WAR, ART, RACISM & SLAVERY


VICTORIA
1837-1901

Haile Selassie I (1892 – 1975)

...that until the philosophy which holds one race superior and another inferior is finally and permanently discredited and abandoned;
that until there are no longer first class and second class citizens of any nation;
that until the colour of a man's skin is of no more significance than the colour of his eyes;
that until the basic human rights are equally guaranteed to all, without regard to race;
that until that day, the dream of lasting peace and world citizenship and the rule of international morality will remain but fleeting illusions, to be pursued but never attained

From a speech, United Nations, New York, 4 October 1963.
Performed by Bob Marley and the Wailers as *War* on their *Rastaman Vibration* album, 1976

WARS

WAR, ART, RACISM & SLAVERY

after Charles Lucien Léandre (1862 - 1934)

Les Guerres de son Régne

[The Wars of her Reign]

2 February 1901

imprinted with title, *lithographie de Grandjouan* and caption *O mon fils, arrête cette dernière guerre! Si tu pouvais voir ce que je contemple pour l'éternité! ...*
[O my son, stop this latest war! If you could only see what I contemplate for eternity!]
Bertin & Cie Sc.

published in *Le Rire*, no. 326.

lithograph, 31 x 47 cm.

MICHAEL GRAHAM-STEWART

Man over man He made not Lord

1790s, England

copper, token, 2 cm.

Anti-slavery became a formal movement with the creation, in May 1787, of the Committee of the Society for Effecting the Abolition of the Slave Trade. The ideal of emancipation, on the surface at least, remained a defining strand of British foreign policy direction until late in the Victorian era. Initially, for pragmatic reasons, the aim of the Committee was to stop the trade rather than attack slavery as an institution. It took 20 years for the British Parliament to abolish the trade and another 30 for slavery itself to be banned.

The central character and driving force was Thomas Clarkson who, while travelling to collect ever more evidence of the true nature of the trade, also set up regional committees. The campaign was modern in its methods. Integral to the mobilising of public opinion in the form of mass petitions was the development of two logos remarkable for their longevity. The Plymouth committee produced the diagram of the slave ship Brookes and the London branch devised the motif of the slave kneeling in supplication. The latter was worked up by Committee member Josiah Wedgwood's designers which, with its slogan, *Am I not a man, and a brother,* spawned multiple variants. The striking sanitation workers marching in Memphis, the day that Martin Luther King was assassinated (4 April 1968), carried placards simply stating *I AM A MAN.*

Humanity

c. 1800, England

cast iron, tobacco box, 13.5 x 9 x 9 cm.

... the central image, that of the kneeling slave, remained easily the most popular and identifiable abolitionist motif. Remodelled and reworked, it appears time and time again in the nineteenth century, sometimes as a transfer print on a piece of china, sometimes in the form of a sulphide set in a piece of glass. All of which brings us back to Josiah Wedgwood. Not only did Wedgwood make abolition fashionable, he also helped to fix in the public's mind an image that would be forever associated with the abolition of slavery and the slave trade.

(J. R. Oldfield, *Popular Politics and British Anti-Slavery,* 1998, p. 163)

after Louis Marie Sicardi (1743 - 1825)

Mirate che bel visono

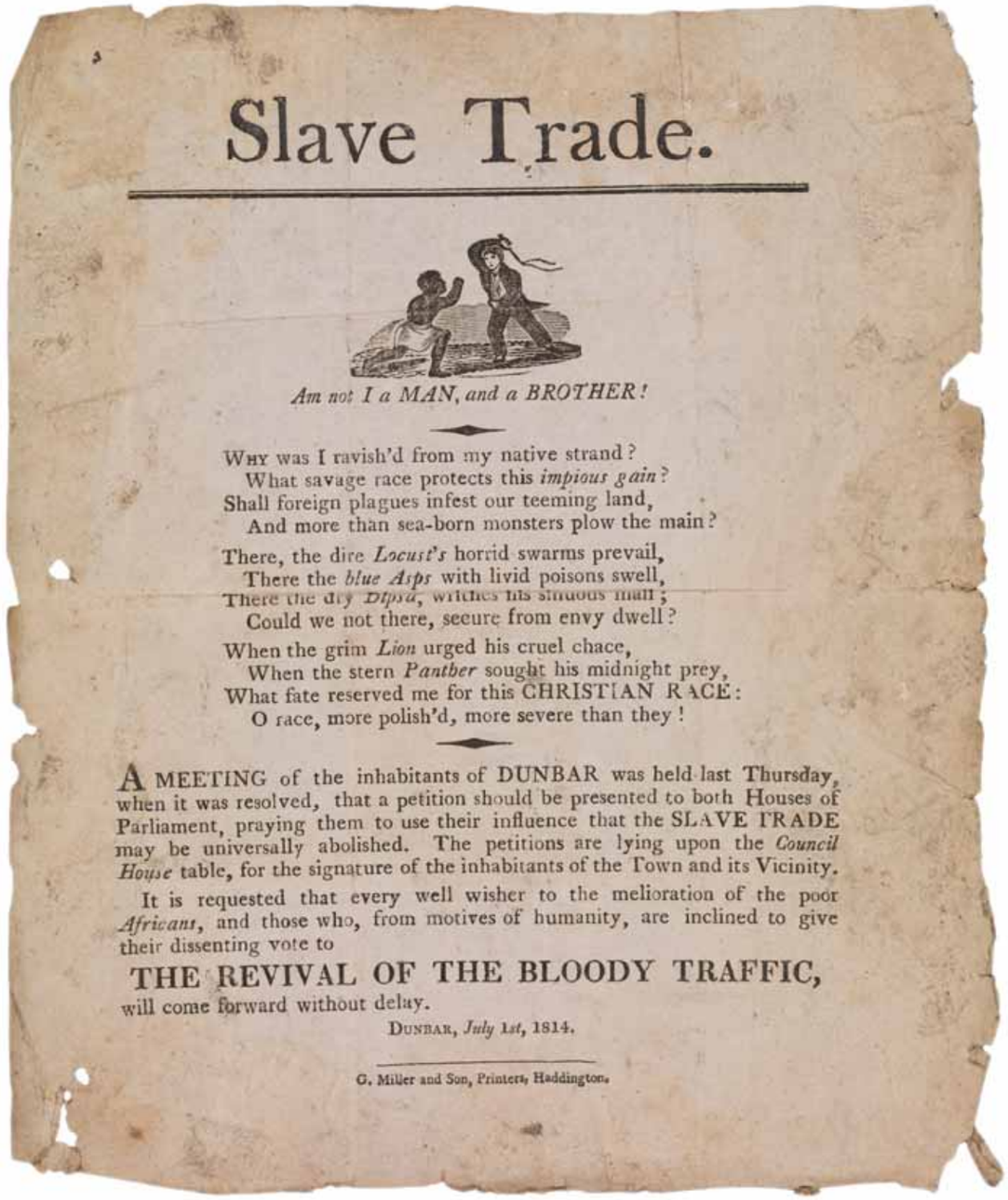
[Look, what a pretty face]

1803

imprinted with title and *Sicardi del. Mecou sculp. Déposé à la Bibliotheque Nationale le 16. frimaire* [sic] *An 12.*
Se Vend à Paris chez l'Auteur Rue St Sulpice, ci-devant
Petit Bourbon, No 721. Faubourg St Germain et chez Jeanfret M.d. d'Estampes Palais du Tribunal No. 61

colour-printed stipple engraving, 31 x 23.5 cm.

Sicardi was a miniaturist from Avignon. A variant (watercolour on ivory, unsigned) that may be the 'original' is in the collections of the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich (ZBA2436).



Slave Trade.

Am not I a MAN, and a BROTHER!

WHY was I ravish'd from my native strand?
What savage race protects this *impious gain*?
Shall foreign plagues infest our teeming land,
And more than sea-born monsters plow the main?

There, the dire *Locust's* horrid swarms prevail,
There the *blue Asps* with livid poisons swell,
There the dry *Dipsa*, writhes his sinuous mail;
Could we not there, secure from envy dwell?

When the grim *Lion* urged his cruel chace,
When the stern *Panther* sought his midnight prey,
What fate reserved me for this CHRISTIAN RACE:
O race, more polish'd, more severe than they!

A MEETING of the inhabitants of DUNBAR was held last Thursday, when it was resolved, that a petition should be presented to both Houses of Parliament, praying them to use their influence that the SLAVE TRADE may be universally abolished. The petitions are lying upon the *Council House* table, for the signature of the inhabitants of the Town and its Vicinity.

It is requested that every well wisher to the melioration of the poor *Africans*, and those who, from motives of humanity, are inclined to give their dissenting vote to

THE REVIVAL OF THE BLOODY TRAFFIC,

will come forward without delay.

DUNBAR, *July 1st*, 1814.

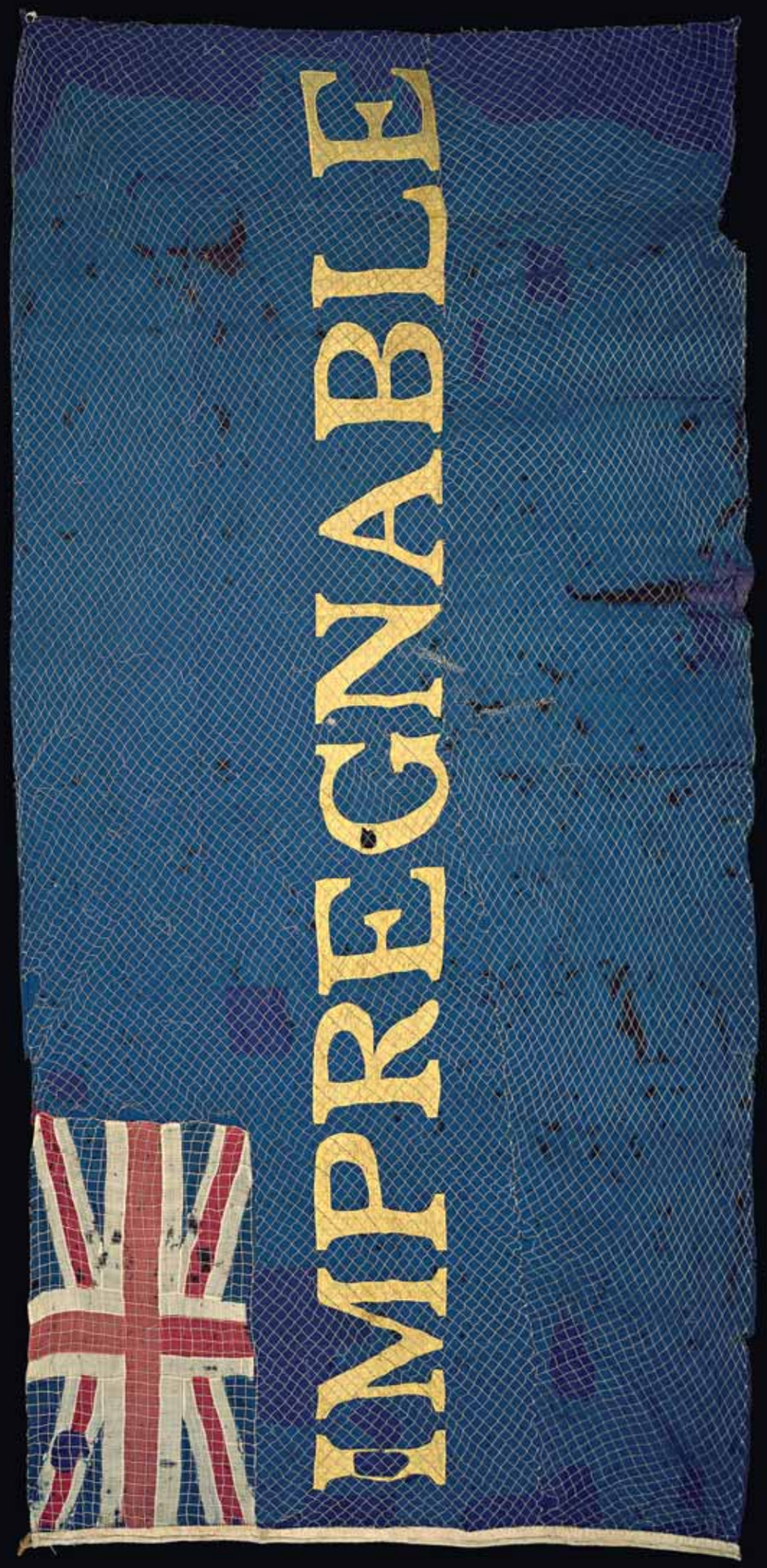
C. Miller and Son, Printers, Haddington.

Slave Trade

1814, Scotland

C. Miller and Son, Printers, Haddington

Letterpress, broadside, 22 x 18 cm.



The Ensign of *H.M.S. Impregnable*
flown at the bombardment of Algiers
27th August 1816
A Royal Navy ensign with a Union Flag in a canton; oversewn with *IMPREGNABLE*
bunting, 168 x 371 cm.

H.M.S. Impregnable, a Second Rate ship of 98 guns, was Admiral Milne's flagship at the bombardment of Algiers and flew this ensign at her stern, the blue colour signifying that she was a ship of the Blue Squadron, of which Lord Exmouth was Admiral and Milne Rear Admiral. Milne's personal flag is a rectangle of navy blue bunting which was flown at the mizzen-top. The ship's name was added to the ensign after the battle, perhaps by *Impregnable*'s signalmen, to add to its significance as a souvenir for Milne. When Milne was granted augmented Arms following his knighthood, his crest was blazoned as a cubit arm, out of a naval crown, holding the flag of a Rear Admiral of the Blue, with the word 'IMPREGNABLE'.

Rear Admiral David Milne was 53 when he applied to be second-in-command of the Algiers task force. He had spent 26 of those years on active service and had just been appointed to command of North American Waters.

There was an air of the crusades in the formation of the Algiers expedition. The aim was a final solution to the jihad-like piracy and kidnapping, emanating from North African ports, that had destabilised the southern Mediterranean for centuries. The white slave trade is thought to have entrapped one and a quarter million victims [1] between 1500 and 1800 whereas ten or fifteen million Africans suffered the Middle Passage to slavery in the Americas. Millions more never made it as far as the coast. The Atlantic slave trade was fundamental to the economic structure of imperialism while the white equivalent was less organised but in its own way extensive. An article in the *Federal Gazette* of March 1790, reputedly penned by the Algerian prince Sidi Mehemet Ibrahim, posed a question similar to that asked by the sugar rich West Indian landowners:

If we cease our Cruises against the Christians... [and] forbear to make Slaves of their People, who...are to cultivate our Lands?

Witnesses estimated the slave population of Algiers in the 17th and 18th century as averaging around 25,000. Fleets of corsairs of Spanish descent in league with Barbary pirates raided coastal villages as far north as Britain and Iceland, but the main source of captives were small vessels, with crews of less than ten, taken at sea. In 1625 alone nearly 1,000 seamen from Plymouth were captured, mostly within 30 miles of the English coast [2]. As trade with the Mediterranean region expanded shipwrecks and shipping provided a growing source of captives. Some were used as galley slaves, chained to the oars of the corsairs, others ransomed, but most were destined to be slaves in Tunis, Algiers or Morocco where the Sultan, Moulay Ismael, put them to work on his construction sites. The Spanish laid siege to Algiers by land and sea in 1775 and 1783/4 but were repulsed on both occasions.

Immediately after the Napoleonic wars the British, inspired by Sir Sidney Smith and the *Society of Knights Liberators of the White Slaves of Africa,* had the necessary surplus military capacity. A squadron led by Lord Exmouth secured agreement from Tunis and Tripoli to abandon the trade but Omar Bashaw, the Bey of Algiers, asked for three months to consult his master, the Grand Seigneur of Constantinople. However, during this period the crew of an English Brig unloading at Oran were seized, two Gibraltar vessels taken and the British Consul wounded, so Lord Exmouth was dispatched from Plymouth on 28 July 1816.

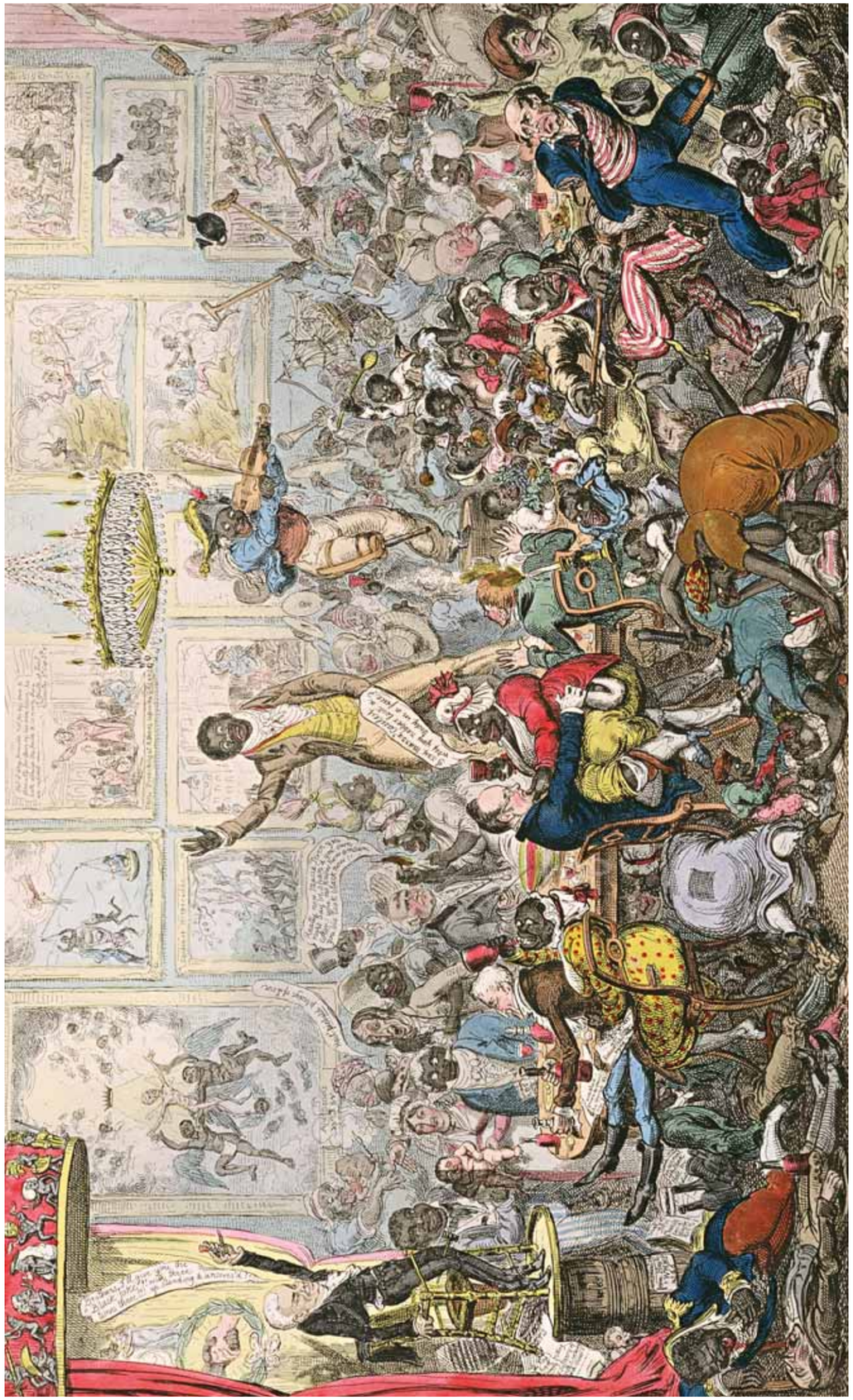
The multinational force, eighteen British men-of-war supported by six Dutch vessels, arrived off Algiers on 27 August. The Bey was given one hour to capitulate, release the slaves and renounce the trade in captured Europeans. He did not reply and battle commenced with a single shot from the shore batteries. The response was immediate from the most powerful military unit of the era, a British battle squadron, which included a company of the Rocket Corps furnished (according to a contemporary poster) *with a plentiful supply of Sir William Congreve's destructive weapons*. Broadside after broadside from the 24 pounders was directed at Algiers. For a while the outcome was far from certain. The British casualty rate was proportionately higher than that sustained at Trafalgar. The *Impregnable* received 200 hits to her hull and suffered 200 killed or wounded, and Milne himself was fortunate to escape serious injury (bruised by a roundshot that passed between his legs). After dusk the British firepower swung the balance. Much of Algiers was reduced to rubble by 50,000 cannonballs before the corsair's vessels and magazines were firebombed. The blaze spread through the city, at least 2,000 Algierines lay dead, and at dawn the Dey surrendered unconditionally. He agreed to abolish Christian slavery and handed over the 1,642 slaves still held in the city.

Slavery continued to be legal in Britain's own colonies until 1834 when Parliament granted 20 million pounds in compensation to the plantation owners.

Algiers continued to be a base for piracy and was blockaded again by the British in 1824 and 1828. The French occupied the city in 1830, the beginning of their colonisation of much of North and West Africa.

[1] see Robert Davis, *Christian Slaves, Muslim Masters,* 2003

[2] Linda Colley, *Captives,* 2003, p. 49



George Cruikshank (1792 - 1878)

The New Union Club, Being a Representation of what took place at a celebrated Dinner, given by a celebrated – society 1819

imprinted with title and *vide – Mr M-r-t's Pamphlet entitled "More Thoughts &c &c" and Pubd July 19th 1819 by G. Humphrey 27 St James's Street London*

etching with engraving and publisher's colouring, 30.5 x 47.2 cm.

The chaos of Cruikshank's response to black-white relations is most fully expressed in the furious events of The New Union Club *of 1819... The print supposedly caricatures a genuine incident, a meeting of the philanthropic African Institution, which was supposed to have got out of hand. This specific stimulus is drowned, however, in the intensity of Cruikshank's anti-black fantasies. The white abolitionists are, with only a few exceptions (the most notable being the figure of Wilberforce, standing at the table's head and raising a glass), largely presented as victims of unbridled hedonism...*

...The print illustrates virtually every negative assumption about the nature of blacks and the potential ills not only of miscegenation but of black and white fraternisation... in the end the print is a gibbering assault on the very concept of whiteness itself.
(Marcus Wood, *Blind Memory*, 2000, pp.165-7)

Slave whips

early 19th century, ?West Indies

wood and hide, 76, 91 and 104 cm.

