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A Comparative Study of Three Anti-Slavery Poems Written by William Blake, Hannah More and Marcus Garvey: Black Stereotyping

Jérémie Kroubo
Université Michel de Montaigne, Bordeaux

Introduction

Between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, the colonization of the New World by Europeans resulted in a great expansion of slavery which was a vital economic component of the British Empire in the Americas. Slavery was abolished in British colonies in 1833 when Parliament passed the Slavery Abolition Act.

During the slavery era, this theme was an important issue in British literature, especially in poetry, a popular form of expression at the time. After emancipation, the question of slavery also logically became a crucial topic in Caribbean literature. Thus, this paper is a comparative study of three anti-slavery poems, two of which were written by British writers and the third one by a Caribbean author. The first is "The Little Black Boy," by British Romantic poet William Blake (1757-1827). Blake, whose poetry was often guided by his gentle and mystical views of Christianity, published it in 1789. His poem tells of how a black child came to discover – through the teachings of his mother – his own identity as well as God.

The second poem is "The Sorrows of Yamba; Or, The Negro Woman's Lamentation" by Hannah More (1745-1833), whom is also frequently labelled as a Romantic poetess.[1] In nineteenth-century England, Hannah More was an unusual woman: she remained unmarried and very publicly voiced her opinions. Throughout her life, two main political issues were embodied in her work: anti-slavery and the promotion of education for the poor and women. In the 1790s, as she became

gradually involved in Christian religion, she wrote religious tracts aimed at a lower-class readership (several of them were anti-slavery poems) known as the *Cheap Repository Tracts*.[2] "The Sorrows of Yamba; Or, The Negro Woman's Lamentation" was one of them. This forty-seven-stanza poem tells the story of Yamba who has been taken away from her African land and shipped to Britain. At first, Yamba considers killing herself seeing death as a release, but her ideas about suicide start to vanish when she meets the missionary man who introduces her to Christianity.

The third poem is Marcus Mosiah Garvey's "White and Black." Marcus Garvey (1887-1940), the founder of the *Universal Negro Improvement Association* (UNIA) who initiated the "Back to Africa" movement of the 1920s, wrote a great number of poems about the enslavement of Blacks. Indeed, the Jamaica-born politician, businessman, writer and poet was just a generation away from slavery and his own father was born a slave. In addition, Jamaica was still part of the British Empire at that time. Thus, on October 31, 1927, he wrote "White and Black," which, among other things, deals with freedom and the importance for black people to rule their own nation.

Obviously, the character of Marcus Garvey contrasts sharply with the two other authors, not only in terms of period but also in terms of race. One of the reasons justifying this choice is to stress the role of the racial background of the author in the treatment of slavery. Indeed, although the three poems share similarities in being all anti-slavery works, the authors broach the issue very differently. We will see that the two Romantic authors tend to convey images of black people that reinforce common stereotypes whereas the third one tries hard to move away from them. Thus, the aim of this article is to analyse first the different atmospheres in the poems and the function Christianity had in the stereotyping of African slaves. This article will also focus on the differences in forms and styles to defend an anti-slavery stance.

Racial Stereotyping in the Three Poems

Blake's "The Little Black Boy" seems to be full of innocence and naivety, which is mainly due to two factors: the author's treatment of the black characters and their perception of the future. Blake depicts them as innocent, naive, childish, having interiorized an inferior status. Indeed, from the second line, the black boy states: "I

am black, but O! My soul is white," accordingly implying a superiority status to his white soul—this is stressed by the use of the interjection "O," a distinctive feature in poetry. In the fourth stanza, the boy's mother asserts: "These black bodies and this sunburnt face/ Are but a cloud, and like a shady grove" (15-16); thus the black skin appears as a real burden to both the mother and child who are eager to separate from it. Moreover, they dream of God's heaven where races no longer exist: "When I from black and he from white cloud free" (23). Once in heaven, the white boy would be "liberated" from the colour of his skin, though it was not a burden to him on earth. The black boy would acquire the same status as the white boy, therefore deserving the latter's love: "Be like him, and he will then love me" (28). This outlook may imply that the black boy seems not to see the realities of oppression and racism, passively accepting his slave condition until he reaches heaven. This vision is very close to the Uncle Tom caricature which portrayed Blacks as happy and submissive people. Born in ante-bellum America in the defence of slavery, Uncle Tom was presented as a smiling dependable worker, eager to serve, docile and non-threatening to Whites. Physically weak he was psychologically dependent on Whites for approval.[3] This perspective was also tightly connected to religion which helped mould Black people's minds.

