diligence of our Nation in publishing the Faith among Infidels In America, and elsewhere*, called for a sculpture to be placed in the city portraying the barbarity of a slave-master in no uncertain terms. The centrepiece of the sculpture was to show

> an Overseer (... to some English Planter in America) whipping and most unmercifully tormenting a poor Negro-Slave under his Governance, for no other Crime but for having been that day (Sunday) baptised. In his right Hand (held aloft) place a long Willow Rod ...; and by him a large Bundle of the like Rods to be spent upon the Wretch, for that Offence: Out of his Mouth these Blasphemous Words proceeding, **Ye Dog, as you were baptized in the morning with Water, so in the Afternoon ye shall be baptised in Blood**. The Negro tyed by both his Wrists up to a Rafter or Beam; deep marks of each Stroak appearing upon his Flesh, and drops of Blood in abundance issuing or starting out of his Body, stript quite naked.[19]

If Godwin's plans for a sculpture were more rhetorical than practical, the idea driving them was clear. Godwin was not the only Anglican of his day to advocate the conversion of enslaved Africans and favouring conversion of the slaves in this period by no means implied being anti-slavery. Nevertheless, his pamphlet established the concept for a statue which placed the suffering of the enslaved African centre stage in the nation's capital.

Unsurprisingly, Godwin's discomfiting proposal fell on stony ground. Monuments conveying the image of a benign City, liberal in its sentiments and fond of freedom, were much preferable amongst the London elite in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Commemorative statues were a way of grooming the image of the City itself. For 'polite people', as a critic noted in 1734, 'are most distinguished as such by their buildings, their statues and their inscriptions'.[20]

The public statues erected drew on the talents of such prominent sculptors as Roubilliac, Rysbrack and Grinling Gibbons to represent contemporary City worthies as benefactors and philanthropists, which of

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course they were. Their other professional and commercial activities were however, more elliptically described.

The London statues set up between 1700 to 1779 to commemorate private individuals (apart from royals and nobility and those commemorated inside churches, cathedrals and private homes) include those of a dozen or so merchants or professional men, at a time when it was still relatively novel to sculpt someone not a noble or member of the royal family. At least half are of men with links to the African trade or slave plantations: Sir John Moore (1620–1702), Sir Robert Clayton (1629–1707) [fig. 1], Sir Hans Sloane (1660–1707) [fig. 2], Sir John Cass (1660–1718) [fig. 3], Thomas Guy (1645–1774) [figs 4, 5, 6], and William Beckford (1709–1770) [fig. 7]. Of these all but Guy and Sloane were major players in that trade.

But what does it matter if these 'dead' statues whose identities are known to few today had slaving interests? It could be argued that such men cannot fairly be characterized as 'representing' slavery interests since that was not the intention of their commemorators nor, so far as we know, was it part of their own self-image. The late seventeenth century in particular, arguably, was a time when slavery was such a part of the fabric of things that no-one (aside from Godwyn, Aphra Behn and a few 'eccentric' visionaries) could have had the conceptual armoury to contest it. Yet the way these men were memorialized contributed to a culture of silence around the City's collusion with slavery in all its cruelty. Their representations convey a sanitized self-image which in turned influenced the nation's notion of itself. That they have not since been critically scrutinized in this regard only perpetuates this silence.

The London statues in question were public in the sense of being in a non-private space, one accessible, to varying degrees, by the city's inhabitants. But they were not public in the sense of being paid for by public taxation. All of the statues mentioned were paid for by private patronage or 'public' subscription, that is, the raising of monies from the small and select minority of people who had the means to contribute.

Three of the slavery-related statues were dedicated to major players in the early development of the slave-trade and the Atlantic slave-economy, namely Sir John Moore, Sir Robert Clayton and Sir John Cass. Moore's life-sized marble statue, showing him bewigged and dressed in 'official robes', stood in the façade of Christ's Hospital School, London until 1906 when it was relocated with the school to Horsham in Sussex. Moore became, by 1689, the second largest investor in the East India Company and this connection alone implicates him in the slave-trade as the EIC had the monopoly in the trade in Madagascar, from where slaves were exported to the Americas during the 1690s.[21] More pertinently, he was already involved in the management of the Royal African Company, which until 1698 had the monopoly of the British slave-trade between Africa and the Americas. He sat as a member of its board of directors, known as 'the Court of Assistants', for a total of four years. A London Alderman when most

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Fig. 4. Thomas Guy (1645–1774) in livery robe. Brass statue 1731–4 by Thomas Scheemakers (1691–1781). In the centre of the main entrance forecourt, Guy's Hospital, St Thomas Street, SE1.

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Fig. 5. 'The Good Samaritan', brass panel on plinth of 1734 statue of Thomas Guy (see fig. 4), echoed by Bacon (see fig. 6).

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Fig. 6. Thomas Guy monument, marble, by John Bacon, 1774. Guy holds a sick man by the hand, indicating the hospital behind. In the chapel, Guy's Hospital, St Thomas Street, SE1.

Aldermen had an estate of at least £10,000, he was knighted in 1672, a year after Clayton; he succeeded Clayton as Lord Mayor in 1681, going on to become a City MP in 1685, the very year he financed the rebuilding of the Grocers' Hall. Both he and Clayton were involved in the endowment of Christ's Hospital.[22] Both had their statues sculpted by Grinling Gibbons.[23]

The statue of Sir Robert Clayton (1629–1707) originally stood at the main gate of Old St Thomas's Hospital in Southwark and is now at the hospital's later Lambeth site. Clayton had a truly meteoric career. One of London's great early merchant bankers and an early governor of the Bank of England, he was portrayed in Dryden and Tate's *Absalom and Achitophel*, Defoe's *Roxanna* and Evelyn's *Diary*.[24] The statue of Clayton by Grinling Gibbons [see above, fig. 1] was apparently commissioned by the Governors of St Thomas's Hospital after he gave £600 for the hospital's rebuilding.[25] It shows an imposing figure draped in the gold chain of a Chief Magistrate and dressed in magnificent robes. At Christ's Hospital a tablet still proclaims his virtues as Hospital President and Vice President of the 'New Work House', 'citizen and Lord Mayor of London', 'a bountiful benefactor', 'just magistrate' and (in reference to his Whig views) a 'brave defender of the Liberty and Religion'.

Clayton also had longstanding connections with slavery. In 1659 he married Martha Trott, heiress of the London merchant Perient Trott, who

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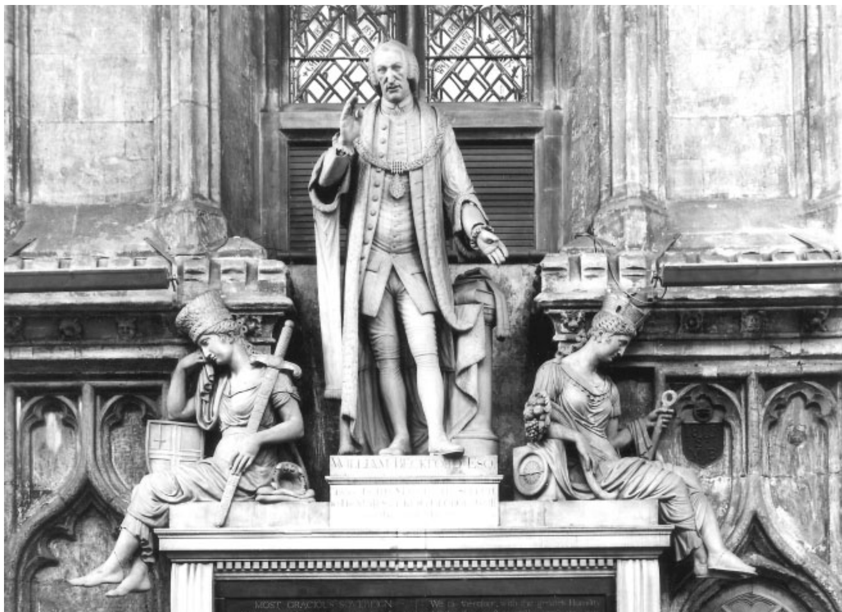

Fig. 7. William Beckford (1709–70). Monument by J. F. Moore, commissioned after Beckford's death. Beckford is flanked by the allegorical figures of Britannia and Commerce.

seems to have traded in tobacco and who was a Director of the Somers Island Company, a chartered company formed for the colonization of Bermuda.[26] By 1667 Clayton too was listed as a director of this company.[27] Within five years, Clayton had also obtained a place on the Court of Assistants (the management board) of the Royal African Company, which he held till 1681. Both he and his contemporary Moore, the Company's historian tells us, were among a small coterie of high-prestige Company members

> [who] gave the company a more solid backing than the ephemeral enthusiasm of a Shaftesbury or an Arlington, their very presence inspiring confidence in the company and thereby helping it to appear 'a better prospect' than it was.[28]

During the 1680s Clayton became well established as a factor in Bermuda at a time when the smuggling of slaves into the colony was rife. His influence in Bermuda was reportedly greater than that of the island's Governor and in 1689 he was made a Commissioner of Customs.[29]

Like his Whiggish counterpart, Clayton, John Cass was also a City Alderman, but in the Tory interest. Though never Lord Mayor, Cass served as Sheriff then as Member of Parliament for the City of London and became

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a Knight of the Realm. He too was involved in the slave-trade, being a member of the Royal African Company's Court of Assistants from 1705 to 1708. The Company records show him (then 'Colonel John Cass of Hackney') to have been on their 'committee of correspondence' which directly dealt with slave-agents in the African forts and in the Caribbean. We know too that Cass retained shares in the Royal African Company until his death.[30] Cass, like Clayton, also seems to have been linked by family and friends to colonial plantation interests, in his case to Virginia. His statue by Roubiliac, erected in 1745, shows a less magnificent figure than those of Clayton or Moore, more bourgeois, more crumpled, but he is still a man of substance. The later replica of this statue [see above, fig. 3] on the exterior of the old Cass Foundation building, in Jewry St, ensures that Cass is still remembered as the founder of an educational charity.