Provenance: Fox family, Quakers, descendants of the Rt. Hon. Charles James Fox (1749-1806). Consigned to auction in 2008 by a member of the family who recalls these whips originally having descriptive labels.

It was common for abolitionists to own artefacts to help demonstrate the evils of slavery. Thomas Clarkson travelled with thumbscrews and a *speculum oris*, a device used to force open the jaws of slaves on hunger strike, purchased from a quayside shop in Liverpool.
Charles Fox, a prominent player in the British political establishment for 40 years, was a libertarian, sympathiser to religious dissenters and a consistent opponent of slavery. He played a major role in the passing of the bill abolishing the slave trade. In one of his last speeches to Parliament (10 June 1806), he said if the motion banning the trade was carried it would represent his singular greatest achievement. His monument in Westminster Abbey includes a figure of a weeping slave.

after William J. Huggins (c. 1804 - 1882)

H.M. Brig Black Joke engaging the Spanish Brig *El Almirante*

1830

imprinted *To Commodore Francis Augustus Collier C.B.,*
This plate representing H.M. Brig Black Joke,
Lt. Henry Downes, (Tender to H.M.S. Sybille) engaging the Spanish Slave Brig "El Almirante" in the Bight of Benin. Febr. 1, 1829, which she captured after a chase of thirty one hours and close action of one hour and twenty minutes is most respectfully dedicated.

Black Joke's Force	*Almirante's Force*
1 Long, 18 Pounder	*10 Gover's, 18 Pounders*
1 Carronade, 12 Pounder	*4 Long, 9 Pounders*
Officers and Crew 57	*Officers and Crew 80*
Killed 1, Wounded 5	*Slaves 467*

engraved by E. Duncan from a painting by W. J. Huggins.
Published by W. J. Huggins, 105 Leadenhall Street, June 4, 1830

aquatint and etching, 46.2 x 60.2 cm.

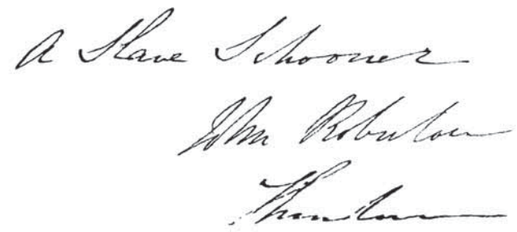
Captured slave ships were a useful source of upgrades for Her Majesty's Fleet. The Baltimore built slaver *Henriquietta* was renamed the *Black Joke* when taken as a prize by the Royal Navy in 1827. It seems an inappropriate name for an antislaver but she was the third British naval vessel to bear the name which derives from a bawdy early 18th century Irish fiddle tune. The *Black Joke* was armed with two guns, one swivel-mounted, and operated as tender to *H.M.S. Sybille*. Because of her speed she became one of the most successful ships in the West Africa Squadron, responsible for the capture of 21 slavers. She was deliberately burnt after her timbers were found to be rotten in 1832.

A Slave Schooner

c. 1840

inscribed verso with title, ?signature and ?location

pen, ink and watercolour, 20.8 x 33 cm.



Lieut. Henry Samuel Hawker R.N. (1816 - 1889)

The Portuguese slaver *Diligenté* captured by *H.M. Sloop Pearl* with 600 slaves on board. Taken in charge to Nassau by Lieut. Henry Hawker R.N. 1838

inscribed with title and signature on original mount

watercolour, 28.8 x 43.5 cm.

23/4 *Havanna 191 miles*
[1838] *8.25* [p.m.] *observed Chase ... tacked after her*
10.30 fired a shot over Chase to bring her to...midnight... 3 or 4 miles
24/4 *3.0* [a.m.] *Fired shot ahead of Chase*
4.0 Chase on W bow about 1 mile distant
4.30 Fired a volley of musketry over Chase
4.40 Chase hove to on W ...lowered quarterboats and sent an officer to examine her when it proved to be Brig Diligente under Portuguese colours with a cargo of slaves. Sent Lieut. H. J. Hawker, a Mid., and 14 men to navigate her to the Havanna. [?]*Employed remaining of the crew of the Brig to the Pearl. Counted the slaves and found there were 381 male and 97 females*
victualled the crew of the Brig 43 in no. on 2/3
8.20 up boats, filled and ...Prize in Co
9.50 up mainsail
noon. Fresh breezes and fine. Prize in Co. Havanna 188 miles
2.0 opened beef no. 310, 38 pieces
4.20 Hove to lower jollyboat and supplied Prize with provisions and water
25/4 *7.0* [a.m.] *observed strange sail on lea board... in chase*
7.30 Stranger a topsail schooner
8.20 Chase ...about 3 miles and hoisted
9.20 Hove to on starboard to tack
9.30 Board the Portuguese Sch Opposicao in ballast which appeared to have landed a cargo of slaves a few days previously
sent cutter and discharged the crew of the Brig Diligente into the Portuguese Sch
10.45 up the boats... and made sail
12.40 [p.m.] *lowered jolly boat and boarded the schooner Opposicao and took possession of her on account of her being engaged in the slave trade*

Excerpts taken from *H.M.S. Pearl*'s log books (ship's and Captain's)

1.15 sent Cutter and removed the whole of the foreign crews. Sent a Mate, Midshipman and 9 men to navigate her to the Havanna
9.0 burnt a blue light to enable prizes to resume their stations
11.0 shortened sail as requisite to keep them in sight
26/4 *4.15* [p.m.] *communicated with prize Brig*
9.0 lost sight of the Prizes
11.50 ...[?]*Chrysenstone of the Portuguese Slaver Opposicao departed this life*
27/4 *1.0* [a.m.] *committed the body of the deceased to the deep*
12.20 [p.m.] *observed prize Brig on the beam exchanged signals*
28/4 *6.40* [a.m.] *obs. Sch Prize inshore*
8.30 obs. Brig running down from the windward
10.55 Prizes in Co
noon. At anchor in the Havanna
30/4 *Hauled the water tank alongside sent a party of men to assist in preparing the Slave Brig Diligente for sea employed natives and victualling the Brig for 28 days*
1/5 *...sailed the Diligente (Prize) Slave Brig for Nassau*
2/5 *party aboard the schooner Opposicao ... stern and whitewashing her hold*
14/5 *noon. Running into Harbour of Nassau*
1.30 Found HM Brig Sappho and her Prize and the Prize Brig Diligente
4.0 a party employed shipping iron ballast for the Brig Diligente from the boat yard
17/5 *11.45* [a.m.] *weighed anchor and made sail ... two Prizes in Co*
27/5 *Ireland Isle* [Bermuda]
8.0 [a.m.] *party employed transporting the Diligente into the basin*
29/5 *supplied Opposicao with water. Removed Prize crew from the Diligente. Discharged into the Opposicao to assist in navigating her to Sierra Leone* [list of names – Mate, Midshipman, 2nd Mate, 7 Able Seaman and 1 boy] *and five prisoners, 2 belonging to captured Brig Diligente and 3 to the Opposicao*

>

Henry Samuel Hawker joined the Navy at the age of 13 and became a Lieutenant at 20. In his Service Memorandum of March 1846 (when he was studying Steam at Woolwich Factory), Hawker notes his *charge of the Diligente Slave barque in the West Indies*, one of two incidents specified in the Nature of Services column. The capture of a slaver at sea was not in itself remarkable – at least 600 vessels were condemned by the Courts of Mixed Commission between 1819 and 1871 – but the survival of an eyewitness visual record is most unusual.

Naval log books provide minimal detail with many of the issues that intrigue us now not addressed. The experience, condition and destiny of the slaves are not recorded but some of the elements of their trauma are visible here. The malnutrition, overcrowding and casualty rate (a body is being consigned to the deep) are apparent but a multitude of questions remain. How the 21 year old Lieutenant and his skeleton crew communicated with and managed the 477 slaves (about one third of whom are shown on deck in this drawing), what was their fate four days later when the ships docked in Cuba?

Human cargoes captured off West and East Africa were normally landed at Sierra Leone and Zanzibar. Some individuals, like Ajavi, who became Bishop Samuel Crowther, were taken into missionary communities but many, speaking another language with no way to return home, simply became domestic slaves. Slavers and their cargo captured in the Bahamian archipelago were generally processed at the Court of Mixed Commission in Havana. The British Commissioner at this period was James Kennedy, one the few to have voted against the compensation paid to plantation owners when the 1833 Emancipation Bill was passed by the British Parliament. Slavery remained legal in the Spanish colony of Cuba until 1886 but under a bilateral agreement with Britain slaves from a ship judged to be trading illegally became *emancipados* or liberated Africans. They were not however freed but subject to serving a five year, extendable, apprenticeship, or *de facto* slavery. The unsatisfactory nature of this arrangement prompted the British Government in 1836 to appoint a Superintendent of Liberated Africans to oversee their fate. Clashes with the Spanish were frequent but many freed Africans were dispersed to communities in Trinidad, Jamaica and the Bahamas. Some of the men joined the West India Regiment.

The Royal Navy acted as policeman, its role to deliver the Prize, crew and slaves up to the Court and await a verdict. The *Diligente*'s human cargo would have initially been transferred to *H.M.S. Romney*, a hulk moored in Havana harbour from 1837 to 1845. The judgement was not always straightforward and it was the incarcerated slaves that suffered as the technicalities of laws intended to protect their welfare were resolved.

Lieutenant Joseph Denman, like Hawker on the *Diligente*, was responsible with his prize crew for delivering the slaver *Maria de Gloria* to the Court at Rio de Janeiro. The *Maria* had been captured by *H.M.S. Snake* in November 1833 off the Brazilian coast with 423 slaves on board. Only seven had died in a swift passage from Africa. The Court at Rio concluded that even though the Portuguese papers were probably spurious and the owner was Spanish the case would have to be tried in Sierra Leone. With dwindling supplies

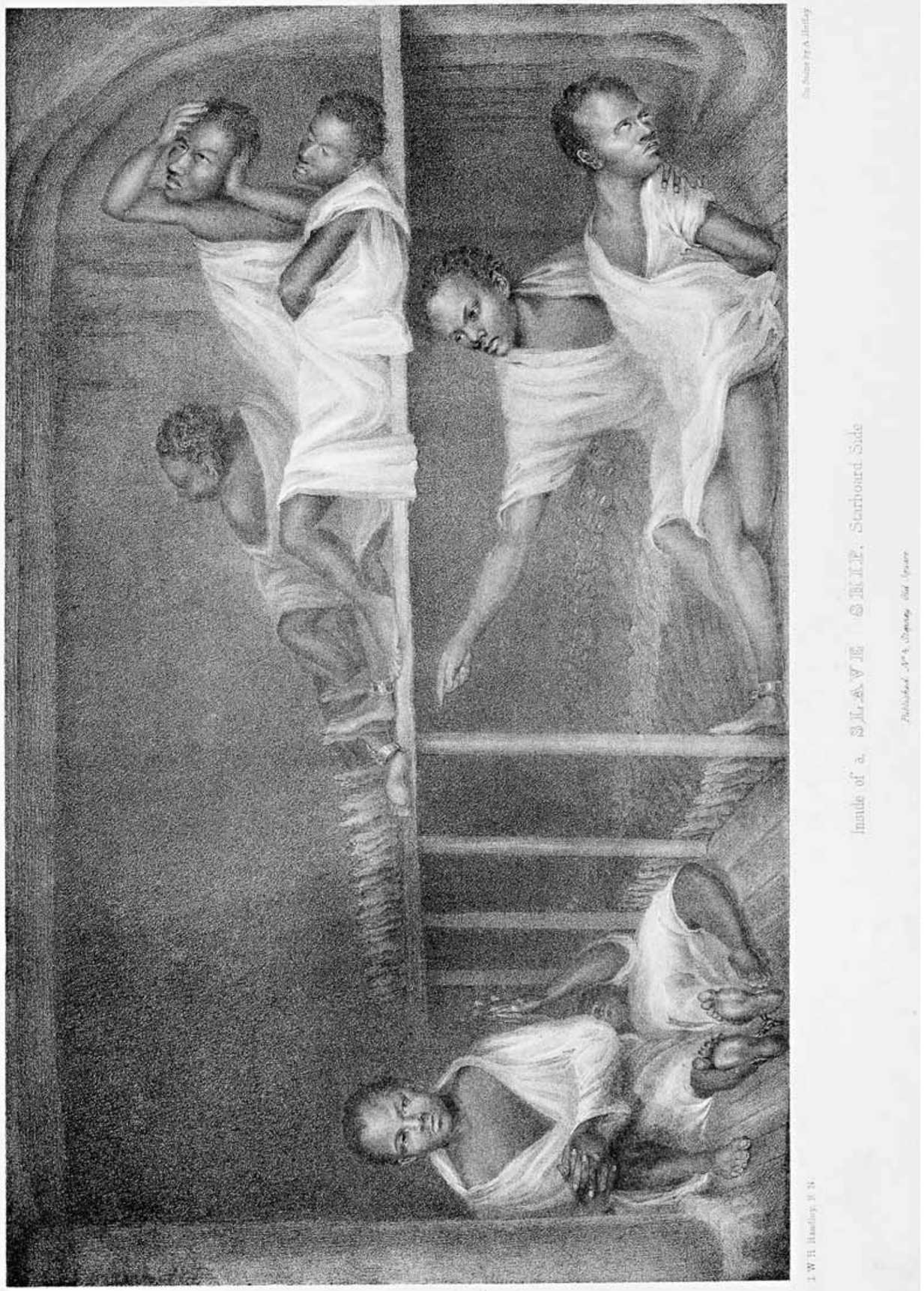
Denman had a stormy 46 day passage to Freetown. The Court here took two months to reach a verdict, during which time a further 106 slaves died, and Denman had to hand the ship back to the owner as it had been captured a few miles south of the equator where slave trading was still permitted under Portuguese law. The *Maria* then sailed back to Rio, arriving there with only 106 of the original cargo alive. Such experiences had a profound effect on officers like Denman who went on to, controversially, take a pro-active approach and destroy slave barracoons in the Gallinas River (Sierra Leone) after negotiating a treaty with King Seacca.

Others, like the Reverend Pascoe Grenfell Hill, were of the opinion that the anti-slavery patrols created more misery than they alleviated. Hill had been a member of the prize crew that sailed the slaver *Progresso* to Cape Town in 1843 after its capture by *H.M.S. Cleopatra* in East African waters. 134 of the 400 slaves died on the voyage. Hill's account, *Fifty days on board a Slave Vessel in the Mozambique Channel* (1844), fanned public debate as to whether the slaves would be better served left to the traders and led to an enquiry by Lord Channing.

The West Africa Squadron was formed in 1819 with the deployment of six ships (rising to 21 in the 1840s, a quarter of the Royal Navy's cruiser fleet) based in Freetown, to cover 3,000 miles of coastline. Many of the ten gun brig sloops were notoriously slow, capable of only about five knots and no match for the Baltimore clippers favoured by the slavers (see p.13). Operations were also constrained by the rules governing search and seizure at sea. Treaties were tortuously negotiated with ever more nations persuaded, through diplomatic and moral pressure, to permit ships flying their flags to be examined. Nevertheless, 150,000 slaves are estimated to have been rescued in the Atlantic (perhaps ten per cent of those shipped in this period) before the squadron was disbanded in 1869, with another 12,000 taken from dhows off East Africa.

The Sierra Leone Court closed in 1866, for lack of cases, and the last delivery of slaves to the Havana market was in 1867. Anti-slavery operations continued in the Atlantic until slavery was abolished in Brazil in 1888. *H.M.S. London* (the mother ship for the patrol boats) was withdrawn from Zanzibar in 1883.

5,000 British sailors had lost their lives in the two theatres of operation, mostly to disease. The annual death rate for those on the West Africa station was five times that of other postings. The most effective operations were those conducted inshore by the ships boats. The surf was lethal, the slavers armed and the link between mosquitoes and malaria yet to be understood. Lord Peter Russell referred to it as *high and holy work* and the *Times* said there was *no more noble chapter*. Anti-slavery sentiment underpinned and explained popular support for the likes of Gordon and Livingstone, both seen as heroes against Arab participation in the trade. A petition signed by 750,000 people was delivered to Parliament denouncing the 1814 peace treaty with France for failing to impose a ban on the trade under the French flag. The British in the 19th century saw no contradiction with the stance that slavery was immoral (which implicitly leads to the concept of universal human rights) while endorsing the establishment of a global colonial empire with all that this entailed.



after Lieut. John William Henry Handley, R.N. (1791 - 1861)

Inside of a Slave Ship, Starboard Side

1830s

imprinted with title and *I. W. H. Handley, R.N., On Stone by A. Hoffay, Published No. 4 Stepney, Old Square*

lithograph, 22 x 32.5 cm.

Little is known of the background to this image. We have located only one other copy, appropriately (considering their importance in the abolitionist movement), in the Quaker collections at Friends House, London. The address of the lithographer, Hoffay (not listed in local directories of the period), is only a few streets from that of Handley who is recorded as living at 5 Redman's Row, Mile End in 1837 and 1846. Old Square became known as Stepney Square by the 1840s so it is likely the print was produced in the 1830s, when abolition was a prominent issue. Perhaps this was a proof for an uncompleted publishing or propaganda project.

Handley's naval career began at the age of 14 when he joined *H.M.S. Puissant*. He remained on active service for ten years until 1815, suffering a head wound when his ship was taken and contracting 'Walcheren fever' (malaria) which devastated the expedition of the same name in 1809. 109 troops were killed in combat and 4,000 died from disease.

At the end of the Napoleonic Wars Handley was released from active service but retained on half pay. Some of his movements can be traced from naval 'Leave Books' which list officers wishing to travel abroad or work on merchant ships. These, though not detailing his activities, locate Handley in the West Indies in 1817, 1830/31, and 1844. Here, with his nautical connections, he would have had multiple opportunities to have seen or boarded a slave vessel. Presumably he recorded the occasion with a (lost) drawing that became the source for this lithograph. This depiction may have been modified by the engraver or conceivably could show the slaves washed, oiled and robed immediately prior to sale.

The reality of life below decks on a slaver is almost impossible for us to imagine. It was said that at sea you could smell a slaver three or more miles upwind. Naval personnel told of finding slaves manacled to decomposing corpses and whole cargoes in the advanced stages of dysentery. The African Institution Report of 1820 (p. 11) recorded Captain Kelly's evidence given to the Court at Sierra Leone detailing conditions for the 71 slaves held on the *Novo Felicidade* when seized by *H.M.S. Pheasant* on 30 July 1819:

I do further declare, that the state in which these unfortunate creatures were found is shocking to every principle of humanity; - seventeen men shackled together in pairs by the legs, and twenty boys, one on the other, in the main hold,- a space measuring eighteen feet in length, seven feet eight inches main breadth and one foot eight inches in height; and under them the yams for their support.

Jules-Renard Draner (1833 - 1926)

Haïti Général 1859. grand tenue

inscribed with signature, date and title

pencil and watercolour, 29 x 20 cm.

An original drawing for Draner's *Types Militaires (Haiti Infanterie Lécère g. de Tenue*) printed by Lemercier and published by Dazario, Paris, 1860s.

Under Decree in Equity

1859, South Carolina

letterpress, with annotations, 33.5 x 21.5 cm.

UNDER DECREE IN EQUITY.

SANDERS vs. SANDERS, et al.

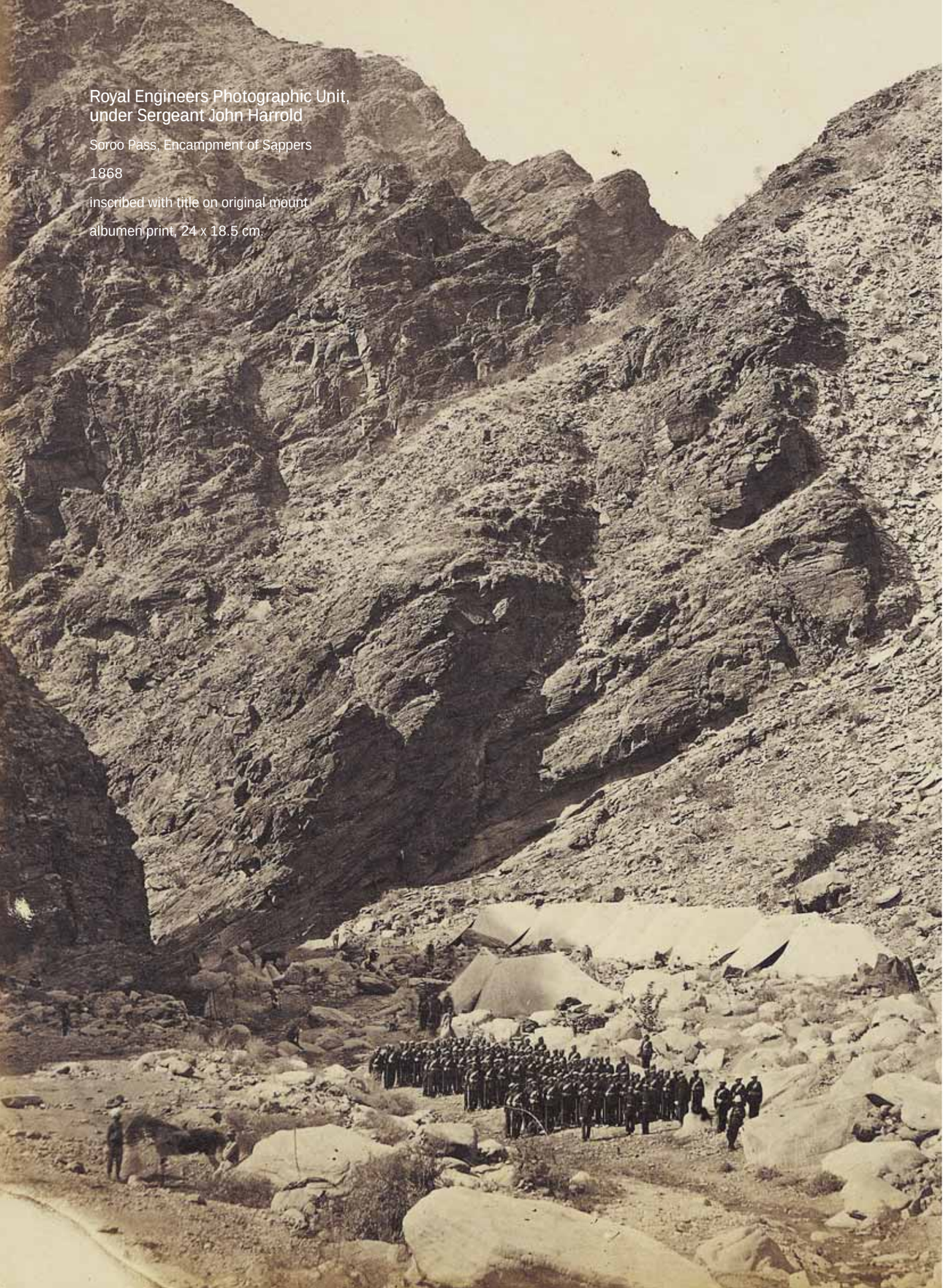
On *Tuesday, the 11th January*, 1859, will be sold at the *Court House, in Charleston, at* 12 *o'clock, M.*, under direction of James W. Gray, Master in Equity, the following Slaves.