And, as a matter of fact, Blake's black characters' hope lies in God, the only one who is not supposed to make a distinction between races. They see heaven as a "pure place" transcending the division of races; however, though the most important thing for the black child is to be the white child's equal by being released from his black skin, the notion of emancipation is never explicitly stated. Throughout Blake's poem, the black boy seems to worship the "white race," which is confirmed by the statement: "White as an angel is the English child" (3). Actually, William Blake's attitude towards his black characters raises the issue of the way he perceived black people: did he really see them as naive people or was he ironical? This ambiguous attitude was symptomatic of "contradictions of [British] anti-slavery discourse"[4] which did not mean moving away from stereotypes or clichés but denouncing treatments and conditions that did not conform to Christian ideals.

More's "The Sorrows of Yamba; Or, The Negro Woman's Lamentation," on the contrary, seems to be closer to reality even if it also remains a somewhat stereotypical description. The poem conveys both a feeling of pain and despair, and strong political views. Indeed, Yamba is taken away from her African country and kidnapped into slavery by British slave traders:

> Whity man he came from far,
> Sailing o'er the briny flood;
> Who, with help of British Tar,
> Buys up human flesh and blood (17-20).

Aboard the slave ship, she and the other slaves are "[d]riven like Cattle to a fair" (57). Many are raped, get sick, are lashed or die, including her own child: "Naked on the plat-form lying" (33); "Shrieking, sickening, fainting, dying" (35); "Thou shalt feel the lash no more" (50) and "My poor child was cold and dead" (48). The author gives a realistic description with very precise details on the living conditions of slaves. More's vocabulary focuses on violence, pain and despair, especially throughout the first twenty-six stanzas. Yamba is in such a state of desolation that she even intends to kill herself: "Death itself I long'd to taste" (79). Besides denouncing the inhumanity of slave traders and the pervasive misery of black people, More attacks British laws: "British laws shall ne'er befriend me, / They protect not slaves like me" (71-72), calls the British "[s]ons of murder" (161) and ironically refers to James Thomson's patriotic song "Rule Britannia":

> Ye that boast '*Ye rule the waves*,'
> Bid no Slave-ship foil the sea;
> Ye, that '*never will be slaves*,'
> Bid poor Afric's land be free (165-168).

Yamba's perspectives appear to be different from those of Blake's black characters. Yamba does not dream of equality but of joining her beloved husband: "Still shalt see the man I love; / Join him to the Christian band" (182-183) and she "imagines an Africa free from British incursions".[5] However, the way Hannah More depicts black people is ambiguous too. Indeed, her black character, Yamba, uses dialect terms, an attribute of uneducated people. When she says: "English Missionary

Good; /He had Bible book in hand; / Which poor me no understood" (82-84), she clearly defines herself as a poor "Negro" woman unable to understand the "good" white missionary's Holy Bible. Thus, More obviously pictures Blacks as people unable to speak and read English properly, which is largely a stereotyped vision of African slaves. Yamba goes as far as to bless her slave condition in the name of Christianity: "Now I'll bless my cruel capture, / (Hence I've known a Saviour's name)" (126-127). These lines also refer to the religious brainwashing which was perpetrated on African slaves by missionaries.

Like Blake and More, Garvey firmly establishes his credibility and heightens the impact of his stance by giving vivid examples of brutality which he presents at strategic points in the narrative. As a matter of fact, "White and Black" takes the form of a powerful claim. Garvey's description of slavery is similar to More's, giving details about the atrocities endured by black people:

> Bishops and priests, and kings themselves,
> Preached that the law was right and just;
> And so people worked and died,
> And crumbled into material dust (26-27).