The statues of Thomas Guy and Sir Hans Sloane are better known to Londoners today than those of Cass and Clayton. Their respective relationships to slavery are also of a different order. Guy, the founder of Guy's Hospital, was never a member of the Royal African Company but his ownership of South Sea stock makes him relevant to our interests. Of course shares in this company were widely held, but Guy had an exceptionally large stake. He possessed over £45,000 worth of South Sea Company shares which he astutely sold at inflated prices shortly before the bubble so famously burst. It was from this that Guy 'made his vast fortune'.[31] So this fortune was made from a company whose main purpose was to sell slaves to the Spanish Colonies.[32] There are two memorials to Guy at Guy's Hospital. The earlier is a bronze statue sculpted by Thomas Scheermakers and erected in 1734 [fig. 4]. A relief at its base shows Guy offering a helping hand to a semi-naked white man, seated, who represents London's sick poor [fig. 5]. This motif is repeated in the later John Bacon memorial of 1774, in the chapel at Guy's [fig. 6]. There the pose of the sick man is revised in a way which interestingly anticipates a non-racialized variant of the 'standing soldier and the kneeling slave' image used in abolitionist propaganda.

As for Hans Sloane, the connection, different again, is similarly occluded. Author of *The Natural History of Jamaica*, Sloane is now best known as the founder of the British Museum and a President of the Royal Society. The fine statue by Michael Rysbrack [see above, fig. 2], has been at the British Museum since 1985 and a replica now stands at its original location in the Chelsea Physick Garden.[33] These two sites remind us of Sloane's roles as both naturalist and benefactor. Yet his rise in London society was made possible by an astute marriage, in 1695, to a West Indian heiress. The daughter of the London Alderman John Langley, Elizabeth was a wealthy widow in her own right, having been previously married to the Jamaican sugar-plantation owner Fulk Rose. 'The marriage was an advantageous one for Sloane, since his wife inherited not only her father's estate but also one third of the income from her former husband's properties in Jamaica.'[34] It is evident then that Sloane owned slaves and that financial dependence

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on slave-labour helped to underwrite his career as a 'disinterested' naturalist and medical man.

The historical remembrances of Sir John Moore, Sir Robert Clayton, Sir John Cass, Hans Sloane and Thomas Guy were shaped by the statues which survive them and by the charitable foundations which they endowed and which in some cases bear their name. Their legacies are presented in ways which render the connection between their philanthropy and their slavery interests invisible.[35] Arguably, this may either be because slavery was unquestioned at the time or because, like other exploitative aspects of wealth creation, it was thought inappropriate for mention in a celebratory commemoration. Whatever the original reasons, these statues have helped to perpetuate the disassociation between these successful men and slavery.

By the 1770s, a changing intellectual and religious climate meant that slavery began to cause increasing moral unease in middling and some elite circles. The slave-trade itself was no longer the official province of royal monopolies. This made possible a defensive disconnection between those who actively and directly traded in the dirty business of slaving and more aristocratic and refined figures who simply inherited slave-plantations or traded in slave-produced commodities.

The evidence linking William Beckford (1709–70) to slavery is widely available and overwhelming. Beckford, twice Lord Mayor, was the free-spending son of a wealthy sugar planter and owed much of his position to his ownership of some 3,000 Africans enslaved on his numerous Jamaican plantations.[36] This certainly did not impede the commissioning of an unabashedly celebratory monument to him in London's Guildhall soon after his death in 1770, where he was extolled for his vigorous defence of the 'City's traditional liberties' [fig. 7]. This piece, by J. F. Moore, shows Beckford flanked by the allegorical figures of Britannia and Commerce and evokes the virile energy of a man who, as it happens, was notorious for his rakish lifestyle. The irony implicit in portraying a slaveholder as an upholder of civic liberty seems to have escaped the notice of his Guildhall associates, though his slave-holding was criticized in other quarters.[37]

A point to make about all the statues of these men is that despite poses which are often formulaic they do celebrate them as particular individuals. By contrast, common people were not accorded individual attention. Africans in this period, when represented at all, are also depersonalized and their connection with enslavement is made visible but sanitized.

A case in point is a series of painted panels commissioned in 1696 which allude to enslavement but avoid its actual significance. Though outside our remit of statues, these panels are worth discussing briefly as they were created when Cass, Clayton and Moore were in their prime and help us understand the mental world which they inhabited. Now installed in the premises of Sir John Cass's Foundation Primary School in Aldgate, the panels were originally at a private merchant's house in St Botolph's Lane. Executed by the much sought-after City painter Robert Robinson,

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they portray a fantastical and ethnically blurred idyll of happy natives and other tropical exotica. One entitled 'The Cultivation of Tobacco' shows an African-looking labourer bending over tobacco plants in front of a western-style shack. The botanically accurate depiction of the tobacco plants and the western style of the shack implicitly indicate a plantation. Though the identity of the owner of 'the painted room' has not been definitively established, it seems likely to have been a well-known tobacco merchant, possibly the tobacco magnate Sir Jeffrey Jeffries, a neighbour and friend of Sir John Cass.[38]

In this same period, London tobacconist shops featured full-sized wooden carvings of African/Amerindians in tobacco-leaf skirts.[39] The person thus represented had become the product of his labour. 'The Blackamoor', by John Van Ost (fl. 1686–1729), offers a later sculptural example of the same sanitizing and dehumanizing process. An active purveyor of garden sculpture in early Georgian London, Van Ost flourished in the new consumer culture engendered by the Atlantic and East India trades as did his contemporary Henry Cheere, who also produced these popular figures. Van Ost's 'The Blackamoor', purchased in 1731 for Clement's Inn,[40] ended up in the gardens of the Inner Temple. The figure is conflated with the sundial he carries. Like the slaves he implicitly represents, the 'Blackamoor's' humanity is subsumed by his utilitarian function.

BRITISH LIBERTY ILLUMINATED: THE ANTI-SLAVERY MEMORIALS

If the statues of these benefactors and merchants side-step the subject of slavery, what then of the various monuments in London expressly dedicated to anti-slavery campaigners? What do *they* tell us about official and unofficial attitudes to slavery in their time? To answer this we must reflect on which anti-slavery campaigners were selected for such commemoration, how their monuments were framed, and how they were subsequently and variously responded to by different interests in society at different times. Such an approach should yield some insights about the way official and unofficial remembrances of slavery have evolved.

Five memorials in Westminster Abbey, that 'most public indoor space in eighteenth-century London',[41] are explicitly linked to anti-slavery activists. (Monuments to individuals such as William Pitt the younger, John Wesley and Lord Mansfield which do not mention to their abolitionist sympathies are excluded here.) With telling variation in their form, tone and provenance, they include a carved tablet, a bust, two statues and a grand monument comprising four figures.[42]

Few statues or other memorials inside the Abbey were commissioned by the state, most were sponsored by 'groups of interested people who sought to gain permission to place their "private" commemoration in the public domain . . . [motivated by] awareness that if successful, the

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memorialized person or event would garner collective, national recognition. . . .'[43] And of course, statues and memorials located in the Abbey conferred a particularly coveted status on the person so honoured. The Dean and Chapter of the Abbey charged a fee or 'fine' to those lucky enough to gain permission to place a memorial there. With one exception, the abolitionists honoured in the Abbey were specifically associated with Anglican Evangelicalism.

The first memorial which explicitly celebrated the anti-slavery stance of a public figure is a wall tablet and deserves inclusion here. Dedicated in 1816 to Granville Sharp (1752–1806), it was financed by the African Institution of London, the body which superseded the London Abolition Committee.[44] The Abbey holds no documentation for this tablet. It is a modest affair, a tombstone shape with a profile of Sharp carved into the top centre of the slab flanked on one side by a lion (with both African and British associations) and on the other by the emblematic figure of a kneeling male slave, reminiscent of the figure so successfully used in Wedgwood's abolitionist medallions and so endlessly replicated in abolitionist discourse.

The inscription on the Sharp tablet is lengthy, first stressing his Anglican credentials ('born and educated in the bosom of the Church of England' for whose institutions he had 'the most unshaken regard') and establishing him as a virtuous man 'freed by competence from the necessity and by content from the desire of lucrative occupation'. Sharp is portrayed as one whose sole aim was to 'improve the condition of mankind'. His efforts to end the slave-trade are praised in terms which suggest discomfort about the contradiction between Britain's self-image as the beacon of Liberty and its dependency upon slave-labour:

> He aimed to rescue his native country from the guilt and inconsistency of employing the arm of freedom to rivet the fetters of bondage and established for the Negro race, in the person of [James] Somerset, the long disputed rights of human nature. Having, in this glorious cause, triumphed over the combined resistance of interest, prejudice, and pride, he took his part among the foremost of the Honourable band associated to deliver Africa from the rapacity of Europe by the Abolition of the Slave Trade; nor was death permitted to interrupt his usefulness till he had witnessed that Act of the British Parliament by which 'the Abolition' was decreed.