TERMS.—One-third Cash; balance in one, two and three years, secured by bonds and mortgages with approved personal security. Purchaser to pay for Papers.

	NAMES.	AGE.
	1 London,	55 yrs.
	2 Nelly,	50
	3 Dick,	15
4—	4 Rosy,	4
	5 Cuffy,	35
2—	6 Becker,	19
	7 Caroline,	29
	8 Martha,	4
	9 Bull or Frederick,	12
4—	10 Infant,	9 ms.
	11 Charity,	30 yrs.
	12 Susan,	47
	13 Floride,	2
4—	14 Infant,	6 ms.
	15 Ned,	60 yrs.
	16 Silvy,	35
	17 Frank,	11
	18 Easton.	14
	19 Infant,	3 ms.
	20 Billy,	68 yrs.
	21 Lucy,	50
	22 Binah,	14
	23 Phillis,	12
7—	24 Jack,	11
	25 Thomas,	26
	26 Toney,	30
	27 Becky,	30
	28 Sammy,	5
	29 Fed,	3
4—	30 Infant,	7 ms.
	31 Isaac,	30
	32 Moses,	25
	33 Morris,	21
	34 Billy,	45
	35 Hagar,	50
	36 Joe,	35
	37 William,	20
5—	38 Rose,	15
	39 Martha	70
	40 Nancy	45
	41 Rachel,	22
	42 Ben,	16
5—	43 Lot	10
	44 Betty,	25
2—	45 Plymouth,	2
	46 London,	26
	47 Grace,	22
3—	48 Harriet	2
	49 Hester	25
	50 Amos	21
3—	51 Elsey	5

	NAMES.	AGE.
	52 Jacob	55 yrs.
	53 Mary	45
	54 Emma,	21
5—	55 Rose	15
	56 Aelie	18
	57 Simon	13
	58 Francis	6
8—	59 Mary	3
	60 Hardtimes	70
	61 Sary,	30
3—	62 Anne,	18
	63 Old Peter	70
2—	64 Old Nancy	60
	65 Old Hester	68
	66 Maggy	40
	67 Edward,	19
	68 Susan	17
	69 Robert	13
	70 Martha	7
7—	71 Sarah	2
	72 Peter	28
	73 Venus	25
	74 Henry	8
	75 Hamilton	4
5—	76 Cornelia	1
	77 Lydy	25
2—	78 Hannah	6 ms.
	79 Hannah	30 yrs.
	80 Nero	10
	81 Rachel	7
	82 August	4
	32 Henry	2
6—	84 Infant	1 mh.
1—	85 Old Frank,	60 yrs.
1—	86 Toney	30
	87 Jake,	35
	88 Eliza	30
	89 Pleasant	12
	90 Sukey	10
	91 Amanda	8
6—	92 Catharine	3
1—	93 David	36
1—	94 Jim	39
1—	95 Binah,	60
1—	96 March	40
1—	97 Bob	35
1—	98 Sarah	10
1—	99 Harriet	14

Town Negroes.



Royal Engineers Photographic Unit,
under Sergeant John Harrold

Soroo Pass, Encampment of Sappers

1868

inscribed with title on original mount

albumen print, 24 x 18.5 cm.

The Abyssinian expedition of 1868 was, from a British viewpoint, a textbook colonial campaign. To land 14,000 soldiers (with 27,000 support personnel) on to unfamiliar territory, march 400 miles and secure all military and political objectives for the loss of a handful of lives, confirmed the capability of an imperial system at its zenith. According to a (1902) War Office list this conflict cost nine million pounds, about double the price of the Zulu War and 14 times that of the Ashanti invasion of 1873/4.

Before Magdala was torched (1,000 dwellings were destroyed, leaving nothing but a scorched rock) on 18 April the fortress was stripped of its treasures. Emperor Tewodros, with a $50,000 price on his head, had shot himself soon after the 33rd Regiment had stormed the citadel. The pistol he used was engraved: *Presented by Victoria, Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, to Theodurus, Emperor of Ethiopia, as a slight token of her gratitude for his kindness to her servant Plowden*. Fighting in disguise, Tewodros had attempted suicide to avoid the humiliation of capture. He died minutes after being manhandled on to a stretcher at which point all his clothing was ripped from his corpse by souvenir hungry troops. Some of his hair is said to be in the collections of the Army Museum in London.

The booty was carried by 15 elephants and 200 mules down to the Dalanta Plain where, on 21 and 22 April, much of it was auctioned. The proceeds were distributed amongst the troops. The most valuable items, including three royal crowns, the royal seal and a sacred icon – a 16th century Dutch oil painting of Christ that had been carried into battle by previous Emperors – had already been secured by General Napier and the British Museum's agent (or 'archaeologist') Richard Holmes. Holmes, having quickly sketched the Emperor's remains, was buying direct from soldiers even as the city was being taken, paying four pounds for a solid gold chalice which Napier allowed him to keep if he paid the army 2,000 pounds. Holmes secreted the icon (*Kwer'ata Re'esu*) in his personal collection. Queen Victoria and the British Museum responded to Ethiopian requests for its return in the 1870s by saying it was not in Britain. After Holmes's death in 1911 the icon was offered by Christie's auctioneers on two occasions and in 1998 it was recorded as being in a Portuguese private collection.

This campaign was the first in which the British troops were armed with breech-loading Snider-Enfields, capable of firing ten rounds per minute. The previous standard issue muzzle-loader (still deployed here to the Sikh contingent) fired one round a minute. Thousands of Ethiopians, the majority of the Emperor's army, were slaughtered in the battle of 10 April on the plain below the city. Clement Markham witnessed the scene, commenting that *The most heroic courage could do nothing in the face of such vast inequality of arms*. H.M. Stanley, covering the campaign for *The New York Herald*, noted that *the death storm lasted two hours*. Napier's force included a Royal Naval Rocket Battery and an Armstrong Artillery Battery, the guns of which were carried by some of the 44 elephants (each capable of an 1800 pound load). Although Magdala was a formidable natural fortress the outcome was now inevitable. The Emperor, who a decade before had been able to muster 150,000 men, was now isolated as the majority of his followers had deserted, his peace offer and challenge to fight Napier in single combat spurned. Even his weapon of mass destruction, the giant cannon christened Sevastopol, remained unfired. Made by his missionary hostages it had been hauled to Magdala at the rate of a mile a day with 500 men needed to pull it up the final slopes. Like much of his ordnance it was incapable of being depressed to bear upon the soldiers 1,000 ft directly below the citadel.

Ironically the root cause of the war, long forgotten amidst the jingoism, had been Tewodros's appeal for modern weaponry to combat the threat to Africa's oldest Christian kingdom from the Muslim powers (Egypt and the Ottoman Empire) to the north. Tewodros had instructed the British consul, Captain Charles Cameron, to personally deliver a letter to Queen Victoria pleading to be sent a gunsmith, iron-smelter, cannon-maker and sapper who could pass on their skills to his artisans. Cameron was diverted to investigate slavery in the Sudan and the letter took years to be shown to Queen Victoria. Tewodros, a despot with an erratic and violent temper, was incensed and imprisoned all European residents, as well as Cameron himself and the envoy, Hormuzd Rassam (a Nessorian Christian from northern Iraq), who the British eventually sent out to negotiate.

By 1868 Tewodros's power base was shrinking. He now controlled only the territory between Tanna, Magdala and Debre Tabor, but Napier's strategy left little to chance. He paid for all supplies requisitioned en route and exploited Tewodros's unpopularity so the British were effectively travelling through friendly territory for much of the advance. One ally, Prince Kass Mercha of Tigray (later Emperor Johannes 4th), was rewarded with a battery of mountain guns, enough muskets for a regiment and a huge quantity of ammunition on Napier's return to the coast.

>

Looting is as old as warfare. For imperial forces attempting to occupy the high moral ground the practice was problematic. Men expected to fight like animals do not necessarily behave with decorum during and in the aftermath of battle. At Magdala many partook liberally of the 20 gallon jars of tej taken from the storehouses. William Russell, covering the Relief of Lucknow for the Times in 1858, observed that *The men are wild with fury and lust for gold – literally drunk with plunder... Discipline may hold soldiers together till the fight is won; but it assuredly does not exist for a moment after an assault has been delivered, or a storm has taken place*. [1]

[1] William Russell, *Special Correspondent of the Times*, 1995, p. 140

The British brought in a system that attempted to distinguish between looting and booty. The former, defined as individual plunder, was considered theft and liable to cause a breach of battlefield discipline which therefore was judged as desertion. Booty was defined as officially sanctioned appropriation of property, not pillage, once victory had been attained. These 'Prizes' belonged to the Crown, whose representative could redistribute as he saw fit. This usually occurred by way of auction on site within a few days of the engagement. Regimental leaders would take some mementoes for the Mess, and the Commanding officer might secure pieces of particular significance for the Crown. A Prize Committee was set up, generally comprising a group of officers, to establish the value of jewels etc as not everyone was paid out in cash. The proceeds were given out to the troops by a share system. After the sack of the palaces in Peking in 1900 the sales generated $330,000 which equated to $27 per share. Native Privates received one share, British Privates two with Captains six and so on. After the sacking of Tipu Sultan's fortress at Sri Rangapattana in 1799 the Prize totalled 1.6 million UK pounds, of which General Harris, as Commander-in-Chief, was due one eighth. The looting here, on the night of May 4th, reached anarchic proportions and Colonel Arthur Wellesley (later the Duke of Wellington) had four subalterns hanged.

Clearly, sums of money were at stake sufficient to encourage recruitment and premature resignations. Russell, in Lucknow, observed that: *Some of these officers have made, literally, their fortunes... There are certain small caskets in battered uniform cases which contain estates in Scotland and Ireland, and snug fishing and shooting boxes in every game-haunted and salmon-frequented angle of the world*. [2]

[2] quoted by Frederick Engels, *New York Daily Tribune*, 26 June 1858

The West African campaigns were not so lucrative. The Ashanti and Benin expeditions (of 1876 and 1897) were fought in hostile climates where disease was the greatest enemy and therefore speed essential. The Akan had gold, mostly in the form of ornaments, but not in the quantities that the British expected. The great bronzes of Benin were mostly auctioned off by the Navy to defray the expenses of the expedition. But Ethiopia was different – an ancient Christian kingdom with a material culture more readily understood and financially appreciated by the connoisseurs of Europe.

Shield

1868, Ethiopia

the central boss engraved *N. H. Stewart Dragoon Guards Magdala April 13 1868*

hide with silver mounts, 57 cm.

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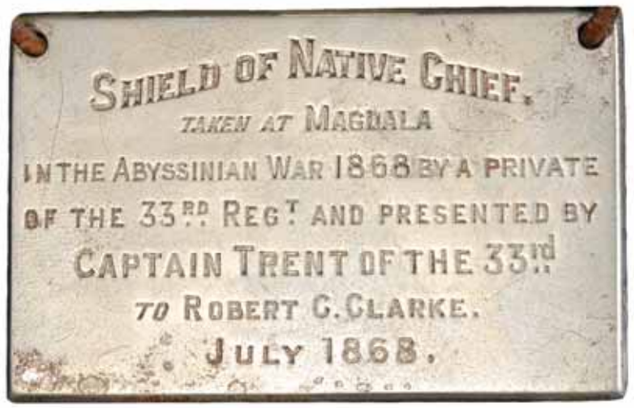


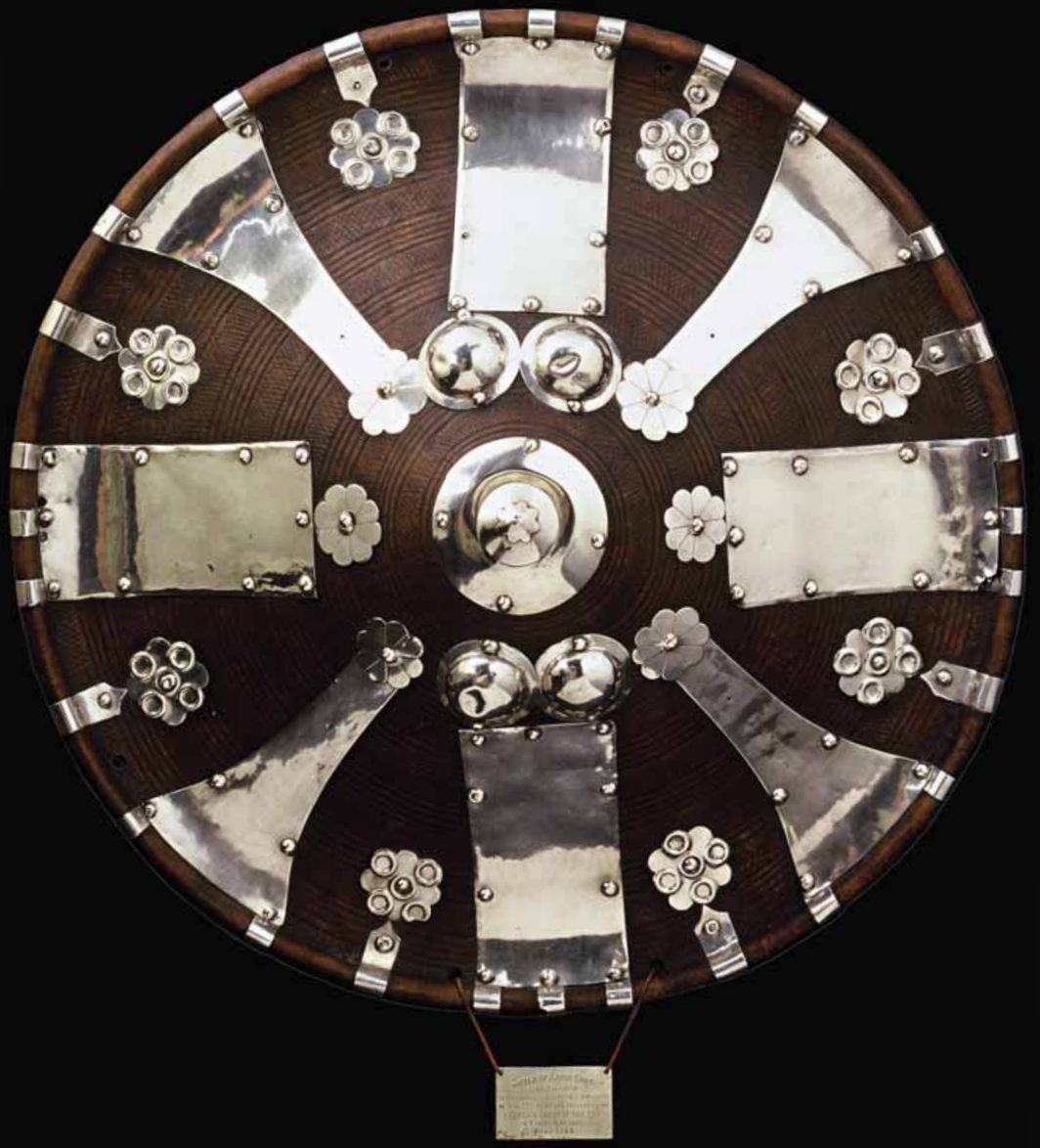
War Office regulations and guidelines held that the seizure of art or scientific objects was only justified as a measure of retaliation. Also, Prizes were not to be sourced from religious institutions but in the heat of battle such niceties were rarely observed. Tibetans displayed huge banners as Younghusband's army neared Lhasa in 1904 pleading for the looting of monasteries to cease. It could perhaps be argued that the 1,000 or so Ge'ez and Amharic manuscripts seized by Napier's men were from Tewodros's personal collection. He had planned to build a church and centre of learning just outside Magdala (the fortress not being considered Christian ground) and these manuscripts were to form the library there. Tewodros himself had only recently acquired many of these when his own troops had sacked the towns and churches of Gondar and Matraha. Napier redistributed some of these devotional texts to churches along the route back to Annesley Bay

Stanley attended the auction after Magdala. He purchased 'Theodore's carpet' for 50 rupees which he had to discard, waterlogged, during a storm on the march to the coast. He devotes several pages of *Coomassie and Magdala* (1874) to the collecting and sale proceedings, describing how a two mile trail of loot littered the road to the camp. There *the pile of trophies was spread over half an acre...the paraphernalia of a thousand churches glittered in the morning sunlight*. [3] The auction lasted for two days and raised over 5,000 pounds. Holmes bought 350 manuscripts for the British Museum and Colonel Frazer, acting for the wealthy mess of the 11th Hussars, was another active purchaser. Stanley also notes the presence of *private gentlemen who have come ready with funds*. These gentlemen outbid bid both Holmes and Frazer *when anything belonging personally to Theodore was offered for sale. However, Frazer did prevail, paying $200 for Theodore's shield, used by him in his younger days ... garnished by a few silver plates*. [4]

Although these shields are important, (worthy of mention in Stanley's list of goods prior to the auction) the arrangement of silver bands indicating they would have been given to a Ras (Governor) by the Emperor, their significance pales in comparison to those looted artefacts held to be symbols of state, part of a nation's very identity. Many states are actively seeking the return of such material but thus far the great museums of the colonial powers have, with a few notable exceptions, repatriated only items that include human remains. To address the historical voids surrounding sensitive artefacts can be a step too far for conservative Western institutions. However, compromises are being found. The Art of Zimbabwe exhibition (1997) at Tervuren, outside Brussels, reunited the head (Zimbabwe National Museum) and body (Staatliche Museum, Berlin) of one of the eight iconic stone birds from Great Zimbabwe. This absurd situation was resolved by a quietly arranged 'permanent loan' agreement that allowed the body to return to Zimbabwe in 2000. The Ethiopian government made its first formal request to Britain for the return of treasures taken at Magdala through its London ambassador in 2008.

[3] H.M. Stanley, *Coomassie and Magdala*, 1874, p. 380

[4] Ibid, p. 381

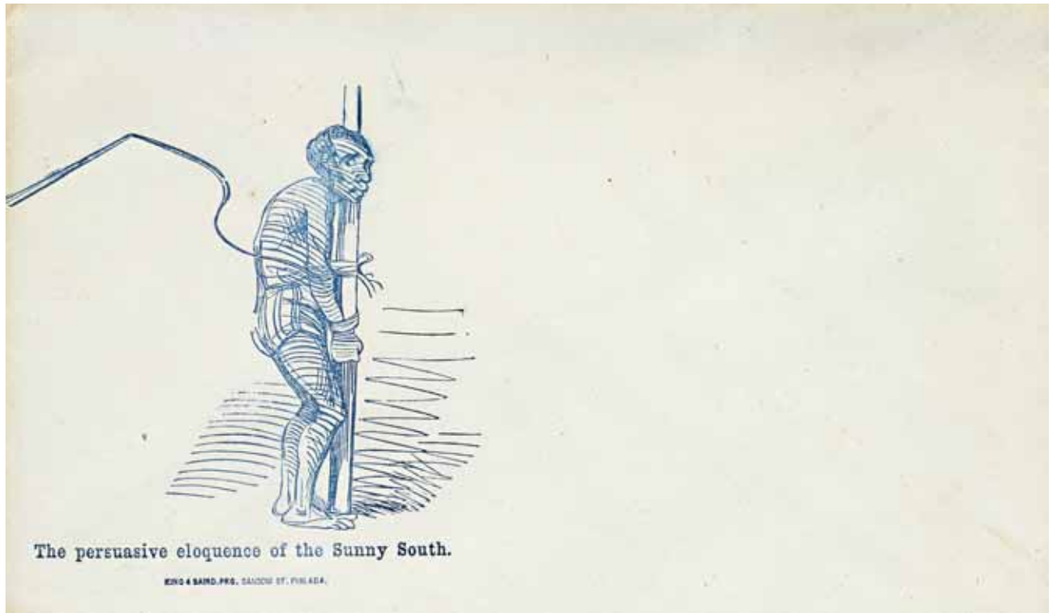


Shield

1868, Ethiopia

with suspended engraved plaque detailing provenance

hide with silver mounts, 55 cm.