Garvey denounces not only the British laws that keep his people from empowering themselves, but, contrary to More and Blake, he also openly criticizes the Church of England, which he accuses of playing a role alongside the government in enslaving black people. Thus, he rejects the possible mediators such as missionaries or priests, and turns straight to God imploring him to help Blacks to rule their own nation:

> Can'st Thou not change this bloody thing,
> And make white people see the truth
> That over blacks must be their king,
> Not white, but of their somber hue,
> To rule a nation of themselves? (10-14)

Garvey's poem fundamentally differs from William Blake's poem, especially as far as equality is concerned. The latter's theory implies that the black and the white boys will never be equal on earth. On the contrary, Garvey claims that Blacks and Whites, being similar as human beings, are entitled to the same rights on earth. He is

not interested in promoting hope and equality in the afterlife; instead he advocates these things on earth and he recommends separatism, contrary to Blake and More who promote integration, if not assimilation. Indeed, in Blake's poem, the black boy's objective is to become the English boy's friend and in More's poem, Yamba worships the "good Missionary man" (138) "imagin[ing] her husband's own encounter with an English missionary".[6] Garvey, on the contrary, wants Blacks to have separate but equal powers to Whites. His desire is that white people be governed by a white government and black people by a black government, which obviously recalls his "Back to Africa" movement which encouraged black people to be politically and economically self-sufficient by creating the United States of Africa. It is important to remember that Marcus Garvey claimed: "We believe in the freedom of Africa for the Negro people of the world, and by the principle of Europe for the Europeans and Asia for the Asiatics; we also demand Africa for the Africans at home and abroad."[7]

Unlike the poetry of William Blake and Hannah More in which the black characters are portrayed as naive poor people worshipping white people and their Christian religion, Marcus Garvey's poem is an appeal to self-determination, reflecting his Pan-African and Black-nationalist views. Carried away by his stance, Garvey was not trapped by the common black stereotyping, clearly distinguishing his poem from those of Blake and More.

Christianity: A Vehicle for Stereotyping

Blake, More and Garvey make frequent references to Christianity in their respective poems. Yet, they chose to address the matter very differently.

In Blake's poem, the mother teaches her child that he will be entitled to a better life in heaven, far away from the hardship of their everyday life as slaves on earth. For that reason, the black boy accepts the Christian message stating that everybody is equal in heaven regardless of race or colour and awaits it with keen anticipation. What is more, the black boy adopts the common perception of God as the father of both Blacks and Whites: "To lean in joy upon *our* Father's knee" (26) (my emphasis). Line 26, in this respect, echoes line 7: "She took me on her lap and kissed me," the black and the white boys sitting by themselves on their respective mothers' knees,

the insuperable boundary between their respective lives is strongly traced by the author.

In fact, in "The Little Black Boy," Christianity liberates black people from the burden of their colour, gives them equality and provides them with a father in the afterlife. We know that, as slaves, black children were most of the time separated from their parents, scattered on different plantations. Thus, Christianity is presented in the purest colonial tradition, symbolizing the access to divine knowledge which not only brings relief to the oppressed black people on earth but also leads them to salvation. During the slavery and post-slavery eras, this conception of Christianity was criticized by many Pan-Africanists, including Edward Wilmot Blyden, William Edward Burghardt Du Bois and Marcus Garvey himself for whom it was as a way of preventing rebellious ideas from flourishing within black people's minds, turning them into docile lambs. Decades later, Malcolm X also violently condemned such a notion of Christianity, declaring:

> The white man has taught us to shout and sing and pray until we *die*, to wait until *death*, for some dreamy heaven-in-the-hereafter, when we're *dead*, while this white man has his milk and honey in the streets paved with golden dollars right here on *this* earth![8]

In reality, Blake gives us the impression that the little black boy passively accepts oppression, racism and injustice without even thinking of rebelling against white people. He submissively waits for death so as to be free at last.