The inscription is an intriguing mixture of political radicalism and ethnocentric paternalism, possibly reflecting a tussle between radical and conservative members within the African institution under its new president, Sir Robert Harry Inglis, whose 'evangelicalism was sometimes obscured by his passionate commitment to the establishment and to church order'.[45]

The often ignored contradiction between Britain as champion of both human liberty and slave-trading is made explicit; Europe is characterized

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as 'rapacious' in its treatment of 'Africa'; human rights, so 'long disputed' are affirmed. But Africa and the 'negro race' are spoken of as passive objects of white benevolence: Africa is '*delivered*' from Europe by an 'honourable band' (of Englishmen); human rights are 'established . . . *for* the Negro race'; the personhood of James Somerset is eclipsed by his racial identity, and use of the term 'Negro race' reminds us that a more racialized discourse around enslaved Africans is on the ascendant.

Sharp was also memorialized by a bust erected in 1824 in the council chamber at the Court of Common Council in Guildhall, with a more rousing inscription: 'GRANVILLE SHARP, TO WHOM ENGLAND OWES THE GLORIOUS VERDICT OF HER HIGHEST COURT OF LAW, THAT THE SLAVE WHO SETS HIS FOOT ON BRITISH GROUND BECOMES AT THAT INSTANT FREE',[46] though it was in fact mistaken about the legal implications of the Somerset case. Lord Mansfield's judgement, far from liberating all slaves resident in England, simply prevented their being forcibly 'repatriated' back to the plantations. Such a misconstruction acted as a form of wish-fulfilment, distancing, in a rhetorical sense at least, 'free England' from any further taint of involvement in Caribbean slavery.

By far the grandest of the Abbey memorials under discussion is that dedicated to Charles James Fox (1749–1806). Sculpted by Sir Richard Westmacott[47] in 1822, and costing the 'enormous sum' of £6,000,[48] its execution coincided with the relaunching of the anti-slavery movement by Thomas Clarkson and others after the abolition of the slave-trade. The choice of Westmacott as sculptor is relevant here. Westmacott and his family had West Indian links. He himself was married to the daughter of a wealthy Jamaican doctor and he and his Uncle Henry executed a number of commissions in the West Indies. If Westmacott's statue of Nelson in Barbados is his best-known work there, he also sculpted church monuments to planters and military heroes in Grenada, Barbados and Jamaica.[49] Despite his identification as the sculptor of liberal heroes, in his own early career he did not scruple to portray slave-owning planters as disconnected from the illiberal business of slavery itself. This inconsistency continued even after the abolition of the slave-trade. It was Westmacott who sculpted in 1809 a statue celebrating Robert Milligan, West Indian merchant, slaveholder and founder of London's West India Docks, which were substantially financed by planter interests [fig. 7].[50]

The Fox monument had even grander backers, including among others, Lords Bedford, Devonshire, Spencer and the Prince Regent himself. It was finished in 1815 but the coronation of George IV delayed its installation until 1822. In the interim Westmacott himself (still 'Mr') negotiated on behalf of his sponsors with officials at Westminster Abbey to expedite matters: 'it would he knows gratify the Duke [of Bedford] [and Lord Holland] exceedingly to hear the work was proceeding'.[51]

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Photograph © Dean and Chapter of Westminster Abbey (Box 44a)

Fig. 8. Charles James Fox (1749–1806). Monument sculpted in 1822 by Sir Richard Westmacott (1775–1856), Westminster Abbey. Fox lies in the arms of Liberty while at his feet Peace weeps, and a male figure – in Westmacott's words, 'an African Negro' – kneels at his feet in prayer.

The completed monument in the Abbey is a grand and much-praised neo-classical piece [fig. 8]. Executed in white marble its central feature is a larger-than-life figure of Fox surrounded by three equally large allegorical figures. Two are female virtues, Peace and Liberty; the third is a male figure variously described as 'anonymous grateful slave', the personification of Africa or simply, in Westmacott's words, 'an African Negro'.[52] In an arrangement reportedly inspired by 'similarly posed figures found in Roman sarcophagi', the reclining Fox 'expires in the arms of Liberty' whilst Peace weeps at his feet and the African prays, kneeling alongside.[53] This last figure is commonly supposed to personify the gratitude of enslaved Africans to Fox for his abolitionist exertions. Significantly, in some quarters, the idea of 'the slave' is still conflated with a more general personification of Africa.[54] In either case, this figure occupies a symbolic space somewhere between the purely metaphorical female emblems of Peace and Liberty on the one hand and the historically specific figure of Fox himself.

Though full-lipped and somewhat broad-nosed, the African's facial features are partly Europeanized. Possibly based on a real individual, the London-based African model known as Wilson, the depersonalized figure calls to mind Van Ost's 'Blackamoor' and his kneeling position, which, as Kirk Savage and others have pointed out, denotes servility and deference.[55]

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Fig. 9. Robert Milligan (c. 1746–1809). Bronze statue commissioned after his death by the West India Dock Company, and sculpted by Sir Richard Westmacott (1775–1856); unveiled 1813. The warehouse behind, now part of the Museum in Docklands, is from the 1802 development of the W. India docks (in which Milligan was centrally involved) for the secure importation of sugar, rum and coffee from the Caribbean plantations. After several moves and time in storage it was re-erected on West India Quay in 1997.

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This was no doubt a reassuring and soothing theme at a time when fears of slave rebellion were widespread even amongst the most Whiggish of the ruling elite, which calls to mind Bindman's point that such monuments are the products of negotiation between the sculptor and the sculpture's sponsors.[56]

Given the monument's specific political and colonial context, the well-toned physique of the African takes on added significance, for to the modern viewer it contrasts oddly with the fleshy bulk of Fox. Yet Fox, whose dreadful constitution Wilberforce reportedly said was the result of drinking at Brookes Club by night, sleeping through the day and taking laudanum 'when he seemed to require it',[57] is also accorded some unconvincing musculature, as if to balance that of the African. It would not do, in either compositional or political terms, to portray Fox as the swollen, 'dropsical' and physically flabby figure he was by the time of his death.[58] Representing the nation, Fox had to look more powerful and virile than the enslaved African.

So much money (over twelve hundred pounds) had been raised for the monument, that there was enough to pay Westmacott to sculpt an additional nine-foot bronze statue of Fox, in 1816, which stands in Bloomsbury Square. There, Fox, his squat form disguised by Roman drapery, grasps the Magna Carta, and no allusion is made to his abolitionist activities.[59]

The third Abbey statue to be considered here is the Wilberforce monument, which Oldfield treats in his recent study [fig. 10].[60] Like the Sharp tablet this was funded by a Committee, headed by Sir Robert Harry Inglis and including Wilberforce's political heir, Thomas Fowell Buxton. If the prestige of a sculptor indicates the status and means of the patrons, it may be significant that this monument was sculpted in 1838 by a respected but relatively obscure sculptor, Samuel Joseph. (Joseph produced thirty busts, four statues and five monuments in his lifetime, but was to die poor and bankrupt in 1850.) He had sculpted a well-regarded bust of Wilberforce for the Yorkshire School for the Blind shortly after Wilberforce's death and the head of that bust is generally thought to be a study for the Abbey monument.[61]

Sir Robert asked the Abbey to be mindful that their funds were 'very limited'.[62] This seems odd given the pomp and circumstance of Wilberforce's funeral. Yet even in 1838 anti-slavery campaigners found most of their support amongst the middling ranks of society rather than its upper reaches, and though Wilberforce seems a grand personage to us today, in elitist circles then his origins and standing were considered rather inferior.[63]

A surviving preliminary sketch by Joseph shows Wilberforce sitting with a book (probably the Bible) and in his slippers.[64] Why was he not portrayed as a Roman hero as Fox had been? We are told that Joseph, a keen phrenologist[65] noted for his 'idiosyncratic naturalism', followed in the path of Sir Francis Chantrey whose statue of James Watt first challenged the 'dead hand' of neo-classicism.[66] Certainly the Wilberforce piece is highly

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Fig. 10. William Wilberforce (1759–1833), 1838 statue by Samuel Joseph (d. 1850) Westminster Abbey.

naturalistic and contrasts strikingly with the Romanized personifications of others in the north aisle. One contemporary criticized it as 'too full of motion and too animated', exhibiting the 'properties of portrait painting', 'rather than the repose thought proper to all monumental statues'.[67] But for all its artistic daring the statue plays down the radicalism of Wilberforce's anti-slavery campaign. What we have here is not Wilberforce the fiery anti-slavery orator but Wilberforce the venerable Clapham saint, whose disturbingly penetrating eyes alone bespeak an inner spiritual power, Wilberforce the veteran parliamentarian rendered loveable through long service and infirmity.