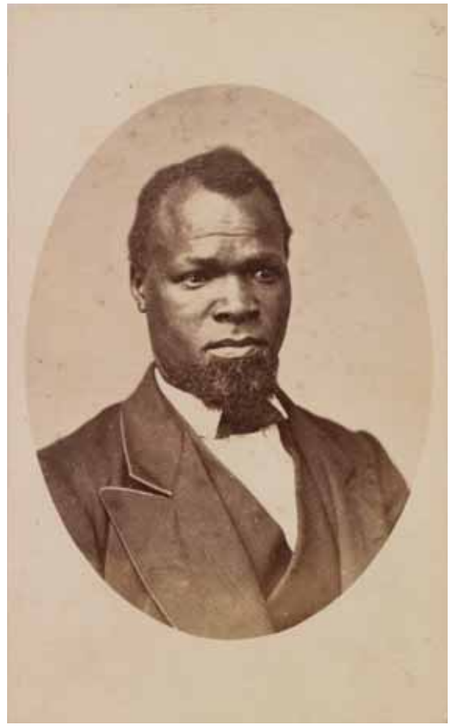
The persuasive eloquence of the Sunny South

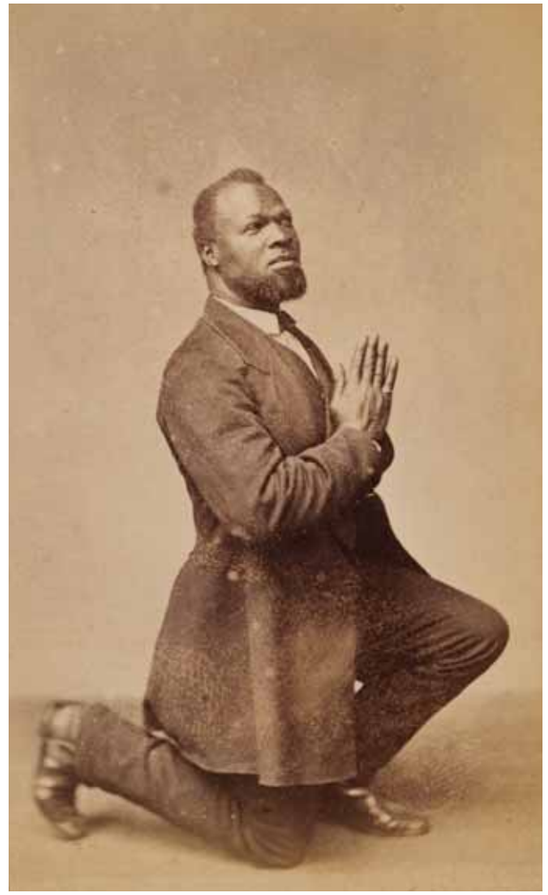
early 1860s

King & Baird printers, Sansom St., Philadelphia

woodcut, envelope, 6 x 6.5 cm.

As Samuel Johnson wrote nearly a century before: *How is it that we hear the loudest yelps for liberty among the drivers of negroes?* (in *Taxation no Tyranny*, 1775)





James Sunderland (fl. 1865 - 1885)

Double portrait

c. 1870

verso with photographers imprint 17 *Bennetts Hill & 54 New St, Birmingham – opp. the Theatre Royal*

albumen prints, carte de visite format, 7.2 x 5.2 and 9.4 x 5.6 cm.

James Sunderland is recorded as operating from New Street premises between 1865 and 1869 and then Bennett's Hill from 1871 so it is likely these photographs date from the 1869-71 period. The sitter is yet to be identified but he could be a visiting American evangelist, perhaps a former slave (hence the abolitionist's pose of supplication) on a book promotion tour or lecturing to raise funds for a missionary venture.

Spiral carved tusk

?1870s, Loango Coast, West Africa

ivory, 56 cm.

Carvings of this type, commonly labelled as ‘Loango ivories’, are first recorded in European museums in the 1840s. Often dismissed by African art collectors as tourist art, they are of course examples of adaptation to changing sources of patronage. Many were traded abroad but some may have been indigenous prestige items. Apart from the level of skill in execution they are remarkable for their iconography. Unfettered by any religious restriction, the best of them showcase African depictions of a wide range of African and colonial life.

after Commander William Chimmo R.N.

The Destruction of the Pirate Haunt of Carang Carang,
on the North East Part of the Island of Sulu
by the Boats of H.M.S. NASSAU in 1872

inscribed with title and *from an original sketch by William Chimmo* etc.

watercolour over pencil, 33 x 63 cm.

H.M.S. Nassau and The Pirates

A smart conflict with pirates in the Sulu Archipelago, between Borneo and the Philippine Islands, took place last May. H.M.S Nassau, Admiralty surveying-ship, was engaged, on the 8th of that month, in the survey of Dalrymple harbour, in the island of Sulu, when her boat's crew was suddenly attacked by a large and well armed party of natives. They rushed fiercely upon our men from an ambush, firing several muskets and flinging long spears at them. In the fight which ensued, Navigating-Lieutenant Gray – who with two men, was separated from the boat – received a severe wound in the left arm; and a sailor named Robert Hartnoll was wounded in the back. One man, being separated from all his comrades, escaped pursuit by swimming out to sea. The others defended themselves stoutly, killing and wounding several of their assailants. In consequence of this affray, some large prahus belonging to the natives were detained by the Nassau, and friendly messages demanding satisfaction were sent ashore. They were answered with a defiance, and when two of the captured vessels were found to be armed with long brass guns, and to be stored with other weapons and implements of piratical warfare, it became evident that the place was inhabited by lawless marauders. An attack was therefore determined upon, and Lieutenant Noble and Lieutenant the Hon. Foley Vereker were sent in to reconnoitre. While passing along the beach they were assailed by several large armed prahus, firing brass swivel-guns and muskets. The fire was returned with spirit, and was kept up on both sides about an hour, till the pirates retired, having lost several men killed or wounded. On the same evening Lieutenant Noble, in charge of a party of the boats, and Lieutenant Vereker, with a rocket boat, had a sharp encounter with the enemy in a stockade, and in some large prahus. The enemy were at length dislodged by the rockets and forced to retreat with severe loss. Five prahus were captured and destroyed.

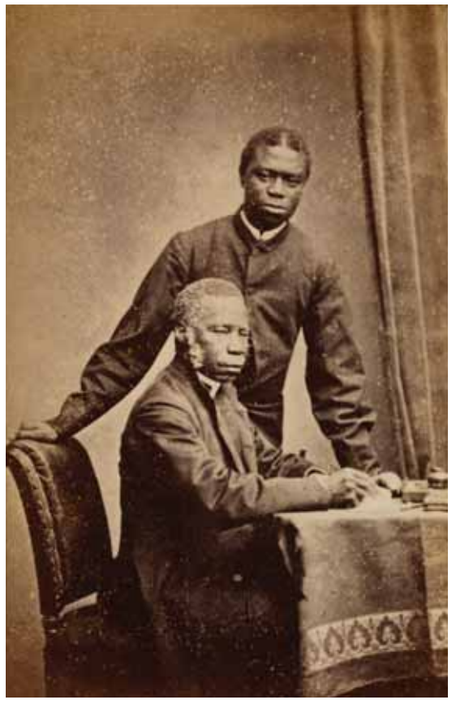
After this it was resolved that the ship should make an attack, and on the 11th, at half-past five in the morning, the Nassau weighed anchor and moved in front of the village where Lieutenant Gray's party had been attacked. After firing a few shell, the boats dashed ashore with a landing party, under the command of Lieutenants Noble and Vereker and Sub-Lieutenants Petley and Dixon. They burnt the village, and, upon its destruction, the ship and the boats went on to Carang-Carang, the main stronghold of the pirates. Here the ships anchored, and poured in a heavy fire of shell, shot and rockets, which continued two hours, telling with great effect. The town was utterly destroyed. Flags of truce were hoisted on shore, when Commander Chimmo gave orders to cease firing. The Nassau proceeded to Sulu, where her captain and officers had an audience of the Sultan. His Highness thanked them for having rid the place of a nest of pirates, who had been the scourge of that sea and shore for years past. They seem to have been a remnant of the pirates of Balignini and Borneo, with whom Sir E. Belcher, Captain Mundy, and others were long since engaged.

(*Illustrated London News*, 5 Oct 1872, p. 318)

Piracy has long been endemic to the Southeast Asian region. For many in the 19th century the terms 'Malay' and 'pirates' were synonymous. Muslim raiders from Mindanao were active from the 16th century and even today half of worldwide reported incidents of piracy occur in this region. As in the southern Mediterranean (see p. 9) the perpetrators were both independent and state-sponsored.

Fleets of up to 40 vessels, following the monsoon winds, could be at sea for a year or longer. Some were 130 ft long, carrying 80 crew, and raided the Philippines, the Straits of Malacca and the islands beyond Sulawesi. At the peak of their power the Iranun pirates, perhaps 15,000 in number, terrorised villages and towns as far away as the South China Sea, the Bay of Bengal and New Guinea, from their home bases on Sulu and Mindanao. Their activities had a significant effect on the demographics of the region, small coastal settlements becoming unviable, as well as affecting trade routes. Captives were a common currency stoked by demand from colonial ports. Many were sold through the slave market at Brunei.

H.M.S. Nassau was a screw vessel engaged in surveying duties in the Sulu Sea when this encounter took place. About 190 pirates were said to have died. There had been a series of anti-piracy campaigns from the 1830s instigated by the Dutch and then by Rajah Brooke of Brunei but it was the arrival of steam-powered vessels, *kaapal api* or fire-ships, that tipped the balance in favour of the colonial authorities.



Sydney Victor White (1840 - 1913)

Bishop Crowther and his son Dandeson

1870s

verso with photographers imprint, *52 Castle Street, Reading* and inscribed *1222, 1/3, To be procured only off Mrs Malahen, 7 Baker Street, Reading*

albumen print, carte de visite format, 9 x 5.7 cm.

the enemies entered the town after three or four hours resistance – there a most sorrowful scene imaginable was to be witnessed - women, some with three, four or six children clinging to their arms... they were overtaken and caught by the enemies, with a noose of rope thrown over the neck of every individual, to be lead in the manner of goats tied together, under the drove of one man. In many cases a family was violently divided between three or four enemies, who each led his away, to see each other no more. Your humble servant was thus caught – with his mother, two sisters (one an infant about ten months old) and a cousin

This was how Ajayi (Samuel Crowther) described his capture in his Journals (1842, p. 373) at the age of 13 in 1821. His people were Yoruba, and *the town* was Osogun, about 100 miles inland from Lagos. *The enemies* were Muslim raiders from the new Fulani Empire in the north exploiting the vacuum created by the break-up of the old Oyo Empire. Ajayi was not to be re-united with his mother until 1844 (when he baptised her) the year his son Dandeson was born. Ajayi's future wife, Asano (Susan Thompson), was one of the 185 other inmates of the *Esperanza Felix*, the Portuguese slaver he was traded to after being on-sold six times on the trip to the coast. Their incarceration was short; the ship was captured later the same day by *H.M.S. Iphigena*, during a wider operation described in *The Guardian* of 10 August 1822:

HM's ships free slaves in Africa

On Wednesday we were surprised with the novel circumstance of the arrival of a French brig, of 240 tons, called the Vigilante, as a prize.
She (was) captured, with several others, in the act of slave trading (having 343 on board), on 15th of April last, in the river Bonny, by the boats of his Majesty's ships Iphigenia and Myrmidon, manned with about 150 seamen, and commanded by Lieutenant G.Wm. St John Mildmay, after a most severe contest, in which two seamen were killed and seven were wounded.
It is not known how many of the slaves suffered in this vessel as they jumped overboard, and were destroyed by the sharks; and the crew mixing with the slaves in the hold, several slaves were also killed.
One poor girl, about 10 years of age, had both her legs amputated, and was doing well.
This vessel, with six others, formed a slave-trading squadron, which was discovered by boats dispatched to reconnoitre the river Bonny, with about 400 men on board, and perfectly prepared to resist the approach of boarders.
As they got within range of the slavers, they all opened a heavy fire of canister and grapeshot and musketry; but as nothing could withstand the undaunted courage of our seamen, all the vessels were soon in their possession.
The state of the unhappy slaves on board these vessels it is impossible to describe; some were linked in shackles by the leg; some of them were bound in chords (sic); and many of them had their arms so lacerated that the flesh was completely eaten through!
The crew of one of the captured vessels, which the slavers deserted, placed a lighted match in the magazine in the hope that, so soon as our men had boarded, the vessel would blow up with them, and the 300 slaves chained together in the hold.
Providentially one of the men discovered it, coolly put his hat under it, and carried it safely on deck.
We regret very much to state, that on the passage of the prizes from the Bonny river to Sierra Leone, the fine schooner Yeatam, with 500 slaves on board, and 23 seamen, upset in a tornado, and all on her perished except eight seamen.
The number of slaves liberated by the capture of these vessels was 1,879, about 200 of whom died on the passage to Sierra Leone.

In his home town Ajayi was being groomed to be an *ifa* priest but within six months of arrival in Freetown was reading the New Testament in English and in 1825 was baptised as Samuel Ajayi Crowther. He became one of the first students at Fourah Bay College and later taught there himself. His linguistic skill was put to use by those, such as Reverend John Rahan, keen to issue biblical texts in African languages. Later, Crowther himself published a dictionary and grammar of Yoruba and then Nupe (1843 and 1860) as well as an Igbo primer (1857). He was selected as an interpreter for the 1841 Niger Expedition in the course of which 54 of the 162 white participants perished, mainly from malaria. This influenced the Church Missionary Society to use African clergy for Nigerian missions. Crowther trained in Britain under Henry Venn, ordained in 1843, and was then dispatched with the Abeokuta Mission. When this was under threat in 1851 he travelled to England to lobby government ministers to intervene. He had an audience with the Queen and Prince Albert, to whom he recited the Lords Prayer in Yoruba (*soft and melodious* was Her Majesty's verdict).
Crowther's *modus operandi* was to Christianise through education, operating within customary laws and traditional politics, while maintaining good relations with indigenous chiefs.
In 1864 he was appointed Bishop of 'the countries of West Africa beyond the limits of the Queen's dominions'. This curious title is explained by the refusal of the white clergy of Abeokuta and Lagos to serve under him. Crowther appears to have been only the second black African bishop, the first being the Italian educated Henrique, son of the Congo King Afonso, who was consecrated by Pope Leo X in 1518. The Portuguese crown opposed any further such appointments.
For a quarter of a century Crowther presided over a Mission that had the greatest thrust of any into the interior of Africa, with conspicuous success in Nupe territory and the Niger Delta. Two sons, Joseph and Samuel, were involved in the Niger trade with the West African Company. Another son, Dandeson, was ordained (by his father) in 1870 and worked as his private secretary before becoming Archdeacon of the Lower Niger in 1874. However, attitudes were changing in London and Nigeria. From 1886 the Niger Company excluded black emigrant entrepreneurs and the CMS hierarchy, influenced by the Keswick movement, assumed more control through its white financial secretaries. There were calls for Crowther's resignation and clergy including Dandeson were suspended. This led to the rebellion of the Niger churches which then became a self-governing pastorate within the Anglican Communion.
In the aftermath of this crisis Crowther had a stroke and was moved to Lagos where he died on the last day of 1891. The treatment of this generation of African clergy contributed to the beginnings of African nationalist movements. Bishop Crowther's grandson, Herbert Macaulay (1864-1946) is considered a founder of Nigerian nationalism.

Heathen Gods given up to Bishop Crowther by People of Benin

1870s

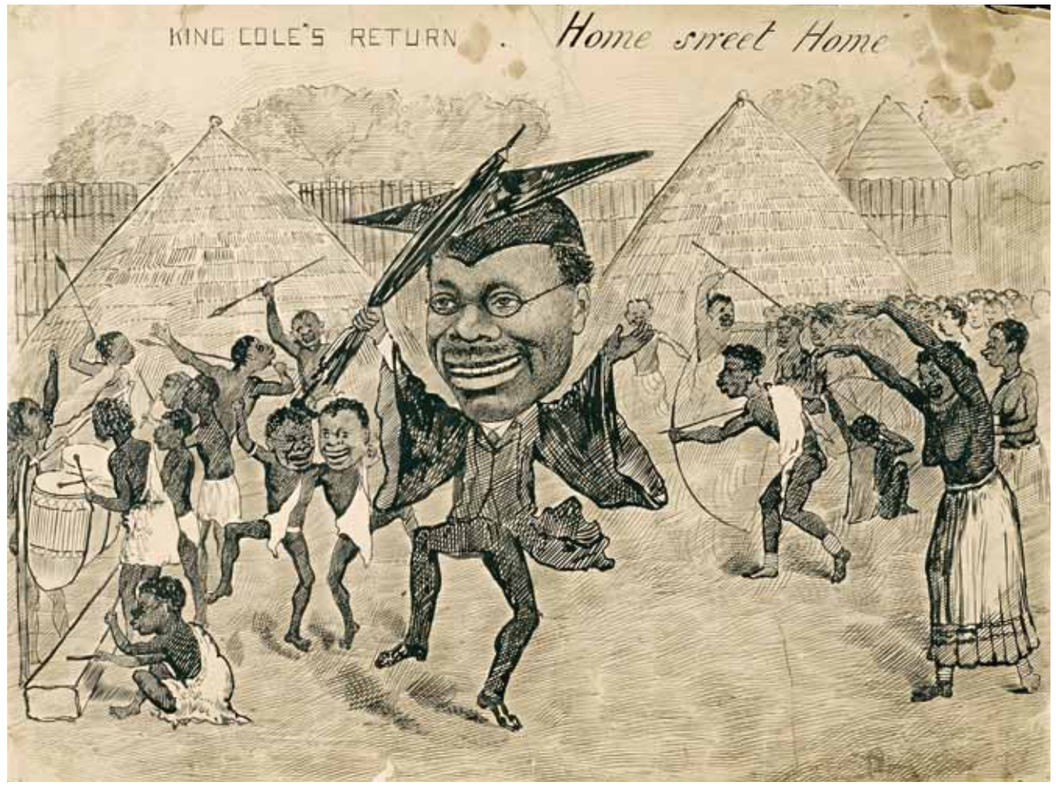
inscribed with title on original mount

albumen print, 150 x 97 cm.

A variant image is illustrated in Jesse Page's 1889 biography: *Samuel Crowther: The slave boy who became Bishop* and described (p. 134):

When in his latter days King Ockiya [of Brass] *decided to make a solemn and public profession of Christianity, he paid a visit to Tuwou village to be baptized. This rite was administered by Archdeacon Crowther on the first Sunday in Advent, 1879, the king receiving the name of Josiah Constantine. But for years, this native potentate had shown himself very friendly to the introduction and progress of Christianity in his dominions. In spite of his juju men, he utterly gave up his idols, and the principal of these are to be seen in the Mission House, Salisbury Square. In our illustration these are as photographed at Lagos on their way to England. The two men, on either side of Bishop Crowther, are Josiah Bara and Jonathan Apiafe, of whose brave and patient loyalty to their Master we have already had evidence in these pages.*
King Ockiya was enabled by the grace of God to give up polygamy, a great sacrifice for a royal African to make; and his example as a Christian led to the conversion of several of his heathen priests, who are now baptised believers in the Saviour's name.

The Niger Delta area has a long history of interaction with Europe. The Kingdom and town of Brass are said to have been named after the rods imported from England in exchange for slaves and palm oil. Bishop Crowther first met King Ockiya in 1867 and later the Lower Niger Mission Press was established there. Ockiya's son, Daniel, translated the gospels of Mark, John, Matthew and Luke into the local dialect of the Idzo language. These were published separately by the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1903.



King Cole's return – Home sweet Home

1870s

inscribed with title

pen and ink, 42 x 55.5 cm.

It was not uncommon in the 18th century for wealthy West Africans to have their children educated in Britain but the first African university graduates were the offspring of 'recaptives', or slaves liberated on the Middle Passage and landed in Sierra Leone. James Africanus Horton, who graduated from Edinburgh University as a medical doctor in 1859, was the son of an Igbo 'ex-slave'. In 1868 Horton wrote *Vindication of the African race* in response to the growing number of racist publications.
The first African graduate from Oxford (University College, Classics, 1876) is believed to be Christian Frederick Cole. Born in 1852, he was the second son of the Reverend Cole of Kissey, Sierra Leone, and grandson of another Igbo 'recaptive'.
Nicknamed 'Old King Cole', he stayed on at Oxford as a tutor and is recorded as being the second speaker for the motion: *Trade Unions and their strikes, though reprehensible in the details of their working, are the natural outcome of the tyrannous system which has long oppressed the working classes*, at the Oxford Union debate of June 1878. The following year he was working for a law firm in London and published *Reflections on the Zulu War* ('by a Negro, B.A., of University College, Oxford, and the Inner Temple'). He was called to the bar in 1883.

after Melton Prior (with significant omissions)

The Zulu War: The Field of Isandlwana Revisited. Facsimile of a sketch by our special artist, Mr Melton Prior
General Marshal's first arrival on the Field of Slaughter, Isandlwana, May 21st/79
imprinted with title and signature. From the *Illustrated London News*, July 12th 1879

woodcut, 21 x 30 cm.

Isandlwana was one of the worst defeats inflicted on British troops in Africa. A Zulu impi, of about 4,000 men, overran Lord Chelmsford's poorly secured base camp, killing its 1,000 defenders. A famous victory, but the inevitable result was that the British would never again tolerate an independent Zulu state. Zululand was formally annexed in May 1887.

Melton Prior, as 'Special War Artist', covered 17 wars for *The Illustrated London News*. From 1873, when he was dispatched to cover the Ashanti War for the *ILN* by its proprietor William Ingram, until 1904, he *only passed one complete year without being in the vortex of some stirring period of war or adventure*. [1] His forte was the ability to combine precise observation with rapidity of execution, as H.M. Stanley commented: *Prior could accurately depict a streak of lightning*. [2] Sketches sent back to London were traced or copied on to wood blocks. This was the point at which artistic or editorial license occurred. All but the lines were then cut away before a wax impression was taken and metal printing block made. From 1882 drawings were also able to be reproduced by a photomechanical process.