More's definition of Christianity shares many of the same characteristics as Blake's. Indeed, she uses laudatory terms to depict religion: "Lord of Glory" (100); "Gracious Heaven" (122); "Grace divine" (130), "good Missionary man" (138) and "Joy and glory in my Lord" (143) among others. She is also very explicit and goes into all details of religion, mentioning the Bible, the missionary, Jesus and heaven. She even refers to the Christian baptism ceremony, Yamba rejoicing over her new status of convert: "Duly now baptiz'd am I" (137). This praising of Christianity clearly echoes More's evangelical beliefs.

Yamba, who at the beginning of the poem bitterly laments over her separation from Africa and her husband, and even thinks about committing suicide, expresses

farther her gratitude for being brought into contact with Christianity by the missionary. The latter is the intermediary who opens her eyes. Thus, the poem is a celebration of Christianity which "saves" Yamba. The mother in Blake's poem probably received the same teachings as Yamba, which she then passes on to her son. In both poems, women are used as the main vehicles for the teachings of the Christian message; they are instrumental in the social role of bringing hope into a family through religion.

Finally, More's closing stanza echoes Blake's idea of heaven in the sense that it is the only place where the characters will find happiness and salvation:

> There no fiend again shall sever
> Those whom God hath join'd and blest;
> There they dwell with him for ever,
> There '*the weary are at rest*' (185-188).

More and Blake appeal to the religious sensibilities of their audiences in their poems. Many of the early anti-slavery campaigners were driven by an Evangelical faith and a desire to see the "theoretical"[9] Christian view that all people are equal. They believed that the institution of slavery contradicted their strict morality, so they attempted to help slaves and felt they had the moral responsibility to bring an end to the African slave trade.

Both versions of Christianity strongly contrast with Garvey's. From the third line of his poem, the latter severely criticizes "Bishops and priests, and kings themselves" who use the law that keeps black people down. The order he chooses in his enumeration mentioning clergymen before politicians ("kings") implies that he considers the Church as the root of the problem, probably because it was a tool that "made Blacks 'better' slaves – obedient and docile."[10] This accusation might appear as a contradiction, Garvey being himself a fervent believer in God. However, Garvey was a member of the African Orthodox Church, a black nationalist-neo-Anglican Church teaching among other things that God, Jesus Christ and the Virgin Mary were Black; the followers of this Church believed in a black interpretation of the Bible. Thus, Garvey points an accusing finger at the "white" Church which:

> contributed to the phenomenon of "house niggers" (not all domestic servants were in this category), those blacks who internalized the masters' values, revealing information about insurrections planned by their brothers. The "good" masters convinced them that slavery was their lot ordained by God, and it was his will for blacks to be obedient to white people. After all, Ham was cursed, and St. Paul did admonish slaves to be obedient to their masters.[11]

He distinguishes it from the "black" Church that had created a unique and empowering form of Christianity.

Formal and Stylistic Devices for Stereotyping

The three poems differ in form and style. "The Little Black Boy" is written in heroic quatrains, which are stanzas of pentamenter lines rhyming abab. The form is a variation of the ballad stanza, and the slightly longer lines such as line 11 or line 19 are well suited to the pedagogical tone of the poem: the mother innocently teaches the Christian message to her little black boy.

William Blake clearly built his poem on imagery of light and dark as the first stanza shows:

> My mother bore me in the southern wild,
> And I am *black,* but O! My soul is *white*;
> *White* as an angel is the English child,
> But I am *black*, as if *bereaved of light* (1-4) (my emphasis).

He plays on the traditional association of the colour "white" with "good" and "black" with "evil" – or perhaps he is simply caught in this set of connotations himself. Indeed, in the simile "White as an angel is the English child" (3) and in "And the black bodies and this sunburnt face" (15) whiteness reflects purity and beauty whereas blackness connotes evil and ugliness. In fact, being raised in a context in which "black" and "white" respectively connote "bad" and "good," the black boy was bound to integrate a submissive and docile attitude, characteristics which bring him close to the Tom caricature and which take us back to Frantz Fanon's "so-called dependency complex of the colonized".[12] Contrary to the white boy who is English, the black boy has no nation but is only referred to in terms of colour, which underlines his lack of power.