Joseph may have wished to capture the individual in all his uniqueness, but for Sir Robert Inglis the appeal of this statue was perhaps that it

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implicitly marginalized the challenge which Wilberforce had posed to vested political interests. Such an interpretation is reinforced by the monument's dedication. This proclaims that Wilberforce's name

> will ever be specially identified with those exertions which by the blessing of GOD removed from England the Guilt of the African Slave Trade, and Prepared the way for the abolition of Slavery in
> Every colony of the Empire.
> In the prosecution of these objects
> He relied, not in vain on GOD:
> But in the Progress he was called to endure
> Great Obloquy and Great Opposition: he outlived, however, all Enmity

Although there had been opposition to him at the time, then, all that, the dedication implies, was now long past. Not only did Wilberforce and his cause triumph in the end, but he *removed* 'from England' 'Guilt' about slavery. Slavery is over and that is that. Yet even as this dedication was being carved slaves had not been fully emancipated. A rigid 'apprenticeship' system which in practical terms replicated many features of the old slave-system required adults, as Drescher reminds us, 'to devote three-quarters of their time to the service of their former owners in return for good and clothing'.[68] Even after 1838, when the apprenticeship system was ended, following a vociferous public campaign, Caribbean slaves were still disenfranchised and often in want. And as has often lately been remarked, unlike their owners who were awarded £20 million for their loss, enslaved Africans were never compensated for their labour. This version of Wilberforce's achievement disconnects both Britain and the British Caribbean from slavery's continuing legacy.

The subject of guilt comes up again in the memorial in the Westminster Abbey dedicated to Zachary Macaulay (1768–1838) [fig. 11]. This wall tablet includes a full-size bust of Macaulay in Roman drapery, at whose base appears yet again the motif of the kneeling slave. Macaulay's expressive face looks one way, the expressionless slave, the other. Carved by Henry Weekes in 1842, the inscription celebrates Macaulay who 'rescued the British Empire from the guilt of the slave trade and finally conferred freedom on eight hundred thousand slaves'. So again, guilt is expunged, and freedom conferred on the passive slaves by white benevolence.

The final memorial in the Abbey to be considered here is the statue of Thomas Fowell Buxton (1786–1845). In 1824, too ill to continue much longer in Parliament, Wilberforce had bequeathed his role as leader of the emancipation campaign to the Quaker M.P. for Weymouth, Thomas Fowell Buxton. It was Buxton then who guided the Emancipation Bill into law. A statue of Buxton specifically intended for the Abbey was commissioned the year after Buxton's death, in 1846, and sculpted by

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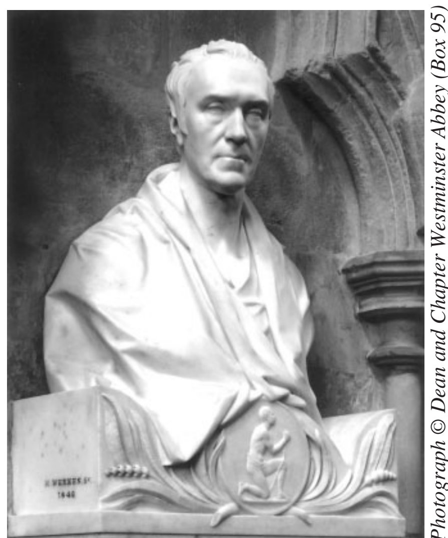
Photograph © Dean and Chapter Westminster Abbey (Box 95)

Fig. 11. Zachary Macaulay (1768–1838). Wall tablet, by Henry Weekes, 1842: a full-size bust of Macaulay in Roman drapery, at whose base appears yet again the motif of the kneeling slave. Westminster Abbey.

Frederick Thrupp [fig. 12].[69] Its commission attracted some controversy as a close friend of Thrupp was on the selection board.

Intriguingly, 'Africans' were included amongst those who had contributed to the financing of the statue. Thrupp shows Buxton seated above a plinth which lists in detail his commitment to anti-slavery and other reforming causes, finally informing the reader that 'This monument is erected by his friends and fellow labourers at home and abroad; assisted by the grateful contributions of many thousands of the African race'.[70] It is tempting to speculate about the identity of these grateful Africans and how their contributions were garnered, but sadly no records relating to the statue's commission can be found among the Abbey muniments. We know more, in general terms at least, about the probable background of the statue's white supporters. By 1846, emancipation was widely supported in the country on the part of an industrial and often evangelical middle class. This group showed itself ready to express distaste for what it saw as a dissolute and parasitic landowning class both in the Caribbean and in Britain. Yet why was no statue dedicated to Thomas Clarkson, who died that year? More radical and less well-connected than Macaulay or Wilberforce, he did not have a family lobby to push for his memorialization.[71] His eclipse in this period seems largely due to the biography of Wilberforce by two of Wilberforce's sons. Published in 1838, this hagiographic but influential work unfairly downplayed Clarkson's contribution to the antislavery movement.[72]

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Fig. 12. Thomas Fowell Buxton (1786–1845) sculpted in 1846 by Frederick Thrupp. The long inscription on the plinth extols in detail his commitment to anti-slavery and other reforming causes, and ends: 'This monument is erected by his friends and fellow labourers at home and abroad; assisted by the grateful contributions of many thousands of the African race'.

In any case, the 1840s and 1850s were a transitional period when radical unrest was giving way to a more economically and politically complaisant middle class and when racialist discourse increasingly reshaped the way Africans and slavery were spoken about. The concern of the industrial middle classes for the plight of enslaved Africans sat oddly with their acceptance of severe conditions suffered by the industrial working classes in Britain itself during the so-called 'hungry forties', a point long noted by radicals and reactionaries alike.[73] In 1846, the year Thomas Clarkson died, protection of West Indian sugar ended and the West Indies went into dire decline. Emancipation had not brought to the islands the benefits which had been forecast, as many former slaves refused to come back to the plantations as 'free labour'. As a result, 'abolitionist zeal' at home was 'strangely cooled down'.[74]

An increasingly racialist backlash against emancipation was evidenced by the 1849 publication of Thomas Carlyle's 'Occasional Discourse on the Negro Question' in *Frasier's Magazine*, an essay republished in the ensuing decades as 'The Nigger Question'.[75] Yet in that same year was sculpted the only public portrayal in London of an African who is not only both upright

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and individualized but armed as well. The figure is that of a seaman in the bas-relief at the base of Nelson's column. Its sculptor, John Edward Carew, was Irish and apparently somewhat of an outsider amongst those commissioned to carve the column base, though Sir Richard Westmacott, for whom he worked, may have helped him to get the commission.[76] In any case, Carew's portrayal of the African was not mentioned in *The Times*'s favourable review of his 'alto relievo',[77] nor was any similar figure replicated elsewhere in the capital. By the 1850s, the plight of the newly-emancipated Caribbean slaves was 'no longer so exciting to the English middle-class imagination' and reformers increasingly turned their attention to eradicating formal slavery in the United States.[78]

The career of a contemporary 'slave statue' by an American sculptor neatly illustrates some of the complex relationships between slavery, racialism and reform in both Britain and the USA at this particular moment. When Hiram Powers exhibited his statue 'The Greek Slave', in America in 1847, there was a chorus of praise (and no doubt some unselfconscious prurience) for the female nude.[79] But only one or two abolitionist papers contrasted the sympathy lavished on the comely Greek slave in a Turkish slave-market with the indifference shown to the plight of the 'sable sisterhood' in America's South.[80]

The statue was similarly popular in London when exhibited at the Great Exhibition in 1851, and *Punch* contrasted the sentiment it excited with the indifference to the plight of real-life slaves.[81] After the emancipation of African-Americans even public statues celebrating the Union victory often employed inherently racialist iconography, which has been aptly characterized by Albert Boime as 'the abased slave' and 'the exalted liberator' motif.[82] By this period, the administration of London's public monuments was becoming more bureaucratic. A rather piecemeal survey was undertaken in the 1860s by the Ministry of Works to list 'the public statues or monuments in London, belonging to the nation'. The thrust of commemoration seemed more military than ever:[83] Between 1846 and 1858 most of the statues were of politicians, military heroes or royals.[84] They included a dozen statues of eighteenth-century political figures funded by Parliament and placed in St Stephen's Hall in the Palace of Westminster. Among them were new figures of Charles James Fox and Lord Mansfield, but no explicit mention seems to have been made either to Mansfield's famous Somerset Judgement of 1772, relating to the status of slaves in England, or to Fox's abolitionist efforts.[85]

The next two London monuments referring explicitly to the anti-slavery cause were erected after the emancipation of African-American slaves, at a time when public reaction to the Morant Bay Uprising in Jamaica and the rise of Social Darwinism had already begun to mould public discourse into more specifically racialist forms.[86] The monuments in question honoured Thomas Fowell Buxton and Lord Derby respectively.[87] Both were in the civic sanctum of Parliament Square, a construction

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completed in 1870 and discussed in Stuart Burch's definitive work on the symbolic sculpture there.[88]

The Buxton memorial, designed by Samuel Sanders Teulon (1812–1873), was begun in 1865, two decades after Buxton's death, and was funded by his son, Charles Buxton MP. 1865 was of course, the very year of American slave-emancipation. Until Parliament Square was completed the monument stood on the corner of Great George Street and King Street. This location was one of particular symbolic significance, being virtually under the window of the former residence of Buxton's fellow anti-slavery campaigner Stephen Lushington, where emancipationists had met informally to plan their strategy.[89]

The Buxton monument had a utilitarian as well as a commemorative function. With water supplied by the Metropolitan Drinking Fountains Association, it was to service drovers and other thirsty visitors to the capital. At one level its very functionality betokened a politically radical inclusiveness, since its intended audience included drovers as well as the educated public. But aside from one tiny enamel roundel of a kneeling slave, the references in the original monument were royal rather than radical, with bronze figures atop representing rulers of England from Caractacus to Victoria.[90] Though these statues were later removed, their original inclusion suggests conservative intentions behind the memorial. No passionate campaigning against injustice here, rather a confirmation of mid Victorian complacency.[91]