Known to some as the 'screeching billiard ball' (due to his bald head and high voice) but christened by Ingram as *The Illustrated Luxury*, Prior led a colourful and charmed life even by the standards of war correspondents. His heavily edited memoirs, published posthumously, graphically illuminate the late Victorian colonial mindset. Life for Prior appeared to be one huge adventure. Physical hardship and near death experiences under fire could always be ameliorated by the production of a hidden bottle of champagne. Although his writing could be couched in bravado, Prior nevertheless left a vital and non-official record of the reality of British imperial policy at its zenith. A favourite of the officer's corps, he was hailed as the greatest and most flamboyant of the last generation of pre-photographic war artists. On his final campaign, the Russo-Japanese war of 1904/5, he was frustrated by the restrictions placed on correspondents. This, or some deeper disillusion, may be behind the conclusion of his *Times* obituary;

...although he had come into contact with all that was best about his own countrymen, he never lost a certain roughness of metaphor in his speech, which gave to many a false impression of the sterling qualities that had maintained him in a career, for which, during recent years, he gave constant evidence he had some distaste.

[1] Obituary, *Times*, 3 Nov. 1910

[2] *Times*, 23 Oct. 1912, p. 6

Melton Prior (1845 - 1910)

Aftermath of the Battle of Isandlwana

21 May 1879

signed and dated

monochrome washes, 30 x 43.4 cm.

Provenance: Francis Francis; by descent. Francis, depicted here on horseback, in civilian clothes and bowler hat, was a war correspondent for The Times and a friend of the artist.

In all the campaigns I have been in I have not witnessed a scene more horrible. I have seen the dead and dying on a battlefield by hundreds and thousands, but to come suddenly on the spot where the slaughtered battalion of the 24th Regiment and others were lying at Isandlwana, was appalling. Here I saw not the bodies, but the skeletons, of men whom I had seen in life and health, some of whom I had known well, mixed up with the skeletons of oxen and horses, with wagons overthrown on their sides, all in the greatest confusion, showing how furious had been the attack of the enemy...

...Skeletons of men lay on the open ground, bleaching under a tropical sun, along miles of country. The individuals could only be recognised by such things as a ring on a finger-bone, a letter or knife, an armlet or neck-chain (which, considered as a fetish, the Zulus would not touch). This identification could only be made with much difficulty, for either the hands of the enemy or the beaks and claws of vultures tearing up the corpses, had in numberless cases, so mixed up the bones of the dead that the skull of one man, or bones of a leg or arm, now lay with parts of the skeleton of another. The Lancers went about all over the field, often here and there lifting the clothes off the skeletons, or gently pushing them on one side with their lances to see this done, for it seemed like sacrilege, yet it was the wiser course than to run the risk of blood-poisoning by touching the bodies with the hands, and those hands mostly troubled by Natal sores.

Melton Prior, *Campaigns of a War Correspondent*, London, 1912, p. 101 and 103

after George Derville Rowlandson (1861 - 1930)

And by Exhibiting Quashi at 6d a head we recover the expenses of the WAR

1880s

imprinted with title. Number 12 from the series, *War in Boolooland*

cotton, transfer-printed, 15.5 cm.

The death of Lieutenant G. M. Luckraft

1882

incised with *In memory of C. M. Luckraft Lieutenant HRMNS Cormor...*
Espiritu Santo Island 16 March 1882

pearl shell, 23 cm.

The Murder of Lieut. Luckraft.

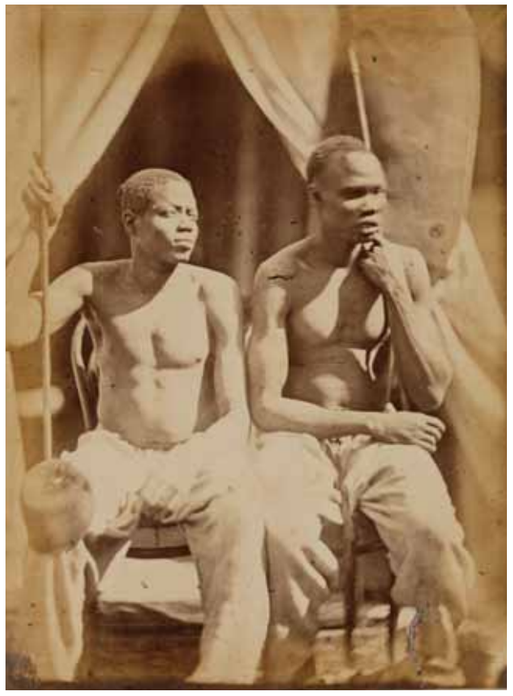
(Reuter's telegram.) Sydney, April 3. The following further intelligence regarding the recent murder of Lieut C. M. Luckraft of H.M.S. Cormorant is to hand. At the time of the occurrence the Cormorant was visiting Espiritu Santo Island, one of the New Hebrides, for the purpose of punishing the natives concerned in the massacre of a boat's crew of the labour schooner Isabel, with whom was the late Mr L. H. Mair, Government agent, in November last. Lieut Luckraft had landed with a party of seamen, and successfully arrested one of the natives who had taken part in the outrage, but, while he was being taken under guard to the boat, a native struck one of the seamen, who retaliated and killed him. A fight ensued with the islanders, in which Lieut Luckraft lost his life. The Sydney Evening News, in to-day's issue, states that nine of the seamen who were with Lieut Luckraft at the time of his death have been placed under arrest.
April 4. The statement of the Sydney Evening News regarding the arrest of nine sailors of H.M.S. Cormorant, in connection with the death of Lieut Luckraft, at Santo Island, is now declared to be without foundation, beyond the fact that a strict investigation has been ordered. Nothing further has transpired. The reticence of the officers is being severely criticised by the press of this city.

Wanganui Herald 4 April 1882

A Sydney telegram gives the following particulars of the massacre of Lieut. Luckraft; H.M.S. Cormorant, with her flag half-mast high, has arrived. She reports visiting Espiritu Santo, on the 16th March, while engaged in the search for the murderers, concerned in the massacre of the boat's crew from the Isabella. When five miles from the village which they intended to surround and surprise before daylight, a detachment under Lieutenant Luckraft disembarked through a fearful surf. They were guided by a native, to a small island, and reached the village, capturing two women. The rest were disturbed by the barking of dogs, and plunged at once into the thickets and opened fire. Luckraft dashed in the direction of the firing, and was mortally wounded. As the natives reached farther inland the detachment retired. Luckraft died before reaching the ship. The natives fired down on the party from high cliffs

Otago Witness 22 April 1882

Blackbirding, as the slave or labour trade in the Pacific was known, pervaded cross-cultural encounters in the region through much of the second half of the 19th century. Centred primarily in Melanesia, it functioned to supply the Queensland cane fields with workers. Polynesians were also taken, in particular Easter Islanders who were kidnapped by Peruvians to work guano islands. Later in the century the trade became increasingly regulated with islanders generally returned after the expiration of their contracts. However at this date most coastal villages had experienced the trickery of the recruiting vessels which often led to violence. The Royal Navy (Australia Station) became drawn into the inevitable escalations, caught between avenging the loss of white lives and safeguarding the rights of the indigenous populations.
Charles Moore Luckraft (1850 - 1882) was buried in Noumea where this commemorative shell was carved. Another (private collection) shows his funeral.



Louis Vossion (1847 - 1906)

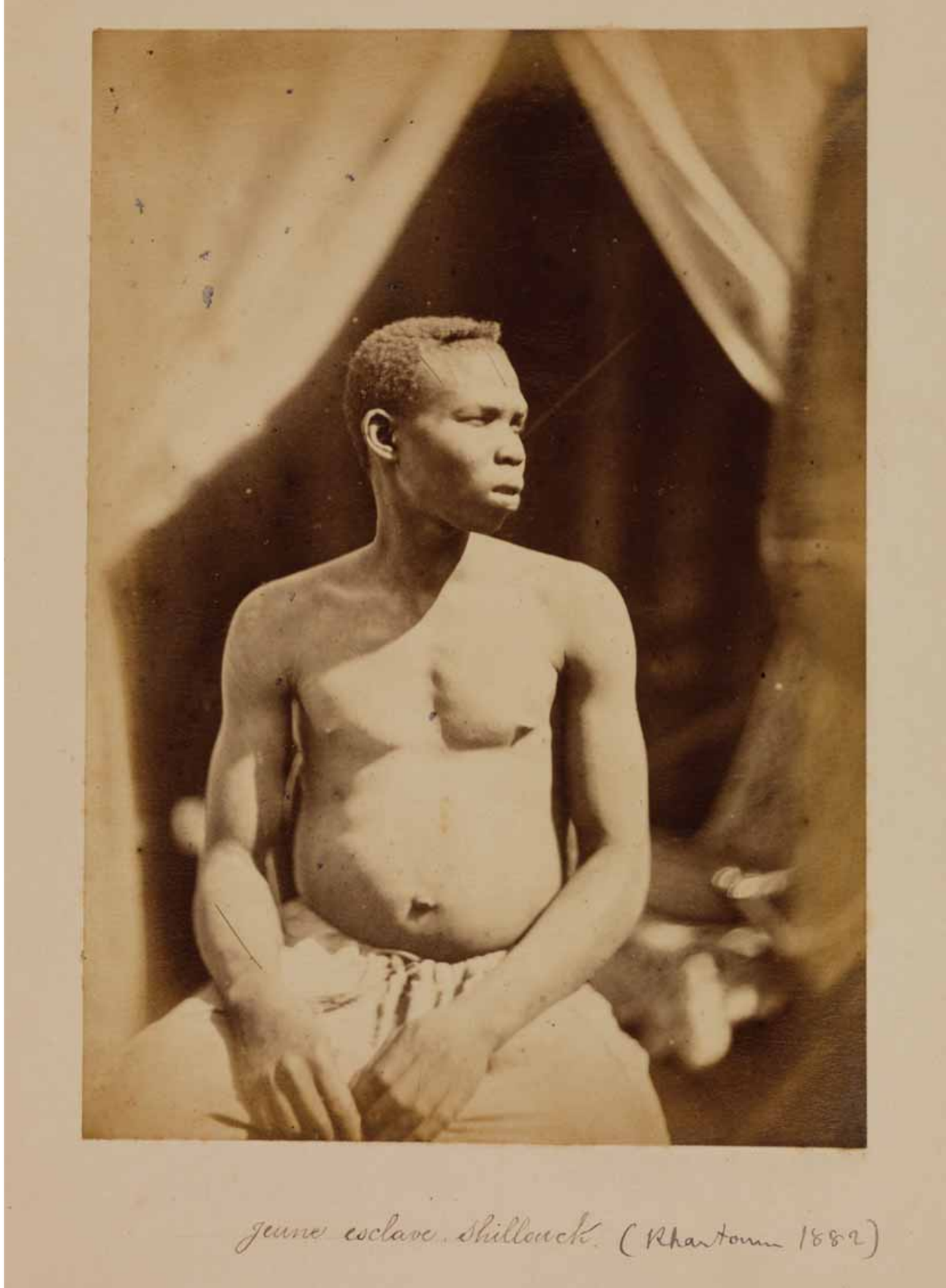
Slaves, Sudan

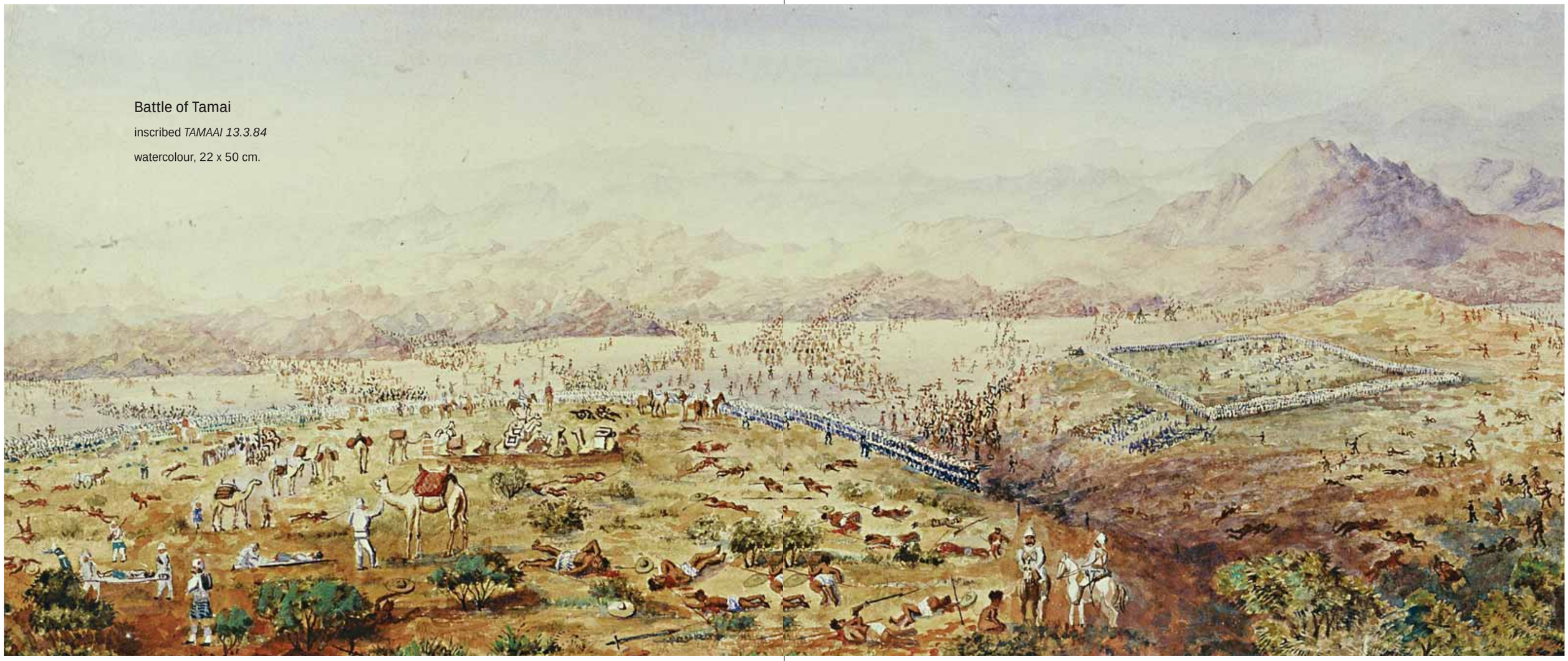
1882

inscribed on mounts:
Négress esclave, à Khartoum, race Bongos in Bahr el Ghazal
Types de Négres des Tribres Dinkas, esclaves à Khartoum. (Dinkas)
Jeune esclave Shillouck (Khartoum 1882)
the first signed with initials

albumen prints, 16 x 12 cm., 15.7 x 11 cm., 15.9 x 8 cm.

Vossion was a member of the French government mission to Sudan in 1880. He visited Kordofan and Darfur and became the Vice-Consul in Khartoum in 1881. An album of his photographs including prints of these portraits is in the Societe de Geographie in Paris.
Slavery, domestic servitude or a system of forced labour, has long been endemic in the Sudan region and survives to this day. Bilad al-Sudan ('land of the blacks') is the original Arab name for the area. Arab slavers, also sourcing ivory, devastated many of the tribes from the mid 19th century. The Bongo in particular suffered a dramatic decline in numbers as a result. Anti-slavery campaigners like Colonel Gordon (as Governor of Equatoria) in the 1870s disrupted the slave system which may have contributed to the collapse of the local economy and fuelled the Mahdi rebellion of the 1880s.
These photographs were taken before Gordon's disastrous return to Khartoum in 1884 (when he re-legalised slavery) and the subsequent siege of the city by the Mahdists. Following his death British policy was driven by anti-fanatic rather than anti-slavery motivations. A mood of mass hysteria was fanned in Britain, with Gordon's own fanaticism forgotten. There were a few dissenting voices, including William Morris who wrote to his daughter: *Khartoum has fallen – into the hands of the people it belongs to*. However, *Avenge Gordon*, was the battle cry and an excuse for the massacre that took place 14 years later, and it was Gordon's nephew who was selected to blow up the Mahdi's tomb after Omdurman.





Battle of Tamai

inscribed *TAMAAI 13.3.84*

watercolour, 22 x 50 cm.

The Sudan had been governed from Egypt for most of the 19th century. In 1870 Muhammah Ahmad, a Muslim cleric, declared himself to be the Mahdi (the Rightly-guided One). In November 1883 he achieved military success at El Obeid by annihilating a force of 4,000 Egyptian troops and their British officers. The British advised withdrawal as the revolt spread and dispatched General Gordon to oversee the evacuation of the garrisons. Three were already under siege and soon Gordon himself, controversially following his own agenda, was isolated at Khartoum. After 313 days, the city fell to the Mahdists on 25 January 1885 following a drop in the river level which weakened defences, two days before the arrival of General Wolseley's river steamers.

General Gerald Graham, after his victories at El Teb and Tamai in March 1884, believed he could have marched to relieve Khartoum, but Prime Minister Gladstone rejected his request. Tamai had been closer to disaster than the official record suggests: *The strength of the enemy was reckoned at about 9000 men, of whom 2000 were killed, and the British casualties were 109 killed and 102 wounded*. [1]

Graham's forces had approached Osman Digma's camp late in the afternoon and spent an uncomfortable night under sniper fire within a hastily formed zariba. In the morning the British advanced in a classic double square formation. One was weakened by the order for the Black Watch to charge at a point where a large force of Mahdists was concealed in a ravine. Hundreds of them penetrated the left (in this depiction) square and the Naval Brigade and their guns were partially overrun. Many, including the artist Melton Prior, found themselves isolated. Disaster, for the British, was averted by the well-drilled application of superior fire power from the intact second square. *Not a Sudanese warrior could live against the fire of its Martini rifles, Gatlings and guns*. [2] Prior was more poetic, recalling that the Sudanese were *swept away as though by a scythe*. [3]

The Engineers' account of the Tamai action spells out what may have often been standard post battle operating procedure on such campaigns: *No Sudanese prisoners were taken as the wounded would not surrender*. [4] *The Illustrated London News* (22 March 1884) published a facsimile of a Prior sketch from El Teb including his pencilled note: *Shooting wounded rebels in the trenches*. Copies of this were waved in Parliament as evidence of British atrocities. The official justification was that this was a necessary response to the Mahdist tactic of feigning death. After the 1898 Sudan campaign F.G. Wingate, Director of Intelligence of the Egyptian Army, stated that there were so many wounded it was impossible to 'attempt' their treatment. Winston Churchill, another participant, remarked in a letter to his mother (26 January 1899): *I shall merely say that the victory at Omdurman was disgraced by the inhuman slaughter of the wounded and Lord Kitchener was responsible for this*.

When writing later about the Tamai campaign Prior admitted the futility of it all: *The Arab chiefs had no doubt had a nasty knock, for they remained passive and quiet for some time, ... but the fights at El Teb and Tamai did not have the slightest effect in quelling the Soudan rebellion*.' [5]

[1] Lt. Col. E.W.C. Sanders, *The Royal Engineers in Egypt and the Sudan*, Institute of Royal Engineers, 1937, p. 63

[2] Ibid, p. 64

[3] Melton Prior, *Campaigns of a War Correspondent*, London, 1912, p.198

[4] Sanders, p. 64

[5] Prior, p. 198

Mule

late 19th century

watercolour, 26.6 x 34.2 cm.

In our oil-burning era we can easily overlook the logistics of a military expedition in the 19th century. For the Magdala campaign 46,569 animals were landed in Annesley Bay, a third of this number being mules, and many more were purchased locally. Less than a quarter of the total was shipped back to Bombay. The 5,500 men that formed the fighting force travelled with a train of 10,000 animals. In the Zulu War Lord Chelmsford's column managed just one mile a day. The artist William Simpson, who travelled with the troops on the march back from Magdala, remarked in his autobiography (1903, p. 189): *The mule, with its pack-saddle, became an all important subject of reports, opinions and speculations. In fact, it became a sort of sacred animal. Had the Abyssinian Expedition occurred two or three thousand years earlier I believe the mule would have been worshipped.*

This watercolour emanates from one of the Sudan campaigns, perhaps that of 1898 when Kitchener's forces finally avenged the death of General Gordon and re-occupied Khartoum (Anglo–Egyptian rule of the Sudan continued until 1956).

The type of bridle on this mule indicates that it was locally owned and used for general transport duty. Mules, the offspring of a male donkey and a female horse, are generally preferred to horses as working animals. They show less impatience under pressure of heavy weights, have harder hooves and skin, tolerate extremes of weather and are more resistant to disease. Mules have proved invaluable for their fearlessness in narrow and elevated areas. In the Burmese campaign at the end WW2 mules had their vocal chords slashed to keep them quiet.

8 million horses are estimated to have perished in WW1 alone. The contribution of animals to war was belatedly acknowledged by Britain in 2004 with the unveiling of a memorial in the central reservation of the busy dual carriageway of Park Lane in central London. Two laden bronze mules are walking towards a gap in a curved Portland stone wall which bears the message: *They had no choice.*

Jibbeh

1890s, Sudan

cotton, length 91 cm.

Close to the entrance of the hall are several captured banners, for the most part white or of bright colour, with prayers and praises of the Mahdi inscribed on them in Arabic characters. One great black standard, riddled with bullets, is noticeable; it fell into Col. Macdonald's hands after the battle of Omdurman, and was by him given to Lieut. Col. H. Finn who has lent this, together with several other trophies, to the exhibition. The dervish uniforms are certain to attract a good deal of attention. Here are to be seen the white cotton jibbas, with their patches of dark blue, brown or other colored cloth, some of them handsomely embroidered, symbols of the rise and fall of Mahdism. For it will be remembered that the Mahdi enjoined on his followers a life of meekness and humility, of strict asceticism; they were to own no property and were to be clothed in the rags and patches in token of their saintly poverty; but after rapine and license had demoralized the dervishes and brought about a religious decadence the dirty patched rag gradually developed into the luxurious jibba, the symbolic patches becoming neat and ornamental oblongs of colored cloth, symmetrically arranged upon the snowy robe, tokens of poverty and asceticism no longer, but of the hypocritical spirit that had taken the place of the former honest fanaticism.