Besides the imagery of white and black, the imagery of soul and body is also exploited in Blake's poem. The black boy is black but his soul is white and his skin is just a cloud that will vanish once in heaven: metaphors which imply that the colour of the skin does not indicate the spiritual state of a person and which clearly recall the Canticles (Song of Solomon) in the Bible when the Sulamith says "I *am* black, but comely"[13] and "Look not upon me, because I *am* black, because the sun hath looked upon me".[14]

Blake uses other stylistic devices to highlight the burden of blackness; for example, alliteration: "That we may learn to *b*ear the *b*eams of love;/ And the *b*lack *b*odies and this sunburnt face" (14-15, my emphasis). The letter "b" – the initial consonant of both the words "black" and "bear," the latter being repeated four times in the poem – is strongly connected with burden. He also uses similes: "And round my golden tent like lambs rejoice" (20), or "And round the tent of God like lambs we joy" (24), in order to place emphasis on happiness and equality in heaven. These lines that end the stanzas in which they respectively appear echo each other. Indeed, both start with an anaphora "And round" and contain a simile "like lambs." And the play on words—"golden tent" and "tent of God"—brings closer gold and God. In the Bible, the kingdom of God is described as a place made of gold where his "lambs" are at peace. The feeling of happiness, purity and innocence is stressed by a list of terms depicting a flourishing nature, especially in the third stanza: "Flowers," "trees" and "beasts" (11), words that conjure up the image of the Garden of Eden, and confirm Blake's link to the Romantics who often associated nature with religion and God.

More's poem is a forty-seven-stanza poem, also in heroic quatrains. Its length plays an important role as it enables the readers to follow the chronological events that take place in Yamba's life: her forced departure from Africa; her life aboard the ship; her desire to die; her meeting with the missionary; her discovery of Christianity and her aspiration to see her country free and to meet up with her beloved husband in heaven. More, too, uses numerous stylistic devices that convey various messages. The most striking one is the use of dialect terms and broken syntax: "Which poor me no understood" (84); "Sooth'd and pitied all my woe" (94); "E'en to Massa pardons

offer'd" (107); "O, ye slaves whom Massas beat" (113); "Flowing thro' the guilt of man" (124). Along with the use of syncope and apocope, it aims at rendering Yamba's diction exotic. Indeed, exoticism was an important aspect of Romanticism and it largely consisted of stereotypes. During slavery, most black slaves were denied formal education and in fact many laws were passed prohibiting slave literacy in the aftermath of various slave rebellions. Even free blacks in the century before were limited in their access to mainstream, quality education and vocational training. This limited education and training partly resulted in the fact that most Blacks developed a language of their own, which enabled Whites to depict them as people unable to speak properly and to govern themselves: Moira Ferguson points out how such uses of dialect served to underscore the alleged "'stupidity' of slaves" and place them in an inferior position in need of "British intervention".[15] Moreover, the fact that Yamba is unable to understand the Bible without the help of the "good white" missionary in the twenty-first stanza reinforces her so-called "stupidity." This event strangely recalls the passage from the Bible when the Apostle Philip meets an Ethiopian on his way home, only to baptize him and disappear from the scene:

> And Philip ran thither to *him* (the Ethiopian), and heard him read the prophet Esaias, and said, Understandest thou what thou readest?
> And he said, How can I, except some man should guide me? And he desired Philip that he would come up and sit with him.[16]

Thus, these stylistic devices are used to make Yamba appear as an exotic and childlike character, which at first sight might come as a surprise for a so-called anti-slavery poem. However, the recourse to such a simplistic language seems to fit in with More's Evangelical beliefs and may also have come from More's desire to be understood by the "common men," lower-class readers.

Despite the above-mentioned contradictions, "The Sorrows of Yamba; Or, The Negro Woman's Lamentation" is nonetheless full of subtle and authentic anti-slavery idioms and tropes. For instance, in "Whity man he came from far" (17), Hannah More plays on the words "white" and "wily" implying that the white man is a cunning predator. Besides, the association of the word "savage" with the British in

"At the [s]avage Captain's beck" (37) and "Savage murder tho' it be" (70) is a common anti-slavery trope. She also refers to "filthy gold" (29); unlike Blake's poem in which gold is a divine material, in More's poem it is a fiendish substance closely linked with slavery. The use of domestic terms such as "Parents" (15), "Husband" (16), "children" (16) and "baby" (21) is also typical of anti-slavery writings, especially British women's works.