The statue of the 14th Earl of Derby (George Stanley, 1799–1869) was sculpted by Matthew Noble and erected in 1874. It originally contained at its base a series of bronze reliefs by Horace Montford detailing highlights of Derby's career, including one of him speaking in the Commons in favour of slave-emancipation on 14 May 1833.[92] Emancipation here is a vehicle for establishing Derby's moral and political status and the enslaved become the invisible object of his benevolence. By this sleight of hand, emancipation becomes a purely white affair. The Derby statue is otherwise typical of the heroic celebratory public statues of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and presages a period when imperial sentiments reigned supreme. This 'increasing tendency in the nineteenth century to construct memory in physical monuments – to inscribe it on the landscape itself – seems symptomatic of an increasing anxiety about memory left to its own unseen devices'.[93]

COMMEMORATING SLAVERY IN TWENTIETH-CENTURY LONDON

Despite, or perhaps because of, the 'virtual explosion of heroic statues between 1880–1914',[94] no new London statues marked the centenary in 1907 of the Act abolishing the British slave-trade. Indeed, this centenary seems to have been celebrated with more energy in Sierra Leone than

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in Britain.[95] The only new statue with a connection to slavery was one of Abraham Lincoln erected in Parliament Square in 1920. This replica of August Saint-Gauden's Chicago monument was a gift of the American government; unlike the statue of Lincoln in Manchester unveiled in 1919 it celebrated Anglo-American relations rather than the anti-slavery cause.[96]

Yet if the erection of commemorative monuments was exclusively the province of the political elite, new audiences could bring new associations to them. In 1931, for example, 'a special service for Negroes' was held at Westminster Abbey. There, the members of the African-American 'Improved Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks of the World' convened after a procession from Parliament Square to lay flowers on the monuments of 'the pioneers of the movement for the abolition of slavery'. Wreaths were laid at the statue of Lincoln in Parliament Square and then at the memorials in Westminster Abbey of Livingstone, Zachary Macaulay, Wilberforce and Buxton. Though the service was taken by the Abbey's Canon Donaldson, and Livingstone rather than Fox or Sharp was honoured, the fact that a Black fraternal society held its own service in the Abbey and elected to pay homage to certain monuments was itself significant. The order, founded in 1898 and closely modelled on white Protestant fraternal organizations, was hardly radical in its aspirations. But by initiating this act of commemoration its members gave a new dimension of meaning to the monuments they honoured. It made them publicly subject to the gaze of an audience whose historical relationship to slavery was radically different from the audience originally envisaged.[97] The centenary of Wilberforce's death was celebrated in London in a service at St Paul's, where along with the descendants of Wilberforce, Buxton and Macaulay '[m]any coloured men and women attended'.[98] Evidently, a black presence in the capital, one which came together for such a commemorative event, was beginning to make itself noticed.

For the centenary of the formal emancipation of slaves in the British Empire in 1934 no commemorative statues were commissioned,[99] though the Trustees of the National Portrait Gallery did place on view Benjamin. Haydon's picture of the World Anti-Slavery Convention of 1840.[100] The commemoration consisted mainly of a celebratory luncheon in London arranged by the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society for 500 notables including the Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord Buxton and various politicians, as well as a series of church services.[101] The Bishop of Winchester's sermon at Westminster Abbey characterized emancipation as a 'triumph of Christian teaching'. Elsewhere much was made of missionary efforts to eradicate slavery in Africa. Services culminated in a midnight event at St Botolph's in the City of London where Sir John Simon, then Foreign Secretary, and Travers Buxton, vice-president of the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society, spoke of the continuation of slavery in the world.[102] The recurrence of the Buxton family name in such

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ceremonies reminds us of the importance of family members as advocates in the contest for commemoration. The name of Clarkson did not feature much and Olaudah Equiano's contribution to the ending of the British slave-trade, as the first published Black abolitionist, seems to have been ignored completely. So too was the name of William Knibb, the Baptist missionary, whose campaign for more political equity for apprenticed slaves and advocacy of disestablishment in Jamaica had not endeared him to the Anglican elite.[103]

But another speaker at the St Botolph service in 1934 marked a new departure in the commemoration of this event. Dr Harold Moody, pioneering president of the League of Coloured Peoples, had also been invited and his address sounded a critically anti-racialist note amid the general chorus of pious complacency.[104] Moody's invitation suggests that at least some in power recognized that their constituency now included Black Londoners.

All in all, few statues were erected in London during the 1930s and certainly none commemorating abolition or emancipation. The Second World War and the subsequent reconstruction of London brought new challenges to London's statuary heritage. Both the Buxton and the Lincoln monuments in Parliament Square were cleared in 1949 as part of a road-widening scheme. Debate ensued over which monuments belonged in this newly modernized but still hallowed precinct. The Lincoln statue was eventually returned to the Square, but the Buxton memorial was not.

The Buxton fountain was now thought by the Ministry of Works and others to be aesthetically sub-standard and unworthy of such an august location. Responsibility for its maintenance had long been a matter of contention, with both central and local government trying to offload it on to voluntary associations such as the National Society for Drinking Fountains and the Anti-Slavery and Aboriginal Protection Society.[105] I incline to Stuart Burch's view that there was also a political subtext to its proposed relocation, though as a Labour minister spearheaded the relocation, the divisions were not strictly party political. Various arguments were made for the return of the Buxton memorial to the Square. One was that the Commonwealth audience comprised black as well as white members. Thus Sir Reginald Coupland, Wilberforce's first proper biographer, writing to *The Times* that the monument should be retained, pointed to the sensibilities of the Africans 'now fellow-members with us of the Commonwealth'.[106] In the upper House Lord Reading and Labour peer Hugh Patterson Macmillan argued for keeping the Buxton monument in the Square as a way to confirm the nation's adherence to the new UN charter for human rights. Viscount Simon condemned the relocation as 'monstrous'. The supreme importance of the Emancipation Act which Buxton had championed, he said, 'had been completely overlooked' and 'no one who had the slightest regard for our historical traditions and the great

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achievements of the British Parliament should ever forget the magnificence and effect of that sustained argument'.[107] Yet again, Buxton's descendants tended the flame of remembrance. Lord Noel Buxton proposed that a new statue, that of 'an African boy', be placed in the Square, but succeeded only getting a plinth placed which referred visitors to the Buxton Memorial's new location in Victoria Tower Park.[108]

In the meantime Epstein's statue of the South African Prime Minister Jan Smuts had already been installed in Parliament Square in 1956. Smuts was accorded his place on the grounds of his contributions to Churchill's War Cabinet, but given his avowedly racist views as both evolutionist and politician, this substitution packed an implicitly political message.[109] So too did the demotion of the Buxton memorial in 1957 to its present and less favoured site in Victoria Tower Park, Millbank, which it shares with the statue of the suffragette Emily Pankhurst.[110]

Buxton aside, the reinterpretation of slavery and debates over its proper commemoration were slower to surface in this post-war period. Perhaps it was in part the lack of relevant anniversaries, but so far as I know no public monuments to either enslaved Africans or British anti-slavery campaigners were erected in London in the forty years after the war.

It is outside the scope of this article to chart the demographic and ideological changes which affected political and cultural climate in the second half of the twentieth century. Suffice it to say that increased public exposure to higher education, the growth of a Black British constituency and the anxieties occasioned by urban unrest all helped to stimulate a new and more critical interest in Britain's historic role as a slaving nation.[111] They helped in other words, to further the increasing divide between 'modern memory' and the 'patriotic certainties' of more 'traditional commemorative forms'.[112]

The rededication of the Buxton memorial by the Anti-Slavery Society in 1987 seems unlikely to have been inspired by the centenary that year of Marcus Garvey's birth or by the simultaneous importation of Black History Week to Britain. Nevertheless it did indicate that the cultural climate was changing. The new stone inscription at the fountain's base made clear the explicitly abolitionist purpose of the monument, naming Buxton and his parliamentary colleagues, Wilberforce, Brougham, Lushington and Clarkson. The memorial itself however remained in poor condition.[113]

Despite sporadic efforts over the years to get a London memorial dedicated specifically to Thomas Clarkson, it was only in 1996 that a modest plaque under the metaphorical shadow of the Wilberforce memorial finally appeared in Westminster Abbey. Its inscription to Clarkson as a 'Friend to Slaves' struck a newly humble note. The plaque was funded by a private committee set up to commemorate the 150th anniversary of his death.

Given their expense and their need for precious public space, statues are less responsive than other forms of commemoration to changing

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public attitudes. This has remained true even after the Labour victory of 1997, which brought with it increased public funding for Black History projects. Plaques are a far more affordable form of public memorial and susceptible to public lobbying, but even here there is a hierarchy of regard. Olaudah Equiano is memorialized in London only by a green plaque placed in 2000 at Riding House Square, where he once resided. But green plaques, funded by local Councils, are a less prestigious form of recognition than is afforded by English Heritage's blue-plaque scheme. The bicentenary has led English Heritage to reassess its properties in the light of slaving links and to name Black anti-slavery campaigners, but the strict requirements of the blue-plaque scheme still predispose it to commemorate those with well-documented links to extant buildings and so to favour the propertied and more affluent historical figures. To date, three blue plaques are dedicated to Wilberforce, one to Zachary Macaulay and none to Black antislavery campaigners such as Equiano or Mary Prince.[114]

CONCLUSION

The bicentenary of the 1807 Act has prompted reassessment of how both slavery and abolition should be commemorated. Under New Labour's influence, those who seek funding for commemorative initiatives have now to satisfy a funding culture designed to promote political inclusion. Evidence of 'public consultation', 'transparency' and 'outreach' is exacted by the government. Bodies such as the Lottery Heritage Fund and many voluntary funding agencies to varying but significant extents have followed suit. Whatever the motives and consequences of these new requirements, and however contested, their very existence marks a sea change in the wider political culture. Opinions of a wide range of Britons have been expressly solicited, including those of African-Caribbean descent. Grass-roots projects have gained funding and, with it, access to the wider public arena. The recent proliferation of scholarship on the history of slavery and abolition has also strengthened the argument for marking the occasion.