From a review of the *Exhibition of Dervish Trophies and Weapons* at the Royal United Service Institiution. (*Times*, London, 11 Dec. 1898, p. 11)

This jibbeh has no provenance but was most likely brought back from the expedition, led by General Kitchener, to recapture Khartoum and establish control over the upper Nile region. Omdurman was a particularly one sided battle. 25,000 British and colonial troops armed with Maxim machine guns (capable of 600 rounds per minute), heavy artillery and supported by gunboats massacred the Khalifa's divisions. 11,000 thousand were killed on the field and another 13,000 injured, many fatally. George Steevens, covering the campaign for the Daily Mail, concluded; *it was a most appalling slaughter. The Dervish army was killed out as hardly an army has been killed out in the history of war.* [1] There were 49 British casualties, 22 of whom had perished in a rash cavalry charge by the 21st Lancers early in the action. Winston Churchill recorded that three days after the battle legless and armless Sudanese men had dragged themselves kilometres to the river. Even after a week there were still dying men on the battlefield.

As elsewhere souvenirs were eagerly collected at Omdurman and in the city itself. The Sudanese diarist Babikr Bedri noted that the soldiers *entered our houses and ate everything within reach of their eyes and hands... furniture, fittings and jewels. We had to leave doors, cupboards and boxes unlocked, and street doors opened.* [2] Many of these tunics found their way back to English military families, their origins soon forgotten and banished to attics or dressing-up boxes. This type of *jibbeh* was probably produced by Baqqa Arabs in Khartoum workshops but it is not clear whether the variations of decoration signified a particular rank or regiment. The shaped pocket may be designed to hold a talisman, perhaps a prayer from the Koran.

[1] G.W.Steevens, *With Kitchener to Khartoum*, 1898, pp. 284-5

[2] Quoted in M.W.Daly, *Empire on the Nile*, 1986, p. 4

The Aboriginal Puzzle of Australia

c. 1900

printed on card, 8.5 x 14.2 cm. (envelope)

The joke, of course, is that there is no solution.

King Jury, Havilah, Bowen River

late 19th century, Australia

engraved with title

brass, breastplate, 18 x 24.5 cm.

Havilah Homestead, Queensland, was recorded as a station in the South Kennedy ‘unsettled district’ in 1882.

Published in: Tania Cleary, Poignant Regalia: *19th century aboriginal breastplates and images held in public, regional and private collections in New South Wales, Victoria, Tasmania, Queensland, South Australia, Western Australia and the Australian Capital Territory*. 1993, no. 64 (illus.)

Traditional Aboriginal society was egalitarian. No adult man regarded himself as subordinate, because all had their Dreaming and ‘country’. It was a classless, unstratified society, without any formal government.

(Josephine Flood, *The Original Australians*, 2006, p. 157)

‘King plates’ are haunting reminders of black/white interaction in 19th and early 20th century Australia. Sometimes given as rewards or more usually as an attempt to establish an individual as ‘chief’, they can now issue an uneasy resonance. Aboriginal people have long since absorbed them as part of their heritage seeing them as symbols of survival, as well as reminders of their (continuing) struggle with white Australia.

Harris Bros. Co. (Havana)

Atlantic Fleet Camp. Jan. 1912, U.S. Naval Station
Guantanamo Bay, Cuba

imprinted with title, photographer and *9924*

gelatin silver print, 23 x 141 cm.

Even if historians were somehow to forget the illegal war, the mangling of international law, the trashing of the environment and social welfare, the banking crisis, and the transfer of wealth from rich to poor, one image is indelibly stamped on this [George W. Bush's] *presidency: the trussed automatons in orange jumpsuits. It portrays a superpower prepared to dehumanise its prisoners, to reduce them to mannequins, in a place as stark and industrial as a chicken-packing plant. Worse, the government was proud of what it had done. It was parading its impunity. It wanted us to know that nothing would stand in its way: its power was both sovereign and unaccountable.*

George Monbiot, *The Guardian*, June 17 2008

Guantanamo Bay is a natural harbour at the south east tip of Cuba and the oldest US overseas naval base. The first European to land there was Christopher Columbus but the name comes from the Taino people, some of whom accompanied him back to Spain in 1494. It was used as a base by the British in the late 18th century and then by the American fleet weathering the hurricane season in 1898 during the Spanish American war. At the end of that conflict in 1903 the US negotiated a perpetual lease from Cuba for 45 square kilometres of land on both sides of the outer harbour for *coaling and naval purposes only*. Since then the lease has been a source of friction between the two countries (who do not have diplomatic relations) with Cuba, through the Castro era, refusing to cash the rent cheques. Water was cut off in 1964 and the base produces its own supply from a desalination plant. When President Obama announced the closure of the base as a detention centre in January 2009 it housed about 9,500 service personnel and 250 non POW status detainees, unprotected by the Geneva Convention. The US continues to operate secretive internment facilities, labelled by human rights lawyers as legal black holes, at Bagram, Khost, Kandahar and Jalalabab in Afghanistan. Bagram, *Guantanamo's evil twin* [1], is currently being expanded to house 1,500 prisoners.

[1] Clive Stafford Smith, *Times*, August 1 2009

Public Warning

1915

Printed Under the Authority of His Majesty's Stationery Office,
by Sir Joseph Causton & Sons Ltd., 9 Eastcheap, E.C. London

lithograph, 87 x 57 cm.

What Berlin missed

1918

verso inscribed with title and numeric annotations

silver gelatin print, 60.6 x 50.3 cm.

What Berlin Missed
It has now been disclosed that when the armistice was signed a British squadron was ready at a certain point on the East Coast awaiting order to leave with the object of bombing Berlin. Each machine was loaded with two tons of bombs, and crews of men selected from many keenly competitive volunteers were standing by in readiness. It was to be a purely British attempt from British soil to show what British machines could do.

(*Flight* magazine December 26, 1918, p. 1461)

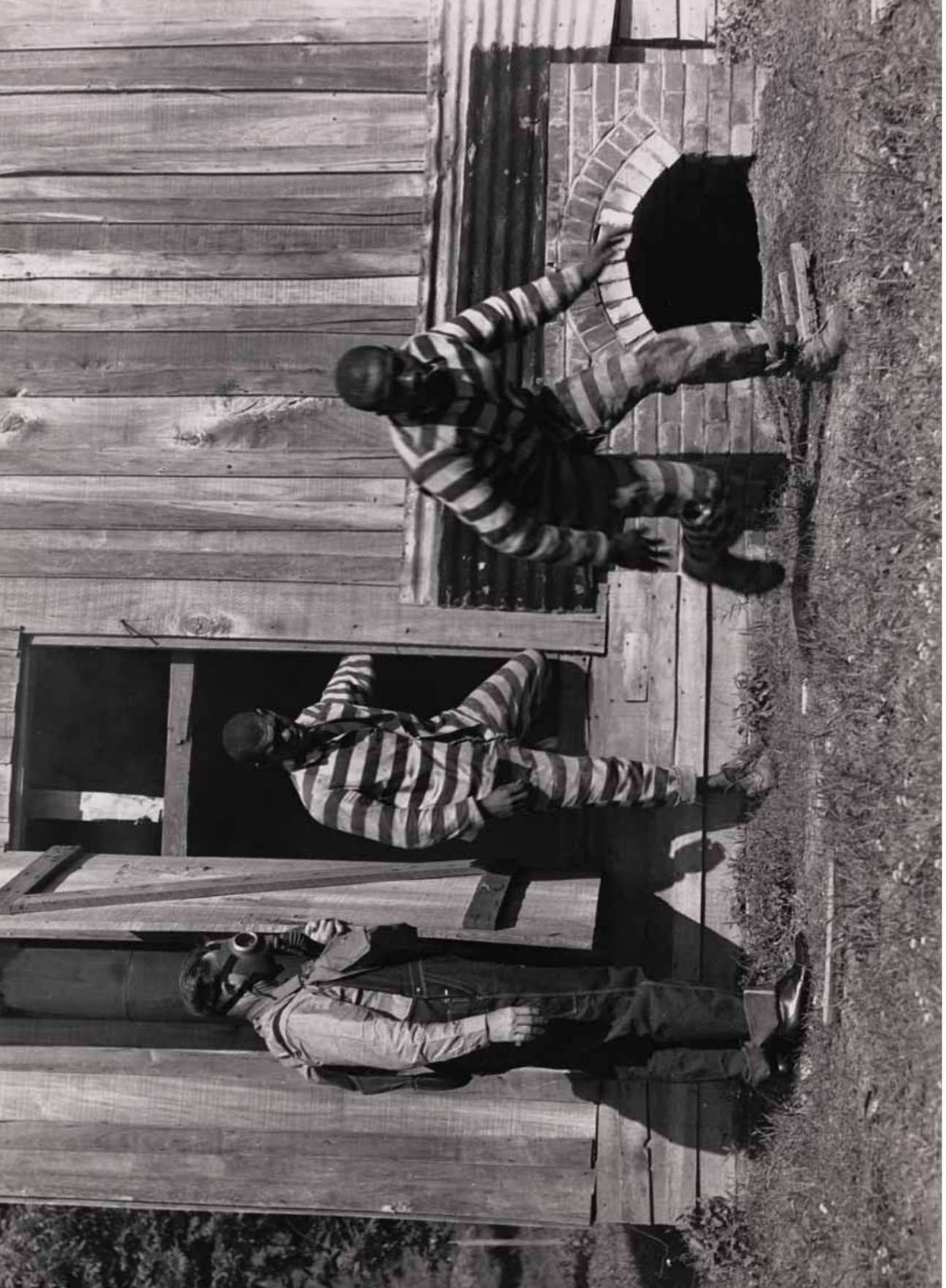
Reproduced in *Flight* magazine April 10, 1919, p. 482, with the caption:
At the War in the Air Exhibition – What Berlin Missed. And Berlin isn't sorry. A 1,800 pounder and the smallest bomb used. The sizes may be judged by comparing them with the man and the footrule.

Golliwog Mask

1920s

Frank May, Son & Co.
Theatrical Costumiers,
London E.C.1

cloth, pigment, 30 cm.



Theodore ‘Fonville’ Winans (1911 - 1992)

Testing Teargas, Angola

1938

inscribed with signature and date. Verso with studio label giving title, date, *No. 065W*, and *Print No. 7, by Fonville Winans, Baton Rouge, La.*

silver gelatin print, 40.6 x 50.7 cm.

From 1940 Fonville Winans was a successful society, portrait and wedding photographer operating from his own studio in Baton Rouge. Perhaps his most important work comes from three extended trips between 1931 and 1933 into the bayou swamps of South Louisiana. He purchased an old boat (the *Pintail*) for $25, rebuilt her, installed a car engine with no clutch or reverse, and set out to film and photograph a forgotten world.

Under Governors Long (assassinated in 1935), Allen, and Leche (sentenced to ten years for corruption in 1940) Louisiana was a rapidly developing state. Through his political contacts Winans secured employment from 1938 to 1940 in the State Photography Department. He took portraits of politicians, documented the new infrastructure projects and, flying his own plane, produced aerial views.

One of his first assignments, in February 1938, was to photograph the Louisiana State Penitentiary. Known as Angola, after the origin of the slaves who had worked there in its plantation days, the flood prone prison was (and remains) a working farm covering 73 square kilometres, bordered on three sides by the Mississippi River. The USA has five per cent of the world’s population but 25% of its prisoners, one third of whom are incarcerated for non-violent drug offences. Angola is the country’s largest maximum security facility and 85% of the inmates can expect to die there.

Peter Endsleigh Castle (1918 – 2008)

Flying Bomb F.Z.G. 76

1944

imprinted with signature and *Restricted Air Diagram 1395 9/44*
A. 1.2 (g) Air Ministry
lithographic poster printed in colours
printed for H. M. Stationery Office, by Hudson Scott & Sons Ltd, Carlisle.

lithograph, 71 x 98 cm.

During WWII Castle worked with the 'Rafwaffe', 1426 Flight, or the Enemy Aircraft Evaluation unit.

It was all done the hard way. We had everything from a hole in the ground and nothing but pieces to flyable aircraft. I had access to all the aircraft and parts that were left over from crashes. The first thing I did when drawing an aircraft was to make a general three-view drawing. Three of us would go down with a long tape measure and measure the aircraft to get the overall dimensions. I then produced a general line drawing, which was as near accurate as could be. From that drawing, models were made for aircraft recognition. Of course, the silhouette illustrations went out straight away for distribution everywhere.

In November 1943 Flight Officer Constance Babington Smith, of the RAF photographic Interpretation Unit, was examining aerial views of the Luftwaffe Experimental Station at Peenemunde. She spotted a small cruciform shape on a catapult ramp, similar to other ramps seen on the French Channel coast. This was a Fieseler Fi 103 Flying bomb, the V1 or 'doodlebug', the first cruise missile. Squadron Leader Heath, from Castle's unit, was sent to photograph the wreckage of a V1 prototype that had crashed in Sweden.

We got the form of the thing, and I was able to produce a three-quarter-view sketch. That went out to all the home defence services. After the V-1s started coming over, we finally found one intact. This was brought up to the Manor, Harrow Weald, and dumped in the driveway. I have some photographs of me actually sitting on the bloody thing. It had about five fuses on it, and I assumed they all had been coped with. I worked very quickly on that drawing. I got it out in about three weeks. It was very intense work, and I believe almost every last thing I could illustrate is in that drawing. That was in July because the V-1s started coming over in June 1944.

Hitler committed so many resources to his 'miracle weapons' that it may have shortened the war. The V1, though revolutionary, employed comparatively simple technology. It was a small unmanned plane flying on autopilot which descended when the fuel supply ran out. Developed from 1941, it could be air or surface launched. The V2 was the first ballistic missile and the most expensive development programme undertaken by the Third Reich. Using mainly slave labour, 6,000 were built, for the same unit cost as a four engine bomber. Although heralding a terrifying new phase in warfare, militarily the V1s and V2s were comparatively ineffective. With ranges of 150 and 200 miles, 3,700 of the missiles hit London killing 8,938 people. The first victim was a sapper on leave in Chiswick and, in the worst single incident, 160 died in Woolworths in New Cross. The only effective defence, especially against the V2s which descended from 100 kilometres at four times the speed of sound, was to destroy the launch sites. The rocket bombardment of London lasted from June 1944 to the end of March 1945. Castle and his colleague's work was of limited benefit as these weapons were hard to shoot down, but understanding the weapon was some counter to its psychological effects. Londoners soon recognised the rasping tone of the pulse jet engines of the V1s, knowing that when it stopped, the missile would begin a silent 15 second descent from its cruising height of 2,000 ft. It was said if you heard the explosion you had survived. V2s were inaudible until impact.

V2 technology provided the model for the intercontinental missiles of the Cold War era and for spacecraft launch systems.

Castle quotes taken from Donald Nijboer's *Graphic Wars – The Secret Aviation Drawings and Illustrations of World War II, 2005*

Hinomaru yosegaki

early 1940s, Japan

framed, verso with label, inscriptions and a pasted letter from Sergeant K. Davidson of Edinburgh:
Now as regards the flag, here is the information.
I took it off a dead Jap after a skirmish with a Jap patrole in a village outside Meiktila [70 miles south of Mandalay] *on March 24th 1945. The date I am certain of because it was my 23rd birthday. The writing on it I have no idea what it says but as far as I know it belonged to a Japanese platoon. I suppose the deep writing is the name of the Regiment while the rest will be battle honours or the platoon's names. Incidentally the stain is the blood of the sergeant while the tear on the flag is a bayonet thrust.*
These facts are the actual ... as to how the flag came to be in my possession.
I was in 2968 Squadron, RAF Regiment, but it was only A Flight that took part in the Meiktila battle. We were attached to the West Yorks
Hoping this information helps you
Yours sincerely, K. Davidson

cotton or rough silk, 66.6 x 77.7 cm.

The *Hinomaru* or Rising Sun flag has been used in a military context in Japan since the Warring States period in the 15th and 16th centuries. Once trade began with the outside world from 1854 it was flown as the official flag by Japanese vessels and became the national flag by the time of the Meiji Restoration.
During WW2 flags were bought and autographed by family or friends, and could be decorated with prayers or patriotic messages, then carried by the soldier for good luck. Many ended up in the hands of Allied troops.

'Sweetheart' carving

c. 1944, New Zealand

Inscribed with ?monogram and a haiku poem. This roughly translates as *At night enjoy the evening cool / Meditating on a woman's face / Very bewitching*

wood, pigment, 41 x 22 cm.

This panel was gifted to a woman working at Featherston Camp by one of the Japanese POWs. 869 were landed by the Americans in Wellington between 1943 and 1945 and held at Featherston. Some prisoners were employed making furniture and concrete under the direction of (Sir) James Fletcher but many refused and a build up of tension resulted in a fracas which ended in machine-gunning by nervous guards. 48 Japanese prisoners were killed and 74 wounded.
Today a plaque on the site carries a haiku by Basho: *Behold the summer grass / All that remains / Of the dreams of warriors*

Joseph Otto Flatter (1894 - 1988)

Nuremberg, 1946

inscribed with title on front cover. An album of 20 pages of individual and group studies, with artist's annotations, including Herman Goering (Head of the Luftwaffe), Wilhelm Frick (Minister of the Interior), Albert Speer (Minister of Armaments and War Production), Wilhelm Keitel (Chief of Staff of Armed Forces), Baldur von Schirach (Head of Hitler Youth), Karl Dönitz (Supreme Commander of the Navy) and Erich Raeder (Commander in Chief of Navy). Also including scenes in the court room and a page of notes listing the clothes, hair colour and complexion of each of the defendants.

pencil, 35 x 41.5 cm.

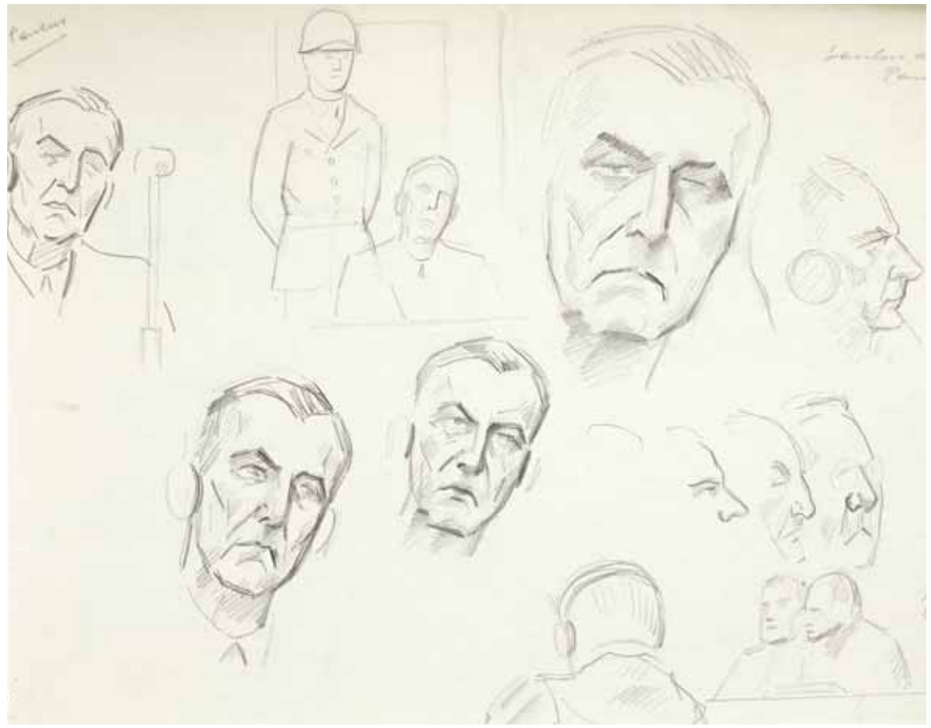
Born in Brigittenau, a district in north-eastern Vienna, in 1894, Flatter was a student at the Vienna Academy of Fine Arts and went on to exhibit at the Kunstlerhaus and the Sezession. In 1934, after his marriage to the pianist Hilde Loewe, he moved to the UK. Concerns over the rise of German fascism compelled him to put aside his career as a portrait painter and redirect his skills to anti-Nazi propaganda. He produced a series of 60 drawings entitled *Mein Kampf Illustrated*, satirising Hitler's politicised autobiography. They formed part of a travelling exhibition after the outbreak of war but all were lost when a bomb struck Selfridges, the London store where they were being exhibited.

Early in the war Flatter, like many other Austrians, Germans and Czechs, was interned for a brief period on the Isle of Wight despite possessing papers declaring him to be a *harmless alien*. After his release he worked for the Ministry of Information.

His drawings appeared in exile-published newspapers such as *France* and *Die Zeitung*. He regularly illustrated for the British press including the *News of the World*, *Evening Standard*, *News Chronicle* and *Daily Telegraph*. For the Ministry he produced five weekly cartoons, many of which were disseminated over Germany and occupied Europe by leaflet airdrops. He had no difficulty finding subjects to draw: *The moving force was hatred, it took concrete shape before my eyes. And my hatred of those responsible for the wanton cruelty done to so many innocent victims was boundless. I went about in the shape of my adversaries, I crept into their skins, I 'drew, hanged and quartered' them*.

Flatter became a British citizen in 1947, revisiting his homeland only once in 1976, the year his illustrations were included in the Imperial War Museum exhibition, *Anti Nazi Cartoons of the Second World War*. When his work was shown in Vienna in 1981 the exhibition provoked anti-Semitic responses.

In February 1946 Flatter was invited to document the Nuremberg trials as one of the official artists. As only two war artists each from France, the USA and Britain (represented by Laura Knight and David Low) were permitted, Flatter had to don an American captain's uniform. He later wrote: *I expected to be glad to see them there, revengeful, but when I saw their faces, already marked by death, I could not feel revenge. They were a pitiful sight, greyish people, some arrogant still, but the majority afraid.*



Another official observer at Nuremberg was the Soviet photographer Jewgeni Chaldej. Like Flatter, Chaldej was of Jewish descent, and like Flatter he must have had to control his emotions during the proceedings. Goering, in particular, was furious that a Russian should be allowed to photograph him.