Chiming is another device used by Hannah More. Two main reasons can enable us to understand the use of this linguistic process. Firstly, she uses it to highlight the goodness of God, and therefore to pay a tribute to Christianity: "Thanks her *G*od for *G*race divine" (130) (my emphasis); then to demonize slavery: "Vi*c*e, and *s*lavery, and *s*in" (174) (my emphasis). In the last stanza, More repeats the word "There" three times—anaphora—to stress the importance of heaven.

Finally, the black character has an African name, Yamba. Unlike Blake's little black boy, who has neither name nor nation, Yamba has both—though her nation is not free—, which makes her in a way more powerful than Blake's black characters. Nonetheless, she is a mere slave with no title as opposed to white people who are referred to as "Massa" (61), "Captain" (37) or "Missionary" (82), all titles that confirm Yamba in an inferior position.

Garvey's poem is an irregular sonnet with octosyllabic lines. It is made up of four tercets (aba /cdc / efe / ghg) followed by two unrhyming lines. Nevertheless, it is written in a classical style in literary English. Indeed, Garvey aimed at proving his literary competences to express the "greatness" and "nobility" of black people. Hence, he says "Can'st Thou" (10), which is a typical grammatical form of Shakespearian times. In this sense, he was typical of the black scholars and intellectuals of the period, such as Senegalese Léopold Sédar Senghor, among others, who tried to counter the negative images of Blacks as stupid by internalizing a politics of conformity, an attempt which sometimes proved counter-productive—Senghor was known as "the one who speaks French better than French people themselves" (my own translation).[17]

The title "White and Black" could have led to an imagery of good and evil but it does not. Actually, the issues at stake are equality and power: Blacks and Whites,

pursuing the same goal, the former should deserve like the latter the right to rule their own nation and both would then "gallop after fame" (9). Marcus Garvey alludes to equality not only in terms of race, but also in terms of power. The insistence on the idea that "blacks must be their [own] king" (12) stresses the importance for Blacks to be self-sufficient and refers to Blake's poem in which, precisely, Blacks have no nation and therefore no power. The words and expressions "Races of men" (9), "gallop after fame" (9), "king" (12) and "rule a nation" (14) imply that black people belong to a conquering people. Moreover, in "Races of *men*, who gallop after *fame*" (my emphasis), "men" almost rhymes with "fame", emphasizing the greatness of the black "race." Garvey's rhetoric is one of celebration of black people, symptomatic of Pan-African nationalist and Afro-centrist discourses. Finally, like Hannah More, Marcus Garvey seems to use chiming to put forward the goodness of God: "*G*ood *G*od! The scheme is just the same" (7) (my emphasis).

Conclusion

The three poems may all oppose slavery, but the authors treat the matter very differently. "The Little Black Boy" is undoubtedly the most astonishing poem. Indeed, it seems that William Blake's innocent and naive black characters do not perceive the realities of oppression and racism, and passively accept injustice. The black boy does not seem to feel hatred for white people; he is even eager to be in heaven so as to become the English boy's friend. Hannah More is more critical. She severely denounces British laws and slave traders even though she does not avoid stereotyping Yamba, making her look stupid partly through the use of pseudo-dialect. Moreover, Yamba looks so dumb that she accepts Christianity the minute she meets the "English Missionary good" (82) and "half forgets the blame" (128). In practice, Blake and More's poems both highlight the "tensions and contradictions of British anti-slavery discourse."[18] Indeed, although they condemn slavery they do not avoid racist clichés, depicting African slaves as obedient, childlike, uneducated, non-rebellious, passive, naive and stupid people. These two poems also reveal the psychological slavery enforced with the Christian message: slave masters are

forgiven their cruelty in the name of Christianity; Yamba "forgets the blame" as the King of the Jews, Jesus, does in the Bible.