In London alone, an imaginative array of commemorative events, exhibitions, websites and publications will mark the bicentenary. Major exhibitions include those scheduled at the Museum in Docklands, the National Maritime Museum at Greenwich and the House of Commons. The National Archive at Kew has produced new readers' guides to facilitate research into the history of slavery and abolition. English Heritage plans a trail linking its properties in London and beyond to pro and anti-slavery interests. Throughout London, concerts, lectures, film-showings and theatrical performances inspired by the theme of slavery and abolition are scheduled over the year.

But what will happen after 2007, when all the urgency and dedicated funding fades away? Leaflets and trails can so easily go out of print, websites can cease to be maintained once their initial installation is complete.

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Theatrical events are by their nature ephemeral. Permanent exhibitions and monuments still seem to be the most lasting form of commemoration. There will be permanent exhibitions in the London Docklands and in Liverpool and Hull.

It remains to be seen whether any permanent monuments relating to slavery will be erected. If they were, a host of intriguing problems would need to be addressed. For example, should the much smaller but still significant numbers of 'white' unfree labourers on British slave-plantations (the Irish prisoners of war, the Monmouth rebels, the transported criminals, the kidnapped street children and the indentured servants) be acknowledged? Should such a monument refer to the complicity of West African warlords in the Atlantic slave-economy? How might enslaved Africans be most appropriately portrayed: as passive and brutalized victims, revolutionary resistors, stoic survivors? Or is Atlantic slavery, like the Holocaust, trivialized by the very existence of a representational monument? If so, would a more abstract monument alienate the very public for which it was intended? And just what message should such a monument be designed to convey?

Such questions aside, the idea of erecting a new commemorative monument on the occasion of the bicentenary, especially one which does not foreground the contributions of white British abolitionists, hardly seems to have captured the public imagination. There is even, it seems, some resistance to having new inscriptions on established statues and memorials so that their links to slaving interests would be made explicit. Arguments are made that we cannot 'read back into' history, that 'we' should not 'dwell on the past' that 'we' should eschew 'political correctness' and focus instead on the present. The 'we' assumed implicitly dismisses the historical sensibilities of those Londoners today who are themselves the descendants of slaves.[115]

There are, it seems, plans for a statue dedicated to enslaved Africans to be erected in Hyde Park and for a memorial on the same theme to be established in Fen Court in the City of London, but at time of writing, it remains unclear when or whether they will come to fruition.[116]

In 1682, William Godwyn proposed a public statue in London which would prominently and permanently acknowledge the injustice suffered by enslaved Africans under British rule. Today, more than three centuries later, his call has still yet to be answered.

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entitled *Identity and the City: 1001 years of Ethnic Minorities in Bristol, c. 1000–2001* (Phillimore Press 2007).

NOTES AND REFERENCES

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1 John R. Gillis, *Commemorations: the Politics of National Identity*, Princeton, 1994, pp. 3–4; Johanna C. Kardux, 'Monuments of the Black Atlantic: Slavery Memorials in the United States and the Netherlands', in *Blackening Europe: the African American Presence*, ed. Heike Raphael-Hernandez, New York and London, 2004, pp. 100–1; James E. Young, *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning*, New Haven and London, 1993, pp. 27ff; Iwona Irwin-Zarecka, *Frames of Remembrance*, New Brunswick, N.J. and London, 1994, p. 4. See also Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Mem*ory, transl. and ed. Lewis A. Coser, Chicago, 1992; Pierre Nora, *Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French Past*, ed. Lawrence D. Kritzman, vol. 1, New York, 1996; Raphael Samuel, *Theatres of Memory*, vol. 1. London, 1994.

2 Madge Dresser, *Slavery Obscured: the Social History of the Slave Trade in an English Provincial Port*, London, 2001, pp. 3–4; Beth Kowaleski Wallace, *The British Slave Trade and Public Memory*, New York, 2006, pp. 61–2; 'The John Turner Phone-In', BBC Radio Bristol, 9:05 am, 31 May 2005.

3 Seymour Drescher, 'Commemorating Slavery and Abolition in the United States of America', in *Facing up to the Past: Perspectives on the Commemoration of Slavery from Africa, the Americas and Europe*, ed. Gert Oostindie, Kingston, Jamaica, 2001, p. 112.

4 The terms public memorial, public monument and public statue are used more or less inter-changeably in this article.

5 See Robert S. Nelson and Margaret Olin, *Monument and Memory, Made and Unmade*, Chicago, 2003, p. 8.

6 Young, *The Texture of Memory*, pp. 3 and 208.

7 See Mary Ann Steggler, *Statues of the Raj*, London (British Association for Cemeteries in South Asia), 2000; Joan Michèle Coutu, 'Eighteenth-Century British Monuments and the Politics of Empire', PhD. Dissertation, London University, 1993, esp. p. 23, n. 20.

8 Kowaleski Wallace (*British Slave Trade and Public Memory*) and Marcus Wood (*Blind Memory: Visual Representations of Slavery in England and America 1780–1865*, Manchester, 2000) do not focus on sculpture; while the concern is local in Christine Chivallon, 'Bristol and the Eruption of Memory: Making the Slave-Trading Past Visible', *Social and Cultural Geography* 2: 3, 2001, pp. 347–63 and Olivette Otele's doctoral dissertation, 'Mémoire et Politique: L'Enrichissement de Bristol par le Commerce Triangulaire, Objet de Polémique', Paris, Sorbonne University, E.A. 3557, Ecole Doctorale IV, 19 Nov. 2005, and in the chapter by Pat McLernon and Sue Griffiths, 'Liverpool and the Heritage of the Slave

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19 Anon. [Morgan Godwin or Godwyn], *The REVIVAL: or directions for a Sculpture, describing the extraordinary Care and Diligence of our Nation in publishing the Faith among Infidels In America, and elsewhere; compared with other both Primitive and Other Profeffors of Christianity*, London, printed by J. Darby, 1682, Early English Books On Line. My thanks to the University of Cambridge Library for assistance in locating this source. Godwin's other work includes *The Negro's and Indians [sic] Advocate suing for their admission into the Church or a persuasive to the Instructing and Baptising of the Negro's and Indians in our Plantations. . . .*, London, J.D., 1680, and *A Supplement to the Negro's and Indians' Advocate or some further consideration and proposal*, London, 1681.

20 [Benjamin] Ralph, *A Critical Review of the Publick Buildings, Statues, and Ornaments in and about London and Westminster*, London, 1734, p. 95. The quotation ends: '. . . and I am sorry to say we are generally defective in all'. Ralph excepted the recent statue of Sir Isaac Newton from his criticism.

21 See Virginia Bever Platt, 'The East India Company and the Madagascar Slave Trade', *William and Mary Quarterly* (third series) 26, 1969, pp. 548–71.

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27 See Perient Trott, *A True Relation of the Just and Unjust Proceedings of the Somer-Islands Company*, London,1676, p. 2. According to Frank T. Melton, *Sir Robert Clayton and the Origins of English Deposit Banking 1658–1685*, Cambridge, 1986, p. 69, Clayton received a share in the Somers Island Company as his dowry and though his wife was not wealthy when they married, her father later left Clayton's grandson seventy-five acres of land in Hamilton: Will of Perient Trott, 18 Sept. 1679, The National Archive (TNA), PROB 11/360.

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31 Nick Hervey, 'Thomas Guy', *Oxford DNB*, vol. 24, p. 333.

32 The slaving activities of the South Sea Company are often ignored or overlooked as historical work on the Company usually focuses on its financial history: Helen Paul, 'The South Sea Company's Slaving Activities', in *Abstracts of New Researchers' Papers and*

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Abstracts of other Academic Papers given at the Economic History Society Annual Conference 2–4 April 2004, p. 16. But, as both Paul and Hancock remind us, the Company gained a contract to transport and supply slaves to the Spanish colonies in 1712: David Hancock, *Citizens of the World: London Merchants and the Integration of the British Atlantic Community, 1735–85*; Cambridge, 1995, p. 27; see also Joseph Inikori, *Africans and the Industrial Revolution in England: a Study in International Trade and Economic Development*, Cambridge, 2002, p. 321, which echoes P. G. M. Dickinson, *The Financial Revolution in England: a Study in the Development of Public Credit, 1688–1756*, London, 1967 in citing the Company's importance in the development of the overseas credit networks so crucial to the growth of the Atlantic slave-based economy.

33 Tancred Borenius, *Forty London Statues and Public Monuments,* London, 1926, pp. 55–6.

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36 Richard Sheridan, 'William Beckford', *Oxford DNB*, vol. 24, p. 334.