Chaldej, born in the Ukraine in 1917, lost his mother in a *pogrom* the following year. His father and two sisters were killed during the German invasion of 1941. He was employed by Tass as a war correspondent from 1941 to 1946 and covered the Red Army's entry into Berlin producing the iconic, albeit manipulated, image of the Soviet flag being raised on the roof of the Reichstag. He also took a photograph of an old blind man and his guide deep in the rubble of what was once the city. Chaldej recalled approaching them and asking where they had come from, and where they were going. They had no answer to either question. As Chaldej said later: *They had arrived at the end of the world*.

The Second World War continues to cast a long shadow. Apart from the casualties of conflict, the less publicised death toll from starvation in the Soviet republics and the fate of the millions of slave workers, it will always be the nature and manner of the genocides that will persist in the memory. Genocide was far from unknown in recent colonial histories whether perpetrated by British settlers in Tasmania, Germans in Namibia or Belgians in the Congo, but the planned disposal of entire races and types in the heart of 'civilised' Europe shook the world when the extent became widely known in 1945. The court at Nuremberg was an attempt to achieve closure by the calm and public imposition of judgement. The sentences handed down at Nuremberg ranged from ten years to death by hanging. The judgement for the highest profile defendant concluded:

For Goering was often, indeed almost always, the moving force, second only to his leader. He was the leading war aggressor, both as political and as military leader; he was the director of the slave labour programme and the creator of the oppressive programme against the Jews and other races, at home and abroad...His guilt is unique in its enormity.

Goering committed suicide by ingesting cyanide the night before his execution but his body was hung anyway, and then disposed of in the crematorium of the Dachau concentration camp. The fires had been re-lit for the Nuremberg victims.

Flatter quotes taken from a paper given by Dorothea McEwan at the German Studies Library Group Meeting, London, September 1993, entitled '*From Post to Prop', the Life and Work of Joseph Otto Flatter*.

U.S. Army Photographic Signal Corps (under the direction of Edward Garan)

Mushroom Cloud - Bikini Atoll nuclear test

25 July 1946

inscribed with title in pencil on reverse, and with photograph library stamps

gelatin silver print, 12 x 23.5 cm.

But a storm is blowing in from Paradise; it has got caught in his wings with such a violence that the angel can no longer close them. The storm irresistibly propels him into the future to which his back is turned, while the pile of debris before him grows skyward. This storm is what we call progress. [1]

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The English, French and Americans all played their part in creating the notion of the Pacific islands as being an earthly Paradise. They were also responsible for its spoliation by their intensive nuclear weapon testing in the cold war era.

The first successful device was detonated above the New Mexico desert on 16 July 1945. The next day, at Potsdam, Roosevelt and Churchill informed their ally, Stalin, only that they now possessed a new and powerful weapon, and then warned the Japanese that their country faced *prompt and utter destruction*. On 6 August the Hiroshima bomb claimed 100,000 lives. The Japanese surrendered unconditionally a week after the second bomb struck Nagasaki on 9 August.

Although conventional bombing had resulted in similarly high death tolls (perhaps 50,000 civilians died in Dresden in the firestorms created by the 'area bombing' in February 1945), a new era in warfare had arrived. The major powers raced to develop the technology. The US chose the remote atoll of Bikini in the Marshall Islands (captured from the Japanese in 1944) as the perfect location. It was not remote for its 167 inhabitants who were persuaded to temporarily relocate to the smaller and unproductive atoll of Rongerik (by 1947 they were suffering from severe malnutrition) 120 miles away. Rongerik itself was contaminated by fallout from the 1954 hydrogen bomb which left a huge crater in Bikini's reef and produced a 15 megaton blast, five times what was predicted.

The US conducted 235 tests in the atmosphere from 1945 to 1962, including 23 at Bikini. The first (and fourth ever), code-named 'Able', was dropped from a B29 aircraft and detonated 500 ft above the lagoon.

This photograph captures a moment seconds after the detonation of the next device ('Baker'). Taken with a remotely operated camera from a tower on Bikini Atoll, a 2,000 ft high column, containing 2 million gallons of water, obscures the still expanding mushroom head. The bomb was of the same design and similar size to that used to pulverise Nagasaki. For this test 90 surplus vessels, including aircraft carriers, were moored in the lagoon to observe the effects of radiation from a blast set off 27 metres underwater. 5,400 goats, pigs and rats had been brought in for the test series. 150 support ships carrying 42,000 men kept watch from 18 kilometres away. The next test was cancelled as the Americans were surprised at the degree of radioactivity in the water dispersed by the blast. Levels in the lagoon were too high to permit decontamination, worked stopped on 10 August and the surviving vessels towed to Kwajalein.

For most of the general public proliferation and radiation were not of great concern. The atomic era was as much celebrated as feared. The two piece bathing suit became popular at this time, succeeding the previous fashion item, the *atome*, said to be the smallest one piece. The *bikini* was marketed as splitting the *atome*.

The Bikinians were allowed back in 1974 but were re-evacuated in 1978 after they were found to have abnormally high levels of strontium 90.

The French government refused to sign the 1963 treaty banning atmospheric testing and continued their programme until 1996. Initially they had used a Saharan site but after Algeria's independence had to move the operation to Moruroa and Fangataufa Atolls. These were selected as only 5,000 people lived within 1,000 kilometres. 44 devices were exploded in the atmosphere and 96 in the basalt beneath the lagoons, leading to major and continuing contamination across Polynesia.

Currently (2009) there are an estimated 10,500 warheads held in the nuclear arsenals of nine countries, with some of those on 30 minute launch notice. In the year 2000 there were approximately 33,000 warheads in existence but these were held by only five nations. The director of the International Atomic Energy Agency believes that soon there will be another ten or 20 'virtual nuclear weapons states', like Iran, with the necessary ingredients and expertise available to assemble a weapon within four to eight weeks. History has shown that all weapons systems proliferate.

In 1995 Russia mistook a test rocket firing in Norway for an attack and is believed to have been within two minutes of a retaliatory strike on the USA. Two nuclear armed submarines, UK's *H.M.S. Vanguard* and France's *Le Triomphant*, collided deep in the Atlantic in February 2009 but managed to return to their bases. There are 3,000 tons of fissile material (enough to make 250,000 bombs) stored in 40 countries. The chance of the detonation of a 'dirty' nuclear device (fissile material spread by a conventional explosion) becomes ever more likely.

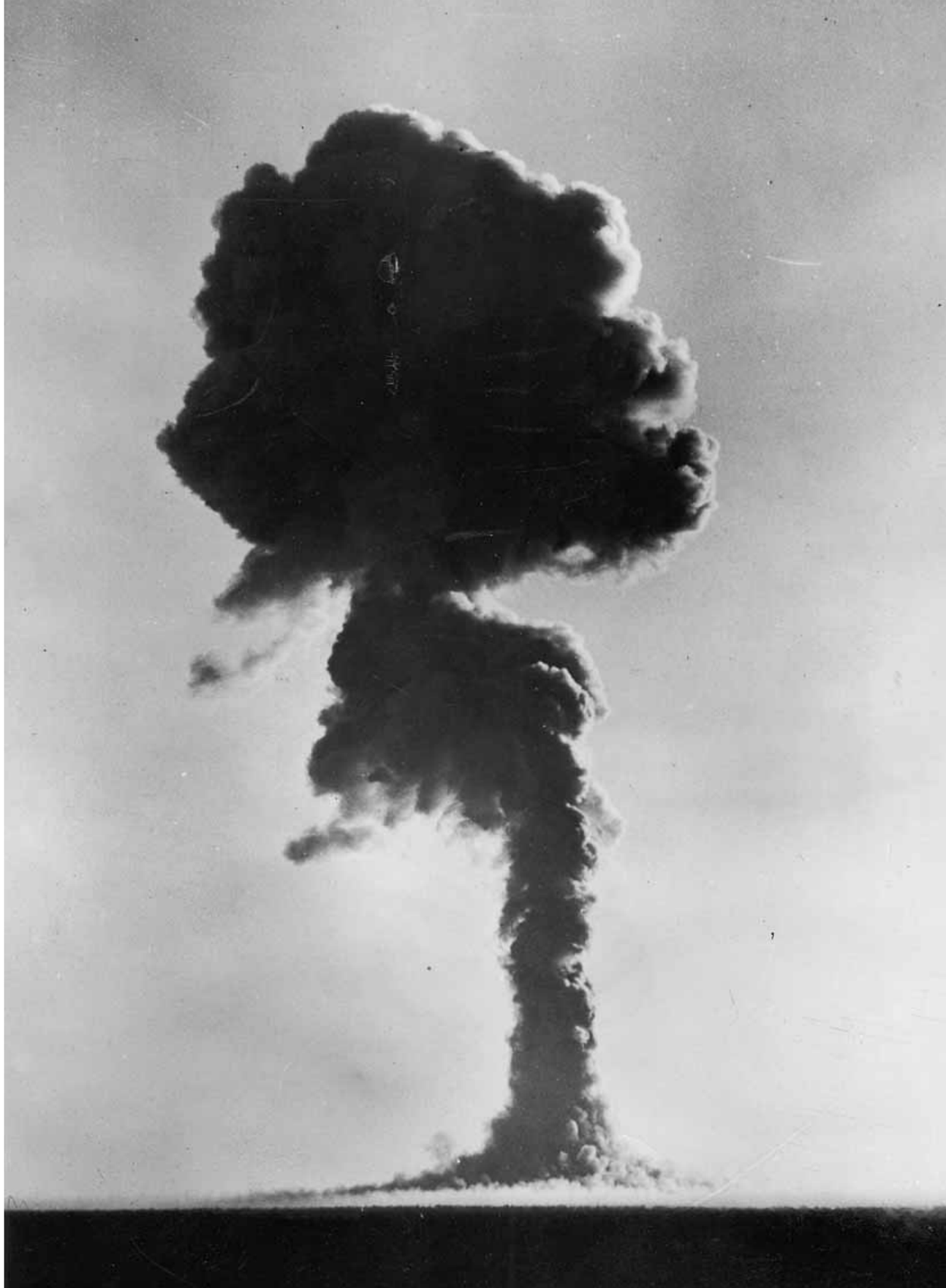
[1] Walter Benjamin, ruminating over Paul Klee's *Angelus Novus*, in *Theses on the Philosophy of History*, 1939.

Britain's Second Atomic Weapon Exploded

15 October 1953

verso with United Press agency stamps (London and Paris) and attached label imprinted with title and *WOOMERA, AUSTRALIA: The middle stage of the explosion when Britain's second atomic weapon was detonated on the proving ground north west of Woomera recently. 21st October, 1953*

gelatin silver print (wire photo), 21.5 x 16.8 cm.



Boomerang

c. 1950, Australia

inscribed *Maralinga 1957* and apparently with a mushroom cloud between the place and date

wood, 65.5 cm.

Boomerang

c. 1950, Australia

inscribed *Maralinga* Nov 1956

wood, 62 cm.

The boomerang to the right (detail above), along with a *woomera* (spear launcher), was sold by an auction house in Penzance, England. The vendor stated that they had been acquired by his father, who served at the Maralinga test site, from a local Aboriginal in exchange for contaminated clothing. The vendor has not replied to requests for his father's name or position.

After the end of WW2 the major powers jealously guarded their own nuclear secrets. Even the British, who had supplied the Americans with personnel and information crucial to the first successful detonation, had to start afresh and secretly devote enormous funding (at a time when money was in short supply) to the cause, seen as fundamental to maintaining Britain's position as a major world power.

The effects of radiation were only partially understood. It was thought there was a threshold exposure below which there was no risk, but it was obvious that very remote test sites were needed. Australia, still a junior partner in a colonial relationship, was persuaded to offer some of her 'virgin' territory for the experiments, provide personnel and even contribute financially. The first bomb was set off, on 3 October 1952, from a ship moored by the Monte Bello Islands off Western Australia. Winston Churchill, announcing the event to the British Parliament, famously stated that the only animal life on Monte Bello were some lizards, two sea eagles and what looked like a canary sitting on a perch. In fact there were at least 400 species of plants and animals including 20 unknown to science.
Two tests were then conducted at Emu Field (Woomera) in South Australia in October 1953 before the final two Monte Bello tests in 1956. Weather forecasting was judged as unreliable around the Monte Bello Islands after problems with the contaminated cloud from Operation Mosaic G2 (19 June 1956). This was the biggest and dirtiest of all British nuclear tests, generating a 60 kiloton blast which shook buildings 400 kilometres to the east. The cloud of contamination also partially drifted over the mainland. It was decided to hold the remaining tests at Maralinga (*field of thunder*), a site selected by Len Beadell, 40 kilometres north of the settlement and station at Ooldea. His brief was for a location within reach of the transcontinental railway, with flat areas suitable for the village and test site. This region is home to the Pitjantjatjara people, many of whom had succumbed to the lure of fast food and the commercial possibilities from rail passengers. There had also been the United Aborigines Mission, but this was relocated in 1952 to Yalata, 120 kilometres south, where the Aboriginal inmates were away from their traditional country and exposed to the corrupting influences of white society, in particular alcohol.
Walter MacDougall, for four years the only Patrol Officer appointed to deal with the consequences of the test ranges on the Aboriginal population, often had no choice but to remove people found in the prohibited area and send them to Yalata. MacDougal, fluent in the local language and understanding the fundamental link between Aboriginal people and their country, estimated that there would be up to 2,500 affected by the prohibited range which stretched over 800,000 square kilometres (five times the size of the UK). Even when joined by Robert Macaulay in 1956 the two of them faced an impossible task. The tests required the building of a network of weather stations, like that at Giles, placed deep inside Aboriginal reserves. Roads, usually surveyed and built by Beadell, inevitably led to the breakdown of traditional Aboriginal life. The two officers were hopelessly ill-equipped to locate and warn the remaining nomadic inhabitants about the bomb tests. Years after the first bombs they continued to find groups well inside the exclusion zones. In 1959 Macaulay found 34 Aboriginals by the West Australia border who had wandered close to a bomb site. The next year Macaulay and MacDougal tracked a group of 14, only one of whom had ever seen a white person, living permanently 150 kilometres northwest of

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Maralinga. But most shocking was the discovery, in May 1957, of Charlie Milpuddie, his pregnant wife Edie and their children Henry and Rosie with their dogs, camped close to the Marcoo crater. Seven months earlier a 1.5 kiloton bomb had been exploded on the ground there. They were given a decontamination shower and driven to Yalata where their dogs were shot in front of them. Edie's child was stillborn and her next child died at two of a brain tumour. No follow up medical tests were made on the surviving family members until 1981 after their story leaked to the press.

Many other horror stories are told, such as by those who experienced the 'Black Mist' that drifted low through Aborigines living at Wallatinna and Welbourn Hill stations after the Totem One explosion at Emu in October 1953.

Maralinga was also the site of 'minor trials', so called to avoid inclusion in the Weapons Test Ban treaty of 1958 to 1963. These involved plutonium (half-life 24,000 years), 25 kilograms of which was dispersed over 100 square kilometres of once pristine bush.

More than 50 years after the last of Britain's 21 atmospheric tests, 800 veteran servicemen from the UK, New Zealand and Fiji are claiming compensation for being used as guinea pigs. In June 2009 the British High Court, ruling against the Ministry of Defence, granted the veterans the right to sue the government for alleged damage to their health. The current MOD online factsheet opens with the sentence: *Exposure to radiation in all its forms is part of being alive*. The Maralinga site is referred to on page 2: *It has been accepted that there would be some contamination of the Maralinga range from the trials held there. Appropriate safety measures, such as controlling access, health physics monitoring and respiratory protection were in place to ensure that no-one should have suffered adverse health effects as a result of these trials.* [1]

For a compelling account of the series of British atomic tests in Australia see *No conceivable injury,* Robert Milliken, Penguin, 1986.

Under a 2005 memorandum Australia permits US forces to use Australian soil for exercises and weapons testing. Armaments include those firing armour-piercing depleted uranium shells and bullets. DU, or the uranium oxide particles dispersed after use, is considered to be at least partly responsible for Gulf War Syndrome and for the high incidence of civilian birth deformities in the regions where it has been deployed.

[1] *UK atmospheric nuclear weapons tests*, Factsheet 1

Pennant

1957/8

cotton, 15 x 42 cm.

In 2004 the British Ministry of Defence awarded a contract to the US firm SEC to remove 23,000 cubic metres of equipment left on Christmas Island (Kiritimati) by the 4,000 service personnel who were involved in the nine tests conducted from the island. These were all undertaken to develop Britain's thermonuclear, or hydrogen, bomb. The huge yields (the largest was to be three megatons) and the growing unease in Australia over the use and contamination of the Central Desert region led to the choice of an isolated Pacific location. Kiritimati, the main island of the Republic Kiribati, is the largest atoll in the Pacific with 322 square kilometres of land. Uninhabited when visited by Captain Cook, it had a permanent population from 1882 when copra farming was established and now is home to about 5,000 people. The inhabitants were not relocated during the nuclear tests.

These tests were conducted in haste as international pressure was building for a moratorium on atmospheric testing. All were airburst detonations (to minimise fallout on land), the first three off Malden Island, several hundred kilometres to the south. Valiant bombers, based at Kiritimati, and flying at 45,000 ft, had about 30 seconds to be ten kilometres away before the devices detonated 2,000 metres above sea level. To save time and expense the final four tests were held, over a one month period, 30 miles off Kiritimati itself. Subsequent tests were held by the US who detonated devices with a total yield of 24 megatons from there in 1962, after the Soviet/US joint moratorium on testing collapsed. The two superpowers finally agreed to cease all atmospheric testing in August 1963. By then the amount of C14, a radioactive isotope of carbon, present in the atmosphere was double the 1945 level.

Double Barrelled Percussion Pistol

c. 1840, with later additions

typed label on wood shield mount with title, *9.5 mm Calibre*, date and *This weapon was confiscated by British Security Forces in 1955 on an unsuccessful raid by "Mau Mau" Terrorists on a European Farm in Kenya.*
Crude but lethal

steel, brass and horn, 48.5 cm.

'Terrorist' is an emotive term. It is normally used to refer to those who kill innocent civilians for a political cause, but also as a justification for savage and disproportionate reprisal and an excuse to ignore the grievances of the perpetrators. The late Helen Suzman, for 13 years the only Liberal in the South African Parliament (for six of those she was the sole female), was often greeted with bleats of 'Mau Mau' when she rose to speak in the chamber.

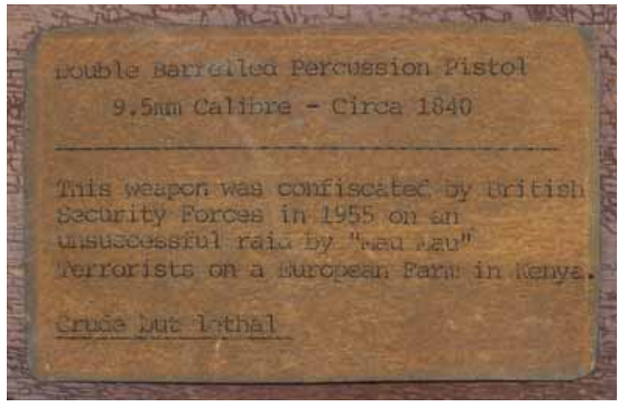
The British in Kenya styled the rebels as terrorists, embarking on a bloody campaign of repression that ultimately delayed independence by just a decade. Sporadic violence directed at white farmers produced a spiral of killings. 32 white settlers were killed in the Kikuyu led rebellion between 1952 and 1960 while the number of Kenyan victims is unknown. The British admitted to killing 10,173 'activists', but the total African death toll is thought to have been about 50,000. As with many independence conflicts there was an element of civil war. The insurgents killed 2,000 informers and government loyalists. Jomo Kenyatta himself (a moderate who did not support the armed revolt) is said to have been a target before his arrest and imprisonment through the Emergency period by the British.

The name Mau Mau, with its primal evocation, was a white invention. The insurgents, emerging from the Trade Union movement in Nairobi, called themselves The Land and Freedom Army or KCA (Kikuyu Central Association). This organisation, formed in the 1920s, lobbied the British over land issues and was banned in 1940.

Immediately prior to the uprising, despite further appeals to London by the Kenya Africa Union, led by Kenyatta, indigenous Kenyans remained disenfranchised. Kenyatta is credited with the saying: *They taught us to pray with our eyes closed. When we opened our eyes they had the land and we had the bible.*

30,000 settlers of British descent occupied 12,000 square miles of land while 1.25 million Kikuyu subsisted off 2,000 square miles of often marginal land. The 26 member Legislative Council included six African members but these were government nominees.

When hostilities began the Kikuyu were armed with little more than spears, machetes and the occasional home made or amended weapon. After a State of Emergency was declared in October 1952 the British response was uncompromising. Mass arrests were followed by sweeps through the KCA's forest bases. In the cities death squads were employed. By the end of 1954 77,000 Kikuyu were held without charge in concentration camps. Using a technique employed by their troops in Malaya, the British pursued a policy of forced villagisation. A million Kikuyu, their homes and possessions destroyed, were moved to guarded villages. 1,090 Africans were hung, 472 of those for possessing arms or ammunition and an unrecorded number castrated. The rebellion lingered on until 1959, with Kenyatta released in 1961 and independence granted two years later.



Tonton Macoutes

c. 1960, Haiti

wood, pigment, metal and glass (desk barometer), 21 cm.