Marcus Garvey is evidently much more radical than the two British authors. He denounces "Bishops and priest, and kings themselves" (13) and advocates economic and political black power. He does not promote integration, unlike Blake and More, but separatism. In other words, he does not convey the image of Blacks as weak, uneducated, docile, powerless and dependent people, symptomatic of Black stereotypes, he pictures them as noble, powerful, self-governing and conquering people instead.

The difference of racial background and gender of the authors – Blake was a white man, More a white woman and Garvey a black man – is one possible reason to explain such differences in the treatment of slavery. Moreover, Anne Mellor argues that "[race] and gender played a significant role in shaping anti-slavery rhetoric".[19] Indeed, William Blake, being a white man, probably had more difficulty understanding what slavery really meant than Hannah More who, being a woman in a male-chauvinistic era, knew the feeling of social marginalization—all the more since she was never married –, although naturally marginalization is far from being the same as slavery. However, Black Jamaican Marcus Mosiah Garvey was undoubtedly the one who undertook the most radical approach on the enslavement and oppression of black people.

NOTES

[1] See Andrew Ashfield, ed., *Romantic Women Poets 1788-1848*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998, 20-31.

[2] *Cheap Repository Tracts; Entertaining, Moral, And Religious*, London: F. C. and J. Rivington, St. Paul's Church-Yard, n° 62, 1810.

[3] David Pilgrim, "The Tom Caricature" in *Ferris State University, Jim Crow Museum of Racist Memorabilia*, December 2000, <http://www.ferris.edu/news/jimcrow/tom/>, paragraph 1 (last consulted on 9 June 2009).

[4] Deirdre Coleman, *Romantic Colonization and British Anti-Slavery*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005, p. 72.

[5] Alan Richardson, "'The Sorrows of Yamba,' by Eaglesfield Smith and Hannah More: Authorship, Ideology, and the Fractures of Antislavery Discourse" in *Romanticism on the Net*,

n° 28, November 2002, <http://www.erudit.org/revue/ron/2002/v/n28/007209ar.html>, paragraph 7 (last consulted on 9 June 2009).
[6] Ibid.
[7] Marcus Garvey, in Bob Blaisdell, ed., *Selected Writings and Speeches of Marcus Garvey*, New York: Dover Publications, 2004, p. 19.
[8] Malcolm X, in Alex Haley and Malcolm X, *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*, New York: Ballantine Books, 1999, 224.
[9] The use of the adjective "theoretical" (between inverted commas) emphasizes that, in theory, the Christian message says that all human beings are equals, being brothers and sisters. But, in practice, the Christian religion played a crucial role in the enslavement of Africans during slavery, which is in complete contradiction with its message of brotherhood and unity.
[10] James H. Cone, *Risks of Faith: The Emergence of a Black Theology of Liberation, 1968-1998*, Boston: Beacon Press, 2000, p. 15.
[11] James H. Cone, "Black Spirituals: A Theological Interpretation" in Cornel West and Eddie S. Glaude Jr., eds., *African American Religious Thought: An Anthology,* Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster John Knox Press, 2003, p. 777.
[12] Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks,* New York: Grove Press, 2008, p. 64-88.
[13] *The Bible: Authorized King James Version with Apocrypha*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998, *The Canticles* 1: 5.
[14] Ibid., *The Canticles* 1: 6.
[15] Moira Ferguson, *Subject to Others: British Women Writers and Colonial Slavery, 1670-1834,* New York: Routledge, 1992, p. 103.
[16] *The Bible*, *The Acts* 8: 30-31.
[17] "[C]elui qui parle mieux le français que les Français eux-mêmes", Janet G. Vaillant, *Vie de Léopold Sédar Senghor : Noir, Français et Africain,* Paris : Karthala Éditions, 2006, p. 413.
[18] Alan Richardson, "'The Sorrows of Yamba", paragraph 4.
[19] Anne K. Mellor, "'Am I not a woman, and a sister?': Slavery, Romanticism, and Gender", in Alan Richardson and Sonia Hofkosh, eds., *Romanticism, Race, and Imperial Culture: 1780-1834,* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996, p. 315-316.

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