37 Beckford gave very luxurious banquets as Mayor, described as more elaborate than any since Henry VIII. One banquet alone was said to have cost him £10,000. See 'London and the Slave Trade', Guildhall Library Manuscripts Section, http://www.history.ac.uk/gh/beckford.htm (accessed 20 Jan. 2007).

38 James A. Ganz, 'A City Artist: Robert Robinson', in *City Merchants and the Arts 1670–1720*, ed. Mireille Galinou, London, 2004, esp. pp.113–18. According to e-mail correspondence (21 March 2006) from Robert Jeffries, a family historian who claims descent from him, one Alderman John Jeffreys, Welsh by birth, had 'well over 10,000 acres of tobacco farmland in Virginia' and was a tobacco merchant in the late 17th century. He left his money to two nephews one of whom – another John – was also a London Alderman.

39 For Christies' sale of 'carved blackamores' from the early eighteenth century see *The Times*, 30 May 1975, p. 16.

40 For kneeling slaves by Van Ost (or Nost), see Margaret Whinney, *Sculpture in Britain, 1530–1830*, London, 1964, p. 133. John Cheere also produced lead garden ornaments of 'nubians' or 'blackamores' holding sundials or trays, which are still popular today.

41 Coutu, 'Eighteenth-century British Monuments', p. 28. According to information kindly supplied by Dr Tony Trowles, librarian at the Westminster Abbey library in 2002, only two dozen or so of the 800 monuments now in the Abbey were paid for directly by Parliament.

42 John Oldfield, *'Chords of Freedom': Commemoration, Ritual and British Transatlantic Slavery*, Manchester, 2007. This excellent book appeared as this article was about to go to press. References to it here are based on a pre-publication manuscript and will not include specific page references.

43 Burch, 'On Stage at the Theatre of State', p. 146.

44 Judith Jennings, *The Business of Abolishing the British Slave Trade 1783–1807*, London and Portland, Oregon, 1997, pp. 115–30, argues that the Committee was more liberal and middle-class in social origin than the African Institution, whose focus was more on missionary work; Walvin and Tyrrell, 'Whose History Is It?', in *Contested Sites*, ed. Pickering and Tyrrell, pp.152–4.

45 John Wolffe, 'Inglis, Sir Robert Harry, second baronet (1786–1855)', *Oxford DNB*, http://oxforddnb.com/view/article/14406 (accessed 19 June 2007).

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47 Marie Busco, 'Westmacott, Sir Richard (1775–1856)', *Oxford DNB* http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29114 (accessed 24 Jan. 2006); Rupert Gunnis, *Dictionary of British Sculptors 1660–1851*, London (1953), 1968, pp. 422–3; Walvin and Tyrrell, 'Whose History is it?' in *Contested Sites*, ed. Pickering and Tyrrell, p. 151. See also the Web Gallery of Art webpage, where an oddly denigrating attitude toward Africans is replicated in the description of the statue:

> Westmacott's principal work is the monument for the statesman Charles James Fox (1749–1806), who had been a Member of the Parliament, became a lord of the Admiralty,

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and from 1772–74 was a commissioner of the Treasury. Among his notable merits were his attempts to abolish the slave-trade and his support for the rights of the North American colonies.

Westmacott pictorialized three basic elements of Fox's political career. Fox dies in the arms of the allegory of Liberty (the high point of the group); leaning over his feet is the mourning allegory of Peace; and the African ***squats** before him for his forceful intervention on behalf of his race* [emphasis mine].

The African figure is kneeling on one knee – hardly 'squatting'. See http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/w/westmaco/mon_fox.html (accessed 21 Feb. 2006) and fig. 8 above.

48 L. G. Mitchell, 'Fox, Charles James (1749–1806)', *Oxford DNB*, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/10024 (accessed 28 March 2006).

49 Coutu, 'Eighteenth-Century British Monuments', pp. 234; Neville Connell, 'Church Monuments in Barbados', *The Bajan*, October 1964, p. 10; Stewart Perowne, 'Monuments in Barbados', *Country Life*, 7 Dec. 1951, p. 1,942; and Gunnis, *Dictionary of British Sculptors*, pp. 424–6.

50 http://pmsa.cch.kcl.ac.uk (accessed 24 July 2005); his planting interests are alluded to in http://www.portcities.org.uk/london/server.php?show=ConNarrative.40&chapterId=514 (accessed 24 July 2005).

51 Richard Westmacott to George Vincent, 27 Nov. 1821: 'Mr. Westmacott complnts to Mr. Vincent in consequence of another pressing request from the Duke of Bedford that Mr. Fox's Monument may be erected [and] begs the favour of Mr. Vincent to acquaint him whether the Dean and Chapters Permission is yet obtained for that purposed. Mr. W. is going to spend a few days at Woburn Abbey next week & it would he knows gratify the Duke exceedingly to hear the work was proceeding ...': Westminster Abbey Muniments (WAM), 66211; Westmacott to Vincent, 26? May 1822: 'Sir—A Committee, on Mr Fox's Monument was held at Brookes on the 17th Inst and I am desired by Lord Holland to make immediate application to the Dean and Chapter of Westminster for permission to erect that work ....', WAM, 66213. See also Busco, *Westmacott*, p. 72.

52 I am grateful to Philip Ward Jackson of the Courtauld Institute Library for discussing this sculpture. Busco, *Westmacott*, p. 72; Loren Reid, *Charles James Fox: a Man for the People*, London, 1969, pp. 435–6.

53 Buscoe, *Westmacott*, p. 72.

54 Whinney, *Sculpture in Britain*, p. 388.

55 Regarding Wilson, see Hugh Honour, *The Image of the Black in Western Art*, Houston, 1989, vol. 4, pp. 98, 221, cited in Busco, *Westmacott*, p. 72; Kirk Savage, *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves: Race, War and Monument in Nineteenth Century America*, Princeton, 1997. Regarding the statue itself see Gunnis, *Dictionary of British Sculptors*, p. 279.

56 See also David Bindman and Malcolm Baker, *Roubiliac and the Eighteenth Century Monument: Sculpture as Theatre*, New Haven and London, 1995, pp. 2–8.

57 Wilberforce on a conversation with Fox, recorded in *Diary of Joseph Farington*, ed. Kathryn Cave, London and New Haven, 1982, vol. 8, p. 2,818.

58 For allusions to Fox's poor physical state see *Diary of Joseph Farington*, vol. 8, pp. 2,803,2,809,2,814,2,818, 2,819, 2,833, 2,850, 2,855–6. My reading of Fox's physique is based on my own observation of the statue.

59 Gunnis, *Dictionary of British Sculptors, 1660–1851*, p. 425; Busco, *Westmacott*, p. 72.

60 Gunnis, *Dictionary of British Sculptors*, p. 222; Terry Friedman, 'Joseph, Samuel (1790/91–1850)', *Oxford DNB*, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/15133 (accessed 24 Jan. 2006); Oldfield, *'Chords of Freedom'*.

61 I am grateful to Jenny Alexander, Assistant Curator of Fine Arts at York Art Gallery, for this information on Joseph's earlier work (email to me 31 Jan. 2007). Samuel Joseph's name suggests Jewish origins and if he had converted to Christianity, he might well have attracted Evangelical patronage for that reason. See Oldfield, *'Chords of Freedom'* for discussion of the Wilberforce statue.

62 Application from Sir Robert Harry Inglis, 20 March 1835, WAM, 66322. In the end, the Abbey's fee for permission to erect the statue alone cost the Committee £200: see draft receipt, WAM 66323. A bust of Wilberforce sculpted by Joseph in 1833 is now at the City Gallery, York.

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63 Joseph Farington reports in May 1806 that 'Mr. Coke [of Norfolk] said it seemed odd that a man of Wilberforce's narrow fortune with little property in the County, should oppose himself to such families as those of Lord Fitzwilliam and Lord Harewood, thus showing his own feeling of the claims of aristocratick power', *Diary of Joseph Farington*, vol. 8, p. 3,050.

64 The drawing is in the possession of the Westminster Abbey Muniments.

65 Friedman, 'Joseph, Samuel (1790/91–1850)', *Oxford DNB*, 2004, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/15133 (accessed 29 March 2006).

66 Whinney, *Sculpture in Britain*, p. 227.

67 *The Times*, 6 May 1841, p. 6.

68 *A Historical Guide to World Slavery*, ed. Seymour Drescher and Stanley L. Engerman, Oxford and New York, 1998, p. 13.

69 Thanks to Philip Ward Jackson for information on this statue. For more on Thrupp see http://www.torre-abbey.org.uk/torreabbey-souvenirguide.pdf. See also Martin Greenwood, 'Thrupp, Frederick (1812–1895)', *Oxford DNB*, 2004, or Campbell Dodgson, 'Thrupp, Frederick (1812–1895)', *DNB*, 1898 edn, both at http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/27397 (accessed 24 Jan. 2006); Walvin and Tyrrell, 'Whose History Is It?', in *Contested Sites*, ed. Pickering and Tyrrell, p. 154.

70 A photo of the statue and the transcription of its inscription can be found at http://www.westminster-abbey.org/library/burial/buxton.htm>

71 Thomas Clarkson's early differences with Zachary Macaulay and the Clapham sect stemmed from the treatment of his brother John, whose racially and politically progressive views caused him to be dismissed as governor of Sierra Leone.