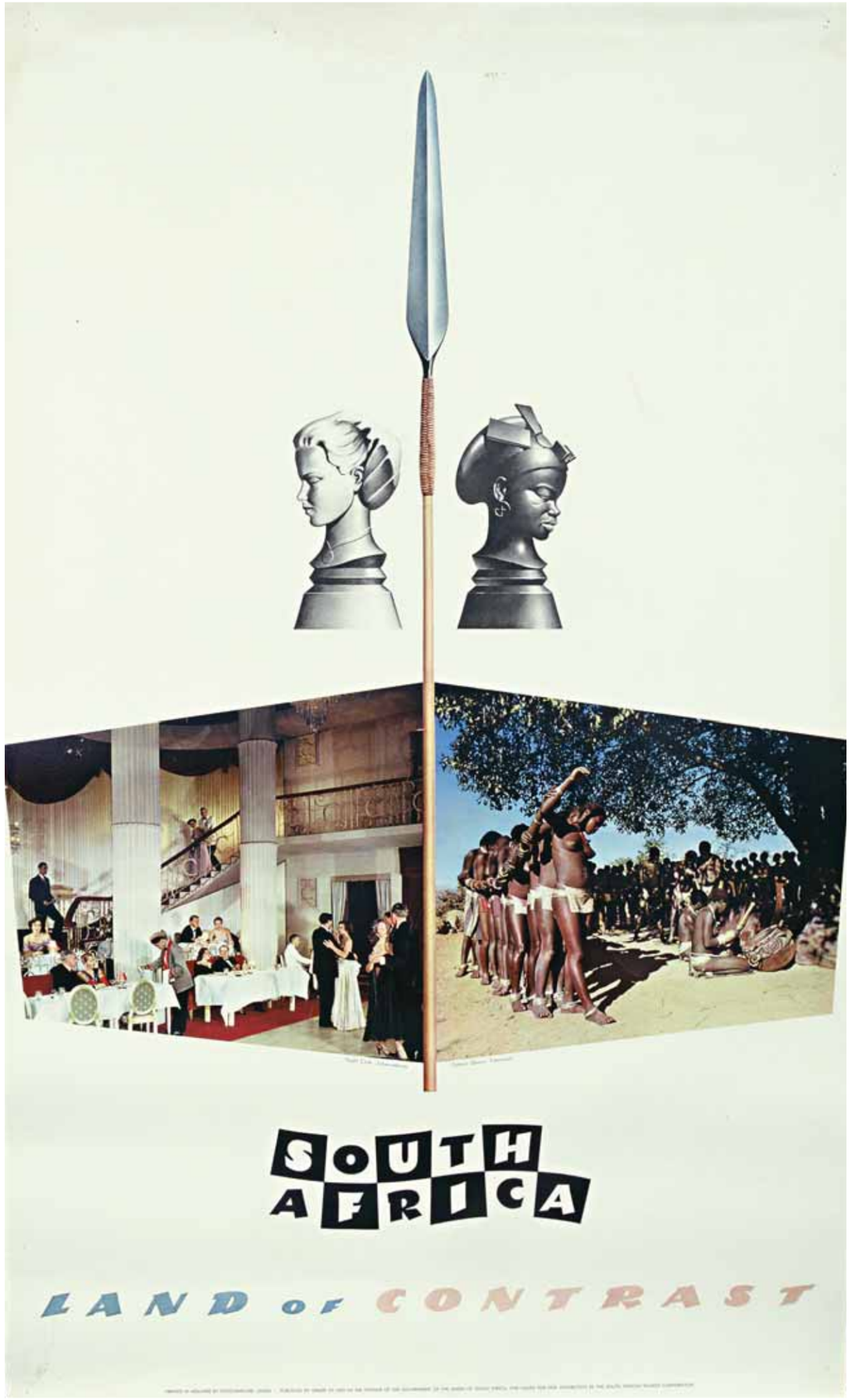
The Tonton Macoutes (MVSN), shown here with their trademark dark glasses, were President Duvalier's personal security force. They were formed in 1959 after a failed army coup left 'Papa Doc' distrustful of all law enforcement agencies. Immune from prosecution and notorious for their brutality, they are believed to have been responsible for the disappearance of about 30,000 Haitians, many of whom vanished into the night. Their name derives from a Creole folk tale about a nocturnal child kidnapper.
Duvalier's regime, underpinned by the support of the rural working class grateful for his removal of the mulatto elite, was sustained by fear. Although hours spent in a coma after a heart attack in 1959 are said to have left him increasingly irrational and paranoid, he remained in office until his death in 1971. He claimed to be a voodoo priest and revived that tradition, once ordering the killing of all black dogs after being told a rival had had been transformed into one. He oversaw the collapse of the country as a functioning economy as corruption, nepotism and repression spread. The middle and educated classes fled abroad. His son 'Baby Doc' inherited a country that was internationally isolated with a populace suffering from endemic malnutrition. Baby Doc was overthrown by a popular uprising in 1986 and is believed to be living in Paris.

South Africa – Land of Contrast

1960s

printed in Holland by Rotogravure, Leiden. - published by order of and at the expense of the Government of the Union of South Africa, and issued for free distribution by the South African Tourist Corporation

offset lithograph, 101 x 60.5 cm.



Territoire Kazumba, Colonie Belge, 1885 – 1960

c. 1960

oil on canvas, 24 x 41 cm.

The story of the Congo in the colonial and post-colonial era is not a happy or easy one to tell. As Yani Giatros observed in 2004: *Where logic ends, the Congo begins*. [1] Most African states occupy borders decided by European colonial powers that take little account of language or tribal boundaries, but the Congo encompasses a particularly diverse range of peoples speaking 230 different dialects. Long standing internal and external conflicts remain unresolved as these national frontiers freeze and exacerbate old established patterns of historical evolution. Currently the eastern regions are in places close to anarchy as Tutsi continue to fight Hutu, consequentially involving Rwandan forces. At stake in the south and east is priceless mineral wealth and it was this that destabilised the nation from the outset of independence. The Congo has long been a source of raw materials, extracted at a terrible cost to the indigenous populations. Slaves and ivory drew first the Europeans and then the Arabs, with the slave trade in particular altering the internal dynamics of a vast area invisible to the outside world. The white man may not have been there in person but aspects of his culture - guns, trade goods and diseases – readily percolated through the Congo Basin.

The methods used to enforce the collection of ivory and the harvesting of wild rubber for the personal enrichment of King Leopold of Belgium led to the deaths of millions of people. Joseph Conrad, working as a riverboat captain at Stanley Falls in September 1890, described it as... *the vilest scramble for loot that ever disfigured the history of human conscience and geographical exploration*.

Even Congolese tribal artefacts were subject to a gold rush as they were held to best embody Western notions of 'savage' art. East and south-east Congo holds significant proportions of the worlds copper, gold, diamonds, uranium, cobalt as well as 70% of global reserves of coltan. This is an ore containing niobium and tantalum, both good conductors, the latter used in the fabrication of tiny capacitors essential to miniaturising mobile telephones.

The Republic of the Congo became a self-governing state on 30 June 1960. There were less than 200 Congolese with university degrees and none in the army holding a rank higher than sergeant. Of the 5,000 senior civil servants only three were Congolese. At the handover King Baudouin of Belgian praised his predecessor Leopold which drew an unscripted response from Patrice Lumumba, the incoming Prime Minister. After condemning the old regime for injustice, oppression and exploitation he added *nous ne sommes plus vos singes* (we are no longer your monkeys).

Almost immediately the new state floundered. The army mutinied against the remaining European officers, looting the capital. Katanga, the wealthiest province, seceded under the leadership of Moise Tshombe who was backed by several thousand Belgian troops, white mercenaries and Belgian mining companies. Kasai (including Kazumba) also claimed independence. Lumumba, armed with a Security Council resolution, believed he could use UN troops to reclaim Katanga. When this facility was denied as beyond the mandate he appealed to the Soviet Union for military help. Katanga's strategically important mineral reserves (most of the uranium that fuelled the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombs was mined here as well as much of the cobalt used to manufacture US fighter planes) made the involvement of the CIA inevitable. By January 1961 Lumumba had been deposed, humiliated, tortured and murdered.

Lumumba supporters remained in control of the Stanleyville region and the Congo was effectively split into four. Between 1960 and 1964 the UN lost more peacekeepers, some in pitched battles with white mercenaries, than in any other mission before or since. Kasai was retaken in December 1961, Stanleyville in January 1962, and the UN finally ended the Katangan secession at the beginning of 1963. The UN left in June 1964, then the Simba rebellion in the east spread and Stanleyville fell in August, with 800 Europeans held as hostages and the rebels holding half of the country. Tshombe, now Prime Minister, brought in his former associate 'Mad' Mike Hoare with over 400 white mercenaries. The subsequent use of Belgian paratroopers, flown in by US crewed aircraft from British soil (Ascension Island), to free the hostages caused an international outcry. Che Guevara and 100 of his Cuban fighters attempted to organise a revolution in the eastern Congo in 1965. Uprisings flared again in 1966 and 1967.

Sese Seko Mobutu, the most powerful figure in Leopoldville almost from independence, assumed formal control after a coup in November 1965. His Presidency lasted until May 1997 when Laurent-Desire Kabila's forces (including Rwandan, Ugandan and Burundian troops) marched into Kinshasa. Mobutu's totalitarian regime, supported first by the USA and then France, had been sustained by the elimination of rivals and the liberal use of patronage. Best described as a kleptocracy, corruption and inflation thrived while infrastructure collapsed. In 1996 the Rwandan conflict spilled over the border and a new cycle of intertribal violence established. The Lords Resistance Army (Ugandan rebels), and General Nkunda's Tutsi DRC are just two of the many factions loosely controlling territory and ensuring the continuing misery of the indigenous populations. In February 2009 Congolese and Rwandan forces combined to arrest Nkunda but the eastern Congo remains a warlord dominated zone where the Kalshnikov rules, rape is normal and diseases like malaria are out of control. 5.4 million people have died there since 1998, with 45,000 dying every month. [2]

[1] Quoted in *Blood River*, Tim Butcher, 2004, p. 286

[2] Source; International Rescue Committee survey, 2008

Don McCullin (b. 1935)

A Rhodesian mercenary and Congolese family, Paulis, north of Stanleyville

1966

silver gelatin print, 32 x 21.5 cm.

Published with varying titles and dates in the primary McCullin monographs:
This is the difference between white Africa and black Africa – the whites have always had the guns. Congo 1967 (The Destruction Business, 1971)
A Rhodesian mercenary humbles a Congolese family, 1966. (Sleeping with Ghosts, 1994)
White mercenary and Congolese family, Paulis, north of Stanleyville, 1966 (Don McCullin, 2003)
Rhodesian mercenary with a Congolese family, Stanleyville, 1964 (Don McCullin, 2007)
And as *Rhodesian mercenary, Stanleyville, the Congo*, *1968* on the Victoria and Albert Museum website.
McCullin made three trips to the Congo. On the first, in November 1964, he disguised himself as a mercenary to fly to Stanleyville to cover the hostage rescue and the suppression of the Simba uprising. It was probably only 'Mad' Mike Hoare's admiration for his bravery that saved McCullin from execution. He almost certainly would not have been permitted to accompany the subsequent raid (codenamed Dragon Noir) on 26 November to free further hostages held in Paulis. Although we have not been able to confirm the detail it is likely this photograph was taken in 1966. In his autobiography (p. 74) McCullin mentions, in passing, that this trip was unremarkable due to restrictions imposed but he *did have the experience of a drunken mercenary trying to hold me hostage at gunpoint in a town called Paulis*. McCullin's final Congo visit (in October 1967) involved another illegal entry when he documented Colonel Schramme's mercenary force holed up in Bukavu, prior to their retreat into nearby Rwanda.

McCullin's career has echoes of that of Melton Prior. Both covered a series of colonial wars in the last thirds of successive centuries, somehow spared in the carnage that surrounded them. Both acted, in times before post-traumatic stress disorder was understood, as though they were mentally and physically bullet-proof. Both sent home black and white records that presented the public with a view often tangential to the official line. McCullin witnessed more conflicts than Prior (20 between 1964 and 1970 alone). In the age of jet travel McCullin could be photographing hundreds of starving Biafran children dying from rectal prolapse one morning and having breakfast with his own children in Hertfordshire the next. Both penned an autobiography that reads in parts like a Flashman memoir, and both saw their *modus operandi* curtailed by technological changes and an increasingly censorious officialdom.
What motivates a man to want to return, time after time, to the epicentre of horror? Daoud Hari concludes his memoir of the genocide in Darfur (*The Translator*, 2008) with... *it has no meaning to take risks for news stories unless the people who read them will act*. McCullin claims, in *Homecoming*, that he saw it as a path to fame. We can read of the traumas he went through in his youth, his distaste for the Hollywood style glorification of violence, speculate on the influence of 1960s counterculture, or simply respond to his imagery. In the words of Maya Angelou: *A bird doesn't sing because it has an answer, it sings because it has a song*. Or, one can defer to an earlier chronicler of the Congo, Joseph Conrad: *My task which I am trying to achieve is, by the power of the written word, to make you hear, to make you feel – it is, above all, to make you see.* [1]
McCullin is not a political photographer, rather one who sides with the underdog, the victim, even if that means he necessarily intrudes into their grief or pain. *For most writers, and certainly most photographers, the reality of suffering is incommunicable*. [2] Wary of appearing to exploit ((or pornographise) those victims, McCullin, if anyone, has the sensitivity as *he has known all their emotions*. [3] McCullin's dedication in *Is anyone taking any notice?* (1971) reads simply: *This book belongs to the people in it*. Writing about his Bihar famine images, he justifies himself thus:
All I could do was try to give the people caught up in this terrible disaster as much dignity as possible. There is a problem inside yourself, a sense of your own powerlessness, but it doesn't do to let it take hold, when your job is to stir the conscience of others who can help. [4]
McCullin is haunted by what he has seen (and the living presence of the negatives in his house) but he is perhaps more disturbed by the notion that what he has been through hell to record has not made any difference. Susan Sontag referred to his work as *the*

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[1] 1897. Quoted in *Heart of Darkness*, Norton critical edition, 1971, p. 140

[2] John Le Carre, introduction to *Hearts of Darkness*, 1980, p. 19

[3] Harold Evans in *Don McCullin*, 2003 p. 15

[4] Don McCullin, *Unreasonable Behaviour*, 1990, p. 82

photography of conscience [5] and McCullin himself said: *I want those images to be with you. I want them to contaminate your thoughts. They do mine*. [6]

McCullin and his sister were evacuated from London and away from Hitler's bombs in 1940. *The end of hostilities against Germany and Japan left a whole generation unable to think in terms other than war*. [7] This cancer was fed by movies, comic strips and a series of real wars as the old colonies asserted their independence. His National Service was spent in Egypt during the Suez crisis, and Kenya at the time of the State of Emergency. Dyslexic, he failed the photography trade exam in the RAF and was given the job of painting numbers on canisters of aerial film. He bought his first camera, a Rollei, in Aden and one of his early photographs is of a Lincoln Bomber at Eastleigh, Nairobi, loading 500 pound bombs destined for Mau Mau targets in the Abadair mountains.

As a freelance he recorded the building of the Berlin Wall in 1961. His first war photographs were taken in Cyprus in 1964, one of which was named Photograph of the Year by the World Press Photo Foundation. After a spell at the *Observer* he joined the *Sunday Times* in 1966. There he was supported by the editor, Harold Evans, who encouraged photographic essays, unpolluted by advertisements, in the magazine section. McCullin's photographs from the 12 days spent embedded with US troops at Hue during the Tet offensive in Vietnam in 1968 are a searing record of the realities of war. It was here that he created one of the great war photographs, immortalising a shell-shocked Marine awaiting transport out of the front line, eyes and soul numbed from passing through hell. Implicit in the image (as with the photograph illustrated here) are the unspecified events prior to and succeeding the moment witnessed.

In Cambodia in 1970 McCullin's Nikon stopped an AK-47 round. Days later he was caught in a Khmer Rouge ambush, taking shrapnel wounds to his stomach, groin and legs. Several of his companions suffered fatal injuries but after ten days in a local hospital the Sunday Times flew McCullin home first class. He parted company with the paper in 1983 after Rupert Murdoch appointed Andrew Neil as editor and the ST was steered in a more consumerist direction. His last war major war assignment (to Beirut) was in 1982, the same year the Ministry of Defence blocked his application to cover the Falklands conflict. He was furious, noting in his autobiography that:

I had been with every other serious army in the world in the last twenty years and had more experience of battlefields than any senior officer or soldier going down to that South Atlantic war. [8]

His war days over, he photographs the landscape of his beloved Somerset but continues to travel and fight in his own way for causes, like Aids in Africa, that need exposure. He has recently completed a five year project to photograph the remains of the Roman Empire around the Mediterranean. There is also time to reflect:

Years later I went back to Hue and walked through that battleground, where I had been so close to death, where I felt I was death's constant companion. It seemed so inconsequential, the whole thing. Those men who died, and those men maimed for life, went through all that, and it was totally futile as all wars are known to be. Without profit, without horizons, without joy. [9]

[5] Essay, in *Don McCullin*, 2003

[6] *Observer* interview 6 Aug. 2005

[7] Don McCullin, *Photofile*, 2007, Introduction.

[8] *Unreasonable Behaviour*, p. 257

[9] Ibid, p. 113

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Before rolling ourselves up in our rugs, and while thinking of the events that marked the day, our ears caught the sounds that betokened the presence of the beasts of prey, which had come to devour the abundant feast spread out by the ruthless hand of war.
Stranger lullaby than that which lulled us to sleep that night was never heard, and the last sounds our dulled ears caught were the jackal's whelp and the hyaena's bay

Henry Morton Stanley, at Magdala, from *Coomassie and Magdala*, new edition, 1891, p. 342

2 THE SUN, Thursday, January 21, 1988

Strewth! 'Orrible Abo plans to snatch England

Burnum . . . getting his own back

By SUN FOREIGN DESK

TIE the Crown Jewels down, sport—England is about to be pillaged by an oddball Aborigine who looks like a black Hagar the Horrible.

Bearded actor and writer Burnum Burnum says he wants to even the score on the 200th anniversary of the British settlement of Australia.

Before leaving Sydney yesterday, he said he would stand on the White Cliffs of Dover next Tuesday and recite:

"I, Burnum Burnum, a nobleman of ancient Australia do hereby take possession of England on behalf of the Aboriginal peoples.

In claiming this colonial outpost, we wish no harm to you natives, but assure you that we are here to bring you good manners, refinement and an opportunity to make a fresh start.

He told reporters he hoped his trip would embarrass the white Australian government.

Authorities have already faced strong Aboriginal protests over the arrival of a fleet of sailing ships from Britain re-enacting the first settlement of Australia in Botany Bay.

Many Aboriginal people have said the re-enactment merely glorifies their own subjugation.

Burnum also said his self-funded visit would highlight the "absurdity" of people on the other side of the world claiming a whole continent for themselves.

JAN 20 1988

THE SUN SAYS

Salute from the Poms

DOWN UNDER they are having the biggest and longest birthday party in history.

It is exactly 200 years since the first British fleet, with its mixed cargo of sheep stealers, pickpockets and naughty ladies, dropped anchor in Botany Bay.

However, there are skeletons at the feast.

"What is there to celebrate?" demand a thousand placards.

The Aussies are being asked to tear out their hearts over the plight of the poor old Abos.

They are asked to believe that, before the white man stole their land, Australia was a paradise inhabited by gentle, trusting, children of nature living on the fat of the land.

In fact, the Aboriginals were treacherous and brutal.

They had acquired none of the vital skills, arts or graces of civilisation.

They were nomads who in 40,000 years left no permanent settlements.

The history of mankind is made up of migrations. Australia no more belongs to them than England does to the Ancient Brits who painted themselves blue.

The Abos: Brutal and treacherous

Left alone, the Abos would have wiped themselves out.

Certainly, they have suffered from the crimes (and the diseases) of the Europeans.

Tamed

That is inevitable when there is a collision between peoples at different stages of development.

The Aussies tamed a continent.

They have built a race of tough, bloody-minded individualists.

We have had our differences—over politics and more serious things like cricket—but when the chips were down they have always proved true friends.

Not bad at all for a bunch of ex-cons!

We hope that they enjoy their long, long shindig and crack a few tubes for the Poms.

JULY 11 '88

'Racism' rap over the Abos

THE SUN is rapped today over an editorial which described Australian aborigines as treacherous and brutal.

The Press Council, the newspaper industry watchdog, ruled that the leader was "unacceptably racist."

Three complaints were received by the Council over the editorial which was linked to Australia's 200th birthday celebrations.

The editorial was accompanied by a picture of a warrior with a bone through his nose captioned: "The Abos: Brutal and treacherous".

It said that Australians were being asked to believe that before white men stole it, the continent was a paradise.

Oddball

But the editorial said that in fact the aborigines who inhabited Australia were treacherous and brutal.

They had no skills or graces and they would have wiped themselves out if left alone.

The next day The Sun reported that England was about to be pillaged by an oddball aborigine who looked like Hagar the Horrible.

The headline on the story said: "Strewth! 'Orrible Abo plans to snatch England".

Durham University anthropology reader Dr Robert Layton protested that the leader was a "wilful misrepresentation" of the motives of the aborigines.

The Sun submitted a statement to the Council from Geoffrey Blainey, Professor of History at the University of Melbourne.

Brutality

Professor Blainey said that it was not difficult to find examples of aboriginal brutality directed by one aborigine against another in the first years of the European era.

The Press Council's adjudication was:

"The Sun's editorial contained factual inaccuracies and unjustified, offensive allegations including the contentions that aboriginal people were treacherous and brutal, and that left alone they would have wiped themselves out.

"The picture used to illustrate the article was a stereotype of a savage: it was offensive and misleading.

"The general tone of the editorial was unacceptably racist.

"The complaints against The Sun are upheld."

Curtain falls

of the shops, pubs and bars. We will soon be back on our feet."

Ryanair must pay damages to barred Calypso band

FIVE members of a calypso band who were branded terrorists and thrown off a Ryanair flight have won £5,500 in damages and costs.

Michael Toussaint, who is blind, and four other Caribbean Steel International Orchestra members, were taken off at gunpoint after three families raised suspicions and demanded their removal.

A judge at the Mayor's and City of London county court, said: "They were scared and embarrassed as they were the only black people on the plane and everyone was watching."

Ryanair has been ordered to pay Carla Bruni, the wife of Nicolas Sarkozy, £45,000 damages by a court in Paris after it used a picture of the pair in an ad without their permission.

The Weekly Telegraph 13-19 Feb 2008


VICTORIA
1837-1901