72 'The Life of Wilberforce', *The Times*, 18 May 1838, p. 5; 'Clarkson's Strictures on . . . Wilberforce', *The Times*, 22 Aug. 1838, p. 3; Adam Hochschild, *Bury the Chains: the British Struggle to Abolish Slavery*, London, 2005, p. 350. The continuing influence of Bishop Samuel Wilberforce in particular seems to have been a factor in the reluctance to honour Clarkson. Walvin and Tyrrell also note Clarkson's absence: 'Whose History Is It?', p. 158.

73 Marcus Wood, *Slavery, Empathy and Pornography*, Oxford and New York, 2002, pp.152–69; See too Catherine Hall, *Civilising Subjects: Metropole and Colony in the English Imagination 1830–1867*, Cambridge, 2002, pp. 141–73.

74 'The New Sugar Bill', *The Times*, 19 Aug. 1846, p. 6.

75 *Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country* 40, London, February 1849; http://www.cepa.newschool.edu/het/texts/carlyle/carlodnq.htm (accessed 3 March 2006).

76 See material on John Edward Carew (1785–1868) including the piece on him in the *London Illustrated News*, 15 Dec. 1849, p. 392, Conway Library Archives, Courtauld Institute, Boxes on British Sculpture.

77 *The Times*, 6 Dec. 1849, p. 3.

78 Hall, *Civilising Subjects*, p. 341.

79 See Cedric J. Robinson, 'The Inventions of the Negro', *Social Identities* 7: 3, 2001, pp. 347–9.

80 'Powers' Statue of the Greek Slave', *The National Era*, Washington DC, 2 Sept. 1847, from http://jefferson.village.virginia.edu:1852/utc/pretexts/sentimnt/@Generic__BookTextView (accessed 8 March 2002); See also Joy Kasson, *Marble Queens and Captives: Women in Nineteenth-Century American Sculpture*, New Haven, 1990, at http://faculty-web.at.northwester.edu/uc/efp/art.html (accessed 8 March 2002).

81 Elizabeth Lee, 'The Greek Slave in Punch', in http://www.victorianweb.org/victorian/punch/greekslave1.html (accessed 8 March 2002); Albert Boime, *The Art of Exclusion: Representing Blacks in the Nineteenth Century*, London, 1990, pp. 156–7.

82 Boime, *Art of Exclusion*, pp. 156–7.

83 Some disquiet was voiced in *The Times* at the prospect that a statue of Dr Jenner ('the hero of vaccination') be placed alongside those of General Havelock and Sir Charles Napier, asking if Dr Jenner should 'be found in such formidable society?', *The Times*, 3 May 1858, p. 8.

84 See 'Public Statues in London', *The Times*, 4 July 1862, p. 6 (statues under the charge of the Ministry of Works).

85 The statue of Mansfield is by E. H. Baily, a Bristol-born sculptor who carved it in 1855. For pictures of these sculptures, see 'view Finder' on the website of English Heritage at http://www.heritage.org.uk.

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86 Hall, *Civilising Subjects*, especially pp. 432–3; Douglas A. Lorimer, *Colour, Class and the Victorians: English Attitudes to the Negro in the Mid-Nineteenth Century*, New York and Leicester, 1978, pp. 179–86, pp. 190–200, pp. 203–6; Boime, *Art of Exclusion*, pp. 158–60 and 172–84. This trend is exemplified by another statue produced in 1868 by the sculptor Richard Bell, which stood for many years in Blackburn Town Hall. See Richard Jenkyns, *Dignity and Decadence: Victorian Art and the Classical Inheritance*, Cambridge, Mass., 1992. See also the reception and subsequent popularization of August Biard's 1833 painting, 'Scene on the African Coast', as described in Wood, *Blind Memory*, pp. 43–5.

87 Arguably, Palmerston's statue in Parliament Square (1876) might count as celebrating an anti-slavery campaigner, but Palmerston, 'torn between lifelong opposition to slavery and the attraction of a permanently divided United States, the probable outcome of a brokered settlement', was an ambiguous figure in this regard.

88 Stuart James Burch, 'On Stage at the Theatre of State', esp. pp. 140–6; Margaret Baker, *London Statues and Monuments*, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Buxton_Memorial_Fountain (accessed 25 July 2005).

89 Burch, 'On Stage at the Theatre of State'.

90 'The drinking fountain when completed will cost upwards of £1,200 exclusive of water supply, which is undertaken by the Metropolitan Drinking-Fountain Association', *The Times*, 27 Jan. 1866, p. 12; Burch, 'On Stage at the Theatre of State', pp. 140–6. My thanks to Hilda Kean of Ruskin College for reminding me of the monument's links with the temperance movement.

91 See 'O.'s' letter to *The Times*, 1 Nov. 1867, p. 7 for a jaundiced and implicitly conservative condemnation of the memorial, ostensibly on aesthetic grounds alone.

92 John Blackwood, *London's Immortals: the Complete Outdoor Commemorative Statues,* London, 1987, p. 191.

93 Kirk Savage, 'The Politics of Memory: Black Emancipation and the Civil War Monument', in *Commemorations*, ed. Gillis, p. 130: said of America but I think applicable to England.

94 Blackwood, *London's Immortals*, p. 14.

95 *The Times*, 27 March 1907, p. 5.

96 Blackwood, *London's Immortals*, pp. 228–9.

97 'The Improved Benevolent Protective Order of Elks of the World', http://northbysouth.kenyon.edu/2000/Fraternal/ibpoew.htm; DOI:10.1215/01455532-28-3-439. Of course, the Buxton statue may be a partial exception to this, since it was in part financed (how far is unknown) by black Caribbean subscribers. For general discussion of this organization, see Bayliss J. Camp and Orit Kent, '"What a Mighty Power We Can Be": Individual and Collective Identity in African American and White Fraternal Initiation Rituals', *Social Science History* 28: 3, 2004, pp. 439–83.

98 *The Times*, 24 July 1933, p. 7.

99 This was a misnomer as slaves in Mauritius were not emancipated by this Act.

100 *The Times*, 20 July 1834, p. 10; see Oldfield, '*Chords of Freedom*'.

101 See notes 17–20 above and the corresponding text, and Oldfield, *'Chords of Freedom'*.

102 *The Times*, 30 July 1834, p. 7.

103 See letter from K. E. Anderson of Wrexham to *The Times*, 17 May 1935, p. 12, lamenting the disrepair of Clarkson's grave in Suffolk and asking 'Is England so unmindful of her heroes? Has Clarkson no descendants that they have thus forgotten their illustrious ancestor?' On Knibb's radicalism see Gad Heuman, 'Knibb, William (1803–1845)', *Oxford DNB*, 2004, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/15714 (accessed 9 April 2006); Hall, *Civilising Subjects*; Oldfield, *'Chords of Freedom'*.

104 *The Times*, 1 Aug. 1934, p. 7.

105 Burch, 'On Stage at the Theatre of State', pp. 317–22. As with all public monuments erected since 1854, permission had to be given by the Office of Works, which would then be responsible for their maintenance, Blackwood, *London's Immortals*, p. 15.

106 Burch, 'On Stage at the Theatre of State', pp. 322. Oldfield, *'Chords of Freedom'*, seems to discount any political motivation at work here.

107 *The Times*, 14 Dec. 1949, p. 6.

108 Burch, 'On Stage at the Theatre of State', pp. 328–9.

109 Burch, 'On Stage at the Theatre of State', p. 330.

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110 See Burch, 'On Stage at the Theatre of State', p. 329; Burch, on the difficulty of Liberal and Labour Icons to gain access to Parliament Square. Burch ''On Stage at the Theatre of State', p. 52, notes that the anti-slavery plaque on Derby's statue was removed in 1957 during the modernizing of the square, but Blackwood's *London's Immortals*, p. 190, shows that the plaque was replaced by 1989 if not before.

111 See my entry on 'Museums', in *The Oxford Companion to Black History*, ed. David Dabydeen and John Gilmore, Oxford, 2000.

112 Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: the Great War in European Cultural History,* Cambridge, 1995, pp. 2–4, 10.

113 Answers to written Parliamentary Questions, *Hansard*, 26 June 1991, col. 505, at http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm199091/cmhansrd/1991-06-26/Writtens-3.html (accessed 25 March 2006).

114 See its leaflet 'Sites of Memory: the Slave Trade and Abolition', London, 2007.

115 See for example the debate on the refurbishment of Robert Milligan's statue at http://www.j12.org/j12/letft2.htm (accessed 10 April 2006); or the blog about the Buxton memorial at http://www.mondaysmusings.blogspot.com/pictemps/buxton.html; or the black information link debate on the placing of the Mandela statue in Trafalgar or Parliament Square at http://www.blink.org.uk/subcat.asp?key=388&grp=1 (accessed 8 April 2006).

116 There are currently two proposals for an African-centred monument. (1) The City of London Planning group is working with Black British Heritage on finding a sculptor for a proposed memorial to be located in Fen Court. This would be part of a wider private development scheme in the area being undertaken in liaison with the London Development Agency and funded under section 106 of the 1990 Town and Country Planning Act. See also 'Section 106', in the London Development Agency website, http://www.lda.gov.uk/server/show/conGlossary.80. (2) The campaign for the Hyde Park statue is being organized by Memorial 2007, a grassroots London group which has also attracted some external funding. (My thanks to Oku Ekpenyon of Memorial 2007). See also 'Memorial 2007: Remembering Enslaved Africans and their descendants 1807–2007',at http://www.memorial2007.org.uk/; and City of London 'approved projects', at http://www.cityoflondon.gov.uk/Corporation/our_services/development_planning/planning/approved_projects.htm (accessed 19 March 2006).

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